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Bishri, Ismail Muhammad

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A critical edition of  
AL-DĪBĀJ AL-KHUSRUWĀNĪ FĪ AKHBĀR  
A'YĀN AL-MIKHLĀF AL-SULAYMĀNĪ

by

AL-ḤASAN B. AḤMAD 'ĀKISH

(d. 1290/1874)

with detailed introduction

ISMĀ'ĪL M. AL-BISHRĪ

M.A.

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- 9 MAR 1990

## ABSTRACT

This dissertation consists of a detailed study and critical edition of the invaluable historical work, al-Dībāj al-khusruwānī fī akhbār a'yān al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī

The first part of this study comprises an English introduction, in seven chapters, which attempts to paint a full picture of both the work and the historical period concerned. The author and his work are dealt with in the first chapter. This includes the first full biography of the author, a description of his other works, a review of the manuscripts used in the edition and an explanation of the editorial method.

In chapter two the rule of the Āl Khayrāt family in al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī and the arrival of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's movement in the area are discussed in order to provide full historical background.

Chapter three is concentrated on a summary of the Dībāj, made to assist the English reader in his understanding of the subject as a whole.

Chapter four is given over to a discussion on 'Ākish's style and language. It also contains a glossary of some unusual words.

Comments and notes on the text, plus Qur'ānic and Hadīth references and an analysis of the poetic metres used by the author, make up chapter five.

Chapter six comprises an index of the geographical places and tribal names mentioned in the text, while Chapter seven deals with biographies. The study closes with a bibliography, two maps and a family-tree of the Āl Khayrāt dynasty.

The edited Arabic text comprises the second part of this study and is followed by a chapter on the Ḥadīth quoted and by three appendices, containing the author's references and biographical indexes to the author's Ḥadā'iq al-Zahr and 'Uqūd al-durar manuscripts.

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## PREFACE

The region known as al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī has an important place in the history of South-Western Arabia for various geopolitical and economic reasons.

Comprising an area that stretches roughly between 16°-18° longitude and 42°-44° latitude, al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī has as its southern and eastern boundaries the mountains of al-Sarawāt and the Saudi-Yemeni border; to the west it is met by the Red Sea; and to the north-west it is fringed by Wadi Ḥaly b. Ya'qūb and the 'Asīr mountains. Generally speaking it occupies the south-western part of Saudi Arabia known as the Jāzān or Jizān district and acts as an important buffer zone between two different political systems: the Ḥijāz in the north and the Yemen in the south. Also of significance is the fact that the area is highly fertile and densely populated.

Al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī derives its name from Sulaymān b. Ṭarf al-Ḥakamī who seized control of the area from the Ziyādid ruler in 373/983. The history of al-Mikhlāf is linked inextricably with that of the Yemen and Tihāmah and as such must be viewed against the background of events in the region as a whole.

Sharif Ḥamūd, generally considered to be the most powerful of the Āl Khayrāt dynasty, extended his domains over the whole of Tihāmah in the Yemen as far as Zabīd; his reign marks the high point or "golden era" of the Āl Khayrāt rule in the area. Although the Yemeni coastal lands were returned to the imam of Ṣan'ā' after the



arrival in Abū 'Arīsh of the Turco-Egyptian forces, they were captured once more by Sharif al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Ḥaydar after the Egyptian evacuation in 1256/1840.

The Dībāj, which is the subject of the present study, deals with three different and highly important periods of the history of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī. The first period begins with the assumption of power by Sharif Ḥamūd in 1216/1801, which coincides with the advent of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's movement in the area and ends with the deportation of Sharif Ḥamūd's son, Aḥmad, on the orders of Khalīl Pasha in 1235/1819. The succession of the pro-Turco-Egyptian ruler, Sharif 'Alī b. Ḥaydar, also in that year, marks the beginning of the second period covered by the work, while the Egyptian withdrawal from the area in 1256/1840 marks the beginning of the third. The Dībāj gives a detailed account of these events; the richness of its description may be attributed to the fact that the author was very close to the ruling family and was thus able to gain easy access to those with the power to make decisions.

The present study is based on the writings of 'Ākish, as well as on other manuscripts and documents. Many difficulties were encountered in gaining access to unpublished material in private libraries in the area which might shed more light on the local history. Printed works dealing with the subject are few, and the Yemeni sources concentrate on the affairs of the Yemeni highlands. Nevertheless it is felt that as much as possible has been done to gather such material and thus build up a clear picture of events.

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**I            THE AUTHOR AND HIS WORK**

(i) THE AUTHOR

'Ākish lived in the 13th/19th century and was born into a well-known family; his father was famous as Shaykh al-Islām, and was employed as the qādī in the town of Ḍamad.<sup>1</sup> In 1218/1803 'Ākish's father, (b. 1174/1760-61, d. Rabī' II 1222/June-July 1807), moved to live in Abū 'Arīsh, the capital of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī,<sup>2</sup> where he seems to have enjoyed good relations with the ruler, Ḥamūd b. Muḥammad Abū Mismār. He also became involved in political life, to the extent that when the Saudis decided to subjugate the area, he, along with two members of the ruling family, was elected by Sharif Ḥamūd to enter into negotiations with the Saudi general. These took place in the village of al-Ḥajarayn, where the general had set-up camp, and were ultimately successful.<sup>3</sup> 'Ākish's father subsequently served as the general muftī of al-Mikhlāf until his death.<sup>4</sup>

According to 'Ākish, his father seems to have been a Zaydī. He says, for example, that his father travelled to Mecca where he became involved in erudite discussions with the foremost scholars of the time. He adds that his father always emerged the victor in such debates. The 'ulamā' of Mecca rejected him because he was a follower of the Zaydī madhhab; in their opinion, the right path (ḥaqq) was embodied within the four famous madhhabs, and anything other than these was bid'ah.<sup>5</sup> 'Ākish describes the Zaydī madhhab in glowing terms, and criticises the Meccan scholars for their ta'aṣṣub and taqlīd, because they rejected Zaydism without investigating its basis or its doctrines.<sup>6</sup> 'Ākish's father was in fact taught by Zaydī scholars in Kawkabān, Ṣa'dah and Ṣan'ā', (where he spent two periods of study). He exchanged letters with Yemeni scholars, among them al-Shawkānī.



In Abū 'Arīsh he wrote his book, Mashāriq al-anwār fī-sharḥ dalā'il al-azhār, on Zaydī fiqh.<sup>7</sup>

Prior to drawing a biographical sketch of 'Ākish, we should point out that, as far as we are aware, no complete history of his life has been written until now. Zabārah gives scant biographical information, listing only the names of 'Ākish's sheikhs and some of the books which he studied.<sup>8</sup> Sayyid<sup>9</sup> and Ḥibshī<sup>10</sup> also provide little information about 'Ākish's work. Sayyid in fact refers to 'Ākish as two separate people, called him al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Yamanī<sup>11</sup> on some occasions and 'Ākish al-Ḍamadī on others.<sup>12</sup> For this, the first comprehensive biography of 'Ākish, I have drawn my material as far as possible from his own writings. I have divided his very full life into three stages: childhood and the years of study, (1220-53/1805-37), his years as a qāḍī and adviser to the ruler, (1254-67/1838-50), and the final years which were devoted to teaching, writing, and formulating legal opinions (sing. fatwā), (1268-90/1851-73), whilst he was still employed as a qāḍī.

Although we know the author as 'Ākish, his full name was as follows: al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Ḥasan b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Ḍamadī.<sup>13</sup> Historians give his date of birth as 1221.<sup>14</sup> In his writings however, 'Ākish says that he was two years old when his father died, which would suggest that he was in fact born in the middle of 1220.<sup>15</sup> The nickname (laqab), "'Ākish", is not found in any of the author's writings or in his father's biographies and we can assume therefore, that it was given to the author and had no past family connection. Indeed, it seems that the author was not actually very fond of this nickname.<sup>16</sup>

The etymological origin of this laqab is the root ' k sh (see Lisan, vi) meaning hair which has grown into long, heavy or wavy tresses. A present-day member of 'Ākish's family told me that they now proudly use this name as a family name.<sup>17</sup> The supposition therefore, is that 'Ākish became well known by this nickname and, with the passage of time, it was adopted as the family name.

Unfortunately, the information which I have at my disposal concerning the early part of 'Ākish's childhood is very limited. I will, however, attempt to give as full a picture as possible, based on the many references found in the author's own writings.

After the death of his father, 'Ākish was looked after by his uncle, Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh,<sup>18</sup> and by a member of the ruling sharif family, Ḥasan b. Bashīr b. Mubārak.<sup>19</sup> 'Ākish mentions that following his father's death, al-Ḥasan b. Khālid al-Ḥāzimī, the ruler's distinguished minister, took responsibility for supporting the family financially, as a gesture of respect for his late teacher.<sup>20</sup> At the age of about ten, 'Ākish began attending lessons among the learned circles of the Abū 'Arīsh mosque,<sup>21</sup> where his first teacher was Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Nu'mān (d. 1241/1825). This man taught him the Qur'ān, in addition to the basic legal works such as fiqh, farā'id, grammar, ma'ānī, uṣūl, and logic.<sup>22</sup> When he was about 12 years old, 'Ākish began studying with al-Ḥasan b. Khālid al-Ḥāzimī (d. 1235/1819), with whom he learnt grammar from Mulḥat al-i'rāb and the fiqh from part of Bulūgh al-marām.<sup>23</sup> An enthusiastic student, he took a keen interest in many different fields of knowledge and studied in detail a large number of the books which epitomised intellectual thought at that time. In addition, he also studied fiqh, farā'id, commentary and uṣūl with

some of the local teachers such as Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nu'mān (d. 1241/1825),<sup>24</sup> Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Mūsā al-Ḥāzimī (d. 1262/1845),<sup>25</sup> al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥāzimī (d. 1257/1842)<sup>26</sup> and 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bahkalī (d. 1260/1844).<sup>27</sup> At the same time, 'Ākish studied grammar with Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥasan,<sup>28</sup> al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Bahkalī (d. 1234/1818),<sup>29</sup> Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad, known as Zabībah, (a Yemeni scholar who settled in Abū 'Arīsh for a short time on his way back from the Hajj),<sup>30</sup> 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Alī al-'Awājī (d. 1235/1819),<sup>31</sup> and Yaḥyā b. Ismā'īl al-Ṣa'dī.<sup>32</sup> He studied Ḥadīth with 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Aqīlī al-Ḥāzimī (d. 1252/1836),<sup>33</sup> Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nu'mī al-Sharafī (d. 1241/1825)<sup>34</sup> and Sharif Bashīr b. Shabīr b. Mubārak Āl Khayrāt (d. 1251/1835).<sup>35</sup>

Having achieved the basic qualifications necessary for higher education, 'Ākish began to pay frequent visits to the famous centres of learning in his area. This was in fact the customary way of acquiring knowledge and expanding one's intellectual horizons. In 1238/1822, at the age of about 17, 'Ākish made his first trip to Bayt al-Faqīh in order to study with the prominent Shāfi'ī scholar, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Bahkalī (d. 1248/1832).<sup>36</sup> He spent the next three years with this teacher, studying Ḥadīth, commentary, uṣūl, grammar, logic and prosody.<sup>37</sup> It would seem that 'Ākish was influenced by the teachings of al-Bahkalī and that he maintained good relations with him up until the latter died. In Bayt al-Faqīh 'Ākish also studied ṣarf and grammar under the Ḥanafī scholar, Aḥmad b. 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Ḥindī (d. 1243/1827).<sup>38</sup>

Whilst still living in Bayt al-Faqīh 'Ākish travelled to Mecca in 1240/1824 to perform the Hajj.<sup>39</sup> There he met Muḥammad b. Yāsīn



al-Mīrghanī (d. 1247/1831),<sup>40</sup> one of the most distinguished scholars in the Holy City at that time. On his second visit to Mecca for the Hajj in 1243/1827 'Ākish took the opportunity of studying Hadīth with this teacher and succeeded in obtaining an ijāzah from him.<sup>41</sup>

It would appear that 'Ākish spent 1242/1826 in Abū 'Arīsh, before travelling to Ṣan'ā' at the beginning of 1243/1827, where he studied for a whole year. During this time he lived in one of the waqf settlements of the mosque known as al-Filayhī,<sup>42</sup> and studied in great depth many different aspects of Islamic teaching and doctrine with the foremost scholars of the city,<sup>43</sup> the most influential being Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Shawkānī (d. 1251/1835).<sup>44</sup> The other teachers in Ṣan'ā' at that time were as follows :

- (i) Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Amīr (d. 1246/1830)<sup>45</sup>
- (ii) Luṭf Allāh b. Aḥmad Jaḥḥāf (d. 1243/1827)<sup>46</sup>
- (iii) Muḥammad b. Mahdī al-Ḥamāṭī (d. 1269/1852)<sup>47</sup>
- (iv) Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Kibsi<sup>48</sup>
- (v) Muḥsin b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Aḥmad b. Ishāq (d. 1266/1849)<sup>49</sup>
- (vi) Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-'Imrānī (d. 1264/1847)<sup>50</sup>
- (vii) Aḥmad b. Zayd b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 1271/1854)<sup>51</sup>
- (viii) al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Amīr (d. 1246/1830).<sup>52</sup>

'Ākish appears to have concluded his stay in Ṣan'ā' by going to perform the Hajj in 1243/1827, as mentioned above. He then returned to Abū 'Arīsh where he remained for a whole year. In 1245/1829 he travelled to Ṣabyā in order to study with Aḥmad b. Idrīs (d. 1253/1837), who had arrived there from Zabīd during Ramaḍān 1245/February 1830.<sup>53</sup> 'Ākish spent two years with Ibn Idrīs in Ṣabyā performing Sufi rites, studying Sufi texts and memorizing their awrād and mawā'iz.<sup>54</sup> It would appear

that he was a devout follower (murīd) and Ibn Idrīs decided to confer on him the honour of wearing the Sufi robe (khirqah) and of initiation into his ṭarīqah, just as Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-'Ujaylī<sup>55</sup> had conferred the same honour on his father. 'Ākish says, wa-'stamddaytu min-hu 'ulūm al-ṭarīqah wa-jabadhanī ilā al-sayr fī tilka 'l-ḥaqīqah,<sup>56</sup> and notes that Ibn Idrīs came to the area in order to preach his Aḥmadiyyah ṭarīqah.<sup>57</sup>

Between 1245/1830-1250/1834 'Ākish travelled to Zabīd, Bayt al-Faqīh, Ṣabyā and finally to Mecca in 1250/1834 for the Hajj.<sup>58</sup> There are many indications in his writings which suggest that he spent two periods of study in Zabīd, the first being in 1246/1830<sup>59</sup> and the second in 1251/1835, when he stayed for two years.<sup>60</sup> During these periods in Zabīd he studied a wide range of subjects in great depth and also taught.<sup>61</sup> He himself was taught by well-known scholars, who included the following :

- (i) Muḥammad b. al-Zayn al-Mizjājī (d. 1252/1836)<sup>62</sup>
- (ii) 'Abd al-Karīm b. Ḥusayn al-'Utumī (d. 1246/1830)<sup>63</sup>
- (iii) 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-Ahdal (d. 1250/1834)<sup>64</sup>
- (iv) 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Sharafī (d. 1251/1835)<sup>65</sup>
- (v) al-Ṭāhir b. Aḥmad b. al-Musāwā (d. 1248/1832)<sup>66</sup>
- (vi) Muḥammad b. al-Musāwā al-Ahdal (d. 1266/1849)<sup>67</sup>

'Ākish also mentions the names of other scholars with whom he studied and from whom he received ijāzāt, although he does not give the dates of when he visited them. They are as follows: Aḥmad b. Sālim Ḥābis (d. 1245/1829) of Ṣa'dah,<sup>68</sup> Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Samāwī (d. 1241/1825) of al-Ḥudaydah, where he was imprisoned,<sup>69</sup> and Ibrahīm b. Aḥmad al-Ḥifẓī (d. 1297/1879) of Rijāl Alma', 70.

'Ākish was now a very well-educated man, aged about 33 and had extensive contacts among the scholars and prominent 'ulamā' in the area. It is quite apparent that he was very active among scholarly circles and we can find many examples of correspondence on legal and religious questions and poems, which he exchanged with other scholars and poets of the Arabian Peninsula at that time.<sup>71</sup>

The second stage of the author's life begins in 1254/1838, when Sharif al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Ḥaydar came to power as the ruler of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī following his father's death. It appears that 'Ākish had good relations with al-Ḥusayn even before he became ruler. At one point for instance, 'Ākish says that al-Ḥusayn ordered him to take a letter to the distinguished scholar, Muḥammad al-'Imrānī, in Mecca, asking him to settle in Abū 'Arīsh, (wa-amaranī bi-ḥamli marqūman ilayhi bi-taḥsīn al-wuṣūl ilā ḥaḍratih); this was in 1250/1834.<sup>72</sup>

Clearly 'Ākish was known to the ruling family, since his father had been associated with them, and, as we mentioned before, he was looked after by one of them as a child. In addition however, his erudition and the poetry which he composed for many different social and political occasions, must have drawn people's attention to him.

'Ākish was next appointed the qāḍī of Abū 'Arīsh,<sup>73</sup> although there is no indication in the sources available to us of the date when this occurred. There are however, frequent indications in his writings which suggest that he was trusted by the ruler and that he had a special relationship with him. For example, 'Ākish concludes his description of al-Ḥusayn's custom of performing the qiyām prayer on a journey, by saying that, "I accompanied him for a time whilst he was in this state", (wa-lā yatruku qiyām al-layl fī-'safar wa-lā ḥaḍar li-annī ṣaḥibtuhu

muddatan wa-huwa 'alā hadhā al-ḥāl),<sup>74</sup> and that, "when the sharif came to power in al-Ḥudaydah in 1256/1840, I was accompanying him and he asked me to advise, on a suitable person for the post of qāḍī",  
(wa-lammā 'stawlā 'l-sharīf 'alā al-bandar fī 'ām 1256 kuntu muṣāhiban la-hu ... wa - 'stasharānī fī man yaṣluḥu li-waḥīfat al-qāḍā').<sup>75</sup> When the sharif travelled to Bayt al-Faqīh in 1256/1840, the qāḍī of the town, Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Suḥūlī, did not come to see him, because for some unknown reason he seems to have been afraid. 'Ākish says, "I went with him to the sharif, who received him with dignity and respect",  
(wa-waṣaltu ma'ahu ilā al-sharīf wa-talaqqāhu bi-'l-ijlāl wa-'l-ikrām).<sup>76</sup>

It is clear from many references that 'Ākish travelled with the ruler wherever he went, suggesting that he may have been more than just a qāḍī, and was perhaps employed as an adviser or a minister. We know for example that he accompanied the sharif when he entered al-Ḥudaydah and Bayt al-Faqīh, as mentioned above, when he settled in Zabīd, when he moved to take up residence in al-Ḥudaydah sometime between 1261 and 1263,<sup>77</sup> and also when he moved to al-Mukhā' in 1265/1848.<sup>78</sup>

The final stage of 'Ākish's life begins with the dismissal of Sharif al-Ḥusayn by the Ottomans in 1267/1850.<sup>79</sup> The author had now settled in Abū 'Arīsh teaching and formulating fatāwā, as well as carrying out his duties as qāḍī.<sup>80</sup> This was a period of great upheaval and unrest, with the internecine struggles amongst the sharifs, the intervention of the amir of 'Asīr and the repercussions of Ottoman rule. Such turmoil clearly affected the intellectual life of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī.<sup>81</sup> Although we can find no indication of the part which 'Ākish played in these events, we do know that he retained his position

as qāḍī and muftī,<sup>82</sup> and it would appear that he chose to detach himself from the political unrest in order to devote time to writing. We know for example that he composed his commentary on the Qur'ān during this period, since he mentions finishing the last draft of it in 1276/1859. The work consists of two large volumes and 'Ākish began work on it in 1271/1864.<sup>83</sup>

When one reads his book, al-Durr al-thamīn, it is clear that 'Ākish had established good relations with the amir of 'Asīr, Muḥammad b. 'Āyīḍ, who came to power in the emirate between 1273-88/1856-72;<sup>84</sup> 'Ākish composed many poems in praise of him and describes him as imam.<sup>85</sup> Whilst there is no indication that the author actually visited 'Asīr, it is quite feasible that he may have met the amir during his numerous campaigns in Abū 'Arīsh and the Yemen. 'Aqīlī claims that 'Ākish did in fact visit the amir on several occasions, although he does not indicate any sources to substantiate this.<sup>86</sup>

In 1272/1855, 'Ākish moved to live in Ṣabyā, where he remained for two years before returning to Abū 'Arīsh.<sup>87</sup> There are also indications that he travelled fairly widely, his last trip being to al-Ḥudaydah in 1286/1869.<sup>88</sup> 'Ākish spent his remaining years in Abū 'Arīsh, where he completed his useful work, 'Uqūd al-durar fī tarājim a'yān al-qarn al-thāliṭh 'ashar, which contains biographies down to 1287/1870.

In order to ascertain to which religious madhhab the author belonged, we must first give a brief résumé of the religious climate which prevailed in the area at that time. "Taking Tihāmah as a whole, there is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the population

were Shāfi'is".<sup>89</sup> Throughout 'Ākish's life the influence which the imams of Ṣan'ā' exerted over the population of the area was minimal and it was the doctrines of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb which had the greatest effect on the intellectual life, not only of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī, but also of the whole of South West Arabia.<sup>90</sup>

We know that Sharif Ḥamūd (d. 1253/1817) embraced the doctrines of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb during the later years of his life, and that his minister, al-Ḥasan b. Khālīd al-Ḥāzimī, had very good relations with the scholars of Najd.<sup>91</sup> It is also clear that the general population of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī were to some extent followers of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's teachings at this time; there are many references in the writings of 'Ākish and the other Yemeni scholars to the preaching activities of Sharif Ḥamūd and his ministers throughout the area.<sup>92</sup> Sharif Ḥusayn b. Shabīr b. Mubārak (d. 1242/1826), who was reputed to be one of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's most ardent followers, was appointed muḥtasib<sup>93</sup> along with a number of fuqahā',<sup>94</sup> and they were ordered to travel around al-Mikhlāf teaching the inhabitants "the right way". 'Ākish says, "Sharif Ḥamūd appointed a teacher in every mosque to give daily guidance to the people in their religious affairs, to seek out those people not attending Jum'ah prayers and to punish those of them who did not have a valid excuse for their absence", (wa-kull masjid ja'ala li-ahlihi mu'alliman yurshiduhum kull yawm ilā umūr dīnihim, wa-yatafaqqada 'l-mutakhallifin 'an ṣalāt al-Jumu'ah, wa-man takhallafa li ghayri 'udhr anzala bi-hi mā yastahiqqu min al-mu'āqabah).<sup>95</sup> There were many scholars, such as 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bahkalī, Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Ḥāzimī and Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Sharīf who supported this tendency to follow the doctrines of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb.<sup>96</sup>

The movement lost momentum however, when the Turks subjugated the area and appointed 'Alī b. Ḥaydar sharif, a man who was both loyal to the Ottomans and paid little attention to the doctrines of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb. Indeed, the area went into decline and the time was ripe for the emergence of other religious movements. One of the most influential of these centred around the Sufi doctrines of Ibn Idrīs and lasted for many years, finally culminating in the formation of the Idrīsī Emirate in 1326/1908.<sup>97</sup>

'Ākish was taught by both Sunnī and Zaydī scholars in Tihāmah and Ṣan'ā' and we also know that some of his first teachers in Abū 'Arīsh were supporters of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb. As we mentioned before, he was cared for as a child by two of the most distinguished followers of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's doctrines, Sharif Ḥusayn b. Shabīr and al-Ḥasan b. Khālid. It seems likely therefore, that 'Ākish must have absorbed at least some of these doctrines in his formative years. In the writings relating to the early part of his life, 'Ākish appears to have been opposed to the ideas of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb. It is clear from his praise for them in subsequent writings, however, that he revised his opinion of them in later life. This volte-face can be seen clearly in the autograph of al-Dībāj, where 'Ākish indicates his revised opinions by writing "correct" (ṣahḥ), and "they said" (qālū) in the margin beside his former criticisms of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's doctrines, thus attempting to give others the responsibility for them.

In Ṣan'ā' 'Ākish studied with al-Shawkānī, who was considered to be a moderate Zaydī and it is clear from both the style of his various writings and the references which he makes that the author was influenced by this contact with Zaydism. In the texts one can

often find instances of 'Ākish speaking as though he were a Zaydī. For example, he says, "The legal imamate is reserved for the four orthodox caliphs, the two sons of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Zayd b. 'Alī and his son, Yaḥyā, and for Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh and his brothers, al-Ḥusayn al-Fakhkhī, al-Hādī and al-Qāsim".<sup>98</sup> Elsewhere he says, "the pure imams and the scholars of other countries agreed ...",<sup>99</sup> and referring to the question of the imamate he says, "Since the death of the Companions the Islamic countries have been ruled by unjust and illegal rulers".<sup>100</sup> In all of his writings concerning the sharifs or the imams, 'Ākish continually stresses, "They are descended from the house of the Prophet (al - 'itrah al-ṭāhirah, (Ahl al-Bayt)". It is also worth mentioning here that 'Ākish admitted to the fact that his father was a Zaydī. Taking these and other references into account, we may deduce that the author was no more than sympathetic to Zaydism. He says, for example, "We convey [this] to you from their books, which have passed between them and their followers, (wa-naḥnu nanqulu laka min kutubihim al-mutadāwalah baynahum wa-bayna shī'atihim)",<sup>101</sup> and refers to "the book, al-Bustān, which is considered to be one of their fundamental texts", (wa-fī 'l-Bustān wa-huwa min mu'tamadātihim).<sup>102</sup> Such references demonstrate how 'Ākish talks about Zaydism as something almost alien.

When Ibn Idrīs settled in Ṣabyā, 'Ākish was one of his earliest and most ardent followers; according to 'Ākish himself, he was loyal to him for three years.<sup>103</sup> This loyalty and admiration for Ibn Idrīs shines through in his record of the famous debate (munāẓarah) held in Ṣabyā in 1248 between his mentor and the fuqahā' of 'Asīr.<sup>104</sup>

In conclusion therefore, we can say that 'Ākish was strongly



influenced by Zaydism in his early years and that it formed the background to his education. In later years, when he had settled in Tihāmah, the author's earlier opposition to the doctrines of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb disappeared and he became a supporter, as his poems to the amir of 'Asīr clearly show.<sup>105</sup> It is possible that his first lessons in Abū 'Arīsh might have played a part in this transformation, of which there is ample evidence in many of his writings.

As to the date of his death, some historians such as 'Aqīlī, Ḥibshī and Sayyid record it as 1289/1872, whilst others, such as Zabārah, as 1292/1875. In fact, 'Ākish died on Tuesday 18 Dhu 'l-Qi'dah 1290/Wednesday 6 January 1874.<sup>106</sup>

(ii) THE WRITINGS OF 'ĀKISH

The following is essentially a list of 'Ākish's other works, drawn firstly from references in his own writings and secondly from the writings of others. Some of the titles mentioned here appear for the first time and these are marked with asterisks. al-Dībāj and al-Dhahab are omitted from this list and are dealt with separately later on.

1. 'Uqūd al-durar fī tarājim a'yān al-qarn al-thālith 'ashar

Copies of the MS in the western library of the Great Mosque, Ṣan'ā', no. 45 - tarājim; the King Sa'ūd University main library, Riyadh, no. 1334; the private collection of Muḥammad al-Ḥāzimī, Ḍamad. The MS contains 267 biographies of prominent scholars, politicians and citizens from al-Mikhlāf and the Yemen. It is believed that 'Ākish began this work in 1262/1845,<sup>107</sup> and completed it around 1287/1870.<sup>108</sup>

I have produced the first index to this MS, which can be found at the end of the Arabic text, appendix 2.

2. Hadā'iq al-zahr fī dhikr al-ashyākh a'yān al-dahr

Autograph of the MS in the 'Aqīlī private library, no. 38. Copy of the MS in the private library of Muḥammad al-Ḥāzimī, Ḍamad. 'Ākish devoted this work to the biographies of his teachers and some of his colleagues. It contains a total of 50 biographies. An index has been compiled by the present writer and can be found at the end of the Arabic text, appendix 3.

3. Fatḥ al-Mannān bi-tafsīr al-Qur'ān

The autograph consists of two large volumes which are preserved in the private collection of Muḥammad al-Ḥāzimī in Ḍamad. In this work 'Ākish displays his great depth of knowledge, especially in the fields of literature and philology. He indicates that he made use of a wide variety of sources in the writing of this work. It is believed that he began work on it in 1271/1854 and completed it in 1276/1859. The final draft appeared one year later.<sup>109</sup>

4. al-Durr al-thamīn fī dhikr al-manāqib wa-'l-waqā'i' li-Amīr al-Muslimīn Muḥammad b. 'Āyiḍ

This is a treatise of about 20 pages on the history of 'Asīr under the rule of the Āl 'Āyiḍ family, but concentrates on the era of Amir Muḥammad b. 'Āyiḍ, 1273-88/1856-72. The work has been edited and published by 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥumayyid. Unfortunately I have been unable to locate a copy.

5. Nuzhat al-abṣār min al-Sayl al-Jarrār

There is no information concerning the MS. 'Ākish himself states that the work was written as a commentary on al-Sayl al-jarrār by al-Shawkānī.

6. \* al-Jawāhir al-'asjadiyyah sharḥ al-Durar al-bahiyyah

There is no information concerning the MS. According to 'Ākish this work is an explanation of a treatise on the fiqh, written by Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥasan.<sup>110</sup>

7. \* al-Fawā'id al-jalīlah fī ḥukm al-wasīlah<sup>111</sup>

There is no information concerning the MS.

8. \* al-Anfās al-yamaniyyah bi-mā taḍammanathu sūrāt al-Ṣamad min al-radd 'alā al-firaq al-lughawiyyah 112

There is no information concerning the MS.

9. \* al-Suyūf al-qāṭi'ah li-shubhat Abī Ṭāfiḡah<sup>113</sup>

There is no information concerning the MS.

10. \* Insikāb al-saḡāb 'alā riyāḡ al-aḡbāb naẓm qawā'id al-i'rāb

The autograph of this MS is in the private collection of Yaḥyā 'Ākish in Ḍamad.

11. Rawḡ al-adhhān sharḥ Manẓūmat al-madkhal ilā 'ilm al-ma'ānī wa-'l-bayān

There is no information concerning the MS.

12. \* Tashīl al-ṭilāb li-mulḡat al-i'rāb<sup>114</sup>

There is no information concerning the MS.

13. al-Nasamāt al-sihriyyah 'alā al-nafathāt al-najdiyyah<sup>115</sup>

There is no information concerning the MS.

14. \* Majmū' al-ijāzāt<sup>116</sup>

There is no information concerning the MS. The work seems to document all the ijāzāt which 'Ākish received from various scholars.

15. \* Majmū' al-murāsalāt<sup>117</sup>

There is no information concerning the MS. This work contains letters which the author exchanged with other scholars in the area.

16. Majmū' al-shi'r<sup>118</sup>

The autograph of this MS is held in the 'Aqīlī private library, Jāzān, no. 24. It contains poems by the author, as well as poems sent to him by friends.

17. \* Biography of his father<sup>119</sup>

There is no information concerning the MS.

18. Munāzarat Aḥmad ibn Idrīs ma'a fuqahā' 'Asīr

This is a record of the famous debate between Ibn Idrīs and the scholars of 'Asīr which took place in Ṣabyā in 1248/1832. It has been published twice, firstly by Dār al-Ṣāwī in Egypt, and secondly in full by Abū Dāhish.<sup>120</sup>

It is perhaps appropriate at this point to attempt to end the controversy among historians concerning the identity of the author who wrote Nuzhat al-ẓarīf fī dawlat awlād al-sharīf. 'Ākish clearly

states that this work was written by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥasan al-Bahkalī, and thus discounts the theory that he was its author.<sup>121</sup>

(iii) THE WORK AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE

We are fortunate that during the era of the Āl Khayrāt family, (1143-1267/1730-1850), there were many distinguished scholars who chronicled the history of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī and left us with a full account of the period. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥasan al-Bahkalī wrote two historical works: Khulāṣah, which deals with the period 1143-1184/1730-70, and Nuzhah, which deals with the period 1184-1204/1770-89. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Bahkalī wrote Nafḥ al-'ūd covering the period 1218-33/1803-17, and 'Ākish wrote al-Dībāj covering the period 1217-70/1802-53.

The full title of this work is al-Dībāj al-khusruwānī fī akhbār a'yān al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī and it is considered to be the most authoritative account of the history of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī and South West Arabia as a whole in the 13th/19th century. The significance of the work is twofold. Firstly, it contains detailed accounts of various periods: the rule of Sharif Ḥamūd and his son (1217-35/1802-19), the rule of Sharif 'Alī b. Ḥaydar and that of the Turco-Egyptian authorities (1235-54/1819-38) and finally the rule of Sharif al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Ḥaydar (1254-67/1838-50). Secondly, al-Dībāj is a unique source of information for this period and most authors writing about the history of the area use it as their primary reference. Of particular interest is the unique introduction, which provides detailed information on the sharifs of the area from the

10th/15th century onwards. On many occasions the author makes no attempt to conceal his support for the Āl Khayrāt family, although this is still tempered with objectivity. It is probable that one of the reasons for this partiality was that he wrote the work during the rule of Sharif al-Ḥusayn. Indeed, there are indications in the autograph that the author later changed his mind with regard to certain events. It is important, however, that a number of passages should be collated with other sources, especially the Egyptian, Turkish and Yemeni archives.

We have already seen in previous sections how 'Ākish came from a secure background, had many relations, was extremely talented and enjoyed a high position in society. He devoted about 20 years of his life to the study of a wide variety of subjects from several different perspectives, Sunnī, Zaydī and Sufi. He studied with scholars from widely differing backgrounds, something which broadened his horizons and provided him with a talent for forming legal opinions. Through frequent trips to cities in the north and south of Al-Mikhlaḥ al-Sulaymānī, 'Ākish built up strong and scholarly relations with many prominent figures. The resulting exchange of visits, letters and ideas enabled the author to enlarge his knowledge of the surrounding regions. The frequent journeys on which 'Ākish accompanied the ruler, coupled with his high social status and close relations with the ruling family, placed the author in a unique position to produce accurate and detailed historical works. In conclusion, we should point out here, that the writer has only edited and studied the first half of the work, i.e. the Introduction and Chapters 1 and 2.

(iv) THE AUTHOR'S METHODS AND SOURCES

The work has been divided into four parts: the introduction and three chapters, (see the summary of the autograph, chapter iii). 'Ākish adopts two different methods in his analytic approach. In his extensive introduction he refers to each area separately: the sharifs and rulers of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī, the sharifs of Mecca, and the imams of the Yemen. In the other chapters however, the author records events in chronological order.

It is clear that 'Ākish made great efforts to make use of as many different sources as possible and to consult any work which was recommended to him. His honesty in acknowledging the work of others is apparent in the many quotations which appear throughout the text and a bibliography of his references can be found at the end of the Arabic text, appendix 1.

(v) THE MANUSCRIPTS

Three manuscripts, none of which are found outside Arabia, have been used to produce the edited text. They are the autograph, the copy contained in the private collection of Qāḍī Ismā'īl al-Akwa', and, al-Dhahab al-masbūk fī man ṣahara fī al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī min al-mulūk, from the 'Aqīlī private collection.

[1] The Autograph

This is kept in the private collection of Zayd b. Muḥammad al-Mudīr in al-Ḥimā, near Ḍamad and is the only manuscript which I

have been able to handle. According to 'Ākish, he began this work sometime before 1266/1849; he says, "The sharif has hitherto occupied the post of amir", (wa-huwa ilā ḥāl raqmihi yatafayya' ḡilāl al-imārah).<sup>122</sup> He also mentions Sharif Muḥammad b. 'Awn (1223-68/1808-51), and says he was "hitherto the amir of Mecca", (wa-huwa ilā ḥāl hādhā al-tārīkh imārat Makkah ilayhi).<sup>123</sup>

The colophon of this MS is missing and the final section is very badly damaged. We were able to identify it as the autograph, however, by comparing the script with that of 'Ākish's other autographs, such as Fatḥ al-Mannān, Ḥadā'iq al-zahr and al-Durr al-thamīn. In addition, many corrections written in the margins of this MS have been signed by the author using his first name. It contains 147 folios, excluding the missing pages added to the edited text. The pages measure 21 by 15 cm. and the actual text covers an area of 16 by 10 cm. on each page. The average number of lines per page is 19, but in some instances it exceeds 22. The script is naskhī and almost square, with certain interesting features. The tail of the letter yā', for example, swings to the right, and beneath the letter ḥā' is a smaller, separate ḥā'. Punctuation is used some of the time and fullstops or red dots are meticulously included in the rhymed prose (saj') and poetry. Headings are written in emboldened red letters within the text and dots of Arabic letters are only occasionally omitted. Orthography, grammatical errors and style have already been dealt with in chapter iv. It is worth mentioning here that the autograph has of course been used as the basis for this edition.



[2] The manuscript from the private collection of Qāḍī Ismā'īl al-Akwa'

The title page of this MS reads, Hādhā al-majmū' yusammā al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī wa-istilā' al-mulūk 'alayh, and ends in mid-sentence.

It has no colophon, and would appear to have been written after 'Ākish's death in 1290/1873, because the scribe has included the author's marginal notes in the actual text. The MS consists of 236 folios, written in very neat and regular naskhī script, with an average of 18 lines per page. There are no breaks in the text, although bold letters are used to mark the beginning of a new account or year. The orthography is by and large correct, although the hamzah is occasionally omitted. Punctuation is almost absent and poetry is written in lines, contrary to the traditional style of placing verses underneath each other.

[3] The manuscript from the 'Aqīlī private library

This MS is historically known as, al-Dhahab al-masbūk fī dhikr man zahara fī al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī min al-mulūk, or, al-Dhahab al-masbūk fī sirat sayyid al-mulūk al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Ḥaydar. After thorough examination of this MS and comparison of it with the author's other writings, we do not consider it to be an independent work for three reasons. Firstly, if one compares this MS with al-Dībāj, one finds no difference between them, and furthermore, the notes and corrections which 'Ākish entered in the margins of al-Dībāj are included in the actual text of al-Dhahab. Secondly, it is significant that the longest chapter of al-Dībāj is devoted to the rule of Sharif al-Ḥusayn, (introduction, page 24). Thirdly, in his autograph of Ḥadā'iq al-zahr, 'Ākish says, "I mentioned all the details in my book entitled,

al-Dhahab al-masbūk ...", but then crosses out this title and writes  
al-Dībāj .... <sup>124</sup>

In conclusion therefore, we can say that al-Dībāj went through three stages. In the beginning it was devoted to the period covering the rule of Sharif al-Ḥusayn and was called, al-Dhahab al-masbūk fī sīrat.... The author then expanded the work, including previous material in new chapters, and renamed it al-Dhahab al-masbūk fī dhikr man .... Finally, 'Ākish revised the work again and gave it the new title of al-Dībāj .... This superseded the previous works and formed a complete history of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī in one volume.

