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ABSTRACT

Eagle, A.B.D.R. M.Litt., University of Durham, 1990.

" Ghāyat al-amānī and the life and times of al-Hādī Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn: an introduction, newly edited text and translation with detailed annotation. "

The thesis is anchored upon a text extracted from an important 11th / 17th century Yemeni historical work. This text deals primarily with al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaqq, the founder of the Zaydī imamate in the Yemen that lasted well over a thousand years. Al-Hādī's imamate, of considerable significance in itself, also coincides with one of the most turbulent periods of early Yemeni mediaeval history. The edited Arabic text, with its accompanying apparatus criticus, is to be found at the opposite end of this volume.

The introduction considers various aspects of Imam al-Hādī's life, religious ideas and aspirations and matters directly connected with the edited text and the work of which it forms a part. Among the most important subjects discussed are the MSS used in the production of the edited text, the problem concerning the authorship of Ghāyat al-amānī and the relationship of the latter work to Anbā' al-zaman. A short biography of al-Hādī is provided, together with a treatment of the historical background to al-Hādī's imamate. The introduction also describes the editorial method followed with regard to the text, and certain key personal names and toponyms are dealt with there.

The method employed by the author of the Ghāyat is to record the events of any one year by itself. I have translated one year at a time and then followed it by the annotations appertaining to it. It is hoped that by means of these annotations, (some of which through necessity are quite detailed), the text will be better understood. The numerous personages, tribal names and toponyms are considered, as well as problems concerning points of chronology and various matters of historical and religious significance. Specific comment is made upon certain interesting terms or any unusual or striking vocabulary. The thesis concludes with maps, genealogical tables and a comprehensive bibliography.

Ghāyat al-amānī and the life and times of al-Hádí Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn: an introduction, newly edited text and translation with detailed annotation

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A thesis presented to the University of Durham

by

A.B.D.R.Eagle

for the degree of Master of Letters

School of Oriental Studies
Faculty of Arts

1990

UNIV DURHAM
21 MAR 1991

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I should like to record here my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, and mentor, Dr. G. Rex Smith for his constant help and encouragement since the very initiation of this project. Both his unceasing patience and his true concern for detail and precision have been, and indeed remain, a considerable source of inspiration for me. Then I should like to thank Professor J. R. Harris, until recently the Director of the School of Oriental Studies in the University, for his great encouragement, his kindness and his counsel.

I also extend my thanks and appreciation to Mr. Roger H. Fairclough, head of the Map Department in the Cambridge University Library, where I have spent many profitable and happy hours, and to his colleagues there, as well as to the staff of the Manuscripts Room in the same library. My grateful thanks also to the staff of the Oriental Reading Room of the British Library in Store Street WC1, which for me is a kind of oasis whenever I go to London, and, of course, to the staff of the University of Durham Library.

Finally, I should like to thank the following who have assisted me in various ways: Mr. François de Blois, Dr. Donald P. Cole of the American University in Cairo, Mr. Alan de Lacy Rush and Shaykh ᶜAlī b. Sumᶜān b. Jābir Āl Nasīb of Najrān, Saudi Arabia.

****

The horses and every spear testify
to my tenacity, prowess and courage.

Truly Dhū'l-Faqār bears witness that
I gave its two blades to drink of the
blood of vile folk.

Time and time again I quenched its thirst
in every confrontation,
seeking to avenge the Faith and Islam.

So that Dhū'l-Faqār recalled battles
waged by him who possessed power,
the leader, the noble one.

My grandfather is 'Alī, he of transcendent
virtues and perspicacity,
the sword of God and the smasher
of the idols.

The true brother of the Apostle and,
after the Prophet, the best whom
the earth ever covered up,
the Imam of every imam.

(Al-Hādī Yaḥyā b.al-Ḥusayn)

I N T R O D U C T I O N

The historical setting

It has been rightly suggested that the year 284 / 897-8 is a date of supreme significance in the Islamic history of the Yemen. [1] This was the year in which a scion of the Prophet Muḥammad arrived in the northern Yemeni city of Ṣaʿdah (for the second time but this time to stay) and there, having been given allegiance as imam, and taking the title of al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaqq, established a Zaydī imamate which was to continue almost uninterruptedly well into the present century.

For the next fourteen years, that is up to the death of al-Hādī in 298 / 911, the Yemen witnessed a struggle between three conflicting elements. It was at its most intense around the ancient city of Ṣanʿā' and in the central highlands, although practically the whole of what is now the Yemen Arab Republic was involved: from al-Janad, not far from present-day Taʿizz in the south, to Najrān just inside modern Saudi Arabia. Tihāmah, the plain running parallel to the Red Sea, was also not exempt from the conflict. Al-Hādī soon found himself in dispute with the Yuʿfirids an indigenous Yemeni dynasty who, several decades previously, had established themselves in central Yemen and who nominally gave allegiance to the Abbasid caliph. The third element was the Fatimids. [2] Shīʿīs like the Zaydīs, who, led by Ibn Ḥawshab and ʿAlī b. Faḍl had for the past twenty five years, been gradually increasing their control over large areas of the Yemen.

In addition to these three forces there were numerous independent or semi-independent rulers not committed to any particular brand of Islam, imam or caliph, but who out of self-interest were prepared to enter into alliance with anybody and whose movements were often dictated by their

loyalty to a particular tribe or tribal confederation. Moreover, tribal factors and considerations often influenced the activities of the main conflicting parties.

The events of these years are described in a work called Ghāyat al-amānī fī akhbār al-qutr al-Yamānī. [3] It covers the period from the appearance of Islam until well into the 11th / 17th century. It is that section of the work which deals with the years 280-298 / 893-911, (280 being the year when al-Hādī first visited the Yemen), which forms the subject of this thesis. [4]

" Ghāyat al-amānī "

A brief discussion of the work as a whole would perhaps be appropriate here. It is certainly not short and in the printed edition occupies over 700 pages. The aim of the author, (whose identity will be discussed below), as stated at the outset of his book [5] was to provide a history exclusively of the Yemen, a topic which he considered had been neglected by other historians, only referring to events which occurred elsewhere in the Islamic world where they would enrich the understanding of his own subject. Although he defines al-Yaman as being tantamount to the Arabian Peninsula! (reminiscent of the champions of the " Yaman al-Kubrā " theories of this century), [6] yet in practice the Yemen means to him the equivalent of the two Yemens of the present day (especially that area now covered by the Yemen Arab Republic) as well as Najrān, Abū ᶜArīsh, Ṣabyā and the Sarawāt which, although they are at present technically not part of the Yemen, are nevertheless historically and culturally Yemenite.

After a brief astronomical and geographical excursion, the author launches straight into the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad and a terse account of his life as an act of piety, [7] neglecting completely the pre-Islamic history of his country, for it is clearly Islamic Yemen that is

his concern. Up to 280 / 893-4, the history is much more general in character. The Umayyad and Abbasid governors over the Yemen are mentioned, but the author is more interested in the revolts led by imams from Ahl al-Bayt in the Hejaz and elsewhere. For instance, he gives details of the insurrection in 169 / 786 headed by al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥasan considered by the Zaydīs as one of their imams. [8] The first eight decades of the 3rd / 9th century are covered in just sixteen pages (of the printed edition). Indeed it could be said that the history proper begins with the arrival in 280 in the Yemen of al-Hādī Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn.

This fact is not surprising. The author is clearly a fervent Zaydī Shīᶜī and views the whole of Yemeni history as being centred around the personality of the imams and their attempt to propagate their rule and the madhhab of the Ahl al-Bayt. Other happenings in the Yemen like, for instance, the exploits of other rulers and their dynastic feuds are usually (but by no means exclusively) only mentioned if they have a direct bearing upon the policies and activities of the Zaydī imams and serve the narrator in his principal task: that of extolling the role of the imams (who alone, in Zaydī eyes, possess the legality to rule since they are considered the sole legitimate inheritors of the imamate of ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib). [9]

Seven and a half centuries later, our historian relates the rise (qiyām) of a scion of al-Hādī, Imam al-Manṣūr bi-'llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad [10] who continued the jihād of his distant cousin al-Mutawakkil Yaḥyā Sharaf al-Dīn and his son al-Muṭahhar against the Turkish invaders, and the narrative comes to an end during the imamate of al-Qāsim's eldest son, al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad, with the exit in Shaᶜbān 1045 / January 1636 of the last Turkish garrison from the Yemen. [11]

The research topic

The text with which this thesis is concerned, takes up just 35 pages (including notes) of the printed text. That the author has been able to compress sixteen exceptionally eventful years into such a space was no mean feat. The style is thus succinct, often extremely so. The text is replete with numerous toponyms many of which are abstruse, also names of tribes and clans, and names of individuals whose identity is sometimes obscure. The text is also packed with action - campaigns, battles, conspiracy. All these factors coupled with the interaction of the three conflicting forces referred to above, together with the response of the tribes and the various petty dynasties to the dramatic events which were taking place on Yemeni soil, combine to make this text not only one of the most fascinating sections of the whole work but also one of its most complex.

With this text from Ghāyat al-amānī as its " axle ", I have attempted in the present study to portray a clear, detailed picture of what happened in the Yemen during those two momentous decades, with al-Hādī Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn as the central character of the drama. Thus I have omitted from my consideration those parts of the text which have no real connection with the activities of al-Hādī nor with the Zaydī imamate which he founded. I have omitted in particular that long digression where the writer describes how the Fatimid daʿwah to the Yeman began and where he narrates the early fortunes of the two dāʿīs. [12] I have included however the movements of ʿAlī b. Faḍl from his occupation of al-Mudhaykhirah, and the subsequent killing of Jaʿfar al-Manākhī, since this passage leads up naturally to Ibn Faḍl's advance across the southern highlands and his taking of Ṣanʿā'. [13]

Ṣanʿā' was the city which not only ʿAlī b. Faḍl but also Asʿad (the Yuʿfirid) and al-Hādī aspired to control, and so it is especially

in the central highlands and in Ṣanʿā' itself and the region round about that the movements of the three parties in the power-struggle become intertwined one with another. Thus, to attempt to separate the activities of al-Hādī from those of his rivals would both distort the historical perspective and, most probably, confuse the reader.

The printed text

At an early stage in my research, I suspected that the printed text of Ghāyat al-amānī could not be regarded as authoritative, and my suspicions were substantiated after comparing ʿĀshūr's text with microfilms of the two MSS used by him in his edition. In the printed Ghāyat al-amānī there are several errors in the reading of the MSS which could not possibly be explained away as printing errors, some of which are serious. There are also omissions, in one case of a whole sentence. Moreover, certain key proper names whose correct pointing has generally been agreed upon by scholars, like Khuftum, Ibn al-Ruwayyah, Uthāfit, have been incorrectly pointed in the printed text, quite arbitrarily it seems.

Although the editor does state that he took one of the two MSS he used as his aṣl, he obviously did not intend to present a critical edition since he does not mention a word about any method he may have used to arrive at his text. Thus one has no idea of what his actual aṣl looked like nor is there any indication where the aṣl differs from the second MS.

Furthermore, where the spelling of certain individuals and toponyms in the aṣl is clearly wrong, the editor neither emends the name in his printed text nor (if he chose not to do this) does he point out the correct version in a footnote or in his introduction. Thus, for instance, al-Hādī's ʿāmil Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydullāh appears on three occasions as Muḥammad b. ʿAbdullāh without comment, and similarly the village of Kitāf as K-nāf and Itwah as L-b-wah, (see below, pp. 57, 60).

These numerous shortcomings in the printed edition of Ghāyat al-amānī spurred me to embark upon a new critical edition of this section.

The MSS

The two MSS used by ʿĀshūr, I too have used. The first one belongs to the ʿAlī Amīrī Library in Istanbul, N° 2375, and is dated 1179 / 1766, the scribe being Muḥsin b. Mahdī b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥibbī.

The second MS belongs to the Khudā Bakhsh Oriental Public Library at Patna (more exactly, Bankipore) in the Indian state of Bihar. It is N° 2315, and is dated 1199 / 1785. The name of the scribe is Muqbil b. ʿAbduh b. al-Ḥājj ʿ-t-l-h. ʿĀshūr gives the date as 1196 [14] and certainly this date appears in figures above the words wa-tisʿīna in the colophon, but the scribe has written unmistakably the words tisʿah wa-tisʿīna and it is impossible for this tisʿah to be taken as a sittah. The date in figures has clearly been added by another hand. He also says that the MS consists of 139 folios, which is misleading since f. 139 is a blank. In fact the text of the Ghāyat ends half-way down f. 137b, and the two stories that follow, (until the bottom of f. 138b), are entirely unconnected with it.

Sayyid [15] gives the place of the second MS as Khudā Bakhsh, Patna (ʿĀshūr has, wrongly, Matnah), the number of folios as 139 and supplies the incorrect date. However, he then goes on to list a third MS at Bankipore obviously not realizing that Khudā Bakhsh Patna and Bankipore are one and the same library. He gives the date of this " Bankipore " MS as 1199, the number of folios as 138 and the number of the MS as 1099. It is clear that Sayyid has gleaned his information directly from the Bankipore catalogue. There, [16] under entry 1099 the MS, (which is described by its longer and lesser-known title), is said to

have 138 folios and is dated Thursday, 16 Rajab 1199. The MS was transcribed for a certain qāḍī whose name was Wajīh al-Dīn ᶜAbd al-Rahmān b. Yaḥyā al-Ānisī. The name of the scribe is given (untransliterated) as Muqbil b. ᶜAbduh b. al-Ḥājj ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbdullāh. This information is identical with that found in our second MS, (described above), except in one small detail. In the colophon of the MS, the last part of the scribe's name appears as ᶜ-t-l-h, whereas the catalogue has " b. ᶜAbdullāh ". I believe it safe to presume, however, that entry N° 1099 of the Bankipore catalogue and Khudā Bakhsh N° 2315 are one and the same manuscript and that " b. ᶜAbdullāh " was a slip on the part of the compiler of the catalogue.

The fact that the Bankipore catalogue describes the MS as having 138 folios, whereas ᶜĀshūr says that the Khudā Bakhsh MS has 139 (which is also the number found in the formal description of the MS within the microfilm), may have further misled Sayyid into supposing that he was dealing with two separate MSS. Moreover, he may even have been misled by the fact that the catalogue does not mention at all the better-known name of the work. The reason for this omission on the part of the compiler of the catalogue, was probably that he did not notice the words wa-yusammā Ghāyat al-amānī ..... etc. which appear, quite unobtrusively and in a slanting fashion, along with a lot of other writings and jottings of various description around the longer title of the work and its author.

With regard to both the ᶜAlī Amīrī and Khudā Bakhsh MSS, I have used copies of microfilms lodged with the Institute of Manuscripts at the Arab League in Cairo.

In addition to the ᶜAlī Amīrī and Khudā Bakhsh MSS, I have used a third. It was formerly N° 9745 of the Staatsbibliotek in Berlin and now belongs to the Staatsbibliotek Preussischer Kulturbesitz [17] in that city. The title of the MS is Anbā' al-zaman fī akhbār al-Yaman, of which Ghāyat al-amānī is allegedly an abridgement. However, even a cursory comparison between this MS and the two MSS of Ghāyat al-amānī

mentioned above, will show that all three MSS are but three different copies of the same work. [18]

As will be discussed below, Anbā' al-zaman most probably exists but it is certainly not this MS in Berlin. The date of the third MS is 1295 / 1878 and the scribe was a sayyid called Ḥusayn b. ᶜAbdullāh. [19]

The authorship of " Ghāyat al-amānī "

Now I should like to turn to the question of the author- of the Ghāyat and the relationship of the latter to Anbā' al-zaman.

Both the Istanbul and Khudā Bakhsh MSS contain a brief preamble at the head of which appears the full title of the work followed by its author, namely: " The book ᶜAqīlat al-diman [being an] abridgement (mukhtaṣar) of Anbā' [the hamzah is indicated in the Khudā Bakhsh MS] al-zaman fī akhbār al-Yaman, compiled by (alladhī tawallā jamᶜahu) sayyidī, al-Sayyid al-ᶜallāmah al-mājid al-faḥḥāmah ᶜimād al-Islām ᶜayn aᶜyān alᶜitrah al-kirām, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Mu'ayyad bi-'llāh Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī, peace be upon them [all] ". [20] The position of the words, " [otherwise / better-] known as (wa-yusammā) Ghāyat al-amānī fī akhbār al-qutr al-Yamānī ", in the Khudā Bakhsh MS has been noted above. In the ᶜAlī Amīrī MS, however, they could not miss being noticed for they have been written (albeit as an afterthought it seems) just above the longer title.

Regarding the name of the author, in the ᶜAlī Amīrī MS the scribe wrote originally the author`s name as Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad. Afterwards this was corrected by him or by a later hand (it is difficult to tell which), in that " al-Mu'ayyad bi-'llāh Muḥammad b. " has been written above the line to follow Amīr al-Mu'minīn, i.e. one is meant to read, " .....Amīr al-Mu'minīn

al-Mu'ayyad bi-'llāh Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim .....". However, in the Khudā Bakhsh MS, that part of the author`s name, " .....Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Mu'ayyad bi-'llāh Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim " is very distinct and has undergone no correction. Then, the scribe originally went on to write, incorrectly, " al-Qāsim b. ^{c}Alī ", but afterwards " b. Muḥammad " was written by him just above the line (to follow " al-Qāsim "), so that the latter part of the name appears clearly, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ^{c}Alī. As will be seen below, a similar error (" al-Qāsim b. ^{c}Alī ") occurs on the title-page of the Berlin MS, but there it has not been corrected.

(It should perhaps be pointed out at this juncture that the title of deference sayyidī, or sīdī, that precedes the honorific epithets, could have been said by the original amanuensis, a later scribe, or even the scribe who wrote the MS. It might indicate that he was a pupil or close associate of the author, his son, a relative, or a descendant. The term is not confined to the living.)

Then, at the beginning of the preamble, one reads, " The author (mu'allif) of Anbā' al-zaman (may God have mercy upon him) mentioned that he had gathered together [the information in it] from numerous historical works ", and then follows a list in detail. At the end of the list of works and their authors there follows a brief remark about the benefit derived from a study of history, a pious invocation and then the words: " [That is what] the compiler (al-musannif) said, may God have mercy upon him, and [this important wāw is omitted by ^{c}Āshūr despite its presence in both the ^{c}Alī Amīrī and Khudā Bakhsh MSS][21] the compilation [of the work] was commenced in the year 1065 [1654-5] ".

The words at the end of the preamble, qāla 'l-musannif followed by the wāw, I believe are crucial for the understanding of the passage. They are kind of " summing-up " words by the scribe (most

probably the original amanuensis) referring to what preceded in the preamble. The musannif must be the author of the work of which this is the preamble (scil. Ghāyat al-amānī) since it would not make sense to refer to another work in this context. However the meaning is made clear beyond doubt by what follows qāla 'l-musannif, viz. wa-kāna 'btidā' jam^{c}ihi where it is manifest that the pronoun in jam^{c}ihi can only refer to Ghāyat al-amānī and to no other work.

The meaning of the beginning of the preamble now seems to be clear. It is the writer of Ghāyat al-amānī who is speaking and he wishes to draw his reader's attention to the author of Anbā' al-zaman who composed his book from numerous sources and so on, where the enclitic in jama^{c}ahu obviously refers to Anbā' al-zaman. Because of what follows, I believe one must here state the obvious, viz. that the author of Ghāyat al-amānī is not speaking of himself when he says, dhakara mu'allif Anbā' al-zaman. If the writer of Ghāyat al-amānī had also written Anbā' al-zaman, that is to say he was now writing a preamble to an abridgement of his own work, he would not have expressed himself in such an abstruse way. Even if he had chosen to speak impersonally, he would have said something like: dhakara 'l-mu'allif annahu jama^{c}a (kitābahu) Anbā' al-zaman min tawārīkh ^{c}adīdah ..... .

Of course, if the imprecation rahimahu 'llāh, (which follows immediately dhakara mu'allif Anbā' al-zaman), were the actual words of the author of Ghāyat al-amānī, this would clinch the matter. However, since such words, (as is also the case with expressions like radiya 'llāh ^{c}anhu and ^{c}alayhi 'l-salām) are often the work of scribes and so traditionally are not regarded as an integral part of the nass, I therefore do not believe that this imprecation can be taken to establish a point in the present argument. In this particular case, it is possible that the writer of

Ghāyat al-amānī and that of Anbā' al-zaman were contemporaries (certainly if one accepts the traditional authorship of the latter), as will be seen below. Similarly, the same formula after qāla 'l-muṣannif was probably added by a scribe other than the original amanuensis.

It is truly remarkable that ᶜ Āshūr, without any discussion whatsoever, asserts categorically [22] that Ghāyat al-amānī is the work of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim. The latter is the grandson of the renowned imam, al-Manṣūr bi-'llāh al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad (reg. 1006-1029 / 1597-1620) and thus Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad would be his first cousin (once-removed).

Why did ᶜĀshūr jump to such a conclusion? Was it because of the correction, referred to above, in the name in the ᶜ Alī Amīrī MS? I hardly think so because ᶜĀshūr makes no mention of this in his edition. I believe that the most probable reason for ᶜĀshūr's error lies in the presence of a title-page in the ᶜAlī Amīrī MS, (there is no such page in the Khudā Bakhsh). This page, (the front of a leaf), is separated from the aforementioned title and preamble (f. 1a) by another leaf on the front of which, (strangely, photographed three times in the microfilm), is written a line of poetry (twice) from a poem by al-Mutanabbī, (which, incidentally, first appears by itself on the front of the leaf before the title-page), various pious sentiments, and also jottings concerned largely, so it appears, with the ownership of the MS. The verso of the latter leaf is almost a blank. This leaf has clearly nothing whatsoever to do with our text.

On this " title-page ", (the verso of which is a blank), there is no mention of ᶜAqīlat al-diman nor of Anbā' al-zaman, and the title appears simply as, Kitāb Ghāyat al-amānī fī akhbār al-qutr al-Yamānī. This work is described as being the composition (ta'līf) of " al-Sayyid al-ᶜallāmah [and then follow the other epithets in the order listed above] Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Amīr al-Mu'minīn al-Qāsim b. ᶜAlī [sic], upon whom be peace ". The writing, not that of the scribe of the text, is manifestly

more recent and not far removed from a scribble.

It seems that ᶜĀshūr took this title-page to be authoritative and on that premise, after he had heard that Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim was commonly held to be the author of Anbā' al-zaman, naturally assumed that Ghāyat al-amānī was by the same author and that thus Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn had in fact abridged his own work. He spotted that " al-Qāsim b. ᶜAlī " was manifestly incorrect, substituted for it " al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī " and then reproduced the title with its alleged author on the front page of his edition. Thus ᶜĀshūr neglects completely the name of the author as found clearly at the head of the preamble of both MSS he was using, and which he himself faithfully transmitted in his own edited text, (Vol.I, p. 48) ! Moreover, he does not even mention the name that appears there anywhere in his preface preferring, so it would seem, the evidence of a title-page which is entirely divorced from the text that he took as his asl.

In the preface to his edition of the Ghāyat, ᶜĀshūr asserts [23] that the author of Anbā' al-zaman (scil. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim) came to the conclusion that Anbā' al-zaman was too long and that it contained certain [particular] details and excursus that should be omitted (..... wa-anna bihi min al-tafṣīlāt wa-'l-istiṭrādāt mā yanbaghī ḥidhfuhu) and thus set about making an abridgement (scil. Ghāyat al-amānī), - but he gives no authority for what he writes.

In many recent publications, one finds Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim accepted unquestionably as the author of Ghāyat al-amānī. That seems to be the direct result of ᶜĀshūr's publication and, particularly, the printing of the incorrect name on the front page, plus (perhaps) an uncritical acceptance of ᶜĀshūr`s assumptions in his preface.

For instance, Sayyid [24] lists six works of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim of which N° 4 is Ghāyat al-amānī. Brockelmann

also records the Bankipore MS under the number 1099, using the alternative, less known, title of Ghāyat al-amānī, ᶜAqīlat ad-dimān (sic), but, unlike Sayyid, he gives the name of the author as found in the Bankipore catalogue and in the MS itself: viz. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mu'ayyad bi-'llāh. [25] Sayyid's carelessness in this respect is inexcusable: he seems simply to be following blindly ᶜĀshūr.

Ḥibshī [26] includes Ghāyat al-amānī erroneously among the works of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim and in an edition of Rāzī's history [27] it is also listed as being his composition. Anawati, [28] when reviewing ᶜĀshūr's Vol.I, just assumes that the author of Anbā' al-zaman made an abridgement of his own work and Jāsir, [29] in a lengthy and harsh criticism of ᶜĀshūr's edition (some of which itself is not beyond reproach), does not, however, question ᶜĀshūr's conclusions concerning the authorship. Wilson, [30] when discussing Ghāyat al-amānī, which was the principal text employed in his thesis, regrettably does not hesitate to attribute it to the author of Anbā' al-zaman, scil. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim. ᶜĀshūr's edition of Ghāyat al-amānī, one of the principal sources for Gochenour's thesis, is listed without question by Gochenour [31] as being from the pen of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim.

Fortunately ᶜĀshūr's conclusions have not been accepted by all. Smith [32] sensed, correctly, that Ghāyat al-amānī could not be the composition of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim, author of Anbā' al-zaman. Although Jirāfī [33] was incorrect when he suggested that the preamble (dībājah) to Ghāyat al-amānī actually contains the information that the latter was the work of the author of the asl, Anbā' al-Zaman, he does state the name of the author as found at the head of the preamble (discussed above) viz. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim. Then Jirāfī provides an interesting observation, namely that in the library of the Great Mosque in Ṣanᶜā' he had seen a list [34] of the works of the author of Anbā' al-zaman (referring

to Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim), numbering 53 in all, the list having been written allegedly by the author himself, and that Ghāyat al-amānī was not among them. This piece of information is substantiated by Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad b. al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim (d. 1145 / 1732-3) in his Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyyah al-kubrā [35] who does not mention Ghāyat al-amānī as being among the works of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim, although he does mention Anbā' al-zaman and the two works that compliment it, namely, Bahjat al-zaman fī ḥawādith al-Yaman and al-ʿIbar fī mulūk Ḥimyar.

Regarding the third MS used in this study, that is the Berlin MS already referred to above, the title Anbā' al-zaman is clearly wrong but the name of the author is the same as that of the other two MSS of Ghāyat al-amānī up to the author's grandfather, thus - Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mu'ayyad. Then the name in the MS continues: b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. ʿAlī. That is obviously an error on the part of the scribe since al-Mu'ayyad's father was al-Qāsim, not Muḥammad. [36] Either the scribe did not realize that Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, when he was elected imam, took the laqab of al-Mu'ayyad bi-'llāh, or he was simply confused and put the name of al-Qāsim's father, Muḥammad, before that of the son, the correct order of course being al-Mu'ayyad (Muḥammad) b. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, (reg. 1029-1054 / 1620-1644). It is noted that the honorific epithets that precede the name of Yaḥyā are the same as those found in the other two MSS referred to, except that the word sayyidī does not appear.

Just to the left of the title and name of author, the same scribe, apparently, has written that " perhaps this history [was written by] (sayyidī) Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim " and refers to another work by (sayyidī) Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad, mentioned above, where Anbā' al-zaman fī akhbār al-Yaman is cited in the margin. [37] It is interesting that the editor of the Berlin MS prefers the first version of the author's name, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mu'ayyad [38] (for reasons which will be

mentioned below when discussing briefly Anbā' al-zaman and its authorship) but he, like Strothmann [39] and Brockelmann, [40] does not question the title given to the MS, Anbā' al-zaman fī akhbār al-Yaman.

Even without a reference to what is known concerning the character of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad, his learning and achievements (all to be discussed below), there would seem little reason to doubt that he was indeed the writer of Ghāyat al-amānī. One has the testimony of three MSS whose place of origin was the Yemen and which were copied by Yemenis and where the name of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn together with his genealogy, back to the grandfather of his great-grandfather, is written out clearly (at least, in two of them) at the beginning of the MS. It would not be rash to suspect that there exist further MSS of this work in the Yemen today.

Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim - a character sketch

Although no Yemeni biographical work accessible to me mentions Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad (1044-1090 / 1635-1679) as being the author of Ghāyat al-amānī, yet what we can glean about his character from such works would be most compatible with his being a writer of history. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn appears to have belonged to the radical Shī^{c}ī wing of Zaydism (al-Jārūdiyyah), so Shawkānī's article on him [41] is somewhat tainted by his well-known hostility to that school of thought. [42] We do learn, however, that Yaḥyā was noted for possessing a good memory, that he studied medicine, was a poet and was concerned with usūl and fiqh. He performed the Pilgrimage several times and held important provincial governorships under Imam al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim (reg. 1087-1092 / 1676-1681).

One learns much more about the personality of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn from Bughyat al-murīd wa-'uns al-farīd by ^{c}Āmir b. Muḥammad

b. ᶜAbdullāh which (as the full title suggests) is a biographical work about the descendants of [the father of al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim] ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. al-Rashīd and which was probably completed in 1130 / 1718. [43] There, [44] he is described as an outstanding scholar who attained the rank of mujtahid and had an amazing memory. He possessed a keen intellect and a thorough grasp of his sources (dhihn waqqād wa-riwāyah wa-asnād) especially concerning ᶜulūm Āl Muḥammad, and was a poet of excellence. On the death of al-Mutawakkil Ismāᶜīl (1087 / 1676) he did not make an attempt to claim the imamate (lam yataᶜarrad li-daᶜwah - sic) even though the people hoped that he would because of " his completeness " (kamālihi) i.e. he possessed all the qualities which an imam should have.

Unfortunately, the author of Bughyat al-murīd does not inform us much about Yaḥyā`s literary output contenting himself with the statement wa-lahu maqālāt wa-hawāshī wa-'stinbātāt.

Yet more information about our author is contained in Nasamat al-sahar bi-dhikr man tashayyaᶜa wa-shaᶜara [45] which perhaps is not remarkable seeing that its compiler was Yūsuf, one of the eight sons of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mu'ayyad, [46] who completed his task in 1111 / 1699 and who tells us that he was about nine in the year before his father`s death. The account [47] is packed with biographical detail, and the picture that emerges, even allowing for possible exaggeration on the part of the son, is that of an outstanding personality, active in the administration of the Zaydī state, a man of great learning and piety. The people were expecting him to become imam, seeing him to be fully qualified for the office, even in the days of al-Mutawakkil Ismāᶜīl b. al-Qāsim (reg. 1054-1087 / 1644-1676) to say nothing of other times. [48] Then follows a statement that even Yūsuf could not have made if it had not been true or at least near the truth: Yaḥyā was the most learned of Āl Manṣūr, the descendants of al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, put together, the most pious of them and the most

ascetic (kāna aᶜlam Āl Manṣūr ajmaᶜīn wa-aᶜbudahum). [49]

Although Yūsuf tells us that his father was an assiduous collector of books and that he took most of them with him on his numerous journeys, he does not provide details of his literary output. However in one passage there is, I believe, a remark of some significance. After describing his father as a scholar, a mujtahid, an authority on hadīth and as having an outstanding memory (hāfiz may not be used in a technical sense here), he goes on to say that he was jā'ilan fī dahwat al-tārīkh (this is how I interpret the MS which has sahwat, unpointed), [50] literally " going back and forth in the pool [51] of history ". In this context (it is followed by the remark [wa-kāna] imāman fī 'l-farᶜiyyāt), I understand that to be a clear indication of his historical activity. Even without that statement, however, what we have already indicated concerning the character of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mu'ayyad only points to the suitability of his having been the author of Ghāyat al-amānī and substantiates the evidence of his name in the MSS.

With a family background such as that possessed by Yaḥyā, it is hardly surprising if he turned out to be a man of considerable learning and literary accomplishment. His great-grandfather al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim was a renowned theologian and mujtahid. His great-uncles al-Ḥusayn and al-Mutawakkil Ismāᶜīl and the latter's son al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad, Muḥammad and al-Ḥusayn - sons of his great-uncles al-Ḥasan, his father al-Ḥusayn, his uncle al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad (who twice claimed the imamate) - all these were men of scholarly activity and disposition. [52]

Anbā' al-zaman

It would seem to be outside the scope of this present study to discuss Anbā' al-zaman and its authorship. However, since Ghāyat al-amānī is alleged to be a mukhtaṣar of it and because the author of

Anbā' al-zaman has been, in my view, erroneously credited with the authorship of the mukhtaṣar. I feel that a few remarks concerning the other work would not be out of place here.

At the outset it must be stressed that since Anbā' al-zaman remains entirely in MS form and has not yet been the subject of a scholarly analysis, no definitive comparison of course can yet be made between it and Ghāyat al-amānī. A modern Yemeni writer is obviously too hasty when he asserts that both works are one and the same. [53] I do not share Wilson's pessimism that Anbā' al-zaman may no longer be extant. [54] The work has in the past often been mentioned by Yemeni writers and has never been described as lost. Sayyid [55] notes several MSS of this work (two of which will be mentioned below - unfortunately he includes Berlin 9745 and Māḍī's publication in his list, q.v. above, p. 23f). From his few words of introduction it would appear that Sayyid has actually perused the text.

One can be reasonably sure that Anbā' al-zaman (like Ghāyat al-amānī) ended with the events of 1045 / 1635-6 since the historical composition Bahjat al-zaman fī ḥawādith al-Yaman, which is believed to have been written by the author of Anbā' al-zaman as a dhayl to the latter, commences with the year 1046 / 1636. [56]

As was mentioned above, the author of Ṭabaqāt al-Zaydiyyah al-kubrā attributes Anbā' al-zaman to Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim (Imam al-Manṣūr bi-'llāh) b. Muḥammad (c. 1035-1100 (?) / 1625-1688), who was thus a contemporary of the writer of Ghāyat al-amānī. In another work by the author of Ṭabaqāt, al-Nafaḥāt al-miskiyyah fī 'l-^{c}ulamā' wa-'l-fuqahā' min al-Zaydiyyah, referred to by the scribe on the title-page of the Berlin MS, the former says: [57] [Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim] has [many] compositions, the best of which being the one he derived from [other] historical works (aḥsanuhu mā naqalahu min kutub al-tārīkh).

The scribe observes that in the margin of the Nafaḥāt, Sayyid ᶜAbdullāh b. ᶜĪsā b. Muḥammad al-Kawkabānī (c. 1170-1224 / 1756-1809) [58] had commented, " [Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn] called it Anbā' al-zaman fī akhbār al-Yaman ".

In Bughyat al-murīd (a work completed twelve years or so before the Ṭabaqāt), [59] there is mention of a book on fiqh, Sharḥ al-Azhār by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim and mention of his letters and margin-commentaries, but of no historical work. [60] However, in a slightly earlier work completed apparently in 1118 / 1706 (the MS is dated 1191 / 1777) and concerned in particular with events in the Yemen in the second half of the 11th / 17th century, Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā wa-ṣiḥāf al-mann wa-'l-salwā by ᶜAbdullāh b. ᶜAlī ibn al-Wazīr, [61] the author says that he has become acquainted with a history written by a son / scion of one of the Yemeni kings (li-baᶜd abnā' mulūk al-Yaman). Apparently this history was Ibn al-Wazīr's principal source. In the margin there is written (but clearly not by the scribe who copied out the MS): " [The writer] refers to the scholar Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim concerning what he related in Bahjat al-zaman regarding events in the Yemen which he witnessed in his own lifetime up to 1090 [/ 1679, and which i.e. Bahjat al-zaman] he made a supplement to Anbā' al-zaman ". [62] It must be remembered that this comment in the margin was written at least 70 years after the actual book was compiled. However, it agrees with the Ṭabaqāt already referred to and in fact up to this day both Bahjat al-zaman and Anbā' al-zaman are attributed to Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim without dissent. [63]

It is noteworthy that Ibn al-Wazīr, writing less than 20 years after the death of Yaḥyā, (described by a contemporary of Ibn al-Wazīr as being among ᶜuyūn Āl Muḥammad [64] and who was the first-cousin once-removed of the reigning imam, al-Mahdī Muḥammad " Ṣāḥib al-Mawāhib "), should have described someone whom he goes on to praise

and to whom he is so much indebted merely as baʿd abnāʾ al-Yaman. This abstruseness of language might suggest that Ibn al-Wazīr was deliberately trying to avoid a direct mention of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim. There is, however, no conceivable reason why Ibn al-Wazīr should have wished to do this, especially bearing in mind that both Yaḥya and the reigning imam belonged (as has been seen) to the same branch of the sayyids which had ruled the Yemen since 1006 / 1597. Rather, the expression baʿd abnāʾ mulūk al-Yaman would suggest strongly that the book Ibn al-Wazīr was making use of (most probably Bahjat al-zaman) was in fact anonymous, and, consequently, so was Anbāʾ al-zaman too, although both books were known to have been written by a descendant of Imam al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, or else Ibn al-Wazīr had deduced this from the intimate family details contained in them.

Mādḥī, believing the text he was editing to be a part of Anbāʾ al-zaman, points to the unlikelihood of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim having written the work. [65] He bases his argument on Yaḥyā`s curt treatment of his alleged father al-Ḥusayn in the final part of the book. His remarks are most pertinent if his MS had actually been Anbāʾ al-zaman, and on that premise he could also have remarked upon Yaḥyā's adulation of his alleged uncle, al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim, and of the prominent role he gave to him. However, of course, without having before one the authentic text of Anbāʾ al-zaman, it would be foolhardy to make any further comment at this stage.

Sālim in his Muʾarrikhūn, 77-82, discusses the work of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim, in particular a Cairo MS of Anbāʾ al-zaman [66] (called by him, Anbāʾ abnāʾ al-zaman, cf. Sayyid`s Inbāʾ anbāʾ al-zaman - Masādir, 246). He includes a short extract from the text of that MS (see Muʾarrikhūn, 81). A comparison has been made between the extract and the parallel passage in Ghāyat al-amānī. [67]

If this extract be indicative of the entire work, then it is clear that the Cairo MS is distinct from Ghāyat al-amānī. Of course, a thorough comparison between both works, in their entirety is necessary before any definite conclusion can be reached. The matter is further complicated by the assertion, at the very end of the Cairo Anbā' al-zaman, that the work was in reality an abridgement of Anbā' al-zaman carried out by Ismā^{c}īl b. ^{c}Alī ibn al-Mutawakkil![68] According to Sālim, however, Fu'ād Sayyid, (the father of the compiler of Masādir tārīkh al-Yaman), always maintained that this Cairo MS was identical with the other MSS of Anbā' al-zaman that he had examined.

Sayyid also lists a MS of Anbā' al-zaman, allegedly an autograph, in a private library in Ṣan^{c}ā'.[69] This perhaps, too, is a work distinct from Ghāyat al-amānī.

Sīrat al-Hādī

The important biographical work, Sīrat al-Hādī,[70] is the principal source, perhaps the only one, for all subsequent writers on the imamate of al-Hādī and it is also a primary source for information concerning the Yu^{c}firid dynasty and the fortunes of the Fatimid da^{c}wah in the Yemen. It is not remarkable therefore that the Sīrat should constitute the main source used by the author of Ghāyat al-amānī in the text with which we are concerned. It was written by ^{c}Alī b. Muḥammad b. ^{c}Ubaydullāh who was a descendant of Abū 'l-Faḍl al-^{c}Abbās b. ^{c}Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, and who thus possesses the twin nisbahs of al-^{c}Abbāsī and al-^{c}Alawī. His father was one of al-Hādī's most trusted and loyal henchmen and was governor of the troublesome and politically sensitive oasis-wadi of Najrān situated on the northern borders of al-Hādī's domains. ^{c}Alī himself became a close associate of the imam soon after the latter had settled in the Yemen.

Our author sometimes takes from the Sīrat verbatim, but usually he changes a word here or there and supplies a synonym or a neat paraphrase. Occasionally, however, his reading of the Sīrat is perfunctory or too hasty which results in a few inaccuracies. At times he gives a

summary of events which is so condensed, and he becomes so arbitrary in the selection of his material that the Sīrat must be consulted in order to get a clear picture of what actually happened. Sometimes numerous pages of the Sīrat are summarized in just a line or two, and this is especially the case with regard to events in Najrān which appears to have been almost always in a state of rebellion throughout the whole of al-Hādī's imamate. No doubt our author, intent more on emphasizing the successes of the imams of Ahl al-Bayt, deliberately did not dwell on the constant opposition to al-Hādī in Najrān choosing rather to recount more positive aspects of al-Hādī's rule elsewhere in the Yemen.

Other sources used by the author of the " Ghāyat "

In addition to the Sīrat al-Hādī, but to a much lesser extent, our author also had recourse it seems to the works of at least two other historians who provide information which either is not found in the Sīrat at all or differs from the account related therein.

These works were, Kanz al-akhyār fī ma^{c}rifat al-siyar wa-'l-akhbār by Abū Muḥammad Idrīs b. ^{c}Alī (d. 714 / 1314), [71] which is the earliest surviving general chronological history of the Yemen from the beginning of the Islamic period, and the history of Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Khazrajī. Both works and their authors are mentioned in the preamble of Ghāyat al-amānī where the author's sources are listed. [72] Al-Khazrajī (d. 812 / 1409) wrote several historical works but the Tārīkh referred to in the preamble is probably al-^{c}Asjad al-masbūk fī man waliya 'l-Yaman min al-mulūk, [73] a work extolled later by the historian Ibn al-Dayba^{c} (d. 923 / 1517) and which served both as the basis and the model for his Qurrat al-^{c}uyūn. [74]

Imam al-Hādī ilā 'l-Haqq

Al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaqq al-Mubīn, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn usually known just as al-Hādī is, as has been intimated at the outset, a figure of special significance in the Islamic history of the Yemen. He was the first imam of the Zaydī Shī^{c}īs in the Yemen and the ancestor of the vast majority of the imams in the Yemen who came after him including the Ḥamīd al-Dīn imams of modern times. In fact, of the 73 imams in the Yemen noted by a recent writer, 60 are direct descendants of al-Hādī. [75] Not only this, but most of the numerous families of sādah living in what is now the Yemen Arab Republic have al-Hādī as their common ancestor. [76]

Also, al-Hādī's da^{c}wah can, from the perspective of history, be considered a successful one despite often intense opposition to Zaydism, (or Madhhab Ahl al-Bayt as it is more often known to its adherents), in al-Hādī's own lifetime and for centuries afterwards from other dynasties and the like, Sunnī and Shī^{c}ī, which competed with the Zaydī imams in their attemt to gain control over the Yemen and the ancient city of Ṣan^{c}ā' in particular. From 284 / 897 for the next eleven centuries, except for brief periods, there was always a Zaydī imam somewhere in the Yemen, (sometimes two, three imams or even more in rivalry with each other), and from the mid-11th / 17th century there was usually an imam in Ṣan^{c}ā' itself.

Another factor which gives al-Hādī a special significance is that the dominant school of jurisprudence (fiqh) to be followed in the Yemen during the ensuing centuries was destined to be that of this imam. Thus the Yemenites were to follow the personal judgements (ijtihādāt) of al-Hādī in the practical application (viz. furū^{c}) of their religion, and it is the Hadawī fiqh that was eventually to gain the ascendancy in the Zaydī state which was established around the Caspian in the mid-3rd / 9th century. The discerning traveller Burckhardt notes early in the 19th century that most

of the sharīfs of Mecca are followers of al-Hādī. [77] Today in the Yemen Arab Republic, the four-volumed Sharḥ al-Azhār by Imam al-Mahdī Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā (d. 840 / 1436). [78] which is substantially the fiqh of al-Hādī in a concisely set-out form, is regarded by the ulema and their students in the Zaydī regions as authoritative.

His biography

Al-Hādī Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn is listed by the afore-mentioned Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā in his al-Bahr al-zakhkhār as being (according to the Zaydīs) the twenty-first imam of Ahl al-Bayt after Amīr al-Mu'minīn ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. [79]

Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn was born in Medina in 245 / 859 a year before the death of his grandfather al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm, [80] who for the Zaydīs is one of their principal authorities in dogmatic theology (viz. usūl) and was known as Najm Āl Rasūl Allāh and Turjumān al-Dīn. [81] It is said that al-Hādī was named Yaḥyā by his father after a brother of the latter who had died. Al-Qāsim on being told this exclaimed: " Truly this is Yaḥyā, master of the Yemen (ṣāḥib al-Yaman) [82] and the Zaydī chroniclers like to record how Yaḥyā`s departure for the Yemen and his imamate there were predicted by the Prophet Muḥammad himself and foretold by ᶜAlī. [83]

Yaḥyā`s mother was Umm al-Ḥasan, the daughter of a distant cousin of his, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān. [84] Yaḥyā married his first cousin, Fāṭimah, daughter of al-Ḥasan b. al-Qāsim who became the mother of his two successors in the imamate Muḥammad al-Murtaḍā and Aḥmad al-Nāṣir and his two daughters, Fāṭimah and Zaynab. The mother of his son al-Ḥasan was a lady from Ṣanᶜā'. [85] The Yemeni genealogist Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdullāh b. ᶜAlī known as Abū ᶜAllāmah (d. 1044 / 1635) records [86] six other sons of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn.

but apparently they either died young or had no male offspring.

Surprisingly, little is known about Yaḥyā's life before he first set out for the Yemen in 280 / 893 except for one important incident, his visit to Ṭabaristān (to be discussed below). Otherwise the sources content themselves mainly with relating a few incidents that occurred in his youth to demonstrate that he possessed extraordinary physical strength. [87] Apparently Yaḥyā grew up in Medina or in the neighbourhood of the city. ᶜĀmirī (d. 893 / 1487-8) says that he received his education both in the Hejaz and in Iraq. [88] It is recorded that in Baghdad he took part, incognito, in a scholarly gathering. [89] He became known for his knowledge and piety. Later, Yaḥyā moved to the vicinity of al-Rass where he probably had relatives. It was there that his grandfather al-Qāsim had settled after leaving Egypt with his family ca. 212 / 827. [90]

Although Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn began to write when he was 17 years old, [91] one does not know the title of his first work, nor can one be sure when his numerous works (48 in number according to one authority) were written except that he commenced his celebrated composition on fiqh, Kitāb al-Aḥkām al-jāmiᶜ li-usūl mā yuḥtāju ilayhi min al-ḥalāl wa-'l-ḥarām in Medina. It has been suggested however that, except for parts of the latter, and perhaps al-Muntakhab fī 'l-fiqh and Kitāb al-Funūn, all al-Hādī's works belong to his pre-Yemen years. [92] The Aḥkām and Muntakhab are his best known works on fiqh and he also wrote many treatises and letters on usūl, a commentary on part of the Qur'ān, tracts against his opponents and those whose doctrines he disputed, and an important tract concerning the proof (tathbīt) of the imamate of ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. [93]

It is clear from the Sīrat that al-Hādī was an accomplished poet and he gloried in his descent from Muḥammad and ᶜAlī and in his possession of ᶜAlī's famous sword, Dhū 'l-Faqār. [94]

His concept of the imamate

Al-Hādī considered himself to be the legitimate successor of ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib in the imamate (not the sole legitimate successor because there was at the time a Zaydī imam in Iran - see below). Al-Hādī did not believe, however, that he had become imam by a designation (nass) either from his father (who was not an imam) or from any imam before him. He had inherited the imamate, but only in the sense that he belonged to the Ahl al-Bayt for, in Zaydī thought, the imam had to be both ᶜAlawī and Fāṭimī which meant, in practice, a descendant of either al-Ḥasan or al-Ḥusayn.

According to the Zaydī view, al-Hādī was a rightful imam by virtue of his own perception, in the first instance, that he fulfilled all the necessary conditions of the imamate which stipulated, for example, that the imam should be devout, learned, brave, ascetic, generous, ... - 14 conditions are usually listed. Any Ḥasanī or Ḥusaynī so convinced of his own merits was then obliged to proclaim publicly the fact, that is to make the daᶜwah to himself as imam, (that someone daᶜā ilā nafsihi is an expression found frequently in Zaydī chronicles).

The actual act of making the daᶜwah public and known is usually called the khurūj (often tantamount to an armed insurrection), and then it becomes incumbent upon all the Muslims to give the imam allegiance as their Amīr al-Mu'minīn .... lā yasaᶜuhum ᶜisyānuhu wa-lā yahillu lahum khidhlānuhu bal tajibu ᶜalayhim taᶜatuhu wa-muwālātuhu wa-yuᶜadhdhibu 'llāh man khadhalahu wa-yuthību man nasarahu ..... . Thus, according to the Zaydī view (or, at least, according to al-Hādī and those who follow his teachings) an imam owes his office neither to the act of being given allegiance nor to any election, but is imam solely by virtue of his daᶜwah.

Concerning the khurūj, this presupposes that the imam possesses sufficient nusrah (i.e. armed support), the minimum taken to be

the number of men who fought alongside the Prophet Muḥammad at Badr in the year 2 / 624, viz. some 310.[95]

Such an uncompromising doctrine concerning his own status would have meant, automatically, enmity and rivalry between al-Hādī and the Abbasid caliph since the latter was just as adamant in his claim to be the sole legitimate Amīr al-Mu'minīn of the Muslims. Only the Zaydīs, the Fatimids, the Abū Sa^{c}īdīs in eastern Arabia,[96] the Ibāḍīs in ^{c}Umān and N Africa and other " Khārijī sects ", disputed the Abbasid claim. Local dynasties like the Yu^{c}firids and the Ziyadids in the Yemen, the Aghlabids in N Africa and, later, the Samanids and the Ghaznavids in the east, even though they often acted as if they were independent rulers nevertheless never disputed the prerogatives of the Abbasids in whose name the khutbah was pronounced, and from whom they were careful to extract the necessary patent which would in turn give their own rule some measure of legality.

In the Yemen the khutbah was said in al-Hādī's name in all the areas under his control, and it is recorded that the khutbah was also said in Mecca in al-Hādī's name for seven years.[97] Indeed throughout the history of the Imamate in the Yemen, the khutbah in Mecca, Medina and elsewhere in the Hejaz was often said in the name of the Zaydī imam of the time.

From an early age, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn would have been no stranger to the doctrine of the imamate and of its crucial role in Zaydī Shiism. His grandfather al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm is generally listed among the Zaydī imams and is singled out for mention in the Aḥkām,[98] al-Qāsim's brother Muḥammad known as Ibn Ṭabāṭabā had in 199 / 814 led a rebellion in Kufa which posed a severe threat to Abbasid rule and al-Hādī's great-grandfather on his mother's side, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Dā'ūd (d. c 200 / 815), was an imam.[99]

Al-Hādī's Imamate in the Yemen - the historical background

Why did al-Hādī, however, choose the Yemen as a country in which to set up the Zaydī imamate? It might be retorted that he did not actually choose the Yemen since he was invited by the powerful B. Futaym clan to go there and be their imam. However, he would hardly have made the long journey south and settle in Ṣa^{c}dah in a remote part of the Yemen if he had not been optimistic of his success, and this applies especially to his second departure in Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah 283 / January 897. It is most unlikely, in the opinion of this writer, that Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn's departure for the Yemen was fortuitous or simply because he gave in to the importunities of a Yemeni tribe. Rather, it may be reasonably conjectured, his decision was based upon his awareness of the history of Ahl al-Bayt and of the imams in particular.

All his predecessors in the imamate had failed in their attempt to overthrow Umayyad, then Abbasid rule. The failure of al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah in Medina, of his brother, Ibrāhīm, at Basra, of al-Ḥusayn b. ^{c}Alī b. al-Ḥasan at Fakhkh near Mecca, and then, more recently, the failure of several Zaydī revolts in Iraq and the Hejaz at the very end of the 2nd / early 9th century, [100] must have caused Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn to realize that in a direct confrontation with the Abbasids, the Shī^{c}ah could not expect to win. Even his grandfather al-Qāsim had not dared to make his da^{c}wah public in Egypt and eventually had given up and retired to the Hejaz. [101]

This realization, however, did not lead Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn to join up with a group of the Ahl al-Bayt and their followers who were evolving what might be considered a more passive doctine of the imamate with only twelve imams, each one designating his successor, and the twelfth imam, " al-Ḥujjah al-Mahdī " , Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-^{c}Askarī. being in a state of occulatation, - although what was to be known later as the Imāmiyyah or Twelver Shiism was at this period still in its formative stage. [102] Yet Yaḥyā who knew that he

possessed those qualities necessary for an imam and who had clearly been told this by members of his family (see below), did not go to nearby Medina or to Mecca and instigate the traditional Zaydī khurūj, but instead chose to go to the Yemen, making not so much a khurūj as a hijrah.

In so doing, Yaḥyā was perhaps inspired, to a certain extent, by a distant cousin of his, Idrīs b. ᶜAbdullāh, who over a century before, stunned by the catastrophic defeat of a group of Ahl al-Bayt and their Shīᶜah at Fakhkh, had fled to the Maghreb where he set up a Zaydī state. More probably though, Yaḥyā got his direct inspiration from the existence of a Zaydī imamate on the shores of the Caspian in a region remote from the centre of Abbasid power which factor, coupled with the mountainous and wild character of the terrain, guaranteed a charismatic leader some degree of success.[103] Such a leader was another distant cousin of Yaḥyā's, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd, who had successfully established there a Zaydī state (see **below, pp. 168-9, n.75),** news of which would constantly have reached Yaḥyā via the Pilgrimage.

Of supreme significance, however, was the visit which Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn himself had made to Ṭabaristān, related in the important Zaydī chronicle Kitāb al-Ifādah fī tārīkh al-a'immah al-sādah, compiled by the Iranian imam, Abū Ṭālib Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Hārūn (reg. 411-424 / 1021-1033).[104] This visit would have taken place after 270 /883, since al-Ḥasan had been succeeded by his brother, Muḥammad. Yaḥyā, significantly, did not go and meet Imam Muḥammad nor al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī (the future Imam al-Nāṣir " al-Utrūsh ", reg. 284-304 / 897-917) who were together in Jurjān, a province to the east of Āmul where Yaḥyā, his father and several of his relatives had taken up residence. The Ifādah relates that Yaḥyā was addressed by members of his family only as imām and that he had apparently become the centre of considerable attention. All this would suggest that Yaḥyā was contemplating a khurūj in Iran, perhaps in Āmul itself.

and that he was attempting to build up a following from which would emerge the nusrah with which he could consolidate his da^{c}wah. [105]

The fact that there was an imam in the region (Muḥammad b. Zayd) would have been of little consequence for Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, for if he had considered himself better qualified for the imamate than Muḥammad, and at the same time possessed sufficient nusrah, then it would have been incumbent upon him, (as we have already seen), to proclaim the da^{c}wah to himself as imam. If that had occurred, Muḥammad would have been asked to relinquish the imamate and in the case of his refusal, armed conflict would inevitably have ensued. The history of the Zaydī imamate is full of such conflicts between rival imams. [106]

The manner in which Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn left Ṭabaristān would also lend support to the above view. Imam Muḥammad was clearly apprehensive concerning the goings-on in Āmul. Yaḥyā protested, diplomatically, that he was not plotting against him but it seems that Yaḥyā then heard of a plot to have him and his family arrested, for only this would explain their remarkably hasty departure. [107] Having returned to the Hejaz, Yaḥyā would have begun to look elsewhere for a region where he might be successful in establishing a Zaydī state.

The Yemen, or more specifically the highland plateau which stretched from north to south, was an obvious candidate for such a project. A Zaydī imamate in the Yemen would not be in rivalry or conflict with the one which already existed in Iran, for Zaydī doctrine allows for the existence of two imams in two places provided that the latter are at a considerable distance, one from the other. [108] The Yemen's mountainous terrain, in parts almost impregnable to the outsider, and, consequently, its relative isolation from the centres of Abbasid authority, were truths realized by the Fatimid imam, who had sent his two dā^{c}īs there some years before Yaḥyā's arrival, and had probably been realized too by Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā.

Ibrāhīm, a grandson of Jaᶜfar al-Ṣādiq, is regarded as an imam by some Zaydī authorities, with the laqab of al-Murtaḍā li-Dīn Allāh, but he was probably a dāᶜī for Imam Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Zayd who became imam directly after the death of Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (referred to above) in 199 / 815. [109] Significantly, the B. Fuṭaym, who urged Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn to be their imam and who in future years proved themselves to be among his loyalist followers, had been also the main support of Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā. [110]

Perhaps, though, the most important factor that caused Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn to choose the Yemen as the place where he would attempt to set up a Shīᶜī Zaydī state, and the factor that had also been uppermost in the mind of the Fatimid imam, was the known deep-rooted attachment to Shiism and Ahl al-Bayt that had existed in the Yemen among some of the most influential Yemeni tribes ever since the time of ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. [111]

As has been recently shown, [112] the Yemenis not only played a dominant role in the Arab conquests, at least after the initial phase, but also in the early conflicts and civil wars that ensued between the Muslim leaders themselves. The Yemenis, it seems, headed the faction determined to remove ᶜUthmān b. ᶜAffān from the caliphate, yet, subsequently, Yemenis formed the majority of the troops in Syria and were pro-Muᶜāwiyah. In Kufa in Iraq they were the majority and Yemeni tribesmen were the main support of both sides at Ṣiffīn. Yemeni chiefs came to Medina to congratulate ᶜAlī when he became caliph and one great tribal grouping, Hamdān, became renowned for their loyalty to ᶜAlī especially after Ṣiffīn and such, but to a lesser extent, was the case with Madhḥij too. Hamdān were described by Muᶜāwiyah as the " sword of ᶜAlī ". Such loyalty undoubtedly spread from the Yemenis at Kufa to their fellow tribesmen in the Yemen itself. Similarly it is possible that the hostility towards ᶜAlī which

existed among the Yemeni tribes of Himyar, Kindah and ᶜAkk in the Umayyad camp, likewise spread to the Yemen. It is thus perhaps no accident that Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn was opposed from the outset by the Yuᶜfirids who belonged to Dhū Ḥiwāl, a clan originating from Himyar, and that he received steadfast support from the tribes descended from Hamdān (especially from the branch of Bakīl) who were loyal to him as they had been loyal to his ancestor, ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. [113]

In a poem eulogizing Hamdān, al-Hādī exhorts them to come to his aid and fight for the sake of the religion of Muḥammad, just as they had fought gallantly alongside the wasī. ᶜAlī. I have considered this poem worthy of being quoted here in full [114] since it illustrates admirably the singular position of Hamdān in the affections of al-Hādī, as it is also indicative (by implication) of al-Hādī's conviction that he is the inheritor of the imamate of ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

(1) The apprehensions of your distressed heart have long continued,
for the faith of Muḥammad has become as if a stranger.

Those through whom its pillar is made strong are sleeping:
they remained so and thus [the Faith] is unavenged.

They neglected coming to its assistance,
and preoccupied themselves
with their farms, ways of making money and their vineyards.

I consider Hamdān's conduct in this matter strange.
[Hamdān] who had been the succour of the distressed
caller to battle.

(5) Truth has been cast aside, its mainstay weak,
feeble, like the powerless man when beaten.

Truth is calling out to them for aid but they have disregarded it,

like one neglectful through fear.

How long will it be before you rise up, every one of you,

for the sake of Truth?

like him enraged [and] held in dread.

Hamdān were the supporters of the Prophet,

and after him

they came to the succour of the Executor of his Testament (wasī),

[wielding] every knotted reed-lance.

And the Faith, after it had become effaced,

triumphs [totally]

by their aid,

both when it was disapproved of and approved.

(10) They are not like him who broke his pledges by what he did,

and the opinion he held was [found] weak and flawed.

Sufficient for me is their coming to the aid of the

Faith of Muḥammad,

for they, by your life, are my help and my good fortune.

Before every [other] helper and supporter,

it is in them that I have placed my confidence:

tell them, and they will trust me!

And by them the Faith is strengthened once again

by their rallying to its banner held high.

I still pin my hopes in them for I know their excellence;

I single them out for their good cheer

and I take them as my close associates.

