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YAMAN

ITS EARLY MEDIÆVAL HISTORY

BY

NAJM AD-DIN 'OMARAH AL-HAKAMI

ALSO THE ABRIDGED HISTORY OF ITS DYNASTIES

Br

IBN KHALDUN

AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE KARMATHIANS OF YAMAN

BY

ABU ABD ALLAH BAHA AD-DIN AL-JANADI .

THE ORIGINAL TEXTS, WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

BY

HENRY CASSELS KAY
M.B.A.S.

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INTRODUCTION.

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. H. Lane Pooie in his Catalogue of Coins at the British Museum, and he has added such brief explanations as the special purpose of his work would permit; but, with that exception, the subject is in English literature simply a blank. And the labours of continental scholars, it must be added, are in this particular case, of less assistance than might be expected.

The only book that treats, in a European language, of the Muhammadan history of Yaman, is a small volume by C. T. Johannsen, written in Latin and published at Bonn in 1828. It is an abstract of the history of Zabld 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 Hljjrah. Johannseu'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 Zabld never belonged, such for instance as the Zuray'ite Princes of Aden, are necessarily excluded. Johannseu's book is, moreover, at the present day somewhat raro.

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

neither destitute of interest, nor altogether uninteresting. 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, as 'Omarah "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 leading¹ 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. 'Omarah'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 'Omarah'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 'Omarah'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 'Omarah'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.

The volume (Or. 3265) is a small quarto. It comprises three separate parts. The first, of 85 folios, is Dayba¹'s History of Zabid. The third, 102 pages (52 folios), contains an account of events in Yanian from A.H. 1215 to A.H. 1258 (A.L. 1800 to 1842). The second part, consisting of 84 folios or 166 pages, is 'Omarah's history. Neither the name of the transcriber nor the date of the copy is given. The handwriting is not that of an accomplished penman, and the copyist, it may readily be perceived, could make no claim to scholarship. Errors, both of commission and of omission, are indeed numerous.

Even for the solo purpose of translation, the book, it was evident, would offer difficulty. But I had reason to believe that many deficiencies in the MS. would be supplied by the works of the author's successors. My expectations, it will be seen, have been amply fulfilled, and I have found it possible to print the original text, as well as to translate it, a task which without that assistance, I could hardly have ventured to undertake.

A life of 'Omarah is included in the Biographies of Ibn Khallikan (de Slane, vo¹. ii. p. 867). For his account of our author's earlier years, down, that is to say, to the time of his final departure for Egypt, the biographer seems to have drawn most of his material from the History of Yaman, in which 'Omarah touches upon sundry events in his own life. He was born, he tells us, at az-Zara'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, tho Ilakamite.* His name and designations seem to have been Najm ad-din 'Omarah ibn Abi 'l-Hasan 'Aly ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad Zaydiin. On the title-page of the British Museum copy of his History, he is styled the Kadi; 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 Suyiiti (i. 238).

* Ibn Khallikan says, according to de Slane, that 'Omarah was born in the city of Martan, in the valley of WasiV, a place I am not able to identify. It will be seen that we have mention of *Mat ran* (p* 68 etc), but it is evidently not the place here in question.

His final departure from Yaman occurred in A.n. 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-Fa'iz, who at the age of five years, had been raised to the throne on the assassination of his father az-Ziifir in A.H. 549. The Khallfahs were still the nominal rulers of the Empire, but it was and had long been governed in reality by the Wazirs, 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-Hafiz.* The office, at the time of 'Omarah's arrival at Cairo, was held by Tala'i' ibn Iluzayk, under the title of *al-Malik as-Sdhh*, the Virtuous King. Our author was already personally known to the Wazir, 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. Tala'i', a zealous Ismaihte, endeavoured to prevail upon 'Omarah to join* the sect. He failed in his purpose, but continued nevertheless, throughout the remainder of his life, to extend his friendship and patronage to the Yamanite poet.

The Khalifah al-Fa'iz died in A.H. 555, and was succeeded by al-'Ahd, the last of the dynasty. Tala'i' perished the following year.† His son was raised to his place under the title of *al-Malik al-'Adil an-Aasir*, but was assassinated in the first month of A.H. 558. The dissensions that followed supplied the Atabek Nur ad-din Mahmud, 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-din Shirkuh. The re-instatement of Shawar, one of the rival claimants to the wazirate was speedily effected. But the restored wazir 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 Nur ad-din and the Christian Crusaders for the

* Makrizi, vol. i. p. 440, l. Athlr, xi. 31. See also Suyuti, ii. 155 and 162-63.

† An interesting mosque, built by Tala'i' at Cairo close to Bab 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. Shawar was slain in A.H. 564, and Shlrkuh, though still acknowledging the authority of Nur ad-dfn, was formally installed as Wazir by the helpless Khalifah al-'Adid, under the Htle of al-Malik al-Mansur (the Victorious King). He died before the end of the year, and his nephew Salah ad-din Yusuf (Saladin) was appointed his successor and invested by al-'Adid with the office of wazir, and with the title of *Malik an-Nasir* (the Succouring King), which ho 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 Nur ad-din, proclaimed the deposition of the Fatimite Khalifah and the re-establishment of the supremacy of the Abbasides. Al-'Adid was at the point of death, and it is doubtful whether he ever knew that his dynasty had come tj 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 tho form of the Khutbah, thenceforward recited in tho name of the Khalifah of Baghdad. But, ere long, a conspiracy was found to be in existence at the capital, for the restoration of the Fatimites, with the aid of the Christian King of Jorusalem. It was speedily suppressed, and the leaders arrested. Among those accused of being concerned in tho plot was 'Omarah. He was found guilty and condemned to death. The sentence was carried into execution on the 2nd Ramadan, of the year 569, and his body was gibbeted and exposed to public view for three days. It has been said that it was by *Omarah\§ advice that the conquest of Yaman was undertaken and the army of invasion placed under the command of Turan Shah, whose absence, in the event of the death of his brother Saladin, would, it was thought, afford greater assurance of success to the objects of the conspirators.

Among other noteworthy personages of that period, was the Kadi Abu 'Aly 'Abd ar-Rahim al-Baysani, more commonly known as the Kadi al-Fadil. 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 7405) containing a collection of the Kadi's sayings and of his writings, which are still regarded by his countrymen as models of epistolary style, of a kind, it must however be said, generally too florid to commend itself to the taste of Western readers.* In personal appearance the Kadi al-Fadil was ill-favoured, indeed deformed. He was nevertheless exceedingly popular. Few names are oftener met with than his in the pages of Ma[^]rizi's *Khitat*. He was held in the highest estimation by Saladin, of whose cause the Kadi 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 Kadi, it remains to be added, was one of those who most strenuously urged upon Saladin the deposition of the Fatimite Khalifah.

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

* 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 Kadi's literary performances.

* † Makrizi, vol. ii. pp. 79 and 366.

thy life." 'Omarah drooped his head in silence. To himself, and to all present, the incident was a manifest sign that his fate was ordained by divine and irrevocable decree.

Whether or not 'Omarah was guilty of the crime with which he was charged, this much is certain, that he excited the mistrust and finally the hatred of Saladin's adherents, by his bold not to say reckless advocacy of the fallen dynasty, and by the impassioned words with which he was ever ready to defend it. On one occasion he was along with another poet in the presence of Najm ad-din Ayyub, 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. 'Omarah'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 former]y inhabited it were nought but shells. Thou art a pearl, unto whom the palace is but a shell." 'Omarah indignantly answered his companion, in lines of the same metre and rhyme. He dealt with the rhetorical figure in which the shell is spoken of as the occupant of a pearl, and ended with a line in which he denounces the poet as of less account than a dog, an animal which, at least, practises the virtues of gratitude and fidelity. The story is told by Makrizi, who has preserved also a considerable fragment of a poem by 'Omarah, a lament over the fate that had overtaken the Fatimite dynasty. The following is the opening line, to which I add a few passages taken almost at random :—

Thou hast blighted, O Fortune, the noblest of hands—Thou hast
stripped a graceful neck of the jewels that once adorned
it. . . .

O censurer of my love for the sons of Fatimah. . . . Come, I ad-
jure 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

Mayhap ye will return CO sons of Aly), that the world may be released of its bonds. . . .
 They that have been false in their allegiance, will not escape the effects of God's anger . . . Their burning thirst will not be slaked by the hand of the noblest of created beings, the Seal of the Apostles. . . .
 Love of the Imams is the foundation of faith in God, and of all good works.
 They are the divine Light of true guidance, torches piercing through the darkness of night.

The composition of that poem, says 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 historian 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 lime. 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.

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 dei'ecti/e 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 *tashdd* 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 *tashdd* 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 Rhallikan's Biographies, more particularly that of 'Aly the Sulayhite, Yakut's Geographical Dictionary, Ibn Khaldun'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 duo 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, 'Omfrah 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 't-Tami Jayyash, one of the early kings of the dynasty of the Banu Najah. The book bore the title of *Kitdb ai-Mufid akhbar Zabid*, the Book of Instruction on the History of Zabid, under which it is mentioned in the *Kashf az-Zuun*. 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 *Booh of Chronicles by the illustrious Kadi 'Omdrah the Yamamtr*. Khazraji mentions that Jayyash'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 'Sulayhito and of the restoration of the Banu Najah. It is highly probable that these passages are all that survives at the present day.

Janadi's work is mentioned in the *Kushfaz-Zunun* under the title of *Kitab as-Suluk fi tabakat il-'Ulama'i wa 'l-Muluk*, Book of the Pearl-threads, containing the consecutive Series of Scholars and Kings. An excellent copy is preserved in the Bibliotheque 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 Bibliotheque appears to have been the property of one of the last Princes of the Rasulite dynasty, Ahmad, son of Sultan az-Zahir 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 :

Al-Janadi's full name was Abu 'Abd Allah Baha, ad-din (Yusuf ?) ibn Yusuf ibn Ya'kub, 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'afir.* He died in A.H. 732. His History extends, according to al-Ahdal, to A.H. 724, but in some copies it was probably continued to a later date. The work is really, as indicated by its title, a series of biographies, for the most part of men renowned for piety and learning. The author does not exclude princes and dynasties, but they occupy a subordinate place, for the reason he expressly gives, that they are of far less importance. He begins with the days of the Prophet, passes on to the Prophet's successors, and proceeds to sketch the lives of all who can claim the slightest connection with Yaman. He includes therefore the Imam ash-Shafi'y, the originator of the Shafi'ite school of religious law, of whom it has been said that he was born in Yaman. His account of the Imam is little more than a panegyric, in which he conspicuously dwells upon the contention that ash-Sbuli'y, had he not exclusively devoted himself to theology and jurisprudence, would have ranked as one of the greatest of poets.f 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 Yusuf son of Ya'kub ; hut he himself (fol. 21 rev.) gives his father that name, and Khazraji ('Ukud, fol. 133, obv.), mentions Yusuf ibn Ya'kuh al-Janadi, father of J'ahfi ad-din the historian.

† It was not without surprise that I found al-Janadi attributing to the Imam, in a tone of perfect gravity, certain lines of verse which, according to ibn al-Athir, were written by the Okaylitic chief Abu 'I-Musayyib Kan'. 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. 018.

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-Razi, from that of Ibn Jarfr, from 'Omarah's *MufJd*, and finally from the collection of biographies of Ibn Khallikan. The notices of these works in Hajji Khallfah'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 *Tabakfat Fukaha 'l-Yaman wa Ru'asa uz-Zaman* (the Consocutivo Series of the Jurists of Yaman and of the Chief's of their time). Its author was Abu Hafs 'Omar ibn 'Aly ibn Samurrah, who died, according to Hajji Khalifah, in A.K. 58(5). This, says al-Janadi, gives the most complete account of the scholars and Jurists of Yaman from the time of the introduction of Islam down to a date somewhat later than A.TI. 580. The book seems to have supplied al-Janadi with the model he followed in the composition of his own work.

Only second To Ibn Samurrah's History, continues al-Janadi, is the work of Abu 'l-'Abbas Ahmad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Muhammad ar-Razi, a native, as his surname indicates, of ar-Ray, but settled at San'a. 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 San'a, 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 San'a by Ishak ibn Yahya ibn Jarir, a descendant of al-Aswad ibn 'Auf, brother of 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn 'Auf.* It is a book, says al-Janadi, of

* Abd ar-Rahman ibn 'Auf, of the tribe of KurayKh, 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-Razi'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-Hasan 'Aly ibn al-Hasan al-Khazraji, that is to say, of the tribe of Khazraj. He was surnamed Ibn Wahhas, and he died in A.n. 812. Hajji Khalifah 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 those 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-'Ukud al-huluiyah fi akhbdr id-daulat ir-Rasuliyah*, "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 Rasul, who, he declares, were of Arab race, descendants of Jabalah ibn al-Ayham, the last king of the Ghasanite dynasty. The history ends with the death of the Rasulite iSuitan al-Ashraf IsnVII in A.H. 803. Fully two thirds of the book are a compilation, for the most part from three works, the *Siratal-Muzaffanyih^{ho}Ikd ath-fharnin*, and Janadi's History, from each of which long passages are incorporated.

The first mentioned seems to be a life of Sultan al-Muzaffar Yusuf (A.H. 647-694). The *Iird ath-thamin* exists in the Library of the British Museum (Add. 27541), under the title of *Kitabl as-Simt H-Glully iih-tharnau ft Akhbdr Mulilk it-Yam an*, written by Badr ad-din Muhammad ibn Hatim, a descendant of the Hamdanite Kings of San'a. The volume is composed of 114 folios, and it carries down the history of the Rasulites to the death of Sultan al-Muzaffar in A.H. 694. The titles of the book so largely quoted by Khazraji and of that at the British Museum, though verbally

* I have reason to believe that the text and a translation of the History of the Rasulites, or at least of its most important parts, were prepared for the press by the late Sir James Redhouse, but that certain difficulties unfortunately prevented the publication of his work.

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 Kifayah, an extract from the 'Ikd ath-thamin, relating to the successors of Ibn Mahdy,* not to be found in the British Museum MS. It seems probable therefore that the book" are two separate edition s.†

Some other writers are referred to by Khazraji, among whom I may mention the Sharif 'Imad ad-din Idris, a descendant of Suleyman ibn Hamzah. In the Ukud (fol. 173 obv.), the death is recorded of the Sharif's father, Jamal ad-din 'Aly ibn al-Hasan ibn Hamzah, in A.H. 699, and Khazraji adds that the Sharif Idris was author of several historical works, among others of one entitled *Kitab Kanz il-Ahhydr fi 't-tarihhi wa 'l-akhbfr*, a book which, if it is still in existence, will probably be found to throw light upon the history of the Zaydite Imams of Yatan.

The other works by Khazraji mentioned in JJajji Khall-fah's dictionary are probably represented by the MSS. preserved in the Library of the University of Leiden, Nos. DCCV. and poeLXvm. (Old Cat. vol. ii. pp. 173 and 190).

The last mentioned, despite its large size and its 369 pages, is but a fragment. It is entitled *Tiraz A'lam iz-Zaman fi fabahlti A'ydn tl-Yaman*. The book, according to the explanation of its plan given by the author in his preface, commences with an Introduction, containing in the first place a life of the Prophet, and next that of each of the Khalifahs, from Abu Bakr to al-Musta'sitn. A biographical dictionary, supplying an account of the scholars, kings, etc. of Yaman, the chief purport of the work, begins at p. 280 and the MS. ends abruptly at p. 369, before completion of the first letter of the alphabet. The author tells us that the book was composed by command of the Rasulite Sultan al-Ashraf Isma'il (A.H. 778-803), who, he says, prescribed itB form and the arrangement of its contents. Al-Khazraji, it must be added, handsomely acknowledges the debt he owes to the earlier labours of al-Janadi. " We have "drawn," he says, " from his abundant springs, and we have drunk under his guidance. Without him we had not

* See *infra*, Note 101.

† The British Museum MS. is dated A.H. 1002 (A J>. 1652), and a note which follows the colophon states that the copy was carefully collated at the end of the following year.

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 *Kitdb tarikh iUKifilyati ica 'l-A'lom fiman waliya 'l-Yamana wa sahtnaha win al-Jsllm*. 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 hve, the author, after citing certain traditions proving the high estimation in which the country and people of Yanian were held by the Prophet, gives an account of its conversion to Isl'fm, 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 Sau'a. until it was taken by 'Aly the Sulayhite. (See *infra*, Note 8.) The eighth chapter is the history of the Suiayhite dynasty, the ninth that of the Hamd/tnite Kings of San/a, and the tenth that of the Zuray'ite Princes of Aden.

The fifth book is divided into twelve chapters. The first four (pp. 77-108) contain the history of the Ziyadites, of their successors the Barm Najah, of the Abyssinian WazTrs 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 Kasulitob, and it includes the reign of Sultan al-Mansur 'Omar (A.U. G20-(>47), 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 'Oniarah's History. The author omits some passages and abridges others, often very slightly, and 'Ornarah'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 Zabld. The British Museum Library possesses two copies, Or. 0265 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

* See Dozy's Catalogue of the Leiden Library, vol. ii. p. 173.

work by the same author, entitled *Kitab Kunat il-'XTyun fi akhbar il-Yaman al-Maymun*. The name of the author was *Wajlh ad-din 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn 'Aly ad-Dayba'*, of the tribe of *Shayban** 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 *Kifdyah*. The author commences with Khazraji's fourth book, which he calls his first.† He reproduces it in an abridged form, chapter by chapter, in*the same order as that of the *Kifayah* and each under the same heading. Next follows his second book, Khazraji's fifth. The twelfth chapter ends at fol. 133 rev. To this he adds six more, in which he carries the history of the Rasulite dynasty to its conclusion. Then follows the third book, commencing at fol. 341 rev. It is divided into three chapters, containing the history of the Banu Taihir, down to the end of the dynasty and to the conquest of Yaman by the troops of the last Mamlfik Sultan of Egypt. It will be seen, therefore, that it is only the latter part of the work, commencing at fol. 133, that can be said to be of any material value from the historian's point of view. In his Preface the author acknowledges his indebtedness to Khazraji, to whose book, it may be noted, he gives the title of *Kitab ul-'Asjad*.

Another writer to whom I have had occasion to refer in the following pages is al-Ahdal. He was the author of several works, of some of which the titles are given by Hajji Khalifah, and whereof one exists in the Library of the British Museum (Or. 1345). The first and last pages of the MS. are wanting and have been replaced by a fabricated title-page and colophon. There is, however, no room to -doubt that it is al-Ahdal's work, the same to which Hajji Khalifah gives the title *Tuhfat az-Zaman fi A'yani Ahl il-Yaman*. The full name of the author was Abu 'Abd Allah

* The author of the *Taj al-'Arus* says that *Dayba** is a Nubian word and that it signifies *white*,

† He begins, therefore, at the same point as the Leiden MS. of Khazraji's *Kifayah*.

al-Husayn ibn 'Abd ir-Rahmau il-Ahdal al-Husayni, and he was member of a family of some note in Yamau, but originally from 'Irak. 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:

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 ensueth 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. Hamdam'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 I. H. Midler has been of the greatest service to me.† But al-Hamdani'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.

† Midler's second volume, containing his notes and indices, had not yet appeared at the time I occupied myself with Hamdam, 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 Peterinann's *Mittheilungen* (1880, I.), may be said amply to fulfil the required condition. Indeed, a sure test of its excellence may be found in the fact that the student is able, with its assistance, to follow al-Hamdani step by step, with hardly any other difficulty but that of identifying, in certain cases, the modern with the ancient names of places. And of that difficulty, in many important particulars, the reader is relieved by explanations supplied in the letter-press.

But, unfortunately, Dr. Glaser's map comprises only the northern part of the country. For the southern portion I have chiefly relied upon the map published by Manzoni in 1884 along with the account of his travels. Apart, however, from the delineation of his own lines of travel, the accuracy of which can no doubt be fully trusted, Mr. Manzoni has been compelled to rely upon the work of his predecessors, and creditably as his task has been performed, it is beyond all question that he is often led astray. The difficulties to be overcome by the student will be at least partially perceived on attempting to reconcile the great divergencies to be found between Dr. Glaser's and Mr. Manzoni's maps on the border country, where the two ought to combine into one, and where, on the contrary, their disagreement could hardly be exceeded.

During the course of my work, I marked down, for my own use, on a roughly drawn sheet, the situation, as nearly as I could arrive at it, of several places, the localities of which require to be understood in following 'Omarah in his history and al-Janadi in his account of the Karmathians. 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 Turab, az-zara'ib and others. Considerable difficulty in the attempt to determine the situation of some places is caused by the great changes that have occurred on the coasts of the Red Sea and of Yaman in particular. For many centuries past

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—Yakut, Ibn Sa'ld, Ibn Khaldun and others—are a further addition to the difficulties that attend the study of the subject. Such, for example, are the misleading statements 'that Dhu Jiblah stood on Mount Sabir, that Mudhaykhirah and Aden La'ah adjoined one another, that Aden Abyan and the well-known seaport of Aden were two different places. Yakut borrows (probably at second hand) much of his information from 'Omarah. In such case he adds nothing to what we have in our text. In others I have generally found that his information requires some scrutiny before it can be 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 Zabid" or "near San'a," 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 *Kamus*, known as the *Taj al-'Arus*, deals to a considerable extent with geographical names. He was a native of Yatnan, 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 Yakut.

I have been hardly less disappointed with the extracts from Ibn al-Mujawir, given by Dr. Sprenger in his *Reiseroiitm*. Ibn al-Mujawir gives in most cases the distances in parasangs between places mentioned; but they cannot be trusted. They are not only in frequent contradiction with one another, but also quite irreconcilable with certain measurements obtainable, with small risk of serious error, from modern maps.

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. 'Omarah barely mentions the Karmathians, and it is hard to explain the omission, excepting on the supposition that the subject was not likely to commend itself either to the taste of his Ismailite patrons at Cairo, or to his own Ismailite sympathies. Al-Khazraji, in his *Kifayah*, likewise gives us an account of the Karmathians, drawn from the same source as al-Janadi's. He has not, on this occasion, contented himself with borrowing at second hand, but he adds nothing of material importance to the particulars given by al-Janadi.

I have, moreover, included the text and a translation of Ibn Khaldun's epitome of the History of Yamau, extracted from his General History. Ibn Khaldun, 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 Khaldun's text here printed is founded upon that contained in the Bulak Edition, which however, I have carefully collated with the valuable MS. in the British Museum Library (Add. 23272, fols. 68 to 79), of which it is consequently a reproduction. The chapter on the Banu Rassi has, in like manner, been collated with the MS. at the Bibliotheque 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-Ahdnl, 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 *Hadd'ik al-Wardtyah* and the *Yawakit as-tfiyar**. Of the former the Museum Library has acquired two copies, each in two volumes, Or. 3785-86 and Or. 3812-1:*. It contains the lives of the principal Imams down to the thirteenth century of our era, eighteen in number, beginning with al-Kasim the Rassite and ending with al-Mansfir Abd Allah.

The *Yawakit as-Slyar* (Or. 3771) commences with the history of the Creation, with that of Adam, then with the lives of the prophets who succeeded him, and next with a life of Muhammad, based upon that contained in an earlier work, the *Jawahir wa 'd-durar* (Or. 3911). At fol. 341 the *Yawakit* enters into an account of the Zaydite Imams, 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 *Hada'ik*. The book, which is evidently incomplete, ends at fol. 173. with the death of the Imam Ahmad ibn Husayn in A.H. 056, 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 *Jawahir*, preceded by an account of the succession and pedigrees of the Imams. 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-Mund* (Or. 3719) is an account of the descendants of 'Aly al-Atnlahy (died in A.H. 977—A.D. 1509), descendant of Yfisuf ad-Da'y and grandfather of the Imam al-Kasiin son of Muhammad surnamed al-Mansfir, of whom I have had occasion to speak in the latter part of Note 130.

The *Kdshifat al-Ghnmviah* (Or. 3791) is for the most part devoted to the religious opinions and controversial writings of the Imam an-Nasir h-dm Allah, 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 Imams, 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. Hieu and Dr. Rest for assistance always so readily afforded in the recourse I have had to the libraries under their charge. To my old friend, M. Henri Javoix, I am indebted for 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 AN CHRISTIAN DATES.

(From Wust feid's Tables.)

A.H.	Began	A.D.	A.H.	Began	A.D.
201	Wed., July 30	816	401	Tues., Aug. 15	1010
206	Thur., June 6	821	406	Tues., June 21	1015
211	Fri., April 13	826	411	Wed., April 27	1020
216	Sat., Feb. 18	831	416	Thur., March 4	1025
221	Sun., Dec. 26	835	421	Fri., Jan. 9	1030
226	Sun., Oct. 31	840	426	Sat., Nov. 16	1031
231	Mon., Sept. 7	845	431	Sun., Sept. 23	1039
236	Tues., July 15	850	436	Sun., July 29	1044
241	Wed., May 22	855	441	Mon., June 5	1049
246	Thur., Mar. 28	860	446	Tues., April 12	1054
251	Fri., Feb. 2	865	451	Wed., Feb. 17	1059
256	Fri., Dec. 9	869	456	Thur., Dec. 25	1063
261	Sat., Oct. 16	874	461	Fri., Oct. 31	1068
266	Sun., Aug. 23	879	466	Fri., Sept. 6	1073
271	Mon., June 29	884	471	Sat., July 14	1078
276	Tues., May 6	889	476	Sun., May 21	1083
281	Wed., Mar. 13	894	481	Mon., Mar. 27	1088
286	Wed., Jan. 17	899	486	Tues., Feb. 1	1093
291	Thur., Nov. 21	903	491	Wed., Dec. 9	1097
296	Fri., Sept. 30	908	496	Wed., Oct. 15	1102
301	Sat., Aug. 7	913	501	Thur., Aug. 22	1107
306	Sun., June 14	918	506	Fri., June 28	1112
311	Mon., April 21	923	511	Sat., May 5	1117
316	Mon., Feb. 25	928	516	Sun., March 12	1122
321	Tues., Jan. 1	933	521	Mon., Jan. 17	1127
326	Wed., Nov. 8	937	526	Mon., Nov. 23	1131
331	Thur., Sept. 15	942	531	Tues., Sept. 29	1136
336	Fri., July 23	947	536	Wed., Aug. 6	1141
341	Sat., May 29	952	541	Thur., June 13	1146
346	Sat., April 4	957	546	Fri., April 20	1151
351	Sun., Feb. 9	962	551	Sat., Feb. 25	1156
356	Mon., Dec. 17	966	556	Sat., Dec. 31	1160
361	Tues., Oct. 24	971	561	Sun., Nov. 7	1165
366	Wed., Aug. 30	976	566	Mon., Sept. 14	1170
371	Thur., July 7	981	571	Tues., July 22	1175
376	Thur., May 13	986	576	Wed., May 28	1180
381	Fri., Mar. 20	991	581	Thur., April 4	1185
386	Sat., Jan. 25	996	586	Thur., Feb. 8	1190
391	Sun., Dec. 1	1000	591	Fri., Dec. 16	1194
396	Mon., Oct. 8	1005	596	Sat., Oct. 23	1199

THE HISTORY OF YAMAN

BY

NAJM AD-DIN 'OMARAH AL-TAMANL

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 *an* judgment.

AND AFTER. In the year 563 I attended the receptions of the most illustrious and learned Kadi (al-Fadil) Abu *Aly 'Abd ar-Rahm, son of the most noble Kadi Baha ad-Din Abu 'l-Majd 'Aly al-Baisani (native of Baisan). May God preserve his greatness and perpetuate his dignities. He was ChancelW and Chief Secretary to the Khallfah al-'Adid. ^e 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 Kadis and of its Da'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 and Jurist Nizar ibn 'Abd al-Malik, the native of Mecca, and by the Jurist Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Ash'ari—and both are well acquainted with the histories of the people, with their genealogies and with their poetry—and I have also read in the book entitled *Al-Mufid li-Ahbar Zabld* (the Instructor on the history of Zabld), composed by the mighty King Abu 't-Tami Jayyash, son of Najah, *Nasir ad-din* (Defender of the Faith), sovereign of Zabld—they report that in the year 199 (A.H.) certain persons, *descendants of 'Abd Allah ('Obayd Allali) son of Ziyad** were brought to (the Khallfah) al-Ma'mun, 2 son of ar-Rashid. One, named Muhammad, grandson of 'Abd Allah ibn Ziyad, claimed to be descended from ('Obayd Allah son of) Ziyad. Another represented himself to be descended from Suleyman, son of (the Omayyad Khallfah) Hisham son of 'Abd al-Malik. Khalf ibn Abi Xahir, wazir 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) 'Aly 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 in

* 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 Harun, claimed to be a member of the tribe of Taghlib. On hearing his name, al-Ma'mun wept and exclaimed: "Verily I am answerable for Muhammad son of Harun!" He referred to his brother al-A'min. 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 Ziyad thereupon exclaimed, addressing the Khallfah: "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*"^a Al-Ma'mun approved and commended the words of Ibn Ziyad. All his prisoners were pardoned, and they were more than one hundred in number. He placed them under the care of Abu'l-'Abbas al-Fadl ibn Sahl *Dhu 'r-lii'asatayn*, or, according to others, under that of al-Fadl's brother, al-Hasan.

In Muharram A.H. 202, the proclamation took place at Baghdad of Ibrahim, son of (the Khallfah) al-Mahdi (and uncle of al-Ma'mun—in pursuance of an attempt to usurp the throne). At that same time a letter came from the governor of Yaman with tidings of the revolt of the Ash'arites and 3 'Akkites.⁸ Al-Fadl ibn Sahl spoke to al-Ma'mun in praise of Muhammad ibn Ziyad, of the Marwanite, 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, Tbn Ziyad as Amir, Ibn Hisham as Wazir', and the Taghlibite as Judge and Mufti.* From the sons of the Taghlibite Muhammad ibn Harun, are descended the Kadis of Zabld, known as the Banu Abi 'Akamah, 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 Npjah).^

The liberated prisoners accompanied the army despatched by al-Ma'mun to Baghdad against Ibrahim, son of al-Mahdi. In A. II. 203 Ibn Ziyad and his companions performed the pilgrimage. He proceeded on his way to Yaman and conquered the Tihamah (of Yaman),^f after a war with the Arabs who inhabited that province. In Sha'ban, A.H. 204, the date of the death, at Misr (in Egypt), of the Jurist and Imam Muhammad ibn Idrls ash-Shafi'y (the mercy of God be upon him), Ibn Ziyad laid the foundations of the city of Zabld.⁵ In A.H. 205, Ja'far, freedman of Ibn Ziyad, started from Yaman to perform the pilgrimage, carrying with him a considerable sum of money and presents. He proceeded to 'Irak, where he was received in audience by al-Ma'mun. He returned to Zabld in 206, bringing with him one thousand horsemen, including seven hundred adherents of the Abbasides of Khurassan. The rule of Ibn Ziyad 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-Jibal (the Highlands), where he founded a city known by the name of al-Mudhaykhirah, situated in the district of Rayraat al-Asha'ir,⁸ possessing streams of water and extensive gardens.⁸ The country over which

* The Mufti is the official expounder of religious law.

† For the word Tihamah æ *infra* (Geographical Index).

he ruled is known to this day under the name of the Mikhlaf of Ja'far. The word *Mikhlaf*, 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 Ziyad acquired its greatness, and for that reason Ibn Ziyad received a surname actually
4 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 Ziyad became master of Hadramaut, of Diyiir Kindah, of Shihr, of Mirbat,⁷ of A by an, of Lahj, of Aden and of the maritime provinces on the Red Sea as far as Haly. From Haly to Mecca (may God guard it) is eight days' journey. He possessed also in the Highlands, Janad and its dependencies, Mikhlaf al-Ma'afir, Mikhlaf Ja'far, San'a, Sa'dah, Najran and Bayhan. Ibn Ziyad end his posterity after him caused 'the Khutbah to be recited in the names of the Abbaside Khalifahs, and sent them tribute and valuable presents.

His descendants were Ibrahim, son of this same Muhammad the first of the dynasty. Next after Ibrahim came his son Ibn Ziyad (Ziyad P), whose reign did not long endure. He was succeeded by his brother Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishak, son of Ibrahim, whose life was prolonged over a long period. When he had attained a great age, and his reign had endured for eighty years, some of the provinces separated themselves from his kingdom. Among those who manifested an evil disposition was the King of Han'a, a descendant of the Tubbas and of Himyar.⁸ His name was As'ad ibn Ya'fur. The Khutbah was recited and the coinage was struck, in his provnince, in the name of Abu 'l-Jaysh ibn Ziyad; but As'ad paid him neither voluntary offerings nor contributions of stores nor tribute. His revenues did not exceed 400,000 (dinars) a year, most of which

he expended in charitable deeds and in hospitality.* The rulers of Bayhftn, of Najran, and of Jurash⁹ were likewise subject to Ibn Ziyad. As for Sa'dah, it became the scene of the revolt of the Hasanite Sherlf (al-Hadi Yahya) known by the surnames of the *Bos site* and the *Zeydite*. It would not be proper to relate his history at this place, although¹⁰ there is not in all Yaman a larger, pleasanter, or more populous city than San'a. It is situated on the equator, and enjoys a temperate climate, so that no person requires throughout *the* course of his life to move his residence from one spot to another, 5 either for winter or for summer, and the length of the days in either season is almost the same. It contains a large building, now in ruins and reduced to a high mound. It is known by the name of 6hum dan. None of the (later) kings of Yaman have built a palace like unto it, or so lofty.

In the kingdom of As'ad ibn Ya'fur, Prince of San'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-Fadi the Da'y, (was ?) known as the Sheykh of La'ah, and this place La'ah, which adjoins it, is a pretty village known as 'Aden-La'ah.¹¹ It is not the same as the seaport of 'Aden-Abyan. I have visited 'Aden-La'ah. It is the place at which the Alide supremacy was first proclaimed in Yaman, and thence issued forth Mansur al-Yaman. The Da'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-Shlya'i, who proclaimed the Alide su-

* Cf. Ibn Haukal, p. 20.

† *Memocylon tinctorium* (Freytag).

premacny 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 Aiide 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 Alidos 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 Shibam was situated in the dominions of As'ad ibn Abi Ya'fur, Prince of sana. It is a strong place of defence, containing villages and cultivated lands, as also a great mosque, and it forms an independent government. Cornelian and onyx are found upon it. These are hard stones, the beauty of which appears when they are cut.

Among other governors of Abu 'l-Jaysh son of Ziyad, who revolted, was Suleyman ibn Tarf, ruler of 'Aththar. He was one of the Princes of Tihamah. His dominions extended over a length of seven days' journey by two in width, namely, from ash-JSharjah to Hali. His annual revenues amounted to 500,000 ('Aththariyah) dinars. Although he refused to attend in person at the Court of Ibn Ziyad, 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 Tihamah who, like Ibn Tarf, recited the Khutbah and struck the coinage in the name of Ibn Ziyad and paid him a fixed amount of tribute, was al-Harami, ruler of Hali, a Prince of inferior power to that of Ibn Tarf.

The portion of Yaman that remained subject to Ibn Ziyad in his old age extended in length from

ash-Sharjah to Aden, a distance of twenty days' journey, and from Ghulafikah to San'a, five days' journey. I have seen a statement of the revenues of Ibn Ziyad in A.H. 366, and notwithstanding the reductions they had undergone, they amounted to a million of 'Aththariyah dinars.¹² This did not include various duties he levied upon ships from India, nor contributions of musk, camphor, ambergris (spikenard), sandal-wood and china. It was exclusive also of taxes levied upon ambergris on the shores of Bab al-Mandab, at Aden, at Abyan, and at ash-Shihr and other places, and exclusive of imposts on the pearl fisheries, and of tribute imposed upon the ruler of the city (read island) of Jahlak, comprising, among others, one thousand head of slaves, whereof five hundred were Abyssinian and Nubian female slaves. The Kings of the Abyssinians, on the further side of the sea, sent him offerings of presents and sought his alliance.

Abu 'l-Jaysh died in the year 371, leaving a child of the name of 'Abd Allah, or, as it is also said, of the name of Ziyad. The guardianship of the child was assumed by his sister Hind, daughter of Abu 'l-Jaysb, and by one of the slaves of Abu '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 Salamah, Salamah being the name of IJusayn'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 Abu '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 Husayn ibn Salamah made war upon the mountain chiefs and compelled them to submit-

Ibn Tarf and Ibn al-Harami also re-entered into subjection. Ibn Salamah recovered the original limits of the kingdom, and he founded the cities of al-Kadra on the Wadi Saham, and of al-Ma'kir on the Wadi 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) 'Omar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz. He ruled for thirty years, and died in A.H. 402.¹³

Among the splendid works executed by Husayn ibn Salamah must be reckoned the construction of great mosques and lofty minarets along the road from Hadramaut to the city of Mecca (may God Most High guard it). The distance extends over sixty days' journey. He dug wells and channels with running water in solitary wildernesses, and he erected along the road constructions on which were indicated the distances in miles, in parasangs and in stages. Some of these works I have seen, either in good order or in ruins, and of the remainder [I have received descriptions from other persons, all agreeing with one another. The first stations were at Shibam and Tarim, two cities of Hadramaut.* 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) 'Omar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, which was restored by Husayn 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 (Tihamah). The highland road is bordered by the mosque of

* See note 11. Of Tarira, al-Haradani merely says that it was a large city (p. 87, l. 17).

al-Hawah (al-Juwahh ?),* a large building, which I have seen in good order, as erected by Husayn ibn Salamah. Of the other mosques on the highland road, I have seen that of al-Janad, which is like unto the mosque of Ahmad ibn Tulun at Misr. There stood formerly on its site a pretty mosque originally erected by Mu'adh ibn Jabal, on his being sent to Yaman. Mu'adh. was one of the companions of the Apostle of God, upon whom be blessings and peace.¹⁴ The people of Janad and of the surrounding villages relate singular stories touching the merits of that mosque. They affirm that a visit paid to it, in the first week of the month of Rajab, is equivalent to a visit to the holy places of Mecca, or even to the performance of the rites of pilgrimage. The custom of annually resorting to it grew, until at length the practice was regarded as one of the religious ceremonies attending the pilgrimage to Mecca, and the building was looked upon by the people as a sacred place of resort. If one man owe a debt to another, he will beg to be allowed to remain undisturbed until after the pilgrimage, by which he simply means the visit to al-Janad. Next is Dhu Ashrak, where there is a mosque with the following inscription, carved in stone over the entrance: *One of the mosques the erection of which was ordered by 'Omar son of 'Abd*

8 *al-'Aziz son of Marwan.* Next is the city of Ibb, then an-Nakil, then Dhamar. [Thence to San'a is a distance of five days* (?) journey, at each of which a station has been built.] Then the mosque of San'a, a large building. From San'a to Sa'dah is ten days' journey [with a mosque at each stage], and from Sa'dah to Ta'if, seven days. At each interval of a day's journey there are a mosque and reservoirs for water. Then the traveller reaches the pass of Ta'if, which occupies a day to him who

* For al-Juwahh, see nolo 111, the latter part.

ascends from Mecca, and half a day to him that goes down to the city. The road was constructed by Husayn ibn Salamah of such width that three laden camels can travel abreast upon it.

The above is the highland road. The Tihamah (low country) road likewise divides itself into two branches. One, the maritime road, extends along the coast. The other, the royal highway, runs half-way between the coast and the mountains. The two roads diverge from Tihamah (Aden?), and upon both, at each interval of a day's journey, stands a great mosque. On the maritime road stands al-Makhnak, at a distance of one night's journey from Aden. It has a well eighty (thirty) fathoms in depth, which I have several times visited, as also a ruined mosque. Then al-'Arah, then 'Athr, and next as-Sukya, with, a mosque, and a well forty fathoms in depth. Then Bab al-Mandab, and then Mokha. Then as-Suhari, al-Khauhah, al-Ahwab, Glmlafikah, Bi'ah' (?), al-Jardah (al-Hirdah), az-Zar'ah (?), ash-Sharjah, al-Mufajjar (al-Hajar ?), al-Kandir (?), and 'Aththar, which is the seat of an ancient kingdom.¹⁵ Then ad-Duwaymah, Hamidah, Dhahabiln, Hali, as-Sirrayn and Juddah. These are the mosques on the maritime road, every one of which I have seen either in good repair or in ruins.

On the middle road stand Dhat al-Khayf 9 (Khubayt ?), Mauza', al-Jadun (?), Hays, Zabld, Fashal, ad-Uija' (written with Kisra to the letter Jjad), al-Kahmah, al-Kadra, which was the residence of Ibn Salamah and was founded by him, al-Jaththah, 'Irk an-Nasham, al-Mahjam, Maur, al-Wadiyani, Jizan, al-Musa'id, Ta'shar, al-Mabny, Riyah 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 Salamah

which is reached by the pilgrims, is Bayn (Bir?) ar-Riyadah, then Sabakhat al-Ghurab, next al-Llth. Then they reach Wadi 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 Salamah's buildings at Birad, next al-Bayda, then al-Karln, and finally Mecca. Those proceeding to 'Arafat reach a well constructed by Ibn Salamah in Wadi ar-Rahm, thence to Na'man, and then 'Arafat. He built also a mosque on Jabal ar-Rahmah, at 'Arafat. May God have mercy upon him !¹⁶

I have been informed by the Faklh (Jurist) Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allah ibn Abi 'l-Kasim al-Abbiir, under whom I studied the Shafi'y doctrines, that the following incident was related to him by his father, Abu 'l-Kasim. The same was reported to me by 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn 'Aly al-'Absi, and by al-Mukry (the Kur'an reader) al-Husayn, grandson of Husayn, son of Salamah. All these attained the age of nearly one hundred years. They relate that people were, on a certain occasion, assembling in crowds to attend the morning reception of Husayn ibn Salamah, 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 may est pay me one thousand dinars." "It may be," answered Husayn, "that the Evil Spirit hath visited thee in a false shape." "It is not so," replied the man, "and the sign between me and thee is, that for twenty years past, thou hast every night, two hundred times invoked blessings on the Apostle." Husayn, on hearing these words, wept and exclaimed: "This I swear by Allah is a true sign, for none knew of it but God alone !" And he ordered the money to be paid.¹⁷

The following anecdote has moreover been re-

ported to me by the Jurist Abu ^eAly ibn Talik, 10 who was a pious man and eminent scholar, and who inhabited the city of al-Ma'kir. It had been related to him, he said, by his father and by others his predecessors, all members of families distinguished for learning and for sober living. A man, it was said, complained in that valley, to Husayn ibn Salamah, who was on his way from Zabld to al-Kadra, that he had been robbed of a leathern bag, containing one thousand or, as it is also said, two thousand dinars. This, he said, had occurred in Wadi Maur, which is several days distant from the place where he made his complaint. Husayn ordered the man to be brought to him, and made him sit down among his followers (in the mosque of al-Kadra). He rose to perform his devotions, and he prolonged them to an unusual length. He then lay down in the Mihrab 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 Ziyad 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 Marjan, one of the slaves of Husayn ibn Salamah, who exercised the office of wazir. 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 Najah, and he was the ancestor of the kings of Zabld, whose dynasty was brought to an end by 'Aly ibn Mahdy in A.H. 554. He was father of the king Sa'id al-Ahwal, the slayer of the Amir 'Aly ibn Muhammad as-Sulayhi, who was* Da'y (guardian and propagator) in Yam an of the Fatimite doctrines and of the supremacy of the (Egyptian) Khalifate, at that time held by al-Mustansir. Najiih was likewise father of the most excellent and righteous King Abu 't-Tib (read Abu 't-Tami) Jayyash, in whose hands and in the hands of whose descendants, supreme authority remained until the above-mentioned date.

- 11 Najah ruled over al-Kadra, al-Malijam, Maur and al-Wadiani, and those four districts are the finest provinces north of Zabid. Jealousy arose between him and Nafis touching the exercise of the office of wazir at the capital. Nafis was of a tyrannical disposition and was dreaded by the people, whilst Najah was merciful, righteous, and beloved. Their master, Marjan, nevertheless inclined unto Nafis, and favoured him at the expense of Najah. It was intimated to the former that the aunt of his master Ibn Ziyad, was in correspondence with Najah, and that she favoured him. Nafis complained thereof to Marjan, who laid hands upon the Princess and upon her brother's son, and delivered them to Nafis.

The young Prince in question was the last of his

* See note 13, laat par.

race. "With him the dynasty of the Banu Ziyad 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.n. 409.

Nafis, 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 Ziyadites received tidings of the weakened condition of the Abbaside Khalifate, of the assassination of al-Mutawakkil (in A.H. 247), and of the deposition of al-Musta'in (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 Nafis murdered Ibrahim (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.

Najah, on hearing of the treatment his master had undergone at the hands of Nafis, 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 Fashal, in both which Najah was worsted, that of al-'Ukdah in which he was victorious, and that of al-'Irk in which Nafis was killed near the Gate of Zabid, with the loss on the two sides of five thousand men. Najah captured the city of Zabid in the month of Dhu 'l-Ka'dah of the year

412. He then asked Marjan: " What hath Nafis done with thine own and our masters ? " " They are in that wall," he replied. Najah removed the bodies, prayed over them, and erected a mausoleum over their place of burial. Marjan was immured alive along with the corpse of Nafis, in the wall in which the two bodies were found.

Najah 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 'Irak, tendering them his submission, and he received the title of *al-Muayyad Nusir ad-Din*. He was empowered to appoint as Kadi whomsoever he chose, and to administer all the affairs of the country of Yaman. He continued to rule over Tihamah, 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 Sa'id, JayyEsh, Mu'arik, adh-Dhakhlah and Mansur.

But the governors appointed by Husayn ibn Salamah in the Highlands, seized upon the mountain fortresses.¹⁹ Aden, Abyan, Lahj, ash-Shihr and Hadramaut were taken by the Banu Ma'n, who, I believe, were not descendants of Ma'n ibn Za'idah the Shaybanite.²⁰ Samadan, a place of greater strength than Dumluwah, also the fortress of Sawa, that of Dumluwah, the fortresses of Sabir, of Dhakhir, of Ta'kar (which commands Janad), also the provinces of Janad (Ja'far), of 'Unnah and of al-Ma'afir were appropriated by a family, descended from Himyar, known as the Banu 'l-Kurandi. They achieved distinction by generous and noble deeds, by their powerful rule and brilliant estate. The fortress of Habb, which is like unto at-Ta'kar, that which bears the name of 'Azzan, that of Beyt Izz, that of as-Sa'r (ash-Sha'ir), a great fortress, that of Nur

(Anwar), an-Nakll, and as-Sahul, the fortresses of Khadid, and of ash-Shawaki (Shawafi). All these were conquered by the Sultan Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husayn ibn at-Tubba'y, and by his son. Sahul is the place in which the cloth known by the name of Sahuliyah is woven, of which two pieces were used as winding-sheets for the Apostle. The valley belongs to the Banu Asbah, a tribe to which the Jurist Malik al-Asbahi, Imam of the City of the Flight, belonged.²¹ Sultan Abu 'Abd Allah d-
 J3 Husayn is he who contrived the stratagem whereby Sa'Id al-Ahwal, son of Najah, who had killed the Amir 'Ali, son of Muhammad the Sulayhite, was himself slain. The province of Uhazah (also called Wuhfizah), of which the seat of government is the stronghold of Baybars (Yaris ?), was likewise appropriated. Among its other fortresses are Dahwan (Zahran), Yafuz, Sha'r (Sha'b?), and al-Khadra. Its chief city is Shahit. Nizar, son of the Jurist Zayd ibn al-Husayn al-Wuhazi, wrote the following lines on the Sultan of the country :—

They told us the Sultiin was at Shahit.—Ho ascends the mountains
 from the barren plains.

I asked, Does the Sultan occupy the highest point?—Nay, they
 answered, he has gone down.²²

The fortresses of Wuhazah were conquered by the Banu Wa'il, who are descendants of Dhu 'l-Kala'. 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 Jabhab (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 Wa'il are absolutely superior to every other race. The second contended that the Banu Wa'il and Banu Kuraysh are equal in nobility. To rid myself of them I replied that the Apostle (upon whom be blessings and peace) is the noblest of all mankind, and that the Banu Wa'il exceed in nobility the tribe of Kuraysh. One of the two men answered: "By Allah, hadst thou spoken otherwise, thou hadst not escaped me!" and thereupon they left me. The Sultan As'ad ibn Wall ibn 'Isa, celebrated for his generosity and the theme of exuberant praise, is a member of the tribe of Wa'il.

The fortress of Ashyah, seat of the King and Da'y Saba, son of Ahmad the Sulayhite, and the fortress of Wusiib and its territories, were conquered by a family belonging to the tribe of Bakll,²³ descended from Hamdan. San'a and its dependencies were conquered by a Hamdanite family. That of 'Abd al-Wahid seized the provinces of Bura', al-'Amad, and Li'san. They possessed themselves also of the fortress of Masar, which has no equal in Yaman, with the exception only of at-Ta'kar, of Samadan, and Habb. It was at Masar, in Haraz, that as-Sulayhi first arose proclaiming the supremacy of the Fatimite Khalifah al-Mustansir. Haraz is the name of the district, and its inhabitants are designated after it. They are closely allied with the tribe of Hamdan, and it was with their support that the Da'y 'Aly, son of Muhammad the Sulayhite, raised himself to power.²⁴

THE HISTORY OF *THE DA'Y 'ALY*, SON OF MUHAMMAD THE SULAYHITE. THENOE PROCEEDS THE MOST IMPORTANT PART OF THE HISTORY OF YAMAN, AND THEREWITH THE SUBJECTS OF THE REMAINDER OF THIS BOOK, TOUCHING THE K.ADTS, THE DA'YS, THE DISTINGUISHED MEN AND THE POETS OF THE COUNTRY ARE CLOSELY CONNECTED.

THE Kadi Muhammad son of 'Aly, father of the Dd'y 'Aly the Sulayhite, was a follower of the Sunni doctrines, and he exercised great influence over the men of Haraz, who were 40,000 in number. When the office of Dfi'y was transferred to 'Amir ibn *Abd Allah az-Zawahy (ar-B/iwahy²⁵), so named after a village in the province of Haraz,²⁵ he applied himself to win the favour of the Kadi Muhammad ibn 'Aly, father of the Da'y 'Aly ibn Muhammad, the Sulayhite. Az-Zawahy was in the habit of riding to the dwelling-place of the Kadi, 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 Kadi's son 'Aly, then below the ago of puberty, in whom he had perceived signs of future greatness. It is said that 'Amir possessod a description of as-Sulayhi, contained in the *Kitab as-Suwar* (Book of Delineations), one of the treasures of the ('Obaydite) Imams, upon whom be peace.²⁶ He made known to 'Aly the revelations contained in the book touching the destinies reserved for him in the future, and the noble career he was to fulfil. He did this soretly, without the knowledge of the youth's father and family. Az-Zawahy ere long died, bequeathing to 'Aly his writings and his learning. Before his death

'Aly's mind had become deeply impressed by az-Zawahi's teaching. He was highly intelligent, and applied himself to study. Ere he had reached the age of manhood, he had become filled with know-
 15 ledge, by means of which and of good fortune, he attained the highest objects of his ambition. He was learned in the jurisprudence of the Imperial sect, and versed in the science of (mystical) interpretation (of the Kur'an). He began his career as leader of the pilgrims, for several years, by way of as-Sarat * and Ta'if. He alone led the pilgrimage during that time, and in his early years his condition gradually rose from lowliness to exaltation, from poverty to wealth. Illustrations thereof were related to me by the Jurist Abu 'l-Husayn 'Aly ibn Suleyman. He was a man of advanced age, a poet, author of the following lines referring to 'Omar ibn 'Ad nan the 'Akkite :—

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

Similar circumstances were related to me also by az-Zibrikan 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 coat 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 Kiidi 'Omar ibn al-Murajjal, who bore the surname of *the Jlanafite* and belonged to that school of religion, and who was a distinguished scholar. He said that near the gate

* For the words Sariit and Sarawat, see *infra* (Geographical Index).

† The accuracy of those lines, as they stand in the MS., is, I think, very doubtful.

of Zabld, 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'an. He questioned him touching his evening meal, and the man in reply recited the following lines of al-Mutanabbi:—

Who hath taught the mutilated negro the performance of generous deeds?—

His noble-minded masters or his enslaved forefathers?²⁷

The Abyssinian took the man with him. Ho 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 Tihamah. As-Sulayhi replied that he had a paternal (read maternal) uncle named Shihab, whose daughter Asma had few equals in beauty, and was unmatched
16 in literary culture and intelligence. He had asked her in marriage, and had been met with a demand for dowry exceeding in its amount the bounds of moderation, her mother urging that she should be married to none other but to one of the Hamdanite Kings of San*a, or to one of the kings of the family of the Banu Kurandi in Mikhlaf Ja'far. They, in short, exacted a sum which it was wholly beyond his power to command. He was now, he added, on his way either to the Banu Ma'n at Aden, or to the Banu Kurandi in the district of al-Ma'afir. The Ka'id Faraj as-Sahrati, continued the narrator, supplied him with a large sum of money, double the amount that as-Sulayhi actually paid. The bride

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 Asma. She was the mother of the king al-Mukarram, husband of the Lady, the Queen Sayyidah (the Lady Arwa ?), daughter of Ahmad the Sulayhite. Asma 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-ITaythami, spoke of her in the following terms, in an ode which commences with the words : " She of the white hands hath bestowed gifts :

She hath impressed upon beneficence the stamp of generosity—Of meanness she allows no trace to appear.

I say when people magnify the throne of Bilkis—Asma hath obscured the name of the loftiest among the stars.²⁸

Among other anecdotes of the Da'y 'Aly as-Sulayhi is that related to me by Ahmad ibn Husayn al-Amawy, surnamed ibn as-Sahah (as-Sabkhah?). He held it from his father, who had been told the story by *my* informant's grandfather. He dwelt, he said, in the city of Hays, distant a night's journey from Zabld. As-Sulayhi, on conquering Zabid, rode to the Court of the Kadi, and delivered to him a judicial deposition he had sworn in the days of his youth. Then, after some private conversation with the Kadi, he took his leave. After the Amir's departure, the Kadi repeated what had been told him by the Prince. He had on one occasion, he related, come to the city of Hays for the purpose of gaining
17 intelligence touching the two slaves of Marjan, Nafis, and Najah. 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 Hays. The statement of evidence referred to, he took to the house of a man of the name of as-Sabkhah. After he attained supreme power, an aged woman came to him with the paper in his handwriting. He immediately recognized it, and could allow himself no rest until he had fulfilled his obligation. His deposition, he said, was in precise accordance with what he had written at the time he undertook the duty. 'Aly ibn Muhammad, Kadi of Havaz, 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 Nasir, son of Mansur the Wa'ilite, who held it from his grandfather 'Isa ibn Yazid. 'Aly, son of Muhammad the Sulayhite, was, he said, leader of the pilgrimage by the road of the Sarawat 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 Masar, the highest peak of the mountains of Haraz. 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 JDhu 'l-Hijjah. They had sworn to stand by him unto death, in support of his work as Da'y 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 Lad strongly fortified the place. He remained at Masar, gradually increasing in power, from the year 429, the commencement of his career, concealing his purpose, that of winning adherents to the Ismailite supremacy.

18 He lived in dread of Najah, the Prince of Tiharaah, 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 Najah by poison, with the help of a beautiful female slave whom he sent as a present to his rival. Najah died at al-Kadra in the year 452.

As-Sulayhi wrote to the Imam al-Mustansir (at Cairo),²⁰ asking permission to make open proclamation of the Ismailite doctrines and supremacy. He received an answer granting his prayer. He rapidly overran the country and conquered both the (mountain) fortresses and the low country. Before the end of the year 455, he had subjected the whole of

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'i. 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'a. I was told by one of the citizens, Muhammad ibn Bisharah, 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'a, 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 Zabld and its dependencies in Tihamah, as-Sulayhi had sworn that he would appoint as governor only such as would pay him a sum of one hundred (thousand) dinars. Afterwards he repented
19 of his oath and he desired to appoint his brother-in-law As'ad ibn Shihab, brother of his wife Asma, daughter of Shihab. 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 lie willeth, 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 As ma quickly added (in the remaining words of the verso), " *And we will provide for our kinsfolk and care for our brother.*"

As'ad ibn Shihab entered Zabid 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 Shahar. 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 Shahar, son of Ja'far, the ruler of Mikhlaf Ja'far.

" I was one day reposing," said As'ad ibn Shihab, " and, as I lay extended on *my* back, I reflected over my affairs. Behold, I said to myself, as-Sulayhi is a man held in the highest honour, who has appointed me ruler over Zabid, and regards me as equal to Sultan As'ad ibn *Arraf, to 'Amir ibn Suleyman az-Zawahi, and to such and such other kings. My Lady Asma 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

* Kur'an, S. iii. v. 32.

† kuran, 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 dinars. I first set apart one third of the amount and expended it in works of charity. The second third I sent to the Lady Asma, 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 Shihab 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 Stilim, who had the superintendence of affairs from Wadi Harad 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 Kadi Abu Muhammad al-Husayn ibn Abi 'Akamah, a descendant of Muhammad ibn Harun the Taghlibite, whom the Khahfah al-Ma'mun appointed as Chief Judge over Yaman in conjunction with Ibn Ziyad. He was Assad's deputy in administering the sacred law, and in the execution of his duties, he displayed sound judgment and effectually protected the people from wrong.* The third was Abu'l-Hasan 'Aly ibn

* 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 Muhammad al-Kumm, the poet, and one of the most distinguished of men for generosity, for his fitness to command, and for his business abilities. He was, moreover, a distinguished poet, and it was he who wrote in a short piece the following line touching his brother, whom he reproached for the exaggerated affection he displayed towards his son Husayn :—

Behold him ever watching—his sons* Truly all men are not manly.

Abu 'l-Hasan 'Aly, it was stated by As'ad ibn Shihab, was placed with him as wazir and private secretary by his master, the Da'y 'Aly ibn Muhammad as-Sulayhi. The Prince and the Lady Asma gave him strict orders to decide nothing without first consulting 'Aly ibn a-'Kumm. "I used to send him each year," said Ibn Shihab, "as my delegate to San'a, accompanied by Ahmad ibn Salim, governor of Tihamah. I levied every year from Tihamah, in raonoy alone, a sum of one million of dinars, and my two friends invariably returned to me with presents from my master and mistress, amounting to fifty thousand dinars, which I divided with my followers."

Among other events in the life of the Amir 'Aly ibn Muhammad as-Sulayhi, it is related, that in the year 460, he received intelligence that Ibn Tarf had been joined by the Kings of Abyssinia and by a 21 mixed multitude of Africans. As-Sulayhi marched against them at the head of two thousand seven hundred horsemen. The two armies met at az-Zara'ib, in the dominion of Ibn^rarf, 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, Ahmad ibn Muhammad, received in his castle at 'Ukwah. *Al-'Ulcwatani* (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 'Akad,
And when the two Ukwahs rise before you,
Rejoice, O weary eyes, at the prospect of rest.

The two mountains of 'Akad look down upon the city of az-Zard'ib, and their inhabitants have preserved the Arabic language in its purity from pre-islamitic days down to the present. Their speech has been preserved from corruption, through their refraining from intermarriage, or association with townspeople. They are a sedentary people, who do not wander or quit their homes.³⁰

I may mention that in the year 530, being then under twenty years of age, I came to Zabld 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 Siilim, "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 Zabld, along with seven of my brethren, I arranged a meeting between them and the Jurists. They conversed together and by Allah, with one exception, no solecism was committed by my friends, whilst the author of that single inaccuracy of language was immediately reproved by his companions.

But let us return to the history of the Da'y 'Aly

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
22 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 Yaraan is the story of the slaughter of the l)a'y 'Aly the Sulayhite, an event which occurred on the twelfth of the month of Dhu 'l-Ka'dah of the year 473, or as it is also said of the year 459', and the latter is the correct version.³¹ The Amir, the Glorious Da'y, the Triumphant in the wars for the Faith, the Friend of the Prince of the Faithful, 'Aly, son of Muhammad the Sulayhite, had appointed as governors over the fortresses and highlands persons whom he could trust. Having determined upon going to Mecca (may God Most High guard it), he resolved to take with him the kings (to whom he had given places of abode at San'a), and also the Lady Asma, 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 Uram 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, Wall ibn 'Isa al-Wuhazy, 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 Najjih al-Ahwal, who caused the men to be massacred by his spearmen. He spared Wa'il ibn 'Isa al-Wuhazy, Ibn Ma'n, and Ibn al-Kurandy, but he slew the others, and captured Asma, daughter of Shihab and mother of the king al-Mukarram. Sa'Id then started from al-Mahjam on his way back
23 to Zabid, with the two heads borne in front of the Princess's litter. On his arrival at Zabid he raised them on high, opposite the casement of a house he assigned for her residence. And Asma remained a full year the captive of Sa'Id ibn Najah.

How THE KING AL-MUKARRAM ATIMAD, SON OF 'ALY, SON OF MUHAMMAD AS-SULAYHI, SUPREME CHIEF OF THE ARABS, SULTAN UNDER THE PRINCE OF THE FAITHFUL, PROCEEDED FROM SAN'A TO ZABID TO RELEASE HIS MOTHER ASMA, DAUGHTER OF SHIHAB, FROM HER CAPTIVITY.

IT is related that all attempts to transmit a letter from Asma 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-Ahwal).³² See that thou come unto me before ray delivery. If not, everlasting disgrace will ensue."

Al-Mukarram, on reading the letter, assembled his friends and showed it them. They burst into lamentations, but soon became eager to vindicate the honour of their tribe. Al-Mukarram marched from San'a 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 Tourteen hundred drew back.

I have been told by the Sheykh and Jurist al-Mukri (the Kur'an teacher) Suleyman son of Ya-Sin that the following anecdote was related to him by the pious Sheykh Muhammad son of 'Ulayyah. "I was on a certain Friday," said Sheykh Muhammad, "at near the hour of daybreak, in the mosque of Turaybah. The country people had taken refuge 24 in the city of Zabid out of fear of the Arabs. I was engaged in a recitation of the entire Kur'an, and had reached the chapter commencing with the words, *By the Heavens containing the mansions of the stars.*^f 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,

† Kur'an, S. lxxxv.

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 *Am, en*. 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 Shihab, with whom I was acquainted, seeing that he had been governor over us citizens of Zabld. I inquired of him who were these persons. * That man,' he answered, 'is al-Mukarram, al-Malik as-Sa'Id (the auspicious king) Ahmad ibn *Aly, the Sulayhite, that is al-Karam † the Yamite, and that is 'Aniir az-Zawahi, 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 Khurfladhbah*, 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 Shihab and of the Lady Asma, and not inferior to the other four in nobility of race or in personal merit. Then al-Mukarram arose and addressed them, speaking so that he could be clearly heard. The following passage of his speech has remained in my memory :—

*O ye believers, if the undertaking upon which ye have entered were but newly resolved upon, I would of a certainty
 25 seek to sharpen your determination. But I will not now add to what ye heard from me yesterday, and to what I have said before yesterday. The words I have spoken are sufficient. I offered you the option of returning when the distance ye had travelled still permitted you to draw back. But now the choice is with your enemy. Ye have penetrated into his country as into a lion's den, and your only alternatives are to encounter death or to suffer dishonour by unavailing flight.' *

He then recited the words of Abu 't-Tayyib al-Mutanabbi, as follows :—

" Grasping my death-dealing sword, I will go down among my
 foes,—
 A field whence only they return who deal effectual blows."

The Abyssinians had assembled to the number of twenty thousand foot. The right wing of the Arab force was under the command of As'ad ibn Shihab, and the left under that of his uncle. " Ye are not," said al-Mukarram, "like unto the other members of this army. Ye have personal wrongs to avenge, for our lady is sister to one of you and niece to the other.*" Al-Mukarram himself took command of the centre. The two armies entered into action. The centre of the Abyssinians fought strenuously for a time, but the two wings closed upon them. The Abyssinians were defeated, and immense numbers were slain. Sa'id ibn Najah 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 Asma, daughter of Shihab, was her son, al-Mukarram Ahmad. He said unto her, and she did not recognize him, "May God safeguard and perpetuate thy renown, O our lady." "Welcome," she replied, "O noble Arab!" Al-Mukarrani'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 Ahmad, son of 'Aly son of Muhammad. "Verily the name Ahmad son of 'Aly," she answered, "is borne by many Arabs. Uncover thy face that I may know thee." He raised his helmet, whereupon she exclaimed, "Welcome, our Lord al-Mukarram!"

At that moment he was struck by the wind, a shudder passed over him, and his face was contracted by a spasm. He lived many years 26 thereafter, but continued subject to involuntary movements of the head and spasms in his face. She then asked who were his two companions, and he named them. Upon one she conferred a grant of the revenues of Aden for that year, amounting to one hundred thousand dinars. To the other she gave the two fortresses of Xaukaban and Haubiin (?), together with their territories, the assessments upon which are not inferior to the revenues of Aden.

Then the army entered by detachments, whilst she stood at the casement with her face uncovered. Such had been her custom in the days of her husband, a sign of her exalted rank over the men from whom other women are secluded. Al-Mukarram ordered the two heads to be taken down, and he erected over them a mausoleum, which I have known as the Mausoleum of the Two Heads (*Mashhad ar-tia'sayn*). It is said that when al-Mukarram uncovered his face Asma 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-Mukarrarn'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 Tihamah beget children by black concubines, and that a black skin was common to both slave and free. " But if ye hoar 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, Ahmad (As'ad? see below) ibn Shihab, to be ruler over Tihamah as before, and he then departed for San'a, serene in mind after his victory, and accompanied by Asma, daughter of Shihab. A saying became common among the people of Zabld which has been preserved down to my own time. Tf 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 Zabld, and who slow on her account twenty thousand Abyssinians, by my life ! he was truly a man ! "^{di}

Al-Mukarram having appointed his maternal uncle As'ad ibn Shihab to the rulership over Zabld and its dependencies, (joined with him ?) on that occasion Ahmad ibn Salim. As'ad sent him to San'a in charge of the tribute of the province of Tihamah. Asma distributed the greater part among the Arab envoys. Ahmad ibn Salim 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
27 be not spent upon those who are deserving of it," answered Asma, "then it is but vanity and unprofitableness."

But she wrote to her brother As'ad ibn Shihab desiring him to pay twenty thousand dinars to Ahmad ibn Salim out of the current year's revenue, as a present and mark of good-will.

Not long after, Asma, daughter of Shihab, died, at San'a, in the year 497.*' That same year al-Mukarram ordered the *Maliki* dinars to be struck. They are so named after him, and they are the dinars of Yaman. The inscription they bear is the following: *The King and Lord al-Muhirram, 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 Da'y 'Imnln ibn Muhammad ibn Saba the Zuray'ite made the inscription as follows: *The Unparagoned among the Kings of the age, King of the Arabs and of Yavian, 'hnrau, son of Muhammad***

In that same year the Banu Najah returned. They drove Ahmad (read As'ad?) ibn Shihab 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 Najah, 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 Ahmad. The death of Sa'id al-Ahwal took place in the year 481. That same year Jayyash, son of Najah, together with the wazir Khali' ibn Abi lahir the Omayyad, escaped in disguise to Aden, and

* Read 479, as, in al-Janacli and Dayba'.

travelled thence to India. There they remained for six months, and then returned to Zabld, which they conquered before the expiration of the year. At that period As'ad ibn 'Arraf was named ruler of Zabld, and 'Aly ibn al-Kumm, son (read father) of al-Husayn ibn 'Aly ibn al-Kumm the poet, was appointed his wazir and private secretary, in accordance with the precedent of his former appointment under As'ad ibn Shihab. There are persons²⁸ who affirm that 'Aly, son (read father) of Husayn, son of 'Aly ibn al-Kumm, ruled over Zabld, under As'ad ibn Shihab, before the appointment of As'ad ibn 'Arraf.³⁵

THE HISTORY OF THE HONOURABLE LADY THE QUEEN
SAYIDDAH, DADGHTER OF AHMAD.

HER name was Sayyidah, daughter of Ahmad, son of Ja'far, son of Musa the Sulayhite, and her mother was ar-lladah, daughter of al-Fari', son of Musa. Ar-Radah was left a widow by the death of her husband Ahmad, father of the Lady Sayiddah, and she then married 'Amir, son of Suleyman, son of 'Amir, son of 'Abd Allah az-Zawahi, to whom she bore Suleyman, son of 'Amir, son of 'Abd Allah the Zawahite. The latter was therefore half brother to the Lady Sayyidah. By her authority he was appointed Da'y of the Hashimites,* but he was assassinated by the Amir al-Mufaddal, son of Abu 'l-Barakat, son of Abu 'l-Walld, 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 Asma, daughter of Shihab, superintended her education. It is related that she one
* Read *Fatimites*. See *infra* (chapter on the Da'ys of Tainan)*

day told Asma 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 Asma. "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 Muhammad the Sulayhite, in the year 461. She bore him four children, Muhammad, 'Aly, Fatimah, and Umm Hamdan. Muhammad and 'Aly died in childhood at San'a. Umm Hamdan was married to Sultan Ahmad ibn Suleymiin the Zawahite, son of her maternal uncle, to whom she
 29 bore a son 'Abd al-Musta'la. Fatimah, daughter of the Lady Sayyidah and of al-Mukarram, married Shams al-Ma'ali *Aly, son of the Dii'y Saba, son of Ahmad (the Sulayhite). Umm Hamdan died in 516 (or 510 ?). As for Fatimah, her death occurred two years after that of her mother, namely in A.H. 534. I have heard more than one aged man among the natives of Dhu Jiblah affirm that as-Sulayhi 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 Asma, for, by Allah, she will be the preserver of our race and the guardian of our crown unto whoso 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'a to the city of Dhu Jiblah were the following. Upon the death of his mother Asmil, daughter of Shihab, 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'a 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.³⁶ 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 Dfi'y 'Aly. The latter had appointed him governor of the fortress of Ta'kar, a stronghold which looks down upon Dhu Jiblah. That city stands below the fortress, between two streams flowing with water both in summer and in winter. It was founded by 'Abd Allah, son of Muhammad, in the year 458.

The people of Mikhlaf Ja'far gathered together around Sayiddah's stirrup, acknowledging her authority. On her return to San'a she said to al-Mukarram : " My lord, send notice to the people of San'a 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-flashos 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-Fadl, of the sub-tribe of Yarn and of the tribe of Hamdan, and As'ad ibn Shihab.

In that year also, the queen encompassed by a stratagem the death of Sa'id ibn Najah al-Ahwal. She desired al-Husayn ibn at-Tubba'y, Prince of Sha'ir to write to Sa'id al-Ahwal at Zabld, 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'id himself was now the most powerful king in Yaman. Further, he suggested, as commanded, a joint attack upon Dhu Jiblah, by Sa'id from Tihamah and by al-Husayn himself from the mountains. Sa'id, 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'Id ibn Najfih read the letter of Husayn 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 Zabld for Dhu Jiblah at the head of thirty thousand spearmen. The Queen Sayyidah had meanwhile sent orders to As'ad ibn Shihab, and to 'Imran ibn al-Fadl at San'a, desiring them to march into Tihamah in the rear of Najah, with three thousand horsemen, and to follow him stage by stage. They obeyed, and upon Sa'Id ibn Najah halting below the fortress of ash-Sha'ir, the two armies fell upon him from either side. He and all his followers were put to the sword, but it is also said that two thousand escaped: His head was put up below the window of the palace Dar al-'Izz, inhabited by the Queen Sayyidah. His wife Umm al-Mu'arik was with him, and it was by her means that his head was recognized among the slain. It was set up close to the window of the apartment that was assigned to her. "O that thou hadst eyes, Lady Asma," exclaimed the Queen, "wherewith to see the head of the squint-eyed slave below the window of Umm al-Mu'arik!"

Al-Mukarram, son of 'Aly, died in A.H. 484, bequeathing the office of Pa'y to the Most ISToble Amir, the Unparagoned, the Victorious, the Pillar of the Khalifate, Prince of Amirs, al-Mansur Abu Himyar Saba, son of Ahmad al-Muzaffar, son of 'Aly the Sulayhite.⁸⁷

HISTORY OF THE DA'Y SABA, SON OF AHMAD, SON OF
AI-MUZAFFAR, SON OF 'A.LY THHI SULAYHITE.

IN his external appearance, the Da'y Saba was ill-favoured [and short in stature], nor did he appear to advantage in the saddle. But he was of a benevolent and generous disposition, an accomplished poet, learned in the doctrines of the Pure Sect, well
32 acquainted with the sayings of the wise, nurtured on poetry. He requited eulogists with eulogy, as well as with substantial rewards. On that point 'Aly ibn al-Kumm has said of him:—

When I panegyricized al-Hayzari,* the son of Ahmad—he rewarded me and he requited me with praise for my praise.

Ho gave me verses for my verses, and added—gifts, those my capital in trade, these my profits.

I forced my way through the crowd until I beheld him—as one that hath pierced through darkness unto morning's light.

An evil time it were, deprived of the son of Ahmad!—but assuredly

free from evil is the ago in which he liveth!³⁸ His residence was a strong lofty castle equal in stateliness and strength to Masar and Ta'kar. It has been related to me by the Kur'an reader, Suleyman ibn Ya-Sin, who was a Hanafite, that he once spent several nights in the fortress of Ashyah. In the morning, he said, he could see the sun rising in the east, but shedding no light (upon the country). Turning towards Tihamah, so much lingering darkness still prevailed as to prevent the wayfarer from recognizing a companion walking close beside him. Ibn Ya-Sin supposed this to be caused by clouds or mists, but he eventually determined it to be the result of a protraction of the darkness of night. He vowed, in consequence, always to reckon the hour for the performance of morning prayer according to the

Hayzar, according to the Kamus, is a proper name.

rules of the Shafy'ites ; for the followers of Abu Hanlfah postpone the hour until the sun has almost risen over the low-tying plains of Tihamah. The actual fact is simply that the eastorn aspect from 33 Ashyah is unimpeded by mountains, in consequence of its own situation on a lofty summit.

The fortresses of the Banu Muzaffar overlooked the plain of Tihamah. They bordered closely upon the territories of Zabid; and of all the mountains, those upon which these fortresses stand, are the nearest to Tihamah. Among other strongholds in the possession of the family were Makr, Wusab, Kawarlr, az-Zarf, and ash-Sharaf. The last mentioned is the place where Ibn Mahdi rose in insurrection. The remaining places were Dhu 'r-Rassah, Zafar (Zafiraii ?), and Raymah, with its districts.* As his territories adjoined Tihamah, Saba used to make Jayyash taste the vicissitudes of war. His Arabs, on perceiving the approach of winter, were in the habit of descending into the low country. Jayyash would thereupon retire, but to no great distauce, 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 Jayyash during the summer and autumn months. When winter and spring passed away, the Arabs withdrew from Tihamah to the mountains, and Jayyash re-entered into possessbion. The withdrawal of the Arabs was sometimes attended with fighting, and sometimes it was peaceful.

On the return of Jayyash to Zabid, the Kur'ans 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, Jayyash likewise allowed for the sums levied by Saba during the months of winter and spring.

That situation continued until the wazir Khalf ibn Abi Tahir advised the son of Jayyash to imprison his father, to seize his treasure and property . . . and to appoint Muhammad ibn al Ghifari 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 Tib amah, and indicated to him means and artifices whereby he could reduce Jayyash 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. Jayyash 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 Kayhan al-Kahlani, freedman of Sa'Id, son of Najah, 34 at the head of ten thousand men, surprised the Arabs by night near the gate of Zabld, 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.³⁹

Among other passages in the life of the Da'y Saba, son of Ahmad, is that related to me by the Jurist Abu ⁴Abd Allah al-Husayn ibn 'Aly al-Bajali,* who had learned it from his father. The latter resided at Dhu Jiblah, and was one of the retainers of the Dfi'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 Uajilah.

Ahmad a widow, the Da'y 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, Suleyman ibn 'Amir az-Zawahi, son of her mother, then said to Saba: "By Allah! she will not agree to that which thou desirest excepting by command of the Imam al-Mustansir billah, Prince of the Faithful." The Da'y Saba ibn Ahmad al-Auhad (the Unparagoned) al-Mansur desisted from fighting against her troops and returned to Ashyah. He despatched to the Imam al-Mustansir two messengers, the Kadi (Abu 'Abd Allah al-) Husayn ibn Isma'il al-Isfahani and Abu 'Abd Allah at-Tayyib. In the course of the correspondence the Khalifah wrote to the Lady three lines, commanding her to wed the Da'y Saba, and he sent her also one of his own eunuchs, known under the designation of Harnil al-Madyah, who bore moreover the honorific surname of *Yaman ad-Da'wah* (right hand of the Ismailile Mission), empowered to enter into the presence of the* queen. Al-Jabali (Bajaly) relates that he was one of the persons sent by the Da'y Saba from the castle of Ashyah to Dhu Jiblah to accompany the two envoys and the eunuch who had arrived from Cairo the Mu'izzite. Upon their entering into the presence of Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Ahmad, in the palace, the Dar al-'Izz at Dhu Jiblah, the 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
 35 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.*⁴⁰ 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 Himyar Saba, son of Ahmad, son of al-Muzaffar 'Aly the Sulayhite, with the dowry he has provided, of one hundred thousand dinars in money, and fifty thousand dinars in articles of rarity and value, in perfumes and in robes." Sayiddah answered: "As for the letter of our lord, I say of it: *Verily a gracious letter hath been conveyed unto me. It is from Solomon, and behold it saith: In the name of God, the Merciful, the Gracious. Resist me not but come unto me with submission. I say not touching the command of our lord, O ye counsellors advise me, and nought will I determine until ye shall have spoken.*"⁴¹ But as for thee, O Ibn al Isfahani, by Allah! *thou hast not carried unto our lord from Saba a sure and truthful message. Ye have wrested the words from their true sense and your souls have prompted you to commit an act of wickedness. 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 wazir Zuray* ibn Abi 'l-Fath al-Isfahani and others of her chief officers advanced, and ceased not to speak to her in pacifying terms until she gave her consent. A marriage contract was drawn up, and Saba hastened to Dhu Jiblah, accompanied by a large retinue.

* 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 Da'y 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
36 with her. All her people were in the habit of saying that their Lady was their Mistress.

The Da'y Saba secretly sent a message to the queen, requesting her to receive him in her palace, that it might be believed by the people that the marriage had been consummated, to which she consented. Some of the inhabitants of Dim *Jiblahi* assert that she received him in her own apartments for one night, and that in the early morning he departed. Others say that she sent him one of her female slaves who bore an exceeding resemblance to herself, that he received warning thereof, and that the girl remained standing throughout the night at the head of his couch, whilst he sat without ever raising his eyes upon her, until when day dawned, he performed his morning devotions and ordered the drums to be beat for departure. He then said to the slave girl: "Tell our lady that she is a precious pearl, to be worn only by whoever is worthy of her." He then departed, and they did not meet again.⁴²

It is reported of the Da'y Saba that he never had intercourse with a slave girl, and that he never tasted intoxicating beverages. His wife al-Jumauah, daughter of Suwaid, son of Yazid the Sulayhite, was in the habit of saying that she was undisturbed by jealousy on account of her Lord Saba, seeing that he abstained from all intercourse with concubines, and it was a common saying among tjio Arab women that none among the posterity of Hiv had

been so privileged as al-Jumanah, with the exception only of Asma, daughter of Shihab.

At this period Shuja' ad-Daulah arrived in Yaman. He was enriched by the gifts bestowed upon him, and Shams al-Ma'ali (son of Saba and husband of Fatimah daughter of al-Mukarram and of the Queen Sayyidah), who was of a most generous disposition, gave him sums of money amounting to thousands. After a time Shams al-Ma'ali took a second wife and Fatimah wrote to her mother imploring her aid. The Princess sent troops to her assistance, under the command of al-Fadl (al-Mufaddal), son of Abu 'l-Barakat. Fatimah, having put on the garb of a maD, 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'ali 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.¹³ The Amir Shuja' ad-Daulah, whom Shams al-Ma'ali had enriched in Yaman, sent him thirty ardebs of barley, but did not supply him with a morsel of bread, nor did he admit him into his
37 society. 'Aly Shams al-Ma'ali 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 STORY OF THE KING AL-MUFADDAL, SON OF
ABU 'L-BARAKAT SON OF AL-WALID, THE HIM-
YARITE, PRINCE OF TA'KAR.

WHEN*Al-Mukarram, son of 'Aly, built the palace of
Dar al-'Izz at Dhu Jiblah, and removed from San'a

to the Province of Ja'far, 'Abd Allah ibn Ya'la composed the following lines:—

The gentle zi*)livr blew, and I sprat the night as one distracted,—
yearning after inmily and friends.

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

Khadid commands the. north, Hahb 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 Allnli son of Muhammad the Sulayhite, son, therefore, of the paternal uncle of the King al-Mukarram, the same 'Abd Allah who was killed at al-Mahjam, along with his brother the Da'y Aly sou of Muhammad. His conduct became bad, and al-Mukarram removed him from Ta'kar, giving him in exchange the fortresses of liaymah. [He placed Abu 'l-Barakat, son of al-Walid, in command over Ta'kar and its dependencies, and he appointed] Abu 'l-Barakat's brother Abu 'l-Fath (read Futuh) son of al-Walld, over the fortress of Ta'izz.¹⁴ 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-Mufaddal's father Abu 'l-Barakat, which followed that of the King al-Mukarram, the Queen appointed al-Mufaddal successor to his father in the governorship of Ta'kar. That fortress was used by the Sulayhites as a depository for the treasures they had won from the kings of Yaman. The
88 Queen was in the liabit of going up thither, and making it her place of residence during the summer, returning to I)hu Jiblah for the cold season. Al-Mufaddal 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 Tihamah on several occasions, with results sometimes in his favour and at others against him. He also several times made war upon Aden, and ere long no personage in Yaman could rival him in power. Having attained this exalted position, he one day said to the Queen at Ta'kar : " Consider, my lady, the treasures that are contained in this castle. Carry them away, I pray you, to the Dar al-'Izz, or remove them to some other palace, and leave this place (meaning thereby Ta'kar) entirely to me, renouncing henceforward your authority over it." " Hadst thou not spoken these words," she replied, "I would not have allowed any cause for their utterance to exist. The castle is thine. Thou art the confidential minister in my palace, and I have forbidden thee nothing in the past, in consideration of thine exalted condition." He was filled with confusion, and hung his head. The Queen went down to Dim 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 Da'y Saba ibn Ahmad 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'ali), Prince of Kaydan (Kayziln),⁴⁶ and expelled him from his province, and against 'Amru ibn Karmatali (read 'Arkatah) al-Janbi, and against others of the tribes of Sinhsin, of 'Ans, and of Zubayd. He recovered for her also, from the Bami Zuray', one half of the revenues of Aden, [which amounted to] one hundred thousand dinars a year.

Sheykh Abu Tahir al-Kabuni has related to me that he was on one occasion with al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakat, at at-Ta'kar, when half the revenues of Aden, fifty thousand dinars, reached him. He immediately sent the money to the Queen at Dhu Jiblah, without retaining any portion of it. Sheykh Abu Tahir 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 Tahir, divided among the people present ten bags, and he gave me one containing one thousand dinars.

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-Mansur, son of [Fatik son of Jayyash, was driven forth from Zabid, and replaced by his brother (read uncle) 'Abd al-Wahid son of Jayyash,

ho fled with his slaves to Mufaddal, and they pledged themselves to deliver unto him one fourth of the country in return for his assistance. Al-Mufaddal marched with them against their enemies, expelled 'Abd al-Wahid from the city, and reinstated al-Mansur and his followers, He then, however, conceived treacherous designs against them, and purposed making himself master of Zabid.

But al-Mufaddal's absence in Tihamah had prolonged itself, and Ta'kar, deserted by the Priuce, was committed to the charge of a deputy, known by the name of al-liamal. This man was held in great respect, and was strongly attached to the (orthodox) faith. Seven jurists, brethren of al-Hamal, went up to him at Ta'kar. Among them were Muhammad ibn Kabas (Kays?) the Wuhfizite, 'Abd Allah ibn Yahya and Ibrahim ibn Muhammad Zeydilm. The latter was their acknowledged leader, and ho was my uncle, the full brother of my father by both parents.⁴⁶ They received possession of the fortress from al-Hamal. The Sunni subjects of the Sulayhites had desired the jurists, on their gaining possession of the fortress, to kindle a fire on the summit. They did so during the darkness of night. In the morning twenty thousand men assembled at the gates of the castle in support of the jurists, who became possessed of an amount of wealth such as had never before been seen. The news reached the Amir
40 al-Mufaddal in Tihamah. lie set out and turned neither to the right nor to the left till he reached Ta'kar. He besieged the jurists, but the Banu Xhaulan rose to their assistance. The siege, however, continued, and ere long the garrison perceived that the Khaulanites were prepared to abandon them. Thereupon Ibrahim ibn Zeydan declared to his companions that he was determined not to die until he had slain al-Mufaddal, after which, death, he said, would be welcome. He seized the 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 Ramadan 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 Fath ibn Mif tali. I have been told by Sultan N'visir ibn Mansur, that my uncle Ibrahim ibn Zeydan informed him, after his withdrawal from Ta'kar, that his share of ready money amounted to twenty thousand dinars.

Part of the tribe of Khaulan had entered and settled in Mikhlaf Ja'far before the death of al-Mufaddal, to the number of six thousand souls, a mixed multitude consisting chiefly of Banu Bahr, Banu Dinnah, Marran, Rawfih (Razih P), Sha'b-Hay, and Banu Juma'ah.⁴⁷ 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-Mufaddal, a man of the sub-tribe of Marran, of the name of Muslim ibn az-Zarr, 41 attacked the fortress of Khadid, drove therefrom the Sultan 'Abd Allah ibn Ya'la the Sulayhitc, the accomplished poet and learned scholar, and took possession of the stronghold. 'Abd Allah ibn Ya'la was possessed of great wealth, which passed into the hands of Muslim ibn az-Zarr, whose power was thereby greatly increased. He joined the Queen and her adherents, and formed hopes that she would appoint him to succeed al-Mufaddal, son of Abu 'l-Barakat.¹⁸ He sent her his two sons, 'Imran and Suleyman, whom she received with kindness and by her command, although they had reached the years of maturity, they were taught to read and write. Afterwards she married them to two of her slaves brought up under her care. They visited their father by turns, at Khadid, and they were protected by the tribe of Khaulan, which possessed great power and influence. Upon the death of Muslim, his son Suleyman succeeded to the fortress of Khadid. 'Imran remained with the Queen and acquired favour with her. Fath ibn Miftah had, after the death of Muslim, entered into a state of opposition to the Queen his mistress, and had declared himself independent at the fortress of Ta'kar. 'Imran made friendly advances to Fath, and after his rebellion, asked his daughter in marriage. On the night of the wedding Sulcyuian and 'Imran gained possession, by treachery, of the castle of Ta'kar, but 'Imran 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 Shar.* Thither he removed all

Sliir *i*» mentioned Ly Yakut as the name of a castle in Yainan.

that he held most valuable. On obtaining possession of the fortress of Ta'kar, 'Imran sent the Honourable Lady the Queen repeated assurances of loyalty and homage, of which she took no heed. The Khauliinites 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 tilings between the Banu Khaulan and the Queen. When she saw their exceeding wickedness, she sent a letter to 'Amru ibn 'Arkatah al-Janbi (of the tribe of Janb), consisting of one or two lines in her handwriting. She ordered the country of Suleyman and Tinrfm to be occupied by an army of horse and foot, and they were not to be relieved of its presence, until they
 42 humbled themselves unto her and made a request for its withdrawal. Sultan Yazid ibn Tsa the Wa'ilite told me that he remembered being sent to the Queen by Trunin ibn az-Zarr, then facing the Arabs of 'Amru in order of battle. Tmran asked her assistance, and she sent hira ten thousand dinars to serve for the purchase of supplies. But the money was returned. "Does she not know," exclaimed Tmran, "what it is that can be of real service to me?" She thereupon wrote an order with her own hand, added Yazld ibn Tsa, to 'Amru ibn 'Arfatah al-Jabani ('Arkatah al-Janbi) in the following terms: "On receiving this our command, depart from the country of the Banu Zarr, with our thanks for your services." On reading the order 'Amru immediately directed the signal for departure to bo proclaimed to his people. It consisted in the utterance of the words *O Rashid, son of Mar ah.*^m Before an hour had elapsed, not one of his people remained in the place. "This, by the Lord," said Tmran to his brother, "is truly (a receiving of) honour and obedience 1"

TJIK IIISTOUY OF TBN NAJIR AD-DAULAH.

IN the year 513 Ibn Najib ad-Daulah came to ^aman, 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 Kur'au, 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-Am'ir al-Munfahhab* (the Chosen Amir), *Glory of the Fatimite Khalifate*, *Fakhr ad-Thmlah* (Lustre of the State), *al-MuwtiJ)nlc fi-d-dlu* (Aided in the Faith), Da'y of the Prince of the Faithful. He started from Cairo accompanied by twenty mounted men, carefully chosen from among the *Hijjarlyahs**⁰ On arriving at the Island of Dahlak, he was met by an emissary (P) from Aden, Muhammad ibn Abi 'l-'Arab the Da'y, one of the sons of Sa'id ibn Hamid ad-Din. This man instructed him in the secret politics of Yaman, the condition of the chiefs, their names, their personal appearanco and their surnames, oven the dates of
 43 their births and particulars of marks, traces of wounds and cauterizations, concealed by their clothing. When Jbn Najlb ad-Daulah (afterwards spoke of those things and) put questions touching their occult significations, his hearers became convinced that ho possessed knowledge of the invisible world.⁶¹ The first thing he did on arrival at Dhu Jiblah was to lay hold of a Khaulanite of the name of Suleyman ibn 'Qbayd, belonging to (the sub-tribe or family of) the Banu 'Amru and a kinsman of 'Imran 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 Khaulan withdrew from Dhu Jiblah. Suleyman ibn Ahmad (read Ahmad ibn Suleyman) the Zawahite, son of the Queen's (half) brother and husband of Umm Hanidan daughter of al-Mukarram, hurried to the spot and released the Khaulanite from the hands of Ibn Najib ad-Daulah without seeking the hitter's consent. He gave the man a dress of honour and sent him back to his family. Thenceforward the Khaulanites restrained themselves from stretching forth their hands against the people.

Ibn Najib ad-Daulah then proceeded to make war upon the inhabitants of Wadi May tam,⁵² of (Wadi) Zabid 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 Himas and Sinhan, and appointed at-Tauk the Hamdanite to command them. When al-Afdal (Shahinshah) died in the year 515, al-Ma'mun (al-Bata'ih) confirmed the authority of Ibn Najib ad-Daulah. He strengthened him and sent him letters delegating to him the fullest powers over the people. Al-Ma'mun sent him four hundred Armenians and seven hundred black archers, 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

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. 44 Ten of his archers had allied themselves with the citizens, and as the two armies entered into action, one of the archers shot an arrow which struck the muzzle of the horse upon which *Aly ibn Ibrahim Najib ad-Daulah was mounted. He fell to the ground and lost his horse. His army was put to sight, all his black troops were killed, and only fifty out of four hundred Armenians escaped. As to the Dfi'y (Ibn Najib ad-Daulah), the Hamdanites fought strenuously in his defence, until one of them, a man of the name of As-Sa'y, took him up and seated him upon his horse behind him. The Hamdanite horsemen who exerted themselves to save him were fifteen in number, and the chief, at-Tauk, 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 Suleyman 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'ud (al-Mufaddal ?) ibn Zuray' named Musafir, but the slave was charged and killed by Tank the Hamdilnite, who stood by Ibn Najib ad-Dauhtli until he remounted, whereupon the Da'y returned to Janad. He lost his breast-plate, which fell to the ground during the struggle, and Mufaddal ibn Zuray' composed the following lines upon the occasion :—

lie fled forgetting his breast-plate—Tn terror of the Barm Yam,
lest their lances should pierce him.

But flight saveth not from death—a truth held by every steadfast
and believing soul. ^

In the year 519 his conduct towards the Queen
45 assumed an evil aspect. Her mind, he said, had become weakened, and he asserted that in his opinion it was necessary to place her in seclusion. But, meanwhile, she was joined by the four (six ?) kings, Suleyman and 'Imran, sons of az-Zarr, Saba son of Abu Su'ful, Abu 'l-Gharat (son of Mas'ud), As'ad ibn Abi 'l-Futfdi and Mansur ibn al-Mufaddal. 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 Hamdan. 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-Tauk ibn 'Abd Allah, Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Imran ibn al-Fadl ibn 'Aly the Yamite, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd Allah, who exercised the functions of Da'y after Ibn Najib ad-Daulah and who was a member of the family of Sulayhi, also 'Aly son of Suloyman az-Zawahi, Abu 'l-Ghayth ibn Samir, Muhammad 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 •Arnru ibn 'Arkatah al-Janbi, who came to her and encamped at Dim Jiblah. She sent also to the chiefs of the tribes and distributed among them ten thousand Egyptian dinars, desiring her messengers at the same time to spread a report among the soldiers, to the effect that Ibn Najib ad-Daulah had distributed a sum of ten thousand Egyptian dinars among their leaders. The soldiers thereupon demanded that a share of the Egyptian gold be granted to them, else they would depart. The kings made promises, but when night closed in they started each for his own country. Next morning the troops found themselves without leaders. They broke 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
46 hast said that her mind is weakened?" He rode to Dhu Jiblah and strove to justify and to excuse himself to the Princess.

The Queen was the accepted representative of the Imam, upon whom be peace. . . .

The cause of this 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-i alaby (al-Bajaly). Al-Ma'mfin (al-Bata'ihy), when wazlr (in Egypt), sent an envoy to Yaman, entrusted with military power, known by the name of al-Amir al-Kadhdhab. 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-Khazraii. occurred in Muharram, 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 Khalifa! i al-Amir, stating that Ibn Najib ad-Daulah had invited and called upon them to recognize Nizar as supreme Imam and that they had refused. In the second place, they were to strike coins in the name of Nizar, which the envoy promised to transmit to our lord al-Amir bi-Ahkam Allah. They followed his advice, and his return to Cairo occurred simultaneously with the arrest and imprisonment of the wazir al-Ma'miin. The envoy sent the letters and the coins to the Khalifah, who commanded the Amir al-Muwaffak ibn al-Khayyat to be sent to Yaman, for the arrest of Ibn Najib ad-Daulah.⁶⁵ He started from the Imperial Gate, accompanied by a hundred men belonging to the military body, *the Ilujariyahs*, all men fitted for the most arduous enterprises. Among the companions of Ibn al-Khayyat were 'Izz id-din and his own son Sa'd al-Mulk. On bearing of the envoy's arrival at Dahlak, Ibn Najib ad-Daulah set forth for the country of Zabld, notwithstanding the objections and repugnance he felt to doing so. A Da'y, he said, must not skulk away in hiding. Death, he added, was preferable to disgrace. His enemies addressed themselves to the Queen and warned her to secure his person, for, they urged, the Imam would hold her alone

responsible for his safe keeping. The Queen feigned to be ill and sent to Ibn Najlb ad-Daulah
47 the Sharif As'ad ibn 'Abd as-Samad ibn Muhammad al-Hawwaly. This man was his most faithful friend, lie overtook Ibn Najlb 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. lie 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 Najlb 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 Suleymfm and 'Imran, 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 tho subject. The Queen yielded, but allayed the fears she entertained of the envoy, on Najlb ad-Daulah's account, by exacting many solemn oaths from Ibn al-Khayyit. She wrote also to our lord al-Amir bi-Ahkam Illah, the Prince of the Faithful, interceding with the Khalfah for Ibn Najlb ad-Daulah, and she sent unto him her secretary, Muhammad ibn al-Azraki, a man of culture, the draftsman of the council, an elegant writer, eloquent, and remarkable for his benevolence. Among the presents she sent was a suit of

armour, enriched with jewels of the value of forty thousand dinars. Ibn Najib ad-Daulah was carried forth from Jhu 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 Sawakin. They detained the Queen's messenger, Ibn al-Azraki, for five days. 48 Then they sent him off and they ordered the captain to wreck the ship. The vessel was sunk with all she contained, near Bab al-Mandeb, and Ibn al-Azraki was drowned.