The scribe who produced this MS in 1353/1933 was 'Abduh b. 'Alī al-Nu'mī. It consists of 214 pages, with the number of lines per page varying between 20 and 26. The naskhī script is bold, but at times untidy. There are no breaks in the text, although the nearer the scribe gets to the end, the more information he leaves out, saying, "I have omitted that for the sake of brevity", (taraktuhu ikhtiṣāran). The orthography is by and large sound, although there is some confusion between alif mamdūdah and alif maqṣūrah. With some exceptions, the hamzah is used throughout.

(vi) EDITORIAL METHOD

Much attention has been paid to, and great care has been taken over, the autograph which forms the basis of this edition. It is referred to as al-aṣl, whilst the 'Aqīlī MS has been abbreviated to 'ayn and the letter ṣād (for Ṣan'ā') has been used to signify the al-Akwa' MS. All variant readings of letters and sentences from

the other two MSS have been listed in the footnotes of the apparatus criticus. Rounded brackets indicate two things. Firstly, the addition of sentences or paragraphs which are missing from the autograph and have been incorporated into the text from other MSS. Secondly, they indicate sentences which have different readings. Dual rounded brackets have been used to indicate the author's marginal notes which have been incorporated in the main body of the text. In a few cases I have added letters or words of my own where necessary and these are marked by square brackets. An asterisk above a word indicates a comment in the footnotes.

In a few rare instances, unless I have detected an error on the part of the author and a distinct improvement in the other MSS, I have retained the text of the autograph and included the variant in the footnotes. Folio numbers of the autograph have been inserted in the text in square brackets, (except in the case of poetry, so as not to interfere with the shape of the verses). The folio of page numbers of the other two MSS have been placed in the margins. The precise beginning of each new folio or page is marked in the text by an oblique stroke. Since neither the author nor the scribes adopted a rule for the writing of ibn/bn, I have followed the example of William Wright.<sup>125</sup>

The text is divided according to the author's original divisions. To assist the reader however, each of these divisions has been subdivided into sentences and paragraphs with full punctuation. I have used the numbered years as subtitles and these are written in large bold letters. Quranic quotations are marked by special brackets,

and Hadīth quotations by small rounded brackets. The metres of all the verses used in the text have been indicated. The writer has encountered some difficulty in identifying all the poets quoted by 'Ākish. The analysis of metres, together with Quranic and Hadīth quotations and "the comments and notes on the text" are confined to Chapter v. Similarly, language, style and orthography have been dealt with in Chapter iv. It should be emphasised that the numbers used in this introduction relate to those in the edited text.

## NOTES : CHAPTER 1

1. Bahkalī, Nafḥ, 230.
2. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd MS, 5a.
3. Bahkalī, Nafḥ, 107; 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 445.
4. Ibid., 107.
5. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 3a.
6. 'Ākish, Ḥadā'iq, MS, 3, 4.
7. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 5a.
8. Zabārah, Nayl, 314.
9. Sayyid, Maṣādir, 302.
10. Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 457.
11. Sayyid, Maṣādir, 305.
12. Ibid., 302.
13. Document without number or date in private library of Yaḥyā 'Ākish, Ḍamad.
14. Zabārah, Nayl, 314; 'Aqīlī, Aḍwa', 40; Sayyid, Maṣādir, 302; Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 457.
15. 'Ākish, Ḥadā'iq, MS, 45: His father died in Jumādā II, 1222. Cf. 'Ākish, Ḥadā'iq, MS, 14.
16. 'Ākish, Munazarah, 45.
17. Private interview with Yaḥyā 'Ākish in Ḍamad in 21/5/1987
18. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 48.
19. Ibid., 72a.
20. Ibid., 67b.
21. 'Ākish, Ḥadā'iq, MS, 33.
22. Ibid., 94.
23. Ibid., 33.
24. Ibid., 95.
25. Ibid., 124.

26. Ibid., 95.
27. Ibid., 96.
28. Ibid., 109.
29. Ibid., 119.
30. Ibid., 120.
31. Ibid., 121.
32. Ibid., 122.
33. Ibid., 123.
34. Ibid., 123.
35. Ibid., 118.
36. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 52.
37. 'Ākish, Ḥadā'iq, MS, 40; 'Uqūd, 52.
38. 'Ākish, Ḥadā'iq, MS, 78.
39. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 167a; Ḥadā'iq, MS, 91.
40. 'Ākish, Ḥadā'iq, MS, 91.
41. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 136b.
42. Cf. Serjeant, Ṣan'ā', glossary: Manāzil
43. The titles of all books studied by 'Ākish with all his sheikhs and teachers are mentioned in his book, Ḥadā'iq.
44. 'Ākish, Ḥadā'iq, MS, 15; 'Uqūd, MS, 85; Dībāj, 200.
45. 'Ākish, Ḥadā'iq, MS, 128.
46. Ibid., 125.
47. Ibid., 80.
48. Ibid., 79.
49. Ibid., 73.
50. Ibid., 55.
51. Ibid., 72.
52. Ibid., 51.
53. Ibid., 67.

54. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 116-146; Ḥadā'iq, MS, 63-74; Dībāj, 217.
55. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 2; Ḥadā'iq, MS, 9.
56. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 7.
57. Ibid., 210a.
58. Ibid., 166b.
59. Ibid., 137b.
60. Ibid., 24a, 189a.
61. Ibid., 25a.
62. 'Ākish, Ḥadā'iq, MS, 90.
63. Ibid., 90.
64. Ibid., 44.
65. Ibid., 54.
66. Ibid., 62.
67. Ibid., 84.
68. Ibid., 123.
69. Ibid., 97.
70. Ibid., 114.
71. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 28b, 112b, 127b, 164a, 170b, 182a, 210b.
72. 'Ākish, Ḥadā'iq, MS, 58.
73. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 45a.
74. Ibid., 81a.
75. Ibid., 118a.
76. Ibid., 124.
77. 'Ākish, Dībāj, MS, 110a-112b.
78. Ibid., 124a.
79. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 47.
80. Private family one-page document dated 1269.1852 preserved by Yaḥyā 'Ākish, Ḍamad. Photocopy in my possession.
81. Zulfā, "Ottoman", passim.

82. Private one-page document preserved by 'Aqīlī, Jāzān.
83. 'Ākish, Fath al-Mannān, MS, ii, colophon.
84. Zulfā, "Ottoman", 113-139.
85. 'Ākish, al-Durr al-thamīn, MS, 16.
86. 'Aqīlī, Aḍwā', 79.
87. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, 53a.
88. Ibid., 45b.
89. Muhannā, Critical, 6.
90. Abū Dāhish, Athar, passim.
91. Ibid., 105, 199.
92. Ibid., passim.
93. 'Ākish, Dībāj, 76.
94. Ibid., 77.
95. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, 42.
96. Abū Dāhish, Athar, passim.
97. 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, ii, 626.
98. 'Ākish. Dībāj, 22
99. Ibid., 73.
100. Ibid., 97.
101. Ibid., 73.
102. Ibid., 75.
103. 'Ākish, Ḥadā'iq, MS, 68.
104. 'Ākish, Munāzarah, passim.
105. 'Ākish, al-Durr al-thamīn, passim.
106. Private family one-page document preserved by Yaḥyā 'Ākish, Ḍamad. Photocopy in my possession.
107. Private family one-page document preserved by Yaḥyā 'Ākish, Ḍamad. Photocopy in my possession.
108. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd MS, 78a.



109. This is clear in the colophon of the autograph of this work.
110. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 176b.
111. Ibid., 131b.
112. 'Ākish, Tafsīr al-Mannān, ii, commentary on Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ.
113. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 33b.
114. Ibid., 80b.
115. 'Aqīlī, Aḍwā', 50.
116. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 93b.
117. Ibid., 97b.
118. Ibid., 81.
119. Ibid., 8a.
120. 'Ākish, Munāẓarah, passim.
121. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 84a.
122. al-Dībāj, 34.
123. Ibid., 21.
124. 'Ākish, Hadā'iq, MS, 4.
125. Wright, Grammar, i, 23.

## **II            HISTORICAL BACKGROUND**

(i) THE RULE OF ĀL KHAYRĀT IN AL-MIKHLĀF AL-SULAYMĀNĪ

From 1097/1685 to 1110/1698, the Yemen was host to a prolonged struggle for the imamate between the eight imams.<sup>1</sup> Al-Mahdī Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan eventually emerged victorious and duly became absolute ruler.<sup>2</sup> After his death in 1122/1710, a struggle for succession ensued, when al-Manṣūr Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim assumed the imamate in 1139/1726.<sup>3</sup>

Consequently, the grip of Ṣan'ā' on al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī was extremely weak, and factionalism and regionalism were the order of the day. Al-Mikhlāf was ruled by local amirs appointed by the imam, and the traditional power structure was preserved.<sup>4</sup> The Khawājīs ruled in Ṣabyā and the surrounding areas; Āl Quṭb al-Dīn controlled the area of B. al-Ḥārith in the east from its capital, al-Mu'annaq; the rest of al-Mikhlāf was run by the imam's governor from al-Luḥayyah.<sup>5</sup> The sovereigns of Ṣan'ā' were wont to entrust the government of their provinces only to those of low birth - to slaves even - who were perceived to be less likely than the Arab nobles to aspire to independence.<sup>6</sup>

The Yemeni and local sources at my disposal give no information on the history of al-Mikhlāf during the first three decades of the 18th century, with the exception of the era of Sharif Aḥmad b. Ghālib, who served as governor of al-Mikhlāf from 1101-5/1689-93.<sup>7</sup>

During the time of the imam, al-Mutawakkil Ismā'īl (1053-87/1643-76), one of the sharifs of Mecca left the Holy City and inhabited Abū 'Arīsh, his name is Khayrāt b. Shabīr b. Bashīr b. Abī Numayy.<sup>8</sup> The reasons behind Sharif Khayrāt's departure from Mecca are not clear. Three different theories are advanced attempts to explain it. The first has it that he left Mecca as a result of the fall from favour there of the Zaydī school of jurisprudence, of which he was a staunch adherent.<sup>9</sup> The second theory connects his departure to the political conflict between the two branches of the sharifs of Mecca, B. Zayd and B. Barakāt, which had hitherto prompted the departure of many of their distinguished members.<sup>10</sup> The third possibility is that Sharif Khayrāt nursed ambitions of establishing his own emirate in the area.<sup>11</sup> In the absence of strong proof for any of these theories one can say that all of these reasons might have worked together to influence Sharif Khayrāt's decision to leave the Holy City.

Shortly after his arrival in Abū 'Arīsh, Sharif Khayrāt made for Ṣan'ā'. There he was permitted to see the imam, al-Mutawakkil, who received him respectfully and granted him an undisclosed sum from the Jāzān Port custom taxes.<sup>12</sup> The Sharif busied himself with the intellectual life of the town, teaching language and literature; he also maintained excellent relations with the imam of Ṣan'ā' and the other notables of the area until his death.<sup>13</sup>

Aided by his wealth and natural flair, Sharif Khayrāt obviously took advantage of the conditions prevailing in the Yemen and al-Mikhlāf to lay the foundations of an independent sovereignty, which

was later to enable his grandson, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, to become governor of Abū 'Arīsh.<sup>14</sup>

In 1141/1727 the merchants and prominent inhabitants of Abū 'Arīsh agreed to send the scholar, 'Alī b. Shabīr al-Nu'mī, to question the imam's governor at al-Luḥayyah, 'Abduh Jawhar, concerning the state of anarchy which had been exacerbated by the absence of a strong governor in the area. Al-Nu'mī expressed the wish of the notables of Abū 'Arīsh that Sharif Aḥmad be appointed governor.<sup>15</sup> It is not clear whether the sharif himself would have taken part in the proceedings or not. The imam agreed and a decree of appointment was sent to 'Abduh Jawhar who accordingly announced it; thus commenced the century-long rule of the Āl Khayrāt family.

Once installed as governor of Abū 'Arīsh, Sharif Aḥmad embarked on a policy of expansion. His first move was to plunder and burn the town of Ṣabyā, which was ruled by the Khawājīs in the name of the imam of Ṣan'ā'. The inhabitants of Ṣabyā protested to the imam, who subsequently replaced Sharif Aḥmad with his own appointee, Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā.<sup>16</sup>

In 1143/1730 the notables of Abū 'Arīsh asked the imam to forgive Sharif Aḥmad and to reinstate him as governor of Abū 'Arīsh. The imam agreed and the sharif assumed the office until his death in 1154/1741.<sup>17</sup> His reign was described by al-Bahkalī as being distinguished by bravery, generosity and justice.<sup>18</sup> Niebuhr indicates that the sharif revolted against his sovereign, but this remains unsubstantiated by the local sources.<sup>19</sup>

The rule of Sharif Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (1154/1741-1189/1775)

With the approval of the imam, Sharif Muḥammad b. Aḥmad succeeded his father as ruler of the area in 1154/1741. It appears that from the very outset of his rule, his misconduct turned the inhabitants against him. His dispute with Sharif Aḥmad b. Khayrāt al-Quṭbī over the Khuraym dam serves as an example of his injustice. Sharif al-Quṭbī, the distinguished leader of an influential family in al-Mikhlāf, had asked Sharif Muḥammad's permission to establish a dam in order to obtain irrigation water for his own lands. Sharif Muḥammad agreed and al-Quṭbī embarked upon his project. However, when al-Quṭbī was about to complete the construction of the dam, the sharif changed his mind, alleging that the dam would deprive the people at the other end of the wadi of water. He decreed that the dam be demolished. Despite the protests of al-Quṭbī, Sharif Muḥammad's orders were carried out and the dam was destroyed.<sup>20</sup> 'Aqīlī says that the sharif changed his mind because he believed that the dam would strengthen the position of the Āl al-Quṭbī family in the area and thus lead to a confrontation with them in the future.<sup>21</sup> The destruction of the dam provoked a serious conflict between Sharif Muḥammad and al-Quṭbī, who was able to call on the help of the B. al-Ḥārith tribe. Al-Quṭbī initially had the upper hand over the sharif, but the latter, aided by Yām, was able to bring the situation under control.

General feelings of resentment began to build up in al-Mikhlāf and many complaints made by notables and influential families such as the Khawājīs of Ṣabyā, the Quṭbīs of al-Mu'annaq and the Nu'mīs, reached the imam, who in fact was far from satisfied with the sharif's alignment with his enemy, the Yām tribe.<sup>22</sup> The imam finally decided

to dismiss the sharif from his post, and handed the governorship of al-Mikhlāf over to his uncle, Sharif Ḥūdhān, a sworn enemy of Sharif Muḥammad. The order was communicated via the governor of Bayt al-Faqīh, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mās, a rival of 'Abduh Jawhar, a governor of al-Luḥayyah, who was in favour of Sharif Muḥammad.<sup>23</sup>

Sharif Ḥūdhān kept his appointment secret in order to contact the opponents of the sharif and thus take advantage of the circumstances to announce his right to the emirate. In 1157/1744, while others imagined that he was innocently engaged in the running of his farms, he made directly for Ṣabyā where he deposed the sharif's governor and announced the imam's decree declaring his right to rule the area.<sup>24</sup> It is not clear why he chose Ṣabyā as a base, although it would have been because Ṣabyā was a focus of opposition to the ruler of Abū 'Arīsh.<sup>25</sup> Sharif Ḥūdhān assembled a considerable army from among Ṣabyān people, B. al-Ḥārith, B. Jūnah, Ṣalab, as well as from the B. Shu'bah tribes who were angry with Sharif Muḥammad for supporting their enemy, the people of al-Ḥaqw. Aware of these developments, Sharif Muḥammad prepared to confront his uncle and marched towards Ṣabyā. In Ḍamad, an attempt was made by one of his uncles, Sharif Nāṣir b. al-Ḥusayn, to mediate between the two parties and an agreement was reached whereby both sides would have eight days in which to reconsider the situation. This respite ended on the 17th Jumādā I 1157/1744 whereupon the war of al-'Uqdah broke out.<sup>26</sup> Sharif Muḥammad was defeated and forced to retreat to Abū 'Arīsh, where he was besieged for more than two months. On the 10th of Sha'bān of the same year, Sharif Muḥammad surrendered on two conditions, firstly that he would pass the reins of power to Sharif Ḥūdhān and, secondly, that he would be allowed

to leave the city for any place of his choice, accompanied by whom-ever and whatever he needed.<sup>27</sup>

#### Sharif Ḥūdhān's rule

By the 15th Sha'bān 1157/1744, Sharif Ḥūdhān held total sway over al-Mikhhlāf; the imam sent him the traditional khil'ah to confirm his position. His rule, which lasted approximately 9 months, was marked by his policy of moderation and his subjects were relatively content.<sup>28</sup> Meanwhile, Sharif Muḥammad had made for Jabal Rāziḥ where he tried in vain to persuade the prince to mediate between himself and the imam. From there he moved to Najrān to enlist the support of his former ally, the leader of the Yām tribe, al-Makramī. The imam's efforts to prevent Sharif Muḥammad from reaching Najrān were unsuccessful.<sup>29</sup>

Together with a large contingent of strong Yāmī warriors, Sharif Muḥammad marched on Abū 'Arīsh to recapture his throne. On the 3rd Jumādā I 1158/1745 Sharif Ḥūdhān, who had been following Sharif Muḥammad's movements, made a surprise attack on his enemy near the village of al-Badawī. The battle resulted in an overwhelming victory for Sharif Muḥammad, and Sharif Ḥūdhān retreated to Abū 'Arīsh where he waited for a short time before fleeing to the imam to ask for help. At the court of the imam he was castigated harshly for both his lack of resistance and his quick withdrawal.<sup>30</sup>

#### The second reign of Sharif Muḥammad

Having entered Abū 'Arīsh, Sharif Muḥammad sent a letter to the imam in order to assuage his anger and to apologise for what had



happened. The imam agreed to reinstate him as governor provided that he gave up the district of Şabyā.<sup>31</sup> Sharif Muḥammad agreed and Şabyā came once more under the governorship of the Khawājīs. During the next year, Sharif Muḥammad ignored the imam's wishes and resumed his dispute with the Khawājīs of Şabyā. Although the imam sent delegate after delegate to solve the problem, Sharif Muḥammad proceeded to mobilize an army and attack Şabyā, annexing it to his existing domains. The imam reacted by deciding to punish the sharif, but, fortunately for the latter, died before any positive measures could be put into effect.<sup>32</sup>

Al-Mahdi 'Abbās assumed the imamate upon his father's death in 1161/1748. Unlike his father he was to receive Sharif Muḥammad's unlimited support and allegiance. The imam rewarded the sharif's loyalty by giving him the district of Mawr.<sup>33</sup> Having strengthened his relations with the new imam, the sharif turned his attention to those who had supported his uncle in previous years. In Sha'bān 1163/1749 the sharif rounded up an army and announced his plans to punish the B. Shu'bah tribe in the north east of Abū 'Arīsh, but in fact he intended to attack and punish the B. al-Nu'mī family who supported his uncle. He passed through Wadi Baysh and camped at a place called al-Duḥl. Learning of the sharif's movements, B. al-Nu'mī fled towards the B. Shu'bah tribe. Sharif Muḥammad sent two detachments under the leadership of his cousin, Zāfir b. al-Ḥusayn, to raid al-Dahnā' and the other under the leadership of his brother, al-Ḥasan, to attack al-Maḥallah. Both contingents succeeded in capturing some of the Nu'mīs, and after looting the two villages set them on fire.<sup>34</sup>

Sharif Ḥūdhān, however, who had been permitted to return to Abū 'Arīsh after the imam's mediation, was very anxious about Sharif

Muḥammad's attitude towards him, suspecting that Sharif Muḥammad would undoubtedly seek revenge. Fleeing to the territory of B. Al-Ḥārith, he settled in al-Marwah where he started to carry out frequent raids on the southern part of al-Mikhlāf. The people of this area, especially those in al-Masāriḥah, complained several times to the sharif about his uncle's conduct. These complaints gave the sharif a golden opportunity to rid himself of his rival, and so he gave permission to the plaintiffs to kill his uncle should he continue his attacks against them.<sup>35</sup> Having learnt of this, Sharif Ḥūdhān left for Najrān to look for help. Al-Makramī mediated between the two sharifs and asked Sharif Muḥammad to guarantee his uncle's safety, which he did. Sharif Ḥūdhān subsequently returned to Abū 'Arīsh in the company of a group of Yām, despatched to protect him in the event of Sharif Muḥammad going back on his word. Shortly after the departure of the Yāmīs from Abū 'Arīsh, Sharif Muḥammad did indeed break his promise, and on the 10th Ramaḍān 1163/1749, at the official court of the amir, involved himself personally in the murder of his uncle.<sup>36</sup>

Al-Makramī, under whose protection Sharif Ḥūdhān had returned to Abū 'Arīsh, understandably felt a sense of guilt at his ally's death; accordingly he set out with a number of Yām to seek revenge. Attacking Ḥaraḍ and killing its governor, 'Alī b. Aḥmad, the Yāmīs proceeded to Abū 'Arīsh where al-Makramī announced that he had in his possession a written declaration from the imam which decreed that the sharif be removed from office. Al-Makramī besieged Abū 'Arīsh and drew strength from the news that the distinguished leaders of al-Mikhlāf had promised him their full support in his effort to remove the sharif. Three months into the siege, the two parties reached a settlement under the following conditions:

1. The sharif was to pardon those inhabitants who had fought on the side of Yām during the siege.
2. Compensation, plus monthly payments of money, was to be paid to Sharif Ḥūdhān's family.
3. The cost of Yām's trip to Tihāmah was to be reimbursed.<sup>37</sup>

In Rajab 1164/1750, a Moroccan named Abū 'Alāmah rose to prominence in the area, making his presence felt in mosques and at shrines. At a place called al-Shuj'ah he constructed a small mosque from where he began to disseminate his ideas and beliefs, one of which was that he was the precursor of the Mahdī. Many people came to believe his ideas, and swore allegiance to him.<sup>38</sup> His activities in the areas triggered off disorder throughout the whole of the Yemen. He defeated Ḥāshid and Bakīl and managed to subjugate the whole of Tihāmah, looting and plundering wherever he went.

Anxious to know more about Abū 'Alāmah, the imam despatched 'Abd al-Qādir b. Aḥmad to investigate him and to warn the people to be aware of his witchcraft.<sup>39</sup>

In 1165/1751 Abū 'Alāmah mobilised about 7000 Qaḥṭānis to conduct his wars in the various parts of Tihāmah. However, as soon as the troops assembled, a man named Ibn Ḥarmalah led a surprise attack on Abū 'Alāmah and beheaded him; the severed head was taken to the imam.<sup>40</sup>

The period of Sharif Muḥammad's rule was characterised by two main features: firstly, the frequent raids he carried out, for the purpose

of looting or in support of his allies, on tribes such as the B. Shu'bah, B. Marwan, B. al-Ḥārith, B. al-Ḥasan, and the people of Jabal Fayfā;<sup>41</sup> and secondly, the relationship of mutual interest he enjoyed with the Yām tribe. The sharif was able to utilise Yām in order to achieve his political goals, while Yām were able to profit handsomely from the looting and plunder instigated by the sharif.<sup>42</sup>

The sharif's relationship with Yām was not always so cordial, however, and there were many occasions on which they found cause to fight against each other.

#### The rule of Sharif Muḥammad's sons

On the 27th of Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1184/1770 Sharif Muḥammad died. Before his death he had appointed his son Ḥaydar as successor; his sons, however, elected their eldest brother, Sharif Aḥmad, to be ruler.<sup>43</sup> Sharif Aḥmad informed the imam, al-Mahdī, of his father's death and his brothers' decision. Accordingly, the imam sent al-Ḥusayn b. Mahdī to Abū 'Arīsh in order to weigh up the situation and to tell the sharif that the imam would not agree to his succession unless he accorded Yām their previous privileges.<sup>44</sup> Sharif Aḥmad agreed, and the imam subsequently solemnized the appointment by sending the sharif the traditional khil'ah and two horses. Furthermore, in order to secure the ruling family's continuing support, the sharif showered its members with money and divided up al-Mikhlāf among them as fiefs. Eventually, however, these gifts of money ceased, and consequently in 1186/1722, some members of the sharif's family revolted against him. This uprising, along with the general disorder caused by his feeble policies, led the sharif to appeal to Yām for help.<sup>45</sup> But when

Yām arrived, he fell into a state of nervous apprehension and decided to step down from the governorship in favour of his brother, Ḥaydar.<sup>46</sup> Having received the imam's official confirmation of his succession, Sharif Ḥaydar led Yām to Ḥaraḍ, where he gave them gifts and also their wages. He then returned to Abū 'Arīsh.

When Yām returned home, Sharif Aḥmad appeared to have recovered from his bout of nerves. He regretted his decision and decided to depose his brother, who refused to negotiate with him. Sharif Aḥmad left Abū 'Arīsh for the Yemen, accompanied by his uncle, al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad, in order to enlist the imam's support. In 1188/1774 he was received by the imam who advised him to travel to al-Zaydiyyah and wait. Meanwhile he sent a letter to Sharif Ḥaydar encouraging him to settle the dispute with his brother peacefully. Sharif Ḥaydar refused and Yām were called in because he was anxious about the imam's stance in this dispute. Aided by Yām he raided the imam's territory, advancing as far as the 'Āhim and Zā'in area in the north west of the imam's domain. The imam responded by appointing Sharif al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad as governor of Abū 'Arīsh.<sup>47</sup>

When Sharif Ḥaydar learned of this appointment he agreed to hand over power to the new governor, provided that he pay Yām what they were due. Sharif al-Ḥasan accepted and in Dhū al-Qi'dah 1188/1774 he assumed office and remained in Ḥaraḍ. Sharif Aḥmad, who was waiting in al-Zaydiyyah was surprised by these developments and made directly for Abū 'Arīsh. There he ended the dispute with his brother, Ḥaydar, and both of them agreed to work together in order to recapture the governorship from their uncle. In Muḥarram 1189/ 1775 Sharif al-Ḥasan moved to Abū 'Arīsh and began his rule.<sup>48</sup>

On 9 Rajab 1189/1775 Imam al-Mahdi died and was succeeded by his son, 'Alī, who styled himself al-Manṣūr.<sup>49</sup> In order to secure good relations with the imam, Sharif al-Ḥasan promptly took the oath of allegiance (bay'ah) from the notables of al-Mikhlāf and sent the signatures, along with the annual taxes, to Ṣan'ā'.<sup>50</sup> When the sharifs Aḥmad and Ḥaydar had given up all hope of the imam's support, they called for Yām.

In Dhū al-Qi'dah 1189/1775 Yām arrived at the village of al-Bayḍ where the two sharifs were awaiting them. Abū 'Arīsh was besieged for two months until in Ṣafar 1190/1776 Sharif al-Ḥasan handed over the city to his rival and made for the Yemen.<sup>51</sup>

The dispute between the two sharifs, Aḥmad and Ḥaydar, over the governorship of al-Mikhlāf began shortly after they had entered Abū 'Arīsh; Sharif Aḥmad could draw on more support than his brother and was thus able to commence his second period of rule. Shortly afterwards, in Rabī' I 1190/1776, Sharif Ḥaydar died. Sharif Aḥmad informed the imam of the situation and duly received a decree confirming his appointment.

Meanwhile Yām, having finished their task, were asking the sharif for their wages. Finances being low, the sharif asked them to bide their time until he could afford to pay them. In response to this request, the leader of Yām gave his men the green light to plunder and set fire to the town.<sup>52</sup>

The conflict between the members of the ruling family and the frequent attacks made on the area by Yām had by now plunged al-Mikhlāf

into a state of severe disorder. In 1191/1777 when Yām returned once more to Abū 'Arīsh, Sharif Aḥmad suffered another attack of nerves and decided to step down from office, paving the way for his brother, 'Alī, to fill the post. Sharif 'Alī led Yām to the B. al-Wā'izāt and Ḥaraḍ area; on his return to Abū 'Arīsh in Jumādā II 1192/1778, Yām asked him to hand over a man who had killed one of their number during the rule of Sharif Aḥmad. His inevitable acquiescence triggered a face-to-face confrontation between the citizens of Abū 'Arīsh and Yām. Yām were severely defeated; 40 of them were killed, and the rest were obliged to retreat to Najrān.<sup>53</sup>

When Yām departed from Abū 'Arīsh, Sharif Aḥmad's attack of nerves abated and he began to incite the people to rise against Sharif 'Alī and punish him for having handed over one of his subjects to Yām; Sharif 'Alī was removed from office by his brother, Yaḥyā. At the beginning of 1193/1779 Yām returned to avenge those of their men who had been slaughtered in the previous year. Sharif Yaḥyā rounded up an army and the two parties met at a place called Zabārat Umm al-Ghalaf. The battle was won decisively by Yām, and an agreement was reached between them and the sharif: he was to destroy the castles of Abū 'Arīsh; certain people in the town were to be punished; and, finally, the sharif was to pay Yām their long overdue wages. Their conditions fulfilled, Yām returned home.<sup>54</sup>

In 1194/1780 Sharif Yaḥyā stepped down and Sharif Aḥmad became ruler for the third time; the imam gave his approval and sent the customary khil'ah, along with some horses. However, the governor of Bayt al-Faqīh, Farḥān al-Mās, was unhappy with the new situation

and joined forces with Sharif 'Alī b. Muḥammad in his fight with his brother, Sharif Aḥmad. Sharif 'Alī raided B. al-Wā'izāt but was beaten back by his brother, who forgave him and allowed him to return to Abū 'Arīsh.<sup>55</sup>

In 1195/1781 some members of Sharif Aḥmad's family such as Ḥamūd, Manṣūr and Bashīr revolted against him for cutting their allowances and refusing to give them more influence over the common people. Together with their supporters they plundered the capital and its environs with, it would appear, complete impunity, since Sharif Aḥmad lifted not so much as a finger to prevent them.<sup>56</sup>

The most important rebellion against the sharif took place in Ṣabyā and lasted for several months during 1196/1782. Having quelled the uprising he fell into dispute once again with his brother, Yaḥyā. Yaḥyā was angry with Sharif Aḥmad because the latter had not paid Yām their wages which had been overdue since the time when Yaḥyā himself was ruler. Yaḥyā called upon the services of Yām and Abū 'Arīsh was besieged. Sharif Aḥmad asked the tribes of Qaḥṭān and Wādī'ah for help; Yaḥyā and Yām were defeated. Having lost that battle, Yaḥyā and his supporters from Yām raided Jāzān and other towns, plundering and looting wherever they went. Thanks to the intervention of certain notables, the sharifs came to an agreement. Consequently Yaḥyā took Yām to the southern area of al-Mikhlāf to force the people to honour the rights of Yām and pay them their wages. However, the people were unable to pay and Yām, with their customary eagerness for action, proceeded to raid the area before returning to Najrān.<sup>57</sup>



The imam himself was not in the best position to deal with the troubles in Tihāmah; he was busy with his own problems, such as the rebellions of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. al-Qāsim, and Qāḍī al-'Ansī.<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless he sent Qāḍī Ishāq b. 'Alī al-'Abdī to Abū 'Arīsh in order to settle the dispute between the sharifs. The negotiations lasted two months but eventually failed.<sup>59</sup> In 1198/1783, Yām arrived in Abū 'Arīsh to ask for their unpaid wages. Sharif Yaḥyā promised to pay them on the condition that they help him to depose his brother, Sharif Aḥmad. Abū 'Arīsh was again besieged and the qāḍī of al-Zaydiyyah, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan al-Bahkalī, was sent by the imam to sue for peace. The qāḍī asked Sharif Aḥmad to pay Yām, but he refused. The sharif's family supported Yaḥyā rather than Aḥmad which caused the latter great aggravation - so much so that he attacked their houses and set them on fire. The imam consequently ordered him to hand the governorship over to Yaḥyā. Taking their wages Yām raided B. al-Wā'izāt and al-Masāriḥah, plundering and looting before they returned home.<sup>60</sup>

The following year, Sharif Aḥmad, supported by the Qaḥṭān and Wādi'ah tribes, besieged Abū 'Arīsh. Sharif Yaḥyā sent for the Bakīl tribe who came and defeated Sharif Aḥmad, 8 days later Sharif Aḥmad was dead. As soon as his brother died, Sharif Yaḥyā handed over the reins of power to his brother, 'Alī, who became the ruler for the second time.<sup>61</sup>

In 1200/1785 the sons of Sharif Aḥmad, Nāṣir and Abū Ṭālib, left Abū 'Arīsh in anger at Sharif 'Alī's decision to cut their allowances and summoned an army from the Wādi'ah tribe. As they approached Abū 'Arīsh they met Sharif Yaḥyā, who had regretted his decision to

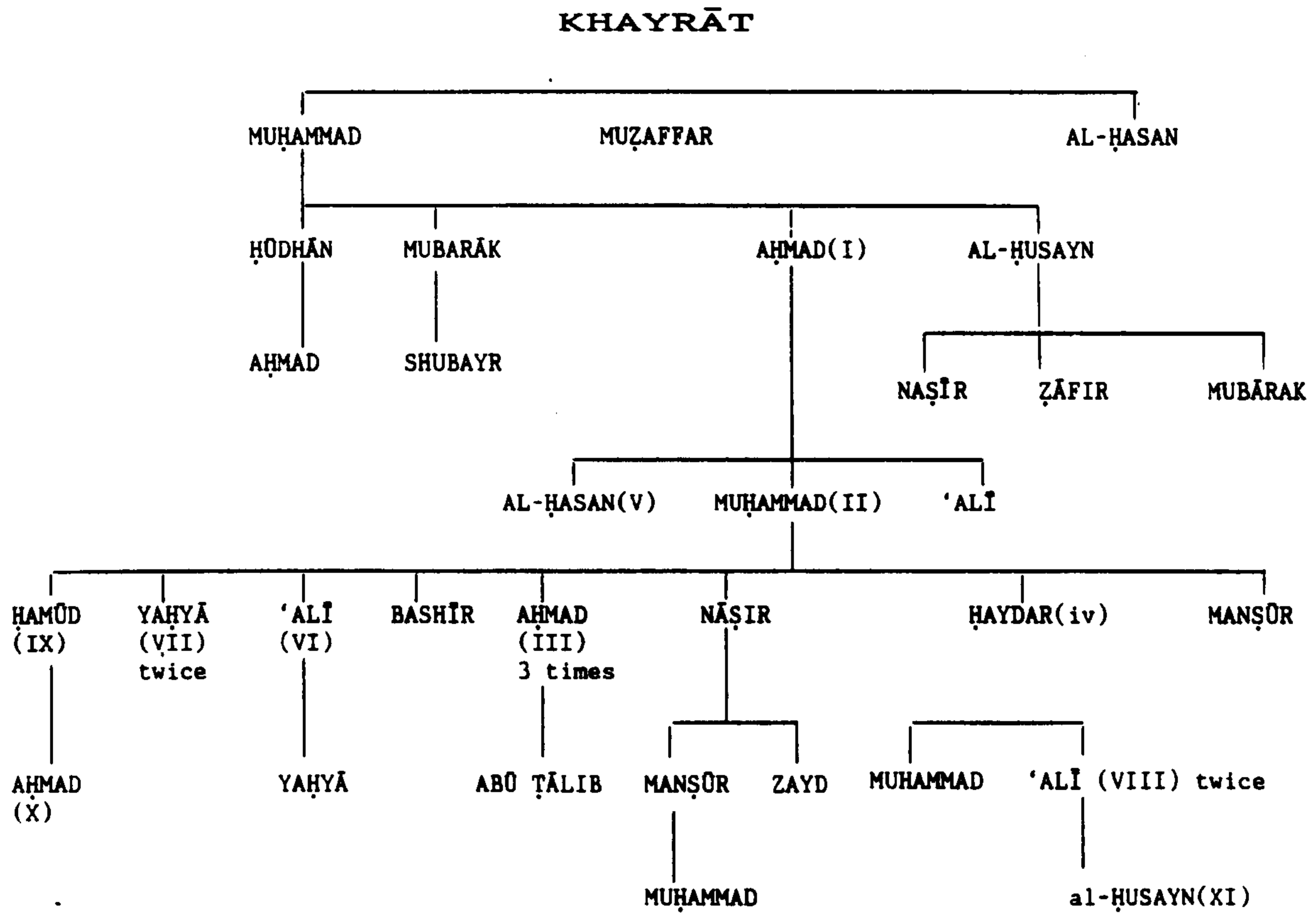
hand the governorship to his brother 'Alī.

Nāṣir and Abū Ṭālib agreed to help Sharif Yaḥyā to recapture his post, in return he was to give them back their allowances. Consequently Sharif 'Alī was obliged to hand back the post to his brother, Yaḥyā, who assumed the governorship for the second time.<sup>62</sup>

For the next 15 years the inhabitants of al-Mikhlāf suffered severely at the hands of the Āl Khayrāt family. Disputes between the members of the ruling house were frequent and the whole atmosphere in the area was one of anarchy. More often than not. Yām were called in to support one member of the family against the other, which gave Yām a golden opportunity to loot and plunder to their heart's content - not that they really needed any reason. Yām support for one party rather than another meant that other tribes such as Bakīl, Qaḥṭān and Wādi'ah were called in to help. These tribes were also fond of terrorizing the inhabitants.

In 1215/1800 the ruler of Abū 'Arīsh, Sharif 'Alī b. Ḥaydar, sent his men to collect the zakāh from the al-Ja'āfirah tribe in the north-east of al-Mikhlāf. The tribe had refused to pay for the simple reason that they already accepted the movement of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb and had sent zakāh to al-Dir'iyyah instead. Sharif 'Alī decided to attack them and bring them to heel. He asked his uncle Ḥamūd, who was living on his farm in Wadi Ta'shur and Khulab, to join the campaign. Near a village called al-Ḥajarayn, Sharif 'Alī b. Ḥaydar defeated al-Ja'āfirah, but showed less skill in battle than his uncle, who had begun to have designs on the governorship. Upon their return to Abū 'Arīsh the two sharifs began what was to be an eight-month struggle

## THE KHAYRĀT FAMILY



Capital Roman numerals indicate ruling sharifs. This tree is based on :

- 1 - Bahkalī, Khulāṣat al-‘asjad and Nuzhat al-ḡarīf
- 2 - ‘Ākish, al-Dībāi

for supremacy. Under the pressure from the ruling family, who believed that Sharif Ḥamūd would be more able to challenge Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's movement, Sharif 'Alī finally gave in and in 1216/1801 handed over power to his uncle. The imam confirmed the new ruler in power by sending the traditional khil'ah and horses to Abū 'Arīsh.<sup>63</sup>

Sharif Ḥamūd's rule was contemporary with the arrival of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's doctrines in the area. The next few pages will be given over to the arrival and nature of this movement and its doctrines; the account of Sharif Ḥamūd's reign and his struggles with the Saudis is best left to the Dībāj.