(15) Because of what I know, in truth, of what they have
done in the past .....
God is the best rewarder of those who rally [to the Faith].
They gave support to the Commander of the Faithful. [115]
and fought
with noble intentions and sincere hearts.
And they were allies in the cause of Truth until
they gained the praise with which [ᶜAlī] is attributed.
All [the] tribes went [out] to fight them,
goaded on by their youth and old men.
With an august [company] of their mature men
and with their entire awe-inspiring force.
(20) They struck off the heads of the turncoats (nākithīn) [116]
and drove
all their bloodstained swords into them.
[Stained] with the blood of every aggressor and enemy,
every wayward opponent of the truth.
For they are the lions of the fray in the heat of combat,
like hot coals in the midst of their blazing kiln.
And [they are those] who seek vengeance for
the Family of Muḥammad,
and for the Clan [of those for whom vengeance] is sought
and [whose rights have been] usurped. [117]
I hold them in the highest esteem
since they
are all, the sons of women and men of proud birth.

(25) They share in the glorious rank of Muḥammad`s progeny,
surpassing all others of exalted line and lineage.
Abundant greetings I convey to them:
may He of the Throne bestow upon them
a privileged place [among the blest],
And on the awful day of reckoning
may He grant them succour,
and may He protect them from painful torment!

[Kāmil metre]

It is worthy of note that in another poem, al-Hādī not only eulogizes Hamdān but also singles out Khawlān and Madhḥij for their prowess in battle and steadfastness in his cause. [118]

The known Shī^{c}ī proclivity of many of the Yemenis, together with the remoteness ot the Yemen and the nature of the terrain, and (as will be seen later in the text and annotations) the general political instability in the Yemen as a whole, were thus the factors that were probably uppermost in Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn`s mind and altogether would have made the Yemen a most attractive proposition as a land where a Zaydī state might be successfully set up.

The dating of al-Hādī`s imamate

On the title-page of this thesis, the imamate of al-Hādī is dated from 280 / 893. Although Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn returned to the Hejaz that very year and it was not until 284 / 897 that he arrived in the Yemen again, this time to stay, there seems no reason to maintain, as one writer has done, [119] that in 280 Yaḥyā did not proclaim the da^{c}wah to himself as imam and consequenly did not demand allegiance.

The Sīrat clearly contradicts such a claim: in 280 it is recorded, [120] .... wa-adhᶜana lahu 'l-nās wa-atāᶜūhu (cf. below, Arabic text, p. 3), which can only mean that Yahyā b. al-Husayn was given allegiance as imam. The Ghāyat significantly speaks of his journey to the Yemen in 280 as a khurūj (see below, p. 85, n.5), and ᶜIsāmī [121] relates, ... wa-qiyāmuhu fī Saᶜdah ... sanat thamānīn wa-ma'tayn, (qiyām being synonymous with khurūj, in that it is a term often used by the Zaydīs when referring to the public proclamation by the imam of his daᶜwah). Mu'ayyadī, (one of the great ulema of Ṣaᶜdah of this century), says that al-Hadi's qiyām was in 280, [122] and this certainly seems to be the traditional Zaydī dating. [123]

Why did al-Hādī return to the Hejaz?

The Sīrat says that al-Hādī returned in 280 because he did not have sufficient support with which he could confront the opposition to his rule (see below, p. 85f, n.6), or as one contemporary writer has succinctly put it: [124] haythu lam yajid al-nusrah al-kāfiyah min ahl al-Yaman. The Sīrat, however, does not go into detail as to why this opposition should have arisen: it simply says that the Yemenis khadhalūhu wa-rajaᶜū ilā mā yuskhitu 'llāh.

What were those reprehensible things that would incite God's wrath? There seems no reason to suppose that the Yemenis were particularly anti-Shīᶜī and thus would not want an imam from Ahl al-Bayt to be their ruler, indeed, as we have seen, the contrary appears to have been the case. Neither would there be ground for arguing that the Yemenis, once pious Muslims, had become lax. A careful reading of the Sīrat would suggest rather that Islam had so far penetrated only superficially into Yemeni society and that in effect with the setting up of the Zaydī imamate in the Yemen, the bulk of the population were being introduced to the full

ramifications of Islam, Shī^{C}ī or Sunnī, for the first time. Mad^{C}aj [125] is thus unduly optimistic when he describes Yemeni society of that time as a mujtama^{C} takhayyama ^{C}alayhi rūh al-Islām wa-'l-qiyam ....., and as a mujtama^{C} tasharraba ta^{C}ālīm al-Islām wa-dhāqa halāwatahā. Such a description might be apt with regard to Yemeni society several centuries later, but is hardly appropriate to that of the latter part of the 3rd / late 9th, early 10th century.

It is true that the fiqh of al-Hādī is known to this day for its rigid interpretation of the Sharī^{C}ah: for instance, the complete ban on all musical instruments and the obligation upon a woman to cover her face in public. These restrictions would doubtless have been found irksome by most of the Yemeni populace. However, there were more serious issues at stake. It is clear from the Sīrat that al-Hādī found a society in which prostitution, loose sexual morality and the imbibing of intoxicating liquor were rife, - habits that manifestly conflicted with the fundamentals of the Sharī^{C}ah and which would, of course, have scandalized any sincere Muslim leader, be he Shī^{C}ī or Sunnī (although it is perhaps inapposite to employ these categories at this early period in Islamic history). Also religious duties such as the payment of zakāh and the performance of the ritual prayer appear to have been largely neglected: indeed one suspects that most of the populace did not know how such obligations were to be carried out. [126]

Al-Hādī saw himself obliged to " enjoin what was acceptable and forbid what was reprehensible " (al-amr bi-'l-ma^{C}rūf wa-'l-nahy ^{C}an al-munkar). This is the fifth of the five fundamentals of Islam according to the Zaydīs, [127] and formed the basic tenet of his da^{C}wah. In the text of this da^{C}wah, (related in the Sīrat), [128] al-Hādī, after exhorting the people to adhere to the Book of God and the Sunnah of His Prophet, continues wa-[ad^{C}ūkum] ilā 'l-amr bi-'l-ma^{C}rūf wa-'l-nahy ^{C}an al-munkar fa-mā jā'anā bi-hi 'l-kitābu 'ttaba^{C} nāhu wa-mā

nahānā ᶜanhu 'jtanabnāhu [129] wa-ilā an na'mura nahnu wa-antum bi-'l-maᶜrūf wa-nafᶜaluhu wa-nanhā nahnu wa-antum ᶜan al-munkar jāhidīn wa-natrukuhu. Such an uncompromising doctrine when applied to a society like that described above, cannot fail but meet with much opposition.

Al-Hādī: a physical description and summing-up

Imam al-Manṣūr ᶜAbdullāh b. Ḥamzah (reg. 594-614 / 1197-1217), has transmitted [130] a terse physical description of al-Hādī which deserves mention in full. Al-Hādī had the characteristics of a lion (kāna asadiyyan): wide-eyed (anjal al-ᶜaynayn) [and with] muscular forearms, (ghalīz al-sāᶜidayn), [he was] broad-chested (baᶜīd mā bayna 'l-mankibayn wa-'l-ṣadr), [and his] shanks and posterior were lean, just like a lion (khafīf al-sāqayn wa-'l-ᶜajuz ka-'l-asad). He did not have much flesh [on his limbs] so that only a high-mettled horse like Abū 'l-Jamājim could endure him (fa-lā yaṭīquhu min al-khayl illā 'l-shadīd ka-farasihi Abī 'l-Jamājim).

In the Yemen, al-Hādī enjoys a special status among all the Zaydi imams, on occasion overshadowing perhaps even Zayd b. ᶜAlī himself whose khurūj constitutes the supreme inspiration for all the imams that came after him. Also, of all the Yemeni imams he was singled out for a special mention in the Friday khutbah along with the imam of the time. Even today, in the region around Saᶜdah, this writer has observed that the ijtihādāt of al-Hādī in matters of fiqh (the ablutions and the performance of the ritual prayer, for instance), are scrupulously adhered to.

Al-Hādī represents an uncompromising brand of Zaydī Shiism, especially in his doctrine concerning the prerogatives of Āl Muḥammad as a whole and those of ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib in particular. Unconditional

obedience and loyalty to ᶜAlī is (in al-Hādī's view) encumbent upon every Muslim immediately after the wilāyah given to God and to the Prophet who, al-Hādī insists, clearly designated ᶜAlī as his successor and wasī at Ghadīr Khumm on his return from the Farewell Pilgrimage. [131]

Al-Hādī's harsh treatment of the caliphs Abū Bakr and ᶜUmar in his tract Tathbīt al-imāmah [132] shows clearly that his standpoint was akin to that of the Jārūdiyyah [133] branch of Zaydism. It is evident that al-Hādī's intense Shiism was not shared by all the Zaydī imams that came after him.

Editorial method

I should like now to discuss the Arabic text and the apparatus criticus that accompanies it. Of the three MSS (see above, p. 10f), the ᶜAlī Amīrī one has been chosen as the asl, (as ᶜĀshūr allegedly did for his printed edition). There are just twenty years between the date of the ᶜAlī Amīrī MS and the second, the Khudā Bakhsh (Bankipore), which is clearly however not dependent on the first. Neither is obviously more authentic than the other. Nevertheless, there is one quite serious omission in the Khudā Bakhsh MS of seven words (see Arabic text, p. 48) and another (p. 58), small of only two words but worthy of note. Later in the text (pp. 74,75) there occurs, on two occasions, a small but serious omission (also found in the Berlin MS) which led me to prefer without further hesitation the authenticity of the ᶜAlī Amīrī MS. Twice, al-Hādī's ᶜāmil over Najrān is called ᶜUbaydullāh whereas his name, transmitted correctly by the ᶜAlī Amīrī MS, is Muḥammad b. ᶜUbaydullāh.

In addition to these factors, there is the presence of a number of strange smudges in the Khudā Bakhsh MS (but not throughout the entire MS, it should be added), caused perhaps by damp conditions under which the MS has been kept in the past but certainly not by the scribe,

which phenomenon alone, might induce one to prefer the ʿAlī Amīrī MS as the asl. These ugly smudges, I have noted 17 in all, vary in their size in that they affect anything from part of a word to three words, either rendering the word or words undecipherable or else making the reading open to much conjecture, with the result that, in both cases, one has to have recourse to the ʿAlī Amīrī MS.

I have chosen not to mention in the apparatus criticus the places where these smudges occur in order to avoid overburdening it. None of the words affected is a crucial proper name (with the exception of Matirah - see f. 23a,12; Arabic text, p. 59), and in most cases the missing words could probably be deduced from the context with the help of what can still be deciphered of the original text, despite the smudge. I should just like to mention here the bad smudge which occurs in f. 22b,20 (Arabic text, p. 54), affecting the words ʿaskarihi wa-kharajat. The first word is almost completely illegible, and wa-kharajat does not follow it on the line but has perhaps been written above it although it is now undecipherable.

The Berlin MS I consider number three in order of authenticity not because it is dated more than a century later than the ʿAlī Amīrī MS, for of course on the basis of date alone there is no reason for rejecting it ipso facto as the asl, especially since the ʿAlī Amīrī MS was in any case written presumably about a century after the original MS. However, two serious omissions of whole sentences (see Arabic text, pp. 15,24), other minor omissions (see, for instance, pp. 71,74) and also certain points of detail, give both the Khuda Bakhsh MS (with which incidentally the Berlin MS agrees in certain points) and the ʿAlī Amīrī MS preference over it.

In the apparatus criticus, the ʿAlī Amīrī MS is referred to as ع . For the Khuda Bakhsh (Bankipore) MS I have chosen the siglum ق , and for the Berlin MS the siglum ب . In the annotations,

and henceforth in this introduction, the three MSS are referred to respectively as MS ᶜAyn, MS Khā' and MS Bā'. Misreadings of the text of a serious nature on the part of ᶜĀshūr (which have not already been pointed out in this introduction), I have indicated in the apparatus criticus so that his edition may be suitably emended. Similarly, mistakes worthy of note in Mādḥī's text have been recorded. These two editions have been allotted the sigla ق and م respectively.

The point in Ghāyat al-amānī where my edited text begins, that is with the events of year 280, corresponds in the three MSS to the following folios with their respective lines: MS ᶜAyn, f. 15a,18;[134] MS Khā', f. 19a,11; MS Bā', f. 26b,17. In the text itself a change of folio number, or from side "a" to "b" of a particular folio (that is from و to ظ), will be indicated within square brackets following the appropriate siglum. Similarly, the pages of ᶜĀshūr's edition of the Ghāyat have also been indicated and there year 280 commences on p. 166. However, the pages of Mādḥī's text have not been indicated except in the apparatus criticus where the appropriate page number (in brackets) follows his reading. Those parts of the original text which I have chosen not to reproduce for the reasons stated above (p. 13), I have indicated between double-triangular brackets (thus, ⟪ ⟫) with details of the folio and line numbers of the respective MSS.

I believe that the aim of producing an edited text with its accompanying apparatus criticus is not simply to impart information to, in this case, a historian or student of early mediaeval Yemeni history but also I consider that such a text should be of value to say a student of Arabic orthography, or of grammar or philology. Thus the edited text should be imbued with an air of authenticity so that, in this instance for example, it looks and reads like a text from a Yemeni 18th century MS. Indeed when dealing with an autograph MS, perhaps even a facsimile might be produced alongside the edited

text for the sake of completion.

So, in reproducing this text, I have striven to be as faithful as is practically feasible to the spirit and letter of the MS I have taken as the asl. Thus I have avoided the use of all punctuation marks with which unfortunately, in my opinion, Arab editors in particular are wont to lard their editions, usually I feel merely to pander to the whims of modernity and in sheer imitation of Western literary conventions that concern languages which practically have nothing in common with Arabic.

Diacritical points are often absent in the three MSS, and especially is this the case with the two dots over the tā' marbūtah, and sometimes other marks are used (like a point underneath a dāl for instance) which although common features in Yemeni MSS and others, are not today in general use. I have supplied throughout the text diacritical points in conformity with conventional usage and I have not shown in the apparatus criticus the divergences between the MSS themselves in this respect, except in the case of the less well-known proper names and toponyms, since to have done so would have made it an ungainly size.

With regard to vowel points: these are used sparingly in the MSS, usually in quite an arbitrary fashion. Sometimes they are employed incorrectly and of course they are not necessarily from the pen of the scribe himself. The edited text together with the apparatus criticus will be entirely free of vocalization except when a hamzah is accompanied by a vowel. In the latter case the vowel will be indicated because of possible orthographical interest. The vocalization of the numerous proper names and toponyms found in the text, (and of much of the vocabulary as well), will, of course, be evident both in the transliteration throughout the translation, and also in the annotations. The correct vocalization of certain toponyms will be discussed below.

Accusative nunation is indicated quite arbitrarily in the MSS. In the edited text, I have recorded the two strokes above an alif, or just before it, only when they appear in the asl and I have made no comparison in the apparatus criticus with the other MSS, again in order not to overburden it unduly. I have omitted altogether the two strokes sometimes employed for the same purpose above a tā' marbūtah. However, genitive nunation in the adverbial forms yawma'idhin and hīna'idhin, is recorded.

A problem for any editor is that presented by the hamzah. The three MSS are typical of Yemeni texts in that the hamzah is generally absent, and this feature has become a traditional one right up to the present day. My policy has been to supply a hamzah only when it is found in the asl, and I have indicated its vowel if it has been given one. When the other two MSS do not both agree with the asl, I note the variant readings in the apparatus criticus except in cases where the initial alif of a word is given a hamzah (hamzat al-qat^{c}) that is not, however, preceded by the article (if a noun or adjective), nor has a preposition or particle actually attached to it. There are 20 instances of such a case in the asl, whereas with regard to the same word in MSS Khā' and Bā' the hamzah has been omitted. This observation has been mentioned here in order to avoid both overburdening the apparatus criticus and also, of course, constant repetition.

In the words, sā'ir, dā'irah, tā'ibūn, qabā'ih, ^{c}ajā'ib, and so on, (to mention just a few instances), the scribe of the asl has provided dots instead of a hamzah, and this is generally his policy with regard to words of such patterns. Occasionally, however, he omits the dots as well and in such cases I have supplied them, except when the hamzah appears in the asl under the preceding alif or even before. In the latter case, I have recorded the hamzah as in the MS and have noted the variant readings.

Concerning the accusative shay'an, of special interest perhaps to students of Arabic orthography, although I have chosen to write it always in the text in its usual classical Arabic form, شيئًا , I have

nevertheless, noted the various MSS readings in the apparatus criticus. It is interesting to observe that in the asl, the hamzah always appears somewhere in this word: on the first occasion the hamzah, with nunation above it, follows the alif.

Al-Qāsim, Ibrāhīm, Ismā^{c}īl, al-Ḥārith, Sulaymān and ^{c}Uthmān, without the alif of prolongation, are perfectly acceptable orthographical variants, as witness certain editions of the Qur'ān, [135] and so I have not changed them in any way. In the case of Ibrāhīm, whereas the asl omits the alif, MSS Khā' and Bā' consistently indicate it, (except for one instance where only MS Khā' has an alif, and this is duly noted), and so I wish to make that observation here in order to avoid undue repetition in the apparatus criticus.

Also, ru'ūs, written with one wāw with a hamzah above it instead of two wāws, is a traditional variant and has been retained. [136] A similar case seems to be iltaja'ū, without the alif (or hamzah) and with the wāw coming straight after the jīm. (Normally of course, this 3rd. person plur. of the perfect would have an alif, with a hamzah above it, followed by two wāws). Unlike ru'ūs, where the hamzah appears in the asl, iltaja'ū is written in the asl with no hamzah above the wāw, but I have supplied one for the sake of clarification.

When a maddah, (traditionally placed over the alif, wāw, and yā' of prolongation when followed by a hamzah), is employed in the asl, I reproduce it in the text but I have chosen not to compare its usage in the other MSS. The antique forms of salāh and zakāh, with a wāw instead of an alif have been retained, as in all three MSS.

Whenever, in the asl, words which conventionally terminate with an alif maqsūrah are given, instead, a final alif mamdūdah, and vice-versa, no alteration is made in the edited text since these are features frequently met with in MSS. Thus, istad^{c}ā, da^{c}ā, sabā, yusammā; musallā, duhā, hudā, nadā, ihdā, retain their final alif mamdūdah, and, conversely, fuqarā and ihyā are written with a final alif maqsūrah instead of the classical

alif mamdūdah, (plus hamzah). So too, the classical tawadda'a apppears as tawaddā, with an alif maqsūrah and no hamzah. In order to preserve the character of the asl in the edited text, I have chosen also not to alter the alif mamdūdah in both raqā and laqāhu which would be written, classically, as raqiya and laqiyahu. For a similar reason, I have retained tawātī rather than change it to the classical tawātu', and, likewise, quwwat (qawat ?) in wa-quwwat shawkat Ibn Fadl, where quwwiyat (qawiyat) are the classical forms.

As has been pointed out elsewhere,[137] the use of ibn / bn presents quite a problem for any manuscript editor. I too have decided to follow Wright's rules.[138] Not only do the three MSS differ among themselves concerning their use of ibn and bn, but each MS itself pursues no consistent policy, although the asl adheres more to the classical usage than do MSS Khā' and Bā'. My policy in the editing of the text has been to correct the asl wherever necessary but without noting the fact in the apparatus criticus nor recording the variant readings if they occur, again so as to avoid overloading the apparatus criticus.

Thus Ibn Abī Yu^{c}fir, (scil. As^{c}ad ibn Abī Yu^{c}fir - see below), will invariably appear in that form, (which is, in fact, usually the asl reading), in the edited text, and I do not note the incorrect Bn Abī Yu^{c}fir which often occurs in the other MSS. Similarly, in the case of Ibn Faḍl, (scil. ^{c}Alī b. Faḍl), I do not record the variant reading of Bn Faḍl that occurs invariably in MSS Khā' and Bā' but only once in the asl. The asl has, correctly, names like Ibn Bisṭām, Ibn ^{c}Abbād, Ibn Maḥfūẓ and so on. MS Khā' is not always correct in this respect and MS Bā' usually prefers, incorrectly, bn, but I have not noted the variant readings in the apparatus criticus.

A problem occurs when al-Hādī and Abū Yu^{c}fir are preceded by an ism, in the case of the former by Muḥammad and in the case

of the latter by As^{c}ad. Almost invariably, the three MSS have Muḥammad bn al-Hādī and As^{c}ad bn Abī Yu^{c}fir, [139] that is to say, al-Hādī and Abū Yu^{c}fir are treated as if they too were isms, yet al-Hādī is manifestly the laqab of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn and Abū Yu^{c}fir the kunyah of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad. However, it should be added, that if al-Hādī and Abū Yu^{c}fir were the names by which these two men had, respectively, generally become known, then they had in fact become isms and so Muḥammad bn al-Hādī and As^{c}ad bn Abī Yu^{c}fir would not be incorrect. [140] Here I believe it would be somewhat injudicious to presume this to have been the case so therefore, following Wright's rules, I have chosen to correct the asl to Muḥammad ibn al-Hādī and As^{c}ad ibn Abī Yu^{c}fir throughout the edited text and I have not recorded the very few variant readings that occur.

Four times in our text, the asl (alone of the MSS) gives the suffix of an alif to Banū in the case of Banū 'l-Ḥārith. Under the events of 294 and 295, however, this additional alif is not present. This occurence has been noted here rather tnan in the apparatus criticus.

In the asl, the word sanah appears in the title of each year, albeit actually joined to the verb dakhalat, (e.g. dakhalat sanat 280). However, invariably in MSS Khā' and Bā' sanah is not present, (dakhalat 280, and so on), and I have chosen to make this observation here in order to avoid constant repetition in the apparatus criticus. In Māḍī's edition of the Berlin MS, sanah is consistently indicated.

As has been mentioned above, the Sīrat al-Hādī is undoubtedly the principal source for the author of our text. I have had this work constantly at my side while preparing this present text and I have not hesitated to make small additions to it in order to clarify an understanding of it and I have also made minor emendments to the text where necessary. Any such additions and emendments are within square brackets in the text itself, and the original wording of the text is clearly shown in the apparatus criticus so that there can never be any possibility of mistaking an addition or an emendment for the original text. (When words found in MSS Khā' or Bā' but not in the asl are supplied, round brackets are used).

In order to establish the correct orthography of certain proper names and toponyms which appear in the text, I have had recourse to the British Library MS of the Sīrat al-Hādī rather than to the printed edition

(see below, n.70), not only because the former is such a fine manuscript but because it is about 40 years older than the Istanbul MS which was taken as the asl for the printed edition. [141] (Also, I suspect that there are printing errors in the latter.) Strangely, Zakkār has neglected completely the British Library MS in his edition indeed he does not even mention its existence despite the fact that he had, apparently, been in London. [142]

However, in the apparatus criticus, it is to the printed Sīrat that I refer employing the siglum ز : this is on account of its ready accessibility, and for the same reason I also refer to the printed Sīrat in the annotations wherever possible. In the apparatus criticus, ᶜan ز (or ᶜan al-Sīrah), as opposed to ᶜan siyāq al-riwāyah fī ز and similar expressions, means that the words referred to between square brackets have been extracted verbatim from Zakkār's edition of Sīrat al-Hādī. A page and line number is always given.

In the annotations and in this introduction, ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, followed forewith by a page number should be taken as a reference to Zakkār's edition, whereas ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat MS, followed by a folio number, is a reference to the British Library MS. Also, the Sīrat by itself (or sometimes the printed Sīrat or the Sīrat MS), can only refer to the Sīrat al-Hādī.

There are six proper names that occur in the text (four personal names, one a tribal name) and seven toponyms that I wish to discuss here in the introduction in order to avoid loading the apparatus criticus with quite lengthy explanation and, in certain cases, tedious repetition. These names will thus appear in, what I believe to be, their correct form throughout the edited text and no further comment will be made in the apparatus criticus since the variant readings of the MSS will be indicated here.

Muḥammad b. ᶜUbaydullāh al-ᶜAlawī and ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad al-ᶜAbbāsī

Five times in the text, mention is made of al-Hādī's loyal henchman, Muḥammad b. ᶜUbaydullāh (the father of ᶜAlī, author of the Sīrat). Three times, the name appears in all the MSS (and in the editions of ᶜĀshūr and Māḍī) [143] as Muḥammad b. ᶜ Abdullāh al-ᶜAlawī but twice, correctly, elsewhere in the asl (Arabic text, pp. 74,75) as Muḥammad b. ᶜ Ubaydullāh, without the nisbah - but simply as ᶜ Ubaydullāh in MSS Khā' and Bā'. Once mention is made of his son, ᶜ Alī, in the form ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad b. ᶜ Abdullāh.

The name of Muḥammad's father, ᶜ Ubaydullāh, appears correctly throughout the Sīrat (both in Zakkār's edit. and in the MS) and since ᶜ Abdullāh in the Ghāyat is manifestly wrong, it has been corrected in the edited text, on the four occasions when it occurs (pp. 10,26,28), to ᶜUbaydullāh. [144]

The second name is closely related to the first. Under the happenings of year 297, our author records that al-Hādī despatched one Muḥammad b. ᶜ Alī al-ᶜAbbāsī to Ṣanᶜā', (along with al-Duᶜām). The Sīrat (395,2f) identifies him as a scion of al-ᶜAbbās b. ᶜAlī but gives his name, however, as ᶜ Alī b. Muḥammad b. ᶜ Ubaydullāh, the author of the Sīrat - al-ᶜAbbāsī and al-ᶜ Alawī are twin nisbahs (see below, pp. 231-2, n.18). Since there would seem to be no compelling reason for doubting the veracity of the Sīrat account and also because no one by the name of Muḥammad b. ᶜ Alī al-ᶜAbbāsī is recorded in the Sīrat as having been a close associate of al-Hādī, a slip on the part of the author of the Ghāyat can be safely presumed. Thus the name has been emended in the edited text (p. 75) to ᶜ Alī b. Muḥammad al-ᶜAbbāsī, and no comment has been made in the apparatus criticus.

Ibn al-Ruwayyah

Ibn al-Ruwayyah appears in the text on four occasions and in all three MSS with a bā' instead of a yā', (however, on the fourth occasion in MS ᶜAyn, it is unpointed). On the first occasion, our text records the name of al-Rabīᶜ ibn al-Ruwayyah (see below, p. 178, n.110), on the other occasions Ibn al-Ruwayyah, (although it is Abū 'l-Ruwayyah in MS Bā' on the last occasion), appears with no first name but he is to be identified as Abū 'l-ᶜAshīrah Aḥmad, brother of al-Rabīᶜ (see below, p. 188, n.19 and p. 228, n.7).

In the aṣl on the first appearance of the name, and in all MSS on its first appearance, there is a hamzah over the wāw. ᶜĀshūr gives the aṣl reading throughout his edition except that on the fourth occurrence he supplies a bā'. On the second and third occurrence he decides there should be a sukūn over the wāw: viz. Ibn al-Rawbah! The bā' in ᶜĀshūr's version of the name cannot be a printing error for it is clear that the editor intended it so. [145] On the other hand, Mādī gives the correct version, al-Ruwayyah, and even supplies vowels and a shaddah over the yā' but unfortunately he does not indicate anywhere the actual reading of his MS. [146]

In the edited text, the last part of the name has been written as Ruwayyah - see pp. 47,55,70.

ᶜAlī b. Faḍl

The Fatimid dāᶜī appears in all MSS as ᶜAlī bn al-Faḍl (twice, incorrectly, as ᶜAlī ibn al-Faḍl). As has been noted above, he is also referred to in the text as Ibn Faḍl (never as Ibn al-Faḍl). It would be perhaps both confusing and illogical to present ᶜAlī's father in two forms, Faḍl and al-Faḍl, in one text and, moreover, it seems most likely that Faḍl is the original form. In the early 8th / 14th century MS of the Kanz (with one exception) and in the Sīrat, the name appears as ᶜAlī b. Faḍl. [147]

This is likewise the case in al-Ḥammādī's Kashf asrār al-Bāṭiniyyah. [148] ᶜAlī b. Faḍl, not ᶜAlī b. al-Faḍl, is therefore the version preferred throughout the edited text on the six occasions the name occurs - see pp. 65,66,70,72.

Al-Ḥasan b. Kabālah

At the commencement of the events of year 294, mention is made in the text of the revolt of a client of the Yūfirids called al-Ḥasan b. Kanānah, in MSS ᶜAyn and Khā', and al-Ḥasan b. Kanābah in MS Bā'. Both ᶜĀshūr and Māḍī give al-Ḥasan b. Kanānah and so the latter's reading of his own MS is incorrect.[149]

Although Kayyālah is a possibility, I am inclined to favour myself Kabālah (or perhaps Kabbālah) and so I have written al-Ḥasan b. Kabālah in the edited text - see p. 70. In the printed Sīrat, the name appears consistently as Kayyālah and it does likewise in Zakkār's edition of the Kashf and the ᶜAsjad without, it should be added, any comment from the editor. [150] In the Sīrat MS, the name appears as both Kabālah and Kay(y)ālah but there is an example of the former in a title-heading where the name appears boldly and where the single dot is distinct. [151] However, it is invariably Kabālah in ᶜAṭṭār's edition of the Kashf and in the Leiden MS. [152]

B. Salmān

This tribe descended from Arḥab, appears as B. Sulaymān in all three MSS and in the editions of ᶜĀshūr and Māḍī, respectively. I believe B. Salmān to be more probably the correct version since it appears thus throughout the Sīrat - both in the printed edition and MS. [153]

See Arabic text, pp. 16 and 24.

Kitāf

Kitāf, the first of the seven toponyms to be considered, is rendered incorrectly in all MSS as K-nāf. The Sīrat narrative [154] makes it clear that Kitāf is the place intended. See Arabic text, p. 57.

Itwah

The second toponym appears varyingly in the MSS (ᶜAyn, Khā' and Bā' respectively) as L-b-wah; Kabwah, or Labwah; and K-b-wah. Again, the Sīrat [155] indicates that the place is in fact Itwah. See Arabic text, p. 60.

Uthāfit

Over a dozen times, a place appears in MSS ᶜAyn and Khā' as '-thāf-th and similarly in MS Bā' except on four occasions in the latter when it is rendered, Thāf-th. There would seem to be little doubt that the final letter is an error for tā' and it seems also that Uthāfit, rather than Athāfit, is the more probable vocalization - see below, p. 108, n.19. Thus the place is written as '-thāf-t throughout the edited text (pp. 11,12, 16,17,18,19,20,23,24), and has been transliterated as Uthāfit in the translation. When, however, MS Bā' has Thāfith, this has been recorded in the apparatus criticus.

Subul

This toponym occurs originally twice in our text and I have also added it once to the text for clarification (extracting the additional words almost verbatim from the Sīrat), - see Arabic text,

pp. 50,54,59.

On the first occasion, it appears in MS ᶜAyn as Ḍ-ẏ-l (the second letter is unpointed however); in MS Khā' as Ḍabal and in MS Bā' as Ḍ-b-l. The scribe has written the word kadhā over the name, after the name (but above the line), and immediately after the name (and then, again, wa-kadhā above the line), respectively in the three MSS. This clearly indicates that he was in doubt as to the orthography of the name and that, presumably, he did not know its location. This kadhā will not appear in the edited text.

On the second occasion, the toponym appears in MS ᶜAyn as Ṣ-līl (or perhaps Ṭ-līl), in MS Khā' as Ṣ-lī and in MS Bā' as Ḍ-līl. ᶜĀshūr has Ṣ-y-l (his pointing is thus quite arbitrary) in the first instance[156] and Ṣ-līl in the second. Mādī gives the reading of his text (scil. MS Bā') but provides, however, a footnote quoting Van Arendonk in both cases. [157]

The detailed narrative in the Sīrat shows that in fact the place on both occasions is Ṣ b l (the vowelling will be discussed below, and see below, p. 184, n.2 for a discussion of its location). The place is mentioned ten times in the Sīrat narrative in four separate contexts. In Zakkār's edition it is always Ṣ b l and likewise in the Sīrat MS (except on one occasion when it is unpointed). As Ṣ-b-l, therefore, the place will appear in the edited text.

Concerning the vocalization of the name, Van Arendonk prefers Ṣabul, [158] apparently entirely on the basis of Sīrat MS, f. 93a,19. There Ṣabul is indicated (although, incidentally, the bā' is open to other interpretations which is not the case in the other examples, where the ba' is obvious). He does mention Ṣubul in Sīrat MS, f. 97a, although, unfortunately, without further detail. There it in fact occurs three times (viz. Ṣubul) and once unvocalized. Van Arendonk does not mention

that in f. 94b, Ṣubul (sic) appears, clearly, twice (on the third occurrence it is both unvocalized and unpointed). Also, in f. 95a,b and f. 97b it appears thus: Ṣ-b-l. Thus the Sīrat MS would clearly support the vocalization Ṣubul rather than any other. In the printed Sīrat, the place appears on eight occasions as Ṣab-l, once as Ṣabul and once unvocalized. However, Zakkār provides no thorough apparatus criticus and therefore I have preferred the evidence of the British Library MS, bearing in mind also its general reliability (as can be seen throughout this thesis) and its age, and consequently have written Ṣubul in the translation and annotations.

Sanā^{c}

This toponym appears in our text, once, as S-n-^{c} . It is spelt thus on the YAR map - Arabic edit. (q.v. below, p. 187) and in Waysī, Yaman, 172. However the place appears as S-nā^{c} very clearly in the Sīrat MS, f. 94b,20 and the alif is there in Zakkār's edit. (240,7), notwithstanding his strange reading (viz. S-fā^{c}). Throughout the historical work, Ibn Ḥātim's Al-Simṭ al-ghālī 'l-thaman [159] (where it is usually linked with the neighbouring Ḥaddah - q.v. below, p. 181, n.121), the place is indicated invariably as S-nā^{c} , and it is noteworthy that the MS used for the basis of the printed text is dated only 15 years later than the Sīrat MS. [160] In our own times, Akwa^{c} refers to Sanā^{c} in his edition of al-Hamdānī's, Iklīl II, (285, n.1). I believe, therefore, that there is good justification for considering S-nā^{c} to be the older spelling and so I have emended the Ghāyat text accordingly, (see Arabic text, p.54).

Regarding the vocalization, Smith [161] prefers Sinā^{c} but it seems probable that Sanā^{c} is more correct: Akwa^{c} notes that the sīn has a fatḥah, and on the YAR map (English edit.) it is Ṣana^{c} , not Sina^{c} . See below, p. 187, n.18.

Ẓabwah

The place is mentioned four times in our text. In all MSS it appears as Ḍabwah, except on the first occasion when MS Khā' has Ẓabwah. In the Sīrat the toponym occurs five times. In the printed edition it appears as Ẓabwah, except on the fifth occurrence when it is Ḍabwah; (Zakkār in his index places, incorrectly, every reference under Ḍabwah - ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 437). In the Sīrat MS it is unpointed and unvocalized on four occasions, (viz. Ṭ-bwah), but on the final occasion it is Ẓ-bwah - f. 159a,3.

In Hamdānī's Jazīrat, (in both Müller's and Akwaᶜ's editions), it is Ẓabwah, and neither edition contains an alternative reading of Ḍabwah. Akwaᶜ specifically spells the place, Ẓabwah (153,n.2). On the YAR map it is indicated as Ḍabwah. However, as the orthography of the Sīrat and the Jazīrat might very well reflect the original pronunciation of this toponym, I have emended the text to Ẓ-bwah: see Arabic text, pp. 50,54,66. See also below, pp. 184-5, n.3.

Wurāqah

The seventh and final toponym to be discussed here is probably the most abstruse of all the toponyms to appear in our text. In MS ᶜAyn (f. 17b,24), it is W-rāf-y-y-n (the first yā' is unpointed) and in MSS Khā' (f. 21b,25f) and Bā' (f. 31a,15), W-rāf-y-n. ᶜĀshūr's reading, Rāz-q-t-y-n (q.v. Ghāyat, 181), presumed regrettably by Wilson (" Investigation ", 128f, 277) to be the actual Ghāyat reading, is utterly fanciful since the first letter of the toponym in MSS ᶜAyn and Khā', (and in MS Bā'), could never be taken for a rā'.

The striking difference between the Ghāyat MSS and the readings of the Sīrat is the qāf, where the former shows a fā': viz. W-rrāq-t-y-n (p. 228,2) and Wurrāq-y-y-n, - the two yā's being unpointed (f. 89b,7), in Zakkār's edition of the Sīrat and the Sirat MS respectively.

The context, both in our text and in the more detailed Sīrat account (see pp. 227,13 - 228,4, - read Ghaymān, 227,14), suggests

a place somewhere between Ghaymān and Bayt Baws, and not too distant from Nuqum. The place is probably to be identified with Wurāqah, which is indicated on the YAR map (MB 226931 - sheet, 1544 C2) 9 km NW of Ghaymān, 9½ km NE of Bayt Baws - see Map 3, B2. Wilson (" Investigation ", 277) makes a similar suggestion - see below p. 170, n.83. Therefore I have written, tentatively, Wurāqah in the edited text (p. 42) with no comment in the apparatus criticus.

The translation

The translation of any particular year is followed forewith by the annotations which belong to it. With regard to the translation itself, I have attempted to keep to both the spirit and the letter of the Arabic original and have striven constantly to avoid any possible accusation that I have translated " what is not there! ". Any clarification whatsoever by myself is included within square brackets.

Words or phrases which catch the eye or are perhaps of particular philological or lexicographical interest, I have transliterated and put between round brackets. With regard to my interpretation of the more interesting or noteworthy vocabulary, I have referred to my source in the appropriate annotation. Such a selection of particular words for transliteration or comment must, I suppose, be somewhat arbitrary in the case of a text which contains so much to arrest the attention of the discerning reader.

The annotations

I have tried to be as concise and to the point as possible. I make no apology if certain annotations have, in effect, turned into small essays, since in such cases I have considered both the

complexity of the subject matter to demand more than a few lines and also because, to my knowledge, the particular point has not been dealt with concisely and in an adequate manner elsewhere. Thus, to give only a few instances, I have dealt at length with such diverse topics as al-Hajar in Wadi Najrān, (pp. 96-7, n.14); Najd al-Ẓabr, (pp. 111-12, n.29); the identity of Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah, (pp. 120-22, n.1); the identification of al-ᶜUṣaymāt, (pp. 123-4, n.9); the date when al-Hādī first entered Ṣanᶜā', (pp. 154-5, n.27); the correct orthography of Wadi Ẓahr, (pp. 164-5, n.58); the location of Ẓibr Ḥaddayn, (pp. 174-6, n.100); the happenings, (in year 290), in the vicinity of Ṣubul, (pp. 196-8, n.20); Abū 'l-Qāsim's imprisonment and subsequent release, (pp. 201-2, n.34); the date when ᶜAlī b. Faḍl captured Ṣanᶜā', (pp. 220-22, n.16); and the Dūr al-ᶜAlawiyyīn, (pp. 231-2, n.18).

Also, in a few cases, I have summarised events covered by the Sīrat in several pages but often referred to, quite perfunctorily, in our text in just a few words, in order to add to the interest of the reader not familiar perhaps with the text of the Sīrat and also to add to a greater understanding of al-Hādī's imamate and its turbulent background. This last comment applies especially to the events in Wadi Najrān, (see above p. 31). Thus, for instance, pp. 127-33, (n.19 - n.35), which concern events in Najrān in the years 286-7 - described briefly in the Ghāyat (see pp. 118-9), will, I hope, both clarify these dramatic events and also add much of interest to the Ghāyat account. Similarly, the events in the year before the murder of al-Hādī's ᶜāmil, Muḥammad b. ᶜUbaydullāh, mentioned in just a few words by the author of the Ghāyat, are described more fully in pp. 234-5, n.1, and, likewise, the happenings immediately leading up to the murder, as well as the crime itself, are given greater consideration in pp. 236-7, n.1.

In the annotations (and in this introduction), when referring to any MS, I give the line in addition to the folio number, in order

to facilitate reference. For a similar reason, I provide the line along with the page number when referring to the printed edition of the Sīrat al-Hādī and the two editions of al-Hamdānī's Sifat Jazīrat al-ᶜArab (see below).

By " text " in any reference, is meant the English translation and when the actual edited text is intended, the reference is to the " Arabic text ". When reference is made to another annotation appertaining to the same year, the page number is not given. Of course, the page number is provided along with the number of the annotation when the latter belongs to a different year.

When discussing the numerous toponyms that occur in the text, I occasionally refer to maps other than the sheets of the YAR project (to be discussed below), which are often less detailed and usually less reliable. Also I have frequent recourse to works not only compiled by Yemenis themselves but by other Arab geographers and historians, as well as to the works of European scholars and travellers. Regarding Yemeni works, I single out in particular al-Hamdānī's Sifat Jazīrat al-ᶜArab, (referred to throughout the annotations as Jazīrat). I refer more frequently to the Akwaᶜ edition than to the much older Müller one, principally because of the useful information often contained in the footnotes of the former but also because of its ready accessibility. Thus in the annotations, unless otherwise stated, it is to the Akwaᶜ edition that I refer. Significant differences in MS readings between the two editions are, of course, indicated.

Cartographical detail

For the pin-pointing of toponyms met with in the text, I have had frequent recourse to the series of maps entitled, Yemen Arab Republic 1 : 50,000 published by the Government of the UK, initially in conjunction with the Directorate of Overseas Surveys and subsequently, and currently, with Ordinance Survey, for the Government of the Yemen Arab

Republic. [162] Publication commenced with a few sheets in 1980 and the project is still in progress.

Sheets covering the greater part of the YAR have now, (summer 1989), been published: that includes Tihāmah from al-Mukhā to Ḥarad, then, moving eastwards, the southern, central and northern highlands from Taʿizz to Ḥūth and al-Ḥarf, Radāʿ in the east, the NW highlands, and Sāqayn territory to the immediate west of Ṣaʿdah. Thus the sheets available cover most of the places which feature in our text. However, the projected sheets showing Ṣaʿdah itself and the area immediately to the N and NE as far as Najrān on the present Yemeni-Saudi border, as well as the regions to the E and SE of Ṣaʿdah, (which would include Jabal Barat), have yet to appear.

By means of these maps, one has been able to pin-point accurately, for the first time, places mentioned in the Ghāyat (and in other Yemeni historical works too), since the sheets are equipped with the 1000 Metre Universal Transverse Mercator Grid which enables one to give a precise 6 figure reference. Such a reference has been taken from the approximate centre of the settlement, village or town. In the case of mountains, the more scattered settlements and the larger towns, a 4 figure reference has been provided. Distances from Ṣanʿā' have been calculated from the mosque indicated at MB 157975 on YAR sheet, 1544 C1.

The grid references in the annotations have been restricted to the " YAR 1 : 50,000 " project. The term, " YAR map " can only be a reference to this project. Any reference will be followed by the sheet number (usually in brackets), and the reference itself is generally preceded by the letters YAR. With regard to places not covered at present by the YAR maps, I have had recourse to the Tactical Pilotage Chart (J-6C), [163] which has a scale of 1 : 500,000. This map will be referred to as the TPC.

The translation and annotations are followed by three maps. Maps 2 and 3 are based entirely on the YAR map with the exception of Ḥadaqān on Map 2 (see below, pp. 150-1, n.8). The wadis and mountains shown, have, of course, not been drawn according to any strict cartographical rule and, in the case of the former, the intention has been merely to indicate a stretch of the wadi concerned. Map 1, including the coastline, has likewise been based on the YAR map except for Jabal Barat, Ṣa^{c}dah, Kitāf and Wadi Najrān, the location of which has been gleaned from the aforementioned TPC.

Although Ḥarad, Jabal Maswar, al-Sūdah, Khamir, ^{c}Amrān, al-Ḥudaydah, Wu^{c}lān, Dhū Jiblah, Ghulāfiqah and al-Mukhā do not feature in our text, neither directly or indirectly, they have been indicated on Map 1 not only because all these places (except al-Mukhā) are mentioned in the annotations, but because many of them might assist a reader familiar only with a map of modern Yemen to find his bearings. For similar reasons, Dhī Bīn, the two Jabal Ẓīns, Khamir, Ḥāz, ^{c}Amrān (again) and Jabal ^{c}Aybān have been included on Map 2, al-Jirāf, Sha^{c}ūb and Jabal Barāsh on Map 3 and al-Rawdah on Maps 2 and 3.

Genealogical tables

The maps are followed by three genealogical tables. Table 1 (" Āl Yu^{c}fir ") is an abridged genealogy designed solely to illustrate the relationship between the Yu^{c}firids that feature in out text.

Regarding Table 2 (" B. Hāshim & Ahl al-Bayt "), it should be emphasized that it is very abridged and selective, its object being to portray only the descendants of Hāshim b. ^{c}Abd Manāf who appear in our text and who are mentioned in the annotations and in this introduction, and, in particular, the descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad through Fāṭimah, his daughter, and ^{c}Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Therefore, of course, a degree of prominence is given to Imam al-Hādī Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim and his immediate family and relatives. I have also been highly selective with regard to laqabs and kunyahs.

When used, they are placed between brackets. Seniority of age is from the left. [164]

Table 3 (" Al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad ") is likewise very selective and its aim is to show the relationship one to another of the various descendants of Imam al-Manṣūr bi-'llāh, al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad who figure in the discussion regarding the authorship of Ghāyat al-amānī and Anbā' al-zaman (above, pp. 17-30). Also, the table shows their direct descent from al-Hādī. Al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad had in fact ten sons but only four of them feature in this introduction. As in Table 2, seniority of age is from the left. [165]

Transliteration method

The scheme of transliteration followed throughout this thesis is, in principle, that employed in the occasional academic publication, Arabian Studies. [166]

The letter ᶜayn is represented by a " c ", moved up a space. The tā' marbūṭah at the end of a noun in the construct state (muḍāf) is represented as " ṯ ", rather than " ḥ ". Short vowels at the end of words, except in the case of verbs, are generally not indicated but where they are shown, it is usually in order to facilitate the correct reading of the original. Because of its widespread acceptance, " ī " is used to represent the double yā' at the end of certain nouns and adjectives, (ᶜAlawī, janūbī), even though " yy " would seem to be more logical, (ᶜAlawiyy, janūbiyy). However, a double wāw is shown by " ww ": i.e. ᶜaduww, not ᶜadū.

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Notes

In the following notes, Ghāyat followed by a folio number is a reference to MS ᶜAyn (q.v. above, p. 49a). In other cases, the reference is to ᶜĀshūr's printed edition, (see below, n.3).

In any MS reference, (here and throughout this thesis), 'a' (و) of a folio number is to be understood as the left-hand page of an open book, while 'b' (ظ) indicates the back of that page.

1. See Smith, " Politische ", 138a; and cf. Wenner, Modern, 30f.

2. Throughout the thesis, I refer to the adherents of the Ismāᶜīlī daᶜwah in the Yemen as Fatimids since their spirituals heirs, the Dā'ūdī and Sulaymānī Mustaᶜlīs of today, would seem to prefer this term and, in any case, in the opinion of this writer, it is a more accurate designation for this branch of the Shīᶜah. See Hamdānī, " Evolution ", 86, and below, p. 90, n.4.

3. Published in two volumes in Cairo in 1388 / 1968 and edited by Saᶜīd ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ ᶜĀshūr.

4. Vol. I, pp. 166-201, of the printed text.

5. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, Ghāyat, f. 1b,5-10.

6. Ghāyat, f. 1b,10-12.

7. Ghāyat, ff. 2a,2 - 3a,7.

8. Ghāyat, f. 11b,1-20.

9. See above, p. 35.

10. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, Ghāyat,, f. 117a,29ff.

11. Ghāyat, f. 128b,24ff.

12. Ghāyat, f. 19a,24 - 19b,13.

13. See Arabic text, pp. 65-7, (translation: below, pp. 208-9, 217).

14. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, Ghāyat,I, 10.

15. Sayyid, Masādir, 248.

16. Nadwi, Catalogue,XV, 193.

17. Orientabteilung: Ms. or. fol. 1304.
I have used a microfilm kindly provided by that institution.

18. The years 280-322 of the Berlin MS were published in 1936 in an edition, together with an introduction, by Muḥammad Māḍī entitled, Jahjā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Mu'ajjad al-Jamanī`s, " Anbā' az-Zaman fī ʾaḫbār al-Jaman ", with the subtitle of Anfänge des Zaiditentums in Jemen. Māḍī is manifestly more thorough than ᶜĀshūr although mis-readings of the MS do occur.

19. Māḍī, Anfänge, 25.

20. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, Ghāyat, MS ᶜAyn, f. 1a,1-8., MS Khā' f. 1a,1-5.

21. Ghāyat,I, 50., MS ᶜAyn, f. 1a, adjacent to lines 32-6 at bottom left-hand side and clearly written by the hand of the same scribe., MS Khā', f. 1a,32.

22. Ghāyat,I, 6-7.

23. Ghāyat,I, 7.

24. Sayyid, Masādir, 246-9.

25. Brockelmann, GAL, Supp.II, 551-2.

26. Ḥibshī, Masādir, 441.

27. Rāzī, Tārīkh, 626-7.

28. Anawati, " Textes Arabes ", 179.

29. Jāsir, " Ḥadīth ", 1124-1135.

30. Wilson, " Investigation ", 116.

31. Gochenour, " Penetration ", xii,337.

32. Smith, " Ṭāhirid ", 149.

33. Jirāfī, Ithāf, p. jīm.

34. but not necessarily an autograph copy of Anbā' al-zaman as assumed by Smith in " Ṭāhirid ", 149.

35. Quoted in Zabārah, Nashr,II, 855-6.

36. See below, p. 248, Genealogical Table 3.

This error on the title-page was not pointed out by Māḍī: cf. Anfänge, 24.

37. The text is quoted in full in Anfänge, 24.

38. See Anfänge, 24-5.

39. Strothmann, " Literatur ", 364.

40. Brockelmann, GAL,II, 403.

41. Shawkānī, Badr,II, 329-30.

42. Cf. ᶜAmrī, Yemen, 115-119.

43. British Library MS, Or. 3719. See Rieu, Supplement,II, 339.

44. ᶜĀmir b. Muḥammad, Bughyat, f. 60a,21 - 60b,8.

45. Cambridge University Library MS, Browne, C.13.

46. See ᶜĀmir b. Muḥammad, Bughyat, f. 60b,8-9, 18-21.

47. Yūsuf b. Yaḥyā, Nasamat, ff. 182b - 185b.

48. Nasamat, f. 184a,12-13.

49. Nasamat, f. 184a,13.

50. Nasamat, f. 183b,8.

51. See Fayrūzābādī, Qāmūs,IV, 355.

52. See below, Genealogical Table 3; Shawkānī, Badr,I, 146-9, 226-7., II, 139-40, 159-60., II (appendix), 80; ᶜĀmir b. Muḥammad, Bughyat, f. 60a,13; Zabārah, Nashr,II, 369-72; Mu'ayyadī, Tuḥaf, 151-2.

53. Ḥibshī, Ḥukkām, 23.

54. Wilson, " Investigation ", 116.

55. Sayyid, Maṣādir, 246-7, under heading, Inbā' anbā' al-zaman fī tārīkh al-Yaman.

56. Maṣādir, 247.

57. See Mādī, Anfänge, 24.

58. See Shawkānī, Badr,I, 391-2.

59. For the dating of the Ṭabaqāt, see Shawkānī, Badr,I, 23-4,n.1.

60. See ᶜĀmir b. Muḥammad, Bughyat, f. 123b,12-15.

61. British Library MS, Or. 3919. See Rieu, Supplement,II, 383-4.

It has been published under the title, Tārīkh al-Yaman khilāl al-qarn al-hādī ᶜashr al-Hijrī, al-sābiᶜ ᶜashr al-Mīlādī, (1045-1090 / 1635-1680), al-musammā Tārīkh Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā wa-sihāf al-mann wa-'l-salwā, by ᶜAbdullāh b. ᶜAlī al-Wazīr, ed. Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm Jāzim, Sanᶜā', 1405 / 1985.

62. Ibn al-Wazīr, Ṭabaq, f. 2a, and see also Rieu, Supplement,II, 384.

63. However, cf. Shawkānī, Badr,II, 328, where the author, presumably quoting from the Ṭabaqāt of Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim, mentions neither work by name, referring somewhat cryptically to a kitāb al-tārīkh fī mujalladayn; cf. Zabārah, Nashr,II, 855-6.

64. ᶜĀmir b. Muḥammad, Bughyat, f. 123b,13.

65. Mādī, Anfänge, 24-5.

66. N° 1347, lodged at the Dār al-Kutub and listed by Sayyid in Masādir, 247.

67. See Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, Ghāyat, MS ᶜAyn, f, 114b,34-36; transmitted accurately in Ghāyat,II, 756.

68. See Sālim, Mu'arrikhūn, 82. In the same passage in this MS, Ismāᶜīl b. ᶜAlī is taken to task for having marred [his work] by over-abridgement (fa-akhalla fī farti 'khtiṣārihi) and the writer is of the opinion that, in general, abridgements of historical [texts] are spoilt (wa-ᶜalā 'l-jumlah inna 'l-ikhtiṣārāt fī 'l-tārīkh mukhill), concluding with the Qur'ānic words: wa-fawqa kull dhī ᶜilm ᶜAlīm, " over every man of knowledge is One who knows ", (Yūsuf, 76).

69. See Masādir, 247. It is in the library of Sayyid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūr. This MS covers events up to year 678 / 1279-80.

70. British Library MS, Or. 3901.

The Sīrat has been published under the title, Sīrat al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaqq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn ᶜalayhi wa-ālihi 'l-salām in an edition by Suhayl Zakkār, (Beirut, 1392 / 1972).

71. British Library MS, Or. 4581.

72. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, Ghāyat, f. 1a,13,9-10.

73. Part of this work has been edited by Suhayl Zakkār and is contained in pp. 413-431 of the latter's Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭah fī 'l-Aḥsā' etc. (Damascus, 1400 / 1980).

Whenever al-Khazrajī is mentioned by name in the annotations, it is to the ᶜAsjad that I refer, (except in p. 95, n.5 and p. 173f, n.98). When a direct reference to the ᶜAsjad is made, al-Khazrajī is usually not mentioned and the reference is given simply as: ed. Zakkār, Akhbār, - followed by the page number.

74. See Ibn al-Dayba ᶜ, Qurrat,I, 21.

75. Shamāḥī, Yaman, 323-4.

76. See Zabārah, " Nayl " 89-208

77. Burckhardt, Travels, 232-3.

78. This is the title on the bound cover but, as is clear from the detailed title-page, the work is in fact an abridgement of a larger commentary by al-Mahdī on his own work, al-Azhār, entitled al-Ghayth al-midrār al-miftah li-kamā'im al-Azhār, and was compiled by al-Mahdī's pupil, Abū 'l-Ḥasan ᶜAbdullāh ibn Miftāḥ (d. 877 / 1472). See Shawkānī, Badr,I, 394; Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, Bahr,I, 22.

It was published in Cairo in 1357 / 1938, and again in Ṣanᶜā' in 1401 / 1980-1 (together with Shawkānī's marginal notes).

79. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, Bahr,I, 225-8.

80. Muḥallī, Hadā'iq, f. 16a,1f,6f.

81. Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, Bahr,I, 228; Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdullāh, Rawdat, 101.

82. Muḥallī, Hadā'iq, f. 15b,2-6.

83. Hadā'iq, f. 16b,12 - 17a,9.

84. Hadā'iq, f. 15b,17 - 16a,1.

85. Hadā'iq, f. 29b,10-12.

86. Muḥammad b. ᶜAbdullāh, Rawdat, 40.

87. Al-Ḥasan b. Badr al-Dīn, Anwār, f. 150b,22 - 151a,6.

88. ᶜĀmirī, Riyāḍ 297.

89. See Arendonk, Débuts, 128,n.2,3.

90. See Muḥallī, Hadā'iq, f. 4b,20 - 5a,6; and Madelung, Imam, 92. For al-Rass, see below, p. 87, n.10.

91. Hadā'iq, 17b,8ff.

92. Kazi, " Critical ", 3,4.

93. See Ḥibshī, Hukkām, 25-45; and Ṣubḥī, Zaydiyyah, 155-7.

94. See, for instance, the poem in ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 201-2, and the poem above, p. 9.

95. Zamakhsharī, Kashshāf,I, 415. For what has preceded see: Ṣubḥī, Zaydiyyah, 69-70., 164-7; Shamāhī, Yaman, 101-3. The quotation, lā yasaᶜuhum ... etc., is from al-Hādī, Aḥkām, f. 4b,27f; cf. Zaydiyyah, 165, ... muwālātuhu wa-tāᶜatuhu.

96. See Blois, " Abū Saᶜīdīs ", 13-15.

97. Ibn ᶜInabah, ᶜUmdat, 204.

98. Al-Hādī, Aḥkām, f. 4b,25f, and see Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, Bahr,I, 228.

99. Bahr,I, 227-8.

100. For a detailed account see Isfahānī, Maqātil, 232-99., 315-86., 431-60., 518-53; and for a terse mention see Kennedy, Caliphates, 131-3., 140-1., 153.

101. See Muḥallī, Hadā'iq, f. 4b,20 - 5a,1-6.

102. See, for instance, Momen, Introduction, 73-5: and Hussain, Occultation, 83-5.

103. Cf. Gochenour, " Penetration ", 148.

104. The Arabic text is given in Strothmann, Staatsrecht, 53.

105. Cf. Arendonk, Débuts, 128. Perhaps most of the Ṭabarīs who a decade later came to the Yemen to support al-Hādī in his military campaigns, were from that group who had become his followers at Āmul: cf. Gochenour, " Penetration ", 158.

106. See Sharaf al-Dīn, Yaman, 246-7.

107. .... wa-kharajū musrᶜīn wa-thiyābuhum ᶜind al-qaṣṣār wa-khifāfuhum ᶜind al-iskāf mā 'starjaᶜūhā: see Strothmann, Staatsrecht, 53-4.

108. See Ṣubḥī, Zaydiyyah, 72-3., 228-30.

109. See Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, Bahr,I, 228; and Mu'ayyadī, Tuḥaf, 52; but cf. Iṣfahānī, Maqātil, 531-4.

110. See Hamdānī, Iklīl,I, 328-9.

111. See Mad^{c}aj, " ^{c}Alī b. al-Faḍl ", 89-90; and Hamdānī, Sulayhiyyūn, 12-26.

112. See Mad^{c}aj, Yemen, 69-70, 86-8, 123-5, 127, 132, 140-3.

113. See Mad^{c}aj, Yemen, 146.

Geddes, (" Yu^{c}firid ", 68-9), divides the Yemeni tribes into two branches, the Kahlānī and the Himyaritic, descended respectively from Kahlān and Ḥimyar, the two sons of Saba'. He points out that the various rebellions against the Yu^{c}firids in the period immediately before the arrival of al-Hādī were all led, with one exception, by tribal chieftains of Kahlān descent. Furthermore, he suggests that with the coming of the Zaydīs, the Kahlānī tribes took on Shī^{c}ī affiliations while the Himyaritic tribes were pro-Sunnī, although this could be an over-simplification.

114. The text can be found in ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 415,10 - 416,19, and in Sīrat,MS, f. 169b,6 - 170a,12. I have preferred the MS reading in the following instances:- 415,15, the MS (f. 169b,11) adds bi-him after mustarikh, (which the metre demands - wa-'l-ḥaqqu mustarikhun bi-him fa-taghāfalū, viz. mustaf^{c}ilun mutafā^{c}ilun mutafā^{c}ilun); 416,11, the MS (f. 170a,4) has wa-bi-dhī 'l-jalālah, instead of wa-dhawī 'l-jahālah, (where the MS reading seems more appropriate; 416,14, the MS has wast ḥamīsihā, instead of wast khamīsihā, (Zakkār`s reading is, manifestly, nonsense, - the MS also provides the correct explanation, wast al-tannūr ^{c}an qāmūs [cf. Zabīdī, Tāj,XV, 557]). See also 416,9, where the tā' marbūṭah in thanā'ihi is clearly a misprint.

