The yemeni scholar muhammad B. Ali Al-Shawkani (1173-1250/1760-1834) his life, works and times, together with a critical edition of Darr Al-Sihabah Fi Manaqib Al-Qarabah Wa-L-Sahabah

Abdullah Al-Amri, Husayn

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THE YEMENI SCHOLAR MUHAMMAD B. ʿALI AL-SHAWKĀNĪ

(1173-1250/1760-1834)

HIS LIFE, WORKS AND TIMES, TOGETHER WITH

A CRITICAL EDITION OF DARR AL-SIHABAH

FI MANAQIB AL-QARĀBAH WAʾ-ʾL-SAḤABAH

by

HUSAYN B. ʿABDULLĀH AL-ʿAMRĪ

VOLUME I

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts in the University
of Durham for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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School of Oriental Studies
Elvet Hill
Durham

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation is twofold. Firstly my aim has been to produce an edition of the so far unedited text of Muhammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī, ʿArr al-sīḥāb fī manāqib al-qarābāh wa-ʾl-Sahābah. This edited text is to be found in Volume II.

Muhammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī, who died in 1250/1834, was a figure of major importance in the Yemen. A man of tremendous intellectual stature he wrote extensively on a number of subjects and for much of his life was chief qādī in Sa’dah.

Volume I of this study is devoted to the man, his life, works and times. It is divided into two parts: the first an historical survey, spanning the reign of four Zaydī imams and the second concerning the man and his works.

Chapter one describes the Yemen under Imam al-Mahdī ʿAbbās (d. 1189/1775). His son, al-Mansūr ʿAlī, was then appointed imam and his long reign until 1224/1809 occupies chapters two and three. Power then passed to al-Mansūr's son, al-Mutawakkil Ahmad (d. 1231/1816), and a survey of
his reign appears in chapter four. Finally of the Zaydi imams al-Mahdi ʿAbdullāh (chapter five) follows. He was to die a year after al-Shawkānī in 1251/1835.

Part two begins in chapter six with a discussion of al-Shawkānī, the man, his education, his period of office as chief qādi and his disciples. It has then been my task to discuss al-Shawkānī under the various disciplines in which he wrote: chapter seven, the mujtahid and faqīh; chapter eight the muhaddith; chapter nine the mufassir and chapter ten the biographer/historian and poet.
PART ONE

A HISTORY OF THE YEMEN

1161-1251/1753-1835

140. If a wound hath touched you,"

Be sure a similar wound
Hath touched the others.
Such days (of varying fortunes)
We give to men and men
By turns: that God may know
Those that believe,
And that He may take
To Himself from your ranks
Martyr-witnesses (to Truth).
And God loveth not
Those that do wrong.

"There is a certain relief in change even though it be from bad to worse!"

Washington Irving (1783-1859)

"Revolt and terror pay a price
Order and law a cost"

Carl Sandburg (1878-1967)
CHAPTER ONE

The Yemen under Imam al-Mahdi ʿAbbās, 1161-89/1748-75

Al-Mahdi ʿAbbās succeeded his father al-Maṣūr Ḥusayn as the new imam of Yemen in the year 1161/1748. He became the tenth imam of the House of al-Qāsim which had replaced the House of Sharaf al-Dīn in 1006/1598.

It is my opinion that al-Mahdi ʿAbbās was the last important imam in the whole of the history of the imamate. He was succeeded by his son al-Maṣūr ʿAlī (1189-1224/1775-1809) and his grandson al-Mutawakkil Ahmad b. ʿAlī (1224-1231/1809-1816), who was in turn succeeded by his son al-Mahdi ʿAbdullāh. The latter ruled until his death in the year 1251/1835. A short time before this the Turks returned for the second time to Yemen and a new period of anarchy and chaos began. In the south, Aden was bombarded on 19 January 1839 and occupied by the British. The Sultan and his family fled to Lahj. This new era is, however, outside the scope of this study.
1. The Yemen and the Arab World

The Yemen, as a part of the Arab world, was no worse than others in this important period of its history. It must, however, also be said that it was no better. We see that the Yemen was an independent country and not under the domination of the Ottomans, nor the despotism of the Mamluks. To the north of the Yemen the Wahhābī movement was already involved in fighting to gain supremacy and in the long struggle to unite the fragments of various bedouin societies and establish the first Saudi state. The Wahhābīs spread in the north, but in the south as well, when in 1219/1804 they occupied Tihamah on the Red Sea coastal plain and historically part of the Yemen. As we shall see in a later chapter it was not until the campaigns of Muhammad ʿAlī, which took place between 1226-1234/1811-1818, that the Wahhābīs were driven out of the Hijaz and Tihamah of the Yemen and the power of the House of Saʿūd in Najd itself broken.

As elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire the weakening of central control in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries was reflected in the Iraqi and Syrian provinces in the rise of
local despotism and domination of the garrison troops in the towns. In this period the people of the Fertile Crescent suffered much from injustice, famine and illness. Down to the mid-13th/19th century, therefore, it can be said that the era had remained "medieval" in all the varied aspects of life.\(^{(1)}\)

To complete the picture we need to look at Egypt which was to play an important role in Arab affairs. Under Muhammad \(\text{C}\text{Al\i} (1805-1848)\) who has been called the founder of the modern country (though he was also the founder of the last and the most successful of the lines of local despots), Egypt was full of anarchy and killing. One hears only the tragic news of disasters and the appalling condition of the people under diverse fighting Mamluk groups. In the \(\text{T\text{A}r\text{i}kh\) of Jabarti},\(^{(2)}\) who was a contemporary writer (1167-1240/1754-1825), we read throughout the three volumes nothing but reports of disasters which occurred daily. The famous modern Egyptian historian \(\text{CAb\i} \text{al-Rahm\i}n \text{al-Naf\i}\) painted a gloomy picture of Egyptian

---

\(^{(1)}\) \text{Hitti, Short History, 228; History of the Arabs, 719-21; } 
\text{CAb\i} \text{al-Kar\i}m, \text{Haw\i\d\i\th, 28-31}

\(^{(2)}\) For Jabarti and his \(\text{C}\text{Ajib al-\'ath\i\t, see } \text{CAb\i} \text{al-Rahm\i}n al-Jabarti, \text{dir\i\s\at wa-buh\i\th, ed. Ahmad \text{C}\text{Izzat CAb\i} al-Kar\i}m, Cairo, 1976
life of the period:(3)

"Judges positions were bought and sold, subject to supply and demand. With the coming of the Mamluks (white slaves) the country was left to their administration which had a disastrous effect. Personal capital disappeared and poverty and disease were rife with no physicians or medical treatment. Ignorance spread and mosque-schools had little influence on education generally."

"...If you examine the biographies in Jabarti's work you will not find any ulema of that period who can be considered as distinguished in either philosophy, science or literature."

al-Ṭāfī al-Idāʻ.(4)

We can more or less say that al-Ṭāfī al-Idāʻ's comments on the condition of Egypt could well apply all over the Arab world at that time, including the Yemen. It is of special interest, from a Yemeni point of view, to read some contemporary remarks about Egypt and its education. "On Thursday 19 Rabi' I (1233/1818) Shaykh Muhammad Ḥābir abid al-Sindi arrived from Egypt. He commented on the weakness of Egypt and that he had found nobody there who knew the Ḥadīth or who was

---

(3) Ṭāfī, Tārīkh, I, 39.
(4) Ibid., 41.
concerned with it. This is something astonishing!" (5)

A modern Egyptian scholar has recently written in the same vein, when he said:

"This writer [i.e., himself] is one of ahl al-Sunnah [Shafī'ī] but he cannot hide his admiration for the Zaydiyyah for a number of reasons: firstly, in the period of the decline of intellectual activity the Zaydi madhab gave birth to great mujtahids, such as al-Maqbili, Ibn al-Amir and al-Shawkani. That happened during a period when all other madhhaba had become sterile and had not produced anyone like them. It is strange enough that the Yemen, at that time, was not considered better than other Islamic nations. She might be worse than them in life, intellectual activity, politics or her economic condition." (6)

As we have already pointed out, we agree with this scholar more or less on the question of politics and the economic situation, but not on the question of intellectual activity.

If we accept what Subhī says, what then was he admiring in the intellectual society of the Yemen?

In spite of the economic and social upheaval caused by diverse events and the damage left in their train, the

(5) Jahhāf, Sirat, 48; see also al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, II, 227-8.
(6) Subhī, al-Zaydiyyah, 729.
activity of the mosque (the "āqāmī, ulema and "ulābā") nevertheless contributed to the continuing debate (jadal), literary activity and "ijtihād" in this period. There arose many notable ulema and "ulābā" among whom al-Shawkānī was the greatest and probably the last. The Zaydiyyah, being distinguished for its freedom of thought, had always emphasised the importance of encouraging the Yemeni ulema and imams towards "ijtihād" in the different sciences of religion and law, and rejected the idea that the door of "ijtihād" had virtually been closed. (7) As a result of this, many of their ulema, commentators and "fuqahā" became famous in different periods of Islamic history. Moreover, since one of the fourteen articles of the imamate in the Zaydi doctrine ("madhhab") has to be "ilm," if not "ijtihād," we find that apart from Yemeni scholars, there were thirty-one imams at least (out of seventy-two who ruled the Yemen between 284/898-1962) who wrote works which had a

(7) Al-Shawkānī, al-Qawl al-Mufīd, 26-8; Diwan, 127; al-Badr, I, 2; Abū Zahrah, Tārikh, II, 496-500; Subhi, al-Madhhab al-Zavī, passim. See also Shawkānī, Iṣlah al-fuhūl, 223.
(8) Al-Sā'īm b. Muhammad, al-Aʿrāf, 162; al-Shawkānī, al-Zayl al-jarrār, MS, II, 257, although al-Shawkānī says: "There is no proof" (lavsa hunālika sulīl).
great influence on the development of Islamic thought. (9)

There was another factor in this concern for scholarship and research which contributed to the prolific output of works of jurisprudence and interpretation, and that was the Shāfi‘ī (Sunni) madhab of the south, which started to spread from the middle of the fourth/tenth century. (10)

There was rivalry and debate between the two schools. The Zaydiyyah was more open to outside opinions if they were intellectually tenable. As Ahmad Amīn and other modern Islamic scholars observe, "the Zaydiyyah is of the Shī‘ah the most moderate and closest to the Sunnis." (11)

2. Al-Mahdī ʿAbbās

To return to the Yemen, to the year 1161/1748. Imam al-Mansūr Husayn died on 7 Rabī‘ I and his son ʿAbbās,

---

(9) See al-Hibbī, Masādir, 506-631; al-ʿAmīrī, Masādir, 133-47, 151, 159-93, 192-217, 226, 149.

(10) Ibn Samurah, Tabaqāt, 90-93.

(11) Amīn, Fājr al-ʿIlām, 262; Abū Zahrāh, Tārīkh, II, 493; Subhi, al-Zaydiyyah. See also Watt, Islamic philosophy, 190; Hitti, History of the Arabs, 449; E.I., 'Zaydiyya'.

received the unanimous oath of allegiance (bay'ah) from the eminent people and ulama of the country, among whom were Sayyid Muhammad Ishāq, Sayyid Ahmad CAbd al-Rahmān al-Shāmī and Sayyid Muhammad b. Imām al-ʿAmmīr who all played important roles politically and intellectually during this period. Those who had rebelled against his father gave the oath of allegiance as well; among them was his uncle, Ahmad b. al-Mutawakkil, governor of Taʾizz. (12)  

CAbbas styled himself al-Mahdī. He was a strong and ambitious man in the prime of his life. (13) The Yemeni historians avoid all mention of the fact that al-Mahdī CAbbas was the son of a slave woman, a negro, and that he was of dark complexion like his mother, as Niebuhr, the famous Danish traveller, who had audiences with him in Sanʿāʾ in 1177/1763, claimed. (14) They generally agree that al-Mahdī's reign was better than that of his father, al-Manṣūr Murayn, and than that of his grandfather, al-Mutawakkil Ṣālim b. Murayn (d. 1139/1727) before him.

(12) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 310; Zabārah, Nashr al-Cayf, II, 12.  
(13) He was born in 1171/1719, so his age at this time was about thirty.  
and of all his descendants after him, i.e. his son, al-
Mansūr, and grandson, al-'Mutawakkil Ahmād. (15) Unfortunately there has been no specific biography (sira) of al-
Mahdī, as there has, for example, of his son, al-Mansūr, or some of his ancestors, although in his time culture
flourished and many famous scholars, writers and poets
were contemporary with him. (16) Al-Mahdī Ābbās himself
was well educated and a disciple of the famous Sulīm,
Sayyid ‘Abdullāh b. Lutf al-Dārī al-Kīsī (d. 1173/1759) (17)
and many other ulema. The longest biographical entry on
him is that of al-Shawkānī in his al-Badr al-‘Allī. (18)
Al-Shawkānī was born in the tenth year of al-Mahdī's
reign and was sixteen when al-Mahdī died. All those who
wrote about al-Mahdī up to the late Zabārah (d. 1380/1960),

(15) Zabārah, Nasr, II, 12.
(16) Al-Shawkānī and Jahāf both mentioned that their
contemporary Qādī ‘Alī b. Qāsim Hanash (1143-1219/
1730-1804) who was a man of letters and historian,
 wrote a history of al-Mahdī's reign and the events
in his time. Nothing so far has come to light concern-
ing this work. (See: al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I,
472-3; Jahāf, 5, 362; Zabārah, Sayl, II, 154).
(17) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 393.
(18) Ibid., I, 310-3.
depended on al-Shawkānī for their biographical information, though one sometimes finds slight changes of detail in the accounts. (19) Al-Shawkānī describes al-‘ahdī as being perspicacious, intelligent and just, and a strong manager (gawī ‘l-tadbīr). He was high-minded, with a penchant for scholars, dispensing justice to the wronged, diplomatic (sayūs), resolute (hāzim). He was ever aware of the conditions of his subjects and would scrutinize the behaviour of his āmilīs. No secret was hidden from him, since he had spies who would bring it to his ears. Those close to him (khawās) had a respectful fear (haybah) for him in their hearts, aware that everything they did would be reported to him. In consequence many injustices were removed. In dealing with tyrants (bushāh) who ostensibly rebelled against the caliph, (i.e. al-‘ahdī), though in fact their aim was to rid themselves of the peasants (ihlāk al-ra‘iyah), he would at times reconcile them with gifts (sing. cata‘); at other times he would send a body of troops to intervene between tyrants and peasants. His

power in the Yemen increased and his reputation was enhanced. Because of his generosity to those of quality, scholars and writers came to him from distant parts. Al-Shawkānī tells us that after becoming caliph al-‘Abbās would, when alone, engage in scholarship (mushtaqhil bi-‘ilm), always looking up some book or other. He studied under the supervision of a group of ulema.

In time of revolution or rebellion it seems that al-‘Abbās became anxious and uneasy, until he succeeded in defeating those who opposed him. He granted many gifts to the poor (fuqara’) and weak (du’afā’) and received envoys and visitors frequently. He had indeed many merits, establishing many good customs (sunan) and driving out corruption. Al-Shawkānī considers al-‘Abbās unique in that he preserved the border regions of his kingdom by actions his own energy and vigorous assault. He had full control in affairs of state, deciding important matters by himself without his ministers having any say in them. No affair in the kingdom escaped him and his ministers were unable to deceive him. He was a shrewd judge of human nature
and he fully understood his contemporaries. He knew how to strip the pretence from anyone making an outward show of asceticism (zuḥl) and virtue and from those who appeared to reject worldliness on the surface, but not in reality. (20)

Nelibuhr in his turn has told us what the court of al-Mahdi was like and how he received envoys and ambassadors or his visitors:

"On the 19th of July [1763], the Secretary of the Vizier Faqih Ahmed, came to conduct us to an audience of the Imam in his palace of Bustan al-Mutawikkil. We had expected that we should be introduced privately to an audience of this monarch or at least in the presence only of a few of his principal courtiers. We were surprised therefore to see everything prepared for an occasion of great ceremony, the court of the palace was so full of horses, officers, and others, that we should scarcely have made our way through the crowd, if the Nākiīb Gār Allāh, who had been a slave, but was now master of the horse, had not come, with a great staff in his hand, to open a passage for us.

The hall of audience was a spacious square chamber having an arched roof. In the middle was a large basin, with some fountains (jets d'eau), rising

(20) Al-Badr, I, 310-2.
fourteen feet in height. Behind the basin and near the throne were two large benches, each a foot and a half high; upon the throne was a space covered with silken stuff, on which, as well as both sides of it, were large cushions. The Imam sat between the cushions, with his legs crossed in eastern fashion; his gown was of a bright green colour, and had large sleeves. On each side of his breast was a rich filleting of gold-lace, and on his head he wore a great white turban. His sons sat on his right hand, and his brothers on his left. Opposite to them, upon the highest of the two benches, sat the vizier; and our place was on the lower bench. On the two sides of the hall, sat many of the principal men about court. We were first led up to the Imam, and were permitted to kiss both the back and the palm of his hand, as well as the hem of his robe. There was a solemn silence through the whole hall. As each of us touched the Imam's hand, a herald still proclaimed: "God preserve the Imam" (Allāh yahfaz al-Imām), all who were present repeated those words aloud after him. I was thinking at that time, how I should pay my compliment in Arabic and was not a little disturbed by this noisy ceremony; but I had afterwards time to recollect myself."

Al-Mahdī made them welcome and later sent them money, cheap, robes and a ceremonial damar (janbiyyah). Neibuhrr admired the minister of al-Mahdī whom he called Raqīḥ Ahmad.

and who was, I presume, Faqīh Ahmad b. ʿAlī al-Nihmī. He served al-Mahdī as grand wāzīr for twenty-five years and was veracious, sincere and pious. He died three years before al-Mahdī (1186/1772). (22) Meibuhr said about him:

"The Vizier received us with great politeness, and expressed himself highly pleased with what we showed him. He put various questions to us from which he appeared to possess considerable knowledge, and to have studied the sciences with a degree of care far from common among his countrymen. By means of Turkish, Persian and Indian merchants, he had acquired tolerably correct notions of geography. The Arabians imagine that Europe lies South from them, because the Franks whom they see come from India. But the Faqih knew well the situation of the different states of Europe, with their respective powers and forces, both by sea and land. Nor could more be expected from an Arabian who had never seen a map." (23)

That was the bright side of al-Mahdī ʿAbbaš and his court. Nevertheless, he did have faults and shortcomings, as of course is the case with many rulers and indeed with mankind in general. Al-Mahdī's desire, even greed for buying up land led him to be involved in 1180/1767 in an important case concerning waqf property in Ṣanʿā'. This

(22) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 92.
(23) Meibuhr, 372.
involved his buying up of waqf lands and transferring them from waqf to private ownership. (24) He also gained possession of two main ghayls whose ownership was supposed to be common or to be under the control of the Treasury (Bayt al-'Al). In 1181/1766 al-'Abbās claimed that he had rebuilt the canals and re-excavated the two ghayls and that all the expenditure had been from his own private income. This roused criticism and opposition from the ulema. Among them was the aged and famous Calim, Muhammad b. Ismā'īl al-Amīr. Al-'Abbās certainly did not forgive his critics and those who opposed him. The punishment for them proved, more than once, to be confiscation of land or imprisonment. (25) Al-Mahdī left behind him huge amounts of land and properties for his heirs.

It was not long after al-'Abbās's death that al-Shawkānī addressed to his son, al-Manṣūr ʿAlī (1189-1224/1775-1809), a long and important poem criticizing the

(24) Sabūrah, Kashr, II, 10.
court and its circumstances. To close this chapter it is relevant to quote the following lines from this poem:

"From poverty, many of your kin and relatives suffered gravely indeed,
They became humble beggars at people's doors
and there is no one at all to honour them,
They became, sadly, despicable after they had been respectable royal personages.
What a disaster! Haven't you seen your father's sons begging from people? It is a terrible thing!
If al-Mahdi had seen his sons as we do, he would have shed tears.
Your subjects are dying openly from hunger as others have died, their bounty unhidden."

(26)

Why had that happened? How many sons did al-Mahdi have and what was their role and importance after his death? This will be considered at the beginning of the next chapter.

(26) Al-Shawkānī, Dāmār, 310.
"If... it proves necessary to execute someone, this should be done only when there is proper justification and manifest reason for it. But above all a prince should abstain from the property of others; because men sooner forget the death of their father than the loss of their patrimony. It is always possible to find pretexts for confiscating someone's property; and a prince who starts to live by rapine always finds pretexts for seizing what belongs to others."

Machiavelli (1469-1527).

"What a disaster! Haven't you seen your father's sons begging from people? It is a terrible thing!"

Al-Shawkānī's address to al-Mansūr ʿAlī.
Al-Mansūr ʿAlī and his reign (1189-1224/1775-1309)

1. The Royal Family (Bayt al-Inām)

When al-Mahdī ʿAbbas died on 9 Rajab 1189/1775 he left behind him a large number of sons, brothers, uncles and cousins. Among those uncles and cousins were Bayt al-Mansūr, Bayt al-Mutawakkil and Bayt Ishaq, who were not without aspiration to the imamate.

We know that many of al-Mahdī's sons played a role in the political or literary life of the Yemen in the reign of al-Mahdī's successor, al-ʿansūr ʿAlī. Al-Shawkānī ends al-Mahdī's biography by giving us a general and brief account of these sons, speaking in praise of them in eloquent saj.

"...He has a number of sons. They are the sayyids of the sayyids. None of them is without merit. Mastery in horsemanship, high moral standards and a predilection for knowledge are common to them all.
The eldest was ʿAbdullāh who died during his father's life-time. After him, comes our lord (mawlānā), the imam, caliph of our time, al-ʿansūr ʿAlī. Next is Muḥammad, who is one of the greatest of the imam's family (Al al-imān) and who has a great amount of of excellent qualities (nasīb min al-kamālāt wāfir). Then comes al-Qāsim, who is one of the important sayyids (fuhūl al-sādāt) and one of the eminent leaders. He has an excellent involvement in ilm. After him comes Yūsuf, who is of high moral standards and a deep-seated nobility (ḥasan al-aklāq karīm al-ṣāraq). He is followed by Ahmad who has the greatest breadth of knowledge and the most sound understanding of them all. He is exceedingly erudite and is accomplished in many fields of scholarship. He composes poems and thirsts after knowledge. He is extremely generous; indeed he is unique. The next son is Ismāʿīl, who has no equal in moral standing, moderation, resolution and virtue. Those are the adults...

We feel that there is a need to add to and clarify, from other sources, what al-Shawkānī says here in general terms. Jahhāf's Durar (2) is especially important for the information it provides concerning many figures we shall meet in this study. Apart from this a more detailed

(1) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 312.
(2) For his biography, cf. Appendix I, note 1 and see the bibliography. The abbreviation in the footnotes "Jahhāf" refer to the Durar.
picture of some of the sons of al-Mahdi Abbās will provide us with valuable and fascinating information on the literary and scientific milieu of the time.

a) Muhammad

Muhammad Ibn al-Mahdi was the third son. Jahhaf tells us that he was one of those involved in the question of the choice of the imam (ahad al-muhāwiyyīn fī amr al-ināmah). He was the one who said "there is no one but my brother ʿAlī who is worthy of the imamate." (3)

He was intelligent and stable; he did not involve himself in state affairs. He devoted himself to mixing scents and perfumes until, after spending a great deal of money, he discovered the secret of shāhī perfume. If he happened to pass along the street, the smell (of perfume) lingered for a long time. He used to give his brother, the imam, and his son, Sayf al-Islām (4) Ahmad, a gift of shāhī perfume. Imam al-Manṣūr granted him a piece of land.

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(3) Jahhaf, 341.
(4) Sayf al-Islām was formerly the title of prince of the royal house of the Yemen right down to 1962.
(aqta‘ahu ‘l-inām al-‘anṣūr qit‘atān) in Ānis. His sons retained it after his death on 15 Rama‘ān 1218/1803. (5)

b) Ahmad

Qasim and Ahmad represented the cultured class of the time, though they had very different ways of life. Both of them were disciples of the eminent faqīh and philologist Ẓādī Ahmad b. Sālih b. Abī ‘l-Ri‘jāl (1140-91/1727-77), (6) who was in al-‘abār’s court and was his adviser and confidant, as well as on occasion his wazīr. It is especially worthy of note that he was the tutor of al-‘abār’s son; (7) and was clearly proud of the achievement of Ahmad Ibn al-‘abār (1164-1220/1750-1805) who was a man of letters, a faqīh and an historian. Ahmad was well acquainted with a great variety of subjects, especially astronomy and philosophy. (8) He was a very intelligent man, modest and completely generous. Unfortunately, how-

(5) Jahāf, 341; Zabarrah, Naml, II, 299.
(7) Al-‘Abār, al-Badr, I, 61; Jahāf, 57.
(8) Al-‘Amrī, Diwan al-‘Abārānī, 263, footnote.
ever,

"...he was accused of madness because of his excessive generosity (insāf), his humility (ittidā) and his hot temper (hiddah). Thus he was confined twice in his home in Bustān al-Sultān for a long period." (9)

Jahhāf was very sorry for him, as were others, and when

Ahmad died on Friday 5 Jumādā II 1220/1305, he mourned him in three lines of poetry, the last of which indicates the date of his death:

"...fī jīnān 'l-khuldi qad halla Ahmadu." (1220/1305) (10)

"In the everlasting Gardens
Ahmad took his place."

Six weeks before that, his brother Hamīd died at the age of thirty-six, (11) but we do not know much about him nor about two other brothers who by coincidence died in the same week in the year 1203/1789. They were al-Sādiq and Shamī al-Dīn. The latter died in the port of al-Layth in the Hijaz on his way to Mecca for the pilgrimage. (12)

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(9) Jahhāf, 403.
(10) Ibid. 403.
(11) Ibid. 443.
(12) Ibid. 175.
c) Qasim

Qasim was well educated; his tutor, Abu 'l-Ḥāfiẓ, and the famous faqīh, scholar and teacher al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Qādir b. Ahmad (1135-1207/1723-92) had great admiration for his memory (hāfizah) and ability to make quotations (istihbār al-shawāhid). (13) It was not long before he became one of those of the imam's family engaged in various important functions. His tutor, Abu 'l-Ḥāfiẓ, became his secretary (wazīr), when Qasim was responsible for Bilād al-Naymah, an area west of San'a'. (14) He held his brother ʿAlī (later the imam Mansūr) in high regard and considered him a more capable leader than himself. He therefore suggested once that ʿAlī should be al-Mahdī's deputy in San'a' instead of himself, when al-Mahdī left San'a' for al-Rawdah to fight the tribes of Arhab. (15) Al-Mansūr ʿAlī held him in mutual respect and, on becoming imam, did not refuse his mediation. Qasim died in his

(13) Jahhāf, 1CH. Cf. also the biography of Sayyid ʿAbd al-Qādir, Appendix II, footnote.
(14) Jahhāf, bn, 1CH.
(15) Ibid. 1CH.
forties, on 13 Jamādā I (in the same year as his brothers al-Sādiq and Shimā al-Dīn, 1203/1789). When he died, al-Mansūr grieved deeply:

"He prayed for him in the Great Mosque in Sanʿāʾ and forbade all means of providing pleasure (wa-manāṣīb jālibat al-surūr). He suspended for several days the playing of the drum (naḥbah) at his gate and received condolences." (16)

d) ʿAbd al-Rahmān

It appears that the last son of al-ʿahdī to die in al-Mansūr's reign was ʿAbd al-Rahmān, who was loved by all the people (nababhu ʿl-kišār waʾl-Sanʿāʾ). He was the kindest and most elegant (zarīf) of the whole family. He was a man of letters and poet and died in 1221/1806. (17)

2. Al-Mansūr ʿAlī Ibn al-ʿahdī ʿAbbās

ʿAlī was born in Sanʿāʾ in 1150 or 1151/1738. (18) He grew up in the same milieu as his brothers and was well

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(17) Jahāf, 423.
(18) al-Shawkānī, al-Baṣr, I, 459; Zābārah, Nāvī, 140.
educated. He liked luxury and horsemanship. Just as Abū 'l-Rijāl was the tutor of his brothers, Qāsim and Ahmad, ʿAlī's tutor was the competent scholar and famous wasīr, al-Qādir al-Hasan b. ʿAlī Hanash (1152-1225/1739-1810), who had his education under Abū 'l-Rijāl, Ibn al-Amīr and others of their scholarly class.

"He was ordered by al-Mahdī to contact his son...so he did, and ʿAlī learned under his supervision and accompanied him for a time. When al-Mahdī died he ʿHanash/ was to be one of his ʿAlī's closest ministers..." (19)

ʿAlī was a man of the sword, not so much a man of letters. The reason for this might well be that he was the eldest son and his father depended on him in military matters, since al-Shawkānī says of him in this regard:

"...he delights in reading precious books, wherever he is, and has many of them." (20)

When he was twenty-one years of age his father appointed him governor (wāli) of Ṣanʿāʾ and commander of

(19) ibid, I, 201.
(20) ibid, I, 464.
the troops (anār al-a'īnā). He ordered him to reside in the Qāsr of San'a. He carried out his duties:

"...to the letter, firmly (bi-hazm), with dignity (mahābah), and morality (huwm al-akhlaq). He showed remarkable powers of endurance (sabr) and diplomacy (siyāsah) in dealing with people." (21)

One of his military exploits at this stage was his victory against Dhu Muhammad and Dhu Husayn of Barat led by Hasan al-'Ansī. It was in the year 1184/1770 when they rebelled and came down to attack San'a'. Al-Mahdī's army under one of his slave officers, al-Anār Zinārwi, was tricked by al-'Ansī. 'Ali with less than five hundred men defeated thousands of troops led by al-'Ansī. Al-Shawkānī describes with admiration what happened in that battle which took place in Sa'wān, a village east of San'a'.

and tells, using the style of Ibn Khaldūn, about the tribes employing such words as:

"...jamarat a'rāb al-Yaman
1dh dhāka wa-ahl al-shawkah
min-hum..." (22)

(21) al-Badr, I, 459.

(22) Ibid. I, 459.
"... the assembly of the Arab tribe of the Yemen at that time, and those of valour of them..."

He ends his account with this assessment of Ṣalī’s bravery:

"...and thus bravery is. After this battle all people, old and young, great and small, even his opponents, recognize that he is extremely brave and no one else could show such bravery." (23)

In short, Ṣalī was generous and brave. All adult sons, Ahmad, who was to succeed him, Hasan, Ṣāḥib b. 'Ullāh and Muhammad were involved in the affairs of state. Rivalries among some of them increased as al-‘Azmūr’s strength decreased. However Ahmad had the upper hand and was in control, as we shall see below.

(23) al-Badr, I, 460.
3. The reign of al-Mansūr (1189-1224/1775-1809)

The historian al-Kibālī (d. 1303/1919) was far-sighted and to the point, when he described al-’ansūr’s imamate as follows:

"When al-Mahdi ǦAbbas died in 1289/1775 he was succeeded by his son ǦAlī. His reign continued with good fortune (ṣaʿādah) and progress (iqbāl) at the beginning and in the middle. He remained in this situation, spending money liberally building houses and palaces. He surrounded himself with great pomp (ziyy Ǧazīn) but also the reign became unproductive (rulk Ǧaqīn), from 1189/1775 till 1219/1795 when things declined for him and Ǧihāmah and its seaports (ḥanādīr) fell into the hands of Kharijites of Ǧajf (Ǧahhābīn) ..." (24)

We can then divide al-’ansūr’s reign into two or three stages. The first was the longest (about twenty years) but the third lasted less than a year, namely when he lost control completely and his son, Ahmad took over authority. The period in between cannot be classified clearly for it was in fact a time of difficulties and troubles, internally and externally. However al-’ansūr was partly but not directly responsible for what had

the
events and instability at the end of his reign. We shall
examine below from beginning to end al-Mansūr’s era which
lasted thirty-four years, six years more than his father.