(ii) THE ARRIVAL OF IBN 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB'S MOVEMENT IN AL-MIKHLĀF

In the summer of 1157/1744, a decade and a half after the imam had appointed the first Āl Khayrāt ruler in al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī, an alliance was concluded between Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb and Amir Muḥammad b. Sa'ūd.<sup>64</sup> As the terms of this new politico-religious pact were translated into practice, al-Dir'iyyah became a very important centre of the new movement.<sup>65</sup> Both leaders planned a jihād designed to purify society, an enterprise which placed al-Dir'iyyah in direct conflict with the neighbouring towns. In 1179/1765, with much of Najd under his control, Muḥammad b. Sa'ūd died and was succeeded by his son, 'Abd al-'Azīz who ruled for thirty-nine years.<sup>66</sup> He continued to expand successfully in all directions. Firstly he strengthened his sway over the Najd districts, annexed al-Ḥasā, Mecca and Medina, and raided Syria, Iraq, the Yemen and Oman. The influence of this movement also extended to Qaṭar and Baḥrain. 'Abd al-'Azīz was

assassinated by an extremist Shi'ite in 1218/1803.<sup>67</sup>

Sa'ūd succeeded his father and went on to be considered the greatest ruler of the first Saudi state. During his era the Saudi state became a leading power in Arabia. He annexed Oman and Bahrain<sup>68</sup> and standardised governmental procedures in the widely scattered territories. The sharī'ah was reintroduced wherever necessary and safeguarded by qāḍīs in villages, towns and cities. Tribal feuds were prohibited and in the whole area peace was maintained under the watchful eye of district governors and deputies stationed in moated forts outside the captured towns.<sup>70</sup>

The Saudi empire reached its peak in 1226/1811. It was at this point that the Turks decided to recapture the Holy places from the Saudis because of their religious significance and the prestige it would bestow upon the caliphate in the eyes of Muslims.<sup>71</sup> Muḥammad 'Alī, the governor of Egypt, had been ordered to conduct such a task to restore the full control over the areas. One year before Sa'ūd's death the first Turco-Egyptian expedition arrived in Arabia.<sup>72</sup>

In 1229/1813 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ūd assumed power after his father's death.<sup>73</sup> He continued the struggle against the Turco-Egyptian army. In 1233/1818, after five months of siege in al-Dir'iyyah, 'Abd Allāh surrendered and was sent via Cairo to Istanbul where he was hanged.<sup>74</sup>

By the end of 'Abd al-'Azīz's reign the influence of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's doctrines had made its mark on south-west Arabia.<sup>75</sup> The historians differ as to the exact date of the arrival of these doctrines into the area. There are three theories concerning

'Asīr's acceptance of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's movement. The first one has it that an 'Asīrī delegate came to al-Dir'iyah in 1177/1763 during the reign of Muḥammad b. Ṣa'ūd;<sup>76</sup> the second states that the delegate arrived in 1213/1800, during the reign of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad;<sup>77</sup> and the third theory indicates that the first communication took place in 1222/1807.<sup>78</sup> The most acceptable theory is the second one, this being because the first one suggests a very early date, at which the movement had not yet surfaced outside of Najd. The third date mentioned is too late, for there are many indications which prove that the movement had arrived in the area long before 1222/1807.<sup>79</sup>

In 1215/1800 Sa'ūd appointed Muḥammad b. 'Āmir Abū Nuqṭah as amir of 'Asīr. With the assistance of his brother 'Abd al-Wahhāb, who succeeded him one year later they started to preach in favour of the movement, thus involving themselves in a struggle with the local amirs and the chiefs of different tribes.<sup>80</sup> From this base the movement spilled over into the lowlands of Tihāmah along the Red Sea.<sup>81</sup> Two distinguished figures of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī, namely Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Falqī and 'Arār b. Shār al-Shu'bī, returned from al-Dir'iyah in 1215/1800 after spending a short period studying Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's doctrines. They brought a letter from 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Sa'ūd to the citizens of al-Mikhlāf asking them to accept the movement and to support the two leaders.<sup>82</sup> Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn settled among the al-Ja'āfirah tribe where he found support and a desire on their part to follow his instructions. 'Arār b. Shār succeeded to some extent in bringing the B. Shu'bah tribe into the movement.<sup>83</sup>

As mentioned above, when Sharif 'Alī b. Ḥaydar ordered al-Ja'āfirah to pay the zakāh, they refused, thus precipitating the

battle of al-Ḥajarayn. After the defeat of the supporters of the movement, al-Dir'iyah sent a detachment headed by Ḥizām b. 'Āmir al-'Ujmānī to help their followers in al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī. Arriving in al-Darb, Ḥizām, along with 'Arār b. Shār and B. Shu'bah, and Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn and al-Ja'āfirah, made for Ṣabyā and Abū 'Arīsh.<sup>84</sup> Sharif 'Alī b. Ḥaydar agreed to negotiate with the Saudis and sent a delegation consisting of Sharif Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad, Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḍamadī and Sharif Manṣūr b. Nāṣir. In the village of al-Ḥajarayn, where the supporters of the movement had recently been defeated, negotiations got under way and an agreement was reached. Sharif 'Alī's delegation agreed to accept the movement and they pledged an oath of allegiance (bay'ah) to 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Sa'ūd.<sup>85</sup>

When Sharif Ḥamūd took over the office he renewed hostilities against the movement. He sent a detachment headed by Sharif Yaḥyā b. 'Alī and al-Ḥasan b. Khālīd to fight Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn; the latter was defeated near the village of Umm al-Khashab.<sup>86</sup> 'Arār formed an army in order to help Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn and he met Sharif Ḥamūd's detachment near Ṣabyā. The governor of Ṣabyā, Sharif Manṣūr b. Nāṣir, intervened and both parties returned home. Sharif Manṣūr decided to support the movement and announced his decision to the people of Ṣabyā, who accepted likewise their governor's decision.<sup>87</sup> Sharif Ḥamūd decided to punish his cousin, but his advisors told him that he should first get rid of 'Arār b. Shār and Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn.<sup>88</sup>

In Dhū al-Ḥijjah 1216/1801 Sharif Ḥamūd defeated 'Arār in al-Duḥl.<sup>89</sup> In Rabī' I 1217/1802 Ḥizām al-'Ujmānī was ordered to march from al-Dir'iyah to al-Mikhlāf. Along with 'Arār, Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn

and Sharif Manşūr, he made for Ḍamad, the nearest town to Abū 'Arīsh, where they were confronted by Sharif Ḥamūd's troops.<sup>90</sup> His army defeated, Sharif Ḥamūd appealed to the imam of Ṣan'ā' for help. Ḥizām, for his part asked al-Dir'iyyah for more troops. The amir of 'Asīr, 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Āmir, was ordered to help the Saudi army in Tihāmah. On the 12th Ramaḍan 1217/1802 'Abd al-Wahhāb and his troops arrived on the scene.<sup>91</sup>

The events of the Dibāj commence with 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Āmir's arrival in al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī and it is best to leave 'Ākish to recount them.

#### The doctrines of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb

The movement of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb is undoubtedly one of the most momentous in modern history. It began as a group of strict adherents of the Ḥanbalī school of jurisprudence, the most conservative of the four schools of Islamic law and one which stresses literal adherence to the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth.<sup>92</sup> The founder of this movement was Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1115-1206/1703-92). Born in Najd into a noble family - his father was a qāḍī - he studied Ḥanbalī law and developed a strong interest in the works of Ibn Taymiyyah. His ideas came either directly from Ibn Ḥanbal, or indirectly from the same source as interpreted by later scholars, especially Ibn Qudāmah and Ibn Taymiyyah.<sup>93</sup> He completed the Ḥajj and also attended some classes in the Sharī'ah at Medina, where he established relationships with influential scholars whose teachings helped to strengthen his beliefs.<sup>94</sup> He also travelled in al-Ḥasā and al-Baṣrah. A disagreement with his father meant that he was unable to declare his



views openly in Najd until the latter's death in 1153/1740; from this date onwards he campaigned openly until his own demise in 1206/1792.<sup>95</sup>

In reviewing the historical background of the development of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's thought, two important factors should be considered. Firstly, the society in Najd and Arabia as a whole had long since deviated from what was perceived to be the straight path of religion. In the words of Ibn Bishr, "Arabia at that time had sunk into polytheism; belief in trees, stones and tombs was widespread. Shrines were constructed over tombs, sacrifices were made and gifts of food proffered. People sought the help of the jinn, and believed that food placed in the corners of a room would ensure the recovery of their sick loved ones. Oaths were taken in the name of created beings rather than in the name of God, and many other polytheistic practices - both major and minor - were on the increase".<sup>96</sup> Despite this generally gloomy picture, it is safe to say that the jāhiliyyah which existed at that time pertained not to the 'ulamā' but to the tribes and the urban populace; qāḍīs of some repute held office in a number of towns in Najd.<sup>97</sup> Secondly, the influence of Ibn Taymiyyah's ideas was on the increase and it was certainly this, along with his strong conviction that reform was necessary, that inspired 'Abd al-Wahhāb in his endeavours.

The doctrines adopted by Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb were strictly orthodox. He made no elaborate claims for himself: his message was simply that Islam had been corrupted and a return to the conditions obtaining in the early days of the Islamic community was necessary.<sup>98</sup> His doctrines can be summarized as follows.<sup>99</sup>

1. Faith is not just a simple body of rites, but a complete system of moral convictions based on absolute sincerity in the worship of God ('ibādah).
2. Faith includes: the feelings upon which this worship is based; the formula through which it is expressed; and the actions through which it is practised.
3. The unity of God, no prophet or saint may be invoked to intercede between God and His creatures (tawhīd).
4. The thing most expressly forbidden by God is idolatory (shirk).
5. Faith requires complete obedience and salvation.
6. Knowledge of God through His creation, the Qur'ān and obedience to the Prophet.
7. The building of domes and shrines over the tombs of Prophets, saints or sheikhs is prohibited.
8. No practice other than those expressly outlawed by God in the Qur'ān and Sunnah may be prohibited.
9. Anything considered innovative (bid'ah) is prohibited.
10. Prayer is the mark of a true Muslim and a continual jihād of the self, the tongue and the sword is emphasised.

11. Religion and state are indissolubly linked. Without the coercive power of the state, religion is in danger; without the revealed law, the state becomes a tyrannical organisation.
  
12. The mission of the imam is to build and instil respect for the system of commands and prohibitions which govern the various areas of the life of the community (al-amr bi-al-ma'rūf wā-al-nahy 'an al-munkar).

It is worth mentioning that the name Wahhābiyyah was not officially adopted by the movement. It is, in fact, a term that was given to the movement by its enemies who wished to dismiss it as a new sect. Traditionally, the supporters of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb christened the movement al-Da'wah ilā al-tawḥīd or al-Da'wah al-salafiyyah; they themselves were known as al-Ikhwān or Ahl al-tawḥīd.<sup>100</sup>

## NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Ḥaddād, Tārīkh, 331.
2. Ibid., 332.
3. Shāmāhī, al-Yaman, 168.
4. Muḥannā, Critical, 40; 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 389.
5. Ibid.
6. Niebuhr, Travels, ii, 54; Playfair, 119.
7. Bahkalī, al-'Iqd, MS, passim.
8. Bahkalī, Khulāṣah, 11, 12.
9. Muḥannā, Critical, 42; Bahkalī, Khulāṣah, 12.
10. 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 388.
11. Ibid.
12. Bahkalī, Khulāṣah, 12.
13. Ibid.
14. Niebuhr, Travels, ii, 54; 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 389.
15. Bahkalī, Khulāṣah, 14.
16. 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 390; Bahkalī, Khulāṣah, 15.
17. Bahkalī, Khulāṣah, 16-18.
18. Muḥannā, Critical, 43.
19. Niebuhr, Travels, ii, 54.
20. Bahkalī, Khulāṣah, 25.
21. 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 392.
22. Bahkalī, Khulāṣah, 28.
23. 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 394.
24. Bahkalī, Khulāṣah, 30.
25. Muḥannā, Critical, 44.
26. 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 395; Muḥannā, Critical, 44.

27. 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 395.
28. Bahkalī, Khulāṣah, 37-38.
29. Muhannā, Critical, 45.
30. Bahkalī, Khulāṣah, 45.
31. In fact, the imam would renew the sharif's governorship only on certain conditions : 1) Sharif Muḥammad was to appear before the imam; 2) if he refused to do so, he would forfeit the district of Ḥarāḍ to al-Wā'izāt; 3) were he not to comply with this, he would then forfeit the district of Ṣabyā; 4) if he ignored the previous condition, he would retain all his lands, but be obliged to swear an oath to act in a good and just manner. These conditions were read out one at a time so that the sharif would not be able to see them all at once. Thinking it the best choice, he elected to give up the district of Ṣabyā before hearing the final condition.  
Cf. Muhannā, Critical, 46.
32. Muhannā, Critical, 46.
33. 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 399.
34. Bahkalī, Khulāṣah, 68-69.
35. 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 400.
36. Bahkalī, Khulāṣah, 72-73.
37. 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 401.
38. Muhannā, Critical, 49.
39. 'Amrī, Mi'at 'ām, 25.
40. Muhannā, Critical, 49.
41. Ibid., 48.
42. Ibid., 50.
43. Bahkalī, Khulāṣah, 169.
44. Bahkalī, Nuzhah, MS, 1.
45. 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 409.
46. Bahkalī, Nuzhah, MS, 2.
47. 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 410.
48. Bahkalī, Nuzhah, MS, 4.
49. 'Amrī, The Yemen, 21.

50. Bahkalī, Nuzhah, 5.
51. Ibid., 5-7.
52. Ibid., 9.
53. 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhhlāf, 417-18.
54. Bahkalī, Nuzhah, MS, 14-17.
55. Ibid., 19.
56. Ibid., 20.
57. Ibid., 21-22.
58. 'Amrī, The Yemen, 37-45.
59. Bahkalī, Nuzhah, MS, 23.
60. Ibid., 24-25.
61. Ibid., 26.
62. Ibid., 28.
63. Bahkalī, Nafḥ, 96-109.
64. Jazā'irī, "Sa'ūdi", 3.
65. Bishrī, 'Asīr, 48; Khaz'al, Ḥayāh, 157.
66. Darwish, Tārīkh, 24, EI<sup>1</sup>, "Āl Sa'ūd"; Ibn Bishr, 'Unwān, i, 14.
67. 'Ajlānī, al-Dawlah, ii, passim; al-Shibl, Tārīkh, 93.
68. Philby, Saudi, 101-127; Abū 'Aliyyah, Muḥāḍarāt, passim.
69. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, al-Dawlah, 157.
70. Nyrop, Saudi, 23; 'Ajlānī, al-Dawlah, iii, passim.
71. Anīs, al-Dawlah, 232; Bishrī, "Mawqif", passim.
72. Philby, Arabia, 92-95.
73. Ibn Bishr, 'Unwān, i, 178.
74. Ghālib, Akḥbār, 192; 'Ajlānī, al-Dawlah, iv, 14e.
75. Abū Dāhish, Athar, passim.
76. Shākir, 'Asīr, 149.
77. Ibn Misfir, Akḥbār, 33.

78. Majhūl, Luma', 138.
79. Bahkalī, Nafḥ, 68-113; 'Ākish, Dībāj, 37.
80. Shākir, 'Asīr, 148; Ibn Misfir, Akhbār, 38.
81. Rentz, "Wahhābism", 60.
82. Bahkalī, Nafḥ, 68; Abū Dāhish, "Zuhūr", al-Dārah, 9.
83. 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 440-45.
84. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, al-Dawlah, 176.
85. Ibn Misfir, Akhbār, 34-39; Bahkalī, Nafḥ, 107.
86. Bahkalī, Nafḥ, 112.
87. Ibid., 113.
88. Ibid., 114; 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 449.
89. Bahkalī, Nafḥ, 115.
90. Ibid., 119-123. •
91. Ibid., 127-129.
92. Winder, Saudi, 8.
93. Hopwood, "The ideological", 26; Ibn Bishr, 'Unwān, 6; Philby, Saudi, 33.
94. Hopwood, 26; Nadawi, Muḥammad, 32.
95. Ibid., 28.
96. Ibn Bishr, 'Unwān, 6.
97. Hopwood, 26; al-Rashīd, "Quḍāt", passim.
98. Hopwood, 32.
99. For more details about these doctrines see: Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Kashf, al-Uṣūl, al-Qawā'id; Winder, Saudi, 8-13; Margoliouth, EI<sup>1</sup>, "Wahhābiyyah; Nadawī, Muḥammad, 147-161; Wahbah, Arabian, 89; Laoust, EI<sup>2</sup>, "Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb".
100. Wahbah, Arabian, 89.

III A SUMMARY OF THE TEXT OF  
AL-DĪBĀJ



The author begins his book by explaining the reasons behind his decision to embark upon such a work. Having read many books on different subject, he finds that the history and biography of the area has received considerably less attention than subjects such as language and the Shari'ah. He is prompted also by what he feels is the importance of committing to paper the biographies of the prominent and distinguished scholars and leaders who lived in al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī. The autograph consists of an introduction and three chapters (pp. 4-7).

Introduction (pp. 8-34)

'Ākish divides the introduction into three divisions, as follows:

(i) He discusses the Islamic Hijrī calendar and the dispute between historians about who had specified the migration from Mecca to Medina as the starting point of the new dating system. He asserts that the Prophet himself requested the change when he ordered 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib to write a document to the Christians of Najrān, and 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the Orthodox caliph of Islam, institutionalised the Hijrī system during his period of rule.

(ii) The second division focuses on the importance and functions of history.

(iii) 'Ākish used this part as an historical background for his book. Firstly he supplies the reader with extremely useful details about the different ashrāf families who used to rule the area, such as the Khawājiyyūn, the Dhirawāt, the Amarah, the Banū al-Nu'mī, the Banū al-Mu'āfā, the Ḥawāzimah and the Mahādiyah. He also speaks about the relationship between the ashrāf and other powers in the Peninsula,

north and south. Information is also given about the sharifs of Mecca, starting with Sharif Qatādah b. Idrīs (d. 616/1220) and concluding with Sharif Muḥammad b. 'Awn (d. 1276/1858). The author then discusses the Āl Khayrāt family and explains how they gained power over the Mikhlāf. The call of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1206/1792) is treated in the last pages of this part.

Chapter One : (pp. 35-146)

This chapter is devoted to the reigns of Sharif Ḥamūd b. Muḥammad Abū Mismār and his son, Aḥmad. The author begins his chronological description of the events in al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī with the year 1217/1802. I have followed the same method in this summary, using each year as a sub-title.

1217/1802 :

The conflict with the first Saudi state began in this year. Having invited Sharif Ḥamūd on numerous occasions to accept the doctrines of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb and having been met each time with refusal, the amir of 'Asīr, 'Abd al-Wahhāb Abū Nuḡṭah, made for al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī to coerce the sharif into submission. In Ḍamad the amir and the sharif fought their first battle, which resulted ultimately in a Saudi victory. Sharif Ḥamūd retreated to Abū 'Arīsh, from where he endeavoured to continue his resistance. On the 21st of Ramaḍān, the Saudi army advanced to Abū 'Arīsh and, after a bitter battle with the sharif, captured the city. Negotiations took place, as a result of which the sharif surrendered and swore an oath of allegiance (bay'ah) to the ruler of al-Dir'iyah, although the conditions are not mentioned in the text. It seems that the sharif was not entirely happy with this

agreement, for in the same year he sent his loyal minister, al-Ḥasan b. Khālīd al-Ḥāzīmī, to Ṣan'ā' to explain the situation to the imam and to enlist his assistance in throwing off the yoke of Saudi dependency. Having failed in Ṣan'ā', the minister proceeded to Ṣa'dah, where he faced a similarly cool reception. His mission to Ṣan'ā' and Ṣa'dah, which lasted several months, ended unfruitfully when his master demanded his return. When the sharif learned of the apathetic attitude of the imam of Ṣan'ā', he marched south and captured the coastal towns of al-Luḥayyah and Mawr.

1218/1803 :

The sharif carried out a raid as far as Bilād Mustabā and started to besiege al-Zaydiyyah in the Tihāmah region of the Yemen.

1219/1804 :

Al-Zaydiyyah fell and the sharif advanced eastwards, capturing the fortress of al-Qufl and its environs known as al-Sharaf. He then proceeded to take the towns of Milḥān, Ḥufāsh and Ḥajjah, and appointed Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥāzīmī to govern them. In the same year, the sharif met the imam's governor at al-Ḥudaydah, Faqīh Ṣāliḥ al-'Ulufī, near the small village known as Dayr 'Aṭā. Despite some resistance, the sharif defeated his enemy and was thus given the opportunity to capture Bilād Ṣalīl.

1220/1805 :

With the assistance of the Saudis, Sharif Ḥamūd continued with his raids in order to subjugate the Tihāmah of the Yemen. He besieged al-Ḥudaydah and defeated the reinforcements sent from Ṣan'ā' and headed

by Sa'd Ghaddārah, who was killed in battle. Al-Ḥudaydah surrendered to the sharif who, according to 'Ākish, evacuated the people from the town before he entered.

1221/1806 :

In Ramaḍān of this year, the sharif suppressed the rebellion of the Ṣalīl tribe, led by Ibrāhīm al-Kalfūd who was endeavouring yet again to take over the area. In the same months two campaigns under the leadership of al-Ḥasan b. Khālīd and 'Alī b. Ḥaydar, marched on Bilād Ṣalīl to restore order there. In the month of Shawwāl, Sharif Ḥamūd made for the same area and engaged Ṣalīl in the battle known as al-Maṣīn. Ṣalīl was severely defeated and forced to submit. With Tihāmah as far south as al-Ḥudaydah under his control, the sharif began work on the construction of a new town, named al-Zahrā', which was to serve as his headquarters in the Yemen.

1222/1807 :

The sharif sent his prominent general, al-Ḥasan b. Khālīd al-Ḥāzimī, to subdue the Banū al-Ḥurrath tribe to the south-east of Abū 'Arīsh. The campaign was a success; the enemy was routed and 22 of their number killed.

1223/1808 :

Many other places in the Yemen, such as Bilād Banī Qays, al-Ṭawar and al-Madrak, were taken over by the sharif. The most important event in this year was the sharif's refusal to pay the annual tribute to the Saudis. The Saudis reacted by sending an army, headed by a leader called Ghaṣṣāb, to co-operate with the amir of 'Asīr, 'Abd

al-Wahhāb b. 'Āmir Abū Nuqṭah, in re-establishing Saudi authority over al-Mikhhlāf al-Sulaymānī.

1224/1809 :

At the beginning of the year, Sharif Ḥamūd encountered in Wadi Baysh an army of Saudis, which was under the command of the amir of 'Asīr. The bitter struggle which ensued resulted in a severe defeat for the sharif and death in battle for the 'Asīrī leader. The sharif retreated to his well-fortified base at Abū 'Arīsh and sent his minister, al-Ḥasan b. Khālīd, to establish a position of defence in Ḍamad. Repeated assaults upon Ḍamad failed to force submission and the Saudi attackers decided to give up and turn back.

1225/1810 :

After 'Abd al-Wahhāb's death, Ṭāmī b. Shu'ayb assumed power as amir of 'Asīr. Along with the Saudi leader, 'Uthmān al-Muḍāyifī, he headed once more for Tihāmah. Ṭāmī led his army on a raid against al-Luḥayyah, while 'Uthmān made for Wadi Mawr. Having achieved their aims, they were returning to base when they were attacked by Sharif Ḥamūd near a place known as Barbar. A fierce battle erupted and Sharif Ḥamūd was badly defeated. While Ṭāmī was in Ṣabyā he ordered the tribe of Rijāl Alma' to take Jāzān, the most important port, which was governed by Sharif Aḥmad Ḥūdhān for Sharif Ḥamūd. Having completed this task, Ṭāmī returned for a short time to his capital. A fresh campaign set off for Tihāmah under his leadership, advancing as far as al-Luḥayyah and then returning. The third raid in this year was centred on al-Ḥudaydah. Having entered the town, he gave permission for looting and plunder. Meanwhile Ṭāmī sent cavalry headed by

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rufaydī to capture al-Shuqayrī.

1226/1811 :

The distinguished scholar from Ṣa'dah in the Yemen, Sheikh Muḥammad b. 'Alī, mediated between the sharif of Abū 'Arīsh and the amir of 'Asīr. An agreement was reached which stipulated that the sharif abandon his intention of taking the Mikhlāf of Ṣabyā, which would henceforth come under 'Asīrī rule. The sharif promised to pay an annual tax to the ruler of 'Asīr and to send a representative to meet the Saudi ruler during the Hajj period and apologise on his behalf. The sharif complied by sending Muḥsin b. 'Alī al-Ḥāzimī to meet the Saudi ruler during the Hajj ceremonies.

1227/1812 :

The sharif built a castle in the area of Mukhtārah and spent most of his time in it. He also had coins minted, one bearing the name of the castle and another the name of al-Zahrā', the town mentioned earlier. His son Aḥmad did likewise when he was the governor of Zabīd for his father. It was the first time in its history that al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī had had its own coinage.

1228/1813 :

In his endeavour to re-establish his rule over Tihāmah of the Yemen, al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad b. 'Alī, the imam of the Yemen, organised many campaigns, all of which failed. He also sent an army headed by Yaḥyā b. 'Alī Sa'd to take Zabīd, but the town remained impregnable.

1229/1814 :

Al-Mutawakkil formed a huge army from the inhabitants of Bakīl and ordered them to march towards Mukhtārah, where the sharif was staying. At the close of the first day of fighting, the sharif saw himself in a stronger position than that of his enemy and nevertheless decided to try to avoid further bloodshed. During the night he sent a considerable amount of money to the leaders of the Yemeni tribes, thus persuading them to turn back. By dawn the imam's army was on its way home. The sharif then ordered his leader, Muḥsin b. 'Alī al-Ḥāzimī to march against Ḥays. Near a mountain called al-Kawalah in the vicinity of Ḥays, al-Ḥāzimī encountered the imam's general, Yaḥya b. 'Alī, and in the clash which took place the sharif's general was killed. This year also saw the beginnings of mutual mistrust between the sharif and certain members of his family such as Sharif 'Alī b. Ḥaydar.

1230/1815 :

In Sha'bān of this year, Sharif Ḥamūd imprisoned his nephew, Sharif Yaḥyā b. Ḥaydar; this elicited a strong reaction from members of the ruling family such as Sharif 'Alī b. Ḥaydar and Sharif Manṣūr b. Nāṣir, both of whom headed for Mecca in order to enlist military support from the governor of the Ḥijāz for Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha of Egypt. The governor of the Ḥijāz promised to help as soon as his struggle with the Saudis in al-Dir'iyyah was over. In Shawwāl, Sharif Ḥamūd marched eastwards in order to quell a rebellion by the inhabitants of Jabal Salā. Unable to suppress the uprising, he sent his son, Aḥmad, with an army made up of the Bakīl tribe, who were successful in bringing the rebels to heel. When Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha arrived in 'Asīr, Ṭāmī b. Shu'ayb, the amir of 'Asīr, took refuge from him in al-Mikhlāf

al-Sulaymānī. However, he was arrested by al-Ḥasan b. Khālīd and sent back to the pasha. The sharif sent a gift to the pasha with a letter and received a harsh and uncompromising reply (the complete letter can be seen in the Arabic text, page 64). Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Rufaydī succeeded Ṭāmī b. Shu'ayb as the head of 'Asīr.

1231/1816 :

The new amir of 'Asīr decided to take revenge against Sharif Ḥamūd, who handed over the former 'Asīrī leader to Muḥammad 'Alī. He made for Tihāmah, where he met his rival, Sharif Ḥamūd, near al-Darb; the battle took place on the 18th of Rajab and the 'Asīrīs were defeated. In this year Sharif Ḥamūd appointed Sharif al-Ḥasan b. Bashīr b. Mubārak to the post of muḥtasib.

1232/1817 :

On his way back from the north to Abū 'Arīsh, the sharif raided the 'Abs tribe, killing many of them. In Abū 'Arīsh he rested for about fifteen days and then marched towards Mukhtārah, his Yemeni country estate. As soon as he had settled in Mukhtārah, the Turkish leader Ḥusnī Pasha invaded 'Asīr and entered the capital. The amir of 'Asīr, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, along with the leader of the B. Mughayd tribe decided to elicit Sharif Ḥamūd's help in the struggle with the Turks. The sharif agreed and sent an army headed by his minister, al-Ḥasan b. Khālīd al-Ḥāzīmī. The latter marched directly to Rijāl Alma' to join Ḥasan b. 'Uṭayf, who had been sent with some troops to the northern area of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī. The Sharif 'Alī b. Ḥaydar and Mansūr b. Nāṣir, who had been to Mecca to ask for help against the Sharif Ḥamūd, rode at the head of the Turko-Egyptian army led by Jum'ah Pasha. The



two armies met in battle near a place called al-Ḥammah, and the invaders were defeated. After this triumph, al-Ḥasan b. Khālīd decided to take advantage of the weak 'Asīrī position; after hurried negotiations with some of the 'Asīrī chiefs he sent his representative, Qādī Ḥasan b. 'Uṭayf, to them to persuade them to fulfil their mutual agreement, namely that they should submit to the rule of Sharif Ḥamūd. The 'Asīrī chiefs paid scant attention to the qādī and from their attitude it became clear that they did not intend to keep their pledge. Consequently al-Ḥasan b. Khālīd marched on 'Asīr in order to take control of the situation himself. After some time, he noticed that they were unhappy with the arrangement and sensed that they were waiting for the first opportunity to get rid of him. He started back towards Abū 'Arīsh with his army, but found all ways blocked to him. He asked for help from the sharif, who was less than happy with his minister's behaviour. The sharif set off towards 'Asīr with a very large army, but as he made his way to rescue his minister, the tribe of Yām refused to fight against 'Asīr.

#### 1233/1818 :

The sharif arrived in 'Asīr. The inhabitants feigned submission to him and bided their time. Shortly after his arrival, a new campaign under the leadership of Sinān Agha approached 'Asīr; among its numbers were the Sharif 'Alī b. Ḥaydar and Manṣūr b. Nāṣir. Sharif Ḥamūd defeated the enemy and the two leaders, Sinān Agha and Sharif Manṣūr b. Nāṣir, were killed. On the 15th Rabī' I, shortly after his return to camp in the village of al-Malāḥah, Sharif Ḥamūd died. The era of Sharif Ḥamūd (1170-1233/1756-1818) was one in which the Āl-Khayrāt family flourished. Sharif Ḥamūd built numerous castles and fortresses

and constructed strong defensive walls around Zābid, al-Ḥudaydah and Dīrat al-Ashrāf. The vast mosque of Abū 'Arīsh was built twice during his reign and many wells were dug. Under the patronage of both Sharif Ḥamūd and his minister, al-Ḥasan b. Khālid, knowledge and literature flourished and scholars and students were encouraged in their endeavours. Finally, he devoted most of his time to sitting with his people and solving their problems. He was succeeded by his son, Aḥmad. Some members of the sharif's family did not pledge their allegiance to him when he was in 'Asīr, although they did so after arriving in Tihāmah. The sharifs of Abū 'Arīsh were not happy with al-Ḥasan b. Khālid, Sharif Ḥamūd's loyal minister, and believed that the post should be given to one of their own number. Thus on Sharif Ḥamūd's death, considerable pressure was brought to bear against his son, who had already assumed power, in order to get rid of his father's minister. Initially he listened to them and, as a result, the minister was suspended. The notables of Abū 'Arīsh mediated and Sharif Aḥmad had a meeting with his father's minister near Wadi Balāj. This meeting yielded a complete agreement between them and al-Ḥasan b. Khālid was confirmed in his post. Having his own rule confirmed and regulated, Sharif Aḥmad, despite his minister's opposition, decided to negotiate with the Turks in the Ḥijāz in order to stop their campaign against him. In return he would agree to submit to them. To this effect he sent a delegation to Mecca. In this year he also carried out a disciplinary raid against the inhabitants of al-Khamīsayn, who had not only refused to pay the yearly tax but had also killed his brave general, Qādī Ḥasan b. 'Uṭayf al-Ḥakamī. When the raid was over he proceeded to Jabal Kaḥlān.

1234/1819 :

When the Turko-Egyptian army had completed its task in Najd and destroyed the Saudi state, the governor of the Hijāz instructed his distinguished general, Khalīl Pasha, to march against al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī in order to subjugate the area, put an end to the rule of Sharif Aḥmad b. Ḥamūd and then pass the reins of power to the loyal member of the Khayrāt family, Sharif 'Alī b. Ḥaydar. When news of the army's imminent action reached al-Ḥasan b. Khālid, he quickly collected an army and moved to 'Asīr, where, he had been informed, the Turks would pass on their way to Abū 'Arīsh. However, Khalīl Pasha made directly for Abū 'Arīsh, thus frustrating al-Ḥasan b. Khālid's plan. Al-Ḥasan headed back hastily, but the Turks were already approaching Umm al-Khashab, quite close to Abū 'Arīsh. Many of his army elected not to fight and only a few of his loyal followers stayed with him. The 'Asīrī leaders, Sa'id b. Musallaṭ and 'Alī b. Mujaththil, invited him to join them with promises of help and support. Inevitably he accepted. Sharif Aḥmad b. Ḥamūd, who was at Kaḥlān when Khalīl Pasha entered his territory, returned speedily to Abū 'Arīsh and refused advice to resist the invaders, since he believed that they would not depose him from his office. Khalīl Pasha sent one of the sharifs of Mecca, Rājiḥ b. 'Amr al-Shanbarī, to mediate between the two parties. The intervention proved successful and it was agreed, pending the approval by the sultan, that Sharif Aḥmad be established as ruler of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī. In return he would submit to Khalīl Pasha. The sharif met with Khalīl Pasha in his camp near Ḍamad. The Turkish leader collected most of the sharif's horses and possessions and informed him that he was waiting for the order from Muḥammad 'Alī to formalize his post. Khalīl Pasha, some time later, showed the sharif an order from his master in Egypt to

send Sharif Aḥmad to Cairo. The sharif and his nephew, Sharif Maṣṣūr b. Maṣ'ūd, and their families were taken by sea and deported to Egypt. Al-Ḥasan b. Khālīd al-Ḥāzīmī, who throughout this troubled period had resided in 'Asīr, made use of his experience to fight the Turkish campaigns against 'Asīr. In one of these campaigns, led by Sharif Muḥammad b. 'Awn of Mecca and Sulaymān Sunjuq, the invaders were defeated, but al-Ḥasan b. Khālīd was killed. The date was 23 Sha'bān.

Chapter Two : (pp. 146-225)

Sharif 'Alī b. Ḥaydar, whose dispute with Sharif Ḥamūd had prompted him to seek help from Muḥammad 'Alī in the Ḥijāz, took part in Khalīl Pasha's campaign in Rabī' I of this year. With Sharif Aḥmad in Egypt and his sovereignty under Turkish control, Khalīl Pasha announced the appointment of Sharif 'Alī b. Ḥaydar as ruler of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī under the authority of the Ottomans in the Ḥijāz. On the sultan's orders he handed back the Yemeni coastal towns, located between Wadi Mawr and Ḥays, which had been captured by Sharif Ḥamūd, to the imam of Ṣan'ā', al-Mahdī 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad. Khalīl Pasha then marched back to the Ḥijāz.

1235/1820 :

Sharif Aḥmad and his fellow deportee, Qādī 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Alī al-'Awājī, died in Egypt. The new ruler of Abū 'Arīsh was involved in a dispute with Sharif Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr b. Nāṣir, who rebelled in the town of al-Ḥusaynī. When Sharif 'Alī proceeded to suppress him, he fled to al-Ḥussāb mountains. A compromise was reached and it was agreed that the inhabitants of al-Ḥusaynī, who had supported Sharif Muḥammad, would hand over some of their notables as hostages. In

Ramaḍān, a group of Āl al-Nu'mī, a very distinguished family living in the village of al-'Uthayr, were murdered. In Dhū al-Ḥijjah about eighty of the inhabitants of al-Mikhlāf perished when an open well subsided as they were returning from the Hajj.

1236/1821 :

Sharif 'Alī appointed Sharif Zayd b. Nāṣir as governor of Ṣabyā, but the latter went on to revolt against his master, who marched quickly to Ṣabyā, besieged the town and burned some of its surrounding districts in order to force the rebels to submit. Three days later they surrendered and Sharif Zayd was deposed. A situation of unrest continued, and Sharif Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥaydar rose against his uncle, Sharif 'Alī, and made for Baysh in order to gather support there. Sharif 'Alī moved to quell this uprising and met his nephew near al-Malḥā, whence the supporters of the rebellion had fled. Sharif 'Alī ordered the town to be razed to the ground. Then he gave assurance of safety to the rebels and returned to Abū 'Arīsh.

1237/1822 :

The prominent scholar, Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Quṭbī, died.

1238/1823 :

An army from Yām, led by Muḥammad b. Hudaysh, invaded al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī and besieged Abū 'Arīsh. Several days of resistance and struggle ensued, until the sharif sent a great deal of money in secret to the leaders of Yām, who in return abandoned the siege and proceeded towards the Yemen. Sharif Zayd b. Nāṣir, the former governor of Ṣabyā who had been deposed the previous year, began once more to

instigate disturbances in Şabyā. The sharif captured him and appointed his son, al-Ḥusayn, governor of Şabyā.

1240/1825 \*

A dispute broke out between the governor of Şabyā and the people who rose against him, trapping him along with some of his men in the castle. The sharif was engaged at this time near the town of al-Shuqayq, helping Aḥmad Pasha in his struggle with 'Asīr. On his way back to Abū 'Arīsh he was confronted by the inhabitants of Şabyā, who asked him to remove his son. In order to avoid further confrontation the sharif agreed. However, in order to deter them from future revolt, he appealed to the tribes of Yām to come to Baysh and Şabyā and plunder the two towns with impunity.

1241/1826 :

Responding to the sharif's appeal, the Yām tribes set off for Baysh and Şabyā. The inhabitants of the two towns gathered near the town of Umm al-Khashab in order to resist, but on 22 Şafar, they were defeated and many of their notables and leaders were killed. Despite the financial loss he suffered, the sharif was pleased with the outcome of his ploy, he also doubled the tax on the rebels as further punishment.