The Queen was greatly afflicted, when regrets could no longer avail.⁶⁶ Suleyman and 'Imrfin, 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 'Abbas (cousin of the Prophet) :—" We used," he said, "to listen to the traditions preserved by 'A'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 HISTORY OF [THE DYNASTY OF] AZ-ZURAY', SON OF AL-'ABBAS, SON OF AL-KAEAM THE YAMJTE, PRINCE OF ADEN.

THE Banu Zuray' were descended from Hamdan, and from Jusham, son of Yam, son of Asghii.

Their ancestor, Ibn al-'Abbas* son of al-Karam, had gained credit by his conduct in past times, and especially by the assistance he gave to the Da'y 'Aly, son of Muhammad the Sulayhite, when the latter was engaged in promoting the Fatimite Khalifah al-Mustansir's supremacy over Yaman, and again by joining the Da'y al-Mukarram, son of 'Aly, in his attack upon Zabid and in the release of the Honourable Lady Asma, daughter of Shihab, from the hands of Sa'Id 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, Shih and Hadramaut. 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 Da'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].⁵⁷

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-'Abbas and Mas'ud, 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'ud he gave the castle of al-Khadra, with authority over the coast and shipping, and command of the city.⁶⁸ He made
49 them take oath to the Honourable Lady the Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Ahmad, because as-Sulayhi had endowed her with the city of Aden when he

¹ Read *TJwir ancestor al'Abbas.*

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 dinars, occasionally somewhat more, and in other years somewhat less. On the death of al-Mukarram, al-'Abbas and Mas'ud, the two sons of al-Karara, continued faithfully to fulfil their obligations to the Queen. But after their death [and that of Zuray* son of al-'Abbas, Abu Su'ud son of] Zuray' and Abu 'l-Gharat son of Mas'ud proclaimed their independence at Aden.† Al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakfit 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-Barakat, the Princes of Aden discontinued the payment of the Queen's "half of the revenues. As'ad ibn Abi 'l-Futuh, son of al-Malik al-Mufaddal's uncle, proceeded to the spot and concluded an agreement, whereby a fourth of the revenues was to belong to the Queen. When the Banu az-Zarr rebelled at Ta'kar, the Princes of Aden again discontinued payment, and the Queen was thenceforward unable to draw anything from Aden, in consequence of the death of all her leading men. Ibn Najlb 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-Barakat, in the course of one of his wars, attacked Zabid. He was accom-

* Read *From the time of the appointment of al-'Abbas and Mas'ud.*

† Zuray' and his uncle Mas'ud 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-'Abbas, and by the latter's uncle Mas'ud, son of al-Karam, who were at that time Princes of Aden. Both were killed at the gates of Zabld, and they were succeeded at Aden by Abu 's-Su'ud son of Zuray', and by Abu 'l-Ghariit son of Mas'iid. They were succeeded in the rulership over Aden by the Ba'y Saba, son of Abu 's-Su'iid, and Muhammad, son of Abu 'l-Ghariit. Next came Saba's son 'Aly al-A'azz air Murtada, together with 'Aly, son of Abi 'l-Ghariit, and then the Da'y Muhammad, son of Saba.⁵⁹ 'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharat was the last descendant of Mas'ud.

50 The Da'y Muhammad ibn Saba was succeeded by his son 'Imran. He died, and after him the country remained faithful in its allegiance to the family of Zuray', until the Zurayites were deposed by Sultan al-Mu'azzam Shams ad-Daulah Turan Shah, brother of Saladin son of Ayyiib, -in the month, of Dhu 'l-Ka'dah [A.H. 509]. The Princes of Aden were at that time Muhammad and Aba 's-Su'ud, the two sons of 'Imriin, son of Muhammad, son of Saba. Ibn Hurabah took a part in the events at Aden, neither the particulars nor the date of which I am able to recollect; but there have been none in the family of al-Karam nobler than 'Imran, son of Hurabah (Muhammad?), or than Mufaddal, son of Zuray'. Nobility of character, though less than theirs, would be beyond power of description. The family of the Banu 'l-Karam are also known by the name of *adh-DBb*. They were, next to the Sulayhites, the most distinguished of the Arab ruling families in Yaman.

Upon the death of Muhammad, son of Abu 'l-Gharat, son of Mas'ud, son of al-Karam, he was succeeded by his brother 'Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharat. He possessed the castle of al-Khadra, commanding the sea, the shipping and the city. The Da'y Saba, son of Abu Su'ud, son of Zuray', son of al-'Abbas, son of al-Karam the Yamite, who bore the

titles of the Unparagoned, the Victorious, Glory of the Empire,- Honour of the Khallfate, Eight Arm of the Empire, Sword of the Imam, Crown and Chief of the Arabs, Da'y of the Prince of the Faithful,— shared the sovereignty, over Aden with the Sultan * Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharat. He held its gates and wielded authority over all that entered the city from the land side. He owned the fortress of Dumluwah,* Ar-Eama (?), Sami', Matran (?), and Dhubhan ; also part of al Ma'afir and of Janad. •His possessions in the highlands wore extensive.⁰⁰ His sons were al-A'azz 'Aly, Muhammad, al-Mu-faddal, Ziyad, and Rauh.

HOW THE SOVEREIGNTY" OF 'ALY IBN ABI 'L-GHARAT
CAME TO AN END AT ADEN, AND HOW IT PASSED
TNT0 THE HANDS OF THE DA'Y SABA.

IT has been related to me by the Da'y Muhammad son of Saba and by certain Sheykh of Aden, that they knew Ibn al-Khazary Abu 'l-Kasim as deputy of 'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharat over one half of Aden, and 51 Sheykh Ahmad ibn 'Attab al-Hadhaly as deputy of Saba son of Abu 's-Su'iid, over the other half. Ibn al-Khazary dealt unrighteously, in the division of the revenues, with Ahmad ibn 'Attab, and (his friends) the dependents of 'Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharat, stretched forth their hands oppressively over the people. They created disorder and disturbance in the city and they cavilled at the Da'y Saba, making use of language calculated to excite anger and to offend their adversaries' pride. The Da'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 Dii'y bore his injuries in silence, but when his patience seemed likely to lead to the extinction of his authority, he determined upon an open struggle with his enemies. He appointed his deputy, the Sheykh as-Sa'Id al-Muwaffak Bilal son of Jarir, over Aden, and ordered him to stir up the people, and to promote war in the city. Bilal, who was a man of energy and sagacity, obeyed. Saba meanwhile collected a force of Arabs from among the Banu Hamdan, and from among the tribes of Janb ibn A'sad (ibn Hurab?), 'Anbas ('Ans?), Khaulan, Himyar, MadhhrJ, and others. He hurried down from the mountains, [from Dumluvva], and confronted his enemies in Wadi Lahj. The Da'y Saba possessed in that valley a walled village, known by the name of Bany Abbah,⁶¹ which he occupied with his brethren of the family of Zuray*. The retainers of his kinsman Mas'ud possessed in the same valley a large walled city called az-Za'azi*. The two parties encamped near their respective towns, and they fought one another with unexampled determination.

The cruelty of our kindred inflicts a deeper wound—than the blows of a sharp-cutting sword.⁶²

I have been told by the Da'y Muhammad ibn Saba, that he was out on one occasion with a reconnoitring party for Saba. They came in sight of 'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharat and of his uncle Man' ibn Mas'ud. 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 over-
52 taken by Man' ibn Mas'ud." "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."6³ 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," ho 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 Man!⁴ 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. Tho 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 Dii'y Saba, or some other person, turned towards Maul' 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."^M

Manl'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'Fizi', said to me the Da'y Muhammad ibn Saba, endured for two years. 'Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharat at first distributed money without taking account thereof, whilst the Da'y

abstained from similar liberality, and the minds of the people were nigh to being turned against him ; but when 'Aly's cause gave way, the Da'y expended money with a liberality which it would never have entered the mind of any man to expect. I recollect, he continued, that on a certain day, a member of the tribe of Hamdan came into the presence of the Da'y Saba, who was then occupying a tent in his 53 camp. " Let me be a partaker of thy bounty, O Abu Himyar," said the Hamdanite. No one was with them but myself. " Thou knowest," continued the man, "that war is a devouring fire, and that men and horses are its fuel. I desire of thee that thou pay me the price of my blood, which amounts to one thousand dinars." The Da'y consented. " Also," continued the man, *' the blood money of my son So and so, and of his brother." He received two thousand dinars on their account. " May God preserve thee from evil, O Abu Himyar," he thereupon said, " but there remains a claim for the horses that were destroyed." " Did destruction extend to the horses ?" asked the Da'y. " Pay me the price of the horses," answered the Hamdanite, " as thou hast paid me the blood money." The Da'y handed over to him a purse containing five hundred dinars. "But there is," said the man, " another thing which I think thy generosity, O Abu Himyar, will not allow thee to deny me." "What is it?" "I desire to marry So and so, daughter of Such a one. Thou knowest how distinguished a family they are, and I am not possessed of sufficient wealth to approach them in a suitable manner." The Da'y gave one hundred dinars. " May est thou prosper and increase in wealth," said the Hamdanite. " There remains but one thing more. It would ill become mo to marry whilst my two sons are unable to do so." The Da'y gave him two hundred dinars, for each

son one hundred. The Hamdanite 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 Da'y. "Pay me a sum wherewith I may be able to marry her." The Da'y gave him one hundred dinars more and quoting the poet's saying, in the *rajaz* metre, he exclaimed :—

"Zayd's beard had to be thinned, and it was plucked out by the roots."

I was informed by the Da'y Muhammad ibn Saba and by Bilal ibn Jaiir al-Muhammady, that Saba expended upon the war with Sultan 'Aly son of Abu l'-Gharat, three hundred thousand dinars. His means were then exhausted, and he borrowed money from the merchants of Aden who supported his cause, such as the Sharif Abu 'l-Hasan Muhammad ibn Abi 'l-'Omari, a descendant of (the second Khalifah) 'Omar ibn al-Khattab, Shcykh Abu 'l-Hasan 'Aly ibn Muhammad ibn A'yan, Zafir ibn Farah and others.

- 54 The Da'y Saba died at Aden, seven months after his conquest of az-Za'azi', still owing on account of the money, he had borrowed, a debt of thirty thousand dinars, which was paid by his son, al-A'azz 'Aly ibn Saba. The Sheykh as-Sa'kl Bilal, son of Jarlr al-Muhammady, told me that when he took the fortress of al-Khadra at Aden, and captured the Honourable Lady Bahjah, mother of Sultan 'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharat, 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-Khadra. He sent a messenger with the glad tidings to the Da'y Saba ibn Abi Su'ud. The same day on which he took al-Khadra, the Da'y captured the city of az-Za'azi', and Bilal's messenger met one bringing similar glad tidings from the Da'y, a coincidence which, as he observed, was one of the most remarkable recorded in history.

'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharat took refuge in the two fortresses of Munif and al-Jabalah (?). They belonged to the people of Saba Suhayb, whose country is the higher portion of Lahj.⁶⁶ He, Muhammad ibn Man? ibn Mas'ud and Ri'yah son of Abu 'l-Gharat, were slain by Muhammad ibn Saba at Lahj in the year 545.

The D.Vy Saba entered Aden, but, as we have stated, he lived in it for only seven months. He was buried at the foot of at-Ta'kar within the city. He bequeathed his crown to his son *Aly al-A'azz. His death occurred in A.H. 533, one year after the death of the Honourable Lady, the Queen (Sayyidah).

The Amir al-A'azz al-Murtada 'Aly, son of Saba, dwelt at Dumluwah. He meditated putting Bilal to death at Aden, but died of consumption. He bequeathed the crown to his sons Hatim, 'Abbas, Mansur, and Mufaddal, all of whom were in their infancy. He appointed Anis al-A'azzi and the Governor Yahya ibn 'Aly, who was his wazir and secretary, to be guardians of the children.

Muhammad son of Saba, had fled from his brother, seeking refuge at Ta'izz and Sabir with the Amir Mansur ibn Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakat, from whom he received protection. When 'Aly died at Dumluwah, Bilal sent certain Hamdanites

from Aden. They took Muhammad ibn Saba from under the protection of Mansur ibn al-Mufaddal, 55 and brought him down to Aden. Bilal placed him upon the throne and made the people and officers of the government swear obedience unto him. He married him to his daughter and the wedding was celebrated with great splendour. He besieged Anis and the Governor Yahya ibn 'Aly at Dumlfiwah. The fortress was taken, and the whole country submitted to Bilal. 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 lie to oppose one so much better for us than himself?" meaning thereby the brother of their lord, Muhammad ibn Saba.

The Kadi ar-Rashid Ahmad 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 Da'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 Muhammad's wazir Bilal son of Jarlr, he bestowed the titles of *the Auspicious Chief, the Divinely-assisted, the Righteous*.

The Da'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 Musalla,⁶³ out-

side the city of al-Juwah (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 versos. "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-Juwah, whence I intended proceeding to Aden. He had with him the two Kadis, Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad al-Yafi'y the Janadite and Abu 'I-Fath. ibn as-Sahh, besides others of his principal courtiers, such as the two sons of Kasim, Saba and Muhammad, both of whom were shining lights, and one of the two, Muhammad, was a physician and astrologer. Several of the eulogists I have spoken of, ten in number, had assembled at his gates. The Da'y produced the poems and, turning to the persons assembled around him, he asked what reward he ought, in their opinion, to bestow upon the authors. His companions mentioned various sums, not one of which exceeded one hundred 56dinars. "Make it," he said, "three hundred dinars. 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-Hajr, at a place known as al-Jannat. Several poets were in his company, among others Safy ad-Daulah Ahmad ibn 'Aly al-Hakly and the chief Kadi Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad al-Yafi'y the Janadite. He was a distinguished poet and author of extemporaneous verses, which no studied lines have ever excelled. Also the Kadi Yahya ibn Ahmad ibn Abi Yahya, Kadi of San'a, who, in the opinion of the people of Yaman, occupies a rank among poets equal to that of Ibn al-Kumm. The Da'y

extemporized two lines of verso 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 Kadi Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad al-Yafi'y distanced his companions in the race. He was close to me. I stole the paper out of his hand and I contrived to have his words in readiness on my lips. I thus appropriated the two lines he had composed. Standing up, I recited them to the Da'y, and received the Kadi'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 Da'y's liberality flowed in torrents for the benefit of the talented men about him. Not one of them but received a dress of honour and was rewarded with generous gifts.

In the year 549 (read 547) the Da'y Muhammad ibn Saba purchased, from the Amir Mansur son of al-Mufaddal, all the strongholds that had formerly belonged to the Sulayhites.* They consisted of twenty-eight castles and cities, among which were the cities of Dhu Jiblah, Dhu Ashrak, and Ibb. He bought them at the price of one hundred thousand dinars. Mansur adopted his two fortresses of Sabir and Ta'izz as his places of residence and he divorced his wife.⁶⁷ Her name was Arwa, daughter of 'Aly, son of Abd Allah the Sulayhite. The Da'y went up to Mikhlaf (Ja'far). He made Dhu Jiblab his place of residence and married the repudiated wife of the Amir Mansur ibn al-Mufaddal. He married also the Honourable Wuhazite Lady, the daughter of Sultan As'ad ibn Wa'il ibn *Isa. He removed her place of residence from as-Sarlhani to the palace of Ibn Siba*. 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 Da'y was intoxicated with gladness by his successes and his hands were widely opened in distributions of gifts. One morning I went up to Dim Jiblah, accompanied by 57 the Sheykh Abu 'l-Hasan ibn 'Aly ibn Muhammad the Sulayhite and by the Sheykh al-Murajja al-Harani, and from Dim Jiblah we proceeded to the fortress of Habb. Every paper that was handed to the Da'y, he marked with the words, *Honour belongeth to God alone*. On reaching the castle, we reckoned up the papers in the possession of the pot ts. The Di'y's treasurers were the Sheykh Ahmad ibn Musa ibn Abi 'z-Zarr the governor and Ray him al-Muhammady. The sum to be paid was found to amount to five thousand dinars. Sheykh Ahmad ibn Musa objected to it as unreasonably large and proposed that we should consult the Da'y on the subject. Sheykh Ray ban, 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 clay. The Kadi Yahya ibn Ahmad ibn Abi Yahya eulogized the Da'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 Tihamah 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 Zabld, 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 Zabld, who make my verses a subject of reproach to me." He, however, desisted not from pressing me until he put me to shame and I improvized lines on the same metre as that upon which the Kadi Yahya ibn Ahmad ibn Abi Yahya composed his verses. When I recited them he exclaimed : " I rewarded the Kadi with five hundred dinars and a dress of honour. I reward you with a like sum out of the amount in your hands, but in bestowing upon you a dress of honour, I will distinguish you over him, by giving you the robes I have on at this moment." I received the money and the robes, and the circumstance was one of the causes of the hatred the Abyssinians entertained against me, and of their desire to kill me, a design from which I was preserved by God Most High.⁶⁸

The generous deeds performed by the Dii'y Muhammad ibn Saba are more than it is possible to enumerate. He died in the year 548,* and was succeeded by his son 'Inran ibn Muhammad ibn Saba. The people of Zabld 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-Salih (Talai* ibn Ruzayk) to the Da'y 'Imran son of Muhammad, asking him for a settlement of the account of moneys, for which, at the time of his father's death, I was still indebted and which amounted to three thousand dinars. " "What is the purport of Malik as-Salih's letter," inquired the Da'y. The Kadi ar-Rashld informed him in reply that it asked for a settlement of the account. " Let 'Omarah offer us two lines of verse," answered the Da'y, " in which he shall strictly observe the

* See Noto 70.

laws of rhyme, and the account shall be regulated." Then he asked for paper, and wrote as follows:—

"In the name of God, tho Merciful, the Gracious. Thereby declare, and I am 'Imran, son of the Mighty Da'y Muhammad, son of the Most Noble Da'y Saba, son of Abu Su'ud. son of Zuray', son of 'Abbiis the Yfunitc, 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 Da'y Muhammad son of Saba, amounting to two thousand seven hundred Malikiyah dinars."

I again departed from Arabia in the year 552. Travellers arriving in Egypt from Yaman never ceased relating, touching tho strength of character of the Dii*y and his generosity, things fit to humble Fortune when it shapes the coarse of events and the rain of heaven, when its copious and beneficent showers water the thirsty soil.

He died in the year 560, leaving three sons, Muhammad, Abu Su'ud and Mansur, none of whom has yet attained the years of manhood at the present time, namely tho month of Muharram 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, tho Righteous Chief, Abu 'n-Nadi Jarlr son of Bilal (read Bilal son of Jarir) al-Mnhammady.

We have already mentioned that he governed 59 Aden on behalf of his master Saba. 'Aly al-A*az^ allowed him to remain, and the city continued under his rule from the year 534 until 546 or 547, when he died. Worldly greatness is surely vanity!⁷⁰

I have been told by Sheykh Ma'mar ibn Ahmad ibn 'Attab, and by the learned scholar Abu Bakr ibn Ahmad al-'Abdi, both of whom possessed

* Son of **Abu** 'l-Hasan 'Aly ?

special knowledge of all that relates to Bilal, that he left in money alone six hundred and fifty thousand Maliki dinars and upwards of three hundred thousand dinars in Egyptian coin. He left also several *buhars* weight⁷¹ of silver plate, consisting of ornaments, horses' and mules' trappings, swords and lances, inkstands, basins and ewers, candlesticks, *Ma'ash* (?) articles for presents, bath-basins, drinking-cups, cloaks (?), silver lace, utensils encrusted with gold, Sulayhi daggers, silver goblets and *ba'liyat* (?), weighing altogether live buhars and two hundred pounds. As to clothing and merchandise, stores and warehouses were filled with them. Thus it was also in the matter of perfumes and such like. Also accoutrements and arms, rarities from India and beautiful objects from China, from North Africa and from 'Iriik, variegated stuffs (?) from Egypt, from 'Oman and from Kirman, all in quantities which it is impossible to reckon. All passed over by his bequest into the possession of his master the Da'y Muhammad, son of Saba. The latter in the course of two years spent the whole in works of piety and benevolence.

Bilal died leaving several sons, grown up men. Among them were the Sheykh Mudafi' son of Bilal, who succeeded him in the office of wazir. He died, and the wazir Abu 'l-Faraj Yasir, son of Bilal al-Muhammady, assumed the guardianship of the two young Amirs, the sons of 'Iman ibn Muhammad, as well as that of their brother Mansur.* Yasir 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 Yasir as the guardian of 'Imran'a children, is substantially incorrect. See Note C9.

60 HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF NAJAH, THE ABYSSINIAN
KINGS OF ZABID

AL-Mu'ayyad Nasir ad-din Najah continued to rule over Tihamah, from the dominions of Ibn Tarf to Aden, the kings of the highlands showing respect for his dynasty, and dreading his power. This endured until the Da'y 'Aly son of Muhammad the Suiayhite brought about his death, by means of a slave girl, whom he sent to Najah as a present, in the year 452. The sons of Najih retained possession of Tihamah for two years after their father's death, and during that period affairs were conducted by one of their freedmen, of the name of Kahla. They were men of resolute character, but some members of the family were still in their youth.

Ere long the Da'y 'Aly the Suiayhite dispossessed them of their kingdom (in A.H. 455), and after their arrival in the Island of Dahlak they became dispersed. Mu'arik, the eldest of the family, in an access of folly committed suicide. As for adh-Dhakhlah, she had barely attained the age of puberty. Sa'id al-Ahwal, who afterwards slew the Suiayhite, (and Jayyash) were the two manliest characters of their house. Each cultivated literature, and enjoyed a prolonged life and great power. But their father Najah brought up their elder brother Mu'arik to succeed him.

Jayyash disguised himself and entered the city of Zabid, Having recovered possession of certain deposits due to him by 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Tahir 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 Jayyilsh, who had prevented him from practising treachery against the Prince of Dahlak. Sa'id concealed himself at Zabid in the house of the Ra'is Mula'ib the Khaulanite. This man belonged to the lower orders of the people, but he was more than any other person attached to the family of Najah. Sa'id dug for himself a refuge in the grounds occupied by the dwelling-places of Mula'ib, and he generally abode therein. He then wrote to his brother Jayyiish at Dahlak, ordering him to come to Zabid, and announcing the speedy downfall of the Sulayhites and the restoration of their own family. On Jayyash's arrival, Sa'id openly rose against his enemies at the head of a band of seventy men. Not one of them possessed a horse, nor had they any other weapon than iron nails mounted on palm-sticks. Ahmad ibn Falah, chief of the Office of Control * at Zabid, has told me that when Sa'id went forth from the city, he and his followers met a mounted soldier. They killed him, and Sa'id appropriated the horse he was riding. Sa'id started from Zabid, on his way to attack as-Sulayhi, at the close of the ninth day of Dhu 'l-Ka'dah, of the year 473.

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

* Diwan at-Tahkik. See Makrzi's *Khitat*, vol. ii. p. 401.

†The conjunction *thumma*, which occurs at this point, perhaps indicates an omission in the MS.

said, for the uprising of Sa'id al-Ahwal son of Najah, 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 Sa'id openly made oath by G-od Most High, that he would slay his enemy, that he was the destined master of the day, and ho spoke in that tone to most people.

" As-Sulayhi, 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 Sa'id, 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-Murawi'ah,* in the province of al-Kadrii, 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. Sa'id, 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 to-morrow 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
62 intermission, until we at length entered the borders of the camp.

* Al-Murawi'ah is mentioned in the Taj al-'Arus 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-Ahwal son of Najah, with his armed following, of whom we have received warning by As'ad ibn Shihib's letter from Zabld.' As-Sulayhi, in reply to his brother, exclaimed that he was destined to die at no other place but ad-Duhaym and Blr (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-Harith the 'Absite.' On hearing these words,*' says Jayyash, " 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 T 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 Sulaylu's Hadramauti horse named adh-Dbabbal. 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 Jayyash, " 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 Asmii, daughter of Shihab and wife of as-Sulayhi, was. 'Come forth,' he said to her, and offer thy morning greeting unto the two Sultans!' '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,—

- 63 Verily nono so insolently trample upon thee as—the feeble boaster.
None so arrogant in humbling as he that hath been abased.^{7*}

"Sa'id sent a messenger to the five thousand, whom as-Sulayhi had despatched on the previous night with orders to slay him. 'As-Sulayhi,' he said, 'has suffered death. I am a man of your own race, and the honours I gain are acquired by you.' Ho remained at the gate of the mosque, the two heads set up before him, and the air filled with the sound of the beating of drums, until the men arrived. They saluted him, and with their aid he plundered and captured and massacred the soldiers of as-Sulayhi. Sa'Id," continues Jayyash, "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 Asma, and to grant an amnesty to the Princes of the Sulayhite family who accompanied her. They were one hundred and seventy in number, all mistrusted by Sulayhi, who feared lest, in his absence, they should betray him. I advised him also to spare the Kahtanite chieftains, who were likewise with her, thirty-five in number, to send, through the Princess, a letter to her son al-Mukarram son of 'Aly, to write that his blood

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 Kahtan will not dispute thy sovereignty over Tihamah, 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 Sulayliites 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 Jayyash, "the sight of as-Sulayhi's head mounted upon the shaft of the royal umbrella, nor the voice of the Kur'an reader : *Say, O God, Lord of Empire, Thou givest sovereignty unto ivhom Thou wiliest, and Thou takest it from whom Thou wiliest. Thou raisest whom Thou wiliest, and Thou abasest whom Thou wiliest. In Thy hands is all good, and* 04 *Thy boundless power is over all things** Neither can I forget the words of the poet al-'Othmani, part of an ode which he improvized on the spot, and in which he described the royal canopy :—

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

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

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 Asma daughter of Shihab. He placed her in the house of Shaha, and the two heads were set up opposite her casement.

As'ad ibn Shihab fled from Zabid, and took refuge with al-Mukarram at San'a. The death of as-Sulayhi filled the hearts of all men with dread of Sa'id ibn *J*Tajah. The governors of the (mountain) fortresses seized possession of the places confided to their rule, and the authority of al-Mukarram was all but destroyed. That of Sa'id in Tihamah, on the contrary, acquired great strength, and he sent persons to Abyssinia to purchase for him twenty (thousand) spearmen. Al-Mukarram continued deprived of all knowledge of his mother, the Honourable Lady Asma daughter of Shihab, until he attacked Zabid, and rescued her in the manner we have already related. Sa'id subsequently returned,* recaptured the city, and expelled the governors appointed by al-Mukarram. He continued to rule over it until he was killed in A.H. 481, in the battle of the castle of Sha'ir, the result of a stratagem contrived by Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Ahmad, and wife of the King al-Mukarram, as has likewise been mentioned.

From Dahlak, in A.H. 479 (*Khi*).

How JAYYASH SON OF NAJAH WENT TO INDIA, ACCOMPANIED BY THE WAZIE KASIM AL-MULK ABU SA'ID KHALF SON OF ABU TAHIR THE OMAYYAD, DESCENDANT OF SULEYMAN IBN HILSHAM SON OF 'ABD AL-MALIK.

JAYYASH proceeds with his relation as follows:—
 •' After these events I disguised myself, and I went to Aden, accompanied by the wazir Khalf, son of
 65 Abu Tahir. 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 Sarandlb. 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 ns with predictions, not one word of which failed to bo 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 Khalf in advance of me to Zabid, by the sea-board road, and I ordered him to spread reports of my having died in India, to apply for a personal amnesty, to acquaint me with the actual situation of our affairs, and to inform me who of our people remained with the Abyssinians. I myself went to Dhu Jiblah, where I fully acquainted myself with the condition of al-Mukarram ibn 'Aly, how he had given himself over to the pursuit of pleasure, how he had become physically weakened, and how he had abandoned the direction of affairs to his wife, Queen Sayyidah daughter of Ahmad, From the highlands I descended to Zabid, where I joined the wazir Ibn Khalf, 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 mastabah (bench at the outer gate) of 'Aly ibn al-Kumm, who was wazir 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 Najah, of a certainty I would make him Kiug of Zabld.' This was said in consequence of some cause of offence that had arisen between him and the governor As'ad ibn Shihab. Husayn, son of 'Aly the Kummite, the poet came forth on a certain day. He was at that time the most skilful chess-player of all the inhabitants of Zabld. *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
66 beaten at chess. His father replied that there had never been a person at Zabld who could overcome him, excepting only Jayyash the son of Najah, and he, he continued, has died in India. 'Aly, the father of Husayn, then came forth to me. He was an exceedingly skilful player and we played together. 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 Najah!' At night I used to join the wazir 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 Suhaym. I desired him to receive ten thousand dinars and to distribute the money among the men who had assembled, which he did. I (again) saw the wazir at night, and informed him that my Lord the Ka'id Husayn ibn Salamah had appeared to me in my sleep. He had promised me that the kingdom we desired to regain would return unto us, and that the event would occur on the night of the delivery of the Indian slave girl. Husayn, I moreover told him, after speaking these words, had turned to a man on his right hand and had asked: 'Is it not so, O Prince of the Faithful?' and the man so addressed replied: 'Yea verily, and sovereignty will belong to the descendants of the child for a long period of time.'⁷³

"I remember that on a certain day," continues Jayyash, "'Aly ibn al-Kumm returned from the palace to his own house, in a state of extreme anger. On becoming calmer he said to me: 'Come up, Indian, that I may play chess with thee.' Whilst we were playing, his son Husayn entered and beat one of his slaves with a whip. I was struck by the end of the whip, and I heedlessly uttered an exclamation such as habitually escaped me whenever anything startled me. The words I used were: * I am Abu 't-Tami!' 'Indian,' asked the old man, 'what is thy name?' I answered, 'Bahr.' 'Bahr!' he said, 'by Allah! the epithet Abu 't-Tami is well suited to that name.'⁷⁴ I repented," continues Jayyash, "of what I had said, and I began to mistrust my companions.

"When the time had come for the recovery of our

possessions, in accordance with God's decree, it happened that I played chess with Husayn, the poet, son of al-Kurnm. No person was present but 67 his father 'Aly, who sat on a raised seat, giving directions to his son. He promised Husayn that if he defeated me, he would send him to al-Mukarram and to Queen Sayyidah, in charge of the revenues of that year, and that he would give him the present that would, as customary, be offered to the Governor of Tihamah, 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 reprobating the act, whilst I arose in extreme anger. An involuntary exclamation escaped me according to the habit I had contracted, and I uttered the words : * I am Jayyash !' 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-Sulayhi, the Dar al-'Izz, to be vacated. It was carpeted and hung with curtains and the Indian slave girl was removed thither, together with male and female servants, provisions and furniture. He retained me in his house until night had set in, when he allowed me to depart. I entered the palace and found that the slave girl had given birth to my son al-Fatik, between sunset and the hour of evening prayer. 'Aly ibn al-K.umm came to me that night. He warned

me that what had occurred could not long remain concealed from As'ad ibn Shihab, 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 Shihab, 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."

Jayyash ordered the drums and trumpets to be sounded. The people of the city and five thousand Abyssinians rose in arms along with him. Ibn Shihab was taken prisoner. " Naught can defend us against you, O family of Najah," he said to Jayyash, " 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 Hassan," 68 answered Jayyash, " shall not suffer harm." Jayyash 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 Jayyash, " 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 Husayn ibn Salamah 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 exaltefch 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 The word has since then occurred to me bable reading.

Thenceforward Jayyash suffered no material harm at the hands of al-Mukarram, none greater than incursions into the territories of Zabld. It was in this condition of affairs that Husayn ibn al-Kumm composed the following line, addressed to • Jayyash upon his slaying the chief Kadi al-Hasau (Husayn ?) ibn Abi 'Akamah :—

Dost thou flee when al-Mukarram poiseth his lance ?—And dost thou display thy bravery against ono who neither sought favour nor excited hostility ?⁷⁵

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

Thou hast dealt unrighteously, O Jayyash, in slaying al-Hasan.—
By his wicked slaughter, thou hast destroyed (lit. trans-pierced) the glory (the eye) of his age.

Jayyash continued ruler of Tihamah from 482 until the year 498, when he died, in the month of Dhu '1-Hijjah (the last month of the year). The children ho left were al-Fatik son of the Indian concubine, Mansur, Ibrahim, 'Abd al-Wahid, adh-Dhakhirah and Mu'arik. It is also said that Jayyash died in the month of Ramadan of the year 500, but the first-mentioned date is the more probable one.

He was succeeded by his son al-Fatik, who however was opposed by his brothers Ibrahim and 'Abd al-Wahid. The former was a perfect horseman as well as benevolent, cultured and generous, whilst 'Abd al-Wahid was beloved and trusted by the army. They fought with one another, their father's slaves taking part in their divisions, but eventually al-Fatik son of Jayyash triumphed over his brother 'Abd al-Wahid. He pardoned him, treated him 69 with kindness, enriched him and conciliated him. As for Ibrahim, he took refuge with As'ad ibn Wall ibn 'Isa the Wuhazite, who received him with such hospitality as has never been surpassed. The slaves of Fatik had meanwhile increased in number and had waxed in power.

Fatik died in the year 503, leaving a son Man stir, below the age of maturity. His father's slaves placed him upon the throne, but Ibrahim son of Jayyash, upon the death of his brother Fatik, collected troops and invaded Tihamah. He was confronted by the slaves of Jayyash, and the two parties halted opposite one another near a village named [Huwayb, in Wadi Zabid"]. The city having been vacated by the officials of Fatik, who held the power of Ibrahim son of Jayyash in small estimation, 'Abd al-Wahid, Ibrahim's brother, arose in arms, took possession of Zabid and seized the Government House. The eunuchs and servants came forth by night with their master Mansur, and fearing 'Abd al-Wahid on his account, they enabled him to escape by letting him down by means of a rope, from the walls of the city. Mansur took refuge with the retainers of his father Fatik, but the people turned away from him and from his supporters, and attached themselves to 'Abd al-Wahid on his becoming master of Zabid, he being beloved by the troops.

When Ibrahim son of Jayyash beheld that his brother had forestalled him in the attainment of supreme power at Zabid and in the possession of the country's strongholds, he joined Husayn ibn Abi 'l-Hafat al-Hajury, who was at that time at al-Jurayb. The Banu Abi 'l-Hafat belong to the family of the Banu Jurayb son of Sharahbl, and they are regarded as descendants of Hamdan.⁷⁶ As for al-Mansur son of Fatik and his father's slaves, they sought refuge with the King al-Mufaddal son of Abu 'l-Barakat the Himyarite Prince of Ta'kar, and at Dhu Jiblah, with the Honourable Lady the Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Ahmad the Sulayhite, at whose hands they met with a hospitable reception. After a time the slaves of Fatik bound themselves by an agreement with al-Mufaddal to relin-

quish in his favour one fourth of their country, in return for his alliance and for his aid against 'Abd al-Wahid son of Jaiyash. Al-Mufaddal accordingly drove 'Abd al-Wahid out of Zabid and placed the supporters of Mansur in possession of the city. [This was in the year 504.] He then, however, formed a design to act treacherously towards the family of Fatik and to take possession of the coun-
70 try. But he received intelligence that the fortress of Ta'kar had been seized by certain Jurists and that they had possessed themselves of an amount of wealth such as no person had ever known. Al-Mufaddal hastily left Zabid, turning himself unto no one, and there happened that which we have already related, how he inflicted death upon himself by poison, on beholding his concubines in the midst of men, and clad in bright coloured apparel, singing with tabours in their hands.

Thenceforward supreme power was held by Mansur, son of Fatik and by his father's retainers. The descendants of Fatik occupied the throne as Princes of the country, and the wazirs were selected from among the descendants of his slaves. Of these princes there was Mansur son of Fatik. Next was Fatik son of Mansiir, whose mother was the Honourable and virtuous Lady, the distinguished Pilgrim ['Alam]. When Fatik son of Mansur died without issue, the succession passed on to the son of his paternal uncle, who bore likewise the name of Fatik, and who was son of Muhammad son of Mansur, son of Fatik son of Jaiyiish (read son of Muhammad son of Fatik son of Jaiyash). 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 Fatik son of Jaiyash pos-

essed none but the outward attributes of royalty. The Khutbah was recited in their names next after that of the Abbasside Khalfah, 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 wazirs, the slaves of Fatik son of Jayyash and of Jvlansur his son. Although these wazirs 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 wazlr was Anls al-Fatiki, who was member of an Abyssinian tribe named the *Jazalis*, to which the kings of the dynasty of Najah themselves belonged. Anls was stern and harsh, greatly feared, but brave, celebrated among the people, and just. He fought against the Arabs
71 with the result that they were effectually deterred from making attacks upon Tihamah. 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-Mansur; but knowledge of his intentions was divulged, through his favourites, to the slaves of Fatik, who contrived a plan for his overthrow. Their master Mansur son of Fatik [who had attained the years of discretion], prepared a feast in the Government House, to which he invited Anls, and on the arrival of the wazlr he struck off his

head. He made a selection from the goods and harim of the wazlr. Among that which Mansur acquired by purchase out of the heritage of Anls, was a slave girl, an accomplished singer, named 'Alam, who bore him a son of the name of Fatik. She was the Honourable and pious Lady, the assiduous performer of the pilgrimage by land and by sea, attended by natives of Yaman, whom she protected from the dangers of the journey and against unjust taxation and exactions.

Among other wazirs, after Anls, was the Sheykh Mann Allah al-Fatiki, the next after Ilusayn ibn Salamah to build walls around Zabld. 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 Najlb ad-Daulah near the gate of Zabld, 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'ac] ibn Abi 'l-Futuh, in which upwards of one thousand Arabs were killed. He also granted endowments to the lianafite and Shafi'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 Muhammad ibn 'Aly as-Sahhami (the mercy of God be upon him !), who was tutor to the wazir Mann Allah's sons, that he could remember having bound eulogistic verses in praise

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of the wazlr, 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'ud al-Jazali and Muflih al-Fatiki. They were the two leaders of the Abyssinian cavalry, and possessed the power of binding and loosing at

Zabld. 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 Anls, by Mans fir son of Fatik son of Jayyash in the year 517, was to bring about the death of his master Mansur by poison, and to set upon the throne tho Prince's son Fatik ibn Mansur, at that time a young child.⁷⁷

Mansur, his father Fatik and others of the family of Jayyash left at their death more than a thousand concubines. Every one of these fell into the hands of the wazir Mann Allah, with tho exception of ten women, favourites of Mansur son of Fatik. Among these was the Honourable Lady, the Queen, mother of Fatik son of Mansur. She forsook the palace and built unto herself a house outside the city, wherein the wazir could not penetrate by night, either under a false pretence or with valid reason. Such was her position, notwithstanding that her son was King ; but she guarded herself from danger by abandoning her son's palace, and she confided the care of the Prince to the eunuchs, his father's slaves. Another of these women was Umm Abi 'l-Jaysh (mother of Abu 'l-Jaysh), a native by birthplace and breeding. She had a daughter by Mansur, and received the name of Umm Abi 'l-Jaysh on account of the disorders we are relating.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 Sultan 'Abd Allah ibn As'ad ibn Wa'il the Wuhazite, who had married the daughter she had borne to Mausur son

of Fatik. Another was the Honourable Lady Riyad. Also the Ladies Umm Ablha, Jinan al-Kubra and Tamanni. The mother of Fatik had no fellow-
73 wife but the last-mentioned.

God having decreed the destruction of Mann Allah al-Fatiki, the wazlr fixed his desires upon the daughter of Mu'arik son of Jayyash, who was celebrated for her beauty, and he asked her to surrender herself to him. She offered to ransom herself with forty virgins chosen from among her slaves, but he refused. She made complaint to the adherents of her uncle Fatik and of her cousin Mansfir son of Fatik, but they dreaded the wazir and could not help her. Thereupon the Honourable Lady Umm Abi 'l-Jnysh said: "I will protect you against him." She brought the daughter of Mu'arik son of Jayyash 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 wazlr 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 wazlr to an exalted rank, which forbids his doing as he proposes. I myself will visit him at his house." When it was night she accordingly came. She sang to him and he drank, and he was intoxicated with delight. She yielded herself to him, but she then brought about his death by means of a cloth impregnated with a deadly poison. His flesh mouldered away and he died that same night. The son of Mansur buried the body in his stables. The earth was levelled and smoothed over the grave, and its site continues

unknown unto this day. Mann Allah's death occurred on the night of Saturday, the fifteenth of Jamadi '1-Awwal of the year 524.⁷⁹

He was succeeded in the office of wazir to Fatik son of Mansur, by Ruzayk al-Fatiki, a brave and generous man.

As to his bravery, it has been related to me by Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah the Yaft'ite and Hira-yarite, who was secretary to the wazir, that he saw Ruzayk al-Fatiki one Friday, a memorable day of rivalry between him and Muflih. 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. Muflih
74 called out: " Out down the horse, or the rider will not fall to the ground ! " Ruzayk thereupon charged Muflih, and with one blow aimed at the horse's back behind the saddle, he divided the animal into two separate parts. Muflih fell to the ground, and the Banu Mash'al, who are an Arab tribe,* interposed for his protection. As to his generosity, it was chiefly shown to poets.

No man could eat so much as he, and his power to devour large quantities of food was such, that it became proverbial. He had thirty children, male and female. [After his death], the claims of the heirs to his estate and of those among his children and his children's children who died before the division, passed from one to another. The rights to the succession became subdivided and the problem of the division so complicated, that not one among the Doctors' of the law was able to undertake its solution. The wazir Muflih, and the Ka'ids Ikba.l and Mas'iid, retainers of Fatik, 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 Hadramaut, of the name of Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Hasib (the Reckoner). He was an accountant, skilled in the laws of inheritance, upwards of eighty years of age, and he was on his way to perform the pilgrimage. He was extremely poor and had never, since God created him, possessed so much as two dinars. He disbelieved the statement of any person who asserted he had seen a sum of one thousand dinars, for he had been brought up in a part of the country of Kindah adjoining ar-Raml. A ship was wrecked on the neighbouring sea-shore, and one of the persons on board, a learned and pious man, was cast on shore on the sands of ar-Raml, in the country of Kindah. This was the Sheykh Ahmad al-Farady the Jurist.*

I took him to my dwelling-place at Aden, I clothed him and gave orders that he should be hospitably treated and fed, that he be cleansed and that his beard and his hands and feet be stained with henna. Having thus provided for his comfort, we travelled together on the same camel from Aden to Zabld, balancing one another's weight in the litter on either side. I promised that he should accompany me on the pilgrimage and that I would
75 supply him with all his requirements. He rejoiced thereat, and relying upon my promises^ his mind was set at ease.

I spoke to him one night, as we were riding, on the subject of the succession of the family of Ru-zayk, 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 'Othrnan ibu es-Saffar, by Muhammad ibn 'Aly as-Sahhami, and by other experts in the laws of succession, each one of whom affected to regard Jbn al-Labban⁸⁰ 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-Mukabilah*, 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 Zabid 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'an, according to the teaching of Abu 'Amru ibn al-'Ala,⁸¹ the seven readings being one of the subjects upon which the Jurist gave instruction. I next devoted my self 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 Ka'id **Surur** al-Fatiki, 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-Kasira al-Abbar. Ibn al-Kasim was at that time chief of the Shafi'ites at Zabld, and it was under him that I studied the fthafi'ite doctrines. Surur then assembled the Jurists in rooms, the floors of which were spread with fine sand, and each one sat down apart from the other, tracing his calculations in
76 the sand. Whenever the amount of a share was substantiated, it was transferred from the sand to paper, until the division of the entire estate was completed and proved to be correct. Surur never moved from the spot until he had divided the money among the Jurists, and he gave me a large share. I returned to my house and placed the gold before the Hadramauti Jurist. "I ask forgiveness of God, O my son," he said, "for whosoever told me that he had beheld one hundred dinars, I used to treat as a liar." He then gave me the money, saying he had no use for it, since I provided him with all that he required. I took him with me, and he died (may God have mercy upon him), after having completed the pilgrimage. When the Abyssinians of Zabld sought to kill me in the year 550, the Ka'id Surur said unto them, "Is he not the person who solved the problem of the estate of Ruzayk? By Allah ! he shall not be slain !"

Kuzayk 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 wazlr, and Abu Mansur Muflih al-Fatiki, who was then absent in the highlands, was called upon to fill his place.

WAZIRATE OF MUFLIH AL-FATIHI.

MUFLIH belonged to an Abyssinian tribe known by the name of *Sahrat*. He bore the surname of Abu Mansur (father of Mansur), the latter being the name of one of his sons. (Abu) Mansur was noted among the most distinguished of his contemporaries for his righteousness, and was remarkable also for his knowledge of affairs, for his skill as a Jurist, for his literary culture, for his handsome appearance, his bravery, his clemency, and for the perfection of his talents as a leader. People were in the habit of saying that, had his lineage been that of Kuraysh, every condition required to fit him for the office of Khalifah would have been combined in his person. The retainers of Fatik nicknamed him *al-Baghl*, the mule. He was called Muflih al-Baghl, and he showed no displeasure nor anger thereat. I was told by his secretary, Himyar ibi 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. Himyar related in illustration of his master's self-control, that Muflih, when holding the office of wazlr, 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 other beauty. He was bent, he said, upon contriving means whereby she might be brought to him. "I answered," said Himyar, "that if the wazlr 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 wazlr purchase her?' 'At whatever price her master demands,' he answered."

Her master was a distinguished leader, a man of high rank in the service of the state, greatly respected and considered. He was commander of the Ghuzz (Turkish or Northern soldiery), whom Jayyash had brought to the country to fight against 8aba ibn Ahmad the Sulayhite. 'Othman was their leader and chief. They numbered four hundred mounted archers, and with their assistance the Abyssinian dynasty defended itself against the Arabs. The body of troops, as originally enlisted by Jayyash, numbered three thousand bows, but when two thousand marched from Mecca for Zabld, Jayyash repented of his design, perceiving that they would drive him out of the country and seek to tako 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 greac number died, and only one thousand horsemen, or less, reached Zabld. Jayyash sent five hundred to the highlands, and they conquered the districts trodden by the hoofs of their horses. When they reached the province of San'a, Jayyash 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 Jayyash in Tihamah only four hundred and fifty horsemen. He made them a grant of a wide tract of land, extending to a valley (or river) known by the name of Dhu'al, a district inhabited by the 'Akkites and Ash'arites. These lands occupied a width of one day's journey, and in length, from the mountains to the sea, a space of two days or less. They were distant one day's journey from Zabid.⁸² 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 Taytas, and by 'Othman the above mentioned. The former two died, and 'Othman remained alone; but the number of the Ghuzz was now reduced to one hundred horsemen, all aged men. As to their children, born in Zabid, they did not prosper. They had neither the strength of character that inspires fear, nor the benevolence that gives rise to hope.

The wazlr's secretary Sheykh Himyar ibn As'ad, continuing his narrative, said that he reflected over the means whereby he might succeed in gratifying the wishes of the wazlr, and he found that of which he was in quest. Addressing Mnflih, 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 wazlr to act in the matter with firmness, to order all holders of fiefs to leave their estates and assemble at Zabid, and to transfer the owners to other districts. Upon that policy being carried into execution by the wazlr, it occasioned, said Himyar, great hardship to the great officials of the government, but to none so great as to 'Othman, for the property of those of his companions who had died, had passed into his possession.

" When he was about to depart from Zabid 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 Tihamah were in the habit of secluding either their singers or the freed women,

mothers of their children,⁸³ from Ibn Himyar's presence, for most of their concubines and singers were supplied by him and educated in his house. He had served several of the highland kings, then he had corao down to Tihamah and occupied a confidential position under Ahmad ibn Mas'ud ibn Faraj al-Mu'tanian (the Trusted), governor of Hays. After that he became secretary to Mann Allah al-Eatiki, and then to the Sheykh Abu Mansiir Muflih al-Fatiki. It was from this same Himyar that the kings purchased the poison they used for destroying their enemies. He had brothers and uncles in the
79 country of BakU and Hashid, and the tree that produces the poison is grown exclusively on a farm attached to a building, one of their strongholds. The owners carefully preserve the plant, precisely as, in Egypt, that which produces balsam is tended, and they do so with even greater care. All the members of the dynasty of Najah and all those of their wazirs, who died (by poison), were victims to the drug supplied by Iiimyar ibn As'ad.* People of rank, when in his society, used to say to him, "We eat and we drink, O Abu Saba, and we are in your power," whereupon he would laugh and say, "Just so." He was quick with pleasant repartees, possessed a well-stored memory; he was witty, and moreover liberal in bestowing his substance in the service of God and in works of charity. He frequently acted as envoy between the Abyssinian Princes, he repaired breaches of friendship, and grave disputes became, in his hands, matter of easy settlement. He subsequently dwelt at al-Kadra with the Ka'id Ishak ibn Marzuk as-Sahrati (the Sahratite), from whom he received a liberal welcome, and who took

* Yaljut copies this passage in his account of the country of Bakil (vol. i. p. 706-7). Instead of «J ho writes probably the correct reading, and one which "requires the subsequent word to be retained.

him into his confidence. He died at al-Kadra in the year 553, at the age of upwards of seventy years. When ho visited Zabid, where he had no kinsfolk, he used to take up his abode with me and with other friends, and he was in consequence on terms of familiarity and unreserve with me.

Him[^]ar, proceeding with his narrative, said, " When the wine began to produce its effects upon *Othman, he spoke to me as follows : ' I have longed,' he began, ' to meet you, being desirous of settling matters with that tyrannical slave Muflih, 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 wazlr'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 Muflih returned from his morning visit to the King, I would, God willing, strive to prevail upon the wazlr to act indulgently. ' I know,' I continued, ' that if he eat at your table and drink of your wine, and if your slave girls sing to him, he will feel shame and will renounce his design.' 'Othman was almost beside himself with joy, though he could not believe that the wazir would visit him. I advised
80 him to come on the following night, uninvited, to the house of the wazir, and to announce himself as a guest who desired to bo honoured by being allowed to share in the pleasures of music and wine. On the following night, when 'Othman came to us, J advised the wazlr to bring forth the singing girls and female cup-bearers. He did so, and he promised 'Othmau that he would, on the next day, be his guest. A large sum of money was that night by 'Othman's orders brought to his house. Oa the following day, after the usual morning

attendance at the Prince's palace, we rode to 'Othman's place of abode. We found sumptuous banquets spread out (for the several classes of guests). For one party alone I counted thirty roasted sheep and thirty vessels of sweetmeats. The banquet at which the wazir was seated, occupied the front of 'Othman'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 'Othman, for the arrogance he attributed to him and for the promptitude with which he was able to provide so splendid a feast, composed of four separate banquets. 'Othman next distributed among the members of the wazir's suite three *huhars* of sweetmeats, a quantity equal to nine kantars (nine hundred pounds).* We then withdrew to the wine-room, seven in number, [besides myself, the eighth. I acted as cup-bearer and contrived to produce intoxication in five members of our company, who soon withdrew].⁸⁴ Thereupon, addressing 'Othman, I said: 'Truly thou art as one of a herd of cattle, deprived of sense. Thinkest thou that the wazir hath visited thee for the sake of meat or drink? What hath happenod 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

81 said: 'I have nought else but Wardab, 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 wazir consent to accept of her,' I replied, ' she is such as will be a suitable present.' ' Speak then of her to the wazir,' he answered, ' and if he accept her, I will reward thee with one thousand dinars.'

" We then ordered Wardah to be brought into our presence, together with nine other slave girls. They kissed the wazir's hand and commenced singing before him, with uncovered faces. I advised the wazir to pay no heed to Wardah and to pretend admiration of the others. He did so, with the effect of stimulating her master's desire that he should accept of her. After a time 'Othman became intoxicated and slept. The women likewise were overcome with wine, all but Wardah, who, I desired, should retain her faculties. I made use of a pretext to leave the room, and sending for Wardah, I informed her of the facts of the case. *I have no desire,' she replied, * but to my lord.' I then requested the wazir 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 wazir did not even satiate his eyesight, nor did he allow the girl to kiss his hand when bidding farewell. When her master recovered, we took leave of him. It was near the latest hour for evening prayer, and before it had lapsed, Wardah stood before us. In the morning I went back to 'Othman. I restored the thousand dinars he had given me, and I questioned him touching a farm in the valley of Dhu'al.⁸⁵ The wazir 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 ?' ' The lands

of 'Abada,' I replied, * with all the contents of the farm, its growing crops and its cattle.' The wazir ordered the lands to be conveyed to me; and they are a possession," added Himyar, " which has the property of never occasioning loss to its proprietor." *

To return to the stories told of the wazir Muflih. Among them is that related by the Sheykh Abu 't-Tami Jayyfish, son of Isma'il, son of Albuka. At 82 an early period of the wazirate of the Sheykh and Ka'id Muflih, Abu 'l-Ma'ali ibn al Habbab arrived at Zabid from Egypt. He purchased an Abyssinian slave to attend upon him. The Abyssinian escaped from his master [and attached himself to certain of the wazir's dependants. Abu 'l-Ma'ali thereupon wrote to the wazir] two lines of verse as follows :—⁸⁶

Thou art the cloud whose beneficent floods feithize the outspread earth.—Its bounty, a fortuitous obstacle has withheld from me.

But if its ample and generous showers do not refresh me—Even so its consuming thunderbolts will not come near me.

Muflih, on reading the lines, perceived their veiled meaning, and he awoke to the merits of Abu 'l-Ma'ali. Ho sent for the youth and returned him to his master accompanied by a gift of four other slaves of the same nation. He invited Abu 'l-Ma'ali to his court and commanded him to compose a eulogistic ode. Abu 'l-Ma'ali obeyed, and recited it in the presence of the wazir, who rewarded him with five hundred dinars. Mansur 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

* t 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 Fatik, were brought up in the palace of al-Fatik son of Mansur. Their names were Sawab, Rayhan, Yumn, ['Anbar ?] and Rayhan the elder. They were the leading personals, and holders of the highest rank in the state. Besides these there were certain powerful men, likewise educated in the palace, namely Tkbal, Masrur (or Burhan ?), Barih (?) and Surur. The last mentioned was the chief of both parties, the foremost in influence and in ability. These men spoke in the name of the Sultan. The wazlr, 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 Zabld. Surur advised them to address themselves to the wazir 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 dinars for her expenses. On application
83 being made to the wazir, 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 dinars and by sending his son Mansur to accompany her to Mecca.

In pursuance of his purpose for the expulsion of Muflih, Surur then sent the wazlr to Aden, to make war upon Saba son of Abu Su'iid and upon 'Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharat, the Zuray'ites. When he had reached the distance of a night's journey from Zabld, Muhammad son of Fatik son of Jayyash suddenly rose in rebellion against the Queen and her son, and thereby obliged Muflih to return.

Surur then sought to bring about the departure of Muflih by writing to the Arab tribes of Zi'l and 'Imran to join in the invasion of the district of al-Mahjam, then occupied by the Ka'id Mas'ud the Zaydite.* Muflih was thereby compelled to start for al-Mahjarn, a distance from Zabld 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 Bura'. He took possession of the fortress of al-Mukarrishah (al-Karish ?)⁸⁷ and he attacked Tihamah, harassing it with raids, in the early morning and late at eve, whilst the retainers of Fatik attacked him in his encampments. Then leaving his women in the fortress, he joined the Arabs of al-Mahjam, members of the tribes of
84 Mash'al, 'Imriin and Zi'l, 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 Dabsan. Muflih despatched depredating parties into the territories of al-Mahjam, and he entered into correspondence with the Amir and Sharif Ghanim son of Yahya the Suleymanite and Hasanite, who then ruled over the province of Ibn Tai'f.⁸⁸ Muflih entered into a pledge with the Sharif and his kinsmen to abolish the tribute they rendered to the Prince of Zabld,

* Or, according to Khazraji, Surui al-Kuraiuli.

for which Ghanim was yearly liable and which amounted to sixty thousand dinars. He also engaged to add to their territories the wide district of al-Wadiyani. The Sharif marched with one thousand horsemen and ten thousand infantry, to the aid of Muflih against the people of Zabid. The allies were encountered by the Ka'id Surur, who defeated Muflih, the Sharifs and the Arabs, near al-Mahjam. Whilst Surur was at that place, he received from Zabid a deed of investiture, granting him the territories and dependencies of al-Mahjam, consisting of Maur and al-Wadiyani. Surur established his residence in the province, and Muflih returned to the fortress of al-Karish, where he died in the year 529.*

His son Mansur 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.

Mansur surrendered [himself to the Ka'id Surur, claiming his protection, and accompanied him to Zabid, where Ikbāl was then wazir. The young Amir 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 wazir Ikbāl. The King Fatik [and the Ka'id Surur] 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 wazir 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 Fatik son

* In A.H. 527; according to al-Janadi.

of the Lady 'Alam, and the Prince died in the month of Sha'ban [A.U. 531].*

85 Wardah, the slave girl of the wazir Muflih, 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 Jkbal, by the Ka'id Surur, by the Ka'id Ishak ibn Marziik and by the Ka'id 'Aly ibn Mas'ud, Prince of Hays. "I made flattering promises to the messenger of each," she said, "but I consulted on the subject my lord Mansur son of Muflih. He indicated his preference for Surur, but recommended me to seek advice of Himyar ibn As'ad. I accordingly sent for him to Tihimah. 'As for 'Aly ibn Mas'ud,' said Himyar, * he has ninety concubines and four wives. As for Tkbal, he has twenty singing girls; he has moreover Najiyah, who has been carefully educated by the slave dealers, and the love ho bears her son Mansur is carried to an extreme. As for the Ka'id Ishak ibn Marziik, he has the daughter of 'Uwayd, mother of his son Faraj, and also Uhdfila, the daughter of his uncle. By Allah, none equal to her treads the ground of Tiharnah. I recommend to you the Ka'id Abu Muhammad Surur al-Fatiki. He is a man of a prudent disposition, and he was reared by the King Fatik son of Mansur (by Mansur?) and by our Lady the mother of Fatik.' I was married," continued Wardah, "to the Ka'id Abu Muhammad Surur al-Fatiki. 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 ascendancy 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 T 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 Ghanirn son of Yahya the Hasanite. "I came," he said, "from my country as an envoy to Surur al-Fatiki, to negotiate a truce between ourselves and him. His wazir 'Obayd ibn Bahr said to me : * Would that thine arrival had happened either sooner or later ! Thou hast come to the Ka'id at a moment when his mind is greatly disturbed.' I waited two or three days without being able to see the Prince, but then Him-
86 yar ibn As'ad arrived. ' Now,' said 'Obayd ibn Bahr, ' Himyar having come, the knot that caused thy trouble is unloosed !' ' How is that ?' I inquired. * Ward ah, mother of 'Amru,' he answered, * is angry with the Ka'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 Ka'id approached and we saluted him. We then heard behind a curtain a confused sound of voices and a jingling of gold ornaments, such as never was before. And behold it was Ward ah, 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 mo by the sight of the helplessness and weakness of Surur. He seemed to guess what was passing in my mind, and he recited the words of the poet:—

"We are a people whom a woman's large and lustrous eyes will melt—And we are men to whom iron must yield."

Among the slaves of Fatik was he with the mention of whom I conclude this account of the Abyssinian dynasty, and whose mention I have postponed to the last, although in order of merit he unquestionably ranks first. He of whom I speak was the noble Ka'id Abu Muhammad SurQr Amharah nl-Fatiki. 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 Mansur ibn Fatik, having slain the wazir Aids, purchased from his estate the Honourable and pious Lady, the Pilgrim and Lady of Zabid, by whom he had a son, whom he named Fatik ibn Mansur. She bought for her son certain young Abyssinian slaves, of whom Surur was one. He was brought up under her immediate care, and ere long, as he advanced in years, he became distinguished for his superior merits and great qualities. She placed him in charge of the Mamluks, and appointed him chief over all who abode in the palace. He became ruler and director, with the power of showing indulgence and of exercising severity. He was next appointed to the command of a division of the army, and he won popularity among the troops by his kindness and indulgence. He continued to advance in dignity, and became the intermediary between the
87 principal wazirs and the Sultan, who thenceforward dispensed with the services of the stewards of the palace. The Chief Steward at that time was the Sheykh Sawab, a religious man, who devoted himself exclusively to the worship of God. Whenever he was reproached for his disregard of what had occurred, he would answer that the Ka'id Abu Muhammad Surur 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 Surur'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. Surur continued to advance in power and dignity. He eventually succeeded in driving Muflih out of Zabid, 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 Surur, and he became possessed of supreme authority.

It has been related to me by Sheykh 'Abd al-Muhsin ibn Isma'il, secretary of the Ka'id Surur, that he remembered the occasion when the Amir and Sharif Ghanim, son of Yahya the Hasanite, marched to the assistance of Muflih. "Ghanim," he said, "had a thousand horsemen and ten thousand infantry, all of whom combined with the troops of Muflih. They were joined also by certain Arabs, in great numbers, by the Banu Mash'al, men who spent their lives in the saddle and who were the champions of their age, by the Banu 'Imran, the Banu Zi'l, the Banu Haram and the Hakamites.⁹⁰ All gathered together into one body and advanced against us. Our troops were few in number, and the Ka'id Surur had written to the people of Zabid for re-inforcements. The battle was fought at al-Mahiam, which is three days' journey from Zabid. 'Abd al-Muhsin said he pointed out to Surur, that to attack these people would surely be rashness, his forces being in comparison to theirs as a drop in the sea, or as a morsel between the jaws of a ravenous animal. "Be silent," answered Surur, "for, by Allah, death will be lighter unto me than 88 defeat." The two armies engaged, and the fortunes of the day went against Muflih and Ghanim and their allies. Thenceforward conviction of the high destinies reserved for Surur acquired double strength in the minds both of his friends and of his opponents.

It was previous to these events that Muflih started from Zabid for Aden, and that when he had reached the distance of half a day's journey, Muhammad son of Fatik son of Jayyash, seeing the town denuded of troops, rose in insurrection, and gained possession of the Government House. The Kur'an readers came into his presence and the people of the city flocked unto him, offering their congratulations. His wazir was Mansur son of Mann Allah al-Fatiki. The Queen took refuge, along with her son, in the upper apartments of the palace. The news was brought to the Ka'id Surur, 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 : *Fatik son of Mansur!* Muhammad son of Fatik was at that moment occupying a raised seat below the windows of the palace. Tho Ka'id cast a stone which unerringly hit the mark, and striking Muhammad ibn Fatik, bruised his face at the same instant of time when the cry was uttered. He, the wazirs and their followers instantly fled, and in the evening they left the city by one of its gates. The soldiers did not reach Zabid until noon of the following day. These were some of the circumstances which necessarily operated to bring about Surur's advancement over all other members of the government.

He next acquired rule over al-Mahjam, a royal seat of government. The Arabs, the Banu 'Imran, 89 the Banu Zi'l and the Hakamites, dispersed themselves, and the Amir Gbanim ibn Yahya thellasanite, whose dynasty has acquired great renown, separated himself from his allies.

The Ka'id Suriir used to inhabit Zabid from the beginning of Dhu 'l-Ka'dah (the eleventh month) until the end of Sha'ban (the eighth). Then he would leave Zabid and spend Ramadan at al-Mahjam, occupying himself with the affairs of his province. His expenditure and charities in the month of Ramadan, amounted to a large sum. Sheykh 'Obayd ibn Bahr, his wazir, informed me that the allowances for his kitchen expenses, in the month of Ramadan, amounted to one thousand dinars a day. I witnessed for several years the ceremonial attending his entrance into Zabid. The people, on his arrival from al-Mahjam, used to go forth from the city in crowds to meet him. They divided themselves into classes and stood on a lofty hill awaiting his arrival. The first to salute him were the Jurists of the Malikite, the Hanafite and the Shafi'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 Sultan, he proceeded to the palace of the Honourable Lady his mistress. On his entering, all who were present, young and old, withdrew, with the exception only of the Lady's slave girl Ghazal, who was his wife's sister, and of two slave girls formerly belonging to her Lord Mansur ibn Fatik. These women conducted themselves according to her pious exemplo 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."⁹¹ 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,⁸² with the 90 three women standing near him, until he arose for midday prayer. He used to repair for the purpose to his mosque, which stood close to the gates of his palace. It was then impossible to follow him on account of the crowds that surrounded him, composed of people who had been unable to go forth from the city to meet him on his arrival.

A PARAGRAPH DESCRIBING WHAT I HAVE SEEN IN THE
HANDWRITING OF HIS SECRETARIES.

I have seen a list of the gratifications which Surur was in the habit of conferring, on his arrival at Zabid, upon the Jurists, Kadis, and upon the most distinguished scholars, learned in the traditions, in grammar, glossology, theology, and jurisprudence. The whole amounted each year to twelve thousand dinars, besides gratuities to the military classes, notwithstanding their great numbers.

I have been told by 'Obayd ibn Bahr and others, that the presents he made each year to the Sultan's officials, to the King's nobles, stewards and personal retainers, amounted to twenty thousand dinars, 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 dinars, 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 dinars.

ANOTHER PARAGRAPH.—The Ka'id Abu Muhammad Surur al-Fatiki—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. Who-soever, on the contrary, appealed to him was attended to. People who believed themselves to be oppressed came into his presence, and stated their case in bold and even in unseemly language. Such a person was safe from all danger of awakening his sense of dignity and pride, or of provoking his anger. If sent for by the Judges, he attended in person, not deputing another to take his place [as is done by men puffed up with pride, even though of inferior rank]. He would seat himself opposite the Judge in token of respect, and in testimony of his willing obedience to the ordinances of divine law. [On returning to the palace, after accompanying the Sultan's procession, he would enter,

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 Eajab [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.⁹⁶ 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 Wasit, that of Ifudayb, at al-Ahwab, 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
93 power waxed great throughout the country, I detached myself from him, out of fear of the people of Zabid. From the year 531 until 536, he continued to preach to the people in the open plains, and on the approach of the pilgrimage season he used to go forth to Mecca, mounted on a dromedary. The Lady, the mother of Fatik son of Mansur, then relieved him, his brethren, his kindred and those under his protection, from payment of the assessment (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' batiks.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-Kadra. He was met by the Ka'id Ishak ibn Marztik as-Snhirati 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. Not with-

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 Khaulanites [where he remained for a time].⁹⁷ Thence he ascended to a fortress named ash-Sharaf, which belonged to a tribe of the sept of Khaulan known by the name of Banu Haywan (Haydan?), a word which is pronounced with a
 94 quiescent y. These people he surnamed (in imitation of the Prophet) *al-Ansar* (the Auxiliaries), and those who had accompanied him from the low country, he distinguished by the title *al-Muhajirun*, (the Emigrants). But he then began to mistrust all his companions and to fear for his own safety. He appointed over the Ansar a Khaulanite of the name of Saba ibn Yusuf, to whom he gave the title of Sheykh al-Islam, and over the Muhajirun a man [of the tribe of 'Imran], named an-Nuby, who received the same title. He appointed them to be chiefs over the two parties, and none but these two persons was allowed to speak to him, or even to approach him. At times he secluded himself even from them, and they would organize military expeditions into the neighbouring country, on their own authority. This they continued to do, and to harass the people of Tihamah 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 Khaulanites, was in itself an exceedingly strong fortress. Also, because a person desiring to reach the stronghold had to perform a day's journey, or part of a day's journey, through a narrow valley enclosed between two mountains. On reaching the foot of that upon which the fortress stood, the traveller had to ascend a torrent for half a day, ere he could attain the summit. Another reason was, that the torrent which occupied the valley flowed past great gorges, commencing near the low country, in which armies, with large quantities of stores and baggage, might lie hidden for a month before their presence could be suspected. Ibn Mahdy's raiders, when they entered a district in the low country, plundered and burnt, and on daylight appearing, they withdrew to the valley in which were these gorges. There they remained, where none could reach them or venture to attack them.

Thus he continued to act with the people of 95 Zabid, 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 Da'y Muhammad ibn Saba Prince of Aden, in the city of Dhu Jiblah. He was seeking aid against

the people of Zabid, which the Da'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 Jiblab to ash-Sharaf, he occupied himself in contriving the death of the Ka'id Surur al-Fabiki. The Ka'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 Ka'id Surur. 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-Dashir, 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 liassite Sharif Ahmad ibn Suieyman, Prince of Sa'dah. 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 Fatik, he would bind himself unto them by oath. The slaves thereupon rose against their master.

(They were the slaves of Fatik) son of Jayyash son of Najah. This Najah was the freedman of Marjan, who was the freedman of Abu~Abd Allah al-Iiusayn ibn Salamah, and Husayn ibn Salamah was the freedman of Rushd the steward, who was the freedman of *Ziyad son of Ibrahim son of Abu'l-Jaysh Ishak son of Muhammad* son of Ibrahim son of 'Ahdallah (son of Muhammad) ibn Ziyad.⁹⁹

The slaves above mentioned slew Fatik in the year 553. But the Sharif found himself unable to defend the people of Zabid against 'Aly ibn Mahdy. The war continued between them and Ibn Mahdy. Several battles were fought and the citizens sheltered themselves behind their walls, but he at length succeeded in capturing the town. The Abyssinian dynasty came to an end and Ibn Mahdy established himself in the Government House, on Friday the 14th of Rajab of the year 554.

'Aly ibn Mahdy survived the event through the remainder of that month and throughout Sha'ban and Ramadan. He died in the following month of Shawwal. He held possession of the city for two months and twenty-one days. He was succeeded by his son al-Mahdy and next by his son 'Abd an-Naby. The latter was deposed, and was replaced by 'Aly ibn Mahdy's son 'Abd Allah, but he was afterwards re-instated, and at the present day he is ruler of the whole of Yaman, with the exception only of Aden, whose p*eople have entered into a treaty with him, under the conditions of which they pay him an annual tribute.

'Abd an-Naby is sovereign both of the Highlands

and Lowlands, and all the kingdoms and treasures of the Kings of Yaman have passed into his hands. Muhammad ibn 'Aly, a citizen of Dim Jiblah, has 97 informed me that the riches of twenty-five Yamanite dynasties have been absorbed into the treasury of Ibn Mahdy. Therein is included the wealth of the nobles of Zabld. 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 Sultans of Wuhazah, a ruling family of ancient and noble race, likewise the fortresses of the surviving members of the Sulayhite family, unto each of whose strongholds a wide extent of territory and large revenues were attached. As to the possessions of the King Mansur son of al-Mufaddal son of Abu 'l-Barakat son of al-Walid, the Hirayarite, he lost all his strongholds, which it is unnecessary to enumerate, also all his treasures, in which were comprised those of the Da'y*'Aly son of Muhammad the Sulayhite, those of al-Mukarram Ahmad son of 'Aly, husband of the Honourable Lady **the**

* Kur. s. xliv. 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-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakat gained possession of the castle and of its contents. They were inherited by his son Mansur ibn al-Mufaddal. For it is believed that Mansur 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 Fatimite supremacy and capital of the Sulayhites, likewise the city of al-Janad and its dependencies, and in 98 like manner Tlialithah and Sharyak, and Dhakhir together with its dependencies. And the possessions of that chieftain, 'Aly ibn Muhammad Prince of Dhakhir, were not inferior to those of Mansur ibn al-Mufaddal. Ibn Mahdy next acquired the kingdom of the Banu 'z-Zarr and the cities of Dhu Jiblah, of Dhu Ashrak and of Ibb, the fortresses and country of the Banu Khaulan, the fortresses of the Banu Babi'ah, namely 'Azzan, Habb and ash-Shamakhi. He captured Sultan Abu 'n-Nurayn Abu 'l Fath, and tho fortress of as-Sawa remained in the possession of Ibn as-Saba'i (the Khaulanite). Ibn Mahdy next conquered the strongholds of the Da'y 'Imran ibn Muhammad, that is to say, the fortresses of Sami' and Matran [and Numayr] situated in the district of al-Ma'afir. He became possessed also of the chief stronghold of Yaman, that which has no equals other than Ta'kar and Habb, that is to say, the fortress of Samadan, the strength of which has become proverbial. No created being can prevail against that stronghold, unless aided by the executors of the Creator's decrees. This enumeration is that

which I have styled a *drop from the ocean of Ibn Mahdy's conquests*. And in the foregoing I have not mentioned the country of the Banu Muzaffar, Saba son of Ahmad the Sulayhite, nor the districts of Haran (Haraz ?), nor Bura', nor the country of Bakll, nor that of Hashid, nor Jublah (Jublan Kaymah ?) with its fortresses and provinces, nor Wadi 'Unnah nor Wadi Zabld, nor other places, such as the valleys of Rim'a and of Raymat al-Asha'ir, their castles and their villages, Mudhaykhirah and its dependencies, which are several days' journey in extent, Damt and Wadi Tahlah (Nakhlah ?).¹⁰⁰

Now, as to the sect to which Ibn Mahdy belonged and the doctrines he held; he followed the rules of the Kanafite school in the interpretation of religious law, but he added to its fundamental articles of faith, the doctrine that regards sin as infidelity and punishable with death. He held in like manner that the penalty of death was to be inflicted upon all pro-
 9§ fessing Muslims who opposed his teaching, that it was lawful to reduce their captured women to the condition of concubines, their children to slavery, and to treat their country as a land of infidels (Dar al-Harb). I have been told, but the responsibility for truth rests upon, the original narrator, that Ibn Mahdy did not implicitly trust the faith of a Muhajir, excepting he proved his sincerity by slaying his own son or his father or his brother. He used to recite the following passage:—*Thou shall not find people who believe in God and in the Day of Judgment, bearing love unto them that oppose God and His apostle, even thotigh 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'an, §. Iviii. 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 Tbu 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
100 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 504), that the severity with which these laws were carried into effect has been relaxed.¹⁰¹

CHAPTER IN WHICH ARE ENUMERATED THE PERSONS WHO
HAVE HELD IN YAMAN THE OFFICE OF DA'Y FOR
THE FATIMITES.

OF their number was the Da'y *Aly son of Muhammad the Sulayhite, who combined the office of Da'y with supreme power as temporal sovereign. Next was his son al-Mukarrain Ahmad the Sulayhite, who likewise combined both offices. After him Sultan Suleyman az-Zawahi exercised the functions of Da'y, but did not hold sovereign rule. Then the Kadi * ibn Malik the Sulayhite combined the office of Da'Vy with that of Judge, but did not exercise sovereign rule. Next 'Aly son of Ibrahim al-Muwaffak fi 'd-dln, son of Najlb ad-Daulah, held the office of Da'y and exercised sovereign rule, under the authority of the Honourable Lady Queen Sayyidah, over part of her dominions.¹⁰²

. Then, when the official notification was received from our Lord the Imam al-Amir bi-Ahkam Illah, Prince of the faithful—upon whom be peace—bringing to the Queen, his accepted Representative in the country of Yaman, the glad tidings of the birth of his son, our Lord the Imam at-Tayyib Abu 'l-Kasim, and of the new-born Prince's designation

* Lacuna in the MS.

as successor to the Iraamate, (it was) conceived in the following terms :—

In the name of God the Merciful, the Gracious.

From the servant of God and His beloved, al-Mansur Abu 'Alv al-Amir bi-Ahkam Illah, Prince of the Faithful,

Unto the Honourable Lady, the Queen, tiie highly esteemed, the pure, the stainless?, the unparagoned of her age, Sovereign Lady of the Kings of Yaman, the Pillar of Islam, the Special friend of the Imam, Treasure of the Faith, Support of the true believers, Refuge unto them that seek aid, Protectress of the truly directed, Favourite of the Prince of the Faithful, Guardian of his favoured servants. May God perpetuate her power and prosperity, and grant her increasing support and assistance. Peace be with thee !

The Prince of the Faithful praiseth God, than whom there is none other God but He, and prayeth Him to bless his
101 ancestor Muhammad, the seal of the Prophets and Lord of the Apostles. May God bless him and his pure family the truly directed Imams, 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 Rabi'u 'l-Akhir 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'l-Kasim, 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 Imamate 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 lear, and a source of happiness J02 to the patient j that the world through hira 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 ! "

* 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-Arair, and al-Hafiz 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 Da'y Ibrahim ibn al-Husayn al-Hamidi.

She next transferred the office of Da'y on behalf of the Khalifah al-Hafiz 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 Hiitim ibn Ibrahim ibn al-Husayn al-Hamidi, until that time.

It was transferred under the reign of al-Hafiz to the family of Zuray'. One of them (or, the first) was the unparagoned Amir Saba son of Abu Su'ud, son of Zuray' son of al-'Abbas the Yamite, who combined the office of Da'y with sovereign rule. He was succeeded by his son, the great, the crowned, the powerful Da'y, Da'y of the Prince of the Faithful, Muhammad son of Saba, in whose hands likewise the functions of Da'y and the royal office were combined.

We have now, in this abridgment, supplied an abstract of the history of the kings of the country of Yaman and of the Da'ys.

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 Jauudi we find the verb *علم* to *know* instead of *علم* to *know*.

103 THE HISTOEY OF YAMAN

EXTRACTS!!] FROM THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

ABD AB-RAHMAN IBN KHALDUN.

THE HISTORY OF YAMAN AND OF THE LSLAMITIC STATES THAT HAVE EXISTED THEREIN SUBJECT TO THE 'ABBZSIDKS AND 'OBAYDITES, AND OF ALL ITS ARAB KINGS, A GENERAL ACCOUNT OP THEIR RISE AND VICISSITUDES, FOLLOWED BY SEPARATE HISTORICAL NOTICES, UNDER THE HEADING OF EACH CITY AND KINGDOM OF THE COUNTRY, ONE BY ONE.

WE have related, in the latter part of the Prophetical History, how Yaman became part of the Islamitic Empire, through the submission of Badhan, its governor under Kisra (Ohosroes), to Islam. The people were converted along with him, and the Prophet appointed him Amir over all its provinces. His residence was at San'a, 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 Badhan over San'a.

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'a, possessed himself of the city, how he slew Shahr son of Badhan, took his wife in marriage, made himself master of the greater part of Yaman, and how most of its people apostatized. The Prophet wrote to his followers and deputies, as also to all who had steadfastly adhered to the faith. Through the medium of Fayruz son of her uncle, they entered into communication with the wife of Shahr, whom al-Aswad had married. The leading part, in these occurrences, was taken by Kays ibn *Abd Yaghuth,* the Muradite. He, Fayruz and Dadhwayh came to al-Aswad 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.

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

Abu Bakr then appointed al-Muhajir ibn Abi Uraayyah to be commander in the war against the apostates of Yaman, and likewise 'Ukrimah ibn Abi Jahl, who was ordered to commence by operating against the apostates of 'Oman, and then to join al-Muhajir. 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

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

* Also known as Ibn Makshuh..

San'a Fayruz the Daylamite, who died A.H. 53. In A.H. 72, when *Abd al-Malik sent al-Hajjaj against Ibn Zubayr, he named him governor of Yaman. When the dynasty of the 'Abbasides was established (the Khallfah Abu 'l-'Abbas 'Abd Allah) as-Saffah appointed over the province his uncle Da-ud ibn 'Aly, and upon Da-ud's death, in A.H. 133, he replaced him by Muhammad, son of his maternal uncle Yazid (read Ziyad), son of 'Obayd Allah son (descendant) of 'Abd al-Madan.

Thenceforward the governorship passed successively from one ruler to another, all of whom established their residence at San'a, until the accession of al-Ma'mun to the Khallfate. The missionaries of the Talibites appeared in the provinces, and Abu 's-Saraya, of the Banu Shayban, proclaimed in 'Irak the supremacy of Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Tabataba, son of Tsma'Il, son of Ibrahim, the latter, brother (read uncle) of the Mahdi, *aii-N'afi az-Zakli'ah* (the pure in spirit), Muhammad, son of 'Abd Allah son of .Hasan (son of Hasan son of 'Aly son of Abu Talib). Disturbances increased in violence and Muhammad ibn Tabataba appointed rulers over the various provinces. He was eventually killed, and Muhammad son of Ja'far as-Sadik was proclaimed in the Hijaz, whilst in Yaman, Ibrahim son of Musa al-Kazim rebelled in A.H. 200.* He did not succeed in his designs, and he was surnamed *al-Jazzar* (the Butcher), by reason of his blood-shedding disposition. Al-Ma'mun sent troops to Yaman, who subdued the country. They removed large numbers of * the leading men, and Yaman acquired a settled condition, in the manner we will proceed to relate.

* See Genealogical Table of Imams, Note 107.

THE DYNASTY OF ZIYAD UNDER THE SUPREMACY OF
THE ABBASIDES.

AMONG the leading men of Yaman sent up to al-Ma'mun there was one, Muhammad son of Ziyad, a descendant of 'Obayd Allah son of Ziyad son of Abu Sufyan. He propitiated the Khalifah, and
105 having engaged to protect Yaman against the Alides, he won his favour and was appointed to the government of the province, where he arrived in A.H. 203. He conquered the Tihamah of Yaman, that is to say, the western country adjoining the sea-coast, and founded there the city of Zabid, which became his place of residence and the capital of his kingdom. He appointed over the highlands his freedman Ja'far. Tihamah was conquered after a struggle with the Arab tribes, and they were subjected to a stipulation that they should not make use of riding horses. Ibn Ziyad became sovereign of the whole of Yaman. His authority was recognized in the provinces of Hadramaut, ash-Shihr and Diyar (the country of the) Banu Kindah, and he acquired the power and dignity formerly enjoyed by the Tubbas (the ancient Kings of Yaman).

There existed at San'a, the chief city of Yaman, the Banu Ya'fur, 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 Abbasides. Besides San'a they possessed Bayhan, Najran,* and Jurash. The last of the family were As'ad ibn Ya'fur and, next after him, his brother Muhammad. The Banu Ya'fur recognized the supremacy of Ibn Ziyad.

'Athtjar, likewise one of the kingdoms of Yaman,

* See *infra*, p. 172, and 'Omirah, *supra*, p. 6. The Paris MS. writes *Tajrat*.

was under the rule of Suleyman ibn Tarf, who also submitted.

Muhammad ibn Ziyad perished, and he was succeeded by his son Ibrahim. Then followed Ziyad son of Ibrahim, then the brother of Ziyad, Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishak son of Ibrahim. His reign endured for a long period, until he attained the age of eighty years. 'Omarah says that he reigned eighty years over Yaman, Hadramaut and the maritime islands. When Abu 'l-Jaysh heard of the assassination of the Khalifah al-Mutawakkil and afterwards of the abdication of al-Musta'm (A.H. 252) and of the subjection of the Khallfate 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.¹⁰⁸

Under his reign Yahya son of al-Husayn son of al-Kasim ar-Rassy son of Ibrahim Tabataba arose in Yaman proclaiming the supremacy of the Zaydites.¹⁰⁷ He came from Sind, whither his grandfather al-Kasim had fled, upon the suppression of the insurrection led by his brother Muhammad and by Abu 's-Saraya, of which we have related the history.

Al-Kasim sought refuge in Sind and there his son Husayn and his grandson Yahya were born. Yahya appeared in Yaman in A.H. 288 and proceeded to 106 Sa'dah, where he made open profession of the doctrines of the Zaydites. He then marched upon San'a, and wrested it from the hands of As'ad ibn Ya'fur, but the Banu Ya'fur recaptured the city and Yahya returned to Sa'dah. His followers gave him the title of Imam 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

Yaman. Muhammad (read 'Aly) ibn al-Fadl established his authority in their name, in A.H. 340, over Aden La⁵ah and over the highlands of Yaman, as far as Mount Mtidhaykhirah.

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'a, 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'a, 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. 871. 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 1,306,000 'Asbarlyah 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 Ziyad. His sister and his freedman Rashid the Abyssinian became the guardians of the child. Rashid appointed over the highlands his mamluk Hasan (Husayn) ibn Salamah the Nubian. Thenceforth the office of wazlr passed from one Abyssinian

* Read: Amounted in A.H. 366 to one million 'Aththarlyah 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 Haukal. (Note 12.)

or Nubian freedman to another. They acquired absolute control over the state, and the Ziyadite dynasty at length came to an end in A.H. 407 (read 409).

The child died and was succeeded by another, also of the family of the Banu Ziyad, younger than his predecessor. Ibn Sa'Id remarks that 107 'Omiirah knew not his name, in consequence of the absolute control exercised over the Prince by the chamberlains. He means 'Omarah, the historian of Yaman. It is, however, said that this second child bore the name of Ibrahim. He was placed under the guardianship of his aunt and of Marjau one of the freedmen of Hasan (Husayn) ibn Salamah. Marjan became possessed of supreme power. He had two freedmen, Kays * and Najah. He placed the infant Prince, the nominal King, under the care of Kays (Nafis), who was appointed to reside at Zabid along with the child. Najah he appointed over all the provinces other than Zabid, including the cities of al-Kadra and al-Mahjam. Marjau preferred Kays (Nafis) to Najah, between whom jealousy consequently arose. It was stated to Kays (Nafis) that the child's aunt favoured Najah, and was in secret correspondence with him. He seized her (and the child), with the concurrence of his master Marjan, and buried them alive. He assumed exclusive and supreme power, adopted the use of the royal umbrella, and put his own name on the coinage.

-In extreme anger at what had occurred, Najah placed himself at the head of an army, and marched against Kays (Nafis), who came forth to meet him. Several engagements and battles took place and Kays (Nafis) was eventually defeated and killed, along with five thousand men of his army. Najah gained possession of Zabid in A.H. 412, and buried

* See Note 13, last par.

Kays (Nafis) and his master Marjan 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 Khallfah at Baghdad, and was formally appointed to rule over Yaman. He continued to exercise absolute sway over Tihamah and the highlands, and he abolished in the mountain districts, the authority of the rulers appointed by Hasan (Husayn) ibn Salarmah. The neighbouring kings dreaded his power, and he continued in the enjoyment of that high estate until his assassination by 'Aly as-Sulayhi, the representative of the 'Obaydites, who encompassed his death, in A. H. 452, by means of poison administered by a female slave he sent to the King.

Najah was succeeded at Zabld by his freedman Kahlan. Afterwards as-Sulayhi possessed himself of the city and ruled over it, as will be related.

THE HISTORY OF THE BANU 'S-SUXAYHI, WHO RULED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE 'OLIAYDITES, AND PROPAGATED THEIR SUPREMACY IN YAMAN.

THE Kadi. Muhammad ibn 'Aly the Hamdanite, surnamed as-Sulayhi, was the chief of Haraz in the country of the Ifamdanites. He was descended from the tribe of the Banu Yam, and there grew up unto him a son named 'Aly. The office of Da'y for the 'Obaydites was at that time held by 'Amir son of 'Abd Allah az-Zawahi (the Zawahite), so 108 named after a village in Haraz. It was said that he possessed the book *al-Jafr*) one of the treasures, it was represented, of the 'Obaydite Imams, and it was pretended that the name of 'Aly, son of the Kadi Muhammad, was mentioned in the book.

'Aly studied under the directions of the Da'y and received his teaching. "When the youth's merits and talent became manifest, the Da'y showed him his name and particulars describing him, set forth in the book. "Take care of your son," he said to the Kadi, "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 Sarawak. He attained a great reputation, his name became widely known, and people commonly spoke of him as Sultan of Yaman. The Da'y 'Amir az-Zawahi 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 Hamdan, 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 Masar, a fortress on the summit of one of the mountains of Ijaraz, which he strengthened. His power waxed great, and he wrote to ai-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'a, 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 Tihamah, and in A.H. 452, as we

* Between the 8th and 13th of the month of Dhu 'l-JEtijah.

have mentioned, he brought about the death of Najah, freedman of the Ziyadites and King of Zabid, 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'a, and he took with him his wife Asma daughter of Shihab, as also the kings who had their abode with him, such as Ibn al-Kurandi, Ibn Ya'fur at-Tubba'y, Wa'il ibn 'Isa al-Wulmzy, and others. Sa'Id ibn Najah made a night attack upon him at al-Mahjam and killed him. This happened in A. 11. 4G3 (read 473).

He was succeeded by his son al-Mukarram Ahmad, who possessed himself of supreme power and established himself at San'a. His mother, 109 Asma daughter of Shihab, had been captured by Sa'Id 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'id, *al-Ahwal*. Come to me before *my* delivery, or disgrace will ensue, such as time will never efface." Al-Mukarram started from San'a in the year 475, at the head of three thousand men. The Abyssinians numbered twenty thousand, but he routed them. Sa'Id 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-Sulayhi and of his brother were displayed. He took them down and buried them, and unsheathed the sword in vengeance against the city. He re-instated his maternal uncle As'ad ibn Shihab over Tihamah as before, giving him Zabid for his place of residence, and he then departed with his mother for San'a.

She conducted the affairs of his kingdom. After a time, As'ad ibn Shihab having collected the tribute of Tihamah, transmitted it under the charge of his wazir Ahmad ibn Salim, and Asma distributed the money among the envoys from the Arab tribes. She died in A.H. 477,* and in 479, al-Mukarram lost possession of Zabld, which was recovered by Sa'Id ibn Najah. Al-Mukarram removed to Dim Jiblah in 480 and appointed over San'a. 'Imran ibn al-Fadl the Hamdanite.

'Imran became independent and transmitted the sovereignty to his descendants. His son Ahmad assumed the title of Sultan, under which he acquired great celebrity. He was succeeded by his son Hatirn son of Ahmad, but after him there was at San'a no Prince of any renown, until the city was conquered by the Suleyranites, upon that family being overcome at Mecca by the Hashimites, as is mentioned in their history.† Dhu Jiblah is a city founded by 'Abd Allah son of Muhammad as-Sulayhi in the year 458. Al-Mukarram removed thither by the advice of his wife Sayyidah daughter of Ahmad, who acquired the direction of the affairs of his kingdom, after the death of his mother Asma. He made Dhu Jiblah his place of residence and built in that city the *Dar al-'Izz* (the abode of Majesty). He applied himself to contrive the death of Sa'Id ibn Najah and succeeded in his design, as we will relate in the history of Ibn Najah.

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 Suleyjanites never conquered San'a, Ibn Khaldun, misled, it would appear by Ibn Sa'Id, has hopelessly confused the Suleymanites and Kasnitea. But it will indeed be seen that the Bassite Imams themselves did not at the period referred to, nor for long after it, become permanently possessed of San'a. And Ibn Khaldun's statement touching 'Imran ibn al-Fadl and his descendants, is likewise incorrect. See Note 8, the latter part.

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, aU Mansur Saba son of Ahmad son of al-Muzaffar son of 'Aly as-Sulayhi, Lord of the fortress of Ashyah.¹⁰⁸ He was invested by al-Mustansir the 'Obaydite and made that fortress his place of
 110 residence, whilst Sayyidah daughter of Ahmad remained at Dhu Jiblah. He sought her in marriage, but she refused, whereupon he laid siege to the castle she inhabited. Her uterine brother Suleyman ibn 'Amir az-Zawiihi assured him that she would not consent, unless commanded by al-Mustansir the Egyptian Khallfah. Al-Mansiir accordingly made application to al-Mustansir, who complied with his request. A eunuch arrived from the Court of the Khallfah, 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 Da'y Mansur Abu Himyar Saba son of Ahmad son of al-Muzaffar, and appoints unto thee a dowry of one hundred thousand dinars in money and fifty thousand dinars 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 Dur al-'Izz. It is said that she sent him a slave girl who bore an exceeding resemblance to herself, that the girl stood at the head of his couch, and that he never raised his eyes unto her until morning, when he returned to Ashyah, whilst the Princess remained at Dhu Jiblah.

The person possessed of paramount influence over the Queen was al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakat

* Kur'iiin, S. xxxiii. v. 3G

of the Banu Yam, the tribe to which the Sulayhites belonged.* He invited his allies of the tribe of Janb to join him. He appointed an abode for them at Dim Jiblah, close to his own place of residence, and they supported him in warlike enterprises.

Sayyidali 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 Najfih. 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 Fbrahim ibn Zeydan, paternal uncle of 'Omarah the poet. They swore allegiance to al-Jamal, on the condition that he should put an end to the supremacy of the Iinamites. Al-Mufaddal hastening back besieged them, and the Banu Khaulan came to the assistance of the rebels. Al-Mufaddal adopted a conciliatory and temporizing policy towards the Khaulanites, but perished in the course of the siege, in A.H. 504.

The Lady Sayyidah thereupon came to the spot and prevailed upon the Khaulanites to enter into an alliance, the terms of which she faithfully
 111 observed. She constituted herself guardian of the family and son of al-Mufaddal. The castle of -Ta'kar passed into the hands of 'Imran ibn az-Zarr the Khaulanite and of his brother Suleyman, and 'Imran 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 'I-Barakat as a Ilimyarite.

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 Da'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 Da'y al-Mansur Saba son of Ahmad.

Al-Mansur Saba 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 Muzaffar, and al-Mufaddal died soon afterwards, as has been related. Sayyidah undertook the guardianship of his son Mansur, who did not hold independent authority. But upon his advancing in years, he became possessed of the dominion held by his father over the fortress of Ta'kar and its castles, over Dhu Jiblah and its fortresses, and of that formerly exercised by the Banu Muzatfar over Ashyah and its fortresses. After a time he sold the castle of Dhu Jiblah to the Zuray'ite Da'y, the Prince of Aden, for 100,000 dinars, and he continued to sell his fortresses, one after the other, until none remained unto him but that of Ta'izz, of which he was deprived by 'Aly son of Mahdy, after he had reigned for eighty years and had attained the age of one hundred.* And God, be He magnified and exalted, possesseth supreme knowledge of the truth.

* 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 Kablan, after having destroyed him (read Najah) by poison in A.H. 452 with the assistance of the slave girl he had sent him.

U2 Najah had three sons, Mu'iirik, 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-Mahjam, which he had reached on his way to Mecca. He had with him five thousand Abyssinianst

* Read Abyasinians, See *eu)ra* p. 83.

† See *supra*, p. 30.

who, however, made no attempt to defend him* His troops were scattered and as-Sulayhi was killed, falling, it is said, at the hands of J ayyash. This occurred in the year 473. 'Abd Allah as-Sulayhi brother of 'Aly, was likewise killed, as well as one hundred and seventy men of the family of Sulayhi, and 'Aly's wife Asma, daughter of his uncle Shihab, was captured together with thirty-five Kahtanite kings, who had been deprived of their dominion in Yaman. Sa'id sent to the troops that had been despatched against himself and against his brother, granted them an amnesty and took them into his own service. He then marched upon Zabid, which was ruled by As'ad ibn Shihab the brother of Asma, wife of as-Sulayhi. As'ad fled to San'a, and Sa'id made his entrance into Zabid with Asma, the wife of as-Sulayhi, borne in front of him in a litter, close to which were carried the heads of 'Aly and of his brother. He placed Asma in the palace of Zabid, and set up the two heads opposite the casement of her apartment. The hearts of the people were filled with dread, and Sa'id assumed the title of *Nastr ad'* 113 *JJaulah* (Defender of the State).