4. The early days of al-Mansūr.

On Thursday 19 Rajab 1189/7 September 1775, ʿAlī Ibn
al-Ḵāṣba, after he had buried his father, received
the oath of allegiance (bayʿah) from all the people (al-
khāna wa-ʾl-ʿamm) in the dome (qubbah) of his father in
Burṭān al-Sultan. He styled himself al-Mansūr. He then
gone up to the Qair of Sana′ where an audience with the
eminent people (akābir) took place. They came from all
quarters of the country both to congratulate and to present
their condolences to him and that continued for many days.
Poets and literary figures praised and immortalized the
occasion. Among them were ʿAlī ʿIsmāʿīl al-Khatīb of
Qaṭtabah, Ṣādiq b. ʿUhammad b. Zayd, Ahmad Ḥasan Parakāt,
al-Sayyid Yaʿqūb b. Muḥammad b. Ṭuḥāq an his nephew, the
outstanding scholar, man of letters and politician, Sayyid
The latter was to rebel against al-‘anṣūr a few years later. (26)

a) Al-Sahūlī, the chief qādī

The first decision al-‘anṣūr took in his first day was to reappoint the great Sālim, faqīh, litterateur and politician Qādī Yahyā b. Sālim al-Sahūlī (1134-1209/1722-1795) as his chief qādī (qādī ‘l-qur‘ah). (27) This was the position al-Sahūlī had occupied in al-‘ahdī’s reign until he was imprisoned for three years and his property confiscated in 1172/1759. The new appointment was a sympathetic gesture towards a respected qādī and an outstanding statesman. The appointment met with general approval. Al-Sahūlī held this high post until his death in 1209/1795 and was succeeded by the subject of this study, al-Shawkānī. (28)

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(25) Tahrīf, 5-6; Zabārah, Nashr, II, 900.
(26) al-Bādhr, I, 427; Zabārah, Mayl, II, 122-3; see below p. 61-71.
(27) al-Shawkānī, al-Bādhr, I, 461.
(28) al-Bādhr, II, 233-7; see also Tahrīf, 74; al-Ḥuthī, Nafārah, Appendix III below; al-‘Alīrī, ‘anṣūrī, 53-3; Zabārah, Mayl, II, 291-91.
b) The new mint and commander of the army

On 1 Sha'ban 1189/12 September 1775 al-Mansūr ordered the mint to be reopened. On Friday nineteen coins were minted in his name. People were ordered to use the new currency instead of that of al-Shāhī called al-Yahdawiyyah. Horses were also branded in the whole of the Yemen in al-Mansūr's name. (29)

In the same month, on 17 Sha'ban, al-Mansūr appointed his brother, Ḥāsin, governor of San'ā' and al-Janad, as well as commander of the army (āmir al-ajnāb), the same position which ʿAlī himself had occupied up to the death of his father. It was only for a very brief period however that Ḥāsin became the second man in the state. It was not long before he was replaced by al-Mansūr's son, Ahmad, a man of considerable ability and action. (30)

(29) Yāhāf, 6.

(30) Ibid. 6; Shawkānī, al-Badr, 461.
5. The "slave-princes"

It is worthy of note that al-\textsuperscript{7}Yah\textsuperscript{7}I ʿAbdān and his successors employed many of their own slaves, originally Abyssinians, as generals and commanders of their troops, sometimes even as governors. They gave each one title of amīr al-ʿūrā.\footnote{We know of many of these slaves. Their function and role is a subject of study by the present writer who feels that there is no need at present to give more details concerning them.} We believe that the reason behind this was the ease with which their masters could employ and dismiss them. Moreover they had no tribal or partisan links. In these early days of al-ʿAbnūr, he did not change his father's commanders (umārāʾ al-ajmāʿ), who were Emīr Pāryūz (d. 1202/1788) and Naqīb Bayhān. When they both died, they were replaced by other slaves, Emīr Surūr and Naqīb Jawhar, but only for a short time.\footnote{al-Badr, II, 461.}

On the other hand, Emīr Sād was dismissed from the governorship of Hodāidā. He had been the slave of Yahyā al-ʿUluflī and his assistant in many positions. After his master's death, al-\textsuperscript{7}Yah\textsuperscript{7}I appointed him in Bayhāh and other places in Tiḥārah. He was brave, rich and generous, but
he was of doubtful reputation. He was accused of mixing majoon (majjun) (33) and beverages (mahrubat) and using in his service beautiful young slaves in the presence of his guests. He was also accused of corruption. Al-Nahj dismissed him and after investigations his property was confiscated. However he was reappointed in Raymah and Modeida. He died shortly after his dismissal, four months after al-İanseir's elevation to the imamate. (34)

6. The old and new ministers.

Al-İanseir kept some of his father's ministers and appointed or changed others. Among those retained was the famous old wazir, al-Sayyid 'Ali b. Yahya al-Shami. He remained in his post till his death in 1197/1783. He was the one who advised al-İanseir to turn his attention to the previously unknown Faqih Hasan b. 'Uthman al-İulfii

(33) "Confection made of hemp leaves, benhane, satara seeds, poppy seeds, honey and cheese, producing effects similar to those of hashish and opium." cf. Wehr, Dictionary, 9-j-h.
(34) Yahlit, 13-7; Nurl, II, 137.
who was to be a minister after al-Shārī's death in 1197/1783 and at that time to play an unpopular role, together with his son, Hasan b. Hasan and his family, in al-Mansūr's administration. (35)

a) Hurayn b. Zayd al-Mīhrābī

From the old administration of his father there were at least three ministers who continued for a few years after which al-Mansūr treated them harshly on the pretext that he was thereby serving the public good. The first of these was al-Sayyid Hurayn b. Zayd al-Mīhrābī (1152-1232/1793-1817). After two years al-Mansūr confiscated his property and imprisoned him. The victim tried to commit suicide. Jahāf, as the official historian, gave five reasons for his misfortune, as follows. The inhabitants of San'ā' had complained of his unjust taxes, so they prayed that God would help them to be rid of him. He was in disagreement with the influential wazīr al-Akwa', behaved presumptuously towards al-Mansūr's court and showed disrespect for the presence of the imām himself. Moreover, al-Mīhrābī was hostile to 'All Qāsim al-‘Abbāṣ, brother of

(35) Jahāf, 126-7; Sabārah, Dhayl al-Badr al-Tali', II, 192.
the imam. Hence his properties were confiscated and he was imprisoned. The slave-prince, Fayruz, was made responsible for the execution of the imam's order. (36)

b) یابی ی al-Hasan al-Akwa

The second case is that of یابی ی al-Hasan al-Akwa who was one of al-Mahdī's famous ministers and was responsible for tribal affairs. It was an important position and he was well experienced in it. He continued for five years in al-Mansūr's service. It appears that al-Akwa was an extreme Shīʿī and a proud man, who had many enemies and critics. Jahāfīf repeated those base accusations levelled against al-Mahdī, adding that al-Akwa had no control over Bakīl. Al-Mansūr on this occasion acted in a particularly cruel way. He decided to inflict punishment on al-Akwa after showing him a great deal of respect over a period of several days. On the first Friday in Ramādān 1193/July 1779, he sent al-Akwa one of his finest horses and after prayers he ordered him to be provided with a horse even more magnificent than his own. The people were astonished and thought that al-Akwa had been-

(36) Jahāfīf, 27-8; Zabīrah, Māyī, I, 779.
core more important than the imam himself. On Saturday morning he ordered him to be tortured and imprisoned with all his family, relatives and supporters and confiscated some of their property. He ordered the slave-prince, Surūr, to stay with them until they had settled the amount due, sixty thousand qirsh from Ǧālī al-Akwa⁶ himself and forty thousand from all his family. They were charged with the daily payment of fifty qirsh which was to be paid to Surūr. They were imprisoned for two months. Among them was the Ġālin and faqīh ǦAbd al-Rahmān b. Ḥasan al-Akwa⁶ (1137-1207/1727-92), brother of Ǧālī ǦAhī, who was a famous Zaydī teacher in the Great Mosque, and was one of al-Shawkānī's Shaykhs. Although he had no connection with state affairs he was nevertheless imprisoned. Surely al-羰ūr acted with great tyranny when he went so far as to imprison the students and friends of ǦAbd al-Rahmān al-Akwa⁶ who came to intercede with the imam in order to secure a pardon for al-Akwa⁶. Al-羰ūr did not release them until each suppliant guaranteed that he would not come

(37) Ǧahāf, 71.
back to petition him further. (38)

When al-Akwa and was released after a year he was not involved again with the imam, as was the first one to fall from grace, al-Mihrābī. Al-Akwa left the Yemen with his son Husayn for Mecca on the pilgrimage and after his return he retired to a life occupied solely by scholarship and religious works until his death in 1293/1789. (39)

c) Faqīh Ālī b. Hanan al-Jirāfī

The last case is that of the faqīh and wāzīr Ālī b. Husayn al-Jirāfī who was responsible for the taxes and treasury of the Lower Yemen. The first position he held was in 1173/1759 in al-Dabārī's reign. He showed a high standard of professional capability. He continued with al-Manṣūr who confiscated his property many times on the advice of some of al-Jirāfī's enemies, particularly on that of Qādī Ahmad Muhammad ʿĀṭīn (d. 1199/1785). (40) the last occasion being in Shaʿbān 1197/1783 when al-Manṣūr

(40) al-Badr, I, 114.
sent Faqīḥ Sa‘īd b. ʿAlī al-Qarawānī (41) to confiscate his property in the Lower Yemen. Then it became a part of al-ʿanṣūr’s own private property. From then on he refused all employment in government service and avoided state affairs (wa-tajannaba an r al-dawlah) till his death in 1210/1795. (42)

7. Shaykhā and personal friends as ministers

Among the new ministers of al-ʿanṣūr were two with whom he was on friendly as well as official terms. We shall mention them briefly in this survey, not only to complete the picture of al-ʿanṣūr’s administration and behaviour, but also to show what kind of people they were and what their social origins and attitudes were.

(41) Faqīḥ Sa‘īd al-Qarawānī (1141-1204/1729-89) was an adīb and poet, companion of wazīr Ahmad al-ʿIhmi and close friend of Qāṭī Qāṭīn. He was employed by Imam al-Mahī. Jahāf, 172-91; al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 267; Sabūrah, Nayl, II, 5-8.

(42) Jahāf, 252-53; Sabūrah, Nayl, II, 171, erroneously 1204/1791.
a) *Muhammad b. Ahmad Khalîl (1160-1220/1747-1805)*

The first was *Muhammad b. Ahmad Khalîl al-Hamânî*, who was a shaykh of Hamân. He was one of the very few Yemeni tribal shaykhs to be well educated and to occupy a ministerial position in the government. Actually, there were other shaykhs who held positions outside their traditional ones as leaders of their tribes. These held official civil posts in the government as well as military one: and men like al-Bilayî of Bal-Harîth, al-Dulî of Tyal Sîrayh, Sharyân of Dhû Chaylân and al-Shaqqâqî of al-Haymah. They were however exceptions, as was Khalîl. He was an *adîb*, poet and politician. (43) He had good relations with al-‘ansûr prior to the latter’s elevation to the imamate and in 1194/1780 he was appointed as minister and was responsible for tribal affairs. He also succeeded Qâdî Hasan al-Hurûsah in the function of what appears to have been chamberlain (*wâqat al-bâh*). (44)

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(43) Al-*Amrî, Dîwân al-Shawkânî*, 89.
(44) Jahhâf, 73; al-Shawkânî, al-*Ba’r*, 11, 124.
He is described as big, forceful, handsome and white. He carried out his duties successfully for sixteen years until 1211/1796 when the minister Haran al-‘Ulufi al-Umawi accused him falsely of embezzling state funds. Al-‘Ulufi persuaded al-San‘ur to imprison him and his house in al-Raw‘ah, al-Yasri and Bi‘r al-Azab were confiscated. Only his house in San‘a’ was left to him. Al-‘Ulufi gave him no chance to contact al-‘Ansür. So, even after his imprisonment, he was placed under house arrest for a long time. (45)

b) Ahmad b. Ismā‘īl Fāyi (d. 1219/1804)

Sayyid Fāyi was the second minister who was also a friend of al-‘Ansūr. He was born and educated in San‘a’. Jahāf insists, with his usual tendency to label those whose biographies he writes, that he was Ḥashší from the

Hijaz by origin. (46) He also for example calls al-\textsuperscript{c}Uluf\textsuperscript{c} and his family Umayyān, saying that they were related to the famous caliph, Ābā \textsuperscript{b}al-Mālik b. Marwān (r. 86/705) and were therefore not Yemenis! Fāyi\textsuperscript{c} was a man of letters, a Humaynī poet, a generous and amiable character. He was the closest and most favoured friend of al-\textsuperscript{a}l-
\textsuperscript{a}mūr who used to visit him in his house and sometimes stay as his guest for many days. On one occasion in 1217/1802 al-\textsuperscript{a}mūr and his family stayed with him in one of his well-known houses east of San'ā' for sixteen days. When al-\textsuperscript{a}mūr left his host's house for Bīr al-\textsuperscript{c}Azab, the western area of San'ā',

(46) Jahhāf, 366. In the biography of Muhāzin a. Muḥammad Fāyi\textsuperscript{c}, uncle of Aḥmad, who died in 1194/1780, Jahhāf says that Muhāzin's father came to Yemen for the first time from the Hijaz asking for alms in order to live and support his family. He was poor until employed by al-Mahdī Muḥammad Ibn al-Mahdī Aḥmad (r. 1130/1713), lord of al-Mawāhib. His son Isma'īl, father of our present subject, Aḥmad, was a minister and an eminent person till his death in the time of al-\textsuperscript{a}hādī Ǧāblān in 1195/1771 (Jahhāf, 194-5). See also Zabārah, Dhayl al-Bāhir, II, 163; in his Sayl al-Humayayn, 169, he says that Fāyi\textsuperscript{c} came originally from Sa'ıdah, not from the Hijaz.
cannon were fired in salute and a special poem was composed by the famous poet Qādir ʿAbd al-ʿAbĪn al-Ānisī (1168-1250/1755-1834) to mark the occasion. (47)

Because of this special relationship between himself and the imam, it was difficult for Fāyiʿūn's opponents and critics to persuade al-Manṣūr to dismiss him or change his position. On occasion, however, they partly succeeded in limiting his authority, for example when al-Manṣūr relieved him of his responsibility for Ḥodeida in 1194/1780 and Ḥaráz in 1206/1791. (48) Nevertheless Fāyiʿūn lived in prosperity and luxury, holding his position until his death five years before his imam. But not long after his death, his family was in need and the vicissitudes of fate brought upon them great hardships. (49)

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(47) Jahlīf, 326; Zābārah, Ṣayl, I, 71-4.
(48) Jahlīf, 329, 368; Zābārah, Ṣayl, I, 71.
(49) Jahlīf, 363.
9. Punishment of slaves

We have seen how al-'amsür dealt with some of his ministers. The punishment meted out by him to the slave-emirs was more severe than to others. In the same month as the confiscation of al-Jirāfī's property in Lower Yemen, al-'amsür tortured one of his own father's slave-emirs, Čanbar al-Yahdī, ordering him to be brought under the window of Dār al-Futūh, stripped of his clothes and lashed. (50) Al-'amsür went to excess in his punishment of Čanbar. He imprisoned him in the fuel-area (millaḥ) (51) of a public bath where he remained for a whole month. The reason for this punishment was that al-'amsür asked Čanbar to share with him what he had taken from the people of al-Uayn. When he refused al-'amsür took him out of

(50) Jahāf, 124.
(51) A large underground area where the fuel used to heat public bath water is stored. It should be pointed out that most of the fuel used in San'ā' public baths is human excreta collected from the lavatories of the city houses. Cf. Sergeant an' Leacock, San'ā', 524b.
the fuel-area and put him in prison. (52)

It is clear that al-Marrūr began to take every oppor-
tunity to confiscate money as a punishment in order to
finance his own penchant for building palaces and fine
luxurious houses and for marrying frequently as we shall
see below.

9. Palaces and weddings

Even though al-Marrūr already had houses in Sana'a
and Bi'r al-ʿAzāb, he started in 1196/1782 to build Dār
al-Isād in the Tawašī quarter of the city. He bought
all the houses around it and demolished them. In the
same year he took another wife, the daughter of Faqīh
ʿAbdullāh b. Harān al-ʿAkwaʿ, governor of Yūba, with a
ceremony of great pomp and extravagance. (53) She died in

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(52) Jahlīf, 124. The story would seem to be unlikely.
Would the_imām really offer to share such monies
with his slave in the first place? If so, could
the slave then refuse?

(53) Jahlīf, 104-5
the middle of Rajab 1200/1786. The following year he married the daughter of ʿAlī Sabībah, the Ḥāchimī. At these wedding festivities there was even more pomp than at the previous one. Al-ʾานūr invited his soldiers and the eminent people of Ṣanʿāʾ to the banquet. He set up a pavilion for forty days. It is strange that less than two months later he married again, this time the daughter of Shaykh Muhīn b. Zaydi b. Rājih al-Khawlānī. He invited only the chiefs of Ḥāchī and Bakīl. It might have been a political marriage, but in any case it appears that it was unsuccessful, since al-ʾานūr divorced the daughter of al-Khawlānī again, still in the same year, 1201/1787, married the daughter of a certain Rājih of Dhu Jiblah.

The ceremony was in the palace of his son, Ahmad, in Bīr al-ʿAzab, as the second one had been in the palace of his brother, Qāsim. (54) During the same year, al-ʾานūr also bought the houses around another new palace, Dār al-Futūḥ,

(54) Jahāf, 152-3.
and demolished them to widen the east road of the Dāwr Mosque. (55) It is noteworthy that his son Sayf al-Islām Ahmad was following in his father's footsteps. Or perhaps there was competition between the two. Ahmad built Dār al-Dhahab and moved out of his old home in Bīr al-Āzab in 1200/1786. He invited his father and his uncle Muḥammad and their followers on this occasion. His father stayed with him for three days.

Again in 1203/1789 Ahmad married, albeit quickly, the daughter of "uḥṣa b. Hanān al-Abharī. This was less than a year after his marriage to the daughter of Qā'īr Ālī b. Yahyā Hanān (1155-1224/1742-1909) which had been a sumptuous wedding feast. (55)

(55) Tāhār, 152.
(56) Tāhār, 148, 151.
10. Administrative system and monetary affairs

The imam was an absolute ruler. He appointed and dismissed all ministers and judges. His power and control

(57) In order to be eligible for the office of imamate the candidate was required to possess the following fourteen qualifications, according to the Sayyidī madhhab: he must be adult (mukallaf), male, free, a descendant of Imam ʿAlī and his wife Fāṭimah, (even if he be the son of a freed slave-woman, ʿwa-la-waṭīqa), of sound mind (sāliḥ al-hawāsa) and limb, mujtahid, qualified to formulate a legal opinion, just, generous..., competent (as a ruler), most of his independent judgement bringing success, courageous without being foolhardy (miqām), none before him having been generally accepted as imam. The path of the imamate is daʿwah and there cannot be two imams... These excellent, high qualifications sometimes worked in reality, but not always, especially in the era in question and later. See al-ʿurtasā, al-Aẓhar, 313-5, al-Bahr al-Zakhkhār, VI, 371-92; al-Qāsim b. Muḥamad, al-Asās, 160; al-Maqbalī, al-Manār, II, ff.190-4; al-Shawkānī, al-Sayyid al-Jarrār, II, 7, 250; cf. Ibn Khaḍīm, al-Muqaddimah, I, 344-60; for imāmah, daʿwah and hayātah see ET2 and its bibliographies.
over them usually depended on his personality and strength of character. The imam used not to interfere in judicial affairs (ahkām al-shari'ah). The official responsible for the latter was the chief qādī (qādī 'l-qurāh), the first of whom, during the period under discussion, was Qādī al-Sahulī and later Qādī al-Shawkānī. We shall return to judicial affairs in chapter V below.

The authority of the various ministers was diverse and their jurisdiction extended over certain districts whose governors came directly under their instructions. For example, the wāzīr Fāyūt was responsible for Hadīda, al-Haymah and occasionally for Lower Yemen (al-Yaman al-anfāl). The minister would have under his control within his area a number of governors (ṣāmil or wāli). One minister was responsible for waqf, (nādir or ṣāmil), as well as for tribal affairs or public works. Some ministers were guilty of exploitation and nepotism. Some, on the other hand, were honest and of good reputation.

We know from Jāhāf that the coastal districts (banāditr Tihāmah) for instance used to spend monthly sums of money from the taxes and from commerce to the treasury (bayt al-mal) in Ṣan'ā' in order to keep a reserve for times of
need. (58) Modeida used to send three thousand riyals monthly. When the minister Fāyi in 1196/1782 ordered Bāhir Rizq Allāh, governor of Modeida, to increase the customary sum, the latter wrote directly to al-Mansūr who deprived Fāyi of his responsibility for Modeida. (59)

'Yocha was the largest dīwān in Yemen (60) and an important source of funds for the treasury. Its governor was always an important and capable person, e.g., Ǧalī al-Ammārī (61) and Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Jurmūzī. (62) The wazīr,

(59) Jahāf, 108.
(60) al-Shawkānī, al-Bādir, I, 447.
(61) Ǧalī b. Ǧalīh al-Ammārī (1149-1213/1736-98) was an Ǧalīm, poet, man of letters, a man of wide knowledge.
He worked under al-Jahāfī and al-Mansūr for a long time. After his governorship of Raymah and 'Yocha and other areas, he became the private designer of al-Mansūr’s buildings, being particularly interested in architecture. In addition to the many houses in San'ā’ and Bi'r al-Azab for whose design he was responsible, he built the famous Jār al-Ma‘ār of Wādī Dahr which remains in a good condition to this day. (Jahāf, 126, 285-91; al-Shawkānī, al-Bādir, I, 447-56; Sabārah, Mayl, II, 136-9); Thānīr, Shi‘r al-Rahmān, 273, 372.
(62) He was the descendant of the historian Ǧumāh b. Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Jurmūzī (1002-77/195-1667), the al-Jumāh being from the B. Jurmūz villages of Bal-Hārith, north of San’ā’.
who had more influence, was almost invariably in charge of Mokha.

Al-Jurmūzī was appointed governor in Raymah in 1192/1778. He showed there his great qualities, both as administrator and as human being, for he had arrived at a difficult time of extreme drought when the peasants had neglected their lands and migrated. He asked the minister of Tihāmah, Ālī al-Shāmī, to lend him thirteen thousand ṭirāls. He then bought three hundred oxen and distributed them to the farmers and granted them loans. In the next year 1193/1779 he sent back to al-Shāmī seventy-three thousand ṭirāls. His achievements and his governorship were talked of far and wide in the Yemen. (63) Al-Jurmūzī, after that, was appointed governor in Mocha in 1196/1782. When Hanān al-Ulufī succeeded al-Shāmī as minister, however, he treacherously dismissed al-Jurmūzī in 1193/1784. Al-Jurmūzī came to Ṣan`ā and presented his accounts. They were for a total of three hundred and eighty-seven thousand ṭirāls for the period of his governorship. He

(63) Jahāf, 65.
gave al-\'ansūr precious gifts, including twelve stallions with gilded caparisons and a fine umbrella which took the name al-Jumūziyyah after him. \( ^{(64)} \) This illustrates the willingness of al-\'ansūr to accept gifts from his officials.

\[ \text{(64) Tahhāf, 62, 69, 118, 127-8; Tāhārah, Nayl, I, 16-7.} \]
CHAPTER THREE

Internal upheaval and external events

"Injustice ruins civilization. The ruin...has as its consequence the complete destruction of the dynasty.

...Injustice should not be understood to imply only the confiscation of money or other property from the owners, without compensation and without cause. It is commonly understood in that way, but it is something more general than that..."

Ibn Khaldun

"I send to the noble Dir'iyah, telling her what her soldiers have done...

If worthy advice comes from a man of truth,

O Sa'ud, aid me in this!

Al-Shawkānī

إلى السُّرِيْفَةِ الْعَرَاءِ تَشْرِي، فَبِجَرِّ بَنْهَا، وَتَسْرُّحُ فِي رَبّكَ لمَّا جِهَارًا، فَسَمَّنَّهَا إِذَا ضَرَّحَت سَمَوْهَا."

("الصورة في السلكات: "Injustice ruins civilization. The ruin...has as its consequence the complete destruction of the dynasty. Injustice should not be understood to imply only the confiscation of money or other property from the owners, without compensation and without cause. It is commonly understood in that way, but it is something more general than that...")
1. The aggressive and rebellious behaviour of the tribes

One of the oldest problems which had to be faced by the central authority in the Yemen was the disobedience of the tribes and their attacks on and plundering of settlements.

The tribe of Baki were more troublesome than others. Their confederation consisted of Sufyan, Arhab, Bal-Harith, B. Hushayn, Sanhan, Cyal Sirayh, Mih, Rabul Cyal Yazid, Dhû Muhammad, Dhû Husayn and others. Their lineage is as follows:
The name of Hamdān b. 'Ālik b. Zayd, the ancestor of the two large tribes, Ḥashīd and Bakīl, has now become that of Hamdān of Ḥashīd, a small tribe living about ten miles north-west of San‘ā'; see al-Hamdānī al-Tklīl, II, 103, 381; X, 7 (who says: 'There is no 'Amādan, but only Hamdān b. 'Ālik b. Zayd'. Ṭbn al-‘albī, al-‘anāb, Ṭa‘b al-Hamdān, Table 227); Ṭashwān al-Kinīvari, Ṭamīr, 2; al-‘anānī, al-‘anāb, IX, 272-9; al-‘irāfī, al-‘antataf, 182; al-Akwa, al-Yaman, 112; and of Stephen, Yemen, 61, who partly misunderstood the tribal division.
The last two tribal groups have always lived in 'Abal Barat in the far north-east of the Yemen. Al-Hamānī (280-344/897-955) describes them as strong and quick to defend their clients. He also said that they were called Quraysh Hamān. (1) Al-Shawkānī describes them too, as we have mentioned above, as "those of valour", (2) although on another occasion he classifies them as dissidents. He goes on to inform us that they do not pray or read and states "...even if there is anyone of them [who can read], he would not read correctly..." Instead of the Šari'ah they submit to the customary laws of their predecessors (akhān al-tādhūt). Moreover, al-Shawkānī adds the majority of them allowed the spilling of 'urtum blood and the seizure of their properties. (3) Before al-Shawkānī, Ibn al-Amīr had already described in one of his poems the tribes of the Barat region as terrorists. In another, he says that during the sixty years of his life Dhū Mu'ayn had continuously acted in a shameful and disgraceful manner. (4)

(1) Al-Hamānī, Jifat, 361; al-Tkātā, 2, 28-30.
(2) Al-Shawkānī, al-Da'ir, 1, 199; and see above p. 29-9.
The government of San'a' used to deal with tribal attacks either by force, (sometimes using one tribe against another) or, avoiding conflict, by handing over sums of money. If the government were to stop or decrease the sum in question, then attacks on the towns held by the government would follow. Yam of Hashid and Khawlān were among the other tribes who participated in the long series of disturbances.

2. The beginning of the troubles

In 1192/1778 Dhū 'Ummād, led by Āl-Muṣaylān, left their territory for 'Ullān. Sayyid Mu'am al-Shirāzī, the governor, with a few people of Hashid, was advised by some of his aids to conciliate Dhū 'Ummād by handing over to them three thousand riyāls, three horses and three pieces of cloth. Al-'amūr Ārārād, but decided not to give Dhū 'Ummād their annual sums of money that year. They returned home. It was not long before Dhū 'Ummād came down to San'a', in Shawbān 1192/1778. But when they failed to achieve what they wanted there, they went to

(5) Mahāf, 61.
Tihāmah. On the long road between al-Haymah, Raymah and Harāz they killed and plundered wherever they went. They followed the same practice in the area of Bayt al-Faqīh and al-Zaydiyyah. From there they directed themselves to Wadi Mawr with the object of joining their rebellious brothers who had already arrived under the leadership of Sayyid Husayn b. ʿAlī b. Qāsim of Saʿdah. The reason for the Sayyid's rebellion was greed. He had written to al-Mansūr and his minister asking for an increase in the sums previously paid by custom to himself and his family. When his request was refused, however, he openly rebelled against the imam and went down to Tihāmah. (6) He led a group of various tribes including Dhū Muḥammad, b. Suraym, Khuraym under the leadership of Ibn ʿAshir, al-ʿUsaymāt and ʿAbd al-Ṣālim. The governor of Ḥajjah, Sayyid Yaḥyā b. Muḥsin b. ʿAlī b. al-Mutawakkil (7) led a small army and attacked them by surprise in Mawr. Eventually by clever tactics he defeated them and their leader, Sayyid Husayn, returned

(6) Ḥajhaf, 61.
(7) Yaḥyā b. Muḥsin al-Mutawakkil (d. 1221/1806) was a brave leader. He achieved fame by leading his men against numerous rebellions. He died in Zabīd, poisoned, with his son, ʿAlī. Cf. Jahhaf, 166, 411-3; Zabārah, Nayl, II, 398-9.
with his followers to a disappointed Sahār. (8) On the other hand, in the same year, 1192/1778, ʿAlī b. Rājih al-Khawlānī persuaded Khawlān to follow him, promising them wealth and glory. He led a large army of Khawlān and attacked the territory of Ānis, plundering travellers on his way. Al-Mansūr sent Emir Fayruz at the head of his troops, who dispersed them and pushed them back into the plain of Jāhrān about fifty miles south of Saʾā. (9)

3. The battle of Umm Sarjayn

In 1193/1779 news reached Saʾā that the former rebel, Husayn b. ʿAlī b. Qāsim of Saʾdāh, had again taken up the leadership of a group of thirteen hundred men from Dhū Muḥammad. They declared their rebellion against Saʾā and left Barat on their way there. Al-Mansūr ordered Hamdān to prevent them from crossing their territories north of Saʾā. The two sides met in battle at a place known as Umm Sarjayn. Dhū Muḥammad were defeated some of them killed. Then they changed their direction

(8) Jahhāf, 61.
(9) Jahhāf, 61.
towards Jabal Hadūr west of Sanqā. Al-Mansūr summoned Emir ʿAbd b. Ḥasan b. Muḥsin b. al-Mutawakkil, (10) governor of al-Ǧirās about twenty miles north-east of Sanqā. He came at the head of five hundred men from Nihm and five hundred from Arḥab. In Bawān, west of Sanqā, he led his troops into battle and defeated the rebels, although he was initially losing the battle and was himself captured.