1242/1827 :

A dispute arose between the sharif and the amir of 'Asīr, 'Alī b. Mujaththil. The sharif was trying to take Şabyā back from the amir of

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\* The author forgot or omitted the events of the year 1239/1824

'Asīr, who had controlled the town prior to the earlier agreement between the two leaders. The amir of 'Asīr marched to Ṣabyā where he met with some resistance from the sharif's men from their position in the castle. After paying money to the sharif's forces, he took the castle and appointed one of his men, Maghram, to look after the town in his absence. When the amir of 'Asīr departed, the sharif of Abū 'Arīsh marched with his Turkish forces on Ṣabyā, where he began to bombard the castle. The 'Asīrī escort surrendered, the sharif captured the town and then appointed one of his men as governor of Ṣabyā. When news of these events reached the amir of 'Asīr, he made directly for Abū 'Arīsh where he met the sharif's army. Some notables intervened and an agreement was reached whereby Ṣabyā would surrender to the 'Asīrīs, who, in return, would agree to go back.

1243/1828 :

The conflict over Ṣabyā flared up once again and the amir of 'Asīr marched on Abū 'Arīsh. The former agreement was renewed and Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Khālīd was appointed governor of the town for the 'Asīrī leader. The relationship between the sharif and Muḥammad 'Alī was one of mutual respect and the name of the sultan was always mentioned at the Friday Prayer. The sharif had an Egyptian-Turkish detachment at his command which enabled him to get rid of the Hamdānī tribal forces.

1246/1830 \*

The amir of 'Asīr headed towards the Yemen; at Doghān in the area

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\* The author has moved from the events of 1243/1288 directly to 1246/1830.

of Ṣalīl he captured the sons of Sheikh Ibrāhīm al-Kalfūd, who, like their father, were ruthless violaters of the Sharī'ah. He confiscated their property and before returning, appointed Sharif Ḥasan b. Bashīr b. Muḥammad as governor of the area controlled by Sheikh al-Kalfūd. The 'Asīrī governor used a village called Mawr as his headquarters. Mawr is situated very close to al-Zahrā', the town belonging to the sharif of Abū 'Arīsh, and governed by his son, al-Ḥusayn. An inevitable conflict arose between the two governors over irrigation rights.

1248/1832 : \*

As the dispute between the 'Asīrī governor and Sharif al-Ḥusayn continued, 'Alī b. Mujaththil, the amir of 'Asīr, sent forces under the leadership of a man called Murayyih in order to solve the problem, or at least to help his governor. When the enforcement camped in Mawr, Sharif al-Ḥusayn informed them that he would like to settle the conflict peacefully. Murayyih ignored him and along with the governor marched towards al-Zahrā' to subjugate Sharif al-Ḥusayn. The opposing forces met near a small village called al-Lijām. Despite their greater numbers, the 'Asīrīs were heavily defeated and Murayyih was killed. The amir of 'Asīr would not accept this defeat and so he marched to Abū 'Arīsh. While he was resting at Ṣabyā, he visited the distinguished scholar, Aḥmad b. Idrīs, who advised him to return, since anyone who fought a descendant of the Prophet would surely be punished by God. The amir justified his decision by claiming that he was fighting them only because they were following the Turks. The amir attacked Abū 'Arīsh and the two parties struggled bravely until the 'Asīrīs were defeated. While the 'Asīrī leader contemplated the possibility of an agreement rather than a continuation of hostilities, he was informed

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\* The author forgot, or omitted, the events of the year 1247/1831.



that Turkish forces under the leadership of Turkchī Bilmas were approaching the area. Both of them agreed to help each other. Heartened by this new support, the amir of 'Asīr made once more for Abū 'Arīsh and an agreement was reached. Turkchī headed for the Yemen, where he took the governor-general, Durayb b. 'Abd Allāh, prisoner. He then permitted his soldiers to loot and plunder. The amir of 'Asīr sent him several letters asking for money; initially Turkchī complied with the request, but later ignored the appeals. He also refused the amir's plea to release the governor-general, and later murdered him in al-Ḥudaydah.

1249/1833 :

The amir of 'Asīr put an end to the ruthless era of Turkchī Bilmas. Having been inundated with complaints from the Yemeni inhabitants and scholars accusing him of giving Turkchī and his soldiers permission to enter the Yemen, he took Zabīd and marched towards Mukhā'. On 2 Sha'bān a bitter struggle took place in the vicinity of the town. Turkchī was severely defeated and forced to flee by sea. The town was captured and the amir returned to his capital, where he died a few days later. 'Āyīḍ b. Mir'ī succeeded him as ruler of 'Asīr. When the news of the amir's death reached Sharif 'Alī b. Ḥaydar, he decided to retract their previous agreement. 'Āyīḍ, unable to solve the problem peacefully, made for 'Abū 'Arīsh. Although the majority of the town was on 'Āyīḍ's side, the sharif refused to negotiate with the amir of 'Asīr, who finally attacked the town. The sharif defended the town successfully and the defeated 'Āyīḍ returned home. Shortly after 'Āyīḍ's departure, a detachment headed by Aḥmad Pasha arrived from Mecca to help the sharif. Taking advantage of his extra forces,

the sharif captured Şabyā from the 'Asīrī governor, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Khālid, who asked for asylum. This was granted and he proceeded to 'Asīr where he died shortly after arriving.

1250/1834 :

The area between al-Zaydiyyah and al-Mukhā' was under 'Asīrī rule. An army led by Muḥammad Amīn and sent by Aḥmad Pasha arrived and the sharif was ordered to send his son, al-Ḥusayn, with them to capture the Yemeni towns which were under 'Asīrī rule. After the fall of al-Ḥudaydah, the main stronghold, the rest of the Yemeni towns surrendered.

1251/1835 :

Having completed his campaign successfully, Muḥammad Amīn informed Muḥammad 'Alī that the coastal area of Yemen was now under his control. Muḥammad 'Alī appointed Ibrāhīm Pasha as governor of this area. With a large new army, Ibrāhīm Pasha made for the Yemen, and on reaching al-Qunfidah decided to subjugate 'Asīr and bring down the emirate. When Ibrāhīm Pasha arrived at al-Shi'bayn, the 'Asīrīs attacked him several times, killing a great number of his army. Ibrāhīm Pasha elected to return to al-Qunfidah where he embarked with his army by sea to al-Ḥudaydah. On Thursday, 4 Jumādā I he arrived in al-Ḥudaydah and took up his office as governor-general. Muḥammad Amīn returned to his master in Jeddah while sharif al-Ḥusayn remained in al-Zahrā' in the Yemen. The Yām tribe invaded Wadi Baysh and Ibrāhīm Pasha asked sharif al-Ḥusayn to lead a Turkish army against them. The sharif agreed and Yām were defeated in al-'Adāyah, a small village near Şabyā.

1252/1836 :

Prices rose sharply during the year and the inhabitants were badly affected. When the rains came prices began to fall.

1254/1838 \*

On Tuesday, 15th of Jumādā II, Sharif 'Alī b. Ḥaydar died after a short illness.

### CHAPTER THREE

This chapter is devoted to the reign of Sharif al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Ḥaydar. This part of al-Dibāj is not included in our study.

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\* The year 1253/1837 is devoted entirely to the biography of Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Maghribī.

**IV      NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE TEXT**

During the Mamlūk period and thereafter, Arabic literature fell into a state of relative obscurity and decline. If one examines conditions of that time, one discovers a dismal picture, with ignorance prevalent and education confined to the kuttāb. Even the once flourishing al-Azhar declined to some extent in its long-standing role as a centre of intellectual excellence; indeed, groups of intellectuals within the mosques were very rare and lacking in real influence. Those who were literate tended, unfortunately, to traditionalism (taqlīd), and made no attempt to develop a style of their own in their writings. On the contrary, most of them strove to emulate the poets and writers of the Umayyad and Abbasid periods.<sup>1</sup>

When the Ottomans ruled the Arab world, they designated their own language as the official written language and this had an impact, both directly and indirectly, on the Arabic literature of the time. So we find for instance that most of the works which were produced during the 11th/17th, 12th/18th and 13th/19th centuries concentrated on commentaries of other works (shurūḥ), comments and notes (ḥawāshī and ta'liqāt) and sometimes even commentaries on commentaries. We can in fact refer to this period of decline and weakness in Arabic literature, as "the age of commentaries and comments".<sup>2</sup>

If we examine the style of 'Ākish's work, we see that, although he was influenced by the prevailing literary trends of the period, he was nonetheless attempting to fashion a style of his own, based on his ability as a poet and an adīb. Al-Dībāj al-Khusruwānī for example, amply demonstrates his remarkable skills and knowledge, and is written in a highly spontaneous saj'. The author had a wide knowledge of poetry and belles lettres and many of his works deal with a diverse

range of subjects. We find a number of examples of his mastery of 'ilm al-badī' : e.g. p. 64 ṭibāq and jinās; p. 108 muṭābaqah and muqābalah; p. 129 ta'līl and ishārah, irdāf and i'tilāf and iqtiḍāb; p. 140 tashjīr; p. 142 ihām al-tawkid; p. 150 laff and nashr; p. 176, 190 tawriyah; p. 190 al-jinās al-murakkab.

The author, along with his contemporaries, uses many verses of poetry in his work. As we have already mentioned, much of this, whether composed by 'Ākish or others, was greatly influenced by the work of the Umayyad and Abbasid poets and consisted primarily of mu'āraḍah. However, if we look closely at the text of 'Ākish's work, and compare it with the material being produced by other authors at the same time and in the same area, then it is clear to us that 'Ākish was ahead of the field, and not without originality.

The following are some notes on the idiosyncrasies of language, style and orthography of the autograph manuscript:

1. It should firstly be stressed how often 'Ākish digresses, especially when giving descriptions of battles, language questions, brave men and when referring to the ashrāf or imams of Ṣan'ā'.

See : 22, 35, 54, 69, 74, 97, 103, 113 etc.

2. He employs many verses of poetry for the purposes of illustration perhaps more frequently than one would expect in such a work.

3. The author, in some cases, uses inappropriate words, or rearranges the the structure of sentences. The following are selected examples:

- Yushāru 'alayhim, when one would expect him to say:  
Yushāru ilayhim.  
(19 -20)  
"They have been indicated"
  
- Wa-lam yazal tatanāqalu fī awlādihi al-imāmah, when one would expect him to say:  
Wa-lam tazal al-imāmah tantaqilu fī awlādihi.  
(22 - 5)  
"and the imamate continued to pass down among his sons"
  
- Wa-kānat takhtu mamlakatihim al-Dir'iyyah, when one would expect him to say:  
Wa-kānat al-Dir'iyyah takhta mamlakatihim.  
(23 - 17)  
"and al-Dir'iyyah was the capital of their state"
  
- Li-qaṣd al-ighāthah 'alā man kāna bi-āl-bandar, when one would expect him to say:  
Li-qaṣd al-ighāthah liman kāna bi-āl-bandar.  
(41 - 18)  
"with the aim of helping those who were in the port"
  
- Wa-waqa'a al-qitālu min al-ṭā'ifatayn, when one would expect him to say:  
Wa-waqa'a al-qitālu bayn al-ṭā'ifatayn.  
(42 - 8)  
"and the two parties fought each other"

- Wa-kāna wafātuhu..., when one would expect him to say:  
Wa-kānat wafātuhu...  
(45 - 4)  
"and his death occurred ..."
  
- Wa-tawajjaha fī liqā'i..., when one would expect him to say:  
Wa-tawajjaha ilā liqā'i...  
(48 - 16)  
"and he made off to meet ..."
  
- Wa-ma'a rujū'ihim..., when one would expect him to say:  
Wa-'inda rujū'ihim...  
(50 - 12)  
"as soon as they returned ..."
  
- Huwa awalū man ja'ala min ahli hadhā al-bayt qaribatan,  
when one would expect him to say:  
Huwa awalū ahli hadhā al-bayt aladhī ja'ala qaribatan.  
(55 - 19)  
"He was the first ruler of the sharifs who minted his own coinage"
  
- Wa-tarāja'a ba'da dhālik..., when one would expect him to say:  
Wa-tarāja'at ba'da dhālik...  
(58 - 6)  
"and they retreated after that ..."

Similar idiosyncrasies of language can be found throughout the text.

4. 'Ākish frequently used the word na'am, especially when digressing,



in order to explain some secondary point, and returning to the main subject.

See : 23, 86, 91, 110, 143, 177, 183, 195, 203, 219

5. The author persists in adopting the style of lightening the hamzah, known as takhfif al-hamzah, in two particular ways :

(i) omitting the hamzah when it comes at the end of a word, for example :

al-Dahnā' is written by 'Ākish as al-Dahnā

al-'alyā' ————— al-'alyā

al-'ulamā' ————— al-'ulamā etc.

(ii) changing the hamzah of the verbal noun (ism al-fā'il) into yā' in trilateral verbs (al-fi'l al-thulāthī) with medial wāw or yā' (mu'tall al-'ayn), for example :

from qāla, qā'il > qāyil

from Sa'ala, Sā'il > Sāyil

from dāma, dā'im > dāyim etc.

'Ākish follows the same method with broken plurals (jam' al-taksīr) which contain hamzah, for example :

from qilādah, qalā'id > qalāyid

from ṣaḥīfah, ṣaḥā'if > ṣaḥāyif

from laṭīfah, laṭā'if > laṭāyif etc.<sup>3</sup>

6. Words ending in tā' marbūṭah are written with tā' maftūḥah as in the following examples :

القضاة > القضا

مراعاة > مراعات

وفاة > وفات

These words have been changed in accordance with conventional.

orthography in the edited text.

7. The author rarely uses the alif maqṣūrah. Instead he prefers the use of alif mandūdah. The following are some examples :

انمحي	>	انمحا
انقضى	>	انقضا
استدعى	>	استدعا

These words have been corrected in the edited text to conform with recognised CA grammar.

8. Sometimes 'Ākish is not consistent in his writing of numbers. Generally however, he adheres to one rule, whereby the feminine (mu'annath) is dealt with as masculine (mudhakkār) in numbers from one to ten. The correct method of dealing with numbers is as follows :<sup>4</sup>

- (i) Numbers 1 and 2 are masculine when used with masculine nouns and feminine when used with feminine nouns.

For example :

عام واحد وثمانين ، عام اثنين وثمانين  
سنة احدى وثمانين ، سنة اثنتين وثمانين

- (ii) Numbers from 3 to 10 are masculine when used with feminine nouns and vice versa, for example :

سنة سبع وثمانين ، سنة ثلاث واربعين ، سنة خمس عشرة  
عام سبعة وثمانين ، عام ثلاثة واربعين ، عام خمسة عشر

In the edited text all of the numbers have been corrected according to the above rules.

9. 'Ākish always writes relative pronouns (al-ism al-mawṣūl) with two lāms, whereas the usual style of writing these is with one; for example :

الذي	>	الذي
التي	>	التي
الذين	>	الذين

In the edited text all relative pronouns are written with one lām.

10. The author generally places the letter alif at the end of imperfect verbs (al-muḍāri') which finish with wāw. Conventional grammar however, rules that alif should not be added, except after wāw al-jamā'ah. For example :

أدعو	>	أدعوا
أرجو	>	أرجوا
يدعو	>	يدعوا

All of these extra alifs are omitted in the edited text.

## GLOSSARY

- AHWĀSH (plur.) Livestock  
Cf. Landberg, GD, iii, 2888.  
40.8
- AḤYĀ (v.) Bring under cultivation.  
Cf. Serjeant, Ṣan'ā', 580.  
174.2
- AKHLĀṬ (plur.) People of mixed origin.  
12.8
- 'AMMĪ Illiterate; uneducated.  
132.10
- 'ARAB This term is used in the area for non-ashrāf;  
the inhabitants were divided into two classes:  
(i) al-Ashrāf, (ii) al-'Arab.  
14.14
- 'ĀRID RAHMĀNĪ Illness; disease.  
206.22
- AS'ADA (v.) Agree.  
38.13

- 'ATAMAH (plur. 'ATĪM)      'Isha' prayers.  
Cf. al-Rāzī, 412.  
187.5
- 'ATHĪR      Dust (caused by an army while marching).  
68.14
- AZ'AJA (v.)      Driven away; pushed out (of a country).  
133.5
- BADARA (v.)      Do something quickly, hasten.  
197.15
- BAKHT      Luck; good fortune.  
Cf. al-Rāzī, 143.  
185.2
- BĀKŪRAH      Beginning. E.g. bākūrat al-fākihah, the  
first reaping of the fruits.  
Cf. al-Rāzī, 61.  
5.18
- BARĀ'AT ISTIHLĀL      Excellent beginning to a poem.  
106.19
- BARĀṬIL      Bribes.  
58.14

- DĀ' IRAH Boundary of the Emirate; defeat.  
17.22, 61.17
- DĀNAQ Name of a coin.  
Cf. Serjeant, The Portuguese, 187.  
109.7
- DARĪBAH Coinage.  
55.19
- DĀR AL-ADAB Prison.  
Cf. al-'Arashī, Bulūgh, 420.  
124.3
- GHURABĀ' (plur.) Strangers; foreigners.  
12.8
- GHADWAH Daybreak; early morning.  
Cf. Landberg, GD, iii, 2360.  
139.2
- HĀKIM Qādī; ruler.  
27.14
- HARAM Women; female members of the family.  
49.20
- HASHHADA (v.) Provoke.  
14.14

- HISĀB Opinion; view.  
39.4
- HUMRĀN Turkish or Egyptian soldiers stationed at  
Abū 'Arīsh under the supervision of Sharif  
'Alī b. Ḥaydar.  
166.16
- IKHTARAMA (v.) Disorder.  
Cf. Landberg, GD, i, 587.  
147.11
- INDIYĀF Annexation.  
145.4
- INKHAZALA (v.) Leave (someone) in a difficult situation,  
without help.  
81.8
- ISTABĀHA (v.) Give permission for looting and plundering.  
50.10
- ISTAQALLA (v.) Make for; head for.  
Cf. al-Rāzī, 544.  
172.11
- ISTAQĀMA (v.) Remain; stay.  
Cf. Landberg, GD, iii, 2543.  
151.9

I'TAZĀ (v.)

Be under control; owing allegiance to.

15.19

AL-'ITRAH AL-TĀHIRAH

Descendants of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet.

16.7

ITTAFQA (v.)

Meet.

38.10

AL-JADĪDĀN

Day and night.

129.16

JALALAH

Exception; concession (granted by the Ottoman sultan to permit taxes to be spent locally)?

19.10

KABĪR (plur. KUBĀR)

Chief; head man.

Cf. Serjeant, The Portuguese, 190.

80.8

KARĀMAH

Miracle.

Cf. Landberg, GD, iii, 2570.

20.7

KHAMĪS

Troops; army.

Cf. Landberg, GD, i, 647.

50.19



LAMMAH (plur. LAMAM)

Minor sin.

Cf. al-Rāzī, 605.

105.17

LIMMAH (plur. LIMAM)

Hair below the earlobe.

Cf. al-Rāzī, 605.

MAHALLAH (plur. MAHĀLL

Settlement; encampment.

or MAHALLĀT)Cf. Landberg, GD, i, 472; al-Rāzī, 150.

19.19

MAHĀRITH (plur.)

Country estates; farms; fields; arable lands.

11.10

MAJARRAH

Matter; subject?

105.4

AL-MALAWĀN (du.)

Day and night.

Cf. al-Rāzī, 634.

6.3.

MARQOM

Letter.

66.16

MASĀFF

Fighting; struggle.

130.20

MATRAH (plur. MATĀRIH)

Place; (military) position.

Cf. Serjeant, The Portuguese, 193.

39.11

MAWĀLI (plur.)

Clients.

Cf. Landberg, GD, iii, 2941.

12.8

MUDHĀKARAH

Argument; controversy.

23.21

MUKĀBARAH

Anger; wrath.

164.11

MUKALLAFLegally capable of observing the precepts  
of religion.

133.9

MUQĀWALAH

Argument; controversy.

Cf. Landberg, GD, iii, 2542.

30.4

MUSHĀRAFAH

Supervision.

94.18

MUTA'AHIL

Qualified (especially in Islamic Teachings).

132.10

<u>MUTTAFIQĀT</u> (plur.)	Circumstances
<u>NĀDĪ</u>	Town; circle of friends. 124.24
<u>NAZZĀR</u>	Researcher. 22.8
<u>NUKTAH</u>	Point; matter. 9.9
<u>QAWĀ' ID</u> (plur.)	Documented agreement (concerning boundaries). 53.7
<u>QIBLĪ</u>	North. Cf. al-'Arashī, <u>Bulūgh</u> , 431. 42.13
<u>QULLAH</u> (plur. QULLAL)	Bomb. 163.1
<u>QUMBURAH</u> (plur. QANĀBIR)	Bomb. Cf. Serjeant, <u>The Portuguese</u> , 195. 200.2

RATTABA (v.)

Fortify; strengthen (the defences of a town or castle), garrison.

Cf. Landberg, GD, ii, 1118.

49.17

RA'Y SULTĀNI

Decree (firman)

147.5

SĀ'ADA (v.)

Make a concession.

39.17

SABĀH

Morning attack.

Cf. Landberg, GD, iii, 2114.

34.5

SĀHIB

Used with three different meanings:

(i) author, Sāhib al Simt

(ii) ruler, Sāhib Abū 'Arīsh

(iii) a person who lives in a certain place,

e.g. Sāhib Jāzān (one who lives in Jāzān).

85.3, 41.17, 26.9

SĀHIB AL-RŪM

The Ottoman Sultan.

56.18

SALTANAH

The Ottoman Empire.

54.2

SAYYĀH

Traveller.

116.9

SHARADA (v.)

Escape.

Cf. al-Rāzī, 333.

153.7

SHARĪJ

Canal; field.

Cf. Landberg, GD, iii, 2035.

174.2

SHĀTĪR (plur. SHUTTĀR)

Professional; skillful.

184.10

SHAWR

Opinion.

Cf. Landberg, GD, iii, 2095.

62.10

SUKŪK (plur.)

Documents.

53.11

TABKĪR

Morning attack.

196.13

TAHDĪRAT AL-HARB

Verses recited before battle (to stir up the fighters against the enemy).

166.12

<u>TAKHT</u>		Capital (of a state). 17.16
<u>TARBĪSH</u>		Disorder; confusion. Cf. Muḥannā, Critical; 'Aqīlī, <u>Mu'jam al-lughah</u> , 69. 186.13
<u>TASHWĪSH</u>		Trouble; anxiety; disturbance. Cf. Landberg, <u>GD</u> , iii, 2096.
<u>TASYĪR</u>		Book; account? 7.5
<u>TA'WĪL</u>		Interpretation. 79.17
<u>TAWWASHA</u> / ṬĀSHA		Dizzy. Cf. Landberg, <u>GD</u> , iii, 2230. 69.1
<u>TUNBĀK</u>		Tobacco 44.14
<u>WĀJIBĀT</u>	(plur.)	<u>Zakāh</u> and taxes. 19.17
<u>ZAHĻĀFA</u>	(v.)	Give up. 122.8

## NOTES : CHAPTER IV

1. Amīn and Muḥammad, Qissat, iii, 277.  
Fākhūrī, Tārīkh, 863.  
Faqī, al-Adab, passim.
2. Zaydān, iii, 272-274.  
Iskandarī and 'Anānī, al-Wasīṭ, 290.
3. For more details about Arab grammarians suggestion about hamzah in speaking or writing see:  
Sibawayh, Kitāb, ii, 163.  
Ibn al-Sarrāj, al-Mūjaz, 90-93.  
Ḥijāzī, al-Lughah, passim.
4. Ibn al-Sarrāj, 99-101.  
Sibawayh, 171.

**V        NOTES AND COMMENTS ON THE TEXT**



These notes and comments refer to the edited text. The first number indicates the page number, the second the line number.

4.9

Qur'ān, Āl 'Imrān : 140

4.11

Metre - tawil

5.2

For this conversation between Gabriel and the Prophet concerning Islām, Imān and ibṣān, see the Hadīth chapter at the end of the Arabic text, Hadīth No. 1.

7.1

Metre - tawil

7.7

Metre - basit

.

8.12

See the Hadīth chapter for the kitāb of the Christian of Najrān, No. 2.

10.18

See the Hadīth chapter, No. 3.

10.22

Qur'ān, al-Rūm : 9

12.10

I think 'Ākish means that Şabyā has been rebuilt or resettled by Sharif Durayb b. Muḥarīsh, because this town was mentioned by al-Ḥamdānī as one of the villages of Bilād Ḥakam. He said, "Wa-fi balad Ḥakam qurā kathīrah yuqālu lahā al-Makhārif wa-Şabyā".

Cf. Ḥamdānī, Şifat, 98, 136.

13.12

Metre - ramal, poet : al-Qāsim b. 'Alī b. Hutaymil.

14.13

'Ākish does not mention either the name of the sultan or the name of the ruler of Jāzān. It is quite difficult to determine the name of the sultan who was a Rasūlid. For more information about the Rasūlids in the Yemen see : Smith, Ayyūbids; Khazrajī, al-'Uqūd; Aḥmad, Banū Rasūl; Ibn Ḥātim, al-Simṭ; Smith "Transfer".

16.11

Bahkalī's Khulāṣat al-'asjad fi dawlat al-Sharīf Muḥammad b. Aḥmad is considered to be one of the most important references to the history of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī in the period 1145-1184/1731-1770. It has been edited by Ḥānī Muḥannā as a Ph.D. thesis under the supervision of Dr. G.R. Smith, University of Durham. See bibliography.

17.2

Bahkalī claims that the Khayrāt emigration from Mecca was for ideological reasons. This involved Khayrāt's dissatisfaction with the ruler of Mecca's shift from Zaydism for worldly, materialistic reasons.

Cf. Muḥannā, Critical, 7.

17.14

Metre - khafīf

18.1

The author of al-'Iqd al-mufaṣṣal bi-al-'ajā'ib wa-al-gharā'ib is 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Baḥkalī. It concerns the history of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī in the period 1101-1105/1689-1693. Al-Ḥibshī says that it was written by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan al-Baḥkalī, but this is incorrect.

Cf. Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 452.

18.7

For more details about the rise of the Qatādah family in Mecca, see: Zayla'ī, "Southern", 74-84; De Guary, 68, 89.

18.14-16

Metre - basīf. poet : al-Qāsim b. 'Alī b. Hutaymil.

19.15

Al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī was under the first Ottoman rule in the Yemen, which lasted until 1045/1635. For more details about the first Ottoman occupation of the Yemen, see Nahrawālī, Baq; Sālim, Fath; Tritton, Rise; 'Arashī, Bulūgh, 60-67.

19.19

The author of the book al-'Aqīq al-Yamānī fī wafayāt al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī is 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Nu'mān al-Ḍamadī. He wrote it as an appendix to the work Ghirbāl al-zamān, which was written by Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-'Āmirī.

Cf. Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 437.

20.3

Metre - basīf, poet : Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Umar al-Ḍamadī

22.3

For the era of the Qarmatians in the Yemen see : Kay, Yemen, 191-212; Baghdādī, al-Farq bayn al-firaq, 265-299; Poonawala, "Ismā'īlī sources", 151-159; de Blois, "The Abū Sa'idīs"; Ḥamzah, Mishkāh, passim.

22.12

See the Ḥadīth chapter, No. 4.

23.16

The first alliance was between Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb and Muḥammad b. Sa'ūd.

Cf. Chapter ii.

24.3

For the full description of al-Ḥasan b. Khālid's trip to al-Dir'iyyah, see Bahkalī, Nafh, 167-69.

24.9-15

For more details about Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb's doctrines, see Chapter ii.

24.20

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Ṣan'ānī.

## 25.5

Al-Şan'ānī is considered to have been one of the greatest supporters of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, not only because they were contemporaries and knew of each other, but also because of the similarity of their opinions and ideas about Muslim practices, which were contrary to accepted Islamic teachings on faith. Al-Şan'ānī wrote many works dealing with this subject, and in Taḥīr al-i'tiqād we can detect a concept of faith similar to that which Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb expressed in his writings. When one reads the poem attributed to al-Şan'ānī, however, one finds that he contradicts the basic ideas concerning faith which he previously expounded. As a consequence, many scholars suggest that this poem was written by opponents of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb and then attributed to al-Şan'ānī.

Cf. Nadawī, 47-49; Abū Dāhish, Athar, 482-88.

## 25.8

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Şan'ānī.

## 26.12

Metre - kāmil, poet : Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥifẓī.

## 28.4

Metre - kāmil, poet : al-Ḥasan b. Khālīd al-Ḥāzīmī.

## 31.1

Metre - basīṭ, poet : Muḥsin b. 'Alī al-Ḥāzīmī.

## 32.9

See the Ḥadīth chapter, No. 5.



32.23

Qur'ān, al-Furqān : 74

33.3

Metre - mutaqārib

33.13

Ijtihād means the process of expending great effort in order to attain an object. It is used technically to refer to the exertion expended in the formation of an opinion (zann), in a case (qadiyyah), or in the formulation of a rule (hukm) of law. This is done by drawing analogies (qiyās) with the Qur'ān and the Sunnah.

Taqlīd means the adoption of the utterances or actions of another as religiously authoritative and correct without investigating the reasons for this. In this sense taqlīd is the opposite of ijtihād. Subkī says, the mugallīd is one who takes the ideas and sayings of another without understanding what they mean (dalīl).

Cf. al-Sa'id, Ijtihād, passim.: SEI, 158-163; Abū Zahrah, Tārīkh al-Madhāhib, 100-127; Macdonald and Schacht, EI<sup>2</sup>. article.

"Idjtihād".

34.10

All the historians who wrote about Sharif 'Alī b. Ḥaydar, the ruler of al-Mikhlaḥ al-Sulaymānī, including 'Ākish, state that he died in 1254/1838. However, a letter which was sent on 17 Shawwāl 1253/14 January 1838 from Cairo to Istanbul mentions that Sharif 'Alī

has died.<sup>1</sup> In my opinion therefore, the sharif died towards the end of 1253/1837 and the contemporary historians adopted 1254 as the date of his death, and passed this on to each other without investigating whether it was accurate or not.

35.5, 10

Metre - kāmil

36.3

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Yahyā al-Ānīsī

38.11

Metre - basīṭ, poet : Ibn al-Mu'tazz, Diwān, 247.

38.16

Metre - ṭawīl

39.10

Metre - mutaqārib

39.15

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Diwān, 211.

40.2

The imam of Şan'ā' at that time was al-Manşūr 'Alī b. al-Mahdī 'Abbās who died in 1224/1809. His successor was his son, al-Mutawakkil

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1. Başbakanlık Arşivi, Hatt-i Humāyun, No. 20517.E.

Aḥmad b. al-Manṣūr 'Alī. 'Ākish possibly intended to write al-Manṣūr 'Alī here, but wrote Aḥmad instead by mistake. It is also possible that he thought that Aḥmad was the imam of Ṣan'ā'. The sequence of events would indicate that it happened in the time of al-Manṣūr 'Alī b. al-Mahdī 'Abbās.

Cf. 'Amrī, Mi'at 'Ām, 51; The Yemen, 14-57.

41.4

For the dispute which happened between the two distinguished Saudi leaders in 'Asīr and Tihāmah, see the contemporary historian al-Bahkalī, Nafḥ al-'ūd. See bibliography.

41.7

The Dayr 'Aṭā incident between Sharif Ḥamūd and Faqīh Ṣālih in Bājil, is known in local history as the Dayr 'Alī incident because these two villages are very close to each other. Details of this event can be found in Nafḥ al-'ūd, 172-173.

42.2

'Ākish used the term al-Yaman here for the coastal area east of the Red Sea, Tihāmat al-Yaman. He is not referring to the whole of the Yemen, or the mountainous and southerly regions.

45.3

Metre - wāfir



45.12

Metre - kāmil, poet : Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Quṭṭbī

47.5

The author refers to the agreement between Sharif Aḥmad and the Saudi ruler, Sa'ūd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, which was as follows :

- 1 - Sharif Ḥāmud should neither draw up an agreement with the governors of the Yemeni towns, nor accept a truce.
- 2 - He should not employ Hamdān tribesmen as soldiers unless they accept the principles of the call (mabādi' al-da'wah).
- 3 - All of the Emirate's income should be sent to the capital of the Saudi state, al-Dir'iyah, except for a certain amount which is to be divided between Sharif Ḥāmud and Sharif Manṣūr, the governor of Ṣabyā.

Cf. Bahkalī, Nafḥ, 194; Ibn Bishr, 'Unwān al-Majd, 146.

47.14

Metre - rajaz, poet : al-Sharif al-Raḍī, Diwān, i, 254.

48.20

Metre - basīṭ, poet : al-Quṭāmī, Diwān, 25.

49.6

Metre - kāmil

50.15

Metre - ṭawīl

50.21

Metre - basīṭ, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Diwān, 422.

51.11, 20

Metre - khafif, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Diwān, 409, 474.

52.3

Metre - kāmil

52.11, 17

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Ziyād b. Zayd, Nuwayrī, iii, 70.

53.2

Metre - basīṭ

53.15

Metre - basīṭ, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Diwān, 274.

54.9

Metre - khafif

54.18

See the Ḥadīth chapter, No. 6.

55.2

Qur'ān, al-Tawbah : 126

55.9

Metre - mutaqārib

55.13

Metre - sarī'

56.5

Metre - khafif, poet : 'Adī b. Zayd.

57.8

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Taymūr, 22.

57.17

Metre - kāmil, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Diwān, 48.

58.2

Metre - mutaqārib, poet : al-Khansā', Diwān, 116.

58.5

Metre - sarī', poet : al-Mutanabbī, Diwān, 557.

58.10

Metre - kāmil, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Diwān, 414.

58.18

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Diwān, 327.

59.1

Metre - ṭawīl

59.14, 16

Metre - basīf, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Diwān, 497, 436.

60.1

Metre - baṣīṭ, poet : al-Ma'arri, Diwān, 58.

60.5

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Diwān, 371.

60.12

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī, Diwān, 23.

60.13

The word al-shām or al-jihāt al-shāmiyyah is used by the author with three different meanings :

1 - The areas and places situated N. of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī.

2 - The northern area of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī.

3 - The areas or places located north of any position about which the author speaks. For example :

fa-tawajjahū ilā naḥw al-shām, p. 60, "they went towards Mecca".

hattā tarajjaba lahu al-masir naḥw al-shām, p. 219, "until he decided to go [from Zabīd] to Ṣabyā".

Rijāl Alma' min al-shām; Rijāl Alma' min al-Yaman, p. 79,

"the northern and southern areas of the Rijāl Alma' tribe".

The same principle could be applied to the word al-Yaman.

60.15

Metre - kāmil

62.9

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Bashshār b. Burd, Dīwān, 100.

63.4

Metre - kāmil, poet : Ibn al-Rūmī, Dīwān, iii, 371.

63.10

Metre - ramal

63.16

The author of the book al-Fuṣūl is Ṣārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Wazīr, who died in 914/1508. See his biography in Chapter vii.

Cf. 'Amrī, Maṣādir, 237; Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 159.

64.13

This letter shows us the harsh manner in which Muḥammad 'Alī refers to Sharif Ḥamūd. Sharif Ḥamūd is described by Muḥammad 'Alī, in his letter to the Sultan, as being very weak and sycophantic.<sup>1</sup>

65.3

He means here the Ottoman Sultan, Maḥmūd II, who was in power 1223-1255/1808-1839. During his rule Arabia was invaded by Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha.

Cf. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, al-Dawlah, 305-360; Abāzah, al-Ḥukm, 27-42.

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1. Muḥammad 'Alī to the Porte, 1233/1817, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Ḥatt-i Humayūn, No. 19592.

67.5

Metre - basīṭ

68.3, 11

Metre - basīṭ, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 42, 43.

68.16

The term al-jund al-sharqī is used to refer to the army of 'Asīr.. The author may have used this term because 'Asīr is located east of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī, or because of the cooperation between 'Asīr and the Saudi state in al-Dir'iyyah which was also north-east of al-Mikhlāf. The local people still use the term Shurūq to refer to Najdīs.

69.4

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Abū Tammām, Dīwān, 248.

70.1

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Bandar b. Shabīb.

72.6

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : 'Abd al-Karīm b. Ḥusayn al-'Utumī.

72.14

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 486.

## 73.2

Rāfidites, in Arabic al-Rāfiḍah or al-Rawāfiḍ, is one of the names given to the Shī'ah. There are two different explanations for the reasons behind giving them this name. The first is because they rejected the Imamate of Abū Bakr and 'Umar. The other is linked to the Shi'ites of Kūfah who rejected Zayd b. 'Alī, when he refused to condemn Abū Bakr and 'Umar.

Cf. Baghdādī, al-Farq, 12-53; SEI, 466; al-Ash'arī, Maqālāt, passim; Ibn Taymiyyah, Minhāj, passim.

## 73.3

The Qāmūs mentioned here is Fāyruzabādī's al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ, ii, 332.

## 73.3

The term al-shaykhān is used to refer to Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, the first caliph of Islam, and 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, the second.

## 73.17

Metre - kāmil, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 179.

## 74.5

Metre - tawīl

## 74.12

See the Ḥadīth chapter, No. 7.

76.3

See previous note.

76.8

The author of al-Bassāmah al-Şughrā is Şārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Wazīr (see the chapter of biographies).

The complete name for this poem is al-Jawāhir al-muḍī'ah fī siyar al-a'imma al-akhyār. It consists of 240 verses.

Cf. Şubhī, al-Zaydiyyah, 602; Sayyid, Maşādir, 192-195; Ḥibshī, Maşādir, 426.

76.9

Metre - basīṭ, poet : Şārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Wazīr.

78.10

Most historians refer to the Ottoman leader, Ḥasan Pasha, as Ḥusnī Pasha. The former is the correct name.

Cf. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, Muḥammad 'Alī, 46, 435.

79.9

This kind of punishment was not known in Arabia at that time.

79.15

'Ākish describes al-Ḥasan b. Khālīd al-Ḥāzīmī as a mujtahid here, something which gives rise to the question of whether al-Ḥāzīmī was really qualified to take on such a demanding position. Indeed, we cannot find any other references to suggest that al-Ḥāzīmī was a mujtahid, except in the writings of 'Ākish. In addition, the cases



which 'Ākish cites as proof of al - Ḥāzimī's ability do not merit giving him the title of mujtahid. We can accept 'Ākish's use of this term, if by it he simply means that al-Ḥāzimī was capable of taking some decisions within the general order of Islam. For more details of the qualification required by the mujtahid, see Abū Zahrah, Tārīkh al-Madhāhib, 6-47.

79.16

See the Hadīth chapter, No. 8.

79.18

See the Hadīth chapter, No. 9.

80.14

Metre - basīṭ

81.7

Metre - basīṭ, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 421.

82.1

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Bandar b. Shabīb

84.12, 20

Metre - basīṭ, poet : Abū Muḥammad b. al-Khāzin.

85.2

Metre - basīṭ, poet : Abū Muḥammad b. al-Khāzin.