The commanders of the fortresses made themselves masters of the places that had been entrusted to them. At San'a, al-Mukarram son of as-Sulayhi, was thrown into a state of stupor and all but utter helplessness.

His mother Asma wrote to him from Zabid, stimulating and inciting him: "I am great with child," she wrote, "by Sa'id. Come therefore unto me, before disgrace light upon thee and upon the whole Arab nation." Al-Mukarram thereupon contrived to instigate Sa'id son of Najah into an attack upon San'a, employing as his medium one of the commanders on the frontier, and flattering Sa'id with promises of victory.¹⁰⁸

Sa'id consequently advanced at the head of

twenty thousand Abyssinians. Al-Mukarram issued forth from San'a, and put the enemy to flight. He turned their position so as to intercept the road to Zabld, and Sa'Id fled to the Island of Dahlak.

Al-Mukarram entered Zabld and proceeded to his mother, whom he found seated at the casement near which were exposed the heads of as-Sulayhi and of his brother. He took them down and buried them. And he appointed over Zabid his maternal uncle As'ad in the year 497 (read 475). He then departed for San'a, but Sa'Id subsequently returned to Zabld in A.H. 479.

Al-Mukarram wrote to Abu 'Abd Allah ibn Ya'fur (read Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husayn), Lord of the fortress of Sha'ir, desiring him to incite Sa'Id against himself, to urge upon him the capture of Dhu Jiblah and to represent, as the motive of his action, that al-Mukarram was absorbed in the pursuit of pleasure, that he lived in a state of subjection to his wife Sayyidah daughter of Ahmad, and that he was afflicted with paralysis. The artifice was crowned with success. Sa'Id came forth at the head of thirty thousand Abyssinians, and al-Mukarram prepared an ambush for him below the castle of Sha'ir. Sa'Id fell a victim to treachery. His troops were routed and he himself killed. His head was put up at Zabld on the spot, close to the casement, where the head of as-Sulayhi was formerly exposed. Al-Mukarram became master of the city of Zabld, and its subjection to the Abyssinians ceased. Jayyash fled accompanied by his brother's wazir Khalf son of Abu Tahir the Marwanite. 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) Sarandlb and who cheered them with happy predictions concerning their future fortunes. They returned to Yaman

and the wazlr Khalf proceeded in advance to Zabid, where he spread a report of the death of Jayyash, and obtained an amnesty for himself. Jayyash also came to Zabid, but remained in concealment.

The Governor of Zabid at that time was As'ad ibn Shihab, the maternal uncle of al-Mukarram, and along with him 'Aly ibn al-Kumm, wazlr of al-Mukarram. This man entertained feelings of intense hatred against al-Mukarram and his dynasty. The wazlr 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 Najah. Whilst playing, Khalf was one day speaking in a manner calculated to stimulate the dislike of his hosts to the Sulayhites,* when 'Aly ibn al-Kumm overheard him. 'Aly questioned him and Khalf revealed his purpose, swearing him to secrecy. During that time Jayyash was collecting his Abyssinian followers and spending money upon them, until they gathered to the number of five thousand men/ He then suddenly, in the year 482, rose in insurrection at Zabid. He seized the Government House, but treated As'ad ibn Shihab with kindness, in consideration of the infirmities with which he was afflicted, and set him at liberty. Jayyash became King of Zabid and of Tihamah and instituted, the Khutbah in the name of the 'Abbasides, whilst the Sulayhites recited it in the name of the 'Obaydites. Al-Mukarram unceasingly sent the Arabs on predatory expeditions against Zabid, until Jayyash died at the commencement (read at the end) of the fifth century. He bore the surname

* I have read $\text{J}\bar{\text{U}}$ instead of $\text{J}\bar{\text{U}}$ but Ibn Khaldun's story, it will be observed, is not perfectly clear, nor is it consistent with 'Ojnah's narrative.

of Abu 't-Tami (the Exalted), and was celebrated for his justice.

He was succeeded by his son al-Fatik, who, however, was opposed by his two brothers, Ibrahim and *Abd al-Wahid. 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 Mansur ibn Fatik, a boy below the age of puberty, and they conducted the affairs of his kingdom; but the Prince's uncle Ibrahim 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-Wahid thereupon rose in the city. Mansur sent to al-Mufaddal son of Abu 'l-Barakat 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.

Mansur remained king of Zabid until one of his slaves, Abu Mansur Mann Allah, was appointed his wazlr and poisoned him, in the year 517.

Mann Allah raised to the throne the Prince's son Fatik, a young child, in whose name he governed the kingdom. The wazlr was accused of attempting the honour of the women of the family of Najah, so that even the mother of the infant king Fatik fled from him, and took up her residence outside the city. Mann Allah was enterprising and brave, and he is celebrated for his wars with the enemy. He was
115 attacked by Ibn Najib (ad-Daulah), the Da'y of the Alides, against whom he successfully defended himself. It is he who erected stately colleges at Zabid for the study of Jurisprudence. He also applied himself to the protection of the pilgrims and it was he that built the walls of the city. But after a time he addressed solicitations to the daughter of Mu'arik son of Jayyash. Perceiving no means of escape

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 Najah.

'Ornarah 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 onfeebled, but no one succeeded to a firm hold of his office until the appointment, as wazir, of Surur the Abyssinian, who was surnamed al-Fatiki, and who was one of the freedmen in the personal service of the mother of Fatik.

According to 'Ornarah, Fatik son of Mansur died in A.H. 531. He was succeeded by the son of his paternal uncle, Fatik son of Muhammad son of Fatik, with Surur as his wazir, the conductor of the affairs of the realm and of the wars with his enemies. Surur was a constant attendant at the Mosque, where he was at length slain by an assassin, whom 'Aly ibn Mahdy the Kharijite 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 Najah were thrown into a state of consternation. They were attacked by 'Aly ibn Mahdy the Kharijite, who fought many battles with them and besieged them for a long period of time. They besought assistance of the Sharif al-Mansur Ahmad ibn Hamzah the Suleymanite, who ruled over Sa'dah.* He consented to help them, on condition of their raising him to the throne after killing their master Fatik 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!

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Abu l'-Jaysh ibn Ziyad.

Rashid the Abyssinian, his freedman.

Hasan (read Husayn) ibn Salamah the Nubian, his freedman.

Marjan, his freedman.

I. Najah, his freedman.

II. Said.

III. Jayyash.

Abd al-Wahid.

Ibrahim.

IV. Fatik,

Mu'arik.

Muhammad.

V. Mansur.

' I

f

VII. Fatik.

VI. Fatik.

THE HISTORY OF THE DYNASTY OF THE BANU ZURAY*
AT ADEN, DAYS 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-Bayhaki claim to be descended from Ma'n ibn Za'idah, and who possessed themselves of the city in the days of al-Ma'mun.¹⁰ They refused submission to the Banu Ziyad, who were obliged to content themselves with having the Khutbah and coinage in their names.

When the Da'y 'Aly ibn Muhammad as-Sulayhi conquered Yaman, he maintained in favour of the Banu Ma'n the protection due to them as Arabs, and imposed upon them the payment of a fixed tribute. But his son Ahmad al-Mukarram expelled the Banu Ma'n from the city and appointed over it
117 the Banu 'l-Karam, a family belonging to his tribe, that of Jusham ibn Yam, a subdivision of the Banu Hamdan. That family was the most nearly related to him in the tribe. The province remained under their rule for a time, but discord arose among them and they became divided into two parties, the family of Mas'ud son of al-Karam, and the descendants of Zuray' son of al-^f Abbas son of al-Karam. The latter after severe fighting prevailed over their opponents.

Ibn Sa'ld says that the member of the dynasty who first attained celebrity, was the Da'y Saba son of Abu Su'ud 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 'l Gharat son of Mas'iid son of al-Karam, lord of Za'azi'. He (Saba) wrested Aden from his ('Aly's) hands, after the infliction of much suffering and at the cost of a heavy expenditure of money on the desert Arabs. He died in A.H. 533, seven months after the capture of the city. He was succeeded by his son al-A'azz, whose place of abode was the castle of ad-Dumluwah, the fortress, which (by reason of its great strength) no enemy ever desires to

attack.¹¹¹ Bilal ibn Jarir, 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 Muhammad son of Saba son of Abu Su'iid son of Zuray*. Muhammad ibn Saba, in fear for his own safety, fled to Dhu Jiblah and placed himself under the protection of Mansur ibn al-Mufaddal, the Sulayhite King of the Highlands of Yaman.

Al-A'azz died shortly after, and Bilal sent for Muhammad ibn Saba, who thereupon came to Aden. A deed of investiture had come from Egypt in the name of al-A'azz. The name of Muhammad ibn Saba was substituted for that of his predecessor. Among the titles of honour which the charter conferred were those of *the Great, the Crowned, the Mighty Da'y, the Sword of the Prince of the Faithful*, all which were assumed by Muhammad. Bilal gave him his daughter in marriage and placed at his disposal the wealth he had accumulated in his treasury. After a time Bilal died leaving immense riches, which were inherited by Muhammad ibn Saba and which he devoted to great and benevolent objects. He purchased the fortress of Dhu Jiblah, the residence of the Sulayhite kings, from Mansur ibn al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakat, as we have already mentioned, and he married Sayyidah (read Arwa) the daughter of ('Aly son of ?) 'Abd Allah the Sulayhite. Muhammad died in A.H. 548 and was succeeded by his son 'Tmran son of Muhammad son of Saba. The affairs of his government were conducted by Yasir son of Bilal, and 'Imran died in 118 A.H. 560, leaving two infant sons, Muhamraad and Abu Su'ud. Yasir 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 Kalakis

the poet of Alexandria. The following line is from an ode he wrote in praise of Yasir :—

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

Yasir was the last sovereign of the Zuray'ite dynasty. "When Shams ad-Daulah Sayf al-Islam (read Turan 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 Yasir ibn Bilfil. 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 Ayyub, as we will relate in their history. The city of al-Juwah, 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 KHARIJITE AND
OF HIS SONS, THEIR RULE IN YAMAN, ITS ELSE
AND ITS FALL.

THIS man was a native of al-'Anbarah on the borders of the sea near Zabld. 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 'Irak, 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'an, 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 *Mausim* he attended it mounted on a dromedary he possessed. When the mother of Fatik gained paramount influence over the Banu Jayyfish, in the days of her son Fatik son of Mansur, she became a firm believer in him, and she released him, his kindred and the families with which he was allied by marriage, from payment of the imposts on their lands. They prospered and were held in honour, they made use of riding horses, and the
 119 party they formed became powerful. It became 'Aly's habit to say in the course of his sermons, that the time was near, meaning thereby the time of his manifestation, a thing that was widely spoken of throughout the country. The mother of Fatik, until she died in A.H. 545, restrained the state officials from molesting him.

The people of the highlands had induced Ibn Mahdy to bind himself by oath to support them, and in 538 he came forth from (into?) Tihamah and reached al-Kadra; but he was defeated and returned to the mountains, where he remained until 541. After that, the Lady the mother of Fatik restored him to his home, and she died in 545. Thereupon he departed and joined the Banu Khaulan, taking up his abode with one of their tribes known by the name of IJaywan (tlaydan?), 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

steep pass. 'Aly Mahdy gave these people the designation of *Amdr*, and upon his companions, who had accompanied him from Tihamah, he bestowed the name *al-ftTuhajirutt*. He appointed a chief over the *Ansar*, of the name of Saba, and another over the Muhajirun to whom he gave the title of Sheykh al-Isliira, and whose name was an-Nubah. With the exception of these two men, 'Aly Mahdy allowed no one to penetrate into his presence.

He now despatched depredating parties into the province of Tihamah, and his success was promoted by the deserted condition of the country adjoining Zabid. He stopped the traffic on the public roads, spread ruin throughout the district, and he penetrated to the castle of ad-Dathir (read Dashir), half a stage from Zabid. He plotted the assassination of the Regent Surur and succeeded in his design, as has already been related. He now began to harass the city with repeated attacks. 'Omiirah says that he attacked it on seventy occasions and besieged it for a long period of time. At length the citizens besought assistance of the Sharif Ahmad ibn Hamzah, the Suleymanite Prince of Sa'dah. He gave them aid, but stipulated that they should slay their master Fatik son of Muhammad, and they accordingly killed him in the year 553. The Sharif was proclaimed sovereign, but was unable to withstand his enemies and took to flight. Thereupon 'Aly Mahdy seized the city in Rajab 554, but he died three months after his conquest.

He had assumed in the Khutbah the titles of *the Imam, the Mahdy, Prince of the Faithful, Subjugator of infidels and of the wicked** He followed the doctrines of the Kharijites, denying the authority
 120 both of 'Aly and of 'Othman, 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 'Omarah, the penalty of death was likewise inflicted upon any Muslim, of whatever sect, who opposed him, and the wives and children of the condemned were reduced to slavery. His people believed him to be under Divine protection. 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 Zabid, 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 Turan Shah ibn Ayyub, 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 Zabid 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 Turan 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 freed men, the Banu Rasul (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 freed men.

WE will now proceed to give a brief historical sketch of the capitals and cities of Yaman, one by one, as supplied by Ibn Sa'id.

YAMAN forms part of the Arabian Peninsula and comprises seven royal seats of government. It is divided into two parts. Tihamah and al-Jibal (the highlands). Tihamah consists of two kingdoms, that of Zabid and that of Aden. The name Tihamah denotes the low country of Yaman adjoining the sea-coast and extending from as-Sirrayn on the borders of Hijaz, to the extremity of the province of Aden, round by the Indian Ocean. Ibn Sa'id states that the Arabian Peninsula is situated in the First Climate and that it is bounded by the Indian Ocean on the south, by the Sea of Suez on the west, and by the Persian Sea on the east. Yaman belonged in ancient days to the Tababi'ah (the Tubbae). It is a more productive country than the Hijaz. Most of its inhabitants are descendants of kahtan, but it contains also people of the tribe of

'Anz son of Wa'il.¹¹⁴ It is ruled at the present day by the Banu Rasul, clients of the Banu Ayyub, and their capital is Ta'izz, which succeeded al-Jawwah, where the Rasul ites at first took up their abode. The Imam of the Zaydites resides at Sa'dah in Yaman.

ZABID (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 Muhammad ibn Ziyad in the days of al-Ma'mun, 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.* Zabid is now part of the kingdom of the Banu Rasul. It was formerly the seat of government of the Banu Ziyad and of their freedmen, and it was conquered by the Banu Sulayhi, whose history has been related.

'ATHTHAB, HALF and ASH-SHARJAH are provinces of Zabid, in its northern part, and are known as the dominions of Ibn Tarf. They extend over a distance of seven days' journey by two days*, from ash-Sharjah to Haly. From the latter to Mecca is eight days' journey. 'Aththaris the seat of govern-
122 ment, and it is situated on the borders of the sea. Suleyman ibn Tarf held the place against Abu 'l-Jaysh ibn Ziyad, and his revenues amounted to 500,000 dinars. After a time he submitted to Abu'l Jaysh, introduced his name in the Khutbah and paid him tribute. At a later period, the kingdom passed into the hands of the Suleymanites, descendants of Hasan, and Amirs of Mecca, on their being expelled from that city by the Hashimites. † Ghalib (read

* See Ibn Batutah, vol. i i . p. 167-8.

† Touching this statement and others by Ibn Khaldun to the flame effect, see Note 130.

Ghanim) ibn Yahya belonged to that family, and he paid tribute to the Prince of Zabid. It was from him that Muflih the freedman of Fatik sought assistance against Surur. Ghanim was succeeded by 'Isa the son of Hamzah, who was one of the sons of Ghanim. When the Ghuzz conquered Yaman, Yahya the brother of 'Isa was taken prisoner and carried to 'Irak. 'Isa 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 Zabid, at a distance of three days' journey from that city. The Arabs who inhabit it belong to the tribes of Hakam and Ja'far (read Ju'fi ?), two sub-divisions of the tribe of Sa'd al-'Aslirah. Ginger is exported from that province.

AS-SIRUAYN is the furthestmost place of the Tihamah of Yamau. It is on the borders of the sea, unwallled, and its houses are built of reeds. It was conquered about A.H. 650 by Rajih 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 Zabid. It belonged to Ibn Tarf. He was supported in that district by twenty thousand Abyssinians. When the Da'y as-Sulayhi arose, he attacked Ibn Tarf 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 Zabid and of those that border on the middle road between the sea and the mountains, that az-Zara'ib stands on the Zabid road, north of that city, and that the road is the great highway to Mecca. 'Omarah 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 Zabid. 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 Sulayhites became supreme over the country, the Da'y 'Aly confirmed the Banu Ma'n in their government. But his son Ahmad al-Mukarram afterwards ejected them, and appointed over the country the Banu al-Karam, of the sub-tribe of Jusham son of Yam, his kinsmen, and like himself, descendants of Hamdan. The Banu Zuray', a family of the Banu Karam, became possessed of exclusive power, and they inherited the office of Da'y held by the Sulayhites, as well as their sovereignty, all which has already been related. 'Aly ibn Mahdy was not able to subdue the Zuray'ites, and he was obliged to content himself with the tribute they paid him, until they were conquered by Shams ad-Daulah Turan Shah son of Ayyub, as hereinbefore mentioned.

* ADEN-ABYAN is a well-built city in the neighbourhood of ash-Shihr.*

AZ-ZA'AZI* stands in the valleys of Aden, and belonged to the Banu Mas'ud ibn al-Karam, the rivals of the Banu Zuray'.

AK-JAWWAH was built by the Zuray'ite kings in the neighbourhood of Aden. The Ayyubites made it their place of residence, but afterwards they removed to Ta'izz.

* See Note 11.

THE CA. STLE 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 Da'y ('Aly), in A.H. 458. 'Aly's son al-Mukarram removed thither from the castle of San'a 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 Da'y, to Saba son of Ahmad son of al-Muzaffar the Sulayhite, who occupied the castle of Ashyah. 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-
124 Daulah came from Egypt as Da'y. He abode in the city of Janad and obtained support from the tribe of Hamdan. Sayyidah fought against him, aided by the Banu Janb and Khaulan, until he embarked at sea and was drowned. After the death of her husband al-Mukarram, her affairs were directed by al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakat, who established his influence over her.

AT-TA'KAR, in Mikhlaf Ja'far, belonged to the Banu Sulayhi and subsequently to Sayyidah. Al-Mufaddal ibn Abi 'l-Barakat having asked for it, she delivered the place to him and he dwelt therein, until he went forth and besieged the Banu Najah at Zabid. His absence prolonged itself, and certain fakhs (Jurists) revolted at Ta'kar, killed al-Mufaddal's deputy and proclaimed Ibrahim ibn Zaydan, one of their number, who was uncle of 'Omarah the poet. They asked assistance of the Banu Khaulan, and al-Mufaddal thereupon returned and besieged them, as we have already related.

THE FORTRESS OK KHDDAD (Khadid) belonged to 'Abd Allah ibti Ya'la the Sulayhite, and is situated

in the Mikhlaf (province) of Ja'far. Al-Mufaddal had introduced into the fortresses of the province, a large number of Khaulanites belonging to the tribes of Bahr, Munabbih, Rizah (Razih ?) and Sha'b (Sha'b-Hay). When al-Mufaddal died, the Khaulanites seized the fortress of Ta'kar, but Dhu Jiblab continued in the possession of Mansur son of al-Mufaddal, under the guardianship of Sayyidah, as already related. Muslim ibn az-Zarr the Khaulanite suddenly arose and captured the fortress of Khudad from 'Abd Allah ibn Ya'la the Sulayhite. 'Abd Allah tied to the fortress of Masdud and Sayyidah appointed Muslim ibn az-Zarr successor to al-Mufaddal. She acted with scrupulous good faith towards him and towards his two brothers (read sons) 'Imran and Suleyman. He died and his son Suleyman 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 Suleyman contrived by treachery to dispossess him. The Khaulanites extended their hands (oppressively) over the people, and Sayyidah sought assistance against the two brothers from the Banu Janb. 'Imran and Suleyman were the Queen's advisers, and it was they who by her orders expelled the Da'y Najib ad-Daulah from the city of Janad and from Yaman.

THE FORTRESS OF MASDUD is one of the (great) fortresses of the province of Ja'far, which are five
 125 (*sic*) in number, namely, Dhu Jiblah, at-Ta'kar and Khudad. When the Banu Khaulan wrested Khudad from the hands of 'Abd Allah ibn Ya'la the Sulayhite, he took refuge, as we have mentioned, in the fortress of Masdud. The Khaulanites took it from him likewise, but they were dispossessed by Zakariya ibn Shakl the Bahrite.

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'afir, that of Janad, of Had,* and the fortress of Samadan.

The fortress of Masdud was afterwards held by Mans fir son of al-Mufaddal son of Abu 'l-Barakat, who sold it to the Banu Zuray', as already mentioned.

SAN'A was the capital of the dynasty of the Tubbas before the days of Islam, and was the first city built in Yaman. It is said to have been built by 'Ad, and it was called Uwal (or Uwwal), signifying primacy, in the dialect of the country.¹¹⁶ Kasr Ghumdan, in its neighbourhood, was one of the seven temples. It was built by ad-Dahhak and dedicated to Zuhrah.f It was an object of pilgrimage, and was destroyed by 'Othman (the third Khalfah). San'a 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 Kahlan, and San'a did not acquire celebrity as a royal seat (at that period), until it became the residence of the Banu Sulayhi. It was conquered by the Zaydites and then by the Suleymanites, after it had been held by the Sulayhites.

THE CASTLE OF KAHLAK is one of the dependencies of San'a, and it belonged to the Banu Ya'fur, a family (descendants ?) of the Tubbas.† It was built near

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

† Commonly regarded as the Arabian Venus.

% Dr. Glaser marks upon his map a place *Kohlan*, about ten miles N.E. of Ijtajah, a position which does not correspond with that mentioned in our text. But Ibn Khaldun's statements must not unfrequently be received with caution. See Note 8, footnote.

San'a by Ibrahim (son of Muhammad son of Ya'fur), who possessed Sa'dah, San'a, Najran and other places in the highlands of Yaraan. The Banu 'r-Rassy, the Zaydite Imams, made war upon the Banu Ya'fur and conquered Sa'dah and Najran. The Banu Ya'fur had recourse, for protection against their enemies, to the walls of the castle of Kahlan. Al-Bayhaki says that the castle was strengthened by As'ad ibn Ya'fur and that he fought against the Banu 'r-Rassy and against the Banu Ziyad in the days of Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishak.

THE FORTRESS OF ASSAMADAN is also a dependency of San'a. It contained the treasury of the Banu 'l-Kurandi the Hirayarites, until the fortress was taken by 'Aly as-Sulayhi. Al-Mukarram restored¹²⁰ to them some of their fortresses, which they held until they were deprived of power by 'Aly ibn Mahdy. They possessed the province of Ja'far, in which the city of Dhu Jiblah and the fortress of at-Ta'kar are situated. The Mikhlaf Ja'far consists of the provinces of Janad and of Ma'atir. The seat of government of the Banu Kurandi was Samadan, a fortress stronger than Dumluwah.

THE CASTLE OF MINHAB is one of the castles dependent upon San'a, situated in the highlands. It was taken by the Banu Zuray' and was appropriated by a member of that family, al-Mufadolal, son of 'Aly son of Radi son of the IJa'y Muhammad son of Saba son of Zuray*. The author of the *KharUah*^m gives him the title of Sultan. He further mentions that al-Mufaddal was owner of the castle of Minhah 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 ALMUDHSYKHIRAH is near San'a. The province of Ja'far was founded by Ja'far, freed man of Ibn Ziyad Sultan of Yaraan, and was named after him.

'ADEN-LA*AH is close to al-Mudhaykhirab.* It is the place in which the Shi'ah doctrines were first openly preached in Yaman. The Da'y Muhammad (read 'Aly) ibn al-P'adl was a native of 'Aden-La'ah, and it was to that place that Abu 'Abd Allah ash-Shiya'i, the Tsmailito missionary to North Africa, came. It was there also that 'Aly son of Muhammad the Sulayhite studied in the days of his youth. 'Aden-La' ah was the chief centre for the propagation of the Israailite doctrines in Yaman, Muhammad ('Aly) ibn al-Fndl was the Da'y in the days of Abu 'l-Jaysh ibn Ziyad and of As'ad ibn Ya'fur.

BAYHAN is mentioned by 'Omarah among other districts in the mountains.t It was possessed by Nash wan ibn Sa'id the Kahtanite (and Himyarite).

TA'IZZ is one of the greatest of the mountain fortresses that overlook Tihamah. It has always been one of the royal strongholds. It is now the seat of the Rnsiilite dynasty, and it is regarded as one of the chief cities of their kingdom. Among other Yamanito kings by whom it was inhabited, was Mansur son of al-Mtifaddal son of Abu 'l-Barakat, of the family of the Sulayhites (read the Hirayarite). His father was (became) possessed of Ashyah and made himself master of the fortresses owned by the Banu Abi 'l-Barakat and by the Banu 'l-Muzaffar. His son Mansur inherited them, but sold them one I27 after the other to the Da'y the son of al-Muzaffar and to the Zuray'ite Da'y (read, sold them to the Da'y Muhammad ibn Saba the Zuray'ite), until none remained to him but Ta'izz, of which he was deprived by Ibn Mahdy.

THE FORTRESS OF ASHYAR- is one of the greatest of the mountain strongholds, and it contained the treasures of the Banu Muzaffar. It was owned by the Da'y al-Mansur Abu Himyar Saba son of Ahmad son of al-Muzaffar the Sulayhite, 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 Da'y, and he died in A.H. 486 (read 492). His son 'Aly gained possession of the royal fortress of Ashyah. Al-Mufaddal was unable to prevail against him, but eventually contrived an artifice whereby he brought about his rival's death by poison, and the fortresses of the Banu Muzaffar passed into the possession of the family of Abu 'l-Barakat. Al-Mufaddal died and was succeeded by his son Mansur. The latter after a time disdained the kingdom bequeathed to him by his father and sold all its fortresses. He parted with Dhu Jiblah to the Zuray'ite Da'y, Prince of Aden, for one hundred thousand dinars. He sold also the fortress of Sabir, 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. Mansur enjoyed a long life. He succeeded to the throne at the age of twenty and reigned for eighty (thirty ?) years.* The fortress of Ta'izz was taken from him by 'Aly ibn Mahdy.

SA'DAH is a kingdom adjoining that of San'a and situated on the east thereof. It contains three seats of government, Sa'dah, Jabal Kutabahf and the fortress of Thula, besides other strongholds. The entire country is known as that of the Banu 'r-Rassy, whose history we have already related (*infra*, p. 184).

THE FORTRESS OF THULA is the place that first witnessed the rise of al-Muti, who restored to the Banu 'r-Rassy the Zaydite Imamate, of which they had been deprived by the Banu Suleyman.J The adherents of the Eassites withdrew to Jabal Kutabah, and in the year 645 they swore allegiance to

See Note 99.

†

See below.

J See Note 130.

Ahmad al-Muti* He was a Jurist and a pious man. Nur ad-Din ('Omar) ibn Rasul besieged him in the fortress for a year. He collected troops for the purpose of (renewing ?) the siege, but he died in 128 A.H. 648 (read 647). His son ai-Muzaffar (Yusuf) became absorbed in the siege of ad-Dumluwah, whilst al-Muti acquired great power and became possessed of the fortresses of Yaman. He marched upon Sa'dah and the Suleymanites, whose Imam, as has been related in the history of the Banu Rassy,* was Ahmad al-Mutawakkil, swore allegiance to him.

KUTABAH is a lofty mountain on the east of Sa'dah, upon which stands a castle and villages.¹¹⁷ The Banu 'l-Hadi made it their place of refuge when the Suleymanites took Sa'dah from them, and there happened that which we have related.

HARAZ and MASAB. Haraz is part of the country of the tribe of Hamdan, and it is also the name of one of their sub-tribes, to which as-Sulayhi belonged,¹¹⁸ whilst the fortress of Masar, in the district of Haraz, is the place where he first manifested himself. Al-Bayhaki says (of the Banu Hamdan) that their country is in the eastern (read western) portion of the highlands of Yaman.f They became dispersed after the appearance of Islam, and there are now no wandering communities of the Banu Hamdan elsewhere but in Yaman. They are the greatest tribe of Yaman. It was with their support that al-Muti rose to eminence. They became masters of several fortresses in the highlands, where they possess the districts of the Banu Bakil and Banu Hashid, the two sons of Jusham, son of IJabwan (read Khaywan) son of Nauf son of Hamdan. Ibn Hazm \ says that the sub-tribes of Hamdan branch forth from Bakil and Hashid. End of

* *Infra*, p. 189.

†

See Note 23.

• ‡ Ibn Hazm the genealogist died in A.H. 456.

the quotation (from al-Bayhaki). To the tribe of Hamdan belonged the family of Zuray', who exercised sovereignty and held the office of Da'y at Aden and at al-Jnwwah. The Banu Yarn, the tribe of the Sulayhites, are one of the subdivisions of the Banu Hamdan. The Banu Hamdan are Shi'ahs. At the present time they carry heresy in their country to an extreme, and most of them are Zaydites.

THE COUNTRY OF (the BANU) KHAULANT, according to al-Bayhaki, is situated in the east of the highlands of Yaman, adjoining the country of the Banu Hamdan. The Kbaulanites possess the strongest fortresses of the highlands and of Mikhlaf Ja'far. They invaded the province of Ja'far in the days of the Sulayhite dynasty, and the Banu 'z-Zarr, who were members of the tribe, possessed themselves of the fortresses of Khudad, of Ta'kar and of others. The Banu Khaulm and the Banu Hamdan are the greatest tribes in Yaman. The Kbaulanites 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 ASBAH is situated in Wadi (valley of the) Sahul. Dhu Asbah, from whom they claim descent, has been mentioned in tracing the genealogy of the Tubbas and Akyal (kings, descendants of Himyar).

THE DISTRICT OF YAHSUB borders upon that of the Banu Asbah. Yahsub and Asbah were brothers.

THE DISTRICT OF THE BANU WA'JL. The chief city of this province is Shahit. Its ruler was As'ad ibn Wa'il and the Banu Wall are a tribe of Dhu 'l-Kala'. The latter are descended from (Himyar and) Saba. They conquered the country upon the death of al-Hasan (Husayn) ibn Salamah, governor of the highlands on behalf of the Banu Najah* (read Ziyfid).

THE DISTRICT OF YAEBU' is in the highlands. It was conquered by the Banu 'Abd al-Wahid after the death of Hasan (Husayn) ibn Salamah. The inhabitants of the country had seized the frontier places. They were attacked by Hasan (Husayn) ibn Salamah, who made war upon them until they submitted. He built the city of al-Kadrii on the Mikhlaf (read river) Saharn and that of al-Ma'kir on the river Dim Til, He died in A.H. 402.

THE COUNTRY O? THE BANU KINDAH is in the portion of the highlands of Yaman that borders upon Hadramaut and upon Abjar and ar-Raml. The Bauu Kindah were ruled by a dynasty of kings, and their capital was Dammfin, which is mentioned by Imru 'l-Kays in his poems.*

THE COUNTRY OF MADIHIJ adjoins the mountainous district of al-Janad, and it is inhabited by the Banu 'Ans, Zubayd and Murad, sub-tribes of the Banu Madhhij. A portion of the Banu 'Ans are in North Africa, allied with the native wandering tribes. • The Banu Hurab, a subdivision (read kinsmen) of the Banu Zubayd, inhabit the country between Mecca and Medmah in Hijaz. 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 Sarawat and so also Tabalah. The Sarawat (plural of Sarat) are (the chain of mountains) between Tihamah on the one side, and the highlands
130 of Yaman and of Hijaz on the other. They bear a resemblance to the back (sarat) of a horse. The Banu Nahd are derived from Kuda'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 Hamdani's Geography, p. 85.

are a mixed race, partly descended from the Banu Khath'am and Bajiah.

TABALAH 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 Wa'il. This is the place of which al-Hajjaj was appointed ruler, and which he disdained and relinquished.

THE COUNTRIES ADJOINING YAMAN.

AL-YAM AMAH is the first. Al-Bayhaki says that it is a separate country with its own rulers, but the actual fact is that it is part of Hijaz, precisely as Najran is part of Yaman. Such is also the opinion of Ibn Haukal. Yamiimah, as a kingdom, is inferior to Hijaz.* Its territory is called *al-'Amd*, on account of its interposing between Hijaz and Bahrayn. On the east it is bounded by Bahrayn; on the west by the outlying extremities of Yaman and Hijaz; on the south by Najran, and on the north by the Najd (highlands) of Hijaz. 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 Yamamah was the seat of kings before the days of the Banu Hanlfah. 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 Yarbu', derived from the Banu Tamlm, and of Banu 'Ijl. Al-Bakri says its name was Jaww, and that it was named after Zarka 'l-Yamamah., by the last Tubba* (read by Hassan ibn Tubba'). It is situated, as well as Mecca, in the Second Climate,

* de Goeje's ed. p. 18, There seems reason to suspect an error here, perhaps committed by Ibn Khaldun himself. Ibn Haukal writes, speaking of the chief city of Yamamah

(p. 26). See also the corresponding passages in Istakhri, pp. 14 and 18.

and the two cities are equally distant from the equator. Among the inhabited places of Yamamah are Tudih and Karkara.* According to at-Tabari, Rami 'Alij is between Yamamah and ash-Shihr. It is a country of nomads. Yamamah and Ta'if belonged formerly to the Banu Hizzan son of Ya'fur son of Saksak. The tribes of Tasm and Jadis conquered the country, but were eventually overcome by the Banu Hizzan, who thenceforward ruled over Yamamah, with the Banu Tasm and Jadis, as their dependants. The last king of the Banu Hizzan was Kurt son of Ja'far. Upon his death, the Tasmites possessed themselves of supreme power. 'Amilk, whose history is well known, was one of the tribe. The supremacy of the Tasmites was followed by that of the Banu Jadis. Al-Yamamah, 131 after whom the city of Jaww was named, belonged to that tribe. Her history is well known. Yamamah was next conquered by the Banu Hanlfah. Of them was Haudhah son of 'Aly, King of Yamamah. He wore a crown, or according to other accounts, jewels strung together, none of the descendants of Ma'add having ever made use of a crown. After Haudhah, Thumamah ibn Uthal reigned over Yamamah in the days of the Prophet. He was taken prisoner, adopted Islam, and continued steadfast in the faith throughout the days of apostacy. Musaylimah (the false prophet), whose history is well known, likewise belonged to the tribe of Hanlfah. Ibn Sa'Id reports having asked the Arabs of Bahrayn and certain members of the tribe of Madhhij, to what people Yamamah belonged in his day. He was told in reply, that it was in the possession of Arab tribes descended from Kays 'AyIan, and that the fame of the Banu Hanifah had perished throughout the country.¹¹⁹

THE PROVINCES OF HADRAMAUT. They are situ-

* See Hamdani, p. 164.

ated, says Ibn Haukal, eastward of Aden on the borders of the sea.* The chief city of Hadramaut 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 'Ad, and it contains the tomb of Hud, upon whom be peace. In its midst is the mountain of Shabam (Shibam). Hadramaut is situated in the First Climate and twelve degrees distant from the equator. It is reckoned as part of 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 'Aly and Fatimah, but they abhor 'Aly for having consented to submit his rights to human judgment. The largest city of Hadramaut in the present day is the fortress of Shibam, in which the horses of the king are kept. Along with ash-Shihr and 'Oman, it originally belonged to 'Ad, from whose people it was conquered by the Banu Ya'rub son of Kali tan. It is said that (the Banu) 'Ad were led to the Arabian Peninsula (to Hadramaut ?) by Rukaym son of Aram (Rukaym son of 'Abir son of 'Ad ?), who had formerly visited the country in company with the Prophet Hud. He returned to the people of 'Ad and led them in ships to the country and to its invasion. They wrested it from the hands of its inhabitants, but they were themselves subsequently conquered by the Banu Ya'rub son of Kahtan.¹⁸⁰ Kahtan ruled over the country, and it was governed by his son Hadramaut, after whom it was named.

- 182 ASH-SHIHR is, like Hijaz and Yaman, one of the kingdoms of the Arabian Peninsula. It is separate from Hadramaut and 'Oman. Ash-Shihr is so named after its capital. There is no cultivation, neither are there palm trees in the country. The

* do Goeje's ed. p. 32. See also Isatkhri, 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 *Mahrlyah* camels are reared in it.* Ash-Shihr is sometimes conjoined with 'Oman, but it is contiguous to Hadramaut and it has been described as constituting the shores of that country. It produces frankincense (lubau, olibanum), and on the sea-shore the Shihrite ambergris is found. It is bounded on the east and on the west (south ?) by the shores of the Indian Ocean, on which Aden is situated, on the east (also ?) by 'Oman. The Indian Ocean extends along the south and on the north Hadramaut, as if Shihr were the sea-shore of the latter. Both belong to one king. Shihr is situated in the First Climate and it is hotter than Hadramaut. It belonged in ancient times to the people of 'Ad, who were succeeded by the tribe of Mahrah, descended from Hadramaut, or according to other accounts, from Kuda'ah. The people who inhabit these sandy deserts are like wild beasts, and their religion is that of the Kharijites, according to the tenets of its branch sect, the Ibadites.†

The first of the Kahtanites who settled in Shihr was Malik son of Himyar. He revolted against his brother Wa'il (or Wathil), who was king at Kasr Ghumdan. A lengthened war endured between them, and Malik died. He was succeeded by his son Kuda'ah. Saksak son of Wa'il continued the war, until he subdued his enemy, and Kuda'ah was restricted to the possession of the country of Mahrah. He was succeeded by his son al-Haf, who was followed by Malik son of al-Haf. The latter removed to *Oman, where he thenceforward reigned.

* See Mas'udi (Barbier de Meynard), vol. i. p. 333-41, as also Istakhri and Ibn Haukal.

† See Mas'udi, vol. vi. p. 67.

Al-Bayhaki says that Mahrah son of Haydan son of ('Amru son of) al-Haf reigned over the countries of Kuda'ah, and made war upon his paternal uncle Malik son of al-Haf, Prince of Oman, and conquered that province. These people are now no longer borne in remembrance beyond the limits of their own country.

MIEHAT and ZAFAR, of the same measure as the word *nazal*, are two cities of Shihr.* Zafar was the seat of empire of the Tubbas, and Mirbat was situated on the sea-shore. Both cities are now in ruins. Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Mahmiid al-
 133 Himyari, who bore the surname al-Bakhudah (alii amudi ?), was a wealthy merchant. He obtained access to the prince of Mirbat with his merchandise, and gained his confidence. After a time the prince appointed him to the office of wazir, and upon his death Ahmad al-Bakhudah (al-Hamudi) obtained possession of the throne. In the year 919 he destroyed the cities of Mirbat and Zafar, and he built on the sea-coast the city of Zufar, written with the letter *z* moved by damm, which he surnamed al-Ahmadlyyah after himself. He destroyed the old city because it possessed no anchorage.¹²¹

NAJRAN. The author of al-Kama'im (?) says that it is a distinct district and separate from Yaman, others say it is a province thereof. Al-Bayhaki describes it as extending over a space of twenty days' journey. It lies to the north-east of San'ti, bordering upon Hijaz. It contains two cities, Najran and Jurash, of nearly equal importance. The greater part of the country consists of desert, and its inhabitants resemble the wandering Arabs in their mode of life.

It contained the Ra'bah of Najran, which was built on the model of Ghumdan, the Ka'bah of

* See Note 7.

† Cf Isiakhri (de Goeje's ed.), p. 24, and Ibn Haukal, p. 31.

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 Sa'idah was in the habit of worshipping at the place.¹²² The Kahtanites who settled in the country were a section of the Banu Jurhum, but it was afterwards conquered by the Banu Hirayar. They governed the country under the authority of the Tubbas. The rulers bore successively the title of *al-Afa* (the Viper). One of the Afa of Najran bore the name of al-Falammas (Kalammas ?) son of 'Amru son of Hamdan son of Malik son of Muntab son of Zayd son of "Wa'il son of Himyar. He was a diviner, and it was to him that the sons of Nizar resorted and referred their dispute, as is mentioned in this work. Al-Falammas was governor of Najran on behalf of Bilkis. She sent him to Suleymfn, upon whom be peace. He became a believer and spread the Jewish faith among his people. He lived to a great age. It is said that both Bahrayn and al-Mushallal belonged to him.¹²³

Al-Bayhaki says that the Banu Madhhij next invaded Najran and conquered it. Of them were the Banu 'l-Iarith 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 Najran. They were attacked by the Banu Madhhij, and it was there that they became dispersed. Ibn Hazm says that the tribe of al-Harith ibn Ka'b ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Malik ibn Nasr ibn al-Azd settled, under a peaceful agreement, in the neighbourhood of the Banu Madhhij. After-
134 wards they wrested the country from the Banu Madhhij and held sway over it. Christianity was introduced into Najran through the means of Eaymfm (Faymiyyun), whose history is commonly found in biographical works.^{12*} The rulership over Najran by the Banu 'l-Harith the Madhhijites descended to

the Banu 'd-Dayyan (Rayyan ?) and to the posterity of 'Abd al-Madan (son of Dayyan). Yazid (son of *Abd al-Madan), who lived in the days of the Prophet (whom God bless and hail with salutations of peace), made the profession of Islam to Khalid ibn al-Walid. He came as envoy to the Prophet with others of his people, but is not mentioned by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, and this is an amendment of that writer's omission.¹²⁵ Yazid's nephew Ziyad, the son of his brother 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Madan,* was maternal uncle of (the Khalifah Abu 'l-'Abbas) as-Saffah, who appointed him governor of Najran and Yamamah. He left two sons, Muhammad and Yahya. The fourth century commenced with supreme authority exercised by the family of Abu 'l-Jud ibn 'Abd al-Madan and rulership continued in their hands. War repeatedly arose between them and the Fatimites of Egypt, who at times dispossessed them of Najran. The last of the dynasty was 'Abel al-Kays, who was deposed by 'Aly ibn Mahdy. He is mentioned and eulogized by 'Omarah.¹²⁶

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

135 HISTORY OF THE DYNASTY OF THE BANU 'R-RASSY,
THE ZAYDITE IMAMS AT SA'DAH, THE RISE OF
THEIR DYNASTY AND ITS VICISSITUDES.

WE have herein before given an account of Muhammad ibn Ibrahim, he whose father bore the surname of Tabataba, the son of Isma'il son of Ibrahim

Read Ziyad, descendant of Yazid's brother, was, etc.

son of Hasan the second, (son of Hasan son of 'Aly), of his revolt in the days of al-Ma'rnun, of his recognition by Abu Saraya and of all that relates to him. Upon his death and upon the death of Abu Saraya, and upon the failure of their enterprise, al-Ma'mun issued an order for the arrest of Muhammad's brother al-Kasim ar-Rassy, son of Ibrahim Tabataba. He fled to Sind, where he remained until his death in A.H. 245. His son al-Hasan (read Husayn) returned to Yaman, and of his posterity were the Traams of Sa'dah in Yaman, where they founded a Zaydite dynasty, which has endured to the present day.¹²⁷

Sa'dah is a mountain east (*sic*) of San'a, on which are many fortresses, the most celebrated of which are Sa'dah, the fortress of Tula (Thula), and the mountain of Kutabah. The whole of that country is named after the Banu Rassy. Yahya son of al-Husayn son of al-Kasim ar-Rassy was the member of the family who first rose to eminence. He proclaimed himself at Sa'dah, adopted the surname of al-Hady, and received oaths of allegiance in A.H. 288, during the lifetime of his father al-Husayn. He collected a force consisting of hi& sectaries and other persons, and attacked Ibrahim ibn Ya'fur, or according to other authorities As'adibn Ya'fur, who had arisen at San'a and at Kahlan (?), and who was a descendant of the Tubbas. Al-Hady seized upon San'a and Najran, ruled over them and struck coinage in his own name. But the Banu Ya'fur soon again wrosted these places from him, whereupon he
136 returned to Sa'dah, and died in A.H. 298, after a reign of ten years. Such are the particulars given by Ibn al-Mujab. 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

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

As-Suli¹²⁸ 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-Nasir Ahmad, whose authority was firmly established and passed on to his children after him.

His successor was his son Husayn al-Muntakhab, who died A.H. 324, and he was succeeded by his brother al-Kasim al-Mukhtar, who reigned until he was slain by Abu 'l-Kasim ad-Dahhak, the Hamdanite, in A.H. 344.

As-Suli says that the sons of an-Nasir who succeeded to the throne were ar-Rashid, al-Muntakhab, al-Mukhtar and al-Mahdy.* Ibn Hazm, in speaking of the descendants of Abu 'l-Kasim (read al-Kasim) ar-Rassy, says as follows:—"Among others of his posterity there were the princes who ruled at Sa'dah in Yaman. The first was Yahya al-Hady, 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-Nasir had several sons, of whom the following ruled over Sa'dah after him, namely, Ja'far ar-Rashid, next after him his brother al-Kasim al-Mukhtar, then al-Hasan al-Muntakhab and Muhammad al-Mahdy.† The Yamanite

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

† The names of an-Nasir's sons, as given by the author of the *ITada'ik*, were al Kasim Abu Muhammad (al-Mukhtar), Isma'il, Hasan, Ja'far, Yahya and 'Aly. The name al-Mahdy Muhammad, cited in the text, may perhaps be referred to the Persian Imam, who died in Tabaristan A.H. 360. But he was a descendant of al Kasim son of Hasan, and not a member of the liassite family, See the genealogical table, Note 107.

who was at Merida in 343 styled himself 'Abdallah son of Ahmad an-Nasir brother of ar-Rashid, of al-Mukhtar, of al-Muntakhab and al-Mahdy."

Ibn al-Mujab says that the succession to the Imamate of the Banu Rassy continued until dissensions arose among them. The Suleymanites came from Mecca, on being expelled by the Hashimites. They conquered Sa'dah, and the dominion of the Banu Rassy came to an end in the sixth century.*

Ibn Sa'id relates that among the members of the family of the Banu Suleyman, there was at the time of their removal from Mecca to Yaman, Ahmad son of Hamzah son of Suleyman.† The people of Zabid besought his assistance against *Aly ibn Mahdy the Kharijite, who was besieging the city, then under the rule of Fatik ibn Muhammad, of the dynasty of Jvajah. He consented on
137 condition of their slaying Fatik, 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 Zabid and the city was taken by Ibn Mahdy. Ibn Sa'id adds that 'Isa son of Hamzah, brother of Ahmad, possessed 'Aththar, one of the fortresses of Yaman.‡ Another member of the family was Ghanim son of Yahya. Then the power of the Suleymanites perished throughout the whole of Tihamah, throughout the highlands, and throughout Yaman, at the hands of the Banu Mahdy. Next afterwards the Ayyubites conquered these countries

* With reference to the above and to most of what follows, see Note 130.

† Read Alimad son of Suleyman. See Notes 88 and 130.

‡ Instead of brother of Ahmad, we may perhaps read brother of Yahya (father of Ghanim). See Note 88. But see also *supra*, p. 167, where Ghanim is said to have been succeeded by a grandson named 'Isa son of Hamzah.

and held the Suleymanites in subjection. The Suleymanite sovereignty was lastly held by al-Mansur 'Abd Allah son of Ahmad son of Hamzah.* Ibn al-'Adlm,¹²⁹ says that he inherited the throne at Sa'dah from his father. He displayed a hostile demeanour towards the 'Abbaside Khalifah an-Nasir (A.H. 575—622), with whom he affected a tone of equality, and he sent his Da'ys to the Daylaraites and to Jllan, with the result that the Khutbah was recited among these people in his name, and that he appointed governors over them. An-Nasir endeavoured to raise the Arabs of Yaman against al-Mansur by means of subventions, but could not prevail against him.

Ibn al-Athlir says that al-Mansur 'Abd Allah, son of Ahmad son of Hamzah, Imam of the Zaydites at Sa'dah, collected troops in A.H. 592 and marched upon Yaman. Al-Mu'izz son of Sayf ai-Islam Tughtakm ibn Ayyub was filled with alarm, but went forth to meet him, and put him to flight. Al-Mansur again collected, in A.H. 612, an army composed of Hamdanites and Khaulanites. Great agitation was produced in Yaman, and (the Ayyubite Sultan al-Mas'ud (Salah ad-din Yusuf) son of al-Kamil, at that time sovereign of the country, was filled with apprehension. He had Kurdish and Turkish troops, and the commander-in-chief, 'Omar ibn Basul, recommended promptitude of action, ere the enemy could gain possession of the fortresses. Disputes broke out among the followers of al-Mansur, and on being attackod by al-Mas'ud his army was routed.

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

* Read 'Abdallah son of Hamzah.

† Road, 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-Muti, a member of the Rassite family. His name was Ahmad ibn al-i usayn, a descendant of al-Hady. When the Banu Rassy were driven from the seat of their Imamate at Sa'dah by the Suleymanites, they took refuge on the mountain of Kutabah, east of Sa'dah (*sir*). There they remained, and members of the family successively and uninterruptedly exercised the office of Imam, publicly asserting their right to supreme authority. This continued until the Zaydites recognized Ahmad al-Muti.

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 Nur ad-din 'Omar ibn Rasul. He besieged al-Muti in the fortress of Tula (Thula) for a year, but the Imam was successful in his defence. Nur 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-Muzaffar (who succeeded him) devoted his efforts exclusively to the fortress of Dumluwah. Al-Muti 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 Imam 'Abd Allah al-Mansur, and upon al-Muti being recognized as Imam at Thula, they gave Ahmad the surname of *al-MuUiwahhU*. They had waited for his advance in years, but on al-Muti receiving oaths of allegiance, they recognized Ahmad as Imam. When al-Muti took Sa'dah, Ahmad 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 Sa'dah continued under the authority of the descendants of al-Muti.¹³⁰

I was informed in Egypt that the Imam of Sa'dah, previously to A.H. 780, was 'Aly ibn Muhammad, a descendant of the family. He died before that date and was succeeded by his son Salah, who received the oaths of allegiance from the Zayditos. Some of them maintained that he was not a lawful Imam, by reason of his not possessing the qualifications required in the holder of the office. He was in the habit of answering that he was prepared to be whatever they chose, Imam if they pleased, and if not, Sultan. Salah died at the end of A.H. 793 and was succeeded by his son Najah. 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 KITAB AS-SULUK,
OF
BAHA 'D-DIN AL-JANADI.

IN the days of As'ad ibn Ya'fur, the Karmathians appeared in Yaman, 'Aly ibn Fadl in the country of Yafi', and Mansfir ibn Hasan, who was known under the designation of Mansiir al-Yaman.¹³¹

I will now, therefore, briefly relate their history, as it has been told by Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Malik ibn Abi 'l-Kaba'il, a Jurist of Yaman and a learned Sunnite. He was one of the persons who joined the Karmathian sect in the days of as-Sulayhi, and he acquired a thorough knowledge of its character. On becoming convinced of the depravity of the Karmathian doctrines, he abjured them, and he composed a celebrated treatise, in which he has described the principles upon which they are founded, he demonstrates their wickedness and warns his readers against their deceptions.

{Aly ibn Fadl, he says, was an Arab of the tribe named al-Ahdun (Ajdun ?), who trace their descent from Dhu Hadan (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 'Irak, for the purpose of visiting the tomb of Husayn (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!"

Maymun was in charge of the mausoleum and his son 'Obayd was with him as assistant.¹³³ When they beheld the condition of Ibn Fadl, they were filled with the desire to enlist him in their service. Maymun spoke to him in private and made known unto Ibn Fadl that his son 'Obayd was destined to be the founder of a dynasty, which would be an inheritance unto his descendants, but that this thing could come to pass only after being prepared for in Yaraan, at the hands of certain of his missionaries (cla'ys). "That may well be accomplished in Yaman," answered Ibn Fadl, "for ingenuity in the conduct of affairs is general among its people." Maymun ordered him to remain and to wait until
140 he had considered the matter.

Maymun 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 Salamlyah, 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 Malik pronounces him to have been a Jew.

A certain man, who belonged to Karbala, entered into terms of friendship with Maymun. He was known by the name of Mansur son of (Husayn son of ?) Zadan son of liaushab son of al-Faraj son of al-Mubarak, a descendant of 'Akll son of Abu Talib. His grandfather Zadan was a Dodekite Shl'ah, and one of the chief men of Kufah, and he appointed his sons to dwell at the tomb of Husayn. When Maymun came, he attached himself to Mansur, [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. Maymun 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 Mansur was destined to rule, and that he was to be one of the propagators of his son's claims. When Ibn Fadl came and attached himself to him, Maymun perceived that what he sought was found, Ibn Fadl being a native of Yaman, well acquainted with the country and with its people.

Maymun, speaking to Mansur said unto him : "O Abu U-Kasim, verily submission to the law of God belongeth to Yaman, wisdom belongeth to /Yaman, the foundation of all things is there, all / great events have their beginning in Yaman and the issue endureth whilst its star endureth.¹³⁴ I am of opinion that thou and our friend 'Aly ibn Fadl proceed to Yaman. Ye shall call upon its people to recognize the authority of my son, and ye shall attain in that country power and dominion." Mansur had learned much from Maymun of the means whereby their ends could be gained. He agreed to what was proposed. Maymun brought him and Ibu Fadl into one another's presence, he made them enter into a mutual compact, and solemnly charged each one to deal justly by his companion. Mansur's relation is as follows :—

"When Maymun decided upon sending us to Yaman he exhorted and instructed us. He desired me, on my arrival, to conceal my objects, so that they might be more surely attained/ Twice repeating the name of God, he charged me with the care of my companion, to protect him, to act justly towards him, and to enjoin upon him the practice of righteousness. ' He is one,' he added, ' unto whom a high destiny is reserved, and yet I cannot withal be

free of uneasiness respecting him.' Then turning to Ibn Fadl, he said unto him: ' In the name of
 141 God ! In the name of God ! I charge thee to deal
 righteously with thy companion. Respect him, recognize what is due to him and obey him. 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 Gbulafikah.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 Maymfm had solemnly enjoined me to commence the accomplishment of my mission at no other place but at one named 'Aden-La'ah, * for,' he said, 'it is the town in which thy talents will find their field and in which thou shalt accomplish thine objects.' I was unacquainted with the place, and I reached 'Aden-Abyan. I sought information respecting 'Aden-La'ah and was informed that it was in the neighbourhood of Hajjah. I next inquired after any natives of the place who might have come to 'Aden-Abyan, and was directed to certain persons who had come for purposes of trade. I made their acquaintance and frequented their society and contrived to win their friendship. I told them that I was a man devoted to study, that I had heard they were natives of a mountainous country, and that I desired to visit it in their company. They bade me welcome, and when they departed I accompanied them. On the road I entertained them with the recital of traditions. I

urged upon them the observance of the duty of prayer, and they followed the examples I set them. On arrival at La'ah, I inquired for its principal city, and was directed to it. I proceeded thither and I became an assiduous frequenter of certain of its mosques. I devoted myself to the worship of God, and a large number of persons attached themselves to me. When I perceived that affection for me had taken possession of their hearts, I informed them that I had come to their country for no other purpose but to call upon them to recognize the Mahdy announced by the Prophet, whom God bless and hail with salutations of peace. I made a large number swear to be faithful, and they commenced paying me the legal alms. When a considerable sum had accumulated in my hands, I told them it was necessary I should possess a place of defence, where the alms could be preserved in safety and which should be a treasure-house unto the Muslims. 'Ayn Muharram was accordingly built for the purpose.

142 The fortress belonged to a people known by the name of Banu'l-'Ad'a, 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 Maymun, 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-Hawwali (Ibn

* Al-Khazraji says that 'Ayn Muharram 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-Mansfir. The latter, seeing that his authority was securely established, now wrote to Maymun informing him thereof, and of his having overcome all opposition. He sent him splendid presents and articles of value. This was in the year 290. Maymun, on the news reaching him, and on receiving the presents, said to his son 'Obayd (Allah): "Behold thy supremacy is now established, but my desire is that it shall be publicly proclaimed only from North Africa.""^m He then sent Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husayn son of Ahmad son of Muhammad son of Zakariyfi, known under the name of *ash-Shiya'y* (tho Shi'te) and a native of San'a, 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 'Ah4Allah 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

whom Abu 'Abd Allah and his brother were slain on the same day, the fifteenth of Jamad al-Akhir of 143 the year 298.

This man, 'Abd Allah ('Obayd Allah) surnamed the Mahdy,* was ancestor of the sovereigns of North Africa who afterwards held Egypt. Ibn Khallikan says, touching the 'Obaydites' pedigree, that they were descendants of 'Obayd Allah, and that some persons term them Alides, thereby acknowledging their pretensions. And God is all-knowing, †

In the foregoing abstract, I have set forth the rise of the Karmalliian power in Yaman, the events in which Mansfir, a man of singularly sound judgment, was concerned, and his objects. The history of Ibn Fadl will now be entered into at such length as to make known his achievements and adventures. His pedigree and birth-place have already been mentioned. Those who compiled the history of his life relate that when he parted from Mansur at Ghulafikah, as hereinbefore stated, he ascended the mountains and proceeded to Janad. Thence he went forth to Abyan, which was at that time in the possession of a man of the tribe of Asbah named Muhammad ibn Abi 'l-'Ula. From Abyan he proceeded to the country of Yafi*. He found its people to be a medley of the basest of raankiud. He withdrew into the valleys, and devoted himself to the worship of God. The people brought him food, of which he ate very sparingly, and only at the hands of those who believed in him. They inhabited the summits of the mountains J and, filled

* On his coinage the name is written 'Abd Allah.

† See De Slane's *Ibn Khallikan*, vol. ii. p. 77. The account in our text of the death of Abu 'Abd Allah *in* evidently borrowed from Ibn Khallikan (*De Slane*, vol. i. p. 465).

J Khazraji states the contrary, namely, that Ibn Fadl 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 Eaymah, 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 Fadl having reached al-Mudhaykhirah was pleased with it. He there openly avowed his doctrines and made the city the seat of his government. Soon after he declared himself a prophet, and as such he proclaimed to his followers
 144 the lawfulness of wine, and of intercourse with their

* In A. H. 291 according to Khazraji.

† Ja'far ibn Ahmad al-Manakhi, according to Khazraji; but the correct reading seems to be Ja'far ibn Ibrahim. See Note 6.

‡ A. H. 292 (Khazraji). Al-Hamdani says (p. 75, l. 9) that Ja'far ibn Ibrahim al-Manakhi was killed at Khawalah, 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 labour, 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'ruU.

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. fasts. No longer shalt thou sutler under their burden. When others pray thou needest not rise; when they fast, eat thou and drink.

Seek not the course between Safa and Marwah,† nor to visit the tomb at Yathrib.J

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 I

Wine is lawful as the waters of heaven, and its use is now hallowed by the law.^{U7}

Ibn Fadl's authority acquired increasing strength and stability. He conquered Mikhlaf Ja'far and Janad, and then determined upon attacking San'a, at that time under the rule of As'ad ibn Ibrahim ibn Ya'fur. He marched by way of Dhamar and captured the fortress of Hirran. 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 San'a on Thursday, third of Ramadan 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.

j Medinah.

occurred. Ibn Fadl alighted at the mosque and caused the channels, provided for carrying away the water, to be closed. He ordered the women, captured at San'a and elsewhere, to be brought to him, and he ascended the minaret. The women were cast into the water with uncovered faces and
 145 naked, and those that found favour in his eyes he took into the minaret and dishonoured. It is said that many virgins underwent that fate.

The water was retained in the mosque. It filled the building up to the ceiling, and the traces thereof may be perceived to this day. The fact is mentioned by the Kadi Snrayy (ibn Ibrahim), whose life will be related hereafter (among other biographies of Jurists).

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

When Mansiir heard of Ibn Fadl's capture of San'a he was filled with gladness. He came unto him and they met and rejoiced with one another. Ibn Fadl then went forth unto Haraz and besieged al-Mahjam, which he captured. Thence he proceeded to al-Kadra and took it likewise. He then reached Zabid, at that period under the rule of Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishak son of Ibrahim, son of Muhammad who came to Yaman from Baghdad. It is said that Abu 'l-Jaysh fled from Zabid, and according to other accounts, that he fought and that he was

* Khi says, to Jjariiz and Milhan. The latter, also called Rayshan, is a mountain that overlooks Mahjam. See Yakut and Hamdani, p. 68, l. 25.

slain by Ibn Fadl.* Zabid was declared lawful spoil. The women were reduced to captivity, and historians relate that about four thousand virgins were captured, besides mothers of children. Ibn Fadl then started with his army for al-Mudhaykhirah, by way of al-Mirad (?), a mountain east of Zabid. On reaching a place named al-Maduhls, or al-Mashakhis,¹³⁹ 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 Fadl spoke unto them, saying : " Ye know that ye have come forth for no other purpose but that of striving for the advancement of the cause of God. Ye have captured a large number of the women of al-Husayb, but I cannot trust them with you, lest they fascinate you by their allurements and divert you from the holy war.¹⁴⁰ Let every man, therefore, slay the women that have accompanied him." They obeyed. The traces of their victims' blood continued visible for many years, and for that reason the place was named al-Madahis or al-Mashakhis. On reaching al-Mudhaykhirah, Ibn Fadl ordered the roads to be closed to traffic, especially the pilgrim roads. "Perform the pilgrimage," he said, "to al-Harf, a place near al-Mudhaykhirah, and perform the minor ceremonies at ath-Thalatlii (?)." The latter is a valley in the vicinity of al-Harf. f

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

* See Note 13.

f Al-Hamdani mentions al-Harf (p. 69, l. 5) in the high-lying portion of Sarat itudam, not far therefore from Hajjah. But if that be the place referred to in our text, it is a long distance from Mudhaykhirah. Thalithah has been mentioned at p. 131, and Note 100, as a place in Mikhlaf Ja'far. See also in Sprenger, p. 153, Hisn Thalath, near San'a.

whose cause he had hitherto professed to labour, lie wrote informing his colleague Mansur. 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 Fadl heeded him not, but again wrote, saying: "My case is that of Abu Sa'id al-Jannabi!¹⁴¹ 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 Mansur read these words the conviction of Ibn Fadl's treason was forced upon him. He ascended Mount Maswar and occupied himself in strengthening its works. "I have fortified this mountain," he said, "solely against that insolent rebel and against his like, for I perceived in his face the evil that was in him, when we met at San'a." Soon after sending his letter, Ibn Fadl prepared to attack Mansur. He collected for the purpose ten thousand men, the choice of his army. He marched from Mudhaykhirah and reached Shibam.* Repeated battles were fought between his troops and those of Mansur. He then entered the district of LiVah and he ascended Mount Jamlmah, a word of which the first letter is moved by the vowel *a*. It is the same as Mount Fa'ish, near Maswar, and belonged to *SL* tribe known by the name of Banu Muntab.t

* The place here referred to, I presume to be Shibam-AVyan. See Note 11.

| I do not find the name Jamlmah in Hamdani's Geography. For Jabal Fa'ish, see Note 11. Dr. G-laser has l)j. Djemime in lat. about 16⁰ 6', but that can hardly be the same.

For eight months he besieged Mansur without success. His long detention became grievous unto him, and Mansur received information thereof. He sent proposals of peace, but Tbn Fadl replied that he would not agree thereto, unless Mansur 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 Mansur of his good grace and not for lack of power. Mansur complied with his demands. He came, accompanied by one of his sons» unto
¹⁴⁷ Ibn Fadl, who placed upon his nock a golden collar.*

On his return to al-Mudhaykhirah, Ibn Fadl directed his efforts to the task of legalizing things prohibited by the law and of inculcating liberty to do that which is forbidden. He erected a large building, in which he was in the habit of collecting most of his sectaries, men and women, decked with ornaments and perfumed. The place was lighted with candles and the guests entertained one another with conversation of the most attractive and alluring character. Then the lights were extinguished and each man laid his hands upon a woman, whom having seized he did not abandon, even though she were unto him within the forbidden degrees. Sometimes it happened that what fell to a man's lot did not please him, either on account of his partner's years, or for some similar reason. He might endeavour to escape from her, but she would allow him no excuse. 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 Rhazraji, it was Mansur who placed a collar of gold round the nock of Ibn Fadl,

she said to him : " *Dubuddamin dhi hulcmn l-Jmlr.*" />/ is the negative in certain dialects of Yaman, and *dhi* is used for the relative pronoun *illadhi*. The sentence therefore signifies: There is no escape from that which is an ordinance of the Amir, that is to say, of Ibn Fadl.

Such practices are most shameful and pernicious, and they are repudiated by all who follow the doctrines of Ismailism. They are things that cannot be proved against anyone but Ibn Fadl. I have inquired of many persons, from whom correct information can be obtained respecting the doctrines of the sect. They condemned these misdeeds, and I found all agreed in regarding 'Aly ibn Fadl as an atheist, whilst upholding Mansur al-Yaman as one of the most distinguished and most worthy men of their sect. These opinions are in conformity with the conclusions I have myself arrived at, and they are firmly established in *my* mind.

When Ibn Fadl in consequence of his partiality for al-Mudhaykhirah made it his place of residence, he appointed As'ad ibn Ya'fur, of whom mention has been made, to be his deputy over Sau'a. He was not convinced that As'ad had really allied himself with him, and he was, on the contrary, apprehensive of treachery. He therefore made him his deputy at San'a. As'ad was, indeed, keenly desirous to avenge the Muslims, and he was also filled with mistrust and with resentment against Ibn Fadl. He rarely abode at San'a, through fear of a sudden
 148 attack. Ibn Jarir says that the heading of Ibn Fadl's letters to As'ad was as follows : " *From him who hath spread out the plains of the earth and extended them as a carpet, who maketh the mountains to shake and who hath firmly rooted them, *Aly ibn Fadl, unto his slave As'ad*" Naught besides these words is

required to convict him of atheism, from which God grant us to be preserved.

Whilst As'ad was acting as deputy for Ibn Fadl, there came unto him a stranger, said to be a Sharif and native of Baghdad. He became an associate and companion to As'ad. It is said that he was sent by the Sovereign of Baghdad for the purpose of contriving the death of Ibn Fadl, and he abode with As'ad for a time. This man, who was a surgeon, had a perfect knowledge of therapeutics, he was highly skilled in venesection, in the cure of wounds and in the administration of beneficial remedies. Perceiving the intensity of As'ad's fear of Ibn Fadl, he said to the Prince : " I have resolved upon making my life an offering unto God, and an alms unto the Muslims, that I may relieve them of this tyrant. Give me now thy promise, that if I return unto thee, thou wilt share with me the sovereignty thou shalt acquire." As'ad gave his consent, and the stranger equipped himself for his undertaking and left the Prince, who was then dwelling in al-Jauf, in the country of Hamdan, in perpetual fear of Ibn Fadl.* The stranger travelled until he reached al-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 Fadl, praised him and described the skill he displayed, which, it was said, was such that its possessor's services were meet for none but for such as Ibn Fadl or his equals in rank.

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

* Al-Jauf is the name given to a large district in the country of Hamdan, watered by four rivers, of which the most important is the Kharid (Hamdani, 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 Tbn Fadl, ho was ordered to divest himself of his raiment and to put on other garments provided for the purpose. Ibn Fadl then commanded him to draw near for the purpose of performing the operation. He obeyed, and seated himself in front of him. He thon produced the lancet and, placing it between his lips, ho sucked it, to show that it was free from poison. Then he wiped it upon his hair at the spot where he had placed the poison, some of which adhered to the lancet. He now bled his patient from one of the veins of his hand, and having bound up the wound, he hastily departed. Resting
 149 his fears upon the praise he rendered unto God, he travelled forth from al-Mudhaykhirah, hastening to rejoin As'ad ibn Ya*fur.

When Ibn Fadl had rested for a while, he began to feel the effects of the poison. He became aware that he had been deceived by the phlebotomist and commanded him to be sent for, but the man could not be found. Ibn Fadl's desire for his capture increased, and he ordered him to be pursued whithersoever he might have gone, and to be brought back. Soldiers went forth seeking him in various directions, until one of them overtook the physician in Wadi Salmi, close to the mosque known by the name of *Kaijnan** Ho 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-Hamdani mentions Kaynan as situated in the province of Saliul and in the northern portion of the country of Dhu 'l-Kala, pp. 68, 6, and 100, 15.

The death of the physician was soon followed by that of Tbn Fadl, on the night of Thursday the fifteenth of Rabl'u '1-Akhir 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 excoeding joy. They wrote to As'ad requesting him to attack Mudhaykhirah, and to destroy the dominion of the Karmathians. He consented and collected a strong force from San'a 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 Fadl had left a son who was known by the name of *al-Gha'ai*, 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 Khaulan, because it is inhabited by Arabs of that tribe, known under the name of Banu '1-Bi'm (?). The army remained at this place, and whenever troops issued forth from the city, the Muslims defeated them. This occurred time after time, until the enemy was utterly disheartened and humbled. As'ad then erected mangonels, by means of which most of the houses in the city were destroyed, and he finally captured the place by force of arms. The son of 'Aly ibn Fadl and as many of his followers, members of his family and persons who had embraced his sect, as As'ad could lay his hands upon, were put to death. His 150 daughters, three in number, were captured. As'ad selected one, named Mu'adhah, and gave her to his nephew Kahtan, unto whom she bore 'Abd Allah, of

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 Mikhlaf Ja'far, and al-Mudhaykhirah has continued in ruins from that period unto the present.

As for Mansur, he continued in the condition above described, but (in contrast with Ibn Fadl) 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 La'ah, and he died before Ibn Fadl, in the year 302, after bequeathing his authority to a son of the name of Hasan and to one of his followers, named 'Abd Allah ibn al-'Abbas ash-Shawiry. Mansur placed special confidence in this man, and had sent him on a mission with letters and presents to the Mahdy ('Obayd Allah), to whom ash-Shawiry became personally known, and whose esteem he also won. Mansur, on becoming sensible of his approaching death, sent for these two persons and said unto them : " I charge you both with the care of our dominion. Be careful to preserve it, and cease not to propagate the authority of 'Obayd (Allah) ibn Maymun. We are one of the trees his family hath planted, and but for our appeals to their rights and authority, our ends could not have been gained. It will be your duty to communicate, by means of letters, with our Imam the Mahdy, and upon naught shall 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 Mansur, ash-Shawiry, the executor of his will, wrote to the Mahdy, then residing at TVlahdlyah, 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 Mansur. One of the latter was entrusted with the letter. He set forth -upon his journey, and on arriving at al-Mahdlyah he delivered the letter, with the contents of which he was unacquainted. The Mahdy knew ash-Shawiry, who had aforesometimes come unto him with missives
151 from Mansur. He knew him to be well qualified to fulfil the office of Da'y, and he feared lest the
* sons of Mansur should prove unequal to the task. The Mahdy replied consenting to the appointment of ash-Shawiry alone, and the son of Mansur returned to Yaman deceived in his expectations. But he concealed his disappointment and delivered the Mahdy's letter. He and his brethren continued on terms of friendly intercourse with ash-Shawiry, who on his side showed them honour and respect. He did not preclude them from free access unto him. They entered his presence whensoever they pleased, without the interference of a chamberlain. At length, he who had been sent to the Mahdy came unto him, and seizing an opportunity when ash-Shawiry was off his guard, he slew him. He made himself master of the country, and collecting the people from every district, he took them to wit-

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'Par, 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 Kayrawan. He found that 'Obayd Allah was dead and that he had been succeeded by his son al-Ka'im (hi arar Illah). These events, had occurred in the year 322. The son of Mansur remained with the new Khalifah.

Meanwhile his brother massacred the members of his father's sect, and drove them forth, until none remained around him but such whose religious tenets were held in secret. Only a small number continued to dwell in the country and they corresponded with the family of 'Obayd (Allah) son of Maymun at Kayrawan. The son of Mansur then went forth from Maswar unto 'Ayn Muharram, which has been previously mentioned, and where there was a man of the family of al-'Arja, sultans of that country. The son of Mansur (before starting) appointed a deputy over Maswar, a man named Ibrahim ibn 'Abd al-Majki (ai-Haraid?) ash-Shlya'y. He was ancestor of the Banu 'l-Muntab, after whom Maswar has been named and is called al-Muntab, When the son of Mansur reached 'Ayn Muharram, Ibn al-'Arja suddenly attacked him and killed him. Ibn 'Abd al-Hamid, on hearing thereof [tarried at Maswar and proclaimed himself sovereign of the district]. The members and women of the family of Mansur who were with him, fled to Mount al-Jtiashab (Bani A'shab),* but they were attacked

* The tribe of A'shitb son of Kudam dwelt, according to Hamdani, in the mountains between the rivers La'all and Surdud (p. 112, l. 19 sqq.).

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

Ibn al-'Arja and Ibn 'Abd al-Hamid arrived at an agreement, in accordance with which the country was divided between them. Ibn 'Abd al-Hamid abjured the doctrines of Mansur. Ho built a mosquo, in which he placed a pulpit, and the Khutbah was recited therein in the names of the 'Abbasside Khalfahs. Ho sought out the Karmathians wherever he could hear of them, until they were almost exterminated, and only a small remnant continued to subsist in the neighbourhood of Maswar, who held the doctrines of their sect in secret and who recognized as their chief a man known by the name of [Ibn at-Tufayl. He was slain by Ibrahim. But after the latter's death and during the reign of al-Muntab son of Ibrahim, at-Tufayl was succeeded in the office of Da'y by a person named] Ibn Rahlm (Ibn Juftam ?), a man of resolute character. His dwelling-place was kept secret lest al-Muntiib or other Sunnites should lay hands upon him, but he was in correspondence with the family of the Mahdy whilst they were at Kayrawan and afterwards in Egypt. It was in his days that al-Mu'izz son of (al-Mansur billah son of) al-Ka'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 Yusuf ibn al-Asad (?). Ibn Juftam died when al-iakim (grandson of al-Mu'izz) was on the throne at Cairo (A.H. 386—411).¹¹⁸ Ibn al-Asad secretly laboured to spread al-Hakim's supremacy, and recognized it himself until he knew that his end was nigh, when he appointed as his successor a man named Suleyman (read 'Amir) ibn 'Abd Allah ar-Rawahy, a native of the district of Shibam. He was a man of great wealth, of which he made use in

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 Muhammad the Sulayhite. The latter's family was originally from al-Aln-aj (al-Akhiuj),¹¹⁴ and he was a member of the community of Shl'ahs of Haraz.

NOTES.

NOTE 1 to p. 1.—The *Bd'ys*, a word derived from a verb signifying to invite or summon, were missionaries employed by the Ismailitos, to teach and propagate the doctrines of their sect. Their Chief, whose residence, under the Fatimite (or Ismailito) Khalifahs, was at Cairo, was styled the *lhYy of L<7'ys*. The title was hardly inferior to that of *Kady of Kadys*, and both offices were frequently held by the same person. It has been suggested that the word is the origin of the designation *Dey*, applied by Europeans to the Viceroys of Algiers.

NOTE 2 to p. 8.—These words occur in five separate passages of the Kur'an. That in Ch. xxxv. v. 19 is as follows :—

No burdened soul shall (on the day of resurrection) bear the load that belomgetti unto another. And though one call upon another to assume its burden, that other shall not laden therewith, even though the appeal proceed from its nearest kindred.

NOTE 3 to p. 3.—The Ash'arites were Kahtanites, descendants of 'Atib. A noteworthy member of the tribe was Abu T-Ilasan 'Aly al-Ash'ari, originator of the religious sect known as the Ash'arites. The 'Akkites are likewise often described as Kahtanites, descendants of Malik and Kahtan and of 'Udthan. But it is said that the last-mentioned name must be read *'Adndn*, and that the 'Akkites are to be reckoned as an Ishniaehte tribe. They removed at an early date to the Tihamah of Yaman, where they entered into close alliance with the Ash'arites. The two tribes are stated to have been the first to apostatize in Yaman upon the death of the Prophet.

In all works on Arab history and on the geography of Arabia, continual reference is made to seemingly endless numbers of tribes, and more especially is this so when the Yamanite provinces are in question. Readers unfamiliar with the subject, may find it useful to be supplied with its

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. Wustenfeld, and they will be found of great service to anyone desirous of studying the Arab tribal system. For the following slight sketch, not having Wiistonfeld's book within easy reach, I have contented myself with following Ibn Khaldun's chapters on the descent of the tribes, making, however, certain corrections and additions, chiefly derived from Hamdfmi's Description of Arabia, from Yakut'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 unrequently matter of dispute. Al-Jiamdani, speaking of certain Arabs bearing the name of Ja'dah (p. 89-90), who, he says, claimed to be descendants of the Ishmaolite tribe of Ja'dah derived from Kays 'Aylan, makes the remark that it was a common practice for a tribe of desert Arabs to avail itself of such similarity of name, and to assert a claim to identity of lineage with that of a greater and more illustrious namesake. The thing, he continues, was of frequent occurrence and had often come under his personal observation.

The inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula are by common consent divided into two great Septs or Nations, one of which, the more ancient of the two, is generally known under the designation of the *Yamanite* tribes, because for the most part they inhabited, and still inhabit, the southern provinces of Arabia. They claim to be the direct descendants of **Kahtan**, whom the Arabs identify with Joktau of the Jewish Scripture, the ancestor of Hazarniaveth (Hadramaut), {uzal, Sheba (Saba) and others. It is admitted that a more ancient tribal race at one time inhabited the Arab Peninsula, but one the greater part of which has long been extinct, whilst of the remainder it is only known that no traces of its posterity can be distinguished. The traditions respecting the aboriginal race, it is further allowed, rest upon no sure authority; with the

exception only of the few particulars preserved in the pages of the Kur'iin. It is universally held that these people were, like the Kahtanites, descendants of Shem the son of Noah, and it is generally behoved 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 Nizarites or Ma'addites because they are descended from Nizar son of Ma'add, sou of 'Adnan. The precise links in the chain of descent from Ishmael to 'Adnan cannot be authoritatively stated, but the truth of that descent is absolutely unquestioned.

'Adnan is said to have been contemporary with the prophets Jeremiah and Baruch, and with Nebuchadnezzar (Bukht Nassar). 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 Adnan was at that time in his childhood. He was conveyed, for safety—miraculously, it is said—to the ancient town of Harran 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 Kahtan.

The posterity of Ishmael divide themselves into three great stems. That of al-Ya's son of Mudar son of Nizar, to which belonged, among others, the tribe of *Karaysh*, whereof the Prophet was a member, that of **Kays 'Aylan**, brother of al-Ya's, and that of **Rabrah**, brother of Mudar and son of Nizar.

The Yamauto tribes are in like manner divided into three great stems, all descended from Saba or 'Abd ash-Shams (servant of the Sun) son of Yashjub, son of Ya'ruh son of Kahtan.

There are in the first place the **Himyarites**, composed of the descendants of al-'Aranjaj, better known under his surname of yimyar, son of 'Abd ash-Shams. Among the principal Himyarite tribes and those whose names are most frequently met with in the histories of Yaman, were the *Banu shar'ab*, the *Banu Sha'ban*, and numerous tribes descended from Zayd al-Jamhur, such as the tribes of *Dhu Ru'ayn* or *Yarim*, *Yafi*, *Wuhfizah*, *Dhu 'l-Kala**, *HaraZ*. *Matyam*,

Safyvl, Auzd' and *Dim AsbaJt.* It will be noticed that many places in Yainan were named after the tribes by which they were inhabited.

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

Among the tribes of Malik, the chief place may be assigned to that of *HamdCub*, descendant of al-Khiyar son of Malik. The Banu Ilamdiln 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 Jlamdfmite sub-tribes, it may be sufficient here to mention the names of *Jld*hid* and *Jlahll* (seldom dissociated from one another) the *Banu Yam*, *Jusham* and *Shi kith*. Next in importance to the Banu Ilamdin may be reckoned the *Azdites*, a name borne by the most important section of the people who inhabited the country of Saba and its capital Ma/rib, at the time of the rupture of the dyke of 'Arim and of the ruin to which that portion of Yaman was in consequence reduced. All but a small section of the Azdites abandoned the country.* A portion proceeded to 'Oman. The chief body went to the Tihamah of Yam an, inhabited by the tribes of 'Akk and Ash'ar. Here they settled in the neighbourhood of a Pool named *Gfaissan*, situated between the rivers Zabld and Ilima*. 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 Najrau, in the neighbourhood of the Madhhijites who had long occupied and ruled the country. Another section led by Harithah son of 'Ainru, attacked and overcame the Jurhumites at Mecca and became known as the *Khrizd'aft*, a designation given to them, it is said, because they " separated " themselves from their brethren led by Tha'labab son of 'Amru. The Azdito sub-tribes of Aus and Khazraj, so named after the two grandsons of Tha'labab, possessed themselves of Yathrib (the ancient name of Medinah). Their descendants were the first Arab community to embrace Islam, and their recognition of the Prophet, at a time when his pro-

* This occurred, according to Caussin de Perceval's conjecture, in A.D. 115.

spects seemed sunk into a depth of niter 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-Aimlr*, the Defenders, whilst the small party that accompanied him on his flight from Mecca, received the designation *al-Mu-hn ji.ru n*, the Emigrants or Refugees. The Ghassanite Azdites gradually travelled northwards and eventually reached Syria, where they founded the kingdom known as that of (Jhassan, which endured under Unman supremacy, until the conquest of Syria by the Muslims. Other two tribes of the stem of Malik are the *Banu Khath'am* and *Banu Bajllah*, descended from al-(Jhauth, father of al-Azd. But according to some authorities these two tribes were Ma'addites.

The third great stem of the Kahtauite Arabs consists, as already mentioned, of the descendants of 'Arib, brother of Malik. It subdivides itself into four branches, three of which, the *Banu Tayy*, *lianu Madliki** and *Banu Murrah*, comprise a large number of sub-tribes. The fourth is the tribe of *Jlsh'ar*, the associates of the Ban a 'Akk in the Tihamah of Yaman.

The *Banu Tayy* abandoned Yaman shortly after the dispersion of the Azdites, and settled for the most part in Northern Arabia, near the mountains of Aja and Salma, whence they spread into 'Irak and into the Syrian desert. Among the sub-tribes of the *Madlthijics* are the *Banu Ju'fi*, *Zithuyd*, *Il ahum*, and *sindhan*, derived from Sa'd al-'Ashirah son of Madhhij, also the *Banu 'ybi**, *Banu Mnritd* *Banu J aid j* *Banu IJurab*, *Nakha'*, *Muuabbilt* or *Janh*, and the *Hauu 'l-laritli itm Ka'b*, who conquered Najran and dwelt there for many centuries. According to some versions, the *Banu Sinhan* and *l.larith* were included in the designation *Jamb*.

From the *Banu Mnrra/t* were descended the *Banu Khaulan*, who are described as sons of 'Ainru son of Malik son of al-Hanth son of Mnrrah and their kinsmen *the Banu Jurrah* sons of Uakla son of 'Anirn son of Malik. Other authorities, however, pronounce the *Banu Khaulan* to be a sub-tribe of *Kuda'ah*, sons, that is to say, of 'Arnru son of al-Haf son of *Kuda'ah*. Al-Hamdau, if the version given by Yakut (vol. iv. p. 4:37-38) can be trusted, admits two separate tribes of the same name, one of which he distinguishes under the name of *Khaulan al-'Aliyah*, and the other

as Khaulau-Kuda'ah.* The tribes of Haindan and of Khaulun were by far the largest and most powerful tribes in Yaman.

There were many other subdivisions of the branch of Mcirrah. Among these may be mentioned the tribe of *Ma'(7fir* (son of Ya'f ur—see Hamdaui, p. (57, 25, and Yakut iv. 570),^f that of *Kitlah* and its sub-tribes *Sakun*, *Tujlb* and *t'ukaak*, also the *Banu Lal'hru*, and *Banu Judhdm*.

There remains to be noticed the great Arab stem of Kuda'ah, respecting which the generally accepted opinion is that they are descendants of Malik son of Ilimyar. Some, however, contend that KndiVali was son of Ma'add and that his descendants are Ishnaelite 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 Kuda'ah were expelled from Najran by the Banu 'l-Tlarith ibn Ka'b the Azditos, and it is said that they went to the Ilijaz and there became allied with the Ma'addites. The sub-tribes of Kuda'ah are very numerous. It may be sufficient to mention here the *Banu Kalb*, *Banu Tamtkh*, *Banu Jarm*, *Banu NaJtd*, *Banu 'Ud/irah* and *Banu Fahm*. I have already stated that the Banu Khaulun, according to some accounts, were a sub-tribe of Kuda'ah.

NOTE 4 to p. 4.—Most of what precedes is reproduced, almost verbatim, by Yakut in his article on Zabld. Ibn Khaldun, 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'mun's motives for sending Muhammad ibn Ziyad to that country. He was sent, he says, on a mission to suppress the rebellion of the Alides, who, under the leadership of Ibrahim *al-Jazzar* (the Butcher), threatened to detach the province from the rest of the Empire. And Ibn Ziyad, he continues, was chosen by al-Ma'umn on account of the intense hatred he was known to entertain against the family of 'Ayt

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

† Ibn al-Athir describes the Banu Ma'anr as a Himyaritic tribe (vol. viii. p. 499).

J Another rebellion is stated to have occurred in Yaman in A.u. 207 (Tabari, iii. p. 1062), led by the Alide 'Abd ar-Rahman

Ibn Ziyad's descent seems to be traced through Ziyad's son 'Obayd Allah, the same who took a leading part in the slaughter of the Imam Husayn, grandson of the Prophet, a memorable event which Gibbon has made familiar to English readers. Ziyad himself, the ancestor of the founder of Zabid, was regarded as son of Abu Sufyan, brother therefore of Mu'awiyah 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 surnamo Ibn Abihi, *the son of his father*. Mu'awiyah eventually acknowledged him as his brother, and less, there is reason to suspect, out of conviction, than for the purpose of disarming an ambitious and dangerous subject. Ziyad 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 *Khuthbah* at Medinah, the eloquence of which filled his hearers with admiration. "How marvellous a talent hath (God granted to that youth!" exclaimed 'Amru ibn al-'As. "Were his father of the tribe of Kuraysh, it were easy for him to drive the Arab nation before him with a switch!" "By Allah," answered Abu Sufyan, "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 Sufyan, for thou well knowest, were 'Omar to hear thy language, its punishment would quickly follow!" Ziyad was born in the first year of the Hijrah and died in A.n. 53.

Suleyman ibn Hisham ibn 'Abd al-Malik, from whom one

ibn Ahmad. It was suppressed, we are told, by Dinar ibn 'Abd Allah, sent for the purpose, at the head of a strong force, by al-Ma'niun. 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 Ziyad. But it may well be that the latter's rise in the Tiharah of Yaman was far less rapid than is represented by 'Omarah. Al-Hamdfmi, who died in A.H. 334, indeed tells us (p. 103) that, from the time of al-Mu'tuim (A.H. 218—227) to that of al-Mu'timid (A.H. 250—279), a certain family of the Banu Shurah (subdivision of the tribe of Dhu Ru'ayu the Himyarites) exercised sovereign rule over the Tihamah of Yaman. Elsewhere (p. 120, l. 7) he says that the Banu Shurah held paramount sway, at Zabid, over all the neighbouring Arab tribes. See also p. 119, l. 23.

of the Ziyadite's companions clnrm'd to be descended, was, as is indicated by his name, son of the Omayyad Khalifah Hisham. He was slain in A.H. 132, one of the many victims of the first Abbasside Khalifah 'Abd Allah as-Saftah, *the Blood-spiller*. Ibn Ziyad's companion, it will be observed, is also designated *the Manndnite*, after his ancestor the Khalifah Marwau, father of 'Abd al-Malik.

The Bauu Taghlib were a Ma'addito (Ishmaelite) tribe descended from Eabl'ah son of Nizar. The Taghlibite companion of Muhammad ibn Ziyad bore the same name as Muhammad (al-Amm), son and successor of Harun (ar-Kashid). Al-Amm was deposed from the Khalifate in favour of his brother 'Abd Allah al-Ma'mfin, and in A.H. 198 he was captured and slain by TYihir ibn al-Ilusyn, the general in command of al-Ma'nuWs troops. The new Khalifah, it is said, never ceased secretly to lament the slaughter of his brother. On one occasion, at the sight of Tahir, he burst into tears, and when asked the cause of his grief, he replied that he wept at the remembrance of a thing, the mention of which was dishonour and its suppression mourning. The circumstance was reported to Tahir, who, greatly alarmed, solicited and obtained the government of Khurasan, where he soon became practically independent, and founded the dynasty known as that of the Tahirites.

NOTE 5 to p. 4.—Al-Khazraji, at this point of his history (p. 78), enters into certain particulars touching the town of Zabld. 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 Zabld* and on the north the river Rima*. Elsewhere (p. 81), the same writer describes the walls of Zabld, which he says were originally built by Ilusayn ibn Salamah, rebuilt by Mann Allah al-B^atiki, in A.H. 520 and odd years, again by the Banu Mahdy, and again, in A.H. 589, by Sayf al-fslam Tughtakin the Ayyubite. It has, he says, four gates. One on the east called *Bab ash-Shibdrik*, leading to Shibatik, a village situated on the river Zabld, and thence to the fortress of Kawarlr. One on the west, which in his day was called *Bad an-Nakhl*, but which at an earlier period

* Al-Janadi tolls us that the city of Zabld was named after the river (fol. 29 obv.).

bore the name of *Bah Ghulafikah*. The road leads to Ghulafikah and to al-Ahwfib. The former, he says, served at one time as the port of Zabid, but it fell into decay and was superseded by abAhwab, which was in his time known under the name of al-Buk'ah. The third gate, on the north, bore the name of *Bab Sahdm*. It led to AVtuli Kima' and Wiidi tSuhui. The fourth gate, *Bab al-Kurhtb*, on the south, led to "VVadi Znblid 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 Jbn al-Mujawir, written about A.H. 030, a book freely used by Sprengor, in his valuable work upon Eastern Geography, under the title of *Tankh al-Mustansiry*. It may be worth remarking that in the Leiden MS. of al-Khazraji, the word, excepting in one instance, is written *al-Musiabsiry*.

NOTE 6 to p. 4.—'Oiniirah's statements touching the foundation of al-Mudhaykkirah and on the derivation of the name *Mt'l:kl/7f Ja'Jar* are mentioned, but absolutely contradicted by al-Janadi. The city of Mudhaykhirah, situated on Mount Thaumau, was built, he says (fol. 182 rev.), by Ja'faribn Ibrahim al-Manakhi. Elsewhere, in his chapter on the Abbasside governors of Yaman, he says (fol. 28 rev.), that the founder of the principality was Ibrahim ibn Abi Ja'far al-Manakhi, who conquered Mount Thaumau in the days of al-Ma'niun. Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Ilamid, appointed Governor of Yaman in A.H. 213, marched against al-Manakhi in the following year, but was defeated and killed. Janadi specifies the orthography of the name ^LjJ, but adds that the form of the word is that of the dual of f^\

Yakut gives 'Omarali's description of Mudhaykhirah, as

* Johannsen gives most of these particulars (pp. 120, 253, 261) as they are borrowed from al-Khazraji by Bay ha', but having misread Jiu.1 for Jtol, a not inexcusable error in the absence of diacritical points, he has missed the sense of the writer's words regarding the name Buk'ah. Khazraji writes : *it*

i I. It will be observed that there is room for doubt whether the name Bul^ah is meant to apply to Ghulafikah or to al-Ahwab.

also the greater part of the passage relating to Ibn Ziyad's freedman Ja'far, as is shown in the notes I have appended to the Arabic text. Yakut begins by stating that Mudhaykhirah stood on Mount Sabir, which I need hardly say is an error. (See *infra*, Note 11.)

Abu Ja'far al-Manakhi was descended, according to Janadi, from Dhu 'l-Muthlah (ذو المثلج); but cf. Hamdani p. 100, l. 25 and 26), the Ilirayarite, and from Dhu 'l-Manakh. His posterity continued in existence down to the writer's days, and they were known as Sultans of Kiyad (كياض) Bayt 'Izz, Eaym (Raymah?) and Karm 'Amim. Ibrahim Abu Ja'far possessed himself of Mount Raymah as well as of Thaman, and it acquired the name of Raymat al-Manakhi. He made himself master of the greater part of Mikhlaf Ja'far.

Some further particulars touching the petty dynasty of Manakhi, are supplied in the accounts preserved by al-Janadi and Khazraji, of the circumstances under which the Karmathian or Ismailite doctrines were established in Yaman. Mudhaykhirah, it will be seen, was conquered by Ibn Fadl. Its ruler at that time, says al-Khazraji (who derives his information from the same source as al-Janadi), was Ja'far ibn Ahmad (Ibrahim?) al-Manakhi, after whom Mikhlaf Ja'far is named. Aly ibn Fadl marched against him in A.H. 291, but was defeated and compelled to fall back upon the country of Yah*. Five months later, in A.H. 292, he again attacked the city and he succeeded in gaining possession, first of Mudhaykhirah and next of the fortress of Ta'kar. Ja'far ibn Ibrahim (*sic*) fled to Tihamah and reached al-Kurtub in the valley of the river Zabld. He was assisted with troops by the Prince of Zabld (Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishak?). With these he resumed the struggle. A celebrated battle was fought, says Khazraji, in Wadi Nakhlah, in which Ja'far ibn Ibrahim (*sic*) and his nephew Abu 'l-Futuh were killed. Ja'far's rule, adds the same writer, endured from A.H. 249 to 292, forty-three years.*

' Hamdani (p. 75, l. 9) says that "Ja'far ibn Ibrahim al-Manakhi" was killed at or near the fortress of Khawalah, situated close to one of the sources of the Wadi Nakhlah.

Dr. Glaser visited the town of Menakha near Shibam-[^]araz, which I need hardly say is geographically quite distinct" from Mikhlaf Ja'far, or the country of al-Manakhi, as it is sometimes called. I find no mention of Manakha in Hamdani or other

Al-Mudhaykhirah, as will be seen, was re-captured from the Ismailites by As'ad ibn Ya'fur, in or shortly after A.H. 803. The city was destroyed, and Janadi adds that it continued in ruins down to his time. It will be noticed that Jabal Thuman was, in the writer's days, known under the name of Mountain of Khauliln.

NOTE 7 to p. 5.—For *Diyir Kindah, Shihr* and *Mirbat*, 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 Mirbat as a sea-port situated at a distance of one and a half days' journey from Zafiir, whilst according to Yakut the distance is five parasangs. All these places are marked on modern maps.