4. The rebellion of Ibn Ishāq

Five years after giving his oath of allegiance in the early days of al-Mansūr, as we have stated above, Sayyid ʿAlī b. Ahmad b. Ishāq, who was an eminent figure and the head of Al Ishāq, left Sanqā in an angry mood in Rajab 1194/1761 for the strong tribe of Arḥab after he had already made secret contact with them and others. From there Ibn Ishāq declared the imamate of al-Mansūr null and

(10) ʿAbd al-Mutawakkil (1135-1219/1722-1804) was a second cousin of Yahya al-Mutawakkil, previously mentioned, of Hajjah. Both of them were leaders in many battles and occupied the position of Āmil in different places in the time of al-Mahdī and his son al-Mansūr. Cf. Jahāf, 166, 359, 411-3; Zabārah, Nayl, II, 17-8.
void, claiming the office for himself. His attitude in this connection left behind him in Sanā‘a a serious political situation. (11) Although Jahhāf, as well as Shawkānī, recognised the importance and abilities of Ibn Ishāq, Jahhāf alone gives the impression that he rebelled motivated by personal reasons, not because of al-Mansūr’s behaviour which would necessitate his rebellion, that of a Zaydī ġālim against the unjust imam. He said that Ibn Ishāq was angry with the minister, ġAli b. Yahyā al-Shāmī, who was not just in dealing with his dispute with the emir-slave, Ziyād al-Habashi, governor of Hays, over the question of the high taxes raised on the properties in Hays of Ibn Ishāq’s agent. Ibn Ishāq used as intermediaries such important men as Qādi al-Sahwī, ġAli b. Yahyā al-Mutawakkil and others, but without achieving any result. He referred his case personally to al-Mansūr who, however, returned it to the administrative office (diwān). (12) However, Ibn Ishāq settled in Shi‘b, a small town in Arhab, and camped

(11) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 427; Jahhāf, 76.

(12) This office was in operation until 1962. For the word diwān, cf. Ibn Khaldūn, II, 21-32, a description which accords well with the Yemeni context.
there. He was followed by some of his family, Al Ishāq, and a few other important figures including his uncle, Yaḥyā b. Muhammad who died in the following year, 1195/1781, in his nephew's camp in B. Jurmūz. (13)

Al-Mansūr prepared an army under the command of Emir Surūr and Sayyid Abd al-Mutawakkil mentioned above, and ʿAlī Khalīl of Hamdān. The army left Ṣanʿā in Ramadān two months after his rebellion and the territories of al-Jahiliyyah were brought under its control. In B. Jurmūz, an area and village in the frontier region of Bal-Hārith, there were clashes between the two sides, but without any result.

Emir Ziyād of Hays assured al-Mansūr that he could seize Ibn Ishāq, who was his enemy. So he also left Ṣanʿā for al-Rawdah, a few miles to the north, on his way to the battle-field, but he soon returned to Ṣanʿā. When Ibn Ishāq knew that Ziyād was coming, he swore an oath to kill him, if he left Ṣanʿā. He is said to have declared ambigu-

"Wa-llāhi law faraqahā la-faraqahā'!"

"Indeed, if he were to leave it [i.e. San'a']
He would leave it [i.e. this life]!"  (14)

At the same time certain Khawlānīs left San'a'. They attacked and plundered a merchant caravan south of San'a' but then later they themselves were attacked in the Sanhān and Asnāf areas. The Khawlānīs were glad to return safe and sound, although empty-handed.

In Ramadan 1194/1780 the same Khawlānīs returned under the pretence that al-Mansūr had stopped their customary stipends. They cut roads and attacked Ānis territory. For this reason al-Mansūr summoned Emir Ziyād from al-Rawdah. Instead of asking him to join the army fighting Ibn Ishāq, al-Mansūr sent him at the head of troops to fight the Khawlānīs. The tribes were afraid of Ziyād and his troops, since he was known as a brave and courageous man, and they fled. Ziyād pursued them with only ten of his men to al-Sharazah. There he was killed together with

(14) Jahḥāf, 76-7.
his brother-in-law, Ibn Biqrāt and another slave. When
the rest of Ziyād's men arrived, they captured some of
the Khawlānīs and brought them down to the imam in San'a'.
He asked Qādī Yahyā al-Sauhūlī for his formal legal opinion
(fatwā) and ordered that their heads be cut off. They
were thirty in all, including Shaykh Muhammad b. Husayn
al-Fahdī who was at that time in San'a' and in fact absent
from the battle. He was brought from the Great Mosque
and, together with the thirty, was put to death and all
their heads were displayed on the Bāb al-Yaman. (15)

Six months or more passed without any decisive out-
come between al-Mansūr's army and Ibn Ishāq. Al-Mansūr
therefore decided to make peace with him. He sent his
chief qādī, Yahyā al-Sauhūlī, his brother Emir Qāsim,
Sayyid Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī Muhammad (1165-1237/
1781-1821) (16) and other eminent personalities, to
negotiate his return to San'a'. Al-Mansūr accepted all
Ibn Ishāq's demands. The latter asked for horses, slaves,

(15) Jahhāf, 77-8.
(16) He was a companion and disciple of al-Shawkānī. For
his biography, cf. al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 137; al-
Shijni, al-Tiqār, ff. 118A; Zabarah, Nayl, I, 253;
money and a monthly stipend. He requested also to be accepted as a mediator, to become governor of Hays and Wusāb. Finally he asked to be allowed to remain some time where he was in Arhab. Al-Mansūr agreed and there was a temporary truce between them. (17)

Less than a year later in Shawwāl 1195/1781 the Barat of Bakīl came down to al-Rahabah about twenty miles north of San'ā'. They wrote threatening al-Mansūr. He asked them to remain where they were and gave them money and sustenance. They stayed for three months and during that time Sayyid ʿAlī Ibn Ishāq took the opportunity to go to them asking for their cooperation and for help to cross to Wusāb. Actually they used him against al-Mansūr. The latter was compelled to pay out more money to them in order to persuade their leaders to return home and abandon Ibn Ishāq. (18)

(17) Jahhaf, 76-7; al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 427; Zabārah, Nayl, II, 121.
(18) Jahhaf, 91.
5. The alliance between Ibn Ishāq and Qādī al-ʿAnsī

However, the Barat came back to al-Rahabah on Wednesday 17 Jumādā 1196/2 June 1782, this time under their rebel leader Qādī ʿAbdullāh b. Hasan al-ʿAnsī al-Barātī. (19)

He waited for five days accepting some money from al-Mansūr in order to bring about a reconciliation with him. After that however al-Mansūr neglected him and when Ibn Ishāq came down to meet Qādī al-ʿAnsī al-Barātī the two of them agreed to attack Sanʿā'. On the evening of Monday 22 Jumādā II 1196/7 June 1782 they left al-Rahabah in the north with their tribes for Haddah about five miles south-west of Sanʿā'. When they passed by the western side of Qāc al-Yahūd, the Jewish quarter, (20) they were shot at by the garrison. Then al-Mansūr decided to go out to fight them himself. He gathered his troops and a few men from various tribes and divided them into three groups, headed by Emir

(19) They were known also as al-ʿUkām. The family was descended from the famous apostate of the time of the Riddah wars, al-ʿAswād al-ʿAnsī, who came from the same area. The ʿAnsī family as a whole played a destructive role during the period under discussion.

(20) Now Qāc Maydān al-ʿUlufī after the officer Muhammad al-ʿUlufī who tried to assassinate Imam Ahmad in Modeida Hospital in 1381/1961.
Mirjan, Emir Rayhan and his son Ahmad who played a brave and important role in combating the three divisions of Qadi al-Ansi and Ibn Ishaq in Haddah, San'a' and Bayt Sabatan. After a long day of fighting al-Ansi was defeated and fled to Jabal 'Ayban in the west where he was faced with al-Halili leading the tribes of Bilad al-Bustan. Then he turned south and fled with his companions to the Lower Yemen. Ibn Ishaq against his will was forced to continue to co-operate with al-Ansi. The result of the encounter was seventeen killed and many injured on al-Ansi's side, including his brother Qadi Muhammad b. Hasan al-Ansi who was carried from the battle-field and died in Qa' Dhamar. On al-Mansur's side his minister, 'Abdullah b. Ahmad al-Nihmi, Emir Najj al-Mansur, Emir Yaqut al-Mahdi, Shaykh Muhammad b. Salih Radman, 'Ali b. Fath Yahya Surur and two others were killed. (21)

Three years after that Ibn Ishaq decided to break off relations with his allies after two or three abortive attacks in the area of San'a' and in the Lower Yemen. Moreover, he was disgusted by the way in which the tribes

used to kill and dishonour women. (22)

From Baḍān in Rabi‘ II 1199 / January 1785 Ibn Ishāq sent a message to the imam’s minister, al-Hasan b. Alī Hanash, through the governor of Yarīm Qādī Yahyā b. Muḥsin Hanash (d. 1132/1720) (23) telling al-Mansūr that he had decided to get rid of the rebels and their corruption. He asked permission to stay wherever al-Mansūr wished him to live, but not to come to Ṣan‘ā‘. (24) Al-Mansūr sent some of his men to verify Ibn Ishāq’s sincerity. Eventually Ibn Ishāq left the camp of Qādī al-‘ Ansī al-Barātī and joined a group of Khawlānīs who had already left him. Some tribal leaders (nuqabā‘) (25) of Dhū Muḥammad, Dhū Humaydān, Dhū Ḥusayn and of Khawlān also joined Ibn Ishāq. When al-‘ Ansī realised at the last moment that they had abandoned him, he gave vent to his disappointment and exclaimed: “Something has been plotted at night!” (26)

(22) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 428.
(23) His biography is in Zabārah, Nayl, I, 397; Jahāf has mentioned his achievements in settling disputes.
(24) Jahāf, 141; al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 428.
(25) Sing. naqīb, tribal leader. In Bakīl especially the title is used instead of shaykh.
(26) Jahāf, 141; a well known Arabic proverb.
The governor of Yarım sent all means of help to Ibn Ishāq and his followers and told him that al-Mansūr insisted he come to San'a' where he would be pleased to see him. After consulting with the leaders of the tribes Ibn Ishāq agreed to go. He remained three days in Yarım on his way to San'a'. Al-Mansūr sent two of his own horses and pieces of cloth for him and his son, Isma'īl. When he arrived in San'a' on Thursday 2 Rabi' II 1199/1 January 1785, he was received by a crowd of people with great pomp. On the same day his brother ḤAbd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad (1159-1225/1746-1810) was released from prison. Al-Mansūr received him kindly and generously. From that time he frequented the ulema and udāba' and propagated the virtues of Imam ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, since he was an extreme Shi`ī.

In 1203/1788 Ibn Ishāq went to Mecca on the pilgrimage. There he read some fine poems of his own composition in praise of the Prophet Muḥammad, reciting them at his tomb in Medina. After his return he retired to Rawdah to a life

of scholarship and poetry, writing exclusively on the merits of Imam Alī b. Abī Ṭalib. He asked singers (munshidīn) to compose music to his words. He continued in this way of life until 1210/1795 when it happened that al-Mansūr visited al-Rawdah and met him there. After that day he left al-Rawdah for Haddah. It appears that he was not happy with the meeting with the imam and he had had contact again with his old allies. Al-Mansūr seized him and imprisoned him with his son Ismā'īl in the Qasr of San‘ā’ until 1218/1803. There he wrote other poems of a general nature. Two years later he died in his home in San‘ā’.

6. Qādī al-Ansārī and his rebellion

The late historian Muhammad Zabarah says that Tihāmah was attacked for the first time by Barat, Ḥashid and Bakīl in 1145/1732 when these tribes came down led by Ābd al-


"...it was the first time they displayed such boldness and plundered. From then on they frequently came and attacked it [al-Luhayyah] and other towns of the country..." (29)

We have already mentioned other attacks led by ʿAnṣīs, either during the time of al-Mahdī ʿAbbās, or later in al-Mansūr's reign. (30) In one year, 1198/1784, al-ʿAnṣī led four attacks (31) and after separating from Ibn Ishaq in 1199/1786 he left Barat for al-Sharqdhanah. This time he was at the head of Khawlān and al-Hadā, in addition to his own men. He camped in Baḍān and settled in Fajrat Qaydān. From there he sent bands to attack al-Qafr of Yarīm and Suq Ribāb. (32) These events in the central areas were accompanied by attacks and plundering in Wadi Dahr of Hamdān and Bayt al-Khwālānī, north-west of Saʿā by five hundred of Dhū Muḥammad. (33)

(29) Zabārah, Nashr, II, 887.
(32) Ibid., 142. (33) Ibid. 142.
In 1200/1786 Husayn b. Hasan al-\(\text{Ans}^{\text{i}}\) and his brother continued their trouble-making in the central areas. Emir Yahyā Hanash, governor of Yarīm, did his best to drive them away, but finally al-Mansūr was forced to send his adviser, Qāḍī Ahmad Muhammad al-Harāzī (d. 1227/1812), who on numerous occasions mediated between al-Mansūr and his opponents, \((34)\) to conciliate the two brothers. \((35)\) Another \(\text{Ans}^{\text{i}}\), Ahmad b. \(\text{Al}^{\text{i}}\), created trouble in the same area, but was defeated by Hanash after he had tried to establish control over Jabal Riyāb. The farmers returned to their fields after they had been threatened with imprisonment by al-\(\text{Ans}^{\text{i}}\). \((36)\)

In the next year 1208/1793 Qāḍī Husayn b. Hasan al-\(\text{Ans}^{\text{i}}\) again gathered some of the Dhū Muhammad in al-Shīr and built a defensive position in a place called Hamar. From there he engaged in murder and terrorism. Jahhāf, for the first time, says that he also openly drank wine and practised all manner of vile deeds. \((37)\) Al-Mansūr was obliged to conciliate him with a quantity of millet.

\((34)\) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 96; Zabārah, Nayl, I, 197.
\((35)\) Jahhāf, 146.
\((36)\) Ibid., 194.
\((37)\) Ibid., 230.
Only a year after these events Qādī Husayn al-Ansī al-Baraṭī resumed his acts of sabotage by cutting the Sumārah pass on Ḥīd al-Aḍḥā 1209/July 1795 and plundering defenceless travellers. (38) His nephew Ṣāliḥ b. Hasan seized the fort of Ḥabb of Dhū Jiblāh when he had heard the complaint of its garrison against the governour of the area. Actually they handed over another fort to him in return for sixty riyāls. (39)

Cabdullāh b. Hasan al-Ansī at the same time left Bakīl to join his brother, Husayn, and the others in al-Shīr. He passed through Sanā' with men on his way to the centre of the troubles, but the Imam al-Mansūr did not interfere. (40) Jahhāf is clearer in his explanation when he comments on the events of the year after, 1210/1795-6. Here he says that, despite the passing through Sanā' of the tribes, their frequent sieges and plundering, made necessary by a severe drought, al-Mansūr, being preoccupied with his own affairs, did nothing. (41) Jahhāf

(38) Jahhāf, 235.
(39) Ibid., 235.
(40) Ibid., 235.
(41) Ibid., 250.
adds that he was seriously concerned as to how to destroy the tribes of Khawlān, who were also led at that time by al-Muthannā Ǧalī Sabr, and who made a series of attacks on Khawlān itself, ǦAns, Wusāb al-Asfāl and ǦUtumah. He brought a thousand camels with him to carry the loot and the product of his greed. (42) Al-Mansūr persuaded a group of Dhū Husayn of Bakīl to punish Khawlān. He secretly discussed the affair with their leader, Naqīb Yahyā b. Hādī al-Shāyif and his family, Āl al-Shāyif, enticing him with the promise of retaining whatever Khawlān themselves had taken, which was indeed a very great deal. (43) Actually Khawlān were defeated in ǦAns territory and lost the battle and what they had won and their own camels. Also two hundred men were buried in ǦAyshān, a village northwest of Dhamār, where the battle took place. (44)

Bakīl returned victorious to Sanʿāʾ. Al-Mansūr expressed his approval by treating Āl al-Shāyif and their tribes with great generosity, which thus rendered them

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(42) Jahhaf, 250.
(43) Ibid., 250-1.
(44) Ibid., 251.
beholden to him.

As for the Ĉansīs in the central and lower Yemen, they continued to act, and the imam to react, in the same way, until the end of al-Mansūr's reign. But nothing decisive was gained by either side. Indeed an accident was to happen in Sanʿāʾ to one of them in the final year of al-Mansūr's reign. This turned out to be one reason for his downfall, as we shall see in the following chapter. (45)

7. Abū Hulayqah and his trouble-making

Among those who caused trouble for al-Mansūr was Muhammad b. Saʿād Abū Hulayqah of Khawālān. He was originally an unknown person and left his tribe, Khawālān, looking for a means of supporting himself. He came to Hubaysh and entered the service of its governor, Ĉalī b. Ǧesm Ğil b. Ibrāhīm, who was in need of troops. Abū Hulayqah led a handful of mercenaries carrying out the governor's instructions in the area. He showed intelligence and ability. (46) In 1198/1733-4 Abū Hulayqah left his master

(45) See below, p.99.
in Hubaysh and came to San'ā', looking to improve his position, despite his low social origins. Jahhāf claims that he bribed the minister, Ahmad Fāyi, with one thousand riyāls in order to get the latter to help him in his ambition. Fāyi, however, disappointed him. (47) Abū Hulayqah returned to his old master, ĈAlī b. Ismā'īl, and continued in his service, waiting for more favourable circumstances. However, in 1203/1788-9, he led his men in an attack on Hubaysh and occupied Dār ĈAlwah, belonging to the sons of ĈAlwah. He remained there and sent some of his men to occupy the fort of Dār al-Hafā which dominated the area of Hubaysh. Then he started to plunder and loot the nearby villages and spread his disturbances throughout the area. (48)

It was the beginning of his trouble-making which continued intermittently, but also severely, for seventeen years, till his death in 1220/1805. (49)

(47) Jahhāf, 166.
(48) Ibid., 160.
(49) Ibid., 415.
Al-Mansūr sent Yahyā b. Muḥsin al-Mutawakkil (50) at the head of five hundred troops. Al-Mutawakkil moved by forced march and attacked Hubayh by night, recapturing it. But after four days of siege, he failed to take the fort, Dār al-Hafā, and he thus resorted to his usual clever tactics. He sent to Arḥab asking for fifty clever thieves who soon arrived. (51) He used them to climb up to and spy on the fort in secret. Finally he ordered them to throw dead dogs into the wells to poison the water supply. So Abū Ḥulayqah's men could only hold out for two days before being forced to surrender. Meanwhile the minister, Fāyi, had also sent Sahykh Ṭabdullāh al-Dulā at the head of a group of Iyāl Sirayh and Nihm and summoned al-Mutawakkil back to Sanʿā'. Al-Dulā was directed to Dār al-Wah where he met Abū Ḥulayqah and his men. Al-Dulā defeated Abū Ḥulayqah who withdrew with his men to a fortress and fortifications in which to protect themselves. (52) Fighting continued for two months without any decisive result. Al-Dulā sought help from Dhū Jiblāh, since Yahyā al-Mutawakkil had already left for Sanʿā', and it appeared

(50) Zabārah, Nayl, 388; Jahhāf, 166; Cf. above p. 59, footnote 7.
(51) Jahhāf, 166.
(52) Ibid., 167.
that there was no governor in the town, but only the judge, Sayyid Zayn al-'Abidîn b. Yahyâ al-Khubâni (d. 1247/1831) (53) who came to help with a few people, dragging a cannon with them. They fired the cannon without immediate result, but at last conciliation was brought about and Abû Hulayqah left the area for his home territory. (54)

Abû Hulayqah stayed in Khawlân for only twenty-eight days. There he collected mercenaries and again prepared himself for new attack. He marched once more against Ānis and Raymah where he attacked their territories. There was fighting between him and the garrison, aided by the people of al-Dawmar. Once again he was defeated and the heads of some of his men were sent to al-Mansûr in San'â', in Jumâdâ II 1203/1789. However, Abû Hulayqah returned to attack Ānis and to terrify its people. At this point al-Mansûr decided to lead personally a punitive expedition, not only against Abû Hulayqah, but also to purge all areas of troubles and disobedience, so preparations started in a state of extreme alert. (55)

(53) He served as judge in many different areas for a long time and died in Ibb. For his biography, cf. Zâbarah, Nayl, I, 421.
(54) Jahhâf, 167.
(55) Ibid., 167.
8. **The Campaign Army**

Al-Mansūr took certain measures in his preparations for the campaign. On the advice of his minister, Hasan al-CLUufī, he summoned two of the latter's relatives from their governorships to lead the campaign. They were al-Husayn b. Ahmad al-CLUufī of Bayt al-Faqīh and Hamīd b. cAbdullāh of Raymah. After consultations between Imam al-Mansūr and his minister, it was generally agreed that the former should pretend to lead the army personally. This clever decision on the part of al-Mansūr to seek the advice of the Āl al-CLUufī embarrassed their opponents in the capital and their competitors within the administration who as a result hastened to promise all means of support and a great deal of money for the imam's cause. From them and from his own treasury, al-Mansūr collected the sum of three hundred and sixty thousand silver riyāls.

Secondly, al-Mansūr ordered one of his ministers, Muhammad Khalīl, to recruit the army from different tribes, namely from Wādī'ah of Bakīl and from al-CLUaymāt, B. Mālik, B. Suraym, Khārif, B. Sihām, al-CArūsh of Ḥāshid and others. The enlisted tribal men numbered ten thousand and the army
in all reached twenty-four thousand. (56) Al-\textsuperscript{mans}ur also ordered cannons to be brought down to the gate of D\textsuperscript{arr} al-\textsuperscript{Is\textsuperscript{ad} from the Qasr of San\textsuperscript{a}. Engineers, labourers, possibly from the smith market (\textit{Suq al-hadd\textsuperscript{adin}}, and carpenters were all involved in the transportation of the cannons, under the instruction of H\textaejj Al\textsuperscript{al} al-Sa\textae{ati}, renowned for his expertise in the field of engineering. Ladders for scaling and saws for cutting trees were made. Seven hundred Muslims and Jews were chosen to demolish forts and fortifications. All received ample living expenses.

As soon as the mobilization had taken place al-\textsuperscript{mans}ur sent his ministers and officials to D\textsuperscript{arr Salm, a village a few miles south of San\textsuperscript{a}, to bid the army farewell and satisfy all their needs. He gave clothes to the tribal chiefs and to the army officers.

On Monday 15 Sha\textsuperscript{ban} 1203/15 May 1782, al-\textsuperscript{mans}ur paraded the army, as numerous as locusts, in the words of Jahh\textae{af}, (57) before his palace. It was only after the army had left to carry out his military aims that al-\textsuperscript{mans}ur

(56) Jahh\textae{af}, 167.
(57) Ibid., 168.
disclosed that he would remain in Sana'a. It is clear that his son Ahmad was not among the military leaders either and it is possible that he allowed Ahmad with certain others to remain with him to protect the capital.

After camping the first night in Raymat Ibn Humayd, the army moved the second day to Saynān Khawān. With such military preparation news of the campaign quickly reached every quarter of the Yemen. The first action was against Abu Hulayqah in Bayt al-Wazān where the fort of al-Khawān and the nearby villages of Khawān were destroyed and Abu Hulayqah disappeared. The army advanced east and south sacking all the fortresses, castles and fortified walls. This punitive expedition and purge extended to al-Ḥadā where Shaykhs al-Bukhaytī, al-Qawsī and Bayt Abu Cātif submitted and the imam appointed Shaykh Ahmad Qāsim Shamsān as governor. From there they continued to Rada'C and Bilād CAns where they destroyed the fort of al-Dhahab and all the heads of Qā'ifah (Qayfah) gave their allegiance to the imam. These included Husayn al-Hutām, Husayn b. Zayd, Abu Suraymah and others. The army advanced to Bilād al-Rasās, in the province of al-Baylā', in the east and
al-\textsuperscript{c}Awāliq in the south. Al-Rasās, who had submitted, sent messages to Hadramawt and al-Shihr telling them that no-one could face or fight this enormous and terrifying army. (58) In fact, the south was not in the plan of campaign, since al-Mansūr was content with nominal sovereignty in the area over which San\textsuperscript{c}-ā' had gradually lost control after the death of al-Mahdī Abbās.

However, the army carried out all its aims successfully and all tribes and rebels submitted, sometimes without fighting, and many shaykhs and tribal leaders sent their hostages to al-Mansūr in San\textsuperscript{c}-ā'.

Finally after about three months the leaders and the army returned victorious to San\textsuperscript{c}-ā' on 17 Dhū 'l-Qa\textsuperscript{c}dah 1204/31 July 1790. It seems that al-Mansūr's position was strong and the state found itself in a time of stability. The only new threat and serious danger was now in Tihāmah.

(58) Jahhāf, 171.
9. Sharif Hamud of Tihama and the Wahhabi threat

It is a well known fact that the era under discussion is in part contemporary with the spread throughout the Peninsula of Wahhabism, a new and rigid doctrine. The Wahhabis sacked Karbala in 1216/1801, captured Mecca in 1218/1803 and Medina in the following year. They destroy-

(59) The Wahhabiyyah is an Islamic movement founded by Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab (1115-1201/1703-87). This name was given to the community by its opponents during the founder's lifetime and is used by Europeans; it is not used by its members in Saudi Arabia, who call themselves the Muwahhidun (unitarians) and their system (tarīqah), the Muhammadiyyah. They regard themselves as Sunnis, following the school of Ahmad b. Hanbal (d. 241/855) as interpreted by Ibn Taymiya (d. 728/1328) who attacked the cult of saints in many of his writings, especially in his Risalah, condemning the visitation of tombs. His ideas were accepted also by the Zaydi school. Al-Shawkani, among others, wrote a commentary on one work of Ibn Taymiyyah's grandfather, 'Abd al-Salam (d. 652/1254). See below, part II. For the Wahhabiyyah, cf. Ibn Bishr, Unwān al-Majā', I, 120-5; EI1, IV, 1086; Serjeant and Chul, 'Arabia', BR, 1049; Hourani, Arabic thought, 37-8; Hitti, History of the Arabs, 740-1; Watt, Islamic philosophy, 164-5. For further details, cf. Rashid Rida, al-Wahhabiyyun wa'l-Hijaz, Cairo, 1344 H.; Husayn Ibn Ghannam, Tarikh Najd, Cairo 1949; Ahmad Muhammad al-Dubayb, 'Āthar al-Shaykh Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab, Riyadh, 1397.
ed venerated tombs and purged these cities of anything which smacked of idolatry. (60) They also invaded Syria and Iraq. They planned to extend their activities to Tihāmah of the Yemen. In Tihāmah it was not until the end of the twelfth/eighteenth century that the Sharīfs of Āl Khayarūt emerged as the local rulers of the area. Their most important leader was Sharīf Hamūd b. Muhammad Abū Mismār (1170-1233/1756-1818) (61) who was originally act-
in the name of Imam al-Mansūr ʿAlī of Sanʿāʾ. (62) Sharīf Hamūd was ambitious and brave. The weakness of the admin-
istration in Sanʿāʾ in these difficult times encouraged
him to take the opportunity to establish himself in Abū Ḍarīsh as an independent sovereign. At about the same
time in the mountains of al-Sarāh the leadership crystal-
lised under ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. ʿĀmir Abū Nuqṭah al-Rufaydī. He, together with his brother Muhammad b. ʿĀmir (who died
on his return), made a visit to ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Suʿūd (d. 1218/1803) in his capital, al-Dirāʾīyyah in Najd, and both accepted Wahhabism enthusiastically. (63) Abū Naqṭah

(60) Ibn Bishr, Ḥunwān al-Najd, I, 121-3.
(61) Al-Šawkānī, al-Badr, I, 240 and see his biography in our edition of Diwān al-Shawkānī, 251-2, n.3.
(63) Al-Bahkhālī, Nafh al-ʿUṣūl, 128.
was appointed governor of Upper Asīr by Ibn Su'ūd. Several times the Wahhābis clashed with Sharīf Hamūd, who nevertheless, for reasons of expediency, acknowledged Saudi authority at times. Basically, however, the lowland Asīrīs, like the Hijāz, did not readily take to Wahhabism. (64)

Fighting between Hamūd and Abu Nuqtah, supported by and on behalf of the Saudi Wahhābis, came to a peak in an unequal battle in the middle of Ramadān 1217/17 January 1803 near Abū cArīsh. Hamūd, after showing great personal courage, (65) was defeated and surrendered. Hamūd, in new circumstances, tactically feigned loyalty to the new lord of al-Dir'iyah and the Wahhābī cause when he met Emir cAbd al-Wahhab Abū Nuqtah in the Saudi camp two days later.


He carried a message explaining to al-Mansūr the exact situation, that Hamūd had submitted to Wahhabism only apparently, not in reality. He declared himself with the imam against the Saudis and informed him that he was urgently awaiting

(64) Winder, Saudi Arabia, 27.
(66) His biography in Zabarah, Nayl, I, 323-7.
help before the Wahhābī mission (da'wah) spread all over al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī. If this were to happen, it would be extremely difficult to save what was already in Wahhābī hands. (67) Shārīf Hāmūd's compatriot and biographer, al-Bahkālī (d. 1248/1832), who was once one of al-Shawkānī's disciples and close friends, (68) has revealed Hāmūd's hopeless condition at this time. The envoy met al-Mansūr's minister, āl-ʿUlūfī, in Sanā', warning him that, if the imam were not to send troops, Hāmūd would be at liberty to go over to the Wahhābīs (Ahl al-Dawāwīh). (69) When al-Ḥāzīmī, the envoy of Shārīf Hāmūd, asked for a meeting with al-Mansūr, āl-ʿUlūfī advised him not to exaggerate the situation to the imam! Al-Ḥāzīmī met al-ʿAnsūr and then waited for six months in Sanā' for the troops and help. He was followed there by Shārīf Yahyā b. ʿAlī Fāris, another envoy from Shārīf Hāmūd to Sanā'; but all their exhortations fell on deaf ears. (70)

Eventually, Shārīf Hāmūd received the area from the Wahhābī emir Abū Nuqtah, who appointed him emir on behalf

(67) Al-Bahkālī, Nafh al-ʿUd, 139.
(69) Al-Bahkālī, Nafh, 139.
(70) Al-Bahkālī, Nafh, 139-40, 134-5.
of Ibn Su'ud to act as his agent on certain conditions.

Sharif Hamud was to:

"...fight the Yemenis on his borders, break off relations with the imam of San'a and fight against him if he were to send any troops. [Hamud] had no choice but to meet his obligations. He thought that Imam al-Mansur would not delay in sending troops to defend his territories all over his kingdom, the lowlands and the highlands, particularly after he [Hamud] had sent to him [al-Mansur] the scholar, al-Hassan b. Khalid al-Hazimi." (71)

Thus Hamud's pragmatism led him to support the Saudis for some time. Later, however, he turned his back on them.

Over the next three years he strengthened his position and became the real master of the whole of Tihamah when he captured al-Luhayyah, al-Hudaydah, Zabid and Hayas. (72)

He tried to extend his sovereignty not only over the Tihamah area, but also over the Hajjah district in the high mountain region north-west of San'a. However he was driven out in 1220/1805 (73) and the poet, Qadi Abd al-Rahman al-Anisi was reappointed governor of Hajjah. (74)

(71) BahkalI, Nafh, 142.
(73) Al-BahkalI, Nafh, 177-9; Jahhaf, 389.
(74) Jahhaf, 390; al-BahkalI, Nafh, 178.
Al-Mansūr was not able to send more troops, especially after the rise of new opposition in Harāz, the area between Hamūd in the west in Tihamah and al-Mansūr in the east. The latter sent an expedition under his slave Maysūr who however lost control over his troops and who was therefore reinforced later by Faqīh Yahyā b. Muhsin Hanash with some of Bakīl. This was, however, to no avail and the latter took flight, returning to San'a'.

It was clear around the year 1220/1805 that Hamūd had the upper hand since al-Mansūr faced many political and economic difficulties in the capital. (75) What is more, he fell under the influence of his minister, Hasan b. Hasan al-Ulufī and his relatives. Moreover, al-Mansūr had prepared Sayyid Yahyā b. Muhsin al-Mutawakkil (76) to lead an expedition to Tihamah. The latter left San'a' after the Friday prayer, 20 Rajab 1221/7 October 1806 with one thousand warriors of Dhū Muhammad and Dhū Husayn together with some of al-Mansūr's own court and thirty cavalrymen from San'a'. He camped in Āsīr, west of San'a', until the Sunday, after which he went down to Matnah, about

(75) Jahāf gives us a good idea of the harm of Hamūd's control over Tihamah and the damaging effect on the monetary system.
(76) See above p. 79, n. 50.
forty kilometres west of San'a' on his way to Tihamah.