85.3

Mu'tazilah is the name of the theological school which created the doctrine of speculative dogmatics in Islam. The meaning of the name is clear from al-Mas'ūdī, Murūj, vi, 22. The Mu'tazilis are those who profess the doctrine of i'tizāl, i.e. the doctrine of al-manzilah bayn al-manzilatayn, or the state which is between belief and unbelief, the fundamental doctrine of the school. A tradition which emanates from the Ḥadīth scholars has it that the name Mu'tazilah derives from a schism which took place in the circle of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. After laying down their doctrine of al-manzilah bayn al-manzilatayn, Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā' and 'Amr b. 'Ubayd are said to have separated (i'tazala) from al-Ḥasan's circle in order to found an independent school.

Cf. SEI, 421; Baghdādī, al-Farq, 93; Shahrastānī, al-Milal, i, 57; Ibn Abī al-'Izz, Sharḥ, passim.

85.8

Metre - rajaz, poet : Ishāq b. Muḥammad al-'Abdī.

85.13

The author of the book, al-Khaṣā'iṣ, is 'Uthmān b. Jinnī al-Mawṣilī who died in 392/1001.

85.17

Metre - khafif, poet : al-Buṣīrī, Diwān, 27.

86.2

Qur'ān, al-Isrā' : 60

87.17

Metre - basīṭ, poet : 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Aḥmad al-Baḥkalī.

89.12

Tawriyah is a form of 'ilm al-badī', meaning that a speaker says something which has two different meanings, one clear and direct, and the other hidden. The speaker who uses tawriyah generally employs it in the latter sense. It is of three kinds : mujarradah, murashshahah and mubayyanah.

Cf. Marāghī, 'Ulūm, 338; 'Atīq, 114.

89.19

The author of the book, al-Khumartāshiyah, is Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Khumartāsh. He died in 553/1158. The full name of Sharḥ al-Khumartāshiyah is al-Riyāḍ al-adabiyah fī Sharḥ al-Khumartāshiyah, by Sulaymān b. Musā b. 'Alī al-Jūn al-Ash'arī who died in 652/1254.

Cf. Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 272, 316, 318.

91.16

Metre - kāmil

92.13

Metre - ṭawīl

93.6

The author of the poem al-Bassāmah al-kubrā is Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-Majīd b. 'Abdūn al-Fihri, an Andalusian poet who died in 529/1134.

Cf. 'Amrī, Maṣādir, 236; Farrūkh, 192.

93.8, 14

Metre - basīṭ, poet : 'Abd al-Majīd b. 'Abdūn.

94.6

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : 'Abd al-Majīd b. 'Abdūn, Farrūkh, v, 195.

95.2

Metre - khafīf

95.7

The eight groupings mentioned here are determined by the Holy Qur'ān as follows : poor Muslims, needy Muslims, new Muslim converts, Muslim prisoners of war who need to be liberated, Muslims in debt, Muslim employees appointed by a Muslim governor for the collection of zakāh, Muslims serving the cause of God by means of research, study or propogating Islam, and Muslim travellers who are stranded in foreign countries and in need of help.

Cf. 'Abd al-'Āṭī, Islam, 109; al-Qaradāwī, Fiqh al-zakāh, ii, 539-685; books of fiqh in the chapter, Maṣārif al-zakāh.

97.1

See the Hadīth chapter, No. 10.

98.1

Qur'ān, al-Naḥl : 106

98.2

Qur'ān, al-An'ām : 119

98.3

See the Ḥadīth chapter, No. 11.

98.7

See the Ḥadīth chapter, No. 12.

98.14

Qur'ān al-Ṣāffāt : 141

99.16

Metre - kāmil.

100.2

Metre - basīṭ, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 471

100.10

Metre - ṭawīl

101.5

Yawm al-Shakk is the name given to the last day of Sha'bān (the 8th month of the Islamic calendar), when there is doubt as to whether or not it is the first day of Ramaḍān (the fasting month which succeeds Sha'bān). This sometimes occurs, because of the fact that the Islamic calendar is lunar, that is, its months are determined by the various positions of the moon. Each month is either 30 or 29 days long. Cf. Sābiq, Fiqh, i, 447; Ibn Qudāmah, Mughnī, iii, 89; books of fiqh in the chapter of Ṣiyām.

101.10

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Bahkalī.

102.7

The full poem can be found in the biography of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Bahkalī. See 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 54.

102.11

Metre - basīṭ

102.16

Metre - khafīf, poet : al-Ma'arrī, Dīwān, 259.

103.3

Metre - basīṭ

103.12

Qur'ān, al-Naḥl : 70.

103.13

Qur'ān, Yāsīn : 68

103.15

Metre - basīṭ, poet : al-Ma'arrī, Dīwān, 208.

104.1

Metre - basīṭ, poet : Mansūr al-Nimrī.

104.8

Metre - basīṭ, poet : 'Ākish

104.14

Metre - basīṭ, poet : al-Shawkānī, Dīwān, 229.

105.1

Metre - basīṭ, poet : Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Wāsi' al-'Unafī.

105.15

Metre - basīṭ

105.20

Metre - ṭawīl

106.4

Metre - basīṭ

107.3

Metre - kāmil

107.11

Qur'ān, al-Najm : 43-44

107.12

See the Ḥadīth chapter, No. 13

107.15

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : al-Ḥammāsī.

107.17

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Ibn al-Dumaynah.

108.6

Qur'ān, al-Qaṣaṣ : 73

109.3

See the Ḥadīth chapter, No. 14.

109.6

See the Ḥadīth chapter, No. 15

109.19

Metre - mutaqārib, poet : al-Nimr b. Tawlab, Nuwayrī, iii, 65.

110.8

Metre - basīṭ, poet : al-Ṭughurrā'i, Farrūkh, iii, 234.

110.11

Metre - rajaz

111.2

The term al-ma'ūnāt al-dawliyyah is used to refer to taxes which were collected from the poor inhabitants of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī by the Ashrāf of Abū 'Arīsh, and then sent in part to Cairo or Istanbul as a gesture of loyalty. By using this unusual term, 'Ākish may have been attempting to justify the actions of the Ashrāf in collecting taxes from these people, by implying that the reason for it was to curry favour with the Ottomans.

Cf. Serjeant, Ṣan'ā', glossary.



111.9

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 372

111.13

Metre - kāmil

112.2

Metre - basīṭ

112.5, 7

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Maḍḍād b. 'Amr al-Jurhamī.

112.15

Metre - ṭawīl

113.3

See the Ḥadīth chapter, No. 16

113.14

Qur'ān, al-Baqarah : 255

113.17

Qur'ān, al-Jinn : 26-27

114.2

Qur'ān, al-Anfāl : 34

114.10

Jafr in classical Arabic means a young lamb which has been fattened. In the book al-Kāfī by al-Kulaynī, the Shī'ah claim is that they have two lambs' skins, containing knowledge ('ilm) of the prophets (anbiyā'), the legal guardians (awṣiyā') and the Jewish scholars ('ulamā' banī Isrā'īl), those things which are allowed ('ilm al-ḥalāl), those things which are prohibited ('ilm al-ḥarām), as well as the past and the future. These writings are referred to as al-jafr. Others define this secret knowledge, as a knowledge of letters and numbers by which one can foretell the events of a person's whole life.

For more details concerning jafr and the attitudes of the scholars of the Shī'ah and Sunnah towards it, see Abū Zahrah,

Tārīkh, ii, 511-515; T. Fahd, EI<sup>2</sup>, article "Djafr"; Ibn Manzūr, Lisān, vi, j f r.

114.20

Metre - basīṭ, poet : Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Wazīr.

115.3

See the Hadīth chapter, No. 17 .

116.3

Metre - wāfir, poet : al-Ma'arrī, Luzūmiyyāt, ii, 249.

116.12

See the Hadīth chapter, No. 18.

116.19

See the Hadīth chapter, No. 19.

117.11

The author of Sīrat al-Imām al-Hādī is 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-'Abbāsī al-'Alawī. It is edited by Suhayl Zakkār.

Cf. 'Amrī, Maṣādir, 27-28.

117.16

Metre - mutaqārib

117.21

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jazzār.

118.4

Metre - ramal, poet : Ibn al-Fāriḍ, Dīwān, 7.

118.8

Metre - wāfir, poet : al-Ṣafī al-Hillī.

118.13

See the Hadīth chapter, No. 20.

119.1

The term al-Dawlah al-Aḥmadiyyah used by 'Ākish for the Emirate of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī.

119.11

Metre - ṭawīl

119.16

See the Ḥadīth chapter, No. 21.

120.2

Metre - kāmil

120.16

Metre - raġaz

121.1

Metre - wāfir

121.5

Metre - kāmil, poet : 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Uyaynah.

121.11

Metre - basīṭ

122.3

Metre - basīṭ, poet : al-Nābighah al-Dhubyānī, Dīwān, 38.

122.11

Metre - khafīf, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 21.

122.14

See the Hadīth chapter, No. 22

122.16

Metre - basīṭ

123.4

Metre - basīṭ

123.16

Metre - wāfir

124.5-20

In his report to Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha, Khalīl Pasha, the leader of the Turco-Egyptian forces, gives a very detailed account of his campaign to subjugate al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī in 1234/1818. If we compare this account with that of 'Ākish in al-Dībāj, we find no differences between them, except for their descriptions of the way in which Khalīl Pasha captured Sharif Aḥmad b. Ḥamūd, who was later sent to Egypt. In his report, dated 14 Rabī' I 1234, Khalīl Pasha mentions that Sharif Aḥmad requested a gurantee of safety (amān) when his forces approached Damad, the town closest to Abū 'Arīsh. This was duly accorded to him and he came to Khalīl Pasha's camp bringing with him all of his horses. According to his account, Khalīl Pasha would not accept these until he had received permission from Muḥammad 'Alī.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Khalīl Pasha to Muḥammad 'Alī, 14 Rabī' I, 1234/11 January 1819. Başbakanlık Arşivi, Ḥatt-i Humāyūn, No. 19682.

'Ākish's description of the same event however, is different. He says that Khalīl Pasha sent Sharif Rājiḥ b. 'Amr al-Shanbarī to negotiate with Sharif Aḥmad. It would appear from the text, that they agreed that Khalīl Pasha would send word to Muḥammad 'Alī asking him to reappoint Sharif Aḥmad as governor of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī. Sharif Aḥmad therefore went to meet Khalīl Pasha in Ḍamad, where, according to 'Ākish, Khalīl Pasha began to ask Sharif Aḥmad for his horses, until in the end he had acquired most of them.

Comparing the two descriptions, we find that whilst Khalīl Pasha was pacifying Sharif Aḥmad and telling him that he had written to Muḥammad 'Alī in order to ensure that he was reappointed as ruler of al-Mikhlāf, he was in fact suggesting in his letters to Muḥammad 'Alī that Sharif Aḥmad should be made to step down and be sent elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

125.3

Metre - basīṭ

125.17

Metre - basīṭ, poet : 'Abd al-Karīm b. Ḥusayn al-'Utumī.

126.19

Metre - ṭawīl

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1. Muḥammad 'Alī to the Porte, 14 Jumādā I, 1234/11 March 1819. Başbakanlık Arşivi, Ḥatt-i Humāyūn, No. 19626.

127.3

Metre - ṭawīl - poet : al-Buḥturī, Dīwān, ii, 345.

127.7

Metre - kāmil, poet : al-Buḥturī, Dīwān, ii, 435.

127.11

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Ṭarafah b. al-‘Abd, Dīwān, 92.

127.13

Metre - kāmil, poet : Jarīr b. ‘Aṭiyyah, Dīwān, 551.

127.15

Metre - majzū’ al-kāmil

128.2

Metre - majzū’ al-kāmil

128.5

Metre - kāmil, poet : Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Baqī, Farrūkh, v, 260.

128.8

Metre - munsariḥ

128.12

Metre - wāfir, poet : Bashshār b. Burd, Dīwān, iii, 247.

128.14

Metre - khafīf, poet : Abū Nuwās, Dīwān, 619.

129.2

Metre - kāmil, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 350.

129.4

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Ibn al-Khayyāṭ al-Dimashqī

130.3

Metre - ṭawīl

131.4

Metre - basīṭ, poet : Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arri, Dīwān, 60.

131.14

See the Hadīth chapter, No. 23.

131.15

Metre - ṭawīl

132-3

Ijāzah, literally licence, is usually accorded to distinguished students or disciples giving them authority to teach or relate a Hadīth or book on any subject. For more information about ijāzāt and their forms and conditions, see the extensive study by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, al-Kifāyah, 348-383; 'Amrī, The Yemen, 106;



G.Vajda and I. Goldziher, EI<sup>2</sup>, article "Idjāza".

132.20

See the Hadīth chapter, No. 24.

133.7

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Yazīd b. Muḥammad al-Muhallabī, Nuwayrī, iii, 90.

136.4

Metre - ṭawīl

136.18

Metre - wāfir, poet : Muḥammad b. al-Musāwā al-Ahdal.

138.2

Metre - munsariḥ, poet : Shams al-Dīn b. al-'Afīf al-Tilmisānī.

138.18

Metre - basīṭ

138.19

Qur'ān, al-Najm : 49

139.10

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : al-Ḥasan b. Khālid al-Ḥāzimī.

140.13

The word tashjīr is used to refer to the style of a poem in which the lines start with particular letters, which when joined together form a word. As can be seen in the previous poem, the first letter of the name, Ḥamūd b. Muḥammad, starts in the ninth verse.

141.7

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Abū Tammām, Dīwān, 42.

141.13

Metre - kāmil, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 117.

141.16

Metre - mutaqārib

142.1

Metre - rajaz

142.5

Metre - kāmil, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 47.

142.10

Metre - ṭawīl

142.14

Metre - wāfir

143.14

Metre - khafif

143.17, 18

The word nathrah has no connection with the literary term nathr but rather refers instead to a group of stars. The same applies to the word al-shi'rā.

Cf. Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān, vi, sh ' r and v, n th r.

143.19

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Bahkalī.

144.19

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk

145.14

Qur'ān, Āl 'Imrān : 141

145.15

See the Hadīth chapter, No. 25.

145.17

Metre - khafīf, poet : al-Ma'arrī, Dīwān, 8.

145.19

Metre - ṭawīl

146.4

Metre - kāmil, poet : Abū Tammām, Dīwān, 88.

147.16

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 326.

148.14

Metre - khafif, poet : 'Abd al-Qādir al-'Awājī, 'Aqīlī, Min adab, 212.

150.6

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-'Anṣī

150.13

Metre - khafif

151.1

Metre - khafif, poet : Shams al-Dīn b. al-'Afif al-Tilmisānī.

151.7

Metre - ṭawīl

152.7

See the Ḥadīth chapter, No. 26.

152.14

Metre - kāmīl

155.4

Metre - wāfir, poet : 'Amr b. Kulthūm, Shanqīṭī, 49.

155.9, 16

Metre - ṭawīl

156.4

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, Taymūr, 28.

156.13

Metre - kāmil

157.3

Metre - basīṭ, poet : Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. al-Mahdī.

157.6

See the Ḥadīth chapter, No. 27.

158.4

Metre - kāmil

158.20

Metre - wāfir, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 567.

159.6

Metre - ramal

160.7

Metre - ṭawīl

161.13

Metre - khafif, poet : 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bahkalī.

162.1

Metre - basīṭ

162.4

Metre - khafīf, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 463.

162.15

Metre - basīṭ

163.4

Metre - wāfir, poet : 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib, Nuwayrī, 70.

163.7

Metre - sarī'

164.1

Metre - kāmil, poet : Ibn Hānī al-Azdī, Dīwān, 223.

165.3

Metre - kāmil, poet : Ibn al-Rūmī, Dīwān, i, 18.

165.10

Metre - kāmil, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 177

165.15

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Arjānī.

165.17

Metre - sarī'

166.8

Metre - kāmil,

167.10

See the Ḥadīth chapter, No. 28

168.4

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Diwān, 256.

168.8

Metre - kāmil

169.8

See the Ḥadīth chapter, No. 29.

169.10

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī.

169.16

Metre - ramal

170.2

Metre - basīṭ, poet : al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Ismā'il, Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 223

170.10

Metre - kāmil, poet : Abū Tammām, Dīwān, 375.

171.14

See the Hadīth chapter, No. 30.

171.19

Qur'ān, Yunis : 23; al-Fath : 10

172.1

Qur'ān, Fāṭir : 23

172.3

Metre - basīṭ

172.8

Metre - kāmil

172.17

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 372.

173.4

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 326.

173.11

See the Hadīth chapter, No. 31.

173.13

Metre - basīṭ



174.9

See the Ḥadīth chapter, No. 32.

174.16

The full name of this book is Shifā' al-gharām fī akhbār balad Allāh al-ḥarām, by Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Fāsī, who died in 832/1428.

Cf. Khalīfah, Kashf, ii, 1051.

174.17

See the Ḥadīth chapter, No. 33.

175.12

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : 'Abd al-Karīm b. Ḥusayn al-'Utumī.

176.11

Metre - kāmil, poet : al-Buḥturī.

176.14

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Nabātah.

177.2

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'ah, Dīwān, 181.

177.8

Metre - wāfir

178.1

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, Dīwān, 124.

178.8,14

Metre ṭawīl

179.1

See the Ḥadīth chapter, No. 34

179.2

Metre - ṭawīl

179.10

Metre - kāmil, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Diwān, 570

180.1

Metre - ṭawīl

181.3

Metre - basīṭ, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Diwān, 497.

182.1

Metre - rajaz

182.9

See the Ḥadīth chapter, No. 35

182.17

Metre - ṭawīl

183.1

See the Ḥadīth chapter, No. 36.

183.10

Metre - basīṭ

183.14

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, Dīwān, 122.

184.17

Metre - rajaz

185.1

Metre - basīṭ

185.7

Turkchī Bilmās is a surname of Muḥammad Agha who was an officer in Muḥammad 'Alī's Ḥijāzī forces and who rebelled in Jeddah in 1248/1832 with about 1,000 soldiers. Although the reasons for their revolt were many, the main cause was the delay of more than 10 months in receiving their salaries. The first stage of the rebellion occurred in Jeddah and Mecca, where Turkchī and his supporters created a state of great disorder. In addition they incited the tribes close to Mecca and Jeddah to revolt, and with permission from Turkchī, the town of Jeddah was looted and plundered. Muḥammad 'Alī subsequently sent Aḥmad Pasha Yakan, one of his most distinguished generals, in an attempt to subdue the revolt and restore law and order to the Holy Places. However, before these forces arrived, Ismā'il Pasha and Sharif Muḥammad b. 'Awn defeated Turkchī's men near Jeddah. After

his defeat, and learning of the forces coming from Cairo, Turkchī fled to the Yemen, where the second stage of the rebellion began. With his forces reassembled, he marched against the towns of the Yemen, and after passing through Qunfidah and Shuqayq, occupied al-Ḥudaydah, al-Mukhā' and Zabīd. This followed much plundering and looting and the execution of the governors of these towns. The response came from the amīr of 'Asīr, 'Alī b. Mujaththil, who marched on al-Ḥudaydah and subsequently defeated the rebels in 1249/1833. Following this he took control of the coastal region. Turkchī, however, escaped with some of his soldiers on an English ship which eventually took them to Bombay.

Cf. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, Muḥammad 'Alī, ii, 171-191; Abāzah, al-Ḥukm, 35; Playfair, Arabia Felix, 141-144.

185.17

Metre - ṭawīl

186.3

Metre - ṭawīl

186.8

Metre - kāmīl

186.15

Metre - basīṭ

187.6

Metre - wāfir

187.10

Metre - basīṭ

187.17

Metre - ṭawīl

188.5

Metre - ṭawīl

188.13

Qur'ān, al-Jinn : 10

188.16

See the Ḥadīth chapter, No. 37.

189.31

Metre - kāmil

190.5

Metre - wāfir, poet : 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Baḥkalī.

190.8

Metre - wāfir, poet : 'Ākish

190.12, 19

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad al-Baḥkalī.

191.2

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : 'Ākish

192.5

Metre - majzū' al-rajaz

192.16

Metre - mutaqārib

193.10

Metre - madīd

193.16

Metre - wāfir

194.11

Metre - madīd

194.16

'Īdayn is used to refer to two Islamic festivals :

- (i) 'Īd al-Fiṭr, the festival of the breaking of the fast, which falls on the first day of Shawwāl, the tenth month of the Muslim year.
- (ii) 'Īd al-Aḍḥā, the festival of sacrifice, which falls on the tenth day of Dhū al-Ḥijjah, the last month of the Muslim year, following completion of the course of the Ḥajj.

Cf. 'Abd al-'Āṭī, Islam, 81; E. Mittwoch, EI<sup>2</sup>, article

"'Īd" ; books of fiqh in the chapters on Ṣalāt al-'Īdayn.

194.20

Qur'ān, al-Tawbah : 5

195.2

Qur'ān, al-Baqarah : 191

195.2, 3

Qur'ān, al-Mā'idah : 2

195.5

See the Hadīth chapter, No. 38.

195.8

Qur'ān, al-Tawbah : 5

195.10

See the Hadīth chapter, No. 39.

196.7

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 385.

196.11, 15

Metre - basīṭ

197.14

Metre - wāfir, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 101.

198.1-9

I cannot reconcile what the author says about 'Ayiḍ b. Mir'ī, the ruler of 'Asīr, being a coward who flees from the battle, with his fulsome praise of the amīr in his book al-Durr al-thamīn fī dhikr

al-manāqib wa-al-waqā'i' li-Amīr al-Muslimīn Muḥammad b. 'Āyid.

198.4

Metre - ṭawīl, poet : Ibrāhīm al- Wazīrī, Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 32.

199.3

Metre - khafīf, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 164.

199.6

Metre - ṭawīl

199.10

Metre - kāmil

200.6

The complete story of this proverb can be found in Ibn Manẓūr,  
Lisān, vii, q r z.

200.10

Metre - basīṭ

203.7

Metre - madīd

204.3

Metre - basīṭ, poet : Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Hāshim.

204.11

Metre - basīṭ, poet : al-Shawkānī, Dīwān, 314.



205.3

Metre - basīṭ

207.10

Metre - kāmil

209.1

Metre - sarī', poet : al-A'shā, Dīwān, 147.

209.6

Metre - mutaqārib

209.12

Metre - madīd, poet : Abū Tammām, Dīwān, 76.

210.1

Metre - basīṭ, poet : 'Jamāl al-Dīn b. Nabātah.

210.8

Metre - wāfir

210.10

Metre - basīṭ, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 471.

212.4

Metre - sarī'

212.18

Metre - basīṭ, poet : 'Ākish.

215.13

See the Ḥadīth chapter, no. 40.

217.18

The author of the book Laṭā'if al-minan was not Abū al-'Abbās al-Mursī, as 'Ākish states. The full name of the book is Laṭā'if al-minan fī manāqib al-Mursī wa-Abū Ḥasan, and it was written by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm, known as Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh al-Iskandarānī, a distinguished Sufi (d. 709/1309).

Cf. Ziriklī, al-A'lām, i, 213; Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 107; G. Makdisi, EI<sup>2</sup>, article "Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh".

217.19

Qur'ān, al-Baqarah : 282.

217.19

Qur'ān, al-Anfāl : 29.

218.6

Metre - kāmil

219.2

Metre - mutaqārib

219.17

Metre - ramal

221.17

Metre - basīṭ, poet : Ibn al-Rūmī.

221.21

Metre - basīṭ, poet : al-Mutanabbī, Dīwān, 489.

223.3

Metre - basīṭ, poet : 'Ākish, Majmū', MS, 30.

225.12, 14

Metre - basīṭ

**VI GEOGRAPHICAL AND TRIBAL INDEX**

## ABBREVIATIONS

N.	North
S.	South
E.	East
W.	West. It is also used for Wadi.
J.	<u>Jabal</u> or <u>Jibāl</u>
B.	Banī/Banū
G & H map.	Map of the Yemen Arab Republic, produced for the Swiss Technical Co-operation Service, Berne and the Central Planning Organisation, Ṣan'ā', by Urs Geiser and Hans Steffen in the Department of Geography, University of Zurich, under the supervision of Professor Dr. H. Haefner.
B & J map.	Map of 'Asīr (No. 1-217B) prepared by Galen F. Brown and Roy O. Jackson under the supervision of the U.S. Geological Survey and American Oil Company, 1377/1958.

## 1. 'Abs

The area located between al-Luḥayyah and Maydī known as Nāḥiyat/Qaḍā' Maydī in the new YAR administrative division. 'Abs as a town is situated some 65 km S.E. of Maydī.

Cf. Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 135, 182, 183 etc.; G & H map.  
40, 77, 78

## 2. Abū 'Arīsh/al-Madīnah al-'Arīshiyah

It was the capital of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī during the time of the Khayrāt family; located some 32 km N.E. of Jāzān.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 58; B & J map.

13, 16, 17, 27, 34, 38, 39, 40, 44, 46, 48, 49, 50, 55, 59,  
60, 61, 64, 67, 69, 76, 77, 79, 87, 94, 101, 107, 119, 121,  
122, 123, 145, 147, 154, 160, 163, 166, 173, 183, 184, 186,  
196, 208, 211, 212

## 3: al-'Adāyah

Located some 6 km W. of Ṣabyā.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 291; Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 231.  
212

## 4. al-Aḥad/Sūq al-Aḥad

Located about 32 km S.E. of Abū 'Arīsh.

Cf. B & J map.

148

## 5. 'Āhim/Bilād 'Āhim

17

## 6. al-Ajāri'/al-Ajru'ayn

A place in al-Yamāmah.

Cf. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, i, 102.

137, 190

## 7. al-Andalus

207

## 8. W. al-'Aqīq

There are three wadis in Arabia with this name, all of them well-known. The first one is in the Najrān area, the second is in al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah area and the last is south of al-Tā'if in the Ghāmid area.

Cf. Hamdānī, Şifat, 162, 236, etc.; al-Jāsir, Mu'jam, ii, 840.

175, 176, 220

## 9. Bābil

Iraq.

Cf. Hamdānī, Şifat, 40, 44, 45, 46 etc.

126

## 10. Badr

A small town in W. al-Şafrā' about 150 km S.E. of al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah.

Cf. Kaḥḥālah, Jughrāfiyā, 135; al-Jāsir, Mu'jam, 147;

Hamdānī, Şifat, 100.

117

## 11. Baghdād

55

## 12. Bājil

Located some 50 km N.E. of al-Ḥudaydah on the road to Ṣan'ā'.

Cf. Kaḥḥālah, Jughrāfiyā, 335; al-Ḥajarī, i, 101; G & H map.

41

## 13. W. Balāj

A small Wadi, a tributary of the W. Jāzān, near al-Qumrī village.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 80.

14, 106

## 14. Bandar al-Mukhā'

See Mukhā'

## 15. Barbar

A small mountain path (shi'b) located about 1 km S. of al-Maḍāyā near Abū 'Arīsh.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 76.

50

## 16. al-Başrah

23



## 17. W. Bayḍ

A Wadi arising in Sarāt Janb, the western slopes of al-Sarawāt mountains, E. of al-Darb, and reaching the Red Sea about 40 km S. of al-Shuqayq. 'Aqīlī indicates that it joins W. Samārah before reaching the Red Sea but this is not correct.

Cf. Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 136, 232; 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 84; B & J map.

119, 120

## 18. Bayḍ

Located some 75 km N.E. of Jāzān. It may have been called after W. Bayḍ.

Cf. Muḥannā, Critical, 110; 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 84; al-Jāsir, Muj'am, i, 186.

183

## 19. Baysh/W. Baysh

This town takes its name from the wadi. It is located some 60 km N. of Jāzān on the road to Abhā. The wadi is one of the most famous in Arabia.

Cf. Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 54, 790, 73 etc.; 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 80-83; B & J map.

14, 26, 36, 48, 69, 153, 156, 211

## 20. Bayt al-Faqīh Ibn 'Ujayl

Situated about 70 km S.E. of al-Ḥudaydah.

Cf. Kaḥḥālah, Jughrāfiyā, 360; al-Ḥajarī, ii, 636; G & H map.

36, 95, 189

21. Bilād 'Āhim  
see 'Āhim
22. Bilād Mustabā  
see Mustabā
23. Bilād Ṣalīl  
see Ṣalīl
24. al-Bilād al-Tihāmiyyah  
see Tihāmah
25. Bujaylah  
A small village located some 30 km S.E. of al-Zuhrah.  
Cf. G & H map.  
124
26. al-Dahnā'  
Located some 86 km N. of Jāzān.  
Cf. Muhannā, Critical, 111; 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 184.  
62, 136
27. al-Ḍaḥy/al-Ḍiḥi  
Situated about 50 km N.E. of al-Ḥudaydah.  
Cf. G & H map.  
17
28. Dayr 'Aṭā/Dir 'Aṭā  
A small village about 12 km N.E. of al-Zaydiyyah.  
Cf. al-Ḥajarī, ii, 606; G & H map.  
41

## 29. Ḍamad/al-Hijrah al-Ḍamadiyyah

A town on the north side of W. Ḍamad, located some 55 km N.E. of Jāzān.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 266; B & J map.

24, 37, 38, 49, 51, 62, 89, 91, 94, 101, 106, 120, 121, 122, 123, 132, 144, 161, 216

## 30. W. Ḍamad

A famous wadi N. of Jāzān. Its catchment area is N. of J. Munabbih, S.E. of J. Fayfā and S.E. of B. Mālik.

Cf. Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 64, 98 etc.; Muhannā, Critical, 111;

B & J map.

14, 19, 90

## 31. al-Darb

Located some 125 km N.W. of Jāzān.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 181; Muhannā, Critical, 111;

B & J map.

## 32. Dughān

A very small village located about 45 km N.E. of al-Zaydiyyah.

Cf. G & H map

170, 172

## 33. Dhū Qār

A place between al-Kūfah and Wāsiṭ in Iraq.

Cf. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, IV, 293.

141

## 34. al-Dīrah/Dīrat al-Ashrāf

Not mentioned in the sources at my disposal. However, 'Ākish's description indicates that it was in the vicinity of Abū 'Arīsh.

39, 94, 95, 183, 196

## 35. al-Dir'iyah

Capital of the first Saudi state which was destroyed by Ibrāhīm Pasha in 1234/1818, located some 8 km N.W. of al-Riyadh.

Cf. al-Jāsir, Mu'jam, i, 445.

23, 32, 47, 60, 111, 112

## 36. Fadak

Located some 170 km N. of al-Madīnah.

Cf. Kaḥḥālah, Jughrāfiyā, 153.

76

## 37. Farasān

An island located some 50 sea miles to the W. of Jāzān.

Cf. Muhannā, Critical, 112.

64

## 38. al-Haḍab

According to the text this place is in the way of the Ḥajj between Mecca and Abū 'Arīsh.

151

## 39. Ḥajjah

Located some 90 km N.W. of Ṣan'ā'.

Cf. Smith, ii, 156; Kaḥḥālah, Jughrafiyā, 335;

G & H map.

41

## 40. W. Ḥaly (Ibn Ya'qūb)

A famous wadi which meets the Red Sea some 70 km S. of al-Qunfidah.

Cf. Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 232, 233, etc.; Yāqūt, Mu'jam, ii, 327; Zayla'ī, "Mawāqī'", Hawliyyāt, passim.

11, 18, .60

## 41. al-Ḥammāh

According to the text its location is in the area between al-Darb and Rijāl Alma'.

79

## 42. al-Ḥaqw

Located some 76 km N.E. of Jāzān.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 152; B & J map.

62

## 43. Ḥaraḍ (Sharjat Ḥaraḍ)

A town located some 25 km N.E. of Maydī, close to the Saudi border.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, Min Adab janūb al-Jazīrah, i, 241; Smith, Ayyūbids, ii, 157; al-Ḥajarī, ii, 256; G & H map.

11, 14

## 44. al-Ḥasā (al-Iḥsā')

A Saudi district located N.E. of Saudi Arabia on the coast of the Gulf.

Cf. Kaḥḥālah, Jughrāfiyā, 266.

23

## 45. Ḥays

Located some 40 km S.E. of Zabīd.

Cf. Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 96, 131 etc.; Smith, Ayyūbids, ii, 159;

G & H map.

34, 59, 147

## 46. al-Ḥijāz

22, 97

## 47. al-Ḥimā

Located some 7 km N.E. of Ḍamad.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 155.

101, 107

## 48. al-Hind

97

## 49. al-Ḥudaydah

The famous port on the Red Sea N. of Zabīd.

Cf. Muhannā, Critical, 114; G & H map; Kaḥḥālah.

Jughrāfiyā, 14, 32, 42 etc.

41, 42, 52, 94, 188, 200, 209

## 50. Ḥufāsh

A mountain and town around it having the same name. Nowadays it is Nāḥiyat Ḥufāsh in the Maḥwīt province in YAR.

Cf. Kaḥḥālah, Jughrāfiya, 338; Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 124, 133 etc.;

G & H map

41

## 51. Ḥuraymilā'

Located some 26 km N.W. of al-Riyadh.

Cf. al-Jāsir, Mu'jam, 312.

23

## 52. al-Ḥuṣayb

The old name of Zabīd.

Cf. Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 96, 232; al-Ḥajarī, i, 262.

36

## 53. al-Ḥusaynī

Located some 5 km S.E. of Ṣabyā.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 148; B & H map.

40, 151

## 54. al-Ḥusayniyyah

Situated some 20 km N. of Zabīd. It is not the village holding the same name about 17 km N.E. of Ṣabyā.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 148; al-Ḥajarī, i, 259;

B & J map; G & H map.

78

## 55. J. al-Ḥussāb

A chain of mountains named after the tribe, or perhaps vice versa, which lives in the same area. Located some 50 km N.E. of Ṣabyā.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 147.

151

## 56. Iraq

97, 112, 141

## 57. al-'Irnayn

According to the text it is a place between al-Zuhrah in the Yemen and Abū 'Arīsh.

48

## 58. al-'Isiyyah

According to the text this place is in the west of W. Mawr.

50

## 59. Jāzān

An important port on the Red Sea.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 95; Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 64, 92, etc.; B & J map.

13, 14, 17, 51, 89, 94, 106, 124, 174



## 60. al-Jazīrah

The area in the N. of Iraq, located between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers.

Cf. Yāqūt, Mu'jam. ii, 134

97

## 61. al-Jirbah

Located on W. Mūqāb, some 12 km S.E. of Abū 'Arīsh.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 119

60

## 62. J. Kaḥlān/Kaḥlān

Situated some 19 km N.E. of Ḥajjah. It is considered as a nāḥiyah in the province of Ḥajjah.

Cf. Smith, Ayyūbids, ii, 168; Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 201; G & H map.

78, 111, 121

## 63. al-Kāmiliyyah

According to the text this place is a castle. Located some 17 km E. of al-Zuhrah.

Cf. al-Ḥajarī, ii, 661; G & H map.

214

## 64. J. al-Kawlah/al-Kūlah

Mentioned in the text as located N. of Ḥays.

59

## 65. Kawkabān

Located some 45 km N.W. of Ṣan'ā'. There is another town of this name N.E. of Ḥajjah.

Cf. Smith, Ayyūbids, ii, 169; G & H map; Smith, "Kawkabān", Arabian Studies.

44

## 66. Kāẓimah

A place about 2 marḥalahs S. of al-Baṣrah.

Cf. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, vi, 431.

126

## 67. al-Khaḍrā'

Located some 7 km N. of Abū 'Arīsh.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 167.

173, 174

## 68. al-Khamīsayn

A place near Ṣāmiṭah between Abū Ḥajar and al-Jāḍi' village.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 172.

78, 110, 111

## 69. Khaybar

Situated about 140 km N. of al-Madīnah.

Cf. Kaḥḥālah, Jughrāfiyā, 259.

## 70. Khulab

Wadi coming from Sarāt Khawlān and flowing into the Red Sea about 50 km S. of Jāzān.

Cf. Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 97, 129, etc.; 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 168; B & J map.

152

## 71. Kulākh

A small town located some 50 km E. of al-Ṭā'if.

Cf. al-Jāsir, Mu'jam, ii, 1052.

61

## 72. al-Lijām

According to the text this place is situated somewhere on W. Mawr. It might be a place located some 3 miles N. of Shibām.

Cf. Smith, Ayyūbids, ii, 173.

180

## 73. al-Luḥayyah

Located about 100 km to the N. of al-Ḥudaydah on the Red Sea.

Cf. Kaḥḥālah, Jughrāfiyā, 327; G & H map.

40, 50, 52, 123, 148, 211

## 74. al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah

8, 18, 21, 22, 23, 43, 174

## 75. al-Maghrib al-Aqṣā

97, 217

## 76. al-Mahdaf/al-Mahdhaf

64

## 77. al- Malāḥah

Situated about 14 km N. of Abhā.

Cf. Aṭlas of 'Asīr, Map No. 3.

91

## 78. al-Malḥā

A small village on W. Baysh, the location is not clear.

153

## 79. Manārah

A ruined town located N.E. of Jāzān in the vicinity of al-Kawāmilah village.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 400.

14

## 80. W. Mawr/Mawr

'Ākish sometimes mentioned this place as a city "Madīnat Mawr".

This village is probably located somewhere in the famous wadi which comes from Bilād Ḥāshid and reaches the sea at al-Luḥayyah.

Cf. Muhannā, Critical, 117; Smith, Ayyūbids.

ii, 181.

17, 40, 42, 50, 124, 151, 177, 179, 180, 181, 214

## 81. Mecca/Makkah al-Mukarramah

17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 37, 43, 60, 61, 119, 174, 198,  
208, 216, 217, 218, 219

## 82. al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī

11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 62, 63, 91, 94, 121, 147, 152,  
153, 157

## 83. J. Milhān

Located some 40 km N.E. of Bājil.

Cf. al-Ḥajarī, ii, 718; G & H map.

41

## 84. Miṣr

56, 97, 111, 119, 148, 208

## 85. al-Mukhā'

The famous port on the Red Sea. Located some 150 km  
S. of Zabīd.

Cf. G & H map.

192, 193, 199

## 86. Mukhtārah

There are two villages having this name, one located somewhere  
on W. Ḍamad, N. of Abū 'Arīsh, and the other somewhere on  
W. Khulab, S. of Abū 'Arīsh. However, we understand from the  
text that 'Ākish meant the latter.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 379, 380.

55, 57, 60, 62, 78, 90

## 87. Musliyah

Located some 70 km N. of Jāzān.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 88; B & J map.

62, 64

## 88. al-Maṣīn

The only deduction: which can be made from the text is that this place is located in Bilād Ṣalīl.

42

## 89. Mustabā

An area situated N.E. of the Yemen. It is called

Nāḥiyat Mustabā in the province of Ḥajjah.

Cf. G & H map.

40

## 90. Najd

Cf. Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 39, 73, 83 etc.; Kaḥḥālah, Jughrāfiyā,

8, 10, 12, etc.

23, 24, 25, 26, 34, 38, 41, 44, 47, 49, 52, 53, 54, 56,

60, 61, 87

## 91. Najrān

Located some 360 km S.E. of Abhā, close to the Saudi-Yemeni border.