NOTK 8 to p. 5.—We have seen that Ibn Ziyad was sent to Yaraan as *Amir*, 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'mun and his successors long after the foundation of the Ziyadite 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-Hamdani mentions another place, *ManaH*, written, according to Muller's edition, with the letter *fya* not *kha*. He describes it (pp. 82, 12; 110, 6, 8) as situated at the junction of the two main streams of the Wadi Kharid—one of which flows down from San'ii. The other has its chief sources in the neighbourhood of Shibam-Akyan and Hadur Bani Azd. Its upper course bears, according to Dr. Glaser's map, the name of Wadi Khuzamir and, lower down, that of "Wadi Shuwabah (cf. Hamdani, p. 82, 1. 6, and p. 110, 1. 6). Among its affluents is, as shown by Dr. Glaser, the small stream of Dhl Bin (or Dhu Bin), in Balad as-Sayad (Hamdani, p. 82, 1. 8, and 111, 25). The town of i)hu Bin, the burial-place of the Imam Ahmad ibn Hosayn, is frequently mentioned in the histories of the Zaydite Imams.

Tubbas or ancient Himyarite Kings, and Ibn Khaldun, in his chapter on the Kassite Sharifs of Sa'dah, likewise speaks of them as of the posterity of the Tubbas. Elsewhere, when describing the genealogies of the Yamanite princes and tribes (vol. ii. p. 218), 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 Hawwal,* whence probably the surname the Jfawalites, by which the family is frequently designated. Ya'fur ibn 'Abd ar-Rahman, founder of the dynasty, is first heard of, according to Janadi, under the Governorship of Aytakh, who was appointed over Yaman by the Khalifah al-Mu'tasim, according to al-Tabari, in A.H. 225 (vol. iii. p. 1302). Al-Wathik (A.H. 227—232), replaced Aytakh by Ja'far ion Dinar, who had formerly ruled over the country, but had been deposed in favour of Aytakh. The appointment of Ibn Dinar took place in A.H. 231, according to Ibn al-Athir, and he tells us that the new Governor proceeded to San'a accompanied by a force of 1000 horse and 1000 foot soldiers. Janadi says that Ibn Dinar attacked Ya'fur ibn 'Abd ar-Kahman, but that peace was eventually concluded between them. Al-Mutawakkil, who succeeded to the Khalifate in A.H. 232, appointed Himyar ibn al-Harith. The new Governor was unable to withstand the attacks of Ya'fur, and was at length compelled to return a fugitive to 'Irak. Al-Mutawakkil's assassination occurred shortly afterwards (A.H. 247), and Ya'fur made himself master of San'a and of Janad, but not of Tihamah, which since A.n. 204 was in the possession of the Banu Ziyad.

Ya'fur was succeeded by his son Muhammad ibn Ya'fur. He recognized the supremacy of the Khalifah al-Mu'tamid (A.H. 25b—279), who in A.H. 259, formally invested him with the Government of Sau'a. Hadramaut and Janad were included in the dominions of Muhammad ibn Ya'fur, but he owned allegiance to the Ziyadites and paid them tribute. He started on the pilgrimage in A.H. 262, after appointing his son Ibrahim to be his deputy. On his return he built,

* The name is pointed Hiwal in Midler's edition of Hamdani (see Note 11). Yakut, writes Hawwal.

in 265, the mosque of San'a according to the design which, al-Janadi says, it still retained in his own day. Muhammad was assassinated by his son Ibrahim, 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 Muhirram, therefore, of A.H. 279. Ibrahim continued the alliance with the Ziyadite Princes, but his reign did not long endure, and he was succeeded by his son As'ad, in whose days the Karmathians or Ismailites acquired dominion over the greater part of Yamau. 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 Muhammad ibn Ya'fur was assassinated by his son Ibrahim is not contained in Khazraj's version of the history of that period (fol. 29). His account, which at this particular point, differs materially from that supplied by al-Janadi, is to the following effect:—

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

* The writer quoted by Janadi is perhaps the grandson of 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn al-Jauzi, namely, Abu 'l-Mujaffar Yusuf ibn Kizughli, generally known as Bibi ibn al-Jauzi. He was author of a history, *Mirat az-Zamdn*, which the author of the *Kashf az-Zunun* 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, San'a was conquered by the Ilassite Imam al-Hady (see Tabari, iii. p. 2204 and Ibn al-Atlir, vii. p. 852). He imprisoned the chief members of the family of Ya'fur, but they were released and escaped to Shibarn,* where As'ad's authority over his followers was maintained until he was able to compel the Imam to abandon San'a. The city was finally conquered by the Karmathians, in A.H. 299 according¹ to both al-Janadi and al-Khazraji.

Upon the death of 'Aly ibn al-Fodl 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'iidi commenced writing his *Golden Meadows*, in which he describes in glowing terms the wealth and power of the Himyarite Prince.^J

Ibn Kbalduin says (*supra*, p. 141) that As'ad was succeeded by a brother named Muhammad, but after As'ad's death, the Banu Ya'fur never again recovered the brilliant position to which he had raised the family. The ensuing twelve years were occupied in the suppression of repeated attempts at rebellion, accompanied by incessant strife between the various members of the family.

In A.H. 345, the Rassite Imam of Sa'dah, al-Mukhtar, son of an-Nasir Ahmad son of al-Hadi, acquired possession of San'a, but before the end of the year, he was assassinated by a powerful Hamdanite chief, known by the name of I)ahhak.§ A freedman of the Banu Ya'fur, 'Aly ibn Wardan, supported by Dahhak, was recognized as Prince of San'a. He was barely able to withstand the opposition of the Khaulanites, led by al-Asmar Yusuf ibn Abi'l-Futuh,

* Shibam-Akhan ? See Note 11.

| See Note 138. According to the *Hadu'ik*, al-Hadi acquired possession of San'a in 297, and appointed his son over it as Governor. The Imam died, as will be seen (Note 127), in A.H. 298.

The particulars that follow hereabove are for the most part taken from Dayba' (seventh chapter), that is to say therefore, from Khazraji at second hand.

^J Vol. ii. p. 55, of Barbier de Meynard's printed text and translation.

§ Al-Kasim, surnamed al-Mukhtar, is mentioned by the Zaydite historians, but they do not reckon him among the Imiims, nor do they say that he was assassinated.

and he died in A.F.T. 350. Ho was succeeded by his brother Sapfir, with whom Dahhak 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 Dhamfir, Sapur was overtaken by al-Asmar and killed.

Dahhak now tendered submission to the Prince of Zabid, Abu 'l-Hasan (Abu 'l-Jaysh ?) ibn Ziyad. Al-Asmar the Khaulanite, on the other hand, offered the throne to the Amir 'Abd Allah ibn Kahtan (grand-nephew of As'ad ibn Ya'fur), by whom the offer was accepted (A.H. 352). Ho entered San'a, whence Dahhak hurriedly fled. Next followed a series of struggles between the contending parties, in which a Ilassitic Imam, Yusuf son of Yahya son of an-Nasir 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 Tihamah at the head of an army, with which he attacked and utterly defeated "Ibn Ziyad." † Zabid was taken and sacked, and 'Abd Allah, having abolished the Abbasside *Khutbah* throughout his dominions, proclaimed the supremacy of the Egyptian Fatimites.‡ He died in A.H. 387 and was succeeded by his son As'ad. But the fortunes of the Banu Ya'fur, as one of the great ruling families of Yaman, were now at an end. the last vestige of their authority in the city of San'a disappeared. Their condition became at best that of obscure and petty chiefs, and we are henceforward left in ignorance even of their names. We find mention of them, however, so late as A.H. 679, when we read in Khazraji's *'Ukad* (fol. 115 obv.) as well as in ibn I. Iatira

* The name of the Ituirn Yusuf son of Yahya 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 Dii'y, and simply says that he was contemporary with al-Mansur al-Kasim. The latter was surnamed al-'Ayani, after the name of the place in which he proclaimed himself in A.H. 389.

•†- Husayn ibn Salamah, we have been told, was regent from A.H. 372 to 402.

J The Fatimite Khalifah al-'Aziz 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 Fadl the Karmathian. (*Supra*, p. 207.)

(fol. 105 obv.), that the Rasfilito Sultan of Yaman regained possession of the fortress of Kaukaban from the Bana Hawwal.

San'a, until its conquest by 'Aly the Sulayhite, became the scene of perpetual strife, not only between the rival tribes of Hamdan and Khaulan, but also between various pretenders to the dignity of Imam. In 389, the Imam al-Mansiir al-Kasim son of 'Aly appeared from the country of the Banu Khath'am. With the assistance of the Hamdanites, he drove the Imfim Yusuf son of Yahya from Sa'dnh 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 ad-Dahhak and of the people of al-Baun. He thence despatched to San'a a Zaydite Sharif, named al-Kasim ibn Husayn, a descendant of the Imam Zayd son of 'Aly Zayn al-'Abidtn, and the Zaydite sectaries readily submitted to his authority, †

As'ad son of 'Abd Allah the Ya'furite had established his residence at Kuhlan, and he recognized the supremacy of the Imam al-Kasim. But ere long the Zaydite Sharif renounced his allegiance to al-Mansiir al-Kasim ibn 'Aly, and declared himself in favour of the authority of the Imam Yusuf son of Yahya. The Imam al-Kasim died in A.H. 393. San'a became the scene of prolonged strife, a prey to contending factions of rival Imams and Arab families, among which Hamdanites and Khaulanites played a prominent part, but none able to establish a settled or permanent government. In A.U. 401, Husayn son of al-Kasim declared himself, as has been done by so many pretenders, both before and since his time, to be the *Mahdij*, whose coming, according to an old tradition, was foretold by the Prophet. He obtained a largo following among the Himyarites and Hamdanites, who abandoned the cause of the Zaydite Sharif. The latter was driven out of San'a.

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

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

J I have mentioned (*supra*, p. 171 footnote) that Dr. Glaser has Kohlan on his map, north-east of Hajjah, probably the old fortress of the Banu Ya'fur. Yakut says that the Yamanites pronounce the name Kuhlan, but he calls the place a *Mikhh'if*. Hamdani mentions it as the name of a totally different place, in the neighbourhood, it would appear, of Yarim or Dhu Ru'ayn. Kuhlun, according to the Kamus, 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 Ifamdanites, from among whom a chief of the family of pahhak 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. 418, the Sharif Ja'far, brother of Husayn the Mahdy, arrived from Sa'dah on the invitation of the Ifamdanites and Hirriyaritos, the former of whom, after the death of Husayn, exercised intermittent authority over Sau'a. In 418, a new and unknown pretender appeared at Ma'rib, who proclaimed himself Imam, under the title of *ai-Mu'ld li-din Allah* (He who brings the people back to the religion of God). He succeeded in making himself master of Sau'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 Ilaahirn 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 Ifamdanites. On their invitation, after an interval of two years, Ja'far son of al-Mansfir al-Rasini 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 Hashid returned and recovered possession of Sau'a for a brief period. Mean while a new pretender to the Imamate, named Abu 'l-Fath Nasir the Daylamite, had appeared. Aided by the Ifamdanites, he captured and plundered Sa'dah, and next made himself master of San'a.J

* 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 'Aly the Sulayhite.

J An-Nasir Abu 'l-Fath the Daylamite was a descendant of Zayd son of Hasan (see the genealogical table added to Note 107). He arrived in Yaman, from Persia, between A.H. 430 and 440, and is said to have been killed by 'Aly the Sulayhite shortly after 440.

Ja'far son of Mansur al-Kasim is likewise stated to have made war upon the troops of as-sulayhi (see *infra*, Note 29).

His suzerainty 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 from the city by Ja'far and by Ibn Ahi Hashid the Khaulanite. Yahya ibn Abi Hashid, to whom the writer gives the title of Sultan, died at the commencement of A.H. 440. His son was invited by the people to succeed him and received oaths of allegiance from the Hamdautes. San'a was conquered (about A.H. 453) by 'Aly the Sulayhite, whose first manifestation in Yaman, adds the writer, dates from the night of Monday, third of the month of Jamadi '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 Sulayhite dominion to Dim Jiblah in 480, he appointed over San'a 'Imran ibn al-Fadl the Yamite. Upon the death, in A.H. 492, of Saba ibn Ahmad, the city and adjoining country was formed into an independent Principality, under Sultan Hiitir ibn al-Ghasblm, also a member of the tribe of Hamdan (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 Hatiin, who was deposed in A.H. 510.

Another Hamdanite family reigned until A.H. 533, when Hamid ad-Daulah Hatira, son of Ahmad son of 'Imran son of al-Fadl—grandson, therefore, of the governor appointed by al-Mukarram the Sulayhite—was invited by the tribe to assume the crown.*

He was attacked in A.H. 545 by the Zaydite Imam al-Matawakkil Ahmad son of Sulayman, against whom, however, he succeeded eventually in defending himself. Hatira died in A.H. 550, and was succeeded by his son 'Aly, surnamed al-Wahid. '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 San'a when, six months after his

* It will be seen that, according to the above, Ibn Khaldun's statement (*supra*, p. 148), to the effect that 'Imran ibn al-Fadl became independent at San'a and transmitted the crown to his descendants, is erroneous. /

The historian Ibn Hatim was a descendant of Hamid ad-Daulah.

campaign against the Mahdyites, Yaman was invaded and conquered by Turan Shah the Ayyubite and brother of Saladin.

Muhammad son of Ahmad son of 'Imran, mentioned at p. 60, must have been brother of Sultan Ilamid ad-Daulah ʿl at im.

NOTE 9 to p. G.—Wadi Bayhan is marked on Walker's map of Arabia, south-west of Ma'rib and north-east of Dhamiir, at about the same distance from either.

Nashwan ibn Sa'Id, who according to Ibn Khaldun (*supra*, p. 170), was ruler or chief of Bayhan, wrote the *Kasldat al-HimyrvnyaUy* published some five and twenty years ago at Vienna, by Baron von Kroiner, with a translation into Gorman.

A description of Najran and Jurash, with a sketch of their early history, are given by Ibn Khaldun (*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 San'a, of al-Mudhaykhirah and of Shibam that follow, they are copied almost verbatim from Ibn Haukal.* The latter borrowed them from al-Istakhri† and transferred the passages to his own book, those especially relating to San'a and to al-Mudhaykhirah, with such slight alteration, that it is only just possible to pronounce with some degree of certainty, that Ibn Haukal's Geography was the authority to which 'Omarah had recourse. The statement that San'a stands on the equator is made by Ibn Haukal, but is not to be found in al-Istakhri. Yakut quotes the description of San'a as given by our author, but the latter's name is printed *Imran ibn Abi 'l-Illasan instead of 'Omarah.

The statement that follows in our text, to the effect that the mountain of Mudhaykhirah was twenty parasangs or sixty miles in height, appears in both Istakhri and Ibn Haukal. I do not know how it can be explained. Even if we read circuit for height, it would be a manifest exaggeration.

* de Goeje's ed. p. 31.

† *Id.* p. 24. Istakhri seems to have borrowed his account of the climate of San'a from al-Hamdani. See Muller's edition, p. 195, l. 24.

NOTE 11 to p. 6.—It must be through a corruption of the text that 'Omarah is made to speak of Ibn Fadl as "Sheykh of La'ah," a designation which could only be properly given to his colleague and eventual rival Ibn Haushab or Mansur al-Yaman. I have omitted in my translation, the conjunction that appears in the MS., **هذه ولاعة**, which reduces somewhat the difficulty of making sense of the passage. It seems to be* intended to signify that the town of Aden-La'ah was in the neighbourhood of al-Mudhaykhirah. That this is incorrect is shown with sufficient clearness by 'Omarah himself, when he tells us that Mudhaykhirah stood in the province of Ja'far (see Note 0).

Yakut has the following passage (vol. iii. p. 022) s.v. 'Aden: **قال عمارة لاعة مدينه في جبل صرمن اعمال سعاه الى جانبها قره** proceeding as in our text flown to the words **لاعة** **طبعة** **يقال لها عدن لاعة** to which, however, he adds
Here we have probably the origin of the statement that al-Mudhaykhirah stood on Mount Sabir, and indeed other quotations to be found in Yakut, as well as the above, lead to the suspicion that his MS. of 'Omarah was by no means perfect.

Al-Mukaddasi mentions al-Mudhaykhirah in his enumeration of towns in Yaman (p. 58 and p. 70), along with Janad, Dhamar, Yahsib (or Yahdib), Khaulan, Sahul, etc. Hamdani mentions the place only twice in his Geography, but he tells us (p. 68, l. 8 sqq.) that it was situated in the country of Dim M-KahV, along with ath-Thujjah (which, it may be inferred (p. 75, l. 28), stood at the foot of Ta'kar), and together with Ta'kar itself, Sahul, Kaymah, etc. At p. 100 (l. 10 sqq.) he tells us that al-Mudhaykhirah, Thaumana (see *supra*, p. 207), the mountain of Ba'dan, also Kaymah, etc., were in the district of Sahul.

Ibn Khaldun, as will be seen, distinctly says that Mu-haykhirah and 'Aden-La'ah were close to one another (*supra*, p. 178), misled probably by Yakut or by Ibn Sa'id, from whom, as I have already had occasion to say, he seems to have borrowed freely.

I may here add that Ibn Khaldun commits a similar error when he speaks (*supra*, p. 108) 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-La'ah stood probably on or close to

* See, *inter alia*, al-Mu^haddasi, p. 85.

the banks of the Wadi La'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-Hamdani tells us, p. 69, 1.1) that La'ah was situated in the Sarat or mountain-range of al jVlasai'. At p. 112, he tells us that La'ah marked the beginning of the country of ILishid, north-west of San'a. Other passages from the same author are to the same effect (p. 10(5,1. 23; 113,1.19; 193,1.12). We are distinctly told, moreover (*supra*, pp. 194, 195, etc), that 'Aden-La'ah was in the neighbourhood of Hjjah and of Jabal Maswar, both which will be found on Dr. Glaser's map. Al-Janadi tells us (fol. 6 olw.) that 'Aden-La'ah, " one of the towns of Hjjah in which Mansur al-Yaman proclaimed the 'Obaydite supremacy," had long been in ruins.

Al-tlamdain mentions another important mountain in the Masam' range, *Jabal Tukhla* (pp. 69 and 190 sqq.). In his detailed account of the mountain, of the roads that wind round it, its villages and strongholds, the productiveness of its soil, its healthy climate, its freedom from noxious animals and insects, our author writes in a glowing style by no means usual with him.

Though not attaining the elevation of the highest summits of the Masani', it overlooks, he tells us, a wide extent of country. On the south, Bura', Haraz and other mountains are distinctly visible. On the west, the view extends from the centre of the country of the Hakaraites to Mahjam, and the white stream of the Wadi Maur is seen glistening through the haze that rests upon the plains of Tihamah. Farther away is spread the sapphire-tinted sea, and, in the extreme distance, those endowed with superior powers of vision may distinguish the Farasan Islands. On the east the view is obstructed by the higher range of the Masani'.

Jabal Bayt Fa'-ink, 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 Hays.

map published by Dr. Glaser in the "Mittheilungen," but he mentions its name, and says that it stands due west of Jabal Mas war.

'Omarah, still following¹ Ibn Haukal and al-Istakhri, proceeds (*supra*, p. 7) with an account of Shibam. Besides one in Hadraraaut, there were two places in Vaman of that name. One stood on the mountains of Harass, situated between Wfuli Sahum and Wadi Surdud (Hamdani, p. 105). The other, which Hamdani calls Shibam Akyan, stood close to Kaukaban, at the foot of the mountain of Dhukhar, whence the river Surdud has its source (*ib.* p. 106-7). Both these places are marked upon Dr. Glaser's map.

The province of Akyan, according to Hamdani, belonged to the Hawwalis or lianu Ya'ftir. He adds that the country was the scene of the contests, whereby Ya'fur ibn 'Abd ar-Kahman, in the days of al-Mu'tasim, of al-Wathik, and of al-Mutawakkil, raised himself to power.

Yakut, in his *Muxhtarik*, mentions still another place named Shibam, three parasangs north-east of San'a, but this, I think, requires confirmation.

Shibam in Hadramaut was, says Hamdani, 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 Shibat (pp. 8(3,1. 25; 87,1. 25).

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

The 'Aththariyah dinar, according to al-Mukaddasi (p. 99), was two-thirds of a mithkal, the standard or original weight of a dinar. It would therefore be equal to about seven shillings in gold of modern money. See also Professor de Goeje's glossary to Ibn Haukal and al-Mukaddasi, p. 296.

Ibn Haukal calls the Prince of Hali *al-Khazmi*, but Miiller's edition of al-Hamdani (p. 120, l. 12, and 14) gives the reading *al-llirami*.

NOTE 13 to p. 9.—According to Khazraji (p. 78), Muhammad ibn Ziyad died in A.H. 245. His son Ibrahim, his con-

tinucs, died in A. H. 289, after a reign of thirty-eight years (*sic*). Next to Ibrahim followed Ziyad son of Ibrahim, who did not long reign and the date of whose death the writer is unable to give. Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishak succeeded his brother Ziyad, 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. U. 291, and would give a duration of two years to the reign of his brother and predecessor Ziyad. The latter may have been the prince who is reported to have been killed when Zabid was captured and looted by the Karmathins under 'Aly ibn Fadl (*supra*, p. 200); but as the capture of Zabid must have occurred after A. H. 292, when Ibn Fadl conquered Mudhaykhirah, it may with at least equal plausibility be conjectured that it was really Abu 'l-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 9a.)

Al-Mas'fidi says (vol. iii. p. 35) that in his day (A. H. 332 or shortly after) the Prince of Zabid was Ibrahim ibn Ziyad, which adds to our difficulties. The Prince, he further tells us, bore the surname *Sahib al-llarmali*, which I have nowhere else met with.

A valuable date is supplied by a dinar, published by Mr. S. Lane-Poolo in the Journal of the Numismatic Society (1887, part iv.). The coin purports to have been struck by Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishak, at Zabid, in A. H. 346, and it bears the name of the 'Abbasside Khalifah al-Mutr (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 Ziyad. According to al-Janadi and Khazraji, it was 'Abd Allah, or Ziyad, or Ibrahim. After the death, in A. H. 402, of Husayn ibn Salamah, who we are told, ruled the country as Wazir 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 Banu Ziyad held supreme rule for one hundred and sixty-eight years, from A. H. 203 to 371. From that date until the death of the last prince in 409, they reigned, he

continues, as titular sovereigns, for thirty-eight years. Next followed a struggle between Najah and Auls, which endured for three years, until 412, when Najah became supreme ruler. He and his descendants and their wazirs, adds al-Janadi, ruled for 145 years, including the three years of war between Najah and Anls, that is to say, from 409 to 554, when Zabid 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-Jauadi and Khazraji, the year 407 is given as the date at which the Ziyadite dynasty came to an end, and so it is also to be found in Dayba' and in al-Ahdal. Al-Janadi's own words, however, show conclusively that A.H. 409, as in our text, is the correct date.* It must be remarked that 'Omrah tells us Zabid was founded in A.H. 204, the year in which the Inmm ash-Shafi' died. Al-Janadi (fol. 29 obv.) gives the same date for the conquest of Tihamah and for the foundation of the city, stating, however, likewise, that Ibn Ziyad arrived in A.H. 203.

The freedman of Abu 'l-Jaysh, Rushd, the master of Husayn ibn Sahimah, is also so styled by al-Janadi and by Ibn K'halhkiin. Al-Khazraji and Ibn Khaldun give him the name of Rash Id.

The assassin of the last Prince of the Ziyadite dynasty is called in our text Nafis, نفيس, and so also in Khazraji. Ibn Khallikan and Ibn Khaldun give him the name of Kays, قيس; Al-Janadi that of Anis, انيس. He specifies the orthography and vocalization of the name and elsewhere returns to the point (see Note G5). He is followed by al-Ahdal (}. 20 l- obv.), but the latter adds that other writers call him Nat Is.

NOTE 14 to p. 10.—Mu'adh 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 'Arnwas (Emmaus) in A.H. 18. His life is given by Ibn al-Athirin in his biographies of the Sahabis, the *JJad al-Ghahah*, "the Lions of the Jungle" (Bui. 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-Kuyyum*, in the Ayat al-Kursy, ought in accordance with the definition of the commentators, to be rendered *the Watchful*, or the *Vigilant*.

كان معاذ اذا نهجد من الليل قال اللهم نامت العيون و غارت النجوم و انت هي
مبوم اللهم طلى نجمة نطىء و هرسى من النار ضعيف اللهم اجعل لى عبدك هدى
برده الى يوم الميامة انك لا تحلف الميعد .

When Mu'adh devoted a night to watchfulness and prayer, ho was in the habit of using the following words :—

" O God, tho eyes of men *ire 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 lires of hell ha\e been weak. O God, grant unto me true guidance, in Thy keeping, which Thou wilt restore to me on the day of resurrection. And verily, thou wilt not fail in Thy promises."

NOTE 15 to p. 11.—*Sharjah* and *'Aththar* were two important seaports on the coast of Northern Yaman. I am not able to identify their precise position, but careful comparison of the information supplied by various writers renders it possible to determine their sites approximatively, pending;- the time when further inquiry, or perhaps investigation on the spot, may enable the point to be settled with absolute precision.

Ibn Bututah landed at *Sharjah* on his way down the lied Sea, in the fourteenth century. He describes it as a place occupied, by merchants of *Sa'dah*. Then ho sailed to the *New Haven*,* where, however, he did not land, and then on to *al-Ahwab*.

Al-Hamdiui, in describing the coast of Yaman, proceeding from south to north (p. 52), next after *Kamaran* men-

* The *New Haven*, *Marsa 'l-Hadith*, is doubtless either *Luhayy* or *Hudaydah*. . The earliest mention I have met with of the former is in *Ijayba*'s account of the invasion and conquest of Yaman by the forces of the Egyptian Sultan *al-Ghuri*. The army, composed of *Circassians*, *Kurds* and other *Asiatics*, landed in the *Inland of Kamaran* in *Dhu U-Ka'dah* A.H. 921 (December, 1515). Their first operations were directed against the seaport town of *Jadidah* (*Hudaydah* ?), which was looted and destroyed. The Governor of *Luhayy* tendered his submission and actively assisted tho invading army in its advance into the interior. *Zabld* was taken in *Jamild Awwal*, 922. The conquest of the country was completed in *Rabi 'Awwal*

tions 'Utaynah. At p. 120, l. I, we read *'Imah* instead of the diminutive form 'Utaynah, and the author says that it and al-Ilirdah are the ports of al-Mahjam. Al-Mukaddasi (p. 53) writes 'Uriah.

Next to 'Utaynah, Hamdaui mentions Hirdah, then Munfahik Jabir, a dangerous headland, where (violent) winds are frequent. Its limits extend to Sharjah, the seaport of the country of the Banu Hakam. Next *Bharat Jazan* and on to 'Alldhar. At the headland of 'Aththar the sea, he says, is remarkable for its heavy waves. See also p. 188, where, as well as at p. 120, the author mentions Wadi Harad among other places in the country of the Hakamites.

Al-Alidal (fol. 5 obv.) says that Sharjah is the port of Harad, *Sahil Narad*, and Klmzraji gives it the name of *tiharjut Harad*, which practically conveys the same meaning.

Ibn Matirn tells us (fol. 2 obv., see Note 101), that Harad was also called *MaJall Aid Turrib*. I find "liarrad" 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 lias Musahib, about thirty-three miles north of Luhayy, or it may be somewhat farther south. It is hardly necessary to say that the village of the name of Sharjah, marked on Niebuhr's and subsequent maps south of Zabid, 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 SulUin of Yaman, defeated and flying before the invader, was killed near San'a.

It is a somewhat remarkable circumstance that whilst an Egyptian army was occupied in subjugating Yaman, the Turks under Sultan Selim were engaged in the conquest of Egypt, and Tuman-Bay, the last Mamluk Sultan, was hanged by order of Selim at Cairo, a few days before the Sultan of Yaman was killed.

The Egyptian army in Yaman comprised, according to Payba', a formidable body of 1000 men armed with matchlocks, lent to al-Ghuri by Sultan 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 'Jththar, according to Haradfmi as quoted above, it stood north of *Bahat Jazan*, which may be presumed to be the same as Gizan of the Admiralty chart. At p. t5 4 he calls the place 'Athr, but the Arabs, he continues, generally pronounce the name 'Aththbar. It is, he says, the port of *Baysh* (the same perhaps as Bish of modern maps). *Itunid*, he adds, is a village in the plains of 'Aththliar, both which places, he continues, are well-known haunts of lions. (See also p. 127, l. 10.) "Etwid" is mentioned on the Admiralty chart. Al-Ahdal (fol. 5 obv.) says that 'Athr (*sic*) was a village situated between Ilali and Jlarad, 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.

Dhat al-Khayf stands in Khazraji (fol. 60) Dhatal-Hubayt or al-Khubayt. *Mauza'* must surely be the "emporium" marked on Ptolemy's map, but it is somewhat puzzling to find it described by our author as an inland town. Ibn al-Mujawir, however, mentions it (*apud* Sprenger, p. 140) as a seaport south of As-Suhari, al-Khauhah and Maushij (travelling from north to south). Al-Hamdaui mentions the town, but is not clear as to its precise position. *Al-Jadun* is written in Khazraji al-Iladun. *Aff-pijcV* is somewhat vaguely described by Yakut as a town near Zabld. Both *al-JatMhah* and *'Irk* (171-Nasham are omitted by Khazraji, but *al-Jathlh & Q* is mentioned in the Marasid as a village in Yaman. *Al-Wadiydni* is mentioned by Yakut as an important town in the province of Zabld, from which a large revenue is collected; but it will be observed that 'Omarah invariably speaks of it as north of Mahjam and Maur. *Jizan* might be taken to be the same as Gizan or *Bahat Jazdti* mentioned in the preceding note, but it is

not given as a seaport, which the latter is. In Khazraji the name is written Hayran, and Jizan may perhaps be better identified with Hayran, which is mentioned by Haradani (p. 120) along* with *Wddi Ta'shar*, as a town in the country of the Bami Hakam. *Al-Muid'id* is called by Khazraji *tf.v-tSd'id*, and the name is so written in al-Hamdani (p. 110, l. 20). *Al-Mabni* and *Uiyfth* (?) are given by Khazraji, but I have nowhere else met with any mention of them. Instead of *id-Llth*, Khazraji has *al-lfabl* (Khabt F), but al-Lith is mentioned by Ibn Khurdadhbeh (p. 1 \S) and by Hamdani (p. 120, l. 16). *AJ-Haydn* and *Wddi Unl'hmnh* (?) by the same writer in the next line. Khazraji writes *Btr til-Bay da* instead of al-Uayda, but Ibn al-Mujawir, according to Sprouter, gives it the same name as in our MS. Khazraji has *Blr Adam* instead of *Jih-dd*. We may perhaps read *[ydam*, the name given by Ibn al-Mujawir (Sprenger, p. 131.) The names of the first stations travelling southward from Mecca, as given by him, are as follows :—

From Mecca to *al-Karin*, then to *al-Bayda*, then to *Ayddm*. Next to *Wddi Muhram* (Yalamlam ?) where the Yamaute pilgrims assume the *Ihtam*.

Sabakhat al-Ghurdb is so given by Khazraji. *Ibn al-Mujawir* (Sprenger, p. 150) mentions a place *al-Baydd* in the desert or *Kd'* of Sabakhat al-Ghurab, near Aden, which I do not know how to account for. *Al-Karin* is mentioned by al-Mukaddasi, as standing between Mecca and Juddah, *Na'mdn*, or *Na'man al-Ardk*, is described by Yakut and is also mentioned by Ibn al-Mujawir (Sprenger, p. 125).

The following is Khazraji's version of the road between Yalamlam and Mecca:—

Thou the travellers reach *Yalamlam*^ the *MiJcfit* 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 Salamah. Next is *Blr* (the well of) *Adam*, which yields an abundant supply of drinking water. It is ten fathoms in length (depth) and it is five fathoms in width. Then the roads diverge. He whose destination is Mecca reaches *Bir al-Bayda*, a well constructed by Ibn Salamah, next *al-Karin* and then Mecca.

Of the places on the maritime road, *al-Mahhnak* is mentioned by Hanidani (p. 188, l. 14). *'Athrtf*, on the southern coast, I was once inclined to think might be the same as 'Abrah of Hamdani (p. 188, l. 15); but although omitted in

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 'Arab. Next to *Bab al Mandah* our MS. has as-Suhari. Hamdani writes Suliari, Ibn al-Majawir (*apud* Sprenger, p. 149) gives the name as in our text, but he places Suliari north of Khauhah, and it is so marked on the Admiralty chart. *Al-Hlrda* and *'Itmah*, as stated in the preceding note, are mentioned by Hamdani as the ports of *til-Maty am*. For *al-Mufajjar* we may perhaps read *Ha jar* (Hamdani, p. 188, Sprenger, IBS). *JDuwaymah* and *J'amicfah* are referred to by al-Mukaddasi (p. 09 and footnote), and the last-mentioned by Hamdani (p. 52, l. H and 120, l. 16).

Hamdani says (p. 51, 13) that Hamidah stood near a mountain which he calls *Kudummul*. The name *Kotumble* appears on the Admiralty chart, but is given to a small island near the coast, See Midler'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 *Khitat* (vol. i. p. 448) gives the following description of the Imperial umbrella, which was borne on state occasions over the head of the Kbalifah :—

The umbrella was composed of twelve segments, each three and a third cubits in length and one span (cubit *T*) in width at the lower end.* The upper extremities were extremely narrow. They were joined together and fitted round the end of the stem. This was a lance-shaft made of ash and enclosed in tubes of gold. The uppermost tube, which was close to the head of the shaft, was provided with a ledge forming part of itself and projecting to the extent of a thumb's width. The extremities of the segments were made fast to a golden ring, which was loosely fitted on to the head of the shaft, the latter being here reduced in thickness. The ring, coming in contact with the ledge, was supported and prevented

* 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 *Dahikite* cloth of gold,* which was removed by the bearer upon the umbrella being delivered to him.

NOTE 19 to p. 16.—Al-Janadi states (fob 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 Ziyid ruled over Zabid (Tihamah) and Aden. Sa'dah and the country on the north were in the possession of the Zaydite Imams. 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 Salamah in A.H. 402, the governors appointed by the Banu Ziyad usurped absolute power over their provinces, the Banu Kurandi likewise declared their independence. They were deprived of their kingdom by 'Aly the Sulayhite, and the deposed prince, as will be seen, was one of the chiefs who accompanied as-Sulayhi to al-Mahjam, and one of the few whose life was spared by Sa'Id son of Najalj. Some of these fortresses, as is stated by Ibn Khaldun, 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-Husayn ibn at-Tubba'y appears to have been the chief of the family at the time of its restoration. The part he took in the

* Dabik was a small Egyptian town near Tinnls, on an island in Lake Menzalah.

scheme to which Said son of Najah fell a victim, is related further on, and it may be noticed that he is there styled Prince of Sha'ir.

Al-Hamdani says (p. 54, l. 21) that the family of Kurandi belonged to the Banu Thunmmah, descendants of [^]iimyar al-Asghar (ancestor of the Banu Ya'fur and Banu Auza).

The following is al-Khazraji's enumeration of the petty-dynasties that sprang up in Yaman upon the death of Ibn Salamah in A.H. 402, and of the territories and fortresses which they appropriated (fol. 83):—

The governors of the mountain districts and fortresses took possession of that with which they were entrusted. Among others, the Hamndanites seized upon San'a, as already mentioned.

The Banu Ma'n took possession of Aden, of Lahj, of Abyan, of Shihr and of Hadramaut. They are not descendents of Ma'n ibn *Zfi'idah* the Shaybanite. The Banu Kurandi, a family descended from Himyar, possessed themselves of Sainadan, an exceedingly important fortress, of the strongholds of Sawit, of Dumluwah, of Sabir, of Dhakhir and of Ta'kar, a fortress which commands janad.* They made themselves masters of (large portions of) the provinces of Ja'far, of 'Unnah and of al-Ma'afir. '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-Husayn ibn at-Tubba'y took possession of the fortress of Habb, which resembles in strength at-Ta'kar, also of Azzan, of Khadid, of Bayt 'Izz, of the fortresses of Sha'ir, of Abwar (Anwar), of Nakil, of Sahul and of Shawafi.

The Banu Wa'il ibn 'Isa seized upon Wuhazah and upon its strongholds, Yaris, Zahran, al-Khaijra, Sa'ab and Yafuz. The Banu Wa'il are descended from Dim 'I-KalaA 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'il, noted for his generous qualities and for the praise of which he was the theme. He was a pious man, and upheld the orthodox sect of the Sunnis, above all others. He sought the companionship of Kur'an readers and of worshippers, he held in high honour the practice of frequenting the

* The name of this fortress, and of that of the same name at Aden, is thus given in the Kamus, *Ta'kar*, and it would appear to have been generally so pronounced. But in Muller'e Ham* dani, it is for the most part written *Ta'kur*, which, or its alternative *Ta'kir*, is perhaps the more correct orthography.

Al-Janadi tells us (fol. 191 rev.) that the castle of Ta'kar above Dhu Jiblah was demolished in A.H. 594 by the Ayyubite Sultan al-Mu'izz Isma'li.

mosques. He venerated the early Companions of the Prophet and followed the good examples of those who protected their names from insult. He was free from all taint of new doctrines. He was slain (and died a martyr) in the year 515, and was buried in the mosque of al-Ja'ami (al-Ju'fy ?).

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

وتغلب عليه ولاية لجال واهل المصون على ما تحت ايديهم من ذلك تغلبت
 همدان على صنعاء كما ذكرنا اولا وتغلب بنو معن على عدن ولحج وابين والشحر
 وحضرموت وليسوا من ولد معن بن زائدة الشيباني وتغلب بنو الكرندي وهم
 قوم من حمير على السمدان وهو حصن عظيم الخطر وعلى حصن السوا وعلى
 حصن الدملوة وحصن مسر وحصن دخر وعلى حصن العكر وهو للحاكم على
 الجند ومخلاف جعفر ومخلاف عمة ومخلاف المعافر قال عمارة ولسي الكرندي
 سلطنة ظاهرة ودولة فاهرة وتغلب ابو عبد الله الحسين بن النبي على حصن حب
 وهو ظهير العكر وعلى عزان وخذد وبيت عز وحصن الشعر وحصن ابر
 والقبل والسحول والشواني وتغلب بنو وايل بن عيسى على حياطة وحصونها
 برس وهران والمضرا وسعب وعبور وبنو وايل هولاء من ذى الكلاخ ولهم
 متائلة* وفيهم حياطة يروين انهم اشرف بنى ادم على الاطلاق ومن بنى وايل
 هولاء اسعد بن وايل صاحب الكرم العريض والثناء المستفيض كان رجلا صالحا يؤثر
 مذهب السنة على غيره ويمحب القرا والعباد ويؤثر عمارة المسجد ويعظم
 السلف ويقنذى بأجارهم وكان سليما من البدعة وتوفى مقنولا † سنة خمس
 عشرة وخمسائة وقبره في جامع المعامى .

Al-Khazraji has borrowed these particulars from al-Janadi, but in the Paris MS. of the latter (p. 183 obv.), the sense is partially obscured by what seems to be a copyist's error, the omission probably of one, or it may be, of two lines. I have therefore preferred Khazraji's version.

* وهم اهل المعامر وحصونهم كالسوا والسمدان والدملوة وحبور و دخر ج. †
 تم تغلبوا على حصن العكر وهو للحاكم على الجند وكثير من مخلاف جعفر.
 شهيدا ج. † رياسة متائلة, 'Omarah, ‡ انور ج. †

NOTE 20 to p. 16.—Ma'n ibn Za'idah, of the Ishmaelite tribe of Shayban and of the great Sept of Kabi'ah, was appointed governor of Yaman by the Abbaside Khalifah al-Mansiir 'Abd Allah. His life is given by Ibn Khallikun. (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 Khaldim and distinctly contradicted by al-Kliazraji (see the preceding note), as well as by 'Ormlrah.

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 Muhanimadans are divided. He was born, lived and died at Medinah, for which reason he is styled *hndm 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. *JDnmluwak* is mentioned by Niebuhr in his Description of Arabia (p. 212) and is marked upon his map, a short distance east of Tu'i»z. Hamdani's description of the fortress will be found in Note 111. The fortresses of *Sabir* and *Dhakhir* stood without doubt on the mountains after which they appear to be named. These two mountains, according to al-Hamdani, are separated by an opening, in which stands the town and fortress of Jaba, the residence of the Banu Kurandy (p. 99, l. 6). Mount Sabir, he adds (l. 21), separates Jaba from Janad. The valley of '*nnihk*, so named after a sub-tribe of Himyar, was watered by a stream which flowed into the Wadi Zabid (Hamdani, p. 71, l. 16; 100, l. 5). I find no mention of Sawa (*supra*, p. 131) in al-Hamdani, nor of *Ramadan*, which is stated to have been one of the most important fortresses in Yaman. According to Yakut, the former stood upon Mount Sabir.

The Mountain of *Habb* was, according to Hamdani, 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 Khubban. I do not find the name of *Ibb* in Hamdani, and although it and *I.labb* are mentioned as separata

places by 'Omarah (*supra*, p. 131), there seems to me reason to suspect that the two may turn out to be, at least to all intents and purposes, one and the same place.

Khadid is so written in MiAIIer's Harndani. In the British Museum MS. of Ibn Khaldiin, it is pointed *Khudad*. Yakut has *Khadad*, and he merely says that it was a fortress situated in Mikhlaf Ja'far. Harndani tells us (p. 78, l. 17), that it stood at a distance of an hoar's journey from the castle of the Wuhazites, 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 (Karif ?) 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.

'*Azzdn*, according to Yakut, stood on the mountain of Raymah in the country of al-Manakhi, not far, therefore, from al-Mudhaykhirah. Yakut mentions also 'Azzan-Khabt on Mount Sabir near Ta'izz, and 'Azzan-Dhakhir, which he says stood on Mount Sabir likewise. *Bayt 'Izz*, as we have seen (Note 6), stood in the country of al-Manakhi; and *ash-Sha'ir*, so written by al-Janadi, the place where Sa'id son of Najab met his death, must likewise have been in that neighbourhood, or near the banks of the Wadi Sahul. Janadi, instead of *Nur* has *Anwar* (*supra*, Note 19V). This place is mentioned by Yakut, who says it stood in Mikhlaf Kayzan. Harndani makes mention of Kaynan, which, he says, was in the district of Saljul, and in the northern part of the country of Dhu 'l-Kala' (p. 100, l. 15; 68, 6). *An-NakU* (the mountain pass) is doubtless *Nakil sayd*, near Yahdib al-'Ulu, or the ruined city of Zafar. *Sdfrul* stood in the district of Dhu 'l-Kala', and it is likewise the name of a stream that flowed into Wadi Zabid. (Harndani, p. 68, l. 4; 71, 15.) Instead of *Shawafci* we must read, as in al-Janadi, *Shawafi*, which according to Harndani was one of the inhabited

places in the province of Sahul (p. 100, l. 16). It is mentioned by the author of the Marasid.

Wuhazah is described by al-Hamdani as part of the low-lying lands of the district of Dhu 'l-Kala' and contained a castle of the same name, also called *Suba'* (p. 68, l. 6; 78, 15). The name *Baybars* is without doubt erroneous. Al-Janadi and Khazraji write *Yarii* (يريس). The same writers have *Zahrdn* and *Sa'b* (Sha'b) instead of *Daliwan* and *Sha'r*. Yakut says that *al-Khatfrd* and *al-Yabis* are a fortress (*sic*) on Mount Wusab. Al-Janadi says of *Shdhit* that it had formerly been the abode of kings, but that it had lost its importance. It is mentioned by Yakut, but he adds nothing to what we are told by Otnarah. He includes the verses given in our text, which he doubtlessly borrows from our author. Their point consists in the double signification of the principal words, and their more obvious meaning is so gross, that I have gladly exempted myself from the task of rendering it in English. I may here mention that al-Hamdani explains (p. 84, l. 12) that the word *al-Qlidit* is used in Yaman to signify the desert.

Jabab, mentioned a few lines farther on, is marked on Manzoni's map (Gebgeb), and is referred to by Hamdani, (p. 68, l. 5, 12; 104, 17). *Wusdbal-'Aly* and *WwsCib al-Afsal* are identified by Glaser with Jublan al-'Arkabah, which Hamdani tells us (p. 103, 12) stood between Wadi Zabid and Wadi Rima^l, adding elsewhere (p. 71, 22) that Wadi Rima' flows between Jublan al-'Arkabah and Jublan Raymah.

NOTE 23 to p. 18.—The Hamdanite sister tribes of l.Iashid and Bakil were, as is mentioned by Ibn Khaldun on the authority of al-BayhaVi and of Ibn Haztn (*supra*, p. 175), the progenitors of most of the subdivisions of the Banu Hamdan. The Banu Bakil and Banu Hiishid 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 Sulayhites and the family of Zuray* belonged, were a subdivision of the Banu Hashid.

According to Hamdani (p. 109), the country of his tribesmen extended from San'a to Sa'dah.* The Banu Bakil, he

* Sa'dah belonged to the Banu Khaulan and in pre-Islamic times it bore the name of *Jumu'* (Hamdani, p. 07.)

adds, possessed, as a general rule, the country on the east of a line drawn from San'a to Sa'dah and the Banu llashid that on the west. The latter owned also the district of *al-Wahsh*, the western portion of the province of Sahiil, lying next to the country of Dhu 'l-KaliV and enclosed by the streams that combine to form the River Zabld. (Haindani, p. 100, 20)

NOTE 24 to p. 18.—*Jabal Burd** is described by Hamdani as a north-westerly extension of *J uhlan liaymah*, standing between Wadi llima' and Wadi Sahara, precisely as is shown in Dr. Ulaser's map. The name *al-'Amad* (?), I have not met with elsewhere. *Li'wn*, according to Dr. Glaser's map and as described by Hamdani, extends to the western slopes of Haraz. *Masdr* is one of the important group of mountains known by the name of *Hard?*

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 JSulayhites. Among other places there mentioned are *Makr*, *az-Zarf* and *Dhu Rassah*, touching which I have met with no information. *Kawarlr* is referred to by Khazraji (*supra*, Note 5). For *Zafar* we may perhaps read *Zafiran*, mentioned by Yakut as a fortress situated on the Mountain of Wusab. The mountain of *liaymah* stood in the neighbourhood of Thauraan, and is consequently a different place from Jublan Raymah above referred to. 'Omarah speaks elsewhere (pp. 4 and 132) of *Raymat al-Ashd'ir*, and al-Janadi of *liaymat al-Manakhi* (*ttupra*, Note 6). See also Raymah in Hamdani, p. 08, 4. The fortress of *liaymat al-Kald'* of the last mentioned (p. 125, 22), is referred to as separate and distinct from Raymah, and he speaks also of Mount *llaymdn* in the same locality, that is to say, next to the mountain of Ba'dan (p. 71, 16; 100, 21; 125, 0). Ba'dan and Rayinan appear to have been the names of tribes inhabiting the province of Sariul (p. 100, 7), after which the mountains were doubtless named. Jublan was likewise (p. 103, 17) the name borne by the ancestor of certain Himyarite tribes.

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

NOTE 25 to p. 19.—Al-Janadi (fob 183 obv.) and also al-Ahdal and al-Yiifi' write *ar-Rawahy*. Yakut repeats the statement in our text that *az-Zawahi*

was a village in the district of I. Iaraz, to which ho adds, "also in the district of an-Najm, situated where the country of Yaman commences." Hamdani tells us (p. 120, 6) that the tribe or family of an-Najm inhabited al-Mabjam. Ho also mentions a place named *az-Zawdhi* (p. 100, 16), but it is distinctly described as situated in the district of Sahul and in the country of Dhu 'l-Kala', in other words therefore, in Mikhlaf Ja'far. I feel quite at a loss to suggest how these various statements are to bo reconciled with one another.

NOTE 26 to p. 19.—This book is spoken of under the same title by al-Janadi and Khazraji, *Kitdb as-suwar*. It is mentioned in the Bibliographical Dictionary, the Kashf az-Zunun, in which it is stated that if tho book ever existed, it consisted of three (astrological) treatises written by Aristotle.

It will be seen that Ibn Khaldun gives the book in the possession of 'Amir the name of *Kitab al-Jafr*. In his Prolegomena (translated by Baron de Slano), Ibn Kbal dun 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-Siidik (the sixth Imam) and it contained particulars relating to the descendants of 'Aly, revealed by divine grace to Ja'far and other leading members of tho family of 'Aly. Ja'far as-Sadik was said to have communicated its contents to a certain chief of the sect of the Zaydites, who committed them to writing. The book was named after the original copy *Kitab al-Jafr*, because it was written upon sheets of kid-skin or vellum.*

Ibn Khaldun 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 yaushab (Mansur al-Yaman), who, when ho 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 tho men of

* See also Kashf az-zunum, s.v. *al-Jafr*.

the Berber tribe of *Katamah* that they were the people, bearing a name derived from *mystery* (al-Kitman), who were destined to be champions of the Mahdy. (Ibn al-Athir, viii. 24, Makrizi, i. 350.)

In a curious extract from the *Dastur al-Munajjimhi* printed by Professor de Goeje, one of the appendices to his work on the Karmathians of Bahryn, it is stated that 'Obayd Allah, on starting from Kgypt for North Africa, was attacked by robbers at a place called <tt-Tahunnh. They plundered him of a largo portion of his possessions ; but his heaviest loss was that of certain books, in which the occult sciences of the Imams, his forefathers, were contained. When 'Obayd Allah's son al-Ka'im, continues the writer, was sent forth on his first invasion of Egypt (A.H. 301), he succeeded in capturing the robbers, and he recovered possession of the books. On hearing thereof, the Mahdy rejoiced with exceeding joy. "The recovery of these books," he exclaimed, "is of itself a sufficient conquest." The anecdote, somewhat more briefly told, is to be found also in Ibn al-Athir.

NOTE 27 to p. 21.—See Dieterici's *Mutanabbi*, p. 695, where the line quoted stands as follows:—

NOTE 28 to p. 22.—The first of these two lines of verse is not given by al-Janadi, nor have I found it elsewhere. The name *Asmd* is regarded as derived from the verb *wasama*, with which the first line begins, and which signifies *to mark*, but it is also connected with the verb *sama* to be lofty, *samau* the sky, and with *ism* a name. Queen Bilkis is mentioned in Note 41.

* NOTE 29 to p. 24.—This, according to both al-Khazraji and Ibn Khallikan, was in A.e. 453. Al-Janadi adds (p. 183 obv.) that as-Sulayfi's envoys were Ahmad ibn Muhammad, father of Sayyidab, 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 Aljmad ibn al-Muzaffar, father of Sultan Saba ibn Ahmad. He further mentions that as-Sulayhi sent the Fatimite Khalifah 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 Imfim al-Kasim ibn 'Aly, hereinbefore mentioned,* and by a man named Ja'far ibn al-'Abbas, who was a Shafi'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 YamV.† Ibn Abi Hashid collected an army, and an engagement took place between them at Sauf, a village between)3adur and Blr Bani Shihab. Ibn Abi Hashid was killed together with one thousand of his followers. The name of the place has become proverbial in Yaman, in the phrase *Slaughter of sauf* (i.e. great carnage). As-Sulayhi then proceeded to San'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 l^adramaut, but that Sa'dah held out against him for a time, under the descendants of an-Nasir (Ahmad). He however succeeded in slaying their chief and captured the city.

وأظهر الدعاء إلى المستنصر بالله معذّب بن الظاهر العبيدي فلما ظهر بهمار وكان معه فيه قوم من سنجان ويام وجشم و هبرة حفرة ابن الامام القاسم بن علي المذكور اولاً في جمع كثير و رجل يستي جعفر بن العباس شافعي المذهب كان رجلاً محابياً في مغارب اليمن الاعلى سار مع جعفر بن القاسم في ثلثين الفا فارتفع المصلي بجهنم بن العباس في محطته في شعبان من السنة المذكورة قتله وقتل

* See supra, Note 8.

† Al-Hamdani mentions Yana* (p. 106, l. 12) as one of the places situated at the foot or on the lower slopes of Jabal Hadur, which, he says, is so named after the ancestor of the Prophet Shu'ayb. Hadur is ^s ^o ⁿ ^e of t^{ne} mountains of the Sarat of Alhan, which extends from Nakil as-Saud to Hariiz, and it must not be confounded with *Hadur Bani Azd* (Hamdani, p. 68), farther north, one of the mountains of al-Masani*. (See Glaser, p. 42-43.)

من اصحابه جمعا كثيرا صعقوا الناس عنه ثم طلع جبل حصور واستلقوه واخذ
حصن ماع فجمع له ابن ابي حاشد جمعا فالتقوا بصوف وهي قرية بين
حصور وبيروين شهاب قتل ابن ابي حاشد وقل معه الف رجل من اصحابه
وهذه القعة بضرب المل في اليمن يقال قلة صوف ثم سار العليبي الى صنعاء
فملكها مطوى اليمن طبا سهله ووعره .

NOTE 30 to p. 29.—All these places, *az-Zara'ih*, *Jabala 'Akad* (the two mountains of 'Akad) and *al-'Ukwatiirn* (the two 'Ukwas) are mentioned by Yakut, who quotes the lines given in our text, but again adds nothing to what we are told by 'Omarah, excepting¹ a statement that the mountains overlook Zabld, which is manifestly wrong. 'Omarah tells us that they stood in the country of Ibn Tarf, or in other words in that of the Banu l.lakam, the tribe to which 'Omarah belonged. Yakut, instead of 'Akad as in the Ramus and Taj al-'Arus, writes 'Ukkad,

NOTE 31 to p. 30.—A.H. 459 is the year given by Khazraji (p. 83) and also by Ibn al-Athlir (vol. x. p. 88). A comparison of dates shows that the death of as-Sulayhi must have occurred in A.H. 473, as stated by 'Omiirah elsewhere (*supra*, p. 82), as well as in this passage, and also by Ibn Kkallikan 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 Khaldun, in his chapter on the history of the Hashimite Amirs of Mecca (Bui. 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 Khallfah, and that its purpose was the reinstatement of the Sulaymanites, in the place of Aba Hushini Muhammad son of Ja'far, who had renounced the Fatimite supremacy, and proclaimed that of the Abbasides.

Ibn al-Athlir mentions in his Chronicles (vol. x. pp. 19 and 38) that as-Sulayhi made himself master of Mecca in A.H. 405, 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 G3-4. It will be noticed that Abu Hashim Muhammad was raised to the rulership of Mecca by as-Sulayhi.

NOTE 32 to p. 32.—The word *al-Ahwal* may also be translated *the Aatur*, and the latter is probably the sense in which it was applied to Sa'ld by his people.

NOTE 33 to p. 36.—Khazraji supplies us here with specimens of ^fAly the Sulayhite's talents as a poet. They will be found in Baron de Shine's translation of Ibn Khallikan, vol. ii. p. 348.

NOTE 34 to p. 37.—See the description of a dinar of 'Imran ibn Muhammad, 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.—'Omarah tells us (*supra*, pp. 41 and 42) that when al-Mukarram adopted Dhu Jiblah as his place of residence, he appointed As'ad ibn Shihab over San'a together with 'Iniran ibn al-Fadl. We learn from al-Janadi (fol. 184 obv.) that As'ad, upon the death of Sa'id (in 482), was transferred from San'a to Zabfd. His expulsion by Jayyash occurred the same year. It is somewhat difficult to understand at what time As'ad ibn 'ArrSf 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.—Yakut, in his *Geographical Dictionary*, reproduces 'Omarah's derivation of the name Dhu Jiblah. But, as appears from Wiistenfeld's printed edition, an error has been committed by the author or by his transcribers, whereby the sense of the passage is singularly inisrendered. It reads as follows :—

* See Note 18, footnote.

The words *Dar al-'Izz wa bihi* being misread, it becomes obvious that the sentence could not end with the word *Summiyat*. The writer has accordingly taken upon himself, according to a practice unhappily far too common, to add on his own authority the word *b'ismiha*, besides introducing a conjunction after *hihi*, and thus, whilst escaping one difficulty, he has plunged, without perceiving it, into another.

Yakut says that Dhu Jiblah stood at the foot of Mount Sabir, an error which appears also in Ibn Sa'id'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 Yuma, or at the fortress of Ashyah, 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 Da'y (which could not be held by a woman), Sayyidah retained in her own hands full sovereignty or temporal power over her husband's dominions.

NOTE 38 to p. 43.—Al-Janadi (fol. 184 obv.) adds the following (see also al-Khazraji, p. 53;—whence it would appear that a passage is here omitted from our text.

'Omarah relates that Urn 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 عمارة لما قام ابن القم بين يدي سبأ ينشد هذه القصيدة الذي منها هذه
الابيات منه من القيام ورمى له سجدة وامره بالتعود عليها اكراماً له ورضاً
عن المفاخرين ثم لما فرغ من الاتقاد قال له يا ابا عبد الله انت عندنا كما قال
المتنبي -

وعداى من الملوك وابن كائ لسانى جرى 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 lacunas I have left in the translation. In the first, we may infer it to have been related that Khalf's plot was discovered and that he was imprisoned. In the second, that Saba made certain demands, which 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) Khali: son of Abu't-I'ahir 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, Khalf should share with him the royal dignity and authority. But when Jayyash won the throne, he simply appointed Khalf Wazir and gave him the title of *Kasim al-Mulk*, Participator in the royal authority. Khalf'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. Khalf replied in the following lines:—

If there be a country where I am not held in honour—though it call unto me, I will not answer.

Even though its loveliness be that of the gardens of Paradise—and so also its sweetness. Yet an abject life therein would make its fragrance hateful.

I would fly to where I may be held in honour—even though it be a land whose barren plains resound with the howls of famished wolves.

* 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.

و من اعيان دولة الحبشة وزير الملك جياش و هو خلف بن ابي الطاهر ابن الاموي كان من افراد الدهر نبلاً و عضلاً و صحب حياشا حتى* زال ملكه و دخل معه الهند و شاهد ان الامر اذا عاد اليه قاسمه اياه فلما عاد اليه الملك استوزره و سماه قسيم احلك ولم يزد على هذا بالاسم و لولا † ما تمّ لجياش ما تمّ ثم حملت الوحشة بينه و بين جياش فهرب مكث اليه يستعطفه و يستخبره عن احواله فاجابه بشعر هو

اذا لم تكن ارض لعرضي؛ مَعْرَظَةٌ † فسلمت و ان نادت اتي مجيبها §
و لو انها كانت † مَكْرُوضَةٌ جنة † من † الطيب لم يحسن مع الدلّ طيبها
و سرت الى ارض سواها تُعْرَظُنِي † و ان كان لا يصوي** من الجذب ذيبها

NOTE 40 to p. 47.—Kur'an S. xxxiii. v. 36. It is explained in the *Kashshdf* 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 Muhammad*.

NOTE 41 to p. 47.—Kur'an 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

* Kbi, حين	† Kbi, ولولاه	‡ Kbi, نفسى
§ Kbi, اجيبها	Kbi, اصحت	¶ Kbi, مع
	‡ Kbi, لا يصوي ؟	

be observed, turns to account in the subsequent sentence. The words *Resist me not, ate*, 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 sou of Ahmad the Sulayhite) continued to inhabit his castle of Ashyah until he died in the year 492. At his death, San'a 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'a was conquered by Sultan Hiitim ibn al-Ghashlm, 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 Khalduti writes 486 (*supra*, p. 151). Al-Janadi adds the correct orthography of the name *Ash-yalp*. In the British Museum MS. of 'Omarah it is written *Ashyakh*, which I have rectified in the printed text.

NOTE 43 to p. 49.—Al-Afdal Shahinshah was wazir, and virtually absolute ruler of the Fatimite Empire, under the Khalifahs al-Musta'la 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-Barakat son of al-Walid over at-Ta'kar and its dependencies, and Abu 'l-Barakat's brother Abu 'l-Futuh son of al-Walid over the fortress of Ta'izz. Al-Mufaddal, then in his early youth, was in the service of al-Mukarram at Dhu Jiblah and was admitted into the presence of the Princess.

Upon the death of Abu 'l-Barakat, which occurred after that of al-Mukarram, the Queen confided the Governorship of at-Ta'kar to his son Khalid. 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-Masud'. This Ibn al-Masud' was a learned Jurist and a man of an earnestly religious disposition. He professed attachment to the Amir Khalid ibn Abi 'l-Barakat, who was ruler over his country Dhu 's-Sufal * (Though a Sunni) he ran no danger of being molested and Khalid 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 Khalid was a member of the Ismailite sect. He consulted no person, but persuaded himself that the officials, on finding him prepared with money for the payment of salaries, would submit to him and do his bidding. He engaged the services of an oil-dealer, whose wont it was to go up to the 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 Amir Khalid, he slew him. In his excitement he cried aloud. The people of the castle hastened unto him, and finding the Amir dead, they killed the Jurist.

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

The Queen appointed al-Mufaddal to replace (his brother Khalid). 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-Sufal. Most of the Jurists fled from the neighbourhood of at-Ta'kar in dread of his severities. I have mentioned what he did to the people of the Jurist Zayd, when relating the latter's history.

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

* Dhu 's-Sufal is marked on Niebuhr's and Manzoni's maps southwest of Dhu Jiblah. Yakut writes *Safal* and *SifaL*.

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 Tihamah 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 Mawahib ibn Jadid al-Maghrabi, who panegyricized 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 Islam,
Men say, he that would riches must dwell by the sea or with \ King.
And thus have I done, son of Walid, for thou art a Sea and thou art a King." *

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

Another great work of al-Mufaddal was the reconstruction of

* See Note 74.

† Al-Ahdal (fol. 280 rev.), when mentioning the foundation of the city of Manʿurah by Sayf al-Islam Tughtakin 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 Sultan revived the prosperity of its valley, known by the name of *Khanwah*, which had become the abode of wild beasts, and that in the village of *Hinwah* (?) .. he built a hospital for the entertainment of strangers. The village in question must have stood near the Castle of Dumluwah.

the mosque of Janad. The portions he built are the front and the two aisles. The rear was built by a Kfidi, one of the Jurists attached to the mosque. The portion erected by al-Mufa(jdal may be distinguished through its being built of stone. He roofed it and it continued in existence until Mahdy son of 'Aly ibn Mahdy captured the city. He demolished the mosque and burnt it with fire, as will be related hereafter, if it please God. It remained a ruin until the *Ghuzz* (the Turkish and JS'orthern soldiery under the Ayyubites) 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-Islam reached the city, he restored the mosque and added to its height the existing portion, built of brick. This will be mentioned hereafter, when the history of the Ayyubite conquest is related.

The Kadi Abu Bakr al-Yaf'y mentions the story of the water-channels, in the verses he composed in praise of Mansur son of al-Mufaddal, wherein he eulogized the father as well as the son, extolling al-Mufaddal 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 Kadi's poem. I have already, when giving an account of al-Yaf'y's life, said enough to render it unnecessary to recur to the subject here, but I desire to add the lines in which he refers to the artificial watercourse, and to its author al-Mufaddal, as follows:—

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

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

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

نجيب السيد المفضل مكانه فمن وقت طلعه نعدد بالفتها واطهر عداوتهم وقرض
اراضي القاتل وقرمه وهي الاملاك القديمة في ذي السفال و حرب غالب القتها
عن مجاورة المتكبر خرفا من سلوته وقد ذكرت ما فعل مع اصحاب العقية زيد
عند ذكره و صار المفضل رجل البيت و مديبر الملك الذاب (?) منه ولم تكن

تقاطع السيدة امرأً دونه فبذلك عظم شأنه وعلت كلفته ولم يبق في اعيان الدولة من يُساميه ولا يُساوره وغمزا تهامة مراراً له و عليه وكانت له مكارم وديناخر لكنها دون مكارم سبا المقدم ذكره وكان المفضل جواداً ممدحا يقصده الشعراء من الألقا و يمدحونه فيثيبهم على ذلك ثواباً مغنياً و آيه قدم مواهب* بن حمد المرعى † و امتدحه بعزراً قصاد من بعضها قوله

يا مالك الدين و الدنيا و اهلها و من بعزته § الاسلام متمسك
قد قيل جازر لتغنى || البحر و ملكاً ¶ و قد فعلت و انت البحر و الملك ¶

و من آثاره المقيمة للذكر جرة للقبيل من حنوة الى مدينة الجند و لقد مرّ به في مواضع احتقر بها طريقه في امعية بحيث لا يكاد يصدق بذلك على السماع لانه مقر في الصفا حلرا عديدة و اجري الماء فيها ثم لما جاء بين جبلين اجاز الصناع في ذلك فابتنى جدارا طوله من الجبل الى الجبل نحواً من مائتي ذراع و ارتفعا في الارض نحواً من خمسين ذراعاً و عرضه نحواً من عشرة اذراع بالجديد و هذا التقدير مهي على طريق الحزر و التقيب و لقد اذا رأى شخص يقول ما اقتدر على هذا للمعر الا الجبل و لو لا ثبوت ذلك و ادعاء مدّع لم يُصدّق و من ذلك ابتناؤه المسجد الجند و حدّ بناؤه المقدم و الجناحين و اما المخرمباه بعض القضاة من فها المسجد و حدّ بناه المفضل من المسجد الاحجار و سقف عليها** حتى جاء المهدي بن علي بن مهدي فاخر به و احرقه على ما سيأتي ان شاء الله و لم يزل مهدوماً حتى قدم الفز و هو على ذلك اذ لم تطل مدة المهادية بعد ذلك و لا قبله ثم لما قدم سيف الاسلام ابنتى ذلك و زاد في سمك المسجد ما هو منى الان بالاجر و سيأتي بيان ذلك عند ذكرهم و قد ذكر القاضي ابو بكر الياصبى قصة القبيل في مدحه لابنه منصور لما مدحه و جعل من جملة مدحه مدح ابيه و نبه على فعله في القبيل و قد اتشكك فيمن جزا †† القبيل حتى وجدته في شعر القاضي المذكور و قد تقدّم من ذلك مع ذكره ما يعنى من اعادته لكن احب ذكر ما قاله في القبيل و ذلك انه لما ذكر المفضل قال

* بعروة، Kbi، § ؟ بعدة ؛ المغربي، Kbi، † مواهب، Kbi، *
و انت يابن الوليد البحر و الملك، Kbi، ¶ حاور لتغنى، Kbi، ||
أجرى Read †† فلم نزل كذلك، Kbi، **

و اقل مكرمة له و فضيلة اجراءه للقبيل في الاجناد
 شق للجبال الشامخات ما صبحت و صكاتها فكانت نعا * وهاد
 وفي قوله شق للجبال الشامخات دليل على صحة ما ذكرنا

NOTE 45 to p. 52.—Khazraji has *تعانان* and Yakut *Kayzan* *وميطان* in the neighbourhood, he says, of I)hu Jiblah. The tribe of Janb, also called Munabbih (Hamdani, p. 115), and those of Sinhan, '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-Mufadda's uncle, and such, he adds, is the statement of Ibn Samurrah, whilst 'Omarah, 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-Mufaddal, and by that of 'Omarah's cousin. He mentions also that al-Mnfadlal was buried at 'Azzan at-Ta'kar (the slopes of Ta'kar t)

NOTE 47 to p. 54.—Hamdani speaks of the Banu Bahr as derived from Kabl'ah (p. 114, l. 20), a name borne by, amongst others, a sub-tribe of Khaulān (Rabl'ah son of Sa'd al-Akbar son of Khaulān (*ib.* l. 13). Rabi'ah was also the name of a sub-tribe of the Banu Janb (Hamdani, p. 93, l. 9, 13). Bahr was, moreover, according to Hamdani, a subdivision of the Sadif, a sub-tribe of the Banu Kindah, inhabitants of Hadramaut and descendants of Murrah and of Arlb. And, at p. 112, l. 23, he mentions a tribe or family of the name of Buhr, descendants of Himyar.

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

The Banu idarran are described as a subdivision of Hamdan (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 Yafi') and consequently Himyarites like-

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

The Banu Razih and Bann JumiVah are stated by Hamdani to have been Khaulanites (p. 73, l. 18, and p. J14, l. 18, 20).

The tribes of Sha'b and Sha'b-IIay, he tells us, dwelt in the Sarat of Khauhln (p. 09, l. 2 I), and the Banu I.Iay he describes as Khaulanites (p. 114, l. 20).

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-Futfih, as administrator and guardian of her kingdom. He was the son of AbuT-Futfih, son of al-Ada son of al-Walld. He resided at the fortresses of Sabir and Ta'izz, over which his father had ruled before him. He continued to exercise the authority formerly held by al-Mufaddal, until the year 514, when he was assassinated at Ta'izz by two of his retainers.* This event, continues al-Janadi, occurred after the arrival of Ibn Najib ad-Daulah.

NOTE 49 to p. 50.—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 *Iujartyah* 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-Hujur*, the Chambers, situated between the great palace at Cairo and Bab an-Nasr. They were originally a body of skilled craftsmen, first selected by the 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 Lis stores. The body was re-organized by al-Afdal. He fixed their numbers at 0*000 men and placed them under the command of an Amir who received the title of *ul-Muwaffak*. Previous to that time, the Iujariyahs 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, 511 ; but As'ud, according to 'Omiirah, must have lived to a later period, See pp. 60 and 07.

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. (Makrizi's *Khitat*, vol. i. p. 443.) Makrizi's words, I may add, are that the new levies were selected from among the children of the *Ajnad*, a word which properly signifies simply *soldiers*. The singular is *Jundy*, which in Egypt is vulgarly pronounced *Gmdy*, and is used to denote a Turkish soldier, and also generally a Turk of the poorer class.

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

NOTE 51 to p. 57.—The Ismailite Da'ys taught their neophytes that mystical and spiritual significations attached, not only to passages and single words of the Kur'an, 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 Makrizi'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 Hamdani,

the name of a mountain and of a *mikhlaf* or diatriet. The river was probably one of the affluents of the Wadi Raghadah. If I rightly understand Hamdani's explanations (pp. 75, 1. 22; 92, 16; 101, 19, 21), Maytam was south or south-east of Dhatnar and probably at no great distance from Jabal Khubbiln.

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

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

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

NOTE 65 to p. 62.—Al-Ma'miin al-Bata'ihy was arrested by the Khalifah al-Amir on the fourth of Ramadan 519, and was put to death in 522. Al-Makrizi says (Khitat, vol. i. p. 463), that al-Ma'mun was accused of having sent (Ibn) Najib ad-Daulah Abu 'l-Hasan to Yaman, with orders to strike coins bearing the name of the Itnam al-Mukhtar Muhammad son of Nizar.

Nizar was son of the Khalifah al-Mustansir. Upon the latter's death in A.H. 487, Ahmad, a younger brother, was raised to the throne by the Wazir al-Afdal Shahinshah, under the title of *aUMusta'la billah*. Nizar fled to Alexandria, where he caused himself to be proclaimed Khalifah and assumed the title of *al-Mustafa li-din Allah*. He was soon compelled to surrender himself to al-Afdal, by whom he was conveyed to Cairo and put to death. The Eastern Ismailites embraced the cause of Nizar, 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 *Nizutivs*. They were also styled by their enemies *aJ-Muldhidah*, the Impious, and in the popular traditions still current in Egypt, they are remembered under the name of *al-Fidawiyith*, because in the perilous adventures they were in the habit of undertaking, they devoted their lives as a ransom (*fidu*) for the liberation and propagation of their Faith. By western historians they are best known under the designation of *the Assassins*. Their Chiefs, now represented by an Imam who resides at Bombay, claim to be descendants of Nizar.

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

NOTE 5G to p. 04.—According to Ibn Khaldun (*supra*, p. 169), Ibn Najib ad-Dauluh was drowned at sea, a statement which is probably correct, but for which no authority is given. Al-Khazraji's account of the end of Ibn Najib ad-Daulah's career is copied from 'Omarah, 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 (fob 185 rev), which clearly prove that if we have not the words of 'Omarab. in their original purity, their corruption is of ancient date:—

The Queen then delivered up Ihn Najib ad-Daulah, hut she sent along with him one of her secretaries. On reaching Aden, the envoy departed with Ihn 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 Bab abMandab. I am in ignorance of the fate of Ibn

Najib ad-Daulah, seeing that 'Omarah 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,* Maneur son of al-Mufadd&l succeeded, by her bequest, to the kingdom of the Sulayhites. He sold Ta'kar and Habb and the fortresses (I read **حصن** for **حصن** **الخللاف**) of the Mikhlaf (Ja'far) and dependencies to the Da'y Muhammad ibn Saba ibn Abi Su'ud. 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. . .

Mansur continued to inhabit the fortress of Taizz until he died. He was the first to adopt Tha'bat † 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 Ahmad, who succeeded him, and who followed the same course of life as his father until the year 558. Mabdy son of Aly ibn Mahdy then came up from Tihamah and purchased of him Sabir and Ta'izz, Ahmad then inhabited Janad until the year 563, when he died.

NOTE 57 to p. G5.—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.U. 532. So also in Khazraji. The latter adds that she had attained the age of eighty-eight years, and Dayba' says that she was buried in the mosque she had built at Dhu Jiblah, in the foremost part of the building and on its western side. Her reign, he continues, extended over a period of thirty-one years.

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

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 'Omarah. 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.

قال علي بن الحسن الخزازي وفقه الله للعمل بما يرضه كان السب في تلك آل زريع عدن و ما ناهجها من البلاد ان الداعي علي بن محمد الصليحي لما استولى على البص و افتتح مدينة عدن فكان فيها يومئذ بنو من قد تملأوا عليها و علي لطيح و ابين و الشحر و حمصوت ابقاها تحت ايديهم و جعلهم نوابها من قله فلما تزوج المكرم بالحنة السيدة جعل الصليحي صداقها عدن و ما ناهجها فكان بنو من يرفعون خراجها الى السيدة في ايام الصليحي فلما قتل الداعي علي بن محمد الصليحي في التاريخ المذكور اولاً تغلب بنو من علي ما تحت ايديهم من البلاد فغصدهم المكرم الى عدن و اخرجهم منها و ولأها العباس و مسعودا ابني المكرم الهمداني وكانت لهما سابقة محمودة و بلا حسن في قيام الدولة المستنصرية مع الداعي علي بن محمد الصليحي ثم مع ولده المكرم يوم نزوله الى زبيد و اخذ امه اسماء بنت شهاب من اسرا الاحول سعيد بن فجاج فجعل للعباس حصن الشكر بعدن و باب البر و ما يدخل منه و جعل لمسعود حصن المنصرا و باب البحر و ما يدخل منه و اليه امر المدينة و استخلفها للحرمة السيدة فلم ينزل ارتفاع عدن يعمل الى السيدة في كل سنة مائة الف دينار وقد يزيد وقد ينقص الي ان توفي العباس بن المكرم فخلفه ابنه زريع بن العباس علي الشكر و باب البر و بقي مسعود علي ما تحت يده و كل واحد منهما يعمل ما عليه و ملك زريع الدملوة يوم الثلاثاء لست عشرة ليلة خلت من رمضان سنة ثمانين و ارضائفة فلما بعثت السيدة المغفل بن ابي البركات الى زبيد كتبت الى زريع بن العباس و اليه مسعود بن المكرم ان يلقياها الى زبيد فلقياها و قاتلا معه قتلاً معاً علي باب زبيد فانتقل امر عدن الى ولديهما ابي السعد بن زريع

و ابي الغارات* بن مسعود فضلياً على لمدة ايضا فبعثت اليهما المفضل بن ابي البركات في جيش عظيم مقاتلها ثم اتفق الامر على النصف من ذلك فكانا يحملان اليها في كل سنة خمسين الفا فلما مات المفضل بن ابي البركات تغلبوا على المرة ايضا فبعث اليهم ابن عم المفضل اسعد بن ابي الفتح فقاتلها ثم اتفقا على الربع من الارتفاع فكانوا يحملون اليها في كل سنة خمسة وعشرين الف دينار ثم تغلبوا على الربع المذكور اولا و لم يزل كل واحد منهما مؤالا لابن عمه حتى تولى ابو السعود و ولى جهته سبا بن ابي السعود ثم تولى ابو الغارات و ولى جهته ولده محمد بن ابي الغارات ثم تولى محمد بن ابي الغارات فولى اخوه علي بن ابي الغارات و هو صاحب حصن الحصرا و المنسولي على البحر و المدينة و كان للداعي سبا حصن المنعكر و باب الجبر و ما يدخل منه و كان له من البر الدملوة و صامع و مطران و ممن و دحمان و بعض المعافر و بعض الجند و كانت اعماله واسعة حكيمة و كان له من الاولاد علي الاغر و محمد الداعي و المفضل و زياد و روح و كان السبب في استيلاء الداعي سبا بن ابي السعود و زوال علي بن ابي الغارات ان نواب علي بن ابي الغارات انبطت ايديهم على نواب الداعي .

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

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

* Written here and elsewhere *الغارات*

NOTK 58 to p. 65.—The author of the *Taj al-'Arus* 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. 'Omfirah, 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 Horn*, near the "Main Pass Gate." Colonel Hunter mentions the fort of Ta'kur (*Statistical Account*, p. 184) and also the Castle (Hisn) al-Akhdar (pp. 190 and 191), but without giving an indication of their position. The latter, I presume, must have stood at no great distance from the Island of Seerah.

NOTE 59 to p. 07.—The name of Muhammad son of Saba is followed in the text by the words, "and he was the last of the Banu Zurayv They are clearly erroneous, and I omit them in the translation. Al Janadi confines himself to saying that 'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharat was the last of the family of Masuid.

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

NOTE 60 to p. 68.—Al-Janadi adds that 'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharat possessed in Lafrj the city of Za'azi*. **له في لافرج مدينة الزبازع**. In enumerating the possessions of Saba ibn Abi 'l-Gharat, al-Janadi, like Khazraji, omits the name UJI. He writes as follows:—**وله معتقل الدملوة وسامع ومطران وبيجر ودهمان** و بعض المعامر و بعض الجبد.

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

the name in Muller's edition of Hamduni and also in Sprenger's *Raise-routen* is written Ra'ari'.

NOTE 61 to p. 69.—The name of this village is written in the text without the diacritical points. But al-Janadi mentions it when speaking of the learned men of Lahj (fol. 69 rev.). There, as well as at fol. 180 obv., he calls it Bani Abbali al-'Uiya.. He supplies the vocalization of the word, and tells us that it was vulgarly pronounced *Manyahbah*. See also Hamdani, p. 98, 1.

ومن طح ثم من قرية لنا انه العليا واستعمل ذلك سميت بمسمة بفتح
الميم وسكون الون وفتح الياء المشاء من تحت و فتح الاء الموحدة مع
يشديدها: ثم هاء ساكنة و سميت بالاسم الاول لان اول بانها رجل من مرطه
يقال له آيه بفتح الهمزة وفتح الاء الموحدة مع تشديد وسكون الها .

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

و ظلم ذوى القربى اشدّ مظامة على المرء من وقع الخمام المهدي

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 Hamdan.

NOTE 64 to p. 70.—See Dieterici's *Mntanabbi*, 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 :—

اعلى الممالك ما بُنى على الأسلِّ والطعن عند مجيبيهنَّ كالقتل

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

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

NOTE 65 to p. 78.—As-Suhayb, according to Hamdani

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

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

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

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

"On the termination of the war, the Da'y Saba entered Aden, where he abode for seven months and then died.* He was buried in the loot 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 Da'y, but God is all-knowing.†

* Khazraji (p. 70) quotes Janadi to the effect that Saba died in 533, the same year as stated in 'Oraarah ; 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 Da'y Saba died after having appointed his son 'Aly al-A'azz to succeed him. The latter did not long survive, and died of consumption.* He had four sons of tender age, whom he placed under the guardianship of an [Abyssinian] eunuch named Anis [al-A'azzi], the same name, Anis, as that of the man who slew the last Prince of the Banu Ziyad."

فتهاجعت بينهما حروب كثيرة افضت الى انتشار الداي سبا على ابن عمه
 وهرب الى + سا صهيب و تحصن دو و بوعه بمحصين منها منيف و الخلد
 و من عجيب ما كان في اليوم الذي انكسره ابن ابي الغارات فتح بلال مولى
 سبا حصن لخمرا بعث مبشرا و انزل الخيرة بفتح الى المدينة
 فلبثت بها حتى تويت و المسجد الذي يعرف بمسجد الخيرة على قرب من جواهر §
 عدن اطه يسب اليها ثم لما انقضت الحرب دخل الداعي سبا الى عدن فلبث
 بها سعة اشهر و بوعى فقبور بسم المعكر بتاريخ سنة ٥٣٣ و لما كان بعد سبعين
 ظهر الناس ¶ على اكه ¶ بفتح المعكر حفيرا اظهرو المطر تنوهم الناس انه
 مال فاعلوا و الى المدينة فطلع و الى المدينة و وقف و اخرج للمارون منه صندوقا
 مكمرا مسجرا ففتح فوجدوا فيه رجلا ملعقا باثواب متى امسكت صارت رمادا
 فاعادوه على حاله بمسودقه و حفرته و لعله الداعي و الله اعلم و لما توفي

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 Sultan al-Mansur 'Omar ibn Kasul (A.H. 626—647), in a graveyard at Mansurah, that upon its being opened it was found to contain remains, believed to be those of the Da'y Muhammad son of Saba (who died ;it T)umliiwah). See also Ibn al-Athlir, vol. xii. p. 269, where it is related that on the grave of Katadah Amir and Sharif of Mecca being opened in A H. 620, the coffin it contained was found to be empty.

* At "Dumluwah in A.H. 534, according to Khazraji. He goes on to say that 'Aly's sons were Jabir, 'Abbas and Mansur. The name of the fourth he did not remember. Ho adds, immediately after, that al-A'azz bequeathed the kingdom to his son Hatim.

+ Kbi, ناحية

† Kbi, الخلد

§ Kbi, جانب

¶ للناس

¶ Kbi, في اصل كحي ؟ اكه ¶

الداعي بعد أن أقام مقامه ابنه عليّ الأزهري لم يقم غير يسير حتى توفي بمرض السل وله أربعة أولاد مغار جعل كفالهم إلى خادم اسمه أنيس غشي* على اسم العبد الذي قتل مواليه الخربى زياد .

NOTE 66 to p. 74.—A *Musalla* is an enclosed place in the open air, set aside for the performance of prayer. Under the Fatimites, the Khalifah resorted to the *Musalla* in state, on the occasion of the two great festivals of the year. Makrizi says that the *Musalla* of Cairo was enclosed by Jauhar 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-Hakim.)

NOTE 67 to p. 76.—The reason why Mansur divorced his wife is explained by Ibn Khaldun (*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 'Imran 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 Zuray¹ 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. لاحسانهم اليه وميله الى محبتهم
- بل قيل الى مذهبهم ابي التشيع والتسمثل فاعلم ذلك

The following is a passage in which 'Omarah speaks of 'Imran in more legitimate terms :

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

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

* Klu, انيس الاعزى و هو استاذ حشى

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

The following words of 'Omirah, when relating the history of 'Imran, are singularly eloquent and appropriate:

" Truly a gift from God were the qualities of the Da'y 'Imran. How copious were the showers of his generosity, how abundant the springs of his beneficence! How greatly was he missed in the pathways of life by those who had daily beheld him! How few, in the estimation of Kings and Princes, the occasions on which they enjoyed his companionship.* They will not be contradicted who declare that generosity and beneficence wore the nature of 'Imrfin, 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 'Inirjin 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.

'Imran left three sons, Muhammad, Abu 's-Su'ud and Mansur, all in their early youth and under the care of the Chamberlain Abu Durr Jauhar al-Mu'azzami, in the fortress of Dumluwah. The administrator at Aden of the affairs of the kingdom was the Chief Yasir son of Bilal, hereinbefore mentioned. In that condition matters remained until the arrival of Sultan Shams ad-Daulah Turan Shah son of Ayyub (in Dhu 'l-Ka'dah 569). He conquered Aden, and Yasir fled to the fortress of Dumluwah, 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 Dumluwah, in the hands of Abu Durr, until he sold it to Sayf al-Islam (read to Turan Shah—see Note 101), shortly after the year 570.

* I translate the foregoing sentence with much hesitation. It is omitted by Khazraji.

† 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 Bilal, already mentioned. He died in the year 546 or 547. It was he who was eulogised by the accomplished scholar al-'Abdy, as I have hereinbefore stated, when mentioning him. Sultan Muhammad son of Saba appointed Mudafi* to succeed his father, and then the brother of Mudilfi', Abu 'l-Faraj Yasir son of Bilal. Yasir held his office under Sultan Muhammad and under Muhammad's eon ('Imran). He exercised great power and enjoyed a wide celebrity. He was greatly praised and liberally rewarded his oulogists, nor did he disappoint any one that came to his court. 'Omiirah has given a brief account of Yasir's life in his memoirs of the Poets (?) He built the mosque at Aden, known as the mosque of Ibn al-Kasri, the name of one who made it his place of resort for prayer and holy living.

When Yasir left Dumluwah he proceeded to Dhu 'Udaynah, in disguise, accompanied by his mamluk Miftah who was surnamed as-Sudfis-y. 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 (Miftah) shared his fate. It is also said that Shams ad-Daulah ordered them to be bisected. Yasir's death took place in the year 571, and he was the last of the Zuray'ito wazirs.

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

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

وما احسن قول عمارة به حين اورد ذكره لله در الداعي عمران بن محمد بن
سبا ما اغزر ديمة جوده و اكرم نبعة عموده و اكثر وحشه في بدرة الطريق من
المنظران و اتسل موانسه فيها من الملوك و الامران و لا يكذب من قال ان
الجود و الوفا ملة عمران و انه حاتمها بل خاتمها و لو لم يكن من توفيقه آلا
سلامته من اين مهدي و كادت وماته سنة ٥٦٠ فقله الاديب ابو بكر* الى
معكته و دمنه بي مقابرها مرحم الله الابدين احسن هذا و لم يضع على هذا

* بن محمد العدي، Kili.

فإن اكابر الملوك يودّوا الدمن بمحّته و ان يبذلوا في مقابلة ذلك اموالاً فلا يحصل لهم وهذا أيضاً دليل اخر على توقيه و من مآثره الباقية في عدن المنبر المنسوب الى جامعها واسمه مكتوب عليه و هو متر له حلالة في النفس و طلالوة في العين و تومى عمران عن ثلثة اولاد هم محمد و أبو السعود و منصور كلهم مغار في حكمة الاستاذ ابي الدرّ جوهر المعطى بحسن الدمولة و القائم بعدن و المدبّر لامور البلاد الشيخ ياسر بن بلال الذي تقدّم ذكره فلم يزلوا كذلك حتى قدم السلطان شمس الدولة نوران شاه ابن ايوب فاستولى على عدن و هرب ياسر الى حصن الدمولة و جوهر يومئذ به و قد قدّمت ما كان منه و كان انقضاء دولة آل الزريع عن عدن و غيرها بحيث لم يبق الا الدمولة بيد ابي الدرّ حتى باعها من سيف الاسلام كما قدّمنا لبيع وسعين و خمسمائة ثم لم يبق الا اعيان دولهم اولهم الشيخ السعيد بلال المقدم ذكره و ان وفاته كانت سنة ست اوسع و اربعين و خمسمائة و هو الذي اسما * الاديب العبدى كما قدّمت ذلك مع ذكره ثم استغلف السلطان محمد بن سيا بعد ابيه مدافع ثم اخوه ابو الفرج ياسر بن بلال ما قام معه ثم مع ولده و كان رجلاً مكبير القدر شوير الذكر ايضاً ممدحاً يثيب المادحين ولا يغيّب القاصدين و قد ذكر عارة في اخبار الشعراء نذره من اخباره له المسجد المعروف بعدن بمسجد ابن المرمى اذ كان يتعافى القيام به ثم انه خرج من الدمولة و دخل ذا عديبة متكرراً و معه مملوكه مفتاح الملقب بالسداسى فحصل من همر † عليه اهل الدولة قبض و اعلم به شمس الدولة فامر بشنقه و شقّ معه عمده و قيل بل امر بتوسيطهما ففعل ذلك بهما و ذلك بتاريخ سنة ٥٧١ و كان هذا اخر وراثتهم قال عارة و بنو الكرم يعني والد الصاس و مسعود اللذين ولاهما الكرم يعرفون بال الذئب و هم بعد بنى الصليحي بقية العرب باليمن و قد ذكرت مع ذلك ‡ جوهر انفصاله عن الدمولة و لم يبق الا دمكر ملوك الحشة .

* اتقى عليه or اثناه *

‡ دمكره † منم عليه انسان Khi ? اعثر †

Janadi's statement that the children of 'Imran 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 Hatim. See Note 101. The corresponding passage in our MS. of 'Omarah (*xupra*, 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. 516 or 547, as in the preceding note. "Khazraji says that Bilal died in 545. From Omiirah's own words, on the ensuing page, it would appear that Muhammad ibn Saba, who he has told us died in 548, survived Bilal at least two years. Bub al-Janadi, on the other hand, casts doubt over the precise year of Muhammad ibn Saba's death, which he says occurred in A.H. 548, or in 519, or in 550. Pie adds that 'Imran received, on his accession, the title of al-Mukarram.

NOTE 71 to p. 80.—The *Bululr* (pi. abhirah) is a weight variously described as 800 or 400 or 600 or 1000 rati or pounds, also as the proper load of a camel. Our author, it will be seen (*xupra*, p. 109), describes it as equal to three kantars.

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

وَأَنَّكَ لَمْ تُفَخِّرْ عَلَيْهِ كَفَاخِرٍ
 ضَعِيفٍ وَلَمْ يَغْلِبَكَ مِثْلُ مُغْلَبٍ

The death of as-Sulayhi 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, Wa'il ibn 'Isa Prince of Wuhiazah, 'Aly ibn Ma'n Prince of Aden and Ibn al-Kurandi Prince of al-Ma'afir.

NOTR 73 to p. 90.—The person here referred to is probably the Khallfah '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-Tatni signifies *Exalted*.

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

There seems again reason to suspect an omission in this portion of the MS. Al-Janadi and, following him, Khazraji, al-Ahdal and Dayba', enter into particulars touching Jaiyash's literary acquirements. His poetical works, they say, on the authority of 'Omarah, 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. Khazraji adds that the book had become excessively rare and could with difficulty be found in any of the libraries of the country. Al-Janadi mentions that according to 'Ornah, Jaiyash bore the title of *al-'Adil Abu 'f-Tami*. Among the verses composed by Jaiyash, 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.

إذا سكتان حلم المرء عون عدوه عليه فإن الجهل * أبى † وأروح
وغي الصبح ضعف والعقوبة قوة إذا كنت تغفو عن كفور؟ وتعلم

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

‡ الجبر *

‡ Kbi, أولى

‡ Kbi, قليل

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

كشيب نقاً من فوّه حوطاً بانو باعلاء بدر بوله * ليل ساهر

'Omarah'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 *ban-tree*, and her face resplendent with beauty as the full moon.

Khrazraji relates the circumstances that led to the death of Ibn Abi 'Akamah. Jayyash sought the hand of a woman, of whose extreme beauty he had been informed. She was daughter of an Arab tribe, descended from Rabfah son of Nizar, inhabiting the valley of Mauza'.f There was a division of opinion among her people, on the question whether the demand should be complied with. The Kadi, who as a Taghlibite was akin to the tribe, advised them not to consent unless all were agreed. Jayyash, 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 Kadi in the matter.

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

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

* فوّه Kbi, فوّه ? فوّه *

f Hamdani says that the country in the neighbourhood of Mauza', Mukha and Bab al-Mandab, which was occupied by the Banu Musih (a tribe derived from the Banu Majid, themselves a subdivision of the Banu Haydan), 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. (Mullens Hamdani, 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.

اخطأت يا جياش في قتل للنسن ففأت والله به عين الزمن
و لم يهكون منظويا على ذخر مبرأ من الفسوق والدرن
هكان جزاء حين ولاك العين قتلكه ودفنه بلا كفن

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

The Banu Jurayb are said to be descendants of Huzayl son of Sharahbil, one of the contemporaries and successors (*tabi'*) of the Prophet's Companions, mentioned in Ibn al-Athir's *Usd al-Ghabah*. (Bui. ed. v. p. 60.) Khazraji writes *al-Ildrith* instead of Jurayb. The town of Jurayb is described by Hamdani (p. 113, l. 6) as situated in the district of Ilajiir. The latter is marked in Dr. Glaser's map.

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

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

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

having been borne by one of the Princes of the Egyptian dynasty of Tulun 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 *Jayyash*, 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-Rudd*, after one who, when the building threatened ruin, repaired it. In earlier times, he continues, the mosque was universally known under the name of Mosque of the son of Mann Allah.

NOTE 80 to p. 102.—Abu 'l-Hasan Ibn al-Labban al-Faradi, an eminent Jurist and authority on the laws of inheritance, died at Baghdad in A. H. 402.

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

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

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 الاعمال*, 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):—

تقطعهم ذوال و هو واد شمالي رمع و رمع واد شمالي زبيد ظم يزل القيز
يشغلون خراج الوادي الخ .

Yakut mentions a village named *Wasa** 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 و كنا سبعة انا ثامنهم و كنت الساتى فاسكرت
لخمسة الذين حضروا فلما سكروا انصرفوا فقلت لعثمان الخ .

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

فلما اصبح الصباح عدت الى عثمان فاعدت اليه الالف دينار الذي كان دفعه
الى و سالته في غيبة من ذوال .

Khazraji proceeds with the words فوقع لى بها . Heading the verb in the passive, the general sense agrees with 'Omarah.

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 و تعلق ببعض غلمان الوزير فطرح نكتب ابو المعالي بسبب
غلامه يبتين و هتأ .

NOTE 87 to p. 113.—It will be observed that further on, 'Omarah gives this place the alternative name of الكرش Al-Hamdani has the same, but for a totally different place, namely between Mount Sabir and Aden (p. 77, 6-9). Khazraji vocalizes the name *al-Karish*. Yakut writes *al-Kvrsh* 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 'Omarah. Al-Janadi writes: 'fol. 187 rev.), intimating in plain words, that the castle stood upon Mount Bura'.

The name of the castle of *Dabsdn*, 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. 118.—Ibn Khaldiin says (*supra*, p. 166-7) that Ghanim ibn Yahya was a descendant of the Suleymanite Sharifs of Mecca, who, he tells us, not only here, but also in his chapter on the history of the Suleymanites of Mecca, sought refuge in Yaman upon their expulsion by the Banu Hashim. But Ibn Khaldun's statements, in certain portions of his general history require to be received with some caution. Thus he tells us, on the authority of Ibn Sa'Id, that the Suleymaite refugees conquered Sa'dah from the Rassites, that they and their descendants were the recognized Imams of Yaman throughout a period of at least a century and a half, that the Imam Ahmad (al-Mutawakkil) who brought about the assassination of Fatik ibn Muhammad in A.H. 553, and even the celebrated Imam al-Mansiir 'Abd Allah, were members of the Suleymanite 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 'Omarah, but also every writer on the history of Yaman, including the authors of the *Hadaik* and of the *Yawakit* (Brit. Mus. Or. 8786 and 3771) invariably speak of the Hasanite family, to which Ghanim ibn Yahya belonged, under the designation of the *Suleymanites*. 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 Suleyman ibn fair. But the explanation was one which I soon found reason to abandon.

With the exception of Ibn Khaldiin, 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 Imams of Sa'dah, some trace of which could hardly fail to appear, if it had existed. Ibn Khaldiin, I am much inclined to think, is right so far as the origin of the family of Ghanim ibn Yahya is concerned. Khazraji gives us a fuller pedigree of the Sharif than any I have found elsewhere, and calls him Ghanim son of Yahya son of Hamzah

* See Note 130.