For three days he waited with his men for reinforcements and provisions and everything the minister, al-`Ulfī, had promised. After sending letters of complaint to San'a' and suffering a great deal, the majority of al-Mutawakkil's men returned to San'a' where they demonstrated in Maydān Sharārah (the Maydān al-Tahrir of today) threatening to loot and cause trouble within the capital, in their frustration at not receiving the promised help from the imam.

Emir Farhān Yaqūt of al-`Abdī, a military leader of slave origin, passified them and al-Mansūr also sent his son Muhammad to address them and ask for a respite until Thursday 25 Sha'bān, after which all would be handed over to them. They agreed and returned to their leader. Al-Mansūr in his enthusiasm decided to lead personally a fresh campaign against Tihamah. However, the enthusiasm of this aged monarch waned and he changed his mind. (77) It was the beginning of the end.

Hamūd, finding himself in a strong position, refused Abū Nuqtah's interference in the affairs of his territories.

(77) Jahhāf, 410-1.
or any form of supervision over himself. They both many
times referred their complaints to Ibn Su'ud, who began
to doubt Hamid's loyalty. In 1223/1808 Ibn Su'ud summoned
Hamid to al-Diriyyah and when he refused to come, he
ordered Abu Nuqtah to make war on him and his territories. (78)
In 1224/1809 the hostility developed into a real war between
Sharif Hamid and Abu Nuqtah in which, even though the latter
was killed, Hamid was defeated. (79)

(78) Al-Bahkali, Nafh, 124-5; Jahhaf, 390, 410;  
Cabr al- 
Rahim, al-Dawlah al-Su'udiyyah al-Ula, 175-82.
(79) al-Bahkali, Nafh, 254-5; al-Shawkani, al-Badr, I, 
240-1; Jahhaf, 534.
CHAPTER FOUR

Al-Mutawakkil Ahmad and his reign

(1224-1231/1809-1816)

"Few sons, indeed, are like their fathers.
Generally they are worse; but just a few are better!"
Homer, Odyssey, 2.
The reign of al-Mutawakkil Ahmad (1224-1231/1809-1816)

There are few examples in Yemeni history of sons overthrowing their fathers. Ahmad b. al-Mansūr ʿAlī is one of these examples and the final one in modern history. Emir Ahmad was not ambitious or keen to rule, but because he was himself a real partner with his father in authority, and because of the serious condition of the country and the real hazards which he and his father had to face, responsibility fell into his hands.

There were many serious problems which could not wait. Some of these were chronic and unsolved like the situation in Tihāmah. The tribes had renewed their traditional rebellions, but there were also others which had risen like the rebellion of Al-al-Kibsi in al-Rawdah, just a few miles north of Sanaʿa. There was also the problem of the economy and a shortage of cash to pay salaries (jamākiyyah) and
other sufficient living expenses for threatening troops, especially those who had recently returned from Zabîd and Tihāmah after their leader Ālī b. Muhsin al-Mutawakkil had died there. (1) The climax was reached when the ill-starred Qādī al-Ansî of Barat tightened his siege on Ṣan‘ā’. We shall give a survey of these events in the face of which al-Mansûr was crippled and during which his son Ahmad emerged as the Zaydî saviour.

1. Acceleration of events

Jahhāf begins his description of the year 1222/1807-8 with the statement that it is the year of 'wonders (cajâ'îb), strange happenings (gharâ'îb), misfortunes (nawa'îb) and disasters (masâ'îb).’ (2) Indeed it was so.

Al-Mansûr sent his son Muhammad as governor of Dhamâr and the central area where trouble-making had started up again. We might mention especially that of Shaykh Ālī b. Najî al-Qawâl and Shaykh Sa’d Miftâh al-Bukhaytî of al-Hadâ who threatened the security of the area and closed

(1) See above p. 59.
(2) Jahhāf, 435.
the main road between San'ā' and Dhamār. Muhammad punished them, imprisoned them in Dhamār and reopened the road. (3)

The Imam's son, Ahmad, returned to San'ā' from Haraz, angry and disappointed, since the minister, Hasan al-\textsuperscript{c}Uluf\textsuperscript{I}, had delayed the sending of men and money to support him in the continuation of his advance on Tihāmah. Ahmad rejected Sharīf Hāmūd's blandishments, realising that there was no room for compromise in his weak position. (4) When Ahmad decided to leave for San'ā', after settling affairs in Haraz, al-\textsuperscript{c}Uluf\textsuperscript{I} persuaded Imam al-Mansūr to try to prevent his son, Ahmad, from entering the city and to appoint him instead as governor of Amrān. It was the first manifestation of a real challenge to Ahmad. He refused the offer of governorship and insisted on entering the city. He arrived at al-Masājīd, about thirty kilometres west of San'ā', and received delegations from nearby tribes. Negotiations took place through Muhammad b. \textsuperscript{c}Alī b. \textsuperscript{c}Abd al-\textsuperscript{c}Wāsī, acting as ambassador between the Imam and the Crown Prince, Ahmad, during which the latter tried not to

\begin{align*}
  & (3) \text{ Jahlūf, 441.} \\
  & (4) \text{ Jahlūf, 441-2.}
\end{align*}
show disobedience and thus alienate his father. (5)

However, al-Mansūr consulted his ministers, Qādī al-Hasan b. ʿAlī Hanash (6) and ʿAlī b. Husayn al-ʿĀnisī (d. 1223/1308) (7) who both advised him to permit his son to enter. Ahmad came down and settled once again in Ṣanʿāʾ, though in an atmosphere of distrust and difficulty. Al-ʿUlufī's position became intolerable and soon he was to lose everything.

Now the situation everywhere in the country was one of lawlessness and instability. Prices had increased dramatically since al-Mansūr had changed his currency three or four times in two years. One change was at the beginning of 1220/1805 when one riyal (or qirsh) became 350 hurūf (sing. harf) and 450 in Lower Yemen. From then

(5) Jahhāf, 443.
(6) See chapter II, p. 27 above.
(7) He was a faqīh and a capable administrator. He was the ʿamīl of Ṣanʿāʾ, one of prince Ahmad's secretaries and when the minister Ahmad Fāyi died in 1219/1904 he replaced him in his position. He died five years later, suffering from dropsy (istīsqaʿ). Zabārah, Nayl, I, 131; Jahhāf, 493.
onwards the number of hurūf in the riyāl increased and its value fell. (8) The merchants complained of less silver and more copper in the coinage. (9)

When people complained of high prices and the troops asked for their rations, al-Mansūr banned the old currency and ordered new to be minted from Sunday 13 Jumādā II 1222/21 August 1807. (10) The economy was thus damaged and people lost a great deal of money; the poor suffered even more and those with commercial monopolies became more greedy. Al-Mansūr, under pressure from the public and on the advice of some of his counsellors banished grain merchants and the Jew who had been in charge of the mint. It was, however, too late. (11) The capital and its inhabitants suffered greatly from these bad conditions.

(8) Jahāf, 398.
(9) Jahāf, 380.
(10) Jahīf, 447, who uses kasara 'l-dārīnah to describe the change. The new issue was of a different value: one riyal = half a Maria Theresa dollar, a silver coin struck in Austria (one being worth about six U.S. dollars in 1982). The Maria Theresa was abandoned officially in 1965.
(11) Jahāf, 458.
within and also from the siege of Dhū Muhammad without.

This situation continued until 5 Ramadān 1222/9 October 1807, when the tribes, ashamed of continuing these warlike practices in Ramadān, left their control of the gates of the city and returned to their own territories.

The people of San'ā' sighed with relief, but on Friday 20 Ramadān al-Mansūr's troops left San'ā' in an angry mood, since they had not received their rations. They retained a hold on the city just as Dhū Muhammad had done, before their departure. They closed the gates of the city, cut the roads around it and plundered travellers. (12)

On Saturday evening, 22 Ramadān, the chief qādī, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Shawkānī, the minister Ḥasan b. Ḥasan al-Ulufī and Emīr ʿAbdullāh, the Imam's eldest son, went to meet Emīr Ahmad in Dār al-Dhahab to discuss the situation with him and the necessity of opening the gates of the city and giving the troops their payments. (13) It is not clear what happened exactly at this meeting, but the gates were opened the next morning and the situation returned to normal.

(12) Jahāf, 459.
(13) Jahāf, 459.
2. The incident of al-\(\text{ Ansī} \) and al-\(\text{ Ulufī} \)

On Monday 11 Shawwāl 1222/13 November 1807 Qādī Yahyā b. 'Abdullāh b. Hasan al-\(\text{ Ansī} \) arrived in Sanā‘ with some of his men to see Imam al-Mansūr. In the evening of the same day he devised a plot to kill the minister, Hasan b. Hasan al-\(\text{ Ulufī} \), but for some reason postponed his plan. (14)

However, on 22 Shawwāl 1222/24 November 1807, ten days later, Qādī Yahyā al-\(\text{ Ansī} \) went to Dār al-\(\text{ Isād} \) to attend an audience with Imam al-Mansūr. There, he faced the minister al-\(\text{ Ulufī} \) and stabbed him with his \textit{janbiyyah}. The blow, however, did not strike him in a vulnerable spot and al-\(\text{ Ansī} \) ran away, crying "Lion! Lion!" (15) The incident happened while Emir Ahmad and Qādī al-Shawkānī were in the next room. They both emerged quickly with some courtiers to discover what exactly had happened. However, everything was in turmoil. They found al-\(\text{ Ulufī} \)

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(14) Jahāf, 459.
(15) Jahāf, 459; al-Shi‘nī, Tiqār, f. 12b. Al-\(\text{ Ansī} \) was thereby cleverly distracting attention from himself by mention of the lion kept by the imam in Dār al-\(\text{ Isād} \), in order to make good his escape.
and helped him, still bleeding, to his lord, al-Mansūr, to complain of the attack. (16) Al-ансī hid in the house of the agent of the tribe near the school of Imam Sharaf al-Dīn. On hearing what had taken place, al-Mansūr, in a moment of anger, commanded the blood of Dhu Ḥusayn (the tribe of al-انس) to be shed in Ṣanʿa'. So the inhabitants killed eighteen of them in the city. Emir Ahmad went himself and besieged the house where al-انس was hiding and threatened to destroy it with cannon fire if al-انس did not surrender. The latter asked to give himself up on the face of Emir Ahmad. The latter permitted this and at last al-انس surrendered and was put in prison. On the next day, Wednesday, al-Mansūr gave his personal amnesty to Dhu Ḥusayn, but on Thursday at dawn he ordered that Qādī Yahyā al-انس, his son, Sālih, and his uncle Yahyā b. Hasan, have their heads cut off, beside the Bakiriyah Mosque. This was done without consultation with his son, Ahmad. (17)

(16) Jahāf, 459; al-Tiqsār, f. 12b.
(17) Jahāf, 459-60; al-Tiqsār, 13.
3. The rebellion of Al al-Kibsī in al-Rawdah

The Kibsī Sayyids take their name from the hijrah of al-Kibs, situated between the two Yamāniyyah, al-Ūlya and al-Suflā, of Khawlān, about thirty five kilometres south-east of San'a'. (18) Genealogically, they are descendants, with some other Sayyid families, of Imam Hamzah b. Abī Hashim al-Hasani who was killed in Arhab in 458/1066. (19) After his death, throughout the centuries, none of this branch attempted to assume the title of imam, though some of them were good scholars and ulema, thus having the qualifications for the office. This phenomenon was noticed by the Turkish governor of San'a' Hīmi Bāshā in 1316/1898, and he asked two eminent ulema of this family, Husayn Chamdān al-Kibsī (d. 1321/1903) and Zayd b. Ahmad al-Kibsī (d. 1316/1898), why this was so. They replied that both they and their predecessors like obscurity (khumū). (20)

(18) Zabārah, Nashr, I, 250.
(20) Zabārah, A'immah, I, 486.
Some of Āl al-Kibšī lived in Rawdah and many of them are still there to this day, involved in the service of the mosque, either in teaching or in the capacity of imam of the prayer and khatīb.

At the end of Shawwāl in 1222/November 1807 Āl al-Kibšī led a rebellion in al-Rawdah against al-Mansūr and his imamate in San‘a‘. Their candidate was the Ālim Sayyid Husayn b. Ābdullāh al-Kibšī who was imam of al-Rawdah’s jamī‘ and qādi of the town. (21) Another eminent Kibšī Ālim with them was Ismā‘īl b. Ahmad (1150-1233/1737-1817), whose relative had the same name and was known as Mughallīs. The latter had already declared himself imam in Zafīr, giving himself the title of al-Mutawakkil Āl ā‘lāh. Later, however, he became disillusioned and gave up his claim. (22) However some of Bayt Abū Tālib and other sayyids of al-Rawdah supported Āl al-Kibšī who also persuaded Ahmad b. Ābdullāh b. al-Mahdī Ābbās, the nephew of al-Mansūr, to join them. It appears that he was himself

(22) Al-Shawkānī, Badr, I, 220; Zābarah, Nayl al-watār, I, 260.
ambitious for the imamate. (23) The people of al-Rawdah supported the rebels both from greed and fear. (24) Some of their own tribes of Kibs Khawlān arrived with others. The rebels attacked and plundered al-Mansūr's palace, Dār al-Bashā'ir and the empty houses of his family and of other San'ānis in al-Rawdah. They drove out al-Mansūr's ġamīl and sent letters throughout the Yemen, especially to Qādī ʿAbdullāh al-Ansā of Barat. (25) They claimed that they had rebelled in order to "enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong" (al-amr bi-ʿl-māruf wa-ʿl-nahy ʿan al-munkar). (26) Al-Mansūr sent to them Qādī Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Harāzī (27) with letters from him written by al-Shawkānī meeting all their demands for justice and security. (28) They refused completely to accept al-Harāzī's mission and al-Mansūr's promise. Al-Harāzī barely escaped

(23) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 144; al-Shijnī, al-Tiqsār, f. 116; Jahhāf, 459-60, who maintained that they sent to al-Mansūr's son Muhammad, governor of Dhamār, to ask for his support, but that he ignored them.

(24) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 220.


(26) Jahhāf, 460.

(27) For this man, see above p. 78.

(28) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 221; Shijnī, al-Tiqsār, 116; Jahhāf, 460.
with his life. Emir Ahmad tried also, when he sent his secretary Hasan b. Ḍālī b. Ḍābī al-Wāsi. During this difficult time the minister Hasan b. Ḍān al-ʿUlaṇī delayed payment to some tribes who were already prepared to attack al-Rawdah. Ahmad, personally handling the problem, turned to face the serious danger of al-Rawdah.

He summoned B. al-Ḥarīth, Bilād al-Bustān and B. Ḥushaysh and left Sanʿā’ in the last week of Dhū 'l-Qa'dah 1222/December 1807 and camped in al-Jirāf, halfway between Sanʿā’ and al-Rawdah, a month after the beginning of al-Kibṣī’s rebellion. He positioned his troops and tribes around al-Rawdah and cut supplies, water and provisions. The siege was only a few days old when ʿAl al-Kibṣī and their supporters surrendered on Thursday 27 Dhū 'l-Qa'dah. Emir Ahmad entered the next day. Only the house of Muhammad b. Yūṣuf al-Kibṣī refused to surrender; but he finally did on the Friday. On Saturday, 2 Dhū 'l-Hijjah 1222/2 January 1808 Emir Ahmad returned victorious to Sanʿā’ with the Kibṣīs, his nephew, prisoners and others who were all brought under al-Mansūr’s window. Al-Shawkānī says that he personally pleaded for their lives and there-
fore al-Mansūr did not execute them, but rather imprisoned them. (29) Three months later Sayyid Husayn al-Kibsi died in the Qasr prison (30) and Ahmad b. ʿAbdullāh b. al-Mahdī also died on Tuesday 8 Muḥarram, 1224/24 February 1809, a year later, in prison. (31)

4. Ahmad's coup d'état

As a direct result of the execution of Qādī Yahyā al-ʿAnsī, of his son, his uncle and some of Dhu Husayn in Sanʿāʾ on the order of al-Mansūr, (32) Dhu Husayn, led by ʿAbdullāh b. Hasan al-ʿAnsī, Yahyā's father, came down to Sanʿāʾ to retaliate and take their revenge. This took place also at a time of drought and difficulty in every respect. The minister Hasan al-ʿUlufī, in fear of his life after Yahyā's failure to assassinate him, remained at home exercising his duties from there and talking only behind a secure screen! (33) Al-ʿAnsī and his men were

(30) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 221.
(31) Jahhāf, 533.
(33) Al-Shijni, al-Tiqsar, f. 14b; Jahhāf, 483.
stationed in ʿAsur, west of Sanʿa'. By Wednesday 24 Rajab 1223/19 August 1808 he had come down to Bab al-Yaman (the southern gate of the capital) and tightened his siege on Sanʿa'. No one was allowed to leave or enter the city.

During this time al-ʿAnsī's men attacked the villages and plundered travellers in the vicinity of Sanʿa'. Their aggressive practices continued both north and south of the main roads. There they killed, looted and terrorized the urban areas. Al-ʿUlufī again refused to pay salaries (jāmākiyāh) and other adequate living expenses to the troops. The inhabitants of the capital in a severe state of siege faced a real ordeal and some of them starved to death, while others were compelled to eat corpses (sing. maytah)! (34)

Al-Mansūr appeared completely powerless to face the new perilous situation. He was not, in fact, "approaching dotage" as Valentia reported in his Voyages, written after

(34) In what looks like an official historical report, Jahhāf gives us a sad and gloomy, but clear picture of these troubled days. For its importance and all details, cf. the introduction to my edition of the Diwān of al-Shawkānī, 24–30. The chief points only are mentioned here.
his visit to the coast of the Yemen in 1220/1805, three years before. (35) The writer may mean that the aged imam, now about seventy-two, was fast becoming senile and weak. However, Emir Ahmad was the last hope to save the declining situation. He tried not to come into direct conflict with his father, but, when the leaders of the troops came to him seeking his intervention with the minister Hasan al-Ulufī to pay them and the threatening troops their salaries, Ahmad responded and sent a messenger to al-Ulufī. The latter refused even to receive him. (36) Emir Ahmad then ordered some troops to arrest and bring al-Ulufī before him with some of his relatives and supporters. While these arrests were being carried out, Ahmad addressed a gathering of ulema and other eminent people, explaining the necessary steps which were being taken for the safety of the state. He sent a group of troops to surround al-Mansūr's palace, Dār al-Jāmiʿ. The reaction on the part of Ahmad's father, al-Mansūr, was also dealt with by

(35) Valentia, Voyages, II, 291.
(36) Jahāf, 432; al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 466; al-Shijnī, al-Tīqṣūr, 14b.
the troops and some parts of the city were isolated. A limited exchange of fire took place with the followers of Emir ʿAbdullāh, the younger brother of Ahmad, who was at this time with his father al-Mansūr. The fighting was not so much a result of ʿAbdullāh's wishing to protect his father; rather it developed out of a long-standing enmity between the two brothers. Our author Qādī Muhammad al-Shawkānī mediated between al-Mansūr and his son Ahmad. An agreement was reached whereby Emir Ahmad was to take over the administration and act as minister to his father, while al-ʿUluṭī was to remain in detention. (37) Both the coinage and address at the Friday Prayer were retained in al-Mansūr's name and he asked also to keep the revenue of Yarīm as a private income for himself and to preserve the pomp of his position (ubbahat al-khilāfah ghayr mutahawwilah canhu). (38) However, it was not long before al-Mansūr came to approve of his son's act and realized his good intentions and sincere motives. He was unhappy with his life in Dār al-Jāmiʿ and moved to Dār al-Isnad, where he resided till his death thirteen months later.

(37) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 466-7; al-Kibīsī, 375.
(38) Jahhāf, 435; al-Kibīsī, 375.
5. Ahmad with the reins of power

On the third day after the suspension of al-Mansūr's absolute authority as imam and the dismissal of Āl al- āl-Ulufī, Emir Ābūl-lāh, the third son of al-Mansūr, attempted to move against his brother Ahmad, ostensibly in order to defend his father. Obviously the old rivalry between the two brothers was behind his action. However, on Monday 29 Rajab 1224/July 1809, Ahmad summoned the ulama to him and put the affair of his brother before them for discussion, repeating that what he had done was his duty to save Islam from violation, to protect the weak from severe harm and to abolish evil. They accepted his explanation and Qādī Muhammad b. Yahyā al-Sahuli (d. 1233/1818) went to Ābūl-lāh and succeeded in bringing the two brothers back together. (40) In the meantime, Emir Muḥammad, the second son of al-Mansūr, who was at the time on campaign against Ānṣ and al-Hadd, left Maghrib Ānṣ for Yarīm to

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(39) He was the son of the chief qādī Yahyā al-Sahuli. He was an ālim and faqīh and was later killed in the time of āl-Kutawakkil's son by a new attack on ʿanṣa' by Bahlī; cf. below p. 150.

(40) Jahāf, 485.
carry out a punitive expedition against its governor, Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Isma'il who refused to accept his instructions. Emir Muhammad besieged the town for about three months and refused his brother Ahmad's order to raise the siege, claiming that he had received a secret letter from his father the imam ordering him to do so and giving him a free hand in Lower Yemen. When Ahmad heard of this he became very angry with his father and sent Qādi Muhammad al-Shawkānī, the chief qādi, to investigate the matter with him. Al-Mansūr denied that he had sent a letter and swore not to interfere in state affairs and in his son's administration as he had previously agreed. (41) Ahmad used his power and summoned tribes from his brother's campaign. He also sent 'Ali b. Abdullah al-Shayif of Bakīl to persuade them and discuss this matter with 'Ali Sa'd al-Hājj, (42) the right-hand man of Emir Muhammad, who was in Dhamār. Al-Shayif succeeded and returned to San'a' with al-Hājj and the majority of the tribesmen. Muhammad

(41) Jahhāf, 436-7.
(42) 'Ali Sa'd al-Hājj came from Maghrib Ānis and was described as a ruthless, insolent and ignorant man; Ibid; al-Shijñī, Tiqqār, 2a.
submitted to his brother, Ahmad, and asked for money and sufficient living expenses for his men. Emir Ahmad agreed and they exchanged written agreements to restore sincere friendship and fraternal cooperation. (43)

As for al-Ansī and his siege, since he knew of the fall and imprisonment of Āl al-ʿUlaṭĪ, he accepted Ahmad's promises and Dhū Husayn called off the siege. A few days later Ahmad used them and their leader Zādī al-Ansī to campaign together with tribesmen from al-Haymah, Bilād al-Bustān, Handān and ʿĪrāt Surayh. This campaign was led by the slave-emir Fayrūz against Kawkabān to compel them to submit again to the capital. (44) Finally satisfied, they left Sanʿāʾ for Barat. On their way they attacked al-Hushayshiyah, a village a few miles north of Sanʿāʾ and plundered forty camels. Ahmad heard the news and soon followed them with his men. He returned the camels to their owners after Dhū Husayn had disappeared in shame. (45)

(43) Jahhāf, 437-3. Ahmad sent the text of the agreement in a copy of the Qurʾān to emphasize his enthusiasm for the agreement.
(44) Jahhāf, 486.
(45) Ibid., 533.
In Tihamah Ahmad started to communicate with Sharīf Hamud, the Saudi agent, who was afraid of Ibn Su'ud and was in a weak position. The most important and urgent matter for Ahmad was to secure Mocha as the main source of income for the capital. The governor of Mocha had been for a long time the slave-emir Sultan Hasan who had not recognised the change of power in Ṣan‘a’. Sultan had not only been very remiss in his returns of revenue to Ṣan‘a’, but he also entertained the design of making himself independent. He exhausted large sums of money increasing and strengthening the defences of the place and augmented his forces by the recruitment of fifteen hundred Ǧabdālī mercenaries from the territories of the Sultan of Aden. (46)

Emir Ahmad sent the faqīh Ahmad b. Isma‘īl Fārī, brother of his minister, on an unsuccessful mission to Mocha. He was also followed by Sayyid Yahyā al-Sirājī and slave-emir Yāqūt Muhammad al-Mansūr, accompanied by thirty men, as well as Sa‘d Ǧuḥarah. Sultan received them with respect.

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(46) Playfair, *A History of Arabia*, 127-8; Jahhāf, 536, who says there were six hundred men or more.
but had not changed his attitude towards Sanā'ī. Only when al-Mansūr died a month later did Sultan make his submission to the new imam, Ahmad, who was soon to dismiss him. (47)

6. Al-Mutawakkil Ahmad's reign (1224-31/1809-16)

On Wednesday 15 Ramadan 1224/25 October 1809 al-Mansūr died. Al-Shawkānī led the prayer for him in the mosque of al-Mahdī ʿAbbas and he was buried in Bustān al-Mutawakkil near Bāb al-Sabbah. (48)

At this point Emir Ahmad became officially the new imam when he received the oath of allegiance (bayʿah) from the chief qādī Muhammad al-Shawkānī, on the same evening as his father's death. He was the first to render Ahmad allegiance and he had the responsibility of receiving the allegiance offered to Ahmad, the new imam, from his brothers, paternal uncles, as well as the rest of Āl al-Qāsim and all the notables, ulema and chiefs. (49) Ahmad

(47) Jahāf, 537; Playfair, 123.
(48) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 467; al-Shijnī, al-Tiqsār, 15a; Zabārah, Nayl, II, 142-4.
(49) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 78-9; al-Shijnī, al-Tiqsār, 5, 15a; Zabārah, Nayl, I, 128, II, 127.
styled himself al-Mutawakkil ʿalā ʿllāh and started, or in fact continued, the seven long years of struggle to put right what his father had ruined (aslaha mā qad afsada wālidu-hu), as al-Kibṣī states. (50)

Al-Mutawakkil appointed permanently his confidential secretary the faqīh ʿAlī b. Ismāʾīl Fārī (d. 1230/1815) as his first minister, assisted by Qāḍī Ḥasan b. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Wāṣiʿ al-Ulufī. (51) Fārī, unlike his predecessor al-Mansūr's minister Ḥasan al-Ulufī, was with his ruler al-Mutawakkil in the field of battle in Khawlān, al-Hadā, Ānis, in Lower Yemen and other places where rebellions and acts of disobedience had taken place. He was described as being a man of dignity, clever and a faqīh. (52) ʿAbd al-

(50) Al-Kibṣī, 375.
(51) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 79; al-Shijāl, al-Tiqsār, f. 15b; Zabārah, Nayl, I, 154, II, 127. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Ahmad b. ʿAbd al-Wāṣiʿ al-Ulufī was a grandson of the qālin ʿAbd al-Wāṣiʿ. ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Ulufī al-Qurashi al-Umawī. Al-Shawkānī, in a biography of their grandfather mentions him and his two brothers, referring to him as one of the outstanding people of his time, a wise and generous man, without guile, al-Badr, I, 409.
(52) Zabārah, Nayl, II, 127.
Rahmān al-Ānisī, the famous poet, praised him in many Hakami (classical Arabic) and Humaynī (colloquial Yemeni) poems. (53) When Fārī died, a year before al-Mutawakkil, he was replaced by his son, Uthmān b. Ahmad.

Among the new administrators and governors around the time of the death of al-Mansūr, were some sons of the old generation in his régime, namely Muḥsin b. Yahyā al-Mutawakkil, son of the old general, who was appointed governor (wālī) of Ḥufash and Milḥān. There was also ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jirāfī, son of Qādī ʿAlī, (54) the governor (ʿāmil) of Sanʿā', one of the positions formerly occupied by al-Mutawakkil himself. (55) Then there was ʿAbdullāh b. al-Mutawakkil, the eighteen year old son of al-Mutawakkil, who replaced Ḥamūd b. ʿAbdullāh al-ʿUlufī as governor of Raymah al-Jaby and Kusmah. Al-Mutawakkil appointed Qāsim b. ʿIsmāʿīl Fārī, the minister's brother, as ʿAbdullāh's secretary and ordered his son to follow his instructions. (56) Other ʿUlufīs and their supporters were dismissed and others appointed in their place.

(53) Al-Ānisī, Diwan; Tarīq al-ayyār, 255-9, 368-71; Zabārah, Nayl, II, 127.
(54) See above p. 38.
(55) Jahāf, 529. (56) Ibid., 534-5.
7. Al-Mutawakkil Ahmad's role

No sooner had al-Mutawakkil put down rebellion in one place than it arose again in another. His dynamic character and effective role had a favourable reception from both the people and historians. (57) We will give a general survey of his seven years of struggle to bring about peace in the land.

Only a few months after Ahmad's accession to the throne Shaykh Salim Shudayq al-Tahir of Dabyan, supported by his neighbour Sa'id Abu Hulayqah (58) of Khawlan, raided the main southern road to San'a. Al-Mutawakkil quickly left San'a in Muharram 1225/February 1810 at the head of his men and attacked the two villages of al-Yaman'iyatayn and Khawlan al-`Aliyah and punished them all.

(57) Al-Shawkani, al-Badar, I, 73; al-Shijni, al-Tigsar, 15b; al-Kibsi, 374-5; Zabarah, Nayl, I, 154.

(58) Abu Hulayqah had already been in communication with Hamid al-Gulufi, governor of Raymah, who refused to carry out the instructions of Ahmad before the death of his father. Both Hamid and Abu Hulayqah failed to face the San`ani troops under the new leadership of `Abdullah, son of Emir Ahmad, and Qasim Fari. Jahhaf, 537-8, and on the subject of Abu Hulayqah, cf. above p.76.
From there he turned to the nearby al-Hada tribe where he arrested its chief shaykh, 'Ali b. Najif al-Qawsi and others. In consequence al-Hada submitted again to San'a and al-Mutawakkil in the same month, Safar 1225/March 1810, continued his campaign. He directed his army against Duran in Anis where Ibn Wazi was one of the troublemakers of Bakil. Al-Mutawakkil ordered his head to be cut off, then he returned victorious to San'a. (59)

It was only a year later that new troubles arose in Ta'izz and the Lower Yemen because of Bakil. Again al-Mutawakkil marched there on a punitive expedition. He stayed eight months, travelling from town to town. (60)

His chief qadi, al-Shawkani, accompanied him in all these campaigns. He wrote of al-Mutawakkil that he campaigned widely, but was victorious in every campaign he undertook. (61)

Other high ranking officials were with him, including his minister, Fali.