Cf. Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 64, 81, 90, etc.; Ibn al-Mujāwir, ii,

208, 209; al-Ḥajarī, ii, 734-38.

90, 156, 157, 158

## 92. Na'mān

There are two wadis with this name, one in al-'Āriḍah, E. of Jāzān, and the other S. of Mecca.

Cf. al-Jāsir, Mu'jam, ii, 1333.

175, 176

## 93. al-Nahrawān

The area between Baghdad and Wāsiṭ in Iraq.

Cf. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, iv, 325.

36, 117

## 94. al-Qufl

'Ākish described this place as a ḥiṣn, but there is a town with the same name in the same area located by 'Ākish. It is N.W. of Ḥajjah. Al-Ḥajarī indicated that there are four villages in the Yemen holding this name.

Cf. Smith, Ayyūbids, ii, 192; al-Ḥajarī, ii, 657; G & H map.

40

## 95. al-Qunfidah/al-Qunfidhah

A port which played an important role in the history of 'Asīr and al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī in the 18th and 19th centuries. Located some 150 km N. of al-Shuqayq port.

Cf. B & J map.

208, 209

## 96. Rāmah

A place on the road between al-Başrah and Mecca in B. Tamīm territory. Located some 12 marḥalahs from al-Başrah.

Cf. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, iii, 18

101

## 97. Rijāl/Rijāl Alma'

Located about 45 km W. of Abhā.

Cf. Atlas of 'Asīr, Map no. 33.

154

## 98. al-Rūm

'Ākish gives this name to the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Istanbul.

21

## 99. al-Ruqmatayn

Yāqūt counts ten places holding this name. The most likely one here is a place near al-Başrah.

Cf. Yāqūt, Mu'jam, iii, 58, 59.

142, 143 \*

## 100. Şabyā/al-Madīnah al-Şabyāniyyah

Located some 40 km N. of Jāzān.

Cf. Hamdānī, Şifat, 98, 136; B & J map.

12, 14, 49, 51, 53, 62, 67, 87, 100, 122, 151, 152,

154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 161, 162, 163, 164, 166, 181,

194, 198, 212, 216, 221



## 101. Ṣa'dah

Located about 242 km N. of Ṣan'ā'.

Cf. Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 81, 82, 115, etc.; Ibn al-Mujāwir, ii, 203, 204; G & H map.

22, 40, 44, 53, 170, 207

## 102. J. Salā

Situated S.E. of Jāzān, close to al-'Āriḍah.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 221.

61

## 103. Sala'

It might be Abū al-Sala', approximately 112 km N. of Jāzān near Abū al-Qa'ā'id.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 56; B & J map.

134

## 104. al-Salāmah

Located some 69 km N. of Jāzān.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 222; B & J map.

38, 64

## 105. Ṣalīl/Bilād Ṣalīl

The area stretching between al-Zaydiyyah in the north to al-Ḥudaydah in the south.

Cf. Nu'mī, Ḥawliyyāt, 97.

41, 42, 171

## 106. Ṣan'ā'

The capital of North Yemen.

Cf. Smith, Ayyūbids, ii, 198; Serjeant, Ṣan'ā', passim.

17, 20, 21, 34, 40, 41, 43, 44, 56, 59, 100, 116, 145,  
147, 164, 168, 187, 189, 202, 215, 216

## 107. al-Sarāh

Cf. Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 85, 86, 87, etc.; Kaḥḥālāh, Jughrāfiyā,  
9. 10, etc.

34, 47, 50, 52, 62, 67, 80, 81, 86, 87, 91, 119, 120, 121,  
130, 155, 161, 162, 168, 193, 199, 208

## 108. al-Shām

The author uses this term in different ways.

See Chapter V.

79, 97, 137, 147, 219, 224

## 109. al-Sharaf

There are many places with this name in the Yemen.

Historically, al-Sharaf is usually given to the area N.W. of  
Ḥajjah which is sometimes called Sharaf Ḥajjah or al-Sharafayn.

Cf. Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 126, 127, etc.; G & H map; Smith,  
Ayyūbids, ii, 202.

40, 41, 214

## 110. al-Sharafayn

See the previous note.

## 111. Shawkān

A small village in Khawlān area, S.E. of Ṣan'ā'.

Cf. 'Amrī, The Yemen, 103.

201

## 112. al-Shi'bayn

Located some 58 km S. of Muḥāyl or 45 km W. of Abhā.

Cf. Atlas of 'Asir, Map No. 33.

208

## 113. al-Shuqayq

A coastal town on the Red Sea located some 150 km N.W. of Jāzān.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 231; B & J Map; Kaḥḥālah, Jughrāfiyā, 62, 63, etc.

147, 155

## 114. al-Shuqayrī

Situated about 60 km N.E. of Jāzān.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 230; B & J Map.

52, 90, 207

## 115. al-Sind

97

## 116. Ṭabab

It was the capital of 'Asīr during the rule of the Abī Nuqṭah in the period 1215-1233/1800-1818. Located some 30 km N.W. of Abhā.

Cf. Atlas of 'Asīr, Map no. 3.

## 117. al-Ṭā'if

193

## 118. W. Ta'shur

A well-known wadi which flows into the Red Sea some 20 km N. of al-Muwassam on the Saudi Yemeni border.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 415; Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 135, 232, 240; B & J Map.

152

## 119. W. Tayyah

Its catchment area is the W. slopes of J. al-Sarāh, some 11 km N. of Abhā. It runs westward and joins W. Ḥaly just beyond Muḥāyīl.

Cf. Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 230, 235; Atlas of 'Asīr, Map no. 49.

87

## 120. Tihāmah/al-Bilād al-Tihāmiyyah

Cf. Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 41, 47, 83, etc.; al-Ḥajarī, i, 156-62. 37, 38, 44, 50, 100, 119, 120, 121, 151, 152, 166, 181, 211

## 121. al-Ṭawr

Located some 40 km S.W. of Ḥajjah.

Cf. G & H Map; al-Ḥajarī, ii, 559.

48

## 122. Umm al-Khashab

A small town about 5 km N.E. of Baysh.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 65; B & J Map.

64, 121, 158

## 123. al-'Uthayr

According to the text it is a village somewhere in W. Mawr.

151

## 124. al-'Uyaynah

Located some 50 km N.W. of Riyadh.

Cf. al-Jāsir, Mu'jam, 878.

23

## 125. W. Wusā'

A wadi N. of Jāzān, a tributary of W. Baysh near the village of Abū l-Qa'āyid.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 419.

14

## 126. Yalamlam

A wadi S. of Mecca considered as the Mīqāt of the pilgrims.

Located some 80 km S. of Mecca.

Cf. al-Jāsir, Mu'jam, ii, 1334; Hamdānī, Sifat, 131, 232, etc.

220

## 127. al-Yamāmah

Cf. Hamdānī, Şifat, 81, 85, 90, etc.

23, 56

## 128. al-Yaman

'Ākīsh uses this term in different ways. See Chapter V, my comment on the word al-Shām.

11, 15, 16, 17, 21, 22, 41, 42, 50, 52, 62, 79, 89, 94, 97, 147, 148, 151, 154, 185, 186, 191, 200, 205, 207, 208, 209, 210, 214, 219, 224

## 129. Yanbu'

Located some 350 km N. of Jeddah.

18, 22

## 130. Zabīd

The famous city in the Yemen, located some 80 km S.E. of al-Ḥudaydah.

Cf. Smith, Ayyūbids, ii, 216; Hamdānī, Şifat, 81, 92, 93, etc.; Keall, "Zabīd", Seminar for Arabian Studies.

16, 27, 55, 56, 61, 94, 100, 145, 192, 214, 215, 216, 219

## 131. al-Zahrā'

According to 'Ākīsh's description it should be the Yemeni town called al-Zuhrah, located some 100 km N. of al-Ḥudaydah.

Cf. Kaḥḥālah, Jughrāfiyā, 360; al-Ḥajarī, i, 397; G & H Map. 42, 49, 55, 60, 94, 123, 177, 178, 180, 211, 214

## 132. Zā'in/Bilād Zā'in

17

## 133. al-Zaydiyyah

Located some 60 km N. of al-Ḥudaydah in W. Surdud.

Cf. Kaḥḥālah, Juḡhrāfiyā, 349, 360; al-Ḥajarī, i, 397;

G & H Map.

40, 199

## 134. al-Zayla'i/al-Zayla'iyyah

Situated about 35 km N.E. of al-Zuhrah.

Cf. G & H Map.

36

Tribal Index

1. B. al-‘Abbās

109

2. al-‘Ajam

63, 110

3. al-Anṣār

Supporters of the Prophet.

Cf. EI<sup>2</sup>, i, 514; Ibn Rasūl, Turfah, 23.

107

4. al-Amarah

From Ashrāf of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī.

11

5. ‘Asīr

A large confederation of 10 tribes living in the area known as Bilād ‘Asīr. Its border is to the N. Bilād Ballaḥmir, to the S. Bilād Shahrān and Qaḥṭān; to the E. Bilād Shahrān, and to the W. the Red Sea. The main tribes in ‘Asīr are: B. Mughayd, B. Mālik, Rabī‘ah and Rufaydah, ‘Alkam and Rijāl Alma‘.

Cf. Shākir, ‘Asīr, 54; Kaḥḥālah, Mu‘jam, ii, 782;

Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 230, 231.

37, 41, 50, 78, 80, 105, 162, 200



## 6. Aslam

A tribe living in the Aslam area, known at the present time as Nāḥiyat Aslam in the province of Ḥajjah.

Cf. Kaḥḥālah, Mu'jam, i, 26; G & H Map; Ibn Rasūl, Ṭurfah, 19, 31.

40

## 7. Atrāk

see Turk.

## 8. Azd

One of the most famous tribes, descended from al-Azd b.

al-Ghawth b. Nabt b. Mālik b. Kahlān. They are divided into four main tribes as follows: Azd Shanū'ah, Azd Ghassān, Azd al-Sarāh and Azd 'Umān.

Cf. Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 87, 88, 91, etc.; Kaḥḥālah, Mu'jam, i, 15, 16, 17, etc.; Ibn Rasūl, Ṭurfah, 6, 7, 19, etc.

50

## 9. Bakīl

This tribe is one of the two baṭns of Hamdān. They occupy the eastern half of the area stretching between Ṣan'ā' and Ṣa'dah.

Cf. Smith, Ayyūbids, ii, 226; al-Ḥajarī, i, 125-28;

Wilson, "al-Hamdānī's description", Seminar for Arabian Studies; Ibn Rasūl, Ṭurfah, 7, 30.

57, 61

## 10. Al-Daylam

15

## 11. B. Dhirwah

Ashrāf of Ṣabyā. They were the rulers of their territory before B. al-Khawājī.

Cf. Zabārah, Nayl al-Ḥusnayayn, 155.

11, 13, 15

## 12. Dhū Muḥammad

A branch of Bakīl living in the N. of the Yemen.

Cf. Nu'mī, Hawliyyāt, 50; al-Ḥajarī, ii, 691.

49, 51

## 13. B. Ghassān

One of the 26 qabīlahs of al-Azd. The Rasūlids claimed descent from them. 'Ākish mentions them as follows: Mulūk Banī Ghassān, Salāṭīn al-Yaman.

Cf. Smith, Ayyūbids, ii, 227; al-Ḥajarī, ii, 624; Ibn Rasūl, Ṭurfah, 6, 23, 24, etc.

15

## 14. al-Ghawānim

Ashrāf who inhabit Abū 'Arīsh and Jāzān. They are two baṭns; al-Ashrāf al-Shuṭūṭ who ruled the area in the 7th/13th century and al-Ashrāf Āl Quṭb al-Dīn who also gained power over the area in the 9th/15th century.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 206, 261; Ibn Rasūl, Ṭurfah, 108.

13

## 15. B. al-Ḥakamī

They lived in the area around Abū 'Arīsh. Al-Hamdānī indicates that Bilād Ḥakam is located between Ḥaraḍ in the south and Mikhlāf 'Aththar in the north. It is not clear if this family are ashrāf or not.

Cf. Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 82, 84, etc.; 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 71.

11

## 16. Hamdān

A large and ancient tribal group in the north of the Yemen, the important batns of which are Ḥāshid and Bakīl.

Cf. Smith, Ayyūbids, ii, 227; al-Ḥajarī, ii, 752-59; Ibn Rasūl, Ṭurfah, 7, 8, 13, etc.

49, 57, 122, 167

## 17. al-Ḥawāzim

Ashrāf living in Ṣabyā and Ḍamad.

Cf. Zabārah, Nayl al-Ḥusnayayn, 143.

11, 15

## 18. B. al-Ḥurrāth/al-Ḥārith

Located in the S.E. of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī, close to the border with the Yemen.

Cf. Muhannā, Critical, 98; Ibn Rasūl, Ṭurfah, 35.

47, 64, 78

## 19. al-Jarākisah

16

## 20. Āl Juzaylān

A sub-tribe of Baraṭ, N. of Ṣan'ā'.

Cf. al-Ḥajarī, i, 109, 188.

48

## 21. B. al-Khawājī/al-Khawājiyyūn

Ashrāf inhabiting W. Ṣabyā.

11, 12, 13, 14

## 22. Khuzā'ah

An Azdī tribe inhabiting the area around Mecca.

Cf. Kaḥḥālah, Mu'jam, i, 339; Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 232, 233, etc.

89, 138

## 23. B. al-Mahdī

Ashrāf of Tihāmah, living in the area around the town called

Manārah, W. of W. Balāj. Some of them moved to W. Ḍamad.

Cf. Zabārah, Nayl al-Ḥusnayayn, 236.

11, 14, 15

## 24. B. Mālik

An 'Asīrī tribe living N. of Abhā. They belong to Azd

Shanū'ah and have 8 baṭns; Āl Ya'lā, B. Munabbih, Āl al-

Ḥabashī, B. Rizām, Āl Mujammil, Āl Rumayyān, al-Tilādah

and B. Rabī'ah.

Cf. Shākir, 'Asīr, 58; Ibn Misfir, 22.

91

## 25. Madhḥij

The famous tribal group of Kahlān.

Cf. Smith, Ayyūbids, ii, 232; al-Ḥajarī, ii, 699-702;  
Ibn Rasūl, Ṭurfah, 9, 10, 19, etc.

89

## 26. B. al-Mu'āfā

Ashrāf of al-Mikhhlāf al-Sulaymānī.

Cf. Zabārah, Nayl al-Ḥusnayayn, 228.

11, 14, 15

## 27. B. Mughayd

The most powerful tribe of 'Asīr living around Abhā.

This tribe has five batns; Āl Yazīd, Āl Nājiḥ, Āl Wāzi',  
Āl Wayman and Āl 'Abd al-'Azīz.

Cf. Shākir, 'Asīr, 56.

78, 120, 194

## 28. B. Lū'ayy

A batn of Quraysh descended from Lū'ayy b. Ghālib b. Fihr  
b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr.

Cf. Kaḥḥālah, Mu'jam, iii, 1019.

137

## 29. B. al-Nu'mī

Ashrāf who inhabit W. Wusā' and W. Bayḍ near al-Dahnā and  
al-'Āliyah villages. Some of them moved to Rijāl Alma'.

Cf. Bahkalī, Nafḥ, 82.

11, 14, 15

## 30. Qaḥṭān

A group of tribes with Khawlānī and Hamdānī origins. They occupy the area between Najrān in the south and 'Asīr in the north. Some of Qaḥṭān inhabited Tihāmah. The following are Qaḥṭān tribes: Wādī'ah, Sanḥān, B. Bishr, Shurayf, Rufaydah, Jārimah and Khaṭṭāb, and Āl al-Shawāz.

Cf. Shākir, 'Asīr, 104; Ḥamzah, Qalb, 188; Ibn Rasūl, Ṭurfah, 5, 11, 12, etc.  
12, 38, 184

## 31. B. Qays

A tribe living in the area around W. Mawr.

Cf. al-Ḥajarī, ii, 659.

48

## 32. Rijāl Alma'

A large tribe of 'Asīr, consisting of the following baṭns:

B. Qays, B. Jūnah, B. Zālim, B. Quṭbah, B. Zayd, B. Shaḥb,

Āl Ṣalab, Shadīdah, B. al-'Ūṣ and al-Binā. All of these baṭns

occupy the area between Muḥāyīl in the north and al-Darb in the south.

Cf. Shākir, 'Asīr, 78-82; Ibn Rasūl, Ṭurfah, 19, 27.

51, 64, 79

## 33. Rufaydah

An 'Adnānī tribe descended from 'Anz b. Wā'il. Located S.E. of Abhā.

Cf. al-Zulfa, "Village Communities", Arabian Studies.

50

## 34. B. Saba'

A baṭn of Ḥimyar, living somewhere on W. Ḥaraḍ.

Cf. Ibn Rasūl, Ṭurfah, passim.

14

## 35. B. Shu'bah

A tribe living in the area of al-Darb near al-Shuqayq.

Authorities differ concerning their origin, but 'Aqīlī suggests they are from Kinānah.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Adab, ii, 13-32.

64

## 36. Ṣudā'

A baṭn of Kahlān inhabiting the catchment area of W. Ḍamad.

Cf. Kaḥḥālah, Mu'jam, ii, 636; 'Aqīlī, al-Mu'jam al-Jughrāfī, 266; Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 85, 177, etc.; Ibn Rasūl, Ṭurfah, 9, 35.

89

## 37. Tamīm

The famous Najdī tribe.

Cf. Kaḥḥālah, Mu'jam, i, 125-33; Ibn Rasūl, Ṭurfah, 58, 60, 61.

141

## 38. al-Tatar

55

## 39. al-Turk/al-Atrāk

In the text 'Ākish used this term when he spoke about the Ottoman Empire.

19, 21, 63, 64, 67, 78, 86, 87, 110, 111, 112, 113, 119, 122, 123, 124, 130, 131, 135, 147, 148, 160, 161, 162, 168, 181, 182, 185, 192, 200, 212

## 40. Yām

An Ismā'īlī tribe inhabiting the area of Najrān. They belong to Hamdān.

Cf. Smith, Ayyūbids, ii, 239; al-Ḥajarī, ii, 774;

Ibn Rasūl, Ṭurfah, 7, 9, 30.

81, 154, 156, 157, 211, 212



**VII      BIOGRAPHIES**

## 1. Abū al-Qāsim b. 'Asākir (499-571/1105-1175)

'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Hibat Allāh, known as Ibn 'Asākir. He was a well-known traditional scholar who wrote many books. The following are his most important works : al-Tārikh al-kabīr, al-Ijtihād fī iqāmat farq al-jihād, Mubhamāt al-Qur'ān.

Cf. Qanūjī, al-Tāj, 84,; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, ii, 37.

8, 9

## 2. Ibn Shihāb (d. 124/741)

A famous Traditionist (tābī'ī) and faqīh who lived in Medina.

His full name is Muḥammad b. Muslim b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Zuhrī.

Cf. Qanūjī, 105; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, iii, 317.

8

## 3. Ya'qūb b. Sufyān (d. 277/890)

Ya'qūb b. Sufyān b. Jawān al-Fārisī, a distinguished Traditionist scholar. He wrote al-Tārikh al-kabīr and al-Mashyakhaḥ.

Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhīb, xi, 385-88; Ibn al-Athīr, Lubāb, ii, 215.

8

## 4. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 23/643)

'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb b. Nufayl b. 'Abd al-'Uzzā, the second orthodox caliph of Islam.

Cf. Ṭabarī, iii, 428; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, iii, 290; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, iv, 279; Shākir, Khulafā', 113.

8, 9, 113, 116

## 5. al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Suyūṭī (849-911/1445-1505)

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Jalāl al-Suyūṭī, the

famous Egyptian scholar. He wrote more than 300 books on Ḥadīth, fiqh, ṭafsīr and history.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 328; Zaydān, iii, 228;

Qanūjī, 349; Ghazzī, Kawākib, i, 226-231.

8, 9, 115, 174, 201

6. Ibn al-Shammākh

Al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Shammākh, known as Ibn al-Shammākh or al-Shammākhī, was a Traditionist.

Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, Lubāb, ii, 27.

8

7. Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ (577-643/1181-1245)

‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd al-Raḥman al-Kurdī al-Shahrzūrī, a distinguished scholar who lived and died in Damascus. The following are some of his books : Muqaddimat Ibn al-Ṣalāḥ, Adab al-muftī wa-al-mustaftī, Manāsik al-Ḥajj.

Cf. Qanūjī, 80; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, ii, 408.

8

8. Abū Ṭāhir b. Muḥsin al-Ziyādī

His correct name is Abū Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ziyādī.

Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, Lubāb, i, 515.

8

9. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661)

The fourth orthodox caliph of Islam.

Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, iv, 269; Ṭabarī, iv, 427; Iṣfahānī, Maqātil, 24; Shākir, Khulafā', 251.

8, 9, 32, 57, 73, 74, 75, 76, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 184, 212

10. al-Bukhārī (194-256/810-870)

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ismā'il, the famous Traditionist.

He wrote several books and the following are some of his most important works: al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīḥ, al-Tāriḫ al-kabīr, al-Sunan fī al-fiqh.

Cf. Qanūjī, 106; Zaydān, ii, 210; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, iii, 329; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhīb, ix, 47.

8, 22, 86, 113

11. Sa'id b. al-Musayyab (13-94/634-712)

A very well-known tābi'i and Traditionist.

Cf. Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, ii, 117; Ibn Ḥajar, Tāriḫ, iv, 84.

8

12. Abū al-Zinād (d. 131/748)

'Abd Allāh b. Dhakwān is a distinguished scholar who lived and died in Medina.

Cf. Qummī, Kunā, i, 80; Ibn 'Asākir, Tāriḫ, vii, 382-83.

9

13. Ibn al-Munīr (620-683/1223-1284)

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Manṣūr, an Egyptian scholar, qāḍī of Alexandria.

Cf. Qanūjī, 158; Kutbī, Fawāt, i, 132.

9

## 14. Sa'id b. Mansūr (d. 227/841)

Sa'id b. Mansūr b. Shu'bah al-Marwazī is a well-known Traditionist.

Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhīb, iv, 89.

9

## 15. Nūḥ b. Qays (d. 184/800)

Nūḥ b. Qays b. Rabāḥ al-Azdī is a distinguished Traditionist.

Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhīb, x, 485.

9

## 16. 'Uthmān b. Muḥsin

The correct name is 'Uthmān b. 'Āṣim b. Ḥuṣayn, a well-known Traditionist.

Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhīb, vii, 126.

9

## 17. Ibn 'Abbās (d. 68/687)

'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbas b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib is the famous Companion who related 1660 Hadīth.

Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, Isābah, iv, 90; Ibn al-Jawzī, Sifat, i, 34.

9, 86, 113

## 18. al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1065)

Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh, a very well-known Traditionist and faqīh. He wrote several books, including: al-Sunan, Dalā'il al-nubūwah, Shu'ab al-imān.

Cf. Qanūjī, 28; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, i, 57.

9

## 19. al-Ḥāfiẓ b. Ḥajar (774-852/1372-1448)

Aḥamad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-'Asqalānī, a famous Egyptian scholar. He travelled to Syria, the Ḥijāz and the Yemen. He wrote more than 150 books, including: Fath al-Bārī sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 87; Qanūjī, 362; Sakhāwī, Ḍaw', ii, 36.

9, 17, 22, 32, 113, 174

## 20. al-Fāḍil al-Rūmī

10, 114

## 21. Sulaymān b. Ṭarf al-Ḥakamī

He is from the Āl 'Abd al-Jadd al-Ḥakamī family who managed to win over the area later to be known as al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī from the Ziyādīd ruler in 373/983. His rule continued until 393/1002 when the area was regained by the Ziyādī ruler. I did not find any information about the date of his birth, nor that of his death.

Cf. Muḥannā, Critical, 34; 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 71;

Smith, Ayyūbids, 53.

11

## 22. Ibn al-Dayba' (d. 944/1537)

'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Zabīdī, a Yemeni historian who wrote the two important books, Bughyat al-mustafīd fī akhbār madīnat zabīd and Qurrat al-'uyūn fī akhbār al-yaman al-maymūn.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 335; Smith, "The Ṭāhirid Sultans"

Ibn al-Dayba', Bughyah, 217; Ghazzī, Kawākib, ii, 158-59.

11

23. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Nu'mān

According to the text he was one of the respected writers of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī. He wrote Sharḥ al-ṣādiḥ wa-al-bāghim.

11

24. Mūsā al-Jawn

Mūsā al-Jawn b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Cf. Iṣfahānī, Maqātil, 390.

11, 15, 37

25. Aḥmad b. Ṣāliḥ b. Abī al-Rijāl al-Ṣan'ānī (1029-92/1619-81)

A Yemeni scholar, born in al-Ahnūm. He is the author of

Maṭla' al-budūr wa-majma' al-buḥūr.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 59; Muḥibbī, Khulāṣah, i, 220.

12, 13, 91

26. al-'Āmirī (d. 893/1497)

Yaḥyā b. Abī Bakr al-'Āmirī, a distinguished Yemeni scholar who lived in Ḥaraḍ. He wrote many books and the following

are his famous works: Ghirbāl al-zamān, al-Tuḥfah, al-Riyāḍ al-mustaṭābah, Bahjat al-maḥāfil.

Cf. Nu'mān, al-'Aqīq, MS, 140; Sakhāwī, Ḍaw', x, 224;

Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 327; Sayyid, Maṣādir, 185.

12, 74, 188

27. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-Nu'mān (d. 1050/1640)

He was one of the distinguished writers of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī.

He wrote the valuable book, al-'Aqīq al-yamānī fi-wafayāt al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī.

Cf. Kaḥḥālah, Mu'jam, iii, 93; Sayyid, Maṣādir, 31.

12

28. 'Aḥmad b. al-Maqbūl al-Asadī (d. 1023/1614)

A qāḍī of Abū 'Arīsh sometime during the Ottoman rule in the Yemen.

He wrote several books, including al-Jawāhir al-ḥisān fī tārikh Abū 'Arīsh wa-bandar Jāzān, Urjūzah fī farḍ al-kifāyah.

Cf. Muḥannā and his references, Critical, 79. Sayyid is incorrect when he dated his death in 962/1555, Maṣādir, 210.

12

29. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Nimāzī

He was one of the distinguished writers of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī.

He wrote the book al-Sulāf fī tārikh Ṣabyā wa-al-Mikhlāf.

Cf. Muḥannā and his references, Critical, 83.

12

30. Sharif Durayb b. Muḥārish (d. 964/1556)

He assumed power as the ruler of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī after the death of Sharif 'Īsā b. Ḥusayn al-Khawājī in 951/1554. He was involved in the struggle with Turks in the area until his death.

Cf. Nu'mān, al-'Aqīq, MS, 181-228.

12



## 31. Sharif Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn (d. 1028/1618)

Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn b. 'Īsā b. Abī al-Qāsim al-Khawājī, the ruler of Ṣabyā who assumed office in 1006/1597.

Cf. Nu'mān, al-'Aqīq, MS, 340, 360.

12

## 32. Imam al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (d. 1029/1619)

Al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad was born in 967/1559.

He sought the imamate in 1006/1597. After a bitter struggle with the Turks, they reached agreement to stop the war for 10 years and each party kept control over the areas he had gained.

Cf. Wāsi'ī, Tārīkh, 217; Sālim, al-Fatḥ, 362; Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 47; Muḥibbī, Khulāṣah, iii, 293.

12, 22, 32

## 33. Sharif Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad (d. 1053/1643)

A Khawājī Sharif who was the ruler of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī.

He assumed office in 1028/1618 after his father, Sharif Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn.

Cf. Na'mān, al-'Aqīq, MS, 360, 398.

12

## 34. Qānṣūh Pasha

Aḥmad Qānṣūh Pasha was the last Ottoman wālī of the Yemen. He used all his efforts in order to maintain the Ottoman rule over the Yemen, but failed. He ruled the Red Sea coastal plain, Tihāmah, for the period 1039-1045/1629-1635. He died about 1060/1650.

Cf. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣah, iii, 297; Sālim, al-Fath, 384.

12, 20

35. Sharif Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn (d. 1076/1665)

According to the text he was the ruler of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī in the period 1053-1076/1643-1665.

13, 15

36. Sharif Abū Ṭālib b. Muḥammad (d. 1103/1691)

According to the text he was the last ruler of Ashrāf B. al-Khawājī in Ṣabyā.

13

37. Sharif Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 1184/1770)

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khayrāt was the ruler of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī in the period 1154-1184/1741-1770.

Cf. Bahkalī, Khulāṣah, passim; 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 391-408; Zabārah, Nashr, i, 230.

13, 21, 22, 27

38. Sharif Dhirwah b. Ḥasan b. Yaḥyā

His genealogy can be traced back to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Cf. Zabārah, Nayl al-Ḥusnayayn, 155.

13, 15

39. Sharif al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ghānim b. Dhirwah

According to the text it seems that he was a ruler, or at least a distinguished leader, in Ṣabyā in the 7th/13th century.

13

## 40. al-Qāsim b. 'Alī b. Hutaymil al-Ḍamadī

A well-known poet who lived in the 7th/13th century. He was born and died in Tihāmah and frequently travelled to Ḥijāz and upper Yemen to recite his poems in the courts of the rulers.

Cf. Muhannā, Critical, 100; Farrūkh, iii, 691.

13, 14

## 41. Ghānim b. Yaḥyā b. Ḥamzah

He ruled the Mikhlāf of 'Aththar sometime in the first half of the 6th/12th century.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 204; Smith, Ayyūbids, 54, 55.

13

## 42. Amīr 'Āmir (d. 923/1517)

'Āmir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Dā'ūd b. Ṭāhir was a Ṭāhirid ruler who was best known as al-Malik al-Zāfir II. He assumed power in 894/1488. When the Mamlūk Sulṭān of Egypt, Qānṣūh al-Ghawrī, despatched an army to take over Zabīd, 'Āmir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb was killed.

Cf. Ibn al-Dayba', Bughyah, 173-374; Smith, "The Ṭāhirid Sultans"; Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 308; Sakhāwī, Ḍaw', iv, 16.

13

## 43. Khālīd b. Quṭb al-Dīn (d. 842/1438)

He was the ruler of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī in the first half of the 9th/15th century.

Cf. Nu'mān, al-'Aqīq, MS, 128.

13, 14, 15, 17

## 44. Durayb b. Khālid b. Quṭb al-Dīn (d. 896/1490)

He succeeded his father, who is mentioned above, to rule al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī in 842/1438.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 261; Sakhāwī, Ḍaw', iii, 218.

13

## 45. Aḥmad b. Durayb

He was the third ruler of the Āl Quṭb al-Dīn family to rule al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 262, 263; Sakhāwī, Ḍaw', i, 299.

13

## 46. Yūsuf al-'Azīz b. Aḥmad

According to the text he succeeded his father, Aḥmad b. Durayb, to rule the area.

13

## 47. al-Mahdī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 925/1519)

A distinguished ruler of al-Mikhlāf whose rule was at the beginning of the 10th/15th century. He died on the above date.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 270; Zabārah, Nashr, i, 232.

14

## 48. al-Jarrāḥ b. Shājir al-Dharawī

A poet who lived in al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī in the 10th/15th century.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Jarrāḥ b. Shājir, passim.

14

## 49. 'Izz al-Dīn b. Aḥmad (d. 930/1523)

He assumed office in 925/1519 to rule al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī and was killed on the above date.

Cf. Nu'mān, al-'Aqīq, MS, 149, 154; Kibsi, Laṭā'if, MS, 71.

14

## 50. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā

He succeeded 'Izz al-Dīn in office in 930/1523 and, after a bitter struggle with the Mamlūk ruler in Zabīd, was killed in 934/1527.

Cf. Nu'mān, al-'Aqīq, MS, 158-160; Kibsi, Laṭā'if, MS, 73.

14

## 51. Aḥmad b. al-Mahdī (d. 934/1527)

He became the ruler of al-Mikhlāf after the death of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā. He refused to pay the annual tax to Sulaymān, the Mamluk governor of Zabīd, so the latter made for Jāzān and killed him on the above date.

Cf. Nu'mān, al-'Aqīq, MS, 160; Kibsi, Laṭā'if, MS, 74.

14

## 52. 'Āmir b. Yūsuf al-'Azīz

He was elected by the notables of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī after the death of Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā in 934/1536 when the Sharif of Mecca, Muḥammad Abū Numayy, raided the area and forced its ruler to flee to Sa'dah. 'Āmir sought help from the governor of Sa'dah to regain his post. He was helped, but was killed just after he came back to Abū 'Arīsh.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 275-277; Kibsi, Laṭā'if, MS, 75-77.

14

53. Abū al-Ṭayyib Dā'ūd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī al-Fātik

A descendant of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib whose full genealogy appears in the text.

15

54. Sharif Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Khawājī

See the previous note

15

55. al-Mahdī b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamzah b. Abī al-Ṭayyib

See the previous note

15

56. Ni'mah b. 'Alī b. Dā'ūd b. Sulaymān b. 'Abd Allāh

See the note above

15

57. Imam Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 175/791)

He rebelled against the Abbasids during Hārūn al-Rashīd's reign.

He died in prison on the above date.

Cf. Ṣubḥī, al-Zaydiyyah, 587; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, Nujūm, ii, 62, 83;

Iṣfahānī, Maqātil, 463.

15

58. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh

A descendant of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

15

59. Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā

The brother of the previous entry.

15

60. Ṣāliḥ b. Yaḥyā

See previous note.

15

61. al-Ḥasan b. Khālīd al-Ḥāzīmī (1188-1235/1774-1819)

A very distinguished general and minister of Sharif Ḥamūd.

He played an important role in the political and intellectual life of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī in the period 1217-1235/1802-1819.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 38; Ḥadā'iq, MS, 33; 'Aqīlī, Aqwā', 86-102; Zabārah, Nayl, i, 323.

15, 24, 28, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 47, 49, 62, 63, 64, 76, 68,  
79, 80, 81, 90, 94, 95, 99, 105, 106, 110, 112, 113, 119, 121,  
130, 131, 133, 134, 137, 143, 145, 160, 207, 216

62. al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (d. 1048/1638)

A distinguished leader who stood with his brother, imam of the Yemen, al-Mu'ayyad, in his struggle against the Turks.

They succeeded in pushing the Turks out of the Yemen in 1045/1635.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 205; Sālim, 338-395; Muḥibbī, Khulāṣah, ii, 39.

16, 135

63. Imam al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim (d. 1054/1644)  
 He assumed the imamate in 1029/1619. He started his rebellion against the Turks in 1036/1626 and after a long and bitter war he came to terms with the Turks that they should leave the entire country in 1045/1635.  
 Cf. Sālim, 369-94; Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 238; Muḥibbī, Khulāṣah, iv, 122.  
 16
64. Imam al-Mutawakkil Ismā'il b. al-Qāsim (d. 1087/1676)  
 He assumed power in 1054/1644. Al-Shawkānī says that his rule extended as far as Mecca in the north and Ḥafār in the east.  
 Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 146; Wāsi'ī, 221; Muḥibbī, Khulāṣah, i, 411.  
 16, 135
65. Sharif Khayrāt b. Shabīr b. Bashīr  
 He is the great-grandfather of Sharif Ḥamūd and the first to emigrate to al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī. His full genealogy can be seen in the text, 16.  
 Cf. Muḥannā, Critical, 78.  
 16, 83, 87
66. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan al-Bahkalī (d. 1224/1809)  
 A distinguished scholar of Abū 'Arīsh. He was a qāḍī of this town for some time. He wrote Khulāṣat al-'Asjad fī dawlat al-Sharīf Muḥammad b. Aḥmad and Nuzhat al-ḥarīf fī dawlat Awlād al-Sharīf.



Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 54; Muhannā, 5-9; Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 322; Sayyid, Maṣādir, 287.

16, 26, 154, 160

67. Sharif Aḥmad b. Ghālib (d. 1113/1701)

One of the Sharifs of Mecca, ruled al-Ḥijāz between 1099/1687 and 1101/1689. He was forced to step down and emigrate to al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī. With the approval of the imam of Ṣan'ā' he managed to rule the area of Abū 'Arīsh. However, his rule there lasted only until 1105/1693 when he was forced to return to Mecca where he died.

Cf. Muhannā, Critical, 74; Bahkalī, al-'Iqd, MS, passim.

17

68. Al-Malik al-Nāṣir Aḥmad b. Ismā'il b. al-'Abbās (d. 827/1423)

A Rasūlid sultan who assumed power in 803/1400. He died on the above date.

Cf. al-Ḥaddād, Tārīkh, 277; 'Abd al-'Āl, 227; Ibn al-Dayba', Bughyah, 104; Sakhāwī, Ḍaw', i, 239

17

69. Imam al-Mahdī Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan (d. 1130/1717)

Born in 1047/1637, he sought the imamate in 1097/1685. He struggled with some of his family until he won power. He called himself al-Nāṣir, but later changed to al-Mahdī in 1109/1697.

Cf. Zabārah, Nashr, ii, 402-9; al-Wāsi'i, 222; Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 97; Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 625.

17

## 70. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Baḥkalī (1073-1114/1662-1702)

A respected scholar and qāḍī of Ṣabyā. He wrote many books, including al-'Iqd al-mufaṣṣal and Sharḥ al-kāfiyah.

Cf. Muhannā, Critical, 74; 'Aqīlī, Aḍwa', 111.

18, 160

## 71. Sharīf Qatādah b. Idrīs (d. 617/1220)

He is the famous Sharif of Mecca who assumed power in the period 598-617/1201-1220.

Cf. De Gaury, Rulers, 68, 89; Muhannā, Critical, 68; Zayla'ī, "The Southern", 75-82; Maqrīzī, Sulūk, i, 162.

18

## 72. Sharif Muḥammad b. Abī Sa'd

He was Sharif of Mecca in the period 652-701/1254-1301 with intervals - 606/1258, when the sons of Ḥasan b. Qatādah ruled, in 670/1271, when Jammāz b. Shīḥah and Ghānim b. Idrīs ruled, and another interval from 687/1288 onwards.

Cf. De Gaury, 91.

18

## 73. al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Dhahabī (673-748/1274-1347)

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Uthmān is the well-known Traditionist and historian. He wrote more than 20 books. The following are his important works: Tārīkh al-Islām, Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz, Mizān al-i'tidāl, al-Kāshif.

Cf. Qanūjī, 411; Zaydān, iii, 189; Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 110.

18

## 74. Sharif al-Ḥasan b. 'Ajlān (d. 829/1425)

One of the sharifs of Mecca. He became the ruler of Mecca in 798/1395.

Cf. De Gaury, 103; Sakhāwī, Ḍaw', iii, 103.

18

## 75. Sharif Muḥammad b. Barakāt (d. 903/1497)

He assumed office in 859/1454 as ruler of Mecca and continued until his death.

Cf. De Gaury, 106; Smith & Zayla'ī, Bride, 91; Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 140.

19

## 76. Sharif Barakāt b. Muḥammad (d. 931/1524)

A sharif of Mecca who came to power after his father's death in 903/1497.