115. Scil. ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.

116. A reference to those who fought ᶜAlī in the battle of the Camel in 36 / 656: Zabīdī, Tāj,V, 376, concerning ᶜAlī's words, umirtu bi-qitāl al-nākithīn .... etc., arāda bi-'l-nākithīn ahl waqᶜat al-Jamal li-annahum kānu bāyaᶜūhu thumm naqadū bayᶜatahu wa-qātalūhu; and see Mu'ayyadī, Tuhaf, 12.

117. Scil. B. Hāshim vis-à-vis B. al-ᶜAbbās. However, perhaps the implication is even wider extending to the first three caliphs and B. Umayyah.

118. See ᶜ Abbāsī, Sīrat, 417,13-17.

119. Abū Zahrah, Imām, 510; cf. Sharaf al-Dīn, Yaman, 253, where 284 is also given as the start of al-Hādī's imamate, but Shamāḥi, (Yaman, 325), gives, correctly, 280.

120. ᶜ Abbāsī, Sīrat, 36,8f.

121. ᶜ Iṣāmī, Simṭ,II, f. 135a,9f.

122. Mu'ayyadī, Tuhaf, 63.

123. See al-Ḥasan b. Badr al-Dīn, Anwār, f. 149b,17; and Ibn Abī 'l-Najm, Durar, 202, - the former speaks of his qiyām, the latter of his ẓuhūr.

124. Sharaf al-Dīn, Yaman, 245.

125. Madᶜaj, " ᶜ Alī b. al-Faḍl ", 100, 102.

126. Cf. the duties of an ᶜāmil, below, p. 157, n.35 . For a discerning analysis of the situation, see Serjeant, " Interplay ", 18-23.

127. See ᶜ Abd al-Jabbār, Sharḥ, 741-9; and Ṣubḥī, Zaydiyyah, 178-181.

128. ᶜ Abbāsī, Sīrat, 48,11 - 49,3. For a summary of al-Hādī's daᶜwah, see Ṣubḥī, Zaydiyyah, 152.

129. This is the reading of Sīrat MS, f. 13b,9: Zakkār's edition

(48,13) has, ... anhu '-hnab-nāhu (ajnabnāhu ?).

130. Mu'ayyadī, Tuhaf, 66.

131. For al-Hādī's doctrine concerning ^{C}Alī, see his Ahkām, f. 3b,2 - 4a,8; Ibn Abī 'l-Najm, Durar, 169 (part of his wisāyah); and cf. Ṣubḥī, Zaydiyyah, 162-3., 205.

132. Kitāb Tathbīt al-imāmah, ff. 163b - 166b of British Library MS, Or. 3727. See Arendonk, Débuts, 276 80.

133. Q.v. Ess, Frühe, 42-3 (Ar. text)., 39; Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, Bahr,I. 40; and cf. Ṣubḥī, Zaydiyyah, 107-110.

134. This is in reality f. 16a, since the actual f. 5 of the MS has not been numbered and so what has been numbered f. 5 is, in fact, f. 6. However, I have retained the numbering of the folios which actually appears in the MS (even although it is incorrect) in order not to confuse future researchers.

135. See, for example, the beautifully printed Qur'ān produced under the supervision of the Iraqi Ministry of Religious Estates and published in 1398 / 1978. In Āl ^{C}Imrān, 84, Ibrāhīm, Ismā^{C}īl, and Isḥāq appear without the alif of prolongation although a small vertical stroke, traditionally employed to avert the reader from error, is placed above the consonant affected.

136. See the Qur'ān (mentioned in the preceding note), al-Ṣāffāt, 65, ru'ūs al-shayāṭīn and cf. the āyah that follows, fa-māli'ūna minhā 'l-buṭūn where similarly there is only one wāw (with a hamzah above it).

137. Smith, Ayyubids,I, 15.

138. Wright, Grammar,I, 23.

139. but note Muḥammad ibn al-Hādī (MS Bā', f. 33b,3 and MS Khā', f. 24b,30), and As^{C}ad ibn Abī Yu^{C}fir (MS Bā', f. 33b,2).

140. Cf. Smith, Ayyubids,I, 15-16.

141. The British Library MS is dated 1047 / 1638, while Zakkār`s asl is dated 1086 / 1675-6 (see ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 6).

142. Sīrat, 5.

143. It manifestly did not occur to ᶜĀshūr that ᶜAbdullāh might be wrong since he makes no comment anywhere in a footnote, but at least Mādḷī does indicate Van Arendonk`s correct version of the name: see Mādḷī, Anfänge, (Ar. text) 13, n.40.

144. See ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 7-8., 15-16; ed. Zakkār, Akhbār, 37; Zabārah, " Nayl ", 208.

145. See Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, Ghāyat,I, 183, 186, 198 and note especially 198,n.2.

146. See Mādḷī, Anfänge, (Ar. text) 29, 33, 48. See also ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 233,7, corresponding to Sīrat MS, f. 92a,4. The former has yā' preceded by wāw (without hamzah); in the latter (where the name appears distinctly as part of a title-heading) a yā' is clearly intended, even though it is unpointed, and it has a shaddah with a fatḥah above it, the wāw has a fatḥah and the rā' has a shaddah with ḍammah, - al-Ruwayyah. Cf. also f. 93a,18, where the yā' has two points beneath it.

147. The exception in the Kanz is f. 178a,20. The name appears ten times as ᶜAlī b. Faḍl (ff. 178a - 180a). In the Sīrat, both in Zakkār`s edition and the MS, ᶜAlī b. Faḍl appears thrice (389,21., 390,11., 404,3; ff. 158b,18 - very clearly in a title., 159a,8., 164b,9).

148. I refer to two printed editions of this work and a MS: the edition edited by ᶜIzzat al-ᶜAṭṭār published in Cairo in 1357 / 1939, and that edited by Zakkār and included in his Akhbār al-Qarāmiṭah etc. pp. 203-51.

The MS is preserved in the Leiden University Library and is contained in ff. 1-39b of Or. 6349. In the MS, however, the title is given as Risālat Muḥammad b. Mālik al-Nahwī. I refer to it either as Muḥammad b. Mālik, Risālat, or as the Leiden MS - according to the context. In this thesis, I usually refer to ᶜAttār's edition because of its ready accessibility. See Blois, " Abū Ṭāhir's ", pp. 21-2.

ᶜAlī b. Faḍl appears in that form some 20 times in the Kashf (see ᶜAttār's edit. pp. 20-7). Once, however, in the Leiden MS (f. 14b,8), the name occurs in a title-heading as ᶜAlī b. al-Faḍl.

149. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, Ghāyat, I, 198, and Mādī, Anfänge, (text) 48 and 48,n.237. ᶜĀshūr was clearly unaware of the existence of variants of the name but Mādī does mention Van Arendonk's preference, Kayyālah (based on what he deduced from the Sīrat MS - but see below, n.151).

150. See ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 390-8 (several examples); ed. Zakkār, Akhbār, 225, 423, 426.

151. Sīrat MS, ff. 160a,15, wathaba 'bn K-bālah and 160a,18, ibn K-bālah; but cf. ff. 159b,5, ibn K-yālah and 159b,17 which is unpointed. Van Arendonk prefers Kayyālah but notes the variant readings: Débuts, 238,n.6.

152. Ḥammādī, Kashf, 27 - three instances; and Muḥammad b. Mālik, Risālat, f. 21a, - four instances.

153. See, for example, ᶜ Abbāsī, Sīrat, 98,4, corresponding to Sīrat MS, f. 32b, last line and margin: wa-qawm min Hamdān yuqālu lahum Banū Salmān (cf. Arabic text, p. 16 which has this almost verbatim) wa-dhālik anna Banī Salmān, and cf. MS, f. 33a,19, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān.

154. Sīrat, 244,15; Sīrat MS, f. 96b,14 (Kutāf); and see below, p. 193, n.7.

155. Sīrat, 247,11, Atwah; but Sīrat MS, f. 97b,15, Itwah, distinctly, with hamzah and kasrah beneath it; and see below, pp. 198-9, n.24,26.

156. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, Ghāyat,I, 185. Unfortunately, Wilson (" Investigation ", 130), relies on ᶜ Āshūr`s reading.

157. Mādī, Anfänge. (Ar. text) 31, n.135., 35, n.158.

158. Arendonk, Débuts, 226, and n.1., 229.

159. Edited by Smith and published in 1974 as Vol. I of his Ayyubids.

160. The British Library MS of the Simṭ is dated 1062 / 1651-2, and even the Cairo MS, (the second of the three MSS used for the edition), is not much later, viz. 1075 / 1664-5. See Ayyubids,II, 13, and above, n.141.

161. Ayyubids,II, 206.

162. These maps are now classed as " restricted " material. I was able to study them in the Map Room of the Cambridge University Library.

163. Produced under the direction of the Director Gen. of Military Survey, Ministry of Defence, UK 1988.

164. The information for the table has been gleaned from various sources, in particular Ibn ᶜ Inabah, ᶜUmdat; Mu'ayyadī, Tuḥaf; and Muḥammad b. ᶜ Abdullāh, Rawḍat. Cf. Madelung, Imam, 245, 246.

165. As with Table 2, various sources have been used, in particular Shawkānī, Badr; Rawḍat, 65, 67, 73, 75; and Tuḥaf, 151, 188, 194. (I have indicated al-Qāsim b. al-Mu'ayyad as an imam since, although neglected in Badr, he claimed the imamate on two occasions - see Zabārah, Nashr,II,369-73.).

166. First published in 1974. Seven volumes have been published, and at the time of writing, the 8th. vol. is in the press.

T R A N S L A T I O N AND A N N O T A T I O N S

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Year 280 [from 23 March 893]

In [this year], Imam al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaqq departed for the Yemen: [his name and genealogy is] Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib - may the blessings of God be upon all of them:

A pedigree, the brilliance of which is like the forenoon
shining upon it,
A shaft of light at daybreak. [1]

This was [al-Hādī's] first going-forth [to the Yemen] (al-kharjah al-ūlā). [2] Having arrived at al-Sharafah [3] in Nihm territory, [4] he was given allegiance by the inhabitants (wa-adhʿana lahu 'l-nās bi-'l-tāʿah), since his khurūj [5] had been at their entreaty. However he had not been there long before he realized that [the people] were contravening his ordinances, [ordinances] which were in accordance with the principles (aḥkām) of the pure Sharīʿah: so he turned back and returned to the Hejaz. [6]

After [al-Hādī's] departure, there occurred in the Yemen feuds and [periods] of famine which would take too long to describe. Consequently, the Yemenites sent messages once again to al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) [in which] they implored him [to come back] (wa-tadarraʿū ilayhi). So they reconciled themselves with him (fa-rajaʿū ilayhi) [7] and he returned to [the Yemen], [but] at a date we shall mention later, if God wills.

In Mukhtaṣar al-asbāb by Shaykh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, [8] [it is stated] that the occasion (sabab) for the khurūj [5] of al-Hādī (upon whom be peace), was that Banū Fuṭaymah of Khawlān Ṣaʿdah [9] travelled to visit al-Hādī at al-Rass [10] in the Hejaz and entreated

him [to make] khurūj, [5] [at the same time] appointing him as their ruler (wa-mallakūhu ardahum). (End of [citation]).

Annotations

1. The metre is Kāmil.

2. Probably kharjah, q.v. Lane, Lexicon, II, 719b, but cf. Kazimirski, Dictionnaire,I, 555 - kharajah: expédition (militaire).

3. Cf. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 36,9: ..... al-Sharafah bi-'l-qurb min Sanᶜā'. Three places in the Yemen bear this name, but this is most probably al-Sharafah in the upper reaches of Wadi al-Sirr, 31 km NE of Ṣanᶜā' (q.v. below, p.153 , n.18), in (present-day) Nāḥiyat Khawlān: see Map 1, B3, (YAR MC 431129 - 1544 C2). It is a settlement just to the W of Wadi al-Sharafah and 6 km E of Bayt al-Sayyid. See Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 185,6,n.6; Rathjens & Wissman, Landeskundliche, " Scherafe " on fig. 64; cf. Waysī, Yaman, 71-2, - Ra's al-Sharafah from which flows Wadi Saᶜwān.

4. Nihm b. Rabīᶜah, a tribe of Bakīl and thus from Hamdān (not to be confused with the Ḥāshid tribe of Nuham) who today, along with B. Ḥushaysh, inhabit Hijrat al-Sirr (scil. Bayt al-Sayyid) in Wadi al-Sirr (see preceding note): Waysī, Yaman,71; Hamdānī, Iklīl,X, 237., Iklīl,I, 293,n.5; cf. Kaḥḥālah, Muᶜjam,III, 1198, - Nihm b. ᶜAmr b. Rabīᶜah.

5. What seems to be implied by khurūj here is the traditional open declaration of the daᶜwah to himself of the Zaydī imam (see above, introduction p. 35f), rather than simply the departure of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn from the Hejaz to the Yemen.

6. Al-Hādī did not go back to the Hejaz out of disgust or dispair, but

because he seems to have lost the necessary armed support (nuṣrah) by which he could impose his daᶜwah (by force) upon the Yemenites: see ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 36,10 - ..... wa-lam yajid ᶜalayhim aᶜwānan. See also above, introduction pp. 45-7.

7. Cf. Dozy, Supplément,I, 511: .... se réconcilier avec quelqu'un.

8. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣalāḥ al-Sharafī (975-1055 / 1567-1645) described shortly before in the Ghāyat (see MS ᶜAyn, f. 14b,36) as al-Sayyid al-ᶜallāmah, and mentioned as the author of al-Laᵓālī ᵓl-mudiyyah. He was descended from Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, (al-Hādī`s uncle ), and was indeed a man of learning, and a poet too. He was one of the principal henchmen of Imam al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad, under whom he held official posts, and then a follower of his son al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad and a teacher of the latter`s son al-Ḥusayn, - the father of the author of the Ghāyat. In addition to the Laᵓālī, (which is a biographical work on the House of the Prophet), his works include two commentaries on al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad`s celebrated theological treatise al-Asās and a commentary on al-Azhār called Diyāᵓ dhawī ᵓl-absār. See ᶜĀmir b. Muḥammad, Bughyat, f. 52b,5 - 53a,4., 60a,12f; Ismāᶜīl b. Muḥammad, Simṭ, f. 214b - 216a; Mu'ayyadī, Tuḥaf, 152.

9. Khawlān Ṣaᶜdah (or Khawlān al-Shām) to distinguish them from Khawlān al-ᶜĀliyah (or Khawlān al-Yaman) who inhabited the Mashriq, the region to the E of Ṣanᶜāᵓ (see below, p. 150, n.6). There has long been a controversy among genealogists as to whether both Khawlāns are descended from Kahlān b. Saba' - like Hamdān, Ḥāshid and Bakīl, and Madhḥij, (and Ibn Rasūl, d. 696 / 1296, says that this is the opinion of most genealogists), or from Ḥimyar (Kahlān`s brother ), or whether one is Kahlānī and the other Ḥimyarī. Although al-Hamdānī ( Iklīl,I, 203-4, 180-1., Iklīl,X, 1-3 ) traces Khawlān al-ᶜĀliyah`s descent from Khawlān b. ᶜAmr

b. Mālik and eventually back to Kahlān via Udad b. Zayd, and traces Khawlān Ṣa^{C}dah (by implication) from Khawlān b. ^{C}Amr b. Alḥāf b. Quḍā^{C}ah (b. Mālik) and thus from Ḥimyar (see also Nashwān, Muntakhabāt, 61), he points out, however, that Khawlān al-^{C}Āliyah themselves are adamant in their conviction that they are from Ḥimyar, and says that they hold Khawlān Ṣa^{C}dah to be of similar descent. Some genealogists even maintain that Quḍā^{C}ah is Bakr son of Ma^{C}add b. ^{C}Adnān, and thus neither from Kahlān or Ḥimyar.
See Hamdānī, Iklīl,I, 136-80; Ibn Rasūl, Turfat, 56-7; Ibn ^{C}Abd al-Barr Anbāh, 117, 138, 31-6; Kaḥḥālah, Mu^{C}jam,I, 365-7., III, 957-8; Suwaydī, Sabā'ik, 17, 32-5, 19, 23; Smith, Ayyubids,II, 231; Ḥamzah, Jazīrat,240-1., ^{C}Asīr, 138, 140.

The B. Futaymah had become the most prominent clan of the B. Sa^{C}d b. Sa^{C}d b. Khawlān especially from the time of Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ja^{C}far (see above, introduction p. 40). They were not in fact descended from Sa^{C}d b. Khawlān (b. ^{C}Amr b. Liḥāf) but from Suḥār, one of the other seven sons of Khawlān. They were, however, interrelated with B. Sa^{C}d b. Sa^{C}d on the maternal side and belonged to B. Sa^{C}d b. Ḥādhir b. Suḥār.

The loyal support of B. Futaymah for al-Hādī (and, subsequently, for his sons al-Murtaḍā and al-Nāṣir) was crucial in the establishment of the Zaydī imamate in the Yemen. Al-Hamdānī describes them as being ^{C}amūd amrihi (scil. al-Hādī's) wa-wakr ^{C}izzihi wa-nizām dawlatihi.
See Hamdānī, Iklīl,I, 326-9; Gochenour, " Penetration ", 51.

10. More exactly, from al-Fara^{C}, a village to the SW of Medina in the vicinity of al-Rass one of the villages of the Qaballiyah range.
See ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 17,6., 37,1; Fayruzābādī, Ma^{C}ālim, 154-5, 316-7; Samhūdī, Wafā',II,1218, 1281, 1286; Arendonk, Débuts, 131,n.2; Jāsir, " al-Rass ", 6-7.

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Year 282 [from 2 March 895]

In [this year], ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn Khuftum [1] set out for Iraq whereupon al-Duᶜām [2] entered Ṣanᶜā', but it was not long before he departed from [the city]. Then Asᶜad ibn Abī Yuᶜfir [3] became ruler of [Ṣanᶜā'] and it was during his rule that the Carmathians manifested [themselves] in the Yemen. [4]----------

Annotations

1. ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Dā'ūd Khuftum, Abbasid governor of Ṣanᶜā' (279-282 / 892-6), who was sent to the Yemen to help the Yuᶜfirids re-establish control in the wake of the chaos which had broken out throughout the highlands of the Yemen in the 270`s / 880`s: q.v. Geddes, " Yuᶜfirid ", 67-70. Khuftum seems to be the correct vocalization, but the sources have many variants of his name: cf. for instance, Ṭabarī, Tārīkh,III, 1908., IV, 2025, 2040, - K-f-t-m-r, with variant readings viz. K-f-t-m; Ibn al-Daybaᶜ, Qurrat,I, 163, 164, 165, - J-f-t-m., Qurrat,MS, f. 8b,14, - Ḥ-f-t-m., 15, - Ḥuq-y-m and Ḥ-qay-m., 16, - Ḥ-q-y-m; Ibn ᶜAbd al-Majīd, Bahjat, 35, - Juftum.

Khuftum`s troops (Geddes thinks they were Turkish) stayed behind in the Yemen after his departure and were known as the Khafātim: vide " Yuᶜfirid ", 70,n.52., 72,n.56., Appendix A. ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥusayn was to be appointed a second time, in 290 / 903, but was killed in Ṣanᶜā' the following year: see below, text p. 191f.

2. Al-Du^{C}ām b. Ibrāhīm b. ^{C}Abdullāh b. Ya's al-Aṣghar al-^{C}Abdī descended from Arḥab (through ^{C}Abd b.^{C} Alayyān b. Arḥab) and thus from Bakīl and described by al-Hamdānī both as sayyid Hamdān fī ^{C}aṣrihi and as sayyid Bakīl. His name could not have been fortuitous, for his renowned ancestor was Arḥab b. al-Du^{C}ām (al-Aṣghar) b. Mālik b. Rabī^{C}ah b. al-Du^{C}ām (al-Akbar), - cf. below, p. 112f, n.34.

Al-Du^{C}ām had been appointed by the Yu^{C}firid ruler Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad (r. 265-279 / 878-892), governor of the Wadi Ghuraq region in al-Jawf (q.v. below, p. 223, n.22) after the revolt of al-Murādī in 269 / 882-3. Incensed at the murder by Ibrāhīm of his father Muḥammad with whom he enjoyed a close relationship, and insulted by the former, al-Du^{C}ām subsequently revolted and, after the assassination of Muḥammad b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, he managed to gather all Hamdān (Bakīl and Ḥāshid) under his leadership. Al-Hamdānī says that he seized all the Yu^{C}firid domains and ruled from Ṣan^{C}ā'. Idrīs relates that al-Du^{C}ām was driven out of Ṣan^{C}ā' by Khuftum on his arrival in the Yemen in 279 / 892-3, and that his attempt to recapture the city after Khuftum's departure was a disaster, fa-dakhalahā thumma haraba minhā.

See Hamdānī, Iklīl,X, 134, 67, 158, 162, 178-181; Nashwān, Muntakhabāt, 40 (but Arḥab ibn al-Du^{C}ām al-Akbar, not bn - cf. above).. Mulūk, 166-7; Idris, Kanz, f. 177b, 19-20,26; Geddes, " Yu^{C}firid ", 64-7: Gochenour, " Penetration ", 41-2.

3. Scil. As^{C}ad b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad (d. 332 / 943-4): the ruler, (who features prominently later in our text), of the Yu^{C}firid dynasty established by his great-grandfather, Yu^{C}fir, which traces its descent back to Ḥimyar b. Saba' (via Dhū Ḥiwāl): q.v. Geddes, " Yu^{C}firid ", (genealogies, Appendix B), 165-6.

Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad was assassinated in al-Muḥarram 279 / April 892, and was succeeded by his cousin, ^{C}Abd al-Qāhir b. Aḥmad (scil.

ʿAbd al-Qāhir ibn Abī 'l-Khayr - see below, p. 163f, n.57). A month later Khuftum arrived and no doubt the Yuʿfirids became little more than figure-heads during his stay in Ṣanʿā'. The sources mention al-Duʿām's abortive attempt to seize Ṣanʿā' after Khuftum's departure in 282 / 896 (see preceding note), then, according to Ibn Daybaʿ, the Yuʿ firids regained control over the city, q.v. Qurrat.I, 165, after which his account becomes confused. The Kanz is inaccurate at this juncture (see f. 177b,26) but Ibn ʿAbd al-Majīd, Bahjat, 36, has succinctly, wa-rajaʿa 'l-amr ilā Banī Yuʿfir wa-mawālīhim - and says no more.

Then nothing is known about the fortunes of Ṣanʿā' until 285 / 898 when a man called Abū 'l-ʿAtāhiyah (for whom see below, pp. 120-2, n.1), had become its ruler. Apart from a brief restoration of Yuʿfirid rule by ʿAbd al-Qāhir in 288 / 901 (see below, text p. 142), it was not until 291 / 904 (see below, text p. 192) that the city passed once more into Yuʿfirid hands. Ṣanʿā' was now ruled, jointly it seems, by Asʿad and his cousin ʿUthmān but the following year Asʿad was able to make himself sole master of the city, (see below, text p. 208).

4. Carmathians or Qarmatians (scil. Qarāmiṭah), like the word Bāṭinīs, is a term of abuse, not confined to Zaydī writers, applied to Ismāʿīlī Shīʿīs in general, whether they were followers of the Fatimid caliphs of North Africa (and, subsequently, of Egypt), or whether they belonged to the various groups which derived their inspiration allegedly from Hamdān Qarmaṭ (flor. 260's and 70's / 870's and 80's). The mention of the Yemen in the text is a reference to the activity of the two Fatimid dāʿīs Ibn Ḥawshab " Manṣūr al-Yaman " and ʿAlī b. Faḍl. See above, introduction p. 70, n.2: and below, p. 211f, n.17 and p. 216, n.36.

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Year 284 [from 8 February 897]

In Ṣafar [March-April 897] [of this year], al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) arrived at Ṣaᶜdah [1] and this was his second going-forth (al-kharjah al-thāniyah) [to the Yemen]. [2] He put an end to the feud [which had arisen] among the tribe of Khawlān [at] Ṣaᶜdah [3] and decreed that a quarter of the zakāh [accruing from] grain crops (taᶜām) [4] should be distributed among the poor and orphans. [Al-Hādī] stayed in Ṣaᶜdah for a few days and then set out in a southerly direction (nahada ilā 'l-Yaman), [5] urging the inhabitants to fight for the sake of God. [6]

In Jumādā II [July-August 897] of this year, al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) went to Najrān [7] at the head of a large body of men from Khawlān and other [tribes]. The tribesmen of Wādiᶜah, [8] Shākir, [9] Yām [10] and the Aḥlāf [11] went out to meet him for they were jubilant at his arrival and [thereupon] proffered him allegiance. They were induced to do that [because of] what had occurred between themselves and Banū 'l-Ḥārith, [12] [who were] the [indigenous] inhabitants of Najrān, in the way of bitter wars and numerous terrible confrontations (al-ahwāl al-ᶜadīdah). [13] Al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) proceeded with [the tribes] to Najrān [where] he was met by Banū 'l-Ḥārith [after which] he established peace between the [latter] and their enemies, securing from [both factions] a sworn covenant (al-mawāthīq al-akīdah) to [abide by their] agreement and to refrain from dissension (wa-tark al-shiqāq).

Then the populace rendered allegiance to [al-Hādī], and [thus] the affairs [of the people] were straightened out thanks to the salutary presence of [the imam] (upon whom be peace) (bi-barakatihi ᶜalayhi 'l-salām). After this, [al-Hādī] went on to Hajar [14] where

he stayed until the discord had abated and the principles of the peace settlement had become firmly established (wa-taqarrarat qawāʿid al-sulh). [15]

Then [al-Hādī] returned to Ṣaʿdah and drew up a covenant (ʿahd) for the people of the Book (ahl al-dhimmah), namely the Christians of Najrān (and others). [16] Regarding [the land] they had purchased from the Muslims, [they must pay] one ninth [of the produce] but [regarding] what they had purchased before the advent of Islam, they were entirely exempt (fa-laysa ʿalayhim fīhi shayʾ). He also stipulated the exact amount [to be paid] by way of the poll-tax (wa-qarrarahum ʿalā ʾl-jizyah) in Najrān, Ṣaʿdah and in all other places which he (upon whom be peace) would bring under his sovereignty. [17]

Annotations

1. See Map 1, B5 - some 180 km N. slightly W. of Ṣanʿāʾ. It was known before Islam as Jumāʿ and is described by Hamdānī as the chief town of Khawlān territory (kūrat bilād Khawlān). Before Islam, Ṣaʿdah was the centre of the leather tanning industry. Even early in the Islamic period it became known for its wealth and also as a centre of commerce.

Ibn al-Mujāwir's narrative suggests that the city's present site and subsequent development was a direct result of al-Hādī, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn's residence there. Ibn al-Mujāwir (flor. early 7th / 13th century) praises the inhabitants for their virtue and common-sense (wa-hum qawm akhyār yaddaʿūna ʾl-hikmah), and he mentions their knowledge of precious stones and of al-ʿulūm al-ʿAlawiyyah (scil. ʿulūm Ahl al-Bayt). They were all followers of Zayd b. ʿAlī and were considered by their co-religionists to be

the most authoritative exponents of their sect, (wa-hum shawkat al-qawm fī 'l-madhhab). Even today, Ṣa^{c}dah and the district round about is noted for its ulema and it has perhaps kept to Zaydī Shiism more than any other region in modern Yemen. See Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 98; Istakhrī, Masālik, 24; Ibn Ḥawqal, Ṣūrat,I, 36; Nashwān, Muntakhabāt, 61; Ibn al-Mujāwir, Mustabṣir, 204,206; Waysī, Yaman, 111-2; Akwa^{c}, Yaman, 76-7.

2. Cf. above, p. 85 , n.2.

From the Sīrat, it can be deduced that al-Hādī left al-Fara^{c} (q.v. above, p. 87 , n.10) on 5 or 6 Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah of the previous year / 13 or 14 January 897. He had almost given up the idea of going to the Yemen again because of the evil ways of the Yemenites and their little desire for the True Faith (qillat raghbatihim fī 'l-ḥaqq) but he was persuaded by a dream in which he saw the Prophet. He arrived in Ṣa^{c}dah on 6 Ṣafar 284 / 15 March 897. For this and details of the journey see ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 37-41.

3. The feud was between the two Khawlānī tribes, B. Sa^{c}d b. Sa^{c}d b. Khawlān (see above, p. 86f, n.9) and al-Rabī^{c}ah (or Āl Rabī^{c}ah) b. Sa^{c}d b. Khawlān. The initial cause seems to have been the death of Muḥammad b. ^{c}Abbād (the grandfather of Ibn ^{c}Abbād - see below, text p. 134) of B. Ukayl, who were a section of Āl Rabī^{c}ah, at the hands of Āl Abī Fuṭaymah. The fact that B. Fuṭaymah,(who had become not only the leaders of B. Sa^{c}d b. Sa^{c}d but virtually the most powerful clan of the whole of Khawlān Ṣa^{c}dah), were not from Sa^{c}d b. Khawlān must have further embittered Āl Rabī^{c}ah. See Hamdānī, Iklīl,I, 327: wa-hum (scil. B. Fuṭaymah) akthar Khawlān jābatan wa-ab^{c}aduhum sītan wa-afrasuhum farūsiyyatan.

Muḥammad b. ^{c}Abbād had been given charge of al-Bayāḍ region by al-Aḥwal b. Māhān (often known as Ḥamdawayh and who had been appointed by al-Ma'mūn, his governor over Yemen 201-2 / 816-8). Muḥammad's son, ^{c}Abdullāh, sought vengeance for his father's death and spread calumniations

against B. Sa^{C}d b. Sa^{C}d but the Yu^{C}firid, Yu^{C}fir b. ^{C}Abd al-Raḥmān took the side of the latter. It is clear that B. Sa^{C}d b. Sa^{C}d had become known for wanting a Yemen independent of Abbasid control and thus would support the ambitions of the Yu^{C}firids, and that Āl-Rabī^{C}ah were pro-caliphate.

^{C}Abdullāh b. Muḥammad then went to Iraq and managed to persuade the caliph that Yu^{C}fir was planning to overthrow Abbasid rule, for al-Wāthiq (r. 227-32 / 842-7) despatched a force to the Yemen to occupy Ṣan^{C}ā'. It seems ^{C}Abdullāh hoped the Abbasid army could destroy once and for all the emerging power of the Yu^{C}firids, deal a crushing blow to his rivals B. Sa^{C}d b. Sa^{C}d and give Āl Rabī^{C}ah a privileged status among the Yemeni tribes - with perhaps an important local governorship for himself. See Hamdānī, Iklīl,I, 236, 238-245., Jazīrat, 249; Mad^{C}aj, Yemen, 216-7.

4. According to ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 47, this ½ applies to all agricultural produce, like raisins for instance.

5. Ilā 'l-Yaman and ilā 'l-jihah al-yamaniyyah are used by the author of the Ghāyat to mean " in a southerly direction " or " to districts to the south ", the idea probably being yamān (cf. yaman, yamīn) in relation to the Ka^{C}bah, (see, for instance, below, text pp. 141 , 190). These terms are in antithesis to al-jihah al-shāmiyyah (see, for instance, MS ^{C}Ayn f. 43b,28, and cf. use of qiblī and ^{C}adanī, to the north / to the south, still prevalent in modern Yemeni speech, q.v. Rossi, L'Arabo, 219, under meridionale). In MS ^{C}Ayn, f. 37b,31f appears thumma nahada ['l-imām] ilā jihat al-Yaman hattā wasala Dhamār, i.e. the imam (scil. Aḥmad b. Sulaymān, who was in Ṣa^{C}dah) went south to Dhamār.

By extension, al-Yaman and especially al-jihah (al-jihāt) al-yamaniyyah are applied to that part of the Yemen around Ṣan^{C}ā'. The imam ^{C}Abdullāh b. Ḥamzah was preoccupied with problems in al-jihah al-yamaniyyah, the text implying Ṣan^{C}ā' and the surrounding districts: MS ^{C}Ayn, f. 42b,21. In 587 / 1191, Tughtakīn returned from Ṣan^{C}a' to Ta^{C}izz

however, and it is said, raja^{C}a ilā 'l-Yaman (MS ^{C}Ayn, f. 40b,31), but for Ta^{C}izz and those more southerly regions our author prefers the term al-Yaman al-Asfal (cf. al-Yaman al-A^{C}lā, - below, text p. 217).
(Cf. al-Khazrajī's use of al-Yaman where it is essentially Ta^{C}izz and its district: ^{C}Uqūd,IV, 97, 101, 186, 248, 273, 340 etc., and see also, Smith, Ayyubids,II, 215.)

6. There is no mention of al-Hādī's making a journey south in the Sīrat. He remained in Ṣa^{C}dah from 6 Ṣafar until 6 Jumādā II (15 March - 11 July 897), except for a brief excursion outside Ṣa^{C}dah (a few days before he left for Najrān) to teach his men military tactics and technique. See ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 41,6f., 48,4f., 66,18 - 67,11.

On his arrival in Ṣa^{C}dah, al-Hādī had sent letters to all parts of the Yemen exhorting the inhabitants to give him allegiance and urging them to make the jihād with him, (Sīrat, 48,6f).

7. He arrived on 8 Jumādā II / 13 July 897: ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 67,16-18.

Najrān is some 70 km NE of Ṣa^{C}dah - see Map 1, B5. For a good account of this oasis right on the present-day Saudi-Yemeni border, see Ḥamzah, ^{C}Asīr, 167-191; see also Waysī, Yaman, 117-8, and Hamdānī,Iklīl,I, 14,n.1.

8. Wādi^{C}ah b. ^{C}Amr b. ^{C}Āmir b. Nāshij, descended from Ḥāshid, like Yām, and thus ultimately from Hamdān b. Zayd: Hamdānī, Iklīl,X, 74; Suwaydī, Sabā'ik, 78-9; Kaḥḥālah, Mu^{C}jam,III, 1241.

9. Like Wādi^{C}ah, descended from Hamdān but in this case through Bakīl, viz. Shākir b. Rabī^{C}ah b. Mālik b. Mu^{C}āwiyah b. Ṣa^{C}b b. Dawmān b. Bakīl: Hamdānī, Iklīl,X, 227.

10. Of Ḥāshid descent, viz. Yām b. Aṣbā b. Dāfi^{C} b. Mālik b. Jusham b. Ḥāshid: Hamdānī, Iklīl,X, 28, 40, 65, 68.

11. Probably a sub-tribe of Yām descended from Habrah and Muwājid (known as the Aḥlāf) sons of Madhkar b. Yām: cf. Hamdānī, Iklīl,X. 68,71. However, that they are a section of a Qaḥṭānī tribe known as Tanūkh might be a possibility: Kaḥḥālah, Mu^{c}jam,I, 8, 133-4.

12. B. al-Ḥārith (more commonly, Bal-Ḥārith) b. Ka^{c}b. It is not clear whether they are descended from Madhḥij or from Azd. In either case however they would be descended ultimately from Kahlān (the common ancestor of the Ḥāshid and Bakīl tribes): see Ibn ^{c}Abd al-Barr, Anbah, 108; Kaḥḥālah, Mu^{c}jam,I, 231-2; Zabīdī, Tāj,V, 220.

13. Cf. Dozy, Supplément,II, 770: ahwāl al-harb - l'horreur des combats.

14. The parallel passage in the Sīrat has qaryat al-Hajar min Najrān which is clearly the same place as qaryat Najrān mentioned before on the same page and from which apparently B. al-Ḥārith had come to meet al-Hādī: ^{c}Abbāsī. Sīrat, 68,14,5f. It is tempting to equate qaryat al-Hajar min Najrān and qaryat Najrān (the former being a pleonastic way of saying the latter) with hajar Najrān of al-Hamdānī which is explained by him as meaning qaryat Najrān (the town of Najrān) since he says that the word al-hajar means al-qaryah in the language of Ḥimyar (sic) and the Qaḥṭānī Arabs, (he mentions hajar Jāzān, hajar Hasibah): cf. Beeston et al., Sabaic, 56, HGR - town, (but there is no definite article in the south Arabian languages). Elsewhere, al-Hamdānī distinguishes between al-qaryah al-hadīthah and al-qaryah al-qadīmah and identifies the latter with al-Ukhdūd (q.v. below, p. 131 , n.29).

In the Sīrat the place appears frequently as al-Hajar or simply as al-Qaryah and seems to have been the principal settlement in Wadi Najrān. (Hajar of our text, without the article, is probably a slip on the part of the author for he is following closely the Sīrat narrative during these events, and indeed the Sīrat is his sole source for all the events in Najrān during al-Hādī's imamate.) According to my informants in Najrān, there is no

place in Wādī Najrān known today as al-Hajar (or Hajar). Apparently, al-Hajar was situated on the southern side of the wadi in proximity to both al-Ḥaḍan and Mīnās, the other two important settlements in that area: see ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 243,3ff where al-Ḥaḍan (Zakkār has al-Ḥiṣn), qaryat al-Yāmiyyīn (scil. Mīnās) and qaryat al-Hajar are mentioned successively; and see below, p. 127f , n.22. Al-Hajar, as intimated above, belonged to B. al-Ḥārith: q.v. Sīrat, 164,12f - sāra (scil. al-Hādī) bi-man kāna maᶜahu ilā qaryat Banī 'l-Ḥārith allatī tusammā 'l-Hajar.

Akwaᶜ states that even today (in the Yemen presumably) the word al-hajar is used to denote any large village and also any pre-Islamic town now in ruins. See Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 170,3f,n.3,4., 318,10; Arendonk, Débuts, 140,n.2.

15. For taqarrara cf. Lane, Lexicon, VII, 2499a; Kazimirski, Dictionnaire,II, 699 - être établi fermement.

16. According to the Sīrat, the sulḥ which al-Hādī made with the non-Muslims of Najrān was enacted before he returned to Ṣaᶜdah (see following note), since he remained in Najrān for the rest of Jumādā II, Rajab, Shaʿbān and 18 days of Ramaḍān (i.e. from 13 July - 19 October 897): ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 78,3f., 79,7f.

The Sirat at this juncture only mentions ahl al-dhimmah or al-dhimmiyyūn. However, the Sīrat mentions elsewhere jizyat al-naṣārā wa-'l-yahūd, and in an anecdote Jews and Christians are mentioned together. Specific mention is made of the Christians who lived at al-Mīnās (q.v. below, p. 127f, n.22) in Wadi Najrān. It is clear that not all the Christians in Najrān were evicted by ᶜUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, contrary to what Madᶜaj has suggested. See Sīrat, 72,3ff., 58,13f., 62,14f.,228,14f; Arendonk, Débuts, 142; Madᶜaj, Yemen, 111-13.

17. The text of the sulḥ is in the Sīrat and al-Hādī clearly wanted it to be a model for future similar circumstances. It was signed and completed on 22 Jumādā II / 27 July 897. See ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 73-8.

Year 285 [from 28 January 898]

In Ṣafar [February-March 898] of this year, al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) proceeded to Barat [1] which is a large mountain whose inhabitants belong to the Hamdānī tribe of Shākir. [2] The inhabitants [of Barat] thought that al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) would not be able to penetrate their territory because of its rugged and impregnable nature and also because of the meagre size of the force [with the imam] (upon whom be peace) which at that time only amounted to eight horsemen and 26 men on foot.

When [the imam] (upon whom be peace), approached their territory, [the inhabitants] prevented him from obtaining water and stopped him from going any further. At this, al-Hādī summoned them and reproached them but they took no notice of what he said and [instead] showered him with arrows one of which struck him, and some of his men were wounded. Then [the imam] made a decisive attack (hamlah sādiqah) and God granted him victory. He slew three [of the enemy], wounded many of their number and took others prisoner. The remainder fled, but al-Hādī's men pursued them, succeeded in stripping them [of their arms] and were on the point of killing them, but al-Hādī forbad them to do so, saying, " They are not fighting under the command of anyone! " (laysa lahum fi'ah yarjaʿūna ilayhā).

When [the agressors] realized what had befallen [their companions], they sought protection from al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) who granted it to them, whereupon they gave [the imam] allegiance and [then] petitioned him to free the captives and return the arms which had been taken from them. [All] this was granted [by the imam] so that he might win over their hearts [to his cause] (taʾlīfan lahum).

[Al-Hādī] stayed in Barat three days and did not ask [the populace] for anything, with the result that his men became restless (taʿiba ashābuhu) and their horses [started] eating the trees. So [the imam]

returned to Ṣa^{c}dah after having appointed as his deputy over [Barat], ^{c}Abd al-^{c}Azīz b. Marwān al-Najrānī who collected [from the inhabitants] 5,000 faraq [3] as tithes.

In Rabī^{c} II [April-May 898] of this year, al-Hādī received a message from his governor over Washḥah, [4] Muḥammad b. ^{c}Ubaydullāh al-^{c}Alawī, [5] informing him that Abū 'l-Du^{c}ays [6] had gathered [around him] a large number [of his supporters] and had refused to pay the obligatory alms (al-wājibāt). [7] At this, al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) despatched his brother ^{c}Abdullāh b. al-Ḥusayn [8] who engaged them in battle after he [scil. ^{c}Abdullāh] had done his utmost to exhort them (ba^{c}da 'l-i^{c}dhār ilayhim) [9] [to submit to al-Hādī's authority], but they had refused. Abū 'l-Du^{c}ays was defeated and ^{c}Abdullāh's men [then proceeded to] loot the settlement, but were forbidden [to continue] by ^{c}Abdullāh. [The latter] granted a safe-conduct to the inhabitants and collected their alms (ṣadaqātahum) of which he gave a quarter to their poor, and returned (wa-wasala) a sixth of their alms [10] to the people of the settlement as a compensation for what they had lost.

After this, in the same year, al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) led a sizeable body of men to Najrān and alighted in a village called Shawkān, [11] where he commanded that its date-palms and grape-vines be cut down as a punishment on their owner who had taken to waylaying travellers. Then al-Hādī cursed him and God swiftly took His revenge upon him. [12]

In the same year, there arrived letters from al-Du^{c}ām b. Ibrāhīm to al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) requesting [the imam] to appoint him as [his] governor over the territory where [at that time] he [scil. al-Du^{c}ām] was [the ruler] (an-yuwalliyahu 'l-jihah allatī huwa fīhā), [13] but al-Hādī did not agree to what he asked. ([Now al-Du^{c}ām] was one of [those princes who] exercised control over the territory within his grasp (wa-huwa min

al-mutaghallibīn ᶜalā mā taht yadihi).[14]

After [these events], al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) proceeded to Khaywān[15] where he was met by the tribes of that region and where he stayed several days.[16] Then he went on to al-Ḥaḍan [17] in the territory of Wādiʿah[18] and from there continued to Uthāfit[19] where there arrived the inhabitants of Bayt Zawd[20] complaining of al-Duᶜām and his henchmen. [They contested] that it was the wont [of the latter] to imbibe intoxicating liquor and commit abominable transgressions to the extent that one of their number had laid his hands upon a young virgin, deflowered her (fa-'qtaddahā) and [then] killed her father, but that al-Duᶜām had done nothing about it.

After commanding someone to denounce these acts, al-Hādī went back to Khaywān where he stayed until news reached him that al-Duᶜām had set out for al-Bawn[21] at the head of a large force. Al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) thought this to be a ruse on the part of al-Duᶜām and that he was [in fact] making for Uthāfit, so he sent ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz b. Marwān[22] [on ahead] to [that town] while he followed behind. [The imam] then left [Uthāfit] for a locality called Sirr Bakīl.[23] He was intending to go on to Bayt Zawd when he received the news that al-Duᶜām was about to ascend the pass[24] so he gave up the idea of going to Bayt Zawd and [instead] started to make for the top of the pass.

When [the imam] perceived al-Duᶜām's army, he ordered that the standards be unfurled (nashr al-rāyāt)[25] whereupon al-Duᶜām retreated to the village of Ḥamudah[26] one of the villages of al-Bawn. After having ordered the pass to be guarded, al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) proceeded to Bayt Zawd and [thence] moved to a place called Ḍahyān.[27]

Then there was a cry from the top of the pass that al-Duᶜām had reached Bayt Zawd whereupon al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) went

there, but did not find al-Du^{C}ām. On hearing that [the latter] had ascended the Ḥamudah pass. [28] al-Hādī set out to do battle with him and caught up with him in Najd al-Ẓabr. [29] When the two forces came in sight of each other (tarā'ā 'l-jam^{C}ān), al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) ordered his men to get ready to fight. He directed Khawlān [30] and Hamdān [31] to the right flank, the men of Bayt Zawd and al-Bawn to the left, and Banū Rabī^{C}ah and Banū Ṣuraym [32] to the centre. Al-Du^{C}ām likewise prepared his men for battle.

Then al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) alighted from his steed, made ablutions and prayed in the abbreviated form (wa-sallā qaṣran). On being informed that al-Du^{C}ām's army was approaching, al-Hādī rejoined: " God willing, they will shortly ask us for safe conduct." Then he sent for one of al-Du^{C}ām's men and said to him: " Go to al-Du^{C}ām and tell him that al-Hādī says, ' Why are tribesmen fighting one another [over something which is] between me and you (^{C}alā-mā taqtatilu 'l-^{C}arab baynī wa-baynak)? [33] Take me on in single combat and, if you kill me, you [alone] will be free of me, but if I kill you, everybody will be delivered from you!' "

Al-Du^{C}ām's envoy went back and told [al-Du^{C}ām] what al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) had said. Al-Du^{C}ām did not like [the imam's proposition], yet he sent back the man to al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) with a conciliatory message, saying that he did not relish an armed conflict. At this, al-Hādī sent back a messenger to al-Du^{C}ām admonishing him and censuring him for what he was bent on doing.

[So] the envoys continued to go back and forth between the two [camps] until the right flank of the army of al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) drew near to al-Du^{C}ām's left flank. Both [sides] taunted each other (fa-tanābazū bi-'l-kalām), then fighting broke out as [the two armies] clashed. One of al-Hādī's men was killed and one of al-Du^{C}ām's

[was killed too], whereupon al-Hādī enjoined his men to stop fighting and [that] they duly did. Repeated attempts were made through envoys to reach a peace settlement until [one] was [actually] established [at which] al-Du^{c}ām went out [to meet] the imam and swore obedience to him. Then the two sides mingled [amicably] with each other (wa-'khtalaṭa 'l-farīqān) [after which] al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) returned to Bayt Zawd [whereas] al-Du^{c}ām withdrew to Ḥamudah.

After these events, al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) was informed that one of al-Du^{c}ām's sons named Arḥab[34] had gone to Uthāfit at the head of a Hamdānī clan known as Banū Salmān.[35] [At this time], al-Hādī's sons - Muḥammad and Aḥmad[36] - were at Khaywān and the enemy (al-qawm) wanted to kill them, but God Almighty prevented them [from doing so].[37] Most of the populace of Uthāfit were deceitful people, having colluded with al-Du^{c}ām's men [Arḥab b. al-Du^{c}ām's] when they entered the town [Uthāfit].[38] Then a man by the name of Abū ^{c}Umar[39] went out with a small band to confront them [Arḥab's men] and proceeded with [his men] to fight them. The latter however proved too numerous for [Abū ^{c}Umar] and were [able to] kill him and enter the town. When news reached al-Du^{c}ām[40] of what had been perpetrated by his tribe, he expressed apparent disapproval (ankarahu fī ẓāhir al-amr), [but then] set out himself for Uthāfit and established his base there.

Al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) then moved from where he had been staying to a locality called Mashūṭ.[41] There he summoned the tribes who then gathered around him. He asked what they thought about fighting al-Du^{c}ām and, on their agreeing unanimously to [an armed confrontation], he (upon whom be peace) set off with them. When [they] reached the vicinity of Uthāfit, [al-Hādī] commanded his men to prepare themselves [for battle].

Then al-Du^{C}ām led his men out and the fighting commenced continuing into the late afternoon (of that day), many injuries being sustained on both sides. Al-Du^{C}ām had taken along with him his heavy baggage from Uthāfit fearing al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) and when the fighting grew intense, al-Du^{C}ām ordered that many items of apparel [be brought to him], which were then [duly] distributed. He then commanded some of his men to call out to al-Hādī's troops: " Anyone who would like a garment should come over to [our side] !" Many went over to [al-Du^{C}ām] and were given garments [which led to] commotion breaking out among al-Hādī's men. [At this], al-Du^{C}ām's men, who were considerably more numerous, made an onslaught. Now al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) threw himself into the fray urging his troops to remain steadfast. The fighting continued into the night and then each [side] withdrew to its own camp.

After this, al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) set off for a locality known as al-Darb [42] where he stayed while his horses, camels (rihāluhu), [43] and men recovered from [their] weariness. Then he called the people to make haste [to his cause], fixing a day when they should be ready (thumma hashada 'l-nās wa-wā^{C}adahum li-yawm ma^{C}lūm) [44] and [indeed] they gathered together and arrived at [his camp].

[At this time], Muḥammad, [the imam's] son, [also] arrived at the head of a contingent of Khawlān. [45] Al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) then set out for Uthāfit [where] he got his men ready for combat. [46]

Al-Du^{C}ām [now] appeared at the head of a force of 200 horse and 2,000 foot, [whereas] al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) had no more than 30 horse and 700 foot. The two sides engaged each other in combat, but the horses could do nothing due to the rugged nature of the terrain.

[Then] Muḥammad ibn al-Hādī advanced with a band of his [own] men and almost forced al-Du^{C}ām's troops back to Uthāfit. Al-Du^{C}ām [however] had prepared an ambush

and some of his men [rushed] out to attack Muḥammad ibn al-Hādī. Al-Du^{C}ām [on his part] with his horse and foot made for the place where al-Hādī had positioned [himself] [and launched an attack upon him] but [the imam] held his ground (fa-lam yabraḥ min makānihi). [47] Time and time again they assailed [the imam] but God Almighty guarded him and protected him from their evil and set fear in their hearts, so they turned away from him realizing that [he had survived death] because God was watching over him. [48]

Then al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) proceeded to al-Darb in the territory of Banū Rabī^{C}ah. [Later], al-Du^{C}ām departed from Uthāfit [for Khaywān] [49] [whereupon] a band of Banū Ṣuraym attacked the town and ransacked it. [50] When news of this reached al-Hādī (upon whom be peace), he condemned [what they had done] in the strongest terms and was almost set on leaving the Yemen [altogether], saying, " I do not think it legally permissable to fight (lā 'staḥillu 'l-qitāl) alongside such [people] as these! " Some of [his] principal [henchmen] (ba^{C}d al-a^{C}yān) persisted [in their attempt] to conciliate and propitiate [the imam] by offering profuse apologies on behalf of the perpetrators [of the deed] (yataraddāhu wa-yasta^{C}tifuhu wa-yubālighu fī 'l-i^{C}tidhār li- l-fā^{C}ilīn), but he would not accept [such apologies] until [the looters] had given back everything they had seized. [51]

Annotations

1. See Map 1, B4.

A mountain some 70 km SE of Ṣa^{C}dah on which are many villages and which possesses abundant cultivated land. From al-Hamdānī's day until the present it has been known for its agreeable climate and for the richness of its soil. Cf. Glaser, Reise, map 3; and see Hamdānī, Jazīrat,

351,1ff, n.1,5; Waysī, Yaman, 84, 85; Zabārah, Nashr,II, 15.

2. Al- Hamdānī says that the inhabitants of Barat (see preceding note) are the clan of Duhmah descended from Shākir b. Bakīl (the latter being Shākir`s distant ancestor). He says that Duhmah are called the Quraysh of Hamdān, for they are the bravest of Hamdān and protectors of women and clients, (anjad Hamdān wa-humāt al-ᶜawrah wa-manaᶜat al-jār): Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 351,1,3f, n.4; above,p. 95, n.9.

3. or farq (q.v. MS ᶜayn, f. 15b,16). Presumably it will have been similar to the faraq employed in Medina (equivalent to 3 sāᶜ) rather than that of Iraq which was about half the capacity again: q.v. Hinz, Islamische, 37.

4. W-sh-ḥ-h in MS ᶜayn is the name of a town (more accurately today a scattered settlement) and a range of mountains SE of Ḥarad and N of al-Sharafayn (but ᶜĀshūr is misleading when he says near Ḥarad, which is in Tihāmah: Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, Ghāyat, 170, n.2) and would not fit in well with the detailed narrative in the Sīrat nor with al-Hādī`s actual visit to the same place (a visit not mentioned in the Ghāyat) in Shawwāl of the preceding year both of which suggest a place much closer to Ṣaᶜdah than Washḥah. The latter would nave been a major excursion for al-Hādī over difficult terrain, (for the settlement of Washḥah see YAR LD 2935 (1643 C2)).

In both occasions in the Sīrat (Zakkār and MS) the place is Wasaḥah and Was-ḥ-h respectively. On the first occasion the town is mentioned in connection with the B. Baḥr (who inhabit Jabal ᶜUrāsh and belong to Al Rabīᶜah - see above, p. 93, n.3) and later, Wasaḥah is clearly in the vicinity of Sāqayn: these are indications that it is the Wasaḥah mentioned by al-Hamdānī (elsewhere twice referred to by its pre-Islamic name of Wasakhah) in Khawlān territory in present-day Sāqayn .SW

of Ṣa^{c}dah. The Sīrat mentions that one of the Yu^{c}firids had succeeded in penetrating the rugged mountains around Wasaḥah, presumably at the head of a military expedition. Also the fact that al-Hādī left Ṣa^{c}dah on 8 Shawwāl 284 / 8 November 897 and returned later in the same month, suggests strongly that he went to Wasaḥah and not to the distant Washḥah. See ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 80,16ff., 81,1ff., 85,17., 86,4ff., cf. Sīrat MS, f. 25b,20 (where Was-ḥ-h appears in title)., 28a,3; Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 265,3ff., 250,3f., 117,1, n.3; Arendonk, Débuts, 145, n.8.

5. Abū Ja^{c}far Muḥammad, who had been appointed by al-Hādī during his visit to Washḥah / Wasaḥah in Shawwāl 284 / November 897: see preceding note and ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 81,6, - Abā Muḥammad [sic] b. ^{c}Ubaydullāh., 85,16; and above, introduction p. 57.

6. Abū 'l-Dughaysh is more likely: It is spelt thus in Sīrat (Zakkār), cf. 81,4., 85,17., 86,4, and generally so in Sīrat MS, cf. ff. 28a,b; and cf. Arendonk, Débuts, 145, n.1. His nisbah is al-Shihābī according to the Sīrat and his cousins are described as Shihābiyyūn. Thus he probably belonged to the Bakīl tribe of Shihāb b. Hājib b. ^{c}Aṣaṣah b. Nihm, (Nihm is the brother of Shākir, see above, n.2, and p. 85, n.4): Hamdānī, Iklīl,X, 244, 247.

7. Cf. ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 85,18: al-ṣadaqāt.

8. This is one of al-Hādī's two brothers. He has the kunyah of Abū Muḥammad and is known as ^{c}Abdullāh al-^{c}Ālim. Both he and al-Hādī are from the same mother: see Ibn ^{c}Inabah, ^{c}Umdat, 204, 206; and above, introduction p. 33. Al-Hādī's other brother is ^{c}Alī, known as al-Shaykh: Muḥammad b. ^{c}Abdullāh, Rawdat, 41.

9. " So that no charge of injustice could be imputed to him if he then fought the rebels ", is what seems to be implied: for a^{c}dhara, see Lane, Lexicon,V, 1984a and cf. Dozy, Supplément,II, 106. See ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 86-9 for the detailed account of the incident.

10. According to the Sīrat, ½, presumably from the amount remaining

after the ¼ had been extracted, thumma amara lahum baᶜd al-rubᶜ bi-nisf suds ākhar: ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 88,7.

11. Described by al-Hamdānī as one of the asrār (sing. sirr) Najrān scil. one of the most fertile stretches of Wadi Najrān, and it is situated in its upper reaches. See Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 166,3,n.2., 318,1; and below, p. 180, n.116.

12. According to ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 89,16, his name was Ḥunaysh from the Wādiᶜah tribe; cf. Sīrat MS, f. 29b, and Zakkār's Ṣanᶜā' MS: Ḥubaysh.

13. See above, p. 89, n.2.

14. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 91,15f, describes him as rajulan min mulūk al-Yaman al-mutaghallibah ᶜ alā amrihā. Al-Hādī would not agree until he was certain that al-Duᶜām would rule strictly according to the Qur'ān and the Sunnah of the Prophet. It seems that al-Hādī was concerned in particular that al-Duᶜām should be absolutely impartial when extracting the zakāh from his subjects, disregarding matters of blood relationship and status in the community: fa-'in ajāba ilā dhālik ..... wa-akhadha 'l-haqq min-man wujibaᶜ alayhi min qarīb aw baᶜīd aw sharīf aw danī, wallaynāhu hīna'idhin umūr al-Muslimīn. Such assurances from al-Duᶜām had clearly not yet been given. See ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 92,1-7.

15. Al-Hamdānī says that it is the principal town of Ḥāshid territory kūrat Ḥāshid al-ᶜuzmā and owes its name to Mālik (who is Khaywān) b. Zayd descended from Ḥāshid. It is inhabited partly by Āl Abī Muᶜayd (Abū Muᶜayd being the ancestor of Āl al-Ḍaḥḥāk) and Āl Dhī Riḍwān, the former being a Ḥāshid clan and the latter, though Ḥāshidī in origin, give their loyalty to Bakīl. Leaving Ṣanᶜā' for Mecca, it was the third staging post, after Raydah and Uthāfit. It is suggested that its apparent decline in later years was due to the development of nearby Ḥūth to the SW. See Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 97,10f,n.6., 246,5-7.,265,1f; Hamdānī, Iklīl,X, 56;

Maqdisī, Taqāsīm, 111; Bakrī, Muᶜjam,II, 528, balad fī diyār Hamdān; Waysī, Yaman, 84., map facing 50; Arendonk, Débuts, 150,n.4; Glaser, Reise, map 3, SE of Saᶜdah; Wilson, " Investigation ", 262.

16. This refers to al-Hādī's visit to Baṭinah Ḥajūr (Zakkār gives Buṭnah, incorrectly,) where he stayed a few days, not to his stay in Khaywān which lasted from 28 Jumādā I until 24 Shaᶜbān, (22 June - 15 September 898): ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 92,8ff - 93,1-10; cf. Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 247,11,n.4, - Ḥajūr Baṭinah, to the west of Wādiᶜah territory and near Ḥūth to the north, in al-ᶜUṣaymāt (see Map 1, B4): cf. Arendonk, Débuts, 151,n.1; Wilson, " Investigation ", 374.

17. Cf. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 93,11,12, - al-Ḥiṣn, but Sīrat MS, f. 31a,6, (in title) al-Ḥ-ḍn. See Arendonk, Débuts, 151,n.5; Wilson, " Investigation ", 236-7.

18. See above, p. 95, n.8.

19. See above, introduction p. 60. Uthāfit is probably more likely than Athāfit. Al-Bakrī specifically gives a dammah and Akwaᶜ insists likewise. However, Yāqūt gives a fathah, and thus it appears throughout the entry in the modern edition of the Tāj. Wilson gives Athāfit and, strangely, does not even mention the possibility of Uthāfit. Uthāfah and Thāfit are alternative names for this, formerly important, staging-post on the Pilgrimage road, known before Islam as Durnā. Apparently, no traces of the place exist today. Since, however, Uthāfit lay half-way, so to speak, between Raydah and Khaywān, (see Map 1, B3,4 and above, n.15), then its position must have lain not far to the E of Khamir, or bearing slightly to the NE, or even to the SE of that town (see below, n.42). See Bakrī, Muᶜjam,1, 105; Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 97,2,n.2., 339,4f; Yāqūt, Muᶜjam,I, 89; Zabīdī, Tāj,IV, 478; Wilson, " Investigation ", 171; Arendonk, Débuts, 152,n.7.