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(59) Zabarah, Nayl, I, 155-7; Shawkani, Dīmān, 31, 257.
(60) Zabarah, Nayl, I, 157.
Al-Mutawakkil sent the Qādī Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Suhūlī to Hamdān and Kawkābān. (62) In early 1224/1809 after the last expedition, to accept the submission of Āl Sharaf al-Dīn, emirs of Kawkābān. (63) He returned successful and Sharaf al-Dīn stopped minting coinage in his own name. Sharaf al-Dīn also gave instructions for delivery of the khutbah once again in the name of the imam, and broke off relations with Sharīf Ḥamūd. (64)

However, al-Mutawakkil found himself in 1228/1813 facing once again the old recurring nightmare of the Sharaf al-Dīn family throwing off their obedience to San'ā'. Moreover, he also sent Sayyid Ābūlḥāb b. Muḥammad al-Amīr (d. 1242/1826), himself a scholar and son of a late well-known scholar, on a mediating mission to repair the differences within the Sharaf al-Dīn house itself. (65)

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(62) Kawkābān is thirty-six kilometres north of San'ā'.
(63) Āl Sharaf al-Dīn are the descendants of the well-known Imām al-Mutawakkil Yaḥyā Sharaf al-Dīn (d. 965/1558), the grandson of the great scholar, Imām al-Maḥdī ʿAbdallāḥ b. Yaḥyā Ibn al-Muḥadis (d. 840/1437). Sharaf al-Dīn was replaced by the house of al-ʿĀṣim in 1005/1598.
(64) Jahāf, 530.
(65) Jahāf, 535-6.
Ibn al-Amīr succeeded in his efforts and three quiet years passed until Safar 1228/February 1813 when a new rebellion broke out against the capital. Al-Mutawakkil personally led a huge army and marched to Kawkabān. He camped first in Thulā and continued to Kawkabān where he crushed the rebels. When he returned after three months, he was accompanied by the emir of Kawkabān, Sharaf al-Dīn b. Ahmad (1159-1241/1746-1825), his brother, ʿAbdullāh, his family and the most influential sayyids of the area. Qādī al-Ānisī, the poet, was appointed a governor. (66) Al-Shawkānī, who was with his imam during this campaign, recorded the event in one of his poems. (67) Al-Ānisī also praised al-Mutawakkil and his military prowess. (68) After Al-Sharaf al-Dīn had resided in Sana' for a year al-Mutawakkil allowed them to return to their historic home town of Kawkaban.

It is recorded that in this year al-Mutawakkil ordered the demolition of some funerary domes over some graves in

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(66) Zabārah, Nayl, I, 158, II, 61.
(67) Al-Shawkānī, Dīwān, 192; cf. also 86; al-Shijālī, Tīsār, 216.
(68) Al-Ānisī, Dīwān, 251-5.
San'ā' and Dhamar. (69) It is likely that this was part of an attack on saint-worship of which the Zaydis disapproved. On this point the Zaydis were in agreement with the new Hanbali Wahhābī movement.

The year 1229/1814 saw many other remarkable events of al-Mutawakkil's reign. In this year he prepared an expedition to Tihāmah under the leadership of his minister, Ǧalī b. Ismā'īl Fārī. (70) Yahyā b. Ǧalī b. Sa'd, governor of Hajjah also went down to Tihāmah with a number of troops. In Mukhtārah the new settlement of Sharīf Hamūd, west of Hajjah in Upper Ḥa'mr, there took place a battle between the two sayyids in which Hamūd was defeated and many of his men killed. However, the next day Hamūd used bribery and trickery to prevent the imam's army from prevailing and there was little change in the balance of power between the imam of San'ā' and the lord of Abū Ārīsh. (71)

In the meantime al-Mutawakkil Ahmad took advantage of the fact that Muhammad Ǧalī, governor of Egypt, was involved

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(69) Zabārah, Nayl, I, 153.
(70) Zabārah, Nayl, I, 158; al-Shijnī, f. 15b.
(71) al-Bahkalī, Ǧaḥī, supplement, 231-4.
in the war in the Peninsula against Ibn Su‘d and the Wahhabī movement which had been raging since 1226/1811, and he exchanged letters and presents with Egypt's viceroy. (72)

His efforts to regain Tihamah and to sustain control bore fruit three years later after al-Mutawakkil's death, when al-Shawkānī was personally involved in the negotiations. (73)

In Shawwāl 1229/October 1814 al-ANSī came down to Khushūm al-Bakrah, a few miles north of al-Rawdah, near Sa‘ā', in a new attack, leading groups from Arhab, Nihm and other tribesmen from Bakīl. Ahmad led a counter-attack and defeated them. In the next year 1230/1815 Nihm led by Naqīb Hādī Abū Luhūm came down to the northern suburbs of Sa‘ā'. They raided and plundered travellers, but when al-Mutawakkil sent his troops they moved south of the capital where there was fighting between the troops and Nihm throughout the whole day. That night Nihm disappeared. (74)

A year before his death, al-Mutawakkil led the second campaign against Lower Yemen. That was when Shaykh Ahmad b.

(72) Al-Kibsī, 375.
(73) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, II, 368-72; al-Kibsī, 374-6; al-Shihābī, al-Tiğār, f. 15b.
(74) Zabārah, Nayl, I, 160.
\( \text{Alī b. Sa'd al-Jumā'ī} \) rebelled. Al-Mutawakkil quelled the riot and then remained for a time in the area. (75)

The following year al-Mutawakkil Ahmad died of pleurisy (76) at the age of sixty-two and was buried beside his father al-Mansūr in the Bustān al-Misk. (77) He was to be succeeded by his young son \( \text{Abdullāh} \). Another son, al-Nāṣir \( \text{Abdullāh} \), played a role of only marginal importance during his brother's lifetime, but was to be imam from 1252-6/1836-40, when he was killed in Wadi Dahr. His brother al-Ḥādī Muhammad was imam from 1256-9/1340-3. This is, however, outside the scope of our discussion.

(75) Zabārah, I, 159; al-Shawkānī, Dīwān, 59-60.
(76) Anon., Hawliyāt, 13.
(77) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 79; Zabārah, Nayl, I, 161.
CHAPTER FIVE

Al-Mahdî ḤAbdAllāh and his reign

(1231-1251/1816-1835)

"Prestige reaches its end in a single family within four successive generations... the builder of the glory... knows what it cost him to do the work, and he keeps the qualities that created his glory and made it last. The son who comes after him had personal contact with his father and thus learnt those things from him... The third generation must be content with imitation and, in particular, with reliance upon tradition. This member is inferior to him of the second generation, in as much as a person who relies (blindly) upon tradition is inferior to a person who exercises independent judgement."

Ibn Khaldûn, Muqaddimah

Ibn Ishaq, bewailing the House of Al-Hashim
1. The young imam

Unlike his father, al-Mahdi ā'Abdullah became imam of the Yemen as a young man, in his twenty-third year. He had only limited experience of holding authority during the lifetime of his father, first from his governorship of Raymah and later in Āmarān. Moreover he grew up in times that were troubled and confused. This might explain what al-Shawkānī means when he says that "his maturity increased gradually" (fī kull hīn yazdād kanālān). Shawkānī adds that he was a man of sound sense and of high morality. He describes him as skilled in the use of firearms and in horsemanship, but mentions nothing about his intellectual or educational attainment. The high qualifications

(1) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, 376.
necessary for an imam are hardly to be found in his case.\(^{(2)}\)

Al-Mahdi \(^{\circ}\)Abdullah is also described by Assistant Surgeon Robert Finlay of the Bombay Service who visited Sanā‘a' in 1243/1823, as follows: "He was extremely passionate and was constantly in the habit of disgracing and changing his ministers." \(^{(3)}\) Indeed this description applies exactly to his character.

However, \(^{\circ}\)Abdullah b. al-Mutawakkil Ahmad succeeded his father at dawn on Wednesday, 17 Shawwāl 1231/12 September 1815, on the same day as his father's death, when, it is reported, \(^{\circ}\)Abdullah wore black — a sign of mourning not found in the history of the country before or after this event. Al-Shawkānī, the chief gādī, gave him the oath of allegiance (bayānah) and was responsible, as he had been to \(^{\circ}\)Abdullah's father, for receiving the allegiance offered to \(^{\circ}\)Abdullah from the chiefs (umārah) of Sanā‘a', its gādīs, the imam's family and all the military leaders and eminent

\(^{(2)}\) For the qualifications of an imam, see above, chapter II, p. 49. It is worthy of note that the anonymous author of Ḥawliyyāt mentions that his father, al-Mutawakkil, determined (nassa) that his second son Qāsim was to be his successor, but time was against him and \(^{\circ}\)Abdullah rose to the position of imam. Ḥawliyyāt, 13.

\(^{(3)}\) Playfair, 140.
people. All the people of the Yemen gave him allegiance after that. (4) However, the author of Sirat al-Mahdi says that Al al-Mahdi cAbbās led by Tālib al-Mahdi refused to give allegiance and remained in the courtyard of the Qasr. (5) The minister Ėuthmān Fāri came out to them and tried to persuade them, but without success. Only when Qādī al-Shawkānī came to them did they accept to give their allegiance, on condition that al-Mahdi cAbdullāh returned their property (sawāfī) and their deeds (which had probably been confiscated by al-Mutawakkil or his father, al-Mansūr).

Al-Shawkānī mediated between them and al-Mahdī, who accepted their request. (6)

On Monday 23 Shawwāl 1231/18 September 1815, a week later, al-Mahdī visited al-Rawdah and stayed in Dār al-Bashā'ir, where he reviewed the troops, their leaders and

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(4) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 376-7; Zabārah, Nayl, II, 64; Anon., Hawliyyāt, 13.

(5) I have realised that the margin ḥāshiyah of Jahhāf's Durar is in fact another work by Jahhāf himself; a biography or sīrah of al-Mahdī cAbdullāh. Unfortunately it stops suddenly on 23 Rabi' II, 1233/1813 on page 49 of the Durar. It seems that none of Jahhāf's biographers mention this sīrah or know of it.

(6) Jahhāf, Sirat, 2.
the cavalry and distributed gold and silver among them. He postponed paying his followers, his family and officials until the next day. Al-Mahdī noticed that the minister Hasan b. Ṭālib Ābd al-Wāsī was not happy with his generosity, but kept the matter to himself. On the same day al-Mahdī was engaged in games of the lance (ḥarbah) with his brother Qāsim, showing a high standard of horsemanship. (7)

It appears that games of the lance were his favourite sport.

The next day al-Mahdī dismissed Salīm Muḥammad al-Tashshī from the administration of the wafāf and replaced him by the aged and experienced scholar Ismāʿīl b. Ḥasan al-Shāmī (d. 1234/1819). (8) This appointment was on the advice of al-Shawkānī and was a good choice. But only two months later al-Mahdī began his rash game of changing his ministers and leaders and confiscating their property. This irresponsible policy became the hallmark of al-Mahdī Ābdullāh's régime which lasted for nearly twenty years.

(7) Jahāf, Fīrat, 2–3.
(8) His biography is in al-Badr, I, 145; Zabārah, Mayl, I, 169.
2. **Changing ministers and confiscation of property**

The first victim of al-Mahdi's policy was his father's minister, al-Hasan b. `Ali `Abd al-Wasi who, once again unhappy with his excessive generosity, advised him not to distribute clothes, money and gifts to the troops and officials on `Id al-Adha. On 14 Dhū 'l-Hijjah 1231/7 November 1816, on the pretext that during al-Mutawakkil's reign `Abd al-Wasi had unjustly treated Hasan b. Muhammad al-Akwa, governor (`āmil) of Sahbān, and imprisoned him, al-Mahdi ordered his slave-emi Maysur al-Habashi to arrest al-Wasi and confiscated seven thousand qirsh from him. (9)

On the following Friday, 18 Dhū 'l-Hijjah, after prayers, al-Mahdi joined his minister `Uthmān b. `Ali Fāri for an hour's horse-riding and a game with lances. Then he went up to Maydān al-Qasr where he paraded the troops, "Ahl al-Bawādī" and cavalry and finally he returned to the Qasr where he resided. That evening unexpectedly he ordered his slave-emi Fayruz al-Mutawakkil to arrest `Uthmān b. `Ali

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(9) Jahāf, Fīrat, 3-4.
Fāri. He also commanded his houses to be sealed up, as well as houses elsewhere and his property in Jiblah and Dhū Sifāl. Al-Mutawakkil also ordered his slave-emir Fath Allah al-Mutawakkil to arrest Muhammad b. ʿAlī Fāri, ʿUthmān’s brother, and Sayyid Muhammad b. ʿAlī al-Shāmī.

It is even stranger that al-Mahdī ordered women of Al Fāri to leave their houses and to stay in al-Shāmī’s house. This was probably in order to make it easy to evacuate Fāri’s houses since all his furniture and fortune were to be moved by camel to the Qasr, a task taking many days. What is even more surprising still, al-Mahdī at the same time appointed his grandfather’s former minister, one Hasan b. Hasan al-ʿUlufl, a known mischief-maker, in the place of Fāri. (10)

Al-Mahdī changed the old administration of his father. In addition to reappointing al-ʿUlufl as minister responsible for Raymah, Harāz, Hufash, the two Usābs, Taʾizz and its surrounding area, al-Mahdī appointed ʿAbdī Muhammad b. ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Jāšī to Jiblah, Ibb, Hubaysh, Mocha and ʿAṣṭābah. He also appointed Faqīh ʿAbd al-Karīn al-Jirāfī to Anis, Dhamār and the central area, giving him also

(10) Jahāf, Sirat, 5–6; Anon., Hudūyyāt, 14.
responsibility for the store of the Qasr and the horses, for he was the man who had been responsible for receiving the property and confiscated goods of ʿUthmān b. ʿAlī Farī. Qādī Muhammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAmrī, a faqīh, was present in order to list officially the items. (11) It is clear that al-Mahdī, at least in Farī’s case, did not confiscate his property for his own benefit, but for the treasury. Emir Muhammad b. al-Mutawakkil, al-Mahdī’s third brother, became responsible for Hamdān and Sāhān, assisted by Muhammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAmrī as secretary. (12)

Among the new faces was Faqīh Qāsim b. ʿAlī al-ʿAffārī, secretary of al-Mahdī, who was to play the same role as Hasan al-ʿUluf in al-Mansūr’s administration. He was to be dismissed, imprisoned and his property confiscated, but he was reappointed many times as were others with whom the fickle imam dealt.

Husayn b. Muhammad Ḥanash, one of the new administrators, was the man responsible for sealing up Farī’s houses in Lower Yemen and he was now put in charge of the affairs

(11) Jahhāf, Ṣīrat, 5.
(12) Ibid., 4.
of Dhū Muhammad and Dhū Husayn. This was indeed an extremely difficult job to maintain together with his other position as a chamberlain (wisātat al-bāb). (13)

It appears that al-Mahdī's cousin, Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mansūr was in charge of the troops (al-ajnād). On 6 Muharram 1232/27 November 1816, he was replaced by the slave-emir Rayhān al-Mutawakkil, governor of Ṣanā', who himself was soon, in the following month, to be dismissed along with Sharīf Ṣāliḥ b. Ṣād, chief of the Qasr guards. Both were arrested in their own homes. Emir Rayhān was replaced by Emir Farḥān al-Mutawakkil. Naqīb Fath Fayruz, another slave, was made responsible for the Qasr guards, and Sayf al-Īsam Muḥammad b. al-Mutawakkil, al-Mahdī's brother, became governor of Ṣanā'. (14) The keepers of the gates were also changed.

(13) Jahhāf, Širat, 6.
(14) Ibid., 8-7.
3. Some remarkable and amusing incidents of al-Mahdi's time

In ǧīrat al-Mahdi there are some small but important and valuable allusions which shed light on Yemeni society of the period. We have already mentioned that al-Mahdi ʿAbdullāh wore black as a sign of mourning when his father died. Jahāf also mentions that al-Mahdi ʿAbdullāh revived the custom of circumcising Muslim boys, the operation being carried out at his very gate. He fed them and those attending who brought them and gave them all gifts. This custom had been abandoned for many years. (15) Al-Mahdi also used to visit or parade (istaʿrada) prisoners. On 24 Dhū 'l-Hijjah 1231/18 December 1816, he paraded them and gave each one a piece of cloth and four riyāls. But when he was informed of the robberies committed by eight members of the tribe of Qāyifah who had been in prison since his father's time, he ordered their heads to be cut off. The execution was carried out the next day, Friday, and left a deep impression and instilled fear among the tribes.

(15) Jahāf, ǧīrat, 7.
Among these early events is what happened to Faqih Sālih b. Sālih al-ʿĀmiri, governor of Mocha. At the end of Muharram 1232/December 1816, al-Mahdī sent the slave-emir, Fayrūz al-Mutawakkil, to inspect al-ʿĀmiri after al-Mahdī had heard that he had been exchanging letters with "the enemy" (probably Sharīf Hamūd). Fayrūz carried some material as a special gift from his imam to the governor. The latter knew of Fayrūz's mission before he reached Mocha and he had already heard of al-Mahdī's behaviour and the kind of punishment he was giving out. He decided to commit suicide by swallowing a diamond! Thus he died. (16)

At the end of the previous chapter we pointed out that al-Mutawakkil had exchanged letters and gifts with Muḥammad ʿAlī of Egypt. His son, al-Mahdī ʿAbdullāh continued the communication using the same envoy, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Sindī (d. 1257/1841), a scholar who came originally from Sind. Before his death al-Mutawakkil had received magnificent presents from Egypt, including one of the viceroy's small elephants which used to parade with the cavalry and walk

(16) Jahāf, Sīrat, 8.
round the sąas of San'a' . (17) When al-Mahdī succeeded his father he in his turn sent presents to Muhammad Āli in 1232/1817. It is ironic to learn from the anonymous author that al-Mahdī Ābdu'llāh returned the elephant to Egypt among his presents to Muhammad Āli, apologizing and explaining that the Yemen was a poor land so could not support such a large elephant which required great quantities of food! (18)

4. Sharīf Āli al-Jawfī and his resistance in Dhahbān

On 16 Safar 1232/5 January 1817 Imam al-Mahdī relieved his minister Qādī Muhammad Ābdu'llāh al-Wāsī of his responsibility for Mocha and replaced him with Qāsim al-'Affārī, appointing slave-emir Āli b. Mas'ūd al-Mās governor of Mocha. At the same time he released Sharīf Āli b. Nāji al-Jawfī, (19) who was a military leader, from house arrest

(18) Anon., Hawliyyāt, 16; al-Shawkānī mentions the elephant among the presents to Muhammad Āli, but does not give the reasons for its return; cf. al-Badr, II, 227.
(19) The Jawfī sharifs are sayyids, living in al-Jawf, northeast of San'a'. They are descendants of the Imam Ābdu'llāh b. Hamzah (d. 614/1217).
and ordered him to join Emir ʿAlī b. Masʿūd. Sharīf ʿAlī, however, declined. (20) When al-Mahdī refused to accept his excuse for not going to Mocha, al-Jawfī pretended that he would follow al-Masʿūd who was waiting for him outside Sanʿā'. Instead Sharīf al-Jawfī made for Dhahbān, about ten miles north of Sanʿā', accompanied by some of his followers. There he stayed, where al-Mutawakkil had granted him a piece of land. (21) A week later some chiefs of Nihm and qādis of Barat came down to mediate between Sharīf al-Jawfī and al-Mahdī. They brought with them two sacrificial bulls, which were slaughtered at al-Mahdī's gate. Imam al-Mahdī accepted their mediation on condition that Sharīf al-Jawfī should first return to his former residence in Sanʿā' and then it would be up to al-Mahdī's mercy. But the mediators suggested that he should return to Sanʿā', take up a position in the cavalry and receive a monthly stipend (jamākiyyah). It appears that Ahmad

(20) Jahhāf, ʿIrāt, 9-10; the compiler of the ʿHawliyyāt, however, says that al-Mahdī appointed al-Jawfī himself as governor (ʿHawliyyāt, 15), but the former version in the ʿIrāt al-Mahdī would appear to be acceptable.

(21) Jahhāf, ʿIrāt, 10.
b. ʿAlī al-Jawfī, the chief of al-Mahdī's guard, supported the mediators' suggestion. As a result al-Mahdī spoke to him sharply in his mafraj in Dār al-Sāfiyah in Bīr al-
Azab. Immediately Ahmad al-Jawfī fled San'a' and joined Sharīf ʿAlī at Dhahbān. On the next day, Tuesday 24 Safar 1232/13 January 1817 four hundred troops led by Muḥsin b. 
Yahyā al-Mutawakkil and Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad Ḥanash went out with cannons and besieged Dhahbān. Sharīf ʿAlī b. Ṣāḥīf al-Jawfī succeeded in escaping to Arhab territory, although twenty-three of his followers were captured. Ahmad al-Jawfī surrendered to Ḥanash in his camp and was brought by him with other prisoners to San'a'. Al-Mahdī punished Ahmad al-Jawfī, ordering him to be lashed. Al-Jawfī had abused the imam's servants and they therefore proceeded to trample him under foot until he nearly died. He was carried by a black slave and taken round the city while a drum was beaten on his back. He finally died in al-Sā'ilah in the middle of San'a' and his body was brought down to the gate of al-Mahdī who ordered his burial. (22)

(22) Jahhāf, ʿIrāt, 10-11; Anon., Ḥawliyyāt,
5. The submission of Hashid

From Dhahban the imam's general, Sayyid Muhsin al-Mutawakkil was ordered with his troops to advance on 'Amrān about forty miles north of San'ā', where there was a rebellion and to deal with a second in Jannāt five miles away. 'Amrān refused at first to open its gates to some of his troops, especially those of Bani Jabr and Khawlan. Muhsin al-Mutawakkil nevertheless solved the problem temporarily and from there he attacked Jannāt on 14 Rabī' I 1232/2 February 1317, after receiving a cannon and an extra three hundred troops in support as well as seven thousand 'a'tals from al-Mahdī. However after Muhsin al-Mutawakkil had besieged and done battle with the inhabitants of Jannāt and their shaykhs, led by Āmir al-Shanbalī, Muhammad Ridwān and Muhammad al-Shajmah, all of whom were killed, Jannāt submitted and eighteen of its shaykhs were shackled and brought down to San'ā'. Al-Mahdī celebrated his victory in San'ā' and sent an official proclamation throughout the country, dated 15 Rabī' I 1232/3 February 1817, informing the people of this victory and threatening
to deal in like manner with any such an act of disobedience.\(^{(23)}\)

Meanwhile, al-Mahdī dismissed Husayn Hanash from his position as chamberlain, claiming that Hanash had spent twelve thousand riyāls in Dhahbān to no avail, (fi ghayr tā'il) — since Sharīf al-Jawfī had escaped to Arbāb — and that he had also expended twenty thousand riyāls for the Āmran and Jannāt expeditions. Husayn Hanash was replaced by Qāsim al-Affārī who resided in the same house as his predecessor who was living near Sāb al-Sabhāh.\(^{(24)}\) At the same time Emir Fāyrūz al-Mutawakkil returned from Mocha where he had carried out al-Mahdī's instructions and brought what Sālih al-Āmirī, the previous governor of Mocha, had left behind him after his suicide. Hasan al-‘Ulufī, the imam's minister, feeling excluded from governmental affairs, retired at this time. Al-Mahdī himself left San‘ā' to inspect the military expedition of his general Muḥsin al-Mutawakkil in Ḥashid and to punish personally some of its tribes, including ‘Īyāl Surayh, where he first arrived and stayed with Banī Zayd. He ordered the demolition of

\(^{(23)}\) Jahhāf, Sirat, 13-6; Anon., 15.
\(^{(24)}\) Jahhāf, Sirat, II; Anon., Mawliyyāt, 15.
the house of Shaykh Ahmad b. al-Dul. From there he visited Jannāt, Raydah, Hamdah and other places. He destroyed many fortresses including one called Shājir where Shaykh al-Qufaylī of Kharif had taken refuge and fortified himself, some of Hashid with him. Al-Qufaylī surrendered after many had been killed on both sides, including six of Hamdān on al-Mahdī’s side. Eighty-five were taken prisoner to Amrān, together with those from Jannāt. (25)

Al-Mahdī then went up to visit Shajir where he saw how many had been killed and ordered the fort to be demolished. On Friday 3 Jumādā I 1232/22 March 1817 al-Mahdī left Hamdah for Amrān and Muhsin al-Mutawakkil remained behind to carry out the demolition of the other fortresses and castles in Hashid territory. In Amrān the next day al-Mahdī ordered the destruction of its wall. The people pleaded with him not to carry out his threat, especially since he had already rid the town of its tyrants and there only remained the poor and weak, so he accepted their plea and the wall was fortunately left intact. Sayyid Qāsim

b. Ahmad b. al-Mansūr Husayn was summoned from San'a' and appointed governor of Ḥamran province assisted by Yahyā b. ʿAlī al-Radī. The following week, on Monday 13 Jumādā I 1232/2 April 1817 after arresting the shaykhs of Ḥamran and Jannāt, al-Mahdī struck camp and left Ḥamran for al-Rawdah on his way to San'a'. Emir Fayruz led out the prisoners of Ḥamran and waited at Jannāt for his imam near Bāb Sha'īb, on the Tuesday. He was however ordered to put them in prison and al-Mahdī entered San'a' from al-Rawdah on Wednesday 15 Jumādā I/4 April 1817. (26)

Other instructions were given and punitive measures taken by the imam at this time. Sayyid ʿAlī b. Ḥasan al-Durrah was sent with some troops to demolish the Jabal ʿIyāl Yazīd forts and castles. When they resisted, al-Mahdī sent his amīr al-jund, Fayruz al-Mutawakkil, at the head of one thousand men in addition to Naqīb Hādī b. ʿAlī Abū Luhūm, chief of Jihām together with some of those who had been in Ḥamran. The people of Jabal ʿIyāl Yazīd were frightened and their fortresses demolished at once. (27)

(26) Jahhāf, Sīrat, 24-6.
(27) Jahhāf, Sīrat, 26-9.
There was also internal trouble among the tribe of Qayifah in the south-east. Husayn b. Sa‘id Abū Hulayqah, a Khawlānī shaykh, was sent by al-Mahdī at the head of one thousand Khawlān to the tribe. Following as mediator was Sa‘d Miftāh and Shaykh ʿAlī b. ʿAlī al-Qawsī of al-Nadā. However, Shaykh ʿAlī b. Sa‘id al-Hajj, the governor of Nadā, refused the mediators all generosity, so they both returned home and Abū Hulayqah seized al-Hajj and brought him to Dhamar prison as al-Mahdī had ordered him.

6. Amnesty and punishment in San’ā.

The following weeks, after al-Mahdī’s return, were distinguished by a certain amount of flexibility and generosity on his part. Al-Mahdī gave Sharif ʿAlī b. ʿAlī al-Jawfī indemnity, so he returned to San’ā on Thursday 29 Jumādā II, 1232/16 May 1817 after his escape from Dhahbān to Arhab. Al-Mahdī released ʿUthmān b. ʿAlī Farīq from prison, confining him to the fortified tower (jawbah) of Hajj Tawfīq in the imam’s garden. This illustrates a kind gesture and a step towards his release. (28) On the other hand the imam’s senior minister, Fāsim b. ʿAlī al-

(28) Jahāf, Mīrat, 26.
\textsuperscript{c}Affārī, was imprisoned for the offence of allowing too little silver in the coinage and for his impetuosity (\textit{shiddat al-hiddah}); al-Mahdī punished him, although realising the affection al-\textsuperscript{c}Affārī had for him. He was replaced by Sayyid Ismā\textsuperscript{ī}l b. Qāsim al-Amīr. \textsuperscript{(29)} Al-\textsuperscript{c}Affārī remained in prison for only two months. At the same time the Hashid hostages were released after the mediation of Yahyā b. Nufliḏ and others. On 5 Rajab news reached al-Mahdī that his uncles (the sons of Mansūr) and his father's uncle Talib b. al-Mahdī CAbbās were critical of his régime. On Friday 7 Rajab he put them all (Qāsim, Ismā\textsuperscript{ī}l, Yahyā, Muhammad and Zayd) in prison. When Talib b. al-Mahdī tried to resist al-Mahdī sent his minister Qādī Muhammad b. CAlī CAbd al-Wāsi\textsuperscript{c} and his own chief servant to him. At the same time Talib's two brothers Ya\textsuperscript{c}qūb and Sālih al-Dīn came to see him and all advised him not to refuse al-Mahdī's order. So he was arrested. On the following Friday al-Mahdī visited his uncles in the Qasr prison and moved them from the general prison to house arrest in the Qasr.

\textsuperscript{(29)} Jahhār, Ḥirat, Jl.
where the late Sayyid cAlī b. Ahmad Ishāq had been
imprisoned in the time of al-Mansūr. (30) Later in the
middle of the following month all of them were to be
released. (31) Their release coincided with two contra-
dictory events which took place on the same morning.

That evening al-Mahdī married the daughter of Sayyid
Ibrāhīm b. cAbd al-Qādir b. Ahmad and his brother Ibrāhīm
married the daughter of Qādī Yusuf b. Ismā‘īl al-Sadiq. (32)
Within hours al-Mahdī had to face the severe attack of
Arhab, led by its chiefs and Sharīf cAlī b. Na‘īf al-Jawfī,
who had already fallen from grace, with another sharīf
from al-Jawf.

(30) See above p. 61.
(31) Jahāf, Sirat, 31-3.
(32) Jahāf, 33. This was not, of course, the first
marriage of al-Mahdī, nor the last. On 1 Safar 1233/
13 December 1817 only six months after his previous
marriage, al-Mahdī married the daughter of Sayyid cAbd
al-Karīm b. Ahmad b. Ishāq (d. 1225/1810). At the end
of the same month his brother Muhammad married the
daughter of Shaykh cAlī b. Muhammad Khalīl of Hamdān
(Sirat, 43). In 1235/1819 he married the daughter
of Sultan al-Rasūl of Yāfī in al-Baydā‘. After
divorcing her he married her sister. Cf. Anon.,
Nawwār, 23.
7. The Arhab attack

There is no need to search for a reason for the attack of Arhab, beyond their protection for Sharīf ʿAlī b. Nājī al-Jawfī and his men. We do not know either when or why on this occasion he had taken shelter and protection again in Arhab after his reconciliation with al-Mahdi. It was for the protection of al-Jawfī and perhaps because it was felt that Sanʿā’ was weak after the imam’s fighting with Ḥashid and the aggressive behaviour of the tribes that Arhab attacked. But it could also be that Arhab was anticipating punishment from al-Mahdi, as he had already punished Ḥashid. All we know is that on Thursday 11 Shaʿbān 1232/27 June 1817 Arhab left their territory accompanied by Sharīf ʿAlī b. Nājī and Sharīf Muḥsin al-Dāmir, the paramount chief of al-Jawf, with sixteen hundred warriors and ten horses. They arrived in al-Rawdah at midnight and in the morning they attacked Shaʿub and the northern suburbs of Sanʿā’. Two slave-emirs, Farḥān and Fayruz, with their troops led the counter
attack and the next morning al-Mahdī himself, on his wedding morning, pursued Arhab to Jadīr, one of two villages of the same name a few miles north of Sanā'ī. At the same time al-Mahdī urgently summoned Khawlān and other tribes. (33)

On 18 Śa'ībān 1232/4 July 1817 Naqīb Husayn Abū Hulayqah arrived in Sanā'ī with three thousand men of his tribe, Khawlān. One thousand five hundred of them were led by al-Sūfī. Al-Qiyarī, another Khawlān naqīb, also arrived from Khawlān. They camped near Rawdah. At the same time Sayyid Qāsim b. Ahmad, governor of Āmrān, who had been summoned by the imam, arrived in Sanā'ī, accompanied by some men from Ahl al-Jabal and Īyāl Surayh. Meanwhile Arhab made a quick attack on Dhahbān. The new support forces, predominantly of Khawlān, deployed themselves throughout Arhab territory and in addition arrangements were made by al-Mahdī's general, Emir Tawfīq, to ensure the non-interference of the tribes of B. al-Hārith and B. Hushaysh. Arhab realized the difficult
situation in which they had involved themselves and the serious consequences thereof. They therefore tried to reach a compromise with al-Mahdī, but it was too late. They sought support (nakkaṭū) from their Bakīl blood relatives and allies. Some of these responded, including the sub-tribes Dhū Muḥammad, Dhū Ḥusayn, Yam and others, but Mīhm, under the leadership of Hādi Abū Luhūm, did not answer the call for assistance. They had previously supported the imam with one thousand five hundred men after certain internal differences between a number of shaykhs of Mīhm. (34)

With his cannons and troops, including a thousand from Banī Jabir, now known as Khawlān Tiyyāl, al-Mahdī left San'ā' on 23 Shawrân 1232/9 July 1817 for the battlefield. Hamdān, led by Emir Rayhān, advanced from their territory towards Arhab. The fighting continued for many days. In one of the clashes between Mīhm and Arhab, Sharīf Muḥsin al-Dāmir, chief of al-Jawf, was killed,

(34) Jahāf, Mirat, 33-4.
together with forty from Arhab. In a further battle between Hamdān and Arhab, the latter lost twenty-eight men and Hamdān's casualties were twenty-five. Arhab acted shamefully during the battle, stooping to the depths of cutting off the heads of the dead Hamdānīs. This behaviour which was totally against tribal tradition increased the enmity between the two tribes. In return Hamdān retaliated in like manner and Yahyā b. ʿAlī Khalīl brought the first Arhabi head and received ten riyals and two pieces of gold as a reward from al-Mahdī Ṣabdūlāh.(35)

With the small cannons already in position, on 28 Shawbān 1232/14 July 1817 the so-called al-Ash'ram cannon arrived from Sanqa' with its well-known artilleryman, Hajj Husayn al-Turkī and his men. Al-Mahdī ordered him to advance and open fire on the fortified tower (nawbah) of Ghānim b. Mahdī which was being defended by a group of Arhab. This attempt was unsuccessful and six of Turkī's men were killed. After midnight Emir Fayrūz came in support and they changed the position of the cannon and then finally succeeded in destroying the tower.