Cf. De Gaury, 113; Ghazzī, Kawākib, i, 164.

19

## 77. Sharif Muḥammad Abū Numayy b. Barakāt (d/ 992/1584)

He ruled Mecca in the period 931-992/1524-1584.

Cf. De Gaury, 128; Smith & Zayla'ī, Bride, 74.

19

## 78. Sharif al-Ḥasan b. Abī Numayy (d. 1010/1601)

The Sharif of Mecca between 992/1584 and 1010/1601.

Cf. De Gaury, 128; Muḥibbī, Khulāṣah, ii, 2-14.

19

79. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Ḍamadī (d. 990/1582)  
A distinguished scholar who had good relations with the imam of  
Ṣan'ā' and the sharif of Mecca.  
Cf. Nu'mān, al-'Aqīq, MS, 308.

19

80. Sharif Abū Ṭālib b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Numayy (d. 1012/1603)  
He was the sharif of Mecca for a short time in 1010/1601.  
Cf. De Gaury, 128; Muḥibbī, Khulāṣah, i, 131.

20

81. al-Ṭabarī (d. 1032/1622)  
'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī, a distinguished  
scholar who lived and died in Mecca. He wrote many books.  
The following are his most important works: Sharḥ al-duraydiyyah,  
Husn al-sariyrah fī husn al-sīrah, Nash'at al-sulāfah bi-munsha'āt  
al-khilāfah.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 371; Muḥibbī, Khulāṣah, ii, 457.

20

82. Sharif Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan (d. 1034/1624)  
He assumed power as sharif of Mecca in the period 1011/1602-  
1034/1624. He was deposed by Muḥsin in 1034/1624 and died  
a few months later.

Cf. Muḥibbī, Khulāṣah, i, 390; Būrīnī, Tarājim, ii, 86.

20

83. Sharif Muḥsin b. Ḥusayn (d. 1038/1628)  
He assumed the office of sharif in 1034/1624. In 1037/1627 he

was deposed and forced to leave for Şan'ā' where he died.

Cf. De Gaury, 128; Muhibbī, Khulāṣah, iii, 309.

20

84. Sharif Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (d. 1039/16289)

A Sharif of Mecca who ruled for about a year. He was strangled by Qānṣūh Pasha.

Cf. De Gaury, 135; Muhibbī, Khulāṣah, i, 239.

20

85. Sharif Mas'ūd b. Idrīs (d. 1040/1630)

He succeeded Sharif Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib in the beginning of 1039/1629 and ruled until he died in the middle of 1040/1630.

Cf. Muhibbī, Khulāṣah, iv, 361; De Gaury, 135.

20

86. Sharif 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī Numayy (d. 1041/1631)

He was the sharif of Mecca for about nine months during 1040/1631.

Cf. Muhibbī, Khulāṣah, iii, 38.

20

87. Sharif Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 1041/1631)

He ruled Mecca for six months during 1041/1631. He was killed by the Turks.

Cf. Muhibbī, Khulāṣah, iv, 27.

21

## 88. Sharif Zayd b. Muḥsin (d. 1077/1665)

The ruler of Mecca in the period 1041-1077/1631-1669. He is considered as the founder of the Dhū Zayd clan.

Cf. De Gaury, 141; Muḥibbī, Khulāṣah, ii, 176-86.

21

## 89. Sharif Musā'ad b. Sa'id b. Zayd (d. 1184/1770)

He was in office in the period 1165-1184/1751-1770.

Cf. De Gaury, 170-75; Ziriklī, viii, 103.

21

## 90. Sharif Surūr b. Musā'ad (d. 1202/1787)

He was the sharif of Mecca in the period 1186-1202/1772-1787.

Cf. Mardam, A'yān, 124; Ziriklī, iii, 128.

21

## 91. Sharif Ghālib b. Musā'ad

He was the ruler of Mecca from 1203/1788 until 1228/1813 when Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha captured him and sent him to Istanbul.

Cf. De Gaury, 180; Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 4; Mardam, A'yān, 127.

21

## 92. Sharif Muḥammad b. 'Awn (d. 1275/1858)

He ruled Mecca twice; the first period was from 1243-68/1827-51, and his second office was during the period 1272-75/1855-58.

Cf. Zulfā, "Ottoman", passim; De Gaury, 244-249; Mardam, A'yān, 134.

21, 130

93. Sharif Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khayrāt (d. 1154/1741)

He became the ruler of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī in 1141/1728 with the approval of the imam of Ṣan'ā', al-Mansūr.

Cf. Bahkalī, Khulāṣah, 15-18; 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 388; Zabārah, Nashr, i, 229.

21

94. Imam al-Mansūr al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (1107-1161/1695-1748)

He assumed the imamate in 1139/1726 after a bitter struggle with other imams.

Cf. Zabārah, Nashr, i, 595-601; Muhannā, Critical, 80; Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 225.

21

95. Imam al-Hādī Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (d. 298/910)

He was born in al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah in 245/859 and emigrated to the Yemen where he laid the foundations of Zaydism. He wrote many books. The following are some of his important works:

Uṣūl al-fitan; al-Imāmah; al-Khashyah; al-Da'wah; al-Qiyās.

Cf. Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 506-17; 'Amrī, Maṣādir, 133;

21, 22, 32, 114, 117, 214

96. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 50/670)

22, 33

97. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 61/68)

22

## 98. Sharif Ḥamūd (1170-1233/1756-1817)

Ḥamūd b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Khayrāt, known as Abū Mismār, was the ruler of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī in the period 1216-1233/1800-1817.

Cf. Introduction, Chapter 2 and 3; Bahkalī, Nafh,

Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 240; Zabārah, Nayl, i, 408; 'Amrī,

The Yemen, 49; Philby, Saudi, 113-17.

23, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 67, 69, 72, 76, 78, 80, 81, 83, 86, 87, 89, 91, 94, 95, 99, 105, 124, 132, 133, 139, 140, 145, 147, 159

## 99. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (1115-1206/1703-1792)

The famous reformer who started calling people to return to pure Islām in Arabia. See Introduction, Chapter 2 about his thought and doctrines. He wrote many books and treatises. The following are his important works: Kitāb al-tawḥīd, kashf al-shubuhāt, al-Uṣūl al-thalāthah, Mukhtaṣar fath al-Bārī.

Cf. Nadawī, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, passim.; Philby, Arabia,

8-29; Hopwood, "Ibn Abd al-Wahhab", passim; Ibn Ghannām,

Rawḍah, i, passim; Ibn Bishr, 'Unwān, 6.

23, 24, 25, 26, 30

## 100. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Sa'ūd (d. 1218/1803)

The second ruler in the first Saudi state. He held power for the period 1179-1218/1765-1803.

Cf. al-'Ajlānī, al-Dawlah, ii, passim; Ḥamzah, Qalb, 328;



Philby, Arabia, 29-57; Saudi, 60-101; Sa'id, Tārīkh, 55;

Ibn Bishr, 'Unwān, i, 49.

23, 37, 39

101. Sa'ūd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 1229/1813)

The third Saudi ruler in the first state who succeeded his father to hold the reins of power in 1218/1803.

Cf. al-'Ajlānī, iii, passim; Philby, Saudi, 101-128; Sa'id, Tārīkh, 75; Ibn Bishr, 'Unwān, i, 125; Ḥamzah, Qalb, 331.

23, 38, 47, 49, 53, 54, 56

102. 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'ūd b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Sa'ūd (d. 1234/1818)

He was the fourth Saudi ruler who was involved in a bitter struggle against Muḥammad 'Alī, the ruler of Egypt, and the Ottoman Empire.

He assumed power in 1229/1813 and was defeated by Ibrāhīm Pasha in 1234/1818. He was captured and sent to Istanbul where he was executed in the same year.

Cf. al-'Ajlānī, IV, passim.; Philby, Arabia, 77-128, Saudi, 128;

Ibn Bishr, 'Unwān, i, 167; 'Abd al-Raḥīm, al-Dawlah,

passim.

23, 111

103. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Amīr al-Ṣan'ānī (1099-1182/1682-1768)

A well-known Yemeni scholar who was born in Kaḥlān and travelled to Ṣan'ā' in 1107/1697 where he acquired his traditional knowledge.

He wrote many books, among them are the following: Subul al-salām, Minḥat al-ghaffār, al-'Uddah, Sharḥ al-jāmi' al-ṣaghīr.

Cf. Muḥannā, 99; 'Amrī, Maṣādir, 295; Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 133;

Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 62; Ḥibshī, "Mu'allafāt".

24, 44, 100, 136

104. Murbid b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī

According to the text he was a Najdī sheikh who opposed Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab's doctrines. He travelled to Ṣan'ā' and met Ibn al-Amīr.

25

105. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Najdī

See the above note.

25

106. Abū al-'Abbās b. Taymiyyah (661-728/1262-1327)

Aḥmad b. Shihāb al-Dīn 'Abd al-Ḥalīm is the famous Islamic scholar and reformer. He was born in 661-1262 of a very distinguished family and his father was a well-known scholar who taught in al-Jāmi' al-Umawī. He wrote many books and treatises. The following are some of his famous works:

Minhāj al-sunnah, al-Ṣārim al-maslūl 'alā shātīm al-Rasūl, al-Fatāwā, al-Furqān, al-Jawāmi', al-Jāmi' bayn al-'aql wa-al-naql, al-Wāsiṭah bayn al-ḥaqq wa-al-khalq.

Cf. Abū Zahrah, Tārikh, ii, 406-60; Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 63-72; Qanūjī, 420-30; Kutbī, Fawāt, i, 62; Ibn Ḥajar, Durar, 144-160; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, Nujūm, ix, 271.

26

107. Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (691-751/1291-1350)

Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Ayyūb al-Damashqī is a well-known

scholar who lived in Damascus. He is considered as the distinguished student of Ibn Taymiyyah. He wrote more than 30 books. The following are some of them: I'lām al-muwaqqi'in, Badā'i' al-fawā'id, Ḥadī al-arwāḥ, Mafātīḥ dār al-sa'ādah, Sharḥ Manāzil al-sā'irīn, Jalā' al-afhām.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 143; Qanūjī, 416; Ibn Ḥajar, Durar, ii, 400; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, Nujūm, x, 249.

26, 54, 133

108. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥifẓī (d. 1237/1821)

A distinguished scholar who was qāḍī in Rijāl Alma' of 'Asīr.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 106; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 225; Abū Dāhish, Athar, 18, 20, 23, etc.

26

109. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il al-Amīr (1141-1213/1728-1798)

A well-known Yemeni scholar. He was in Ṣan'ā' during the time of Imam al-Mahdī 'Abbās, but when al-Manṣūr came to power in 1191/1777 he disputed with him concerning some religious matters. Ibn al-Amīr made for Mecca, where he spent the rest of his life until he died peacefully on the above date. He wrote some books like: al-Fulk al-mashbūn, Mafātīḥ al-riḍwān, Sharḥ al-arba'in al-jawhariyyah.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 422; Zabārah, Nayl, i, 28-34; Sayyid, Maṣādir, 284; Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 139.

30

110. Imam Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (80-122/699-739)

He was born in al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah. He rebelled against

the Umayyad Caliph, Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik, in 122/739 when he was killed. He is considered as the founder of Zaydism.

Cf. Abū Zahrah, Tārīkh, ii, 462-500; 'Amrī, Maṣādir, 129; Iṣfahānī, Maqātil, 127; Ṭabarī, ii, 272; Kutbī, Fawāt, i, 210.

32

111. Imam Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 126/743)

Cf. Iṣfahānī, Maqātil, 152; Ṭabarī, viii, 277.

32

112. Imam Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 145/762)

His genealogy goes back to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Cf. Iṣfahānī, Maqātil, 232; Ṭabarī, ix, 201.

32

113. Imam al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (d. 304/916)

He is the imam who laid out the foundations of the Zaydism in Ṭabaristān. He was known as al-Fakhkhī.

Cf. Ṣubḥī, al-Zaydiyyah, 588; Iṣfahānī, Maqātil, 431; Ṭabarī, x, 24, 32.

32

114. Imam al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 246/860)

Al-Qāsim al-Rassī b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'il b. Ḥasan was descended from 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. The following are some of his books:

al-Radd 'alā Ibn al-Muqaffa', al-'Adl wa -al-tawḥīd, al-Nāsikh wa-al-mansūkh.

Cf. 'Amrī, Maṣādir, 131.

33

115. al-Murtaḍā b. al-Hādī (d. 310/922)

Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim was chosen to succeed his father, al-Hādī. He resigned in favour of his brother al-Nāṣir. He wrote many books and the following are his important works:

Tafsīr al-Qur'ān, al-Uṣūl fī al-'adl wa-al-tawḥīd, Kitāb al-Nubuwwah, al-Radd 'alā al-Qarāmiṭah.

Cf. Ṣubḥī, 588; 'Amrī, Maṣādir, 141; Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 518.

33

116. Sharif Aḥmad b. Ḥamūd (1206-1235/1791-1819)

Aḥmad b. Ḥamūd b. Muḥammad Abū Mismār. He succeeded his father to rule al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī in 1233/1818. Having destroyed the first Saudi state, the Turks came to Abū 'Arīsh and Sharif Aḥmad could not stand against them. They captured him and he was sent to Egypt in 1234/1818 where he died.

Cf. Zabārah, Nayl, i, 100; 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 492; Ḥamzah, Qalb. 352.

34, 47, 55, 61, 68, 99, 100, 106, 110, 111, 121, 122, 123,  
124, 129, 148

117. Sharif 'Alī b. Ḥaydar (118-1254/1768-1838)

'Alī b. Ḥaydar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Khayrāt was the ruler of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī in the period 1234-53/1818-37.

Cf. Zabārah, Nayl, i, 134; 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 504; 'Amrī, The Yemen, 92.

34, 38, 39, 41, 42, 47, 49, 59, 60, 79, 86, 87, 119, 123,  
124, 146, 147, 151, 153, 161, 162, 164, 166, 167, 184,  
194, 223

118. Sharif al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Ḥaydar (1215-1272/1800-1855)

He assumed power as the ruler of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī after his father's death in 1253/1837. His rule extended as far as Mukhā' and Zabīd on the Yemen coast, south of al-Ḥudaydah, just after the Egyptian evacuation from Arabia in 1256/1840. He ruled until 1267/1850 when he was dismissed by the Ottomans. He left the area for Istanbul where he met Sultan 'Abd al-Majīd who granted him a salary of 30,000 piastres, allowing him to reside in Mecca where he died peacefully on the above date.

Cf. 'Ākīsh, 'Uqūd, MS, 47; Zulfā, 42-86; Zabārah, Nayl, i, 389; 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 511; Abū Dāhīsh, Athar, 193, 226, etc.  
34, 95, 104, 106, 177, 178, 180, 181, 199, 200, 209, 210,  
211, 212, 214

119. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Yaḥyā al-Ānisī al-Ṣan'ānī (d. 1250/1834)

Born in 1168.1754. He was qāḍī of Ḥajjah, then the governor of Kawkabān in 1228/1813. He was a distinguished adīb in the Yemen.

Cf. 'Ākīsh, 'Uqūd, MS, 67; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 43; Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 340.

36

120. Ṭāmī b. Shu'ayb

He was the ruler of 'Asīr in the period 1224-31/1809-15. When

Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha came to 'Asīr in 1231/1815 he captured him and sent him to Istanbul where he was hanged.

Cf. Ibn Misfir, 64-73; Shākir, 'Asīr, 157; Ibn Bishr, 'Unwān, i, 183; Philby, Saudi, 130.

36, 50, 51, 52, 61, 62, 63, 67

121. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Āmir Abū Nuqṭah

The ruler of 'Asīr who assumed power in 1215/1800 with the approval of 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Sa'ūd. He was involved in a bitter struggle with Sharīf Ḥamūd of Abū 'Arīsh until he was killed in 1224/1809.

Cf. Introduction, Chapter 2; Ibn Misfir, 63; 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 468; Ibn Bishr, 'Unwān, i, 131, 146; Philby, Saudi, 99; Abū Dāhish, Athar, 18, 21, etc.

36, 38, 39, 41, 47, 48

122. 'Uthmān al-Muḍāyifī (1228/1813)

A distinguished leader in the first Saudi state. He was sheikh of the 'Adwān tribe which was living around al-Ṭā'if. He was considered as one of the important figures in the court of Sharīf Ghālib b. Musā'ad of Mecca, but for one reason or another he left the sharīf and gave allegiance to the Saudis. When the Saudis captured the Ḥijāz he was appointed general governor in Jeddah.

Cf. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, al-Dawlah, 151, 244; Abū 'Aliyyah, 54; Ziriklī, IV, 369; Ibn Bishr, 'Unwān, i, 122, 131; Philby, Saudi, 94.

36, 50

123. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥāzimī

According to the text he was a distinguished member of

al-Ḥāzimī family, a respected family known in al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī for its contribution in intellectual and political life there.

41

124. 'Arār al-Shu'bī (d. 1220/1805)

A respected member of the Banū Shu'bah tribe, living around al-Darb, N. of Jāzān. He accepted Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb's doctrines and started to urge the people of al-Mikhlāf to accept his ideas. He became a distinguished Saudi leader in the area and was involved in dispute with Sharif Ḥamūd.

Cf. 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 444; Abū Dāhish, Athar, 21, 22, etc.

41

125. al-Faqīh Ṣāliḥ al-'Ulufī

He was the governor of al-Ḥudaydah for Imam al-Mansūr.

Cf. Bahkalī, Nafḥ, 151; Ibn Bishr, 'Unwān, i, 138; Philby, Saudi, 106, 7.

41

126. Sharif Yaḥyā b. Ḥaydar (d. 1234/1818)

He was governor of al-Luḥayyah for Sharif Ḥamūd. For unknown reasons, Sharif Ḥamūd dismissed him and imprisoned him. When the Turks came to the area in 1234/1818 they released him but he died just a few days later.

Cf. 'Ākish, Dibāj, 123; Abū Dāhish, Athar, 307.

41, 59, 60, 123



## 127. Sa'd Ghaddārah (d. 1220/1805)

According to the text he was a Yemeni leader who was working for Imam al-Mansūr.

41

## 128. Ibrāhīm al-Kalfūd

Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī al-Kalfūd was the head of the Ṣalīl tribe.

42, 171, 172

## 129. Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Ḍamadī (1174-1222/1760-1807)

He was a well-known scholar who held the laqab "Shaykh al-Islām".

He wrote many books and treatises. The following are some of them:

Mashāriq al-anwār, Sharḥ mulḥat al-i'rāb, Risālah fī ḥukm al-tunbāk. He is the author's father.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 2-5; Hādā'iq, MS, 2-15; Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 76; Abū Dāhish, Athar, 36, 44, etc.

42, 45

## 130. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Aḥmad al-Kawkabānī (d. 1207/1792)

A distinguished Yemeni Tradition scholar. He wrote Nuzhat al-ṭarf,

Falak al-qāmūs, Hāshiyah 'alā ḍaw' al-nahār.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 360-68; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 44.

43, 189, 201

## 131. Ibn Ḥajar al-Makkī (d. 973/1565)

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Haythamī was a distinguished faqīh.

The following are some of his books: Mablagh al-arab, al-Jawhar al-munazzam, Tuḥfat al-muhtāj.

Cf. Zaydān, iii, 334; Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 109; Muḥibbī, Khulāṣah, ii, 166.

132. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Sindī (d. 1138/1725)

Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Hādī al-Sindī was a distinguished scholar who died in Medina. He wrote many books including Hāshiyat fath al-Qadīr and Sharḥ al-adhkār.

Cf. Murādī, iv, 66.

44

133. al-Ḥusayn b. Nāṣir al-Muhallā (d. 1111/1699)

A well-known Tradition scholar who lived in al-Sharaf in the Yemen. The following are some of his several books: Maṭāmi' al-āmāl, Ḥasanāt al-zamān fī a'yān al-awān, Sharḥ al-būsiyyah.

Cf. Muḥannā and his references, 75; 'Amrī, Maṣādir, 288;

Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 255.

44

134. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad al-Quṭbī (d. 1237/1821)

A respected adīb and poet who lived in Abū 'Arīsh.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 121; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 406.

45, 153

135. Ḥaṣṣāb al-'Utaybī

A Saudi leader during the first state who was a head of the 'Utaybah tribe.

Cf. Ibn Misfir, 64; Ibn Bishr, 'Unwān, i, 146; Philby, Saudi, 113.

47. 49

## 136. Mushayṭ b. Sālim

The head of Shahrān and Nāhis tribes.

Cf. Ibn Misfir, 61; Ibn Bishr, 'Unwān, i, 146; Abū Dāhish, Athar, 152.

47, 130

## 137. Muḥammad b. Dahmān

A distinguished Saudi leader who is from B. Shihr tribe.

Cf. Ibn Misfir, 61; Ibn Bishr, 'Unwān, i, 146; Abū Dāhish, Athar, 18, 401, 402.

47

## 138. Sharif Maṣṣūr b. Nāṣir (d. 1233/1817)

He was the governor of Ṣabyā for his uncle Sharif Ḥamūd. For one reason or another he was dismissed and ordered to stay in Abū 'Arīsh. However, he, with some members of the Ashrāf, escaped and made for Mecca, asking for help to oppose Sharif Ḥamūd. They were helped and an army was sent but they were defeated and Sharif Maṣṣūr was killed on the above date.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 117; Ibn Misfir, 77; 'Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, i, 471; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 367.

47, 59, 60, 79, 86, 87, 89, 152

## 139. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Aziz (1168-1223/1754-1808)

He is the author's uncle. His biography can be seen in the text, 48.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 113; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 285.

48

140. Sharif Ḥasan b. Naṣir b. Muḥammad (d. 1224/1809)

According to the text he was a member of the ruling family.

49

141. Qaḥṭān b. Hūd

50

142. Sharif Manṣūr b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 1225/1810)

According to the text he was a member of the ruling family.

51

143. Sharif Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Hūdhān (d. 1225/1810)

As it appears in the text he was the governor of Jāzān.

51

144. Fathī b. 'Alī Mujallī (d. 1225/1810)

51

145. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Rufaydī

He succeeded Ṭāmī b. Shu'ayb as the ruler of 'Asīr in 1231/1815.

He struggled against the Turco-Egyptian campaigns of 'Asīr. He was finally captured in 1233/1817 and sent to Egypt.

Cf. Ibn Misfir, 78; Shākir, 'Asīr, 172; Ibn Bishr, 'Unwān, i, 147, 183.

52, 67, 77, 78, 80

146. Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm al-Nu'mān (1225/1810)

According to the text he was a respected member of the Āl al-Nu'mān

family which was considered as one of the most distinguished families in al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī.

52

147. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Qāsim b. Aḥmad (d. 1229/1813)

A distinguished Yemeni scholar who lived and died in Ṣa'dah.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 100.

148. Muḥsin b. 'Alī al-Ḥāzimī (d. 1229/1813)

He was a respected member of al-Ḥāzimī family. He assumed the post as governor of Ḥajjah during the short sharif rule over it before it was taken back by the imam.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 115; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 209; Abū Dāhish, Athar, 210, 249, etc.

53, 59

149. al-'Allāmah al-Khafājī (d. 1069/1658)

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. Shihāb al-Dīn was a distinguished scholar of Arabic literature. He was qāḍī in Rumallī and Salonika in Turkey. He wrote many books, including Shifā' al-'alīl, Ṭirāz al-majālis, Sharḥ durrat al-ghawwāṣ, Rayḥān al-nār.

Cf. Zaydān, iii, 286; Muḥibbī, Khulāṣah, i, 331.

55

150. 'Adī b. Zayd

'Adī b. Zayd al-'Abbādī was a pre-Islamic poet. He worked as translator in the Court of Kisrā who killed him in 587 A.D.

Cf. Shaykhū, Shu'arā', iv, 439-474; Ziriklī, v, 9.

56

151. Kisrā Anū Sharwān

56, 141

152. Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha (1184-1265/1770-1849)

An Albanian soldier who served in the Ottoman forces in Egypt. He succeeded in taking Egypt and declared himself ruler after a bitter struggle with the Mamlūks. He assumed power in 1220/1805. When the Porte decided to subjugate the first Saudi state in Arabia, Muḥammad 'Alī was chosen to do this job. His forces destroyed the capital of the Saudis in 1234/1818.

Cf. Bishrī, "'Asīr", 48; Rāfi'ī, 'Aṣr, passim; Ziriklī, vii, 191; Zakī, Muḥammad 'Alī, passim; al-Tārīkh, passim; Weigall, 44-79; Young, 23.

56, 60, 61, 62, 64, 66, 111, 119, 124, 167, 185, 186, 208, 211

153. Ibn Khallikān (608-681/1211-1282)

Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr, known as Ibn Khallikān. He assumed the post of qāḍī of al-Shām in 633/1235. He travelled to Egypt and came back to Damascus where he died on the above date. He wrote the well-known book, Wafayāt al-a'yān.

Cf. Qanūjī, 155; Zaydān, iii, 158; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, Nujūm, vii, 353; Khalīfah, Kashf, 2017.

56

154. Imam al-Mutawakil Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. al-'Abbās (1170-1231/1756-1815)

He assumed the imamate of the Yemen in 1224/1809 and ruled until his death.

Cf. 'Amrī, Mi'at 'ām, 147-78, The Yemen, 57; Zabārah, Nayl, i, 153-61; Shawkānī, al-Badr, 78.

56

155. Yaḥyā b. 'Alī Sa'd

A distinguished leader who was the governor of Ḥajjah for Imam al-Mutawakkil.

Cf. Nu'mī, Hawliyyāt, 49.

56, 57

156. Muḥammad b. Khālīd al-Ḥāzīmī (d. 1229/1813)

According to the text he was a respected member of al-Ḥāzīmī family.

58

157. Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī (d. 357/967)

Al-Ḥārith b. Sa'id b. Ḥamdān is a well-known Abbasid poet and a distinguished member of B. Ḥamdān ruling family.

Cf. Zaydān, ii, 249; Amīnī, al-Ghadīr, iii, 350; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, i, 349; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, Nujūm, iv, 19.

60

158. Ḥasan Pasha

He assumed the post as qā'im maqām of the Ḥijāz for Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha when the latter invaded Arabia.

Cf. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, Muḥammad 'Alī, 37.

60, 78

## 159. Nāṣir b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥāzimī (d. 1230/1814)

According to the text he was a distinguished leader during Sharif Ḥamūd's reign.

61

## 160. Yaḥyā b. Muḥsin al-Nu'mī (d. 1261/1845)

He was a respected scholar who was qāḍī of al-Dahnā', a small village in al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 123.

## 161. al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād (d. 385/995)

Ismā'il b. 'Abbād b. al-'Abbās al-Ṭāliqānī was a minister in the court of Mū'ayyad al-Dawlah b. Buwayh. He is known as an adīb more than a minister. He wrote more than 30 books.

Cf. Zaydān, ii, 274; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, i, 206; Amīnī, al-Ghadīr, iv, 39; Tha'ālibī, Yatīmah, iii, 31; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, Nujūm, iv, 169.

66, 85

## 162. al-Ṣābī (d. 384/994)

Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl b. Zahrūn al-Ṣābī. He was a distinguished adīb during Buwayhid rule in Iraq.

Cf. Zaydān, ii, 272; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, i, 34; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, Nujūm, iv, 167; Tha'ālibī, Yatīmah, ii, 23.

66

## 163. al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (529-596/1134-1199)



Muḥī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Lakhmī was a prominent adīb and poet. He travelled to Egypt and worked as a minister for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī and wrote Sīrat al-malik al-manṣūr Qalāwwun.

Cf. Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, ii, 333; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, Nujūm, i, 156.

66

164. Ibn al-Athīr (d. 622/1225)

Naṣr Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī was a respected scholar in linguistics and literature. He wrote many books. The following are some of them: al-Mathal al-sā'ir fī adab al-kātib wa-al-shā'ir, al-Jāmi' al-kabīr, al-Burhān fī 'ilm al-bayān.

Cf. Zaydān, iii, 50; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, v, 25.

67.

165. Sharīf Muḥammad b. Manṣūr b. Muḥammad (d. 1231/1815)

According to the text, he was a respected member of the ruling family.

69

166. Idrīs b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāzimī (d. 1231/1815)

According to the text he was a respected member of al-Ḥāzimī family.

69

167. Bandar b. Shabīb al-'Āmirī

He was an Iraqi poet who came to Abū 'Arīsh to recite some of his poems in Sharīf Ḥamūd's court.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 37; Zabārah, Nayl, i, 309.

69, 72, 81

168. 'Abd al-Karīm b. Ḥusayn al-'Utumī (d. 1246/1830)

A distinguished poet who was the governor of Zabīd for the imam of Ṣan'ā'.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 68; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 53.

72, 125, 175, 220

169. Abū al-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbī (303-354/915-965)

Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn is the famous poet who lived in Abbasid times.

Cf. Farrūkh, ii, 457-64; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, i, 102;

al-Khaṭīb, Tārīkh, iv, 102; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, Nujūm, iii, 340.

72, 86, 109, 129, 141, 142, 164, 210

170. Imam al-Manṣūr 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamzah (d. 614/1217)

He assumed the imamate in 583/1187. He wrote more than 60 books and risālahs. The following are some of his important works:

al-Bayān wa-al-thabāt, Tuḥfat al-ikhwān, al-Durrah al-vatīmah, Talqīḥ al-albāb, al-Shāfī.

Cf. Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 538-46; 'Amrī, Maṣādir, 151; Wāsi'i, 183.

73

171. Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ahdal

He was a distinguished Traditionist who lived and died in Zabīd in 998/1589.

Cf. Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 55.

74

## 172. al-Mu'ayyad Yaḥyā b. Ḥamzah (d. 749/1349)

He sought the imamate in 730/1329 and was involved in a continual struggle with the Ismā'īlīs. He wrote more than 100 books and risālahs. The following are some of them: al-Intiṣār, al-Shāmil li-ḥaqā'iq al-adillah, Nihāyat al-wuṣūl ilā 'ilm al-uṣūl, al-Tamhīd li-'ulūm al-'adl wa-al-tawḥīd.

Cf. Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 564-70; 'Amrī, Maṣādir, 176; Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 331; Ziriklī, ix, 174.

74, 75, 135

## 173. al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad b. Sulaymān (500-566/1106-1170)

He was imam of the Yemen in the period 533-566/1138-1170. He wrote several books and the following are some of his important works: Uṣūl al-aḥkām fī al-ḥalāl wa-al-ḥarām, Ḥaqā'iq al-ma'rifah fī ma'rifat al-naẓar wa-wujūbah, al-Ḥikmah al-durriyah wa-al-dalālah al-nabawiyah.

Cf. Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 534; Wāsi'ī, 179.

74

## 174. Fāṭimah al-Zahrā' (d. 11/632)

She was the young daughter of the Prophet Muḥammad. She married 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and gave birth to al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn.

Cf. Kaḥḥālah, A'lām, iii, 1199-1223; Ibn al-Jawzī, Ṣifat, ii, 3-6; Dhahabī, Siyar, 11, 87.

74, 76, 114

## 175. Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq (d. 13/634)

'Abd Allāh b. Abī Quḥāfah is the first orthodox caliph of Islam.

Cf. Shākir, Khulafā', 27-111; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, iv, 101; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, ii, 220-89; Ibn al-Jawzī, Ṣifat, i, 88-101. 74, 76, 195

176. al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā (764-840/1363-1436)

He sought the imamate in 793/1390 and was involved in a dispute with Imam al-Manṣūr 'Alī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn about who was the best qualified to take office. Al-Mahdī proved the best, but al-Manṣūr overthrew him, assuming power as Imam. Consequently, al-Mahdī turned to writing books. He wrote about 60 books and treatises. The following are some of his important works: al-Azhār fī fiqh al-a'immat al-aṭhār, al-Aḥkām, al-I'timād, Tāj 'ulum al-adab, etc.

Cf. Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 583-94; Wāsi'i, 196; 'Amrī, Maṣādir, 192; Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 122; Ziriklī, i, 255.

75

177. al-'Allāmah al-Najarī

'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Najarī was a Yemeni faqīh who lived in the 9th/15th century. He wrote Sharḥ al-azhār.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 171; 'Amrī, Maṣādir, 232; Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 196.

75

178. Sharif al-Ḥasan b. Shabīr b. Mubārak b. Muḥammad b. Khayrāt  
(d. 1242/1826)

A distinguished faqīh who was appointed to the post of Muḥtasib in al-Mikhlāf Al-Sulaymānī during Sharif Ḥamūd's rule.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 42; Zabārah, Nayl, i, 327.

76, 77, 106, 159

179. 'Alī b. Mujaththil (d. 1249/1833)

He was the head of the 'Asīrī tribe who kept up continuous resistance against Muḥammad 'Alī's rule in 'Asīr. He assumed office as ruler of 'Asīr in 1242/1826.

Cf. Ibn Misfir, 89; 'Abd al-Raḥīm, Muḥammad 'Alī, ii, 133;

'Amrī, The Yemen, 93; Abū Dāhish, Athar, 68, 92, etc.

78, 120, 161, 163, 164, 166, 172, 176, 178, 181, 186, 187,

191, 194, 199

180. Ḥasan b. 'Uṭayf al-Ḥakamī (d. 1233/1817)

A respected qādī who was involved in political affairs during Sharif Ḥamūd's reign.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 43.

78, 80, 111

181. Jum'ah Āghā

He was the governor of al-Qunfidah during the rule of Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha in Arabia.

Cf. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, Muḥammad 'Alī, ii, 210.

79

182. Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān (d. 60/680)

He assumed power in 41/661 as the first caliph of the Umayyad dynasty.

Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, vi, 112; Ibn Taymiyyah, Minhāj, ii, 201-26;

Ṭabarī, v, passim.

79

183. Abū Muḥammad b. al-Khāzin

'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Khāzin, an Abbasid poet.

Cf. Tha'ālibī, Yatīmah, iii, 148; 'Abbāsī, Ma'āhid, iv, 235;

Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, i, 131.

84

184. Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā' (d. 131/748)

A famous scholar who is considered as the founder of the Mu'tazilah.

Cf. Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, v, 60; Ibn Ḥajar, Lisān, vi, 214;

Kutbī, Fawāt, ii, 624.

85

185. Ishāq b. Muḥammad al-'Abdī (1050-1115/1640-1703)

He was qāḍī of Abū 'Arīsh for Imam al-Mahdī. He wrote al-Iḥtirās fī al-radd 'alā al-nibrās.

Cf. Zabārah, Nashr, i, 318; Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 134.

85

186. al-Būṣīrī (d. 695/1295)

Muḥammad b. Sa'id al-Ṣanhājī was a famous poet and adīb. He lived and died in Egypt. He is best known for his poem al-Burdah.

Cf. Kutbī, Fawāt, ii, 412; Zaydān, iii, 130.

85

187. Sinān Aghā

He was an Ottoman leader killed in 'Asīr in 1233/1817.

Cf. Ibn Misfir, 77.

86, 87

188. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Bahkalī (1182-1248/1768-1832)

A distinguished scholar who was qāḍī of Bayt al-Faqīh b. 'Ujayl during the rule of al-Manṣūr. He wrote many books: Nafḥ al-'ūd fī sirat dawlat al-Sharīf Ḥamūd, Taysīr al-yusrā, Mirqāt al-thiqāt.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 54-57; Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 318;

Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 23; Sayyid, Maṣādir, 292; Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 70.

87, 102, 112, 189

189. Ibn al-Athīr (544-606/1129-1209)

Al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, an Iraqi scholar who wrote many books. The following are some of his important works: Jāmi' al-uṣūl fī aḥādīth al-Rasūl, al-Nihāyah.

Cf. Qanūjī, 100; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, iii, 291.

89, 90, 113

190. Ḍamad b. Yazīd b. al-Ḥārth b. 'Alī b. Madhḥij

89

191. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Bahkalī (1153-1233/1740-1817)

Qāḍī of Ṣabyā for some time. He was a very good poet and his full biography can be seen in the text.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 5; Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 322; Zabārah,

Nayl, i, 83.

90, 100

192. Ḥusayn b. 'Aqīlī al-Ḥāzimī (d. 1234/1818)

He was qāḍī of Zabīd for Sharif Ḥamūd.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 40; Zabārah, Nayl, i, 382.

94, 144

193. al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058)

'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb was a distinguished faqīh. He wrote many books. The following are some of his famous works:

Adab al-dunyā wa-al-dīn, al-Amthāl wa-al-ḥikam, A'lām al-nubuwwah.

Cf. Zaydān, ii, 333; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, ii, 444.

95, 171

194. 'Izz al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-Salām (577-660/1181-1261)

Sultān al-'Ulamā' 'Abd al-'Azīz b. 'Abd al-Salām al-Salamī is a famous faqīh and mujtahid. He wrote several books, including:

al-Tafsīr al-kabīr, al-Ilmām, Qawā'id al-sharī'ah, Qawā'id al-aḥkām.

Cf. Kutbī, Fawāt, i, 594; Ziriklī, iv, 144.

99

195. al-Maqrīzī (766-845/1364-1441)

Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Qādir is the famous historian. He wrote more than 25 books, including: al-Mawā'iz wa-al-i'tibār, al-Sulūk li-ma'rifat duwal al-mulūk, Kitāb al-muqaffā, Durar al-'uqūd al-farīdah.

Cf. Zaydān, iii, 175; Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 79.

99



## 196. Ibn al-Rūmī (221-283/836-896)

'Alī b. 'Abbās b. Jurayjis al-Rūmī was a well-known poet in the Abbasid time.

Cf. Farrūkh, ii, 240; al-Khaṭīb, Tārīkh, xii, 23; Amīnī, al-Ghadīr, iii, 29; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, iii, 42.

102, 103, 142, 165, 221

## 197. Abū al-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (d. 449/1057)

Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Sulaymān al-Tanūkhī was a famous adīb and poet. He wrote many books including: Saqṭ al-zand, Luzūm mā lā yalzam, Risālat al-ghufrān.

Cf. Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, i, 94; Zaydān, ii, 260.

102, 103, 116, 145

## 198. al-Ḥarīrī (d. 516/1122)

al-Qāsim b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān was a grammarian and adīb. He is best known for his Maqāmāt.

Cf. Zaydān, iii, 38; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, iii, 227;

Ibn Taghrī Bardī, Nujūm, v, 225.

103

## 199. al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī (d. 168/784)

A distinguished adīb who lived and died in Baghdad. He wrote the following books: al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt, al-Amthāl.

Cf. Zaydān, ii, 106.

## 200. Manṣūr al-Nimrī (d. 190/805)

Manṣūr b. al-Zabriḡān b. Salāmah was an Abbasid poet.

Cf. Ziriklī, viii, 238; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, v, 380; Khaṭīb, Tārīkh, xiii, 65.

103

201. Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 193/809)

The famous Abbasid caliph who held office during the period 170-193/786-809.

Cf. Ziriklī, ix, 43, 44; Khaṭīb, Tārīkh, xiv, 5; Ṭabṛī, viii, 230; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, v, 82.