20. This it seems is the more correct form, (pronounced Zūd by Ḥāshid). Hamdānī maintains that the place was originally Bayt Zayd (scil. Zayd

b. Sayf b. ᶜAmr descended from Ḥāshid) but that Ḥimyar turned the yā' into a wāw: wa-Himyar tuqallib«Zaydan fa-taqūl«Zawdan. Wilson thought, incorrectly, that Zūd or Zuwad were the Himyaritic form (sic) of the Arabic name Zayd. It is described as being near Uthāfit in the Sīrat (Bayt Dhu'd in Zakkār's edition, but clearly Z-w-d in the Sīrat MS) so it could not be the very distant Bayt Zawd (Zūd?) mentioned by al-Hamdānī as a village on mount Tukhlā (now known as Maswar in present-day Liwā' Ḥajjah) as ᶜĀshūr wrongly thought and van Arendonk also (but corrected fortunately however by Ryckmans). Al-Hamdānī surely did not mean that that Bayt Zawd belonged to the fortress-village of al-Arās, for the pronoun of fīhi refers clearly to Tukhlā. The Bayt Zawd of our text lies 12 km N of Raydah: YAR LC 9561 (1544 A1), a very scattered settlement, (Bayt Zūd, sic). See Hamdānī, Iklīl,VIII, 160,n.3; Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 345; ᶜ Abbāsī, Sīrat, 94., Sīrat MS, f. 31a; Wilson, " Investigation ", 294 (Bayt Zūd,sic); Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, Ghāyat, 171,n.1; Arendonk, Débuts, 152 (Bait Zūd, sic), n.8.

21. or Ḥaql ᶜAmrān. It is the mountain plain that extends from the south of ᶜAmrān to Shuwābah Ḥirrān in the Jawf. There are two Bawns, the upper and the lower, the former being south of the latter. Yāqūt identifies al-Bawn as a city in the Yemen where it is claimed there is " the disused well and the lofty stuccoed palace " of Qur'ān, al-Ḥajj, 45. Al-Hamdānī, however, understands al-Bawn as being a region and associates the celebrated palace, known as Talfum, and the well with Raydah itself. See Waysī, Yaman, 24; Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 243,4,n.3., 96,14,n.3., Iklīl,VIII, 165-7., Iklīl,II, 98,n.4; Yāqūt, Muᶜjam,I, 511.

22. According to ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 95,12-14, al-Hādī had appointed him governor of Uthāfit. He had originally come from al-Baḥrayn, his kunyah was Abū ᶜUmar and he was a man of learning and piety.

23. A place in the uplands of Ḥāshid territory zāhir balad Ḥāshid but

inhabited by Bakīl tribesmen. It is not necessarily the same place as al-Sirr mentioned by al-Hamdānī several lines previously, as Wilson assumed. Sirr in Sirr Bakīl certainly implies a fertile locality by a wadi, and the context suggests that it lies to the SE of Khamir. See Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 246.8f., 245,6,n.3; Wilson, " Investigation ", 299; below, p. 180 n. 116.

24. Al-naqīl, q.v. Landberg, Datînois III, 2816, route dans les montagnes. The context suggests that this mountain pass is most probably the great Naqīl al-Ghūlah (or ᶜAjīb), 4 km SW of Bayt Zawd and 8km just NE of Ḥamudah (see below, n.26): summit, " Ra's Naqīl al-Ghūlah ", YAR LC 9258 (1543 B2). The foot of the pass is just off the modern Raydah-Khamir highway. See Waysī, Yaman, 82.

25. Or, perhaps, ' that the standards be deployed ' i.e. that the sections of the army be ordered to their respective positions, since nashr also contains the notion of tafrīq: q.v. Zabīdī, Tāj,XIV, 216, and the Sīrat has at this juncture, fa-amara bi-'l-rāyāt fa-nushirat: ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 96,2.

26. Ḥamidah according to Akwaᶜ and Waysī and it appears thus on the YAR map but the possibility that in fact Ḥamudah is the more ancient pronunciation cannot be ruled out. Today it is a small town in the lower Bawn and it is some 8 km W of Raydah, slightly to the N: YAR LC 893507 (1543 B2). The YAR map marks also a Hijrat Ḥamidah, a scattered settlement 2 km just NW of Ḥamidah itself. Hijrat Ḥamidah is just in the hills whereas Ḥamidah is marked in the Qāᶜ al-Bawn so the latter is clearly the Ḥamudah of our text. See Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 157,2,n.1; Bakrī, Muᶜjam,II, 468, Ḥamdah; Waysī, Yaman, 82; Werdecker, " Contribution ", map, Hámuda - NW of Rêde; Wilson, " Investigation ", 243; Wilson, " Sites ", 72.

It was not fortuitous that al-Duᶜām retreated to Ḥamudah since this

was a settlement which belonged to the Bakīlī tribes. al-Shāwiliyyūn and al-Lubbiyyūn, descended, respectively, from Dhū 'l-Shāwil and Dhū 'l-Lubb, - brothers of al-Duʿām's distant ancestor Arḥab: see Hamdānī, Iklīl.X, 134., Jazīrat, 244.2f: and above, p. 89, n.2.

27. A village at the foot of Naqīl al-Ghūlah: Wilson, " Investigation ", 339; and see above, n.24. It is not marked on the YAR map. ʿĀshūr's footnote is not helpful: citing Yāqūt, he indicates a Ḍaḥyān between Najrān and Tathlīth on the Pilgrimage road from Ḥaḍramawt to Mecca! (Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, Ghāyat, 171, n.5). Cf. Arendonk, Débuts, 154,n.6 - Dhaḥjān. Māḍī's reading of MS Bā' is incorrect (viz. Niḥyān) but, in any case, the Niḥyān of Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 262.20, is clearly impossible in this context (cf. Māḍī, Anfänge, 15,n.54).

28. If Najd al-Ẓabr (al-Ẓubr) has been identified correctly, (see following note), then this is probably a different pass from the one identified as Naqīl al-Ghūlah (see above, n.24).

29. I have not been able to locate a place in the area known as al-Ṭ-y-r, (or al-Ẓ-y-r, - see Arabic text, p. 14.), nor al-Ḍ-y-r (ʿAbbāsī, Sīrat, 96,11). The reading, however, of Sīrat MS, f. 32a.15 is Najd al-Ṭ-y (unpointed)-n. Wilson, (" Investigation ", 343), following presumably Van Arendonk and Māḍī, identifies the locality as Najd al-Ḍīn: cf. Arendonk, Débuts, 154, and n.7: and Māḍī, Anfänge, 15,n.55. (Madi's actual reading of his MS, i.e. MS Bā', as Najd al-Ẓ-y (pointed by him)-r is incorrect - it is manifestly Ẓ-b-r). Bearing in mind the reading of the Sīrat MS, it is perhaps possible that the locality lies in the vicinity of the two mountains indicated as Jabal Ẓīn on the YAR map: LC 9724 and MC 0422 / 0522, sheet 1544 A3. - see Map 2, A2, B2).

The two Jabal Ẓīns, however, are situated to the SE of ʿAmrān, and the context would suggest a locality much closer to Ḥamudah, (see Map 2, A4). Thus I have preferred the reading of MS Bā', Ẓ-b-r, since there is a village called al-Ẓubr 14 km S of Ḥamudah (see YAR 874366 - 1543 B4, and Map 2, A3), and it would seem probable that Najd al-Ẓubr,

(or, possibly, Najd al-Ẓabr, - see below), was the name of a locality or area on high ground, or the name of a desolate tract of land, in its vicinity, - see Zabīdī, Tāj,IX, 201-3.

Ẓubr or ẓibr etc. does not exist classically, but Tāj,XII, 378 records ḍabr, (or ḍabir), which is a kind of walnut tree that grows in the mountains of SW Arabia (the Sarāh). - see also, Lane, Lexicon,V, 1764c. Here we have perhaps an instance of a word, originally pronounced locally as ẓabr, being fitted into the classical lexicon under ḌBR; (cf. Tāj,XII, 410, al-Ḍahr, a mountain in the Yemen apparently called originally al-Ẓahr, - see below, pp. 164-5, n.58). Because of the fatḥah in ḍabr, I have thus rendered this toponym in transliteration as Najd al-Ẓabr, (rather than Najd al-Ẓubr), since this might very well be the original pronunciation.

30. Presumably, Khawlān Ṣa^{c}dah, among whom, no doubt, men from B. Fuṭaymah were prominent: see above, pp. 86-7, n.9.

31. The Hamdānī tribe of al-^{c}Ahrā, according to ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 96,13f. Apparently they were considered among the number of Ḥajūr, (a Ḥāshidī tribe), in al-Hamdānī's day and inhabited Baṭinah ^{c}Usaymāt, (presumably Baṭinah Ḥajūr), which al-Hādī had visited shortly before. The Sīrat also mentions the Mu^{c}miriyyūn (wrongly vowelled in Zakkār's edit.): these are the B. Mu^{c}mir, one of the Wādi^{c}ah clans (likewise from Ḥāshid): viz. Mu^{c}mir b. al-Ḥārith b. Sa^{c}d b. ^{c}Abdūd b. Wādi^{c}ah. See Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 124,8,n.6., 159,4,n.2., Iklīl,X, 97-8., 75; above, p. 95, n.8.

32. They are both cousins of the Wādi^{c}ah tribe of B. Mu^{c}mir (see previous note), descended from Ṣuraym and Rabī^{c}ah - who were brothers, sons of Mālik b. Ḥarb b. ^{c}Abdūd b. Wādi^{c}ah. Apparently, B. Ṣuraym were the more renowned of the two tribes, wa-hum ra's al-dīwān min Hāshid wa-fīhim al-fursān wa-'l-najdah: q.v. Hamdānī, Iklīl,X, 84; see also Jazīrat, 115,3f; and Arendonk, Débuts, 154,n.8. Of course, the B. Rabī^{c}ah must not be confused with the Āl Rabī^{c}ah of Khawlān (see above, p. 93, n.3).

33. Tribesmen, rather than Arabs: cf. ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 100.10f ..... yunādūna fī 'l-a^{c}rāb alladhīna kānū fī ^{c}askar al-Hādī. The Sīrat has at this juncture (96,22), lā taqtatili 'l-^{c}arab fī-mā baynanā: " Let not tribesmen fight each other over what is between us ". A little later in the Sīrat (98,17f), al-Hādī's son, Muḥammad, challenges Arḥab: li-mā yaqtatilu 'l-nās yā jāhil baynī wa-baynak, ubruz lī ....., which does not read naturally without fī-mā. Our author clearly had both occasions in mind, but his narrative too requires fī-mā to complete the sense, viz. fī-mā baynī wa-baynak. Perhaps it was a case of too hasty précising on his part.

34. In naming his son Arḥab, al-Du^{c}ām b. Ibrāhīm displays pride in his

own genealogy. His distant ancestor was a son of another al-Du^{c}ām: see above, p. 89, n.2.

35. The fact that B. Salmān are a tribe descended from Arḥab, led here by a man from Arḥab, substantiates the case for rejecting the B. Sulaymān of the Ghāyat narrative, (see above, Introduction p. 59): vide Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 413,2f, wa-^{c}Ayyān balad Banī Salmān min Arḥab, and see below, text p. 118. ^{c}Ayyān, (perhaps ^{c}Iyān), was an important settlement in Sufyān territory, and Akwa^{c} specifically vocalizes the place ^{c}Iyān (Jazīrat, 161,n.4), and Van Arendonk records likewise, (Débuts, 103,n.2., 167, but see n.6). However, on the YAR map, it is ^{c}Ayyān, (on Wadī ^{c}Ayyān - cf. Wilson, " Investigation ", 385: " Wadī ^{c}Iyān of the Khaywān region "), indicated as a small village 17 km due N of Khaywān, - MD 006168 (1644 C1), and see Map 1, B4.

36. They are two of the three sons of al-Hādī who had issue and they later became imams, (see above, Introduction p. 33f): Abū 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad, al-Murtaḍā li-Dīn Allāh (reg. 298-301 / 911-913); Abū 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad, al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (reg. 301-325 / 913-937): Muḥallī, Hadā'iq, ff. 53b, 59b; Mu'ayyadī, Tuḥaf, 75.

37. Al-qawm refers to Arḥab b. al-Du^{c}ām and B. Salmān who left the vicinity of Khaywān without attempting to take the town. Our narrative then changes abruptly to Uthāfit, and the jamā^{c}at al-Du^{c}ām are B. Salmān under their leader Arḥab, not the latter's father al-Du^{c}ām who at this time was probably in Ghuraq in upper Jawf (see ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 97,19., 99,14f, and below, p. 223, n.22). For qawm meaning enemy, see Dozy, Supplément,II, 424, and for details of the happenings at Khaywān and Uthāfit see ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 98,3ff., 99,1ff.

38. Q.v. ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 99,7ff, cf. fa-lammā atā Arḥab wa-Banū Salmān Uthāfitan, and see preceding note.

39. Thus in our MSS but, correctly, he is Abū ^{c}Umar, ^{c}Abd al-^{c}Azīz b. Marwān whom al-Hādī had appointed governor over Uthāfit. See above, n.22 and ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 99,9,12.

40. Arḥab's father: see above, n.37.

41. Thus vowelled in the Sīrat (Zakkār's edit.), and in the Sīrat MS M-sh-w-ṭ is very distinct; cf. Milan MS at Ryckman's disposal, viz. Masyūṭ and

the San^{c}a' MS, M-s-w-ṭ. Van Arendonk's reading of MS Bā' viz. Maslūṭ is fanciful, three dots for a shīn were clearly intended.

The Sīrat describes the place as belonging to B. Rabī^{c}ah, and this suggests that it lies to the NE or E of Khamir, or possibly slightly to the SE. See ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 99,17., MS, f. 33b,5; Arendonk, Débuts, 156,5; Wilson, " Investigation ", 450; Smith, Ayyubids,II, 184.

42. Darb Banī Rabī^{c}ah. The word darb (meaning in the Yemen, among other things, citadel or round fortress) often appears in topography in the Yemen and the Hejaz as part of a compound. It is significant that the darb of our text was chosen because it could withstand an attack. See Serjeant / Lewcock, San^{c}ā', 576, entry darb; Smith, Ayyubids,II, 122, 145, 146; ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 110,1f.

Darb Banī Rabī^{c}ah was al-Hādī's base while al-Du^{c}ām was at Uthāfit and the Sīrat narrative indicates that both places were close to each other since, later, al-Hādī while based at Darb Banī Rabī^{c}ah sent each evening a band of his men to Uthāfit to scare al-Du^{c}ām and keep him awake! See ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 104,21., 106,16f.

Later in the Sīrat the place where Banū Ṣuraym lived is mentioned, called at first simply al-Darb and then subsequently Darb Banī Ṣuraym, and both Darbs seem to have been near each other and certainly Darb Banī Ṣuraym seems to have been not too distant from Raydah. It is tempting to think that al-Darb, YAR LC 961652 (1544 A1), 4 km N of Bayt Zawd and about 8 km SE of Khamir, is in fact Darb Banī Ṣuraym. It would thus fit in most appositely with the context especially since Uthāfit must have been in that area (see above, n.19). If so, Darb Banī Rabī^{c}ah would have lain close by, presumably to the N. However is it not a possibility that both Darbs were so close one to another that the locality as a whole came to be known later simply as al-Darb, viz. al-Darb on the YAR map, bearing in mind as well that al-Darb appears on

the map as quite a scattered settlement. The Darb mentioned by al-Hamdānī which, if Akwa^{c} is right, lies to the W of Khamir, cannot be either of the two Darbs of our text. See ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 110,10ff., 111,1; Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 115,2,n.3; and cf. Wilson, " Investigation ", 265-6.

43. (Sing. rahl): it is basically a saddle for a camel, but sometimes it is applied to the camel itself, q.v. Lane, Lexicon,III, 1054a.

44. I believe the translation brings out the full significance of hashada in this context, rather than that he simply ' brought the people together ': cf. Lane, Lexicon,II, 574c; Zabīdī, Tāj,VIII, 26. Our text continues: fa-'jtama^{c}ū wa-wasalū ilayhi. Cf. the Sīrat at this juncture: thumma wajjaha sarrākhan fī Hāshid li-yawm ma^{c}lūm fa-'jtama^{c}a ilayhi 'l-nās ..... : ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 101,2f; sarrākh - qui crie à la guerre, q.v. Landberg, Datînois,III, 2126.

45. These were from B. Sa^{c}d according to ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 101,3ff, presumably from B. Sa^{c}d b. Sa^{c}d (b. Khawlān), see above, pp. 86-7, n.9.

46. This was on a Friday morning and al-Hādī prayed the noon prayer near Uthāfit at the beginning of the prescribed time: ^{c} Abbāsī, Sīrat, 101,20. It is clear that this was not the special Friday Prayer with the khutbah, for the fact that they were technically in a state of travel would have dispensed them from a rite which is obligatory if an imam from the House of the Prophet is in existence.

47. Cf. ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 103,1: fa-lam yatazahzahi 'l-Hādī min mawdi^{c}ihi wa-thabata makānahu. According to the Sīrat, (102,19-21), al-Hādī at this stage had only seven horsemen with him whereas al-Du^{c}ām had a force of 100 horse and 1000 foot.

48. See ^{c} Abbāsī, Sīrat, 103,9ff for the dramatic account by Sa^{c}īd b. Abī Sūrah, a renowned horseman who was fighting with al-Du^{c}ām.

49. Probably on 25 Dhū 'l-Qa^{c}dah (yawm al-arba^{c}ā' li-ayyām bāqiyah .....) / 13 December 898, which was a Wednesday: see ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 107.17ff.

50. Out of revenge for the inhabitants of Uthāfit not having come to their assistance the day Abū ^{c}Umar was slain: fa-kāna fī qulūb Banī Suraym wa-Banī Rabī^{c}ah ^{c}alayhim hiqd limā fa^{c}alū bihim: see ^{c} Abbāsī, Sīrat, 108.4-10.

51. Al-Hādī was scandalized by the looting of Uthāfit not only because it had been perpetrated without his authority (for the administering of al-hudūd was of course his responsibility as their imam), but because of the intrinsic injustice of the act which deeply offended his Zaydi scrupulousness concerning ^{c}adl. He commanded the looters: wa-ruddū mā ^{c}indakum min matā^{c}i 'l-Muslimīn wa-'l-da^{c}afah wa-'l-masākīn wa-'l-arāmil wa-'l-mustad^{c}afīn. For the full account see ^{c} Abbāsī, Sīrat, 108.13 - 109.23.

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Year 286 [from 17 January 899]

In al-Muḥarram [January-February 899] of [this year], Abū 'l-^{c}Atāhiyah the lord of Ṣan^{c}ā' [1] wrote to al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) and ordered his men to betake themselves to [the imam]. Some, however, desisted from so doing and thus he despatched his brother [2] to al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) at the head of 50 horse. They met [the imam] at Darb Banī Ṣuraym after he had moved [there] from Darb Banī Rabī^{c}ah. [3]

When al-Du^{c}ām got to hear of Abū 'l-^{c}Atāhiyah's friendship (muwālāh) towards al-Hādī (upon whom be peace), he found this hard to bear (^{c}azuma ^{c}alayhi 'l-amr) [4] and strove to rival Abū 'l-^{c}Atāhiyah in [the latter's] obedience to [the imam] (upon whom be peace).

So there appeared on his lips words which indicated his inner feelings.[5] At this one of [al-Du^{c}ām`s] henchmen remonstrated. " You ought not to hand over to that ^{c}Alid dominion (mulkan) for which the Yu^{c}firids and others have fought ". Now, Abū 'l-^{c}Atāhiyah[6] had stipulated conditions in his letters to al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) among them [his being given] authority to rule [certain areas] (minhā 'l-wilāyah), but al-Hādī would not accede to his request until [a time when] he might know what sincere friendship and real repentance [al-Du^{c}ām][7] actually possessed.[8]

When Abū 'l-^{c}Atāhiyah`s men and his brother arrived in the presence of the imam (upon whom be peace), they pledged allegiance to him.

Then al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) was told about the people of al-^{c}Uṣaymāt[9] and reprehensible matters concerning them, harmful customs repugnant to [all] men of common decency. For instance, a guest would sometimes stay with one of [the village folk]. He would be plied with food and drink in a liberal manner and then [his host] would bring him one of the female members of the household (bi-ba^{c}ḍ maḥārimihi) who had decked herself with various adornments. She would stay with him the whole day [during which] he would enjoy looking at her, and he would converse with her and amuse himself with her[10] - his hosts considering [all] this to be a mark of real hospitality. Fie on them for what they are perpetrating !

When al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) heard about these things, he exclaimed: " A war against these [people] should be given priority over any other !"[11] He then set off for Ḥūth[12] and, without delay, summoned [the folk of al-^{c}Uṣaymāt]. A number of their mashāyikh arrived whom he admonished, condemning the things they did. They protested however, " What you have been told about us is not true,

but still we repent." Then they pledged [the imam] allegiance and he got them to swear [support for his cause] (wa-'stahlafahum).

[The imam] then returned to Uthāfit [where] he established a reconciliation between Banū Rabī^{c}ah and al-Sabf over [a question] of blood-money [resulting from] a killing (fī qatūl wa-dhuhūl).[14]

Al-Du^{c}ām at this time was in the territory of Banū Salmān.[15] [The latter], nevertheless, feared al-Hādī because of what previously had been perpetrated by them at Uthāfit. Al-Hādī sent a message to al-Du^{c}ām that they should meet at ^{c}Ayyān [16] where the Banū Salmān lived. [There] al-Du^{c}ām requested safe-conduct for [the Banū Salmān] from al-Hādī which [the imam] gave and [then] got them to swear to him the oath of allegiance.

Then [the imam] set off for Najrān with al-Du^{c}ām accompanying him, and on his way there he made peace between Banū Salmān and Khawlān over two Khawlānīs who had been killed.[17] In Najrān he put right some disorders (ba^{c}d khalal). Then he returned to Ṣa^{c}dah for a few days and afterwards went on to Khaywān to settle some disorders which had occurred there [too].[18]

In Najrān there was an attempt by Banū 'l-Ḥārith [19] to rebel against al-Hādī who straightaway sent his brother ^{c}Abdullāh b. al-Ḥusayn there.[20] [The tribe] gathered together against [^{c}Abdullāh], but he engaged in fighting with them, then left Najrān [21] and moved to Mushāsh [22] [from where] he wrote to the imam [23] who, leaving Khaywān under the rule of his son Muḥammad assisted by a group of Abū 'l-'Atāhiyah's men, set off to meet his brother.[24]

On arriving in Najrān,[25] [the imam] encountered its inhabitants in [armed] conflict but their leader, Ibn Bisṭām,[26] fled to the Shākir [tribe].[27] Then the people of Najrān came together

and set off to confront (wa-qaṣadū) [28] al-Hādī. [The latter, however], fought them slaying a number of them, the remainder fleeing to Jabal al-Ukhdūd. [29] Al-Hādī commanded that the slain [from among the rebels] be hung upside down from the trees [while] he [himself] took up residence in the town (al-qaryah). [30]

When the bodies [began] to stink, the relatives [of the dead] requested al-Hādī to give them the corpses, which he did. Then they buried them (fa-wārūhā) in pits and wells. [31] Now al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) had said this would happen before it [actually] did. [32] [After these events], he despatched letters to his son Muḥammad and to Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah [telling them] how God had granted him victory over his enemy. [33] [Al-Hādī] remained in Najrān two months [34] after which he returned to Ṣaᶜdah having appointed as his deputy over Najrān, Muḥammad b. ᶜUbaydullāh al-ᶜAlawī. [35]

Annotations

1. Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah ᶜAbdullāh b. Bishr. Geddes says categorically that he is a member of the B. Nihm: " Yuᶜfirid ", 72,n.57. He clearly bases his assertion on Hamdānī, Iklīl,X, 252, where a Bishr b. Ḥarb b. Nihm is recorded, but apart from the coincidence of name there is nothing to link this Bishr with Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah's father. Even if Geddes' assumption is correct, then it is strange that al-Hamdānī does not mention Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah by name as being the son of Bishr, seeing that he mentions elsewhere in Iklīl,X, contemporaries of Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah like al-Duᶜām b. Ibrāhīm, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk and Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf when discussing the genealogies of their respective families.

Van Arendonk's thesis (rejected outright by Geddes) that Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah is related to Āl Ṭarīf is in fact much more probable. Inᶜ Abbāsī, Sirat, 204,15f, one reads that [Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah] khāfa an yukhālifa ᶜalayhi banū ᶜammihi min Āl Ṭarīf, and in a MS compiled in the 6/12th century his name appears as Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah ᶜAbdullāh b. Ṭarīf (see Arendonk, Débuts, 209,n.2).

In a highly significant passage in the Sīrat (208,10f). a slave (or a boy) comes to Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah, after the Friday Prayer in Ṣanᶜā' (see below, text p. 140), fa-akhbarahu bi-khabari 'bni ᶜammihi wa-mā ajmaᶜa ᶜalayhi mina 'l-fitnah. Assuming that the pronoun in ᶜammihi refers back to Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah not to the ghulām, the ibn ᶜammihi can only be Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf (see 208,2f,11-13) who is a member of Āl Ṭarīf, (see below, p. 151, n.12).

Gochenour goes further than Van Arendonk and makes Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah the son of Abū Miḥjan (or Abū Mihjān as he prefers) Bishr b. Ṭarīf (he is only mentioned on one occasion by Van Arendonk:

' Un certain Abū Miḥǧan, esclave des Ya^{C}furides ') and thus Abū Miḥjan becomes the kunyah of Bishr, but Gochenour does not detail his chain of reasoning: " Penetration ", 44,59,n.43; Arendonk, Débuts, 272. In the sources, Abū Miḥjan`s full name is never given and the nearest version one has is in Hamdānī, Iklīl,VIII, 218, viz. Abū Miḥjan b. Ṭarīf (ghulām Āl Yu^{C}fir), cf. Sīrat, 140,16: ..... ^{C}indamā kāna min da^{C}watihi ^{C}alā (^{C}alī in text) Abī Miḥjan (^{C}abd Āl Yu^{C}fir). (Geddes also believes that Abū Miḥjan is from Āl Ṭarīf, - q.v. " Yu^{C}firid ", 65,n.40.)

However, in the same passage of the Sīrat (140,15-23), there is a statement (140,21) which would appear to clinch the argument and which Gochenour perhaps had in mind: wa-sami^{C}nā 'bnahu (" we heard his son [namely, the son of Abū Miḥjan who is] ") Abā 'l-^{C}Atāhiyah wa-huwa yaqūlu kāna abī Abū Miḥjan ..... . According to this, Abū 'l-^{C}Atāhiyah is manifestly the son of Abū Miḥjan. Yet the problem here is that the parallel statement in the Sīrat MS (f. 50a,9-10) reads: wa-sami^{C}nā [supply anna] 'bnahu atā (with alif maqṣūrah having been corrected to an alif mamdūdah) Abā 'l-^{C}Atāhiyah wa-huwa yaqūlu kāna Abū Miḥjan ....., which of course thus makes Abū Miḥjan`s son someone other than Abū 'l- ^{C}Atāhiyah.

Gochenour`s suggestion that Abū Miḥjan was probably the ' titular governor ' over Ṣan^{C}ā' while Khuftum (see above, p. 88 , n.1) was in charge of military matters is attractive, (see " Penetration ", p. 59, n.43). In the Sīrat passage (just referred to), al-Hādī had invited Abū Miḥjan to give him allegiance. This had occurred apparently in 280 / 893-4. Abū Miḥjan refused and subsequently died a nasty death.

The evidence strongly suggests that Abū 'l-^{C}Atāhiyah, like Abū Miḥjan, belonged to Āl Ṭarīf, but in the opinion ot this writer it would be over-hasty to maintain that the former was Abū Miḥjan`s son, (in view,

especially, of the conflicting readings in the Sīrat passage, discussed above). Perhaps they were close relatives. It seems most likely that Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah was appointed by the Yuᶜfirids (probably by Asᶜad ibn Abī Yuᶜfir - for whom see above, p. 89f , n.3) to succeed Abū Miḥjan in his post. If this appointment had occurred after Khuftum's departure, his responsibilities would presumably have been greater than those of his predecessor. Then, backed up no doubt at first by the other members of Āl Ṭarīf (who had already revolted against the Yuᶜfirids: vide Geddes, " Yuᶜfirid ", 71), he was able to make himself master of Ṣanᶜā'.

2. His name was Jarrāḥ b. Bishr: ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 111,4,16.

3. See above, p. 114f , n.42.

4. Cf. fa-ghaluza ᶜalayhi dhālik: ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 111,6.

5. When he said: " Is it not amazing that I should be wearing a black turban (asbaḥtu musawwidan) and [now] Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah is wearing a white one (asbaha ..... mubayyidan) ? [black being the emblem of the Abbasids and white that of the Shīᶜīs]. On my part though, I have decided not to fight the scion [lit. " the son " ibn] of the Messenger of God ": ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 111,7-9,n.2.

6. Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah in our text is an error: it should be al-Duᶜām, who had communicated with al-Hādī when the latter was at Darb Banī Rabīᶜah, - q.v. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 111,11f: wa-qad kānat kutub al-Duᶜām ta'tī 'l-Hādī wa-huwa fī Darb Banī Rabīᶜah yashtaritu shurūtan ..... .

7. See preceding note.

8. The Sīrat puts it more forcibly when al-Hādī says: " If he [al-Duᶜām] were to ask me to appoint him ruler (an uwalliyahu) over [just] a foot of land [lit. shabran mina 'l-ard], I would not give him

authority (mā wallaytuhu) over (the) Muslims, neither would that be permissable in the sight of God until he repents and returns to the True Path ": ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 111,12f; and see above, p. 107, n.14.

9. Al-ᶜUṣaymāt, taken as referring to an area extending from Ḥūth northwards (see Map 1, B4), can only be accepted if it was indeed at Ḥūth that al-Hādī summoned the people of al-ᶜUṣaymāt (see below and n.12). The full account of al-Hādī's movements given in the Sīrat (ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 125,3 - 126,13), makes it clear that al-ᶜUṣaymāt must be elsewhere. Wilson's acceptance of the Ghāyat account, (when identifying al-ᶜUṣaymāt, see " Investigation ", 374), in preference to that of the Sīrat without any discussion even of what the latter contains, seems to be quite arbitrary especially since our author has simply been précising the Sīrat up to this point.

When al-Hādī heard about the folk of al-ᶜUṣaymāt, (in the Sīrat, 125,3,5,17., 126,6, it is al-Aᶜṣūm, cf. ᶜAṣūm in the margin of Zakkār's aṣl), he was at Khaywān (NE of Ḥūth). The Sīrat relates that al-Aᶜṣūm was one day's journey or more away (ᶜalā masīrat yawm aw arjah), hardly, incidentally, the time needed to get to al-ᶜUṣaymāt, just to the west ! Al-Hādī went from Khaywān south to Uthāfit, (a day's journey), then proceeded the day after to Bayt Yashīᶜ (see Map 2, A4), less than a day's journey away and, apparently, not a great distance from al-Aᶜṣūm. Ḥūth is not mentioned at all in the Sīrat account of al-Hādī's itinerary.

The Bayt Yashīᶜ of the Sīrat is manifestly the Qaṣr Yashīᶜ of al-Hamdānī, (Iklīl,VIII, 164, and n.35., Jazīrat, 112,2,n.2), who describes it as being situated in Ẓāhir al-Bawn, (cf. Ẓāhir Hamdān, - below, p. 165, n.61), and is identified by Akwaᶜ as the small town of Yashīᶜ in B. ᶜAbd territory NW of Raydah, (see Map 2, A4). The latter is clearly the Yashīᶜ of the YAR map: LC 838573 (1543 B2), quite a scattered settlement 9 km NW of Ḥamudah, (q.v. above, p. 110, n.26). Wilson says that Yashīᶜ is not mentioned in any of the histories that he consulted, (" Investigation ", 493), but of course it is, in the Sīrat, where it is

mentioned three times and called Bayt Yashī^{C} . (125,12,14., 126,11).

To the knowledge of this writer, there is no place in the area of Yashī^{C} (Bayt Yashī^{C}) called al-^{C}Uṣaymāt and I would suggest that the latter is an error on the part of the author of the Ghāyat. According to the Sīrat (125,14-17), it is from Bayt Yashī^{C} , not from Ḥūth, that al-Hādī sent messengers to summon the people of al-A^{C}ṣūm. It seems that the author of the Ghāyat wrongly interpreted the al-A^{C}ṣūm of the Sīrat MS at his disposal as being al-^{C}Uṣaymāt (N of Ḥūth) and then, realizing that Bayt Yashī^{C} was a long way to the south and would not fit in with the context, he substituted Ḥūth, incorrectly, for Bayt Yashī^{C} .

Al-A^{C}ṣūm (or ^{C}Aṣūm) of the Sīrat is probably to be identified with ^{C}Aṣumān, (today pronounced ^{C}Uṣmān), the name of the wadi beneath al-Sūdah (q.v. Map 1, B4). Al-A^{C}ṣūm in the Sīrat narrative, might have been the original name of this wadi and of the area round about (or even an alternative name for it), or the name of a village in the vicinity. On the YAR map, al-Sūdah is shown as a scattered settlement, (YAR LC 694647 - 1543 B2), 16 km NW of Yashī^{C}. See Jazīrat, 115,3,n.3., Iklīl,X, 108; Waysī, Yaman, 81 (read ^{C}Uṣmān for ^{C}Uqmān), 82,83; " Investigation ", 373.

10. ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 125,7f, is more explicit: hattā yudhkaru annahu yamussu batnahā wa-jismahā wa-yalmisu mawdi^{C} al-^{C}awrah minhā .....

11. Cf. ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 125,10f: yanbaghī an nujāhida hā'ulā'i 'l-qawm wa-nabda'a bihim qabl jihād al-Rūm.

12. Cf. ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 125,14: not for Ḥūth, but for Bayt Yashī^{C} via Uthāfit. See above, n.9.

13. This agrees with ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 126,11f. See preceding note and above, n.9.

14. Qatūl is sing. (pl. qutl or qutul) and dhuhūl is pl. (sing. dhahl): that is, a killing and the subsequent demanding of blood-money, or a killing and the ensuing enmity: see Zabīdī, Tāj (Khayriyyah),VIII, 75., VII, 329.,

cf. ᶜAbbās, Sharḥ, 317. ghulbun tashadhdharu bi-'l-dhuhūli. The dispute was over a dead man, who belonged to B. Rabīᶜah, and the culprits were the folk of al-Sabīᶜ and Kharfān: the Sīrat has, wa-kānat Banū Rabīᶜah taddaᶜīᶜalā ..... daᶜwan fī nafs lahum ᶜindahum. B. Rabīᶜah settled for a diyah of nine hundred dinars.

Al-Sabīᶜ and Kharfān (Khirfān) seem to be names of settlements (cf. Sīrat: ahl al-Sabīᶜ wa-Kharfān), and the former is probably linked to the Ḥāshidi tribe of the same name, scil. Al-Sabīᶜ b. Sabᶜ b. Ṣaᶜb. Kharfān is mentioned by Hamdānī along with Uthāfit (see above, p. 108. n.19), and they appear to be close to each other. This is borne out by Kharfān's position on the YAR map where it is shown as a scattered settlement, about 17 km NE of Khamir, 8 km N of Dhī Bīn: YAR MC 044742 (1644 C3). See ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 126,14ff (cf. al-Subayᶜ); Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 241,3ff., 278,20 (cf. Müller's ed.1,135.20)., Iklīl,X, 40-1; Zabīdī, Tāj,XXI, 173.

15. According to ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 127,8, al-Duᶜām was at Ghuraq in upper Jawf, (vide below, p. 223, n. 22).

16. Q.v. above, p. 113, n.35.

17. At Madhāb: perhaps more likely than Mudhāb (ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 128,17f) and Madāb (Arendonk, Débuts, 167). According to Akwaᶜ, the Yemenites never pronounce Madhāb with a dammah. It is a well-known place in balad Sufyān (according to Akwaᶜ), and al-Hamdānī mentions it along with ᶜAyyān, al-ᶜAmashiyyah (where al-Hādī and al-Duᶜām stopped one night but not mentioned in our text), etc. as being in the territory of Sufyān b. Arḥab b. Bakīl: Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 107,3,n.3,4,5., 161,1,n.2., 241,9ff. Also it is clear from the context in the Sīrat, that Madhāb is not far from Asal (or Asil) 2 mil S of Ṣaᶜdah (see below, p. 194f n. 13). The two men concerned belonged to B. al-Futaym (q.v. above, p. 87 , n..) and Yursam. The latter were a mélange of tribes and most were not of Khawlān descent

apparently: see Hamdānī, Iklīl, I, 294-5., cf. Jazīrat, 249,14f. For a detailed account of the incident see ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 128-9.

18. Thus our author passes, perfunctorily it might seem (but see above, p.31,) over events narrated quite dramatically in ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 127, 129-145. The " disorders " in Najrān were instigated by a certain Ibn Bisṭām (see below, n.26) aided by a group of Khaythamīs (see below, n.27), who were bent on provoking strife between Yām and B. al-Ḥārith. Al-Hādī seems to have dealt with these disturbances with little difficulty and had the ring-leaders imprisoned at a village near Ṣaᶜdah.

The disorders in Khaywān were more serious however. A revolt by a band of B. Miᶜmar quelled without bloodshed led to a more serious rebellion when Khaywān was attacked. A battle ensued on Sunday 15 Shaᶜbān in which the imam, his son Abū 'l-Qāsim, the Ṭabarīs (see below, p.168f, n.75) and the men of B. Miᶜmar loyal to the imam took part. The rebels were defeated but the following Saturday the dissident Miᶜmariyyūn again threatened an attack, but, thanks probably to the arrival of reinforcements of B. Rabīᶜah and B. Ṣuraym from Uthāfit, the revolt was suppressed without loss of life: ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 142, 143,1-7, and see above, p.112 , n.31,32.

A lacuna in the text of the Sīrat prevents us from having the full story of a night attack led by Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk (presumably Abū Jaᶜfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad whose ancestral seat was Khaywān: see below, p. 195 , n.17, and above, p. 107f, n .15) against Abū 'l-Qāsim in Khaywān after al-Hādī had apparently departed for Uthāfit. A battle at a place called, perhaps, al-Qushub (cf. Arendonk, Débuts, 170, n.1) is related in ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 143,8ff, in which al-Hādī fought valiantly on foot. The revolt seems to have been on a wide scale. The houses of the rebels were destroyed by al-Hādī's command as were the the vineyards of those who had actually taken part in the night attack against Khaywān. Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk, however,

managed to get away, and is described pejoratively by the author of the Sīrat: fa-innahu rahiba min al-Hādī wa-dhālik bi-annahu kāna sabiyyan da^{c}īfan lā ^{c}aql lahu.

19. Q.v. above, p. 96 , n.12. The instigator of the revolt was again Ibn Bisṭām: see preceding note.

20. Q.v. above, p. 106 , n.8. ^{c}Abdullāh had gone to the Hejaz and had returned, apparently at his brother's command: ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 145,12ff.

21. The events alluded to here took place in the second half of Ramaḍān, i.e. before the battle of al-Qushub (see above, n.18) and the night attack on Khaywān. B. al-Ḥārith, aided by some B. ^{c}Abd al-Madān, attacked the house where Abū Muḥammad (scil. ^{c}Abdullāh b. al-Ḥusayn) and the governor of Najrān, Abū 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-^{c}Alawī, were living. A skirmish took place outside Mīnās (see following note) in which Abū Muḥammad was victorious and who then destroyed Ibn Bisṭām's fortress which was in the vicinity of Mīnās. See ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 145-7.

22. Mushāsh is most probably a corruption for Mīnās of the Sīrat although at this particular point in the narrative it is to his camp (mu^{c}askarihi) that Abū Muḥammad moved after destroying Ibn Bisṭām's fortress (see preceding note). The Mīnān of Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 318,6f, wa-bihi taḥassanat Banū 'l-Ḥārith ^{c}an al-^{c}Alawī ..... would seem to be in fact Mīnās which name is preferred to Mīnān since it appears as such numerous times throughout the Sīrat, and cf. ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 348,19, where it fits the qāfiyah of the poem (cf. Arendonk, Débuts, 179,n.1). Later, Mīnās was to be completely destroyed on al-Hādī's orders: ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 178,17.

It is clear from the account in the Sīrat of al-Hādī's campaign in Najrān (^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 159ff) that Mīnās is in the vicinity of al-Ḥaḍan (al-H-ṣ-n in the Sirat but correctly pointed by Van Arendonk, q.v. Débuts.

178, 181, n.2, passim; vide Ḥamzah, ᶜAsīr, 184) and Qaryat al-Hajar, all three places being in Wadi Najrān.

23. For the subsequent exchange of poems between al-Hādī and his brother, see ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 147-155.

24. First al-Hādī went to Ṣaᶜdah sometime in Dhū 'l-Qaᶜdah, and left for Najrān on 2 Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah after an attempt by Ibn ᶜAbbād al-Ukaylī (scil. Aḥmad b. ᶜAbdullāh b. Muḥammad: see above, p. 93f ,n,3; and Hamdānī, Iklīl,I, 249) to prevent his departure: ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 155,6ff., 156-7. Apparently Ibn ᶜAbbād, Ibn Ḥumayd, Ibn Bisṭām and Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk were linked together in a conspiracy, and what seems to be implied is that each one in his own region should attempt to incite a revolt with the aim of bringing down al-Hādī's rule: Sīrat, 155,14ff.

25. On 4 Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah: see ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 159,17 - 160,6.

26. ᶜAbdullāh b. Bisṭām b. al-Ḥārithī (q.v. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 336,2f., 337,11), head of B. Rabīᶜah. The nisbah can hardly refer to B. al-Ḥārith, since, according to the Sīrat, it was he who originally sought to bring about discord between Yām and B. al-Ḥārith by giving the former money, which is inconceivable if in fact he belonged to the latter tribe. Thus, in the opinion of this writer, B. Rabīᶜah is most unlikely to be identified with the Ḥārithī clan of Rabīᶜah b . al-Ḥārith b. Kaᶜb: q.v. Qalqashandī, Nihāyat, 259.

ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 129,7ff, relates how Ibn Bisṭām has recourse to al-Duᶜām b. Ibrāhīm who managed, without importunity it appears, to secure a safe -conduct for Ibn Bisṭām from al-Hādī, and at a later date, after the decisive defeat of B. al-Ḥārith (q.v. below, the text and n.29), Ibn Bisṭām again seeks al-Duᶜām's intermediacy with al-Hādī for the same purpose: see ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 187,4ff. These two incidents suggest strongly that there existed tribal affinity between Ibn Bisṭām and al-Duᶜām b. Ibrāhīm,

and it seems most probable that B. Rabī^{c}ah are , like al-Du^{c}ām, descended from Arḥab, or at least related to Arḥab (see above,p. 89 , n.2). The most likely candidate would be B. Rabī^{c}ah b. ^{c}Abd b.^{c} Alayyān b. Arḥab (al-Du^{c}ām b. Ibrāhīm's distant ancestor is^{c} Umayrah b.^{c} Abd). A possibility, however, is B. Rabī^{c}ah b. Murhibah (the brother of Arḥab) b. al-Du^{c}ām b. Mālik. The nisbah of al-Ḥārithī given to Ibn Bisṭām by the author of the Sīrat would indicate a sub-clan of B. al-Rabī^{c}ah, and it is to be observed that the name of al-Ḥārith is quite common among the descendants of al-Du^{c}ām b. Mālik: vide Hamdānī, Iklīl,X, 188, 162, 177-8, 134, 136.

27. Ibn Bisṭām set off for Shākir territory not so much in flight but rather in order to get reinforcements from Shākir (see above, p. 95 , n.9), with whom he had an alliance (muḥālafah), and then from Madhḥij, to whom B. al-Ḥārith probably belonged (see above, p. 96 , n.12) and who had apparently given protection to his tribe (viz. B. Rabī^{c}ah): see^{c} Abbāsī, Sīrat, 167,15ff; and preceding note. Balad Skākir, according to al-Hamdānī (q.v. Jazīrat, 241,11ff), seems to have covered an extensive area and lay to the E and SE of Ṣa^{c}dah extending as far as Barat (q.v. above, p. 104f , n.1,2).

For details of the initial conflict (al-qitlah al-awlā) see^{c} Abbāsī, Sīrat, 159-168., 175-8. The culprits were B. al-Ḥārith (whom al-Hādī forgave magnanimously and to whom he gave a safe-conduct) but the rebel leader seems to have been Ibn Ḥumayd (see above, n.24), with Ibn Bisṭām playing a minor role. He is al-Ḥārith b. Ḥumayd with the nisbah of Khuthaymī according to^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 330,16, but more probably al-Khaythamī, see Arendonk, Débuts, 180, n.4 and cf. Sīrat, 127,5, al-Khuthaymiyyūn. (Cf. B. Khaytham b. Tadūl and B. Khaythamah b. al-Ḥārith, both descended from Kahlān but not through Hamdān - the former ultimately from Tayy', brother of Madhḥij, and the latter from Azd: vide Kaḥḥālah,

Mu^{c}jam,I, 368-9).

Fierce fighting took place, early in Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah apparently, at the fortified village of Sawḥān (or Sūḥān) min awtān Bal-Ḥārith (Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 318,6) which seems to have been situated on the northern side of Wadi Najrān since the rebels from al-qaryah (presumably al-Hajar) and Mīnās had to cross the wadi to get to it: ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 161,7ff, and see above, n.22. The event was referred to later in the Sirat (175,4) as waq^{c}at Sawḥān. After waq^{c}at Sawḥān, apparently, and soon after the ^{c}Īd (viz. ^{c}Īd al-adhā, 10, Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah), Mīnās was destroyed at al-Hādī's orders and it seems it was razed to the ground, amara 'l-Hādī bi-hadm Mīnās fa-hadamahu kullahu: ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 177,17., 178,17. Thus the author of the Sīrat relates the destruction of Mīnās after his account of the final defeat of the Bal-Ḥārith (see below, n.29), even although the former event apparently took place before the latter: cf. Arendonk, Débuts, 186,n.6.

28. Or even perhaps, " and were bent on killing al-Hādī " : cf. Zabīdī, Tāj,IX, 35-8; Lane, Lexicon, VII, 2531a; Kazimirski, Dictionnaire,II, 748, tramer, comploter, méditer la mort de quelqu'un.

29. B. al-Ḥārith were joined by B. Rabī^{c}ah, Shākir and al-Madāniyyūn (scil. B. ^{c}Abd al-Madān). B. Rabī^{c}ah and Shākir had come back with Ibn Bisṭām from Shākir territory, and perhaps among the Madāniyyūn there were recruits from Madhḥij - see above, n.27: cf. Nashwān, Muntakhabāt, 38, Banū ^{c}Abd al-Madān min ashrāf Madhḥij, but cf. Kaḥḥālah, Mu^{c}jam,II, 734, ^{c}Abd al-Maddān (sic) b. al-Dayyān, baṭn min Banī 'l-Ḥārith b. Ka^{c}b (and Arendonk, Débuts, 142,3) but of course there need not be contradiction here.

Al-Hadi was supported by Yām, al-Aḥlāf, Wādi^{c}ah, ahl al-Ḥadan viz. Thaqīf and some Shākir (the Sīrat has Ḥ-ṣ-n), al-Ahrā, a Hamdān clan from Tihāmah, a group of Ṭabarīs and some men from Khawlān. Fierce fighting took place in and around al-qaryah (probably qaryat al-Hajar

but al-Ḥadan cannot be discounted) in which al-Hādī took a prominent role. Al-Hādī forbad his men from pursuing the rebels. Indeed he forgave the latter along with their wounded.

Later that day, al-Hādī came across a company of B. al-Ḥārith who were on the point of fleeing Najrān with spoil they had plundered. He drove them from al-Rijlā' (NE of al-Ukhdūd) out of the wadi in an easterly direction but, characteristically, allowed their women-folk with the camels and baggage to proceed under a safe-conduct.

Al-Ukhdūd is an area (today desolate and uninhabited), 8 km E of al-Ḥadan, in Wadi Najrān on the south side, where it is believed that the Yemenite king YSF 'S'R YT'R (Dhū Nuwās), who had embraced Judaism, massacred in 518 C.E. the Christian inhabitants of Najrān by having them burnt alive in trenches (ukhdūd) prepared for them, an event which led five years later to an Abyssinian invasion of the Yemen. This is al-qaryah al-qadīmah mentioned by al-Hamdānī (Jazīrat, 318,10), as opposed to al-qaryah al-ḥadīthah which might be al-Hajar that figures prominently in the Sīrat, - see above, p.96f , n.1 . It is a place of mounds and is not a mountain, unless the jabal of our text refers to that part of the mountain range immediately behind al-Ukhdūd to which there might be a reference in ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 172,8, although in fact the whole of the southern side of Wadi Najrān is bordered by a mountain range. Akwaᶜ seems to be correct in his reading of al-Ajdūd: q.v. Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 99,4,n.2, (cf. Müller's ed.I, 67,11, al-Ukhdūd), and in any case it is clearly a different place, min balad al-Ajdūd min Khawlān, and this has confused ᶜĀshūr (Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, Ghāyat, 176,n.1) and, to a certain extent, Zakkār (ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 172,n.1).

See ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 168-173; Müller, " Skizze ", 54-5; Zamakhsharī, Kashshāf,IV, 238, Sūrat al-Burūj; Ḥamzah, ᶜAsīr, 183f., map facing 168, Rijlat Āl Manṣūr; Minosa, Najrān, 124-5 (map).

30. Qaryat al-Hajar, most probably: vide above, pp. 96-7, n.14, and preceding note.

31. Cf. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 173,9f: fa-turihat al-jiyaf fī bi'ār kharāb wa-hufar kānat khārijan min al-qaryah. Again the Sīrāt has to be consulted for a full picture and more correct language.

32. This was when he urged B. al-Ḥārith to abandon Ibn Bisṭām and the rebels, - but obviously in vain. Al-Hādī ended his threat dramatically thus: " Go wherever you wish and do (you and them) whatever you please ! ' You will remember what I say to you. I commit my affair to God ' ..... ' and you shall surely know its tiding after a while '. " (fa-sa-tadhkurūna mā aqūlu lakum wa-ufawwiḍu amrī ilā 'llāh: wa-la-taᶜlamunna naba'ahu baᶜda hīn: Qur'ān, al-Mu'min / Ghāfir, 44., Ṣād, 88 - Arberry`s interpretation.) See ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 168,1ff.

33. The Sīrat mentions letters and gives the text of poems sent by al-Hādī after al-qitlah al- ūlā (viz. the events of Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah, vide above, n.27), see ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 180-2.

34. Cf. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 188,10, ...baᶜd-mā faragha min hurūb Najrān. Al-Hādī granted a safe-conduct to B. al-Ḥārith and eventually to Ibn Bisṭām who had fled to Shākir: q.v. Sīrat, 187-8.

This decisive victory over B. al-Ḥārith and their allies is not dated in the Sīrat. There it is termed al-qitlah al-ākhirah (the second armed-encounter or conflict), as opposed to al-qitlah al- ūlā (q.v. above, n.27). Ibn Bisṭām probably left Najrān for Shākir soon after waqᶜat Sawḥān, i.e. perhaps just before ᶜīd al-adhā, and he might have travelled as far as Barat, SE of Ṣaᶜdah (see above, n.27). Allowing for travelling time, there and back, and his campaign to get recruits from Shākir and Madhḥij, it would have been towards the end of Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah at the earliest that Ibn Bisṭām could have returned to Najrān with reinforcements (see above, n.29).

However, the statement referred to above in the Sirat (abridged in our text) that al-Hādī remained in Najrān for two months after the cessation of all hostilities, suggests strongly that the final showdown with B. al-Ḥārith did not actually take place until well into the following year, viz. 287 / 900. Al-Hādī departed from Najrān at the end of Jumādā I 287 / c.1 June 900 (see following note). Thus, according to the Sīrat, al-qitlah al-ākhirah will have taken place in Rabī^{c} I 287 / March 900.

Al-Hādī thus remained in Najrān for six months. Although five of those months belong to 287, the author of Ghāyat has included al-Hādī's entire stay under the year 286.

35. On 26 Jumādā I 287 / 29 May 900, al-Hādī ordered his men to get ready to leave Najrān (amara 'l-nās bi-'l-uhbah), but since he apparently arrived at Ṣa^{c}dah the following month, Jumādā II, it was probably not until the end of Jumādā I (or even early Jumādā II) that he actually departed from Najrān. The journey to Ṣa^{c}dah will not have taken more than two days and the Sīrat records no incidents on the way. See ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 188,21., 189,ff; cf. Arendonk, Débuts, 187, al-Hādī partit le 26 Ǧumādā I 287.

Al-Hādī's governor over Najrān, Abū 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-^{c}Alawī, was relieved of his post at his own request. Muḥammad b.^{c}Ubaydullāh was at the time al-Hādī's governor in Ṣa^{c}dah. See ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 188,11ff.

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Year 287 [from 7 January 900]

In [this year] a group of Khawlānīs [1] rebelled against al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) and set off to do battle with him (wa-qasadūhu bi-'l-muḥārabah).[2] but, when al-Hādī made preparations to fight them, they sought the protection of their fortresses.[3] Then he ordered their homes to be destroyed and their grape-vines to be cut down except those belonging to the weak and defenceless among them (illā 'l-mustadᶜafīn minhum).[4] When they engaged [al-Hādī] in combat, he defeated them, killing many of their number, whereupon they pleaded for a safe-conduct which [the imam] granted - except to Ibn ᶜAbbād [in whose case] he refused [adamantly].[5] [The latter] went off to Iraq to seek the aid of the Musawwidah,[6] but, after staying there a [whole] year, [his requests] were [still] not granted so he returned in poor straits (ᶜāda dhalīlan haqīran).

Annotations

1. The Sīrat has at this juncture as a title: khabar muḥālafat al-Ukayliyyīn wa kāffat al-Rabīᶜah ᶜalā 'l-Hādī. B. Kulayb, al-Mahādhir, al-ᶜUwayrāt , al-Baḥriyyūn were also involved as well as a section of B. Jumāᶜah: ᶜ Abbāsī, Sīrat, 189,5,6f. B. Ukayl were from Āl Rabīᶜah (see above, p. 93 , n.3) as also were B. Kulayb, viz. the progeny of ᶜUmayr b. Kulayb, who it appears took over from B. Ukayl, early in the 4 / 10th century, the dominant position among Āl Rabīᶜah: wa-hum al-yawm nāb al-Rabīᶜah wa-mikhlabuhā. Al-ᶜUwayrāt were probably a sub-clan of B. Kulayb: ᶜUwayr wa-'l-ᶜAwāmir min Kulayb wa-qāsimuhā .... . B. Baḥr was a clan of Āl Rabīᶜah (see above, p. 105 , n.4), but B. Jumāᶜah

were descended from Hilāl b. Hāni' b. Khawlān. See Hamdānī, Iklīl,I, 287-8., 354., Jazīrat, 250. Al-Mahādhir are described as cousins of B. Ukayl: ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 189,16f.

2. See Zabīdī, Tāj,IX, 36.

3. According to ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 189,8, two fortresses. Firstly, ᶜAlāf (cf. ᶜAlāq in Zakkār's edit.) in the wadi of the same name belonging to B. Kulayb: see above, n.1; and ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat,157,5f, (and below, n.5) - wa-kharaja (viz. Ibn ᶜAbbād) ilā mawdiᶜ lahum (viz. belonging to Āl Rabīᶜah of Khawlān, or in particular to B. Ukayl?) yuqālu lahu ᶜAlāf wa-huwa jabal yatahassanūna fīhi). Wadi ᶜAlāf is described in glowing terms by al-Hamdānī as the most bountiful of all the wadis of Khawlān: Jazīrat. 249,10f., 164,2,n.1 (ᶜAlāf and ᶜUlāf), n.2; Nashwān, Muntakhabāt,75 (ᶜAlāf and ᶜIlāf, but the former is more correct). Wadi ᶜAlāf flows in a SE direction from S of B. Maᶜādh (W of Ṣaᶜdah in modern Nāḥivat Ṣuḥār) and joins up with Wadi ᶜAyn: see YAR map, sheet 1643 B1.

The second fortress is al-Thawr al-Aᶜlā which probably is not in Wadi ᶜAlāf since it is not mentioned at all in the detailed description of al-Hādī's campaign (cf. Arendonk, Débuts, 188,n.11) but is perhaps situated in the territory of B. Thawr which is in the vicinity of Sarūm B. Saᶜd and Ḥaḍbar, N of Ṣaᶜdah: see Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 166,1f., 165,n.4., 249,16., 582,

4. Cf. the Sīrat at this juncture: except the homes of widows and other defenceless women (.... illā manāzil li-niswah duᶜafā' diᶜāf lam yakun lahunn rajul), and of those who had not taken part in the hostilities. In fact all this occurred after several bitter skirmishes in Wadi ᶜAlāf described in the Sīrat, and it is clear that B. Ukayl (see above, n.1) were the main opponents in the district around Ṣaᶜdah to al-Hādī's rule. The houses which were destroyed at al-Hādī's command belonged to B. Ukayl.

B. Ḥiyy b. Khawlān (the eldest of Khawlān's sons and who apparently dominated the Khawlānī tribes before this role passed to B. Sa^{C}d b. Khawlān and in particular B. Sa^{C}d b. Sa^{C}d b. Khawlān - see above, p. 93 , n.3), B. Yursam, the Hamdānīs and the Ṭabarīs took a prominent part in al-Hādī's campaign. See ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 189, 8ff - 196; Hamdānī, Iklīl,I, 201.n.2.

5. Because al-Hādī was convinced of his evil disposition and of his enmity towards him and Islam: wa-dhālik anna 'l-Hādī kāna qad ^{C}arafa anna lā khayr fīhi wa-annahu lā yansahahu wa-innamā hammuhu anna yushawwishu 'l-Islām wa-yahtikuhu wa-yatlubu bihi dawā'ir al-saw': ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 197,22f. This is Aḥmad b. ^{C}Abdullāh b. Muḥammad b. ^{C}Abbād (see above, p. 128 ,n.24). Al-Hādī, the previous year, had ordered Aḥmad along with B. Ukayl (in the company of Āl Rabī^{C}ah and B. Sa^{C}d) to proceed with him to Najrān, but he asked to be excused on the pretext that B. al-Ḥārith were his relatives on his mother's side. After the subsequent skirmish, al-Hādī granted a safe-conduct to B. Ukayl but Aḥmad refused to submit to al-Hādī and fled to ^{C}Alāf (see above, n.3). Less than a fortnight later, apparently, Ibn ^{C}Abbād again appeared in Ṣa^{C}dah where his plan, on 10 Dhū 'l-Hijjah 286 / 17 December 899, to attack Muḥammad b. ^{C}Ubaydullāh, al-Hādī's governor, came to nought. However, he managed by a stratagem to secure the escape of the rebels from Najrān whom al-Hādī had had imprisoned at al-Ghayl just outside Ṣa^{C}dah a few months previously (vide above, p. 126, n.18). See ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 155-7., 163,7 - 164,6.

6. (See previous note). Likewise in ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 198,1ff, and he perhaps set out in late Ramaḍān 287 / late September 900, but not much later because he must have spent most of 288 / 901 in Iraq, then returned to Ṣa^{C}dah, then set out again, apparently, arriving in Baghdad perhaps in Jumādā I 289 / April-May 902. See below, p. 189, n.24 On both outward and return journeys he travelled via Mecca.