(35) Jahāf, Sīrat, 35-6.
However by the end of Sha'ban the battle was brought to an end in the village of Shi'b where Arhab and their allies were completely defeated. The result was a hundred and eighty dead from Arhab and Bakil; whereas only eighteen died on the imam's side and sixty were injured. (36) Al-Mahdi returned to San'a' on 4 Ramadān exhausted, not keeping the fast, but nevertheless victorious. Among the prisoners of Arhab only Shaykh al-Omarī is mentioned as having been executed by al-Mahdi. His head was cut off in San'a' on 4 Shawwāl 1232/13 October 1817. (37) The other Arhab prisoners were released in the middle of Ramadān. (38)

8. Economic repercussions in San'a'

As a result of al-Mahdī's campaign against the Arhab and the general political unrest which accompanied it, prices increased and the value of qirsh (=riyāl) fell.

(36) Jahāfīf, 2Irāt, 36-7.
(37) Ibid., 37.
(38) Ibid., 37.
On 1 Ramadan 1232/19 July 1817 the number of hurūf (sing. ḥarf) in one girsh increased from two hundred to three hundred. The prices of grain changed as follows: one girsh for two and a half qadah of wheat or three of corn or five of barley. (39) Four months later the number of hurūf in one riyāl increased to four hundred and al-Mahdī had to fix its value at this rate. On the first day of the new year 1233/11 November 1817 he reopened the mint (dār al-darb) and issued new currency, ordering that the number of hurūf should not exceed four hundred. However with temporary political stability and a return to normal life, one riyāl became the price of three qadāh of wheat, four of corn and five of barley and the price of grain dropped. The production of goods and other commodities was increased and became cheaper. (40)

These few months, however, were not to pass without a change of ministers. The minister Isma‘īl b. Qāsim al-Amīr was suspended and his properties in Lower Yemen

(39) Jāḥfāf, Ḥrat, 38; cf. the prices and the economic situation in the time of al-Maṣārūr in the year 1220/1805, chapter IV, p. 96-7.

(40) Jāḥfāf, Ḥrat, 43.
confiscated. (41) Qāsim al-‘Affārī was reappointed as minister and Fāqīh Yahyā b. ʿAlī al-ʿAnsāfī became responsible for tribal affairs and was given the governorship of Ṣan`ā’. (42) The mediation of Ḍaqīb Ḥādi Abū Luhum was accepted in some tribal cases and many chiefs and tribesmen were released, probably due to his help against Arhab.

At this point, however, when all appeared calm, al-ʿMahdī became involved in a new critical situation with the tribes within Ṣan`ā’ itself.

2. The punishment and humiliation of Bakīl

For some reason al-ʿMahdī ʿAbdullāh decided to launch a campaign against Sharīf Hamūd and to regain Tihamah. He summoned the tribes of Dhū Ḥusayn and Dhū Muḥammad of Bakīl to Ṣan`ā’ for this purpose. It is impossible to accept al-Shijni’s story that the two tribes had been summoned to Ṣan`ā’ because the minister Qāsim al-ʿAffārī had plotted to get rid of all of them and their evil ways in a...
massacre planned to be carried out in the capital. (43)

A great number of them (44) arrived with their chiefs in
San'a', where al-Mahdi showed them generous hospitality.

After a few days of granting them wages and means of
support al-Mahdi ordered them to march, together with some
other tribes, to Tihāmah, thus carrying out his intended
plan. But when they demanded higher wages and showed their
greed, al-Mahdi forbade them to leave San'a'. They then
felt that they were captive and that some punishment
might well be administered because of their refusal.

Their chief, Calī b. Abdullah al-Shāyif wrote to al-Mahdi
threatening that if he would not allow the tribesmen to
leave the capital for their own territory, they would have
no alternative but to fight from the houses they were
renting or into which they had scattered in many quarters,
in the east and north of the capital. Al-Shāyif stated
that al-Mahdi's own palace would be one of their main

(43) Al-Shijā, al-Tijār, 17b.
(44) From the list of their horses and camels which were
later confiscated, it appears that they were at least
three thousand in number. Ten years before, by
comparison, al-Mansūr Calī sent to Ṣaḥīb seven
thousand of Dhu Ḥusayn (al-Ma'ālī, Diary, 172b).
targets. Al-Mahdī, however, was incensed, rather than appeased, by this letter and became furious. (45) The anonymous author of the Hawliyyat adds that Bakīl were under the impression that al-Mahdī and his minister al- Affārī were afraid of them. (46) However, on 17 Rabī‘ 1233/Saturday 26 January 1818 al-Mahdī summoned their chiefs. Accompanied by his minister al- Affārī he met them in his garden. There he gave orders for them all to be shackled and held in his palace basement. In the evening he commanded his brother, Muhammad, to throw them into prison. On Thursday 20th of the same month, in order to humiliate Bakīl completely, al-Mahdī called in Fāqih Hasan al-‘Ulfī who had had bad relations with Bakīl (47) and asked the old minister to be his chamberlain (wāsitat al-bāb). In actual fact al- ‘Ulfī declined the position, apologizing and saying that he would not be able to assume the responsibility on account of his ill health and old

(45) Jahāf, Zārat, 43; al-Kibāl, 356.
(47) See above chapter IV, p. 22.
Meanwhile, al-Mahfī summoned ʿAbdullāh b. Ahmad al-Shāyīf and again ordered him to obey his instructions, but instead al-Shāyīf defiantly reminded the imam that Sanʿāʾ was full of his tribesmen and that they were unwilling to execute his commands. (bi-anna Sanʿāʾ namlūʿah min awlād Chaylān, wa-annahum shayru muntathillīna lī-ʾl-amr). (49)

In fact, they had already barricaded themselves in the houses of their agents and other houses and caravanserais (sing. samsarah) which they had rented. They were determined to fight and to free those imprisoned. Al-Mahfī for his part placed his troops on alert and all important buildings were also protected and guarded. He gave orders that Bākīl should be killed (fa-amara al-imām bi-ʾl-sayḥah ʿalayhim). (50) It was for a period of only a day and a

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(48) Jahhāf, Sīrat, 44; Anon., Hawliyyāt, 19. Jahhāf tells us that he was suffering badly from riyaḥ, presumably rheumatism.

(49) Jahhāf, Sīrat, 44.

(50) Jahhāf, Sīrat, 44; Anon., Hawliyyāt, 19; al-Kībsī, 376; al-Shīhābī, al-Tīqrāʾ, 17b-17a who adds that al-Shawkānī had repeatedly written to al-Mahfī, warning him of the outcome of the escapade and that Bākīl would not carry out what he wanted from them.
night that Bakīl suffered particularly and went through the worst. Those who did not escape by jumping down from the walls of San'ā' or hide themselves were killed, imprisoned or at least wounded. They left behind them two hundred Arabian thoroughbreds and six hundred white racing she-camels, as well as a great deal of their equipment and arms which were all brought to al-Mahdī. The local mob also plundered them and seized many of the goods which they themselves had already looted or bought from the people of San'ā'. Bakīl also left behind them about five hundred prisoners including chiefs. But above all else they suffered the utmost humiliation. (51) It is worthy of note that one trouble-maker of Bakīl, Qādī ʿAbdullāh b. Hasan al-Ansā, whom we have met many times in our study, was not with those in San'ā' on this occasion, although he was not far from the scene. He was in Bawsān, a few miles from San'ā', waiting cautiously, when those who managed to escape arrived in a very sorry condition. He asked them where their horses, camels and chiefs,  

(51) Jahāf, 45; Anon., 19-20; al-Wāsā, 376.
(Cuggal) were. They told him what had happened to them and he then chided them. "There will be no more Bakil after today! You have lost your hands, your legs and your heads!" He ordered four camels to be slaughtered to feed them. (52)

Al-Mahdī sent a general statement to all his governors and officials dated Thursday 23 Rabī‘ I 1233/18 March 1818, giving an account of the episode and announcing his triumph.

10. The vengeance

There was no doubt in ʻan‘ā’ that Bakil would be back for vengeance before long. With this in mind al-Mahdī and his minister started to take certain measures to defend the capital, summoning Khawlān and Mīhām and distributing his armies among the inhabitants of the suburbs of ʻan‘ā’.

In the meantime al-Mahdī punished and imprisoned Emir Tawfīq al-Mutawakkil, chief of his guard, for his contacts

(52) Jahhāf, 45; Anon., Ḥawliyyāt, 29.
with the leaders of Bakil and later on, on 15 Rabi' II 1233/24 February 1818, he exiled him to Zayla'. He ordered those of Bakil captured in their rented houses in San'a' to be put in prison and Yahyā al-Ānisī to inspect their chiefs there and once again shackle them. (53)

On Thursday 15 Rabi' II 1233/23 February 1818 al-Mahdī Ābiullāh took a vital decision. That morning he left San'a' for Chirās, about fifteen miles north of San'a', where he made a visit to the tomb of his great grandfather al-Mahdī Ahmad b. Hasan b. Qāsim b. Muhammad (d. 1092/1681). On his return he gave the order to bring down Ābiullāh b. Āli al-Shāyif from Qaṣr prison to Bustūn al-Mutawakkil where he was beheaded and where his body hung for three days. To increase the humiliation al-Shāyif's corpse was buried in an unclean place (makān naḥāṣāt), next to the filth of human excreta collected in an area between Bab Sha'īb and Bir al-Dānān outside the city wall. (54)

(53) Jahāf, Zīrat, 47.
(54) Jahāf, Zīrat, 48, who neglects to mention the place of burial; Anon., Jawliyāt, 20; al-Khālī, 376; Shihāf, Tiqlār, 18a; Zabārah, II, 66.
Al-Nahdi's action frightened all the tribes, except Barat, whose chiefs, especially Al al-Shayif, used this act to persuade their allies to support their call for revenge. Sharif Hamud of Tihamah himself expressed his fears when he heard the news, as a Tihami reporter records in his diary. (55)

So two months passed in an atmosphere of fear and preparation for defence in the capital and its surrounding area. Khawlani deployed to guard al-Sha'b, al-Jiraf and al-Rawdan, north of San'a'. Troops supported guards in San'a' itself, but in Bi'r al-Azab, the western residential area of the higher social classes and of some of the imam's family and officials, defence depended only on a few militarily inexperienced farmers and other inhabitants. Local peasants were living in the area with their neighbours, the Jews in their qāba in the far west of the city.

On 15 Jumādā II 1233/6 August 1818 the catastrophe happened when Barat, led by Naqīb Husayn b. ʿAbdullāh

(55) Al-Nahdi, Diary, 177b.
al-Shāyif, stormed the innocent sleeping inhabitants in the middle of the night. They brought ladders with them and scaled the wall which they also undermined in places. They pillaged first Qā' al-Yahūd and then turned to BI'r al-'Azab, murdering everyone they met. They plundered the quarter entirely. They killed more than fifty, including some eminent men. Qādī Muhammad b. Yahyā al-Suhūlī, Sayyid Yahyā Matabah, Cāmil of the warf, Sayyid Qāsim b. al-Qadīq, Yahyā al-Harāzī and many others were among their victims. Qādī Muhammad al-Shawkānī managed to escape to Upper San’a’, which Barat were not able to attack, since they knew it was well guarded and that precautionary measures had been taken to defend it. Even the Qasr prison where their chiefs were imprisoned was avoided. (56) The second day was worse. The situation in BI'r al-'Azab was that the minister al-'Affārī ordered Khawlān to expel Barat. Indeed Khawlān plundered them as Barat had the inhabitants. (57) Barat fortified them-

(56) Al-Shijāf, al-Tiqār, 13a; Amcr., Mamlīyat, 24; al-Mustak, Diary, 1785.
(57) Al-Shijāf, al-Tiqār, 13b.
selves on this occasion by keeping their horses and camels outside the city wall.

The chiefs of Barat wrote to Qādi al-Shawkānī asking him to mediate between them and the imam in order to secure the release of their prisoners and their animals and possessions confiscated on the previous occasion. In return Barat were to leave Bi’r al- Açab and return home. (58)

Al-Mahdī agreed and replaced al- Affārī with Husayn Hanash who acted with al-Shawkānī to find a solution to this dreadful ordeal. Al- Affārī was imprisoned for his dereliction of duty and involvement in the problem from the beginning without thinking of the outcome. (59)

Naqīb ʿAbdullāh b. Ahmad al-Shayif, father of the executed Ahmad, was brought down from prison with others to Qādi al-Shawkānī to negotiate concerning his problem and Barat’s evacuation from Bi’r al- Açab and their return home. Finally they came to an agreement by releasing the Barat prisoners and returning some of their animals.

(58) Al-Shijāḥ, al-Tiğār, 19a; Anon., Hawliyyāt, 24.
(59) Al-Shijāḥ, al-Tiğār, 19a; Anon., Hawliyyāt, 24.
Barat was also to leave Sa'ā' on 3 Rajab 1233/10 May 1819. After eighteen days of aggressive behaviour they left Sa'ā'. In the short term there was no serious attack by Barat. Their coming and threatening in time of drought became a routine and this was dealt with by the imam either by his paying them off or his using force or by a combination of both.

11. The restoration of Tihamah to the imam's sovereignty

Sharīf Ḥamīd of Tihamah was involved in fighting with the Turko-Egyptian forces who had already destroyed the first state of Al Ṣu'ūd when their capital Dir'iyyah fell on 11 Dhū 'l-Qa'dah 1233/2 September 1818. His death on 14 Rabī' II 1233/23 February 1818 (60) was the end of his family's role in events, since his son Ahmad was to be captured the following year and exiled to Egypt where he died. (61) Meanwhile Muhammad ʿAlī sent Yusuf

(60) Al-Bahkalī, Ṣafī, supplement, 307. The editor, Aqīlī, suggests that the date of Hamīd's death was Saturday 10 Rabī' II. Al-Maṣūfī says that Ḥamīd died of pleurisy.

Aghā, his envoy, to San'a', where the latter was received with the marked distinction and respect which adequately showed that the imam was not without his apprehensions of Muhammad ʿAlī's intentions in the area. (62) Al-Mahdī sent Qādi Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Harāzī (d. 1245/1829) (63) as an envoy with Yūsuf Aghā to meet Khalīl Pāshā, leader of the Turko-Egyptian expedition. When the two envoys returned from Tīhāmah, Chief Qādi Muhammad al-Shawkānī was responsible for the negotiations on behalf of Imam al-Mahdī. The result was that the districts of Tīhāmah were to be restored to the imam in return for a quantity of Yemeni coffee "...to be sent every year to the kitchen of the sultan (matbakh al-sultān) and a sum of money as bakhshīsh for the Turkish soldiers", according to the agreement and in the words of al-Shawkānī. (64) So al-Mahdī ʿAbdullāh sent his governors to all ports

(62) Playfair, History, 131.
(63) Al-Harāzī, like his father, was a qādi and faqīh. He also succeeded his father in some official posts and missions. He became the minister responsible for Tīhāmah for three years. Al-Shawkānī, al-Bārī, II, 123; Zabārah, Nayl, II, 234; al-Shijārī, Tīgār, 125.
(64) Al-Shawkānī, al-Bārī, II, n. 123, 369-70; Tīgār, 125.
with his envoy Ḥarāsī and Yūsuf Aḡā with some troops to replace the Turks. Through the mediation of Khalīl Pasha al-Mahdí appointed Sharīf Ḥaṯīr b. Ḥaydar as ruler on his behalf in Ḍabhū aṯ-Ṭarīsh. Al-Mahdí also sent him some material and some of his own horses. (65)

However control of Ṣan'ā' was to continue in the imam's hands and the area was only quiet until 1248/1832 when a rebellious officer of Muḥammad Ḥaṯīr's Hijazi forces, Turkhī Bilmās, marched with one thousand of his men against Ḥodīdah, Mocha and Zabīd. Those captured, he executed their governors, Sayyid ʿAbdullāh Durayb and Fāqīḥ Ahmad Lutf Tamūsh. The reaction came from the emirate of ʿAsīr under the leadership of Emīr Ḥaṯīr b. Ṭīḥīl who defeated the Turkish officer, Bilmās, and gained possession of the coast. Later on in 1249/1833 Emīr Ḥaṯīr b. Ṭīḥīl died on his way home and the ʿAsīris were then forced by the Turko-Egyptian commander, Ḥibrīm Bīsḥā, to surrender Mocha to him. He was to take further steps against al-Mahdī ʿAbdullāh's son a few years later. (66)

(66) Al-Ṣaḥḥaṭ, 377-8; Floyaṭ, History, 142-4; al-ʿAqlī, Tarīkh, I, 535-6.
12. Stability and instability

The few years after the recovery of Tihamah were distinguished by a situation of relative stability. It gave al-Mahdi Abdullāh a little time to think of construction either for himself or for the general welfare of the people. He also followed his father's example of leading punitive expeditions personally and in this he achieved success.

On his return from one of his long and extensive expeditions to Lower Yemen against the corruptions of Bakīl there, al-Mahdi started, in 1236/1821, the construction of his superb palace and mafraj with its beautiful gardens and fountain (shadhrawān) of Bustān al-Sultan. It was a magnificent example of Yemeni architecture which involved many San'āni engineers (asātiyāh) and workers and was not finished until 1240/1824. The Talbah dome, although built later in 1247/1831-2, is indeed one of al-Mahdi's benefactions, in addition to the lockings situated outside the Great Mosque of San'ā' for students non-resident in

(67) Anon., Ṣaḥīḥ Muḥarrār, 32-3.
the city (اغرب). He also widened some of the squares (sing. میدان) of the city. He built many public baths (حمام), such as: Hammān al-Mutawakkil at Bāb al-Sabahah; Hammān al-Sulṭān next to his palace, al-Hammān al-Kabīr, north of Ḍār al-Jāmi' and Hammān Wādī Dahr. (68)

Early in this period, in 1234/1819, al-Mahdi ordered his governor of Sa'ā, Qādī Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Haymī, to revise the Statute of Sa'ā (قانون سا) with a new supplement (زياد). After the revision the قانون became law. The قانون is a collection of market regulations and evaluation of prices and wages. It also defines the duties of local organisations in the city's security and public safety, especially defence against outside aggression.

This قانون was an important and necessary document, the revision of which proved to be a wise move on the part of the imam. It was a document not only of great importance in al-Mahdi's time, but also later in the period of anarchy, as is duly acknowledged by Qādī Ḥusayn al-Sayāghī in the preface of his published version of the قانون, 1334/1916. (69)

(68) Al-Majīrī, Kasājid, 68; Zabārah, Tavāl, II, 65; Anon., 32.

(69) There is an excellent translation of this difficult text with a valuable historical introduction and analysis, cf. Serjeant, 179-240.
13. Al-Mahdi ʿAbdullāh: the end of an era

In 1237/1321 al-Mahdi ʿAbdullāh made one of his two long expeditions to Lower Yemen. On his way he inspected the territories of al-Madhā, ʿAns and Yarīm. Further south-east he continued to ʿQaṭtabah, Dhū Sifāl, al-ʿUdayn and Taʿizz. He punished some trouble-makers and some disloyal shaykhhs. It is worthy of note that al-Mahdī had the desire to visit the famous Sufī Ahmad b. ʿAlwān (d. 665/1266) in Yafrus near Taʿizz, but he was advised not to make the visit, since, it was suggested, such a visit might encourage the belief in Ibn ʿAlwān as a saint (wallī). This advice was probably given by al-Shawkānī who was with the imam on this journey. (70) In 1248/1832 al-Mahdī had to return to Lower Yemen to punish and drive out Bakīl from there. (71)

In 1241/1825 al-Mahdī appointed Sayyid Ahmad b. Hasan al-Shāmī governor of Dūrūn of ʿAns. Two of the garrison

(70) Anon., Maḥdiyyāt, 32-3; al-Shawkānī, ʿAlwān, 90, 360; al-Shijāʿ, al-Tīqaʿ, 25b-26a; al-ʿUthmān, Diary, 180.
(71) Anon., Maḥdiyyāt, 47.
killed the latter in what appeared to be a rebellion in the area. Al-Mahdi acted quickly by ordering the minister Qasim b. Muhammad al-Qamri to take over the mobilization of the army for a campaign against the rebels and al-Mahdi himself led this punitive expedition. His first target was the fort of Daf which belonged to Naqib 'Ali b. Sahl al-Mayyal of Banu Jabr of Khawlan. The fort was situated between Jahran and Anis and for some time had been a centre for attacks on the surrounding area and its continued existence jeopardized the safety of the roads and neighbouring territories. The fort was destroyed by cannons and al-Mayyal and his men were captured. The purge extended to Durrân where al-Mahdi insisted on seizing the two murderers of al-Shami. In San'a' after his victorious return he ordered their heads to be cut off and their bodies hanged on Bab al-Yaman. (72)

Yam of Hashid had made many aggressive attacks on Tihama especially when its governor happened to be a weak one. One of Yam's attacks was in Dhul-Qa'dah 1237/

August 1322 when they sacked Zabid and its citizens lost everything they had. (73) Four years later they attacked Hodeida but many were killed and Yam were defeated. (74) However in 1244/1828 another group of Yam came down to attack and capture some villages in Haruz. The minister Qasim al-Amri sent some troops led by his brother Ali b. Muhammad. It appears that Yam were too strong. Al-Amrī's troops faced heavy opposition and many on both sides were killed. Al-Mahdi himself had to lead an army and sent for heavy cannon to be brought from Mocha. His ministers accompanied him, including Faqih Qasim al-Amrī and Qadi al-Shawkānī who recorded the occasion and advised on battle tactics in a fine poem. (75)

14. Final events and the death of al-Mahdi

Among the last important events in al-Mahdi's reign which should be mentioned is the departure in 1245/1829

(73) Al-Nu'mān, 182-3.
(74) Al-Nu'mān, 135b.
(75) Al-Mīnīfī, Tuḥfat al-Ikhwān, 10; Anon., Hamlīya, 41-2; al-Shawkānī, ʿAdwān, 326.
of al-Mahdī's respected uncle, Yahyā b. al-Mansūr, in an angry mood, for Arhab. Al-Mahdī failed to respond to Arhab's mediation and the result was a real conflict between Arhab and al-Mahdī's troops. Many of both sides were killed, but Arhab was defeated and Sayyid Yahyā b. al-Mansūr, protected by them, fled with his son, Muhammad, to Tihāmah. (76) In the course of a long and dramatic life, the latter was to become imam, ten years after al-Mahdī's death.

Included in the leaders of the troops fighting against Arhab was their old friend and ally Sharīf Ǧalī b. Majī al-Jawfī who had returned to the imam's service (77) and carried out al-Mahdī's orders and instructions for many years. This was until 1250/1834 when Sharīf Ǧalī b. Hasan, a cousin of al-Jawfī, was accused of betraying al-Mahdī in a mission to Tihāmah. Without giving further details, it can be said that the two sharīfs and their relatives were arrested. Their properties were confiscated

(76) Anon., Ḥamīlayt, 44-5.
(77) See above p.132.
and the two of them together with three others were
decapitated on 25 Safar 1250/4 July 1334. (78)

If the anger and departure of al-Mahdi's uncle, Yahyā, can be interpreted as a private attitude and as a demand for more income and for a more respected position vis-à-vis the imam, all this was refused by al-Mahdi. Not so, however, with the cause of the qālīm, sayyid Ahmad b. 'Alī al-Sirājī, (79) who left Ṣanʿā' in Safar 1247/July 1331 accompanied by his shaykh ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Mujāhid, the latter's son and other sayyids and ulemā. Sirājī declared himself imam and was supported by Mihm and many tribes of Ḥashid and Bakil. In Jumādā II 1247/October 1331, he left Mihm and came down to fight al-Mahdi in Ṣanʿā'.

It appears that al-Sirājī was a weak leader in spite of his sincerity and faithfulness. However, his supporters abandoned him near Ṣanʿā' where he had to return to Mihm

(78) Anon., Ṣawliyyat, 56-7.
(79) The Sirājī sayyids in Ṣanʿā', al-Sīrār, north of Ṣanʿā' and ʿAbd b. Ṣawliyyat, south-east of Ṣanʿā', are all descendants of an old Ḥasanī sayyid, called Sirāj al-Qādir because of his handsome appearance. Zabārah, Sayl al-Mussayyab, 137.
territory. Two years later he was assassinated in a village called al-Haydah in Mihr. (80)

In Rajab 1250/December 1834 al-Mahdi Abdullāh returned ill from Dhahbān where there were Arhab led by 'Abd Ḥār al-Majjān, who had attacked the area in revenge for the killing of Sharīf Ḥāfiz al-Janfī. (81)

The month before that the Chief Ḥāfiz Muhammad al-Shawkānī died. Al-Mahdī survived for a year, but was only partly active because of his own illness. However, on 6 Sha' bān 1251/December 1835 he died at the age of forty-three. It had been a short life, but one full of action and struggle, though of inconsistencies too. After his death his son Ḥāfiz succeeded him only for a year and some months. He was replaced and dismissed many times. A new era of anarchy and darkness in Yemeni history was approaching.

(80) Zabārah, Nayl, I, 150-2; al-Ḡārī, Musādir, 122; Anon., Hasliyyaṭ, 52-4; al-Wādi, Tārīkh, 222-3, though scarcely worthy of use.

(81) Anon., Hasliyyaṭ, 58.
PART TWO

AL-SHAIKHĀMĪ, HIS LIFE AND THOUGHT
"I received knowledge (\textit{\textilah}) without paying for it, so I would like to impart it \textit{\textilah} to others in the same way!"

\textit{Al-Shawk\={a}n\={i}}
Al-Shawkānī's Life

1. His biography *

On Monday 29 Dhū 'l-Qa'dah 1173/14 July 1750 Muhammad b. 'Alī b. Muhammad al-Shawkānī was born in his father's birth-place, Shawkān - a small village in Khawfān south-east of the capital of the Yemen Ṣanā' - which was his father's original home. (1)

* Two unpublished biographies of al-Shawkānī have been edited and added as a part of this study. The first (appendix III) is by a famous disciple of al-Shawkānī, the historian Jahhāf, whose unpublished book I have consulted extensively in part one. The second is al-Huthī, the contemporary and friend of al-Shawkānī. He died young, during the lifetime of Shawkānī, and a copy of his three large volumes of biographies are in 'Alī Amīrī's library in Istanbul which I personally used. Biographies of both Jahhāf and al-Huthī can be found below in appendices II and III. His disciple, Qādī Muhammad b. Ḥasan al-Shijāī, wrote a biography of his shaykh, al-Shawkānī, which we have consulted here.

(1) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, 1, 214-5.
The family of Shawkānī's father had been well-known for a long time for their knowledge of jurisprudence and many of them became scholars who were engaged with the imams in the legal administration of the country. They played a part in fostering opposition to the Ottomans during the first occupation of the Yemen (938-1045/1536-1635). Shawkānī's father went to San'ā in order to study. He settled there and annotated many original works of jurisprudence (fīq̱h), commentaries on the texts of the Zaydī and other Islamic schools, and became a judge (qādī) for Imam al-Mahdī 'Abbās b. Musayn (1161-99/1749-75) in Khawlān, his homeland, and later in San'ā where he continued to teach and issue fatwās until his death in 1211/1797. (2)

Al-Shawkānī grew up in his father's school of thought in a milieu of research, scholarly argument and debate (jadal). After learning the Qur'ān by heart under the shaykhs of San'ā, he also studied the legal work of

(2) Al-Shawkānī, al-Jadīr, I, 473-75.
al-Azhār (3) and many other works of commentary, Ḥadīth, fiqh, the science of language, literature and history, more than fifteen of which were original works on these subjects. These books formed the background reading of the intellectuals of the period. (4) After this first stage of his education, he began to study both widely and deeply the different sciences of Zaydiism and other Islamic philosophies and doctrines, as well as the science of language and rhetoric. At an early age he became a famous ʿalim, teaching in the Great Mosque of Ṣan‘ā’, not only

(3) The book of al-Azhār fi fiqh al-aʿimmah al-athār, by the imam and ʿalim al-Mahdī Ahmad b. Yahyā al-Murtadā (754–940/1352–1437), was and still is the most important book upon which the Zaydis depended for teaching beginners and fuqahā’. A commentary on this book has been written by the author himself in his six volumes, al-Bahr al-Zakhchar, and by many famous Yemeni scholars, including the critical commentary of al-Shawkānī al-Ṣayl al-Jarrār which we shall study later.

(4) Al-Shawkānī gives details of these books and their subject matter in his autobiography which can be found in his important collection of biographies al-Badr al-Tāliʿ, I, 215–8. Also in this book are the biographies of the most important of his shaykhs and other contemporaries.
some of his contemporaries but also some of his former teachers. He had been taught by the most famous ulema and shaykhs until there was little more that they could teach him (as he said himself). (5) During this period, he was engaged both in a quest for knowledge and in imparting such knowledge as he had; he would often attend thirteen or so lessons in a single day and night, some of them devoted to learning, others to teaching. Eventually he confined his efforts entirely to teaching, giving in one day, ten lectures or so on different subjects – commentary, hadith, usul-fiqh, (i.e. the four foundations of Islamic jurisprudence), grammar, rhetoric, logic, debate (jadal) and prosody (ilm al-carūn). (6)

As his father was reasonably prosperous, al-Shawkānī was able to spend his time studying, researching and later giving fatwās (formal legal opinions), writing and teaching, without worrying about earning his livelihood; indeed, he followed the latest fashions and lived in style. (7) He

(6) Ibid., 219.
used not to take money for his fatwās and when people blamed him for this he would reply: "I received knowledge without paying for it, so I would like to impart it in the same way." (9)

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{9} Alī b. Muhammad al-Shawkānī} \]
\[ (d. 1211/1796) \]

\[ \text{Yahya} \quad \text{Muhammad (the Chief Qādī)} \]
\[ (1190-1267/1776-1951) \quad (1172-1250/1760-1334) \]

\[ \text{Ahmad} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{9} Alī} \]
\[ (d. 1281/1864) \quad (d. 1250/1834) \]

The Shawkānī line surviving to the present day Both died without male issue

(9) Al-Shawkānī, al-Ḍair, II, 219.
2. The shaykhs of al-Shawkānī

Many shaykhs of al-Shawkānī’s played an important role either in the cultural and intellectual or in the political life of the Yemen, or in both. Al-Shawkānī’s own role in this field was even wider and more influential. In Part one above we have already met and mentioned, directly or indirectly, shaykhs such as Sayyid Ābd al-Qādir b. Ahmad, who was probably the greatest and most vigorous Ālim of his time, or al-Mahāsīrī, under whom al-Shawkānī studied for thirteen years (9) and who acted as ambassador between al-Mansūr and his opponents and rebels for many years. (10) Qādī al-Akma and others have also been mentioned. There follows a complete list of those shaykhs and more details can be found in Part one and in the Appendices.