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

I may add that I find mention in the *Hadd'ik* of two other members of the Suleymanite family, namely, at fol. 128 obv., 'Aly son of 'Isa son of Hainzah son of Wahhas, living in A.H. 540, and at fol. 108 obv., Nizam ad-din Yahya son of 'Aly (son of the preceding ?), ruler over the old province of Suleyman ibn j W f in A.n. 594-5, in the days, that is to say, of the Ayyubite dynasty.

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

Al-Mutawakkil, a descendant of Yusuf the Da/y, died in A.H. 965.

NOTE 89 to p. 115.—The death of Fatik son of Mansiir occurred, according to both al-Janadi and Khazraji in the month of Sha'ban 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-Fatik ibn Muhammad, the successor of al-Fatik ibn Mansur, was raised to the throne. Al-Janadi merely repeats (fol. 187 rev.) what we have been told by 'Omarah, with the addition, as in Khazraji, that the Prince died leaving no issue. (*Supra*, p. 95.) The sentences I have enclosed in square brackets are wanting in the text and are supplied from Khazraji.

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

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

Ijaram are mentioned by Hamdani (p. 116) as the principal subdivision of the Bann 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 Surur was technically the slave of the Lady 'Alam. His admission into her presence was consequently no violation of Muhamadan law.

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

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

وكان متى عاد بعد الركوب * وصل † الى دار السلطان يدخل ‡ فيسلم ثم يقف
بباب السلطان فيقتضى حوائج الناس على اكتمال الاحوال ثم اذا كان وقت
الغدا ذهب الى بيته فقال فيه حتى الزوال ثم يخرج الى المسجد § فلا
يشتغل بشئ غير العريضة غير المسندات المصيبة عن الرسول صلعم حتى العصر
فيصلي و يدخل داره يقعد حتى الغروب ثم يخرج الى المسجد الخ .

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

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

و مسجده الى الآن يُعرف بمسجد ضرور غربي مرتفع || العجوز بمدينة زبيد و

* Kbi, للزيارة و العبادة كما ذكرنا
† Kbi, يعمل
‡ Kbi, يدخل
§ Kbi, في اول زوال الظل
|| Kbi, مرتفع

يؤكد يعرفه من هو سرور الا احاد الناس واما اهل زبيد فيعرفون انه من
المساجد المنسوبة الى للهبشة .

His mosque is known to the present day under the name of Mosquo of Surur. It is situated in the city of Zahid, on the western side of *Mardt' al-Ajuz* (the Old Woman's Pasturage). Hardly any of the inhabitants of the town, saving a few of the best informed class, know who Surur 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 *Mufid* of 'Omarah. 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.

إذا أردت تحقيق ذلك فانظر مفيد عمارة فالذي اختصرت كثيراً من اخباره لكن بشرط ان فيها ذكرت دليلا اما (هل ما؟) لم اذكره صريحا او مفهوماً .

In treating of the life and character of Surur, al-Janadi departs from his rule, and introduces into his pages an almost verbatim copy of 'Omarah'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 Surur's qualities, of his nobility of character, of his bravery and of his righteousness, would be of great length. What 'Omarah has recorded on the subject is widely known. Let him who more would read, turn to that writer's book *al-Mufid*. The student may do so, although, in the case of Surur, I have written at far greater length than I have allowed myself to do in other instances. Thus have I done on account of Surur's great merits, I have studied to acquaint myself with all that to which 'Omarah directs attention, and I have entered into detailed particulars on the subject of Surur's virtues, such as justify indifference to other things which I have omitted.

فابعاره في الكرم والشجاعة والعدل يطول شرحها وقد اورد عمارة من ذلك

ما هو مشهور فيطلب ذلك مریده من ملیده مع انی قد اطلت فی ذکره
بجانب غیره لما رايت فی استیقامه و ذلك لاننی نطقت حين اشار ذکرته*
من محاسنه ما ساء عن البعض المتروک .

NOTE 95 to p. 124.—Al-Janadi mentions the pedigree of 'Aly ibn Mahdy, but ib is more fully given by Khazraji (p. 97) as follows:—Aim 'l-Hasan 'Aly son of (Mahdy son of) Muhammad, son of 'Aiy son of Da-ud, son of Muhammad son of 'Abd Allah, son of Muhammad son of Ahmad, son of 'Abd al-Kahir (?) son of 'Abd Allah sou of al-Aghlab son of Abu 'l-Fawaris son of Maitnim, of the tribe of Himyar and subtribe of Ra'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 Zubld. It commences with the village of al-'Anbarah and (comprises) al-Kudayb, al-Ahwab, al-Mu'tafi (?), Wasit and its neighbourhood. lie acquired there a great reputation for piety.

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

اول ما ظهر امره بالعرك التي هي سفلى وادي زبيد اولها قرية العبرة والنضيب
والاهواب والمعنى ووسط وما قاربها من الاماكن و صار له فيها ذكر في
الصلاح .

I have nowhere else met with the name العرك. *Al-'Irk* has been mentioned at p. 15 as close to Zabid. See also Janadi, p. 183, and Yakut. Ibn al-Mujuwir (Sprenger, p. 149) says that Wadi 'l-'Irk is another name for *Kuwayd* ثويض half a parasang from Wadi Rima' and four from Zabid. *Al-Farah* or al-'Arah, it will be noticed, is omitted by both Janadi and Khazraji; but al-A'rah is described by Ibn al-Mujawir, who says that its inhabitants are fishermen and that close to it aie 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

tears, *كان رقيق القلب قريب الدمعة عزيزها* > an account of kirn 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'an (S. xlvi. 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 * Abbas, ancestor of the Abbasides, were surnamed *Dhu 'th-thafint*, 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 *itazala*, which occurs in Ibn Khaldiin as well as in 'Omarah, 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 Khaldiin Byles him the Kharijite, and is supported therein by *Omarah's statement that Ibn Mahdy held the doctrine which treats sin as infidelity (*wipra*, p. 132). It deserves, perhaps, to be remarked that 'Omarah speaks of Ibn Mahdy as *al-Khiirij* (*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:—

مكاتبها نتيجت فيما نتجتهم و كانتهم ولدوا على مهراتها

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

of the *Kharai* (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 *hujbah* or sermon, delivered by Ibn Mahdy to his followers :—

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

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

و الله ما جعل الله فناءً للجبنة الا فيّ و بكم و عما قليل ان شاء الله سوف تعلمون والله العظيم رب موسى و ابراهيم اتى عليهم ريح عاص و صيحة ثمود و اتى احدنكم فلا اكدبكم واعدكم فلا اخلعكم ولسن كنتم اصبحتم اليوم قليلا لتكثرن او وضعا تشرفن او اذلا لتعززن حتى تصيروا مثلا في العرب و العجم ليعزى الله الذين اساموا بما عملوا و يعزى الذين احسنوا بالحسنى فالاناة الاناة فوحق الله العظيم على كل مومن موحد لخدمتكم بنات للجبنة و اخواتهم و لاخرتكم

* The tribe of 'Ad, for its disregard of the prophet Hud, was destroyed by a suffocating wind. That of Thamud, for its defiance of the prophet Salih, perished at the sound of an appalling cry that issued from the heavens. (KLur'an, s. vii.)

† Kur'un, liii. 32.

‡ Kur'an, xxiv. 54.

اموالهم و اولادهم ثم قرأ وعد الله الذين امنوا منكم وعملوا الصالحات الى قوله
تعالى امناً .

NOTE 97 to p. 126.—Janadi says that after the queen's death, a great number of people swore allegiance to Ibn Mahdy at the village of Kudayb. This he adds was in A.H. 546. Ibn Mahdy then proceeded to ad-Dashir, 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 *Dmhir* for Sharaf. The latter, as is shown by the words that follow, cannot be correct, and Kbazraji, as well as Janadi, writes Dashir. In the printed edition of Yakut's Geographical Dictionary, the name appears as *Ddsir*, and the author says it stood at the distance of a night's journey from Zabld. (See *supra*, p. 128.) Ash-Sharaf was one of the fortresses situated on Mount Wusab.

Instead of Hay wan, the name of the tribe to which ash-Sharaf is said to have belonged, we may perhaps read Ilaydan. Hamdani mentions the Banu Flaydan as sons of 'Amru son of al-Haf (p. 53, l. 20). They were, therefore, descendants of Kudn'ah, but ifc has been seen (see *supra*, Note 3, pp. 217 and 218), that certain Khaulanites in Yaman were regarded as Kuda'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 Ziyadite Princes here presented will agree with that previously given by 'Omarah in his history of the dynasty (*supra*, p. 5), and after him by al-Janadi and subsequent 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 'Omarah's previous account of the succession is itself by no means free from doubt, and the interpolation, if it be one, is perhaps capable of helping us to a more correct appreciation of the facts. Thus Abu 'l- Jaysh Ishak is here stated to have been grandson, instead of son of Ibrahim—Ishak, son of Muhammad son of Ibrahim. The latter, in like manner, is represented as grandson of Muhammad ibn Ziyad—Ibrahim son of 'Abd Allah son of (Muhammad ibn) Ziyad. Ibrahim, we have been told, died in A.H. 289, eighty-six years there-

fore after the arrival of Muhammad ibn Ziyad in Yaman, and Abu 'l-Jaysh Ishak in A.H. 371, eighty-two years after the death of Ibrahim, who it is said was Ishak's father. (See *supra*, Note 18.)

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 Ziyadite succession. He mentions and quotes (fol. 182 rev.) certain marginal notes he found on a copy of 'Omarah's *Mufid*. As to their subject matter, it is sufficient to say that the writer omits the reign of Ziyad son of Ibrahim, that he represents Husayn ibn Salamah as having, in A.H. 371, succeeded Ishak, and that *he believes* the latter was he who bore the surname Abu 'l-Jaysh. Al-Janadi proceeds as follows :—

According to the annotator, each of the Banu Ziyad enjoyed a long life, and the members of the dynasty wore few in number. According to 'Oraarah 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 Salamah 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 *Mufid* 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 Ziyad endured from A.H. 203 to 371, 168 years. . . .

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

فعلى ما ذكر هذا المعلق أن بنو زياد أيام كلٍ منهم مستطيلة وهم قليل وعلى ما ذكر عمارة هم كثير ومددهم طوال وقصار والله اعلم بالحق وذكر المعلق أن الحسين توفي سنة ٤٠٣ بزيادة سنة على ما ذكر عمارة واعلم أن هذه أخبار تدخلها الصدق والكذب والزيادة والنقصان وسب ذلك اختلاف لقل ثم اختلاف مکتب التاريخ قد يكون المصنف واحداً والتصنيف واحداً

ويختلف ما يوجد بأحدى النسختين عن الأخرى يعرف ذلك المعارف ربما ينكر المنكر ما نقلت من المفيد وغيره لاسبب لذلك الا تموره عن الاطلاع على مكتب التاريخ والنظري عدة نسخها فقد يمحس لك ان مدة ملك بى زياد مستقل عن مواليهم من سنة ٢٠٣ الى سنة احدى وسبعين وثلثمائة وثمانية وستون سنة* ونيابة عليهم ثمانية وثلثون سنة لقيام ابن سلامة ثم كانوا اعمانا لمواليهم منادمين معهم حتى كان من انيس ما قدمنا ذكره قال هجارة وذلك سنة ٣٠٢ + فمدة ذلك ثمانية وثلثون سنة ثم تنازع هو وسنوله هجاش ثلاث سنين يغزوه هجاش ويقاظه مرة بعد اخرى حتى قله بالعرق على باب زبيد في ذى القعدة سنة ٣١٢ وذرية هذا توارثوا الملك حتى ازالهم ابن مهدى فيكون الملك بايدي الموال بطريق الانفراد بطريق الاستقلال مائة سنة وخمسة واربعون سنة منها ثلث تنازع فيها هجاش وانيس .

NOTE 99 to p. 181.—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), Mansur 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 Khaldiin (*supra*, p. 151 and p. 174). But again it must be remarked that if Mansur 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 'Oraarah. And 'Oniarah's history, we are told, was written in A.H. 564. The word ثلاثين, *thirty*, in our text, might be an error for ثمانين, *eiyyhty*. But if, as seems probable, Mansur was in his childhood when his father died in 504, then it may well be that when he himself died, say in 548, he had been in possession of his inheritance for about thirty years.

NOTE 100 to p. 132.—*Ash-Shamdhi* (*sic*) is mentioned by Khazraji (fol. 103 and 108) as also the fortress of *Majma'ah*,

* Read مائة وثمانية وستون

† Read ٣٠١

Sharydk and *Thdlithah*, and he allows it to be inferred that these three were situated in Mikhlaf Ja'far. Yakut says that Majma'ah stood on Wadi Nakhlah, Janadi has *ath-Thdlathi* (*supra*, p. 201), and Sharyak is mentioned in the passages borrowed from Ibn Hatim in Note 101 (p. 297). *Damt* is included in the list of places given by Khazraji. It is mentioned by Hamdani (p. 1U0, l. 18) as situated in the district of Salmi, also by the author of the *Marasid*, on the authority of al-Janadi, from whom he adds a not very intelligible extract. *Talilah* is not mentioned by Khazraji, and looks as if it might be a careless repetition of *Nalchlah*.

NOTE 101 to p. 134.—According to al-Janadi, 'Aly ibn Mahdy was buried in Zabid, at a spot he had himself selected. The mosque built over his grave was known as *al-Mashhad* (the Mausoleum) and it stood opposite the college known under the name of al-Maylln (or al-Maylun). 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 Rasulite Sultan al-Ashraf Isma'ill (A.H. 778-803) laid the foundations of a college on the site of the tomb, but abandoned his intention of building. The spot was converted into a halting-place for the Sultan's camels, and continued to be so used down to the writer's days.

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

Al Khazraji, after quoting the above from al-Janadi, proceeds to say that a different account of the succession is given by the author of the *Ikd ath-Thamin*. According, he says, to that writer, Ibn Mahdy was succeeded by his two sons, Mahdy and 'Abd an-Naby, the latter as general administrator of the affairs of the kingdom and the former as military chief. Mahdy is stated by the writer to have returned from his expedition to the Highlands in Muharram

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 Wahhas ibn Ghanim ibn Yahya ibn Hamza ibn Wahhas, 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 farther on (p. 106) he gives in full. He does so after quoting a passage from 'Omarah 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 oth-Thamin*, al-Khazraji gives us particulars of 'Abd an-Naby's conquests and depredations in the Highlands of Yaman. In 568 he laid siege to Aden, whereupon Hatim son of 'Aly son of the Da'y Saba son of Abu Su'id proceeded to San'a and prevailed upon the Haradanite Sultan 'Aly ibn Hatim, ancestor of the historian, to assist the Zuray'ites against the common enemy. 'Aly ibn Hatim, a member, like the Zuray'ites, of the sub-tribe of Yam, consented, on condition of his being supported by the tribes of Janb and Madhhij. Hatim the Zuray'ite proceeded to Dhamar and obtained promises from Sultan 'Abd Allah ibn Yahya and from Sheykh Zayd ibn 'Amru, chiefs of the two tribes, to join in the alliance. 'Aly ibn Hatim thereupon marched from San'a, in the month of Safar 569, at the head of the Hamdanites, accompanied by tribesmen of Sinhan, Shihab, Nahd and others.* The Arabs combined their forces in the district of Sahul. The army of 'Abd an-Naby was attacked and utterly routed near Ibb, by the allies, who advanced successively to Dhu Jiblahand to Janad, both of which were found to have been abandoned by the enemy. The Mahdyites were again attacked and dispersed at Dhu 'Udaynah near Ta'izz. Intelligence came from Aden that

* The Banu Shihab are mentioned by Haindani (p. 114, 23) as a sub-tribe of the Banu Kindah. The Banu Nahd were a sub-tribe of Kuda'ah, but the name was also borne by a sub-tribe of Hamdan. At p. 92, l. 18, Hamdani calls the Nahdites sub-tribe of the Banu 'Ans.

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

'Abd an-Naby returned to Zabid, where he soon afterwards received intelligence that Tiiran Shah the Ayyubite was at Mahall Abi Turab, and that the Sharif Kasim son of Gbanim son of Yahya son of Hamzah son of Wahhas, eager to avenge the death of his brother, had allied himself with the invaders.

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

On the arrival of Turan Shah, he was joined at Harad, also called Mnhall Abi Turab, by the Sulaymanite Amir Kasim ibn Ghanim, within whose dominions Harad was situated. The allies marched thence at the end of Ramadan A.H. 569. On the 7th Shawwai they reached Zabid, 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 Sharif Kasim started on his return to his country on the 3rd (read 13th?) of the month. Turah Shah remained at Zabid until the beginning of the following month of Dhu 'l-Ka'dah. He then marched upon Ta'izz, which surrendered. Next he took possession of Janad, and thence he marched upon Aden, which was captured on the 20th and looted.* The Sultan returned to the Mikhlaf Ja'far, possessed himself of 'Ta'kar, and then inarched against the northern provinces. He started from

* The author here says that the children of the Da'y 'Imran were made prisoners at Aden, together with Yasir son of Bilal, clearly an error. See next page and *supra*, Note 69.

Dhu Jiblah and ascended Nakll šayd on the 28th Dhu '1-Hijjah. At Darwan (?), Sultan 'Abd Allah ibn Yahya the Janbite tendered his submission. Al-Musannafah (Masna'ah ?) * was captured from Sbaykh Muhammad ibn Zayd al-Ba'yari al-Janbi. Thence the Sultan proceeded to Dhamar, near which he was attacked by the janbites and other Arabs. The advance of the Ayyiibites was severely contested, but the Arabs were eventually defeated, and driven with heavy loss into the fortress of Hirran. Turan Shah reached the outskirts of San'a on the 7th (17th ?) Muharram 570. 'Aly ibn Hatim escaped to the fortress of Birash and Turan Shah, without stopping to secure the city, set out on his return to Zabid. Marching by way of Nakil as-Saud, he was harassed with attacks by the Banu Sinhau and Shihab, and next by the people of Bura', but he reached his destination in safety. In Jamadi '1-Awwal he returned to Janad, and thenceforward occupied himself in gaining possession of the mountain fortresses. He successively captured Sabir, Badiyah (? Sharyak, 'Azzan-Dhakhir, Numayr which belonged to the Amir Mansur (son of 'Imran ?) son of Muhammad son of Saba, then Munlf, then Samadan. He did not attack Sawa, which was held by Ibn as-Sabu'y. Next he besieged Dumluwah, where the children of the Da'y 'Imriri 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'ban, Turan Shah was at Dhu Jiblah, where he received intelligence of disturbances in Tihamah and ordered 'Abd an-Naby and his two brothers Alimad and Yahya to be put to death. They were executed at Zabid on the 7th Rajab, 570. Twelve months later, after ordering the execution of Yasir ibn Bilal, Tibran Shah started from Yaman on his return to Egypt.

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

* Yakut mentions Masna'ah, the name of a fortress that overlooks Dhamar. Hirran he describes as one of the strongholds of Dhamar. See also Hamdani, p. 80, l. 20-21.

† See a description of the fortress of Dumluwah in Note 111.

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

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

When Ibn Najlb ad-Daulah departed, as will hereafter be related, the queen appointed in his place the Da'y Ibrahim ibn al-Husayn al-Hamidi. When she received tidings of the death of the reigning Khalifah (al-Amir) and of the accession of his successor al-Hafiṣ to the Egyptian Khalifate, she transferred the office of Da'y to the family of Zuray', as will hereafter be clearly explained. "Sufficient," she said, "for the family of as-Sulayhi, is what they have done in the cause of our Lords (the Fiitimites Khalif'ahs), upon whom be the blessings of God." This occurred after the death of the Da'y Ibrahim, and the first of the family of Zuray* to be invested with the dignity was Saba son of Abu Su'ud.

فلما ذهب ابن نجيب الدولة على ما سياتى اقامت مكانه الداعي ابراهيم بن الحسين الحامدي ثم لما بلغ السدة وفاة القائم وقيام الحافظ بمصر اصامت

دعونه الى آل زريع وقالت حسب آل الصليحي ما عجلوه من امر موالينا صلوات
الله عليهم كما سيأتي مُبيناً ان شا الله تعالى وكان ذلك بعد موت الداعي ابراهيم
وكان اول من اقتبلها من آل زريع سباً بين ابى السعود.

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

Al-Amir was assassinated at Cairo by the Nizarites, in Dhu '1-Ka'dah (the eleventh month) of the year 524. Our MS. of 'Omarah tells us that Ibrahim ibn al-ITusayn al-IIamidi was appointed in the second year of the reign of al-Hafiz, say therefore in A.H. 52G. If this were so, the presumption would be that the Da'y 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd Allah held the office from the date of the disappearance of Ibn Najlb ad-Daulah in 520, for six years.

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

If we now adopt 'Omarah's statement that Ibrahim was succeeded by his son Hatim, wo find ourselves naturally led to the further date mentioned in 'Omarah, namely the second year of the reign of al-IIafiz, which, however, must, in such case, be regarded as the probable date when the Da'y ship was finally transferred to the family of Zuray*.

There is, however, another point which requires to be taken into consideration, Jlatim son of Ibrahim son of Husayn al-Hamidi is known to have been a powerful Hamdanite chief, who for three years disputed the throne of San'a with the reigning Sultan 'Aly ibn Hatim, and this occurred between the years 56J and 564. These dates can only be reconciled with those given above, on the supposition that Jlatim son of Ibrahim received the office of Da'y when little more than a child. But that may pos-

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

NOTE 103 to p. 136.—The Khalfah al-Arair 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 Khalfah, one of the ladies of his harim was found to be *enceinte*. Al-Hafiz 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-Hafiz assumed only the title of heir-apparent to the Khalifate.

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

Upon the death of al-Aswad the 'Ansite, Fayruz assumed the government of San'a, in which he was confirmed by the Prophet's successor Abu Bakr, who appointed Dadhwayh and Kays ibn Makshuh to be his colleagues and assistants. But tidings of the Prophet's death having spread in Yaman, a rebellion again broke out. Kays 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 Khaulan iii ?«fety. Here he was joined by such as had continued faithful to the religion of the Prophet, and with the aid of the Banu 'Okayl, he marched upon San'a, attacked and defeated Kays and put him to flight. K^ay^s eventually fell into the hands of Muhajir ibn Abi 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 Anushirwan, with whose assistance the Abyssinians were expelled from Arabia.

NOTE 105 to p. 139.—Yala 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 'A'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 'I-Jaysh. The words in the text must therefore be applied to his predecessors. Of. *supra*, p. 15 and Note 13.

NOTE 107 to p. 142.—Ibn Khaldun's account of the Zaydite Imams of Sa'dah, known under the designation of Rassites, will be found at p. 184.

In his chapter on the Sh'fites (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 Imamites, in which are comprised the *Dodekifes* * and *Ismailites*, contend that 'Aly's appointment to the office was absolutely in virtue of his personality, that his descendants and heirs have followed in regular succession under the same rule, and that no human right exists to withhold recognition of his or their claims. The Imamites, therefore, disown the authority of the "two Elders" (AbuJBakr 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'asharlyyah*—because they recognize twelve Imams, the last of whom was the Mahdy, whose re-appearance is awaited by his followers.

the right of selection from among the descendants of Fa[^]imah. The person to be invested with the office of Imam 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 Imamate 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 Wasil ibn 'Ata.

The Zaydites, as was to be expected, have separated themselves from the Dodekites and Ismailites, on the question of the rightful holders of the Imamate. All agree in the recognition of 'Aly, of his two sons Hasan and Husayn and, according to Ibn Khaldim, 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 Zayditos are not, however, in complete accord. Some, according to Ibn Khaldun, hold that Yuhya was followed by his brother 'Isa. Others assert that Yahya before his death bequeathed his office to Muhammad an-Nafs az-Zakiyyah, *the Pure in Spirit*, thus transferring the Imamate from the family of Husayn to that of Ifasan. Muhammad, they further hold, was succeeded by his brother Ibrahim, who was killed towards the latter end of A.H. 115, and survived his brother only two months. According to others, Muhammad's successor was Muhammad son of al-Kasim son of 'Aly son of 'Omar brother of Zayd. Others again assign the succession to Idriis, brother of *an-Nafs az-Zakiyyah* 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 *YawaJcit* omits the name of 'Aly Zayn al-'Abidin, and substitutes that of Hasan son of Ilasan.

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

Among the books I have had the opportunity of consulting, the *Yawaklt as-Sijar* gives the fullest list of the Imams, 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 Imams, who successively gained supreme power in the provinces of Daylam and ^rTabaristan, are printed in italics. Hasan son of Zayd and his brother Muhammad (descendants of Hasan son of Zayd son of I[^]asan) are included, because, although they are not reckoned as Zaydites, they undoubtedly prepared the way for the Imams, 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 Imams. The former are distinguished by Roman numerals and the latter by capital letters. The Ismailites succeeded upon the death of the sixth Imam Ja'far as-Sadik. His son Isma'ii died before him, but the Ismailites hold that the latter was the designated seventh Imam, and that the succession passed on to his son, Muhammad al-Maktura, *the Shrouded* or *Concealed*, from whom 'Obayd Allah "the Mahdy," founder of the Fatimite Khalifate and Imam of the Ismailites, claimed to be descended.

NOTE 108 to p. 149.—In the British Museum MS. of Ibn Khaldun a genealogical table is added at the end of this chapter, according to which al-Mansur Saba was descended from 'Aly the Sulayhite, father of the Kadi Muhammad and grandfather of the Da'y 'Aly.

'Aly the Sulayhite.

Al-Muzaffar.

The Kadji Muhammad.

Ahmad.

'Abd Allah.

The Da'y 'Aly.

'I

(Builder of *Dhu Jiblah*)

I

Al-Mansur Abu Himyar Saba.

Al-Mukarram Ahmad.

↓

'Aly.

NOTE 109 to p. 153 —Ibn Khaldun seems here to confuse with one another the incidents of the expedition undertaken by the Da'y al-Mukarrain for the rescue of his mother, and those of the conspiracy that brought about the death of Sa'id son of Najah.

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

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

It will, moreover, be remarked that Ibn Khaldun's account of the proceedings of Jayyash* and of his wazlr Khalf, on

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

NOTE 110 to p. 159.—Baybak is the name of a district near Naysapur, after which several persons of note have been named.

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

But the author, so frequently quoted by Ibn Khaldun, is one who appears to have written on the history of a much later period. He speaks of al-Muti, the title attributed by Ibn Khaldun to the Imam Ahmad ibn Husayn, who arose in A.H. 646. See *supra*, p. 175, and cf. the passage in Ibn Khaldun's enumeration of the tribes of Kahlan, vol. ii. p. 252 (Bulak ed.). Ibn al-Athir (vol. xi. p. 249; quotes a work entitled *Kitdh Masarib it-Tajarib* by Abu 'l-Iiaskan ibn Abi 'l-Kiisim al-Bayhaki, who was apparently a contemporary of the historian and who may have survived him. If, however, this be the person referred to by Ibn Khaldun, he must have lived and have continued to write down to a period more than twenty years subsequent to the death of Ibn al-Athir in A.H. 630.

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

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

* See Note to Jnyn boll's ed. of the Marasid, 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, Khadr was distant two hours' journey.* On the north was the market-place of Juwwah and the stream Wadi al-Jannat. 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 Silu, 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 Wadi al-Jannat, which, after receiving numerous other streams and torrents, was joined by the Wadi Warazan (see *U. Varasan* 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.

Hamdani'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* (Mawiyah?). 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. Iteyraud, in his translation of Abu 'l-Fada, writes: "Aldjoue, nom d'une petite ville tres-conuue sur la grande route des montagnes."

Hamdani (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 Kalakis the Lakhmite is given by Ibn Khallikan (do Slane's translation, vol. iii. p. 537), where a continuation of the line quoted in the text is supplied. Ibn Kalakis, we are told, was born at Alexandria in 532 and died in 507.

* In the "district of Khadir" there existed in Hamdfini's days the vestiges of a large and ancient town, Saluk; "now known," he says, "under the name of *Ilalril ar-Raybah*, *حبل الرية*." (In Yal'ut, who copies Hamdani, the name is written *حبل الزينة*.) Among its remains, adds Hamdani, iron scorise, fragments of gold and silver and coins are found. Salulpyah 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 Khaldun, it will be observed, derives most of his information touching the Zurayite dynasty from Ibn Sa'id, who himself is without doubt indebted, directly or indirectly, to 'Omarah. But Ibn Khaldun seems to be misled by the ambiguity of language, be it his own or be it borrowed from Ibn Sa'id, which he uses when speaking of the rivalry between the two brothers 'Aly and Muhammad, sons of Saba. In a genealogical table he appends to the chapter, he evidently confuses 'Aly al-A'azz with 'Aly son of Abi 'l-Gharat, 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 Danu Zuray'.

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

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Mas'ud, A.H. 476. | 1. 'Abbas, A.H. 476. |
| „ | 11. Zuray', his son. |
| 1 | 1 |
| H. Abu 'l-Ghariit, his son. | in. Abu Su'ud, his son. |
| „ | iv. Saba, his son, died 533. |
| in. Muhammad, his son. | „ |
| iv. 'Aly, his brother, deposed
A.H. 533 (died 545). | „ |
| | I |
| | v. Aly al A'azz al-Murtada, his
son, 533-534. |
| | vi. Muhammad, his brother, 534-
548. |
| | vii. 'Imran, his son 548-560. |
| | viii. The wazir Yasir son of Bilal,
under the nominal supremacy
of the sons of 'Imr n, until
the Ayyubite conquest in
A.H. 569. |

Of their predecessors, the Banu Ma'n, we have only a

very meagre account. They established their power over Aden, in the days of al-Ma'mun according to Ibn Khaldiin, or, according to 'Omarah, on the downfall of the Ziyadite dynasty, previous to which time, we are told, Aden was subject to the Banu Ziyiid. In about A.H. 451, the Banu Ma'n submitted to 'Aly the Sulayhite, who imposed a tribute upon them which, in A.H. 461, he settled upon his niece and daughter-in-law Sayyidah. Upon 'Aly's death, in A.H. 473, the Banu Ma'n declared their independence, but two or three years later, their country was reconquered by al-Mukarram son of 'Aly. He deposed the family of Ma'n and placed Aden under the joint authority of the two brothers 'Abbas and Mas'ud sons of al-Karam, who were tribesmen of the Sulayhites, and to whom both 'Aly and his son were indebted for past services.

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

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

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

The appointment of Saba as Da'y was probably in A.H. 525, or A.H. 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 Wa'il were a sister tribe to the Banu Bakr and Banu Taghlib, and descendants of Rabi'ah son of Nizar.

NOTE 115 to ri. 171.—Ibn Khaldun makes elsewhere (vol. ii. p. 61) the same statement, and professes to do so on the authority of as-Suhayli,* to the effect, namely, that the ancient name of San'a was *Uwal* (or *Uwwal*). Two of the MSS. used by Juynboll for his edition of the *Mardsid* 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 *Azal* which is identified with the biblical *Uzal*.

NOTE 116 to p. 172.—The *Kharldat al-Kasr wa Jaridat aid il-'astr* was written by 'Imad ad-din al-Isfahani, who died in A.H. 597. His life is given by Ibn Khallikan, vol. iii. p. 300, do Slane's translation. Another book, the *Kharldat al-'Aja'ib* has for its author Zayn ad-din 'Omar ibn al-Wardi, who died in A.H. 749.

NOTE 117 to p. 175.—Hamdani mentions Kutabah (p. 69) as the name of a village or town in the less elevated portion of Sarat 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 Uajjah, consequently almost directly south of Sa'dah, and at a considerable distance from it. Manzoni has *Qatmba* on the road from Aden to Yarfm, which, it is needless to say, cannot be the place here in question. It is probably a name of much more recent date.

NOTE 118 to p. 175.—A sub-tribe of Hamdan may possibly have borne the name of Haraz, but it seems more likely that Ibn Khaldun is here in error. Al-Hamdani says, in his Geography of Arabia (p. 105, Mtiller's ed.), that the Banu Haraz were a tribe descended from Himyar the elder, and sons of al-Ghauth son of Sa'd son of 'Auf son of 'Ady (son of Malik son of Zayd al-Jamhur). See also 'Omarah, p. 18.

NOTE 119 to p. 179.—Both the Banu Tjl and the Banu Yarbu' were Modarite tribes. The former, stated by Ibn Khaldun to have become extinct, were a sister tribe of the Banu Haiufah and descendants, through the Banu Bakr ibn "Wa'il, of Rabi'ah son of Nizar. The Banu Yarbu' were, as stated in the text, derived from the Banu Tamiin, descen-

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

dants of Tabikhah son of al-Ya's son of Modar. But another tribe, of the same name, claimed to be descendants, through the Banu Hanifah, of the Banu Bakr ibn Wa'il, and were therefore closely connected with the Banu Mjl. The latter, as well as the Banu Hanlfah and other sub-tribes of the Banu Bakr, are mentioned by Hamdani among the inhabitants of Yamamah.

Xasm 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 Banu Hizzan, was, as he tells us elsewhere (vol. ii. p. 802), son of Witthil (or Wii'il) son of Hirnyar.* But according to other and perhaps preferable authorities (see Hamdani, p. 162, and Yakut, vol. iv. p. 417), the Banu Hizzan of Yamamah were derived from the Banu 'Anazah, descendants of Kabi'ah son of Nizar, and were consequently of the same Bteni as the Banu Hanlfah, the Banu 'Ijl and, according to what is stated above, as the Banu Yarbii'. The name Hizzan was also borne by the ancestor of an ancient people, descendants of Lawadh son of Shem. (TaJbari, vol. i. p. 213 j Ibn Khaldun, vol. ii. p. 7.)

The story of 'Amlk, or 'Amluk, and Yamamah will be found in Mas'udi (Barbier de Maynard, vol. iii. p. 276, *sqq.*). It tells how Hassan ibn Tubba', King of the Himyarites, marched at the head of an army against the Jadsites. 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. Yamamah 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 Jadsites, who had exterminated the Tasmiltes, in revenge for the tyranny to which they were subjected by the Tasmite king 'Amluk, were now themselves massacred to the last man.†

* The name *Hamdari*, which occurs in the passage above mentioned, is clearly a misprint for Hizzan.

† Yamamah's words describing what she first saw, are somewhat more intelligible as given by Yakut (iv. 1033) than according to Tabari's and Mas'udi's versions.

The story is to be found not only in Mas'iidi, 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 Isl'ak, who died in A.H. 151, A.D. 768.

NOTB 120 to p. 180.—The tribe of 'Ad has been mentioned in Note 96. The 'Adites were, like Tasm, Jadis, Thamud, 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 Hud.

Both Iladramaut and Ya'rub are usually described as sons of Kahtan.

NOTE 121 to p. 182.—Zafar was conquered in A.H. 678 by Sultan al-Muzaffar, the second king of Yaman of the dynasty of the Banu Rasul. The Prince of Zafar was at that time Salira son of Idris, grandson, it is to be presumed, of Ahmad ibn Muhammad, the person mentioned in the text, and the founder of a short-lived dynasty. A full account of al-Muzaffar's conquest is given by Ibn I. Iatim (fol. 100 obv. *sqq.*). It is also mentioned by al-Janadi (p. 181 obv.), and Khazraji, in his *'Ukud* (fol. 115 obv.), follows Ibn Hatim.

Khazraji calls the city Zafar al-Hamudi (سيف الحمودي). In Ibn Batutah's travels the name is written غفار للمروض which his translators have rendered *Zhafar aux plantes salines et ameres*. Zafar al-Hamudi 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-Eabudi* للمروض (*sic*) and in al-Ahdal (fol. 2G0 rev.), who, in his account of the place, simply copies al-Janadi, the word appears as al-l.Iabu'i للمروض. Sprenger (p. 144, 146) has للمروض.

In saying that the seaport of Zafar was the seat of the Tubbas, Ibn Khaldiin evidently confuses it with the ancient city of the Plimyarites of the same name, which stood south of San'a, and of which some traces still exist (see *supra*, Note 22).

NOTE 122 to p. 183.—The Ka'bah of Najran is said to

have been a Christian church, built by the family of 'Abd al-Madan ibn Dayyan (Rayvan ?), of whom mention will be made in a subsequent note (No. 126).

For Kuss ibn Sa'idah, see Mas'udi's Golden Meadows (Barbier de Meynard, i. 133). He died towards the commencement of the Prophet's career, and the Taj al-'Arus mentions, on the authority of the Lisfm al-'Arab, that Kuss ibn Sa'idah was styled Bishop of Najran.

NOTE 123 to p. 183.—A translation of the story of the sons of Nizar and of the Jurhumite Afa of Najran will be found in Mas'fidi (Barbier de Meynard, iii. 228).

Mushallal is the name of a place situated between Mecca and Mediuh.

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

NOTE 124 to p. 183.—Faymiyyim 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 Najran 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 Najran, 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

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

Najran became victims to the hostility of Dhu Nuwas, the last of the long line of the Tabbas or Himyarite Kings of Yaman. He sought to force them into the acceptance of Juda3ism, the religion he had himself adopted, and the savage cruelty with which he pursued his design is denounced in the Kur'an (S. lxxxv.), where he is proclaimed as doomed to the torments of hell. These persecutions of the Christians of Najran 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 Najrhm in the practice of supernatural arts, may serve to show that long before the rise of Islam, the Christian inhabitants of that province had made 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. Tabari mentions that when Baruch fulfilled his mission to Bukht Nassar (*supra*, Note 3), he came from Najran.

NOTE 125 to p. 184.—Abu 'Omar Yusuf 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 Khallikan (de Slano, iv. p. 398).

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

NOTE 126 to p. 184.—Ibn Khaldim repeats in vol. ii. p. 255, that a portion of the Azditeb remained in Najran and shared the authority of the Madhhijites over the country; but he makes there no mention of the Banu 'l-IJarith ibn Ka'b of the tribe of Azd. Al-Mas'udi tells us (Barbier de Meynard, iii. 390) that the Azdites in Najran were absorbed in the tribe of Madhhij, a statement which seems morb probable than that quoted in our text from Ibn Hazm. The chieftainship seems to have remained permanently in the hands of the Banu Harith the Madhhijites. It passed on to a family of that tribe, known as the Banu Dayyan (or Rayyan ?), descendants of Yazid surnaraed Dayyan. His son was 'Abd al-Madan, mentioned in the text and in Note 122, father (ancestor ?) of Yazid son of 'Abd al-Madan, who

was converted to Islam. Ibn Kbalidin 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-Jiid descendant of 'Abd al-Madan. He says in our text, probably on the same authority, that 'Abd al-Kays was deposed by Ibn Mahdy, but it will be observed that there is no mention of him in our copy of 'Omarah, nor is Najran 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 Muhammadan times.

NOTE 127 to p. 185.—I have nowhere found confirmation of Ibn Kbalidin's statement that al-Kasim fled to India and died there. Al-Khazraji says (p. 291) that certain Yamanites, on the appearance of the Karmathians in their country, proceeded to the Mountain of *Mass* at Medmah, 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, Muhammad and Husayn.

The Zaydite MSS. recently acquired by the library of the British Museum, give a fairly consistent account of the life of al-Kasim, the ancestor of the long line of Imams of Yamah. According to the *IHadd'ik al-Wardiyah* (Or, 3786 and 3813), when Muhammad son of Ibrahim Tabiitaba 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 Medinah, from Kufah, from Rayy and from Kazwin.

When 'Abd Allah ibn Tahir was appointed to the Government of Egypt (m 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'mun and of his immediate successors. The lapse of years brought about a relaxation of the enmity

* Cf. Tabari, vol. iii. p. 1094, *sqq.*

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

The successor of al-Kasim to the Imamate was, according to the author of the *Yawakit*, Muhammad son of al-Kasim, descendant of 'Aly Zayn al-'Abidin and of Husayn brother of Jrlasan. As Muhammad is generally admitted to have disappeared in A. H. 219, the introduction of his name seems an anachronism, but the case is not exceptional.

Of Husayn and Muhammad, the two sons of al-Kasim the Rassite, no record seems to have been preserved/†-

Yahya son of Husayn, who afterwards assumed the title *al-Hady ila 'l-Hakk*, the Leader unto Truth, was born a year before the death of his grandfather. Al-Hady asserted his claim to the Imamate in A. n. 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 Hijaz. Early in 284, he received invitations from the citizens to place himself at their head, and accordingly, in Safar of that year, he re-appeared at Sa'dah accompanied by his uncle Muhammad. He conquered Najran, and was next engaged in warfare with the Karmathians. The Zaydite author of the *Hada'ik* is silent over most of the particulars given by al-Khazraji (*supra*, Note 8) as well as by the author of the *History of the Karmathians in Yaman*, but he mentions that al-Hady sent his son Muhammad al-Murtada to assist the people of San'a against the Ismaihtes, to which he adds that the Imam became master of Yaraan. Al-Hady died at Sa'dah in Dhu 'l-Hijjah 298, of poison it is said. He left three sons, Abu 'l-Kasim Muhammad al-Murtada, Ahmad surnamed an-Nasir and Hasan.

* Dhu Hulayfah is described by Yakut as a village situated six or seven miles from Medinah and as the *Mikut* (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-Kasim settled in Egypt. See the *Taj al-'Arus*, s.v. Rass, and cf. Ibn Khallikan (de Slane), vols, i. 115 and ii. 46.

The next Imam of the Zaydites, it is stated, was Hasan ibn 'Aly surnamed an-Nasir lil-IJakk, but better known in history as *al-Utrush*. He arose in Persia in A.H. 301, and died at Amul in Tabaristan in 304.

But we are also told that next in succession to al-Hady was his son *MnJjtammad aUMurtmfa*. He succeeded upon the death of his father, and abdicated in 301 in favour of his brother Ahmad an-Nasir. This leaves no room for al-Utrush. The author of the *Yuwakit*, on the other hand, tells us that the Imamate of both the sons of al-Hady is disputed. Al-Murtada died at Sa'dah in A.H. 310.

Ahmad an-Nasir li-din Allah was chiefly engaged in wars with the Karmathians of Maswar, whose rule? it is stated, was 'Abd al-Hamid son of Muhammad son of al-I.lajjaj.* A battle is said to have been fought in Sha'ban 307, in which the Karmathians were utterly defeated, but 'Abd al-Hamid succeeded in making his escape. Ahmad an-Nasir died, according to the author of the *llada'ik*, in A.H. 325.

For the subsequent Imams down to the middle of the seventh century of the Hijrah, I may content myself with referring the reader to the Genealogical Table, Note 107, and to Note 130.

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

NOTE 128 to p. 186.—Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Yahya as-Suli died in A.H. 335. His life is given by Ibn Khallikan (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.—Karaal ad-din 'Omar ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, surnamed Ibn al-'Adim, was author of an important work in ten volumes on the history of Aleppo, entitled *JBuij/iyat at-Talab jx tarikh Halab*, 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 Hamid, it must be presumed, was father of Ibrahim ibn Abd al-Hamid, 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 IVeytag. Iba al-^cAdim was born in A.H. 580 and died in 600.

NOTE 130 to p 190.—Ibn Khaldun's chapter on the Rissite 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 Ghanim ibn Yahya. The Imam in question was in point of fact a direct descendant of an-Nasir Ahmad son of al-Hady Yahya. 'Ornarah 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 Najran as well as at Sa'dah. With the assistance of the neighbouring Arab tribes, he attacked and defeated the Hamdanite King of San'a, Hatim ibn Ahmad, in A.H. 515. In 549, he marched against the Karmathian tribe of Yam, who, if the Zaydite historians are to be believed, still persisted in the practices described in Janadi's account of the sect (*supra*, pp. 199 and 203). The country was plundered and laid utterly waste by the Imam's troops, the remnant of the population seeking refuge in Najran. His expedition to Zabid took place in A.H. 552. The account of it given by the Zaydite writers differs materially from 'Omarah's. The Prince of Zabid, Fatik son of Muhammad, was, they say, a man of unparalleled wickedness and addicted to unnatural crimes. He fell into the hands of the Imam, who, refusing an enormous ransom, ordered his prisoner to be put to death in obedience to the Divine law. The Imam remained eight days at Zabid. He appointed a governor over the city and departed victorious and triumphant. He continued to wage war in defence of the faith and his fame spread abroad. The Khutbah was recited in his name in Khaybar and at Yanbu'. He reigned thirty-three

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

AL-MANSUR BILLAH 'ABD ALLAH was likewise a member of the Rassite family, descendant of Ilamzah (son of the Imam Abu Hashim al-Hasan) and of 'Abd Allah grandson of al-Kasim 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 Sa'dah, 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 Dhamiir 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 Ilijaz, but his authority as Imam was formally recognized by the Zaydites of Persia. In A. H. 600 he restored and strengthened the fortress of Zafiir. In 611 he regained possession of San'a and Dhamar and occupied himself in subjecting the *Mutarrifiyah*, whom, according to his own historians, he treated with great cruelty.†

At the instigation of the Abbaside Khalifah an-Nasir, a strong force was sent, in A. H. 612, against al-Mansur by al-Mas'ud, the last Ayyubite Sultan of Yaman. The Imam retreated to the neighbourhood of Kaukaban 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 Kaukaban 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-Mansur billah was followed by a division in the ranks of the Zaydites. The people of Sa'dah and

* Ibn al-Athlir mentions in his *Chronicles* (vol. *xii.* 113) the defeat of al-Mansur Abd Allah by the Ayyubite Sultan al-Mu'izz Ismail, and the date he gives is A. H. 597, not 592 as in our text of Ibn Khaldun.

† The word *المطرية* 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 *shaJciyah*, the vile.

its neighbourhood recognized as Imam the Sharif Majd (or Najm) ad-din Yahya ibn al-Muhsin (read Muhammad),* who adopted the surname of al-Hady ila 'l-Hakk, the same as that of his namesake and ancestor, the originator of the dynasty. In the southern districts, 'Izz ad-din Muhammad, Surnamed an-Nasir li-dIn Allah, son of al-Mansur 'Abd Allah, was proclaimed Imam. He was defeated in A.H. 623, in an engagement near San'a with the troops of the Ayyubite King al-Mas'iid. 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-din Ahmad, al-Mutawakkil 'al' Allah. Al-Mansur 'Abd Allah, it must be stated, left a large family of sons besides the two I have here mentioned.

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

The designation *al-Muti* I find nowhere but in Ibn

* Compare the *Kashifat al-Ghummah*, fol. 22 rev., with the *Hada'ik*, fol. 206 rev. l. 14.

† See the Genealogical Table to Note 107.

Khaldim, who, it would appear, has borrowed it from al-Bayhaki.* The word signifies *one appointed to subjugate*.

Ahmad ibn al-Husayn was raised to the Imarnate 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 Rasillite Sultan, at that time al-Muzaffar Yusuf. Such a state of things was necessarily most distasteful, not only to the Sultuu, but to all orthodox Muslims. Rhnzraji tells us, in his 'Ukud, that the Abbaside Khallfah 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 (Yawaqlfc, fol. 171 rev.), al-Muzaffar asked assistance of al-Musta'sim against the Imam. The Khalll'ah, it is related, sent the Sultau certain *Hashishiytn*, otherwise called, he continues, *Fiddwiihi*. 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 *Hashishiiyn* (or *Ilashshiyuu*) is the same as that found by Mr. Lane ("Thousand and One Nights/' Note 46 to ch. ii.) in Idrlsi's Geography, applied to the people we call *tho. Assassins*. The word, as Mr. Lane remarks, is precisely synonymous with . The latter is the form in common use at the present day, though it now simply signifies persons addicted to the use of the drug.

Sultan al-Muzaffar sent tho 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. J

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 Khaldun's General History (Bui. ed.).

† See *supra*, Note 55.

X We are told by the same writer (fol. 166 obv.) that the Persian Imam Abu 'l-Hasan Aly al-Hfidi al-Hakayni, who pursued the Ismailites with his enmity, was murdered in A.H. 440 by a Hashishy, sent for the purpose from the castle of Aim tit.

their part, but also on that of other powerful chiefs. Denunciations were launched against the Imam, of whom it was declared that he was devoid of the qualities required by Divine law for his sacred office. The people were called upon to transfer their allegiance to the Sharif Hasan ibn Wahhas. Certain acts of extortion committed by order of the Imam Ahmad ibn Husayn filled up the measure of his unpopularity. The malcontents called upon Shams ad-din Ahmad (al-Mutawakkil), chief of the Hamzites and son of the Imam al-Mansur 'Abd Allah, to place himself at their head. They received support and assistance from the Rastilite king of Yaman. The rival forces met at Shuwabah in A.H. 656.* The Imam's troops were defeated and fled, leaving him almost alone on the field of battle. Surrounded by a band of his enemies, he was overpowered and killed, and his head carried to the tent of Shams ad-dm. The event is said to have occurred on the identical day upon which the last Abbaside Khallfah of Baghdad was put to death by Hulaku. The Sharif Abu Muhammad al-Hasan ibn Wahhas was proclaimed Imam, 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-din Ahmad, and he was followed, before the end of the year, by two other sons of al-Mansur 'Abd Allah, Najm ad-din Musa and Hasan. The chieftainship over the Hamzites consequently devolved upon their brother, Sarim ad-din Da-ud, son of the Imam al-Mansur 'Abd Allah.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Imamate of Yaman was held by a family descended from *al-Mansur al-Kasim* son of Muhammad son of 'Aly al-Amlahi, a descendant of Yusuf ad-Da'y great-grandson of

* For Shuwabah see *supra*, Note 6 (footnote). The author of the *Jawahir* says that it stood east of Zaffir; Yakut, that it was at a distance of four milos from San'a (elsewhere he says four parasangs) on the banks of the river *Daraiodn*, which he tells us, flowed between Shuwabah and a town named after the river. The distance from San'a, as will be seen, must have been considerably more than even four parasangs. Yakut 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-Hady Yahya, the founder, as has been seen, of the Rassite dynasty.

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

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

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

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

* The year of al-Kasim's birth is recorded in a chronogram
 برتقى و جراد وعب ربتى
 lsua'il's accession ربتى لى صدرى = 1054.

al-Munajjim, 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 I. tusayn.

The author of the *Dastiir* calls him Abu 'I-Kusim (see *supra*, p. 193), al-Faraj ibn Hasan ibn Haushab ibn Zadan al-Kufi (native of Kufa). In Makrizi (vol. i. p. 349) we read Abu 'I-Kasim al-Husayn ibn Faraj ibn Haushab al-Kufi; in Ibn l-Athlr (vol. viii. p. 22), Rustam ibn al-Husayn (or al-Hasan) ibn Haushab ibn Dadhan an-Najjar. 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 *kharraba*, to ruin or devastate, has been wrongly substituted for *haraiha*, 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 Fadl, 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-Athlr, it deserves perhaps to be noticed, says that Ibn Fadl was member of a family, natives of al-Janad. Al-Khazraji simply says that Ibn Fadl was descendant of "Khanfar son of Saba son of Safi (Sayfi ?) son of Zur'ah (Himyar the younger) son of Saba the younger."

The tribe or family of Khanfar is mentioned by al-Hamdani (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. 102.—It is of course altogether out of the question to suppose that Ibn Ishaq and Ibn Fadl 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-Athlir, of sixty-three years.

NOTE 134 to p. 103.—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. 104.—Al-Khazraji here adds that Ibn Ishaq and Ibn Fadl arrived in Yaman shortly after the assassination of Muhammad ibn Ya'fur, an event which we have been told by al-Janadi, on the authority of Ibn al-Jauzi, occurred in the first month of A.H. 279 (*supra*, Note 8, p. 225).

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

It would follow that Ibn Fadl's final conquest of San'a (see Note 138) must have occurred thirty-one years and Ibn Ishaq'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. 106.—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 Ishaq 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. Maknzi 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-Mansiiri and of Abu 'l-Fada. According to Ibn al-Athir, not only was Abu 'Abd Allah in North Africa before the death (at the latter end of A.H. 289) of Ibrahim ibn Ahmad the Aghlabite, but it would further appear that he had previous to that event acquired sufficient power in the country, to enable him to enter into a state of open warfare with the troops of Ibrahim. (Ibn al-Athir, vol. viii. pp. 25, 26.) The author of the Dastur cannot be accepted as a safe guide, but it is not without interest to notice that, although he explicitly mentions the totally inadmissible year 296 as that of Abu 'Abd Allah's arrival, he does so immediately after mentioning figures, 145 + 135 (245 + 35 ?) which gives us the date of 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 Dastur 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:—

لعنه الله في كل بلدة واخزاء الله في كل مذهب

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

NOTE 188 to p. 199.—According to Khazraji, Ibn Fadl first obtained possession of San'ii in 293, a statement which is indeed confirmed by Tabari (vol. iii. pp. 2256 and 2207), and by Ibn al-Athlir (vii. p. 378). Al-Khazraji's narrative (pp. 34, 35) is to the effect that Dhamar having been seized by the Karmathians, As'ad ibn Ya'fur tendered his submission, but that he fled upon Ibn Fadl making his entry into San'a. The citizens applied for aid to the Zaydite Imam of Sa'dah, al-Hadi Yahya, who despatched against their enemies an army under the command of his son Abu 'l-Kasim Muhammad al-Murtada. They gained possession of Dhamar and compelled the Karmathians to abandon San'a. But the latter recaptured Dhamar from the hands of al-Murtada in A.H. 294, and drove him to seek refuge at San'a, where he joined his father. Al-Hadi was now attacked by the troops of As'ad ibn Ya'fur and, the citizens of San'a refusing to support the Imam against their old masters, he abandoned the city and retreated to Sa'dah. The Karmathians again regained possession of the city for a short period, until they were for a second time expelled with the assistance of al-Hadi. But again the latter was put to flight by the approach of a strong force of the enemy. Al-Hadi died in 298. The Banu Ya'fur once more succeeded in wresting the city from the hands of the Karmathians, but they were themselves soon again driven forth, and Ibn Fadl, in Ramadan 299, made his entry into San'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 dahasa, *to agitate one's limbs in the agonies of death*, and shakhasa, *to fix one's eyes in the stare of death*. Al-Khazraji calls the place al-Mashahi^h, from shahata, *to welter in blood*. Miisler's Hamdani mentions al-Malahiz, situated on the banks of the river Zabid (p. 71, l. 17, and '100, l. 21).

NOTE 140 to p. 201.—The author of the Taj al-'Arus writes as follows:—

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

See*also Hamdani, p. 53, l. 24, and 119, l. 17.

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

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

NOTE 143 to p. 211.—Dayba' adds here that Ibn al-Asad exercised the office of Day under the reigns of the Fatimite Khalifahs al-Hakim and az-Zahir (A.H. 411-427), and during the earlier years of al-Mustansir (A.H. 427-487).

NOTE 144 to p. 212.—Instead of *al-Ahraj* or *Akhraj*,! think we must read *al-Ahhruj*, which, Hamdani tells us (p. 100), adjoins the lower country of Hadiir and was in his day the dwelling-place of the Banu Sulayhi, the Hamdanites. See Dr. Glaser, pp. 38 and 10. He identifies the district with the modern Hujrah, shown upon his map, east of I.Iaraz. The place is mentioned, I may add, by al-Mukaddasy, who, according to Professor de Goeje's edition, writes *Ukhruj*.

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[An asterisk indicates that the name will be found on the map. The word Wadi signifies either Valley or River. Ezeptiu/ after heavy rain, the river-beds in Yaman are, as a general rule, dry before they reach the sea.]

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W.

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COBBIGENDA.

<p>P. ۱ footnote 1, for نزار read نزار</p> <p>۲ " " 11, " عن طاعة " عن طاعة</p> <p>۳ line 7, " لجادة " للمائة</p> <p>۴ f.-note 2, for رحمت الخ read رحمت الخ</p> <p>۵ l. 14, for مولانا read مولانا</p> <p>۶ l. 14, for لا يزال يري I have read لا يزال يري</p> <p>۷ l. 1, for ليست read ليست</p> <p>۸ l. 19, " ليعت " ليعت</p> <p>۹ l. 14, " ما منهم " ما منهم</p> <p>۱۰ l. 2, " من " من</p> <p>۱۱ footnote 4, for ملا read ملا</p> <p>۱۲ " " 5, " امر " امر</p> <p>۱۳ " " 1, " الى ان يوقى " الى ان يوقى</p> <p>۱۴ " " 5, for ثم ولد الخ " ثم ولد الخ</p> <p>۱۵ l. 14, " لنها " لنها</p> <p>۱۶ f.-note 6, " عس " عس</p> <p>۱۷ l. 20, " طسب " طسب</p>	<p>P. ۲۱ l. 9, for الامارة and الامارة read الامارة and الامارة</p> <p>۲۲ l. 2, for واسعة read واسعة</p> <p>۲۳ f.-note, for التراميل read التراميل</p> <p>۲۴ l. 16, for تاما read تاما</p> <p>۲۵ l. 17, read مل و مولانا مل و رحلنا مل</p> <p>۲۶ l. 18, " فتح " فتح</p> <p>۲۷ l. 12, read تجددت read تجددت</p> <p>۲۸ f.-note 5, for التصوف read التصوف</p> <p>۲۹ l. 19, for دعوة read دعوة</p> <p>۳۰ ll. 5, 6, for ان يكون لي نكون read ان يكون لي نكون (see p. ۳۴)</p> <p>۳۱ l. 10, for و هم و هو read و هم و هو, as in vol. II, p. 252 of Ibn Khaldūn's General History.</p> <p>۳۲ l. 20, احوان So in L. In B, احوان</p> <p>۳۳ l. 3, ملار read ملار</p> <p>۳۴ f.-note 2, " و كحلان? Add و كحلان?</p> <p>۳۵ l. 10. The MS. has دى حدن</p>
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

Ab. Abdal.	R. Ibn Khaldūn, Balūk Ed.
D. Daybe' (Ḳurrat al-'Uyūn)	L. " British Museum, Add. 23,272.
J. Japadī.	P. Ibn Khaldūn, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Ar. 742 M.
Kan. Ibn Khalīkān.	Yak. Yakūt's Mu'jam.
Kdn. (or Kn.). Ibn Khaldūn.	

عليهم ينهبون و يسبّون و يقتلون ثم حصل بين ابن العرجاء و ابن عبد الحميد اتفاقاً و اقسما البلاد و رجع ابن عبد الحميد عن مذهب منصور و ابنتى جامعا و عمل منبرا و بايع الخطبة لبني العباس و جعل يذبح القرامطة حيث سمع بهم حتى افناهم و لم يبق منهم غير شىء ندمة قليلة بناحية مسور كاتمين أمرهم مقيمين ناموسهم برجل يقال له ابن رحمة¹ حازما لا يكاد يعرف ابن قرارة خوفا ان يثاله المنتاب او غيره من أهل السنة و هو مع ذلك يكتب اولاد المهدي الى القيروان و الى مصر و فى ايامه قدم المعز بن القائل بن المهدي من القيروان الى مصر و ابنتى القاهرة و جعلها دار اقامته ثم لما دنت و فاته استخلف على أهل مذهبه رجلا منهم يقال له يوسف ابن الاسم² ثم توفى و ولى الأمر يومئذ الحاكم فكان ابن الاسم يدعو اليه و يبايع له سرا حتى دنت وفاته و استخلف رجلا يقال له سليمان بن عبد الله الرواحى من طلع شبام و كان ذا مال جزيل يدارى به و يدفع به عن أهل مذهبه و كلما هم احد من الناس بقتله يقول له انا رجل من المسلمين اقول لا اله الا الله كيف يحل لكم دسى و أخذ مالى فيمسكون عنه و لما دنت و فاته استخلف على بن محمد الصليحي و أصله من الاحراج³ شيع من اشياح حرار⁴

¹ برجل منهم يقال له ابن الطفيل قتله ابرهيم فانتقلت الدعوة الى رجل منهم D. ² يقال له ابن جهم فى ايام المنتاب بعد موت ابيه ابرهيم بن عبد الحميد الشيعى

⁴ حرار

³ الاحراج

² D. الاسد

و انه يكمل للدعوة و خشى عجز اولاد منصور عنها و لم يكن ابن منصور علم بما فى كتاب الشاورى فاجاب المهدي للشاورى بالاستقلال و عاد ولد منصور خائباً فعاد البلاد و هو مضمّر السرّ فواصل جواب المهدي الى الشاورى و صار هو و اخوته بواصلونه و هو يكرمهم و يبجلهم و لا يحجب احدا منهم بل يدخلون عليه متى شئوا عن غير حاجب ثم ان الذى وصل من المهدي دخل عليه فى بعض النفقات فقتله و استولى على البلاد و لما صار مستولياً جمع الرعايا من أنحاء بلدة و اشهدهم انه قد خرج الى مذهب السنة و ترك مذهب أبيه فاعجب الناس ذلك و احتبوه و دانوا له فدخل عليه أخ له اسمه جعفر فنهاه عن ما فعل و قبحه عليه فلم يلتفت اليه فخرج عنه مغضباً و قصد المهدي الى القيروان فوجدته قد توفى و قام ابنه بعده القائم و ذلك سنة اثنتين و عشرين و ثلثمائة اعنى موت المهدي و قيام القائم فلبث ابن منصور عدة ثم ان اخاه قتل أهل مذهب أبيه و شردهم حتى لم يبق حوله الا من لا يعرف بل بقى فى البلد جماعة قليلة يكتبون بنى تبيد بن ميمون الى القيروان ثم ان ابن منصور خرج من مسور الى عين محرم المذكور اولاً و كان به رجل من بنى العرجاء سلاطين تلك الناحية و استخلف على مسور رجلاً يقال له ابراهيم بن عبد الحميد الشيعي^١ و هو جد بنى المنتاب الذى اليه ينسب مسور فيقال المنتاب فلما صار بعين محرم و نسب عليه ابن العرجاء فقتله و حين سمع ابن عبد الحميد ذلك^٢ خرج من بقى معه بمسور من أهل منصور و حرمه الى جبل الحسب^٣ فوثب الناس

^١ الحميد؟ الشيعي ^٢ فزعم مسورا و ادعى الامر لنفسه و D.

^٣ جبل بنى اعشيب D.

و سبى بناته و كنّ ثلثا اصطفى أسعد منهم واحدة اسمها معاذة وهبها لابن اخيه قحطان فولدت له عبد الله الاتي ذكره و الاثنتان صارتا الى رعيين فكانت مدة حصار المسلمين و أسعد للمذيخرة سنة كاملة قيل انه لم ينزع أسعد فيها درعه و لم ينزل متقلدا لسيفه و انقطعت دولة القرامطة من مختلف جعفر و لم تنزل المذيخرة خرابا منذ ذلك الي عصرنا و اما منصور فهو على الحال المتقدم لكنه كان رئيسا لبيبا يحب المباقة و لم يبرح في جهة لاعة حتى توفي قبل ابن فضل سنة اثنتين و ثلثمائة بعد ان اوصى لوند له اسمه الحسن و رجل اخر من اصحابه اسمه عبد الله بن العباس الشاوري كان خصيصا به و كان قد ارسله الي المهدي برسالة و هدية و صار عند المهدي منه صورة و معرفة و ذلك ان منصورا لما احس بالموت جمع بينهما و قال اوصيكما بهذا الأمر فاحفظاه و لا تقطعا دعوة بني عبيد بن ميمون فنحن غرس من غرسهم و لمولا ما دعونا اليه من طاعتهم ثم تقم لنا مراد و عليكم بمكاتبة أسامنا المهدي فلا تقطعا أمرا دون مشاورته فان هذا الأمر لم آخذه بكثرة مال و لا رجال و لم آت هذا البلاد الا بغضا و بلغت ما لم يخفى ببركة المهدي الذي بشر به النبي صلعم و كثيرا ما كان يقول ذلك في ملا من الناس ثم لما توفي منصور كتب وصيته الشاوري الي المهدي و هو سقيم بالمهدية يخبره بوفاة منصور و ترت أمر الدعوة مرخي حتى يرد أمره و اعلم المهدي بانه يقوم بأمر الدعوة تياتا سابقيا^١ وافيًا دون اولاد منصور وبعث بالكتاب مع بعض اولاد منصور فسار به حتى قدم المهديّة و دفع الكتاب الي المهدي فلما قرأه و كان قد عرف الشاوري من وقت قدم عليه برسالة منصور

و حمل هداية على حمار^١ له و خرج من المذبحرة مبادرا الى أسعد بن يعقوب و لما تعد ابن فضل ساعة احس بالسهم و علم انه قد اكيد على يد القاصد فأمر بطلبه فلم يوجد فازداد تبغيا و أمر ان يلحق حيث كان و يموتى به فخرج العساكر فى طلبه بنواح شتى حتى ادركه بعضهم بوادى السحول عند المسجد المعروف بقيدان فلم يلتزم بل مانع عن نفسه حتى قتل و قبرة هنالك و هو مسجد جامع له مقبرة يزار و يتبرك به دخلته فى المحرم سنة ست و تسعين و ستمائة و توفى ابن فضل عقيب ذلك ليلة الخميس منتصف ربيع الآخر سنة ثلث و ثلثمائة و كان مدة امتحان المسلمين بتملكه سبع عشرة سنة و لما علم أسعد بوفاته فرح و كذلك جميع أهل اليمن فرحوا شديدا ثم كاتبوا أسعد على انه بغزو المذبحرة و يستأصل شان القرامطة فاجابهم الى ذلك و تجهز بعسكر جرار من صنعاء و تواحيها ثم لما صار بمخلاف جعفر اجتمع اليه أهله ثم أهل الجند و المعافر و التفت العساكر الى المذبحرة و كان قد خلف ابن فضل ولدا له يعرف بالفا لعاه^٢ كانت به فحصر أسعد المذبحرة بمن معه من الناس و كانت محطته بجبل تومان الذى تقدم ذكره عند ذكر الجعفرى الذى يعرف الآن بجبل خولان لأن به عرباء منهم يعرفون ببلى اليعم فلم تنزل العساكر فيه و كلما خرج لهم عسكر من المذبحرة كسرهم المسلمون و نتابع ذلك مرة على مرة حتى نالوا و خضعوا ثم نصب أسعد على المدينة المتجنديات فهديس^٣ غالب ديورها و دخلها قهرا ثم قتل ابن على بن فضل و جميع من ظفر به من خواصه و أهله و من دخل بمذهبه

١ مهمم

٢ بالفاهى لفاة

٣ هداره على حماد

ابن جوير و كان عنوان كتبه ابن فضل الى أسعد بن يعقوب بن باسط
الارض و داخلها و منزلزل الجبال و مرسيتها على بن الفضل الى عبده
أسعد و كفى بهذا الكلام ذليلا على كفره فنسل الله العصمة و في انقضاء
نيابة أسعد له قدم رجل غريب يزعم انه شريف بغدادى فصحب
أسعد و أنس به و قيل ان قدومه كان بإرسال من صاحب بغداد لما
بلغه من تقويم ابن فضل ليعمل الحيلة فى قتله فلبث عند أسعد مدة
و كان جراحيا ماهرا بصناعة الادوية بصيرا بفتح العروق و مداراة الاجرحه
و سقى الاشربة النافعة و لما شد خوف أسعد لابن فضل قال انلى
عزمت ان اهب نفسى لله و تصدقا على المسلمين لا يرحمهم من
هذا الطاغية فعاهدنى ان انا عدت اليك على تقاسمى ما يصير
اليك من الملك فاجبه أسعد الى ما سأل فتجهز الغريب و خرج
من عند أسعد و هو اذذاك مقيم بالجوف ببلد همدان على تخوف
من ابن فضل فسار الغريب حتى قدم المذبحرة فحاط وجوه الدولة
و كبارها و فتح لهم العروق و سقاهاهم الادوية النافعة و اعطاهم المعجزات
فرجعوا ذكرا الى ابن فضل و اثنوا عليه عذبة و وصفوه بما فيه من
السنعة و قيل له انه لا يصلح الا لمثلك فلما كان ذات يوم احب
الاقتصاد فبحث عنه و طلبه فجدى له به و حين وصله الطالب عمد
الى سم نعله بشعرة فى مقدم راسه و كان ذى شعر كثير ثم لما دخل
عليه امرأة ان يتجرد من ثيابه و يلبس غيرها من ثياب كانت عند
ابن فضل ثم أمره بالدنو منه ليفصده ففعل و تعد بين يديه ثم أخرج
المفصد و امتصه تجرية له من السم ثم مسح برأسه فى موضع السم
فعلق منه بعض شئ ثم فصده بالكل و ربطه و خرج من قوره

ابن فضل طوّفه بطوق من ذهب و انهمك في المذبحرة على تحليل محرّمات الشريعة و اباحة محظوراتها و عمل بها دارا واسعة يجمع فيها غالب أهل مذهبه نساء و رجالا متزوّجين متطّيبين و يوقد بينهم الشمع ساعة و يتحدّثون فيها باطيب الحديث و اطربه ثم يطفى الشمع و يضع كل منهم يده على امرأة فلا يترك الوقوع عليها و ان كانت من ذوات محارم و قد يقع مع احدهم ما لا يعجبه اما لعجز او لغيرة فيريد التقلّت منها فلا يكاد تعذره فقد حكى ابن مالك ان رجلا من القوم وقعت يده على عجوز كبيرة محدودة^١ فحين تحقق حالها اراد التقلّت منها فقالت له ذو بُد من ذى حكم الامير و ذو بالذال المهمة في لغة بعض اليمانيين بمعنى لا تكأنها قالت لا بد من ذى حكم الامير و ذى بالذال المعجمة بمعنى الذى كأنها قالت لا بد من الذى حكم^٢ الامير يعنى ابن فضل و هذه مخزبة عظيمة شاغب عنه عمت^٣ جميع من انتسب الى التشمعل و هى شىء لم تحقق عن احد غيره و لقد سألت جمعا من الذين يتحقق منهم المذهب فانكروا ذلك و رأيتهم مجتمعين على ان ابن فضل زنديق و ان منصور اليمى من اعيان مذهبهم و اخيارهم و ذلك هو الذى يقرر فى ذهنى و كان ابن فضل لما طابت له المذبحرة و جعلها دار اقامته استناب على صنعاء أسعد بن يعفر المقدم ذكره استنابه مكانه لانه لم يثبت ان أسعد اجتمع به بل كان حذرا من غدرة فانام أسعد بصنعاء نالبا له و هو يوقه ان يأخذ بثار المسلمين منه و هو ايضا حذر منتص و كان لا يكاد يستقر بصنعاء خشية غازية من ابن فضل او هجمة قال

١ عابدة

٢ حكم به Or

٣ محدودة

و قال حجوا الحرف موضعا بالقرب من المذبحرة و اعمروا الناس و هو واد بالقرب من الحرف و لما علم ان قد استحكم له امر اليمن خلع عبيد بن ميمون الذي كان يظهر انه داع اليه ثم كاتب صاحبه منصور بذلك فعاد جوابه اليه يعاتبه و يقول له كيف تخلع من لم تفل خيرا الا به و تركت الدعا اليه فما تذكر ما بينك و بينه من العهود و ما اُحد علينا جميعا من الوصية على الاتفاق و عدم الاقتراق فلم يلتفت اليه بل كتب كتابا يخبره و يقول ان لي باي سعيد الجدائي اسوء اذ قد دعا الى نفسه و انت ان لم تنزل الي و تدخل باحابتي^١ نابذتك الحرب فلما ورد كتابه الي المنصور بذلك غلب على ظنه صحته و طلع جبل مسور و اخذ بتحصينه و قال انما حصنت هذا الجبل من هذا الطاغية و امثاله و لقد عرفت الشر بوجهه حين اجتمعنا بصنعاء ثم ان ابن فضل بعد مديدة من تصديره الكتاب تجهز الى شزو منصور و انتدب لذلك عشرة الاف رجل من المعدودين في عسكرة و سار من المذبحرة حتى دخل شبام فحصل بينه و بين عسكر منصور حرب و تكرر ذلك ثم دخل ابن فضل بلد لاعة و صعد جبل الجميمه بالجيم مفتوحة و هو جبل فائس على قرب من مسور و هو لقوم يقال لهم بنو المنتاب فاقام به ثمانية اشهر يحاصر منصور فلم يدرك منه طائلا و شق به الوقوف و علم منصور بذلك فراسله بالصالح فقال ابن فضل لا افعل الا ان يرسل الي و لده يقف معي على الطاعة و الا فلا يسمع مني انفي رحمت بغير رضا حاجة و يشيع ذلك عند العالم اني تركته تفضلا لا عجزا ففعل منصور ذلك و تقدم معه بعض اولاد منصور ثم ان

اعجبته أخذ بها الى العنارة و افتنّها حتى قيل انه افتنّ عدّة من
البكور و امر^١ ذلك الماء و تحقنه على السقف حتى يوجد أثر ذلك
الى اليوم ذكره القاضى سرى الآتى ذكره ثم أنّه حلق رأسه فطلق معه
مواقفة مائة الف نفس و أمر بأخواب دار ابن عتبة ظنّ انه يجد
بها ذهباً فلم يجد غير عشرة آلاف دينار و ان كان ابن عتبة من
اعيان صنعاء خرج مع اسعد حين خرج فلما بلغه اخواب بيته
اخذته بطنه و مات و حين بلغ منصور دخول ابن فضل صنعاء سرّه
ذلك و تجهز حتى جاء و اجتمعوا و فرح كل منهما بصاحبه ثم خرج
ابن فضل الى حراز ثم نزل المهجم فأخذها و سار الى الكدرا فأخذها
ايضا ثم قصد زبيد فهرب صاحبها و هى يومئذ بيد ابي جيش اسحاق
ابن ابراهيم بن محمد الأواصل من بغداد فقبل هرب و قيل قاتل
فقتله ابن فضل و استباح زبيد و سبا الجريم فذكر نقلة الاخبار أنّه أخذ
منها نحو اربعة الاف بكرسوى الجارج ثم خرج منها يريد المذيخرة
على طريق الميران^٢ جبل شرقى زبيد فلما صار بعسكرة بموضع يسمى
المداخيص او المشاخيص أمر صاحبه فصاح بالسكر بالنزول فلما نزلوا
ناداهم نداء الاجتماع فاجتمعوا اليه و حضروا لديه قال^٣ لهم قد علمتم
انما خرجتم للجهاد فى سبيل الله و قد غنمتم من نسا الحصيبي ما
لا يخفى و لئيست امنهنّ عليكم ان يفتنكم و يشغلنكم عن الجهاد
فليذبح كل رجل منكم ما صار معه منهنّ ففعلوا ذلك فصار الدم فى
ذات اتره سنين كثيرة و لذلك سمى بالمداخيص او المشاخيص ثم
توجه الى المذيخرة فلما صار بها أمر بقطع الطرق لا سيما طرق الحجّ

١ ابن

٢ الميران Or

٣ فقال

شرب الخمر و نكاح البنات و الاخوان ثم دخل الجند في موسمها اول
 خميس من رجب و سعد المنبر و قال الابيات المشهورة و هي

خذى الدف يا هذه و العبي و غنى هزاريك ثم اطرى
 تولى نبي بنى هاشم و هذا نبي بنى يعرب
 لكل نبي مضى شرعة و هذى شرعة هذا النبي
 فقد حطاً عنّا فروض الصلوة و حطاً الصيام و لم تتعب
 اذا الناس صلوا فلا تنهضى و ان صوموا فكلى و اشربى
 و لا تطلبى السعى عند الصفا و لا زورة القبر فى يثرب
 و لا تملعى نفسك المعرستين من الاقربين مع الاجنبى
 فبم ذا حللت لهذا التعريب و صرت محرمة للاب
 ليس الغراس لمن ربّاه و سقاه فى الزمن المجذب
 و ما الخمر الا كماء السماء محلّ فقدست من مذهب

ثم استقام امره و غلب على مخالف جعفر و الجند عزم^٢ على غزو صنعاء
 و بها يؤمّد اسعد بن ابراهيم بن يعفر فعمّر بدمار و أخذ حصن هران
 و دخل واليه و غالب من معه فيه بالمذهب و لحق بقيتهم باسعد
 بن يعفر و لما سمع اسعد بن يعفر بكثرة جيوشه خرج من صنعاء
 هاربا و دخلها ابن فضل يوم الخميس لثلاث ماضين من رمضان سنة
 تسع و تسعين و مائتين فنزل الجامع و حصل بقدمه مطر عظيم
 فأمر بسد الميازيب التى للجامع و اطلع النساء التى سبين من صنعاء
 و غيرها و طلع المنارة ثم جعلوا يلقوهن الى الماء منكشفات عرايا فمن

^٢ ثم عزم or و عزم

و تسعين و مائتين و هذا عبد الله الملقب بالمهدى هو جد ملوك المغرب ثم بمصر فابن خلکان يقول فى نسبهم العبيديين نسبة الى هذا عبيد و ناس يسقونهم العلويين على صحة دعواهم قاله عالم بالصواب فهذه نبذة بيّنت فيها حال القرامطة فى اليمن و حال منصور و الذى دعا اليه و كان منصور ملكا مسددا و اما ابن فضل نسياتى من ذكره ما تبين حاله فقد مضى نسبه و أصل بلده فذكر من نقل سيرته انه لما فارق منصورا من غلافقة كما قدمنا ذكره طلع الجبل و دخل الجند ثم خرج منها الى أبين و هى اذالك بيد رجل من الاصابع يقال له محمد بن ابى العلى ثم خرج عنها الى بلد يافع فلقبهم^١ رعانا فجعل يتعبد فى بطون الاودية و يأتونه بالطعام فلا يأكل منه الا اليسير لمن يحقق حاله فاعجبوا به و هم يسكنون بروس الجبال فسألوه ان يسكن معهم فلم يكذبهم الا بعد مدّة حتى اتوا عليه فذكر لهم انما يمنعه عن مساكنتهم الا عدم امتثالهم الامر بالمعروف و النهى عن المنكر و شرب الخمر و التظاهر بفتح الجور فحلوا له على الطاعة و ان لا يخالفوه بما أمر فوعدهم خيرا و صاروا يجمعون له زكواتهم حتى اجتمع له شىء جيد ثم انه قصد أبين فقتل صاحبها و استباحها و أخذ اموالها جليلة ثم قصد المذيخرة بلد الجعفرى و كانت مدينة عظيمة بجبل ريمة فخاربه مرارا كانت الدائرة له فقتله و استباح بلده و سبا الحرم و قد ذكر ابن مالك ذلك فى رسالته على اكمل وجه و ليس هو من ملازم الكتاب فى^٢ به و لما صار بالمذيخرة اعجبته فظهر بها مذهبه و جعلها دار ملكة ثم ادعى النبوة و احلّ لأصحابه

١ مؤلف

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فوجدهم^١ Khi

حصن كان لقوم يعنون ببنى العدعا و نقلت اليه ما كان قد تحصل
عندي من طعام و دراهم فحين سرت اليه بما معى و قد عاهدنى
خمسمائة رجل على النصر سعدوا معى الحصن بما معهم من مال
و اولاد فظهرت حينئذ الدعوة الى عبيد الله المهدي ابن الشيخ ميمون
و مال الى موافقتى حلقى باشر^١ ثم لما أخذ جبل مسور و استعمل
الطبول و الرايات بحيث كان له ثلثون طبلة اذا اقبل الى مكان
سمعت الى مسافة بعيدة و كان للحوالي حصن بجبل مسور له به والى
انقرعه منه ثم حين علم استقامة أمره كتب الى ميمون يخبره بقيام
أمره و ظهوره على ما عانده و بعث له بهدايا و تحف جليلة و ذلك
سنة تسعين و مائتين فحين بلغه الأمر و وصلت الهدايا قال لولده
عبيد هذه دولتك قد قامت لكن لا احب ظهورها الا من المغرب
ثم بعث ابا عبد الله الحسين بن احمد بن محمد بن زكريا المعروف
بالشيعى الصنعائى الى المغرب و أمره بدخول افريقية و سياسة أهلها
و استمالهم الى طاعة ولده عبيد ققدم المغرب حيث أمره و كان من
رجال العالم الذين يضرب بهم المثل فى السياسة فلم يستحكم أمره الا
فى سنة ست و تسعين و مائتين فكتب الى المهدي يخبره بقيام
الأمر و طاعة الناس له و يأمره بالتقدم اليه فيادر عبيد الملقب بالمهدي
و قدم افريقية و قد كان الشيعى غلب على ملكها و صار بيده فحين
قدم المهدي سلمه اليه فقدمه^٢ و ذمته أخوة و قال له بئس ما صنعت
بيدك ملك تسلمه نغيرك و جعل يكرر ذلك عليه حتى أثر غده
و هم ان يغدر بالمهدى فبلغه ذلك فاستشعر منه و تبر عليه من قتله
و قتل اخاه فى ساعة واحدة منتصف جمادى الاخرة سنة ثمانى

٢ مقدمه

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١ الملقى بأمرهم

الله الله اوصيك بصاحبك خيراً وقره واعرف حقه ولا تخرج عن امره فانه اعرف منك و متى فان نصيته لم ترشد ثم ودعنا و خرجنا مسح الحاج حتى ائبنا مكة فمجبنا ثم سرنا مع حاج اليمين حتى جلنا غلافقة ثم توامينا لا ينسى احد منا صاحبه ولا يقطع خبرة عنه ثم سرت حتى قدمت الجدد و هي اذذات بيد الجعفرى قد تغلبا عليها و انقزعها من ابن يعفر و كان الشيخ قد قال لى اياك ان تبتدى بشىء من امرك الا فى بلد يقال لها عدن لاعة فانها البلد الذى يتم ناموسك و تنال غرضك فيها فلم اعرفها فقصت عدن ابيى و سالت عن عدن لاعة فقل لى انها بجهة حجة فسالت عن من تقدم من اهلها فأرشدت الى جماعة قدموا تعرض التجارة و اجتمعت بهم و صحبتهم و تطلعت عليهم حتى احبوى و قلت انا رجل من اهل العلم بلغنى ان لكم بلد جبلة و اريد اصحبكم اليه فرحبوا و اقبلوا ثم لما ارادوا السفر خرجت من جملتهم و كنت فى اثناء الطريق احصهم^١ بالاخبار و احصهم على الصلوة و كانوا ياتمون بى فحين دخلت لاعة سألته عن المدينة فيها فأرشدت اليها فانيتها و لزمت بعض مساجدها و اقبلت على العبادة حتى مال الى جمع من الناس فلما علمت ان قد استحكمت محبتي فى قلوبهم اخبرتهم و اى انما قدمت عليهم داع للمهدى الذى بشر به النبى صلى الله عليه و سلم فخالفتهم ملهم جمعا على القيام نصار يوتى لى بالزكوة فلما اجتمع عندى منها شىء كثير قلت انه ينبغي ان يكون لى معقلاً يحفظ به هذه الزكوة يكون بيت مال للمسلمين فبهيت عين محرم و هو

بالتبیت و الوقوف حتى يظن في الأمر و كان ميمون في الاصل يهوديا قد حسد الاسلام و اعتار^١ على دينه فلم يجد حيلة غير المكوف على تربة الحسين بكرلا و اظهار الاسلام و اصله من سلمية مديفة في الشام و انتسب الى العلويين و اكثرهم ينكر صحة نسبه فالثله اعلم و قطع ابن مالك بانه يهودى و صحبه رجل من كربلا يعرف بمنصور بن زاذان بن حوشب بن الفرج ابن المبارك من ولد عقيل ابن ابي طالب كان جدّه زاذان اثنى عشرى المذهب احد اعيان الكوفة و سكن اولاده على تربة الحسين فحين قدم ميمون تعرّس بمنصور^٢ النجابه و الرياسة فاستمائه و صحبه و كان له ديناً^٣ يستمد بها و كان ذا علم بالفلك فادرك ان له دولة و انه يكون احد الدعاة الى ولده فلما قدم ابن فضل و صحبه رأى انه قد تم له المراد و ان ابن فضل من اهل اليمن خبير به و بأهله فقال ميمون لمنصور يا با القاسم ان الدين يمان و الكعبة^٤ يمانية و الركن و كل امر يكون مبتداه من قبل اليمن فهو ثابت لتبوت نجمه و قد رأيت ان تخرج انت و صاحبنا على بن فضل الى اليمن و تدعوان الى ولدى فسيكون لكما بها شان و سلطان و كان منصور قد عرف من ميمون اصنامات^٥ كثيرة فاجابه الى ما دعا فجمع بينه و بين على بن فضل و عاهد بينهما و اوصى كلا منهما بصاحبه خبيراً قال منصور لما عزم ميمون على ارسالنا اليمن اوصانى بوصايا منها اننى متى دخلت اليمن سترت امرى حتى ابلغ غرضى و قال لى الله الله مرتين صاحبك يعنى ابن فضل احفظه و احسن اليه و امره بحسن السيرة فان له شتاً و لا آمن عليه ثم قال لابن فضل

١ ذمنا ؟

٢ و لما رأى ما به من النجابه ؟

٣ اعتاد ؟

٤ اصنامات، Khi.