Al-Musawwidah (pl.) is probably here a reference to the Abbasid army - cf. Dozy, Supplément.I, 700. In resorting to the caliph al-Muʿtaḍid bi-'llāh, Ibn ʿAbbād thus follows in the footsteps of his father ʿAbdullāh who in 229 / 843-4 had sought help from al-Wāthiq, (see above, p. 93f , n.3).

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Year 288 [from 26 December 900]

In al-Muḥarram [December 900 - January 901] of [this year], al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) asked his governor in Najrān, the above-mentioned Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydullāh al-ʿAlawī, [to send him] a body of troops, whereupon he despatched his son, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. ʿUbaydullāh, at the head of a sizeable force. [Then] a large group of Khawlān gathered around [the imam] and he went off with them to Khaywān, leaving in Ṣaʿdah to govern in his stead Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, [1] a scion of al-ʿAbbās b. ʿAlī (may peace be upon him).

Al-Duʿām b. Ibrāhīm went with a number of Bakīl to al-ʿAmashiyyah [2] to meet [the imam]. When al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) reached a district in Hamdān [territory] called al-Ḥā'irah [3] where some of the reckless elements (baʿḍ sufahā'ihim) [4] had taken to waylaying pilgrims on the road, he (upon whom be peace) ordered that they be brought into his presence. When they arrived, he had them put into fetters and, with them under guard, he went on to Khaywān.

From there [al-Hādī] proceeded to Raydah [5] [where] the people of that region were joyful at his arrival because of what they had heard of his justice and because of what they had suffered in the way of tyranny and oppression. He then exempted them from taxes which had been extorted from them and told the people to get ready to come with him.

having revealed to them that Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah had handed over to him the territory which had been ruled by al-Duᶜām. [6] Then [the imam] proceeded [7] to a place called Ḥadaqān [8] near Ṣanᶜā'.

Now Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah was determined to hand over power to al-Hādī (upon whom be peace), having been guided by God Almighty (tawfīqan lahu mina 'llāh taᶜāla) [in his decision]. He was apprehensive, however, of his cousins of Āl Ṭarīf [9] and of the non-Arab [soldiery] who [were] with him, the henchmen of Khuftum. [10] Each one of [Āl Ṭarīf] had taken control of a region in the Yemen imposing upon it (yadaᶜu ᶜalayhā) [whatever taxes] he wished and tyrannizing its inhabitants how he pleased. [11] [For instance], Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf [12] had captured a certain town, [13] made slaves of the populace and had taken some of them off to Mecca where he sold them. [Āl Ṭarīf] openly perpetrated crimes and drank intoxicating liquor.

As for al-Khafātim, in the Sīrat al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) it is related [14] that a Ṣanᶜānī had said that often one of Khuftum's men would abduct a woman or a youth from the market-place for the purpose of illicit-sex (li-'l-fujūr), and that no one could do anything about it. [Al-Khafātim] would confiscate land (amwāl al-nas) [15] and treat the populace in an arbitrary way (waᶜāmalūhum bi-ghayri 'l-qiyās).

When Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah saw what [al-Khafātim] were doing, he corresponded with al-Hādī [16] and entreated [the latter], [both] secretly and openly, to come to him - and [so al-Hādī] aided him (wa-'staᶜāhu sirran wa-jahran wa-amaddahu). [17] Now when al-Hādī reached Ḥadaqān, as we have related, Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah got Khuftum's men to make for al-Sirr [18] and sent along with them ᶜAbdullāh b. Jarrāḥ [19] leading a group of Āl Ṭarīf. [Then Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah] declared that he intended to go and fight al-Hādī and commanded [the men] to prepare an ambush for [the imam] at al-Sirr, [adding] that they must not leave their posts until they received [fresh] orders. They [duly]

carried out [his command], but [Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah] continued to work things out and plan how he was going to perfect his strategy.

Meanwhile, al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) prepared his men for battle - 700 men [altogether],[20] including 150 horse.[21] Then Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah emerged leading a force of his [own] followers (fī nafar min ashābihi),[22] and when the two armies came in sight of each other (fa-lamma tarā'a 'l-jamᶜān),[23] Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah sent on [a messenger] to al-Hādī requesting [that the imam] meet him accompanied by some of his [the imam's] men (fī nafar min ashābihi). So [the imam went out] to meet him with about 30 of [his] cavalry, [but], when Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah drew near to al-Hādī, he threw down his lance, bared his head and got down from his steed. Al-Hādī [likewise] dismounted as a token of respect (fa-tarajjala lahu).[24] Then Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah kissed al-Hādī's hand and head and, kneeling before him, gave him allegiance and swore unreserved obedience (wa-bāyaᶜahu wa-halafa lahu ᶜalā samᶜ wa-'l-ṭāᶜah). Then al-Hādī commanded him to set about enjoining what was acceptable and forbidding what was reprehensible (fa-amarahu 'l-Hādī bi-'l-qiyām bi-'l-amr bi-'l-maᶜrūf wa-'l-nahy ᶜan al-munkar).

[Then] al-Hādī led the late-afternoon prayer by Ghayl Ḥadaqān.[25] Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah urged al-Hādī to make speedy his entry into Ṣanᶜā' because he feared that his cousins were [on the point of] seizing [the city].[26] Thus al-Hādī, accompanied by Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah, entered Ṣanᶜā' on Thursday evening, 22 al-Muḥarram [15 January 901].[27]

When [the news] of al-Hādī's entry into Ṣanᶜā' reached Khuftum's men and ᶜAbdullāh b. Jarrāḥ, they hastened towards [that city] and declared their abhorrence to Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah's having joined al-Hādī's ranks. On approaching Ṣanᶜā', they were told by Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf and a group of men who had seemingly displayed support for Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah,

but who were in reality against him: " When the populace are preoccupied with the Friday Prayer, stir up dissension " (athartumu 'l-fitnah). [28]

So at the time al-Hādī ascended the minbar, the gang began to loot and plunder and [the imam] was informed of what was happening while he was [still] on the minbar but he took no notice until he had completed the khutbah and had led the people in the prayer. Then [al-Hādī] donned his coat of mail (labisa lāmatahu), [29] got ready for an armed-encounter and went out to the rebels. He engaged them in fierce combat (fa-awqa^{c}a bihim) [30] and drove them out of Ṣan^{c}a' after slaying three [of their number]. [31]

The following day, al-Hādī ordered a proclamation among the soldiery that they were to be given some pay (^{c}atā'). [As for] Abū 'l-^{c}Atāhiyah, he handed over to [the imam] all that he possessed [illegally]. [32] [After] having taken these [possessions] from him, al-Hādī wanted to let Abū 'l-^{c}Atāhiyah retain some of his [former] authority (wa-arāda an yubqiya Abā 'l-^{c}Atāhiyah ^{c}alā ba^{c}ḍ ^{c}amalihi). [33] [but] he declined saying, " I do not wish that, Commander of the Faithful: [34] I want only to be a servant by your side." Al-Hādī expressed his gratitude, [and] then Abū 'l-^{c}Atāhiyah withdrew to one of his houses on an estate he owned, wearing woolen [clothes] and living an ascetic life.

As for al-Hādī (upon whom be peace), when he had established [his rule] in Ṣan^{c}a', he sent his governors (^{c}ummālahu) [35] to the provinces (al-makhālīf). [36] Then, together with Abū 'l-^{c}Atāhiyah, he went to Shibām [37] [where] he likewise despatched his governors to the surrounding districts, exhorting them to fear God and to enjoin what was acceptable and forbid what was reprehensible. [Furthermore, al-Hādī charged them] to free the populace from all extortionate exaction (wa-raf^{c} ^{c}an al-nās jamī^{c} 'l-mazālim) [38] and commanded that only

what God had imposed upon them should be taken from them. Then he returned to Ṣan^{c}ā', having appointed his son, Muḥammad ibn al-Hādī, as his deputy over Shibām with a garrison (fī jamā^{c}ah min al-jund).

When [the imam] arrived in Ṣan^{c}ā', he made preparations for setting off for the south (ilā 'l-jihah al-yamāniyyah),[39] so, [after] designating his brother ^{c}Abdullāh b. al-Ḥusayn as his deputy over Ṣan^{c}ā', he left [the city], Abū 'l-^{c}Atāhiyah accompanying him. [First the imam] went to Bi'r al-Khawlānī,[40] then [on] to Yaklā,[41] then to Simḥ,[42] then [he continued] to Dhamār[43] where he stayed several days. [While there], people from the surrounding countryside came to him and he [in turn] counselled them in religious matters (fa-wa^{c}azahum) and instructed them in their [religious] obligations. Then he departed, having appointed over [Dhamār] someone who would govern its affairs,[44] and travelled in the territory of ^{c}Ans[45] after which he returned to Ṣan^{c}ā'.

[From there], he sent someone [to bring] his family (arsala li-ahlihi) [from the Hejaz],[46] while [he himself] set out for Shibām having left Ṣan^{c}ā' in the charge of his paternal cousin ^{c}Alī b. Sulaymān.[47] [Al-Hādī] stayed [in Shibām] several days,[48] then despatched his son, Muḥammad, to Hamdān territory.

When Āl Yu^{c}fir and Āl Ṭarīf saw that the number of al-Hādī's troops had decreased, an ambition to regain power seized them (khāmarahum al-ṭam^{c} fī rujū^{c} al-amr ilayhim) and they set forth for Jabal Dhukhār.[49] On receiving news of this, al-Hādī went [out to fight] them [after] he [had] entrusted Shibām to a body [of his men].[50] When [the insurgents] had made certain that [al-Hādī] had gone out from [the town] they took over Shibām in his stead (khalafūhu ^{c}alā Shibām). They entered [the town], made for the prison and set free all Khuftum's men who were there.[51]

[On hearing about this],[52] al-Hādī commanded a group

of his troops to go down [the mountain] with Abū 'l-ʿAtāhiyah and Muḥammad b. al-Duʿām[53] and fight the enemy. So they descended to Shibām and expelled [the rebels] from [the town] after they had killed a number of them.

As an outcome [of these events], Ibn Maḥfūẓ[54] in Ṣanʿā' rebelled, attacked the prison, set free whom he wished and expelled al-Hādī's governor [over Ṣanʿā'].[55] The populace of the provinces became rebellious (wa-tashawwasha ahl al-makhālīf li-l-khilāf),[56] and a band of Ṣanʿānīs went off to Ibn Yuʿfir[57] who was imprisoned at Ẓahr[58] and brought him back to Ṣanʿā' where once again the khutbah was pronounced in the name of the Abbasid [caliph] al-Muʿtaḍid [bi-'llāh].[59] When al-Hādī heard what the Ṣanʿānīs had done, he decided to travel with his family and household (bi-ahlihi wa-athqālihi)[60] to the region of al-Ẓāhir.[61] [Before leaving Shibām, however,][62] he summoned [together] all [the members] of the [families] of Āl Yuʿfir and Āl Ṭarīf who were in prison and [then] reproaching them, he reminded them of how previously they had petitioned him to come [to their aid]. Then he granted them their freedom.[63]

After [the imam] had left Shibām, the people [of the town] wanted to kill him but [the imam], accompanied by Abū 'l-ʿAtāhiyah, turned back and attacked them (fa-ʿatafa ʿalayhim)[64] and threw them into disarray (fa-farraqa jamʿahum): many were killed. Then [al-Hādī] proceeded to al-Bawn [where] the populace barred his way, [but] he fought them and [then] spent the night at Raydah. [In the morning] he went on to Bayt Zawd [where] he directed that his family be moved to [the security] of Darb Banī Ṣuraym.[65]

[The imam] then returned to Raydah, after which two of Āl Ṭarīf's chief henchmen, Abū Ziyād[66] and Ṣaʿṣaʿah,[67] at the head of a great force, set off to confront him (fa-qaṣadahu),[68] but

none of al-Hādī's men realized [they were even in the vicinity] until they were [actually] attacked. [The insurgents] entered Raydah and several of al-Hādī's men fled, but [the imam] leading his best troops (fī baqiyyat ashābini) [69] held his ground. Then [al-Hādī] sallied forth to confront [the assailants] and with God's assistance defeated and dispersed them.[70] The latter took refuge in a village called al-Ghayl,[71] but [al-Hādī] pursued them there and engaged them in fierce combat after which he went back to Raydah sending on the heads of the slain [from among the enemy] to Ṣa^{C}dah.

Then Abū 'l-^{C}Atāhiyah arrived with a body of Hamdānī troops whereupon [the imam] travelled to the town of Madar[72] where he remained a number of days [before] his brother ^{C}Abdullāh b. al-Ḥusayn came [back] from the Hejaz. After this, al-Hādī set off for Ṣan^{C}ā', [73] whereupon Āl Yu^{C}fir and Āl Ṭarīf came out from Ṣan^{C}ā', Shibām and Ẓahr to do battle with him in al-Raḥabah.[74] [They were a force] of 500 horse and 2000 foot, [whereas] there were gathered around al-Hādī [only] 100 horse and 600 foot.

When [the armies] approached each other, al-Hādī prepared his men for [combat] putting Abū 'l-^{C}Atāhiyah in command of the left flank, [assigning] the Ṭabarīs[75] to the centre, with [himself] on the right flank leading [a body] of 30 horse.[76] [Then] both sides clashed together (wa-'lṭaḥama 'l-qitāl) and the cavalry of the enemy attacked Abū 'l-^{C}Atāhiyah, but al-Hādī came to his aid and God Almighty supported [the imam] with His succour, and thus charging the enemy relentlessly, [al-Hādī] routed them, falling upon them with the sword (wa-ḥakama fīhim al-sayf) [77] and slaying many of their leaders. At this [the enemy] turned and fled, but Abū 'l-^{C}Atāhiyah pursued them and chased them into the clefts of the mountains (fī 'l-shi^{C}āb). Al-Hādī's foot-soldiers went in pursuit of those of the enemy. They slew many of them and took their weapons.

The [imam's] men, one after another, rejoined [al-Hādī] (wa-talāḥaqa bihi ashābuhu). [78] and with them he entered Ṣanᶜā' on Friday 27 Rajab [17 July 901], [79] reciting the words of the Almighty, " Many a little company has beaten a numerous company with God's permission." [80] When [al-Hādī] entered Ṣanᶜā', the inhabitants were apprehensive of him because of their having previously ousted his governor ᶜAlī b. Sulaymān, but [the imam] did not pursue this matter (fa-lam yakshif ᶜan dhālik): indeed he granted them [all] safe conduct.

After [these events], al-Hādī sent Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah with cavalry and foot-soldiers to Ghaymān [81] where Āl Yuᶜfir and Āl Ṭarīf had their camp. When he drew near to them, they sallied forth and fighting broke out between them. [The enemy] sought the help of Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf [who] was at Bayt Baws. [82] The two sides engaged in combat at a place called Wurāqah [83] and fought each other fiercely. When [the enemy] became too great a number for Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah and his men, they withdrew to Nuqum. [84] They sent a message to al-Hādī [who] himself set off for ᶜAlab [85] [where] he led an attack upon the rebels, defeated them and slew several of their leaders. [Al-Hādī] went on pursuing them to a place known as al-Jūr [86] in the vicinity of Bayt Baws where fierce fighting ensued and [even] the brave were fatigued (fa-'shtadda hunālika 'l-qitāl wa-kallati 'l-abṭāl).

Then al-Hādī with his men returned in the direction of Ṣanᶜā', but when he was half-way across the Qāᶜ [87] the enemy came after him so he turned back and attacked them (fa-ᶜaṭafa ᶜalayhim) killing some of them, [after which] he entered Ṣanᶜā'. [The enemy], after this, reassembled on the lower slopes (safḥ) [88] of Nuqum where they were joined by all who backed their cause. Their number increased until it reached 12,000, - cavalry and foot-soldiers together. Al-Hādī [however] went to engage them at the head of 500 [men] and [the two sides] approached each other for the assault. Al-Hādī subjected [the enemy]

to deadly attacks, forcing them to break their ranks (hattā azālahum ᶜan masāffihim), [at which] he fell upon them with the sword, killing a great many. Of al-Hādī's men who were slain, there was a group of Ṭabarīs [89] - may God Almighty have mercy upon them. [However], some of the enemy held their positions on Nuqum and some of them [did so] in Bayt Baws [but] al-Hādī went back to Ṣanᶜā'.

After a short time, [however], the enemy regrouped from every direction and made for the localities where the first skirmishes [had taken place]. [When] a band of [enemy troops] entered Darb al-Qaṭīᶜ, [90] al-Hādī despatched his son, Muḥammad, with some men to fight them and ordered another group to set out from Darb al-Jabbānah [91] [while] he himself followed close behind. Both [sides] joined in combat (wa-talāḥama 'l-qitāl) [92] and al-Hādī drove them decisively (fa-hazamahum ..... hazīmatan fādiḥatan) out of al-Qaryah [93] and forced them back to Nuqum. Fighting continued until almost nightfall, then al-Hādī slew several of [the enemy] and each [side] returned to its own camp. Fighting [now] ceased for the remainder of Ramaḍān of this year.

On the day of the Festival (ᶜīd) of al-Iftār, [94] al-Hādī went outside [the walls] of Ṣanᶜā' to the [special] place for [ᶜīd] prayers, [95] while the enemy, hoping [now] to be able to [regain] control of [the city] (fa-tamiᶜa fīhā 'l-ᶜaduww), repaired to Bāb Ṣanᶜā' [96] with their cavalry. Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah sallied forth [to fight] them and [was able] to drive them off.

On Friday, the second day of the Festival of al-Iftār, al-Hādī went out from [the city] with all his troops and ordered a section of them [to go] to (Jabal) Nuqum to attack [the enemy positions] there. [Thus al-Hādī's] troops fought [the enemy] until they had been expelled from Nuqum. Many [of the enemy] were killed, others were taken prisoner and their possessions confiscated.

[Then] al-Hādī went with his cavalry and the rest of his troops [97] to ᶜAlab where he fought those [who were] from the camp (mahattah) [98] of Bayt Baws, returning [after that] to Ṣanᶜā'. On Monday 5 Shawwāl [21 September 901], [99] al-Hādī commanded Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah to proceed with a body of troops to the fortress at ᶜAlab which he did, and spent the night there. The following day, there arrived a band of enemy cavalry to attack al-Hādī's men, but Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah fell upon them, killing some of them and routing [the remainder] who withdrew to the safety of Ẓibr Ḥaddayn. [100]

[At this], Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah sent a messenger [back] to tell him what had happened. Al-Hādī [then] set out with his entire army, Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah came down from the fortress with all who were with him and they all moved off in the direction of the enemy after al-Hādī had got his men into battle array. [Then al-Hādī] led an onslaught on to the left flank of the enemy, and put them to flight (fa-kashafahum) [101] slaying many of them.

Defeated, [the enemy] turned back to [their camp] but ᶜAlī b. Sulaymān pursued them until he had penetrated their ranks (ḥattā awghala). [102] He was wounded and fell from his horse, [whereupon] Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah and those with him charged and rescued him. [Then] they took him back on his steed to Ṣanᶜā' where he died a glorious martyr, may Almighty God have mercy upon them. Meanwhile, Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah [had] been struck by an arrow from which he died a martyr, may Almighty God have mercy upon him. During that battle (musāff), [103] the enemy turned upon the cavalry opposite them on the left flank of al-Hādī's men and slew a sharīf [104] from the progeny of al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī (upon whom be peace). [105] [The enemy] maintained their positions on al-Ẓibr until nightfall [106] [when] each [army] returned to its own encampment. [As for] al-Hādī, he remained in Ṣanᶜā'.

Then Āl Yuᶜfir and Abū 'l-Ghashshām b. Ṭarīf [107] set

off from Shibām to ᶜAḍudān [108] [where] they stayed several days with their army. [From there] they proceeded to Maydān Ṣanᶜā'. [109] Then al-Hādī went out to confront them, and routed them back to their camp.

[At this time], al-Rabīᶜ ibn al-Ruwayyah [110] arrived with reinforcements for al-Hādī (wa-wasala ..... mumiddan li- l-Hādī), [111] and there reached the enemy also reinforcements (māddah) [111] of horse and foot.

On Wednesday 12 Dhū 'l-Qaᶜdah [28 October 901], the enemy moved off to Nuqum at which al-Hādī despatched a body of his troops to Darb al-Jabbānah, [while] he himself went out from Darb al-Qaṭīᶜ and those of [the enemy] who [had penetrated] into al-Qaryah [112] issued forth. [Both sides] were locked together in fierce fighting (fa-talāzama 'l-qitāl wa-'ishtadda 'l-nizāl) until the time of evening [prayer]. [113] Then several of the enemy were slain and both sides returned to their [respective] camps.

Al-Hādī remained in Ṣanᶜā' until the month of Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah [16 November - 15 December 901], of that year. Then he heard that Āl Yuᶜfir and Āl Ṭarīf had mustered up their troops and sent out [envoys] to all the districts and provinces [under their control] who deluded (wa-awhamū) [114] the people into [thinking] that [the Yuᶜfirids] had come to a peace-agreement with al-Hādī on the basis that he would let them have Ṣanᶜā', while he [himself] would set up his capital in Hamdān territory. 20,000 [men] rallied around [the envoys], and when [this force] drew near to Ṣanᶜā', [115] [the Yuᶜfirids] sent forward a large army to al-Sirār [116] [whereupon] al-Hādī sallied forth, having got his men into battle array.

[Al-Hādī] ordered a body [of his troops] to fight those who were at al-Sirār [which then] drove [the latter] back to where they had entered [the city]. Al-Hādī went in their pursuit, they joined in combat and the fighting became intense (wa-ḥamiya 'l-waṭīs), [117] but [eventually] the enemy troops were routed as far as al-Ẓibr. [118] It was a day

witnessed by the angels (wa-kāna yawman mashhūdan), [119] a battle [worthy of] esteem by the Muslims (wa-maqāman fī 'l-Islām mahmūdan).[120]

Afterwards, al-Hādī returned to Ṣan^{C}ā', but armed conflict was to follow in Ḥaddah [121] and Bayt Baws [but] the enemy suffered humiliation and chastisement (wa-waqa^{C}a fī 'l-a^{C}dā' al-nakāl wa-'l-bu's).

Annotations

1. This is Abū 'l-Ḥusayn al-^{C}Alawī, formerly governor of Najrān: see above, p. 127 , n.21. According to the Sīrat, al-Hādī had left Ṣa^{C}dah at the pressing request of Abū 'l-^{C}Atāhiyah who urged him to come to Ṣan^{C}ā', apparently so that he could give the imam allegiance and hand over to him the reins of government. Abū 'l-^{C}Atāhiyah`s intentions were known only to the imam, and the entire matter remained a secret until the two men met at Ḥadaqān: fa-kharaja Abu 'l-^{C}Atāhiyah wa-lā yu^{C}lamu mā yurīdu ḥattā laqiya 'l-Hādī ..... bi-Ḥadaqān fa-sallama ilayhi mā kāna fī yadihi jami^{C}an, (see below, n.6 and pp. 138-9). According to the Sīrat, al-Hādī`s force consisted not only of Khawlānīs but also of men from Hamdān and B. al-Ḥārith who had been sent from Najrān. See ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 17,15-19., cf. 202,11-16.

It will be observed that much of this information has been gleaned from the introductory chapter of the Sīrat (pp. 17-20) which precedes the Sīrat proper. This chapter introduces the imam and his genealogy and after mentioning briefly the setting up of al-Hādī`s imamate in the Yemen, it goes on to provide what is in fact a succinct summary of the events of 288 / 901.

2. Al-Hamdānī has al-ᶜAmashiyyah or al-ᶜAmshiyyah and another reading is al-ᶜUmshiyyah. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat MS, f. 79a,19, has al-ᶜ-m-shiyyah. It was a staging-post on the Pilgrimage road between Khaywān and Ṣaᶜdah, 17 (Arab) miles from the former and 22 from the latter. More specifically, it is situated between ᶜAyyān and Asal (q.v. Sīrat, 127,11ff) and is an uninhabited desolate region with one small well. Al-Maqdisī has al-Aᶜmashiyyah, and Ibn al-Mujāwir mentions al-ᶜ-m-y-shah on the pre-Islamic Ṣanᶜā'-Ṣaᶜdah road. See Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 161,2,n.3., 241,10., 339,6ff., Jazīrat, (ed. Müller),I, 83,2., II, 82; ᶜAbbāsī, ,Sīrat, 202,18f., 203,1; Maqdisī, Taqāsīm, 111,n.g; Ibn al-Mujāwir, Mustabṣir, 203; Waysī, Yaman, 85, 111, 112; Map 1, B4.

3. Al-Hā'irah, and thus in ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 203,2, and in Sīrat MS, f. 79a,21, where it is hā' deliberately and the hamzah is actually there under the line with a kasrah beneath it. I have not been able to locate the place, but from the context it is clearly in the northernmost part of Ẓāhir Hamdān (q.v. below, n.61), N or W of Khaywān.

4. Q.v. Dozy, Supplément,I, 660, ... déréglé.

5. Situated in the lower part of al-Bawn al-Asfal, it was the first staging-post on the Pilgrimage road proceeding from Ṣanᶜā', 20 (Arab) miles from the latter and 16 south of Uthāfit. It is the markaz for the Ḥāshid tribe of Khārif, and the author of Tāj mentions its grapes and springs. See Map 1, B3., 2, A4; above, p.109 , n.21; Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 339,4f; Maqdisī, Taqāsīm, 111; Zabīdī, Tāj,VIII, 130; Waysī, Yaman, 81; Akwaᶜ , Yaman, 77.

6. See above, p. 89 , n.2. Cf. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 204,3ff: in particular al-Bawn and al-Mashriq, where the implication from the context is that these two areas were among those which had been wrested from al-Duᶜām (also borne out by the Ghāyat abridgement of events), whereas Van Arendonk

interprets the passage to mean that al-Bawn and al-Mashriq were part of Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah's actual domains (q.v. Arendonk, Débuts, 211). Al-Mashriq might be Mashriq Khawlān, the Mikhlāf Khawlān of al-Hamdānī (q.v. Jazīrat, 235,1f), the region which lies to the east of Ṣanᶜā' and extends as far as Mārib (approx. 120 km E of Ṣanᶜā', see Wilson, " Interpretation ", map facing p.48). Probably, however, al-Mashriq refers to the area E of al-Bawn and al-Khashab, q.v. Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 278,14, where al-Mashriq in the context is a designation given to the eastern part of najdī balad Hamdān, scil. Ẓāhir Hamdān (vide below, n.61). Elsewhere, (Jazīrat, 245,4), al-Hamdānī speaks of mashriq ..... Ẓāhir Hamdān, in which Madar and Jurfah (see following note) are described as being situated.

Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah had decided to cede all his domains to al-Hādī, presumably Ṣanᶜā' and its surrounding provinces (cf. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 110,5: he was wālī Ṣanᶜā' wa-makhālīfihā) but this was a secret between himself and al-Hadi, wa-kāna fī dhālik baynahumā amr lam yattaliᶜ ᶜalayhimā ahad min al-nās (Sīrat, 204,7f, cf. 17,17f). See above, n.1.

7. According to ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 204,9-14, al-Hādī made eastwards across al-Bawn to Madar (see Map 2, B3 and below, n. 72 ,p.168), and then southwards to Ḥadaqān (q.v. following note) via Jurfah. The Sīrat (Zakkār's edit.) has Kharfah, but the Sīrat MS, f. 80a,2 has, distinctly, Kh-r-qah. This place is most probably the Jurfah of Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 245,3. Akwaᶜ, in his footnote (p.245, n.2), allows the jīm a dammah or a kasrah, and , does not specifically mention the rā' as having a shaddah, the shaddah only appearing in the actual text (cf. Wilson, " Investigation ", 497, Jurrafah). Akwaᶜ adds that the place is now in ruins, but he does not indicate its location. However, from the context it is clearly in Arḥab territory, in a region described by al-Hamdānī as mashriq Ẓāhir Hamdān (Jazīrat, 245,4)

8. It is marked on Werdecker, " Contribution ", map, some 28 km N, slightly E, of Ṣanᶜā' in Wadi Khārid, and is 1 km distant from Ḥuṣn (sic) al-Ghurāb which is presumably the Khaṭm (Khuṭm) al-Ghurāb of al-Hamdānī,

known today, apparently, as Daqm al-Ghurab and situated on the southern fringe of Arḥab territory, - see Jazīrat, 239,1f,n.2. Ḥadaqān does not appear on the YAR map, but its position on Werdecker's map would fit in well with al-Hādī's itinerary (see preceding note), and so, provisionally, it has been indicated on Map 2 (B2) according to its actual position on the Werdecker map, viz. just over 15° 37′ N and just under 44° 14½ E, - cf. his map ref. (p. 129), 15° 37′ / 44° 15′. Ḥadaqān is described by Akwaᶜ (Iklīl,VIII, 149,n.1) as being a place, NE (sic) of Ṣanᶜā', in the northern limits of al-Raḥabah (q.v. below, n.74) and at the entrance to Arḥab territory. Cf. Wilson, " Investigation ", 229.

9. B. Ṭarīf b. Thābit: descended from Yazīd b. ᶜAmr Dhū Kubār, (see Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 97,n.5, for the dammah on the kāf), whose ancestor is Kathīr b. Mālik b. Jusham b. Ḥāshid. Their hometown was Uthāfit and they are described by al-Hamdānī as being the " the [champion] horsemen of the Yemen and its spur " (fursān al-Yaman wa-shawkatuhā). They were loyal clients (mawālī) of the Yuᶜfirids, one of their leaders being Abū Miḥjan, and most probably Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah himself also belonged to this family (see above, pp. 120-2, n.1). Āl Dhī Kubār, like Āl Dhī Laᶜwah (see below, n.67), were one of the aqyāl families of pre-Islamic Yemen. See Iklil,X, 40-1., 50-1.

10. Ashāb Khuftum, cf. jund Khuftum in the Sīrat where they are described as fussāqan zalamah: ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 204,16f. See above, p. 88, n.1.

11. Cf. Dozy, Supplément,II, 816, - wadaᶜa ᶜalā: imposer un tribut. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 204,18f, has at this juncture: ... fa-innahum qad kāna 'qtataᶜa kull rajul minhum baladan min al-Yaman ya'kuluhu jawran wa-zulman wa-fisqan.

12. He is Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf b. Ṭarīf, and is known as al-Waqāf. His brother was Yūsuf, known as al-Hārūn. See Hamdānī, Iklil,X, 51.

13. Baᶜd al-qurā, by which is meant the town of Jayshān, for the Sīrat has at this point in the narrative: ..... annahu dakhala ilā balad tusammā Jayshān, (ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 205,1f). Jayshān was on the Pilgrimage road from

Aden. See Geddes, " Yu^{C}firid ", 71,n.55; Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 78ff.

14. Q.v. ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 205,6-9.

15. Cf. ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 205,8f: wa-kānu ya'khudhūna amwāl al-nās ^{C}anwatan.

16. This occurred when al-Hādī was still in Sa^{C}dah. (^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 205,12). Abū 'l-^{C}Atāhiyah wrote to al-Hādī prompted by motives of piety, for he realized that he himself bore ultimate responsibility for what Āl Ṭarīf and Khuftum's soldiery were perpetrating, in territory of which he was, at any rate nominally, the ruler, (205,10-12).

17. For istad^{C}ā, cf. Dozy, Supplément,I, 445.

Cf. ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 17,15: fa-'stad^{C}ā Abū 'l-^{C}Atāhiyah al-Hādī .... fa-sa'alahu 'l-nuhud ilā San^{C}ā'. However, according to the Sīrat, the communications between Abū 'l-^{C}Atāhiyah and al-Hādī were not known to anyone and this would therefore contradict our text: cf. 17,17f - wa-Abū 'l-^{C}Atāhiyah fī dhālik lā yuzhiru mā baynahu wa-bayna 'l-Hādī ..... wa-lā yubayyinu shay'an min amrihi; and 17,18f - see above, n.1; and cf. also 204,6-8 (see above, n.6), although apparently al-Hādī did disclose that Abū 'l-^{C}Atāhiyah had surrendered to him al-Du^{C}ām's former territories (204,3-5), - what was manifestly a secret was Abū 'l-^{C}Atāhiyah's plan ' to abdicate ' and hand over San^{C}ā' to al-Hādī.

The words sirran wa-jahran of our text are usually used in the context of prayer. It is noteworthy that the reading of MS Khā' is wa-da^{C}āhu (cf. MSS ^{C}Ayn and Bā': wa-'stad^{C}āhu). If wa-da^{C}āhu is taken as the more correct reading, might not an alternative interpretation be that the pronominal suffix refers to God, not to al-Hādī, and that, consequently, God is the subject of wa-amaddahu ? Wa-amaddahu (with God as its subject) appears in that passage in the Sīrat (205,11f) referred to above (n.16), which passage our author perhaps had in mind, viz. ..... afkara [scil. Abū 'l-^{C}Atāhiyah] fī nafsihi wa-a^{C}ānahu 'llāh fī dhālik bi-tawfīqihi limā ^{C}alima min takhallusihi mim-mā huwa fīhi fa-amaddahu

bi-husni 'l-maCūnah fa-kataba ilā 'l-Hādī ..... On the basis of this interpretation, the translation of our text would then run: " ..... and he [Abū 'l-CAtāhiyah] invoked [God] both in his heart and aloud, and He came to his aid ". For amadda (imdād), cf. Zabīdī, Tāj,IX, 161.

18. Wādī al-Sirr, some 21-31 km NE of Ṣan^{C}ā', known also as Sirr Ibn Ruwayyah, presumably because Āl al-Ruwayyah (see below, n.110) possessed property there. With its numerous springs and wells, it was considered by al-Hamdānī to be one of the fairest wadis of the whole Yemen - wahwa min CuyūN awdiyat al-Yaman, (i.e. min khiyār awdiyatihā). See Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 236,1-4; Waysī, Yaman, 71; Rathjens & Wissman, Landeskundliche, Fig. 40; above, p. 85 , n.3.

19. Perhaps he is the son of Jarrāḥ b. Bishr who is the brother of Abū 'l-CAtāhiyah. CAbdullāh b. Jarrāḥ clearly belongs to Āl Ṭarīf, to which family Abū 'l-CAtāhiyah most probably belongs, and the Sīrat is more specific, ... wa-nafaran maCahum min Āl Ṭarīf fīhim CAbdullāh b. Jarrāḥ, (CAbbāsī, Sīrat, 205,15). See above, pp. 120-2 , n.1,2. CAbdullāh b. Jarrāḥ and Ḥusayn b. Jarrāḥ (for whom see below, p.227f , n.3) are perhaps brothers.

20. Nafar is the word used. In classical usage, nafar appears to be restricted to a group of not less than three, and not more than ten, persons: Zabīdī, Tāj,IV, 267, but see Dozy, Supplément,II, 699 for the development in its use. The author of the Ghāyat also speaks of Abū 'l-CAtāhiyah's much larger army (q.v. below, n.22) as nafar min ashābihi. In the Sīrat, both the latter army and that of al-Hādī's are spoken of more appropriately (classically) as Caskar: CAbbāsī, Sīrat, 206, - many examples.

21. Cf. CAbbāsī, Sīrat, 205,20, - some (shibhan min) 150 horse and some 600 foot.

22. 400 horse and 10,000 foot: CAbbāsī, Sīrat, 206,9.

23. See Zabīdī, Tāj,XX, 468 - wa-'l-jamC: al-jaysh.

24. See Dozy, Supplément,I, 514, ...: en l'honneur de quelqu'un, - but not of course in our text as a token of submission.

25. Ghayl: a permanent course of flowing water, q.v. Zabīdī, Tāj, (Khayriyyah),VIII, 53; Rossi, L'Arabo, 197, under canale; Landberg, Dafînois,III, 2389; Smith, Ayyubids,II, 126. For Ḥadaqān - see above, n.8.

26. Cf. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 207,13: Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah says, limā uhādhiruhu min banī ᶜammī ᶜalā Sanᶜā'.

It seems to have been al-Hādī's original intention to enter Sanᶜā' the next day (Friday) in time for the Friday Prayer, - see following note. However, when al-Hādī suggests to Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah (at Ghayl Ḥadaqān presumably) that they should spend the night there, Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah persuades the imam to continue the journey to Sanᶜā': see Sīrat, 207,10-13.

27. Geddes has, incorrectly, " In the evening of Friday 22 Muharram " (" Yuᶜfirid ", 79), and Van Arendonk makes a similar error, " le soir du vendredi ", (Débuts, 212), for laylat al-jumuᶜah can, linguistically, only mean Thursday evening (or Thursday night). Also, Friday evening cannot be reconciled with the detailed narrative provided by the Sīrat.

According to ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 206,3f, al-Hādī promises two of his followers, on the day Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah gives him allegiance, that the following day they will enter Sanᶜā' and pray the Friday Prayer there: wa-antum dākhilūna ghadan Sanᶜā' in shā'a 'llāh wa-musallūna fīhā 'l-jumuᶜah bi-hawli 'llāh wa-quwwatihi, (see preceding note). It is evident that the entry into Sanᶜā' and the praying of the Friday Prayer were to be two actions closely connected with each other in time. The Arabic cannot bear the interpretation that almost a week would separate the two actions (and such is, necessarily, the interpretation if it is thought that al-Hadi expected that they would enter Sanᶜā' on Friday evening, or on Saturday, for instance). Therefore, Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah must have given his allegiance to al-Hādī on a Thursday, and thus it was Thursday evening when al-Hādī arrived in Sanᶜā'.

After his arrival, he went to Abū 'l-ᶜAṭāhiyah's house where he spent the night. (Sīrat, 207,14-16). The Friday Prayer (described also in our text) took place the following day: Sīrat, 207,17 - 208,4.

Concerning the actual date, our text has at this juncture, li-sabᶜ bāqīn min al-Muḥarram (see Arabic text, p.33, and cf. Sīrat, 207,14f, fī sabᶜ layāl bāqīn .....), which can be interpreted, of course, as 22 or 23 al-Muḥarram, according to whether the month has 29 or 30 days in it. However, 16 January 901 is a Friday and corresponds to 22 al-Muḥarram 288, which actually commenced at sunset on Thursday evening. In the introductory chapter of the Sīrat (q.v. above, n.1), the date is given as: iḥdā wa-ᶜishrīn laylah khalat min al-Muḥarram (18,1f) which means literally, " 21 nights of al-Muḥarram being passed ". This dating could be applied thus to the day-light hours of the Thursday or even (as in this case) to the Thursday evening, when the 22nd. night of al-Muḥarram cannot be said to have actually passed. There would appear to be, therefore, no necessary contradiction between the two Sīrat datings. Cf. Wright, Grammar,II, 248-9.

Cf. Idrīs, Kanz, f. 177b,28 where it is narrated that al-Hādī made his entry into Ṣanᶜā' fī ākhir al-Muḥarram. There is no actual mention of the Friday Prayer. The words which follow soon afterwards fa-daᶜā 'l-Hādī ilā nafsihi, do not specifically refer to the khuṭbah of the Friday Prayer as Geddes supposed (cf. " Yuᶜfirid ", 80,n.14). They are more general in implication and mean that al-Hādī asserted himself as Amīr al-Mu'minīn and, consequently, demanded the allegiance of the people, (see below, n.34). Of course, both Geddes and Van Arendonk date the Friday Prayer, incorrectly, as having occurred the week after al-Hādī's arrival in Ṣanᶜā'.

28. Cf. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 208,3: fa-athīrū 'l-fitnah.

29. Q.v. Steingass, Persian-English, 1113.

30. Q.v. Dozy, Supplément,II, 831, bālagha fī qitālihim.

31. Four in all: three foot apparently, and the fourth was a horseman, ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 209,14ff.

32. The Sīrat makes the meaning clear: wa-sallama Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah jamīᶜ mā kāna maᶜahu fī yadihi min māl nadd wa-ibil wa-khayl wa-silāh wa-athāth mim-mā qad-kāna jamaᶜahu huwa wa-ghayruhu min amwāli 'llāh taᶜālā, ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 210,13ff.

33. There would appear to be a difference in meaning here between our text and the Sīrat account. The latter has, wa-sayyara Abā 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah ᶜalā baᶜd amrihi (ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 210,15). " and he [al-Hādī] appointed (sayyara = jaᶜala) Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah to a certain [position] in his government ", where here the pronoun in amrihi seems to refer to al-Hādī. However, the meaning might be tantamount to wa-sayyara Abā 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah ᶜalā baᶜd aᶜmālihi, i.e. he appointed Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah [as ᶜāmil] of a particular province (ᶜamal), (see Dozy, Supplément,II, 175, ᶜamal: mā tawallāhu 'l-amīr: and below, n.35). Concerning our text, wa-arāda an yubqiyah (instead of wa-sayyara) would seem to preclude the latter interpretation.

34. Amīr al-mu'minīn. This is significant for no Yu^C firid nor indeed any previous Yemenite ruler would have been addressed thus. Idrīs, Kanz, f. 177b,28, fa-da^Cā 'l-Hādī ilā nafsihi fa-bāya^C ahu 'l-nās, shows clearly that al-Hādī regarded himself, and was so regarded by his followers, as the sole legitimate Islamic ruler in the Yemen and that, subsequently, the Abbasid caliph in Baghdad had no rightful jurisdiction over them. See above, introduction p. 35-6.

35. ^CUmmāl, sing. ^Cāmil. The Yemenites use the term to mean governor, representative or deputy of a ruler. (Gochenour, " Penetration ", 154., 217,n.17, likes the word ' agent ' but this could be misleading.) In Ghāyat (see below, Arabic text p. 75), the terms ^Cāmil al-Qarāmitah and ^Cāmil al-Hādī appear in the same sentence. It is synonymous with wālī. The Sīrat gives the text of the instructions given by al-Hādī to his wulāh (^C Abbāsī, Sīrat, 44-٦) and the verb generally used meaning to appoint an ^Cāmil is wallā (see Sirat, 212-15, many examples). Sometimes khallafa is used. The author of Ghāyat likes istakhlafa.

As his ^Cummāl, al-Hādī would appoint close relatives (his own son Abū 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad for instance), other members of Ahl al-Bayt, descendants of al-^CAbbās b. ^CAlī and members of trusted tribes, particularly Fuṭaymīs and Yarsumīs from Ṣa^Cdah.

The duties of an ^Cāmil are set out in the instructions referred to above. There, and elsewhere, it is clear that his main task is al-amr bi-'l-ma^Crūf wa-'l-nahy ^Can al-munkar. Also he must teach the people their religious duties, especially the ritual prayers, the fundamental doctrines of Islam (usūl), and the merit attached to jihād, and he must teach them the obligation of allegiance wilāyah to the imam from the Prophet`s pure progeny, wa-'l-wilāyah li-man amara 'llāh ta^Cāla bi-wilāyatihi min ahl bayt nabiyyihi al-ṭāhirīn (45,6f). Also, he must supervise meticulously the collecting of the zakāh.

36. Sing. mikhlāf. The word traditionally employed by Yemenites to signify province, district, a number of contiguous villages, equivalent to the terms, iqlīm, kūrah, rustāq and nāhiyah. ᶜUmārah puts it succinctly: a mikhlāf is an extensive district (qutr wāsiᶜ).

Al-Maqdisī says that the Yemen is characterised by its having makhālīf and lists over a hundred of them. In the list, the name by which a particular mikhlāf is known, is sometimes its principal city or town (like al-Janad, Zabīd, Dhamār, Radāᶜ), its predominant tribe (Shākir, Yām, Khawlān), or even a geographical area (Sāḥil Ghalāfiqah, Sāḥil al-Mandab, al-Sarāh) or the latter plus the tribe (Jawf Hamdān, Jawf Murād). Yāqūt mentions over thirty makhālīf, and so does al-Hamdānī.

Ibn al-Mujāwir sees a mikhlāf as equivalent to an ᶜamal (administrative district governed by an ᶜāmil: see preceding note). He repeats ᶜUmārah's definition but differs with al-Maqdisī (and Yāqūt and al-Hamdānī) in that he confines a mikhlāf to the mountainous regions of the Yemen. Ibn al-Mujāwir associates a mikhlāf in particular with a fortress ḥisn (cf. Dozy, Supplément,I, 398, al-ᶜarab tusammī 'l-ḥisn mikhlāfan) scil. mikhlāf al-Taᶜkar, mikhlāf Jāᶜfar, so the mikhlāf becomes the sum total of the towns / villages and farms around the fortress or (the sum total) of its aᶜmāl.

See Maqdisī, Taqāsīm, 88; ᶜUmārah, Yaman, Arabic text,3; Ibn al-Mujāwir, Mustabsir, 169f; Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 533f; Yāqūt, Muᶜjam,I, 67-70; ᶜAqīlī, Min tārīkh, Part I, Vol. 1, 3.

37. One of four different places mentioned by al-Hamdānī in Jazīrat possessing this name. It had 30 mosques in his day and was inhabited by B. Faḥd b. Ḥimyar. It was the capital of the Yuᶜfirid dynasty and is situated at the foot of Jabal Dhukhār and the fortress of Kawkabān (Ibn al-Mujāwir seems to have been confused between the mountain and the city: Mustabsir, 184); cf. Bakrī, Muᶜjam,III, 778, jabal li-Hamdān bi-'l-Yaman.

Shibām is known by four different names: Shibām Aqyān, Shibām Yaḥbus, Shibām Yuᶜfir and Shibām Kawkabān and is at a distance of 38 km NW of Ṣanᶜā', (cf. Werdecker, " Contribution ", map, about 33 km). See Map 1, B3., Map 2, A2; Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 172,4., 173; Waysī, Yaman, 64-5; Akwaᶜ, Yaman, 79.

38. The Sīrat narrative at this juncture makes it clear that this is the meaning of mazālim (sing. mazlimah) in our text, and not just injustice, wrong or oppression in a general sense: cf. Lane, Lexicon, V, 1923a; Dozy, Supplément,II, 85, maltôte, exaction, perception d'un droit qui n'est pas dû, qui n'est pas légal; Kazimirski, Dictionnaire,II, 141, chose arrachée injustement, extorquée. The Sīrat specifically mentions taᶜām (grain crops, corn, or perhaps, especially, sorghum, q.v. Landberg, Hadramoût, 295-6; Zabīdī, Tāj (Khayriyyah),VIII, 378), and taxes (gharāmāt, q.v. Dozy, Supplément,II, 209; and darā'ib): [al-Hādī told the people in the khutbah] an alladhī kāna yu'khadhu minhum min al-taᶜām wa-'l-gharāmāt wa-'l-darā'ib lā yajibu ᶜalayhim wa-annahu qad rafaᶜa dhālika kullahu ᶜanhum ....., ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 211,8ff. For rafaᶜa, cf. Lane, Lexicon, III, 1122c; Dozy, Supplément,I, 541.

39. Q.v. above, pp. 94-5 , n.5.

40. Mentioned in Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 407, 7,3, (min ab'ur al-Khawlānī). Presumably it is situated SE of Ṣanᶜā' in Mikhlāf Dhī Jurrah and Yaklā which, apparently, is equivalent to present-day Sanḥān and Bilād al-Rūs: see Jazīrat, 149,1f,n.2, and following note. Dhū Jurrah is probably identical with present-day Sanḥān.

41. Perhaps it is a region rather than a place (see preceding note) and, if so, it is probably to be identified with the present-day Bilād al-Rūs, south of Sanḥān, whose main town Wiᶜlān (YAR MB 222663 [1544 C4] - Waᶜlān, and see Map 1, B3) is 31 km S of Ṣanᶜā'. See Waysī, Yaman, 77-8. The latter marks a kasrah for Wuᶜlān, i.e. Wiᶜlān, but Akwaᶜ (Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 154,n.1) specifically mentions that the waw has a dammah.

Glaser, Reise, map 3 (42°45′-14°50′) marks a Dj. Jeklā far to the NE of Dhamār. Al-Hādī appointed a pious Ṭabarī (unnamed) as ᶜāmil before proceeding on his journey: ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 212,4.

42. The author of Ghāyat, quite arbitrarily, omits mention of al-Hādī's stay at Simḥ, where a woman sought justice from him concerning an estate (dayᶜah) seized from her by Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah's father. See Arabic text, p. 35 , and ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 212,5ff, Sumḥ. The place appears as Samḥ on YAR MB 154343 (1444 A1) and today is a small town in modern Nāḥiyat Ḍawrān. It is Ṣimḥ in Hamdānī, Jazīrat (ed. Müller), 105,4., 135,7., and Jazīrat (ed. Akwaᶜ), 227,7., but cf. 227,n.6 where Akwaᶜ implies that al-Samḥ is the modern rendering. It is 33 km NW of Dhamār (q.v. following note): see Map 1, B2.

Al-Hādī appointed a Futaymī, Zayd b. Abī 'l-ᶜAbbās as his ᶜāmil: ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 212,5ff.

43. Dhamāri, indeclinable (mabnī) on the pattern faᶜāli, like Qaṭāmi and Ẓafāri: q.v. Zabīdī, Tāj.,XI, 290.,,XII, 475; Nashwān, Muntakhabāt, 39; Bakrī, Muᶜjam,II, 614.

It is a city about 90 km S, slightly E, of Ṣanᶜā': see Map 1, B2, (cf. 16 farsakh from Ṣanᶜā', Maqdisī, Taqāsīm, 112). In al-Hamdānī's day it was inhabited by Ḥimyar and a number (nafar) of Abnā' (the descendants of Persian settlers). The great 8 / 14th century Zaydī imam, al-Mu'ayyad Yaḥyā b. Ḥamzah is buried in the Jāmiᶜ al-Kabīr. Before the 1962 revolution, the city was known as kursī al-Zaydiyyah because of its indefectable attachment to Zaydī Shiism and because of the many ulema who dwelt there. See Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 79,8f,n.5; Waysī, Yaman, 54.

Ibn al-Mujāwir (Mustabṣir, 190-1) relates the remarkable sulphureous properties of the soil around Dhamār, which was apparently exported to all parts of the Yemen to be used to rid the inhabitants of pests like snakes and scorpions! - see Smith, " Ibn al-Mujāwir's ", 114-5.

44. A Futaymī, Ibrāhīm b. Jaʿfar was appointed as ʿāmil: ʿAbbāsī, Sīrat, 213,2f.

45. N of Radāʿ and NE of Dhamār: see Map 1, B2,C2. It is a tribal region deriving its name from ʿAns b. Mālik (Madhḥij) b. Udad: Waysī, Yaman, 185; Kaḥḥālah, Muʿjam, II, 847. The author of Ghāyat is referring to al-Hādī's visit to Thāt (also known as Thāh) some 10 km W of Radāʿ (Qaysī & Shukrī, Dirāsah, 78), and to Bushār (Bishār? see Glaser, Reise, map 2, 44°55′-14°40′) NE of Dhamār, both of which places are mentioned in the detailed narrative of ʿAbbāsī , Sīrat, 210, (and see also, Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 188 and n.6., 271,7,n.2). Neither does our author mention al-Hādī's excursions to al-Aḥṭūṭ (Akhṭūṭ? see Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 105,3,n.4), Mankath (q.v. below, p.215 , n.30), and Jayshān. Two Yarsumīs were appointed ʿāmils over Thāt and Bushār respectively, and from the latter place al-Hādī returned, via Yaklā, to Ṣanʿā': ʿAbbāsī, Sīrat, 213-15. At Mankath, al-Hādī had apparently been given allegiance by Abū 'l-ʿAshīrah Ibn al-Ruwayyah: ʿAbbāsī, Sīrat, 18,9f, and see below, n.110, and 228f , n.8.

46. This refers to al-Hādī's sending his brother ʿAbdullāh (q.v. above, p. 106, n.8) to his mashāyikh (scil. those from his family, and others, who had instructed him in usūl, ḥadīth, grammar, syntax etc.) and women folk in the Hejaz to bring them to Yemen: ʿAbbāsī, Sīrat, 215,10f. Geddes suggests that he was sent principally to bring additional men for posts [to be ʿummāl, q.v. above, n.35] outside the region of Ṣanʿā': " Yuʿfirid ", 82.

47. ʿAlī b. Sulaymān b. al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm: Ibn ʿInabah, ʿUmdat, 201,203.

48. The Sīrāt says that al-Hādī stayed in Shibām [the whole of] Jumādā I and several days from Jumādā II: ʿAbbāsī, Sīrat, 215,14.

49. Thus our author deals with an important episode for details of which the Sīrat should be consulted: ʿAbbāsī, Sīrat, 216-18. It concerns the

rebellion in Qudum and al-Maṣāni^{c} territory instigated by the two sons of the Yu^{c}firid Abū 'l-Khayr, apparently the kunyah of Aḥmad b. Yu^{c}fir, and thus the two sons concerned would be Ḥasan and ^{c}Uthmān since the third, ^{c}Abd al-Qāhir, was still imprisoned: see below, n.57; Geddes, " Yu^{c}firid ", 166 (Appendix B, Table 3); Arendonk, Débuts, 218, n.2,3., 200, n.1.

The revolt was joined by Ṣa^{c}ṣa^{c}h b. Ja^{c}far (see below, n.67), he having broken his oath of allegiance to al-Hādī. The subject of the verb in fa-kharajū ilā Jabal Dhukhār in our text, is not Āl Yu^{c}fir and Āl Ṭarīf, most of whom were still in prison at the time, but the insurgents.

Jabal Dhukhār (known today as Jabal al-Ḍulā^{c}) is the great mountain overlooking Shibām on which is situated the fortress of Kawkabān (Waysī, Yaman, 64; and Map 2, A2). The rebels wanted to ascend Jabal Dhukhār presumably to take Kawkabān, and thus be able to harass al-Hādī's army below in Shibām: see ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 217,13f.

50. Clearly al-Hādī thought the rebels were going to ascend the mountain by a different route otherwise he would ot have left Shibām with merely a small garrison of Ṣan^{c}ānīs to guard it and have taken two of his principal military men with him (viz. Abū 'l-^{c}Atāhiyah and Muḥammad b. al-Du^{c}ām). Probably al-Hādī wanted to do battle wih them as they were approaching Kawkabān across the mountain plateau above: see ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 218,1f,15f.

51. Surprisingly, our author does not mention the slaying by the rebels of Muḥammad b. Abī ^{c}Abbād whom al-Hādī had left in charge of the garrison in Shibām (see preceding note), and for whom he had obviously much affection. Al-Hādī himself took charge of his burial, and the Sīrat records his moving words: wadadtu annī kuntu ma^{c}ak fa-'stashhidu razaqanī 'llāh mā razaqak. Muḥammad b. Abī ^{c}Abbād's death took place apparently on Sunday morning 13 Jumādā II 288 / 4 June 901 (a Thursday in Freeman-Grenville, Muslim). See ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 217,12,20., 218,2ff., 219,2ff.

The Sīrat specifically mentions Abū Ziyād (for whom, see below, n.66) as having been imprisoned, viz. Abū Ziyād wa-jamāᶜah min al-Khafātim, (ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 218,10).

52. Al-Hādī had ascended Jabal Dhukhār: see ᶜAbbāsī, Sirat, 218,15.

53. Brother of Arḥab (see above, p. 112f, n.34) and another of al-Duᶜām b. Ibrāhīm's six sons: see Hamdānī, Iklīl,X, 185.

54. Aḥmad b. Maḥfūẓ, a vile, uncouth man (rajul khasīs danīs [sic]), at the head of a band of profligates (sufahā', but cf. above, n.4) and rabble-like gang (cf. fa-sāha bi-shubhah min al-ghawghā'): see ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 19,10f., 220,11ff.

55. ᶜAlī b. Sulaymān: ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 220,13ff; Idrīs, Kanz, f. 178a,3; above, n.47. Geddes, (" Yuᶜfirid ", 84, n.26), says that according to Idrīs, Ibn Sulaymān (sic) was captured, which is incorrect: see Idrīs, Kanz, 178a,5, fa-akhrajūhu (cf. our text, wa-ṭarada ᶜāmil al-Hādī, and Sīrat, 221,1, qad ukhrija [i.e. ᶜAlī b. Sulaymān] min Sanᶜā'). Ṭabarī, (Tārīkh,IV, 2204), relates that a son of [al-Hādī] was captured and then escaped with 50 men.

56. Tashawwasha = tahawwasha: see Zabīdī, Tāj,XVII, 240., 469, (wa) tahawwashu (ᶜalayhi : 'jtamaᶜū).

57. Ibn Yuᶜfir, likewise in ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 220,18. The Sīrat (220,19) makes it clear that it was he who restored Yuᶜfirid rule to Ṣanᶜā' adding: wa-qāma maᶜahu akthar al-ᶜaskar alladhī kāna maᶜa ᶜAlī b. Sulaymān. Elsewhere in the Sīrat (19,12), this Yuᶜfirid is identified as ᶜAbd al-Qāhir b. Aḥmad b. Nuᶜaym (sic) but correctly it seems in Idrīs, Kanz, 178a,5, as ᶜAbd al-Qāhir b. Abī 'l-Khayr [scil. Aḥmad, see above, n.49] b. Yuᶜfir, and also in Ibn ᶜAbd al-Majīd, Bahjat, 37, (Istanbul MS), but the editor (37, n.2) wrongly considers b. Abī 'l-Khayr to be a corruption and prefers the reading of the Cairo MS, scil. ᶜAbd al-Qāhir b. Abī 'l-Ḥusayn b. Yuᶜfir.

Nu^{C}aym in the Sīrat seems to be an error, unless it is a corruption of Abū 'l-Nu^{C}aym and thus perhaps a kunyah of Yu^{C}fir (Abū 'l-Khayr's father)?

58. Wadi Ẓahr, about 14 km NW of Ṣan^{C}ā': YAR MC 0607 / 0707 (1544 C): and see Map 2, B1. It is considered by al-Hamdānī (Jazīrat, 234,3f) as being one of the " two paradises of the Yemen " (jannatā 'l-Yaman), the other being Ḍila^{C} (Ḍula^{C}), q.v. below, p.185f ,n. 12.

Most probably Ẓahr is correct, rather than Ḍahr. Ẓahr is a geographical term: mā ghaluẓa min al-ard wa-'rtafa^{C}a, Zabīdī, Tāj,XII, 481, but on p. 410 (under ḌHR), ... wa-mawḍi^{C} ma^{C}rūf bi-Ḍahr, which is probably the toponym of our text. Al-Żabīdī here distinguishes between Ḍahr and a mountain, also in the Yemen, called al-Ḍahr which, significantly, was apparently called al-Ẓahr originally.

Although Hamdānī, Iklīl,VIII, 119 has Ḍahr, viz. wa-minhā Ḍahr bi-'l-dād, and it is Ḍahr (or Wadi Ḍahr) throughout Jazīrat (136,12., 156,1., 226,2., etc), there is, however, a statement in Iklīl,II, that suggests most strongly that in al-Hamdānī's time, (first-half of 4th/ 10th century), the place was usually pronounced Ẓahr. On p. 51 of the latter work, al-Hamdānī clearly seems to be saying: " .... then Sa^{C}d b. ^{C}Urayb begat Ḍahr b. Sa^{C}d, and it is from him [that it is believed the name of] Wadi Ẓahr [Ḍahr in the printed text] in the region of Ṣan^{C}ā' is [ultimately] derived (wa-ilayhi yunsabu) [i.e. despite the fact that the wadi was generally pronounced thus, scil. Ẓahr, in al-Hamdānī's day], and so [this is surely the strength of the fā' in fa-yuqālu] some people maintain [that it is] Wadi Ḍahr, with a dād."

" Ḍahr (in the region of Ṣan^{C}ā') " of the Iklīl text should be attributed, this writer believes, to a scribal error due to the widespread confusion between zā' and dād and their interchangeable character (see below). Had Ẓahr not been substituted for Ḍahr in this particular instance, as has been done above, al-Hamdānī's meaning becomes abstruse, and I do

not believe this to be the case. Wilson (" Investigation ", 341), who insists that the correct version of the toponym is " almost certainly " Ḍahr, believes al-Hamdānī's statement to be unclear, but his argument is unconvincing.