(10) See above pp. 73 and 103.
1. Ahmad b. ʿAmir al-Madani 1127-1197/1715-1783
2. Ismaʿīl b. al-Hasan al-Mahdi 1120-1206/1708-1791
3. ʿAbd al-Rahman b. Hasan al-Akwa 1137-1207/1724-1792
4. ʿAbd al-Qadir b. Ahmad Sharaf al-Din 1135-1207/1723-1792
5. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Qadir al-Madani 1140-1207/1727-1792
7. Qasim b. Yahya al-Khawlani 1126-1209/1714-1794
8. ʿAbd al-Rahman b. Qasim al-Madani 1121-1211/1709-1797
9. Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Hara 1150-1227/1737-1813
10. ʿAbdullāh b. Ismaʿīl al-Madhani 1150-1227/1737-1813
11. ʿAlī b. Mādī Arshab 1164-1235/1745-1816

3. Education and the Islamic heritage

Studying under one or many shaykh is the traditional way of seeking knowledge and is carried out over a period of at least a few years. Sometimes the relationship between the shaykh and his disciple continues for many years, until the
death of the first. Usually the shaykhs give their
distinguished students or disciples the authority (ijazah,
literally 'licence') to teach or relate a hadith or a book
on any subject. (11) The idea of the ijazah was at first
purely concerned with the Hadith and its science, i.e.
knowing its scholars, their honesty and truthfulness, as
well as the classes and the different Hadith in order to
distinguish the 'sound' (sahih) from the 'weak' (dahîf) or
the 'fabricated' (mawdu'). With the growth of Hadith
literature to a vast size and the collections of Traditions
(sahih, masna'id and sunan), there was also a tendency for
the unscrupulous and for the adherents of various rival
religio-political sectarian and schismatic groups in Islam

(11) There are eight methods of receiving ilm from the
shaykh, or teacher: sama'c 'hearing' and gir'ah,
'reading', are the highest and best. The ijazah is
given either directly from a shaykh or through one
of his followers authorized to give such an ijazah.
It also has different names; see al-Jâdi 'Iyad,
al-Imãc ila ma'rifat al-sama', 83-107; Ibn Hajar,
Nukhbat al-Fikr; Rosenthal, Technique; Sezgin, CAS,
I, 53-54; II, III, 1020; Shaw, Taarikh al-Fihûl,
54-7.
to fabricate Hadīth in order to further their own ends and give respectability to their partisan views. Hence the efforts of the great Islamic scholars to separate the true from the spurious, and to develop methods of studying Hadīth. In the Mughaddimah of Ibn al-Jalāh (577-743/1181-1342) the science of Hadīth reaches its zenith. But some later scholars found it necessary to explain and comment on the Mughaddimah as well. Among them, and probably one of the best, was Sirāj al-Dīn al-Balqīnī (724-805/1324-1401) who included material on the Mughaddimah and made some original additions of his own in his Mahāsin al-Istilāh. (12)

Four centuries later, in al-Shawkānī's time, the ijāzah method had not changed, but the number of authorities in its iṣnād (chain of authorities) from shaykh to shaykh or from generation to generation had doubled. Ibn Hajar (d. 852/1448), for example, as a connecting link between the earliest centuries and al-Shawkānī's generation is number eight. (13) In the meantime knowledge, including

Hadīth literature, had increased and become more complicated and extremely onerous for those seeking knowledge.

Al-Shawkānī is one of the greatest Muslims to inherit this discipline through the classic tradition of education. He followed the steps of the famous ulema and scholars who wrote their own asānīd, either with biographies of their shaykhs, like that of Ibn al-Jawzī (d. 597/1200) which became a biographical dictionary of eighty-six shaykhs and three women shaykhat. (14) or that of the Index des Livres et des Maîtres of Abū Bakr b. Khayr (502-575/1108-1179) (15) to whom were ascribed more than one thousand and forty-five books. Indeed, al-Shawkānī in his book calls it Ithāf al-kābir bi-īsnād al-dafātir and is more moderate, for he mentions four hundred and twenty-five books in addition to sixty-one literary works in general. (16) But he explains that he only summarized his book from the original draft which could have been in several volumes. (17)

(16) Ithāf, 100-11.
(17) Ibid., 111.
However, what we are trying now to show is not only al-Shawkānī's education and his cultural background, but also an important phenomenon, that of the handing down of knowledge and the transfer of books and ideas through the years. Al-Shawkānī mentions twelve collections of asānīd saying that "they contain all the books of Islamic culture" (asānīd kutub al-Islām fī jami' al-funūn). (18) It is noticeable that all of these are late, since the oldest is al-Bābili, from the eleventh/seventeenth century. There are four Yemeni scholars and eight other Arabs. Among the asānīd the non-Yemenis are:

1. Muhammad ʿAlā al-Dīn al-Bābili d. 1077/1664 (19)
2. Saʿlīm b. ʿAbdullāh al-Basri d. 1160/1744 (20)
3. Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Nahlī al-Makkī d. 1130/1718 (21)
4. Muhammad b. ʿAlī Tayyib al-reative al-Maghrībī d. 1170/1756 (22)
5. ʿIbrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan al-Kurdi al-Kurānī d. 1101/1690 (23)

(18) Ithāf, III.
(19) Shawkānī, al-Badr, II, 209. Al-Shawkānī describes him as "musnud al-duwayā ṭa" and "musnud al-ṣār al-arīf".
(20) Al-Mittāfī, Bahman, II, 119; Ẓabārāh, Sharh Davī, 432.
(21) Al-Sawādī, Silk al-Durar, I, 171; al-Qanūfī, Abū al-Qalīm, 255; al-Shawkānī, Ithāf, 102; his father is wrongly named in the Indian edition.
(22) Al-Sawādī, Silk al-Durar, IV, 29.
The latter is the author of Kitāb al-'Uman li-qawd al-himān which was published in India in 1328/1910, at the same time and place as al-Shawkānī's Ithāf.

The Yemeni scholars of asānīd books are:

1. Ahmad b. Ẓā'īd al-Dīn al-Maswari (1007-1072/1598-1663)
2. Ḥādī al-ʿAzīz b. Muhammad al-Hubayshī (1042-1110/1632-1699)
3. Ibrāhīm b. al-Qāsim b. al-Muʿayyad (d. about 1153/1740)
4. Yāḥyā b. ʿUmar al-ʿAbdal (1073-1147/1662-1734)

By coincidence these four come from the four quarters of the Yemen, for al-Maswari was from the far north, al-Hubayshī from Taʾif, Ibn al-Muʿayyad from Ṣanʿāʾ and al-ʿAbdal from Zabīd. It is the same too with those before them who came from different Arab and Islamic countries and their common

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(25) Zābārah, Nashr al-Qārīf, II, 59; Dha'il al-Badr, II, 121.
(27) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 263; in his son's biography, al-Shawkānī says of his that others after him are depending on him or his 'imārah; al-Abdal, al-Safā al-ṣaḥārah, 22; al-Awfi, Ḥabād al-Sulām, 352; al-'Ittāqān, Tahqīr, II, 440-50; Zābārah, Nashr, 293-3.
denominator is their Islamic culture. This Arab-Islamic culture was completely absorbed by al-Shawkānī. The table on the following page illustrates the channels through which al-Shawkānī received his knowledge.

4. Education (adab al-talab)

In his late forties al-Shawkānī wrote a book explaining his experiences in the educational field and giving his instruction and opinion on many questions relating to the subject of education. He digresses frequently on his favourite concept of īttihād (i.e. independent judgement in a legal or theological question, based on the interpretation and application of the four masūl, as opposed to taqlīd/individual judgement) and taqlīd. We shall discuss this in a later chapter and at this point we are merely reviewing his opinions on the curricula and stages of education in order to complete the picture of his educational theory.

(20) It was about 1222/1807, when al-Shawkānī was forty-nine years of age.
After long arguments to prove the importance and necessity of forbidding taqlīd and the adoption of insāf, or, in modern usage, objective justice, Al-Shawkānī tells those seeking knowledge that there is only one way to follow, that of ʿilm. This is the real end and aim, not for the sake of prestige, wealth or in order to achieve leadership (risālah), but in order to claim rewards from God. (29) Being objective and not too enthusiastic for any one madhhab, nor any one ʿilm, is the most successful way of gaining knowledge. This is why the Prophet Muhammad regarded the just man (munkaf) as the most knowledgeable, even if his knowledge were less than others. (30) Al-Shawkānī knows what the consequences of such an attitude might be and the difficulties which might arise from it. However he quickly reminds his reader of what happened to Ahmad b. Hanbal (d. 241/855) in his ordeal with the caliph al-Muqtasim (d. 212/828) and what the result for Ibn Hanbal and his reputation was. He gives the same reminder by quoting what took place between al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870),

whose Sahih God made the most famous and the most respected

collection of Hadith, as al-Shawkānī states, and

al-Dhuhali, (31) governor of Bukhārā. Ibn Hazm (d. 456/1064) and Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 729/1328) both met with opposition and suffered greatly, but they left behind them a high achievement and deep influence. (32) The same thing happened in the Yemen, al-Shawkānī continues, with well-known ulema, such as Imam Muhammad Ibn al-Wazīr (d. 624/1034), al-Hasan al-Jalāl (d. 1094/1634), al-Maqbalī (d. 1108/1706), Ibn al-Amīr (d. 1190/1789) and finally al-Shawkānī himself and his shaykh Ībīd al-Qādir.

(31) Adab al-talab, 25; al-Shawkānī mistakenly mentions Muhammad b. Yāḥya al-Dhuhali, who died in 259/872 and was one of his shaykhān, instead of the governor of Bukhārā, Muḥammad b. Khālid b. Ahmad al-Dhuhali, of the same family name. He was the one responsible for the exile of al-Bukhārī from his homeland. The editor of al-Shawkānī’s book, al-Hibshi, erroneously gives a long biography of al-Dhuhali and has not realized the original mistake. Cf. Tarīkh al-Balad, IV, 30-5; Ibn Khallikān, Nafayāt al-A‘yān, II, 339; Ibn Majari, Tahālīb, IX, 47.

before him. (33) He says:

"Then suppose that what you expected did actually happen and you faced the ordeal and harm came upon you. Are you all the world and all people, or do you think that you are immortal in this world? What exactly can happen if you are guided by ilm and follow the path to which God has ordered you? The worst that can happen to you is that you will probably lose your life for truth and become a martyr for ilm. Then you will win eternal happiness and be an ideal for men of ilm for ever." (34)

It is indeed a lofty vision and al-Shawkānī is asking a high price. In fact it shows his respect for ilm and opinion (ra'y), although he was himself sometimes hard on his opponents. However, in al-Shawkānī's view of the acquisition of knowledge there are four categories.

The first category is the most important since in it are the ulema and mujtahidūn. He who wishes to enter this category should arm himself with knowledge which is both deep and wide and should include various sciences.

In al-Shawkānī's plan the student should start with the science of grammar (ilm al-ra'y) and the author gives a

(34) Ibid., 44.
list of the most important books in this field, though pointing out that in other countries he can use different books in the subject. (35) To understand *ilm al-nabîh, the student should also read, at the same time, abridged versions of logic (*ilm al-mantiq) such as the *izāsār (36) or the summary of the book of *ād al-Dīn al-Taftazānī (d. 722/1320) entitled *ahlīb al-mantiq wa-l-kalān. This is not a study of logic in depth which would in fact be carried out at a later stage. (37) Morphology (*ilm al-sarf), rhetoric (*ilm al-maṣāni wal-bayān), "the art or science of rhetorical devices" (*ilm al-badī') and lexicographical books all need to be studied at this stage. (38) After that he should immerse himself in the study of usūl al-fiqh. Al-Shawkānī goes on to suggest many different source books and commentaries. Even before the student has finished the enormous corpus of usūl al-

(36) *izāsār is a Greek word which means "Introduction". The book is also known by the title "The Sive logical predicators", written by Dronydes of Tyre, the disciple of Molossus and abd-īl by Abīr al-Dīn al-Abharī in the 7th/10th century.
(38) Adab al-talab, 109-12.
fīḥ, he must involve himself in the art or science of scholastic theology (fīlām al-kālām). He needs to study also the books of the Ashārītes, Muṭṭazīlītes and Māturīdītes in addition to those of the Zaydīs whom al-Shawkānī regards as the moderates of Islam (kutawāsītūn). If he does so, the student will be acquainted with the principles of all these sects and can give judgement based on knowledge and insight. (39) Al-Shawkānī himself voices his opposition to philosophy. This he makes quite clear and we will discuss this point below. However, the student is now capable of studying the science of commentary (fīlām al-tāfṣīr). The study of Ḥadīth, however, all its original collections first, and later the commentaries (shurūḥ), should be started at the very beginning of his education and continue right through to the end. This should take place along with the study of biographies of Ḥadīth scholars and the methodology of Ḥadīth literature, as well as of Arab, Islamic and world history in general. To complete his fīlām he needs to read the science of fīḥ and must at

(39) Adab al-talāb, 112-3.
least know the abridgements of the works of each school.

Finally he should not neglect other disciplines, especially mathematics, physics, geometry (handazab), astronomy and medicine. (40)

The second category is made up of those who wish to know the shar‘ī‘ah and the rulings of legal capacity (taklīf) and positive law (madh‘) and who are self-taught and not capable of attaining the first category mentioned above. What the student needs in this case is to have an ample understanding of the art or science of ijtihād.

This is simply in order to be aware of any subject in which he may need to involve himself or which he may come across. (41) After studying grammar he should turn his attention to some of the abridgements of rhetoric and usūl-al-fiqh and one of its commentaries (sharb).

Al-Shawkānī suggests the book al-Thayēr and its sharh by al-Musayyib b. al-Darām (d. 1030/1620) which he considers to be the best book in the Yemen on this subject. (42)

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(41) ʿIlmī‘, 122.
(42) ʿIlmī‘, 127-7; al-Darām, 1, 225-7.
The student should then involve himself in studying one abridgement of Quranic commentary (tafsir), such as that of al-Baydawi (d. 635/1239), Anwar al-tanzil, in consultation, as far as he can, with other books of tafsir. He needs to study with his shaykh the six collections of Hadith (al-Hadath al-sitt). Failing that, however, he must at least study and be acquainted with their mutanabbin and abridgements as well as knowing the method of Hadith scholarship (istikhab) and its methodology in distinguishing the reliable from the unreliable (jarr wa-tadil). Moreover, of course, the candidate should be able to understand the deep and obscure meanings of the Arabic language in its original sources. (43)

The third category is made up of those who wish to improve their reading and understanding of the Shari'ah in general, though not to become completely independent scholars. They can ask if they face any intellectual problem, but cannot take the initiative themselves in solving it. However, a person of this category needs to

(43) Alah al-talab, 137. It is useful to compare this with the curriculum of al-Nadari al-Islamiyah which was established in Zaid in 1374/1956. Cf. al-Nadari's al-Nadari al-Islamiyah fi
have a general knowledge of grammar. He should study a straightforward book on the methods of Hadith scholarship and should also study under a shaykh any abridgement of Hadith. As for tafsîr he needs only a sample, such as that of al-Baghawi (d. 317/929) or al-Durr al-Manthúr of al-Suyútí (d. 911/1505). He can consult other books and sources. Al-Shawkání says that this category resembles the class of Muhammad's Companions (al-sahábah) and his Followers (tabí'ún). (44)

Finally there is a fourth category. They are those whose aim is to achieve mastery over a particular subject or science, either religious or secular, but not necessarily to have a complete conception of the science of the Shari'ah. Among them are those who wish to learn an art or how to be a poet, writer, cashier (muhásib), or physician. Al-Shawkání gives a list of the famous diwáns and collections of literature for those who want to be poets. He does the same for other professions, mentioning famous books and sources in each subject. (45)

(44) Adab al-talab, 1172.
(45) Ibid., 1183.
Al-Shawkānī wrote Adab al-talab after 1222/1307, as it appears from an incident which he mentions to prove his ideas in his book. (46) Although al-Shawkānī's style is always simple, in this book he occasionally betrays conceit, probably because of his high position and outstanding talents or because of the nature of the subject itself, a call for ijtihād against the taqlīd of some of his contemporary opponents.

5. Al-Shawkānī's position as Chief Qādī (Qādī 'l-qādāh)

On 1 Rajab 1202/24 January 1795 Qādī Yahyā al-Sāhūlī, the Chief Qādī of Yemen, died. (47) Imam al-Mansūr al-Athīr sent for al-Shawkānī and informed him that he had decided to appoint him as successor to al-Sāhūlī. At first al-Shawkānī declined since he was completely committed to teaching, writing and giving fatwās. But later, under pressure from the ulema of Sana' who were afraid that, if...

(46) Adab al-talab, 162. Al-Miḥṣafī, the editor, suggests erroneously 1217/1301, only because al-Shawkānī mentions an incident in that year. See his introduction, 11.
(47) 25. chapter 32, p. 20 above.
he did not accept the post, it could pass to some unrelia-
able qādī, he accepted. (42) The post was the most
important one after that of imam, for the qādī'al-qādah
was the person responsible for the juridical system of the
whole of the Yemen. (42) He would personally approve the
appointment, dismissal and transfer of all qādīs in the
land.

Al-Shawkānī, who was thirty-six years of age at the
time, held office for about forty years till his death in
1250/1834. It was a long journey and on that journey
al-Shawkānī met and faced many serious difficulties and
enmity and envy raised their heads against him. The nature
of the post and the personality of al-Shawkānī himself
made it inevitable that he should meet such enmity and
that there should be differences between him and others.
There is no doubt that the man was capable and intelligent,
but no doubt also that good luck and divine providence
preserved him from the tragic fate which those in such a
position often met at that time.

(42) Al-Shawkānī, al-Bal'i', I, 449-5.
(42) : ElM., I, 425.
Al-Shawkānī played an important role in politics, as has already been mentioned in Part one above. Actually that role was in his capacity as chief qādī, not as minister or as a mere politician. Even those messages which he wrote on behalf of Imam al-Kāsī or his predececssors he wrote to emirs and foreign rulers in his capacity as an ṣāliḥ and authority on the Shari‘ah. When speaking of ministers, officials or courtiers he made clear distinctions between them and their behaviour and that of himself and the ʿulama or qādīs like himself. He believed, with other ʿulama, that his duty, according to Islamic doctrine, was "to order what was good and forbid what was bad" (al-amr bi-l maṣūf wa-l-nahy ʿan al-munkar). This could be achieved by the hand, the word (lisān) or the heart, according to the Prophet, but the third was considered least effective in Islam. But al-Shawkānī was weak neither in faith nor in personality. On the contrary, he was strong and forthright. The opinions, criticisms and reformist ideas in his writings and poems are expressed without fear or favour. Some of

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(50) See p. 99, 102-5, 113, 121, 125, 141, 155, 147.
his judgments and attitudes met with opposition, rejection and enmity, both from individuals or from groups.

Below are found two examples showing the attitude and reaction of al-Shawkānī, in his capacity as chief qādi, to two old, but frequently recurring subjects of debate.

5. The revolution of the common people of San‘ā'.

The Zaydīs are the most moderate of the Shi‘ah, being distinguished for their freedom of thought and respect for other sects (mādhābih) and for all the Companions (ṣaḥābah) of Muhammad. Any deviation from this idea was an exception and was in fact regarded as leaning towards the Defidites, Imamites or Jarulites. There were constant quarrels and occasional conflicts between them and the Zaydīs, who in general had the upper hand over these fanatics. Al-Shawkānī led the free Zaydīs in these disputes, as Ibn al-Amīr and many others had done before him and faced fanatics who were for the most part supported by the rabble.
In the second year of al-Shawkānī's term of office there was a riot in Ṣanʿā' involving the extreme Shiʿites and the moderate Zaydīs, called invariably Aḥl al-Sunnah in the sources. It started when a quarrel developed between two slave-emirs; one of these was Hindīrus, a Shīʿī, of the household of Emīr ʿAbd Allāh b. al-ʿAbbās. Hindīrus used to curse Muʿāwiyah, the Umayyad caliph, whenever he met the other emir, Sūlān of al-ʿAbbās, who appears to have been a Sunnī. In Shawwal 1210/May 1795 the two men met in Bustān al-Sūlān and Hindīrus as usual cursed Muʿāwiyah. The quarrel deteriorated into fighting between them and Hindīrus was wounded. Moreover news of the dispute spread among the masses who demonstrated in the evening, shouting slogans against Muʿāwiyah and in support of ʿAlī b. Aḥī Tālib. The demonstration developed into an attack on the houses of some of the people called Ṣayyid and also on those who were Sunnīs, stones being hurled at them. Troops were called out and the masses were forced to disperse. Some of the riot leaders were imprisoned. (51)
It appears that when this event occurred al-Shawkānī wrote his treatise Inshād al-shabi ilā madhhab al-āl al-bayt al-sahb al-Nabī ("the ignorant to the madhhab of the family of Muhammad on the question of the Companions of the Prophet"). He accused his opponents of ignorance and of falling short of true īlama. He said that they fabricated stories against Āl al-Bayt and he gave thirteen authorities of the ṭawārah, all eminent ulama of Āl al-Bayt themselves, proving their unanimity (ijma) in their respect for the Companions. Among the reactionaries against this treatise was Sayyid Ismā'īl b. Ǧīlās al-Dīn al-Muʿāthnī who was on the extreme wing of the Ṣāfidiyyah. He and others wrote against al-Shawkānī's treatise and in all more than twenty works "full of abuse, vilification and lies were produced, many of them anonymous". They succeeded in influencing certain officials.

(52) I have completed an edition of this treatise together with others, all to be published soon.


(54) Al-Shawkānī, al-Bārī, II, 206; Ṭab al-ṭalab, 39. These works have been collected into a book entitled Iṣbār al-Wahābi; cf. al-Wahābi, Ṭabārīn, 141.
and some of the imam's relatives who tried to persuade
Imam al-'Ansārī himself to take measures against
al-Shawkānī. They suggested imprisonment or exile from
Sanā‘. Al-'Ansārī however refused to listen to them. (55)
Some of al-Shawkānī's friends advised him to stop teaching
in the Great Mosque, lest any harm come to him. Despite
the threats of these zealots and their supporters, however,
the number of al-Shawkānī's disciples and the size of his
audience in the mosque increased. (55)

Sayyid al-Mu‘ādī however collected together certain
Fālidī doctrines and began to recite them in the Great
Mosque during Ramadān, ignoring al-Shawkānī's advice not
to do this; only the ignorant and the common rabble
listened to him. (57) Another Sayyid, Yahyā b. Muhammad al-Hūthī, who
had once been a shaykh of al-Shawkānī, was also encouraged.

(55) Al-Shawkānī, Adab, 21. Al-Shawkānī says in the
biography of his friend Sayyid 'Umayr al-Daylamī
(d. 1249/1833) that he wrote the Irshād in 1208/1793-4. Al-Daylamī was the person who wrote in
al-Shawkānī's favour, but the problem was that he
was 'disliked' by the group who thought his
opinions were the same as those who opposed
al-Shawkānī! Cf. al-Balā‘, I, 234-5.
(56) Al-Shawkānī, Adab, 31-2.
(57) Al-Shawkānī, al-Balā‘, II, 205-6; Adab, 32.
by certain influential, but ignorant Zīārī to recite
publicly a book on the virtues of ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. (53)
The problem was that al-Ḥuthī did not restrict himself to
the text of the book, which, as a matter of fact, was
reasonable in its treatment of the subject. Consequently
when he repeated curses against some of the Companions
out loud, the masses shouted in support of him. On
Monday 14 Ramadān 1215/20 January 1302 he was ordered by
Imam al-Mansūr through ʿamīl al-mugāf Sayyid Ismāʿīl
al-Shāmī, to return to the ʿalāh al-ʿIm Mosque, where he
continued his diatribes. Although they were greatly
disapproved of generally, the remarks he made there did
not carry the same weight as his similar anti-Companion
remarks voiced previously in the Great Mosque.

That evening, the common people came as usual to
pray and to hear al-Ḥuthī. When he did not come they
began to shout their protests and prevented the late
prayer from being carried out. Babble-rousers and
Rāfīʿa joined them and they all went out into the

(53) Al-Thakālā, al-Jāmī, II, 332. The book is Tafīrī
al-Kurāb by Ṭāhā b. Abū b. al-ʿUstawāshīl
(2. 1173/1757).
streets, shouting and reciting slogans against al-\textsuperscript{2}āmiyyah, even directing their hostility against those whom al-Shawkānī describes as "the living and the dead". (59)

They gathered in their thousands and marched first to the houses of Fadīn Ahmad Ṭātim, chief muezzin of the Great Mosque, who had told al-Ṭūfī of the instructions of the imam, and also to that of al-Shāmī. They threw heavy stones at their houses and tried to kill the two men, who however both managed to escape. Ahmad Ṭātim took shelter in al-Shawkānī's house. The throng also marched to the house of Ǧalī b. Ṭibrīṣ al-ʿĀmir (d. 1212/1804) which they also stoned, frightening his family. They did so because Ibn al-ʿĀmir used to preach in the Great Mosque, but he was not a ṭāfifī, nor did he utter curses like the ignorant al-Ṭūfī and was, on the contrary, an ḥālim and an eloquent man. (60) Finally they attacked the houses of the two ministers, Ḥasan al-Zurī and Ḥasan Manash, the first because he was related to the Umayyads and the latter because of his leaning towards the Tanzah. They

(59) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, II, 245; Jahāf, 316.
(60) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, II, 246, cf. his biography in Maṣāʾ, 213; al-Badr, I, 320-2; Jahāf, 370.
continued for four hours until al-"läuft's house was
almost demolished and it was only through the good offices
of some of the imam's men and some of hiscourtiers that
they dispersed. (61)

The next day Imam al-Mansūr called his ministers,
qādīs and advisers to discuss the matter with them in an
atmosphere of discord and fear. (62) But when al-Mansūr
consulted al-Shawkānī, the latter advised him to arrest
and punish those responsible and also those who had
encouraged the incident. He also suggested punishment
for those who had misled thecommon people (al-ḍawāīm)
and let them believe that there were none of "Uthmān's
family who were to be disliked and other such fancies. (63)

After this advice the imam imprisoned al-"ulfī and
al-Nušī, as well as Ibn al-Amīr and Ahmad Ḥātim.

Investigations continued and all those responsible for
the attack and the demonstration were shackled and
imprisoned. On 4 Shawwāl 1216/27 January 1312 nineteen
ṣanāḥīb who were directly responsible for stone throwing

(61) Al-Ṭarāṣīd, al-Dalīl, IV, 346.
(62) Ibn Ḥanbal.
(63) Al-Tawākīhī, al-Dalīl, IV, 347
and for stirring up trouble were brought under al-Mansūr’s window and were severely lashed. On the next day forty-two Ṣanʿāʾi agitators and rabble, five of whom, it was found, had stolen things, were subjected to the same punishment and were taken round Ṣanʿāʾ, with drums beating on their backs. (64) Two months later Sayyida Ṣalīma al-Amīr, al-Thālī and Ahmad ‘Ṭim were released, but others were exiled to Ṣayla and Kamarān, islands, including al-‘Uṣūlī who died there in 1220/1805. All preaching was banned forthwith by order of the Imam.

7. Al-Thawābī and taxation policy

Imam al-Mansūr and his administration tackled their economic and financial problems by changing the currency or by increasing taxes. (65) Increasing an existing or creating a new tax is one of the old controversies in Islam among the law schools, since gaud, as one of the principal obligations of Islam, is the only tax which may

(64) Al-Thawābī, al-Bain, II, 269, 340; Jur′ānī, 317.
be extracted from a Muslim. With great vigour al-Shawkāni openly
criticised unjust taxes and the greed of officials.
In one of his frankly critical poems he declares: (46)

"The Yemeni people have lost their shepherd
They have no hope of obtaining justice,
nor of warding off the greedy."

Only two or three months after this poem he wrote that
al-Wasūrī called his ministers, sons and courtiers for consultation.
Al-Shawkāni was among them with other ulama. The urgent
problem and the purpose of the meeting was the danger
from Ibn ʿUdh through his agent Sharīf Ṭanūlī, and the
latter’s advance in Tiḥmāh. Al-Shawkāni says that he

(46) Ṭanūlī, pp.
(47) Ṭanūlī, pp.
he advised al-Jahāf that

...the most important thing to drive this calamity away is above all to practise justice among the subjects and not to take from them anything other than what the Sharī'ah orders, absolutely nothing more. The good intention of carrying this out, announcing it throughout the people of the Yemen and persisting in [this policy] is a main factor in helping [against Ibn Su'ūd]. The people only accept justice from the generous [Ibn Su'ūd], for no other reason than because they have heard that they [Sharīf Manūš and his followers] do not take more than what is obligatory... (69)

Al-Jahāf explained what kind of opposition he himself had met, especially from the interested parties, but he finally succeeded in persuading Imam al-Janūsī to demolish the tax office (dakākhin al-mubāsara al-šibāyah) in front of the gates of Janūsī. (69) It was in Rabī' II 1222/June 1807 that al-Jahāf wrote what is entitled here "The

(68) Adab al-talab, 37. The editor does not know of when al-Jahāf is speaking here, since he does not mention Ibn Su'ūd or Sharīf Manūš. However Jahāf says that it was Ibn Su'ūd who sent a threatening message to al-Janūsī. The message was false and was brought by Māfi al-Dawāri, Jahāf, 430.

(69) Al-Janūsī, al-Tijāwī, 59; Jahāf, 440.
decrees of Imn al-Manṣūr to his provincial officials concerning taxation". (70) Jahāf says that it became known as "Sunrisa" (Tulūš shams) which are in fact the first two words of the decree. (71)

It is clear however from the decree and from al-Shawākānī, al-Shāhi and Jahāf that there were many different kinds of taxes specifically named such as: jibārah, stubil, nīṣārah, fawgah and EnhFah. (72) In a very powerful and critical poem (73) al-Shawākānī calls all these taxes by the term ṭamā (pl. nakās). (74) The word in its basic meaning contains the idea of both deficiency (mawq) and injustice (zulma), as well as of a pre-Islamic tax, (75) absolutely forbidden by Islam. (76)

(70) See Appendix I. It is a matter of luck that I found the original of this document among family bequests and this is the first time the existence of this unique document has been disclosed.

(71) Jahāf, 440.

(72) Appendix I, p. 336.

(73) Tlwa, 304-5.

(74) Line 8, 7, 13, 15, 19.

(75) Sūlān, al-Tāmir, al-Talha, Tāli, XX, 514.