٥ Read للكعبة KHi; so also ar Rūzi.

اخبار القرامطة باليمن المنقول من كتاب
السلوك للقاضي ابي عبد الله يوسف
المعروف بالبهاء الجندی

و فی ایامه^۱ ظهرت القرامطة علی بن فضل بیلد یافع و منصور بن حسن
يعرف بمنصور الیمن فحينئذ اذكر نبذة من احوالهما علی ما ذكره
الفقير ابو عبد الله محمد بن مالك ابن ابی العسال احد فقها الیمن
و علما السنة و كان ممن دخل فی مذهبهما ایام الصليحي و تحقق
اصل مذهبهما فلما تحقق فساد رجوع عنه و عمل رسالة مشهورة يخبر
بامور اصل مذهبهم و يتبين عوارهم و يحذر من الاغرار بهم فقال كان
علی بن فضل من عرب يقال لهم لأحدون^۲ ينسبون الى ذی جدس و
كان شيعيا علی مذهب الاثنى عشرية فحج مكة ثم خرج مع ركب
العراق يريد زيارة مشهد الحسين فلما وصله جعل يولول و يصيح و
يقول لیت من كان حضرتك یا بن رسول الله صلی الله علیه و سلم
حين جاءك جيش الفجرة و ميمون ملزم للضريح و معه ولده عبید
يخدمه فحين رأيا ابن فضل علی تلك الحال طمعا فی اصطيانه ثم
خلف به ميمون و عرفه انه لا بد لولده عبید من دولة تقوم و يتوارثها بلوه
لكن لا يكون حتى تكون بدأتها فی الیمن علی يد بعض دعائه فقال
له ابن فضل ذلك ممكن فی الیمن و التاموس جاز عليهم فامره

^۲ الاجدون ؟

بصعدة آروا الى جبل قطاية بشرقى صعدة فلم يزالوا هنالك و في كل
عصر منهم امام شائع بأن الامر اليهم الى أن بايع الزيدية أحمد الموطئ
و كان فقيها أديبا عالما بمذهبهم قواما صواما ببيع سنة خمس و أربعين
و ستمائة و اهم نور الدين عمر بن رسول شأنه فحاصره بحصن ثلاث سنة
و امتنع عليه فأفرج عنه و حمل العساكر من الحصون المجاورة لحصاره
ثم قتل عمر بن رسول و شغل ابنه المظفر بحصن الدملرة فتمكن
الموطئ و ملك عشرين حصنا و زحف الى صعدة فغلب السليمانيين
عليها و قد كانوا بايعوا لأحمد ابن امامهم عبد الله المنصور و لقبوه
المتوكل عند ما بويح للموطئ بالامامة في ثلاثين كانوا يفتظرون
استكمال سنة فلما بويح الموطئ بايعوه و لما غلبهم على صعدة نزل
له أحمد المتوكل امامهم و بايع له و أمنه و ذلك سنة تسع و أربعين
ثم حج سنة خمسين و بقي أمر الزيدية بصعدة في عقب الموطئ
هذا و سمعت بمصر أن الامام بصعدة كان قبل الثمانين و السبعمائة
على بن محمد من اعقابهم و توفي قبل الثمانين و ولى ابنه صلاح
و بايعه الزيدية و كان بعضهم يقول ليس هو امام لعدم شروط الامامة
فيقول هو انا لكم ما شئتم امام أو سلطان ثم مات صلاح آخر سنة
ثلاث و تسعين و قام بعده ابنه نجاح و امتنع الزيدية من بيعته
فقال انا محتسب لله هذا ما بلغنا عنهم بمصر ايام المقام فيها و الله
وارث الارض و من عليها

يقتلوا فانكا نقتلوه سنة ثلاث و خمسين و خمسمائة و ملكوا عليهم
 أحمد بن حمزة فلم يطق مقاومة علي بن مهدي ففر عن زيد
 و ملكها ابن مهدي قال و كان عيسى بن حمزة أخو أحمد في عشرين
 حصون اليمن و منهم خانم بن يحيى ثم ذهب ملك بن سليمان
 من جميع التهام و الجبال و اليمن على يد بنى مهدي ثم ملكهم
 بنو أيوب و قهروهم و استقرّ ملكهم آخرها في المنصور عبد الله ابن
 أحمد بن حمزة قال ابن العديم ورث الملك بصعدة عن أبيه
 و امتدت يده مع الناصر العباسي و كان يناظره و يبعث دعائه الي
 الديلم و جيلان حتى خطب له هنالك و صار له فيها ولاة و أنفق
 الناصر عليه أموالا في العرب باليمن و لم يظفر به قال ابن الأثير
 جمع المنصور عبد الله بن احمد بن حمزة أمام الزيدية بصعدة سنة
 ثنتين و تسعين و خمسمائة و زحف الي اليمن فخاف منه المعز بن
 سيف الاسلام طغتكين بن أيوب ثم زحف اليه المعز فهزمه ثم جمع
 ثانية سنة ثنتي عشرة و ستمائة جموعا من همدان و خولان و ارتجت
 له اليمن و خاف المسعود بن الكامل و هو يرمئذ صاحب اليمن
 و معه الكرد و الترت و أشار أمير الجيوش عمر بن رسول بمعاجلته
 قبل ان يملك الحصون ثم اختلف اصحاب المنصور و لقيه المسعود
 فهزمه و توفي المنصور سنة ثلاثين و ستمائة عن عمر مديد و توت ابنا
 اسمه أحمد ولاة الزيدية و لم يخطبوا له بالمامة يلقظرون علو سنة
 و استكمال شرطه و لما كانت سنة خمس و أربعين بايع قوم من
 الزيدية بحصن تلة للموطئ من بني الرشي و هو أحمد بن الحسين
 من بني الهادي لانهم لما اخرجهم بنو سليمان من كرسي امامتهم

معدة وتوفى سنة ثمان وتسعين لشر سنين من ولايته هكذا قال
 ابن المجاب قال و له مصنفات في الحلال والحرام و قال غيره كان
 مجتهدا في الاحكام الشرعية و له في الفقه آراء غريبة و تواليف بين
 الشيعة معروفة قال الصولي و ولي بعده ابنه محمد المرتضى و اضطرب
 الناس عليه و هلك سنة عشرين و ثلثمائة ثلثين و عشرين سنة
 من ولايته و ولي بعده أخوه الناصر أحمد و استقام ملكه و اطرده في
 بنده بعده فولى بعده ابنه حسين المنتخب و مات سنة أربع
 و عشرين و ولي بعده أخوه القاسم المختار الى ان قتله ابو القاسم
 الفصاح الهمداني سنة أربع و أربعين و قال الصولي وى من بنى
 الناصر الرشيد و المنتخب و المهدي و قال ابن حزم
 لما ذكر ولد أبي القاسم الرسي فقال و منهم القائمون بصعدة من
 ارض اليمن أولهم يحيى الهادي له رأى في الفقه و تدرايته و لم يبعد
 فيه عن الجماعة كل البعد كان لابيه أحمد الناصر بنون ولي منهم
 صعدة بعده جعفر الرشيد و بعده أخوه القاسم المختار ثم الحسن
 المنتخب و محمد المهدي قال و كان اليماني القائم بماردة سنة
 ثلاث و أربعين و ثلثمائة يذكر انه عبد الله بن أحمد الناصر أخو
 الرشيد و المختار و المنتخب و المهدي و قال ابن المجاب و لم تنزل
 امامتهم بصعدة مطردة الى أن وقع الخلاف بينهم و جاء السليمانيون
 من مكة عند ما اخرجهم الهواشم فغلبوا عليهم بصعدة و انقرضت
 دولتهم بها في المائة السادسة قال ابن سعيد و كان من بنى سليمان
 حين خرجوا من مكة الى اليمن أحمد بن حمزة بن سليمان
 فاستدعاه أهل زبيد لينصروهم على علي بن مهدي التجارحي حين
 حاصروهم و بها قاتل بن محمد من بنى نجاح فاجابهم على بن

الباخودة وكان تاجرا كثير المال تقرب الى صاحب مرباط بالتجارة حتى استوزرة ثم هلك فملك احمد الباخودة ثم خربها و خرب ظفا سنة تسع عشرة و ستمائة و بنى على الساحل مدينة ظفار بضم الظاء المعجمة و سماها الاحمدية باسمه و خرب القديمة لانها لم يكن لها مرسى

نجران قال صاحب الكمالك هي صقع منفرد عن اليمن و قال غيره هي من اليمن قال البيهقي مسافتها عشرون مرحلة و هي شرقي صنعاء و شمالها و توالى الحجاز و فيها مدينتان نجران و جرش متقاربتان في القدر و البادية شالبة عليها و سكانها كالأعراب و بها كعبة نجران بنيت على هيئة غمدان كعبة اليمن و كانت طائفة من العرب تحج اليها و تنحر عندها و تسمى الديرة بها كان قس بن ساعدة يتعبد و نزله من القحطانية طائفة من جرهم ثم غلبهم عليها بنو حمير و صاروا ولاة للتبابعة و كانوا كل من ملك منهم يلقب الالفى و كان منهم افعى نجران و اسمه الفلمس بن عمرو بن همدان بن مالك بن منقاب بن زيد بن وائل بن حمير كان كاهنا و هو الذي حكم بين أولاد نزار لما أتوه حسبما هو مذكور و كان واليا على نجران لبلقيس فبعثته الى سليمان عليه السلام و آمن و بك دين اليهودية في قومه و طال عمرة و يقال ان البحريين و المشلل كانوا له قال البيهقي ثم نزل نجران بلو مذحج و استولوا عليها و منهم بنو الحرث بن كعب و قال غيره لما خرجت اليمانية في سيل العرم مروا بنجران فخاربتهم مذحج و ملها افترقوا قال ابن حزم و نزل في جوار مذحج بالصلح الحارث بن كعب ابن عبد الله بن مالك بن نصر بن

الشجر من ممالك جزيرة العرب مثل الحجاز واليمن وهو
 منفصل عن حضرموت و عمان و الذن يسمى الشجر قصبته و لا زرع
 فيه و لا نخل انما اموالهم الابل و المعز و معاشهم من اللحوم و الالبان
 و من السمك الصغار و يعلقونها للدواب و تسمى هذه البلاد أيضا بلاد
 مهرة و بها الابل المهرية و قد يضاف الشجر الى عمان و هو ملاصق
 لحضرموت و قيل هو ساحلها و فى هذه البلاد يوجد اللبان و فى
 ساحله انعبر الشجرى و هو متصل فى جهة الشرق و من غربيها بساحل
 البحر الهندى الذى عليه عدن و فى شرقيها ببلاد عمان و جنوبيها
 بحر الهند مستطيلة عليه و شمالها حضرموت كانها ساحل لها و يكونان
 معا مملكة واحد و هى فى الانديم اقول و أشد حرًا من حضرموت
 و كانت فى القديم لعاد و سكنها بعدهم مهرة من حضرموت أو من
 قضاة و هم كالوحش فى تلك الرمال و دينهم الخارجية على رأى
 الاباصية منهم و أول من نزل بالشجر من القحطانية مالك بن حمير
 خرج على أخيه وائل و هو ملك بقصر غمدان فحاربه طويلا و مات
 مالك فولى بعده أباه قضاة بن مالك فلم ينزل السكسك ابن وائل
 يحاربه الى ان قهره و اقتصر قضاة على بلاد مهرة و ملك بعده ابنه
 الحاف ثم مالك بن الحاف و انتقل الى عمان و بها كان سلطانه قال
 البيهقى و ملك مهرة ابن حيدان بن الحاف بلاد قضاة و حارب
 عمه مالك بن الحاف صاحب عمان حتى غلبهم عليها و ليس لهم
 اليوم فى غير بلادهم ذكر و ببلاد الشجر مدينة مرباط و ظفار على وزن
 نزال و ظفار دار ملك التباينة و مرباط بساحل الشجر و قد خربت
 هاتان المدينتان و كان أحمد بن محمد بن محمود الصميرى و لقبه

و منهم اليمامة التي سميت مدينة جَوَّ بها و اخبارها معروفة ثم استولى على اليمامة بعد طسم و جديس بنو حنيفة و كان منهم هودبة بن عدى^١ ملك اليمامة و تنوّج و يقال انما كانت خزرات تنظم و ثم ينتوّج احد من بنى معدّ قط ثم كان تمامة بن اتال^٢ ملك اليمامة على عهد الذبّورة و أسر و أسلم و ثبت بئد الرّدة و كان ملهم مسيلمّة و اخباره معروفة قال ابن سعيد و سألت عرب البكرين و بعض مذحج لمن اليمامة اليوم فقلوا لعرب من قيس عيلان و ليس لبنى حنيفة بها ذكر

بلاد حضرموت قال ابن حوقل هي في شرقي عدن بقرب البحر و مدينتها صغيرة و لها أعمال عريضة و بينها وبين عدن و عمان من الجهة الاخرى رمال كثيرة تعرف بالاحقاف و كانت مواطن لعاد و بها قبر هود عليه السلام و في وسطها جبل شبّام و هي في الاقليم الاول و بعدها عن خط الاستواء ثلثا عشرة درجة و هي معدودة من اليمن بلد نخل و شجر و مزارع و أكثر اهلها يحكمون بأحكام عليّ و فاطمة و يبنضون عليها للتحكم و أكبر مدينة بها الآن قلعة شبام فيها خيل الملك و كانت لعاد مع الشحر و عمان ثم غلبهم عليها بنو يعرب بن تحطان و يقال ان الذي دلّ عادا على جزيرة العرب هو رقيم بن ارم كان سبق اليها مع بنى^٣ هود فرجع الى عاد و دثّم عليها و على دخولها بالجوار فلما دخلوا غلبوا على من فيها ثم غلبهم بنو يعرب بن تحطان بعد ذلك و ولي على البلاد فكانت ولاية ابنه حضرموت على هذه البلاد و به سميت

١ هودبة بن عدى ٢ Read بن اتال ٣ تمامة بن اتال Read ؟ النسي

والجبال ونجد من اليمن والحجاز كسرة الفرس وبنو نهد من قضاة
سكنوا اليمن جوار خثعم وهم كالوحوش والعاثة تسميهم النور
وأكثرهم أخلاط من بجيلة وخثعم ومن بلادهم تباله يسكنها قوم من
عنز بن وائل ولهم بها صولة وهي التي وليها الحجاج
واستحقرها فتركها

البلاد المضافة الى اليمن

أولها اليمامة قال البيهقي هو بلد منقطع بعمله والتحقيق أنه من
الحجاز كما هي نجران من اليمن وكذا قال ابن حوقل وهي دونها
في المملكة وارضها تسمى العروض لاعتراضها بين الحجاز والبحرين
ففي شرقها البحرين وغربها أطراف اليمن والحجاز وجنوبها نجران
وشمالها نجد من الحجاز وفي طولها عشرين مرحلة وهي على أربعة
ايام من مكة وقاعدتها حَجْر بالفتح وبلد اليمامة كانت مقرا لملوك
قبل بنى حنيفة ثم اتخذ بنو حنيفة حجرا وبينهما يوم ولية
وبظواهرها أحياء من بلى يرسوع من تميم وأحياء من بنى عجل
قال البكري واسمها جَوّ وسميت باسم زرقاء اليمامة سماها بذلك
تبع الآخر وهي في الاقليم الثاني مع مكة وبعدهما عن خط الاستواء
واحد ومن ملازها توضع وتَرَقَّرَا وقال الطبري ان رمل عالم بين
اليمامة والشحر وهي من أرض وبار وكانت اليمامة والطائف لبلبي
هزان بن يعفر بن السكسك وغلبيتهم عليها طسم وجديس ثم
غلب بنو هزان آخرا وملكوا اليمامة وطسم وجديس في تبعهم
وكان آخر ملوك بنى هزان قُرط بن جعفر فمات وغلبيتهم طسم
على الملك وكان منهم عمليق واختباره معروفة ثم غلبت جديس

مخلاف بن أصح هو بوادي سحول و ذو أصح الذي ينسبون إليه قد تقدّم ذكره في انساب حمير من التبابعة و القبائل و مخلاف يحصب مجار له و هو أخو أصح

مخلاف بن وائل مدينة هذا المخلاف شاحط و صاحبها أسعد بن وائل و بنو وائل بطن من ذى الكلاع و ذو الكلاع من سبأ تغلبوا على هذه البلاد عند مهلك الحسن^١ ابن سلامة عامل الجبال لبنى نجاح

مخلاف يربوع من الجبال تغلب عليه بنو عبد الواحد بعد موت الحسن^١ بن سلامة و كان اهل الاطراف قد استقبدوا على الثغور فقاتلهم الحسن^١ ابن سلامة حتى عادوا الى الطاعة و اختط مدينة الكدرام على مخلاف سهام و مدينة المعقر على وادي ذوال و ماتت سنة ثنتين و أربعمائة

بلاد صكفة و هي من جبال اليمن مما يلي حضرموت و اجبر و الرمل و كان لهم بها ملوك و قاعدتهم كعمون ذكرها امرؤ القيس في شعره

بلاد مذحج توالى جهات الجند من الجبال و ينزلها من مذحج عئس و زبيد و مراد و من عئس بانريقية فرقة و برة مع طوائف اهلها و من زبيد بالحجاز بنو حرب بين مكة و المدينة و بنو زبيد الذي بالشام و الجزيرة فهم من طيء و ليسوا من هؤلاء

بلاد بني نهد في اجوان السروات و تبالة و السروات بين تهامة

مختصر التاريخ

المظفر بحصار حصن الذملوة^١ فتمكن الموطئ وملك حصون اليمن
و زحف إلى صعدة و بايعه السليمانيون و امامهم أحمد المتوكل كما
مرّنى أجهار بنى الرسى

و اما قطابة فهو جبل شاق شرقى صعدة و فيه حصن و قرى
و أنصوى اليه بنو الهذلى عند ما غلبهم بنو سليمان على صعدة إلى
ان كان ما ذكرناه

حراز و مسار اما حراز فهو اقليم من بلاد همدان و حراز بطن من
بطونهم كان منهم الصليحي و حصن مسار هو الذى ظهر فيه الصليحي
و هو من اقليم حراز قال البيهقى بلادهم شرقية بجبال اليمن و تفرقوا
فى الاسلام و لم يبق لهم قبيلة و برية الا فى اليمن و هو اعظم قبائله
و بهم تام الموطئ و ملكوا جملة من حصون الجبال و لهم بها اقليم
بكيل و اقليم حاشد و هما ابنا جشم ابن حبان^٢ بن نون بن همدان
قال ابن حزم و من بكيل و حاشد افترقت قبائل همدان انتهى
و من همدان بنو الزريع اصحاب السلطنة و الدعوة فى عدن و الجوة
و منهم بنو يام قبيل الصليحي و بنو همدان سبعة^٣ و هم الآن فى
نهاية من التشيع ببلادهم و أكثرهم زيدية

بلاد خولان قل البيهقى هى شرقية من جبال اليمن و متصلة
ببلاد همدان و هى حصون الجبال و مختلف جعفر دخلوا اليها فى
الدولة الصليحية و تغلب بنو الزرر^٤ منهم على حصن حُدَد و التعكر
و غيرها و هم اعظم قبائل اليمن مع همدان و لهم بطون كثيرة
و افترقوا على بلاد الاسلام و لم يبق منهم و برية الا باليمن

١ شعبة

٢ خولان Road

الداعي ابن المظفر و الداعي الزريعي الى أن بقي بيده حصن تعز فأخذ منه ابن مهدي

معقل أشبح من اعظم حصون الجبال و فيه خزائن بلى المظفر و كان للداعي المنصور ابى حمير سبا بن أحمد بن المظفر من الصليحيين صارت له بعهد المكرم ابن عمه صاحب ذى جبلة و قلده المستنصر الدعوة و توفي سنة ست و ثمانين و أربعمئة و غلب ابنه علي^١ على معاقل الملك أشبح و أعيا المفضل أمراً الى أن تحمى عليه و قتله بالسّم و صارت حصون بلى المظفر لبلى ابى البركات ثم مات المفضل و خلف ابنه منصور و استقل بمالك أبيه بعد حين و باع جميع الحصون فباع ذا جبلة من الداعي الزريعي صاحب عدن بمائة ألف دينار و حصن صبر بعد ان كان حلف بالطلاق على بيعه فطلق زوجته الحرّة و تزوجها الزريعي و طال عمره ملك ابن عشرين و بقى في الملك ثمانين و أخذ منه معقل تعز على بن مهدي

صعدة مملكتها ثلث مملكة صنعاء و هي في شرقها و هي هذه المملكة ثلاثة قواعد صعدة و جبل قطافة و حصن تلاً^١ و حصون أخرى و تعرف كلها ببلى الرسي و قد تقدّم ذكر خبره

و اما حصن تلاً^١ فعنه كان ظهور الموطى الذي اعاد امامة الزيدية لبني الرسي بعد ان استولى عليها بنو سليمان فأووا الى جبل قطافة ثم بايعوا لأحمد الموطى سنة خمس و أربعين و ستمائة و كان فقياً عادياً و حاصراً نور الدين بن رسول في هذا الحصن سنة ثم جمر عليه عسكرياً لمصار ثم مات ابن رسول سنة ثمان و أربعين و شغل ابنه

^١ Read ١٢

حصونهم الى ان انقض أمرهم على يد علي بن مهدي و كان لهم
 مخالفة جعفر الذي منه مدينة ذي جبلة و معقل التعكر و هو مخالفة
 الجند و مخالفة معافر و مقر ملكهم السمدان و هو أحسن من الذملوة
 قلعة منهاب من قلاع صنعاء بالجبال ملكها بنو زريع و استبد بها
 منهم المفضل بن علي بن راضي بن الداعي محمد بن سبا بن زريع
 نعتة صاحب الخريدة بالسلطان و قال كانت له قلعة منهاب و كان
 حيا سنة ست و ثمانين و خمسمائة و صارت بعده لاختيه الاعتر
 ابي علي^١

جبل المذيخرة و هو بقرب صنعاء و قد اختط جعفر مولى ابي
 زياد سلطان اليمن مخالفة جعفر فنسب اليه
عدن لاعة بجانب المذيخرة أول موضع ظهرت فيه دعوة الشيعة
 باليمن و منها محمد بن الفضل الداعي و وصل اليها أبو عبد الله
 الشيعي صاحب الدعوة بالمغرب و فيها قرأ علي بن محمد الصليحي
 صبيا و هي دار دعوة اليمن و كان محمد بن الفضل داعيا على عهد
 أبي الجيش بن زياد و أسعد بن يعفر

بهران ذكرها عمارة في الخليل الجبلية و ملكها نشوان بن
 سعيد القطافي

تعز من أجل معقل الجبال المطنة على تهامة ما زال حصنا
 للملوك و هو اليوم كرسي نبي رسول و معدود في الامصار و كان به
 من ملوك اليمن منصور بن المفضل بن ابي البركات من اقارب
 الصليحيين و ابوه صاحب معقل أشع و استولى على حصون بني ابي
 البركات و بني المظفر و ورثها عنه ابنه منصور ثم باعها حصنا حصنا من

^١ بن علي Read

والتعكر وحصن خُدَد و لما غلبت خولان على حصن خدد من يد عبد الله بن يعلى الصليحي و لحق بحصن مصدود كما ذكرناه ثم غلبوه على حصن مصدود و استولى عليه منهم زكريا بن شكير البصري و كان بنو الكُرْدِي من حمير ملوكا قبل بنى الصليحي باليمن و انتزع بنو الصليحي ملكهم و كان لهم مخالف جعفر بخصونه و مخالف معاذ و مخالف الجند و حض و حصن سمدان ثم استقرت لمنصور بن المفضل بن ابي البركات و باعها من بنى الزربح كما مر

صنعا قاعدة التباينة قبل الاسلام و اول مدينة اخطت باليمن و بنتها فيما يقال عاد و كانت تسمى اول من الاولى بلختم و تصر غمدان قريب منها أحد البيوت السبعة بفاة الضحاک باسم الزهرة و حجت اليه الامم و هدمه عثمان و صنعا أشهر حواضر اليمن و هي فيما يقال معتدلة و كان فيها اول المائة الرابعة بنو يعفر من التباينة و دار ملكهم كحلان و لم يكن لها نباهة في الملك الى ان سكنها بنو الصليحي و غلب عليها الزيدية ثم السليمانيون من بعد بنى الصليحي

قلعة كحلان و من أعمال صنعا قلعة كحلان لبني يعفر من التباينة بناها قرب صنعا ابراهيم و كانت له صدقة و صنعا و نجران و غيرها من جبال اليمن و حاربهم بنو الرسي ائمة الزيدية الى ان ملكوا صدقة و نجران و اعتصم بنو يعفر بقلعة كحلان و قال البيهقي شديد قلعة كحلان أسعد بن يعفر و حارب بنو الرسي و بنو زياد أيام ابي الجيش

حصن السمدان من أعمال صنعا كانت فيه خزائن بنو الكُرْدِي الحميريين الى ان ملكه على الصليحي و رد عليهم المكرم بعض

الدولة داعيا و نزل مدينة جند و اعتقد بهمدان فخارته السيدة
بجنب و خولان الى ان ركب البحر و غرق و كان يتولى أمورها
المفضل بن أبي البركات بعد زوجها المكرم و استولى عليها
التعكر من مخلاف جعفر كان لبني الصليحي ثم لسيدة من
بعدهم ثم طلبه منها المفضل بن أبي البركات نسلمته اليه و أقام به
الى ان سار الى زبيد و حاصر فيها بني نجاح و طال غيبته ففار
بالتعكر جماعة من الفقهاء و قتلوا نائبه و بايعوا لابراهيم ابن زيدان منهم
و هو عم عمارة الشاعر و استظفروا بخولان فرجع المفضل و حاصرهم كما
مر ذكر ذلك من قبل

حصن خدد كان لعبد الله بن يعلى الصليحي و هو من مخلاف
جعفر و كان المفضل قد أدخل من خولان في حصون المخلاف عددا
كثيرا من بني بحر و بني منبه و رزاح و شعب فلما مات المفضل
ملك خولان حصن التعكر و بقي ذو جبلة لمنصور بن المفضل في
كفالة سيدة كما مر و وثب مسلم بن الزر من خولان في حصن خدد
و ملكه من يد عبد الله بن يعلى الصليحي و لحق عبد الله بـ حصن
مصدود و رشخته سيدة لمكان المفضل و استخلصته و اخويه عمران
و سليمان و مات مسلم فملك ولده سليمان حصن خدد مع سيدة
مكان اخيه مسلم و زوجته بنت القائد فتح عاملها على التعكر فغدر
بفتح و ملك التعكر من يده و استطالت ايدى خولان على الرعايا
و استظفرت سيدة عليهما بجنب و كان عمران و سلمان ناصحين
في خدمتها وهم اللذان اخرجوا الداعي ابن نجيب الدولة من مدينة
الجند و من اليمن بأمرها

حصن مصدود من حصون مخلاف جعفر وهي خمسة ذو جبلة

عدن من ممالك اليمن في جنوب زبيد وهي كرسى عملها وهي على ضفة البحر الهندي وكانت بلد تجارة منذ أيام التباينة وبعدها عن خط الاستواء ثلاث عشرة درجة ولا تنبت زراعا ولا شجرا ومعاشهم السمك وهي ركاب الهند من اليمن و أول ملكها لبني معين بن زائدة اسقماوا لبني زياد و أعطوهم الاتاوة و لما ملك الصليحيون أقرهم الداعي بها ثم اخرجهم ابنه أحمد المكرم و ولاها بني الكرم من جشم بن يام رهطه من همدان و صفا الملك فيها لبني النزيح منهم و ورث دعوة الصليحيين و ملكهم و قد تقدم خبر ذلك كله و لما ملك على بن مهدي لم يظفر بها منهم و قنع منهم بالاتاوة حتى ملكها من أيديهم شمس الدولة بن أيوب كما تقدم

عدن أيبين من بنيات المدن وهي الى جهة الشجر

الزعازع باودية عدن و كانت لبني مسعود بن الكرم المقارعين

لبني النزيح

المجوة اختطها مالوك النزيعيين قرب عدن و نزلها بقو أيوب ثم

انتقلوا الى تعز

حصن ذي جبلة من حصون مختلف جعفر اختطه عبد الله

الصليحي أخو الداعي سنة ثمان و خمسين و أربعمائة و انتقل اليه

ابنه المكرم من حصن صنعاء و زوجته سيدة بنت أحمد المستبدة

عليه و هي التي كملت تشييده سنة ثمانين و مات المكرم و قد

فوت الامرني الملك و الدعوة الى سبا بن احمد بن المظفر الصليحي

و كان في معقل أشع و كانت تستظهر بقبيل جكب و كانوا حاملين

في الجاهلية و ظهروا بمختلف جعفر ثم وصل من مصر ابن نجيب

البحر وكان سليمان بن طرف ممتنعا بها على ابي الجيش بن زياد
 وكان مبلغ ارتفاعه خمسمائة ألف دينار ثم دخل في طاعته وخطب
 له و حمل المال ثم صارت هذه المملكة للسليمانيين من بنى الحسن
 امراء مكة حين طردهم الهواشم عن مكة وكان غالب بن يحيى منهم
 يوقى الاتوة لصاحب زبيد وبه استعان مقلع الفاتكى على سرور ثم
 ملك بعد غنم عيسى بن حمزة من بليد و لما ملك العثر اليمى
 اخذ يحيى أخو عيسى اسيرا وسبق الى العراق فحاول عليه عيسى
 فتخلصه من الأسر ورجع الى اليمن فقتل أخاه عيسى وولى مكانه

المهجم من أعمال زبيد على ثلاثة مراحل عنها و غربها من سعد
 العشيرة من حكم و جعفر قبيلتين منهم و يجلب منها الزنجبيل
السريين آخر أعمال تهامة من اليمن وهى على البحر دون سور
 و بدوتها الخصاص و ملكها راجح بن قتادة سلطان مكة أعوام الخمسين
 و ستمائة وله قلعة على نصف مرحلة منها

الزرائب من الاعمال الشمالية عن زبيد و كانت لابن طرف
 و اجتمع له فيها عشرون ألفا من الحبشة و لما نار الداعى الصليحى
 لقيه بها فى نحو من ثلاثة آلاف فهزموه و قتل الحبشة الذين معه جميعا
 و قال ابن سعيد فى اعمال زبيد و الاعمال التى فى الطريق الوسطى
 بين البحر و الجبال وهى فى خط زبيد فى شماليتها وهى الجادة الى
 مكة قال عمارة هى الجادة السلطانية منها الى البحر يوم أو دنوه
 و كذلك الى الجبال و يجتمع الطريقان الوسطى و الساحلية فى
 السريين ويفترقا

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

اليمن من جزيرة العرب تشتمل على كراسى سبعة للملك و هي
على قسمين تهامة و الحبال ففي تهامة مملكتان مملكة زبيد و مملكة
عدن و معنى تهامة ما انخفض من بلاد اليمن مع ساحل البحر من
السرير من جهة الحجاز الى آخر أعمال عدن دورة البحر الهندي قال
ابن سعيد و جزيرة العرب في الاتليم الأول و يحيط بها البحر الهندي
من جنوبها و بحر السويس من غربها و بحر فارس من شرقها و كانت
اليمن قديما للتبابعة و هي اخصب من الحجاز و أكثر اهلا القحطانية
و فيها من عنز ابن وائل و ملكها لهذا العهد نبي رسول موالى بني
أيوب و دار ملكهم تعز بعد أن نزلوا الجوة أولا و بصعدة من اليمن
أكمة الزيدية

زيد و هي من مملكة اليمن شمالها الحجاز و جنوبها البحر الهندي
و غربها بحر السويس اخذها محمد بن زياد أيام المأمون سنة أربع
و مائتين و هي مدينة مسورة تدخلها عين جارية جليها الملوك
و عليها غيطان نخيل يسكنونها أيام الغلة و هي الآن من ممالك ابن
رسول و بها كان ملك بني زياد و مواليتهم ثم غلبهم عليها بنو
الصليحي و قد مرّ خبرهم

عثر و حلى و الشرجة من أعمال زبيد في شماليتها و تعرف
بأعمال ابن طرف مسيرة سبعة أيام في يومين من الشرجة الى حلى
و بين حلى و مكة ثمانية أيام و عثر هي منبر الملك و هي على

يَبْرًا من علي و عثمان و يكفر بالذنوب و له قواعد و نواميس في مذهب يطول ذكرها و كان يقتل على شرب الخمر قال عمارة كان يقتل كل من خالفه من اهل القبلة و يستبيح نساءهم و اولادهم و كانوا يعتقدون فيه العصمة و كانت اموالهم تحت يده ينفقها عليهم في مؤنهم و لا يملكون معه مالا و لا فرسا و لا سلاحا و كان يقتل المنهزم من أصحابه و يقتل الزاني و شارب الخمر و سامح الغداه و يقتل من تأخر عن صلاة الجماعة و من تأخر عن وعظه يوم الاثنين و الخميس و كان حنفيا في الفروع و لما توفي تولى بعده ابنه عبد النبي و انتقض عليه اخوة عبد الله و غلبه على زبيد و خطب له فيها بالامامة ثم غلبه عبد النبي و اخرجته من زبيد و استولى على اليمن أجمع و به يومئذ خمس و عشرون دولة فاستولى على جميعها و لم يبق له سوى عدن ففرض عليها الجزية و لما دخل شمس الدولة توران شاه بن أبوب أخو صلاح الدين سنة ست و ستين و خمسمائة و استولى على الدولة التي كانت باليمن فنقبض على عبد النبي و امتحنه و أخذ منه أموالا عظيمة و حمله الى عدن فاستولى عليها ثم نزل زبيد و اتخذها كرسيا لملكه ثم استوحشها و سار في الجبال و معه الاطباء يتخير مكانا صحیح الهواء و الماء ليتخذ فيه سكنا فوق اختيارهم على مكان تعز فاخطب به المدينة و نزلها و بقيت كرسيا لملكه و ملك بنيده و مواليهم بنى رسول كما نذكر في أخبارهم و بانقراض دولة بني مهدي انقرض ملك العرب من اليمن و صار للغزو مواليهم

و قوى جمعهم و كان يقول فى وعظه ذنا الوقت يشير الى وقت
ظهوره و اشتهر بذلك عنه و كانت أم فاتك تصد أهل الدولة عنه الى
ان ماتت سنة خمس و أربعين و كان أهل الجبال قد حالفوه على
الفصرة و خرج من تهامة سنة ثمان و ثلاثين و قصد الكدرآه فانهم
و عاد الى الجبال و أقام بها الى سنة احدى و أربعين ثم اعادته الحرّة
أم فاتك الى وطنه و ماتت سنة خمس و أربعين فخرج الى خوارن
و نزل ببطن منهم يقال له حبان^١ فى حصن يسمى الشرف و هو
حصن صعب المرتقى على مسيرة يوم من سفح الجبل فى طريقه
أوعار فى واد ضيق عقبه كود و سماهم الانصار و سمي كل من صد
معه من تهامة المهاجرين و امر للانصار رجلا اسمه سبا و للمهاجرين
آخرًا سماه شيخ الاسلام و اسمه الثوبة و احتجب عن سواهما وجعل
يشن الغارات على أرض تهامة و اعانه على ذلك خراب انواحي
بزيد فقطع سابلتها و اخرب نواحيها و انتهى الى حصن الدائر على
نصف مرحلة من زبيد و اعمل الحيلة فى قتل سرور مدبر الدولة فقتل
كما مرّ و أقام يتخيف زبيد بالزحرف قال عمارة زاحفها سبعين
زحفا و حاصرها طويلا و استعمدوا الشريف أحمد بن حمزة السليماني
صاحب معدة فامدهم و شرط عليهم قتل سيدهم فانك بن محمد
فقتلوه سنة ثلاث و خمسين و ملك عليهم الشريف ثم عجز و هرب
عنهم و استولى على بن مهدى عليها فى رجب سنة أربع و خمسين
و ماتت لثلاثة اشهر من استيلائه و كان يخطب له بالامام المهدي
أمير المؤمنين و قامع الكفرة و المعتدين و كان على رأى الخوارج

^١ حيدان ; Read حيوان B.

مختصر التاريخ

صغيرين هما محمد و أبو السعود فحبسهما ياسر بن بلال في القصر
و استبد بالمر و كان ياسر ممدحا كثير العطية للشعراء و ممن وفد
عليه و مدحه ابن قلاؤس شاعر الاسكندرية و من قصائده في مدحه

سافر اذا حاولت قدرا سار الهلال فصار بدرأ .

و هو آخر ملوك الزرعيين و لما دخل شمس الدولة سيف الاسلام
أخو صلاح الدين الى اليمن سنة ست و ستين و ستمائة و استولى
عليها جاء الى عدن فملكها و قبض على ياسر بن بلال و انقطعت
دولة بني زريع و صار اليمن للعر و فيه ولاتهم بدو أيوب كما نذكر في
أخبارهم و كانت مدينة الجوة قرب عدن اختطبا ملوك الزرعيين
فلما جاءت دولة بني أيوب تركوها و نزلوا تعزز من الجبال كما
يأني ذكره

اخبار ابن مهدي الخارجي و بنيه و ذكر دولتهم باليمن

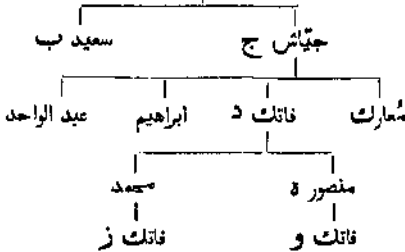
بدايتها و انقراضها

هذا الرجل من اهل العنبرة من سواحل زبيد و هو علي بن مهدي
الحميري كان أبوه مهدي معروفا بالصلاح و الدين و نشأ ابنه علي على
طريقته فاعتزل و نسك ثم حج و لقي علماء العراق و أخذ الوعظ
من وعاظهم و عاد الى اليمن و اعتزل و لزم الوعظ و كان حائظا فصيحاً
و يخبر بحوادث أحواله فيصدق فعال اليه الناس و اغتبطوا به و صار
يقرّده للحج منذ سنة احدى و ستين و يعظ الناس في البوادي فاذا
حضر الموسم اتاه على نجيب له و لما استولت أم فاتك على بني
جيش أيام ابنا فاتك بن منصور أحسنت فيه المعتقد و أطلقت
له و قرابته و أصهاره خرجهم فحسنت أحوالهم و آثروا و ركبو الخيول

الكرم من عشيرة جُشَم بن يام من همدان و كانوا أقرب عشائر إليه فقامت في ولايتهم زمنا ثم حدثت بينهم الفتنة و انقسموا الى فئتين بنو مسعود ابن الكرم و بنو الزريع بن العباس بن الكرم و غلب بنو الزريع بعد حروب عظيمة قال ابن سعيد و أول مذكور منهم الداعي سبا بن أبي السعود بن الزريع أول من اجتمع له الملك بعد بنى الصليحي و ورثه عنه بنوه و حاربه ابن عمه علي بن ابي الغارات بن مسعود بن الكرم صاحب الزعازع فاستولى على عدن من يده بعد مقاساة و نقات في الاعراب و مات بعد فتحها بسبعة أشهر سنة ثلاث و ثلاثين و خمسمائة و ولى ابنه الاعتر و كان مقبعا بحسن الدولة المعقل الذي لا يرام و امتنع عليه بعد بلال بن جوير مولى بنى الزريع و أراد ان يعدل بالملك لمحمد بن سبا بن أبي سعود بن زريع من مواليه و خشي محمد بن سبا على نفسه ففر الى منصور بن المفضل من ملوك الجبال الصليحيين بنى جبلة ثم مات الاعتر قريبا فبعث بلال عن محمد بن سبا فوصل الى عدن و كان التقليد جاء من مصر باسم الاعتر فكتب مكانه محمد بن سبا و كان في نعوته الداعي المعظم المتوج المكين سيف أمير المؤمنين فوعدت كلها عليه و زوجه بلال بنته و مكنته من الاموال التي كانت في خزائنه ثم مات بلال عن مال عظيم و ورثه محمد بن سبا و أنفق في سبيل الكرم و المرورات و اشترى حصن ذي جبلة من منصور بن المفضل بن أبي البركات كما ذكرناه و استولى عليه و هو دارملك الصليحيين و تزوج سيدة بذت عبد الله الصليحي و توفي سنة ثمان و أربعين و خمسمائة و ولى ابنه عمران بن محمد بن سبا و كان ياسر بن بلال يدبر دولته و توفي سنة ستين و خمسمائة و ترك ولدين

مولى مرجان مولى الحسن
ابن سلامة النوبختي مولى
رشيد الحبشي مولى ابي
الحسين بن زياد

بجاسح



استبد عليه من الله من مواليهم ثم زرق
ثم سرور الحبشي ثم غلب عليه علي
بن مهدي الفارسي وقتله

التخبر عن دولة بني التريغ بعدن من دعاة
العبيدين باليمن و أولية أمرهم و مصايرة

و عدن هذه من أمتنع مداكن اليمن وهي على صفة البحر الهندي
و ما زالت بلد تجارة منذ عهد التبابعة و أكثر بذاتهم بالاختصاص و لذلك
يطلقها الحرقي كثيرا و كانت صدر الاسلام دار ملك لبني معن قال
البيهقي ينتسبون الى معن بن زائدة ملكوها من ايام المأمون و امتنعوا
على بني زياد فقتلوا منهم بالخطبة و السكة و لما استولى الداعي على
بن محمد الصليحي على اليمن رعى لهم ذمام العروبية و قرر عليهم
ضريبة يعطونها ثم أخرجهم منها ابنه أحمد المكرم و ولي عليها بني

علي فاتك بن محمد Bead

نجيب داعى العلوية فامتنع عليه و هو الذى شيد المدارس للفقهاء
 بزبيد و اعقنى بالحاج و بنى سور المدينة ثم راود بنت معارك بن
 جياش¹ و لم تجد بدا من اسعافه فامكنته حتى اذا قضى وطرا
 مسحت ذكرا بمغذيل مسموم فتمراً لحمه و ذلك سنة أربع و عشرين
 و خمسمائة و قام باسم فاتك بعده زريق من موالى آل نجاح قال
 عمارة كان احوال شجاعاً قُدما و كان ولوداً ثم عجز بعد حين و لم
 يستقر احد مكانه حتى قام بالوزارة سرور الحبشى الفاتكى من موالى
 أم فاتك المختصين بها قال عمارة و فى سنة احدى و ثلاثين
 و خمسمائة توفى فاتك بن منصور و ولى بعده ابن عمه و سمي
 فاتك بن محمد بن فاتك و سرور قائم بوزارته و تدبير دولته
 و محاربة اعدائه و كان يلزم المسجد الى ان هس عليه على بن
 مهدى الخارجى من قتلته فى المسجد و هو يضى العصر يوم الجمعة
 ثانى عشر صفر سنة احدى و خمسين و نار الناس بذلك الشيطان
 القاتل فقتل جماعة من اهل المسجد ثم قُتِلَ و اضطرب موالى آل نجاح
 بالدولة و نار عليهم على بن مهدى الخارجى و حاربهم مرارا و حاصرهم
 طويلاً و استغاثوا بالشريف المنصور احمد بن حمزة السليمى و كان
 يملك صعدة فاغاثهم على ان يملكوه و يقتلوا سيدهم فاتك بن محمد
 فقتلوه سنة ثلاث و خمسين و ملكوا عليهم الشريف احمد فعجز عن
 مقاومة ابن مهدى و فر تحت الليل و ملكها على بن مهدى سنة
 أربع و خمسين و انقراض أمر آل نجاح و البقاء لله

¹ P. and B., معارك بنت جياش

الثم وزير المكرم وكان حلقا على المكرم ودولته فداخله الوزير خلف
 ولعب ابنه الحسين الشطرنج ثم انتقل الى ملاعبة أبيه فاعتبط به
 واطلعه على رأيه في الدولة وانه يتشيع لآل نجاح واتفق بخص الأيام
 وهو يلعب فسمعه على بن الثم واستكشف أمره فكشف له القناع
 واستخلفه وجيش أثناء ذلك يجمع أشياعه من الحبشة وينفق
 فيهم الاموال حتى اجتمع له منهم خمسة آلاف قتار بهم في زبيد سنة
 ثنتين وثمانين ونزل دار الامارة ومن على أسعد بن شهاب وأطلقه
 لزمانة كانت به وبقي ملكا على زبيد وتهامة يخطب للعباسيين
 واصليحيين يخطبون للعبديين والمكرم يبعث العرب للغارة على
 زبيد كل حين الى ان هلك جيش على رأس المائة الخامسة
 وكانت كنيته ابو الطامس وكان مرصوفا بالعدل وولى بعده ابنه
 الفانك بن جيش وخالف عليه أخرا إبراهيم وعبد الواحد
 وجرت بينه وبينهما حروب وكان الظفر له آخر ثم هلك سنة ثلاث
 وخمسة و نصب عبيدة للملك ابنه منصور بن فاتك صبيا لم
 يغتم ودبروا ملكه وجاء عمه ابراهيم لقتاله وبرزوا له فثار عمه عبد
 الواحد بالبلد وبعث منصور الى المنقل بن أبي البركات صاحب
 التسكر فجاء لنصرة مضمرا للعدو به ثم بلغه انتقاض أهل التسكر عليه
 فرجع ولم يزل منصور في ملكه بزبيد الى ان وزر له من عبيدة ابو
 منصور من الله فقتله مسموما سنة سبع عشرة وخمسة و نصب
 فاتكا ابنه طفلا صغيرا واستبد عليه وقام بضبط الملك ونعى عليه
 التعرض للمكرم آل نجاح حتى هربت منه أم فاتك هذا وسكنت
 خارج المدينة وكان قدما شجاعا وله وقائع مع الاعداء وحاربه ابن

و تلقب نصير الدولة و تغلب ولاة الحصون على ما بأيديهم و دهش
المكرم ابن الصليحي بصنعاء و كان أن يتضعض امره و كتبت اليه أسماء
أمته من زبيد نُغريه و تقول انى حبلى من سعيد فادركنى قبل ان
تقع الفضيحة عليك و على جميع العرب فتحيل المكرم فى اغرام
سعيد بن نجاح بصنعاء على لسان بعض أهل الثغور و ضمن له الظفر فجاه
سعيد لذلك فى عشرين ألفا من الحبشة و سار اليه المكرم من صنعاء
و هزمه و حال بينه و بين زبيد فهرب الى جزيرة دهلك و دخل
المكرم زبيد و جاء الى أمته و هى جالسة بالطاق و عندها رأس الصليحي
و اخيه فأنزلهما و دفنهما و ولى على زبيد خاله أسعد سنة سبع
و تسعين و ارتحل الى صنعاء ثم رجع اليها سعيد سنة تسع و سبعين
و كتب المكرم الى ابي عبد الله بن يعفر صاحب حصن الشربان
يفرى سعيدا بالمكرم و انتزع لى جبلة من يده لاشتغاله بلذاته
و استيلاء زوجته سيدة بنت احمد عليه و انه فُج فقامت الجيلة
و سار سعيد فى ثلاثين ألفا من الحبشة و أكمن له المكرم تحت
حصن الشعر فعدروا به هنالك و انهزمت عساكره و قتل و نصب رأسه
عند الطاق الذى كان فيها رأس الصليحي بزبيد و استولى عليها
المكرم و انقطع منها ملك الحبشة و هرب جيش و معه وزير أخيه
خلف بن ابي الطاهر المرولى و دخل عدن متفكرين ثم لبعقا بالهند
و اقاما بها سنة أشهر و لقيا هنالك كاهنا جاء من سرنديب فبشرهما
بما يكون لهما فرجعا الى اليمن و تقدم خلف الوزير الى زبيد و أشاع
موت جيش و استأمن لنفسه و لى به جيش فاقام هنالك مختفيا
و على زبيد يومئذ أسعد بن شهاب خال المكرم و معه على بن

مرّ و كان لنجاح ثلاثة من الولد مُعَارِكٌ و سعيدٌ و جِيَّاشٌ فقتل
معارك نفسه و لحق سعيد و جياش بجزيرة دهلك و اقاما هنالك
يتعلمان القرآن و الاداب ثم رجع سعيد الى زبيد مغاضبا لآخيه
جياش و اختفى بها في نفق احتفراه تحت الارض ثم استقدم أخاه
جياشا فقدم و اقاما هنالك في الاختفاء ثم ان المستنصر العبيدي
الخطيفة بمصر قطع دعوته بمكة محمد بن جعفر أميرها من الهواشم
فكتب الى الصليحي بأمره بقتاله و حمله على اقامة الدعوة العلوية
بمكة فسار على الصليحي لذلك من صنعاء و ظهر سعيد و اخوه من
الاختفاء و بلغ خبرهم الى الصليحي فبعث عسكريا نحوها من خمسة
آلاف فارس و أمرهم بقتلها و قد كان سعيد و جياش خالفا العسكر
و سارا في اتباع الصليحي و هو في عسكرة فبهتوا بالمهجم متوجها الى
مكة و كان معه خمسة آلاف من الحبشة فلم يغنوا عنه شيئا فانفض
عسكرة و قتل^١ تولى قتله جياش بيده و ذلك سنة ثلاث و سبعين
ثم قتل عبد الله الصليحي اخا عليّ في مائة و سبعين من بني
الصليحي و أسر زوجته أسماء بذت عمه شهاب في خمس و ثلاثين
من ملوك القحطانيين الذين غلب عليهم باليمن و بعث الى
العسكر الذين ساروا لقتل سعيد و جياش فأمنهم و استخدمهم
و ارتحل الى زبيد و عليها أسعد بن شهاب أخو أسماء زوجة الصليحي
ففرّ أسعد الى صنعاء و دخل سعيد الى زبيد و أسماء زوجة الصليحي
امامه في هودج و رأس الصليحي و أخيه عند هودجها و انزلها بدارها
و نصب الرأسين قبالة طاقها في الدار و امتلأت القلوب منه رعبا

ووفت لهم به وكفلت عقب المفضل وولده و صار معقل التتكر في يد عمران بن الترتز الخوافي و اخيه سليمان و استولى عمران على الحرة سيدة مكان المفضل و لما ماتت استبد عمران و أخوه بحصن التتكر و استولى منصور بن المفضل بن أبي البركات على ذي جبلة حتى باعه من الداعي التريبي صاحب عدن كما يأتي و اعتصم بمعقل أشيخ الذي كان للداعي المنصور سببا بن احمد و ذلك أن المنصور توفي سنة ست و ثمانين و أربعمائة و اختلف أولاده من بعده و غلب ابنه علي منهم على المعقل و كان ينازع المفضل بن أبي البركات و الحرة سيدة و أعيانها مرة فتكفل المفضل بسم أودعه في سفرجل أهدها إليه فمات منه و استولى بنو أبي البركات على حصون بني المظفر و مات المفضل عن قرب كما مر و كفلت سيدة ابنه المنصور و كان غير مستقل بالملك ثم نهضت به سنة فصار له ملك ابية في حصن التتكر و قلاعه و ذي جبلة و حصونه و ملك بني المظفر في أشيخ و حصونه ثم باع حصن ذي جبلة من الداعي التريبي صاحب عدن بمائة ألف دينار و ما زال يبيع معاقله حصنا حصنا حتى لم يبق له غير معقل تعز أخذته منه علي بن مهدي بعد أن ملك ثمانين سنة و بلغ من العمر مائة سنة و الله سبحانه و تعالى أعلم بالصواب

لخبر عن دولة بني نجاح بزبيد موالى بني زياد و مبادئ

امورهم و تصاريق احوالهم

و لما استولى الصليحي على زبيد من يد كهائن بعد ان اهلكه بالسم على يد التجاربه التي بعثها اليه سنة ثنتين و خمسين و اربعمائة كما

بمقله و سيدة بنت أحمد بذي جبلة و خطبها المنصور سبا و امتنعت فحاصرها بذي جبلة و قال له أخوها لأمها سليمان بن عامر الزواحي والله لا تُجيبك الا بأمر المستنصر خليفة مصر فراسل في ذلك و أجيب و وصل خادم من عند المستنصر و أبلغها أمره بذلك و تلا عليها و ما كان لمؤمن و لا مؤمنة اذا قضى الله و رسوله أمرا أن تكون لهم الخيرة من أمرهم و أن اصير المؤمنين زوجات من الداعي المنصور أبي حمير سبا بن أحمد بن المظفر على مائة ألف دينار و خمسين ألفا من اصنف التحف و اللطائف فاتفق الذكاج و سار سبا من معقل أشجع^١ الى ذى جبلة و دخل اليها بدار العز و يقال انها شبهت عليه بجارية من جواربها فقامت على رأسه ليلا كله و هو لا يرفع الطرف اليها حتى أصبح فرجع الى معقله و أقامت هي بذي جبلة و كان المستولى عليها المفضل بن ابي البركات من بني يام رهط الصليحي و استدعى عشيرة جنباً و انزلهم عنده بذي جبلة فكان يسطر بهم و كانت سيدة تأتي التمسك^٢ في الصيف و به ذخايرها و خزائنها فاذا جاء الشتاء رجعت الى ذى جبلة ثم انفرد المفضل بالتعكر و لم ينكر منها و لا انكرت منه ثم سار المفضل لقتال آل نجاح فوثب في حصن التعكر فقيها يلقب بالجمل مع سبعة^٣ من الفقهاء أحدهم ابراهيم بن زيدان عم عمارة الشاعر فبايعوا الجمل على أن يمحوا الدعوة الامامية فرجع المفضل من طريقه و حاصرهم و جاءت خولان لنصرتهم فصانعم المفضل و هلك في حصارهم سنة أربع و خمسمائة فجاءت بعده الحرة سيدة و انزلتهم على عهد فنزلوا

١ جماعة B.

أسماء بنت شهاب قد سبها سعيد بن نجاح ليئة البيات فكتبت
 الى ابنها المكرم ابي حبلبي من العبد الاحول فادركني قبل ان أضح
 والا فهو العار الذي لا يمحوه الدهر فسار المكرم من صنعاء سنة خمس
 و سبعين في ثلاثة آلاف ولقي الجبشة في عشرين ألفا فهزمهم ولحق
 سعيد بن نجاح بجزيرة دهلك ودخل المكرم الى أمه وهي جالسة
 بالطوق الذي نصب عنده رأس الصليحي و اخيه فانزلهما و دفنهما
 و رفع السيف و ولي خاله أسعد بن شهاب على اعمال تهامة كما
 كان و أنزله بزبيد منها و ارتحل بأمه الى صنعاء و كانت تدبر ملكه
 ثم جمع أسعد بن شهاب اموال تهامة و بعث بها مع وزيره أحمد
 بن سالم ففرقتها أسماء على وفود العرب ثم هلكت أسماء سنة سبع
 و سبعين و خرجت زبيد من يد المكرم و استردّها سعيد بن نجاح
 سنة تسع و سبعين ثم انتقل المكرم الى ذي جبلة سنة ثمانين و ولي
 على صنعاء عمران بن الفضل الهمداني فاستبدّ بها و توارثها عقبه
 و تسمى ابنة أحمد بأسم السلطان و اشتهر به و بعده ابنته حاتم بن
 أحمد و ليس بعده بصنعاء من له ذكر حتى ملكها بنو سليمان لما
 غلبهم الهواشم على مكة كما مرّ في اخبارهم و لما انتقل المكرم الى
 ذي جبلة و هي مدينة احتفظها عبد الله ابن محمد الصليحي سنة
 ثمان و خمسين و أربعمائة و كان انتقاله بإشارة زوجته سيدة بنت
 أحمد التي صار اليها تدبير ملكه بعد أمه أسماء فزلاها و بنى فيها دار
 العز و تحييل على قتل سعيد بن نجاح فتمّ له كما نذكر في أخبار ابن
 نجاح و كان مشغولا ببلداته محجوبا بزوجته و لما حضرته الوفاة سنة
 أربع و ثمانين عهد الى ابن عمه المنصور سبا بن أحمد بن المظفر بن
 علي الصليحي صاحب عقل أشجع فقلده المستنصر العبيدي و اقام

قري حراز و يقال انه كان عنده كتاب الجفر من ذخائر ائمتهم بزعمهم
 فزعموا ان عليا ابن القاضى محمد مذكور فيه فقراً على على عامل
 الداعى و أخذ عنه و لما توسم فيه الاهلية أراه مكان اسمه فى الجفر
 و أوصافه و قال لبيبه القاضى احتفظ بابنك فسيملك جميع اليمن
 فنشأ فقيها صالحا و جعل يحج بالناس على طريق الطائف و السروات
 خمس عشرة سنة فطار ذكره و عظمت شهرته و ألقى على أنسنة الناس
 انه سلطان اليمن و ملت الداعى عامر الزواحي فوعى له بكتبه و عهد
 اليه بالدعوة ثم حج بالناس سنة ثمان و عشرين و اربعمائة على عادته
 و اجتمع فى الموسم بجماعة من قومه همدان كانوا معه فدعاهم الى
 النصر و التقيام معه فاجابوه و بايعوه و كانوا ستين رجلا من رجالات
 قومهم فلما عادوا قام فى مسار و هو حصن بذوة جبل حراز و حصن
 ذلك الحصن و لم يزل امره ينفى و كتب الى المستنصر صاحب
 مصر يسأله الاذن فى اظهار الدعوة فأنن له و اظهرها و ملك اليمن
 كله و نزل صنعاء و احتفظ بها التصور و أسكن عنده ملوك اليمن الذين
 غلب عليهم و هزم بنى طرف ملوك عتر و تهامة و أعمل الحيلة
 فى قتل نجاح مولى بنى ريد ملك ريد حتى تم له ذلك على
 يد جارية أهداها اليه كما ذكرناه سنة ثنتين و خمسين ثم سار الى
 مكة بأمر المستنصر صاحب مصر ليجمع منها الدعوة العباسية و القارة
 الحسينية و استخلف على صنعاء ابنه المكرم أحمد و جعل معه زوجته
 أسماء بنت شهاب و الملوك الذين معه مثل ابن الكردى و ابن
 يعفر التبعى و وايل بن عيسى الوحاطى و امثالهم فبيته سعيد بن
 نجاح بلهجم و قتله سنة ثلاث و ستين و اربع مائة و قام بامر بعدة
 ابنه المكرم احمد و استولى على امره و أقام بصنعاء و كانت أمه

يعرف عمارة اسمه لتوالي الحجبة عليه ويعنى عمارة مؤرخ اليمى
و قيل اسم هذا الطفل الأخير ابراهيم و كفلته عمته و مرجان من
موالى الحسن بن سلامة و استبد بأمرهم و دولتهم و كان له موليان اسم
احدهما قيس و الآخر نجاح فجعل الطفل المملك فى كفاة قيس
و أنزله معه بزبيد و ولى نجاحا على سائر الاعمال خارج زبيد و ملها
الكذراء و المهجم و كان يؤثر قيسا على نجاح و وقع بينهما تخاص و رفع
لقيس ابن عمه الطفل تميل الى نجاح و تكاتبه دونه نقبض عليها
بأذن مولا مرجان و دفنهما حيين و استبد و ركب بالمظلة و ضرب
السكة و امتعض نجاح لذلك فزحف فى العساكر وبرز قيس للقائه
فكانت بينهما حروب و وقائع انهزم قيس فى آخرها و قتل فى
خمسة الاد من عسكره و ملك نجاح زبيد سنة ثلثى عشرة و أربعمئة
و دفن قيسا و مولا مرجانا مكان الطفل و العمه و استبد و ضرب
السكة باسمه و كاتب ديوان الخلافة ببغداد فعقد له على اليمى و لم
يزل مالكا لتهامة قاهرا لاهل الجبال و انزعج الجبال كلها من ولاة الحسن
بن سلامة و لم تنزل الملوك تقى صولقه الى ان قتله على الصليحي
القائم بدعوة العبديين بالسم على يد جارية بعث بها اليه سنة ثنتين
و خمسين و أربعمئة فقام بالأمر بعده بزبيد مولا كهائن ثم استولى
الصليحي على زبيد و ملكها من يده كما يذكر

الخبر عن بنى الصليحي القائمى بدعوة العبديين باليمى

كان القاضى محمد بن على الهمدانى ثم الصليحي رئيس حراز من
بلاد همدان و ينتسب فى بنى يلم و نشأ له ولد اسمه على و كان
صاحب الدعوة يومئذ عامر بن عبد الله الترواحى نسبة الى قرية من

صعدة و اظهر دعوة الزيدية و زحف الى صنعاء فملكها من يد أسعد بن يعفر ثم استردّها منه بنو أسعد و رجع الى صعدة و كان شيعته يسمونه الامام و عقبه الآن بها و قد تقدّم خبرهم و في أيام أبي الجيش بن زيد أيضا ظهرت دعوة العبديين باليمن فقام بها محمد بن الفضل بعدن لاعة و جبال اليمن الى جبل المذخرة سنة اربعين و ثلثمائة و بقى له باليمن من الشرحية الى عدن عشرون مرحلة و من مخالفة الى صنعاء خمس مراحل و لما غلبه محمد بن الفضل بهذه الدعوة امتلح أصحاب الاطراف عليه مثل بنى اسعد بن يعفر بصنعاء و سليمان بن طريف بعثروا الامام الرسي بصعدة فسلكت معهم طريق المهادنة ثم هلك أبو الجيش سنة احدى و سبعين و ثلثمائة بعد ان اتسعت جبابته و عظم ملكه قال ابن سعيد رأيت مبلغ ارتفاع جبابته و هو ألف ألف مكررة مرتين و ثلثمائة ألف و ستة و ستون ألفا من الدنانير العشرية^١ ما عدا ضرايبه على مراكب السفد و على العنبر الواصل بباب المندب و عدن ابين و على مغائص الثور و على جزيرة دهلك و من بعضها الف راس و صائف و كانت ملوك الحبشة من وراء البحر يهادونه و يخضبون مواصلته و لما مات خلف صبيها صغيرا اسمه عبد الله و قيل ابراهيم و قيل زياد و كفلته اخفته و مولاه رشيد الحبشى و ولى رشيد على الجبال مملوكة الحسن بن سلامة النوبى و آل امرضى فولتهم بقوالى الوزارة فى موالى الحبشة و القوية و استبدادهم عليهم الى ان انقرضت دولتهم سنة سبع و اربعمائة ثم هلك هذا الطفل فولى طفل آخر من بنى زياد أصغر منه قال ابن سعيد لم

^١ العشرية Read

له حياطة اليمن من العلويين فوصله وولاه على اليمن و قدمها سنة
 ثلاث مائتين و فتح تهامة اليمن و هى البلد الذى على ساحل
 البحر الغربى و اختط بها مدينة زبيد و نزلها و أصارها كرسيا لتلك
 المملكة وولى على الجبال مولاة جعفرًا و فتح تهامة بعد حروب مع
 العرب و اشترط على عرب تهامة أن لا يركبوا الخيل و استولى على
 اليمن أجمع و دخلت فى طاعته أعمال حضرموت و الشحر و ديار
 كندة و صار فى مرتبة القبايلة و كان فى صنعاء قاعدة اليمن بنو يعفر
 من حمير بقية الملوك القبايلة استبدوا بها مقيمين للدعوة العباسية
 و لهم مع صنعاء بيكان و تجرير^١ و جرش و كان آخرهم اسعد بن
 يعفر ثم أخوه محمد فدخلوا فى طاعة ابن زياد و كان فى عقر من
 ممالك اليمن أيضا سليمان ابن طرف فدخل فى طاعته ثم هلك
 محمد بن زياد وولى بعده ابنه ابراهيم ثم ابنه زياد بن ابراهيم ثم
 أخوه أبو الجيش اسحق بن ابراهيم و طالت مدته الى ان أسن و بلغ
 الثمانين و قال عمارة ملك ثمانين سنة باليمن و حضرموت و الجزائر
 البحرية و لما بلغه قتل المتوكل و خلع المستعين و استبداد الموالى
 على الخلفاء منع ارتفاع اليمن و ركب بالمظلة شأن سلاطين العجم
 المستبدين و فى أيامه خرج باليمن يحيى بن الحسين ابن القاسم
 الرشى ابن ابراهيم طباطبا بدعوة الزيدية جاء اليها من السند و كان
 جد القاسم قد فر الى السند بعد خروج أخيه محمد مع أمه السرايا
 و مهلكه كما مر فلقق القاسم بالسند و أعقب بها الحسين ثم ابنه
 يحيى بن الحسين فظهر يحيى باليمن سنة ثمان و ثمانين و نزل

^١ P. مبراب

فقاتل تيس بن مكشوح و هزيمة ثم ولي أبو بكر المهاجر بن أبي أمية على قتال اهل الردة باليمن وكذلك عكرمة بن أبي جهل و امره ان يبدأ بالمرتدة من اهل عمان و يلحق بالمهاجر ثم استقرت اليمن في ولاية يعلى بن منبه^١ و لقي عابشة بمكة فسار معها و حضر حرب الجمل و ولي على اليمن عبيد الله بن عباس ثم أخاه عبد الله ثم ولي معاوية على صنعاء فيروز الديلمي و مات سنة ثلاث و خمسين ثم جعل عبد الملك اليمن في ولاية الحجاج لما بعثه لمحرب ابن الزبير سنة ثنتين و سبعين و لما جاءت دولة بني العباس ولى السفاح على اليمن عمه داود بن علي حتى اذا توفى سنة ثلاث و ثلثين ولي مكانه محمد ابن خاتمه يزيد^٢ بن عبيد الله بن عبد الممدان ثم تعاقب الولاة على اليمن و كانوا ينزلون صنعاء حتى انتهت الخلافة الى المأمون و ظهرت دعاة الطالبين بالنواحي و بايع أبو السرايا من بني شيبان بالعراق لمحمد بن ابراهيم طباطبا بن اسمعيل بن ابراهيم و ابراهيم اخو المهدي النفس الزكية محمد بن عبد الله بن حسن و كثر الهرج و فرق عماله في الجهات ثم قتل و يوبع محمد بن جعفر الصادق بالحجاز و ظهر باليمن ابراهيم بن موسى الكاظم سنة مائتين و لم يتم امره و كان يعرف بالجزار لسفكه الدماء و بعث المأمون عسكرة الى اليمن فدوخوا نواحيه و حملوا كثيرا من وجوه الناس فاستقام أمر اليمن كما نذكره

دولة بني زياد بالدعوة العباسية

و لما وقد وجوه أهل اليمن على المأمون كان فيهم محمد بن زياد من ولد عبيد الله بن زياد بن أبي سفيان فاستعطف المأمون و ضمن

^٢ زياد Read

^١ منبه Read

و هذا تأريخ اليمن المنقول من كتاب العبر للعلامة عبد الرحمن ابن خلدون المغربي

اخبار اليمن و الدول الاسلاميه التي كانت فيه للعباسيين
و للعبديين و سائر ملوك العرب و ابتداء ذلك و تصاريفه على
الجملة ثم تفصيل ذلك على مدنه و ممالكه واحدة بعد واحدة

قد تقدم لنا في اخر السير النبوية كيف صار اليمن في ملكة الاسلام
بدخول عامله في الدعوة الاسلامية و هو باذان عامل كسرى و أسلم
معه أهل اليمن و أمرة النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم على جميع
مخاليقها و كان منزله صنعاء كرسى التدبيرة و انه مات بعد حجة الوداع
فقسم النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم اليمن على عمال من قبله و جعل
صنعاء لابنه شهر بن باذان و ذكرنا خبر الاسود العنسي و كيف أخرج
عمال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم من اليمن و زحف الى صنعاء
فملكها و قتل شهر بن باذان و تزوج امراته و استولى على أكثر اليمن
و ارتد أكثر أهلها و كتب النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم الى أصحابه
و عماله و الى من ثبتت على اسلامه فدخلوا زوجة شهر بن باذان
التي تزوجها في أمرة على يد ابن عمها فيروز و تولى كبر ذلك
قيس بن عبد يغوث المرادي فبيته هو و فيروز و دادويه باذن زوجته
و قتلوه و رجع عمال النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم الى أعمالهم و ذلك
قبيل الودعة و استبد قيس بصنعاء و جمع الفل من جند الاسود فولى
أبو بكر على اليمن فيروز فيمن اليه من الابداء و أمر الناس بطاعة

لثقال الدنيا بسعادته اوفى حظوظها و قسمها و تصح الايام موفرة عن
 ناجذ مبسمها و لمكانك من حضرة امير المؤمنين المكيين و محلك
 الذي امتنع عن المماثل و القرين اشعرك هذه البشرية الجليل قدرها
 العظيم فخرها المنتشر صيتها و ذكرها لتأخذى من المسترة بها باوفى
 نصيب و تذيبها فيمن قبلك من الاوليا و المستجيبين اذاعة
 يتساوى فى المعرفة بها كل بعيد منها و قريب لينتظم بها عقد السرور
 و يتفزع عرفها تفزع المنذل الرطب منها و الحضور^١ فاعلمى هذا و اعلمى
 به ان شا الله تعالى و كتب بالتاريخ المذكور و صلى الله على رسوله
 سيدنا محمد و على آله الائمة الطاهرين و سلم و شرف و كرم الى
 يوم الدين

ثم انتقل الى مولانا^٢ الامر و ولى الحافظ فكان اول سجل وصل
 منه الى الحرة الملكة من ولى عهد المسلمين و فى السنة الثانية
 من امير المؤمنين فاقامت الحرة الملكة الداعى اجل ابراهيم بن
 الحسين الحامدى ثم نقلت دعوة الحافظ الى آل زريع و قال^٣
 حسب بنى الصليحى ما علموه^٤ من امر مولانا الطيب ثم صارت
 الدعوة فى ولده حاتم بن ابراهيم بن الحسين الحامدى الى هذه المدة
 فانقلت من^٥ ولاية الحافظ آل زريع فمنهم الامير الاوحد سبا بن
 ابي السعود بن زريع بن العباس اليامى جمع بين الدعوة و الملك
 ثم ولده الداعى المعظم المتوج المكيين داعى امير المؤمنين محمد
 بن سبا جمع بين الدعوة و الملك قد اتينا فى هذا المختصر على
 جمل من اخبار الملوك فى جزيرة اليمن و الدعاة
 تم التاريخ المبارك فالحمد لله الذى بنعمته تتم الصالحات

^١ علموه ج.

^٢ فى

^٣ الى آل

^٤ الحضور الكافور

^٥ الامر عن مولانا

^٦ قالت ج.

محمد خاتم النبیین و سید المرسلین صلی الله علیه و علی آله
الطاهرين الائمة المهتدين و سلم تسليما اما بعد فان نعم الله عند أمير
المؤمنين لا تحصى لها بعد و لا تقف عند امد و لا حد و لا تنتهى الى
الاحاطة بها الظنون لكونها كالسحاب الذى كلما انقضى سحاب
اعقبها سحاب هتون فهي كالشمس الساطعة الاشراق الدائمة الانتظام
و الاتساق و العيرت المتتابعة الاتصال المتوالية بالعدو و الاصال و من
اشرفها لديه قدرا و اعظمها صيتا و ذكرا و اسناها جلالا و فخر الموهبة
بما جرده الان بان رزقه مولودا زكيا مرضيا بزا تقيا و ذلك فى الليلة
العصبة بيوم الاحد الرابع من شهر ربيع الاخر سنة اربع و عشرين
و خمسمائة ارتاحت الى طيب ذكرة اسرة المناير و تطلعت الى
مواهبه امال كل باد و حاضر و اضاءت بانوار عزته و بجمعة طلعت
ظلم الدياجر و انتظمت به للدولة الزاهرة الفاطمية عقود المفاصل
و المفاخر استخرج من سلالة النبوة كما يستخرج النور من النور
و منح امير المؤمنين منه بما قدح زناك السرور و سماه الطيب
لطيب عنصرة و كناه ابا القاسم كنية جده نبي الهدى المستخرج
جوهره من جوهره و امير المؤمنين يشكر الله تعالى على ما من به
من اطلعه كوكبا منيرا فى سماه دولته و شهابا مضئا فى فلك جلالته
و رفعته شكرا يقضى باستدامة نعمته و ادرار سحائب طوبه و رأفته
و نساله^١ ان يبلغه فيد كنه الامال و يصل به حبل الامامة ما اتصفت
الايام بالليل و يجعله عصمة للمسترشدين و حجة على الجاحدين
و عوناً للمضطرين و عوناً للمتجمعين و وزراً للخائفين و سعادة للعارفين

زيارة ابيه مقبراً^١ وهذه الرسوم انما هي في العسكرية و اما الرعايا
فالمرنيم الطفا من أمر العسكرية و قد بلغنى فى هذا الوقت و هو
سنة ثلاث و خمسين و خمسمائة ان الأمر قد هان على ما كان
عليه من الشدة

فصل فيمن ولى الدعوة القاطية باليمن

فمن ذلك الداعي على بن محمد الصليحي جمع بين الدعوة
و الملك ثم ولده المكرم احمد بن على الصليحي جمع بين الدعوة
و الملك ثم السلطان سليمان الزواحى ولى الدعوة دون ذلك ثم
القاضى^٢ بن ملك الصليحي جمع الدعوة و الحكم دون
الملك ثم على بن ابراهيم الموقى فى الدين ابن نجيب الدولة ولى
الدعوة و ملك بأمر الحرة الملكة بعض اعمالها ثم لما وصل سجيل
مولانا الامام الامر باحكام الله امير المؤمنين عليه السلام بالبشارة بولادة
مولانا الامام الطيب ابي القاسم بن الامام الامر بالنص عليه بالامامة
الى حجة بهذه الجزيرة اليمانية بما مثاله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من عبد الله و وليه المنصور ابي على الامر
باحكام الله امير المؤمنين الى الحرة الملكة السيدة الرضية الطاهرة
الزكية وحيدة الوزن و سيدة ملوك اليمن عمدة الاسلام خاصة
الامام ذخيرة الدين عمدة المؤمنين كهف المستجيبين^٣ عصمة
المسترشدون و ولية امير المؤمنين و كافة اوليائه الميامين ادام الله
تمكينها و نعمتها و احسن توفيقها و مهونتها سلام عليك فان امير
المؤمنين محمد الله الذى لا اله الا هو ويسأله ان يصلّى على جدّه

^١ المستجيبين

^٢ Lacuna in MS.

^٣ كراهيه Khi

من اهل القبلة و استباحة الوطنى لسديابهم و استترقت ذرارهم و جعل دارهم دار الحرب و حكى لى عنه و العهدة على الحاكى الله لم يكن يشق بايمان احد من المهاجرين حتى يذبح ولده او اباه او اخاه ويقرأ عليه لا تجد قوماً يؤمنون بالله و اليوم الآخر يؤدبون من حاث الله و رسوله ولو كانوا آباءهم او ابناءهم او اخوانهم او عشيرتهم اولئك كتب في قلوبهم الايمان وايدهم بروح منه و اعرف صبيا منهم كان جاراً لى و كان يقفقه راحت والدته اليه تزوره فذبحها واما اعتقاد اصحابه فيه فهو فوق ما يعتقد الناس فى الأنبياء صلوات الله و سلامه عليهم و ذلك ان الواحد من آل ابن مهدي هولاء يحسن عنده ان يقتل جماعة من عسكره ثم اذا قدروا عليه لم يقتلوه ديناً و عقيدة و اذا غضب على رجل من اكارهم و اعدائهم حبس نفسه فى الشمس و لم يطعم و لم يشرب و لم يصل اليه ولده و لا زوجته و لا يقدر احد ان يشفع فيه حتى يرضى عنه ابتداءً من نفسه و من طاعتهم له ان كل واحد منهم يكمل ما تغزله زوجته و بغاته الى بيت المال و يكون ابن مهدي هو الذى يكسو الواحد منهم و يكسو اهله من عنده و ليس لاحد من العسكرية فارس يملكه و لا يرتبطه فى دارة و لا عدة من سلاح و لا غيرها بل الخيل فى اصطبلاته و السلاح فى خزائنه فاذا عزله أمر دفع اليهم من الخيل و العدة ما يحتاجون اليه و من سيرته ان المنهزم من عسكره يضرب رقبته و لا سيدل الى حيوته و من سيرته قتل من شرب المسكر و قتل من سمع الغناء و قتل من زنى و قتل من تأخر عن صلاة الجمعة او عن مجلسى وعظه و هما يوم الخميس و يوم الاثنين و قتل من تأخر فيهما عن

و شرباق و ذخر^١ و اعمالها* و ليس ملكت هذا علي بن محمد صاحب
ذخردون ملكت منصور بن المفضل ثم ملكت بنى الزرر و مدينة ذى
جبلة^٢ و مدينة ذى اشرق و مدينة اب و حصن خولان و بلادها
و حصون بنى ربيعة و هى عزان حب^٣ و الشماخي و * أخذ السلطان
ابا التورين ابى الفتح فبقى^٤ حصن السوا لابن السبأى ثم استولى ابن
مهدي على معقل الداعى عمران بن محمد التى صارت لابن مهدي
و هى حصن سامع و مطران^٥ و هذه الحصون اقليم المعافر و انتقل اليه
معقل اليمن الذى ليس بعد التتكر و حسب سواه و هو حصن السمدان
و به يضرب المثل و هو الذى ليس لمخلوق عليه اقتدار ما لم يعنه
الخالق بماضيات الافندار و هذا الذى سميت^٦ نقطة من بحر ما ملكت
ابن مهدي هذا و لم يذكر بلاد بنى المظفر^٧ سبا بن احمد الصليحي
و لا اقليم حران^٨ و لا برع و لا بلاد بكيل و لا حاشد* و لا جبلة و حصونها
و اعمالها و لا وادى عنه^٩ و لا وادى زبيد و لا غير ذلك من^{١٠} وادى
رصح و ريمه و الاشاعر و حصونها و معاقلها و قرأها^{١١} و مذيخرة و اعمالها
و هى مسيرة ايام و دامت و وادى تحلة^{١٢} فلما المذهب الذى كان
عليه ابن مهدي و ما يعتقد^{١٣} فكان خفى الورع^{١٤} ثم اضاف الى عقيدته
فى الاصول التكييفير بالمعاصى و القتل بها و قتل من خالف اعتقاده

* حراز, Khi.

و لا حله و لا وادى حله و لا, Khi.
وادى حله

من جبال وادى رصح و ريمه, Khi.
الاشاعر

و لا حطلة و اعمالها و هو مسيرة, Khi.
ايام و دامت و اعمالها و لا غير ذلك

١٢ تحلة

حتى المذهب فى الفروع, Khi.

١ كنه و شرباق و صبر و اعماله, Khi.
و هو مختلف واسع

٢ Deest in Khi.

٣ و هى حران و حسب و الشماخي, Khi.
و حصن السوا لابن السبأى الخولاني

٤ Deest in Khi.

٥ و صبر, Khi.

٦ اذتكر, Khi.

٧ بنى. om. ; المظفرين, Khi.

وعشرين دولة من دول اهل اليمن فمنها اموال اهل زبيد وما من
عبيد فاتك وجهاته و اعيان دولته الا من مات عن اموال جليلة
من العين جزيلة^١ لانه ملكت انذرابى و النساء فاطمها له كنوز وانهم
و كذلك المصوغ و اللؤلؤ و الجواهر و البواقيت الفاخرة و الملابس
الجليلة على اختلاف اصنافها و كانوا كما قال الله تعالى كم تركوا من
جنات و عيون و زروع و مقام كريم و نعمت كانوا فيها فانهم كذلك
و اورثها قومًا اخرين و انتقل اليهم ملك بنى سليمان الشرفا و انتقل
اليهم ملك بنى و ايل سلاطين و حاظرة و هم اهل دولة متائلة و كذلك
معامل من * بقى من^٢ بنى الصليحي كل معقل منها له اعمال واسعة
و الارتفاعات الكثيرة فاما ملك الملك منصور بن المفضل بن ابي
البركات ابن الوايد الجميري فانه حان جميع حصونه وهى ما هى
و جميع ذخائره و انما هى جميع ذخائر الداعي على بن محمد
الصليحي و ذخائر المكرم على^٣ بن على زوج الحرة الملكة السيدة
و ذخائر الحرة الملكة زوجته و ذلك ان الجميع انتقل الى الحرة
و اودعته فى حصن التعكر و تغلب عليه المفضل بن ابي البركات
و على ما فيه و انتقل التعكر و ما فيه من الممالك^٤ بأسرها الى ولده
منصور ابن المفضل لانهم يزعمون ان الأمير منصور بن المفضل عمر فى
الملك ثلاثين سنة و مات فى عشر المائة او التسعين و ما انتقل
الى ابن مهدى حصن المجمع و امواله و حصن التعكر و امواله على
ما قيل و مدينة ذى جبلة وهى مقر الدعوة الفاطمية و كرسى الملك
لبنى الصليحي و كذلك مدينة الجند و أعمالها و كذلك نالقة

^٢ Read احمد

^٤ الملك

^١ ما رجميع ذلك اله، Khi

^٣ Om. Khi.

زحفا يقتل منهم ما يقتل و نالهم الجوع حتى اكلوا الميتة من شدة
 الجهد و انبلاء ثم استأجدوا بالشريف الزبدي ثم الرسي احمد بن
 سليمان^١ صاحب صعدة فأتجدهم طمعا في الملك و شرطوا له ان
 يملكوه عليهم فقال لهم الشريف ان تقتلوا مولاكم فاتكا حلفت لكم
 فوثب عبيد فاتك^٢ بن جياش بن تجاح و مرجان^٣ مولى مرجان
 و مرجان مولى ابي عبد الله الحسين ابن سلامة و الحسين ابن سلامة
 مولى رشد الزمام و رشد مولى * زياد ابن ابراهيم بن ابي الجيش
 اسحق بن محمد بن^٤ ابراهيم بن عبد الله ابن^٥ زياد فقتلوه في شهر
 سنة ثلاث و خمسين تم عجز الشريف عن نصرهم على ابن مهدي
 و جرت بينهم بعد ذلك و بين ابن مهدي مصافات يتحصنون
 منه بالمدينة الى ان كان فتحها و زوال دولتهم و استقراره بدار
 الملك في يوم الجمعة الرابع عشر من رجب سنة اربع و خمسين
 و خمسمائة و اقام على بن مهدي بقية رجب و شعبان و رمضان
 و مات في شوال من السنة فكانت مدة ملكه شهرين و احدا
 و عشرين يوما ثم انتقل الامر الى ولده المهدي ثم الى ولده عبد النبي
 و خلع ثم الى ولده عبد الله ثم عادت الى عبد النبي كرتة ثانية و الامر
 اليوم في اليمن بأسرة اليه ما عدا عدن فان اهلها هادنوه عليها بما
 في كل سنة و اجتمع لهذا عبد النبي ملك الجبال و التهام و انتقل
 اليه ملك جميع ملوك اليمن و نخايرها و حدثني محمد بن علي
 من اهل ذي جبلة انه حصل في خزائن ابن مهدي ملك خمس

^١ زياد بن ابراهيم بن Om.

^٢ ا محمد بن Om.

^٣ ابراهيم بن محمد بن زياد Read

الهروي Kbi.

^٤ ا على مولاهم وهم صيد فاتك

^٥ و فهاج Read

أهل جميع أهل البوادي وقطع الحرث والقوافل وكان يأمر أصحابه أن يسوقوا الأتعام والرقيقى وما عجز عن المسير عقروه ففعلوا من ذلك ما أربغ وأرهب وقضى بخراب الأعمال ثم لقيت هذا علي بن مهدي عند الداعي محمد بن سبا صاحب عدن بمدينة ذى جبلة سنة تسع واربعم يستأجده على أهل زبيد فلم يجبه الداعي إلى ذلك وعرض^١ صحبته وعقد لي أن يقدمني على كل أحد من أصحابه ولما عاد ابن مهدي من ذى جبلة سنة تسع^٢ إلى حصن الشرف دبر علي^٣ القائد سرور الغاتكي فقتل في رجب سنة إحدى وخمسين وخمس مئة وكان ممن أعان ابن مهدي على أهل زبيد اشتغال روساها بالثنايس والتكاسد على رتبة^٤ القائد سرور وفتح على الدولة^٥ بعدة أبواب الشر المسدود وانحل عقدها المشدود و فرق ابن مهدي حصن الشرف وهبط إلى الداشر بيده وبين زبيد أقل من نصف يوم وتقرب الرعايا إليه وعرب البلاد هم^٦ كانوا رعيا الحبشة وكان الرجل من أصحاب ابن مهدي يلقي أخاه أو قريبه وهو^٧ مع الحبشة أما مزارع وأما جمال وأما راعي ماشية لهم فيفسدوه ولم ينزل الأمر كذلك حتى زحف ابن مهدي لهم إلى باب المدينة في عوالم لا تحصى وحدثني غير واحد من أهل اليمن ممن أدركه^٨ الحصار بزبيد قالوا لم تصبر أمة على الحصار والقتال ما صبر^٩ أهل زبيد وذلك أنهم قاتلوا ابن مهدي اثنين وسبعين

^١ هم الذين، Khi،

^٢ ممن، Khi،

^٣ أدركه، Khi،

^٤ عليه، Khi،

^٥ علي، Khi،

^٦ واربعم، Khi،

^٧ علي قتل، Khi،

^٨ مرتبه، Khi،

^٩ على أهل الدولة، Khi،

باسكان اليا^١ و سماءهم الانصار و سمي كل من صعد من تهامة المهاجرين ثم ساء ظنه بكل احد ممن هو في صحبته خوفا منهم على نفسه فاقام للانصار رجلا من حوлян يسمى سبا بن يوسف^٢ و كذاه بشيخ الاسلام و للمهاجرين رجلا^٣ يسمى البوبى^٤ نعتة ايضا بشيخ الاسلام و جعلهما نقيبين على الطائفتين فلا يخاطبه و لا يصل اليه سواهما و ربما احتجب فلا يروته و هم يتصرفون في الغزو فلم يزل يغادى الغارات و يراوحها على اهل تهامة حتى اخرج الحدود^٥ المصاطبة للجبال و الحبشة يومئذ تنمش بالاموال^٦ في المراكز فلا يغفون شيئا لوجوه كثيرة منها ان الموضع الذى هو حصن الشرف حصن منيع بنفسه و بكثرة حوлян و منها ان الانسان اذا اراد ان يصل الى حصن الشرف مشى فى واد ضيق بين جبلين مسافة يوم كامل او بعض يوم فاذا وصل الى أصل الجبل الذى فيه الحصن احتاج فى طلوع الثقيل الى نصف يوم حتى يقطع العقبة و منها ان الوادى يتصل مسيله من تهامة بخراج^٧ عظيمة اذا كمننت فيها الجيوش الثمانية الجرارة شهرا لم يعلم بها احد و كانت غوازي ابن مهدى اذا غارت على بعض اعمال تهامة و نهبت و احقرت^٨ و ادركها الفجر تعدل الى الجبال الذى فى الوادى الذى فيه الخراج فمكثت^٩ فيه فلا يوصل اليها و لا يقدر عليها و لم يزل ذلك من فعله مع اهل زبيد الى ان

^١ Kbi, التوبى ; I. Wardi II., 61

^٢ Kbi, المواقى [المواز]

^٣ Kbi, نعت الانبال

^٤ Kbi, بشعاب

^٥ Kbi, اخربت

^٦ Kbi, كمننت فى بعض تلك الشعاب

يقال له الداشر ليت به ملة ثم ج.

ارتفع عنه الى حصن يقال له الشرف

لان من حوлян يقال لهم حوآن

حالمهم و سمام

^٢ Kbi, محمد

^٣ من العمرانيين, Kbi

فلما استقبل أمره انقطعت عنه خوفا من أهل زبيد ولم ينزل من سنة احدى وثلثين يعظ الناس فى البوابة فاذا دنا موسم مكة خرج حاجا على نجيب الى سنة ست وثلثين ثم اطلقت الحرة أم فاطمة بن منصور له و لاخته و لاصهاره ثم لمن يلون به خراج املاكهم فلم يمض بهم هنيئة حتى اثروا و اتسعت بهم الحال و ركبوا الخيل فكانوا^١ كما قال المتنبي

فكانما نتجت قياها تحقهم و كأنما ولدوا على صهواتها

ثم أتى بقوم من اهل الجبال حالفوه على النصرة فخرج اليهم سنة ثمان و ثلثين و جمع جموعا تبلغ اربعين الفا و تصد بهم مدينة الكدرا فلقيه القائد اسحق بن مرزوق^٢ السجرتى فى قومه فهزموا اصحابه و قتلوا خلقا من جموعه و عقوا عن اكثرهم و عاد ابن مهدي الى الجبال فقام بها^٣ سنة احدى و اربعين ثم كاتب الى زبيد و سألها فى فئمة له و لمن يلون به و يعود الى وطنه ففعلت الحرة له ذلك على كره من أهل دولتها و من فقهاء عصرها ليقضى الله امرا كان مقعولا و اقام على بن مهدي يشتغل املاكه عددة سنين وهى مطلقة من الخراج و اجتمع له من ذلك مال جزيل و كان يقول فى وعظه ايها الناس دنا الوقت ارف الامر كانكم بما اقول لكم و قد رايتموه عيانا فما هو الا ان ماتت الحرة فى سنة خمس و اربعين حتى اصبح فى الجبال فى موضع * يقال له الشرف من بلد خولان ثم ارتفع منه الى حصن يقال له الشرف وهو لبطن من خولان يقال لهم بنو حيوان

١ فكأنوا^١ | مرزان Kbi,^٤
٢ J. and Kbi, سنة^٤ بها الى سنة

الذكر عليّ بن مهدي باليمن هذا فصل. اشير فيه الى جمل من
بدايته و غايته

ذكر خروج عليّ بن مهدي باليمن

أما نسبه فمن حمير و أما اسمه فعليّ بن مهدي من أهل قرية
يقال لها العنبرة من سواحل زبيد كان أبوه رجلاً صالحاً سليم القلب
و نشأ ولده عليّ بن مهدي هذا على طريقة أبيه في العزلة و التمسك^١
و الصلح ثم حجّ و زار و لقي حاجّ العراق و علماءها و وعظها و تضحّ
من معارفهم * و عاد إلى اليمن فاعتزل^٢ و أظهر الوظ و اطلاق التحذير
من صحبة العسكرية^٣ و كان نصيحاً صبيحاً اخضر اللون ملوّح الحديد
الحى طويل القائمة مخروط الجسم بين عينييه سجادة^٤ حسن الصوت
طيب اللغمة حلو الأيراد غزير المحفوظات قنماً بالوظ و التفسير
و طريقة الصوفية^٥ اتمّ قيام و كان ينكحت بشيء من احواله
المستقبلات فيصدق فكان ذلك من اقوى عدده في استمالة قلوب
العالم و ظهر امره بساحل زبيد بقرية العنبرة و قرية واسط و قرية
القصبة^٦ و الاحواب و المهدي * و ساحل الفارة^٧ و كان ينقل منها
و كانت عبرته لا ترقى^٨ علي صمّ الاوقات و كنت يومئذ منقطعا
اليه ملازماً له في اكثر الاوقات مدّة سنة ثم علم والدي اني تركت
التفقه و لزمت طريقة النسك فجاه من بلده مسافراً حتى احدثني
من عنده و اعادني إلى المدرسة بزبيد و كنت ازوره في كل شهر زورة

^١ J. and Kbi, سجدة

^٢ Kbi, تصوف

^٣ القصب و الاحواب و المهدي J.

^٤ Doest, J. and Kbi.

^٥ Kbi, بالعبادة

^٦ Deest in Kbi.

^٧ J. and Kbi, حواشيهم

و كان ظهوره في سنة ٥٣١

^٨ لثري ; لثري Kbi

وما يخص بذلك اكابر الجند و العلماء و التجار دون اصغرهم بل من دعاه اجابه و كان المتظلم من الرعية يحفوا عليه و يفحش له فى القول وهو آمن من حميته¹ و عزه² و غضبه و كان يدعى الى الحاكم³ فيخضر ولا يؤكل⁴ و يقعد بين يدى الحاكم تواضعا * لا وضاعة⁵ و دخولا و اوامر الشرع تحمت الطاعة⁶ ثم * يعود بعد ركوبه بالغدات فيسلم على السلطان و يستعمل الاشتغال بتدبير الامور العسكرية الى وقت الغدا ثم⁷ يخرج الى المسجد فى⁸ زوال الظل فلا يشتغل بشيء سوى المسندات الصحيحة عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم الى صلاة العصر ثم يدخل دارة و يخرج قبل المغرب الى المسجد فاذا صلى المغرب تذاظر الفقها بين يديه الى⁹ العشا الاخيرة و ربما تطول المداظرة فى بعض الليالى و ركب حمارا و أخذ وصيفا واحدا بين يديه حتى يجتمع بالحرّة الملكة للمشورة و لم يزل هذه حاله من سنة تسع و عشرين و خمسمائة الى ان قتل فى مسجده هذه رحمه الله بزبيد فى الركعة الثالثة من صلاة العصر يوم الجمعة الثاني عشر من رجب¹⁰ قتل رجل يقال له مجرم من اصحاب على بن مهدي ثم قتل قاتله فى تلك العشية بعد ان قتل جماعة من الناس و لم تلبث الدولة بعد قتلها الا يسيرا حتى ازالها على بن مهدي و ملك زبيد و اعمالها فى سنة اربع و خمسين و خمسمائة و على¹¹

¹ و كان متى عاد بعد الركوب الخ J.

see note 93.

² فى اول زوال Kbi.

³ وقت صلوة Kbi.

⁴ من سنة J. and Kbi, see

⁵ على Om.

حميته و J. and Kbi om.

⁶ عزته Kbi.

⁷ و متى اسدى الى مجلس الحاكم J.

⁸ كما يعمل للبايرة و ان كانوا J. اصغر

⁹ Deest in J. and Kbi.

¹⁰ ليقضى به سواء J.

يديها و النسوة الثلاث واقفة على راسه حتى يقوم الى صلوة الظهر فيعود الى مسجده و هو على باب داره فيجده لا يتبع من كثرة اللباس الذين لا يستطيعون الخروج في لقلته

فصل فيما شاهدت بخط كتابه

رايت جريدة الصدقات^١ التي يذفها عند دخوله الى زبيد للفقهاء و القضاة و المتصدرين في الحديث و النحو و اللغة و علم الكلام^٢ و الفروع اثني عشر الف^٣ في كل سنة خارج عن صلة العسكريه مع كفتهم و حكاي عبيد بن بجر وغيره ان الهدايا التي يذفها في كل سنة برسم حواشي السلطان من الجهات و الامرة و وصفان الحماض عشرون الف دينار هذه وصلة خارجة عن ارزاقهم المستقرة^٤ و حدثني غيرهم ان المحمول من اعماله التي بيت مائه^٥ في كل سنة ستون الف دينار و ان المحمول الى بيت مولاه الحرة و حواشيا و توابها و من يلوذ بها على جهة الهدية خمسة^٦ عشر الف دينار

فصل كان القائد ابو محمد سرور الفاتكي رحمه الله يخرج الى مسجده بعد نصف الليل او ثلثه و كان اعلم الناس جميعا بالمنازل^٧ و بالانوا^٨ ويقول انا^٩ اخرج في هذا الوقت لعل احدا من اهل البيوتات و ارباب الستر لا يقدرون على الوصول الى عندي بالنهار اما لكثرة الناس او لقرط الحياض فاذا صلى الصبح ركب اما الى فقيه يزوره او مريض يعود او صيحة^{١٠} ميت يحضرها^{١١} او وليمة او عقد نكاح^{١٢}

^١ اني، Kbi، خمسة J.

^٢ Om. J.

^٣ J. and Kbi، انا

^٤ J. and Kbi، او ميت

^٥ يحضره، Kbi،

^١ الصدقة المعتاد، Kbi،

^٢ J. والمدربين والمفتين

^٣ Kbi، دينار

^٤ المستمرة J.

^٥ مولاه، Kbi،

و تشاعب الحكيمية و تشاعب الأمير غانم بن يحيى الحسنى و دولته
 ظاهرة و كان هذا القائد مقبها فى زبيد من هلال نى القعدة الى
 آخر يوم من شعبان ثم يخرج من زبيد فيصوم رمضان فى المهجم
 و يصلح احوال تلك الاعمال و تنسح نفقاته و صلانه فى شهر رمضان
 حتى قال لى الشبخ عبيد بن بحر و زبره كانت وظيفته مطبخه
 مدة شهر رمضان فى كل يوم الف دينار و كنت اشاهده عدة سنين
 اذا جاء من المهجم يريد زبيد احتفل الناس بالخروج للقائه على
 اختلاف طبائهم و يقف الناس على تل عال فلول طائفة تسلّم عليه
 لفقها المالكية و الحنفية و الشافعية و كان يترجل لهم و لا يترجل لاحد
 نبلهم و لا بعدهم ثم ينصرفون و يحيى بعدهم التجار فاذا انصرفوا
 جاءت العسكرية اناجا و اذا دخل المدينة و قضى حق انسلم على
 لسلطان مضى الى دار مولاته الحرّة فاذا دخل عليها انقص الناس
 من عندها الصغير و الكبير و لا يبقى عندها الا غزال جاريتها و هى أخت
 و جته و جاريتا مولاه منصور بن فاتك و هؤلاء النسوة يمشين فى
 الخبير على مفوالها و يتشبهن فى الصلاح بافعالها فاذا وصل اليها نزلت
 من سريرها اكراما له منها و تبججيه¹ لقدرة و قالت له انت يا
 حمّد و زبرنا بل مولانا بل رجلنا الذى لا يحل لنا ان نخرج عن
 لاعتك فى شىء فيض² بالبكاء بين يديها و يعفر خدّه بالأرض الى
 ن تقولى رفعه بيدها عن الأرض ثم تستأخر النسوة³ فى طرف المجلس
 يرهميد بحيث يقضى اليها بما حسن عنده ان يفعله من التدبير
 ن تلك السنة من ولاية و عزل و انعام⁴ لا يزال جالسا بين

١ تجيلا ج. ٢ | الثلاث النسوة ج. ٣

٤ وقل نم، Khl, Blank in MS.

من الهزيمة ثم التقى الناس فكانت الدائرة على مفلح و شتم و من
 معهما و تضاعف حظ^١ القايد سرور في نفس الموالف و المخالف
 و قبل ذلك ما كان من خروج الوزير مفلح طالبا نعدن الى ان حصل
 من زبيد على نصف مرحلة و ثار محمد بن فاتك بن جهاش في
 زبيد حين خلت من العسكر و ملك^٢ هذا محمد بن فاتك دار
 الامارة^٣ و وقف القرام بين يدي ففاصت البلد عليه بالتهنية و وزير
 منصور بن الوزير من الله الفاتكى و استحصت الحرة و ولدها بعلو
 اندار و نمي الخبر الى القايد سرور و هو في ساقه العسكر فانثنى راجعا
 و تسور الحصن و دخل المدينة و نادى الى مولاته من خلف دار
 الملك ارموا الى الجبل انا فلان و رنعه الاستاذين و النساء بالحبال
 حتى وصل الى مولاته فسلم عليها و سكن روعها و قال هذه العساكر
 خلفى متواصلة ثم اخذ مائة جارية و خمسين استاذنا فالبهم زى
 الرجال من الدروع و السلاح و فتح الطيقان^٤ و صاح الجميع صيحة
 واحدة يا فاتك بن منصور هذا و محمد بن فاتك جالس على سرير
 تحصت طيقان الدار و ان^٥ القايد رمى بحجر فلم يخط وجه محمد بن
 فاتك فهشمت وجهه عند تلك الصيحة العظيمة فانهمز هو و وزير
 في تلك الساعة و من معهما و خرجوا من باب البلد ليل^٦ ولم يصل
 العسكر الى البلد الا في الظهر من صبيحة تلك الليلة فهذه بعض
 المقتات الموجبة لتقدم سرور على كافة اهل الدولة ثم رلى المهجم
 و هو كرسى ملك كبير ثم تشاعب العرب و بنو عمران و بنو زعل

^١ ليل، Khi،

^٢ الطبقات، Khi،

^٣ خطر، Khi،

^٤ مجاز، Khi،

^٥ ثم رساه، Khi،

الأكابر واستغنى به عن الأئمة وكان الزمام الناظر^١ يؤمّنذ هو^٢ الشيخ صائب وكان يميل إلى الدين والتخلّي للعبادة فإذا عوتب على ذلك قال القائد أبو محمد سرور وهو^٣ صاحب الأمر والنهي على^٤ وعلى مولانا وليس^٥ يخرج عن امرأة وهو أهل أن يتقلد أمور الناس في الثواب والعقاب والجل والعقد وترقت الحال بسرور حتى أخرج الوزير مفلح من زبيد ولم يزل سرور يحارب مفلحاً حتى مات مفلح في الجبال بعد أن جرت بينهم وقايح يموت في كل واحدة منها العدد الكثير من الفريقين وكانت العقبة والدولة^٦ لسرور وحدثني الشيخ عبد المحسن بن اسمعيل وكان كاتب القائد سرور ووزيره^٧ قال اذكر وقد سار الأمير الشريف غانم بن يحيى الحسنى في نصرته الوزير مفلح على سرور ومع غانم ألف فارس ومن الرجال عشرة آلاف وانضاف ذلك إلى عسكر مفلح وانضمت اليهما من العرب بنو اسمعيل^٨ وهم احلاس الخيل وفرسان الليل وبنو عمران وبنو زغل وبنو حرام والحكميون في ضموم^٩ ورحقوا الينا ونحن في عدد كثير^{١٠} وقد كتب القائد سرور إلى أهل زبيد يستنذ الناس وكانت الوتعة على المهجم^{١١} وبعدها من زبيد ثلاثة أيام قال فقلت للقائد أن هذا تهور وإنما نحن في هؤلاء كقطرة في اليم أو لقمعة في النقم فقال أمسك عليك فوالله إن الموت عندى أهون

^١ وال دولة، D. Khi.

^٢ ووزيره، D. Khi.

^٣ مشعل، Khi.

^٤ أجمع.

^٥ يسير، Khi.

^٦ زمام الدار، J.

^٧ هو و، J. om. و، Khi om.

^٨ و، J. and Khi om.

^٩ وعلكم وعلى، J. and Khi.

^{١٠} وليس شى، Khi.

لى عبيد بن جحروز بن القايد سرور الآن اتحلّت عقدتلك بعد قدوم حمير قلت فكيف ذلك قال ان أم عمرو وردة ساخطة عليه واقسمت لا تكلمه ولا تأذن له نسي الدخول عليها حتى يأتي ابوها وهو الشيخ حمير بن اسعد قال مسلم ولما كان في تلك الليلة دعينا الى مجلس فيه شراب وغذاء وطيب فجلسنا و اذا القايد قد طلع علينا فسلمنا عليه ثم سمعنا من خائف الستارة جلبة وجرس حلى لم يكن و اذا هي وردة اصلح حمير بينها وبين الفاكند فجاءت لتغنى له فوقع في قلبى من تعجيز القايد سرور وضعف عزيمته بعض ما يقع فكأنه توحى بما فى نفسى فاقترح عليها قول الشاعر

نحن قوم تذيبنا الحدق النجل مع اتنا نذيب الحديد

و من عبيد فأتك من جعلت ذكـرة ختامهم و أخـرتـه و ان كان اسمهم و هو القايد الاجل ابو محمد سرور اسيرة الفانكى و جلسه من الحبشة اسيرة و كلما اوردته عنده نقطة من بحر فضله فمن مبادئ امرة ان منصور بن فتك لما قتل الوزير انيسا و ابتاع من ورنقه اسيرة الصالحة حرة زبيد الحاجة و استولدها ولدا سماه فاتكا بن منصور ابتاعت لولدها من الحبشة و صفانا صغارا كان هذا سرور احدهم و ربي فى حجرها ولم يلبث ان ترعرع و برع و ولته زم المماليك و صرنت اليه الرياسة على كل من فى القصر نساك و سدد و ليين و شدد ثم ولى العرافة على طائفة من الجند فملكهم بالاحسان و انصفهم عنهم ثم ترقى به الحال الى ان ولى الخطابة بين السلطان و بين الوزراء

و لما مات مولاي في الجبال بحصن الكرش او مكشحة خطبني الوزير
اقبال و القايد سرور و القايد اسحق بن مرزوق و القايد علي بن مسعود
صاحب حيس فوعدت رسول كل واحد منهم وعدا جميلا و شاورت
مولاي منصور بن مولاي منلح في رسائل القوم فاشار سرور^١ و قال
استظهي بمشورة الشيخ حمير بن اسعد قالت فاستدعيته من تهامة
الى الجبال فقال اما علي بن مسعود فعنده تسعون سرية و اربع زوجات
و اما اقبال فعنده عشرون مغنية ثم هو عند ناجر و تربية^٢ التجار و نجلها
منصور بين عيديه الى هذه الغاية و اما القايد اسحق بن مرزوق فعنده
ابنة عويد أم ولده فرج و عنده ابنة عمه احدولا والله ما تمشى بارض
تهامة مثلها و لكني اشير عليك بالقايد ابي محمد سرور الفاتكي فانه
واسع المقام^٣ ثم هو تربية الملك فانك بن منصور و تربية مولانا أم
فاتك بن منصور قالت فتزوجني القايد ابو محمد سرور الفاتكي
فوجدت^٤ رجلا مشغولا عن الدنيا و عن النساء و التمتع بالنظر في معالي
الأمور فلم ازل به حتى حللته^٥ و تدرجت في عشرته حتى ملكته
فكان علي خشونته و يبعسه و هيبته و انقباض جوارحه منه لا يخالفني
فيما أراه و اذا غضبت عليه كاد ان يفارق الحيوة و دليل ذلك
ما حدثني به الشيخ مسلم بن يشجب وزير الأمير الشريف غانم بن
يحيى الحسنى قال قدمت من بلادى رسولا الى القايد سرور الفاتكي
في عقد هدنة بيغنا و بيغنا فقال لى وزيره عبيد بن بحر ليت قدوسك
تقدم او تأخر فاتك صدقت القايد مشغولا خاطرة فاقمت يومين
او ثلاثة أيام و لما لم اجتمع بالقايد قدم علينا حمير بن اسعد فقال

^١ الفقيه

^٢ فوجدته

^٣ فاشار علي سرور

^٤ ثم عنده ناجية وهي من تربية

^٥ اخللت الى

تأريخ اليمن

و عمران و زعل و هم الفرسان و الفجاء فاسكنوه حصنا لهم يقال له
 ديسان و بينه و بين المهجم نصف يوم أو دونه * فشن الغارات على
 اعمال المهجم¹ ثم كاتب الامير الشريف غانم بن يحيى السليمانى ثم
 الحسنى وهو يومئذ ملك مخلاف بن طرف² و اشترط مقلح للشريف
 و لبني عمه اسقاط الاتاوة عنهم المستقرّة لصاحب زبيد على غانم
 فى كل سنة و مبلغها ستون الفا³ و ان يضيف لهم مقلح الى ذلك
 اعمال الواديين وهى واسمة فسار الشريف فى الف فارس و عشرة
 الاف راجل ناصرا لمقلح على اهل زبيد فلقبهم القائد سرور فكسر مقلحا
 وكسر الاشراف وكسر العرب على المهجم و خرج اليه من زبين و هو
 مقيم بالمهجم تقليد باعمال المهجم و ما معها من الاعمال وهو سرور
 و الواديان فاستقر سرور فيها وعاد مقلح الى حصن الكرش فمات
 بها سنة تسع و عشرين و خمسمائة فاما⁴ ولده مقصور بعد ابيه فناوشهم
 حربا و اذاتهم من الشرّ ضربوا ثم خذنته اصحابه و تقللوا⁵ عنه و سأم
 الناس عىّ الحديد و فراق الاوطان فاستأنى على⁶ منصور و انزل فى
 دار ابيه فلما كان من الند قبض عليه و قتل ليلة بدار⁷ الوزير اقبال
 فانكر الملك فانك⁸ ذلك وهم باقبال⁹ ثم ابقاه على دخن قال لى
 حمير بن اسعد فابتاع ملى رسول الوزير اقبال سماء والله ما علمت
 لمن هو و تطلق اقبال حتى سقى مولاة فاتكا ولد الحرة ذلك السم
 فمات فانك¹⁰ بين منصور فى شعبان¹⁰ قالت وردة جارية الوزير مقلح

¹ على يد القائد سرور و دخل Khi,

مع زبيد و الوزير يومئذ اقبال لمقلح

² على منصور و انزله] بيد Khi,

³ و القائد سرور. J.