ᶜAbbāsī , Sīrat (both the MS and printed edit.), has Ẓahr (in the former, f. 86a,14,15, without points., 86a,17,18,20, pointed), and Waysī (Yaman, 75,76,) mentions Wadi Ẓahr. Glaser, Reise, map 3, has Ḍahr, but map 2 has Dhahr, and the latter is given by Rathjens & Wissman, Landeskundliche, fig 40 and " Sanaa ", map 5, and also Scott, High, map 4, facing p.142. Cf. Werdecker, " Contribution ", map: Ḍahr. This discrepancy is understandable. The present writer can testify to the interchangeability, in practice, of spoken dhāl, ẓā' and ḍād (and even in writing between ẓā' and ḍād), from Ṣanᶜā' to al-Ṭā'if in the Hejaz.

See Landberg, Dati Înois,III, 2243-5; Smith, " Review ", 151-2.

59. Reigned 279-89 / 892-901,2. Ṭabarī mentions the event: Tārīkh,IV, 2133, 2206, 2204, and see above, n.34.

60. Household in the widest sense is probably implied here by athqāl (sing. thaqal), viz. household-goods, utensils, servants etc., and even arms perhaps: see Zabīdī, Tāj (Khayriyyah),V, 245, matāᶜ al-musāfir wa-ḥashamuhu; cf. Lane, Lexicon,. I, 344b. Cf. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 221,21: al-Hādī ordered ḥaml mā kāna lahu min athāth wa-silāh.

61. Al-Hādī had his family sent to Darb Banī Ṣuraym (see ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 222,15f, and text below) in the uplands or highlands (ẓāhir) of Hamdān, an area which is thus known also as Ẓāhir Hamdān (see Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 157,3., 278,15). Ẓāhir Hamdān seems to be applied principally to the area stretching from the north of Raydah to Dhī Bīn (q.v. Map 2, B4), and perhaps somewhat beyond. Darb Banī Ṣuraym would thus be situated to the western side of Ẓāhir Hamdān, as opposed to mashriq Ẓāhir Hamdān where Madar and Jurfah are situated, (see above, n.6,7).

Wilson (" Investigation ", 346) believes al-Ẓāhir extends as far as Ḥūth (see Map 1, B4), and perhaps a little beyond.

62. See ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 222,1-6.

63. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 222,3, specifically mentions Asᶜad b. Abī Yuᶜfir and Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf (q.v. see above, n.12). The former is Asᶜad b. Ibrāhīm who will figure prominently in future events: see above, pp. 89-90 , n.3; and below, p. 194 , n. 11. Asᶜad is the first cousin once-removed of ᶜAbd al-Qāhir, discussed above in n.57.

64. Q.v. Zabīdī, Tāj,XXIV, 166, (wa) ᶜatafa (ᶜalayhi) : ay (hamala wa-karra).

65. See above, n.61 and pp. 114-5 , n.42.

66. Nothing more is known about his name. He and Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf were together when al-Hādī occupied Ṣanᶜā' in al-Muḥarram of this year . There seems little doubt that he was one of Khuftum's men (see above, text, p. 114f, and n.51), and most probably he was the leader of the Khafātim faction, while Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf headed Āl Ṭarīf, (see ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 208,12f., 19ff).

67. This is Ṣaᶜṣaᶜh b. Jaᶜfar, who in 285 / 898 had given allegiance to al-Hādī and had taken control of part of al-Duᶜām b. Ibrāhīm's territory in al-Hādī's name (q.v. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 95,2-6), but had subsequently rebelled (see above, n.49). Al-Hamdānī gives him a special mention, ... alladhī hāraba 'l-ᶜAlawī Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn wa-hāraba 'l-Duᶜām, (Iklīl,X, 118).

Ṣaᶜṣaᶜh is from Āl Salm from B. Hiᶜān (Hiffān?), who are descended from Āl Dhī Laᶜwah and thus, ultimately, from Hamdān via Rabīᶜah b. Bakīl. Āl Dhī Laᶜwah were one of the aqyāl of pre-Islamic Yemen, and after the advent of Islam they became virtually lords of Raydah and the Bakīlī tribes thereabouts. The Sīrat (95,3) mentions Ṣaᶜṣaᶜh's fortified

palace in Raydah (see above, n.5). See Hamdānī, Iklīl,X, 118f, 108ff., Iklīl,VIII, 89,n.47; Gochenour, " Penetration ", 36f.

68. Cf. above, text p. 119.

69. Q.v. Lane, Lexicon, I, 238c, cf. ūlū baqiyyatin. This translation rather than simply " leading his troops that remained ", is supported by the Sīrat which says that most of al-Hādī's men fled, (see ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 223,5-7.

70. It is related that al-Hādī on that occasion was using Dhū 'l-Faqār, the sword of ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib: ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 223,14 - 224,4, - the poem is set out on p. 2 (Arabic section of this thesis), and its translation, p.9, (above). See also, Arendonk, Débuts, 221,n.8.

71. The Sīrat describes the place as a fortified stronghold (ḥiṣn ḥaṣīn) in al-Bawn, and the context suggests that the place is near Raydah since it is related that al-Hādī fought the rebels until evening set in (ḥattā amsā ᶜalayhi) and that he returned to Raydah where he spent the night: see ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 224,5-9. Thus the village of al-Ghayl some 32 km due S of Raydah, (see Map 2, A2, and below, p. 195f , n.18), would seem to be too distant for al-Ghayl of our text.

The place called al-Ghayl mentioned by al-Hamdānī (Jazīrat, 244, 5f,n.3) as being in the territory of B. ᶜAlayyān b. Arḥab is more possible, since it is placed by Akwaᶜ in al-Bawn al-Ṣaghīr (= al-Bawn al-Asfal) and thus is situated in the direction of Dhī Bīn (see Map 2, B4), and so is much nearer to Raydah than the aforementioned al-Ghayl. According to the actual context of the Sīrat (see 223,10-12., 224,5f), al-Ghayl could be in any direction from Raydah, and not necessarily to the S, cf. Wilson, " Investigation ", 391. It is possible, however, that al-Ghayl of our text (and of the Sīrat) remains as yet unidentified.

72. 21 km E, slightly S, of Raydah: see Map 2, B3.
Al-Hamdānī said that no place in the whole of Hamdān (after Nā^{C}iṭ) had more fortresses or more remarkable features (ma'āthir, cf. Forrer, Südarabien , 97, Merkwürdigkeiten). In al-Hamdānī's time, there were fourteen palaces there, both inhabited and in ruins. Madar is in Arḥab territory. See Hamdānī, Iklīl,VIII, 164-5., Jazīrat, 158,2,n.3; Waysī, Yaman, 73-4; Akwa^{C}, Yaman, 55; YAR MC 176436 (1544 A1).

73. According to the Sīrat, it seems that ^{C}Abdullāh b. al-Ḥusayn did not go with his brother to Ṣan^{C}ā', (he probably returned to Ṣa^{C}dah to rejoin his family). Also ^{C}Abdullāh is not mentioned in the account of the subsequent battle: ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 224,14ff., 225,4ff.

74. Cf. fa-laqiyahu juyūsh Āl Yu^{C}fir bi-'l-Raḥabah: Idrīs, Kanz, f. 178a,7, and likewise in Ibn^{C} Abd al-Majīd, Bahjat, 37, (except, fa-laqiyathu, bi-'l-Ruhbah). It is probably al-Raḥabah (but cf. al-Raḥbah in Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 243,1,5., Jazīrat (ed. Müller),I, 111,8,12.).

Waysī describes al-Raḥabah as the extensive plain (qā^{C} fasīḥ) to the N of Ṣan^{C}ā'. Al-Hamdānī says that al-Jirāf (see Map 3, A3) is located in al-Raḥabah, the former being the name of a village and district stretching between Sha^{C}ūb and Dhahbān, so al-Raḥabah commences about 5 km N of Ṣan^{C}ā' and would extend beyond al-Rawḍah (see Map 3, B3) and the modern airport as far as, (according to al-Hamdānī), Ḥadaqān (see Map 2, *B2*), and Khaṭm (Khuṭm) Ghurāb in the beginning (according to Akwa^{C}), of Arḥab territory. See Waysī, Yaman, 169,74; Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 243,1, n.1,2., 156,1f., 155,1,n.2; Rathjens & Wissman, " Sanaa ", map 5.

75. These were Zaydī Shī^{C}īs from Ṭabaristān, the populous province on the southern shores of the Caspian between Daylamān and Gurgān.
A Zaydī state had been set up there by al-Dā^{C}ī ilā 'l-Ḥaqq, al-Ḥasan b. Zayd (from the progeny of Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. ^{C}Alī) in 250 / 864. About 50

Ṭabarīs had arrived in Ṣa^{c}dah after the Pilgrimage of 285 / end of December 898: ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 116,14f. Geddes (" Yu^{c}firid ", 80,n.12) suggests that either they had been sent from Ṭabaristān, or they had come after hearing of al-Hādī's campaigns while they were performing the Pilgrimage. It seems unlikely that they had been sent by Muḥammad b. Zayd or, at this stage, by al-Nāṣir al-Utrūsh - see above, introduction p. 76, n.105 and pp. 38-9. For detailed information concerning the Zaydīs in Ṭabaristān see: Madelung, " The minor ", 206-9., " Abū Isḥāq ", 28ff; Mu'ayyadī, Tuḥaf, 59-62., 70-3; Ṣubḥī, Zaydiyyah, 214-17., 228-30; Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, Bahr,I, 228; ed. Madelung, Arabic texts, 85-101.

76. The 30 horse were from Muḍar, according to ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 225,9. He was the ancestor of the dominant ^{c}Adnānī tribal grouping in the Hejaz, and the government of Mecca was in their hands. Quraysh were a Muḍarī tribe. These men from Muḍar may have been loyal Zaydīs who arrived with al-Hādī's brother ^{c}Abdullāh from the Hejaz (see above, text p. 143), and, in any case, the term is used here to distinguish them from the majority of al-Hādī's men who were from Kahlān, (the common ancestor of Hamdān, Madhḥij, Ḥāshid and Bakīl, and Arḥab etc.), and thus were Qaḥṭānī Arabs: see Kaḥḥālah, Mu^{c}jam,III, 1107; ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 224,14-16.

77. Q.v. Dozy, Supplément,I, 309, tomber dans ou sur, fī.... .

78. Q.v. Dozy, Supplément,II, 520, ... se joindre successivement á... .

79. The original text (see Arabic text, p. 41) does not read naturally without the date, and the Sīrat at this point sounds very strange, with Friday + the year! The following Friday is 5 Sha^{c}bān, and in the introductory chapter before the Sīrat proper (see above, p. 148 infra), al-Hādī entered Ṣan^{c}ā' on Friday li-ayyām baqiyat min Rajab: see ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 226,18., 228,5f., 227,5., 20,6f; Arendonk, Débuts, 222,n.4.

80. Qur'ān, al-Baqarah, 249: words spoken by the loyal followers of Ṭālūt (Saul) when about to face the army of Jālūt (Goliath).

The Sīrat (20,6) records that Ibn Abī 'l-Khayr had already left Ṣan^{c}ā'. This is the Yu^{c}firid, ^{c}Abd al-Qāhir b. Aḥmad b. Yu^{c}fir (for whom see above, n.57). Cf. Sīrat (20,4 and MS f. 3b,6f), ^{c}Abd al-Ḥakīm b. Aḥmad b. Yu^{c}fir which is manifestly an error and, in any case, Aḥmad b. Yu^{c}fir had no son by that name, (see above, n.49).

81. See Map 3, C1. It is a fortress, now in ruins, on the valley of the same name, 17 km SE of Ṣan^{c}ā'. There the Himyaritic king As^{c}ad Tubba^{c} Abū Karib is buried and, according to As^{c}ad, many of his ancestors as well (see the verses in Iklīl,VIII): Hamdānī, Iklīl,VIII, 134,138., Iklīl,I, 394f,n.4., Jazīrat, 153,2,n.2; Qaysī & Shukrī, Dirāsah, 59-61; Waysī, Yaman, 187. Cf. Scott, High, map facing 142; Glaser, Reise, maps 1,2,3; Rathjens & Wissman, Landeskundliche, fig. 64. On the YAR map (MB 305886 - 1544 C2), Ghaymān is shown as a large settlement, fairly scattered.

82. See Map 3, A1, and YAR MB 144885 (1544 C1), 9 km due S of Ṣan^{c}ā'. (Ván Arendonk is of course incorrect when he says it is on Jabal ^{c}Aybān (see Map 2, B1), which is 9 km W, slightly N, of Bayt Baws: Débuts, 223,n.8). Bayt Baws is the name of a village, fortress and valley and is celebrated in Yemeni history. It is said to have derived its name from Dhū Baws b. ^{c}Abd al-Rahmān b. Zayd b. ^{c}Abd Il b. Sharḥabīl b. Marāthid b. Dhī Saḥar: Nashwān, Mulūk, 159., cf. Muntakhabāt, 10. Cf. Waysī, Yaman, 164; Rathjens & Wissman, Landeskundliche, fig. 64., " Sanaa ", map 5; Scott, High, 145-6, photos 89-92, and map facing 142.

83. See above, introduction p. 63.

Wurāqah might be the same place as Waraqa (sic) mentioned in Tritton, Rise, 141 (index, but cf. 89, Waraqa), as Wilson has suggested (" Investigation ", 128, 277), but cf. Waraqah, 11 km E of Dhamār on the YAR map (sheet, 1444 B3). The place of our text could hardly be Waraf

(Mādī, Anfänge, 27,n.118) which is the name of a mountain with its farms and abandoned villages, known today as al-Miqrānah in the district of ᶜUtumah in the territory of Ānis, some distance S of Bayt Baws: see Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 215,2,n.2., 146,4,n.6.

84. Jabal Nuqum, 4 km due E of Ṣanᶜā': see Map 3, B2: and YAR MB 1997 (1544 C1). Correctly it is Nuqum, not Nuqūm as on the YAR map (1980 English edit. but Nuqum in the 1987 Arabic edit.) and, inter alia, Rathjens & Wissman, Landeskundliche, fig. 40: for Nuqum see, for instance, Waysī, Yaman, 67: Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 154,3., 265,16.

85. Wilson (" Investigation ", 379) identifies the place as a small conical hill on the eastern side of the Ṣanᶜā' plain, a short distance to the S of Ṣanᶜā' but unfortunately he does not specify exactly how far. ᶜAlab on Gochenour's map (" Penetration ", facing 150), about 8 km SE of Ṣanᶜā', and thus near Wurāqah (q.v. above, n.83), would fit the context, more than Ḥumr (?) al-ᶜAlab 5 km S of Ṣanᶜā' (see Waysī, Yaman, 183).

86. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat MS, f. 89b,15 has al-Ḥ-w-z (cf. Arendonk, Débuts, 223, al-Ḥ-w-r), which thus substantially agrees with the Ghāyat MSS viz. al-J-w-r and al-Ḥ-w-r. The Sīrat (ed. Zakkār) has al-J-w-d (228,10), but I suspect a misreading on the part of Zakkār. The latter, for instance, reads al-Surād (cf. al-Sirār of the Sīrat MS - see below, n.116), and Bayt Dh-w-d (cf. Bayt Z-w-d of the MS - see above, p. 108f, n.20) consistently throughout his edition of the Sirat,

just as Mādī (upon whom Wilson relies) misread al-Ḥ-w-d for al-Ḥ-w-r (q.v. Anfänge, 27). Rā' as written usually by Yemeni scribes, might easily be mistaken by the unwary for dāl, and, likewise, zāy may be misread for a dhāl.

Apparently today there is no trace of a place called al-J-w-r, or al-Jūr, — see Wilson, " Investigation ", 217. According to the Sīrat (228,10), it is situated to the S of Bayt Baws (tahta Bayt Baws).

87. The plain S of Ṣan^{c}ā', mentioned in, ed. Serjeant & Lewcock, San^{c}ā', 91.

88. (Pl. sufūḥ). Sufūḥ al-jibāl, the lower slopes of mountains, asāfiluhā wa-adānīhā, as opposed to sufūḥ (sing. safḥ), viz. a^{c}ālīhā: Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 232,n.6. Cf. Zabīdī, Tāj,VI, 475, 539; Dozy, Supplément, II, 834.

89. 5 Ṭabarīs were killed according to ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 229,3f.

90. Darb here probably means district (possibly fortress or wall), see Landberg, Datînois,I, 742-3, quartier, and above, p. 114 , n.42. This is al-Qaṭī^{c} district of Ṣan^{c}ā', in the SE of the walled-city (fī 'l-jihah al-sharqiyyah al-^{c}adaniyyah), where the Mūsā mosque is now situated, a district known formerly, according to Ḥajarī, as ḥārat al-Qaṭī^{c}. It lies roughly between Bāb al-Yaman and the Qaṣr (see Rathjens & Wissman, " Sanaa ", map 6). See also, Ḥajarī, Masājid, 121; Rāzī, Tārīkh, 111; ed. Serjeant & Lewcock, San^{c}ā', 124-5., 129-30.

91. Probably meaning, the quarter or district of al-Jabbānah (cf. preceding note), and it derives its name from the special prayer-enclosure for the two ^{c}Īds (referred to below, in the text, as al-musallā), which, so it is believed, was established there while the Prophet Muḥammad was alive. Later, according to Rāzī, fine, elegant mansions were erected in its vicinity. Darb al-Jabbānah is situated in the NE of the city. See Rāzī,

Tārīkh, 90-2; Ḥajarī, Masājid, 39-40; ed. Serjeant & Lewcock, San^{c}ā', 129-30.

92. The Sīrat has at the same point in the narrative, fa-wajadahu mulāḥiman li-'l-qawm (.... and he [al-Hādī] found him [Abū 'l-Qāsim] joined in battle with the enemy): ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 229,10f. This clearly prompted our author in his choice of vocabulary , although his account differs in detail from the older one.

93. Lit. the Village, the Town, the City, - the place is called thus in the Sīrat also. It has been suggested that it was situated on the high ground (now called Ẓahr al-Ḥimār) between the present-day Qasr al-Silāḥ and Nuqum: q.v. ed. Serjeant & Lewcock, San^{c}ā', 129.

94. Usually known as al-Fiṭr, and thus it is in ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 232,1.

95. Scil. al-Jabbānah (q.v. above, n.91).

96. It is clear from Rāzī, Tārīkh, 79,80,203, that this is the name of an actual gate to the N of the city, and the editors (554) identify it with the gate now known as Bāb Sha^{c}ūb (see Rathjens & Wissman, " Sanaa ", map 6, Bab esch Schoub - which might be the Bāb Dimashq of Ibn al-Mujāwir, q.v. Mustabsir, 179). However this is unlikely, and the suggestion that Bāb San^{c}ā' was situated somewhere on the NE edge of the market area seems more probable: ed. Serjeant & Lewcock, San^{c}ā', 131.

97. wa-baqiyyat rijālihi, (cf. ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 232,5, wa-bāqī rajjālatihi), cf. above, n.69.

98. Khazrajī uses mahattah (and the verb hatt) frequently. Often it has the meaning of a camp which is set up outside a town in order to besiege it (see ^{c}Uqūd, IV, 339,4., V, 21,13), and is tantamount to hisār. Sometimes, however, in ^{c}Uqūd it indicates a non-permanent camp (IV, 229,5., V, 129,8,16), and an interesting example of that is

(IV, 229,17f): thumma talaCa mahattat al-amīr ..... fī Caskar al-Yaman ilā SanCā'. Al-Khazrajī seems to use mahattah as opposed to rutbah, a permanent post or garrison; (see CUqūd,IV, 50.6., V, 214,20; cf. Dozy, Supplément,I, 507, garnison), but in our text, however, mahattah bears more the meaning of the latter. Cf. also: Kazimirski, Dictionnaire,I, 451, camp, campement; Dozy, Supplément,II, 301, position in a military sense.

99. 5 Shawwāl 288 is a Tuesday (according to Freeman-Grenville and Tabellen). Van Arendonk in his actual narrative says: Le mardi 5 Shawwal l'imam envoya .... , but there seems to be no sufficient justification on his part for rejecting the carefully chronicled (at this juncture) Sīrat account, which the author of the Ghāyat is manifestly following, and substituting Tuesday for Monday - see Débuts, 224 and n.6. There need be no contradiction here. According to the calendar, estimated in advance, 1 Shawwāl 288 was a Friday, but according to the sighting by witnesses of the new moon (on which the actual celebration of the CĪd is based), it was a Thursday and thus strictly (according to the SharīCah) 1 Shawwāl, for the Friday is described in the Sīrat as the second day of the CĪd (thānī 'l-Fiṭr, scil. 2 Shawwāl, according to the SharīCah). On this basis, the author of the Sīrat naturally describes the following Monday as 5 Shawwāl. See CAbbāsī, Sīrat, 232,3,9. This Monday corresponds to 21 September 901.

Such an apparent discrepancy in dates occurs even today in countries, like Saudi Arabia, where the actual CĪd al-Fiṭr need not necessarily coincide with 1 Shawwāl of the official taqwīm, (known as " Umm al-Qurā ").

100. or, possibly, Ḍibr Ḥaddayn (see below). CAbbāsī, Sīrat, at this juncture has simply Ḥaddayn (232,18) which also occurs twice shortly before (232,13,15), and, a little later, where our text has al-Ẓibr (see above, p. 147), the Sīrat again has Ḥaddayn (see below, n.106).
The Sīrat narrative suggests a place close to SanCā' and not far from CAlab,

(see 232, 10ff and above, n.86). The pyramidal twin-peaked mountain of Ḥaddayn (q.v. Waysī, Yaman, 78), known also, popularly, as Jabal al-Nahdayn (see Map 3, A1,B1), 6 km due S of Ṣanᶜā', would fit ideally the context, and Ḥaddayn is clearly on elevated ground, wa-talaᶜū Ḥaddayn (Sīrat, 232,15). The YAR map (1544 C1) indicates the two peaks at 150910 and 158914, (MB), respectively. A little later in our text, (p. 146 infra), we again find al-Ẓibr where the Sīrat MS also has al-Ẓ-b-r but cf. Zakkār's edit. (234,17), al-Ṣ-b-r.

Our author clearly considers both al-Ẓ-b-r (al-Ṣ-b-r), and Ḥaddayn of the Sīrat to be one and the same place, but it will be observed that in calling it here Ẓibr Ḥaddayn, he uses a toponym not found in the Sīrat. Much later in the Ghāyat, our author mentions on two occasions, under the years 722 / 1322 and 910 / 1504-5 respectively, a place called Ṣ-b-r Ḥaddayn: on the first occasion, however, MS ᶜAyn, f. 69a,36 has Ḍibr Ḥaddayn (cf. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, Ghāyat,I, 497, Ṣ-b-r Ḥaddayn), and on the second occasion, MS Khā', f. 95b,10 has Ṣibr with a kasrah clearly marked.

As Wilson has suggested, it would seem probable that Ṣ-b-r Ḥaddayn, (Ḍ-b-r Ḥaddayn), Ẓibr Ḥaddayn and al-Ẓibr of our text, and Ḥaddayn (by implication) and al-Ẓibr of the Sīrat, all refer to the same place, and that Ṣ-b-r is, correctly, Ḍ-b-r or Ẓ-b-r. (As has been seen above, a variant for the Sīrat MS al-Ẓ-b-r is al-Ṣ-b-r.) However, Wilson would suggest for its location a place some 25 km S of Ṣanᶜā', maintaining that the second of the later passages of the Ghāyat where Ṣ-b-r Ḥaddayn occurs, implies a location at the southern end of al-Qāᶜ (q.v. above, n.87), whereas the text simply says: fa-lammā wasala [scil. ᶜĀmir b. ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb] Qāᶜ Ṣanᶜā' (i.e. the southern end, the northern end, or any other part of al-Qāᶜ), ḥatta awwalan fī Ḍ-b-r Ḥaddayn thumma zaḥafa ᶜalā 'l-madīnah [scil. Ṣanᶜā'] wa-nasaba ᶜalayhā ..... (MS ᶜAyn, f. 92a,15f). Indeed it might be argued that ᶜĀmir set up camp (ḥatta), in the first instance, as closely as

he could safely get to Ṣan^{c}ā' without fear of surprise attack in order to carry out reconnaissance operations, plan the siege, and perhaps even (may it not also be reasonably conjectured?) leave part of the mahattah (q.v. above, n. 98) in the security of Ḍibr (Ẓibr) Ḥaddayn until he had successfully got the siege of Ṣan^{c}ā' under way, (see MS ^{c}Ayn, f. 92a,16ff). Jibāl Ḥaddayn / Jabal al-Nahdayn (referred to above), with their proximity to Ṣan^{c}ā', would have been a most suitable place for ^{c}Āmir's initial HQ. See Wilson, " Investigation ", 131-3.

ẒBR appears not to be a classical root, but see above.: p. 112, n.29.

101. Q.v. Dozy, Supplément,II, 470: mettre en fuite.

102. Q.v. Zabīdī, Tāj (Khayriyyah),VIII, 158, al-Īghāl wa-huwa al-sayr al-sarī^{c} .....(wa-kull dākhil) fī shay' wāghil wa (musta^{c}jilan mūghil) etc., cf. Dozy, Supplément,II, 823.

103. Q.v. Dozy, Supplement,I, 834, la rencontre de deux armées ennemies; cf. Zabīdī, Tāj,XXIV, 25, masāff, pl. of masaff.

104. In the Medieval period in the Yemen, any descendant of the Prophet through either al-Ḥasan or al-Ḥusayn was called a Sharīf, and I have been informed by one of the Yemeni ulema that it was Qāḍī Sa^{c}d al-Dīn b. al-Ḥusayn al-Miswarī (d. 1031 / 1621-2) who initiated the practice of styling the Sharīfs, Sayyids, and that this was a political move vis-à-vis the Turkish invaders and had nothing to do with nasab. In Zaydī areas of the Yemen, there has never been a distinction in style between the descendants of the imams al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn and so even in the present-day, the Ḥusaynid minority, like the families of ^{c}Ushaysh in Ṣan^{c}ā' and al-Hādī in al-Uhnūm, are " Sayyids " just like the Ḥasanid majority: see Zabārah, Nayl, 164,198. Gochenour's final statement in " Penetration ", 218,n.29, is unsubstantiated. See following note.

105. The Sīrat does not mention his name either, but perhaps he was one of the Ṭabarīs and a relative of the Ḥusaynid imam, al-Nāṣir al-Utrūsh: see above, n.75; and ed. Madelung, Arabic texts, 85.

106. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 233,4f. has at this juncture: wa-waqafa 'l-qawm ilā aṣl Haddayn ḥattā janna 'l-layl. See above, n.100.

107. Nothing more is known about his name. He, along with several members of Āl Yuᶜfir, had been set free from the prison at Ẓahr as an outcome of the killing of Ibn Abī ᶜAbbād: q.v. above, n.51, and see ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 219,13-15. Abū 'l-Ghashshām is perhaps the correct form: cf. Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān,XII, 438, where Ghashshām is mentioned as a (personal) name. However, see Arendonk, Débuts, 219,n.1, (cf. Zabīdī, Tāj (Khayriyyah),VIII, 398, - ᶜUsāmah, (personal) name).

108. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 233,10 also has ᶜAḍudān at this juncture in the narrative but Sīrat MS, f. 92a,6 has, clearly, ᶜ-ṣ-r, which reading is followed by Van Arendonk (see Débuts, 225, ᶜAṣr). However, when the place occurs again in the Sīrat, it is once more as ᶜAḍudān (Zakkār's edit. 239,16) but ᶜAḍdān in MS, f. 94b,11: see below, p. 187, n.17.

The more detailed Sīrat account (233,10ff) relates that the rebels left ᶜAḍudān (or ᶜAṣr) on the Tuesday and that they arrived, the same day apparently, at Maydān Ṣanᶜā' (see following note) some time before one of the obligatory prayers, after which an armed encounter between the two sides took place. The Sīrat does not say which prayer it was, but it was probably the noon one since it is related that al-Hādī's cavalry routed the rebels back to their camp and then were able to return, the same day presumably, to Ṣanᶜā'. Also, as no mention is made of nightfall in the Sīrat account, the implication is that the events described took place in daylight hours. The Sīrat does not mention the location of the rebels' camp but the context suggests that it was probably ᶜAḍudān (or ᶜAṣr), and also ḥattā ᶜaskarū bi-ᶜAḍudān fa-aqāmū ayyāman (233,9f) implies that the place took on the character of a muᶜaskar and that it was not simply a

stopping-place between Shibām and Ṣanᶜā'. Moreover, when ᶜAḍudān features again later in the Sīrat (see below), it is portrayed as a fortress and thus would have been a most suitable location for a military HQ.

A place not too distant from Ṣanᶜā' is therefore suggested by the Sīrat narrative. ᶜAḍudān figures in Yāqūt, Muᶜjam, IV, 129 where it is described as one of the fortresses of Ṣanᶜā' (qalᶜah min qilāᶜ Sanᶜā') on the left of the road for a traveller coming from Tihāmah. In the Sīrat (239,16 - 240,1), ᶜAḍudān is described five times as the fortress (al-qalᶜah), so the ᶜAḍudān of Yāqūt is probably the same place. Wilson (" Investigation ", 375) identifies ᶜAḍudān with present-day ᶜIṭṭān, a small village a short distance to the SW of Ṣanᶜā', but he does not mention any remains of a fort there.

ᶜAṣr appears on the YAR map as ᶜAṣr al-Asfal and ᶜAṣr al-Aᶜlā, the former NE of the latter and 6 km W of Ṣanᶜā' - see Map 3, A2. Both ᶜAḍudān and ᶜAṣr (or ᶜAsir ?- see " Investigation ", 373) would thus fit equally well into the context of our text.

109. On Tuesday, 14 Shawwāl / 21 September 902: ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 233,10f.

Maydān Ṣanᶜā' is the open area in the SE of the city, immediately to the W of Qaṣr al-Silāḥ, by which are situated (at the present), the Abzar mosque and Ḥammām al-Maydān: see Ḥajarī, Masājid, 3, and ed. Serjeant & Lewcock, Sanᶜā', 140-1 - map.

110. He is al-Rabīᶜ b. Muḥammad ibn al-Ruwayyah al-Madhḥijī, the brother of Abū 'l-ᶜAshīrah (see below, p. 188, n.19). His father was probably Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ibn al-Ruwayyah who, betraying al-Duᶜām b. Ibrāhīm who had wrested Ṣanᶜā' from the Yuᶜfirids, was instrumental in getting the Abbasid caliph to send Khuftum to the Yemen to restore Yuᶜfirid rule: see Hamdānī, Iklīl, X, 181, and above, p. 89 , n.2.

The reinforcements were from Ja^{C}far b. Ibrāhīm al-Manākhī (ruler of al-Kulā^{C} : capital, al-Mudhaykhirah - see below, p. 212 , n. 18), who perhaps feared that his former adversary would defeat al-Hādī. Ja^{C}far`s kingdom comprised much of what is today Liwā' Ibb like al-^{C}Udayn, Dhū Sifāl and Jabal Ḥubaysh. See ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 240,10ff; Geddes, " Yu^{C}firid ", 86; Hamdānī, Iklīl,II, 93-4.

Āl al-Ruwayyah were from A^{C}fāf, (today known as ^{C}Ufāfah), and Ḥadhān in the upper reaches of Wadi al-Sirr: see above, n.18; Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 236.3f.n.3; cf. Gochenour, " Penetration ", 106-7.

111. See Zabīdī, Tāj.IX, 161-2.

112. See ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 233.18.

113. Cf. ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 233.20f: wa-'ltaḥama 'l-qitāl fī 'l-maysarah fa-'qtatala 'l-nās qitālan shadīdan ilā ṣalāt al-^{C} ishā'.

114. See Dozy, Supplément,II, 846, faire accroire. Cf. ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 234,3: fa-'khtada^{C}ūhum.

115. The Ghāyat is confusing concerning this incident (see Arabic text, pp. 48-9) and the ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat account is much clearer (234,1-6). The subsequent fighting between Al-Hādī and Āl Yu^{C}fir and Āl Ṭarīf, took place apparently on ^{C}Īd al-Naḥar (scil. ^{C}Īd al-Aḍḥā), 10 Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah 288 / 26 November 901. Āl Yu^{C}fir and Āl Ṭarīf had told their envoys to bring men (a fighting force presumably) back with them to Ṣan^{C}ā' - where they would all pray the special ^{C}Īd prayers together, fa-l-yuḥḍirūhum wa-l-yuṣallū ma^{C}ahum al-^{C}Īd bi-Ṣan^{C}ā'. These are the 20.000 mentioned in our text and they arrived at Maydān Ṣan^{C}ā' (q.v. above, n.109) apparently on the very morning of the ^{C}Īd, wa-sārū fī laylatihim ḥattā aṣbaḥū fī Maydān Ṣan^{C}a'. (234,5f).

It seems that the Yu^{C}firids badly needed recruits for their cause, and that the only way to get them was to resort to this subterfuge of a deal with al-Hādī. Having arrived in Ṣan^{C}ā', they would have been told that al-Hādī

had broken his word! It is possible, however, that the Yu^{C}firids simply wanted to put up a show of strength, and that they hoped that al-Hādī, on seeing such a huge force, would flee Ṣan^{C}ā' without much of a fight.

116. Al-Sirār is probably the correct vowelling: note, for instance, the kasrah in Rāzī, Tārīkh, 181,198, and al-Sirār in, ed. Serjeant & Lewcock, Ṣan^{C}ā', 124-5, 127. ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 234,6, has al-Surād (but see above, n.86), whereas Sīrat MS f. 92b,2 has, clearly, al-S-rār. MS ^{C}Ayn, f. 18a,20 has al-Surār, (MSS Khā' and Bā' do not indicate the vowel).

See Zabīdī, Tāj,XII, 12,6,10,8, sarār, pl. asirrah (synonymous with sarārah, surrah, sirr): the most fertile part of a wadi, cf. sarār, wadi bed, in Bakrī, Mu^{C}jam,III, 731. The kasrah, however, in al-Sirār is noteworthy and sirār is not listed as a plural of sarār or of any of its synonyms, but cf. sirar - a rare plural of sirr. Also, cf. Beeston et al., Sabaic, 128, s'r, pl. 's'rr (S'RR I). (Sirār, without the article, is the name of a locality in the Hejaz and the name of a pool near al-Yamāmah: Tāj,XII, 8f).

Al-Sirār is the valley that traversed Ṣan^{C}ā' and might correspond with al-Sā'ilah of today that cuts through the city from south to north. Also it was the name of the district to the west of the city controlled by B. Shihāb (q.v. below, p. 220 , n. 14). See Rāzī, Tārīkh, 565,198; Rathjens & Wissman, " Sanaa ", map 5; ed. Serjeant & Leycock, Ṣan^{C}ā', 124-5.

117. See Zabīdī, Tāj,XVII, 13f, (ay, ishtaddati 'l-harb) wa-jāddat.

118. See above, n.100.

119. See Zabīdī, Tāj,VIII, 261, yawm mashhūd: yahduruhu ahl al-samā' wa-'l-ard.

120. maqām: see Dozy, Supplément,II, 427, combat.

121. The village and mountains about 9 km SW of Ṣan^{C}ā', (the Djebel Hatte of Rathjens & Wissman, " Sanaa ", map 5), and described by Waysī

as one of the " picnic-spots " (mutanazzahāt) of the Ṣanᶜānīs: YAR MB 1090 (1544 C1); Map 3, A1; Waysī, Yaman, 68; Scott, High, 145, plates 87,88, and map facing 142; Smith, Ayyubids,II, 154.

It should not be confused with al-Ḥadā which is described by Waysī (Yaman, 68, and see his map of Liwā' Ṣanᶜā' etc. facing p.50) as a nāhiyah, 50 km SE of Ṣanᶜā', whose chief town is Zirājah, nor (as has been done by ᶜĀshūr in, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, Ghāyat, 184,n.2) with al-Ḥaddah described by Yāqūt, which is in or near Mikhlāf Āl Dhī Ruᶜayn, SE of Yarīm: Yāqūt, Muᶜjam,II, 229; Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 215,8f., Iklīl,II, 335,n.2.
See below, text p. 183 where Ḥaddah is mentioned along with Sanāᶜ.

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Year 289 [from 16 December 901]

In [this year],[1] a reinforcement of Ṭabarīs arrived for al-Hādī (upon whom be peace). In the month of Ṣafar [January - February] of this year, al-Hādī despatched his brother ᶜAbdullāh to a place called Ṣubul [2] [where] he stayed several days until al-Hādī followed him with another force as far as Ẓabwah [3] where there were some enemy troops. [Al-Hādī] launched an attack against them, slaying many of their number and seizing their possessions, [whereupon] the enemy set out from Bayt Baws with their cavalry. Then there ensued between [the enemy] and al-Hādī's men, who were at Ẓabwah, a fierce combat in which was killed Sharīf Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Jaᶜfarī [who was descended] from Jaᶜfar b. Abī Ṭālib.[4]

Al-Hādī now advanced with his men and drove the enemy back to their fortress.[5] [Then] the vanguard of al-Hādī's men returned

to Ṣanᶜā' at which the enemy assaulted the rearguard of [his] army,[6] but [the imam] himself together with the remnants of his force swung round to attack them (fa-ᶜatafaᶜalayhim bi-nafsihi ....)[7] [but] his horse was hit and dropped [to the ground]. Al-Hādī was wounded in the head and [fell] unconscious.[8] The enemy rushed forward to kill him, but his son Muḥammad turned upon them (fa-ᶜatafa ᶜalayhim), killing many of their number. [But] a group of Ṭabarīs held their ground and continued to fight around [al-Hādī] until they were all slain to the last man (may God Almighty have mercy upon them).

[Someone] cried out: " Al-Hādī has been killed! " Whereupon a number of [the imam`s] men came and rescued him setting him upon his horse. His son, Muḥammad, followed right behind, while men on horseback belonging to [Muḥammad] fought to the right and to the left. Then al-Hādī halted and summoned a number of his troops whose steadfastness in the straits of conflict was well known (yuᶜrafu thabātuhum fī mawāṭin al-qitāl). [These] then [fought] resolutely around him and he [in turn] resisted [the onslaughts] of the enemy (wa-taraddada ᶜalā 'l-qawm)[9] to the extent that he [was able] to ward them off from his men and [thus] continued in their wake, covered by the blood from his wound, until he entered Ṣanᶜā'.[10] [There] he was smitten by [such] a great pain (alam shadīd),[11] that it was noised abroad that he had died, but God Almighty restored him to health knowing how beneficial his survival would be for the Muslims (limā yaᶜlamuhu min al-maslahah al-ᶜāmmah li-l-Muslimīn bi-baqā'ihi).

After several days, al-Hādī sent some of his men to Ḍilaᶜ [12] to fight those who were opposed to Islam. There fierce fighting broke out, the enemy were defeated and many were slain [after which] their heads were severed. Then ᶜAbdullāh b. al-Ḥusayn set out [from Ṣanᶜā'] to Ẓahr and in Wadi ᶜUshar[13] fought vehemently those

[men from Ẓahr] who were in rebellion (fa-awqaʿa bi-man fīhi min al-mufsidīn). [14] after which he returned.

Al-Hādī [then] learnt that there was a gang at al-Raḥabah waylaying travellers, so he despatched a band of his men to deal with them. After this, al-Hādī ordered an army to go [down] to Ṣubul. Reinforcements were sent out from Bayt Baws for their co-factionaries (li-hizbihim) but al-Hādī's men held their ground and fought tenaciously (wa-asdaqū 'l-qitāl) until the enemy were driven back to Tanʿam. [15]

Meanwhile fighting broke out at Ẓabwah. [16] Afterwards al-Hādī despatched his brother and son [17] to Ḥaddah and Sanāʿ [18] whereupon the enemy [came out] from their bases and rallied together. [Then the two sides] engaged in combat and al-Hādī's soldiers routed [the enemy] slaying a number of them. Later more fighting took place between Ibn al-Ruwayyah, who was one of al-Hādī's henchmen, and the people of Bayt Baws, [but] Ibn al-Ruwayyah was defeated. [19]

Al-Hādī was, at that time, in the midst of an illness. He had no more money left to pay his men, so he asked the Ṣanʿānīs for a loan. They, however, lent him nothing, so the situation became [so] difficult to bear [that al-Hādī] decided to go back [to Ṣaʿdah]. [20] Thus he departed with his men from Ṣanʿā' [21] and when he arrived at Warwar [22] he was met by al-Duʿām. Al-Hādī requested assistance (Ighāthah) [23] from him and [asked him] to come [with him] and fight the enemy with his men and tribesmen. [Al-Duʿām], however, made some excuse, so al-Hādī carried on to Ṣaʿdah which he reached towards the end of the month of Jumādā II of this year [scil. early June 902].

In this year also, Aḥmad b. ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿAbbād left Yemen for Iraq in order to ask the Abbasid [caliph] al-Muʿtaḍid to help him militarily against al-Hādī. [24] [When he arrived however], al-Muʿtaḍid had died and allegiance had been given to al-Muktafī. [Aḥmad] informed

[the latter] of his plan, whereupon al-Muktafī ordered that a large force be got ready [to go back] with the aforementioned Aḥmad b. ᶜAbdullāh. At this [though] there arrived a letter from Abū Muẓāḥim ᶜUjj b. Sāj. [25] the governor over the two Holy Cities, telling [the caliph] that al-Hādī had [already] left Ṣanᶜā'. Al-Muktafī gave up interest in despatching [an army] to the Yemen. He became preoccupied with fighting the Qarāmiṭah in Syria where Abū 'l-Qāsim (al-Qarmaṭī) [26] one of the duᶜāh of ᶜUbaydullāh al-Mahdī, ruler of North Africa, [was instigating a rebellion]. [27]

Annotations

1. On Thursday, 9 Ṣafar 289 / 23 January 902 (a Saturday - Freeman-Grenville): ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 236,5f.

2. See above, introduction pp. 60-2.

According to ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 236,9, the enemy were positioned at Ghaymān (q.v. above, p. 170, n.81). Ṣubul is mentioned again during the course of this year, where it is clearly not far from Tanᶜam (q.v. below, n.15, and cf. Arabic text, p. 54, and Sīrat, 239,4-6). When Ṣubul occurs yet again, in year 290 (see below, p. 196, n.19), the detailed Sīrat account makes it clear that Ṣubul is also not far from Bayt ᶜUqab (see Map 2, Ci), - some 5 km SW of Tanᶜam. All three places are in Mashriq Khawlān (q.v. above, p. 150, n.6). This information would tend to support Van Arendonk's suggestion that Ṣabul (sic) is the same place as Ṣabal, described as ruins on Halévy's map and situated a little to the SE of Tanᶜam (Débuts, 226, and n.1; and see Wilson, " Investigation ", 131). Wilson suggests that Ṣubul might in fact be the same place as Ṣ-b-r, mentioned by al-Hamdānī as one of the wadis of Wadi al-Tanāᶜim.

3. See above, introduction p. 63.

Ẓabwah appears in Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 153,3 and 238,9, as a settlement

and a wadi, and once in the Sīrat it is Jabal Ẓabwah (see below, n.16). Akwa^{C} (Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 153, n.2) says that it is a small town / settlement (baldah) and wadi in the uplands (ẓāhir) of Mikhlāf Dhī Jurrah (scil. Bilād Sanḥān), the region just to the south of Ṣan^{C}ā'. On the YAR map, MB 216874 (1544 C2), a place called Ḍabwah is indicated and this would seem to be the Ẓabwah referred to by Akwa^{C}. There is little doubt that this is the locality of our text, for it suits admirably the context, situated as it is almost half-way between Bayt Baws and Ghaymān, but slightly nearer the former: see Map 3, B1. Ẓabwah, according to Akwa^{C}, is where Ghayl al-Barmakī has its source, (but cf. ^{C}Amrī, " A document ", 30, who states that the ghayl's source is near Bayt ^{C}Uqab and Ghaymān, - the former, see preceding note, is about 16 km NE of Ẓabwah).

Wilson (" Investigation ", 348,) says that he was unable to locate Ẓabwah, (the relevant YAR sheet appeared 2 years after his thesis). However, his supposition that the place lay to the SE of Ḥizyaz, was clearly somewhat off the mark.

4. He perhaps can be identified with Idrīs b. Aḥmad who was a member of that small band that accompanied al-Hādī on his second journey from the Hejaz to Ṣa^{C}dah, and who is also described as a scion of Ja^{C}far b. Abī Ṭālib, (i.e. Ja^{C}far al-Ṭayyār, first cousin of the Prophet, whose descendants are through his son ^{C}Abdullāh al-Akbar al-Jawād): ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 38,18f; Ibn ^{C}Inabah, ^{C}Umdat, 55.

5. ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 236,16 does not identify the ḥiṣn, but it is Bayt Baws or perhaps the qal^{C}ah at ^{C}Aḍḍān (cf. below, n.16).

6. These were a body of ill-equipped Ṭabarīs (laysa ma^{C}ahum rāmin wa-lā sayyāf) who initially engaged in combat against the advice of al-Hādī: ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 236,19 - 237,1f.

7. See above, p. 166, n.64.

8. Cf. ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 237,9, where it is related that al-Hādī was struck on the head by a stone at close range.

9. Q.v. Dozy, Supplément,I, 520: résister.

10. See ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 238,2-11.

11. ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, has, perhaps more appropriately, ^{C}illah.

12. See Map 2, B1 and, above, p. 164, n.58. It is Ḍula^{C} on the YAR map, MC 0302 (1544 C1), but perhaps Ḍila^{C} is the older pronunciation: cf. Hamdānī, Jazīrat (ed. Müller),I, 107,16. It is the fertile wadi 13 km NW of Ṣan^{C}ā'. Cf. " Dhulla ": Rathjens & Wissman, " Sanaa ", 334 and map 5;

Werdecker, " Contribution ", map, " Ḍulâ^{C} ": Forrer, Südarabien, 178,n.5; Waysī, Yaman, 75.

13. Cf. ^{C}Asir in ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 238,19 and ^{C}-s-r (where the sīn is deliberate) in MS, f. 94a,19. Wadi ^{C}-sh-r of our text cannot be identified with ^{C}Aṣr (or ^{C}Aṣir), q.v. above, p. 177f n.108, (even although, apparently, there is a Wadi ^{C}Aṣr there - see Wilson, " Investigation ", 373), not only since the sād of ^{C}Aṣr is difficult to accomodate with the shīn of the text but, moreover, because the context suggests a wadi near Ẓahr: ^{C}Abdullāh is more likely to have gone in a north-westerly direction from Ṣan^{C}ā' than due west.

The place is most probably to be identified with ^{C}-sh-r mentioned along with al-Raḥabah, Dhahbān and ^{C}Ulumān north of Ṣan^{C}ā' in Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 243,1., cf. 253,10 (ed. Müller,II, 119, ^{C}Ushar). (Cf. ^{C}Ashr arbitrarily, in Forrer, Südarabien, 187, but, 200, ^{C}Ushar.) Wilson, (372), was informed that ^{C}Ushar was an area, formerly cultivated, at the lower end of Wadi Ẓahr on its northern side.

14. Cf. Dozy, Supplément,II, 831, awqa^{C}a bihim: bālagha fī qitālihim.

Mufsidūn: literally corrupters and it can mean perpetrators of havoc, looters, brigands, pillagers but here it would signify rather rebels: cf. Kazimirski, Dictionnaire,II, 593, qui ..... détruit l'ordre, and Lane, Lexicon, VI, 2396c under afsada. The Sīrat speaks of ^{C}askar Ẓahr and these would seem to be an organized section of the rebels belonging to the Āl Yu^{C}fir - Āl Ṭarīf faction. The Sīrat also speaks of mu^{C}askar al-qawm in the vicinity of Ḍila^{C} and it seems that there was also a mu^{C}askar at ^{C}Aḍudān (see above, p 177f , n.108, and below, n.17) but their principal garrison appears to have been at Bayt Baws. See ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 238,15ff.

15. Along with Tan^{C}imah, probably the al-Tanā^{C}im of al-Hamdānī (see Jazīrat, 237,1,n.3; and Wilson, " Investigation ", 199). Tan^{C}am is spelt

thus on the YAR map - MC 379009 (1544 C2) and it is 5½ km NE of Bayt ᶜUqab (see Map 2, C1) in Khawlān al-ᶜĀliyah in B. Saḥām territory. See Hamdānī, Iklīl,I, 347,n.4., Iklīl,II, 383,n.4; Forrer, Südarabien, 181,n.1; cf. Arendonk, Débuts, 226, " Tanᶜum ". Cf. Glaser, Reise, map 2, 44°33′ - 15°16′, " Tenᶜim, (incorrectly) SE of Ṣanᶜā' - about 6 km NE of Ghaymān, but (more correctly) map 1, E of Ṣanᶜā', and also Rathjens & Wissman, Landeskundliche, Fig. 64.

16. See above, n.3. It is Jabal Ẓabwah at this point in the Sīrat narrative. Fierce fighting took place there between a rebel force and al-Hādī's men led by his brother and son (see following note). The rebels were defeated. See ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 239,13-16.

17. Al-Hādī's troops were again led by his brother ᶜAbdullāh and his son Abū 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad (see preceding note, and ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 240,6f). Our author, however, omits even a mention of an interesting episode concerning the fortress of ᶜAḍudān (q.v. above, pp. 177-8, n.108) which belonged apparently to a military commander of the rebels. A plot to ambush al-Hādī's troops, commanded by ᶜAbdullāh and Abū 'l-Qāsim was foiled. See Sīrat, 239,16 - 240,5.

18. For a discussion of Sanāᶜ and S-n-ᶜ see above, introduction p. 62. On the YAR map it appears today as a scattered settlement some 8 km S, slightly W, of Ṣanᶜā': Sanaᶜ (sic), MB 1190 (1544 C1). It has been described as one of the gardens (makhārif) of Ṣanᶜā'. See Map 3, A1; Hamdānī, Iklīl,II, 285,n.1; and Wilson, " Investigation ", 305.

At a much later date in the Ghāyat (see MS ᶜAyn f. 62b,29) under the year 672 / 1273-4, Ḥaddah (q.v. above, pp. 180-1, n.121) and Sanāᶜ are again linked together, and there it is related that both places were reduced to utter ruin (fa-akhrabahumā ..... kharāban mujhifan) and their trees cut down by the Rasulid al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf b. ᶜUmar.

19. This was on a Wednesday in Jumādā II / May-June 902. Abū 'l-ᶜAshīrah b. al-Ruwayyah and also, apparently, his brother al-Rabīᶜ (see above, p. 178, n.110) were defeated. The former had arrived with reinforcements (called al-Jaᶜāfir in the Sīrat) from al-Jaᶜfarī (scil. Jaᶜfar al-Manākhī - see below, p. 212, n.20). Our author omits to mention the fierce battle, which took place two days previously, between al-Hādī's men and the rebels as a result of which the rebels were routed by a body of horse commanded by al-Hadī's brother and son, (ᶜAbdullāh and Abū 'l-Qāsim). For the complete story, see ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 240,10 - 241,8.

20. The unstable and sorry situation in Ṣanᶜā' and the countryside round about from the beginning of the year and perhaps ever since al-Hādī re-entered Ṣanᶜā' in Rajab of the preceding year / July 901, is summed up succinctly in Idrīs, Kanz, f. 178a,8f: fa-aqāmat al-harb baynahum [scil. Āl Yuᶜfir and al-Hādī] sijālan muddah wa-'l-nās fī dīq min al-ᶜaysh wa-'nqitāᶜ fī 'l-turuq.

21. A Thursday, presumably not the day after Abū 'l-ᶜAshīrah's defeat (see above, n.19) but the Thursday of the following week. Al-Hādī left Ṣanᶜā' borne on a palanquin (ᶜammariyyah - q.v. Dozy, Supplément,II, 171-2) predicting, in stirring language, what would befall its inhabitants especially the womenfolk because of their treatment of him, ending with the Qur'anic words: " .... and those who do wrong shall surely know by what overturning they will be overturned ", (al-Shuᶜarā', 227 - Arberry's interpretation). See ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 241,8 - 242,3.

22. See Map 2, B4. The name of a wadi (and a ravine and mountain according to Akwaᶜ) in the Upper Jawf, 23 km E of Khamir (not SE as Waysī maintains) and about 5 km NE of Dhī Bīn. On the YAR map, Wadi Warwar is just to the E of Ẓafār,(q.v. MC 098685 -1544 A1), and cf. sheet 1644 C3. Cf. Werdecker, " Contribution ", map, where W. Warwar, Khamir (" Ḥamr ")

and Dhī Bīn are placed much too far to the north. See Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 241,1,n.1; and Waysī, Yaman, 82.

23. Cf. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 242,5: maᶜūnah. Financial help as well as military aid is implied. The Sīrat continues (242,5f), wa-an yakhruja maᶜahu bi-ᶜaskarihi .... .

24. Thus, according to the Ghāyat, Ibn ᶜAbbād went to Iraq twice: see above, text p. 134, and p. 136, n.6. Chronologically speaking, both visits are feasible. The Sīrat mentions the first occasion but not the second. Al-Hamdānī, who relates the history of Ibn ᶜAbbād's family, only mentions one visit which corresponds closely to the wording of the second visit in our text: cf. Hamdānī, Iklīl,I, 249-53., and see 261.

Al-Muᶜtaḍid died in Rabīᶜ II 289 / March-April 902. Ibn ᶜAbbād will not have stayed long in Iraq after the accession of al-Muktafī, for by the end of Ramaḍān 289 (i.e. before 7 September 902) he had returned to the Yemen and was organizing another revolt against al-Hādī, (see below, p. 192, n.1).

25. ᶜUjj (?) b. Ḥājj, (thus in Ṭabarī, Tārīkh,IV, 2204, and see Arendonk, Débuts, 199-200,n.2, cf. Geddes, " Yuᶜfirid ", 89 and n.36 - ᶜAjj). Regarding Ibn Sāj of the Ghāyat, it is noteworthy that just after ᶜUjj b. Ḥājj in the Ṭabarī text, there is mention of Ibn Abī-'l-Sāj (a son of one of al-Muᶜtaḍid's commanders). May not some confusion have arisen? Cf. Hamdānī, Iklīl,I, 252,n.1: ᶜ-j- b. Shāḥ.

26. Abū 'l-Qāsim Yaḥyā b. Zikrawayh b. Mihrawayh: see following note, and above, p. 90, n.4.

27. See Ṭabarī, Tārīkh,IV, 2217-20; and Kennedy, Caliphates, 186., 287-9., 315-6.

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Year 290 [from 5 December 902]

In al-Muḥarram of [this year] [December 902 - January 903], lawlessness (baʿd fasād) broke out in the region of Ṣaʿdah[1] at which al-Hādī despatched [a force][2] against those [responsible] and fighting took place on the outskirts of the town [scil. al-Ḥadāʾiq].[3] Then al-Hadi's men seized the fortress of ʿAlāf.[4] They cut down the vines and destroyed the dwellings of its inhabitants whereupon [the latter] asked al-Hādī for a safe-conduct, to which he agreed.

After [these events] there occurred disturbances (baʿd ikhtilāl)[5] in [the district] of Wāʾilah,[6] so al-Hādī set out in person to [deal with the offenders]. He took control of Kitāf[7] [which was] where the brigands (mufsidīn)[8] came from, and [there] his soldiers pillaged anything they came across and cut down the vines.

Al-Hādī then set out for a place called al-Miṭlāʿ[9] and did there likewise. Whereupon Wāʾilah came requesting safe-conduct and [this the imam] granted them. [After this, al-Hādī] returned to Ṣaʿdah taking [with him] a group of their worst [offenders].

Meanwhile, dissension (ikhtilāf) had broken out between the Yuʿfirids and their clients (mawālīhim),[10] the two sons of Yuʿfir[11] sending a message to al-Duʿām b. Ibrāhīm. [In it] they requested that he write to al-Hādī urging him to come to [their aid] on the basis that they would hand over to [the imam] their territory and would join him in fighting [Āl Ṭarīf].[12]

Al-Duʿām communicated to al-Hādī what the two had said, although he added that the populace could not be trusted. [However] when al-Duʿām kept on receiving letters [from the Yuʿfirids], he resolved to go personally to al-Hādī. He then disposed [the latter] (thumma hayya'ahu)[13] to set out for the south (al-Yaman).[14]

So al-Hādī left Ṣaʿdah [15] on Sunday, 3 Jumādā I [4 April 903] [16] staying [on the way] at Khaywān [17] [and] afterwards continuing on to Raydah. Meanwhile, the two Yuʿfirids had come to al-Bawn to meet al-Duʿām. [18]

Then in the vicinity of Ṣubul, [19] there took place a battle between al-Hādī and Ibn Khalaf. [20] Afterwards al-Hādī journeyed to Maṭirah [21] and [from there] proceeded to Madar [22] where some of his men, some Khawlānīs and [some of] those who came from Najrān asked leave to return [home] and thus only a few [men] remained with him.

When Āl Ṭarīf got to hear of [al-Hādī's] men returning home, they started out [to meet] him with a large force until they [had] set up camp near to his. [23] [Al-Hādī], however, moved to a location called Itwah [24] and then he summoned Hamdān Ḥimyar to come to his aid but no one responded, for they were siding with Āl Ṭarīf. [25]

On [Tuesday] the first of Rajab [31 May 903], a fierce battle took place in which many of al-Hādī's men were killed and [in which] his son Muḥammad [26] and others were taken captive. [Muḥammad] was made to enter Ṣanʿā' on a mule, and [there] they paraded him around the markets. Al-Hādī [meanwhile] journeyed to Warwar. [27]

[Then] came the news that Khuftum [28] had arrived in the Yemen for the second time, that is in Shawwāl [August-September 903] of this year. He remained in Artul in the region of Sanḥān [29] for six days while he waited for an opportune moment to enter Sanʿā' (yataraqqabu 'l-dukhūl ilā Sanʿā'), but he was not allowed [to proceed into the city]. Indeed all the [Ṣanʿānīs] came out to him [30] and took him captive along with his son and nephew and imprisoned them in Bayt Baws.

Then [Khuftum's] followers asked [his captors] for a safe-conduct and with him entered Ṣanʿā'. [31] They wanted to back him

in his attempt to seize power (fa-arāda ashābuhu 'l-qiyām ma^{c}ahu) but As^{c}ad ibn Abī Yu^{c}fir and his cousin ^{c}Uthmān engaged them in conflict and slew Khuftum [at which time] the populace [began] to side with the Yu^{c}firids. [32]

As for Muḥammad ibn al-Hādī, he was imprisoned at Bayt Baws [33] then he was transferred to Shibām and after a few days he was released. [34]

Annotations

1. According to the Sīrat, a revolt had actually broken out in late Ramaḍān of the preceding year (i.e. first week of September 902), led by Ibn ^{c}Abbād (for whom see above, p. 136, n.5) and apparently instigated by Āl Ṭarīf and backed by an Ibn al-Ḥakamī, (could this have been Ibrāhīm b. ^{c}Alī or al-Ghiṭrīf? - see below, p. 205, n.4,5). The rebels set up their base at ^{c}Alaf (see above, p. 135, n.3) and started plundering and killing in the surroundind districts.

Previous to this, the Sīrat mentions a clash between Yām and B. al-Ḥārith and an outbreak of lawlessness and then al-Hādī's subsequent imprisonment of a group of tribesmen (100 in all) from Yām, B. al-Ḥārith and Wādi^{c}ah. This perhaps took place in Rajab 289 / June-July 902. Ibn ^{c}Abbād, however, does not seem to have had a hand in these troubles: see above, p. 189, n.24.