103, 104

202. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Shawkānī (1173-1250/1760-1834)

A famous Yemeni scholar and mujtahid. He held the post of qāḍī al-Quḍāh in Ṣan'ā' for a considerable time. He taught and wrote in all the Islamic sciences. He wrote many books, including: Fath al-Qadīr, al-Badr al-ṭāli', Adab al-ṭalab, Irshād al-fuḥūl, al-Durr al-naḍīd, etc.

Cf. 'Amrī, "The Yemeni scholar"; Qanūjī, al-Tāj, 443;

'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 85; Ḥibshī, "Thabt", passim; Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 214; Shijnī, al-Fiqṣār, MS, passim; Zabarah, Nayl, ii, 297.

104, 136, 140, 189, 200

203. Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Wāsi' al-'Unufī

A respected member of the 'Unufī family who was a poet and adīb. He lived and died in the 13th/19th century.

Cf. Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 404.

104

204. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib (d. 132/750)

'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yaḥyā b. Sa' d al-'Āmirī was a famous adīb.

Cf. Ziriklī, iv, 60; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, ii, 394.

105

205. Aktham b. Ṣayfī (d. 9/630)

Aktham b. Ṣayfī b. Riyāḥ b. al-Ḥārith al-Tamīmī was a distinguished ḥakīm.

Cf. Ziriklī, i, 344; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, i, 113.

105

206. al-Ḥamāsī

107

207. Ibn al-Dumaynah

'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar al-Khath'amī was an Umayyad and Abbasid poet.

Zaydān says that he was a pre-Islamic poet.

Cf. 'Abbāsī, Ma'āhid, i, 160; Zaydān, i, 147.

107

208. Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr (d. 158/774)

The second Abbasid caliph who held power during the period 136-158/753-774.

Cf. Ṭabarī, ix, 154-322; Khaṭīb, Tārīkh, x, 53-71.

109

209. Abū Dulāmah (d. 161/777)

Zand b. Al-Jawn was an Abbasid poet.

Cf. Zaydān, ii, 74; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, ii, 71; 'Abbāsī, Ma'āhid, ii, 211.

109

210. Ibn Abī al-Iṣba' (d. 654/1256)

Zakī al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīm b. 'Abd al-Wāhid was a distinguished poet and adīb who lived and died in Egypt. He wrote Tabrīr al-tahbīr and Badā'i' al-Qur'ān.

Cf. Kutbī, Fawāt, i, 607; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, Nujūm, vii, 37, 'Abbāsī, Ma'āhid, iv, 180.

109

211. Abū Bakr b. Ḥajjah (d. 837/1433)

A distinguished adīb who was born in 767/1365. He wrote several books including Khizānat al-adab, Thamarāt al-awraq, Kashf al-lithām fī al-tawriyah wa-al-istikhdām.

Cf. Zaydān, iii, 125; Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 164; Sakhāwī, Ḍaw', xi, 53.

109, 140

212. Ibn Daqīq al-'Īd (625-702/1227-1302)

Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Wahb is a well-known scholar who was born in Yanbu' in the Ḥijāz and who travelled to Egypt, where he held the post of qādī during the years 695-702/1295-1303. He wrote several books, among them: al-Ilmām fī aḥādīth al-aḥkām, Sharḥ al-'Umdah, al-'Umm in 20 vol.

Cf. Muḥannā and his references, 102; Kutbī, Fawāt, ii, 484; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, Nujūm, viii, 206; Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 229.

110

## 213. Ibrāhīm Pasha b. Muḥammad 'Alī (d. 1265/1849)

He was the general leader of the Egyptian forces which invaded Arabia in 1231/1815. He succeeded his father as the Viceroy of Egypt in 1264/1848.

Cf. Ziriklī, i, 66; Mardam, A'yān, 120.

111

## 214. Muslim (d. 261/874)

Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj al-Qushayrī is the famous Traditional scholar who wrote the important book al-Jāmi' al-ṣaḥīh.

Cf. Qanūjī, 130; Zaydān, ii, 210; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt iv, 280; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, x, 126.

113

## 215. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm (d. 840/1436)

Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. al-Murtaḍā, known as Ibn al-Wazīr.

He was a well renowned Yemeni scholar born in 775/1373. The

following are some of his important works: al-'Awāṣim wa-al-qawāṣim, Tarjih asālīb al-Qur'an 'alā asālīb al-Yūnān, al-Rawḍ al-bāsim, Ithār al-ḥaqq 'alā al-khalq, al-Tanqīḥ, etc.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 81-93; Sakhāwī, Ḍaw', vi, 272.

113, 116, 133, 135, 218

## 216. Muḥammad b. 'Izz al-Dīn al-Muftī (d. 1050/1640)

A distinguished Yemeni faqīh who wrote al-Badr al-sārī and Sharḥ takmilat al-baḥr.

Cf. Nu'mān, al-'Aqīq, MS, 395; Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 203.

114

217. Şārim al-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Wazīr (d. 914/1508)

A respected Yemeni scholar. He wrote several books and his famous work was al-Qaṣīdah al-bassāmah, which is known as al-Jawāhir al-muḍī'ah. In this poem he mentioned all the imams of the Yemen until his time, indicating their birth and death, as well as their history.

Cf. 'Amrī, Maṣādir, 234; Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 426; Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 31; Ziriklī, i, 63.

1145, 117

218. Zayn al-'Ābidīn 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 94/712)

115

219. Ja'far al-Şādiq (d. 148/765)

Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib is a well-known Tābi'i and Traditionist.

Cf. Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, i, 291; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, ii, 103.

115

220. Ibn Abī Shaybah (156-239/773-853)

'Uthmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Shaybah al-Kūfī is a well-known Tradition scholar. He wrote al-Musnad and al-Tafsīr.

Cf. Dhahabī, Mizān, iii, 35; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhīb, vii, 149.

221. Nu'aym b. Ḥammād (d. 228/843)

Nu'aym b. Ḥammad b. Mu'āwiyah b. al-Ḥārith al-Khuzā'i is a distinguished Tradition scholar. He wrote al-Fitan wa-al-malāḥim.

Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhīb, x, 458; Dhahabī, Mizān, iv, 267.

115

## 222. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Naḥawī (d. 791/1388)

A distinguished Yemeni scholar who was the qāḍī of Ṣan'ā'.

He wrote al-Tadhkirah and al-Taysīr.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 210; 'Amrī, Maṣādir, 184.

116

## 223. Ḥudhayfah b. al-Yamān (d. 36/656)

A distinguished Companion who related 225 Ḥadīth. He was the governor (wālī) of al-Madā'in for 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

Cf. Dhahabī, Siyar, ii, 260; Ibn al-Jawzī, Ṣifat, 249

116

## 224. al-'Āṣ b. Munabbih

117

## 225. Hishām al-Kalbī (d. 146/763)

Hishām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā'ib was a well-known scholar of Arab genealogy.

Cf. Zaydān, ii, 149; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, v. 131.

117

## 226. Marḥab (d. 7/628)

A Jewish leader who was killed in Khaybar.

Cf. Mubārkfūrī, al-Raḥīq, 420.

117

## 227. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Jazzār (d. 678/1280)

Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-'Azīm is an Egyptian poet. He wrote Fawā'id al-mawā'id and al-'Uqūd al-durriyyah.

Cf. Amīnī, al-Ghadīr, v, 426; Kutbī, Fawāt, ii, 630; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, Nujūm, vii, 345.

117

228. 'Amr b. 'Abd Wadd al-'Āmirī (d. 5/626)

A distinguished pre-Islamic figure who was killed in al-Khandaq battle by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Cf. Ziriklī, v, 251.

118

229. al-Ṣafīyy al-Ḥillī (677-750/1278-1349)

'Abd al-'Azīz b. Sarāyā b. 'Alī b. Abī al-Qāsim, an Iraqi poet and adīb. He wrote several books, including: Durar al-naḥw, al-'Āṭil al-ḥālī wa-al-murakhkhaṣ al-ghālī, Waṣf al-ṣayd.

Cf. Zaydān, iii, 128; Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 358; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, Nujūm, x, 238.

118, 140

230. Khalīl Pasha (d. 1235/1820)

A distinguished Ottoman leader who played an important role in Muḥammad 'Alī's campaigns in Arabia. He was appointed as general of the Turco-Egyptian forces in Arabia, but he died soon afterwards.

Cf. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, Muḥammad 'Alī, ii, 71; Shawkānī, al-Badr, 368.

119, 122, 123, 124, 145, 146, 147

231. Sa'īd b. Musallaṭ (d. 1242/1826)

He was the chief of the 'Asīr tribes who were involved in a



bitter struggle to resist the forces of Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha.

He became the ruler of 'Asīr in 1239/1823.

Cf. Ibn Misfir, 86; Bishrī, 62; Abū Dāhish, Athar, 100, 134, etc.

120

232. Sharif Rājiḥ b. 'Amr al-Shanbarī

According to the text he was a respected member of the sharifs of Mecca.

122, 123

233. Sharif Manṣūr b. Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad

According to the text he was a distinguished member of the ruling family who was expelled with Sharif Aḥmad b. Ḥamūd to Egypt in 1235/1820.

124

234. Abū al-Walīd al-Buḥturī (d. 284/897)

Al-Walīd b. 'Ubayd al-Ṭā'ī is the well-known Abbasid poet.

He wrote the book al-Ḥamāsah.

Cf. Zaydān, ii, 159; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, v, 74.

126, 127, 176

235. Ṭarafah b. al-'Abd (d. 500 A.D.)

A famous pre-Islamic poet.

Cf. Zaydān, i, 107; Ibn Qutaybah, al-Shi'r, 137.

127, 128

236. Jarīr b. 'Aṭīyyah b. al-Khaṭfī (d. 110/728)

A famous Umayyad poet.

Cf. Zaydān, i, 242; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, i, 286; Ibn Qutaybah, al-Shi'r, 435.

127, 128

237. Ibn Baqiyy (d. 540/1145)

Yaḥyā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Baqiyy is an Andalusian poet.

Cf. Ziriklī, ix, 188; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, v, 248.

128

238. Bashshār b. Burd (d. 167/783)

A well-known poet who lived in both the Umayyad and Abbasid eras.

Cf. Zaydān, ii, 58; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, i, 245.

128

239. Abū Nuwās (d. 198/813)

al-Ḥasan b. Hānī is a distinguished poet who lived in Abbasid times.

Cf. Zaydān, ii, 62; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, i, 373; Khaṭīb, Tārīkh, vii, 436.

128

240. Ibn al-Khayyāṭ al-Dimashqī (d. 517/1123)

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Taghlibī is a well-known poet.

Cf. Zaydān, iii, 28; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, i, 127.

129

241. Sulaymān Sunjuq

An Ottoman general.

Cf. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, Muḥammad 'Alī, ii, 11, 48.

130

242. Fahhād b. Sālim

Fahhād b. Sālim b. Muḥammad b. Shukbān al-Rumaythīn was a distinguished Saudi leader and the head of the Bīshah tribe.

Cf. Ibn Misfir, 52; Ibn Bishr, 'Unwān, i, 136.

130

243. Anas b. Mālik (d. 93/711)

Anas b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr b. Ḍamḍam is a well-known Companion who related 2286 Hadīth.

Cf. Zirīklī, i, 365. Ibn al-Jawzī, Ṣifat, i, 298; Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, i, 93.

132

244. Mālik b. Anas (95-172/713-789)

Mālik b. Anas b. Mālik b. Anas b. al-Ḥārith is a famous Traditionist and faqīh. He wrote the distinguished book, al-Muwatṭa'.

Cf. Abū Zahrah, Tārīkh, ii, 176-225; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhīb, x, 5.

132.

245. Abū Ḥanīfah (80-150/699-767)

al-Nu'mān b. Thābit, known as Abū Ḥanīfah, is a famous Traditionist and faqīh. His ijtihād brought about the Islamic madhhab, known as the Ḥanafī.

Cf. Abū Zahrah, Abū Ḥanīfah, passim; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhīb, x, 449.

133

246. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (164-241/780-855)

The famous Traditionist and faqīh who gave his name to the Ḥanbalī madhhab.

Cf. Abū Zahrah, Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, passim; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, i, 47.

133, 174

247. Ishāq b. Yūsuf b. Ismā'īl al-Ṣan'ānī (d. 1173/1759)

A distinguished Yemeni scholar. He wrote many books including Tafriḥ al-kurūb, al-Thaghr al-bāsim, al-Wajh al-ḥasan, Ijābat al-dā'i.

Cf. Zabārah, Nashr, i, 324-43; Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 135; Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 230; Sayyid, Maṣādir, 273.

133

248. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Amīr (d. 1242/1826)

A Yemeni scholar who wrote Manzūmat 'umdat al-aḥkām.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 396; 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 65; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 97; Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 68.

134, 189, 215

249. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Aqīlī al-Ḥāzimī (d. 1252/1836)

He was a qāḍī in Ḍamad for some time during Sharif 'Alī b. Ḥaydar's reign.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 71; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 160.

135, 216

250. Muḥammad b. al-Musāwā al-Ahdal (d. 1266/1849)

A respected Yemeni scholar who wrote Talqīḥ al-afhām fī waṣāyā khayr al-anām and Kaff al-miḥnah.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 90; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 315; Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 72.

136

251. Shams al-Dīn b. al-'Afīf al-Tilmisānī (d. 690/1291)

Sulaymān b. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh was a distinguished poet and adīb.

He wrote many books including: Kashf al-bayān fī ma'rifat al-insān, and al-Mawāqif.

Cf. Kutbī, Fawāt, i, 361; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, Nujūm, viii, 29; Zaydān, iii, 119.

138, 151

252. Abū Ḥanīfah al-Daynūrī (d. 282/895)

Aḥmad b. Dā'ūd was a distinguished scholar who wrote al-Akḥbār al-ṭiwāl and al-Anwā'.

Cf. Zaydān, ii, 197.

138

253. 'Izz al-Dīn al-Mawṣilī (d. 789/1387)

'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mawṣilī is a distinguished adīb and poet who wrote al-Tawaṣṣul bī-al-badī'.

Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, Durar, iii, 43; Inbā', ii, 268.

140

254. al-Miqdād b. 'Amr (d. 33/653)

He was known as al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad. He was a distinguished

Companion.

Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhīb, 10, 285; Iṣābah, vi, 133.

140, 141

255. Ḥātim al-Ṭā'ī (d. 506 A.D.)

Ḥātim b. 'Abd Allāh was a pre-Islamic poet who was famed for his generosity.

Cf. Zaydān, i, 120; Ibn Qutaybah, al-Shi'r, 193; Farrūkh, i, 186.

140, 141

256. al-Aḥnaf b. Qays (d. 72/791)

al-Aḥnaf b. Qays b. Mu'āwiyah b. Ḥuṣayn al-Tamīmī. The historians agree that al-Aḥnaf is a nickname and his name is al-Ḍaḥḥāk or Ṣakhr. He was a Tābi'ī and a well-known figure in Arab history.

Cf. Ibn al-Jawzī, Ṣifat, iii, 123; Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhīb, i, 191.

140, 141

257. Ḥājib b. Zurārah (d. 3/625)

He was the head of the Tamīm tribe in pre-Islamic times.

Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, i, 286; Farrūkh, i, 174.

140, 141

258. Abū Tammām (d. 231/845)

Ḥabīb b. Aws al-Ṭā'ī was a famous Abbasid poet.

Cf. Zaydān, ii, 70; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, i, 334; Ṭā'ī,

Abū Tammām, *passim*.

141, 209

## 259. Abū Dulaf al-'Ujalī (d. 226/840)

al-Qāsim b. 'Īsā b. Idrīs was a prominent figure who worked for Hārūn al-Rashīd, al-Ma'mūn and al-Mu'taṣim. He wrote many books including: al-Buzāt wā-al-ṣayd and Siyāsat al-mulūk.

Cf. Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, iii, 236; Khaṭīb, Tārīkh, xii, 416; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, Nujūm, ii, 243.

141

## 260. Ḥāzim b. 'Alī b. 'Īsā

His genealogy goes back to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

143.

## 261. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Bahkalī (d. 1234/1818)

He was the qāḍī of Abū 'Arīsh.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 113; Ḥadā'iq, MS, 65; Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 323; Zabārah, Nayl, i, 313; Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 301.

143

## 262. Ibrāhīm b. Sayyār (d. 231/845)

An important figure of the Mu'tazilah, known as al-Naẓẓām. He is best known as a philosopher.

Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, Lisān, i, 67; Zirīklī, i, 36.

144

## 263. Ibn Sanā' al-Mulk (d. 608/1211)

Hibat Allāh b. Ja'far b. al-Mu'tamid is a well-known poet.

He wrote: Rūḥ al-ḥayawān and Fuṣūṣ al-fuṣūl.

Cf. Zaydān, iii, 16; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, v, 112; Ibn Taghrī Bardī, Nujūm, vi, 204.

144

264. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Aḥdal (d. 1250/1834)

A distinguished Yemeni Tradition scholar. He wrote several books including: Fatḥ al-Qawī, Sharḥ bulūgh al-marām.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 61; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 30; Sayyid, Maṣādir, 293.

145, 175, 205, 219

265. Sa'd b. Māmah

146

266. 'Antarah al-'Absī (d. 615 A.D.)

The famous pre-Islamic poet

Cf. Zaydān, i, 108; Ibn Qutaybah, al-Shi'r, 204; Farrūkh, i, 207.

146

267. Imam al-Mahdī 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad (d. 1251/1835)

He assumed the imamate in 1231/1816 and ruled until he died.

Cf. 'Amrī, Mi'at 'ām, 185; The Yemen, 75; Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 376; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 64.

147, 187

268. 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Alī al-'Awājī (d. 1235/1819)

He was the qādī of al-Luḥayyah during Sharif Hamūd's reign.

He was deported to Egypt with Sharif Aḥmad b. Ḥamūd by Khalīl Pasha where he died.



Cf. 'Ākīsh, 'Uqūd, MS, 64; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 52.

148

269. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-'Insī (d. 1139/1727)

A distinguished Yemeni scholar and poet. He was qādī of al-'Udayn.

Cf. Zabārah, Nashr, ii, 251; Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 475.

150

270. al-Ḥārith b. 'Abbād (d. 550 A.D.)

A distinguished pre-Islamic leader who was the head of the Bakr tribe.

Cf. Farrūkh, i, 127; Ziriklī, ii, 157.

150

271. Sharif Muḥammad b. Mansūr b. Nāṣir

According to the text he was a member of the ruling family who was in dispute with Sharif 'Alī b. Ḥaydar.

151

272. Sharif Zayd b. Nāṣir b. Muḥammad

According to the text he was appointed as the governor of Ṣabyā in 1236/1820.

152, 154

273. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Khudaysh (d. 1236/1820)

He was qādī of Wadi Ta'shur and Khulab.

Cf. 'Ākīsh, 'Uqūd, MS, 98; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 219.

152

## 274. Sharif Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥaydar

According to the text he was a member of the ruling family.

153

## 275. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ḥifẓī (d. 1228/1813)

A distinguished scholar who lived and died in Rijāl Alma' of 'Asīr.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 18-20; Zabārah, Nayl, i, 126; Abū Dāhish, Athar, 13, 19, 20, etc.

154

## 276. Muḥammad b. Ḥudaysh

According to the text he was a Yāmī leader.

154

## 277. Aḥmad Pasha

He was the muḥāfiẓ of Mecca and the governor of the Ḥijāz during Muḥammad 'Alī's rule in the Arabian Peninsula.

Cf. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, Muḥammad 'Alī, ii, 71.

155, 161, 167, 198, 199

## 278. Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. al-Mahdī (d. 1167/1753)

He became imam of the Yemen after al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusayn's death, but he involved in a long and bitter struggle against al-Manṣūr bi-Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim who took over the situation and assumed power as imam. Muḥammad b. Ishāq, as a result, devoted his time to knowledge.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 129

157

279. Mu'ādh b. Jabal (d. 18/639)

Mu'ādh b. Jabal b. 'Amr b. Aws al-Khazrajī is one of the Prophet's Companions.

Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, Iṣābah, vi, 106; Ibn al-Jawzī, Ṣifat, i, 195; Iṣbahānī, Hilyah, i, 228.

157

280. Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan al-Bahkalī (d. 1242/1826)

He was a qādī in Abū 'Arīsh.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 31; Zabārah, Nayl, i, 279.

160

281. Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 1242/1826)

His full biography can be found in the text.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 44; Zabārah, Nayl, i, 339.

160

282. Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥāzimī

According to the text he was a respected member of al-Ḥāzimī family.

161

283. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Khālīd al-Ḥāzimī

He is the son of Sharīf Ḥamud's distinguished minister, al-Ḥasan b. Khālīd. According to the text, when amīr of 'Asīr captured Ṣabyā he was appointed as a governor of the town.

161, 167, 197, 198

284. Sharīf Ḥaydar b. Nāṣir (d. 1251/1835)

Ḥaydar b. Nāṣir b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Khayrāt was the governor of Ṣabyā some time during Sharif 'Alī b. Ḥaydar's rule.

Cf. Zabārah, Nayl, i, 413.

162, 216

285. Maghram al-'Asirī

According to the text he was a 'Asirī leader.

162

286. Ibn Hānī al-Andalusī (d. 363/973)

Muḥammad b. Hānī al-Azdī is an Andalusian poet.

Cf. Zaydān, ii, 253; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, iv, 49; Ibn

Taghrī Bardī, Nujūm, iv, 67.

164

287. Ibn Nabātah (d. 768/1366)

Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Juthāmī is an Egyptian adīb who wrote several books. The following are some of them:

Sulūk duwal al-mulūk, Ta'liq al-dīwān, Saj' al-muṭawwaq.

Cf. Zaydān, iii, 122; Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 225; Ibn Taghrī

Bardī, Nujūm, xi, 95; Ibn Ḥajar, Durar, iv, 216.

165, 176, 209

288. al-Ṣafadī (d. 764/1362)

Khalīl b. Aybak al-Ṣafadī is a well-known historian and biographer who wrote more than 25 books. The following are some of his

important works: al-Wāfi fī al-wafayāt, al-Tadhkirah al-ṣalāhiyyah,

Nuṣrat al-thā'ir 'alā al-mathal al-sā'ir, A'yān al-'aṣr, al-Ghayth

al-ladhī insajam.

Cf. Zaydān, iii, 161-64; Shawkānī, i, 243; Ibn Taghrī Bardī,

Nujūm, xi, 19; Ibn Ḥajar, Durar, ii, 87.

165, 176

289. al-Arjānī (d. 544/1149)

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn was qāḍī of Tustar and a respected poet.

Cf. Zaydān, iii, 29; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, i, 134; Ibn Taghrī

Bardī, Nujūm, v, 285.

165

290. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Amīr (d. 1246/1830)

A well-known Yemeni scholar. His full biography can be obtained from the text.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 52; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 180.

168

291. 'Alī b. Hādī 'Arhab (d. 1236/1820)

A distinguished Yemeni scholar who was qāḍī of al-Rawḍah, near Ṣan'ā', before moving to become qāḍī of Kawkabān.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 499; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 164.

168, 201

292. Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (450-505/1058-1111)

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad is the famous scholar and philosopher.

He wrote more than 100 books. The following are some of his

important works: Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn, Tahāfut al-falāsifah,

Faḍā'ib al-bāṭiniyyah, Yāqūt al-ta'wīl, Iljām al-'awām.

Cf. Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, iii, 560; Badawī, Mu'allafāt,  
passim; Mahrajān, Abū Hāmid, passim; Riḍā, Abū Hāmid,  
passim.

169

293. Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Nu'mān (d. 1246/1830)

He was qāḍī of al-Shuqayrī in al-Mikkhlāf al-Sulaymānī for  
Sharif 'Alī b. Ḥaydar.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 43; Zabārah, Nayl, i, 377.

170

294. Muḥammad b. Ka'b al-Qarazī (d. 120/737)

A distinguished Tābi'ī who lived and died in Medina.

Cf. Ibn Ḥajar, Tahdhīb, ix, 420; Iṣbahānī, Hilyah, iii, 212.

171

295. al-Ma'mūn (d. 218/833)

'Abd Allāh b. Hārūn al-Rashīd is the Abbasid caliph who held  
power for the period 198-218/813-833.

Cf. Ṭabarī, x, 226-293; Khaṭīb, Tārīkh, x, 183.

172

296. Sharif Ḥasan b. Bashīr b. Muḥammad

According to the text he was appointed by 'Alī b. Mujaththil,  
the ruler of 'Asīr, as governor of Bilād Ṣalīl.

173, 177, 178, 179

297. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Ḥaydar (d. 1246/1830)

The text provides his full biography.

Cf. Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 293.

173

298. Ibn Qutaybah (213-276/828-889)

'Abd Allāh b. Muslim al-Daynūrī was a well-known scholar who wrote many books, including: Gharīb al-Qur'ān and al-Khayl.

Cf. Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, ii, 246; Ziriklī, ix, 184.

174

299. al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277)

Yahyā b. Sharaf al-Dīn al-Nawawī was a distinguished scholar and Traditionist. He wrote more than 20 books, including al-Minhāj fī sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ muslim and Riyāḍ al-ṣāliḥīn.

Cf. Ibn Taghrī Bardī, Nujūm, vii, 278.

174

300. 'Allān al-Ṣiddīqī (975-1033/1567-1624)

Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Allān was a respected figure who lived and died in Mecca. He was best known as a Naqshabandī Sufi

Cf. Ziriklī, i, 85; Muḥibbī, Khulāṣah, i, 157.

174

301. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Allān (996-1057/1588-1647)

A distinguished scholar who lived and died in Mecca. He wrote many books, including Dalīl al-fāliḥīn, Muthīr shawq al-anām.

Cf. Ziriklī, 7, 187; Muḥibbī, Khulāṣah, iv, 184-89.

174

## 302. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Mushḥam (d. 1181/1767)

He was a famous Yemeni scholar who held the post of qādī in various Yemeni cities. He wrote more than 50 books.

Cf. Zabārah, Nashr, ii, 412-26; Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 102.

175

## 303. 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'ah (d. 93/711)

The Umayyad poet.

Cf. Zaydān, i, 269; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, iii, 111;

Farrūkh , i, 535.

176

## 304. Murayyih (d. 1248/1832)

According to the text he was a 'Asīrī leader.

178, 180

## 305. Aḥmad b. Idrīs al-Maghrībī (d. 1253/1837)

His full biography can be seen in the text, 217.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 6; Munāẓarah, passim; Zabārah,

Nayl, i, 223.

181, 217

## 306. Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā (d. 631 A.D.)

A famous pre-Islamic poet.

Cf. Zaydān, i, 96; Ibn Qutaybah, al-Shi'r, i, 86; 'Abbāsī,

Ma'āhid, i, 327.

183



## 307. Turkī b. al-Mās

A Turkish soldier known as Turkchī Belmāz. He rebelled against Muḥammad 'Alī in Jeddah in 1248/1832. He, together with his supporters, moved to the Yemen and succeeded in taking control of al-Ḥudaydah and its surrounding area. After a short time he was defeated and escaped from the Yemen.

Cf. Playfair, 143; 'Abd al-Raḥīm, Muḥammad 'Alī, ii, 171-91.  
185, 186, 191, 192

## 308. 'Āyid b. Mir'ī (d. 1273/1856)

He was the ruler of 'Asīr in the period 1249-73/1833-56.

Cf. Ibn Misfir, 95; Zulfā, "Ottoman", passim; 'Ākish, al-Durr al-thamīn, MS, 3; Ḥamzah, Qalb, 354.

186, 194, 195, 196, 197, 199

## 309. Durayb b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 1248/1832)

According to the text he was governor of al-Ḥudaydah for the imam of Ṣan'ā'.

Cf. Playfair, 142.

186, 188

## 310. 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Jallāl (d. 1225/1810)

A distinguished Yemeni scholar. He was qāḍī in Ṣan'ā' and wrote many books. The following are some of them: Mukhtaṣar fath al-Bārī, al-Tarīq al-aslam, Sharḥ Jāmī' al-uṣūl.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 469; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 145.

189

## 311. Imam al-Manṣūr 'Alī b. al-Mahdī (d. 1224/1809)

The imam of the Yemen in the period 1189-1224/1775-1809.

Cf. 'Amrī, Mi'at 'ām, 51; The Yemen, 14; Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 459; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 140.

189

## 312. Sharif Yaḥyā b. Abī Ṭālīb

According to the text he was a distinguished member of the ruling family.

197

## 313. Muḥammad Amīn

According to the text he was an Ottoman leader.

199, 208, 109, 210

## 314. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Shijnī (d. 1286/1869)

A Yemeni scholar who wrote the book al-Tiqṣār fī jīd 'ālim al-aqālīm wa-al-amṣār.

Cf. Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 257; Sayyid, Maṣādir, 301; Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 457.

201

## 315. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥarāzī (d. 1227/1812)

A distinguished Yemeni scholar.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 96; Zabārah, Nayl, i, 197.

201

## 316. Ismā'il b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan (d. 1206/1791)

He was a prominent Yemeni scholar who worked as governor of Dhamar in 1165/1751.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 145; Zabārah, Nayl, i, 266.

201

317. 'Abd Allāh b. Ismā'īl al-Nihmī (d. 1228/1813)

A distinguished Yemeni scholar.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 379; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 69.

201

318. al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā al-Khawlānī (d. 1209/1794)

A Yemeni scholar of grammar and fiqh.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 53; Zabārah, Nayl, 184.

201

319. Ḥasan b. Ismā'īl al-Maghribī (d. 1208/1793)

A respected Yemeni scholar.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 195; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 319.

201

320. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Āmir (d. 1207/1792)

See the above note.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 416; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 106.

201

321. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Buhrān (d. 957/1550)

A distinguished Yemeni scholar who wrote several books, including

Sharḥ al-athmār, al-Tubfah, al-Kāfil, al-Shāfi, al-Mu'tamad.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 279; 'Amrī, Maṣādir, 241; Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 210.

201

322. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad

201

323. Ibrāhīm al-Kayna'ī (d. 784/1382)

Ibrāhīm b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Kayna'ī was a respected scholar.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 4.

203

324. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834)

A respected Yemeni scholar, known as al-Shawkānī al-Ṣaghīr.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 79; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 162.

203, 205

325. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Hāshim b. Yaḥyā al-Shāmī (d. 1251/1835)

A respected Yemeni scholar.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, ii, 265; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 315.

203

326. Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Sayāghī (d. 1221/1806)

A distinguished Yemeni scholar who wrote Ḥāshiyah 'alā al-rawḍ al-nāẓir fī ādāb al-munāẓir and al-Rawḍ al-naẓir sharḥ al-majmū' al-kabīr.

Cf. Shawkānī, i, 214; Zabārah, Nayl, i, 366; Ḥibshī, Maṣādir, 67.

204

327. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar al-Khalīl (d. 1193/1779)

A Yemeni scholar who lived and died in Zabīd.

Cf. Zabārah, Nashr, ii, 129.

205, 215

328. Abū Bakr Sulaymān b. Yaḥyā al-Ahdal (d. 1197/1782)

A respected Yemeni scholar.

Cf. Shawkānī, al-Badr, i, 267.

206

329. Aḥmad b. Sulaymān al-Hajjām

206

330. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Mūqirī (d. 1201/1786)

A distinguished Yemeni scholar.

cf. Qanūjī, 492.

206

331. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Shar'ān

206

332. al-Ḥakīm al-Ḥamawī

207

333. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Nu'mān al-Ḍamadī (d. 1251/1835)

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 11; Zabārah, Nayl, i, 59.

207

## 334. Sharif Bashīr b. Shabīr b. Mubārak(d. 1251/1835)

A respected scholar who lived and died in Abū 'Arīsh.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 36; Zabārah, Nayl, i, 308.

207

## 335. Ibrāhīm Pasha Yakan

A brother of Aḥmad Pasha Yakan, the governor general of the Ḥijāz.

He was the leader of the Egyptian forces which were sent to seize the Yemen in 1251/1835.

Cf. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, Muḥammad 'Alī, ii, 206.

208, 209, 211

## 336. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Sharafī (d. 1251/1835)

See his full biography in the text.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 63; Zabārah, Nayl, ii, 37.

214

## 337. Imam Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim (d. 250/864)

He rebelled in Ṭāliqān in Iran during al-Mu'taṣim's reign and was captured in 250/864 and killed.

Cf. Iṣfahānī, Maqātil, 577; Ṭabarī, ix, 8.

214

## 338. al-Zayn b. 'Abd al-Khāliq (d. 1209/1794)

al-Zayn b. 'Abd al-Khāliq b. 'Alī al-Mizjājī was a distinguished Yemeni scholar who lived and died in Zabīd.

Cf. Zabārah, Nayl, i, 420.

215

339. 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Mizjājī (d. 1180/1766)

Cf. Zabārah, Nashr, ii, 32.

215

340. Shu'lah (d. 656/1258)

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Aḥmad al-Mawṣilī, known as Shu'lah. He was a distinguished faqīh.

Cf. Qanūjī, 256; Ziriklī, vi, 217.

215

341. Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Nu'mān (d. 1225/1810)

He was qāḍī of Ṣabyā.

Cf. 'Ākish, 'Uqūd, MS, 44.

216

342. Imām Idrīs b. 'Abd Allāh al-Maḥḍ (d. 177/793)

He was the founder of the Idrīsī state in N.W. Africa.

Cf. Iṣfahānī, Maqātil, 487; Ibn Khaldūn, Tārīkh, iv, 23-36.

217

343. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Tāzī

217

344. Abū al-'Abbās al-Mursī (d. 686/1287)

A well-known Sufi whose grave is still known in Alexandria.

Cf. Qanūjī, 320.

217

## 345. Ṣāliḥ al-Fullānī (1166-1218/1753-1803)

Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad b. Nūḥ, known as al-Fullānī, was a distinguished Mālikī faqīh who lived and died in Medina. He wrote many books, including Qaṭf al-thamar and al-Thimār.

Cf. Ziriklī, iii, 281; Qanūjī, 433.

218

## 346. Kushājim (d. 360/970)

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Sindī b. Shāhak was an Abbasid poet and man of letters. Kushājim is said to be an acrostic formed out of the initial letter of the subjects in which he excelled, i.e. kāf for kātib, shīn for shā'ir, alif for adīb or inshā', jīm for jidāl or jāmi', mīm for manṭiq or munajjim. He wrote many books including, Adab al-nadīm and Khaṣā'is al-ṭuraf.

Cf. Zaydān, ii, 251; Amīnī, Ghadīr, iv, 3-20; Amīn, A'yān, 47, 166; C.H. Pellat, EI<sup>2</sup>, article "Kushādjim".

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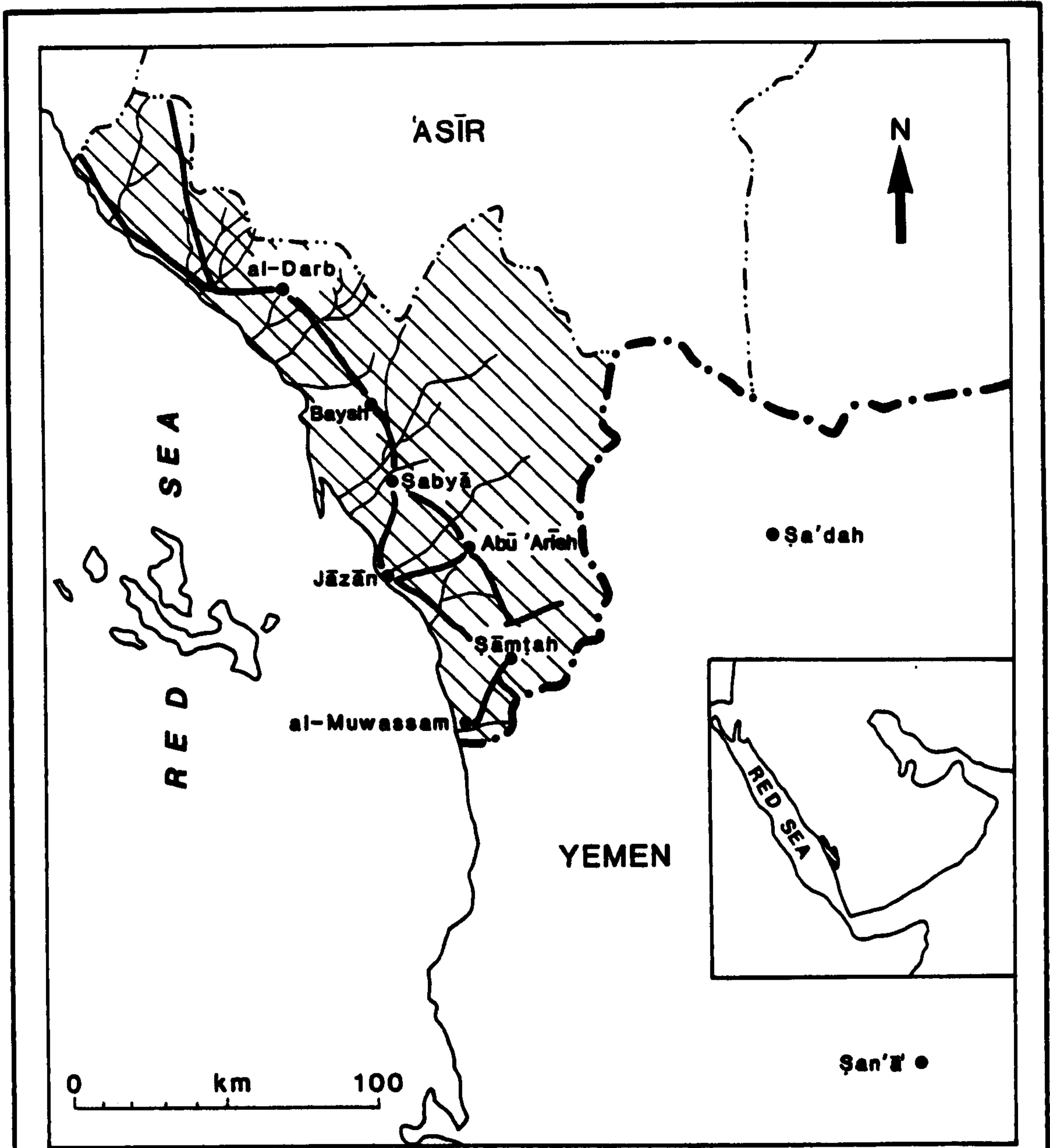
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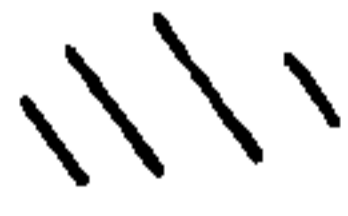




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**al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī**

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|---|---------------------------------|---|-------------------|
|  | <b>Main roads</b>               |  | <b>Study area</b> |
|  | <b>International boundaries</b> |  | <b>Wadis</b>      |
|  | <b>Regional boundaries</b>      |  | <b>Cities</b>     |