⁴ بالوزير اقبال Khi,

⁵ سنة ٥٣٢ J.

¹ D. in Khi.

² صاحب مخلاف سليمان بن طرف

³ ستون الف دينار Khi,

⁴ غلظه Khi,

⁵ تقللوا Khi,

ارسلوا اليه فى ذلك امتنع و قال صرف العال الى¹ اعداء الدولة اولى من هذه الخرافات و لمولانا بالمغزل و لزومها كسر بيتها شغل شاغل² و لم يزالوا يراجعون فى ذلك الى ان قال مولانا الى غير هذا محتاجة فانظروا لها فيه فانه يسليها قالوا و ما هو قال شىء فى طول هذا و قبض كفة و مد ذراعه فيحدث فى النفوس من هذه الكلمة شر لم يستدركه مفلح الا بالاذن لها فى الحجج و تجهيزها³ بثلاثين الف دينار و تسيير ولده منصور معها الى مكة ثم كان من تدبير سرور على خروج مفلح تسييرة الى عدن لهجارية سبأ بن ابي السعد و على بن ابي الغارات الزريعيين فلما خرج مفلح من زبيد على ليلة نار محمد بن فاتك⁴ فى زبيد على الحرّة و ولدها فقتل ذلك بروج مفلح الى زبيد ثم دبّر سرور على خروج مفلح انه كاتب عرب الزعلى و العمرانى بالاتفاق على اعمال المهجم و فيها يومئذ القايد مسعود الزيدى⁵ فقتل ذلك بخروج مفلح الى المهجم و هى من زبيد على ثلاثة ايام⁶ فما هو الا ان خرج مفلح من زبيد مسير ليلة من البلد حتى تسلل القاس عنه و رجعوا الى المدينة و بقى فى حاصة⁷ و توجه الى جبال برع و ملك حصن المكشّة⁸ و رواج⁹ تامة و غاداه بالغارات و عبید فاتك تقابله¹⁰ بالمراكز¹¹ و الاموال¹² ثم انتقل من الحصن و ترك به حريمه¹³ الى عرب المهجم وهم بنو مشغل¹³

¹ خامته, Khi,

² الكرش, Khi,

³ رواج, Khi,

⁴ يقاتله, Khi,

⁵ Does in Khi.

⁶ و سار, Khi,

¹ فى محاربة, Khi,

² عن الحجج, Khi,

³ تجهيزها, Khi,

⁴ بن جيش, Khi,

⁵ سرور الكريدى, Khi,

⁶ من الناحية الشمالية, Khi,

زيد في أول وزارة الشيخ القائد مقلح ابو المعالي بن الجعلا^١ من
الديار المصرية فابتاع وصيفا حبشيا برسم الخدمة ثم هرب الوصيف^٢
بسبب غلامه بيتين من الشعرهما

وانت سحاب طبق الارض صوبه و عاقته عن سقياي احد عواقفه^٣
فان لم تجدى هاطلات غمامه فلا تدن منى محرقات صواعقه^٤

فلما وقف مقلح على البيتين عثر بهما و تدبَّه على فضل ابي المعالي
و استدعى الغلام فرده اليه خامس خمسة من جنسه ثم استدعى ابا
المعالي و امره ان يمدح الوزير بقصيدة ففعل ذلك ثم احضره اليه
حتى انشده و دفع له خمسمائة دينار و وصله ايضا منصور بن مقلح
من عنده بثلاثمائة دينار ثوابا على قصيدة اخرى مدحه بها و حملته
الى مكة حرسها الله تعالى و اما احوال مقلح مع العسكر فان قصر الملك
فانك بن منصور نشأت به رجال من عبدة الحرَّة الملكة ثم فاتت بن
منصور و هم صواب و ربحان و يمن و عنز و ربحان الاكبر هؤلاء الازمة
اعيان اكابر و من القحول اقبال و مسرور و ناره و سرور^٥ و هو امير الفريقيين
سكاته و عنى^٦ و كان هؤلاء الجماعة هم الذين يتكلمون على لسان
السلطان و صار الوزير في امور السلطان^٧ اجنبيا معهم و عظم بهم جانب
الحرَّة و استمالوا كثيرا من الفارس و الراجل ثم دبروا حيلة يخرجون
بها مقلحا من زيد فقال لهم سرور ما عندكم حيلة احسن من
مخاطبته على حرج مولانا الى مكة و تجهيزها بثلاثين الف دينار فلما

^١ Kbi and D., عنبر

^٢ Kbi, و برهان و سرور و ناره

^٣ Kbi, غنا

^٤ السلطنة

^٥ D., للباب

^٦ Kbi, و تلقى الخ

^٧ Kbi, العوائق [see note 86.]

^٨ Kbi, الصواعق

سوى وردة وهى روحى فان كانت تصلح له نزلت عنها و ان^١ امرت قلت ان قبلها فهى ممّا تصلح له قال فتحدّثت معه فيها فان قبلها فلك عندى الف دينار ثم أمرنا باحضارها عاشره عشر فقبلن يد الوزير ثم اندفعن يتعلّين بين يديه مكشوفات الوجوه و اوعيت الوزير ان يعرض عن وردة و يستحسن غيرها ففعل ذلك ممّا قوى عزيمته مولاه فى قبولها منه فلما سكر عثمان و نام و سكر النسوة الّا وردة فأتى كنت اريد مصورها تمت الى المستراح فاستدعيت وردة فاعلمتها القصة فقللت لا اغب^٢ الّا فى مولاي فاستدعيت الوزير الى مجلس و دخلت انا و وردة عليه فوثقها و مآها و هممت بالخروج عنهما فامسكنى و قال لى والله لا يكون هذا ابداً ثم عدنا جميعا الى المجلس و والله ما ملأ عينه منها و لا مكّنها يده^٣ عند السلم فلما صحا مولاه استاذننا فى الخروج و كان^٤ عند العشاء الاحمر فلم تخرج الّا وردة بين ايدينا فأتا عثمان فاصحت^٥ فاعدت عليه الف دينار التى كان دفعها لى و سألته فى ضيعة ذوال و أمّا الوزير فلحضرى ليلة و خلع على و قال ان بنتك وردة اتسمت على لا تدوت منها حتى ترضى حمير فما الذى يرضيك قلت ضيعة العبادى بما فيها من زروع و ما لها^٦ من ابقار فوقع لى بها و هى الضيعة التى لا ضيعة على^٧ مالها و نعود الى اخبار الوزير مفلح فمعها ما حدثنى به الشيخ * ابو الطامى جياش بن اسمعيل ابن البوقا^٨ قال قدم علينا الى

^١ Kbi, ولها اصبح الخ, see note 85.

^٢ ما فيها, Kbi.

^٣ على من, Kbi.

^٤ Deest in Kbi.

^٥ ولو ائى, Kbi.

^٦ ارغب?

^٧ من تعيل يده, Kbi.

^٨ كان ذلك, Kbi.

عثمان أن يتطقل في الليل على الوزير و يركب الى داره و يقول
 ضيف يشتهي ان يتشرف بالسماع و الشراب فلما امسى¹ و وصل
 عثمان اليها اشرت على الوزير ان يخرج المعاني² و الوصائف الساقيات
 علينا ففعل ذلك و وعدة الوزير انه في غد ضيفه³ فحمل الي عثمان
 في تلك الليلة ما لا جزيلا و عدنا من الركوب من دار مولانا الي⁴ دار
 عثمان فوجدنا اسمطة واسعة عددت في واحد ثلاثون⁵ خروفا مشوية
 و ثلثين جها من الحلوة و اما الذي جلس عليه الوزير فكان في
 طول قاعة البستان الذي لعثمان وهي خمسون ذراعا فلما رأى الوزير
 ذلك امتص حسدا لعثمان على همته و سرعة ما تأتي له من تلك
 الاسمطة و كانت اربعة ثم فرق عثمان على حواشي الوزير * خمسمائة
 خروف و انهب السكر تلك الاسمطة و فرق على حواشي الوزير⁶
 ثلاثة ابهة سكر وهي تسعة قناطير ثم انتقلنا الي مجلس الوزير⁷ و كنا
 سبعة فلما انصرفوا قلت لعثمان انك بهيمة لا عقل لك ارى⁸ الوزير
 انما زارك لا كلمة او شربة ما اقصر همتك و اعمى بصيرتك قال فدبني
 قلت اعرض على ما بتلك فذكر الخيل و العدد و الجمال⁹ و اللطاف
 و الذخائر فاطهرت له في كل شيء نقيسة¹⁰ و تبجته عليه قال فما ترى
 قلت انظر هدية لا تخبأ في الخزائن و لا تغيب عن عينه فان
 المقصود ان يكون¹¹ بذكرك بهديتك فلما¹² نظر اليها قال ما عندي

^١ Deest in Khi.

^٢ Khi, الشراب; see note 84.

^٣ Khi, اتري

^٤ Khi, المال

^٥ Khi, نعمنا

^٦ Khi, D. يكون

^٧ Khi, كلما

^١ Khi, امسنا

^٢ المعاني

^٣ ان يكون ضيفه في غد

^٤ و لما عدنا من الركوب الي، Khi

دار السلطان سرنا الي دار عثمان

^٥ في نود واحد منها ثلثين، Khi

و حاشد يثبت^١ هذا الشجر^٢ فى بقعة من الارض لببيت هناك الا^٣
لهم وهى من حصونهم وهم يحتفظون بها كما يحتفظ بالديار المصرية
بالشجر الذى فيه دهن البيلسان^٤ و ارنى و كل من مات من بنى
نجاح و وزرائهم فمن عند حمير بن اسعد حتى كانوا اذا نادىوه
قالوا له يا باسنا^٥ ناكل و نشرب و نحن فى حبسك فيضحك و يقول
نعم و كان حلو المحاضرة كثير المحفوظات حسن الفادرة كثير البذل
فى ذات الله و فى سبيل المعروف يترسل بين الاموات من الحبشة
فيمرّح الخلل و يهون الجلل ثم سكن الكدرا عند القادس استحق من
مرزوق السعرتى فاكرمه و خلطه بنفسه و بها مات سنة ثلاث و خمسين
و قد جاز السبعين و كان ينزل عندى اذا دخل زبيد و عند غيرى
من اصدقائه ولم يكن بها اهله و بهذا السبب يسترسل معى قال
حمير فلما اخذت الفسوة من عثمان مأخذها قال لى كنت حربا
على لغالك طمعا فى صلاح احوالنا مع هذا العبد الطامع و تركنا
على اقطاعنا و املاكنا التى لم يشهدنا^٦ فى ايامه و لا من انعامه قلت
نعم مع^٧ ما فيه من الاعجاب و التكبر حسن الباطن قريب الرجوع
و انا اجتهد فى غد ان شا الله تعالى اذا عاد من الصباح على مولانا
ان يظن^٨ صنعا عندك و انا اعلم انه اذا اكل طعامك و شربك^٩
و غشى له حريمك^{١٠} استحق منك و خجل و عاد عما فى نفسه
فكاد عثمان ان يطير فرحا ولم يصدق ان الوزير وزيره^{١١} و اشربت على

^١ قلت له انه مع Kbi

^٢ ان يطيب

^٣ شرب شربك Kbi

^٤ جوارله Kbi

^٥ غروره Kbi

^١ لا يثبت

^٢ الا فى

^٣ Om. ال

^٤ البلسان

^٥ بابا سبا

^٦ فسعدنا Kbi

واربعائة الى سنة اربع و عشرين و خمسمائة فثرت الفتر و حسنت
 حالهم و تملكوا و رباستهم تنتهى الى شاة و الى طيطاس و هذا عثمان^١
 ثم مات الاثنان و بقى عثمان هذا ولم يبق فى الفتر الا مائة فارس
 شيوخ و اما اولادهم المولودون بزبيد فلم يفلحوا و لا جاء منهم بأس
 يلقى و لا معروف يرتجى قال الشيخ حمير بن اسعد كاتب الوزير
 ففكرت فى حيلة اتوصل بها الى غرضه فوجدتها وهى اى قلت للوزير
 بأمر ينقص قسمة الاعمال القديمة فان الرجال التى كانت تنفع
 ماتت و بقيت الاقطاع الجيدة فى ايدى اولادهم الذين لا يدفعون
 و تصلب فى ذلك و تقدم على الناس بالشهود^٢ من الاعمال الى
 زبيد و * تنقل يومين الى عمليين اخرين^٣ قال حمير فلما فعل ذلك
 الوزير ضاق الأمر على جماعة من اكابر الدولة و لا كضيقة على عثمان
 الغزرى فان اموال الفتر الذين ماتوا من رفاقته صارت اليه فلما كاد عثمان
 ان يخرج من زبيد فيمن معه من قومه و يشق العصا دخلت اليه^٤
 و شربت عنده و فكت له وردة و غيرها ممن عنده ولم يكن أحد
 من اهل تهامة يحجب عن حمير لا مغنية و لا أم ولد لان اكثر سرايرهم
 و مغانيهم من تخريجه و تربيته فى دارة و خدم جماعة من ملوك
 الجبال ثم نزل الى تهامة فاخذت بصحبة احمد بن مسعود بن فرج
 الموتمن صاحب حيس ثم كتب بعده للشيخ من الله الفاتكى ثم
 كتب للشيخ ابى منصور مفلح الفاتكى و من عند حمير هذا يفتاح
 السم الذى يقتل به الملوك لان له اخوة و اعماما فى بلاد بكيل

^٢ بالحشور, Khi

^٣ كل قوم الى عمل اخر غير عملهم, Khi

^٤ عليه

و كانت رباستهم تنتهى الى Khi

ثلاثة نفر وهم سولى و طيطاس

و عثمان هذا

بسبب ما اسمعه كل حين من غناء وردة جارية الأمير عثمان الغزرى
و يوصف^١ لى من جمالها و لقد أسندت على ابواب الحيلة فى
حصولها عندى قلت ان كذت تربدها سفاحا بذلت وسعى فى
خدمة الوزير فقال والله ما عصيت الله تعالى بفرجى منذ خلقت
قلت فبكم يشتريها الوزير قال بكل ما يقترح مولاها وكان مولاها اماما^٢
جليلا كبير القدر له وجاهة و منزلة فى الدولة ثم هو مقدم الغر
الذين استدعاهم الملك جياش الجارية^٣ سبا بن احمد الصليحي
و عثمان هذا اميرهم و شيخهم وهم اربعمائة فارس رماة و بهم امتنعت
دولة الحبشة عن العرب و كان الملك جياش استدعى منهم ثلاثة
الاف قوس فلما فصلت عن مكة منهم الفان الى زبيد ندم جياش
على رأيه و علم انهم يخرجونه من البلاد و يستولون عليها فتقدم جياش
على ولاية^٤ الذين أمرهم على الغر بمكة عليهم الى^٥ ان يطرحوا لهم
السموم فيما ياكلونه و يشربون و يلبسون فمات منهم بشركثير و خلص
منهم الى زبيد الف فارس او دونها فجهز منهم خمسمائة الى الجبال
ففتحوا ملها ما^٦ و طى الحافر و لما حصلوا فى بن^٧ صنعا دس عليهم
جياش من قتلهم بالسّم و مزق كلمتهم بالحروب و الاموال^٨ و بقيت
عنده بنهامة اربعمائة و خمسون فارسا فانقطعهم من واسع الاعمال الى
واد يقال له ذوال و رعيتة عك و الاشاعر و عرضه يوم و طوله من
الجبل الى البحر يومان او دونهما و بينه و بين مدينة زبيد يوم واحد
و لم يزل الغر يستأدون خراج هذا الوادى من سنة ست و ثمانين

^١ Om. الى عليهم ؟

^٢ ما ؟

^٣ كور ؟

^٤ الاحوال ؟

^١ و ما يوصف، Khi

^٢ اميرا، Khi

^٣ الجارية ؟

^٤ الولاية ؟

بطن نقلوه من الرمل الى الاوراق الى ان صجبت لهم القريضة جميعا ولم يهرج من هنالك حتى قسم المال بين الفقهاء و اجزل نصيبى منه و رجعت الى منزلى فاحضرت المال الى الفقيه الحضرمى فقال استغفر الله يا ولدى قد كذبت اكذب من يقول انه رأى مائة دينار ثم دفع المال الى و قال لا حاجة لى به و انت تكفينى فحملته و مات رحمة الله عليه بعد ان قضى الحج و لما همت الحبشة بزيد بقتلى سنة خمسين قال لهم القائد سرور اليس هو صاحب مسئلة رزيق والله لا يقتل و اما رزيق فلم يكن له نغز فى سياسة العسكرو لا خبرة باتامة نواميس السلطنة فلم يلبث فى الوزارة مدة حتى استقال من الوزارة و استدعى لها الوزير ابو منصور مفلح الفاتكى و كان غائبا فى الجبال

وزارة مفلح الفاتكى

اما جنسه فبطن من الحبشة يقال لهم سحرت و كان يكنى ابا المنصور و منصور ولد له و كان منصور^١ هذا رشيدا من الاعيان اهل الخبرة و الفقه و الأدب و الصباحة و الشجاعة و السماحة و الرياسة الكاملة و كان الناس يقولون لو كان له نسب من قريش كملت له شروط الخلافة و كان عبيد فانك^٢ و هم^٣ يئنبزون مفلحا بالبغل فكان يقال له مفلح البغل و لا يفضب من ذلك و حدثنى كاتبه حمير بن اسعد قال انما سمى البغل لانه كان يدلى آلة مثل التى يدليها البغل و كان مع ذلك عفيف الذيل لم يعلم له صبرة فى صغرو لا كبر^٤ قال حمير ولقد اذكر يوما من عفاة انه دعانى وهو وزير فقال عذ^٥ تنكد على العيش

^١ فى صغره ولاكبره Kbi,
^٢ قد Kbi,

ابو منصور
Om. و هم

ففرح بذلك ووثق به وسكن اليه وذاكرته ليلة ونحن على الجمل
 فريضة بلى رزيق وهى احدى وخمسون بطلا فاندفع فيها كانه
 يحفظها غيبا حتى طلع الفجر ولم يأخذنى نوم لفرط المسرة بعلمه
 ثم قال ان شئت ان تترك السفر هذا اليوم وتقيم على هذه البئر
 ولم اصلى صلاة الظهر حتى قد صححت الفريضة وعرفتك سهام
 كل واحد من الورثة على الانفراد ففعلت ذلك فناولنى الفريضة
 مكتوبة بخطه عند الغدآء ووالله لقد طال ما اجتمع عليها عثمان بن
 الصغار ومحمد بن على السهامى ونظراؤهما من الفرضيين وما
 منهم الا من يرى ان ابن اللبان من اتباعه فى الفرائض والوصايا
 والدور والجبر والمقابلة وفى الزمان المتطاوّل كانت تصنع الوزراء
 لهم الولائم ويوسعون لهم فى الصلوات يفترون فيها^١ على غير شىء
 ولما وصلت الى زبيد اسكنت الفقيه فى آخر الدار بحيث لا يراه
 احد غيرى وكنت بالليل اقرأ عليه الفرائض وبالتهار اقرأ عليه حرف
 ابنى عمرو بن العلاء فى القرآن العظيم وكان فيما يقرئه القراءات
 السبع ثم اخذت اكرر المسئلة التى لاولاد رزيق الى ان صرت اتحدث
 بها مع نفسى غيبا ثم تقدمت الى القايد سرور الفذكي فادعيت
 عنده معرفتها وهو من اشد الناس حرصا على الابتياح من آل رزيق
 وقال ان صححت دعواتك دفعمت لك كذا وكذا مبلغا قد انسيتك
 فلما صححت احضر المال فدفعه الى الفقيه ابنى محمد عبد الله بن
 القاسم الابار فهو رأس الشافعية يرمذ بزبيد و عليه قرأت المذهب
 الشافعى ثم جمع الفقهاء الى قاعات ارضية مفروشة بحر^٢ الرمل
 وجلس كل قوم يضرين فى الرمل ناحية عن غيرهم فاذاصح لهم

سرحه و مفلح ينادى به اعقروا صاحب الفرس و الا فما يسقط على الارض^١ ثم حمل على مفلح فضربه ضربة على مقعد الرديف في فرس مفلح فقسمت^٢ الفرس نصفين و سقط مفلح و ردت عنه بنو مشعل و هم عرب و اما كومه فكان اكثره على الشعراء ولم يكن في زمانه من يقدر على ما يقدر عليه من الأكل حتى كان يضرب به المثل فكان له بين ذكور و اناث تثلون ولدا^٣ و تناسخت فريضته و فريضة من مات من اولاده و اولادهم قبل القسمة فانشرت و اتسعت حتى لم يقدر احد من العلماء على قسمتها و كان الوزير مفلح و الوزير اقبال و الوزير مسعود و القاتكيين^٤ قد أراد كل منهم ان يبتاع منهم^٥ من ورثة الوزير رزبق اراضى و رباعا فلم يصلوا على ذلك لعدم القدرة على صحة سهام كل وارث و لما كان في سنة تسع و ثلثين و حدث في عدن شيخا من اهل حضرموت يسمى احمد بن محمد الحاسب و كان حاسبا فريضا قد جاوز الثمانيين و هو يريد الحج و كان ذا ضرورة و لم يملك منذ خلقه الله عشرة دنانير و لا يصدق من يقول رايت الف دينار لانه كان لاشيا في بلاد كندة فيما يلي الرمل فانكسر مركب في ساحل البحر المجاور فوقع منهم الى رمل كفهه رجل عالم زاهد و هذا الشيخ احمد هو القرصى فاخذت هذا الفقيه الى منزلى بعدن فكسوته و أمرت من كان معى باكرامه و اطعامه و تنظيفه من فضلات و خضاب لحيته و اطرافه بالحناء فلما حسنت حاله عاد لى في حمل من عدن الى زبيد و وعدته انى احج به معى و اكفنيه

^١ فلما توفى Khi,

^٢ القايد اقبال و القايد مسعود, Khi,

القاتكيون

^٥ يبتاع من ورثة, Khi,

اعقروا به الفرس يسقط الى Khi, الارض

^٢ فحمل على مفلح فضربه ضربة وقتت Khi, على مقعد الرديف من الفرس فقسمت

لأن فاتك صرة سواها ولما أراد الله هلاك من الله الفاتكى حاول بنت
معارك بن جئاس و راودها و كانت موصوفة بالجمال فأنفدت نفسها
منه باربعين بكارا من جوارها فأبى فكشفت أمره الى عبيد عمها فاتك
و عبيد ابن عمها منصور بن فاذك فهابوه ولم يقدروا على شىء
فقالت لهم أم الحرة أم أبى الجيش^١ انا اكفيكم أمره ثم استخرجت
ابنة معارك بن جئاس من قصرها قصر الأمانة الى قصرها ثم ارسلت
الى من الله تقول لى أنك اسأت السمعة عليك و علينا فيما تقدم
و لو كنت اعلمتنى خدمتك اتم خدمة ولم يعلم بك احد ففرج
الوزير بذلك و تواترت الرسائل بيده و بينها حتى قال فاني ازورك فى
هذه الليلة الى دارك متفكراً قالت لرسوله ان الله قد اجل قدر الوزير
عن ذلك بل انا ازوره فى داره فلما امسى الليل جاءت اليه فغضت
له و شرب و طرب و مكثت من نفسها ثم وقع عليها و مسحت ذكوره
عند الفراغ بحرقه فيها سم تانل فتهراً و ماتت من ليلته فدفنه ولد
منصور فى اصطبله و سوى به الارض فلم يعرف له قبر الى اليوم و كانت
وفاته ليلة السبت الخامس عشر من جمادى الاولى سنة اربع
و عشرين و خمسمائة ثم وزر بعده لقاتك بن منصور رزيق^٢ الفاتكى
و كان شجاعا كربما اما شجاعته فقال لى محمد بن عبد الله الياضى^٣
ثم الجميرى و كان كاتب رزيق تال رزيقا^٤ الفاتكى يوم الجمعة و كان
نمطع على اهل زبيد^٥ وقد اشجرت فيه سبعة ارماع و هو مضاعف
درتين فحصد انثرها بسيفه و اندق فيه منها رحمين و هو ثابت^٦ فى

^١ يوم الجمعة و كان يوما مشهودا، Khi،
بينه و بين القايد أبى محمد مطلع
و قد استخرجت منه تسعة ارماع، Khi،
و هو مضاعف بين درعين فعمل اكثرهما
بيده و اندق منها فيه رحمان و هو ثابت

قالت لمره أم أبى الجيش، Khi،

^٢ رزيق، Khi and J.

^٣ الشافى، Khi،

^٤ رايت رزيقا، Khi،

أجزاء كبار من شعر^١ المجيدين المشهورين المشاهير و هو الذي أخرج أحمد بن مسعود الجزلي ومفلح الفانكي وكانا كبشي الكتيبة وصاحبى الحبل والعقد بزبيد فشردهما خوفاً فى الجبال كل مشرد وبخروجهما دانست له الدنيا وعلت كلمته واما الذى عليه من أفعاله فإنه لما وزر بعد قتل أنيس^٢ المنصور بن فاتك بن جياش سنة سبع عشرة وخمسمائة فلم يقدم شيئاً على أن قتل منصوراً مولوداً بالنسب وملك ابنه فاتك بن منصور وهو يومئذ طفل صغير و مات منصور بن فاتك وابوه فاتك بن جياش وغيرهما من آل نجاح عن أكثر من ألف سرية ما منهم أحد مسلم من الوزير من الله إلا عشر نساء من حظايا منصور بن فاتك منهم الحرّة الملكة أم فاتك بن منصور فإنها اعتزلت القصر وخرجت خارج المدينة و بنت لها داراً لا يتطرق إليها الوزير بعذر ولا سبب هذا و الملك ولدها ولكنها حسمت المادة بالبعد عن قصر ولدها وولت كفالته الى عميد ابيه الأستاذين ومنهم أم ابي الجيش وهى ولده^٣ وكانت لها بيت ابن منصور بن فاتك وسميت الحرّة ايضاً أم ابي لهيش بسبب هذه الفتنه وكانت فائقة بالجمال وحسن النماء وانا ادركتها و كنت ادخل اليها واقعد بين يديها فى رسائل كانت تجرى بينها وبين السلطان عبد الله بن اسعد بن وائل الريحاضى لانه كان تزوج بنتها التى كانت درقتها من منصور بن فاتك ومنهم الحرّة رياض ومنهم الحرّة أم ابيها ومنهم جنان الكبرى ومنهم تمنى ولم يكن

^١ مولدة Khi

^٢ وكانت لها بنت من منصور Khi
بن فاتك فلها لحرّة بسبب
هذه البنت

^٣ رزقتها

^١ الشعر

^٢ الى Khi

^٣ عن يد

^٤ تسلّم

^٥ به

وقعات تحاموا بتهامه^١ من اجلها نم طغى انيس هذا وبنى دارا
واسعة رصية عرض كل قاعة منها ثلثون ذراعا و عرض كل مجلس
اربعون و هى تصور واسعة و عمل لنفسه مظلة للركوب^٢ و سكة باسمه^٣
و هم ان يفتك بعزلة المنصور فاشتهر الامر والنهى و التدبير من ندمائه^٤
لعبيد فاتك ندهروا عليه الرأى حتى عمل منصور بن فاتك مولاهم^٥
لهم و له وليمة فى قصر الأمانة و استدعى انيسا اليه فلما حصل
عنده قطع راسه و اصطفى امواله و حرمة فممن صار الية بالانتفاع^٥
من ورثة انيس جارية مغنية يقال لها علم و استولدها منصور ولدا
يدعى فاتكا و هى الحرة الصالحة التى كانت تحج باهل اليمن برا و بحرًا
فى خفارتها فى^٥ الاخطار و المكوس و من جملة الوزراء بعد انيس
هذا الشيخ من الله الفاتكى وهو الذى سور زبيد بعد الحسين ابن
سلامة و افعاله مستوسقة له و عليه فاما الذى له فالكرم الباهر و الشجاعة
و الهيبة وهو الذى كسر ابن نجيب الدولة على باب زبيد و قتل
من اصحابه مائة من العرب و ثلثمائة ارمنى رماة و خمسمائة اسود^٧
وله وقعة اخرى مع اسعد بن ابي الفتح و قتل فيها من العرب
ما ينيف على الالف^٨ وهو الذى تصدق على مدارس الفقهاء الحنفية
و الشافعية بما اغناهم ممن سواهم من الاراضى و المرافى و الرباع
و كان يثيب على المدح ثوابا جزية حتى قال لى الفقيه ابو عبد
الله محمد بن على السهامى رحمة الله عليه و كان يودب اولاد الوزير
من الله قال اذكر انى جلدت مما مدح به القائد الوزير عشرة

^٥ بالابتياح

^٦ من Khi,

^٧ وذلك فى الحرسنة ٥١٨ Khi,

الف رجل Khi,

^١ تحاموا تهامة Khi,

^٢ و ضرب Khi,

^٣ الأمر من ندمائه Read

^٤ وقد بلغ مبلغ الرجال J. and Khi,

البلاد عليهم حتى بلغه ان حصن النعكر قد ملكه جماعة من الفقهاء
و استولوا على ملك لا ينبغي^١ مثله لاحد ففارق المفضل زبيد لا يلوى
على احد حتى كان ما قدما ذكره من قتله نفسه بالسّم لما نظر الى
حظاياه بين الرجال وهنّ في المصنّعات و الطارات بايديهنّ وهنّ
يغتمين ثم ان الامر استقرّ لمنصور بن فاتك و لعبيد ابيده فمن اولاد
فاتك الامراء و من عبده الوزراء فاما الامراء فمنهم المنصور بن فاتك
ثم فاتك بن المنصور وهو ابن الحرة الصالحة الحاجة^٢ ثم لما مات
فاتك و وئده منصور^٣ انتقل الامر الى ابن عمه و اسمه ايضا الفاتك
بن محمد بن منصور بن فاتك^٤ بن جياش و انتقل الامر الى فاتك
ابن محمد هذا^٥ سنة ثلاث و خمسين و خمسمائة و عنهم زالت
الدولة و انتقلت الى علي بن مهدي الخارج بليمن سنة اربع
و خمسين و خمسمائة ولم يكن لاولاد فاتك بن جياش من الامر
سوى القواميس الظاهرة سوى^٦ الخطبة لهم بعد بنى العباس و السنة
و الركوب بالمظنة في ايام المواسم و عقد الآراء في مجالسهم و اما الامر
و النهى و التدبير و اقامة الحدود و اجازة الوفود فلعبيدهم الوزراء فهم
عبيد فاتك بن جياش و عبيد منصور ابنه وهم و ان كانوا حبشة
فلم تكن ملوك العرب تفوقهم في الحسب الا بالنسب و الا فلهم
الكرم الباهر و العزّ الظاهر و الجمع بين الوفايع المشهورة و الصنايع
المذكورة و اول من وزير منهم انيس الفاتكي و كان من بطن في
الحبشة يقال لهم الجزليون و ملوك بنى نجاح من هذا البطن و كان
انيس هذا جبّارا غشوما مهابا شجاعا مشهورا جوادا وله في العرب

^١ محمد بن فاتك Read

^٢ ولم ينزل الى ان قتلوه عبده Kbi
في سنة ٥٥٣ و عنه

^٣ من Kbi.

^٤ يهود

^٥ علم Kbi

^٦ فاتك ولد منصور Read

^٧ ولم يكن له عقب Kbi

و اشداه و ارضاه و اما ابراهيم بن جيثاش فنزل باسعد بن والي بن عيسى الريحاطي ففعل معه من الاكرام ما لم يسبقه اليه احد و كانت عبيد فاتك بن جيثاش قد عظمت و كثرت و اشتدت شوكتها ثم ماتت فاتك بن جيثاش سنة ثلاث و خمسمائة و تركت ولده المنصور بن فاتك صغيرا دون البلوغ فملكته عبيد ابيه و حشد ابراهيم بن جيثاش بعد موت اخيه فاتك و هبط الى تهامة فالتقى هو و عبيد فاتك فتواقفوا على قرية يقال لها ^١ و حين خلت زبيد من عمال فاتك و استقلوا بابراهيم بن جيثاش ثار ^٢ عبد الواحد بن جيثاش في زبيد فملكها و حاز دار الامارة و خرج الا ستاذين و الوصفان بمولاهم منصور بن فاتك ^٣ ادلوه من سور البلد ليلا خوفا عليه من عبد الواحد و لحق منصور بعبيد ابيه فاتك و تسلل الناس عنه و عنهم الى عبد الواحد بن جيثاش حين ملك زبيد و كانت العسكر تحببه و لما راى ابراهيم بن جيثاش ان اخاه عبد الواحد قد سبقه الى الامر و الى الحصون بزبيد توجه الى الحسين ابن ابي العفاظ الحميري و هو يومئذ بالجرب و بنو ابي العفاظ من بني جرب بن شراحبيل و هم يعرّبون الى همدان و اما عبيد فاتك بن جيثاش و مولاهم المنصور بن فاتك فانهم نزلوا بالملك المفضل بن ابي البركات الحميري صاحب المعكر و بالحرّة السيّدة الملكة بنت احمد الصليحي بنى جليلة فاكرمت مولاهم ثم التزمت عبيد فاتك للمفضل بن ابي البركات ببيع البلاد على نصرتهم على عبد الواحد بن جيثاش فاخرجه من زبيد و ملكها لهم ^٤ و هم المفضل ان يغدر بال فاتك و يملك

^١ و ادلوه Khi,

^٢ الحميري Khi,

^٣ و ذلك في سنة اربع Khi, و خمسمائة

^٤ Lac. in MS. Khi, هوب من وادي زبيد فلما خرج الخ

^٤ فلما خرج عبيد فاتك من Khi, زبيد الى هوب لقتال ابراهيم و خلت زبيد منهم ثار

لا يقتل يا ابا حسان ثم احسن جيتاش اليه و الى اولاده خيرا و سيرة
 بجمع ما ملك من اهل و مال قال جيتاش و تسلمت فدار اقمارة
 بما فيها صبيحة الليلة التي ولد فيها و لدى فاتك و صبح ما كان اخبرني
 به الحسين ابن سلامة من رجوع امرئى عند ولادة الحمل التي كانت
 عندى ثم لم يمض شهر حتى صرت اركب فى عشرين الف حربة
 من عبيدنا و بنى عمنا الذين كانوا مستضعفين^١ فى البلاد فسبحان
 المنعم بعد الذلة و المكثربعد القلة و لم يكن من المكرم بعد ذلك
 كثير نكاية فى جيتاش اكثر من غارات على اعمال زبيد و فى هذا
 الحال يقول الحسين بن القم يخاطب جيتاشا حين قتل قاضى القضاة
 الحسن بن ابي عقامة

اتفر اذ جرت المكرم رحمة و تشجع فيمن ليس يحلى ولا يمري^٢
 و فيه ايضا من قصيدة يقولها ياتى ذكرها

اخطأت يا جيتاش فى قتل الحسن ففقت معتديا به^٣ عين الزمن

و لم يزل جيتاش مالكا لتعامه من سنة اثنتين و ثمانين و اربعمائة الى
 سنة ثمان و تسعين و اربعمائة ثم مات فى ذى الحجة منها و ترك
 من الاولاد الفاتك بن الهندي و منصور و ابراهيم و عبد الواحد
 و الذخيرة و معارك و قيل مات جيتاش سنة خمسمائة فى شهر رمضان
 منها و الاول اظهر و لى بعده ابنه الفاتك و خالف عليه اخوة ابراهيم
 بن جيتاش و كان ابراهيم فارسا جوادا متادبا فضلا و خالف عليه
 ايضا اخوة عبد الواحد بن جيتاش و كان العسكر تحببه و تأمنه و جرت
 بينهم وقايح و حروب و اقتسمت عبيد ابيهم عليهم و آلت الحال
 الى ان ظفر فاتك بن جيتاش باخيه عبد الواحد فعفى عنه و اكرمه

^١ مستضعفين | ^٢ ليس يبر ولا يتولى

فاتك والله به J. and Klun^٣

ابوه عليّ على سنبريه وهو يعلم ولذّة قال له ابوه ان غلبت الهندي
 اوفدتك على المكرّم و السيدة بارتفاع هذه السنة و دفعت لك
 الوفادة التي يدفعونها لعامل تهامة وهي الوقت من الدنانير فتراخيت
 له حتى غلبني تصدا في التقرب الى قلب ابيه فطاش الحسين
 من الفرج فسفه عليّ بلسانه فاحتملته لابيه فمدّ يده الى الخرقه التي
 كانت على عيني فاحتفظها فقام ابوه ففتح عليه وقامت من الخيظ
 فعثرت¹ فقلت انا جيّاش على جاري عادتي ولم يسعني سوى²
 فوثب عليّ بن القم خلقي حافيا يجرّ رداه حتى ادركني فامسكني
 فاحرج المصحف فحلف لي بما طابت به النفس فحلفت له وليس
 معنا احد ثم امر باخذ دار الاغر بن الصليحي³ و فرشت و علقمت
 سقرها و نقلت التجارية الهندية اليها * الوصائف و الوصف⁴ و ما عور⁵
 و اثاث و عافني عنده الى ان امسى الليل ثم اذن لي في الانصراف
 فدخلت فوجدت التجارية قد وضعت⁶ بين المغرب و العشا ولدي
 الغانك ثم اتاني عليّ بن القم ليلا فقال ان خبرنا لا يخفى على اسعد
 بن شهاب قلت انّ معي في البلد خمسة اقب حربة فقال ابن القم
 لجياش قد ملكت فاكشف امرك قال جيّاش فاني اكره قتل اسعد
 بن شهاب فانه طال ما قدر عليّ اهلنا و ذرارينا فعفى عنهم و احسن
 اليهم فقال له⁷ ابن القم فافعل ما نراه فضرب جيّاش⁸ الابواق
 و الطبول فانارت معه عاتمة المدينة و خمسة الاف من الجبشة و أسر
 ابن شهاب فقال له ابن شهاب ما يومنا منكم يآل تجاح و الايام
 سجل بين الناس و مثلي لا يسأل العفو فقال له جيّاش و مثلك

¹ محون ؟

² فيما بين Kbi

³ لي

⁴ فامر جيّاش بضرب Kbi

⁵ See supra.

⁶ Kbi ; لم يسعني الا الشيخ
 ا لم يسعني سوى الانصراف

⁷ دار العزدار الصليحي

⁸ حل اليها وصائف و وصفان Kbi

الشرطي فقتل له والده ما هنا من يغلبك إلا جياش بن نجاح وقد
 ملت في الهند ثم خرج عليّ وأند الحسين وهو طبقة عالية فلمعت
 معه فكرهت عليه^١ فخرج الدست مايعا^٢ فاعتبط بي وخططني بنفسه
 وهو في كل يوم و ليلة يقول عجل الله علينا بكم يأل نجاح فاذا كان
 الليل اجتمعت انا و الوزير خلف ثم نفرق بالفهار و انا في اثناء
 ذلك اكتب الحبيشة المتفرقين في الاعمال و آوهم بالاستعداد قال
 جياش و حين حصلت حول المدينة خمسة الاف حربة متفرقة
 في الحارات و داخل البلد قلت لوزير خلف ان لي عند عمر بن
 سحيم مالا نخذ منه عشرة الاف دينار و انفقها في الرجال الذين قد
 اجتمعوا ففعل ذلك ثم لقيت الوزير ليلة فقلت له * يا مولاي القايد
 اتاني^٣ حسين ابن سلامة في النوم و قال لي يعود اليك الامر الذي
 تحاوله ليلة ولادة هذه الجارية الهندية ثم التفت الحسين الى جانبه
 الايمن فقال لرجل معه اليس كذلك يا امير المؤمنين قال بلى
 و يبقى الامر في ولد هذا لمولود برهة من الدهر قال جياش و لقد
 اذكر يوما ان^٤ عليّ بن القم عاد يوما من دار السلطان الى داره وهو
 مغناظ فلما سكن غيظه قال لي اصعد يا هندي حتى العيب معك
 فلما ان لعبنا جاء الحسين ابنة ف ضرب عبدا له بالسوط فذالني طرفه
 و انا غافل فاعتريت^٥ و كانت عادة لي اقولها عند كل مهم يبغتنني
 و قلت انا ابو الطامي فقال لي الشيخ ما اسمك يا هندي فقلت
 بحر فقال بحر والله يصلح ان يتكنى ابا الطامي قال جياش و ندمت
 و ساءت ظنوتي بالقوم قال جياش فلما اراد الله رجوع هذا الامر
 اليها تلعبت انا و الحسين الشاعر ابن القم الشرطي و ليس معنا الا

١ اتاني مولاي القايد حسين

٢ اذكر ان

٣ فاعتبرت ؟ تعاررت

ان اغلبه Khi

٤ معاً

٥ كمن Khi

بن ابي طاهر و دخلنا الهند فى سنة احدى و ثمانين فاقمنا بها سنة اشهر ثم رجعنا الى اليمن فى تلك السنة بعينها قال و من اعجب ما رايت فى الهند ان انسانا قدم من سرنديب ولم يبق احد الا فرح به و زعموا انه عالم باخبار المستقبلات فسألناه عن حالنا فبشرنا بامور لم يخرم من قوله منها شيئا^١ و اشتريت جارية هندية فعلقت منى بالهند و دخلت بها اليمن وهى فى خمسة اشهر و حين وصلنا الى عدن قدمت الوزير خلف الى زبيد الى^٢ طريق الساحل و امرته ان يشيع موتى فى الهند و ان يستأمن لنفسه و يكشف لى عن حقيقة احوالنا و من بقى من قومنا بالعبثة و صعدت الى نى جبلة فكشفت احوال المكرم بن على و ما هو عليه من العكوف على لذاته و اضطراب جسمه و تفويض الامر الى زوجته الحرة الملكة السيدة بلى احمد ثم انحدرت من الجبال الى زبيد فاجتمعت بالوزير ابن خلف و اخبرنى عن احوال طابقت بها نفسى عن اوليائنا و بنى عمنا و عبيدنا و انهم فى البلاد كثيرين و انما يعدمون رأسا يفرورون معه قال جياش و جريت على عادة الهند فاخرجت شعر وجهى و طولت اظفارى و شعرى و سترت عينى الواحدة بخرقه سوداء و كنت قريبا من الدار السلطانية و اذا افترقت الناس من الصباح قصدت مصطبة على بن القم و هو وزير الوالى . قبل الملك المكرم بن على فسمعته يقول يرمسا والله لو وجدت كلبا من آل نجاح لاملكته زبيد و ذلك لشرح حدث بينه و بين الوالى اسعد بن شهاب قال جياش و خرج الحسين بن على القمى الشاعر و هو يومئذ رأس طبقة اهل زبيد فى الشطرنج فقال لى يا هدى تحسن تلعب بالشطرنج فقلت نعم فقلنا نعم فغلبته فكاد ان يسطو على ثم دخل على ابيه فقال له غلبت نى

^٢ على Kbi.^١ لم يخرم من قوله شيئا.

الخير أنك على كل شيء قدير ولا انسى قول الشاعر العثماني من
قصيدة وارتجلها في ذلك المقام يصف المظنة

ما كان اقع وجهه في ظلها ما كان احسن راسه في عودها

ثم ارتحل سعيد الى زبيد والرأسان معه بعد ثلاثة ايام من الوقعة
وقد حاز من الغنائم ملكا عظيما^١ ومنمنا جسيما ومما غنم الفتي
فرس بعددها وثلاثة الاف جمل بعددها ودخل زبيد يوم السادس
عشر من ذي القعدة سنة ثلاث وسبعين ورأس الصليحي و اخيه
امام هودج الحرة اسماء بنت شهاب حتى انزلها بدار شجار ونصب
الرأسين قبالة طاقبتها وهرب اسعد بن شهاب من زبيد الى المكرم
بصنعاء وامثال صدور الناس^٢ هيبة من سعيد بن نجاح بعد مقتل
الصليحي وتغلب ولاة الحصور على ما في ايديها من المعاتل وكاد
امر المكرم ان يقضخ واستوثق الأمر بتهامه لسعيد وبعث بالوصول
الى بلاد الحبشة من يشترى له عشرين حربية^٣ وانقطعت الاخبار بين
المكرم وبين والدته الحرة اسماء بنت شهاب حتى كان من نزوله
واخذها من زبيد ما قدمنا ذكره ثم عاد سعيد الى زبيد فملكها
واخرج منها ولاة المكرم ولم يزل مالكا لها حتى كان ما قدمنا ذكره
من قتله في وقعة حصن الشعير بتدبير الحرة الملكة السيدة بنت
احمد زوجة الملك المكرم سنة احدى وثمانين واربعمائة

ذكر دخول جياتش بن نجاح الى الهند ومعه الوزير قسيم

الملك ابو سعيد خلف بن ابي الطاهر الاموي من ولد

صليمان بن هشام بن عبد الملك

فقال جياتش ثم تنكرت ودخلت الى عدن ومعي الوزير خلف

^١ عشرين الفا Read ; عبد Kbi

^٢ الشعر

^٣ كنهه Kan

^٤ الحرب Kbi

فأنك لم تفخر علينا كفاخر ضعيف ولم يغلبك مثل مغلب
ثم إن سعيداً انفذ رسولا إلى الخمسة الآلاف التي قد كان الصليحي
بعثها من الليل تقتل سعيداً يقول لهم إن الصليحي قد قتل وانا
رجل منكم و العز عزمك و لم يبرح سعيد على باب المسجد و الرأسان
منصوبان معه و الطبول تضرب حتى قدمت العبيد عليهم فسلمت
عليه و بهم استطار على عسكر الصليحي قتلًا و أسراً و نهياً قال جيش
و عثرت نفس اخي سعيد من ذلك المقام و شمع بانفه حتى على
و لقي لاختوه ابن أمه و ابيه و ذلك إلى اشرفت عليه أن يحسن إلى
السيدة أسماء و يعفو عن من معها من بنى الصليحي و هم مائة
و سبعون سلطانا كان الصليحي يخاف معهم^١ أن يفاقوا بعد^٢ و يعفو
عن من معها من ملوك قحطان و هم خمسة و ثلاثون سلطانا و أن يكتب
على يديها إلى ولدها المكرم بن علي الصليحي أنا ادركنا نارنا
و استرجعنا ملكنا و فد احسنًا إليك و حملنا إليك أمك بصيانة
و العفو عن بنى عمك و قلت له والله يا مولانا لكن نعمت ذلك
لا نازعتك قحطان في ملك تهامة و لكن كرهت ذلك ليهيج
حفاظها و لتطلب دخولها فاجبني سعيد بقول الأول من الشعراء

لا تقطن ذنب الأفعى و تتركها إن كنت شهما فاتبع رأسها الذنبا

ثم أمر بالصليحيين قتلوا عن آخرهم رحمة الله عليهم اجمعين و لقد
رايت شيخا منهم اتقى الحربة بولده فنفذت منهما جميعا نعوذ بالله
من جهد البلا قال جيش لا انسى رأس الصليحي في عود المظلة
و قراءة المقرئ قل اللهم مالك الملك تؤتي الملك من تشاء
و تنزع الملك ممن تشاء و تعز من تشاء و تذلل من تشاء بيدك

^١ من بعده

]

منهم

الى ان دخلنا طريق^١ المعخيم والناس يعتقدون اننا من جملة عبيد الصليكي وحواشيه ولم يشعر بأمرنا الا عبد الله بن محمد اخي^٢ الصليكي فانه ركب وقال لآخيه يا مولانا اركب فهذا والله هو الاحول بن نجاح والعدد الذي جاءنا به كذب اسعد بن شهاب من زبيد فقال الصليكي لآخيه عبد الله اني لا اموت الا بالدهيم وبئر أم معبد معتقدا انها بئر أم معبد التي نزل بها رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم حين هاجر ومعه ابو بكر قال مشعل ابن فلان العمي قاتل عن نفسيك فهذه والله بئر الدهيم بين عبس وهذا المسجد موضع خيمة أم معبد بن الحسرت العبسي قال جيتش فاركه الياأس من الحيوة فاراق انعام في قبة درفته^٣ ولم يرم من مكانه حتى قطعنا راسه بسيفه وكنت اول من طعنه وشركه^٤ فيه عبد لنجاح هو الذي يطعنه وانا الذي جزرت راسه بيدي ونصبته على عود المظلة وأمرت بضرب الطبول والابواق وركبت فرسه الحضرمي المسمى بالدبال واما عبد الله بن محمد الصليكي وكان فارس العرب فحمل فينا وقتل منا رجلا ثم اعتنقه رجل منا وسقط الى الارض ونادى صاحبا اقتلوني انا والرجل فان اعز قومي رخيص يقتلني^٥ قال فشكهما سعيد بحربة واحدة وجزر راس عبد الله بن محمد وهو يعتقد الصليكي ثم ركب سعيد فرس عبد الله بن محمد والرأسان منصوبان امامه على^٦ باب المسجد الذي فيه السيدة اسماء بنت شهاب زوجة الصليكي فقال لها اخرجني فصيكي^٧ على السلطنين فقالت لا تصبحك الله يا احول بخير ثم انشدت ووجهها مكشوف قول امرئ القيس الكندي

^١ عد الملك بن نجاح بطعة Khi, اخرى وجزرت

^٢ مانه اعز على قومي لا رخيص يقتلني

^٣ الى^١ وصيحي Khi

^١ طرف Kan.

^٢ اخو Read

^٣ جته؟ قباء درعه

^٤ شركاني Kni

الحديد مركبة في الجريد وحدثني أحمد بن فلاح صاحب ديوان
التكفيقي بزبيد قال لما خرج سعيد بن نجاح الأحول من زبيد * قتل
جدي فرسا كان تحته فركبه^١ و كان خروج سعيد من زبيد يريده
الصليحي في آخر اليوم التاسع من ذي القعدة سنة ثلاث و سبعين
واربعمائة قال جيش بن نجاش فخرجنا في طريق الساحل و تركنا
الجماعة السلطانية مخافة العساكر ان تلقانا و بيننا و بين المهجم مسيرة
ثلاثة ايام للمجد و كانت الاخبار قد سبقتنا الى الصليحي بخروجنا
و اذسمع يومئذ قد امتلأت في الجبال و التهايم ثم ان هذا وقت ظهور
الأحول سعيد بن نجاح حتى لا تكاد المساجد و العجاس و المدارس
و الأسواق و الطرقات تخلو من الخوض في ذكر ذلك و كنا نكتم هذا
الامر مخافة على نفوسنا و سعيد يقسم بالله تعالى اني قاتله و اني صاحب
الوقت و يتحدث بذلك مع اكثر الناس فلما سمع الصليحي بخروجنا
سير من ركابه خمسة الاف حربة من الجبشة و اكثرهم معاليكنا و بقوا
عما و قال اخذوا راس هذا الأحول و راس اخيه و من معه و كنا قد
سلكنا يد البحر فخالقناهم و لقد اذكر ان اظلم علينا الليل و نحن
بالمراوعة من اعمال الكدرا فخرج علينا رجل من اهل الوادي و قال
اظنكم عربتم الطريق فقلنا نعم فقال اتبعوني فما زال بين ايدينا حتى
طلع الفجر ففقدناه و نالنا نصب و مسنا ضرر من نصب الجع^٢ بين
مسير النهار و الليل رجالة حم^٣ و سعيد بن نجاح راجل بيننا و القوس
يجنب وهو يقول يا صباح الخير و الظفر و السرور وهو يقول يادروا^٤
الانسان قبل ان يموت بغير ايدينا في شد فوالله لا طلعت شمس
غد وهو في الدنيا ولم يزل بعد^٥ السير على الوحي و الياس^٦ من الرجال

١ يادروا

٢ لم يزل السير

٣ الياس or الياس

٤ وجدوا جنديا على فرس قتله Khi,
و اخذوا القوس

٥ نصب للجرم Possibly نصب ولفاء Kan.

وهذه اخبار آل نجاح ملوك زبيد من الحبشة

لم يزل المؤيد نصير الدين نجاح مالكا لتهامة من اعمال ابن طرفه الى عدن و ملوك الجبال تعظم دولته و تتقى صولته الى ان قتله الداعي علي بن محمد الصليحي مع جارية اهداها اليه سنة اثنتين و خمسين و اربعمائة و تماسك بنو نجاح بتهامة بعد ابيهم سنتين و الامر لمولى لهم يقال له كهان وهم في حدّ عزم الكمال و بعضهم دون البلوغ ولم يلبث الداعي علي بن محمد الصليحي ان ازالهم و افترق آل نجاح بعد حصولهم في جزيرة دهلك فاما معارك الاكبر فقتل نفسه غبنا و اما الذخيرة فكانت حافلة و اما سعيد الاحول وهو قاتل الصليحي² فكانا رجلي البيت ما ملهما الا من تأدب و عاش و كثر و لكن اباهما نجاحا كان يرشح اخاهما الاكبر للامر وهو معارك و اما جيشا فانه تفكر و دخل الى زبيد فاستخرج وديعة كانت له عند عبد الرحمن بن طاهر القيبي و عاد الى دهلك مدة ايام الصليحي عاكفا على العلم حتى برع و اما سعيد الاحول وهو اكبر من جيشا وهما شقيقان فكان امرة من اعجب ما ذكر و ذلك انه خرج من دهلك الى زبيد مغاضبا لاخيه جيشا حين نهاء جيشا عن القدر بصاحب دهلك و استقر سعيد بزبيد عند الرئيس ملاعب الجوفى وهو سوقه³ الا انه كان اكثر الناس حبا لآل نجاح و احتقر سعيد بن نجاح نفقا بين دور ملاعب كان يسكنه اكثر الاوقات ثم كتب سعيد من زبيد الى اخيه جيشا بدهلك يأمره بالقدوم الى زبيد و ببشرة بانقضاء دولة الصليحي و اقبال دولتهم فلما قدم جيشا الى سعيد ظهر سعيد من زبيد في سبعين رجلا لا فرس مع واحد منهم و لاسلح الا مسامير من

١ سوفي

|

٢ و جيشا

على الاعزها وبقية في يده من سنة اربع و ثلاثين الى عام ست
 او سبع و اربعين ثم مات ثم ملك عقيم^١ حدثنى الشيخ معمر بن
 احمد بن عتاب و الاديب القاضى ابو بكر بن احمد العبدى و كانا
 خصيصين بحاله قال مات بلال عن مال من العين المكي^٢ ستمائة
 الف و خمسين الفا و من العين المصرى عن ثلثمائة الف و نيف
 و عن ابيرة من الفضة المصاغ حلى و مراكب خيل و بغال و سيف
 و رماح و اداوى كتابة و طشوت و اباريق و سمعديات^٣ و معاش^٤
 و منازل و سطول و طاسات و حرايبات^٥ و تصب من الفضة و آلات
 مرسة^٦ بالذهب و سكاكين صليحية و كيزان فضة و بعليات ما مقداره
 خمسة ابيرة و مائتا رطل فاما الملبوس و البضايح فخرائن و مخازن
 و كذلك الطيب و اصنافه و العدد و السلاح و تحف الهند و الطاف
 الصين و المغرب و العراق و دنانير^٧ مصر و ارض عمان و كرمان ما لا
 يدخل تحت حصر و انتقل الجميع بوصية الى مولاه الداعى محمد
 بن سبا ففرق ذلك فى صدة سنتين فى سبيل المروة و المعروف
 و مات بلال عن اولاد رجال منهم الشيخ مدافع بن بلال و وزير بعده ثم
 مات و اقام بكفالة الامير الاميرين^٨ الطفلين ولدى عمران بن محمد
 و اخيهما * منصور و الوزير و لها ابو الفرج^٩ ياسر بن بلال المسمى
 و ليس دين^{١٠} لهيبه فى حزم و لا عزم و لا اقدام فاما الكرم فهو مشهور عنه
 مذكور به منسوب اليه

^١ حرايبات ؟

^٢ مرسة ؟

^٣ ثنائين ؟

^٤ بكفالة الاميرين ؟

^٥ منصور الوزير امير ؟

^٦ Khî، الفرج

^١ ثم مات و الملك عقيم ؟

^٢ الملكى ؟

^٣ سمعدانات ؟

^٤ See معاش in Dozy's Dict., also
 Bul. Ed. of Mac. II. 1300, where
 علامت is suggested instead of ملات

و ملكت بعده ولده عمران بن محمد بن سبا فممنعنى اهل زبيد من السفر اليه و قضى الله بتوجهي الى ديار مصر رسولا لامير الحرميين المعظمين سنة احدى و خمسين و خمسمائة فاخذت كتابا من الملك الصالح الى الداعي عمران بن محمد اسأله عن تقسيط المال الذى ماتت ابره محمد الداعي وهو عندى له وهو ثلاثة الاف دينار فقال لى^١ الداعي عمران بن محمد ما مضمون كتاب الملك الصالح فى المال قال له القاضى الرشيد تقسيط قتل الداعي بل يقدم بيتين يقسط على القاف فيه فيقسط^٢ ثم تنازل ورقة و كتب فيها ما مثاله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اتول و انا عمران بن الداعي المعظم محمد بن الداعي الاجل سبا بن ابي سعود بن زريع بن العباس الياضى ان^٣ الفقيه عمارة بن الحسن الحكمى برى^٤ الذمة من المال الذى درج^٥ من يده لمولانا الداعي محمد بن سبا وهو الغان و سبعمائة دينار ملكيه ثم فارقت البلاد سنة اثنتين و خمسين و خمسمائة و المسافرين من اليمن الى الديار المصرية يحكون من مكارمه و شدة عزيمته ما يخجل الدهر اذا كان و الغيث اذا جاد ثم مات فى سنة ستين و خمسمائة عن اولاد هما محمد و ابو السعود و منصور و ما منهم الا^٦ من ادرك الحكم الى هذه التاريخ المذكور وهو المحرم سنة اربع و ستين و خمسمائة من الهجرة صلوات الله و سلمه على صاحبها و هذه نبذة حقيرة و فعر^٧ الى التفصيل فقيرة فى اخبار الشيخ السعيد الموفق السديد ابي الندى جرير بن بلال^٨ الممهدى وقد قدمنا انه ولى عهد^٩ لمولاه سبا ثم ابقاه

^١ Om. يا ؟

^٢ فعر ؟

^٣ Read جرير

^٤ عدن ؟

^١ قال الداعي ؟

^٢ يقسط على القافيه يقسط ؟

^٣ درج ؟

و الشيخ أبو الحسن بن علي بن محمد الصليحي و الشيخ المرزوقي
الحراني إلى ذى جبلة و من ذى جبلة إلى حصن حطب و كل من
رفح إليه رقعة و فتح له فيها بما مثاله العزقة لله وحده فلما انتهينا إلى
الحصن احصينا الرقاق التي بأيدي الناس و كان خازن ماله الشيخان
احمد بن موسى ابن أبي الزر^١ العامل و الشيخ ربحان المصمدي
فجاء مبلغ الرقاق خمسة آلاف دينار فاستكثرها الشيخ احمد بن موسى
فقال نشاوره على ذلك و قال الشيخ ربحان اما انا فما اكرة الحيوة
فوالله لكن شاورته على ذلك لا سلمت منه فدفع له^٢ المال في ذلك
اليوم بأسره و مدحه في ذى جبلة القاضي يحيى بن احمد بن أبي
يحيى بقصيدة فاثابه عليها بخمسمائة دينار و خلعة و قدمت من
تهامة وله بيدي مال كان قد دفعه الي^٣ في بعض اغراضه و جاني
كتابه إلى زبيد من ذى جبلة يستدعيني إليه فوصلته فعند مثولي
بين يديه قال ما اهديت لي قلت كذا و كذا من اشياء كنت قد
اعدتها له قال ما اريد الا الشعر قلت والله ما علمت^٤ كلمة و لا
اقدر اعلمها^٥ خوفا من اهل زبيد لا تم ينقمون علي في عمله فلم ينزل
يسألني والله حتى اخجلني و اقترح^٦ على الوزن الذي عمل القاضي
يحيى بن احمد بن أبي يحيى عليه فلما انشدته قال قد كنت
اثبت القاضي بخمسمائة دينار و خلعة و انا اثبتك مما تحت يديك
بمثل ذلك و اميزك عنه في^٧ خلعة بثيابي التي علي فقبضت
العمال و الثياب و كان ذلك احد الاسباب التي نقمها علي العجبة
و هموا من قتلي بما وثى الله عز و جل و مكارم الداعي محمد بن
سبا أكثر من ان تحصى و مات في سنة ثمان و اربعين و خمسمائة

١ اصلها ؟

٢ اقترحت ؟

٣ الدر ؟

٤ لهم ؟

٥ علمت ؟

تأريخ اليمن

ديفار فقال اجملوها ثلثمائة دينار وهي قليل ثم نهض و تولينا تسمتها
 بينهم و حضرنا يوما عنده بقصر الحجر في موضع يعرف بالجلدات و عنده
 من الشعراء صفى الدرة احمد بن علي الحقلی و القاضي ابو بكر بن
 محمد الليثي الجندی قاضي القضاة و هو مجيد وله بديهة لا فضل في
 الروية عليها و القاضي يحيى بن احمد^١ و ابي يحيى قاضي صنعاء
 و هو في الشعراء عند اهل اليمن في طبقة ابن القم فاقترح الداعي
 بيتي شعر على وزن قام على خاطرة و شرط لمن سبق مالا و ثيابا
 كانت عليه نفساً الجماعة فسبقهم القاضي ابو بكر بن محمد الليثي
 و كان قريبا مني فسقرت الورقة من يده فجمعتها في فمي^٢ و انتحلت
 بيتيه و قمت فانتشدتها الداعي و اخذت خصله و سلبته و سلبته
 نصه^٣ و فزت بالمال و الثياب ثم فاضت يذابيح كرمه على الجماعة
 فما منهم الا من خلع عليه واجزل صلته و لما كان في شهر سنة تسع
 و اربعين ابتاع الداعي محمد بن سبا من الامير منصور بن المفضل
 جميع المعامل التي كانت لبني الصليحي و هي ثمانية و عشرون^٤
 حصنا و مدائن منها مدينة ذي جبلة و ذي اشرق و اب فاحذها منه
 بمائة الف دينار و نزل منصور الى حصنه صبر و تعر و طلق زوجته
 الصليحية و هي اروى بنت علي بن عبد الله الصليحي و سعد
 الداعي الى الخلاف فسكن بذى جبلة و تزوج امرأة الامير منصور بن
 المفضل و تزوج ايضا بنت السلطان اسعد بن وائل بن عيسى الحرثي
 الوحاشية و اسكنها بدار ابن سباع بعد الصريحيين و اكثر الشعراء تهنيه
 و مدحه بالمعائل و العقائل الزوجات المذكورين و طاش فرحا لما
 صار اليه و بسط يده بالطايا حتى اذكر يوما وقد طلعت صبيحة انا

١ احمد بن ابي يحيى Read | و اصاب خصله (sic) ٢
 ا كفى ٣

٤ ثمانية عشر، KHi

الى عدن فملكه بلال و استخلف له الناس و الديوان وزوجه بلال
 بابنته و جهزه باحسن جهاز فصاهر انيسا و يحيى بن على العامل
 على الدملوة ثم ملكها و اطاعته البلاد كافة و قال انيس و قد اتمته فى
 التسليم للدملوة و الدملوة حصيلة لو لم استامن قتلى قتلنى^١ الجوار
 و النساء بالقباقب لانى فى مدة الحصار اسمعنه يقبلن لمن الله هذا
 العبد الذى يحتاج مثل ما تحتاجه كيف يمنع من هو خير لنا منه
 يعنين اخا مولاهن محمد بن سبا و كان القاضى الرشيد احمد بن
 التبريد قد خرج من الابواب المقدسة بتقليد الدعوة المجيدية الاعتر
 المرتضى على بن سبا سنة اربع و ثلثين و خمسمائة فوجد عليا قد
 مات فقلد الدعوة^٢ محمد بن سبا و نعته المعظم المتوج المكين
 و نعت وزيره بلال بن جرير بالشيع السعيد الموفق السديد و كان
 الداعى محمد بن سبا كريما ممدحا يثيب على المدح و يفرح به
 و يقرحه و يكرم اهل الادب و الفضل و ربما قال البيت الشعر
 و الابيات و رايته فى يوم عيد و قد احرقته الشمس فى المصلى بظاهر
 مدينه الحيرة و الشعراء يتسابقون بالنشيد فقال لى قل لهم و ارفع
 صوتك لا يتزاحموا فلست اتوم حتى يفرغوا و كانوا ثلثين شاعرا ثم
 اتاهم جميعا و اذكر ليلة و انا عنده فى قصر بالبحر اريد النزول الى
 عدن و عنده القاضيان ابو بكر بن محمد اليافعى الجندى و ابو الفتح
 بن السهل و جماعة من خواصه الا ان مثل ابلى قاسم سبا و محمد
 و هما و نيران^٣ و احدهما طبعب و منجم و هو محمد و كان قد
 اجتمع على بابه اصحاب هذه المدائح و هم عشرة ثم اخرج القضاة
 و قال ما ذا ترون فى ثوابهم و قدر الجماعة فلم يزيدوا على مائة

^١ ووصفه بالمتوج Kbi

^٢ و هم نيران

^٣ لو لم استلم ثلثنى الجوار

^٤ اخاه Kbi

سبا بعد فتحه النزاع بعدن لسبعة اشهر و بقى من المال القرض
ثلثون الف دينار و قضاها عنه الاعز و لده علي بن سبا و حدثني
الشهيد السعيد بلال بن جرير المحمدي قال لما ملكت حصن الخضراء
و اخذت الحرة بهجة أم السلطان علي بن ابي الغارات وجدت عندها
من الذخائر ما لم اقدر على مثله و عدن كلها بيدي في مدة متطاولة
قال بلال و بين عدن و لبح مسير ليلة فاذا كراي كتبت من عدن
بخبر الفتح و اخذني الخضراء و سئرت رسولا بالبشرى الى مولانا اداعي
سبا بن ابي السعود و في اليوم الذي كان فيه فاتحني للخضراء فقم
مولانا مدينة النزاع فالتقى رسولي و رسوله بالبشرى و ذلك من
اعصب القاربع و التجأ علي بن ابي الغارات الى حصنين يقال لهما
منيف و السند و هما لسبا صمروا^١ عالي لبح و قتله محمد بن سبا
في لبح هو و محمد بن منيع بن مسعود و رعية^٢ ابن ابي الغارات
في سنة خمس و اربعين و اما اداعي سبا فدخل مدينة عدن و لم
يقم بها الا سبعة اشهر كما قدمناه و دفن بها في سفح التعكر من داخل
البلد و اوصى بالامر لولده علي الاعز و كان موت اداعي سبا سنة ثلاث
و ثلثين بعد موت الحرة الملكة بسنة و كان الامير الاعز المرتضى
علي بن سبا مقيما بالصلوة و هم ان يقتل بلالا بعدن فمات مسلولاً
و اوصى الاعز بالامر لولده و هم حاتم و عباس و منصور و مفضل
و كانوا صغاراً فجعل كفالتهم الى الانيس الاعزى و الى يحيى بن
علي العامل و كان وزيراً و كاتبه و كان محمد بن سبا قد هرب من
اخيده فاستجار بالامير منصور بن مفضل بن ابي البركات بتعز و هرب
فاجارة و حين مات علي بالصلوة سئير بلال من عدن رجلاً من
همدان فاخذوا محمد بن سبا من جوار المنصور بن المفضل و نزلوا به

فقال اجلنى^١ يا ابا حمير فلم يبق عندهما غيرى فقال انك تعلم ان الحرب فارحطها الرجال والخيل وانا اريد منك ان تدفع لى ديتى وهى الف دينار ففعل الداعى ذلك ثم قال ودية ولدى فلان واخيه فاخذ عنهما الفى دينار ثم قال دفع الله عنك يا ابا حمير وبقي على الخيل ان عقرت فقال له الداعى حتى تعقر الخيل قال الهمدانى قدم لنا ثمتها كما قدمت لنا الدية فدفع له الداعى كيسا فيه خمسمائة دينار فلما قبض المال قال وبقيت خصلة ما اظن كرمك يا ابا حمير ردى فيها قال وما هى قال اى عزمت على ان اتزوج فلانة ابنة فلان وانت تعرف شرف قومها وليس لى من المال ما يلبقى ان اقابلهم به فدفع له الداعى مائة دينار ثم قال انعمت وتفعلت ولم يبق شىء الا انه قبض بمثلى ان اتزوج ولدى بلا زواج فدفع له مائتى دينار لكل واحد مائة ثم قام الهمدانى فلما بلغ باب الخيمة رجح فقال للداعى سبا والله لا اسالك حاجة بعد الحاجة التى رجعت لها وهى ان لى بنتا لا زوج لها وقبض بنا ان اتزوج انا واخوتها وتبقى ارملة قال له فماذا يكون فقال تدفع لى مالا ازوجهها به فدفع له مائة دينار اخرى ثم تمثل الداعى بقول الراجز استغنى لحيه زيد فانغف^٢ وحدثنى الداعى محمد بن سبا وبلال بن جرير المسمى قال انفق الداعى سبا بن ابي سعد على حرب السلطان على بن ابي الغازات ثلثمائة الف دينار ثم افلس واقترض من تجار عدن الذين يتوالونهم مثل الشريف ابي الحسن محمد بن ابي العمري من ولد عمر بن الخطاب والشيخ ابي الحسن على بن محمد و ابن اعين و ظافر بن فراح وغيرهم مالا ثم مات الداعى

^١ Read استغنى لحيه زيد
استغنى

^٢ Or اجلنى
منها Kbi

لى يا صبي قل لبيك يلبت فلا بد اليوم عشية من بعدل¹ الجشميات² اللواتى فى مضاربه فلما اخبرت والدى بذلك ركب بنفسه و قال لمن حضر من آل الذيب وهم بنو عمه الاذنون ان العرب المستاجرة لا تقدر على حر الطعان و لا يمسك³ النور الابموقة⁴ فالفوا بنى عمك فاصطلها بانفسك و الا فهى الهزيمة و العار فالتقى القوم فحمل مئا فارس على منيع بن مسعود قطعته طعنة شرم بها شفته العليا و ارنبة انفه و كثر الطعن بين الفريقين و الجلاء بالسيوف و عقر الخيل و العرب المحشودة⁵ نظارة ثم حملت همدان ففرقت بين الناس و تحاجر القوم ان وادى لبحج اقبل دافعا بالسيل فارقوا⁶ على عدوتى الوادى يتحدثن فقال الداعى سبا او غيره لمنيع بن مسعود كيف رايت تقتيل⁷ الجشميات⁸ يا ابا المذافع⁹ فى هذه العشية فقال منيع وجدته كما قال المتنبى

و الطعن عند مجيئهم كالتقبل

فلم يزل الناس يستحسنون هذا الجواب لمنيع لان الشاهد واقى الحال و حدثنى الداعى محمد بن سبا قال اقامت فتنه الزعازع سنتين و كان على بن¹⁰ محمد بن ابي الغزوات فى اول المر يذوق احوال جزاها و الداعى يمسك فكاد الناس ان يميلوا علينا فلما تضعت حال على¹¹ بذل الداعى ما لم يخطر بالبال ان يبذله و لقد انكر يوما ان رجلا من همدان دخل على الداعى سبا و هو مخيم فى الجيعة¹²

¹ Khi, فوتلوا

² Read تحشبات

³ Khi, يا ابا رافع

⁴ Read هو, or omit محمد بن

⁵ Khi, وهو فى نسخة

⁶ Read تقيل

⁷ Khi, التحشبات

⁸ Khi, النور الاقوده ; perhaps النار

⁹ D. in Khi. [الابموقة]

¹⁰ Khi, السوداء

و الشيخ احمد بن عتاب الهذلى نائبا لسبا بن ابي السعود فى نصف
عدن فانبسط ابن الحزرى فى قسمة الارتفاع على احمد بن عتاب
وامتدنت ايدى اصحاب على بن ابي الغارات الى ظلم الناس و عاثوا
فى البلد و افسدوا و اطلقوا الاقوال بمذمة الداعى سبا و قالوا من
ذلك مما يوجب الغيظ و يثير الحفيظة و الداعى فى ذلك^١ مهمم
بجمع الاموال و انقضت سرا^٢ سرا^٣ و كل من يلوذ بالداعى * فى ذلك^٤
يضام و يهتضم و الصولة لاصحاب على و الداعى فى ذلك يحتمل
و حين كاد احتماله ان يخرج الامر من يده عزم على مناجزة القوم
و تقدم قائده الشيخ السعيد الموق بلال بن جرير فوالة عدن و امره ان
يهاج القوم و يحرك القتال بعدن ففعل بلال ذلك و كان شهما^٥ ان
جمع جموعا من همدان و جنب بن اسعد^٦ و غنيس^٧ و حولان
و حمير و مذحج و غيرهم و هبط من الجبال^٨ فى نازل^٩ القوم بوادى
لحم و الداعى سبا بقرية^{١٠} فى هذا الوادى مسورة يقال لها بنى ابيه
فتزلها ببنى عمه آل الزريع و بنى عمه مسعود بهذا الوادى مدينة
اخرى كبيرة يقال لها الزعازع مسورة ايضا فخيم كل منهم بمدينة ثم
اقتتلوا اشد القتال

و ظلم ذى القربى اشد مضاعة على المرء من وقع السهام المهتد

و حدثنى الداعى محمد بن سبا قال كنت فى طليح الداعى فظهر
لنا على بن ابي الغارات و عمه منيع بن مسعود ولم تحمل الخيل
اقرب من الاثنين و لا اشجع فانهزونا فادركنا منيع بن مسعود فقال

^١ Om. Khi. Read هسى

^٢ لم يقف ج. ; من دملوه Khi,
الداعى بالملوة حتى نزل الى طح

^٣ فنازل، Khi,

^٤ ولداعى سبا قرية Rend

^٥ انا ذلك، Khi,

^٦ سرا فكان كل، Khi,

^٧ D. in Khi.

^٨ ولم يلبث سبا ان جمع، Khi,

^٩ بن حرب ؟

محمد بن سبا ولده عمران ثم نفي^١ و صفت^٢ بعده لآل زريع الى ان
 اخرجهم منها السلطان المعظم شمس الدولة توران شاه ابن ابي
 ايوب في ذي القعدة وكانت بيد محمد و ابي السعد ابن عمران
 بن محمد بن سبا وقد كان ابن^٣ حراة في عدن نصيب لا اقوم
 على حفظه و لا على تاريخ وقته وليس في آل الكسزم^٤ اكرم من
 عمران بن حراة^٥ و من مفضل بن زريع و دون كرمهما ينقطع
 الوصف و بنو الكسزم يعرفون بآل الذيب وهم بعد بني الصليحي بقرية
 العرب باليمن ولما مات محمد بن ابي الغارات بن مسعود بن
 الكسزم ولي الامر من بعده اخوة علي بن ابي الغارات وهو صاحب
 حصن الخضرا المستولى على البحر و على المراكب و المدينة و الداعي
 الالوهذ المظفر مجد الملك شرف الخلافة ضد الدولة سيف الامام تاج
 العرب و مقدمها داعي امير المومنين سبا بن ابي السعد بن زريع
 بن العباس بن الكسزم اليامي شريك السلطان علي بن ابي الغارات
 في عدن و هو مالك ثباها ولما يدخل من البر له معقل الدمولة
 و السوا و سامح و مطران و ذكهان و بعض المعافر و بعض الجند و
 اعماله في الجبال واسعة و له من الاولاد الاعز علي و محمد و المفضل
 وزياد و روح

ذكر السبب في زوال علي بن ابي الغارات من عدن

و حصولها للداعي سبا

حدثني الداعي محمد بن سبا و جماعة من مشايخ عدن قالوا كنا نعرف
 ابن الحزري ابا القاسم ناكبا لعلي بن ابي الغارات في نصف عدن

^١ الكرم Kdn. ; المكرم Khi

^٢ محمد

^٣ توفى

^٤ و صفت البلاد بعده

^٥ لابن

للحرّة الملكة السيّدة بنت أحمد بن الصليحي كان اصداؤها عدس حين
 زوجها من ولده المكرّم سنة احدى و ستين و اربعمائة ولم يزل ارتفاع
 عدس من سنة احدى و ستين يرفح الى الملكة السيّدة وهو مائة الف
 * يزيد و ينقص الى المكرّم^١ فلما مات المكرّم وفا^٢ لها العباس بعد
 موت المكرّم و مسعود ابني الكرم^٣ فلما ماتا تغلب على عدس زريع
 بن العباس و ابو الغارات بن مسعود فسار المفضل بن ابي البركات
 الى عدس و جرت بينه و بينهما حروب كان آخرها المصالحة على
 نصف ارتفاع عدس و لما مات المفضل بن ابي البركات تغلب
 اهل عدس على النصف الثاني فسار اليهم اسعد بن ابي الفتوح * ثم
 الملك المظفر و صالحهم على ربع الارتفاع للحرّة فلما ثارت بنو الزر
 في التعمر تغلب اهل عدس على الزرع الذي للملكة ولم يبق لها شيء
 في عدس لموت رجالها ولم يقلد ابن نجيب الدولة في ذلك على
 شيء * فهذه احوال ملكهم لعدس واما اخبارهم فيما شجر بينهم فان
 المفضل بن ابي البركات نزل في بعض غزواته الى زبيد و كان
 معه زريع بن العباس و عمّه مسعود بن الكرم و هما يومئذ صاحبا
 عدس فقتلتهما جميعا على باب زبيد ثم ولي الامر بعدهما ابو السعدي بن
 زريع و ابو الغارات بن مسعود ثم ولي الامر من بعدهما بعدن الداعي
 سبا بن ابي السعدي و محمد بن ابي الغارات ثم ولده^٤ علي الاعز
 المرتضى * ثم علي بن ابي البركات^٥ ثم الداعي محمد بن سبا * وهو آخر
 بلي زريع^٦ و علي بن ابي الغارات اخري بلي مسعود ثم ولي بعد الداعي

^١ ابن عم المفضل Read

^٢ ثم ولد سبا واسمه Read

^٣ مع علي بن ابي الغارات Read

^٤ Om. See note 59.

دينار وقد يزيد وقد ينقص Kāf,
 الى وفاة العباس بن المكرّم

^٥ وفا

^٦ الكرم Kān. ; المكرّم Kāf.

ربان المركب ان يظليه^١ ففرق بما فيه على باب المنديب و مات
ابن الازرقى شريفا فجزعت الحرة على ذلك حيث لا ينفصا ذلك
و دخلا عليها سليمان و عمران ابنا الزر شامتين بابن نجيب الدولة
و خرجا من عندها و هم يقولون صدق القديه في قوله قال عبد الله
بن عباس كنا ندخل نسمع الحديث عن عائشة فلا نخرج حتى نعلم
انها امرأة فكان اخر دخولها عليها

أخبار الزريع بن العباس بن الكرم الياى اهل عدن

اما نسبتهم فمن همدان ثم من جشم بن يام ابن اصبا^٢ و كانت
لجدهم ابن العباس بن الكرم^٣ سابقة مجمودة و بلاد^٤ حسن في قيام
الدعوة المستنصرية مع الداعى على بن محمد الصليحي ثم مع ولده
الداعى المكرم بن على عند نلنزهة الى زبيد واخذ أمه الحرة اسماء
بنت شهاب من^٥ الاحول سعيد بن نجاح و كان السبب في ملكهم
لعنن ان الصليحي على بن محمد لما فتحها و فيها^٦ بنو معن في
عدن فسار اليهم الملك المكرم ففتحها و ازال بنو معن منها و ولها
العباس و مسعود ابني الكرم و جعل مستقر العباس بعر^٧ عدن
وهو يجاور البنب و^٨ ما حصل من السبر و جعل لمسعود حصن
الخصرا^٩ و هو الساحل^{١٠} و المراكب و يحكم على المدينة و استخلفهما

^١ Read كان بها الح See note 57.

^٢ حصن التكر على باب عدن ج.

^٣ جعله

^٤ المستولى على البحر ج.

^٥ Kh. يفره

^٦ Read أمفا

^٧ Kh. المكرم ; Kdn. الكرم

^٨ Kh. ما

^٩ من اسر Kh.

اليه الشريف اسعد بن عبد الصمد بن محمد الكوالى و كان اصدق
الناس اليه فادركه من الجند على ليته فقال له هذه الحرّة الملكة
حجة مولانا مشرفة على الموت و ليست تثق باحد الا بك فارجع
اليها فرجع فاحتفظت به على كرامة وقيدته بقيد فضة فيه خمسون
أوقية و وصل الرسول من عدن يطلبه فامتدعت الحرّة الملكة عليه
و قالت له انت حامل كتاب مولانا فخذ جوابه و الا فاعد حتى
اكتب الي مولانا و يعود الجواب فدخل السلطانان سليمان و عمران
ابنا النزر و بذلا لعبد الله بن المهدي المسمى عشرة الف دينار
و حصنين باعمالها و كانت الحرّة الملكة الي رايه فخبونها سر السمعة
بالغزارية و أمر الرسول و من معه ان يشيعوا بذلك ولم ينزل بها حتى
استوثقت لابن نجيب الدولة من ابن الهيثاط باربعين يمينا و كتبت
الي مولانا الأمر باحكام الله امير المؤمنين و سيرت رسولا هو كاتبها
محمد بن الازرقى¹ و كان ادبيا منشيا للديوان بليغا مجيد الالفاظ
باهر الاحسان ثم سيرت الحرّة الملكة فى الهدايا بدنة قيمة الجواهر
التي فيها اربعون الف دينار و شفعت فيه فما هو الا ان خرج من
ذى جبلة بقص خشب و الناس يفترون اليه فقال لهم ما تفترون
أسد فى قفص ثم ساروا به الي ان فارقوا ذى جبلة بليلة حتى جعلوا
فى رجله طرقة² من مائة رطل حديد و شتموه واهاتوه و باتت فى
الداهليز عريانا فى الشقا و بادروا به³ من عدن فى جبلة سواكفية و احروا
رسولها محمد بن الازرقى بعدها بخمسة ايام⁴ ثم سفروا و تقدموا على

الازرقى، Kbi، ¹ و بادروا به الى عدن و سفروا، Kbi، ²

لينة، Kbi، ³

بعده بخمسة عشر يوما، Kbi، ⁴

قد خرفت فركب الى ذى جبلة و تنصل و اعتذر و كانت الملكة حجة الامام عليه السلام و كان سبب هذا القبض على ابن نجيب الدولة^١ الفقيه ابو عبد الله الحسين بن علي الحلبي^٢ ان الامور في وزارته ستر رسولا الى اليمن كان يحمل السيف و يسمى الامير الكذاب فلما وصل و اجتمع بابن نجيب الدولة في ذى جبلة في مجلس حائل ولم يكن ابن نجيب الدولة اكرمه و لا افاضه و لا عنى به و قصد ان يفض منه فقال له ابن نجيب الدولة انت والى الشرطة بالقاهرة فقال بل الذى الظم خيار من فيها عشرة الاف نعل^٣ فغض من ذلك ابن نجيب الدولة و المصق اعداء ابن نجيب الدولة الى هذا الرسول و اكثروا بره و حمل الهدايا اليهم و ضمن لهم هلاك علي بن ابراهيم بفصلين اما احدهما فقال اكتبوا على يدي الى مولانا الامر كتبا تذكرون فيها انه دعاكم الى نزار و راودكم على ذلك فامتنعتم و الفصل الثاني اضربوا سكة نزاريه و انا اوصلها الى مولانا الامر باحكام الله ففعلوا ذلك و وافق ووصله من اليمن للقبض على الامور فواصل الكتب و السكة الى مولانا فغضى ذلك بتسيير الامير الموفق ابن الخياط للقبض على ابن نجيب الدولة و سار معه من الباب مائة فارس من الحجرية المفضعين و ممن كان في صحبة هذا ابن الخياط عز الدين و سار مع ابن الخياط ابنه سعد الملك فلما وصل الخبر بان الرسول في دهلك توجه ابن نجيب الدولة الى بلاد زبيد بعد امتناع و كراهته لذلك و كان يقول داع لا يقاتل و الموت اصلح من الففاق و دخل اعداؤه الى الحرة الملكة و قالوا لها احتفظي يا مولانا بابن نجيب الدولة فان الامام لا يطلبه الا منك فتمارضت الملكة و ارسلت

^١ Om. و
^٢ نقل

^٣ على ما حدثت
الجبلي

حرفت و استحققت عندي ان يحجر عليها فعند ذلك وصل اليها
السلطين الريمه سليمان و عمران ابنا الزر و سبا بن ابي السمود
و ابو الفارث و اسعد بن ابي الفتوح و المنصور بن المفضل و استاذنوها
فى حصار ابن نجيب الدولة بالهند فاذننت لهم و كانت
الهند مسورة و معه فيها من همدان اربعمائة فارس منتقاة فجاءته
السلطين فى ثلاثة الاف فارس و ثلاثة^١ الاف راجل و احاطوا به
و كانت مع ابن نجيب الدولة فى الهند فرسان كل فارس منهما^٢
يعد بمائة فارس منهم الطوق بن عبد الله و محمد بن احمد بن
عمران بن الفضل بن على اليماسى و عبد الله بن عبد الله الذى ولى
الدعوة بعد ابن نجيب الدولة و هو من بنى الصليحي و منهم على بن
سليمان الزواحي و ابو الفيت بن سامر و محمد بن الاعز و عاش الى
ان ذبحه ابن مهدي عدرا^٣ و منهم الفريدين ولما اشتد الحصار على
ابن نجيب الدولة و هو فى اشد التعب كذبت الحرة الملكة على
جاري العادة منها الى عمرو ابن عرطلة الجبني^٤ فاتاهم^٥ فحتم
بذى جبلة و بعثت الى وجوه القبائل ففرقت فيهم عشرة الاف^٦
مصرية و قالت للرسل اشيعوا فى العسكر ان ابن نجيب الدولة فرق
فى الناس عشرة الاف^٧ مصرية^٨ فان انفق السلطين^٩ شيئا من الذهب
المصري و الا ارتحلنا فلما غوطب السلطين بذلك وعدوا الناس
فلما كان من الليل ارتحل السلطين كل واحد منهم الى بلده
و اصبحت الحشود من كل بلد بلا رأس فانقض الناس عن الهند
فقيل لابن نجيب الدولة هل ابصرت هذا القديير الذى^{١٠} قلت انها

^١ ماتاما ؟

^٢ دينار مصرية Kbi.

^٣ فطبت العساكر من Kbi.

^٤ سلطينهم ان يغفروا عليهم

^٥ الفنى ؟

^٦ ثلثين Kbi.

^٧ منهم

^٨ مصر or عدرا ؟

^٩ مرقطة الجبني ؟

استأملوا الى اصحاب زبيد و لما تزاحف الناس في الحرب رمى رجل من العشرة المستأمنة بسهم فلم يخط انف الفرس الذي عليه ابن نجيب الدولة فسقط على بن ابراهيم الى الارض حتى شت به الفرس فانهمز عسكرا فقتل السودان بأسرهم ولم ينج من الامن سوى خمسين و كانوا اربعمائة قوس و اما الداعي فقاتلت عليه همدان اشد قتال حتى اردفه منهم رجل يقال له الساعي و جاهدت عنه من همدان خمسة عشر فارسا احدهم الطوق و غاب فرس ابن نجيب الدولة من الوقعة صلاة الظهر يوم الجمعة فاصبح يوم السبت بمدينة الجند و بينها وبين زبيد اربعة ايام او ثلاثة للمجدد ولم يمس الخبر الا بذي جبلة بان ابن نجيب الدولة قتل بزبيد ثم وصل الداعي من الجند بعد اربعة ايام و ركب الى ذى جبلة و اجتمع بالحرة فارتش و عادت حاله ففزا بلاد سليمان بن ابي الزر اربعة اشهر ثم تهادنا و عاد الى الجند ثم غزا آل الزريع الى الحيرة فالتقى معه ابن المفضل¹ بن زريع بالحمة بنى سلمه فطعن ابن نجيب الدولة و كان جعد القراصة فسقط الى الارض فطمعه عبد لمسعود بن زريع * يقال له زريع² يقال له مسافر و حمل الطوق الهمدان على مسافر فقتله و وقف عند ابن نجيب الدولة حتى ركب و عاد ابن نجيب الدولة الى الهند و كان جوشنه قد سقط و وقع على ارض في هذه الوقعة فقال مفضل بن زريع في ابن نجيب الدولة لما سقط جوشنه

مضى هاربا ناسيا جوشنه مخافة يسام بسان تطعنه

وليس من الموت يُجى القرار هكذا ترى النفس الموقنة

و في سنة تسع عشرة سالت عشرته³ على الملكة الحرة و قال قد

¹ Kbi, سيرته

² Om. 1

³ مع المفضل

وما تحت ثياب اكثر من^١ شامة او اشلول او جراح او اثر نار فكان
 بن نجيب الدولة اذا سألهم عن غوامض هذه الاشياء اعتقدوا انه
 يعلم الغيب و اول ما عمل بذى جبلة ان اخذ رجلاً من خولان من
 بنى عمرو ، من بنى عم عمران بن الزر يقال له سليمان بن عبيد
 و هو رجل فبيبه القدر على الذكر فضربه بالعصا حتى اخذت في ثيابه
 و رجعت خولان الى^٢ ذى جبلة فجمع سليمان بن احمد الزواحي
 ابن اخى الحرّة الملكة و زوج أم همدان بنت المكرم فاخذ الخولان
 من ابن نجيب الدولة بغير اختياره فخلع عليه و ارسله الى قومه
 فانكفت اكف خولان عن ذلك البسط ثم ان ابن نجيب الدولة غزا
 اهل وادى ميمم^٣ و زبيد و غزا اهل السهنة فأمنت البلاد و رخصت
 الاسعار و انكف الذعار و قبض يده عن اموال الناس و عدل فيهم
 و اقام الحدود و عزّبه جانب الحرّة الملكة و انقمع اهل اليمن عن
 الطمع في اطراف بلادها و استخدم من بنى حماس و سنجان^٤
 ثلثمائة فارس و قوم عليهم اطوق الهمداني و لما مات الاصل سنة
 خمس عشرة و خمسمائة قوّاه المأمون و شدّ أزرة و كتب اليه
 بالقويص و بسط يده و لسانه و سير اليه المأمون اربعمائة قوس ارمين
 و سبعماية أسود و سكن الجند^٥ و هى و طليعة للجافر متوسطة في الاعمال
 فزاق به الأمر على سلطين الوقت و هم سليمان و عمران ابني الزر
 و منصور بن المقفل بن ابي البركات و سبا بن ابي السعود و مفضل
 بن زريع و في سنة ثمان عشرة دخل^٦ زبيد و الوزير بها يومئذ من الله
 الفاتكى و كانت عشرة رماية من اصحاب ابن نجيب الدولة قد

^١ سلعان

^٢ امرته السيدة ان يسكن الجند Kbi

^٣ غزى زبيد فقاتل اهلها على Kbi

باب القرب

١ تحت ثيابهم من

٢ فطرده خولان عن جبلة Kbi ؟ من

٣ ميمم

و السؤال لها في صرف العرب عنهما ولقد حكى لي السلطان يزيد بن عيسى الرائلى قال اذكر وقد ارسلنى عمران بن الزر الى الحجرة الملكة و هو مصافف للعرب يستنجد بالحجرة فبعثت اليه بعشرة االف دينار مونة فردت بها اليها و قال هل هي تعرف ما ينفعنى قال يزيد بن عيسى فكتبت لى بخطها^١ الى عمرو بن عرفطة الجبني^٢ برقة فيها اذا وقفت على أمرنا هذا فارتحل عن بلاد بنى الرز^٣ مشكورا فلما وقف عمرو بن عرفطة^٤ عليها نادى فى الفاس بشعار الرحيل و هو قوله^٥ يا راشد بن مروح فلم يمض ساعة وبقى منهم أحد فقال عمران اخيه^٥ هذا و ربك العز و الطاعة

ولما كان فى سنة ثلاث عشرة و خمسمائة قدم الى اليمن ابن نجيب الدولة و هذه اخبار الموفق ابن نجيب الدولة منها انه كان فى ابتداء أمره على خزنة الكتب الافضلية و كان عزيز الحفظ مستبصرا فى المذهب الطاهر قابلا بتلاوة القرآن العزيز و كان يقرأ على روايات فاما اسمه فهو على بن ابراهيم بن نجيب الدولة و اما نعتة فهو الامير المنتخب عز الخلافة الفاطمية فخر الدولة الموفق فى الدين داعى امير المؤمنين سار بمن معه من الحجريه عشرون فارسا محفارة منقاة و حين وصل ابن نجيب الدولة الى جزيرة دهلك نقيه الكازم^٥ الواصل من عدن محمد بن ابى العرب الداعى من ولد صاعد بن حميد الدين فكشف لابن نجيب الدولة اسرار اليمن و احوال الناس كلهم و اسماعهم و حلالهم و كفافهم و تواريخ مواليدهم

١ قولهم

٢ لآخيه

٣ الكافم

٤ فكتبت بخطها

٥ عرفطة الجبني

٦ الزر

حدد فأخرج منه السلطان عبد الله بن يعلى الصليحي الشاعر الأديب
 الفاضل الكامل وملكه و كان عبد الله بن يعلى هذا كثير الأموال
 فانتقلت^١ سواه إلى المسلم^٢ بن الرز^٣ فقوميت شوكته و اتصل بالحرّة
 الملكة و بهواشيها و رجا أن تقيمه الحرّة عوضا عن المفضل بن أبي
 البركات و بعث إليها بولديه عمران و سليمان فحسن موقعهما من
 قبلها و امرت بهما فعلما الخطّ على كبر فلما كان بعد ذلك زوجت
 سليمان و عمران بعض ربايها عندها و صارا يختلفان إلى ابيهما بحدود
 و حولان مستظهرة و لهم صوتة و كلمة فلما مات المسلم^٢ ملك ولده
 سليمان حصن حدود و بقي عمران عندها ثم أن عمران حسنت حاله
 عندها و كان فتح بن مفتاح بعد موت المسلم^٢ بن الرز^٣ خالف على
 الملكة مولاته بحصن التعكر و استبدّ به دونها فقاطف عمران حتى
 خطب إلى القائد فتح بن مفتاح ابنته بعد خلافه و عصيانه عليها
 بالتعكر فلما كانت ليلة الدخول بها دبّر سليمان و عمران على فتح
 حتى غدرا به و ملكا عليه التعكر فأجارا عمران و اشترط عليهما فتح
 أشياء و قيا له بها منهما^٤ أنهما وهبا له حصنا يقال له شار فنقل إليه من
 الدخائر ما يمزّ عليه فلما حصل التعكر بيد عمران واصل الحرّة الملكة
 ببذل الطاعة و الخدمة فلم تلقفت إليه و امتدّت أيدي حولان على
 الرعايا و غيرهم و عاثوا و افسدوا و كانت الليلة التي ملكوا فيها حصن
 التعكر ليلة الأحد الثاني عشر من ربيع الأول سنة خمس و خمسمائة
 ولم تنزل هذه حالة حولان مع الحرّة إذا رأتهم قد طفوا أرسلت إلى
 عمرو بن عرفة الجبلي^٥ سطرأ أو سطرين بخطها فمقبض على بلاد أبي
 النور من العسائر^٦ الفارس و الرجال فلا يخصهما منه إلا الصراعة إليها

^١ منهم

^٢ عرفة الجبلي

بالعسائر

^٣ مسلم
^٤ الرز

المفضل بتهمة فسار^١ يلوى على احد حتى وصل الى التعكر^٢ و حصر
 الفقهاء فقامت خولان في نصرة الفقهاء و اقام الحصار عليهم ثم رأوا ان
 خولان خاذلهم فقال لهم ابراهيم بن زيدان ان اموت حتى اقتل
 المفضل ثم اهلك بالأموت فعمد الى حظاياها من السراري فاخرجهم في
 اكمل زي و احسنه و جعل بايديهم الطائرات و اطلعهم على سفوف
 التصور بحيث يشاهدن^٣ المفضل و يسمع هو و جميع من معه في
 حصن عزان التعكر^٤ و كان المفضل اكثر الناس غيرة و أنفة فقليل انه
 مات في تلك الليلة و قال آخرون امتص خاتما كان في يده معدا
 عنده فاصبح ميئا و الخاتم في فيه فكان موته في رمضان سنة اربع
 و خمسمائة و لما مات المفضل طلعت الحيرة الملكة من ندى جبلة
 و خيمت بالريادي على باب التعكر و كاتبته الفقهاء و لاطفتهم الى
 ان كتبت لهم خطها بما اقترحوه من امان و اموال و اشترطوا عليها
 ان ترحل هي و جميع الحشود و يصل اليهم من يرؤونه واليا و يقيمون
 مع الوالي الى ان تصل غنائمهم ما منهم فوفت لهم بذلك و ولت
 التعكر مولها فتح بين مفتح و حدثني السلطان ناصر بن منصور قال
 حدثني عمك ابراهيم بن زيدان بعد نزوله من التعكر ان نصيبه من
 العيين كان خمسة و عشرين الفا و كانت خولان قد دخلت منها الى
 مختلف جمعفر قبل موت الملك المفضل ستة الاف برمي الشعر
 و اكثرها بنو بحر و بنو صدة^٥ و مران و رواح^٦ و شعب حتى
 و بنو جماعة ففرقهم المفضل في الحصون و استأجلفهم للملكة فلما مات
 المفضل و ثب من مران رجل يقال له مسلم بن الرز^٧ على حصن

١ غنة ؟

٢ رواح ؟

٣ الرز ؟

٤ J. and Kbi, التعكر
وسار محاسرا للتعكر

٥ يشاهدن ؟

٦ وهو في لغة بمران, Kbi.