For the above events, see ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 243,1-18.

2. To a place called al-Ḥadā'iq. Van Arendonk (Débuts, 192,n.3) thinks it is west of Ṣan^{c}ā' but cf. Forrer, Südarabien, 120,n.2, - a two hours' journey N of Ṣa^{c}dah. From the Sīrat context, it is perhaps only a few hours from Ṣa^{c}dah and certainly not more than a day's journey and would seem

indeed to lie to the west: see ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 243,20 - 244,3. Akwaᶜ describes it as being still a place of gardens: Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 164,2,n.1.

3. The Ghāyat text as it stood, wa-waqaᶜa taraf qitāl, did not make much sense, (see Arabic text, p.57). A scribal error seems to have occurred for our author apparently had the Sīrat narrative in mind which has at this point: fa-ᶜabba'a [scil. al-Hādī] ᶜaskarahu ᶜalā atrāf al-balad [scil. al-Ḥāda'iq] wa-waqaᶜa 'l-qitāl min jawānib al-balad (ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 244,1).

4. Q.v. above, p. 135, n.3.

5. See Kazimirski, Dictionnaire,I, 609.

6. Batn min Shākir [b. Rabīᶜah]: ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 244,10; and see above, p. 95, n.9, and Hamdānī, Iklīl,X, 237 - Wā'ilah b. Shākir. Their territory lies east of Ṣaᶜdah: Waysī, Yaman, 196., and cf. map facing 111.

7. See above, introduction p. 60.

Kitāf (with kasrah), 39 km E, slightly N, of Ṣaᶜdah on TPC map: see Map 1, B5 (cf. Waysī, Yaman, 116, and map facing 111).

Kitāf is apparently the Aktāf of Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 160,5, and n.4., 241,12., (cf. ed. Müller,II, 82); cf. also, Forrer, Südarabien, 116,n.12, SE of Ṣaᶜdah; and Arendonk, Débuts, 193, Kutāf. See also, Hamdānī, Iklīl,X, 237,132-3, where Kitāf (sic) is the first cousin once-removed of Shākir, (for whom see above, p. 95 , n.9), viz. Kitāf b. Karīm b. al-Duᶜām al-Akbar b. Mālik b. Muᶜāwiyah. Kitāf and Wā'ilah are thus second cousins: see above, n.6. Cf. Jazīrat, 316,3f, and 165,2f, Kitāf: one of the wadis of Wā'ilah.

8. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 244,10f says that Wā'ilah qad aḥdathū fī ṭarīq Najrān aḥdāthan. This suggests brigandage and highway-robbery and further on (244,18), the Sīrat says that al-Hādī's troops pillaged what they found (in Kitāf) min māl wa-ghayrihi. Cf. above, p. 186 n.14.

9. Probably the Ṭalāᶜ of Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 316,2: wa-Ṭalāᶜ li-Wā'ilah.

This is not necessarily the same place as Ṭalāḥ as Van Arendonk (Débuts, 193,n.1) thinks likely (cf. his Ṭulāḥ, Ṭulā^{C}). Ṭalāḥ (with a fatḥah) is a mountain adjacent to Barat (q.v. above, p. 104f , n.1) and is clearly in Duhmah territory: Hamdānī, Jazīrat (ed. Müller) II, 82; and Forrer, Südarabien, 116,n.10.

10. To wit, Āl Ṭarīf: likewise in the Sīrat not mentioned by name at this juncture, but called ^{C}abīd (meant as an insult of course for they were a noble family of aqyāl origin - see above, p. 151, n.9), but further on one reads concerning Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk (see below, n.28) that at that time he was mā'ilan mayl Āl Ṭarīf: ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 245,5,17., 246,1.

11. The Sīrat also does not identify them (cf. rajulayn min Āl Yu^{C}fir - ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 216,7, and see above, p. 161f , n.49). Here, however, the " two sons " are most probably ^{C}Uthmān b. Aḥmad and his first cousin once-removed, As^{C}ad b. Ibrāhīm, called respectively by Idrīs, Kanz, f. 178a,12f, ^{C}Uthmān (a reading to be preferred to ^{C}Umar even though the thā' is not clearly indicated, see the same page of Kanz, line 17, ^{C}Uthmān, clearly,) b. Abī 'l-Khayr and As^{C}ad ibn Abī Yu^{C}fir

The author of the Kanz says that ^{C}Ujj [b. Ḥājj] (see above, p. 189, n.25), who seems to have been given responsibility by al-Muktafī for Yemeni affairs in addition to his remaining governor of Mecca, renewed the sovereignty of the two Yu^{C}firids (tajdīd wilāyatihimā) over the Yemen on behalf of the Abbasids; see f. 178a,12f; Arendonk, Débuts, 228,n.4; cf. Ibn^{C} Abd al-Majīd, Bahjat, 37, N-j-h b. Najāḥ instead of ^{C}Ujj.

12. The Arabic text (see p. 58) has at this juncture: al-mawālī.

13. Cf. Kazimirski, Dictionnaire,II, 1463, ... disposer; and cf. also, Zabīdī, Tāj,I, 519, (1st. form of verb) hā'a ilayhi yahā'u ..... ishtāq.

Al-Du^{C}ām met al-Hādī at Asal (or Asil) two (Arab) miles from

Ṣa^{C}dah: ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat MS, f. 97a,3, '-sul, but (ed. Zakkār), incorrectly, Asil (245,12), cf. Asal (127,18., cf. 128,2,4). Asal is to the south of Ṣa^{C}dah, and is known today for its fruit, especially its grapes. See Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 160,5,n.3., (ed. Müller),1, 82,24; above, p. 125, n.17

14. See above, pp. 94-5, n.5.

15. Together with al-Du^{C}ām: ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 245,14.

16. A Monday (Freeman-Grenville). However, ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 245,14 has at this point, 2 Jumādā I, which is thus 3 April - a Sunday.

17. Al-Hādī refused to destroy the house and property of Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk (cf. above, n.10). The latter, one of the prominent shaykhs of Ḥāshid, was Abū Ja^{C}far Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk (not Muḥammad b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk as Ryckmans assumed: Arendonk, Débuts, 170,1 bis), descended from Abū Mu^{C}īd and extolled by al-Hamdānī as sayyid Hamdān fī ^{C}aṣrina wa-ṣāḥib al-waqā'i^{C} wa-'l-ayyām: see Iklīl,X, 67; and cf. Gochenour, " Penetration ", 40; and see above, p. 126f, n.18 and p. 107f, n.15.

18. See Arabic text, p. 59. The Sirat has at this juncture: wa-kataba 'l-Du^{C}ām ilā 'bnay Yu^{C}fir an yalqayāhu ilā 'l-Bawn fa-fa^{C}alā wa-kharaja fī liqā'ihimā ḥattā 'ltaqaw bi-'l-Ghayl, (^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 246,3f). Thus the (two) sons of Yu^{C}fir went to al-Bawn to meet al-Du^{C}ām, not al-Hādī as would be assumed by an unsuspecting reader of the Ghāyat text on the basis of the pronoun suffix of the verb, wa-laqāhu (sic).

Wilson, (" Investigation ", 129-30), in his detailed discussion of this incident and what follows, (see below, n.20), therefore translates the Ghāyat: " ..... Then he [al-Hādī] advanced to Raydah and the two sons [sic] of Yu^{C}fir met him in the Bawn ". Although he often refers to the Sīrat, Wilson, strangely, does not point out the inaccuracy of the Ghāyat at this juncture.

The Sīrat, (quoted above), makes it doubly clear that two Yu^{C}firids were involved (presumably ^{C}Uthmān and As^{C}ad - see above, n.11), while our text (MSS ^{C}Ayn and Khā') has simply '-bnā, which, of course, can be interpreted either as ibnā or abnā' since both scribes habitually omit the hamzah after the alif of prolongation, (cf. abnā' in MS Bā'). ^{C}Āshūr,(whose text Wilson is translating), in recording, confidently without comment, ibnā Yu^{C}fir, is manifestly relying on the dual forms that precede this incident - see Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, Ghāyat,I, 188.

Al-Ghayl is probably the village of that name 32 km due S of Raydah (see Map 2, A2), and not al-Ghayl which has already occurred in our text, (see above, text p. 143, and p. 167, n.71). The Yu^{C}firids had probably retreated to Shibām, their traditional stronghold, after their rupture with

Āl Ṭarīf, and so al-Ghayl, about 16 km to the E of Shibām, would have been most suitable as a place for a meeting with al-Du^{C}ām. It is presumably the same village as al-Ghayl which occurs later in the Sīrat (274,6f), where it is clearly a place on the way from Shibām to Raydah. It could be described as being situated in the southern limits of al-Bawn al-A^{C}lā (see above, p. 109, n.21), and on the YAR map it is marked as a scattered settlement some 5 km E, slightly N, of Ḥāz: LC 9816 (1544 A3).

Al-Hādī sent his trusted henchman, the Yarsumī Muḥammad b. Sa^{C}īd (for whom see Arendonk, Débuts, 160 and n.2 bis), with al-Du^{C}ām to extract from the two Yu^{C}firids their sworn pledges that they were his allies against Āl Ṭarīf. Al-Hādī and al-Du^{C}ām were to proceed to Ṣan^{C}ā', and the Yu^{C}firids were apparently to return to Shibām until they were needed. See Sīrat, 246,4-7.

19. Our text jumps abruptly from al-Bawn to Ṣubul in Mashriq Khawlān, east of Ṣan^{C}ā', (see above, p. 184, n.2). In his over-hasty abridgement of the Sīrat at this point, (see ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 246,10f), our author omits to mention that al-Hadi travelled east to Madar (q.v. above, p. 168, n.72), and then proceeded south, across the eastern side of Ẓāhir Hamdān, presumably. Probably al-Hādī had taken a similar route two years previously (see above, text p. 143) when he travelled from Madar to Ṣan^{C}ā', and he had also gone that way to Ḥadaqān (see above, pp. 150-1, n.7,8).

20. The Sīrat should be consulted for details of the events at Ṣubul and in the region close by, (^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 246,11 - 247.4). The gist of the Sīrat account is as follows:- Al-Hādī set up his camp at Ṣubul. Then , learning that Ibn Khalaf had set up his at Bayt ^{C}Uqab (see above, p. 184, n.2), he feared for [the safety] of his men (fa-hādhara ^{C}alā ^{C}askarihi). not " he warned his force " as in Wilson's word for word translation of part of this passage, (" Investigation ", 129: cf. Kazimirski, Dictionnaire,I, 396, craindre, avoir peur ...., and Lane, Lexicon,II, 534a,b; and it would seem that hādhara ^{C}alā has the force of the modern colloquial

khāfa ʿalā). So, leaving apparently most of his men behind at Ṣubul, al-Hādī moved to Bayt Ḥādir, 5 km W, slightly S, of Bayt ʿUqab and 13 km E, slightly S, of Ṣanʿā' (see Map 3, C2 and YAR MB 287965 - sheet 1544 C2), where he awaited reinforcements from Jaʿfar al-Manākhī, and al-Rabīʿ ibn al-Ruwayyah and his brother Abū 'l-ʿAshīrah (see above, p. 178f , n.110 and cf. p. 188 , n.19). The reinforcement troops, however, tarried and lost interest (fa-labithū ʿalayhi wa-thaqulū). Meanwhile at Ṣubul, presumably, supplies had become scarce (wa-qalla 'l-marfiq / mirfiq), so many of al-Hādī's men deserted him. At this, a force set out from Ṣanʿā', (probably belonging to Āl Ṭarīf), and attacked the camp at Ṣubul (fa-taʿarradū li-ahl Ṣubul, - not, " to within reach of ..... " as in " Investigation ", 129: cf. Lane, Lexicon,. V, 2005b, and Kazimirski, Dictionnaire,II, 208, combattre) and fighting ensued.

Then two bouts of heavy fighting occurred (apparently in the vicinity of Bayt Ḥādir) between a force led personally by al-Hādī and Ibn Khalaf's troops and on both occasions the latter were driven back to their fortress. The fortress is unspecified, but both ʿAlab (q.v. above, p. 171, n.85) and Ẓubr Ḥaddayn (q.v. above, pp. 174-6, n.100) would suit the context well, and both are also on elevated ground, (cf. ..... ḥattā atlaʿūhum ilā qalʿatihim - Sīrat, 247,1).

According to Idrīs, Kanz, f. 178a,9-11, Ṣanʿā' had reverted to Yuʿfirid rule soon after al-Hādī's exit from the city (see above, text p. 183). Then Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf (Ibn Khalaf of our text, who was a member of Āl Ṭarīf - see above, p. 151,n.12), had taken control of Ṣanʿā' (initially, presumably, on behalf of the Yuʿfirids) having come to an agreement with Abū 'l-ʿAshīrah ibn al-Ruwayyah, whom al-Hādī may have appointed in charge of the city before his return to Saʿdah, that makhālīf Madhhij fī jamīʿi 'l-Yaman ilayhi. However, this last statement is probably not to be taken literally: perhaps

Abū 'l-ᶜAshīrah was given the territory of ᶜAns, (east of Dhamār as far as Radāᶜ), where his family had settled: see Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 187,10f., 188-9.

21. Presumably not far from Wadi Sharᶜ (N of Wadi al-Sirr: see Glaser, Reise, map 3, 41°50′ - 15°35′, W. Šira') since the latter, along with Maṭirah, belong to ᶜUḍar b. Saᶜd b. Aṣbā: Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 239,12; Forrer, Südarabien, 183; cf. Gochenour, " Penetration ", map facing 273, ᶜUdhar Maṭira (sic) due E of Raydah; cf. however, Jazīrat, 154,4., 155,n.1, where Maṭirah would seem to be closer to Wādī al-Sirr than to Wadi Sharᶜ, since it is mentioned along with Jabal Dhabāb which is in the higher reaches of Wadi al-Sirr to the north: see Rathjens & Wissman, Landeskundliche, fig. 40, Dj. Dhebāb; and Wadi al-Sirr on Map 2, C2.

22. Q.v. above, p. 168 , n.72.

23. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 247,10 adds significantly: wa-waqafa Āl Yuᶜfir fī mawdiᶜihim fa-lam yataḥarrakū.

24. It is indicated as a small settlement on the YAR map about 4½ km NE of Madar, in modern Nāḥiyat Arḥab: MC 222453 (1544 A2). See Map 2, C3, and Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 158,2,n.3.

25. Al-Hādī sent sawārikh to the towns and villages (the Sīrat has Hamdān, not Hamdān Ḥimyar), but to no avail, for they all declared their support for Āl Ṭarīf. Seeᶜ Abbāsī, Sīrat, 247,11-14: and Landberg, Datînois,III, 2125: sārikh, criant au secours.

26. Yawm Itwah: Hamdānī, Iklīl,X, 67, and seeᶜ Abbāsī, Sīrat, 247-9 for details. Al-Hādī's son Aḥmad also took part along with the sons of two of al-Hādī's paternal uncles Muḥammad and al-Ḥasan, the author of the Sīrat and his brother al-Qāsim. The Ṭabarīs played a prominent role.

It was Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk (see above, n.17) who, although described by al-Hamdānī (Iklīl,X, 67) as Muḥammad's captor and, although he was fighting

on the side of Āl Ṭarīf, in fact saved Muḥammad's life. The latter was on a colt which was too weak to go any furher. Subsequently he was struck on the head by a stone and fell to the ground unconscious, fa-laḥiqahu (scil. Muḥammad) 'l-qawm fa-tama^{C}ū bi-isābatihi ..... fa-hāla (scil. Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk) bayn al-qawm wa-bayn isābatihi. After that, Muḥammad was handed over as a captive to Ibn Khalaf.

Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk's chivalry was never forgotten by Muḥammad nor by his brother Aḥmad. A trusted friendship was established between them, and Ibn al-Ḍaḥḥāk kāna lahumā ni^{C}ma 'l-sāḥibu wa-'l-wazīru ^{C}alā umūrihimā: Hamdānī, Iklīl,X, 67.

27. See above, p.^{188f} , n.22. Again al-Hādī called Hamdān to come to his aid, and he also wrote to Ja^{C}far al-Manākhī (for whom see p.^{179} , n.110) for financial help, but in vain. Then al-Hādī returned to Ṣa^{C}dah.
See ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 250,2-13.

28. See above, p. 88 , n.1.

29. Artul, according to ^{C}Abbāsī, Sirat MS, f. 107b,3, (where there is clearly a fatḥah over a ḥamzah and a ḍammah over the tā', but cf. Zakkār's edit. 253,2, Arth-l), and as this might very well reflect the older pronunciation, I have preferred Artul to Artil. Artil is manifestly the modern pronunciation: cf. the YAR map, and Wilson, " Investigation ", 175. On the YAR map the place is indicated just over 2 km due S of Bayt Baws: MB 146861 (1544 C1). See Map 3, A1, and also Arendonk, Débuts, 231 (Artul) and n.7.

Idrīs, Kanz, f. 178a,14, does not give the name of the place but speaks of a qaryah min ḥawz (at ? - this word is difficult to make out) Banī Shihāb, cf. Ibn ^{C}Abd al-Majīd, Bahjat, 38, Ya'zil qaryah min qurā Banī Shihāb. Cf. however, ḥāzat Banī Shihāb, west of Ṣan^{C}ā': Hamdānī, Iklīl,I, 413,n.1. See also below, p.220 , n.14.

Sanḥān, in our text, is the name of the region immediately to the south of Ṣan^{C}ā': see Waysī, Yaman, 77-8.

30. Idrīs, Kanz, f. 178a,14-15 only mentions H-rāḥ (Jarrāḥ or Ḥarāj? - cf. Geddes, " Yu^{C}firid ", 91,n.44) and Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf, and adds: ka-'l-musallimayn ^{C}alayhi wa-'l-musallimayn li-'l-umarā[']lahu. In ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 270,12ff, Jar(r)āḥ, (the same man presumably), abandoned Ibn Khalaf and joined up with the Yu^{C}firids. Perhaps he is brother of Abū 'l-^{C}Aṭāhiyah, or it is possible that ibn has dropped out of the Sīrat and Kanz narratives (since Jarrāḥ by itself seems odd in the context), i.e. he is in fact Ibn Jarrāḥ. In the latter case, he might be ^{C}Abdullāh b. Jarrāḥ, or Ḥusayn b. Jarrāḥ: cf. above, p. 153 n.19 and below, p.227f , n.3.

31. Cf. Idrīs, Kanz, 178a,16 where it is narrated that Khuftum got out of Ẓahr, (to where he had been moved from Bayt Baws), by a ruse. According to the Sīrat, he was met on his arrival in Ṣan^{C}ā' by the Yu^{C}firid(s) (perhaps by As^{C}ad and ^{C}Uthmān) which suggests that they had a hand in his escape. Shortly before Khuftum's arrival, Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf (see above, p. 197 et infra) fled Ṣan^{C}ā' for Tihāmah. See ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 272,13-16,n.4. These events occurred it seems at the end of Ṣafar of the following year (291), viz. mid-January 904: see Sīrat, 270,16.

32. Concerning this struggle for power, the Sīrat is silent. In fact only in passing does it mention that Khuftum was killed: ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 273,9.

According to the Kanz, Khuftum at first asked As^{C}ad and ^{C}Uthmān to hand power over to him but when they procrastinated he attacked them unawares, wa-kabasa ^{C}alayhimā. They tried to flee (Ṣan^{C}ā', presumably,) but were prevented. In the fighting which followed, in which the Yu^{C}firids were backed up by their clients and a section of the Ṣan^{C}ānīs, Khuftum was killed. Then the army went over to the Yu^{C}firid side: fa-māla 'l-jaysh ilayhimā, (presumably a reference to the troops that Khuftum had brought with him). See Idrīs, Kanz, 178a,17-19; cf. Ibn ^{C}Abd al-Majīd, Bahjat, 38.

33. According to the Sīrat, he was imprisoned first of all in Ṣanᶜā', along with Muḥammad b. Saᶜīd (see above, p. 196, n.35), during the months of Rajab, Shaᶜbān, Ramaḍān and the first ten days of Shawwāl 290 (i.e. 31 May - 6 September 903, (and apparently they were joined for a time by ᶜĪsa b. al-Muᶜān al-Yāfiᶜī - see below, p. 216, n. 35). Then the imam's son and his companion were moved to Bayt Baws. See ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 252,16-20.

On 7 Shawwāl / 3 September 903, Khuftum, his son and his nephew had also been imprisoned at Bayt Baws but, subsequently, Khuftum and the Yuᶜfirid, Ibn Abī 'l-Khayr, (presumably ᶜAbd al-Qāhir - see above, p. 161f, n.49), were transferred to Ẓahr: see Sīrat, 253,3-14.

For the poems that Muḥammad wrote while in prison, see Sīrat, 253-70.

34. Muḥammad had not been imprisoned at Shibām. He was set free from Bayt Baws (see preceding note) as a result of a raid on the fortress carried out by the Yuᶜfirids Asᶜad and ᶜUthmān, and al-Yāfiᶜī: for details of the incident see ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 271,6 - 272,10. It seems that Bayt Baws was not raided specifically in order to release Muḥammad. Indeed it is possible that Asᶜad and ᶜUthmān were not even aware that Muhammad had been moved from Ṣanᶜā' to Bayt Baws, especially since he had been taken there at night, and in a palanquin: see Sīrat, 252,19f. Muḥammad was almost killed (by one of the Yuᶜfirid force apparently), after he and Muḥammad b. Saᶜīd had been stripped of all their clothes! Eventually they met up with Asᶜad, who proceeded to treat Muḥammad with the utmost deference, and personally helped free him from his fetters. This was on Sunday, 25 Ṣafar 291 / 17 January 904, a Tuesday (Freeman-Grenville) - cf. Sīrat, 270,16., 271,6.

Muḥammad stayed in Shibām while the Yuᶜfirids, his hosts, could ensure his safe journey back to Ṣaᶜdah, for they obviously feared he might be waylaid by the Āl Ṭarīf faction or even by supporters of Khuftum, (who was killed while Muḥammad was at Shibām - see above, n.32). The relationship

between the Yuʿfirids and al-Hādī and his sons was a curious one. Clearly there was rivalry between the two families as to who could rule the Yemen effectively, and indeed the Yuʿfirids had recently been encouraged in their ambitions by the ʿAbbasid caliph when he renewed their wilāyah (see above, n.11). However, there was also it appears a recognition on the part of the Yuʿfirids of that charisma which al-Hādī and his sons undoubtedly possessed. Perhaps Asʿad and ʿUthmān, in particular, were torn between political ambition and sincere religious attachment to Ahl al-Bayt. The remarkable incident referred to above is indicative of such attachment. When engaged in freeing Muḥammad, Asʿad dismissed his servants' offer to take over from him declaring: " In truth, I regard contact [with the body] of this scion of the Apostle of God as a means of obtaining a blessing " (innamā ana atabāraku bi-massī 'bni rasūli 'llāh), - see Sīrat, 272,6-9.

Before Muḥammad left Shibām, Asʿad and ʿUthmān sent him their apologies for the delay in his departure, along with horses (probably), garments and a sword: Sīrat, 274,2f.

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Year 291 [from 24 November 903]

In this [year], Muḥammad ibn al-Hādī was released from the prison at Shibām [1] and then was reunited with his father (fa-laḥiqa bi-abīhi] in Ṣaʿdah. [2]

[Also] in this year, [3] al-Hādī received messages from Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī [4] and al-Ghiṭrīf al-Ḥakamī [5] requesting him to come to the territory [they governed] so that they might hand over their lands to

him, and the two [Ḥakamīs] sent solemn pledges (al-ᶜuhūd al-ghalīẓah) in this respect. [6]

Letters continued [reaching the imam] in a similar vein, so al-Hādī summoned the Khawlān tribes and led them [down] into Tihāmah [where] they alighted at a place called al-S-r-r. [7] Then a large body of men from Ḥajūr [8] joined them after which they went on to a locality known as al-ᶜAnbarah. [9] [There] a message reached [the imam] from al-Ḥakamī asking him to come to a place called Ṭarṭar. [10]

So [al-Hādī] set off thither and was met by men from al-Ḥakamī [offering him] hospitality and [giving him] fodder [for his] horses. Now al-Ḥakamī had seized [the fodder] from the people under his rule and when al-Hādī learnt of this, he had sent back to the local populace what had been taken from them [by force] saying: " It is not lawful for us to take it! " He [also] sent back the men who had come from al-Ḥakamī.

[The latter] was amazed at al-Hādī's conduct, regretting that he had ever petitioned him to come to [his land]. He abandoned his intention to give allegiance to [the imam] despite [all] the solemn pledges (al-ᶜuhūd al-akīdah) and then, getting together a large force, he set off with them to engage al-Hādī in combat. [The imam], however, fiercely set upon them (fa-awqaᶜa bi-him) [11] and al-Ḥakamī was routed, but al-Hādī went off in his pursuit and slew a large number of his men. [12]

Annotations

1. But see above, p. 201 , n.34.

2. He journeyed via al-Ghayl, Raydah, Warwar and Ghuraq (q.v. below, p. 223 n.22). He had met up with al-Du^{C}ām after he had left Warwar apparently, but from Ghuraq to Ṣa^{C}dah he was accompanied by al-Du^{C}ām`s son Muḥammad: see ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 274,6-10.

3. Our author is most probably incorrect in his chronology at this juncture. Al-Hādī received messages from Ibrāhīm b. ^{C}Alī and al-Ghiṭrīf (see following two notes) in Dhū 'l-Qa^{C}dah 292 / September-October 905 according to the sequence of events in the Sīrat, after he had returned to Ṣa^{C}dah from Najrān where he had crushed another revolt: see below, text p. 208 ., and p. 211 , n.12,13,16. There would seem to be no cogent reason for not preferring the Sīrat chronology especially since the latter fits in admirably with other events in the Yemen at that time (viz. 292 / November 904 - October 905 in general, and the end of 292 and the beginning of 293, i.e. October - early November 905, in particular).

The Sīrat relates that before al-Hādī set out for Tihāmah, he despatched his son Muḥammad to Khaywān telling him that he must be ready to proceed to Ṣan^{C}ā' to fight the Qarāmiṭah (sic) if instructed to do so: see ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 295,15-17. Clearly al-Hādī believed that a Fatimid attack on Ṣan^{C}ā' was imminent, or at least a possibility. No such attack was likely in 291 / November 903 - November 904. It is only after ^{C}Alī b. Faḍl had killed Ja^{C}far al-Manākhī and had occupied all Ja^{C}far`s former territories (see below, text pp. 208-9), probably in Sha^{C}bān 292 / June-July 905, that the Fatimids posed a serious threat to Ṣan^{C}ā'.

According to the Ghāyat, ^{C}Alī b. Faḍl sacked Ṣan^{C}ā' on 10 al-Muḥarram 293 / 11 November 905, (but cf. below, pp. 220-2, n.16). Allowing for al-Hādī`s procrastination in coming to the aid of the Ḥakimīs

and his sending trusted followers down to Tihāmah in order to ascertain the veracity of their intentions. (see Sīrat, 295,9-13). al-Hādī may have left Ṣa^{C}dah in Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah 292 / October 905. Perhaps, however, (as is suggested by Van Arendonk, - see Débuts, 234), al-Hādī's departure took place early in al-Muḥarram 293, (early November 905). The Sīrat (389,20) records that ^{C}Alī b. Faḍl began his march north on 1 al-Muḥarram 293 / 2 November 905, and it would then have been obvious to all that his intention was to capture Ṣan^{C}ā' (but cf. below, p. 216, n.35).

4. Al-Ḥakamī, (cf. ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 295,8 where Ibrāhīm b. ^{C}Alī and al-Ghiṭrīf are called al-Ḥakamiyyayn). It seems to be a possibility that Ibrāhīm was the ruler of Zabīd - Map 1, A2, (see below, p. 213, n.22; and cf. Sīrat, 295,15 where al-Hādī tells his son to expect his letters to reach him from Zabīd). If so, then it is he who provided Ja^{C}far al-Manākhī with a sizeable army, (albeit to no avail) - see below, text p. 208. It would have been the fear of a second Fatimid onslaught into Tihāmah that induced Ibrāhīm to contact al-Hādī with the apparent intention of offering him allegiance.

5. Most probably al-Ghiṭrīf b. Muḥammad al-Ashaj(j) (but ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat,MS, f. 135b,16 does not easily bear this reading, - Arendonk, Débuts, 234,n.6 suggests, tentatively, Abajj), cousin of ^{C}Abdullāh b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ḥakamī, since the former is described as a profligate, a tyrant, a hater of the truth and those who follow it (wa-kāna rajulan fāsiqan ẓāliman mubghidan li-'l-ḥaqq wa-ahlihi). Also, he is given a curse by the author of the Sīrat, and all this would fit in with what he did in the way of breaking his pledges to al-Hādī, and then fighting him.

See Sīrat, 335, 9-12.

6. Al-Hādī, however, was clearly hesitant in accepting them: see above, n.3 (final paragraph).

7. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, has at this juncture al-Sh-r-s (MS, f. 117,19) and al-Sharis (Zakkār's edit. 296,3). Both the Sīrat and Ghāyat clearly indicate a specific place (fa-nazala / wa-nazala bi-mawdiᶜ yuqālu lahu ....), and also indicate that it is in Tihāmah. Also the article should be noted.

These two latter factors would seem to disqualify the place of our text being identified with Sharis which, according to Akwaᶜ, is an inhabited locality, (on a wadi of the same name), on the way from Ṣanᶜā' to Ḥajjah (NW of Jabal Maswar - see Map 1, B3) possessing a flourishing Sunday market: see Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 111,2,n.2, and cf. Werdecker, " Contribution ", map, " Šeres ", about 8 km NE of Ḥajjah. The fact that Sharis exists as a locality as well as a wadi seems to have escaped Van Arendonk (Débuts, 235,n.2) and Wilson (" Investigation ", 316). Wadi Sharis flows north of Jabal Maswar in a NW direction, and then eventually flows along the southern borders of Sharafayn, the mountainous region NW of Ḥajjah, beyond Ḥajūr (q.v. following note): see Waysī, Yaman, 104, 106.

Thus I have represented the place as al-S-r-r in the translated text, hoping that further research will reveal the name of a locality in Tihāmah by that name (or, possibly, al-Sh-r-s).

8. The mountainous region (overlooking Tihāmah), NW of Ḥajjah, and NE of al-Luḥayyah (on the coast) - beyond Wadi Mawr: see Waysī, Yaman, 99 and map facing 111.

9. A town on the coast clearly in the vicinity of al-Qurashiyyah, (along with which it is mentioned by Ibn al-Mujāwir), the latter place being one farsakh NW of Zabīd (see Map 1, A2) on the way to Ghulāfiqah (the modern Ghulayfiqah): see Mustabṣir, 238-9; cf. Zabīdī, Tāj,XVII, 329, al-Qurashiyyah qaryah ..... min aᶜmāl Zabīd., XIII, 149, al-ᶜAnbarah ..... bi-sawāḥil Zabīd.

10. If al-ᶜAnbarah has been identified correctly (see preceding note), al-Hādī will have cut across Tihāmah from beneath Ḥajūr in a SW direction. He would hardly have retraced his steps, so it seems that Ṭarṭar would have been E or SE of al-ᶜAnbarah. Also, Ibn al-Mujāwir does not mention the place, so it is unlikely to have been on the coast. Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 330,6 mentions in passing that there is a Ṭarṭar in Ḥakam territory.

11. See above, p. 156 , n.30.

12. Almost 200. The Sīrat account ends thus: wa-arādū laḥūq al-Ḥakamī ilā qaryatihi, ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 297,14f. Then there is a lacuna in all the known MSS: see Arendonk, Débuts, 235,n.7. Might not the qaryah have been Zabīd?

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Year 292 [from 13 November 904]

In al-Muḥarram [November-December 904] of this year, Ibrāhīm b. Khalaf set out from al-Kadrā' [1] making for Jabal Dhukhār. [2] When he reached the side of the mountain (taraf al-jabal) [3] he was confronted by a slave [4] of ᶜAdnān who ruled the mountain. [5] [The man] slew [Ibrāhīm], putting his men to flight, and despatched his head to his lord.

In this year, there took place a conspiracy (tawāṭu') between Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Aᶜjam [6] and ᶜUthmān b. Aḥmad [7] to seize Kawkabān. [8] After ᶜUthmān had taken [the town], Asᶜad ibn Abī Yuᶜfir set off from Ṣanᶜā' to fight him sending on an army ahead which ascended the mountain from a place called Bayt Khuyām [9] while he [himself] followed in the rear.

[Asᶜad] then invested Kawkabān until [eventually] he was able to take it. [After] arresting ᶜUthmān b. Aḥmad, [10] he stayed in Shibām for a few days [before] returning to Ṣanᶜā'. [11]

[Also] in this year, Banū 'l-Ḥārith in Najrān rebelled against al-Hādī and fighting ensued between them and [al-Hādī's] governor. [12] Then, al-Hādī set out from Ṣaᶜdah [13] to fight [the rebels]. He besieged them, and his men pillaged (wa-'stabāḥa) their land and cut down their palm-trees. [14] At this they asked al-Hādī for a safe-conduct which he granted, [15] [after which] he went back to Ṣaᶜdah. [16]

This [year also], ᶜAlī b. Faḍl [17] advanced on al-Mudhaykhirah [18] for the second time. [This time] he took [the city] and captured the fortress of al-Taᶜkar. [19]

Jaᶜfar al-Manākhī [20] was driven [down] to Tihāmah [21] [where] the ruler of Zabīd [22] supplied him with a substantial military force. [23] On his way back to regain al-Mudhaykhirah, there took place a great battle

between him and ᶜAlī b. Faḍl in Wadi Nakhlah. [24] In [that battle] on the hill of Ḥawālah, [25] Jaᶜfar al-Manākhī was slain along with his cousin Abū 'l-Futūḥ. [26]

Thus the might of Ibn Faḍl grew apace. He took possession of the territories which al-Manākhī had ruled over [27] and there set up his capital. [28] Then he made for the province of Yaḥṣib, [29] captured Mankath [30] and razed it to the ground. [31] After this, he proceeded to Dhamār [32] but at Hirrān [33] encountered a huge force loyal to the Ḥiwālī. [34] However, he sent messages to the commander [35] of the Hirrān [garrison] and tried to win him over to his side until [eventually the governor] gave him allegiance (wa-'stamālahu ḥattā wālāhu). [36]

Annotations

1. The city in Tihāmah, today in ruins, 6 miles SE of present-day al-Marāwiᶜah, (which is 30 km E of al-Ḥudaydah - see Map 1, A2: Waysī, Yaman, 92), was situated on the banks of the Wadi Sahām: Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 74,2,n.3. Cf. Glaser, Reise, map 2 (" Kedra ", due E of " Hodeida "), and cf. Ibn al-Mujāwir, Mustabṣir, 90, - al-Kadrā'; Yāqūt, Muᶜjam,IV, 441, - Kadrā'; Maqdisī, Taqāsīm, 69, - Kadrah; and Akwaᶜ, (Jazīrat, 74,n.3), prefers al-Kadrā, with an alif maqṣūrah. See also Smith, Ayyubids,II, 168.

2. See above, p. 162, n.49.

3. Taraf probably means nāhiyah here (Zabīdī, Tāj,XXIV, 79), but it might be tarf: pointe d'une montagne (Dozy, Supplément,II, 37): viz. " when he reached a high-spot in the hill-country [below] the mountain [i.e. Dhukhār] ". ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 388,18, identifies the place as Ḥarrānī, fa-lammā sāra fī taraf (tarf) al-jabal fī mawdiᶜ yuqālu lahu Harrānī, and Sīrat MS, f. 158b,1 has Ḥarālī. Arendonk, Débuts, 236 and n.6 gives Jurābā,

and Geddes, " Yu^{C}firid ", 92 has Jurāhī. The place is most probably Jurābī, one of the hills of the Sarāt al-Maṣāni^{C} to which Jabal Dhukhār belongs. It is near the town of Qayhamah: see Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 110,1,n.1,2., 123,5,11, n.3; Forrer, Südarabien, 71; Waysī, Yaman, 61. Cf. Gochenour, " Penetration ", 60: Ibn Khalaf was murdered in Ḥaḍūr.

4. Cf. ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 388,18: ^{C}abid.

5. On behalf of the Yu^{C}firids As^{C}ad and ^{C}Uthmān, the rulers of San^{C}ā' since Khuftum's death (see above, text p. 192).

6. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Zurayq (cf. ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat MS, f. 3a,1 where Zurayq seems to have been altered, at a later date, to Ruzayq) al-A^{C}jam (cf. Sīrat, ed. Zakkār, 18,5: al-A^{C}am), a client (mawlā) of the Abbasid caliphs, had been appointed chief judge by al-Hādī when he took San^{C}ā' for the first time and he was similarly appointed by the Yu^{C}firids, ^{C}Uthmān and As^{C}ad. See Sīrat, 18,4f., 389,1. Cf. Arendonk, Débuts, 214 (Ruzaiq), 236.

No conspiracy is mentioned in the Sīrat account. Cf. the Sīrat at this juncture (389,1): wa-waqa^{C}at baynahumā (manifestly between ^{C}Uthmān and As^{C}ad - see preceding verb in the Sīrat) mushājarah, viz. strife occurred between them.

7. ^{C}Uthmān b. Aḥmad (Abū 'l-Khayr) b. Yu^{C}fir, first cousin (once removed) of As^{C}ad b. Ibrāhīm (Abū 'l-Yu^{C}fir) and brother of ^{C}Abd al-Qāhir (see above, p. 162, n.49 and p. 163, n.57). Gochenour (" Penetration ", 45) refers to ^{C}Uthmān's having ruled prior to 282 / 895, but I find no evidence of this: cf. Geddes, " Yu^{C}firid ", 166, App. B.

8. See above, p. 162, n.49.

9. Contrary to Arendonk, Débuts, 236,n.9, the place is mentioned also in ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 389,4 (Bayt Khayām). Akwa^{C} insists it is Khuyām with the khā' having a dammah: Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 233,2f,n.2. Bayt Khuyām is a town in Wadi al-Ahjur beneath Kawkabān. Cf. Jazīrat (ed. Müller), 107,11,

where the khā' is unvowelled: Sīrat MS, f. 158b,5, ḥ-yām; Forrer, Südarabien, 178, Khayyām; Arendonk, Débuts, 236 and Geddes, " Yu^{C}firid ", 93, Khiyām.

10. This event is referred to in Idrīs, Kanz, f. 178a,19.

11. Idrīs, Kanz, f. 178a,20 and Ibn ^{C}Abd al-Majīd, Bahjat, 38 continue: wa-'stabadda bi-'l-amr (and he [As^{C}ad] gathered to himself all power) ilā sanat thalāth wa-tis^{C}īn wa-mā'tayn.

12. Abū Ja^{C}far Muḥammad b. ^{C}Ubaydullah: ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 275,5-7.

The revolt was instigated by Ibn Ḥumayd (see p. 129f, n.27), and on this occasion Ibn Bisṭām (see p. 128f , n.26) played an ambiguous role. See Sīrat, 275-290; and cf. Arendonk, Débuts, 194-5. The troubles began in Jumādā I March-April 905: Sīrat, 275,3.

13. On Sunday 4 Rajab / 12 May 905: ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 290,11.

14. These were the palm-trees of Ibn Ḥumayd which al-Hādī ordered to be cut down after he had heard that the rebel leader was planning a fresh revolt with Yām (the nomadic part of the tribe, a^{C}rāb min Yām) and B. al-Hārith: ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 294,11ff.

15. Except to Ibn Ḥumayd (even though he had sent his sons on his behalf) unless he presented himself personally (illā an yata'a bisāṭī): ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 294,21.

16. Where he arrived on 8 or 9 Dhū 'l-Qa^{C}dah / 11 or 12 September 905: ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 295,3-7. Ihdā wa-tis^{C}īn instead of ithnatayn wa-tis^{C}īn is undoubtedly a scribal error: see above, n.12,13; and Arendonk, Débuts, 197,n.1.

17. For the career of ^{C}Alī b. Faḍl up to this point and that of his colleague in the Fatimid da^{C}wah, Abū 'l-Qāsim " Manṣūr al-Yaman ", see:-

Idrīs, Kanz, f. 178a,20 - 179a,18; Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, Ghāyat, MS ᶜAyn, f. 19a,24 - 19b,13; Ḥammādī, Kashf (ed. ᶜAṭṭār), 21-30; ed. Zakkār, Akhbār, 418-20; Geddes, " Yuᶜfirid ", 104-111., " Apostasy ", 80-81; Madᶜaj, " ᶜAlī b. al-Faḍl ", 84-7., 90-2.

18. See Map 1, B1. It is indicated 20 km W, slightly S, of Dhū Jiblah and 32 km NW of al-Janad: YAR LA 8835 (1343 B2).

It was the capital of the territory ruled over by Jaᶜfar b. Ibrāhīm al-Manākhī. See Kay, Yaman, 222-3 (notes); Ibn Ḥawqal, Ṣūrat, 37; Forrer, Südarabien, 65,n.2; Hamdānī, Iklīl,II, 93,5; Waysī, Yaman, 44f. ᶜAkwa describes it as a place of springs, meadows and orchards: Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 102f,n.1.

19. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 389,13f implies this took place mid-Rabīᶜ I / about 25 January 905, but al-Khazrajī in Al-ᶜasjad al-masbūk (ed. Zakkār, Akhbar, 420), specifically says that al-Mudhaykhirah was captured, along with al-Taᶜkar (by implication), on 14 Ṣafar / 26 December 904. Arendonk, Débuts, 126 gives the latter date without denoting clearly his authority. (Idrīs, Kanz, 179a,18 does not mention any date). Cf. Geddes, " Apostasy ", 81 where the date 291 is clearly an error.

Al-Taᶜkar appears without lām al-taᶜrīf in Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 103,1, (cf. Iklīl,II, 112 - al-Taᶜkarayn). Akwaᶜ insists that the kāf has a fatḥah, but cf. Jazīrat (ed. Müller),I, 68,5 - Taᶜkur (II, 52 - T-ᶜ-kar). Cf. Arendonk, Débuts, 125,n.2., 126 - Taᶜkur, and similarly in Forrer, Südarabien, 65. See Smith, Ayyubids,II, 209; Kay, Yaman, 222. Waysī (Yaman,44), mentions Jabal al-Taᶜkar, just south of Dhū Jiblah. This ancient fortress, said to have been built 3500 years ago, is now apparently the habitat of owls and crows: Jazīrat, 103f,n.1.

20. Jaᶜfar b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Dhī-'l-Muthlah who ruled the territory of al-Kulāᶜ for almost 50 years: see Hamdānī, Iklīl,II, 93-5; and below, n.27 and above, n.18.

21. To a place called al-Qurtub (according to ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 389,15), an outer suburb of Zabīd (see Map 1, A2) and the name of its southern gate: Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 120,n.3; ½ farsakh [south] of Zabīd, - Ibn al-Mujāwir, Mustabsir, 236.

22. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 389,15f names him as Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad [b.] ᶜAlī.

Who exactly the ruler of Zabīd was at that time (viz. after the death of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād in 289 / 901-2) is not clear from the sources available, and Van Arendonk is justifiably hesitant: see Débuts, 126., 241,n.4. Al-Khazrajī (ed. Zakkār, Akhbār,420) also has ṣāhib Zabīd, but cf. Idrīs, Kanz, f. 179a,18f; and Ḥammādi, Kashf (ed. ᶜAṭṭār), 30, which both have ṣāhib Tihāmah. Geddes (" Yuᶜfirid ", 111,n.48) gives the name as in the Sirat account, adding that he possibly belongs to B. ᶜAkk and is not a Ziyadid. Perhaps the Ibrāhīm of the Sīrat was in fact Ibrāhīm b. ᶜAlī al-Ḥakamī (see above, text p.202 , and p. 205, n.4) and that there is a confusion in the Sīrat between the latter name and that of the Ziyadid mentioned above.

For Zabīd, see Map 1, A2. The various ingenious derivations of the name itself are recorded by Ibn al-Mujāwir in Mustabsir, 70 (translated by Smith, " Ibn al-Mujāwir's ", 115). See also Smith, Ayyubids,II, 216.

23. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 389,15f says that he refused to help al-Manākhī, but our text tallies with Idrīs, Kanz, 179a,19; Ḥammādi, Kashf (ed. ᶜAṭṭār), 30; and al-Khazrajī (ed. Zakkār, Akhbār, 420).

24. ᶜĀshūr's footnote is useless: Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn, Ghāyat, 195,n.3.

The wadi originates in the province around Taᶜizz (19 km SW of al-Janad, see Map 1, B1) and according to Akwaᶜ, al-Hamdānī's description of it remains unchanged. In this lush wadi are grown bananas, sugar cane (muddār) and the henna plant: Jazīrat, 131,n.1; and see Waysī, Yaman, 31,88.

25. All three of our MSS give Ḥ as the first letter - MSS ᶜAyn and Ba' deliberately, (in the case of MS Khā' f. 24a.16, the point seems to belong to the tā' marbūṭah of the preceding word, viz. bi-akamat). MSS ᶜAyn and Khā' have Ḥuwālah. Muḥammad b. Mālik, Risālat, f. 24a,13 has al-Ḥ-wālah, and likewise Kashf, (ed. ᶜAṭṭār),30, but Kashf (ed. Zakkār, Akhbār, 228) has al-J-wālah, (cf. al-Khazrajī - ed. Zakkār, Akhbār, 421, - J-wālah).

Al-Hamdānī specifically mentions ḥiṣn Jawālah (thus vocalized by Akwaᶜ) where Jaᶜfar b. Ibrāhīm al-Manākhī was slain, but Akwaᶜ also mentions a village in Wadi Nakhlah called al-Ḥ-wālah and a mountain in the vicinity called Kh-wālah: Jazīrat, 131,3,n.3. The author of the Kashf mentions neither hill nor fortress, viz. wa-qatala Jaᶜfaran fī 'l-Ḥ-wālah bi-Nakhlah. Van Arendonk maintains it is (Ḥiṣn) Khawālah (Débuts, 126), and likewise Geddes, " Yuᶜfirid ", 111 and Forrer, Südarabien, 91. Jazīrat (ed. Müller II), 27,41 (index), specifically mentions that Kh-wālah is the correct version, - but cf. (ed. Müller I), 75,9 (in text): J-wālah. Cf. Ibn al-Daybaᶜ, Qurrat MS, f. 11a,2 - bi-akamat Kh-wālah. Neither the Sīrat nor the Kanz mentions the name.

In the face of such a wealth of conflicting readings and interpretations, Ḥawālah (as in our transliteration) can only be regarded therefore as tentative since, clearly, one cannot be at all certain what the correct form of this toponym actually is.

26. Abū-'l-Futūḥ b. Abī Salmah (Sulmā?): ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 389,19.

Al-Khazrajī (ed. Zakkār, Akhbār, 421), gives precise dates. The battle took place on Friday the last day of Rajab, and ᶜAlī b. Faḍl's army returned to al-Mudhaykhirah the next day Saturday, 1 Shaᶜbān / 8 June 905. (Cf. Hamdānī, Iklīl,II, 94 where this event is dated 291 or 292; and Ibn al-Daybaᶜ, Qurrat,I, 193, - Rajab, 291).

27. The balad al-Kulāᶜ, the mountainous territory in the upper reaches of Wadi Zabīd comprising Mikhlāf Jaᶜfar, balad al-Maᶜāfir and Mikhlāf al-Janad.

it contained such places as al-ʿUdayn, Dhū 'l-Sufāl, Ḥubaysh and Ibb, so it would be equivalent approximately to Mikhlāf al-Saḥūl and present-day Liwā' Ibb, " Al-Liwā' al-Akhḍar ", (Ibb is about 7 km NE of Dhū Jiblah - see Map 1, B1). See Arendonk, Débuts, 124; and Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 101,5., 102,n.1., 210,6ff,n.7., Iklīl,I, 128,n.1. Waysī, Yaman, 41-6.

28. Scil. al-Mudhaykhirah, - see above, n.18.

According to Geddes (" Apostasy ", 81), ʿAlī b. Faḍl succeeded in ruling over most of southern Yemen from his fortress of al-Mudhaykhirah by the end of 291 / 904. This date, however, manifestly contradicts his own chronology of events in " Yuʿfirid ", 111-112, where, for instance, 30 Rajab 292 is given as the date for the battle at Khawāla (sic). Cf. above, n.26.

29. In Maqdisī, Aqālīm, 53,70,113, it is a town in the Yemen highlands, one day's journey south of Dhamār. Yaḥṣib is also a region, Yaḥṣib al-Sufl and Yaḥṣib al-ʿUluww, the boundary between the two parts being apparently the Samārah pass just to the north of Ibb: Hamdānī, Iklīl,II, 193,n.7., 199f,n.3., Jazīrat, 214,8ff., 215,4ff (cf. ed. Müller I, 101, - al-Yaḥḍibān, Yaḥḍib).

Perhaps Yuḥṣib is the older pronunciation: see Jazīrat, 214,n.4 (Yuḥṣib, on the pattern " Yuʿfir "), but cf. Zabīdī, Tāj,II, 288, Mikhlāf Yaḥṣib; and Smith, Ayyubids,II, 214.

30. A thriving town up to the 8th / 14th century and now isolated, but still inhabited. It lies about 20 km S of Yarīm (which is 28 km due S of Dhamār - see Map 1, B2) and E of Ḥaql Yaḥṣib Qatāb: Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 79,7,n.4; (cf. " Munkat ", 4 miles S of Yarīm in Harris, Journey, map).

31. Cf. Ḥammādī, Kashf (ed. Aṭṭār), 31, and Idrīs, Kanz, f. 179a,20; " and burnt it [to the ground] " (fa-aḥraqahā).

32. See above, p. 160, n.43.

33. Jabal Hirrān is marked on YAR map and a building / ruin is indicated there (MB 345113 - sheet 1444 A4), about 3 km N, slightly W, of the centre of Dhamār (see Map 1, B2). This is most probably the fortress,

which is still standing according to Akwaᶜ. See Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 149,2,n.2; Forrer, Südarabien, 104,n.12; Harris, Journey, 272-80; Waysī, Yaman, 54.

34. Meaning the Yuᶜfirid, Asᶜad ibn Abī Yuᶜfir: see above, text p. 208, and n.10,11. There were 500 horse: Ḥammādī, Kashf (ed. ᶜAṭṭār), 32.

35. This and what follows, to the end of 292, tallies with the account in Ḥammādī, Kashf (ed. ᶜAṭṭār), 32; Idrīs, Kanz, f. 179a,20-1; and al-Khazrajī (ed. Zakkār, Akhbār), 421. The Sīrat account is more detailed and differs considerably. Hirrān is not mentioned. The Yuᶜfirid governor is in Dhamār and is identified as ᶜĪsā b. al-Muᶜān al-Yāfiᶜī (for whom see above, p. 201, n.33). ᶜĪsā's son (unnamed) is the first to negotiate with ᶜAlī b. Faḍl. Also, in the Sīrat these events occurred in al-Muḥarram 293 / November 905. See ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 389.20 - 390,5.

As will be seen, our author (differing apparently from all his authorities), presumes that ᶜAlī b. Faḍl, after he had gained the allegiance of the governor of Hirrān, returned to the south and set out again to capture Ṣanᶜā' on 1 al-Muḥarram of the following year (293) / 2 November 905.

Our author blends aspects of the Ḥammādī / Idrīs / Khazrajī tradition. That tradition precludes two expeditions and suggests that ᶜAlī b. Faḍl set out from al-Mudhaykhirah in late Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah 292 / late October 905. See also Arendonk, Débuts, 237 and n.5; and Geddes, " Yuᶜfirid ", 116-18.

36. Ḥammādī, Kashf (ed. ᶜAṭṭār), 32: wa-dakhala fī millatihi wa-Qarmaṭatihi; i.e. he embraced the Fatimid madhhab, but the author of the Kashf means that he apostatized from Islam! (see above, p. 90 , n.4 and introduction p. 70, n.2).

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Year 293 [from 2 November 905]

In al-Muḥarram [November 905] of [this year], ᶜAlī b. Faḍl with a large army set forth from al-Janad [1] [and made] for the northern territories of the Yemen (al-Yaman al-Aᶜlā). [2] At Dhamār was al-Yāfiᶜī [3] who despatched his troops to confront Ibn Faḍl [but the latter] put them to flight. Then [Ibn Faḍl] attacked al-Yāfiᶜī and drove him from Dhamār back to Ṣanᶜā'. After this, Ibn Faḍl came after him [again] with a formidable force (bi-junūd lā tutāqu) which it is said amounted to 40,000. [4] [Ibn Faḍl] set up camp at Ẓabwah [5] [at which] Asᶜad ibn Abī Yuᶜfir sallied forth [from Ṣanᶜā'] and engaged him in fierce combat (qitālan shadīdan). [6] 400 of [Asᶜad's] men were slain [7] and [then Asᶜad] went back to Ṣanᶜā'.

Ibn Faḍl and his troops of Qarāmiṭah [9] remained encamped on the lower slopes of Nuqum (fī safḥ Nuqum) [10] for three days. Then on Friday [11] [they began] to deploy at which Ibn Abī Yuᶜfir advanced on them, [but] they did not move out from their positions [so] Ibn Abī Yuᶜfir returned to Ṣanᶜā'. [However], [that] night [12] Ibn Faḍl set out at the head of 5,000 men to attack him and, through the machinations (siᶜāyat) [13] of Muhallab al-Shihābī, entered Ṣanᶜā' by the Shihāb quarter. [14]

He made for Ghumdān [15] and [then] the Great Mosque, these events [occurring] on the tenth of the month of Muḥarram of this year [11 November 905]. Asᶜad ibn Abī Yuᶜfir put up a fight until the late afternoon of that day [16] but then abandoned Ṣanᶜā'. [17] It was a day hard to endure (wa-kāna yawman ᶜasīban) [18] in which the Ṣanᶜānīs experienced fear, fright, terror and defeat, those that could, leaving with their wives and children. [Thus] the Qarāmiṭah

ravaged (istabāḥa) San^{c}ā', killing, taking captives and looting. Sacred taboos were violated and outrages were perpetrated (wa-hutikati 'l-maḥārim wa-fu^{c}ilati 'l-^{c}azā'im). [19]

Ibn Abī Yu^{c}fir, however, made off for Shibām, but the Qarmaṭī[20] who was on Jabal Dhukhār moved [down] to fight him. At this Ibn Abī Yu^{c}fir with his kinsfolk and household (athqāl) [21] left Shibām for the territory of al-Du^{c}ām. [22]

Regard indeed the marvels of Fortune and the noble qualities of the beloved People of the House (Ahl al-Bayt), peace be upon them. Did not Āl Yu^{c}fir and their confederates make war against the imam of the right way, profuse in generosity (baḥr al-nadā), [23] the guide to the manifest truth, Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn ? - the blessings of God be upon him. [Did they not] oust him and his family from Shibām? Thus God allowed this heretical Qarmaṭī sect to overpower them and [so] He [duly] recompensed them after the briefest passage of time for [what they had] done against [the imam]. [24]

Annotations

1. The city, now a small hamlet 19 km NE of Ta^{c}izz, believed in tradition to have been founded by Mu^{c}āḍ b. Jabal, and the principal city of the region before the development of ḥisn Ta^{c}izz under the Rasulids. The mosque and minaret remain to this day. See Map 1, B1; and YAR MA 098112 (1344 A3). See also, Costa, " Mosque ", 43-67; Ibn al-Mujāwir, Mustabṣir, 161-7; Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 77,n.3; Waysī, Yaman, 36; Akwa^{c}, Yaman, 81.

2. As opposed to al-Yaman al-Asfal: cf. above, p. 95 , n.5.

3. ʿĪsā b. al-Muʿān al-Yāfiʿī, (see above, p. 201, n.33). He is described in ʿAbbāsī, Sīrat, 252.16 as being a noble from Yāfiʿ (min khiyār Yāfiʿ).

4. Concerning these events, see above, p. 216. n.35.

5. See above, p. 184f. n.3.

6. Cf. ʿAbbāsī, Sīrat, 390.7f: qitālan shahīhan, scil. " (he put up) a poor fight ". Probably the Sīrat description is the more accurate.

7. Geddes (" Yuʿfirid ", 118,n.8) thinks that the 400 slain were Ibn Faḍl's men and the wording of ʿAbbāsī, Sīrat, 390,7f would tend to suggest that, (but see preceding note). However, the Ghāyat (see Arabic text, p. 66) would seem to suggest that they were Asʿad's.

8. According to ʿAbbāsī, Sīrat,390,7 the battle between Asʿad and ʿAlī b. Faḍl took place on Tuesday, 6 al-Muḥarram / 7 November 905 - but see below, n.16.

9. See above, p. 90 , n.4.

10. See above, p.172 , n.88 and p. 171, n.84.

11. See Arabic text, p. 66. This is most probably 7 al-Muḥarram / 8 November 905, (9 al-Muḥarram according to the Sīrat narrative, by implication): see below, n.16.

12. ʿAbbāsī, Sīrat, 390.11: laylat al-sabt, scil. Friday night and not Saturday night as Van Arendonk and Geddes have wrongly assumed. - see Arendonk, Débuts, 238,n.3 and Geddes, " Yuʿfirid ", 119.
Cf. above, p. 154 , n.27.

13. Cf. Dozy, Supplément,I, 656.

14. That is through the Sirār district in the west of Ṣan^{c}ā' (see above. p. 180, n.116). According to al-Hamdānī, the origin of the B. Shihāb is disputed, viz. whether they are descended from Ḥimyar or from Kahlān but the Ṭurfat gives a genealogy from the latter, saying that they came originally from the Ḥaḍramawt. Al-Hamdānī says they came from Ṣa^{c}dah. B. Shihāb settled in the region to the west of Ṣan^{c}ā' during the century before Islam (6th century C.E.), having come to the aid of Sayf b. Dhī Yazan when strife had arisen between him and his cousins. See Hamdānī, Iklīl,I, 413 and n.1; Ibn Rasūl, Ṭurfat, 125-6; ed. Serjeant / Lewcock, Ṣan^{c}ā', 124-6.

15. The fortress of Ghumdān (pronounced Ghamdān by the Ṣan^{c}ānīs) was considered by al-Jāḥiz to be one of the 30 wonders of the ancient world. Long since obliterated, part of it occupied, according to al-Hamdānī, the mound directly to the east of the Great Mosque. On that mound, says al-Hamdānī, Ibn Faḍl fortified himself the day he took Ṣan^{c}ā': Iklīl,VIII, 47-8.

For details concerning its history and the legends that have evolved around it see: Hamdānī, Iklīl,VIII, 33-64; Ibn al-Mujāwir, Mustabṣir, 180-2; Akwa^{c}, Yaman, 285-9; Waysī, Yaman, 67,186; ed. Serjeant / Lewcock, Ṣan^{c}ā', 122-3., 130-1.

16. This was a Saturday (^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 390,16) and Yawm ^{c}Ashūrā' (390,14), viz. 10 al-Muḥarram. The first day of al-Muḥarram 293 fell on a Saturday (cf. Freeman-Grenville, Muslim and Arendonk, Débuts, 238,n.3), so one would have expected this Saturday to have been 8 al-Muḥarram.