من آل الزريع بمائة ألف دينار كل سنة وحدثني الشيخ أبو الطاهر القابوني قال اذكر يوما وانا عند المفضل بن ابي البركات بالتمكر وقد اتاه ارتفاع صف عدن خمسين الف دينار فسيرها من وقته الى الحرة الملكة الى ذى جبلة ولم يتعلق منها بشيء فعاتبته على ذلك فقال ليس ينبغي الا ما حصل^١ عندها فلما وصل المال اليها اعادته اليه وقالت ابنته عندك فانت احوج اليه مما قال ابو الطاهر ففرق المفضل على الحاضرين عشرة اكياس فذلفى منها كيس فيه الف دينار وكان المفضل يحتاج حتى لا يرجى لقاءه ثم يظهر فيعنى من احتج ببابه من الوفود ويصل اليه الضعيف والثقوب فينظر فى احوال الاحمال والعمال ويجيب عن كل كتاب وصل الى الابواب ثم يغيب فلا يظهر ولا يوصل اليه وهذه عادته منذ عظم امرة ولما اخرج المنصور بن جياش من زبيد باخيه عبد الواحد بن جياش هاجر هو وعبيده الى الملك المفضل والتزموا على النصرة ربع البلاد فسار المفضل معهم فاخرج عبد الواحد وملكهم ثم هم ان يغدر بهم ويملك زبيد عليهم فحين حلّى التعكر من المفضل وطالت اقامة بتهمته وفى التعكر زيب يقال له الحمل وكان هذا الحمل متقصا^٢ متمسكا بالدين فصعد اليه الى التعكر سبعة من اخوانه الفقهاء منهم محمد بن قيس^٣ الوحاضى ومنهم عبد الله بن يحيى ومنهم ابراهيم بن محمد زيدان وله كانت ابليعة وهو عمى احو والذى لابيه و أمه واخذوا الحصن من الحمل وكانت الرعايا من السنة قد قلوا للفقهاء اذا حصلتم فى راس الحصن فاوقدوا النار فعملوا ذلك ليلا فاصبح عندهم على باب الحصن عشرون الفا واستولت الفقهاء على ملك لم يعهد ووصل الخبر الى الامير

١ مقصدا

٢ من

٣ قيس

تطلع من ذى جبلة في ايام الصيف فتقيم به و اذا برد الوقت
سكنت بذي جبلة و المفصل يتصرف عن أمرها و يدخل عليها
مع حوائس بزرائها و الامراء و الاكابر من عبيدها و هو رجل الدولة
و مدبرها و المرجوع الى رأيه و سيفه و الحجة لا تقطع أمرا إلا به فعظم
بذلك شأنه و علت كلمته و غزا تهامة * مرارا له و عليه^١ و هبط عدن
مرارا^٢ ولم يبق باليمن من يسميه ثم قال للحجة يوما و هو في التعمر
انظري يا مولدنا الى ما كان في هذا الحصن من ذخائر فانزلي به
الى دار العز او فاغزليه في بعض هذه القصور و اما هذا الحجر يعنى
التعمر فاتركيه لى فلا طاعة لك على فيه^٣ بعد اليوم قالت^٤ لو لم تقل
هذا القول ما اخرجتك^٥ اليه الحصن حصنت و انت رجل البيت
و لا حرج عليك منى فيما عاد لسمم قدرك و علو أمرك فحجج منها
و اطرق و نزلت الحجة الملكة الى ذى جبلة ولم تغير من الاحوال
شئا فكان ينزل اليها ثم يترصاها فى طلوع الحصن كعادتها فلا تفعل
وهى فى^٦ ذلك تواصل برة بما يحسن عنده موقعة^٧ من الجوارى المغالى
و الكسارى و الطيب و العبيد و الاستندين و غير ذلك و من لامها
فيه و حذرها منه ام تسمع كلامه وله فى نصرتها و الذب عن اعمال
دولتها مواطن حميدة منها انه حارب الداعى سبا بن احمد حين
خطب الحجة فلم تفعل فسار الى سبا فى حيوشن عديدة و حارب
على بن سبا صاحب قيسان^٨ و اخرجه منه و حارب عمرو بن قريظ
الجنفى^٩ و غيره من سحجان^{١٠} و عئس و زبيد و استرجع لها نصف عدن

^١ يحسن موقعه، Khi.

^٢ سطلن، Khi.

^٣ ارقطة الجنسى ؟

^٤ سطلن، Read.

^٥ مرارا فتارة له و تارة عليه، Khi.

^٦ ما فيه

^٧ قالت له، Khi.

^٨ اخرجك، Khi.

^٩ مع، Khi.

عشرة و ناد علي بن سبا شمس المعالي أبي اليمين فملك حصون
أبيه و دس عليه الأمير المفضل من قتله بالسّم سنة خمس و تسعين
و اربعمئة

هذه اخبار الملك المفضل بن ابي البركات بن الوليد
الحميري صاحب التعكر

لما اختط المكرم بن علي دار الربذي جبلة و انتقل من صنعاء الى
مخلاف جعفر قال عبد الله بن يعلى

هبّ التميم فبث كالحيراني شوقاً الى الاهلين و الجيران
ما مصر ما بغداد ما طبرية كمدينة قد حفاها نهران
خدد لها شام وحب مشرق و التعكر السامي الرفيع يمان

و كان التعكر يومئذ في يد السلطان اسعد بن عبد الله بن محمد
الصليحي ابن عم الملك المكرم الذي قتل مع الداعي علي بن
محمد اخيه بالهجم نسأت عشرة^١ هذا اسعد بن عبد الله بن محمد
ابن عم الملك المكرم فنقله عن مجاورته و عن التعكر و عوضه حصون
ريمة و اعماله^٢ و ولاة اخاه ابا الفتح^٣ بن الوليد حصن تعز و المفضل
يقوصف للمملكات المكرم بذي جبلة و هو من صغار الدار انذين يدخلون
على الحرّة الملكة في رسائل الملك المكرم و الحجاج بينهما و لما
مات ابو البركات والد الأمير المفضل بعد الملك المكرم جعلت
الحرّة ولاية التعكر الى المفضل بن ابي البركات بعد ابيه و كان التعكر
مقر ذخائر بني الصليحي التي صارت اليهم من ملوك اليمن و الحرّة

والياً في العكر و اعمالها و ولي اخاه

ابا الفتح Bend

^١ سيرة Kbi

^٢ و جعل ابا البركات بن الوليد Kbi

أحد يقرل مولانا مولانا وارسل الداعي سبا بن احمد الى الحرة
الملكة في السريساها ان تاذن له في الدخول اليها الى دار العز
ليقوم الناس انه دخل بها ففعلت ذلك و زعم قوم من اهل ذى
جبلة انه اجتمع بها ليلة واحدة ثم ارتحل في صبيحتها و قوم
يقولون انها بعثت اليه جاريتها فلانة و كانت شبيهة بها و نعى
ذلك الى الداعي سبا بن احمد فباتت الجارية واقفة على راسه
و هو جالس لا يرقع طرفه اليها حتى اذا طلع الفجر صلتى و امر بضرب
الطبول و قال للجارية اعلمى مولانا انها نطفة شريفة لا توضع الا في
مستحقها ثم سار فلم يجتمعا بعد و يقان ان الداعي سبا بن احمد ما
وطى^١ أمة قط و لا شرب مسكرا و كانت زوجته الجمانة بنت سويد
بن يزيد^٢ الصليحي تقول انا لا اغير على مولانا سبا لانه لا يطأ أمة قط
و العريبات تقول ما ذا انسلت حوا مثل الجمانة غير اسماء بنت
شهاب و دخل في هذه المدة شجاع الدولة و اغنوه و دفع له شمس
المعالى الوفا من المال و كان كريما و هو زوج فاطمة بنت المكرم
من الحرة الملكة ثم تزوج عليها فكتبت الي أمها تستنجدها فامدتها
بالمفضل^٣ بن ابي البركات في عساکر و لبست فاطمة زى الرجال
و فصلت من حصن زوجها في عسکر المفضل تسيرها الى أمها الملكة
و ادام الحصار على شمس المعالى حتى اخرجها من منملنته بامان
على نفسه فوصل الى الافضل مستنجدا به فلم يلتفت الافضل اليه
ولم يكرمه و حمل اليه الامير شجاع الدولة الذى كان قد اغناه في
اليمن ثلاثون اردبا من الشعير ولم يطعمه لقمة خبز و لا احسن معه

^١ بالمفضل

^٢ زيد، Klia

يرد^١ على الحجره الملكة السيده الرضية الزكية وحيدة الزمن سيده
 ماوك الزمن^٢ عمدة الاسلام نخيرة الدين عصمة المسترشدين كهف
 المستخين^٣ لية امير المومنين وكافله ازيائه الميامين ويقول لها وما
 كان لعمري ولا موعنة اذا قضى الله ورسوله امرأ ان يكون لهم الخيرة من
 امرهم و من يعص الله ورسوله فقد ضلّ ضللاً مبيناً وقد زوجت
 مولانا امير المومنين من الداعي لأبجد المنصور المظفر عمدة الخلافة
 امير الامراء ابى حمير سبا بن احمد بن المظفر على الصليحي على
 ما حضر من المال وهو مئمة الف دينار عينا وخمسون الفا ائنانا
 من تحف واطراف وطييب و كساوى فقالت اما كتاب مولانا فاقول
 فيه انى القى الى كتاب كريم انه من سليمان وانه بسم الله الرحمن
 الرحيم ولا اقول فى أمر مولانا يا ايها الملة ائتوني فى امرى ما كنت
 قاطعة امرأ حتى تشهدون و اما انت يا ابن الاصبهانى فولله ما
 جدت الى مولانا من سبا بنياً يقين ولقد حرفتم القول عن موضعه
 و سولت لكم انفسكم امرأ فصبر جميل والله المستعان على ما تصفون
 ثم تقدم زربج بن ابى لفتح وزبرها و الاصبهانى ونظرا وهما فلم يزلوا
 يلاطفون بها حتى اجابتهم فعدوا النكاح ولم يلبث سبا بن احمد ان
 سار فى أمم عظيمة الى ذى جبلة فقام بها شهراً و الضيافات الواسعة
 على مخيمه و انفق على عساكرة من ماله مثل قدمه اليها من المهر
 و اتى^٤ الداعي سبا بن احمد من على^٥ همتها و شرف افعالها
 و خفا ذكره عنده^٦ و أن احدا من الناس لا يعدل بها احدا^٧ و كل

^١ راى Khi,^٢ صق ؟^٣ ما حقر نفسه مع Khi,^٤ احدا Omit ؟^٥ السلام ؟^٦ Khi, اليمن^٧ Khi, المستجدين^٨ Khi, بن على

العرب نيلًا و هم مرتبون على باب زبيد في عشرة الاف و كانوا
 ثلاثة الاف فارس و عشرة الاف راجل فلم ينج منهم الا صباغة يسيرة
 و هلك الجميع قتلًا بالحراب و هرب سبا في تلك الليلة راجلًا في
 اغمار الناس حتى ثقيفه في اخر الليل من حمله فلم تعد العرب الى
 تهامة بعدها و من اخبار سبا بن احمد الداعي ما حدثني به الفقيه
 ابو عبد الله الحسين بن علي البجلي عن ابيه و كان يسكن بذي
 جبلة و هو من خواص الداعي سبأ بن احمد قال لما مات المكرم
 بن علي عن الحرّة الملكة السيّدة بنت احمد خطبها الداعي سبا بن
 احمد فكرهت ذلك فجمع العساكر و سار من اشعير يريد حربها بذي جبلة
 فجمعت هي ايضا جنودا اعظم من جنوده و تصاف العسكران و شبّ
 الحرب بينهما اياما ثم قال له اخوها لامها سليمان بن عامر الزواحي
 والله لا اجابتك الى ما تريد الا بأمر الامام المستنصر بالله امير المؤمنين
 فترك سبا بن احمد الداعي الاوحد المنصور قتلها و رجع الى اشعير
 و سار الى الامام المستنصر بالله رسولين هما القاضي حسين^١ بن
 اسمعيل اصبهاني و ابو عبد الله الطيب فكتب الامام المستنصر بالله
 اليها في اثنا عشر المكاتبات ثلاثة اسطر يأمرها فيها بفكاح الداعي سبا
 بن احمد^٢ استنادا له يعرف بحمل المدينة^٣ و يذعت بيمن الدعوة
 برسم الدخول على الحرّة الملكة قال الجبلي^٤ و كنت نعيم بعثه
 الداعي سبا بن احمد من حصن اشعير الى ذي جبلة صحبة الرسولين
 و الاستاذ الواسلين من القاهرة المعزية فحين دخلنا على الحرّة الملكة
 السيّدة بنت احمد وهي بدار العز من ذي جبلة تكلم الاستاذ و هو
 واقف بين وزراءها و كتابها و اهل دولتها قياما لقيامه فقال امير المؤمنين

^١ Kbi، المدية، see Makrizi I. 449

^٢ الجبلي

[حمل الدعوة]

^٣ ابو عبد الله الحسين

^٤ Kbi، سير اليها

من الجبال و ذروته عالية^١ و كانت حصون بنى العظفر مطنة على تهامة مصانة لاعمال زبيد و هى اقرب الى تهامة من جميع الجبال و من حصونهم مقر و صاب و قواربر و الظرف و الشرف و من الشرف هذا تار ابن مهدى و ذو الرسة و ظفار و ريمة و مخاليفها و بحكم مصابة اعمال سبا لتهامة كان يساقى جيش سجال الحرب و ذلك ان العرب كانوا اذا برد النسيم جمعوا و نزلوا الى تهامة فلا يلبث جيش الا ان يتدرج من البلاد ولكن غير بعيد و يقيم سبا يجيب خراجها و لا يتذم احد من ارضها بظلم و لا غيرة فكان يحتسب للمماليك بما قبض منهم حياش فى اشهر الصيف و الحرير فاذا خرج الشتاء و الربيع ارتحلت العرب عن تهامة الى الجبال و ملكها حياش فثارة يكون رحيل العرب عنها بانفعال و تارة بالوبا^٢ و اذا عاد جيش الى زبيد نشرت المصاحف و ابتغلت له الرعايا بالدعاء و حلقت^٣ الفقهاء و تطاولت العلماء و احتسب حياش ايضا للمماليك و جباة الاله وال بما قبضه منهم سبا فى شهور الشتاء و الربيع و لما طال ذلك من امرهما اشار الوزير خلف بن ابي الطاهر على ابن جيش بان يعتقله و يقبض على امواله و املاكه و يقيم محمد بن الغفارى وزيراً له ففعل ذلك ثم ان خلفاً تقب الحبس و هرب الى سبا فحسن موضعه له فلم يزل يحسن لسيا النزول الى تهامة و ضمن له من الحجيرة^٤ و المكاييد ما يقطع به دابرة جيش لسيا ما لا يقوم به مقام النصف و ان يشترط على سبا ابعاد الوزير خلف من عنده فلما فعل جيش ما اشار به الوزير استحكمت اطمان العرب فى البلاد و اطمانوا ثم ان القنديل ربحان الكهلانى مولى سعيد بن نجاش بيت

^١ لعل ذروته . Ysk. | اطلت perhaps ; ظهرت Kht.

^٢ الليل

^٣ بغير قتال Kht.

بأقوال الحكماء منشأ بالشعر يثيب بالمدح^١ و يثيب على المدح
و من ذلك قول علي بن الحسين بن القم فيه

ولما مدحت^٢ الهيزري بن احمد اجاز و كافى^٣ على المدح بالمدح
فعرظنى^٤ شعرا بشرا^٥ و زادنى نوالا^٦ فهذا رأس مالى و ذا ربح
شفقت انية الناس حتى رايته^٧ فكنت كمن شق الظلام عن^٨ الصبح
فقيح دهر^٩ ليس فيه ابن احمد و نزلة^{١٠} دهر كان فيه عن^{١١} القبح

و اما مقتر عرّة فخصن يقال له اشيع و كان اشيع حصنا عليا يماثل
مسار و التمكر^{١٢} و حدثني المقرئ سليمان بن ياسين و هو من اصحاب
ابى حنيفة قال بتت^{١٣} بخصن اشيع ليداليا^{١٤} و انا عند الفجر أرى الشمس
تطلع من المشرق و ليس فيها^{١٥} من النور شي^{١٦} و اذا نظرت الى
تهامة رابت عليها من الليل بقايا^{١٧} و طحا^{١٨} يمنع الماشى ان يعرف
صاحبه من قريب و كنت اظن^{١٩} ذنات من السحاب او البحار و اذا
هو عقائل^{٢٠} الليل فاقسمت^{٢١} ان لا اصلى الصبح الا على مذهب
الشافعي ان اصحاب ابي حنيفة يؤخرون الصبح^{٢٢} الى ان تكاد الشمس
ان تطلع على و هات تهامة و ما ذلك الا ان^{٢٣} المشرق مكشوف لا شيع

^١ نزة ج.

^٢ من Kbi,

^٣ في العز و المنعة Kbi,

^٤ لهاي كثيرة Yak.

^٥ لها Yak.

^٦ سابا Yak.

^٧ عقابيل Yak.

^٨ صلاة الصبح Yak.

^٩ لان Yak.

^١ يمدح مادحه Kbi,

^٢ J. and Kbi, مدحت

^٣ كافى ج. ; جازاني Kbi,

^٤ J. and Kbi, عرظنى

^٥ J. and Kbi, شعري

^٦ Kbi, عطا

^٧ Kbi, لقيته

^٨ J. and Kbi, الى

^٩ Kbi, فقبح دهر

هؤلاء الخوارج قال فلما وقف سعيد بن نجاح على كلاب الحسين بن
 القبيعي - موقع ذلك عنده و استخفّه الفرج بذلك فخرج من
 زبيد يريد ذي جبل في ثلاثين ألف حربى و كان مسيرة في يوم
 قد وعده القبيعي فيه و قد كانت الحرة الملكة كتبت الى الملك
 اسعد بن شهاب و عمران ابن الفضل الى صنعاء ان يخلطوا نجاحا
 على تهامة في ثلاثة آلاف فارس ثم يتبعان اثره منزلا بمنزل ففعلوا
 و لما نزل سعيد بن نجاح تحت حصن الشعير^١ اطلق الجيشان عليه
 فقتل هو و من معه و قيل تجا منهم الفان و نصب راسه تحت
 الطاقة التى تسكنها الحرة بدار العز و كانت أم المعارك زوجة سعيد
 بن نجاح معه وهى التى عرفت راس مولاها فى القتلى فسلم
 بالقرب من طاقتها و كانت الحرة الملكة تقول عند صلب راس سعيد
 بن نجاح ليمت لك عينا يا مولانا حتى فنظري راس الاحول تحت
 طاقة أم المعارك و فى سنة اربع و ثمانين و اربعماية ملت المكرم
 بن على و اسند الوصية فى الدعوة الى الامير الاجل الواحد المنصور
 المظفر عمدة الخلافة امير الامراء ابي حمير سبا بن احمد المظفر بن
 على الصليحي

° اخبار الداعي سبا بن احمد بن المظفر بن على الصليحي

اما صفته فكان دهيم^٢ الخلق^٣ لا يكاد يظهر من السرج * بطائل^٤ و اما
 هو فكان جوادا كريما شاعرا اديبا فاضلا عالما بالمذهب اناظر خبيرا

* Khi, صبرا

° Deest in Khi.

١ Khi, السحر

٢ Kbi, نعيم للخلق

عادت الى صنعاء^١ وقالت للمكرم ارسل يا مولانا على اهل صنعاء
 فليحتشدوا في غد ليحضروا الى هذا الميدان فلما حضروا قالت له
 اشرف عليهم^٢ انظر ما ذا ترى فلم يقع طرفه الا على برق السيوف
 و لمع البيض و الاسفة ثم لما توجهت الى ذى جبلة قالت له احشد
 اهل ذى جبلة و من حولها فلما اجتمعوا صبيحة اليوم الثاني قالت
 اشرف يا مولانا انظر هؤلاء القوم فلم يقع بصره الا على رجل يجتر كبشا
 او يحمل ظرفا مملوا بالسمن او العسل فقالت له العيش بين هؤلاء
 اصلح فانستقل الامير المكرم الى ذى جبلة فاخطط بها دار العز الثاني في
 ذى يور و كان حائطاً فيه بستان و اشجار كثيرة و هو مطل على النهرين
 و على الدار الاولى و امرت الملكة السيدة ببناء الدار الاولى مسجدا
 جامعاً و هو المسجد الجامع الثاني و بها قبر الملكة السيدة رحمها الله
 تعالى الى الآن و كان بناء الدار دار العز الثانية الكبيرة سنة احدى
 و ثمانين و اربعمائة ثم استخلف المكرم على صنعاء عمران بن الفضل
 الياصمي الهمداني و اسعد بن شهاب و في هذه السنة دبرت الحرة
 الملكة في قتل سعيد بن نجاح الاحول و ذلك انها امرت الحسين
 بن التبعي صاحب الشعير^٣ ان يكاتب سعيد الاحول الى زبيد
 و يقول له ان المكرم قد اصابه الفالج و عكف على اللذات ولم يبق
 امره الا بيد امراته و انت اليوم اقوى ملوك اليمن فان رايت ان
 تطبق على ذى جبلة انت من تهامة و نحن من الجبل فتسرع^٤ منه
 و ترجع اليكم البلاد باسرها فتعمل فدواتكم احب الى المسلمين من

^١ J. and Khi, الشعر

^١ و Om.

^٢ متسرع

^٢ وانظر

فرزقت مد عبد المستعلى واما فاطمة بنت الحرّة الملكة من المكرّم
 بن على فتزوجها شمس المعالى على بن الداعى سبا بن احمد
 و ماتت أم همدان سنة ست عشرة و خمسمائة^١ و اما فاطمة
 فماتت بعد امها بعامين و ذلك فى سنة اربع و ثلثين و خمسمائة
 و سمعت غير واحد من شيوخ ذى جبلة يقول ان الصليحى كان
 يخصّها من الاكرام فى حال صغره^٢ بما لا يمانها فيه احد و يقول
 لاسماء اكرمها فيها فى والله كافتة ذرارينا و حافظة هذا الامر على من
 بقى ممّا قالوا و سمع غير ذلك منه فى غير موطن و اما سبب
 انتقال المكرّم بن على من صنعاء الى مدينة ذى جبلة فان المكرّم
 حين ماتت والدته الحرّة اسماء بنت شهاب فوّض الامر الى زوجته
 هذه الملكة السيّدة بنت احمد و استروح الى السماع و الشراب
 و استبدّت الملكة السيّدة بنت احمد بالامر و يقال انها استعفتت فى
 نفسها و قالت له ان امراة تراء للفراس لا تصلح لتدبير فدعنى و ما
 انا بصدده فلم يفعل ثم انها ارتحلت من صنعاء فى جيش جزار
 و تركته فى صنعاء و ارتادت ذى جبلة و جبلة كان رجلا يهوديا يبيع
 الفخار فى الموضع الذى بنيت فيه دار العز الاولى و به سميت
 المدينة و اول من اختط ذى جبلة عبد الله بن محمد الصليحى
 المقتول بيد الاحول مع اخيه الامير على بن محمد الصليحى الداعى
 يوم المعجم و كان اخوه قد ولاة حصن التعكر و هذا الحصن مطل على
 ذى جبلة و هى فى سفح و هى مدينة بين نهريين جاريتين فى
 الصيف و الشتا و اخنطها عبد الله بن محمد سنة ثمان و خمسين
 و اربعمائة ثم حشرت الرعايا فى مختلف جعفر تحت ركايا لها^٣

^١ صغرها

توفيت قول أمها سنة ٥١٠ Khil |

^٢ ولما

بن شهاب و قوم يزعمون ان عليا ولد^١ الحسين بن علي بن ابي طالب و ولي
زيد اسعد بن شهاب^٢ قبل ولاية اسعد ابن عراف

اخبار الحرة المملوكة السيدة بنت احمد

اسمها سيدة بنت احمد بن جعفر^٣ بن موسى الصليحي و أمها
الزواج بنت الفراع بن موسى ثم مات عنها احمد ابو الحرة السيدة
فخطاف عليها عامر بن سليمان بن عامر بن عبد الله الزواحي فولدت
له سليمان بن عامر بن عبد الله الزواحي و هو اخو الحرة الملكة لها
و ولي الدعوة الهاشمية^٤ بامرها ثم قتله الامير المفضل بن ابي
البركات بن ابي الوليد^٥ بالسّم رحمة الله عليه و كان مولدها سنة
اربعين و اربعمائة^٦ و تولت اسماء بنت شهاب تاديبها و تهذيبها
و يقال انها قلت يوما لاسماء رابت البارحة كان بيدي مكنته و انا
اكنس قصر مولانا فتالت لها اسماء كاني بنت والله يا حميرا وقد
كنست آل الصليحي و ملكت امرهم و اما صفتها فكانت بيضاء
حمرها مديدة انقامة معتدلة. ابطن الى السمن اترب كاملة المحاسن
جوهريّة^٧ الصوت قارئة كاتبة تحفظ الاخبار و الاشعار و القواريج و ما
احسن مما كانت تلحتمه بين سطور الكتاب عنها من اللفظ و المعنى
و بنى بها المكرم احمد بن علي في ايام ابيه علي بن محمد الصليحي
عام احدى و ستين و اربعمائة فولدت له اربعة اولاد محمدا و عليا
و فاطمة و أم همدان فاما محمد و علي فماتا طفلين بصنعاء و اما أم
همدان فتزوجها السلطان احمد بن سليمان الزواحي و هو ابن خالها

^١ Read بن الوليد

^٢ Kbi 444.

^٣ Kbi جوهريّة ; perhaps جوهريّة ؟

^٤ Read والد

^٥ مع اسعد بن شهاب

^٦ J. and Kbi, جعفر بن محمد بن

^٧ Om. Kli.

فرزقت منه زيد المستعلى واما فاطمة بنت الحرّة الملكة من المكرم بن عليّ فتزوجها شمس المعالي عليّ بن الداعي سبا بن احمد و ماتت أم همدان سنة ست عشرة و خمسمائة^١ و اما فاطمة فماتت بعد امها بعامين و ذلك فى سنة اربع و ثلثين و خمسمائة و سمعت غير واحد من شيوخ ذى جبلة يقول ان الصليحي كان يخصها من الاكرام فى حال صغره^٢ بما لا يمانها فيه احد و يقول لاسماء اكرمها نهي والله كافلة ذراريدنا و حافظه هذا الامر على من بقى منا قالوا و سمع غير ذلك منه فى غير موطن و اما سبب انتقال المكرم بن عليّ من صنعاء الى مدينة ذى جبلة فان المكرم حين ماتت والدته الحرّة اسماء بنت شهاب فوض الامر الى زوجته هذه الملكة السيّدة بنت احمد و استروح الى السماع و الشراب و اسقبتت الملكة السيّدة بنت احمد بالامر و يقال انها استعفتت فى نفسها و قالت له ان امرأة قران للفراش لا تصلح لتدبير فدعنى و ما انا بصدده فلم يفعل ثم انها ارتحلت من صنعاء فى جيش جرار و تركته فى صنعاء و ارتادت ذى جبلة و جبلة كان رجلاً يهودياً يبيع الفخار فى الموضع الذى بنيت فيه دار العز الاولى و به سميت المدينة و اول من اختط ذى جبلة عبد الله بن محمد الصليحي المقتول بيد الاحول مع اخيه الامير عليّ بن محمد الصليحي الداعي يوم المهجم و كان اخوة قد ولاة حصن التعكر و هذا الحصن مطلقاً على ذى جبلة و هى فى سفحه و هى مدينة بين نهرين جاريتين فى الصيف و الشتاء و اختطها عبد الله بن محمد سنة ثمان و خمسين و اربعمائة ثم حشرت الرعايا فى محلاف جعفر تحت ركاها لما^٣

^١ صغرها

توفيت قبل أمها سنة ٥١٠ Kbi. |
^٢ ولما

بن شهاب و قوم يزعمون ان عليا ولد^١ الحسين بن علي بن النعم ولى
زبيد اسعد بن شهاب^٢ قبل ولاية اسعد ابن عراف

اخبار لحرّة المملوكة السيّدة بذت احمد

اسمها سيّدة بذت احمد بن جعفر^٣ بن موسى الصليحي و أمها
الزواج بنت القارح بن موسى ثم مات عنها احمد ابو الحرّة السيّدة
فخطف عليها عامر بن سليمان بن عامر بن عبد الله الزواحي فولدت
له سليمان بن عامر بن عبد الله الزواحي و هو اخو الحرّة الملكة لها
و ولى الدعوة الهاشمية^٤ بامرها ثم قتلته الامير المفضل بن ابي
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و يقال انها قتلت يوما لاسماء رايت البارحة كان بيدي مكنته و انا
اكنس قصر مولانا فقلت لها اسماء كافي بك واللة يا حميرا وقد
كنست آل الصليحي و ملكت امرهم و اما صفتها فكانت بيضاء
حمره مديدة اقامة معتدلة ابدن الى السمن اقرب كاملة العحاسن
جوهريّة^٧ الصوت قارحة كاتبة تحفظ الاخبار و الاشعار و التواريخ و ما
احسن مما كانت تلحقه بين سطور الكتاب عنها من اللفظ و المعنى
و بنى بها المكرّم احمد بن عليّ في ايام ابيه عليّ بن محمد الصليحي
عام احدى و ستين و اربعمائة فولدت له اربعة اولاد محمدا و عليا
و فاطمة و أم همدان فاما محمد و علي فماتا طفلين بصغاه و اما أم
همدان فترجها السلطان احمد بن سليمان الزواحي و هو ابن خالها

^١ Read الوليد بن

^٢ Khi 444.

^٣ ? جوهريّة ; perhaps Khi

^٤ Read والد

^٥ مع اسعد بن شهاب

^٦ J. and Khi, بن محمد بن جعفر

^٧ Om. Kli.

فقالته أسماً بنت شهاب إذا المال لم تصرفه^١ في مستحقه فما هو
 الاحسرة و وبال ثم كتبت الى اخيها اسعد بن شهاب تأمره ان
 يحتسب لاحمد بن سالم بعشرين الفا من ارتفاع السنة الحاضرة صاة له
 و برا به ولم تلبث اسماء بنت شهاب ان ماتت بصنعاء سنة
 سبع و تسعين و اربعمائة^٢ و في هذه السنة أمر المكرم بضرب الدينار
 الملكي و اليه ينسب و هو دينار اليمن و المكتوب عليه الملك
 السيد المكرم عظيم العرب سلطان امير المؤمنين و الى اليوم الدينار
 على هذه السكة الى ان ولي الداعي عمران بن محمد بن سبا الزريعي
 ما مثاله اوجد ملوك الزمن ملك العرب و اليمن عمران بن
 محمد ثم^٣ عاد بنو نجاح فاخرجوا احمد بن شهاب من زبيد و ملكوها
 سنة تسع و سبعين ثم اخرجهم المكرم بن علي منها و قتل سعيد
 بن نجاح الاحول تحت حصن الشعير^٤ بحيلة من السلطان ابي عبد
 الله التنبعي ياتي شرحها في اخبار الحرّة الملكة السيدة بنت احمد
 و كان^٥ سعيد الاحول في سنة احدى و ثمانين و اربعمائة و في
 هذه السنة خرج جيتاش بن نجاح و الوزير خلف بن ابي الصاهر
 المرمي الى عدن متكرين و سافرا الى الهند و اقاما بها ستة اشهر
 و عادا الى زبيد فملكها في بقايا تلك السنة و في هذه الكثرة ولي
 اسعد بن عراف زبيد و جعلوا^٦ معه علي بن القم^٧ ولد الحسين بن
 علي بن القم الشاعر وزيراً و كاتباً على جاري عادة جده^٨ مع اسعد

^١ كان يجعل

^٢ جعل

^٣ والد

^٤ جرت

^٥ تصرف

^٦ J. and D. 479, Kbi, 474.

^٧ فيها J. and Kbi,

^٨ الشعر

و هو يفتض راسه و تتحرك بشرة وجهه ثم قالت له من صاحبك
فستأهما لها فوهبت لاحدهما ارتفاع عدن في تلك السنة و كان
مائة الف دينار و وهبت للأخر حصني كوكبان و حوبان و مختلفيهما
و ليسا دون ارتفاع عدن ثم دخل الجيش أرسالا و هي في الطاق لا
تستر وجهها و تلك عادتها في أيام زوجها نسمر تدرها عن
يحتاجب عنه النساء ثم تقدم المكرم فأمر بانزال الرأسين و بنى
عليهما مشهدا و انا ادركت مشهد الرأسين و يقال ان أسماء بنت
شهاب قالت للمكرم حين سفر عن وجه من كان مجيئه كمجيك
فما ابطأ و لا اخطأ ولم يكن قولها في كذاها انا حاملة من العبد صحة
و انما ارادت ان تستدير حفيظته و نادى منادى المكرم يومئذ برفع
السيف بعد الفتح وقال للجيش أعلموا ان عرب هذه البادية يستولون
الجوار السود فالجدة السوداء تمّ العبد و الحرّ و لكن اذا سمعتم من
يسمى العظم عزما فهو حبشي فاقتلوه و من سمّاه عظما فهو عربي
فانكروه ثم ولّى خاله احمد بن شهاب اعمال تهامة على جاري عاتقه
و ارتحل الى صنعاء باسماء بنت شهاب فربير العين بالظفر و ادركت
اهل زبيد اذا شتم النسوي صاحبه قيل^١ له تشتم^٢ الرجل فيقول
الشاتم للرجل^٣ والله الذي اخذ أمه من زبيد و قتل من الحبشة
عشرين الفا دون أمه لعمرى ان هذا هو الرجل حقا ثم ان المكرم
اعطى خاله اسعد بن شهاب ولاية زبيد و ما معها^٤ لابن
شهاب في هذه الكرة احمد بن سالم العامل و وافته ارتفاع^٥ قهامة
فسفرقت اسماء على وفود العرب معظمه فنذف احمد بن سالم
لحيته و قال دخلت النار في هذا المال ثم صار الى ما صار اليه

^٤ Lacuna in text.

^٥ اسعد بارتفاع

^١ و قيل

^٢ Kbi، اتشتم

^٣ الرجل Reul

و ليست اليوم ازيدكم غير ما سمعتموه منى بالمس و فيما قبله
و فيما قلته كفاية وقد كفت اعرض عليكم الرجوع و قى المسافة
إمكان فأما اليوم نسقد صار الخيار الى عدوكم لأنكم توغلتم عليه خيسة
و أما هو الموت او العار بقرار لا يجهدو ثم انشد قول ابى الطيب
المتنبي

وأورد نفسى و المهند فى يدى موارد لا يصدرن من لا يجالد

و كانت الحبشة يومئذ قد صفت فى عشرين الف راجل و كانت
ميمنة العرب لأسعد بن شهاب و عمه^١ و قال لهما المكرم لستما كأحد
من هذا الجيش لأنكما موتوران و مولانا أخت أحدكما و ابنة^٢
الآخر و سار المكرم فى القلب و انطوى العسكر^٣ و التقى القوم
فقاتلت^{*} الحبشة اتى كانت فى القلب و انطوى جناحها^٤ فانكسرت
الاجوش^٥ و قتلوا قتلا ذريعا و هرب سعيد بن نجاح الاحول و من
معه الى دهلك و جزئرها ولم يزل القتل فى الناس الى صلاة
الظهر على باب المدينة ثم كان أول فارس وقف تحت الرأسين
المصلوبين و تحت طاقة اسماء بنت شهاب ولدها المكرم احمد
بن على الصليحي فقال لها المكرم وليست تعرفه ادم الله عزت يا
مولانا فقالت مرحبا يا وجه العرب فسلم عليها صاحباه مثل سلمت ثم
سأله من هو فقال لها انا احمد بن على بن محمد قلت ان احمد
بن على فى العرب كثير فاحسلى عن وجهك حتى اعرفك فحصر
الحديد^٦ عن وجه فقالت مرحبا بمولانا المكرم و فى تلك الحالة
اصابه الهوام فارتعش و احتجلت بشرة وجهه و عاش عدة سنين

^١ الحبشة قتالا شديدا ساعة من Kbi،
الهار فانطوى عليهم الجناحان

^٢ الابن

^٣ فرغ المغفر، Kbi؛ نحسر عن ثامه ل

^٤ و المصرة لعمه Kbi،

^٥ ابنة اخى Read

^٦ فاصطدم للجيش Kbi،

البوادى الى زبيد وتحملوا بها من خوف العرب و كفت قد بلغت
 فى الختمه الى سورة و السماء ذات البروج ولم يكن لى شغل فى
 ليلى تلك الا التلاوة الى حيث بلغت من الختمه و المسجد محمول
 فى قفرة من الارض فاذا انا بفارس يهولنى و انا لا اتحققه لغطاط الارض
 و بقايا الغبش فركز رحله و اسنده الى الجناح الغربى الذى انا فيه ثم
 نزل فصعد الى شخص ما رايت فى ولد آدم اتم منه خلقه و لا
 احسن منظراً و روائحه رائح الملوك ثم قام الى جانبى فصلى ولم
 يلبث ان صباح ان تجلى و اذا رحله اندبوت من اليراع السكولمى و لا
 تلتقى عليه من الكفان^١ و القرس مثل البعير ثم قال لى اختم حزيتك
 فتختمت و هو مصغ الى التلاوة و أمرنى ان ادعو عند الختم ففعلت
 و هو يؤمن على الدعاء و اذا الخيل قد اقبلت عند طلوع الشمس
 ارسالاً و حرفاً^٢ من هجرى ذلك الخيت و كل رعيىل منهم يسلم عليه
 ويقف و كان تحيتهم له انعم الله صباحك^٣ مولانا و ادام عمرة و لا
 يزيدهم على الرن اكثر من قوله مرحباً يا رجوة العرب الى ان تكاملوا
 و صعد اليه من^٤ المسجد اقوام لم اعرف منهم الا اسعد بن شهاب
 بحكم و لايتنه علينا اهل زبيد نقلت لاسعد من هولاً فقال اماً هذا
 فالمكرم الملك السعيد احمد بن على الصليحى و اماً هذا فالكرم
 اليامى و اماً هذا فعامر الزواحي اكوم عربى تمشى به الخيل ثم عرضوا
 على رابع ان يطاح اليهم فلم يفعل و هو عم اسعد ابن شهاب و عم
 السيدة اسماء بلى شهاب و ليس دون الاربعة فى شرف و لا
 حسب ثم قام المكرم فخطبهم بحيث يسمع و حفظت من كلامه
 قوله ايها المؤمنون ان عزاكمم لو تجسمت جديداً لكان قد ارفقت

١ صباح
 ٢ بالمسجد

٣ له من الكماة
 ٤ حرفاً

من المهجم عائدا الى زبيد و الرأس ينقلن امم هودجها الى ان
ركزهما قبالة الطاقة التي اسكنها بزبيد فيها واقامت اسماء بنت
شهاب عند سعيد بن نجاح سنة كاملة في أسره

اخبار مسير الملك المكرم عظيم العرب سلطان امير المؤمنين
احمد بن علي بن محمد الصليحي من صنعاء الى زبيد لاختد
آمه اسماء بنت شهاب من أسر سعيد بن نجاح الاحول

قالوا لما اعيت الحيلة في ايصال كذاب من اسماء الى المكرم او منه
اليها احتالت اسماء وكذبت كتابا وجعلته في رغيف و احتالت
في ايصاله الى سائل ضعيف فاورعه الى المكرم في شوال سنة
خمس و سبعين و اربع مائه و هي تقول فيه اني قد صرت حبيلى
من العبد الاحول فان ادركتني قبل ان اضح و الا فهو العار الذى
لا يزول فلما وقف المكرم على الكتاب جمع الناس و اوقفهم عليه
فصجروا بالبكاء و ثارت الحفاظ و سار المكرم من صنعاء في ثلاثة ايام
فارس بعد ان حالقهم و خطبهم لنفسه و حرضهم و استنصرهم و كان
فصيحا خطيبا شجاعا مشهورا بالثبات و الاقدام و لم يكن في زمانه
من يتعاطى حمل رمحه و سيفه و قوسه و شدة قوته و عظيم خلقته
و لم يزل في كل منزل يخطب الناس و يقول لهم من كان يرغب
في الجيوة فلا يكن معنا الى ان صفا له من الجلفا الف و ستمائة فارس
و عاد عنه الف و اربعمائة و حدثني الشيخ الفقيه المقرئ سليمان
بن ياسين قال حدثني الشيخ الزاهد محمد بن علي قال كنت
في مسجد التريبة يوم الجمعة عند طلوع الفجر و قد دخل اهل

الرياح اذا اشتدّت ثم عاد الصليحي الى صنعاء حرسها الله بعد دخوله الى زبيد فاقام بها اثنتى عشرة سنة لا يريم منها ومن اخبار^١ مقتل الداعي على بن محمد الصليحي وهو في يوم السبت اليوم الثاني عشر من ذي القعدة سنة ثلاث و سبعين و اربعمائة و قيل في سنة تسع و خمسين و اربعمائة و هى رواية صحيحة ثم ولى الامير الداعي الاجلّ المظفر فى الدين ولى امير المومنين على بن محمد الصليحي أعمال الحصون و الجبال لقوم يثق بهم و أخذ الملوك الاكابر فى صحبته و أخذ معه زوجته الحرة اسماء بنت شهاب أم الملك المكرم و عزم على السجدة الى مكة حرسها الله تعالى و ولى ابنه المكرم صنعاء و استخلفه و توجه فى الفى فارس من آل الصليحي مائة و ستون حتى اذا كان بالمهجم و نزل فى ظاهرها بضيفة يقال لها أم الذهب و بئر أم معبد و خيّمتم عساكرة و الملوك التى معه من حوله مثل * معن و ابن معن^٢ و ابن الكرندى و ابن التبعى و وايل بن عيسى الوحاضى و نظرائهم من الملوك الذين أخذهم الصليحي خوفا منهم ان يثوروا بعده على البلاد ولم يشعر الناس و هم مرتبون فى احوالهم متفرقون فى انديستهم و انكشف الخبر عن قطع راس الامير على و اخيه عبد الله بن محمد الصليحي و أحيط بالناس فلم ينج منهم احد و انتقل^٣ الى سعيد بن نجاح الاحول و رماه بالحراب و ابقى على وايل بن عيسى الأحاضى و على ابن معن و ابن الكرندى و قتل من بقى و سبى اسماء بنت شهاب أم الملك المكرم فاقبل

^٢ على بن معن . ج .

١ الاخبار

و أخطأ السودان فسار اليهم الصليحي في القى فارس و سبعمائة فارس فالتقوا بالزرايب من اعمال ابن طرف و هو الوطن الذى ولدت فيه و بها اهلى الى اليوم فاستحرّ القتل اول يوم بالعرب ثم كانت الدائرة على السودان فلم يبق منهم الا الف احتازهم جدّ احمد بن محمد بن حصنه بعكوة و العكوتان جبلان منبجان لا يطمح احد فى حصارهما و فيها^١ يقول زاجر الحاج اذا نقرؤا يخاطب عبده^٢

اذا رايت حبة عكاد

و عكوتين من مكان بادي

فابشري يا عين بالرقاد

و جبلا عكاد فوق مدينة الزرايب و اهلها باقون على اللغة العربية من الجاهلية الى اليوم لم تتغير لغتهم بحكم انهم لم يختلطوا قط باحد من اهل الحضرة فى مذاكبتهم و لا مسكنهم و هم اهل قرار لا يظنون عنه و لا يخرجون منه ولقد اذكر انى دخلت زبيد فى سنة ثلثين و خمسمائة اطلس الفقه دون العشرين فكان الفقها فى جميع المدارس يتعجبون من كوى لا الجن فى شىء من الكلام فانسم الفقيه نصر الله بن سالم الحضرمى بالله تعالى لقد قرأ هذا الصبي فى النحو قرؤة كثيرة فلما طالمت امددة و الخلة بينى و بينه صرت اذا لقيته يقول مرحبا بمن حدثت فى يمينى لأجله و لما زارنى والدى و سبعة من احوالى الى زبيد احضرت الفقها فتحدثوا معهم فلما والله ما لحن احد منهم الا لسنة واحدة نقرورها عليه و تعود الى ذكر الداعى على بن محمد الصليحي و ادركت العظام و الاظفار فى موضع الرقعة تلسفها

^١ جبالى Read

^٢ مار Read

^١ انهما

^٢ و قال الزاجر الحاج يخاطب اذا Yak.

نقرعته

تأريخ اليمى

يتعلق بدمتى منها إلا ما ! أعلم به قال اسعد بن شهاب وكان مولانا
 على بن محمد الصليحي قد ولي معى ثلاثة رجال كانوا اعوانا لى على
 اردت^١ من الكفاف و العفاف عن اموال الناس فمنهم احمد بن
 سالم كان اليه أمر العمالة من وادى حرض الى قريب من عدن فكان
 اليه امر العمالة من الجهات و كان يحمل عن قلبى شغب العمال
 و استخراج الاموال و لا احصر من احواله^٢ الا على حساب معمول
 او مال معمول و منهم القاضي ابو محمد الحسين بن ابى عقامة و هو
 من ولد محمد بن هرون التغلبى الذى قلده المأمون بن الرشيد
 الحكم باليمن مع ابن زياد فكان قائما على باموال^٣ الشريعة قياما يعهد
 عيبه و يوصى عيبه و منهم ابو الحسن على بن محمد القم و هو والد
 الحسين بن على بن محمد القم الشاعر و كان هذا من اعيان الرجال
 كرما و رياسة و كفاية فى الكفاية و كان مجيده الشعر و هو القائل فى
 اخيه و قد عذفه فى شدة ميله الى ولده الحسين من مقطوع

تراه بعين لا تزال ترى بها بنديه و ما كل الرجال رجال

قال اسعد بن شهاب فجملة الداعى على بن محمد الصليحي معى
 وزيراً و كاتب انشاء و لمرى هو و مولانا اسماء ان لا اقتلع برأى دون
 رايه و كنت ارسله فى كل سنة وافدا عنى الى صنعاء صحبة المعامل
 احمد بن سالم عامل تهامة و اتجمل من تهامة فى كل سنة من العيين
 خاصة الف الف دينار فله يرجع الى صاحبائى فى كل سنة الا بصلة
 من مولانا و مولانا مبلغها خمسون الف دينار فاقسمها بيلى و بين
 اصحابى و من اخبار الأمير على بن محمد الصليحي انه فى سنة
 ستين و اربعمائة بلغه ان ابن طرف قد اجتمع اليه من ملوك الحبشة

١ باحوال ؟ بامور

٢ ا حيد

١ على ما اردت

٢ امواله

ان يوليها ص. اسعد بن شهاب صلوا اسماء بنت شهاب زوجة علي بن محمد الصليحي^١ فقال لها زوجها^٢ مولانا اني لث هذا قالت هو من عند الله ان الله يرزق من يشاء بغير حساب فتبسم و علم انه من خزائنه فقبضه و قال هذه بضاعتنا ردت اليينا فقالت له و نمير اهلنا و نحفظ امانا و دخل اسعد بن شهاب زبيد سنة ست و خمسين و اربعمئة و احسن السيرة مع الرعايا و فسح للسنية في اظهار ادياتهم و سكن دار شكار و هي بليدة لا تكاد همة الخراب ان ترتقى اليها و لا يقدر سلطان الفساد ان يتسلط عليها و هي معا بناه شجار بن جعفر مولى ابن زياد صاحب مخالف جعفر قال اسعد بن شهاب فاستلقيت يوما على ظهري افكر في امرى و اقول ان الصليحي سبجل و قد ولى زبيد و هو يرى مكان^٣ السلطان اسعد بن عراق^٤ و عامر بن سليمان الزواحي و فلان و فلان من الملوك^٥ نغمرى باحسانها و ان * ماثلنى باسائها فوجدت^٦ فى نفسى غصاصة من الدخول تحت سنة مولانا اسماء بنت شهاب و كرهت ان امد يدي الى ظلم احد من الرعايا و العمال ثم غفرت فاذا انا بقراب يفتكر على وجهى من السقف و هو مقرنس بالذهب فصعدت الى سطوحه و كشفت السطح و السقف فوجدت صناديقا من المال و فيها من الصامت و الذخائر ما يزيد على ثلثمائة الف دينار فقدمت ثلث تلك الجملة فصعدت به و صيرت ثلثها الى مولانا و تخلصت من متنها و تاملت^٧ امولا و املاكا بالثلث الثالث و عاهدت الله تعالى ان لا اظلم احدا من خلقه فتمت راليا خمس عشرة سنة لم

^١ و مولانا نغمرى

^٢ و ان مثلنى باسائها فوجدت

^٣ سألته

وزلت له زوجته اسماء من Kan.

^٤ يا مولانا

^٥ مكانى كمكان

^٦ اعراف

و كان نجاحا صاحب تهامة يكافيه و يلاطفه^١ و يستكين لمرء ولم يزل الصليحي يعمل على نجاح^٢ حتى قتله بالسهم مع جارية جميلة اهداها اليه و كانت وفاة نجاح بالكندرا في عام اثنين و خمسين و اربعمائه^٣ و كتب الصليحي الى الامام المستنصر بالله يستاذنه في اظهار الدعوة فعاد اليه الجواب بالاذن فتوى البلاد طيا و فتح الحصون و التهايم و لم تخرج سنة خمس و خمسين و بقى عليه من اليمس سهل و لا وعر و لا بر و لا بحر الا نتحه و ذلك امر لا يهد مثله في جاهلية و لا اسلام حتى قال يوما و هو يخطب الناس في الجند و في مثل هذا اليوم يخطب على منبر عدن ان شا الله تعالى فقل بعض من استهزا^٤ سبوح قدوس فامر الصليحي بالحوطة عليه و خطب الصليحي في مثل ذلك اليوم على منبر عدن فقام ذلك الانسان و قال سبوحان قدوسان و أخذ البيعة و دخل في المذهب الظاهر و من سنة خمس و خمسين استقر قرار الصليحي بصنعاء فاخذ معه ملوك اليمس التي ازال ملكها فاسكنهم معه و ولى في الحصون غيرهم و احتفظ بصنعاء عدة قصور حدثني محمد بن بشارة من اهل صنعاء سنة خمس و ثلاثين^٥ و خمسمائة و ذكر ان عمرا قد ناهر الثمانيين قال لم اعقل بقصر الصليحي الا مستهدما^٦ و جميع من بنى دارا بصنعاء يبني بانقاض قصور الصليحي من تلك المدة الى ان و ما فنى طوبه و احجاره و اخشابه و اما زبيد و اعمالها تهامة فكان الصليحي اتسم لا ولاها الا لمن وزن له مائة الف دينار ثم ندم على يمينه و اراد

^١ من حضر مستهزيا Kan.

^٢ الذين قد ازال ملكهم

^٣ لم يبق من قصور الصليحي الا ما هو

^٤ مستهدما

^٥ سكان يهاتف نجاحا صاحب Kan. تهامة فكان يلاطفه

^٦ و في الباطن يعمل لميلة Kan. في قتله ولم يزل حتى

^٧ في سنة ٥٣ Kan.

استطلع خبر عبدى مرجان نفيس ونجاح فمرّ على بعض من يعرفنى فتجردت عن ثيابى ولبست ثياب سلاط يبيع السليط فى مصره من معاصر حيس وتحمّلت هذه الشهادة يومئذ فى منزل رجل يقال له السبخته ولما ملكت الأمر وقفت لى عجز بخطى فمرّته فلم يسعنى الا اداء شهادتى وكان مثال ما كتبتة فى وقت التحمّل شهد على ذلك على بن محمد قاضى حراز وكتبت بخطه ليدكره ان شا الله تعالى ومن اخبار الصليحى فى مبادئ امرة ما حدثنى به السلطان ناصر بن منصور الوايلى عن جده عيسى بن يزيد قال ان على بن محمد الصليحى كان ذليلاً على طريق السروات خمس عشرة وان الناس فى اول ظهوره كانوا يقولون له قد بلغنا انك ستملك اليمن باسره ويكون لك شان ودوله فيكرة ذلك وينكره على فكلية مع كونه امرا قد شاع فى اقواله بانواه الناس الخاصة والعامة ولما كان فى سنة تسع وعشرين و اربع مائة نار الصليحى فى راس مسار و هو اعلى ذروة فى جبال حراز و كان معه يومئذ ستون رجلاً قد حالقهم فى مكة فى موسم سنة ثمان و عشرين و اربعمائة على المرت على القيام بالدعوة وما منهم الا من هو من قومه وعشائره فى منعة وعدد كثير ولم يكن يرأس الجبل بناء بل كان قلة فايشة منيعة فلما ملكها الصليحى لم ينتصف النهار الذى ملكها فى ليلى الا و قد احاط به عشرون الفا ضارب سيف و حصرة و شتموه و حمقوه و قالوا له اما نزلت و الا قتلتك انت و من معك بالجمع فقال لهم انى لم افعل ما فعلت الا خوفا علينا و عليكم فان تركتمونى احرسه و الا نزلت اليكم فانصرفوا عنه ولم تمض به اشهر حتى بناه و حصله و اتقده و بقى الصليحى فى مسار و امرة يستفحل شيئاً فشيئاً من سنة تسع و عشرين و اربعمائة فى فرق من امرة كاتم لما يضمرون الدعوة

المثل في الأدب والعقل وخطبتها اليه فاشط على في مهرها وأمها تقول لا تزوجها إلا لبعض ملوك همدان بصنعاء أو ملوك بني الكرندي بمخلاف جعفر وقد استأموا على من المال مبلغا لا قدرة لى عليه وأنا متوجه أما الى بنى من بعدن وأما الى بنى الكرندي بالمعاصر قالوا فدفع له القايذ فرج السحرتى مالا جزيلاً اضعاف ما أتى الصليحى و جهز العروسين جميعاً احسن جهاز يحتفل الملوك به لعقائهم واعادته الى عمه فتنزّج باسماء وهى أم الملك المكرّم زوج الحرّة المكنة السيدة ار^١ و ابنت احمد الصليحى وكانت اسماء من الكرم و السوداء و الجوايز السنية الجزيلة للشعرام و الصلات الواسعة فى سبيل الله تعالى و فى سبيل المرزومة و الخبير بحيث يمدح اولادها و اخوتها و بنو عمها بمقارها و فيها يقول شاعر زوجها و اسمه اسعد بن يحيى السهيلمى من تصيدة اولها حشمت بيضا النامل حشما^٢ و منها

وسمت فى السماح سنة^٣ جرد لم تدع من معالم البخل رسما
 قلت اذ عظموا لبلقيس عرشا دشت اسماء من ذرى المنكم^٤ اسما
 و من اخبار الداعية على بن محمد الصليحى ما حدثلى احمد بن
 حسين الاموى المعروف بابن السخه^٥ عن ابيه عن جده قال كنت
 اسكن فى مدينة حيس و بيدها و بين زبيد لينة فلما ملك الصليحى
 زبيد و قد ركب الى مجلس القاضى و ادا عنه^٦ شهادة كان قد تحمّلها
 فى صباه ثم تحدّث مع القاضى سرا و افترقا و اخبر القاضى بعد قيام
 الامير على بن محمد الصليحى انه قال انى نزلت الى مدينة حيس

^١ J. and Khi, النجم; Ah. المجد

^٢ السجدة; Son infra.

^٣ و ادى عدو^٤

^٥ ارضى بنتى :

^٦ حمت بيض الانامل حفا

^٧ اسمة

بها وبالجدّ السعيد غاية الأمل البعيد فكان عالماً فقيهاً في مذهب الدولة مسدّصاً في علم التأويل أخباراً أنه أقام يجمع دليلاً بالناس على طريق السراة والطائف عدّة سفين لا يجمع بالناس غيره و نقلت به الاحوال في مبدى عمره من خفض الى رفع و من ضرّ الى نفع فمن ذلك ما حدثنى به الفقيه ابو الحسين على بن سليمان و كان شاعراً قد أسنّ و من شعره قوله في عمر بن عدنان العكّي

إذا الليالي أسأت غير عالمة كان ابن عدنان لى من جوزجار^١

ومنه ما حدثنى به الزبير بن العوف^٢ العكّي عن فلان الشاعر وهو القائل يذمّ قومه من تصيدته

نعمن يشتري عكاً بفلس فأنى جميعاً على قطع الخيار ابيهما

فكلاهما وغيرهما من الجمهور حدثنا عن القاضي عمر بن المرجل الحنفى نسباً ومذهباً و كان من اعيان العلماء قال كان على باب زبير من داخل السور دار رجل من الحبشة يقال له فرج السجرتى و كان من أهل المعروف والصدقات الواسعة و كان من نزل بمسجده اكرمه واواه ويتفكّر ويدخل المسجد يتجسس اخبار الضيوف سرّاً من وكلائه و خدمه فخرج ذات ليلة فظفر بالمسجد برجل يقرأ القرآن فسأله عن العشاء فانشد قول المتنبي

من علم الاسود المخصى مكرمةً اعماه الخرام احواله الصيد

فاخذة الحبشى و طلع به الى اعلى مكان في داره و اكرم مثواه واستخبره عن سبب قدومه الى تهامة قال الصليحي ان لى عمّاً يقال له شهاب وله ابنة يقال لها اسماء فتذيلة الظهير في الجمال معدومة

تأريخ اليمن

همدان و تغلب على صنعاء و مخاليفها قوم من همدان و تغلبت
 بنو عبد الواحد على اعمال برع و العمدة و لسان و تغلبت على
 حصن مسار ايضا و ليس في اليمن ما يماثله سوى التعكر و السمدان
 و حسب و منه ثار الصليحي بالدعوة المستنصرية من حراز و حراز هي
 الاعمال و بها سقى اهلها و انتم من همدان و بهم ثار الداعي علي بن
 محمد الصليحي

اخبار الداعي علي بن محمد الصليحي و عنها تتفرع جل
 اخبار اليمن و بها يتعلق بقية الكتاب من القضاة و الادعاء
 و الكبراء و الشعراء

كان القاضي محمد بن علي و والد الداعي علي بن محمد الصليحي
 سني المذهب و له طاعة في رجال حراز و هم اربعون الفا ولما
 انتقلت الدعوة الى عامر بن عبد الله الزواحي^١ و الزواحي قرية من
 اعمال حراز شرع في ملاطفة القاضي محمد بن علي و والد الداعي علي
 بن محمد الصليحي فكان الزواحي يركب اليه لن محمد ا كانت له
 رئاسة و سدد و صلاح و علم فلم يزل عامر حتى استمال قلب علي
 بن محمد و هو يومئذ دون البلوغ و لاحت له فيه مخائل النجاح
 و قيل كانت عقد عامر حلية الصليحي من كذاب الصور و هو من
 ذخير الائمة عليهم السلم فواقفه منه علي تنقل حاله و شرف مآله
 و استعماله^٢ سرا من ابيه و قومه و لم يلبث عامر الزواحي حتى ماتته
 و اوصى له بكتبه و علومه و لم يمض حتى قد عرس^٣ فعكف علي
 الدرس و كان ذكيا فلم يبلغ الحلم حتى فصل عن معارفه التي قد بلغ

الزواحي بالراء و الله المولتين J. | قد رجع في ذهن علي من Kan.^٤
 و اطاعه علي ذلك سرا Kan.^٥ | كلامه ما رجع

و ولده و هو الذى عمل الحيلة على قتل سعيد بن نجاح الاحول
قاتل الامير على بن محمد الصليحي و تغلب^٢ على مختلف احاطة
و يقال وحاطة و مقر عزها حصن بيدرس^٣ و من حصونها دهوان
و يفوز و شعر و الخضر و غير ذلك و مدينتها شاحط و فى سلطاتها
يقول نزار بن الفقيه زيد بن الحسين الاحاطي

قالوا لنا السلطان فى شاحط داي الربا^٤ من موضع الفوط
قلت هل السلطان اعلاهما قالوا بل السلطان من هابط^٥

و تغلب على حصون وحاطة و بلادها بنو وائل و هم من ولد ذى
الكلع و لهم رياسة متائلة و هم حماقة يرون انهم اشرف ولد آدم
على الاطلاق و لقد اذكر انى خرجت من سوق الجيصب و هو اكبر
اسواقهم فى يوم صائف حتى اذا بعدت عن السوق لحقنى منهم
فارسان يركضان وقد سدّد الى اسنة الرحمين فنزلت عن الدابة
و معدت الى الجبل فلما انتهيا الىّ قالا انا اختلافنا فى افضل ولد
آدم وقد رضينا بحكمك وكان احدهما قال بنو وائل افضل على
الاطلاق و قال الثانى بل هم و قریش فى الشرف فقلت لهما ان
رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم افضل البشر و بنو وائل افضل من
قریش و من سائر الخلق تفاديا منهما قال احدهما والله لو قلت
غير هذا ما سلمت منى ثم فارقتي^٦ و من هولاء بنو وائل السلطان
اسعد ابن وائل بن عيسى صاحب الكرم المريض و اثنا المستفيض
و ممن تغلب على حصن اشيج و هو مقر الملك الداعى سبا بن
احمد الصليحي و على حصن وصاب و مجاليفها قوم من بكيل ثم من

^٢ ياتي الربا Yak.

^٤ هابط Yak.

^٥ فارقتي

^٦ تغلب

^٣ J. and Khi, و زهران
و محرز و صعب و عزان و الخضر
See note 19.

فعل بمواليك ومواليكنا قال هم في ذلك الجدار فاخرجهما نجاح
 وصلى عليهما وبنى لهما^١ مشهدا واعد مرجانا في موضعهما
 فبلى عليه حيا وعلى جثة نفيس وركب نجاح بالمظلة وضربت
 السكة باسمه وكتب اهل العراق وبذل الطاعة فنعت نجاح بالمؤيد
 نصير الدين وفوض اليه تقليد القضاء لمن يراه والنظر العام على
 الجزيرة اليمانية ولم يزل نجاح مالكا لتهامة قاهرا لاكثر اهل الجبال
 وخطوب وكتب بالملك ومولانا ومن اولاده سعيد بن نجاح
 وجيش ومعارك والذخيرة ومنصور فاما الجبال فتغلبت ولاية
 حسين ابن سلامة على الحصون فممن تغلب على عدن وابين ولحج
 والشعر وحضرموت بنو معين واظنهم من غير ولد معين بن زائدة
 الشيباني^٢ وتغلب على السمدان وهو حصن^٣ الدمولة وحصن صبر
 وحصن دحره وحصن التمكنر وهو ما هو^٤ وعلى مختلف الجند
 ومختلف عنه ومختلف المعافرتوم من حمير يقال لهم بنو الكرندي
 وكانت لهم مبارك ومفاخر وسلطنة قاهرة ودوة ظاهرة وتغلب
 على حصن حسب وهو نظير التمكنر وعلى حصن يقال له عزان
 وببيت عزو حصن السمرة وهو تظليم وحصن نور^٥ والنقيل والسحول
 وهو الموضع الذي ينسج فيه اثنيادب السموية وكفن رسول الله صلى
 الله عليه وسلم في ثوبين منها وهذا الوادي بنو^٦ اصبح قوم الفقيه
 مالك الصباحي امام دار الهجرة ومن الحصون ايضا حصن حدن
 والشراقي^٧ تغلب عليهما^٨ السلطان ابو عبد الله الحسين بن القبيعي

^١ وهو لحاكم على الجند Khi and J.

^٢ الشعر، Khi.

^٣ آيد Khi، انور J.

^٤ ا لبي

^٥ الشواي J.

^٦ عليهم ١

^٧ في الترف Khi.

^٨ وليس من ولد معين بن زائدة Kbi.

^٩ Kbi وهو احسن من الدمولة Kn. وهو حصن عظيم للخطر وعلى حصن الشواي

See note 19.

^{١٠} فخر، Kbi.

نجاح يقولى اعمال السكدر و المهجم و مور و الواديين^١ و هذه الاعمال
 الاربعة جل الاعمال الشمالية عن^٢ زبيد ثم وقع القدس بين نفيس
 و نجاح عبدى مرجان على وزارة الحضرة و كان نفيس عسوقا مرهوبا
 و نجاح رؤفا بالناس عادلا على الرعايا محبوبا اليهم الا ان مولاهما
 مرجان يميل مع نفيس على نجاح و نما^٣ الى نفيس ان عمّة ابن
 زياد مولاه تكتاب نجاح و تميل اليه فشكا نفيس ذلك من فعلها
 الى مرجان فقبض مرجان عليها و على ابن اخيها ابن زياد و هو اخر
 القوم و منه زالت دولة بنى زياد باليمن و انتقلت الى عبيد
 عبيدهم^٤ فيكون دولة بنى زياد باليمن مائتى سنة و ثلاث سنين لانهم
 اختطوا زبيد سنة اربع و مائتين و زالت عنهم سنة تسع^٥ و اربعمائة
 ثم ان مرجانا لما قبض على موليه ابراهيم و عمته دفعهما الى نفيس
 فبلى عليهما جدارا و هما قايما يفاشداه الله عز و جل حتى
 ختمه^٦ عليهما و كانت بنو زياد لما اتصل بهم اختلال الدولة
 العباسية من قتل المتوكل و خلع المستعين تغلبوا على ارتفاع اليمن
 و ركبوا بالمظلة و اسسوا قلوب الرعايا ببقاء الخطبة لبني العباس فلما
 قتل نفيس ابن مولاه ابراهيم و عمته تملت و ركب بالمظلة و ضرب
 السكة باسمه و حين نعى الى نجاح ما اعتمده نفيس فى مواليه
 استقر الاحمر و الاسود و قصد نفيسا الى زبيد فجرت بهلما عدّة
 وقايح منها يوم ربح و يوم فحال و هما على نجاح و منها يوم العقدة
 و هو على نفيس و منها يوم العرق و فيه قتل نفيس على باب
 زبيد و قتل معه خمسة الاف بين الفريقين و فتح نجاح زبيد فى
 ذى القعدة سنة ثنتى عشرة و اربعمائة و قال نجاح لمرجان ما

^١ الى عيدهم Kbi,

^٢ سع Kbi,

^٣ اُخْتِمَ

^٤ بهش Kbi,

^٥ غير Kbi,

^٦ نُسِيَ Read

ومن العلماء الراجحين يسكن بمدينة المعقر قال حدثه ابيه وجماعة من اسلافه وهم اهل بيت علم و عفاف قالوا تظلم اذسان الى الحسين ابن سلامة بهذا الرأى وهو سائر من مدينة زبيد الى الكدرا و زعم انه سرقت له عيبة فيها الف دينار و قال^١ الف دينار فى وادى مور و بعدة من الموضع ايام فأمر به حسين فجلس معه مع^٢ خواصه و قام الى الصلاة^٣ فاطلها ثم نام فى المعراب فلم يشعر الا و الناس يقرعون اليه من اطراف الجامع الى المعرب^٤ فقال والدى و كذبت من اقرب الناس اليه فسمعتة يقول لرحل من قواده تمضى مع هذا الرجل الى القرية الفلانية على الساحل فتأخذ له من فلان بن فلان مائة من غير ان تؤذيه فان رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم شفع الى فيه و اخبرنى انه يرتسب اليه و هو صلى الله عليه و سلم الذى عرفنى صورة الحال و اخبار حسين و مجالسته باليمن مجلدات^٤ ثم انقل الامر بعد ذلك الى تطل من آل زياد لا اعرف اسمه و اظنه عبد الله و كفلته عمّة له و استاذ اسمه مرجان من عبيد الحسين ابن سلامة و استقرت الوزارة لمرجان و كان له عبدان من عبيد الحبشة فحلكن رباهما فى الضمر و ولاةما الامور فى الكبير واحدهما يسمى نفيسا و هو الذى يتولى التدبير بالحضرة و العبد الثانى يدعى نجاجا و هو جد ملوك زبيد الذين ازالهم على بن مهدي فى سنة اربع و خمسين و خمسمائة و نجاج هذا هو ابو الملك سعيد الاحول قاتل المير على بن محمد الصليحي القائم باليمن بالدعوة الفاطمية المستنصرية و هو ايضا والد الملك الفاضل العادل ابي الطامى جياش و لم يزل الملك فى عقب جياش هذا الى التبرج المذكور و كان

^١ فى جامع الكدرا، Kbi.

^٢ بل مجلدات، Kbi.

^٣ قول

^٤ فاجلسه مع، Kli.

للفقيه نجم الدين عمارة اليمنى

وحيس وزبيد و فحال و الصَّجَنْجُ¹ بكسر الصاد و القحمة و الكدرا * و هي مقرة و اختطها ايضا و الجثة و عرق اللشم² و المنجم و مور و الواديان و جيزان³ و المساعد⁴ و تعسر و المعسى⁵ و رباح و الفخر⁶ ثم تلقى طريق الجادة و الساحلية⁷ و يفترقان من السرين و بينها و بين مكة خمسة ايام فأول ما يلقى الحاج من عمارته بين الرياضة ثم سبخة الغراب⁸ ثم الليش⁹ ثم يرد الناس وادى يعلم و به بئر¹⁰ رويته طولها عشرة ابواع و عرضها خمسة او ستة ابواع ثم يفترق الناس فمن اراد مكة ورك من عمارته * بيران ثم البيضاء ثم القوين¹¹ ثم مكة و من اراد عرفات ورد من عمارته بئر بوادى الرحم ثم نعمان ثم عرفات و له مسجد على جبل الرحمة بعرفات رحمة الله عليه و حدثني الفقيه ابو محمد عبد الله ابن ابي القاسم الابار و عليه قرأت مذهب الشافعي قال حدثه والده ابو القاسم و حدثني بمثل ذلك عبد الرحمن بن تلي العبسي و حدثني المقرئ الحسين بن فلان بن حسين ابن سلامة و ما همولا الامن ناهز عمرة المائة قالوا كان الناس مزدحمين للصباح على حسين بن سلامة حتى تقدم الية انسان فقال له ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم امرني و بعثنى اليك لتدفع لي الف دينار قال حسين لعل الشيطان تمعل لك قال بل الامارة بيني و بينك انك مذ عشرين سنة كل ليلة تصلى عليه مائة مرة فبكي حسين ابن سلامة و قال اشارة و الله صحيحة لم يعلم بها الا الله عز و جل ثم دفع اليه الف دينار و حدثني الفقيه ابو علي بن طليق و كان من الصالحين

¹ ثم لقي طريق بالساحلية Khi,

² سبخة الغراب Khi,

³ كخي and D. الحبت

¹⁰ وهو ميقات اهل اليمن و به بئر Kbi,

من عمارته ثم بيران و هي بئر روية

بئر البيضاء ثم القوين Kbi,

¹ الفحال Khi,

² Deest in Kbi.

³ حيران Kbi,

⁴ الساعد Kbi,

⁵ المعسى D.

⁶ الفخر Kbi and D.

اب¹ ثم التقليل ثم ذمار² ثم جامع صنعاء وهو عظيم ثم من صنعاء إلى صعدة عشرة أيام³ ثم من صعدة إلى الطائف سبعة أيام في كل مرحلة جامع ومصانع للماء ثم عقبة الطائف وهي مسيرة يوم للطالع من مكة ونصف يوم للهابط إلى مكة عمرها حسين ابن سلامة عمارة⁴ يمشى في عرضها ثلاثة اجمال بأحمتها هذه الطريق العليا واما طريق تهامة فهي تفتقر أيضا لطريقين فواحدة ساحلية على البحر وواحدة وهي العادة السلطانية متوسطة منها إلى البحر والجبل * واقترانها من تهامة⁵ وفي كل مرحلة من الطريقين الساحلية والوسطى جامع عظيم⁶ فمن الساحلية * والوسطى⁷ المحدث وهو من عدن على ليلة وبها بئر طولها ثمانون⁸ باعا⁹ انا وردتها مرارا وجامع مستهدم¹⁰ ثم العارة ثم عثر ثم السقيا جامع و بئر طولها اربعون باعا ثم الباب¹¹ باب المنذب ثم المخا ثم السحاري¹² ثم الحوثة ثم الالهواب ثم غلافقة ثم بيعة ثم الجردة¹³ ثم الزرعة ثم الشرجة ثم المقجر¹⁴ ثم القندير¹⁵ ثم عثر¹⁶ وهي مقتر ملك قديم ثم الرويمة¹⁷ ثم حمصة¹⁸ ثم ذهبان ثم حلى ثم السرين ثم جدّة فهذه جوامع¹⁹ السواحل ما منها الا ما رايته عامرا واما خرابا واما الوسطى فذات الخيف²⁰ وموزع والجدرن²¹

¹⁰ Deest in Khi.

¹¹ D. الزهاري

¹² Khi, اللردة

¹³ Khi, المعصر

¹⁴ Khi, السدوره

¹⁵ Khi, صرين مص

¹⁶ Khi, الدومه M. الدومة

¹⁷ Khi, H. حمصة

¹⁸ Khi, ساير

¹⁹ Khi, ذات الحبيث

²⁰ Khi, نم الحدون

¹ أن, Khi

² ثم ما بين ذمار وصنعاء مسافة Khi, خمسة ايام في كل مرحلة منها با

³ في كل مرحلة من ذلك جامع, Khi

⁴ متقنة, Khi

⁵ Deest in Khi.

⁶ جامع و بئر, Khi

⁷ Deest in Khi.

⁸ ثمانون, Khi

⁹ D. المشهد

واختط مدينة المعقر على وادي نوال وكان عادلا على الرعايا كثير الصدقات والصلاة في الله تعالى مقتديا بسيرة عمر بن عبد العزيز في أكثر احواله وعمر في الملك ثلاثين سنة ومات سنة اثنتين وأربع مائة ومن محاسن حسين بن سلامة انشاء الجوامع الكبار والمنازل الطوال من حضرموت الى مكة حرسها الله تعالى وطول المسافة التي بنى فيها ستون يوما وحفر الابار الروية والقلب العادبة في المقابر المنقطعة وبنى الاميال والفراسخ والبرد على الطرقات فمن ذلك ما رايت عامرا ومهدوما ومنها ما رواه الفلاس في رواية اجماع فاؤله شبام وتريم مدينتنا حضرموت اتصلت عمارة الجوامع منهما الى عدن وأبين والحج والمسافة عشرون مرحلة في كل مرحلة جامع وأذنة وبلر فاما عدن فقيها جامع من عمارة عمر بن عبد العزيز وجدده حسين ابن سلامة ثم نفترق الطريق من عدن الى مكة فطريق تصعد الجبال وطريق نسلت في تهامة فاما طريق الجبال ففيها جامع الحرة وهو كبير ادركته عامرا بعمارة حسين ابن سلامة ورايت فيها جامع الجند وهو جامع مثل جامع احمد بن طولون بمصر وكان مسجدا لطيفا اول من بناه معاذ بن جبل صاحب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم حين بعثه الى اليمن واهل الجند وما حوته من القرى يروون في فضل هذا المسجد اخبارا من جهة الاحاد ان زيارته في اول جمعة من رجب تعدل عمرة او قالوا حجة ولم يزل اهل تلك الاقاصي يزورونه في كل سنة حتى كثر ذلك فصار موسما من مواسم الحج ومنسكا العامة و اذا كان لبعضهم على بعض حق قال اعهلني حتى ينقضي الحج وما يعنون الا زيارة الجند ثم ذى اشرف^١ وبها مسجد مكتوب على احجاره فوق بابه مما أمر به عمر بن عبد العزيز بن مروان ثم مدينة

^١ اشرف، Khi.

^١ الجوه، Khi.

^٢ اخبارا كثيرة عن رسول الله، Khi.

تأريخ اليمن

اسمه و يحمل اليه مبلغا من المال فى كل سنة و هدايا لا اعلم
 مبلغها و يتلو لابن طرف من ملوك تهامة فى الخطبة و السكة لابن
 زياد و عمل اقاوة مستقرة الحرامى صاحب حلى دون ابن طرف فى
 المكذبة و اما الذى سلم لابن زياد من اليمن حين طعن فى
 السن¹ فله من الشرجة الى عدن طولا عشرين مرحلة و له من غلافته الى
 صنعاء خمس مراحل و رايت مبلغ ارتفاع اعمال ابن زياد بعد
 تنصرف² فى سنة ست و ستين و ثلاث مائة من الدنانير الف
 الف عثرية³ خارجا عن ضرائبه على مراكز الهند من الاعواد
 المختلفة و المسك و الكافور و العنبر⁴ و الصندل و الصينى و خارجا
 عن ضرائب العنبر على السواحل بباب المتدب و عدن و ابين و اشعر
 و غير ذلك و خارجا عن ضرائبه على معادن اللؤلؤ و عن ضرائبه على
 صاحب مدينة دهلك و من بعضها الف راس رقيق منها خمسمائة
 وصيفة حبشية و نوبية و كانت ملوك الحبش من وراء البحر تهاديه
 و تستدعى مواصلته و مات ابو الجيش هذا سنة احدى و سبعين و ثلاث
 مائة عن طفل اسمه عبد الله و ولد زياد و تولت كفالته أخته هند بنت
 ابي الجيش و عبد ابي الجيش استأذ حبشى يدعى رشدا⁵ و كان من عبود
 رشد هذا و عيىف من اولاد التوبة يدعى حسين ابن سلامة و هى أمه
 و بها كان يعرف و نشأ هذا حسين ابن سلامة حازما عفيفا فلما مات
 مولاه رشد وزير لولد ابي الجيش و لأخته هند بنت ابي الجيش
 و كانت دولتهم قد تضععت اطرافها و تغلبت ولاة الحصون و الجبال
 على ما فى ايديهم منها فاقام القايد حسين ابن سلامة يحارب اهل
 الجبال حتى دانوا و دان ابن طرف و ابن الحرامى و استوسعت
 له مملكة ابن زياد الاولى و اخقط مدينة الكدرا على وادى سهام

¹ اسمه رشيد فلم تطل مدة رشيد Khi

و هلك عن قريب

² تنافرها

³ ديار عثرية Khi

⁴ السبل Khi

للقية نجم الدين عمرة اليمنى

عمرة شتاءً ولا صيفاً و تتقارب بها ساعات الشتاء والصيف و بها بناء عظيم قد خرب فهو تل عال يعرف بقعدان ولم تبين ملك اليمن قسراً مثله ولا ارفع منه وفي ملك اسعد بن ابي يعفر صاحب صنعاء جبل العذيقرة و بلغنى ان املاء نحو عشرين فرسجا فيها¹ المزارع والمياه وفيه نبت الورد * و هو فى معنى الزعفران² ولا يسلك الا من طريق واحد وقد كان محمد بن الفضل الداعى المعروف بشيخ لاعة و هذه و لاعة الى جانبها قرية لطيفة يقال لها تدن لاعة و ليستا عدن ابين الساحلية و انا دخلت هذه عدن لاعة و هى اول موضع ظهرت فيه الدعوة العلوية باليمن و منها قام منصور اليمن و منها محمد بن الفضل الداعى و ممن وصل اليها من دعاة الدولة ابو عبد الله الشيعى صاحب الدعوة العلوية بالمغرب و فيها قرأ على بن محمد الصليحى فى صباه و هى دار دعوة باليمن و كان هذا محمد بن الفضل الداعى غلب على جبل العذيقرة و خطب فيه للدعوة العلوية سنة اربعين وثلثمائة ثم اسرجعه منه اصحاب اسعد بن ابي يعفر ثم عاد الى اصحاب الدعوى محمد بن الفضل ثانياً و فى ملك اسعد بن ابي يعفر صاحب صنعاء جبل شبام و هو منيع جداً و فيه قرى و مزارع و جامع كبير و هو عمل مستقل بنفسه و يرتفع منه العقيق و الجرع و هى حجارة معساة فانما عملت ظهر جودرها و ممن امتنع من عمال اسى الجيش بن زياد سليمان بن الطرف صاحب عثر و هو من ملوك تهامة و عمله مسيرة سبعة ايام فى عرض يومين و هو من الشرجة الى حلى و يبلغ ارتفاعه فى السنة خمسمائة الف دينار³ و كان مع امتناعه من الوصول الى ابن زياد يخطب له و يضرب السكة على

¹ دينار قنبرية، انظر

² Yak. مه

³ وفى شمير الزعفران Yak.

ابن زياد جعفر^١ وهو الذى اشترط على عرب تهامة ان لا يركبوا الخيل
 وملك ابن زياد حضرموت وديار كندة والشحر و مزابا و ابين
 و لحجا و عدن و التهام الى حلى و بين حلى و مكة حرسها الله
 ثمانية ايام و ملك من الجبال الجند و اعمالها و مختلف المقاتر
 و مختلف جعفر و صنعاء و صعدة و تجران و بيحان و واصل ابن زياد
 الخطبة لبنى العباس و جعل الاموال و الهدايا السنية هو و اولاده من
 بعده و هم ابراهيم بن محمد هذا الذى هو اولهم ثم ملك بعده ابن
 زياد بن ابراهيم فلم تطل مدته ثم ملك بعده اخوه ابو الجيش
 اسحق بن ابراهيم و طالمت مدته فلما اسن و بلغ الثمانين فى الملك
 تشعب عليه من دولته بعضها فممن اظهر له بعض ما يكره ملك
 صنعاء و هو من اولاد التبابعة من حمير و اسمه اسعد بن ابي يعفر^٢
 ولكنه كان يحضرب لابي الجيش بن زياد و يضرب الدراهم على اسمه
 ولم يكن ينفذ الى ابي الجيش هدية و لا ميرة و لا ضربية و كان ارتفاع
 اموال اسعد هذا لا يزيد على اربعمائة الف فى السنة يصرف معظمها
 فى سبيل البر لوافديه و قاصديه و اما صاحب بيحان و تجران
 و جرش فهم ايضا تحمت طاعة ابن زياد و اما صعدة فثار بها الشريف
 الحسنى المعروف بالرسى ثم الزيدى^٣ و ما يليق ذكره فى هذا الموضع
 مع انه ليس بجميع اليمن مدينة اكبر و لا اكثر مرانقا و اهلا من
 صنعاء و هو بلد فى خط الاستواء و هو من الاعتدال فى الهوى
 بحيث لا يتكدر الانسان عن مكان واحد الى مكان آخر طول

^١ الامام الهادى يحيى بن الحسين Khi، الرسى

و قال عمران بن ابي الحسن Yak. عمارة عمران read For. ليس بجميع
^٢ Yak، من

^٣ مكان يتقب ابن زياد جعفر J. يقولون ابن زياد و جعفر Yak.

^٤ بن ابراهيم بن محمد بن يعفر Khi، بن عبد الرحيم لحوالى

للفقيه نجم الدين عمارة اليمني

وعلت عن الطاعة فأتى ابن سهل على هذا¹ محمد بن زياد وعلى
 المرواني و التغلبى عند المأمون و انهم من اعيان الرجال و افراد
 الكفاة و اشار بتسييرهم الى اليمن² ابن زياد اميرا و ابن هشام
 وزيراً و التغلبى حاكماً و مقتدياً³ فمن ولد التغلبى محمد بن هرون
 قضاة زبيد بنو ابي ثعلبة ولم يزل الحكم فيهم متوارث حتى ازالهم
 علي بن مهدي حين ازال الحبشة⁴ فخرجوا في الجيش الذي جهزه
 المأمون الى بغداد الى محاربة ابراهيم بن المهدي و حجّ ابن زياد
 و من معه في سنة ثلاث و مائتين و سار الى اليمن و فتح تهامة بعد
 حروب جرت بينه وبين العرب بها و اختط زبيد في شعبان سنة
 اربع و مائتين و في هذا التاريخ مات الفقيه الامام محمد بن ادريس
 الشافعي بمصر رحمة الله عليه و حجّ من اليمن جعفر مولى ابن
 زياد بمال و هدياً سنة خمس و مائتين و وصل⁵ الى العراق و صادف
 المأمون بها و عاد جعفر هذا في سنة ست الى زبيد و معه الف
 فارس من⁶ مسودة خراسان سبعمائة فعظم ملك⁷ ابن زياد و ملك⁸
 اقليم اليمن باسره الجبال و التهاميم و تقلد جعفر هذا الجبال و اختط
 بها⁹ مدينة يقال لها المذبحرة * بمخلاف ريمة الاشاعر¹⁰ ذات انهار
 و اشجار¹¹ واسعة و البلاد التي كانت لجعفر تسمى الى¹² اليوم مخلاف
 جعفر و المخلاف عند اهل اليمن عبارة عن قطر واسع و كان جعفر
 هذا احد الكفاة الدهاة¹³ و به تمت¹⁴ دولة ابن زياد لانهم¹⁵ يقولون

¹ تقلد Yak.

² به Yak.

³ Deest in Yak.

⁴ رياض Yak.

⁵ Om. Yak.

⁶ هذا من الدهاة الكفاة Yak.

⁷ تمت Yak.

⁸ ولذلك Yak.

¹ على الزبدي وكان اسمه Yak.

² Yuk. فسير

³ Yuk. الضلي قاصياً

⁴ Yuk. دولة للحبشة

⁵ Yuk. (s.v. المذبحرة)

⁶ Yak. منها من

⁷ Yak. امر

بن زياد^٦ فانتسب احدثهم واسمه محمد بن فلان بن عبد الله بن زياد الى زياد^٧ و انتسب رجل منهم الى سليمان بن هشام بن عبد الملك و من ولد هذا الرجل الوزير ابن خلف^٨ بن ابي الطاهر وزير الامير جياش بن نجاح فقال المأمون لهذا الاموي ان عبد الله بن علي بن العباس ضرب عنق سليمان بن هشام و اعتاق ولديه في يوم واحد فقال الاموي انا من ولد الاصغر من ولد سليمان بن هشام^٩ مما قوم بالبصرة في افناء الناس و انتسب له رجل الى بلي تغلب^{١٠} و اسمه محمد بن هرون فبكى المأمون و قال ان لي^{١١} بمحمد بن هرون يعني اخاه الامين ثم قال اما الامويان فيقتلن^{١٢} و اما التغلبي فيعفى عنه رعاية^{١٣} لا مه و اسم ابيه فقال ابن زياد ما اكذب الناس يا امير المؤمنين انهم يزعمون انك حلیم كثير العفو مقورع عن سفك الدماء^{١٤} بغير حق فان كذبت تقتلنا على^{١٥} ذنوبنا فاننا لم نخرج عن الطاعة^{١٦} ولم نفارق في بيعتك راي الجماعة^{١٧} و ان كنت تقتلنا على جنائيات بنى أمية فيكم فالله تعالى يقول و لا تزر وازرة وزر اخرى فاستحسن المأمون كلامه و عفى عنهم جميعا و كانوا اكثر من مائة رجل و اضافهم الى ابي العباس الفضل بن سهل ذي الرياستين وقيل الى اخيه الحسن فلما بويح لبرهيم بن المهدي ببغداد في المحرم سنة اثنتين و مائتين وافق ذلك و روى^{١٨} كتاب عامل اليمن بخروج الاشاعر^{١٩}

^٦ Yak. و الزبديون فيقتلون.

^٧ Yak. كرامة.

^٨ Yak. عن الدماء.

^٩ Yak. عن.

^{١٠} Yak. عن طامة.

^{١١} Yak. في معبد الجماعة.

^{١٢} Yak. وافق ذلك وروى om. في كتاب.

^{١٣} Yak. وعاء om. الاشارة.

^١ Yak. بقوم من ولد زياد بن ابيه.

^٢ Yak. و قوم من ولد هشام و منهم رجل من

من بني أمية Khil; بنى تغلب

^٣ Yak. الى عبيد الله بن زياد بن ابيه J.

^٤ Yak. الوزير خلف

^٥ Yak. كان جدي صغيرا يومئذ لم يدرك و J.

^٦ Yak. ابن وايل Khil.

^٧ Yak. ما لي; انى لي Khil.

تأريخ اليمن

للفقيه العلامة نجم الدين شهاب الدين اليمنى .

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله افضل محمود و احق معبود
 و صلى الله على محمد النبي اطهر منسل و اكرم مرسل و على آله
 اعلام العلوم و اطوار العلوم و سلم و بعد فاتى فى سنة ثلاث و ستين
 و خمسمائة حضرت مجلس المولى القاضى الاجل الفاضل ابى على
 عبد الرحيم بن القاضى الاشرف بهام الدين ابى المعجد على البيهاسى
 حرس الله تلىه و اذام سموة و هو يومئذ صاحب ديوان الانشاء عن
 الخلافة العاضدية فعدانى بل هداى امره الى وضع كذاب اجمع فيه
 ما علق بحفظى من اخبار جزيرة اليمن سهلها و وعرها براً و بحراً
 و مدد ممالكها و ابعاد مسالكها و حروب أهلها و وقائعهم و مآثرهم
 و صنائعهم و اخبار قضائها و دعائها و اخبار اعيانها و امراكها و من روى له
 عنه او رايته من شعرائها فامتثلت من ذلك ما نذب اليه و عوات
 عند التصفح عليه و ما هو ممن استحق لقاء خشياً و اجلاً بمسور
 خاطر و لو لم يشجعنى تقاضيه عاضى محادرتى من حمله المتجاسر
 حدثنى الشيخ النقيه نزار¹ بن عبد الملك المكي و الفقيه احمد بن
 محمد الاشعري² و ما منهما الاعرف بايام الفاس و انسابهم و اشعارهم و
 قرأت فى كذب مفيد لاخبار زبيد تأليف الملك المكين ابى الطامى
 جيش بن نجاح نصير الدين³ مالت زبيد قالوا لما كان فى سنة تسع
 و تسعين و مائه اتى الى المأمون بن الرشيد بقوم من ولد عبد الله

ابراهيم القرشى الاشعري

¹ ظهر الدين Kbi

ابو المنصور نزار Kbi

² Kbi بن احمد بن النشابة

كتاب تاريخ اليمن للفقير الاديب نجم الدين

عمارة بن ابي الحسن علي الحكيم اليماني و يليله

المختصر المنقول من كتاب العبر للقاضي

العلامة عبد الرحمن ابن خلدون

المغربي ثم اخبار القرامطة

باليمن تأليف القاضي

الاجل الميهدي

الهندي



قد طبع بمطبعة كلبيرت و رونيكتن الكائنة بمدينة ^{وادي} الحيرة المحروسة

سنة ١٣٠٩