According to the Sīrat (389,20f), ^{c}Alī b. Faḍl left the south (al-Mudhaykhirah, not al-Janad, is implied in the Sīrat narrative) on 1st. (mustahall) of al-Muḥarram. On the assumption that this day was a Saturday, the sequence of events in the Sīrat narrative suggests that ^{c}Alī b. Faḍl gained control of Ṣan^{c}ā' on the second Saturday of the month. There are four marāḥil between al-Thujjah (scil. Ibb, about 7 km NE of Dhū Jiblah

- see Map 1, B1) and Ṣanᶜā': see Maqdisī, Aqālīm, 113: Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 79,n.5. The Sīrat (390,6f) implies that Ibn Faḍl camped Monday night at Ẓabwah (some 11 km S of Ṣanᶜā'), and the following day (dated 6 al-Muḥarram - 390,7) a battle took place (see above, n.8), so the march would have taken only three days which is perhaps feasible, (but see below). On Tuesday night Ibn Faḍl moved from Ẓabwah to Nuqum where he spent three days: Sīrat (390,9f) and our text. How can the date Saturday, 8 al-Muḥarram be reconciled with Yawm ᶜĀshūrā' (in reality, it would seem, a Monday) given in both the Sīrat and the Ghāyat accounts, and Tuesday, 6 al-Muḥarram (in the Sīrat) with what was in fact Tuesday 4 al-Muḥarram?

Geddes obviously sensed a problem here. Not only does he say that the Fatimids entered Ṣanᶜā' on Saturday night (see above, n.12) but he then goes on to assert, also quite fancifully, that it was the following Monday that they occupied the Great Mosque which proves, according to him, that there must have been opposition to Ibn Faḍl's occupation of the city! (" Yuᶜfirid ", 119). It is quite clear, however, from the Sīrat account (390,13-16) that the Fatimids completed their occupation of Ṣanᶜā' (including Ghumdān and the Great Mosque) in one day and that that day was a Saturday, (and cf. Hamdānī, Iklīl,VIII, 48, wa-fī tallihi - viz. on the mound of Ghumdān - taḥassana 'bn Faḍl al-Qarmaṭī (sic) yawma dakhala Ṣanᶜā' wa-wāfā 'l-masjid wa-malaka Ṣanᶜā' wa-anqada ᶜalā sulṭānihā wa-ahlihā.)

I cannot believe that dating the Saturday Yawm ᶜĀshūrā' was an act of carelessness on the part of the compiler of the Sīrat (the text of which at this juncture is manifestly being followed by our author). It seems to this writer that he had the tragedy of Karbalā' in mind (an event ever present in the Shīᶜī consciousness when the Prophet's grandson, al-Ḥusayn, and 21 members of B. Hāshim were massacred), and even though the actual Yawm ᶜĀshūrā' was two days away, he could not resist applying it to the day Ṣanᶜā' was ransacked and pillaged seeing in that catastrophe Ṣanᶜā''s

" Karbalā' ", so to speak. He, or perhaps a later redactor, then dated the battle of the preceding Tuesday to fit in with this (viz. 6 al-Muḥarram). Our author thought that Yawm ʿĀshūrā' meant literally 10 al-Muḥarram and thus wrote the latter in his text.

Cf. Geddes, " Apostasy ", 82 where the date given for the capture of Ṣanʿā' is now 15 Muḥarram 292 (sic) / 16 November 905. Assuming that 292 (for 293) was unintentional, this date is certainly a possibility for it seems more reasonable to suppose that ʿAlī b. Faḍl took a fortnight, rather than a week, to get from al-Mudhaykhirah (or al-Janad) to Ṣanʿā', bearing in mind the distance, the considerable size of his force and the military encounters at Dhamār. However, even if it is thus suggested that Ibn Faḍl occupied Ṣanʿā' on Saturday 15 al-Muḥarram (i.e. five days later than the actual Yawm ʿĀshūrā'), the same argument (outlined above) as to why the author of the Sīrat should have named the day Yawm ʿĀshūrā', would still hold good.

17. Cf. Ḥammādī, Kashf (ed. ʿAṭṭār), 32: Asʿad did not confront ʿAlī b. Faḍl but fled the city before the latter entered it. Likewise, by implication, al-Khazrajī, (ed. Zakkār, Akhbār), 421.

18. Cf. Qur'ān, Hūd, 77, ... hādhā yawm ʿaṣīb; Zabīdī, Tāj, III, 385f.

19. ʿAbbāsī, Sīrat, 390,19 adds however that Ibn Faḍl's men [eventually] stopped the killing, and that only a few people had [actually] been slain.

20. Cf. ʿAbbāsī, Sīrat, 391,1: al-Qarmaṭī al-Kūfī. This refers to Abū 'l-Qāsim ibn Ḥawshab, " Manṣūr al-Yaman ", who was a native of Kufa and who had arrived on Jabal Dhukhār from Maswar - initially probably to meet ʿAlī b. Faḍl. See Ḥammādī, Kashf (ed. ʿAṭṭār), 32; ed. Zakkār, Akhbār, 422. Geddes (" Yuʿfirid ", 122) says that at Asʿad's approaching [Shibām], Abū 'l-Qāsim withdrew towards Maswar " to prevent Asʿad from

entering Balad Hamdān ". This is clearly a misunderstanding: cf. Sīrat, 391,1f. As^{C}ad had arrived in Shibām and hearing that Abū 'l-Qāsim was coming down the mountain to fight him, he feared for himself and his family and fled. Our text is more explicit: fa-taharraka ^{C}álayhi ..... (see p. 68).

21. Cf. above, p. 165, n.60.

22. To Ghuraq and its district: ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 391,3f. Akwa^{C} would seem to be correct when he identifies Ghuraq with Sūq al-Du^{C}ām (known today as Sūq Du^{C}ām) in the upper Jawf. Akwa^{C} suggests that Sūq Du^{C}ām was named after al-Du^{C}ām b. Ibrāhīm (of our text). See Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 161,n.6; above, p. 89 , n.2; Map 1, B4; YAR MD 432054 (1644 C2) - Sūq Di^{C}ām (sic). Cf. Glaser, Reise, map 3, 42°40′-16°05′ - " Da'âm ", east of Hirrān, not west (cf. Forrer, Südarabien, 117,n.14). Ghuraq, along with Warwar and Raydah, were the three great commercial centres for Bakīl: Jazīrat, 242,7f.

As^{C}ad went to Ghuraq accompanied by his cousin ^{C}Uthmān whom he had released from prison (Geddes says he had been imprisoned by Abū 'l-Qāsim [ibn Ḥawshab] - " Yu^{C}firid ", 122): see Sīrat, 391,2f and above, p. 210, n.7.

23. Cf. Zabīdī, Tāj,X, 111f: wa-sammaw kull mutawassi^{C} fī shay bahran ..... ; Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān,XV, 315: al-nadā - al-sakhā' wa-'l-karam.

24. Until the end of this year (293), our author deals exclusively with the activities of ^{C}Alī b. Faḍl (see Arabic text, p.69). In vehement terms he describes Ibn Faḍl's " blasphemies " in Ṣan^{C}ā' and his alleged abandonment of Islam. He then mentions his meeting with Abū 'l-Qāsim ibn Ḥawshab, his two raids into Tihāmah (against the advice of the latter), his sacking of Zabīd and the alleged slaying of the " virgins " on his return to al-Mudhaykhirah. Concerning these happenings see: Idrīs, Kanz, f. 179a,22 - 179b,11; Ḥammādī, Kashf (ed. ^{C}Aṭṭār), 32-3; ed. Zakkār, Akhbār, 421-3;

ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 391.5-10; Ibn ᶜAbd al-Majīd, Bahjat, 39.5 - 40.1; Geddes, " Apostasy ", 82. See also, Madᶜaj, " ᶜAlī b. al-Faḍl ", 93-4., 100-4.

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Year 294 [from 22 October 906]

In [this year], the inhabitants of Ṣanᶜā' entreated al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) to come to them from Ṣaᶜdah to which he agreed and [then] set off. When he reached Ṣanᶜā', he despatched his son, Muḥammad, to Dhamār and the districts round about (makhālīfihā) and sent out [his] governors. But the Qarāmiṭah were bent on fighting [Muḥammad], whereupon he rejoined his father (fa-ᶜāda ilā ḥadrat abīhi) in Ṣanᶜā'. [1]

[Then] clients (mawālī) of Banū Yuᶜfir among them al-Ḥasan b. Kabālah [2] and Ibn Jarrāḥ [3] rose in rebellion against al-Hādī, seeking to contest his [sovereignity] over Ṣanᶜā' [4] [but the imam] returned back from [the city] to Ṣaᶜdah [whereupon] Asᶜad ibn Abī Yuᶜfir took possession of Ṣanᶜa' [5] and set up his rule there.

Then Dhū 'l-Tawq al-Yāfiᶜī, [6] one of ᶜAlī b. Faḍl's commanders, arrived in Dhamār whereupon Ibn al-Ruwayyah al-Madhḥijī [7] was forced to retreat to Radāᶜ. [8] but Dhū 'l-Tawq went to Radāᶜ in pursuit and slew him. [9] Then he turned back towards Ṣanᶜā', [10] at which the people of that [city] urged al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) to come [and help them]. [How] necessity [makes its own] rules (wa-li-l-ḍarūrah aḥkāmun) !

Praise be to God! How slight is the loyalty of mankind and how noble is the character of this imam in that he did everything in his power to protect the people of this land, even though he realized [that] their enmity to him and their partiality towards his enem[ies] was [enough] to warrant [God's] withholding rain from them. But he (upon whom be peace) followed the path of his illustrious ancestors (salafihi 'l-kirām) in his rising up to the aid of Islam, opposing tyranny and renewing the teachings (sunnah) of his forefather, the lord of the messengers (may God's blessings be upon him and his progeny), even although those who love dissension eschewed him (wa-in jafāhu ahl al-shiqāq), and those in whose hearts hypocrisy had taken root abandoned him (a^{c}rada ^{c}anhu). [11]
May God, for Islam and the Muslims, give him as satisfaction, the best requital of the righteous (fa-jazāhu 'llāhu ^{c}ani 'l-Islām wa-'l-Muslimīn afdala jazā'i 'l-muhsinīn). [12]

When al-Hādī received the plea for help to which we have referred, he despatched ^{c}Alī b. Ja^{c}far al-^{c}Alawī [13] and al-Du^{c}ām b. Ibrāhīm at the head of a band of his men getting his son, Muḥammad, to follow later. When they got near to Ṣan^{c}ā', the Qarāmiṭah vacated [the city] whereupon Muḥammad ibn al-Hādī and his men entered it and established themselves there until the Qarāmiṭah arrived with [a force] against which they were powerless (bi-mā lā qibala lahum bihi). [14]

Those bent on doing battle with them were ^{c}Alī b. Faḍl and Dhū 'l-Tawq al-Yāfi^{c}ī.

When he [^{c}Alī b. Faḍl] [15] drew near to Ṣan^{c}ā', As^{c}ad ibn Abī Yu^{c}fir [went out] [16] to confront him [17] and slew 60 of his men. [But] Ibn Faḍl's troops proved too many for him.

In Ṣan^{c}ā', the populace realized that they were powerless to resist [^{c}Alī b. Faḍl] so those who could leave, did so, [but] some of them took refuge in the houses of the ^{c}Alawiyyūn. [18] So ^{c}Alī b. Faḍl entered

Ṣanᶜā' with his army on the first day of Rajab of this year [17 April 907]. [19] They sacked [the city] and slew anyone they came upon. [then] they made for the houses of the ᶜAlawiyyūn and brought out all who had sought protection there (fa-akhrajū man fīhā mina 'l-mutajawwirīn) and met them with a humbling chastisement (bi-'l-ᶜadhāb al-muhīn). [20]

For three years [21] the Qarāmiṭah remained in Ṣanᶜā' and the region round about doing corruption in the land and setting not things aright (yufsidūna fī 'l-ard wa-la yuṣlihūna) [22] until God subjected them to torment (ḥattā ramāhumu 'llāh bi-'l-ālām) [23] and hastened [His] revenge upon them. An innumerable number of them [the Qarāmiṭah] perished. [Eventually] their despot Ibn Faḍl proceeded with the rest of his men to al-Mudhaykhirah.

In this year the Qarāmiṭah made an appearance in Najrān. Banū 'l-Ḥārith started to rebel and oppress [the populace] so al-Hādī went to confront them, killing several of their number and taking others prisoner. [Afterwards, al-Hādī] returned to Ṣaᶜdah. [24]

Annotations

1. In what has preceded (under year 294) and in much of what will follow, our author keeps closely to the narrative in the Kanz and al-Khazrajī's al-ᶜAsjad al-masbūk (q.v. above, introduction p. 31), and consequently his account is often at variance with the detailed Sīrat narrative, (the Kashf and the Bahjat do not report these events). The Sīrat at this point contains important information unfortunately omitted by our author, and specifically attributes these happenings to the year 293 and not 294 as in the Kanz and the ᶜAsjad accounts.

Soon after the capture of Ṣan^{c}ā', according to the Sīrat, Ibn Kabālah (see following note) abandoned As^{c}ad and joined ^{c}Alī b. Faḍl. Subsequently, however, in Rabī^{c} II 293 / February 906 he switched loyalties again, returned to Ṣan^{c}ā' and sought aid from a Ḥasanī sharīf and together they expelled, in the name of al-Hādī, Ibn Faḍl's agents from Ṣan^{c}ā'. Then at their bidding, al-Ḥusayn (al-Du^{c}ām's son) arrived in Ṣan^{c}ā', followed soon afterwards by Muḥammad (al-Hādī's son) sometime in Jumādā I / March 906. Then, the Sīrat continues, a group of Ṣan^{c}ānīs went to Ṣa^{c}dah to petition al-Hādī to return to Ṣan^{c}ā' with them, and this is where our author commences his narrative. See ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 390,20 - 391,22.

According to the Sīrat (391,21f), al-Hādī arrived in Ṣan^{c}ā' on 4 Jumādā II 293 / 2 April 906. He was accompanied by Āl Yu^{c}fir (presumably As^{c}ad, ^{c}Uthmān and other relatives), al-Du^{c}ām and his son(s), al-Rabī^{c} and Abū 'l-^{c}Ashīrah - sons of Muḥammad ibn al-Ruwayyah (see above, p. 178 , n.110), the son(s) of the former ruler of al-Mudhaykhirah (see above, p. 212 , n.18) and other notables. Al-Hādī's son, Muḥammad, was ousted from Dhamār by ^{c}Īsā al-Yāfi^{c}ī (see above, p. 216 , n.35) now fighting for ^{c}Alī b. Faḍl. See Sīrat, 391,22 - 392,2., 392,13-16.

2. See above, introduction p. 59 .

He first appears in the Sirat after the fall of Ṣan^{c}ā' to ^{c}Alī b. Faḍl, when he contacts the latter from Ẓahr asking for a safe-conduct: ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 390,20 - 391,1. In Ḥammādī, Kashf (ed. ^{c}Aṭṭār), 27 he is mentioned as being one of the Yu^{c}firid military commanders and their governor over Ṣan^{c}ā'. The date given for that in the Kashf appears to be 290, but Geddes thinks it should be closer to 292 - " Yu^{c}firid ", 122,n.17.

3. Likewise in Idrīs, Kanz, f. 179b,14 and ed. Zakkār, Akhbār, 423, but in ^{c}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 393,6f he is Jarrāḥ b. Bishr and thus named he could be the brother of Abū 'l-^{c}Atāhiyah b. Bishr (see above, p. 122, n.2).

However it is tempting to consider Ibn Jarrāḥ as in fact being al-Ḥusayn b. Jarrāḥ mentioned in Ḥammādī, Kashf (ed. ᶜAṭṭār), 27, (also in that context he is twice named: Ibn Jarrāḥ). He was the Yuᶜfirid governor of Ḍilaᶜ Shibām (presumably the fortress of Kawkabān - see p. 162, n.49: in Idrīs, Kanz, f. 178b,20f he is not named but is described as being mustaḥfiẓan ᶜala ḥiṣn al-Ḍilaᶜ), then allied himself with the Fatimid dāᶜī, Abū 'l-Qāsim ibn Ḥawshab, but then returned to his former allegiance and got Ibn Kabālah (see preceding note) to help him fight Abū 'l-Qāsim. This might have been the beginning of a close political relationship between the two men. This suggestion need not contradict the name given in the Sīrat, since ibn might have dropped from the latter (scil. Ibn Jarrāḥ b. Bishr) in which case (i.e. al-Ḥusayn b. Jarrāḥ b. Bishr), he could be the nephew of Abū 'l-ᶜAtāhiyah - cf. p. 200, n.30.

4. According to ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 393,3f, the revolt led by Ibn Kabālah (Ibn Jarrāḥ is not mentioned until after al-Hādī's return to Ṣaᶜdah) broke out on Yawm ᶜĀshūrā' [scil. 10th] al-Muḥarram 294 / 31 October 906.

5. According to ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 393,3, Asᶜad had gone back to balad Hamdān (to Warwar, in the upper Jawf - q.v. above, p. 188f , n.22) after his return to Ṣanᶜā' with al-Hādī 7 months previously. See above, n.1 and p. 223, n.22.

6. Cf. Idrīs, Kanz, 179b,15: al-Shāfiᶜī, and cf. also ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 392,18f: Ibn Dhī 'l-Ṭawq and ᶜĪsā al-Yāfiᶜī.

7. Abū 'l-ᶜAshīrah Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ibn al-Ruwayyah: ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 392,17. See above, p. 197f , n.20.

8. Thus in the Kanz and al-Khazrajī but in ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 392,17: to Thāt (q.v. above, p. 161 , n.45) and Radāᶜ, and according to Sīrat, 392,19 it was at the former place that Abū 'l-ᶜAshīrah was slain.

Radā^{C} is 50 km E, slightly S, of Dhamār: Map 1, C2 and YAR MA 8293 / 8393 (1444 D2). See Akwa^{C}, Yaman, 79-80: Waysī, Yaman, 48-9; Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 80,2f,n.2; Arendonk, Débuts, 242, and n.2.

9. See preceding note, and Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 188,n.4. According to ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 392,19 - 393,2, the mosque at Thāt was burnt to the ground and there was a general slaughter of the inhabitants, this event taking place on 9 Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah 293 / 1 October 906. Thus in the Sīrat narrative, it precedes Ibn Kabālah's revolt and the departure of al-Hādī for Ṣa^{C}dah.

10. According to the narrative in the Kanz and al-Khazrajī, Dhū 'l-Ṭawq was confronted on his way to Ṣan^{C}a' by As^{C}ad. In the Kanz, the place is identified as being to the west of Ṣan^{C}a'. It is unpointed in the MS, but it is probably to be read as Maḥyab (see below). A battle took place, 300 of As^{C}ad's own troops and many others fighting along side them were killed after which Dhū 'l-Ṭawq went on to capture Ṣan^{C}ā'. It was then that the Ṣan^{C}ānīs appealed again to al-Hādī to come to their aid. See Idrīs, Kanz, f. 179b,17-19; ed. Zakkār, Akhbār, 424.

This event has no exact parallel in the Sīrat, but the latter records an incident (^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 393,10-13) after al-Hādī had returned to Ṣa^{C}dah and As^{C}ad had been reinstalled in Ṣan^{C}ā', when Dhū 'l-Ṭawq and ^{C}Īsā al-Yāfi^{C}ī set out to the west (of Ṣan^{C}ā', manifestly,) and set up camp at Mujīb (most probably to be understood as Maḥyab, cf. Mankath in Sīrat MS, f. 160a,21) and Masyab. [Ibn] Jarrāḥ and Ibn Kabālah went out from Ṣan^{C}ā' to fight them. In this incident though the Fatimids were driven off and As^{C}ad's commanders returned to Ṣan^{C}ā', although 400 of the latter's men were slain. Subsequently to this incident, the Sīrat records (393,14-16) that Ibn Dhī 'l-Ṭawq killed ^{C}Īsā al-Yāfi^{C}ī and a body of his men, treacherously. Presumably this happened at Maḥyab or Masyab (cf. Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 156,n.1). Maḥyab and Masyab (see Map 2, A1) are mentioned together twice in Jazīrat (155,4 and 234,3), and cf. Wilson, " Investigation ", 449,435.

11. Cf. Zabīdī, Tāj.XVIII, 409: (wa) a^{C}rada (^{C}anhu) i^{C}rādan: (sadda) wa-wallāhu zahrahu.

12. i.e. " for the sake of Islam .... ". Cf. Qur'ān, al-Baqarah, 48: ... lā-tajzī nafsun ^{C}an nafsin shay'an; and Wright, Grammar, II, 139f.

13. This is most probably an error for ^{C}Alī ibn Abī Ja^{C}far (scil. Abū Ja^{C}far Muḥammad b. ^{C}Ubaydullah al-^{C}Abbāsī al-^{C}Alawī), the author of Sīrat al-Hādī. See following note, and ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 395.2f., 16.6.

14. The Sīrat does not mention any restoration of Zaydī rule to Ṣan^{C}ā' in 294. Since this alleged incident gives such a significant role to the author of the Sīrat and, what is perhaps more worthy of note, to Abū 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad (al-Hādī's son) whose activities throughout the Sīrat are given much prominence, it is inconceivable that a major event like this should have been left out of the Sīrat had it ever in fact occurred.

It seems that this incident rather belongs to 297 for the similarity with ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 395.2-20 which describes in detail events which happened then, is striking. Indeed the parallel passages (undated) in the Kanz and al-Khazrajī respectively, commencing from the appeal of the Ṣan^{C}ānīs to al-Hādī, which closely resemble our text, also are more appropriate for 297 since both the Kanz and al-Khazrajī relate that soon after al-Hādī's followers returned to Ṣa^{C}dah after the evacuation of Ṣan^{C}ā', al-Hādī died.

As will be seen, however, our author also mentions the happenings of 297 (according to the Sīrat chronicling of events) under that year, but in a perfunctory and inaccurate form. See above, introduction p. 57, and below, text p. 237 . and p. 238f . n.4.

15. That it is ^{C}Alī b. Faḍl is clear from the Sīrat. Towards the end of Jumādā II 294 (i.e. in the second week of April 907), he had set out from al-Mudhaykhirah: ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 393,16f. (The Sīrat simply says fī ākhir Jumādā, but the month is evident from the context).

From here our author abandons the Kanz / Khazrajī narrative and returns to that of the Sīrat which he follows closely until the end of 294 (according to the Sīrat chronicling of events).

16. With [Ibn] Jarrāḥ: ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 393,18.

17. At a place called Ḥ-r-y-r: ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 393,17, (cf. Sīrat,MS. f. 160b,5, Ḥ-r-y-d - the yā' is unpointed). It is most probably Ḥizyaz, some 14 km S. slightly E. of Ṣanᶜā': see Map 3, B1, and YAR MB 198837 (1544 C4). Cf. Rayḥānī, Mulūk,I, 119-20 - an hour or so away by mule; (from Ṣanᶜā'): and Rashid, Yemen enters, 166, - 17 miles! It is there that, in 1948, Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad Ḥamīd al-Dīn was assassinated, along with ᶜAbdullāh b. al-Ḥusayn al-ᶜAmrī. See Shamāḥī, Yaman, 226; and Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 153,3,n.3.

18. It is suggested that the Dūr al-ᶜAlawiyyīn possibly formed a distinct part of the al-Qaṭīᶜ quarter of Ṣanᶜā': ed. Serjeant / Lewcock, Sanᶜā', 130; and see above, p. 172 , n.90.

The nisbah of al-ᶜAlawī in Zaydī Yemen is used in modern times exclusively for the descendants of ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib through offspring other than al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, meaning, in effect, the descendants of Abū 'l-Faḍl al-ᶜAbbās b. ᶜAlī, (see al-sādah al-ᶜAlawiyyūn in Zabārah, "Navl," 208).

This had not, it appears, been always the case. In the Sīrat, Abū Jaᶜfar Muḥammad b.ᶜUbaydullāh (descended from al-ᶜAbbās b. ᶜAlī) is given the nisbah of al-ᶜAlawī, while Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn (a relative of al-Hādī presumably) is called al-Ḥasanī. Yet elsewhere in the Sīrat when Abū Jaᶜfar's son is describing a battle line-up saying that in the qalb there were with al-Hādī the Ṭabarīs and the ᶜAlawīs, he continues: wa-kāna maᶜahu mina 'l-ᶜAlawiyyīn. Then the author names specifically al-Hādī's brother, ᶜAbdullāh, al-Hādī's two sons and two sons of his uncle Muḥammad - all

of course, descended from al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī. Then the author goes on to name himself, his brother al-Qāsim and others, just pointing out that these were from the progeny of al-ᶜAbbās b. ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. See ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 370,3., 391,13., 247,18 - 248,1: above, n.13.

So it would seem that Dūr al-ᶜAlawiyyīn were those houses in which there lived the descendants of ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, be they from the line of al-Ḥasan (probably the majority, - as is still the case in the Yemen today), or from al-Ḥusayn or al-ᶜAbbās. Geddes has missed the point when he talks of " the houses of the Zaydīs " (" Yuᶜfirid ", 128): ᶜAlawī concerns nasab not madhhab. The Zaydīs in the Yemen have never called themselves ᶜAlawīs, nor have they been termed such by their opponents. (Cf. the use in Ḥaḍramawt and southern Arabia where the ᶜAlawiyyūn are the descendants of the Ḥusaynid, ᶜAlawī b. ᶜUbaydullāh b. Aḥmad al-Muhājir, d. 412 / 1021: ᶜAlawī, Ḥaḍramawt,I, 374-5; cf. Serjeant, Saiyids, 10ff).

19. Asᶜad and his men seem to have put up no resistance and probably escaped before the Fatimid army sacked the city. Asᶜad and Ibn Kabālah set out for balad Qudum (cf. above, p. 161f , n.49) and [Ibn] Jarrāḥ made for ᶜAththar in Tihāmah: ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 394,4f, but cf. Sīrat,MS, f. 160,12, ᶜ-y-r (the yā' having points); cf. Arendonk, Débuts, 243,n.3. For a useful discussion concerning ᶜAththar, see ᶜAqīlī, Muᶜjam,I, 154-9.

20. The two words are linked together 14 times in the Qur'ān (including twice with the article, but they are never preceded by the preposition bi.

21. Less eleven days : ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 394,6.

22. Qur'ān, al-Shuᶜarā', 152., and al-Naml, 48. The interpretation is after Arberry's.

23. For alam, cf. Dozy, Supplément,I, 34.

24. These events are described in detail in ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 330-347.

As in previous disturbances in Najrān, the chief instigators were the B. al-Ḥārith and on this occasion they were backed up by Yām. In this revolt, al-Ḥārith b. Ḥumayd al-Khaythamī (see above, p. 129f , n.27) and ᶜAlī b. al-Rabīᶜ al-Madānī (cf. above, p. 130 , n.29) played major roles. The revolt of the tribesmen was probably independent of the Fatimid campaign in the Yemen. They had revolted several times in the past against al-Hādī's purist Islamic rule, although they were no doubt encouraged by the Fatimid recapturing of Ṣanᶜā' (see above, text p. 225f) to extirpate once and for all Zaydī control over Najrān. However, later in the Sīrat narrative (340,10 - 341,3) al-Hādī orders his governor to arrest the Qarāmiṭah and a certain man from Ḥāshid, Ḥusayn b. Ḥusayn is mentioned as their dāᶜī and another, also a Ḥāshidī, is described as being from kibār al-Qarāmiṭah wa-duᶜātihim. This language suggests strongly a missionary activity on the part of the Fatimids in Najrān, but who sent these dāᶜīs, whether it was ᶜAlī b. Faḍl or Abū 'l-Qāsim ibn Ḥawshab, one does not know. These missionaries clearly had had some success and there is an implication that even a number of Ibn Bisṭām's (for whom see above, p. 128f , n.26) relatives and clients in Mīnās had embraced the Fatimid cause (341,2).

Al-Hādī who had arrived in Najrān on 23 Rajab 294 / 9 May 907, accompanied by ᶜAbdullāh b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Ḥakamī - cousin of al-Ghitrīf (see above, p. 205, n.5), returned to Ṣaᶜdah on 3 Ramaḍān / 17 June 907: see Sīrat, 335,13f., 341,12.

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Year 295 [from 12 October 907]

In [this year] Banū 'l-Ḥārith in Najrān rebelled and planned to kill Muḥammad b. ᶜUbaydullāh, al-Hādī's governor over their territory. At this al-Hādī, upon whom be peace, went to confront them: he fought them, plundered their property and razed to the ground their habitations.

[Then] he went back to Saᶜdah, leaving a body of men with the governor [just] mentioned. [1]

Annotation

1. The dramatic events in Najrān are described in detail in ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 347-362.

The occasion for the revolt of B. al-Ḥārith in alliance with Yām and organized by Ibn Bisṭām and Ibn Ḥumayd (see above, pp. 128-30, n.26,27), was the news of the expected arrival in Saᶜdah of an Abbasid envoy (musawwid - cf. above, p. 122 , n.5) called Najāḥ in Sīrat, 347,8, (cf. Sīrat,MS, f. 140b,13, - no points, and Arendonk, Débuts, 199f,n.2). It seems that the envoy was prepared to back the rebels militarily against al-Hādī, but only on condition that they proved their resolve by first of all capturing Muḥammad b. ᶜUbaydullāh who could be ransomed for ᶜAlī b. al-Rabīᶜ (see above, p. 233, n.24) now in prison, and then killing the ᶜāmil's sons, relatives and men, thus getting possession of their horses and arms, (347,14 - 348,7). The envoy later, however, apparently changed his plans and lost interest in the project (351,17 - 352,2).

Matters came to a head when B. al-Ḥārith, alone of all the inhabitants of Najrān, refused with violent threats to hand over to the ᶜāmil half their grape harvest to help pay the salaries of al-Hādī's soldiery (352,16f).

Al-Hādī arrived personally in Najrān, presumably in mid-Shawwāl / mid-July 908 (354,2-11). He had ᶜAlī b. al-Rabīᶜ killed when he got to hear of the plot to abduct Muḥammad b. ᶜUbaydullāh and hold him to ransom (357,17 - 358,3). Finally, Ibn Bisṭām himself was murdered at the hands of men from Yām and al-Aḥlāf (q.v. above, p. 96 , n.11) who had become incensed at Ibn Bisṭām's increasing influence with al-Hādī (358,8 - 359,8). Al-Hādī was manifestly distressed on account of this deed. The Sīrat relates poignantly (359,10f): wa-kharaja 'l-Hādī fa-waqafa ᶜalā ra'si 'bn Bisṭām wa-huwa yaᶜanu man qatalahu aw amara bi-qatlihi, (cf. also, 360,12f,19f).

Al-Hādī returned to Ṣaᶜdah early in Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah / early September 908 (362,12-14). Muḥammad b. ᶜUbaydullāh, although he realized that his life was now in considerable danger (362,4f), remained loyally behind in Najrān with his family. Al-Hādī had left him with a garrison of 23 horse and 55 foot (362,14f).

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Year 296 [from 30 September 908]

In [this year] Banū 'l-Ḥarith once again rose in revolt and made for the house of Muḥammad b. ᶜUbaydullāh. Then they went inside [and] after a bitter combat killed him and all his men. [1]

Annotation

1. The author of the Ghāyat, anxious to chronicle the successes of the Zaydī imams not their disasters (see above, introduction p. 31), thus in a perfunctory few words alludes to events portrayed so vividly in the Sīrat (362-384) which is perhaps the best writing in the book. These events, however, seem to belong to Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah of the previous year (scil. 295) / September 908.

The revolt in Najrān and the death of his loyal henchman, Muḥammad b. ᶜUbaydullāh, were a tragic ending to the career of al-Hādī.
The co-organizer of the previous rebellion Ibn Ḥumayd (see above, p. 234 , n.1 and p. 233 , n.24) now became, from his base at Sawḥān (q.v. p. 130, n.27), the principal instigator of a revolt among the B. al-Kh-māsh (thus Arendonk, Debuts, 177 and n.2; cf. ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 367,7, B. al-Ḥ-mās and likewise Hamdānī, Jazīrat, 186,1 and Forrer, Südarabien, 143, Ḥimās) which spread to the rest of the B. al-Ḥārith, then to B. Rabīᶜ (q.v. above, p. 128f, n.26) and eventually lead to the treachery of the B. ᶜAbd al-Madān.
Yām, al-Aḥlāf and Wādiᶜah excused themselves from coming to the assistance of al-Hādī's ᶜāmil, and one suspects a tacit complicity to the revolt. Of the Hamdānī tribes, only Shākir and Thaqīf remained loyal to al-Hādī's cause (Sīrat, 367,16-18, and cf. above, p. 130, n.29).

Despite repeated calls for help, no reinforcements arrived from Ṣaᶜdah. Muḥammad b. ᶜUbaydullāh along with his men (14 are named specifically in the Sīrat) were slain, apparently on Friday 23 Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah 295 / 23 September 908 (369,14., 370,5). If reinforcements arrived at all, they arrived too late. The Sīrat is silent on this point.

Sīrat, 384 refers to a military expedition to Najrān in which al-Hādī took no active part since he was suffering from the illness from which he later died. The author does not date this incident but it could have occurred at any time during the years 296-298, but more likely after Jumādā II 297 / February-March 910 (see below, p. 238, n.2, since ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad

b. ᶜUbaydullāh apparently was not present in the expedition nor Abū 'l-Qāsim Muḥammad.

It would have been in the nature of al-Hādī to have retaliated immediately to what was a virtual massacre of some of his most loyal followers. That he did not do so can be either attributed to his being too ill at the time, even to accompany his men, or because he did not have a large enough army at his disposal to subdue Najrān where it was clear most of the tribes had either actively rebelled or had shown their acquiescence in what had occurred.

****

Year 297 [from 20 September 909]

During this year al-Hādī (upon whom be peace) despatched ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad al-ᶜAbbāsī [1] to Ṣanᶜā' and wrote to al-Duᶜām [telling him] to accompany him. So they went to Ṣanᶜā' and entered [the city], [2] ousting the governor of the Qarāmiṭah [3] from it. It was not long however before al-Hādī's governor and al-Duᶜām returned to Ṣaᶜdah, fearing that the Qarāmiṭah would return and fight them (khashyatan min ᶜawd al-Qarāmiṭah alayhim). [4]

After they had departed from Ṣanᶜā', the Qarāmiṭah in Shibām came and took [the city] and stayed there fourteen days. [5]

Annotations

1. See above, introduction p. 57.

ᶜAlī`s father had been al-Hādī`s ᶜāmil in Najrān where he had been killed in Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah 295 / September 908, (see above, p. 236 , n.1).

2. On Thursday 19 Rajab / 3 April 910 - a Tuesday (according to Freeman-Grenville): ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 395,6.

3. Described in ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 395,5 as ṣāḥib li-'l-Qarāmiṭ (sic) and having an army at his disposal, he was probably (Ibn) Dhī 'l-Ṭawq (see above, text p. 224) who seems to have been in charge of Ṣanᶜā' on ᶜAlī b. Faḍl`s behalf during the previous three years: see Idrīs, Kanz, f. 179b,18; ed. Zakkār, Akhbār, 424; cf. Sīrat, 394,9.

4. See above, p. 230 , n.14.

The Sīrat relates that after ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad and al-Duᶜām had occupied Ṣanᶜā', al-Hādī despatched his son Abū 'l-Qāsim [Muḥammad] with a force of Khawlānīs and Hamdānīs and that they arrived in Ṣanᶜā' on Monday 10 Shaᶜbān 297 / 24 April 910 (a Tuesday - Freeman-Grenville). Abū 'l-Qāsim`s exit from the city was on the orders of al-Hādī who was concerned about the approaching army under Ibn Kabālah (for whom see above, p. 227, n.2), anxious to restore Yuᶜfirid rule over the city. Always a pragmatist, al-Hādī realized that his son could not fight Ibn Kabālah and ward off the Fatimids at the same time. Abū 'l-Qāsim (with all the inhabitants!) abandoned Ṣanᶜā' on Saturday 12 Shawwāl / 24 June 910 (a Sunday - Freeman-Grenville). See ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 395,2-20.

Idrīs, Kanz, f. 179b,19-21 and the parallel passage in, ed. Zakkār, Akhbār, 424, although both are undated, clearly belong to this year. Both texts say that al-Hādī was at Warwar (q.v. above, p. 188f , n.22) to meet his men, whereas the Sīrat (395,20f) just relates that Abū 'l-Qāsim returned

to Ṣa^{C}dah via Warwar.

5. ^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 395,23 adds: wa-lam yajidū bihā aḥadan.

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Year 298 [from 9 September 910]

In [this year] the Imam al-Hādī ilā 'l-Ḥaqq al-Mubīn died: [1] Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm - may the blessings of God be upon them all.

His death took place in the sacred month of Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah at the close of the year.[2] He was buried in Ṣa^{C}dah. [3]

After [his death], his son the Imam al-Murtaḍā, Muḥammad ibn al-Hādī (may peace be upon both of them) took over the imamate and the leadership of the community (wa-qāma ba^{C}dahu bi-amr al-imāmah wa-'l-ri'āsah al-^{C}āmmah), [4] his father having indicated his wish [in this respect] (bi-wasiyyah min abīhi). [5]

Annotations

1. Poisoned according to ^{C}Iṣāmī, Simṭ,II, f. 135, margin; and Ibn Abi 'l-Najm, Durar, 202, - qīl ..... annahu saqiya summan.

2. On Sunday, 19 Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah / 18 August 911 (^{C}Abbāsī, Sīrat, 397,5,7), at the age of 53 (Muḥallī, Ḥadā'iq, f. 29b,4).

3. The following day Monday, before noon (ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 397,5f), to the south of the Jāmiᶜ Mosque, ᶜadanī 'l-masjid al-jāmiᶜ (Muḥallī, Ḥadā'iq, f. 29b,6).

4. He was given allegiance on Thursday, 1 al-Muḥarram 299 / 29 August 911: ᶜAbbāsī, Sīrat, 397,6f

5. A Zaydī imam is permitted to indicate whom he considers a fitting successor although this is not binding on the community. He cannot however designate his successor (tansīṣ), which is the Jaᶜfarī and Fatimid doctrine.

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A P P E N D I X (A)

M A P S

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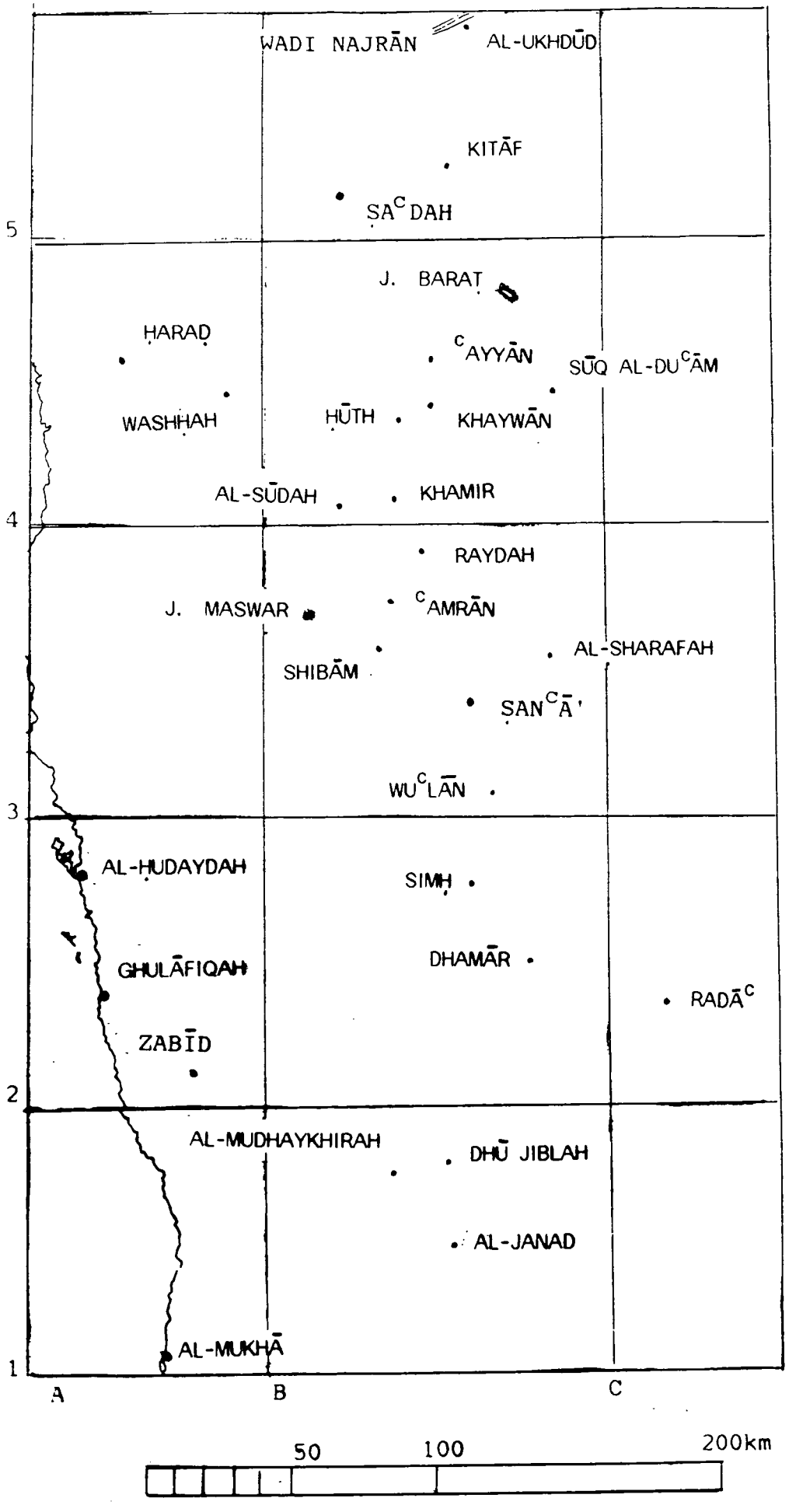
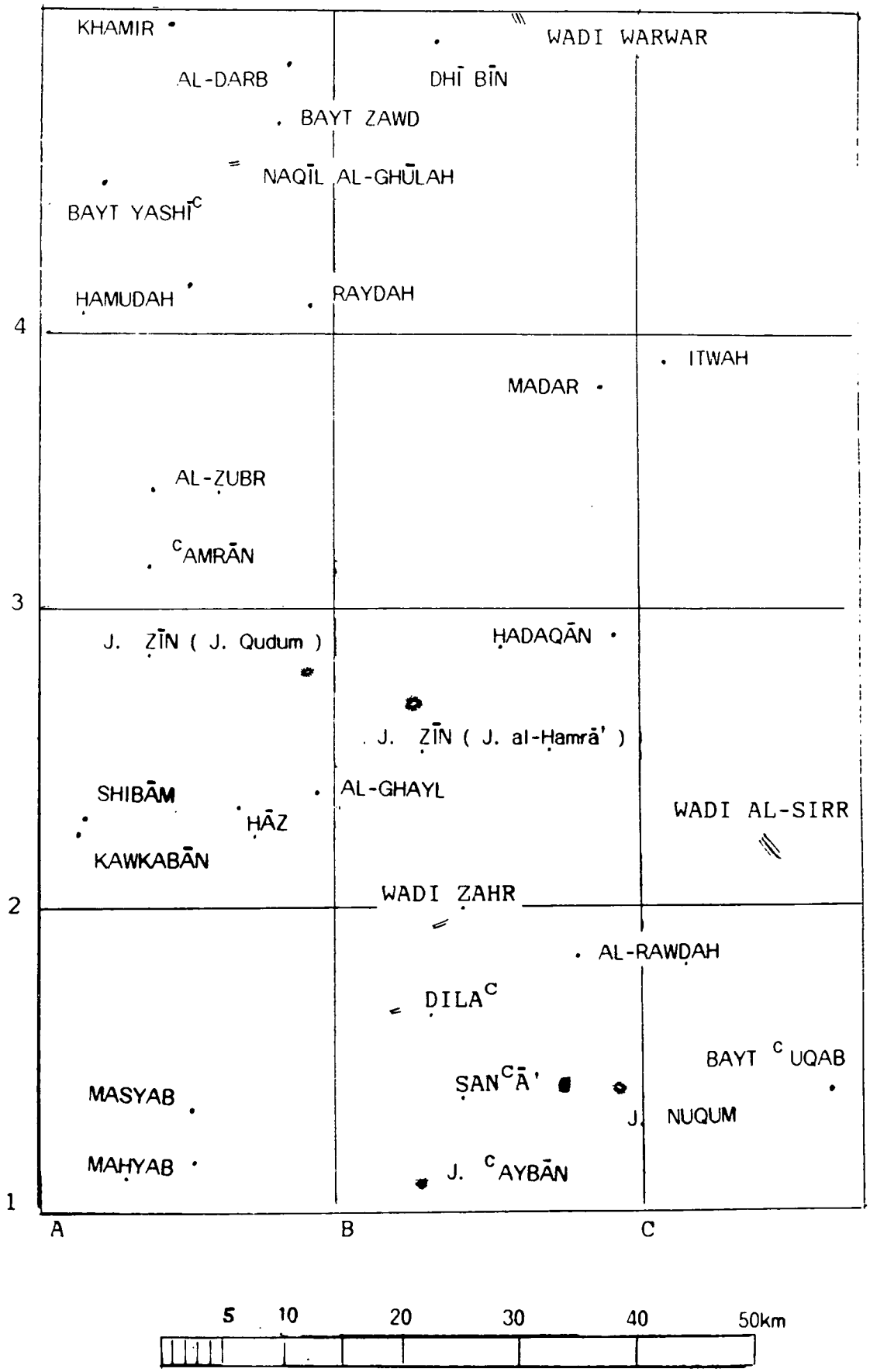
Map 1 THE YEMEN: TIHĀMAH AND HIGHLANDS



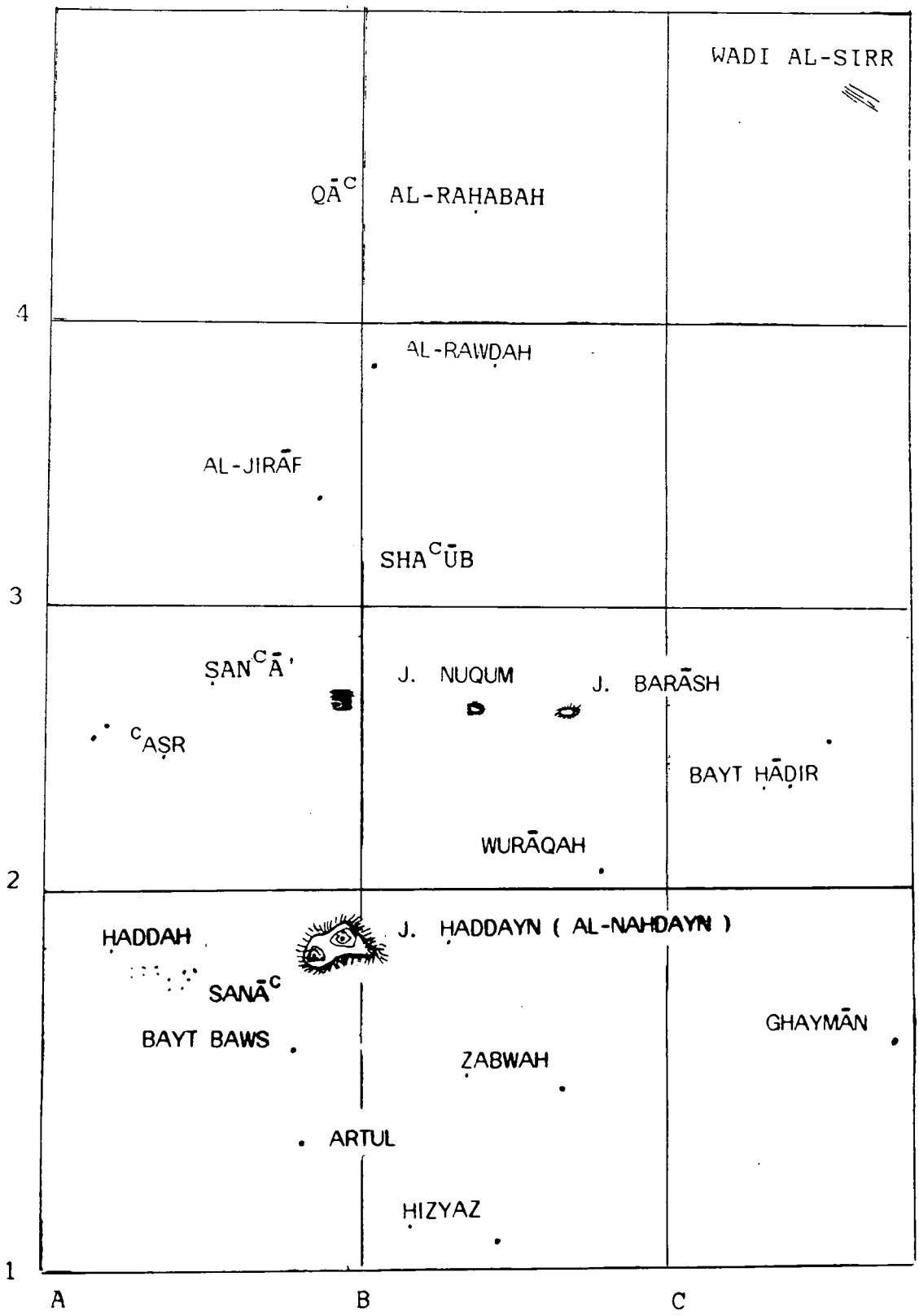
Map 2

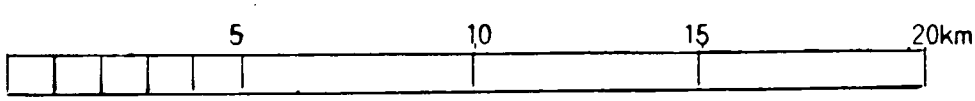
CENTRAL AND NORTHERN HIGHLANDS



Map 3

ṢANᶜĀ' AND REGION





A P P E N D I X (B)

G E N E A L O G I C A L T A B L E S

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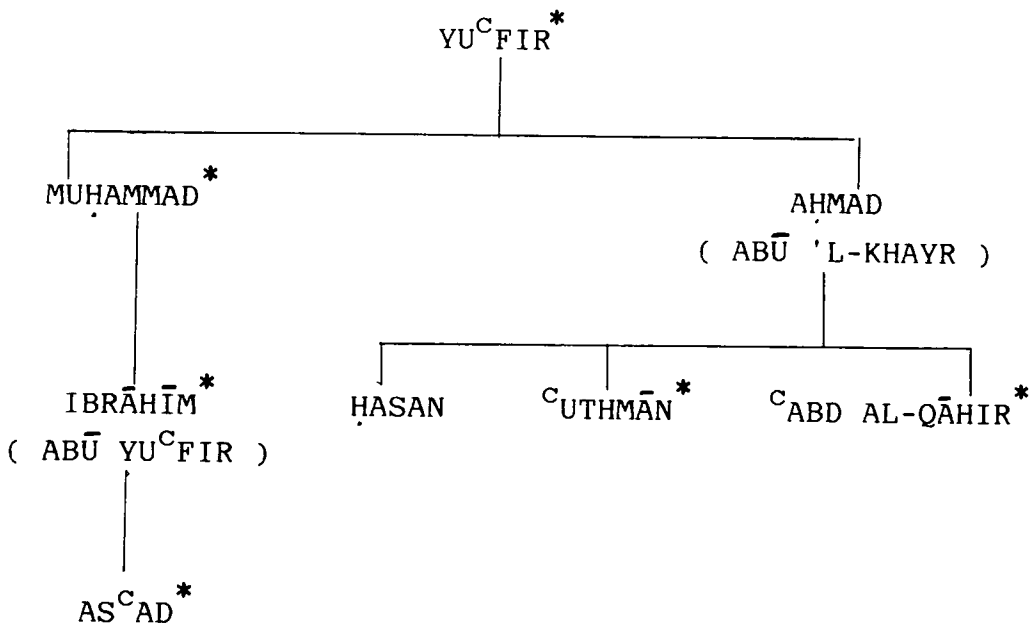
GENEALOGICAL TABLE 1

ĀL YU^{C}FIR

(See above, introduction p. 68 and pp. 89-90, n.3).

Any kunyah is shown between brackets and a ruler is asterisked.

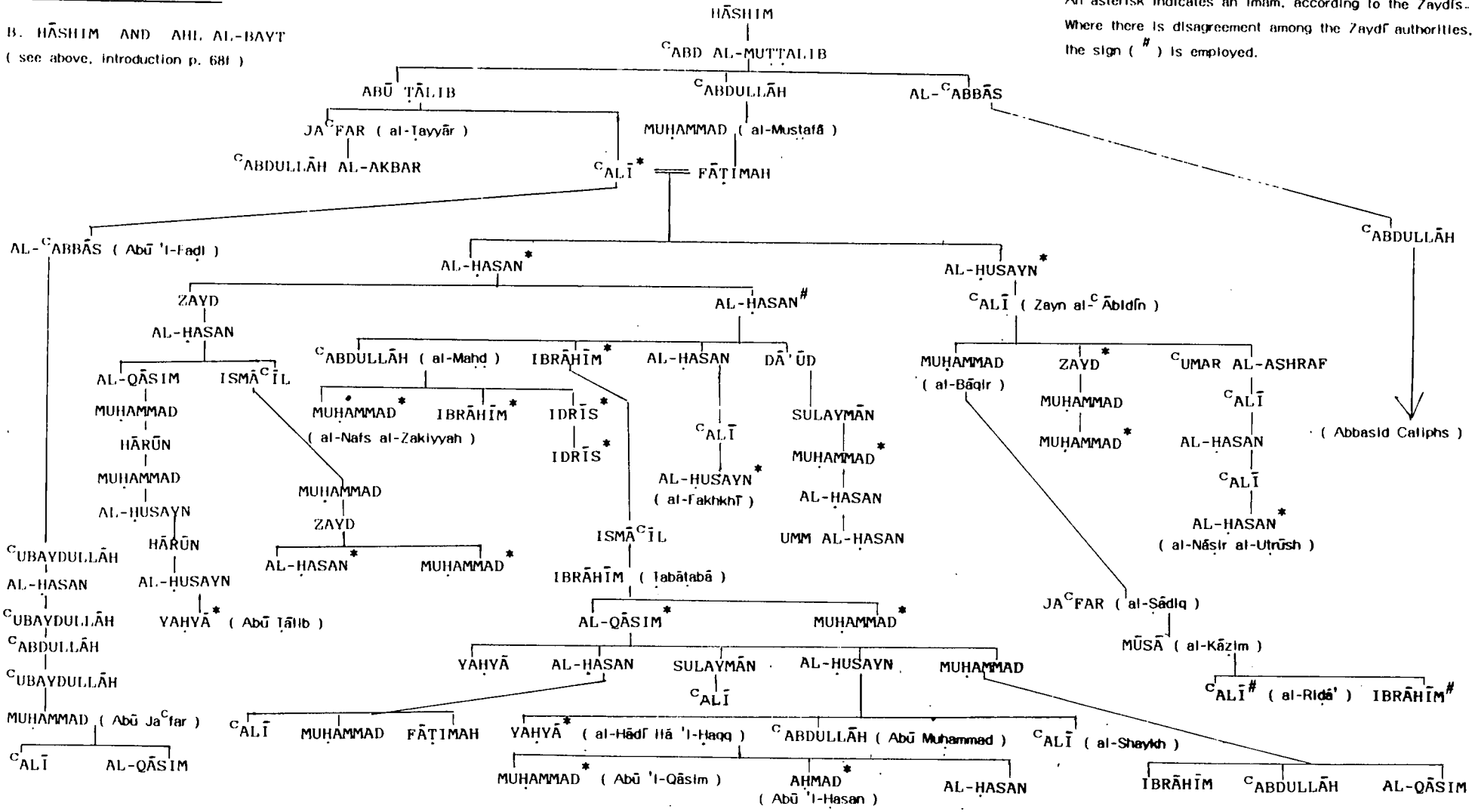


Genealogical Table 2

B. HĀSHIM AND AHL AL-BAYT

(see above, Introduction p. 68f)

An asterisk indicates an Imam, according to the Zaydīs. Where there is disagreement among the Zaydī authorities, the sign (#) is employed.

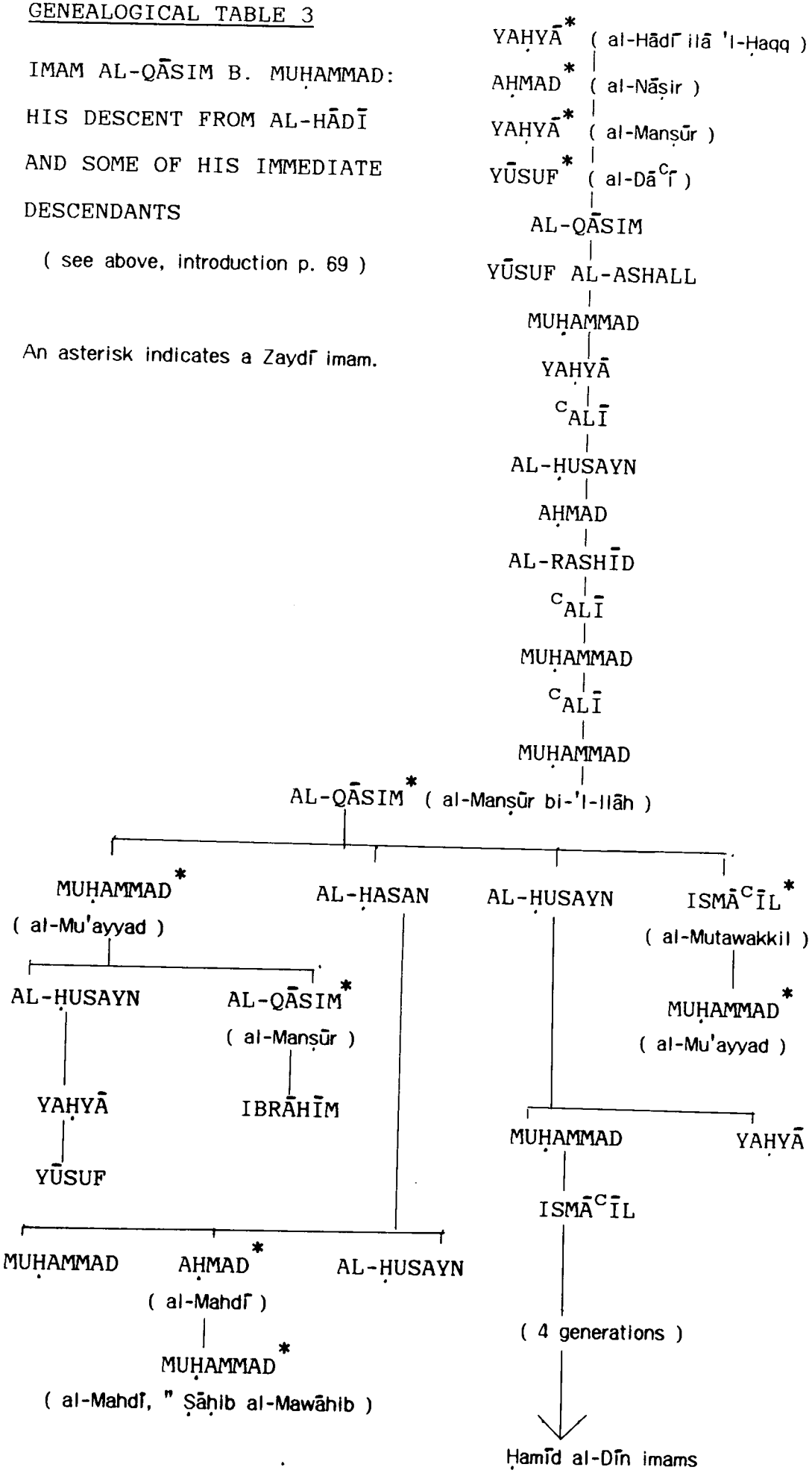


GENEALOGICAL TABLE 3

IMAM AL-QĀSIM B. MUḤAMMAD: HIS DESCENT FROM AL-HĀDĪ AND SOME OF HIS IMMEDIATE DESCENDANTS

(see above, introduction p. 69)

An asterisk indicates a Zaydī imam.



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