(76) ibid, wanaw, "Fāh al-Salāmī", al-Tāmir, Tāli, "Tab al-Halāb; "sheets, al-Tabīb, "Fāh al-Salāmī", J, 2, 106; Smr, al-Ma'mūn, "Fāh al-
Salāmī", J, 2, 106; Smr, al-Ma'mūn, "Fāh al-
Salāmī", J, 2, 106; Smr, al-Ma'mūn, "Fāh al-
Salāmī", J, 2, 106; al-Tāmir, al-Ma'mūn, 2, 317-5.
He explains the meaning of al-iyāsah in lines 19 and 25 as "penalties for criminals" (adāb li-ahl al-jarrā'n). This is not, however, blood money (arsh, pl. urūsh) for the shedding of blood, which al-Shawkānī accepts, though he accuses those who take arsh without just cause. (77)

Fardāh and farshāh are both in his view two faces of the one coin, that is aid (mā'in) for the government which which is muqāb (79) since the problem of defence and security of Muslim territory against external threat is one of the other functions of mākāh.

Isam al-Kamār signed the decree and ordered it to be sent to all his provincial officials. The officials and judges had to read it out loud before all the inhabitants of the area and to write a copy for every village in their own hand and with their own signature. The decree stated that all Yemenis everywhere, including Tihāmah and the Highland (al-arba'īn wa'-l-anfād) were equal in their rights and duties. They should only pay

(77) Mū'ian, 396, line 22.
(79) Mū'ain, 296, lines 22, 28.
what God had ordered and whoever asked more of them must not be obeyed and would be punished by the Imam, dismissed from his job and indeed he would not be worthy of the post, nor reliable in carrying it out (laya mustahiggen laha, wa-la na'mun calayha). (99)

Al-Shawkānī took the opportunity to add in his own hand other instructions stating that it was the duty of every judge (hākim) in every area to send reliable and competent men (rijāl uzama' ḥarifiñ to teach the people their religion and duties towards God. (99) It is as if he wanted to say by all these additions that there was a relationship between ignorance of religion and the practice of injustice upon the people. We shall discuss this point further below.

Jahhāf in his turn tells us that as a result of al-Shawkānī's advice al-Mansūr declared a revival of justice. He ordered the demolition of the khānāt of tax-collectors, banned interest (ribā), abolished taxes marātib and qubhāt and those of the sūk qa'matara.

(99) Appendix I, p. 29'.
(99) Appendix I, p. 30'.
mention that al-Manṣūr also dispersed teachers throughout
the country, put an end to police force, suppressed
prostitutes (ṣajara 'l-bachayā) and drove out their
pimps! (31)

It was not long however before the situation
returned as it had been and again al-Shawkānī expresses
disappointment and bitterness. (32)

2. The "Immediate remedy" (al-Dawā' al-ṣājil)

Though al-Shawkānī's efforts at reform suffered a
set-back, it appears that his treatise (risālah) entitled
al-Dawā' al-ṣājil is a writing contemporary with the
decree, since it was written in the hope that it would
not suffer the same fate as the decree. (33) In the Dawā',
al-Shawkānī diagnoses the ills of Yemeni society as
ignorance of the Sharī'ah and corruption in the admin-
istration. This same conclusion was reached and developed

(31) Ḥabīb, 446.
(32) Maqāl, 504-10; Alah al-tulah, 169-70.
(33) Al-Dawā' al-ṣājil, 15.
later, mutatis mutandis, by the Arab reformers in the second half of the nineteenth century. They of course were aware of certain ideas and institutions of modern Europe. (94)

Al-Shawkānī divided the Yemen from Ḫadāh in the north to Aden in the south into three groups. First there are those subjects (rāḍāwā) who come under the absolute control of the authority (dawlah) and submit to its orders. The majority of them cannot pray, or pray incorrectly, while only a few pray regularly. He who does not practise prayer precisely is a mere infidel (kā fir). The same can be said of fasting in Ramadān. (95)

The second group is made up of those of the far north and east (bilād al-qa blah wa-’l-mashriq) who have not come under the control of the dawlah. They are similar to the majority of the first group, but are even worse, since they cannot read or write and they submit to the customary laws of their predecessors (akhīn al-ta’āhu), instead of to the Shāfiʿī. They also insist of depriving

(95) al-Shawkānī, al-Hijās, 7.
women of their inheritance. Those who do so either reluctantly (tama udān) or resist ( EMAIL ), or act unlawfully (istihlālah) or show disdain (istihfām) are unbelievers. Moreover, al-Shawkānī adds that the majority allowed the spilling of Muslim blood and the seizure of Muslim properties and show no respect for them. (86)

The third group are the inhabitants of the towns. Though they are furthest from evil (sharr) and the nearest to good (khayr), the majority of them are common people and ignorant (jahl). As a result of their ignorance and indulgence they neglect many of their duties towards God. However they are quick and more ready than others to learn and become educated, if they are determined to do so. (87)

Why had all this happened? Who was responsible? What was the solution? Al-Shawkānī pointed out at the beginning of his Dabā'ī that though every person in society is personally responsible and must examine his actions, both good

(86)  Al-‘umār, al-Cāmil, 11-3.
(87)  al-Dābā‘ī, 12-7.
and bad (afḍ al-al-Khayr wa-l-sharr), it is also the responsibility of the ulama and those in authority (ahl al-Gil'm wa-l-aman) to strive for what is right and prevent what is wrong. (98) This official responsibility is confined in every district to three persons: the governor (Gaml), his secretary (Qāsim) and the judge (Qāsim). (99) Al-Shawkānī strongly attacks the corruption and greed of the Qāmis and kuttāb and their unjust behaviour.

Al-Shawkānī criticizes another official responsible for the situation, the Qāsi who is ignorant of the Shari'ah and the one who is interested only in external appearances, wearing a tall turban like a tower and long sleeves like saddlebags! In addition to all this he buys his position by bribery, seeking help of those he has bribed. (99) It appears that al-Shawkānī refers here to certain ministers, such as al-Qulufi and his circle. The problem is not only that the Qāsi is incapable and corrupt, but also that he practises customary tribal law (ahkām al-tāhhūt) in his

(98) Al-Shawkānī, 1.
(99) Ibid., 4.
(99) Ibid., 4-7
judgments, not the Ḥanafi. The appointment of such persons is indeed treachery to Allāh, to His Messenger, the Qur'ān, to Ḡālib and those who practice it, to Islam and the lower world! (91) The sending out of such persons as officials by the Imam means that he himself is guilty of a serious sin.

It is, therefore, the duty of the Imam and his assistants to inspect these officials and their behaviour. Even if some of them are good or achieve the status of Ḡālib, this is no excuse for not inspecting them at work and inquiring into their practices. Finally, al-Shawkānī expresses the hope that the Imam, at that time al-Jarār, will follow the guidance he put forward in the 'Dīwān'.

9. Al-Shawkānī and the Imamate

There is no doubt that the political thought and the theory of the Imamate has been one of the most important disputes from the day of the Prophet's death until now. Here we are only pointing out al-Shawkānī's conception of

(91) Al-Durr al-Ṣallīl, 2.
the imamate among the Zaydi Umma since they, among themselves, have no definite concept of the office, while some of them agree completely or partly with the Mu'tasimilites, and again yet others disagree with them entirely. Imam Zayd (d. 122/740) who made the assertion that, though 'Ali was the rightful Imam after the Prophet and superior to Abū Bakr and Umar, the "imamate of the inferior" (imāmat al-nafsul) was permissible. But after him the whole question of the imamate became diverse and complicated. In Yemen there are those who follow the theory of al-Jalī Yahyā b. al-Hasayn (292/904) who became the first Zaydi Imam there and who therefore actually put his concept into practice. There is also the case of 'ūmān (flourished 7th/13th century) or even Imam Qāsim b. Muhammad (d. 1022/1610), the founder of the Qāsimī branch of the Zaydi Imams, in his Asān. But also there are those mentioned above who were more inclined towards the Ahl al-sunnah, beginning with Ibn al-Wasīr (d. 744/1344) and ending with al-Qasimī and their school.

(32) Whilst it is appreciated that this is not an ideal translation, for many others that of "vindicatory" might, Islamic Philosophy, 25, is here employed.
(34) Ibid., 1-13.
(35) al-Qasimī, 159-75, where he gives the points of argument
It is noticeable that those who wrote on the book al-
Azhār or al-Bahr al-Zahīkhār of Iman al-Yahūdī al-Murtada (d. 940/1534) (96) do not accept his argument that the imam must be from Ālī's family. The view of al-Qābūlī (d. 1109/1706) is far removed from that of the Zaydīs and that of the Mu'tazilites both of whom state that the imam must be pure Quraysh. (97) He says that the imamate need not remain specifically within Quraysh. (98) Ibn al-Aʿlīr, a Zaydī scholar active immediately before the time of al-Shawkānī, followed al-Qābūlī in just in his commentary Mundhit al-Ṭaffār.

However al-Shawkānī in his turn comments on al-Murtada that the imam should be an ʿAlawi and a Fātīmi. (99) Al-Shawkānī says:

"ʿAlawī and Fātīmi is the best of Quraysh and the most honourable,... but this does not exclude all other branches of Quraysh as is proved by many sound ḥadīths." (100)

(96) See above p. 96-175.
(97) For the qualifications of the imam in Mu'tazilite theory see al-Qābūlī (d. 940/1534); al-Shawkānī, 102; and cf. the Zaydī works mentioned above, ch. II, p. 93.
(100) Al-Tabīl al-Jāmī, II, 156.
This is not the only objection of al-Shawkānī who says there is no proof that the imam must be a mujtahid and that means that the imam, in his view, could only be from the ulama. Actually, if Ibn al-Jazir, al-Taqqabil and Ibn al-Amir had not made the same suggestion before him, it might be said that al-Shawkānī would not have made the point either and that he was simply flattering the imams of the time, who were not mujtahids. The Jadawī Yazdīs state that the path (tarīqah) of the imamate is the da'wah.

Al-Shawkānī however says that the candidate must be chosen by "those who bind and loose" (ahl al-hall wa-l-Qad) and only then does he accept that the bay'ah could be offered to him, whether he presents himself or not. But if he claims the office, he puts himself within the range of what the Prophet forbids one to seek, namely the imārah. (101)

It is more reasonable that al-Shawkānī rejects the idea that there must be no more than one imam for all Muslims, since Islam has spread all over the world. He says that

the people of China and India, for example, do not even know who is capable of assuming the imamate (al-wilāyah) in the Maghrib, let alone actually submit to him. The same can be said of the people of Transoxiana ('irānā' al-nahr) and the Yemen and vice versa. (102)

Probably one of the best criticisms al-Shawkānī makes is that on the responsibility and scope of competence of the imam as interpreted by Imam al-`urtasā: he writes that "...the imam alone has the right to carry out legal punishment (inānat al-hudūd), Friday prayers, appointing judges (ḥukmām)..." at othrn. (103) Al-Shawkānī says that certainty the imam has the priority (āra) to do so, but it cannot be generally accepted that he has the exclusive right. (104) Al-Shawkānī explains this matter, putting forward extensive and profound arguments and he also discusses the responsibility of the ulama and Muslims in general, referring his reader to the previous chapter, "Kitāb al-Hudūd". (105)

(102) Al-Shawkānī, IV, 360.
(103) Al-`urtasā, al-Ighār, 315; al-Dhayl al-Suhkhūr, VI, 370-1.
(104) Ibid., 363.
(105) Ibid., IV, 102.
It is not suggested here that the above is a comprehensive discussion of al-Shawkānī’s views of the imamate. This would indeed be a major undertaking and it is hoped that the task will be carried out in the future and published. This would give the question its rightful importance within the framework of al-Shawkānī’s general intellectual theories.

10. Resency (wīsāyah) of Čāli and the invisibility (ṣīrah) of the Imam

We have already discussed al-Shawkānī’s conception of the imamate in general terms. There are, however, two other subjects worthy of our attention and clearly connected with the imamate. There now follows a review of what al-Shawkānī’s ideas are as a Zaydī Čālim concerning the following two questions. They are the belief of the Shi’ites in the regency (wīsāyah) of Čāli b. Abī Ta‘lib after the Prophet’s death, and secondly the invisibility (ṣīrah) of the Imam.
For the wāliyyah the Shi'ites disagree among themselves between the extremists such as the Qa'ilites and the Imāmīs and those who had associated themselves with the political grievances and aspirations of the non-Arab Muslims on the one hand, and the moderates, such as the Zaydīs, on the other. The Imamīs do not agree that there was any last testament (wāliyyah) from the Prophet appointing Čālī as his successor (khalīfah) or indeed an appointment of any kind. Their evidence is Čālī's denial that that the Prophet recommenced Čālī as the executor (wāli) while he was dying and he asked in a gesture of astonishment "...When did he (Muḥammad) bequeath anything to him Čālī, since he was dying in my arms?" (106) However, al-Shawkānī in Thubār 1295/April 1781 received a question on this issue from a rayyid living in Tahār, most likely a Shāfī'ī. His answer is contained in one of his treatises entitled "al-Qād al-Shawkānī kithbāt wasāyāt Amīr al-Mu'minin". Al-Shawkānī commences with a juridical

(106) For Shābī, Fatḥ, 272–8; Murrī, Tahār, 1, 2, 68, "Dār Ta'kab al-wāliyyah"; Arād, Nārān, 7, 29, 48.
response, saying that, returning to basic juridical
principles (qawā'id usūliyyah), one who knows is better
than one who does not. If another Companion knows what
C'ā'īshah does not, her hadīth is not corroboration against
any other. (107) From the beginning al-Shawkānī says that
he has not used any book of the Ahl al-Hajj or of those of
C'ā'īsam in order to prove the existence of the μiṣābayah; he
has only used the books of the Sunnī muhadithūn as evidence.
In general terms, al-Shawkānī says the Prophet gave many
commands and instructions before his death and this is no
doubt linguistically speaking, μiṣābayah. Secondly, in the
Hadīth of Ahmad there is the following: "Abū Ḥātim reported
that the Prophet said, "My executor (wa'lā',) my heir (māribī)
and the one who carries out (mamāfīfī) my word (wa'dī) is
C'ā'īl b. Ta'lab". (108)

Al-Shawkānī gives many other hadīth in favour of C'ā'īl,
the most important of which is that of al-Bukhārī and Muslim

(107) Al-Shawkānī, 3, 7.
(108) Abū Ḥātim, Kifāyāt, 1, 229, Ta'lab, 3, 254.
In their Taftah, (109)

"... that the Prophet said that Ali was for himself exactly like 'Abd Allâh for Moses. But there will be no prophet after us."

This hadith is sound and also authenticated by Ahmad, Timîthî and others. (110) In short, al-Shawkânî comes to the conclusion that "... the Prophet said that Ali is his waalî and that we should say what he said and here we are not preferring Ali to the other Companions." (111)

In respect of the inviolability (Qisrah) of the Imam, the Baytites, contrary to all other Musîme beliefs, do not share their opinion. (112)

Al-Shawkânî also answered a question on the same problem, saying that all Muslims, together with a group of the Ahl al-Bayt, themselves agree that the Prophet is the


(111) al-Shawkânî, al-Qiṣâṣ, 2-10; Al Qâ'idat al-Imām, 222-35.

only person who is inviolable (mawla). He gives the
hadith of those who believe in ćImah and the criticism of
of their opponents. (113) Al-Shawkānī supports the ćImam
in this matter, ending his fašā with the invalidation of
the claim of ćImah of the two brothers, ćHassan and ćHuṣayn,
and their mother ćFatimah, the daughter of the Prophet. (114)

11. The school of al-Shawkānī and his disciples

Al-Shawkānī's influence and reputation, both in the
Yemen and outside, exceeded that of many other Yemeni
thinkers before him. His importance lies not only in his
numerous and diverse literary works, or in his role in the
modern Islamic revival, but also (and actually before that
in time) in his influence on his contemporary intellectuals.
We know that there were more than eighty disciples and
students of al-Shawkānī. Among them were ćUlema, ćādiq,
poets, writers and men of letters in addition to hundreds
of less important and many unknown persons. Al-Shijārī pro-

(113) Cfr. al-Shawkānī, 265-6.
(114) Int., 375-8. For al-Shawkānī already written in
the same vein, cfr. al-Daw'āl-bi-īn, I, 113, 126.
vides us with details of about sixty of them. (115) Since, therefore, there is no need to give a list of them all, it is our intention here to give our attention to a group of those who played an important role during al-Shawkānī’s life-time or immediately after in politics, jurisprudence, the administration and letters.

Al-Shawkānī tried to use his influence with the Imam, in his capacity as chief qādi, to appoint to the position of judges some of those whom he considered trustworthy. It appears that he succeeded in many cases, though he was always complaining of the corruption and ignorance of the judges, as we have pointed out above. (116)

However, among his close disciples and friends was Qādi Māzrīn b. Muḥammad al-Qabūlī who was for many years qādi of Taʾizz till his death in 1234/1819. (117)

Qādi Ṣa‘īd b. Muḥammad al-Qāsimī was appointed governor of Ṣabīd in 1235/1819, after the town had been recaptured from Shāhīd Ṣabīd, but he died in the same year in Bayt...

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(115) Al-Ṣaḥḥāḥ, al-Tawḥīd, 115-17.
(116) See above p. 213.
(117) Al-Ṣaḥḥāḥ, Tābtar, 1257; Zahir al-Dīn, Ṣabīd, 1, 259-5.
al-Faqīḥ. (112) His brother, ʿAbdullāh, became hākim of Taʾizz in 1292/1322 till his death in 1341/1375. (119)

Another ʿAnāl, Talḥ, became one of the qādis of Ṣanʿāʾ and al-Shawkānī used sometimes to order him to act on his behalf in the Ḍiyān. He became qādī of Ṭbb till his death in 1275/1307. (120)

Among the qādis of Ṣanʿāʾ who worked directly under al-Shawkānī's supervision were many of his old graduates and friends such as ʿAbdallāh b. Ahmad al-Jāfī (d. 1236/1268). (121) Muḥammad Ṣaḥḥām (d. 1222/1254) who became, after he was qādī of Ṣanʿāʾ, that of Raymah and Ṣuqayti. (122)

Yahyā b. Muḥammad al-Mashfash (3. 1262/1294), after he had been hākim in Kawkabān, was appointed by al-Shawkānī among those of Ṣanʿāʾ. (123) Qādī Yahyā b. ʿAlī al-Sadaqī (d. 1279/1312) of Bayt Ṣadām became its qādī on the

(119) Al-Shawkānī, al-Sadr, I, 229; Ṣaḥḥām, Tiqsar, 126a; Ẓarīh, Nahl, I, 329-400.
(119) Al-Shawkānī, al-Sadr, I, 300; al-Ṣaḥḥām, Tiqsār, 126b; Ẓahār, Nahl, II, 188.
(120) Ẓarīh, Nahl, II, 14.
(121) Al-Shawkānī, al-Sadr, II, 100; Ṣāḥḥām, I, 121; al-Ṣaḥḥām, Tiqsār, 1275; Ẓarīh, Nahl, II, 204.
(123) Al-Shawkānī, Tiqsar, 126b; Ẓarīh, Nahl, II, 188.
instruction of al-Shaukānī and he acted also in 1235/1240
as minister with Imam al-Gāfūr Muhammad (d. 1250/1253). (124)
Qādī Qādī al-Rahmān b. Ahmad al-Rahmānī (d. 1240/1252)
of Zabārā was a close friend and disciple of al-Shaukānī and
in 1209/1794 became Qādī of Bayt al-Faqīh. He played an
important role in al-Mālikī al-Subayrī, He wrote books
on history and on some of Shawkānī's works. (125) Another
Tihānī disciple of al-Shaukānī was Jayyid Muhammad b. ʿIzz
al-Dīn al-Mūʾīnī, brother of the Fātihī, Ismāʿīl. (126)
Muḥammad al-Mālikī was the qādī and close friend of Shaukāf
Hamūt of Tihānī till his death in 1232/1817. (127) This
was in addition to many other Tihānī ulama and faqīhs, such
as the Ahlālī and Mizjājīn of Zabārā. We can say the same
of those of Taʿizz, Jibla, Tīb, Radaʾ, Shamar and Kawkābān

(124) Al-Shaukānī, Tīqān, 139b; Zabārah, Nāyal, II, 394.
(125) Al-Shaukānī, al-Bādir, I, 310; Mizān, 83, 135, 276; al-Shaukānī, Tīqān, 120-121a; Zabārah, Nāyal, II, 23.
(126) See above p. 48; al-Shaukānī, Tīqān, 139b.
(127) Al-Shaukānī, al-Bādir, II, 205; al-Shaukānī, al-Tīqān, 139; al-Rahmānī, Nāyal, 284.
where he used to teach for a few months on different occasions between 1225-33/1810-22. (129)

More enduring is the influence of al-Shawkānī because of those of his disciples who left literary or legal works. Besides Yahhāf, al-Tuhī and al-Thijāh, who are three biographers who wrote of their shaykh, there are also Qādisī
Hassan b. Ahmad al-Rabīṭa (d. 1279/1962), author of Path
al-Chaffar, Jayyi' Yahyā b. al-Butabhar al-Sanfari (d. 1243/
1925), scholar, poet and historian (129) and Hassan b. ʿAkhī
al-Qanawī (d. 1259/1943), the historian of Tihānah. (130)

A distinguished and close disciple of al-Shawkānī should be mentioned here. He is the scholar, hadith and
historian Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAzmānī. Among his works is
the abridgment of al-Shawkānī's al-Tayl al-Jarrār. He

(130) Zayyi'ah, Tayl, I, 214-9; Bayyid, Masādir, 201; Ibnār, Imāl, 437-8.
removed the controversial criticism of al-'Iṣrāfī's book, al-Azhār, in an attempt to close the gap between al-Shawkānī and his opponents, especially such fuel-nourished birāt as Muhammad b. Sālih al- Ḫusaini known as Ibn Vārijah. (131)

Towards the end of his life al-Shawkānī disagreed with ʿAramānī openly and relations between them became strained. Al-ʿAmrānī just escaped execution for his extreme opinions against the imams and the Thītītes. He was imprisoned and

(131) Al-Ṣamīnī was known for his Ṭūḥāni seal, for his frankness and also for his quick temper. He was executed in Moezida by order of Imam al-Ṣabī ʿAbdullāh in 124/1825 because of his severe criticism of the Imam. He wrote a book against al-Shawkānī's al-Jayl al-jarrāx and called it al-Ghitantam which means "vast ocean", as opposed to al-Shawkānī's "raging torrent", which will be discussed in the next chapter. Al-Shawkānī, however, had nothing to do with his death. Cf. Zābīrah, Jayl, II, 274-9; Anon., Ṣanāʾīyyat, 37-9; Hibšī, Farṣārīr, 140; al-Nijāfī, al-Tāzār, 43. For a sympathetic view of al-Ṣamīnī, cf. al-Muʿayyadī, Tahrīr, 175; al-ṭalāʾī, Diary, 195.
later in 1252/1253 he was exiled to Tiberias until he was killed in Zabid at the hands of al-Badiyyah of Yar in 1256/1257. (132)

Men of letters, especially those poets whose Harun had as well as Mudarras poems flourished at this time, were in contact with al-Shafi'i. The famous poet 'Abd al-Ghafar al-Khafif Ishaq (1181-1256/1777-1349) was one of his favourite disciples and al-Shafi'i gave him an ijaza for his book, the Ithath, on the subject of isma'in. (133) 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Fath al-Fath al-Tanani (1151-1227/1735-1809), though he was older than al-Shafi'i, read under him and they held a great affection for each other and exchanged their finest poems. (134) Muhammad b. Zahir al-Ghazali al-Shafi'i (1189-1263/1774-1347) was one of those whose gifts and genius in

(132) Al-Shafi'i, al-Badi', II, 210; al-Shafi'i, al-Tanani, 1293; Sabrah, Bayl, II, 220-22; Hayy, Hayy, 227; al-Shafi'i, I, 199-200, 255; al-Shafi'i, 1, 192.

(133) Al-Shafi'i, al-Badi', II, 210; Ithath, 110-1; al-Shafi'i, Ithath, 1293; Sabrah, Bayl, II, 221-2; Hayy, Hayy, 227; al-Shafi'i, Ithath, 231-2; al-Shafi'i, Ithath, 232-3; Hayy, Hayy, 192-3.

(134) al-Shafi'i, Ithath, II, 201; 199; 253-4; al-Shafi'i, Ithath, 123; Sabrah, Bayl, II, 199-200.
both ʕilā and mādh al-Shawkānī admired. Al-Shawkānī revered respected his sheriff and praised him in many of his works. (135)

One of the youngest poets who was a disciple of al-Shawkānī was Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Thānī (1194-1236/1730-1769). He died young and al-Shawkānī grieved at his death and expressed his sympathy to his aged father. (136)

Our list would be long, unless we attempt to follow the plan set out at the start of this section. But before leaving this point, we need to say a word concerning those disciples or followers of al-Shawkānī in India.

Al-Ṣalīḥ says that among those who arrived in 1222/1223 in Ṣanā' from Egypt and India was ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq ʿAbd Allāh b. Fadl Allāh (1206-33/1721-1769). He was sent by the sheik of India on a mission to al-Shawkānī and was commissioned to copy his works. (137) He studied under the supervision of al-Shawkānī and after he had completed his course al-Shawkānī gave him authority of madār for his work and

(137) Al-Thānī, al-Thānī, 230.
performances in his studies. Ibn Fadl Allah was one teacher of the famous Indian Ḥālim Muḥammad Ẓādī b. Ἑ حسين Khan al-Qanūjī (1239-1307/1338-90). (138) However al-Qanūjī was in Bhopal and "came into contact with ulama from Yemen in the royal court of Bhopal and studied under their supervision the works of Ibn Taymiyyah and al-Shawkānī. They were imbued with the ideas of Ibn Taymiyyah and al-Shawkānī".

In 1236/1239, on his way to Mecca he read more of the works of al-Shawkānī and others in Mədīnā and Mecca. (139)

Indeed, al-Qanūjī was in the first place responsible for the spread of al-Shawkānī's ideas and books. He himself abridged and translated some of al-Shawkānī's works and sometimes does not even refer to the original. (140) Moreover, "even though Muḥammad Ẓādī Khan was not a creative

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(138) Saʿdullāh, The life and works of Muḥammad Ẓādī, 267–72.


and original thinker"...his importance should not be underestimated. "Muslim society was in need of a reformation, and the arguments for this reformation lay in the works that he set out to publicise". (141) Another factor should be noted, namely that communications by sea by this time had improved considerably and with it social intercourse between the cities of India, Yemen and Mecca increased as well. "And it was possibly because of this growing contact that in the 1230s [1850s] ulama full of the ideas of Ibn Taymiyyah and al-Shawkānī were found in the courts of Indian princely states, especially Hyderabad and Bhopal. These ulama introduced the ideas and works of al-Shawkānī and indirectly of Ibn Taymiyyah in Bhopal. They gradually spread through India". (142)

(141) Zaebuddin, 17.
(142) Zaebuddin, 18-9.
12. Death of al-Ṣaḥḥāḥī and his re-burial

Two months after the death of his second son, ʿAli, Ṣaḥḥāḥī Muḥammad himself died on the last day of Jumādā ʿAwwal, 1250/4 October 1254, at the age of seventy-six. (143) He was buried in Khawrāmah, but recently, on 15 Suḥur ʿAl-Ḥijjah 1282/25 March 1867, his body was disinterred and reburied in his old mosque of al-Ṣaḥḥāḥī in Jānhūr. (144) His son Ṭuhayyūb became the chief Ṣaḥḥāḥī and probably the most important figure in the Yemen after his father. (145) Ṭuhayyūb died in 1291/1874, the Yemen was already approaching, as we stated above at the end of Part one, a new phase of anarchy and disputes.

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(143) Ṣabūrāh, 391, 392; Anon., Ṣulaymānī, 50, mentions Jumādā ʿAwwal for his death; al-Ṣaḥḥāḥī, 391, 430.
(144) The army built in this part of the Khawrāmah cemetery the modern officers' club (gali al-ṣubūbi).
(145) Al-Ṣaḥḥāḥī, 31a; Ṣahāḥī, 301-302; al-Ṣaḥḥāḥī, 391; Anon., Ṣulaymānī, 50, 217.
CHAPTER SEVEN

Al-Chawālī and Shi‘ah and Ja‘fāh

قال عمر بن الخطاب - رضي الله عنه - " لنفهموا قبل أن نسمعوا "

 عمر بن عبد المطلب

"Be a faith before you become an idol"

Al-Bukhārī, Sahīh
Αποδοκιμάζοντας την καταρρίψη της αρχιτεκτονικής, την παράπονήσεις της επικεφαλής καθηκόντων, η οποία δεν είχε ιδού, ωστόσο, αποδείχτηκε πως η καταρρίψη ήταν οριστική και απάντητη.

Προκειμένου να παραπομπούμε την απορία της επικεφαλής καθηκόντων, ωστόσο, η καταρρίψη ήταν οριστική και απάντητη.

Αποδοκιμάζοντας την καταρρίψη της αρχιτεκτονικής, την παράπονήσεις της επικεφαλής καθηκόντων, η οποία δεν είχε ιδού, ωστόσο, αποδείχτηκε πως η καταρρίψη ήταν οριστική και απάντητη.

Προκειμένου να παραπομπούμε την απορία της επικεφαλής καθηκόντων, ωστόσο, η καταρρίψη ήταν οριστική και απάντητη.
1. Meaning of *ijtihād* and *taqlīd*

The original lexical meaning of *ijtihād* is "exerting oneself to the utmost degree to attain an object". It is used in a technical sense for so exerting oneself to form an opinion (*ghann*) in a particular case (*qadiyyah*) or to formulate a rule (*hukm*) of law. (1) With the formation of the *madhāhib* in the second half of the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries onwards the meaning of *ijtihād* developed from the early simple idea of the Medinan and Iraqī schools to that of *Ibn al-Ḥāfiẓ* (d. 204/293) which he put forward as a compromise formula. In his earliest period *Ibn al-Ḥāfiẓ* uses *ra'y* (opinion) in the same loose way as the ancient schools. But later on he uses the term *qiyās* (analogy), whereas his opponents, representatives of the ancient schools, call this *ra'y*. For him the two terms are synonymous. (2) *Ibn al-Ḥāfiẓ* applies analogy (*qiyās*) to the Qur'ān and the *Sunnah*. In the earliest usage too *ijtihād*

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was formally equated with qiyās. (3)

However, in practical terms, in al-Shāfi‘ī’s view, ra‘y and ra‘y al-nujtahid were one. He argued that it was possible to form one’s own opinion by means of one’s own exertions. In this he was completely opposed to the "imitator" (mugallid), who, as one of Shāfi‘ī’s followers says, "takes the saying of another without a knowledge of its basis (qabūl qawl al-shayr min shayr hujjah aw dalīl)". (4)

At a later stage terms such as istiḥsān ("seeking the best solution") and istiṣlah ("seeking the best solution in the general interest") became more sophisticated concepts. Istiḥsān, however, becomes null and void in the eyes of al-Shāfi‘ī unless it becomes obligatory, when the Qurʾān, the Sunnah and ijma‘ are all silent on the question. (5)

Aql or maqūl (what is reasonable) is sometimes synonymous with qiyās which is also used by Shāfi‘ī.

For the Muʿtazilah (Ahl al-kalām) in their aim to be consistent base their whole doctrine on reasoning (nazar)

(3) Shāfi‘ī, Misālah, "Bāb al-ijma‘", 127.
(4) Al-Shawkānī, al-Qawl al-Mufīd, 16.
and *giyās*. They hold that *giyās* and *nazar* lead to truth and consider themselves as particularly adept in their use. *(6)* They agree with some Zaydīs in certain views and concepts, but not in their later stage represented by al-Shawkānī or his early predecessors. We shall see, however, al-Shawkānī points out some excellent proofs of *giyās*, not far removed from the doctrines of the Mu'tazīlī school. *(7)* He quotes Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1210) who, in his opinion, gives the definitive meaning of the term *ijtihād* as *giyās*. Al-Rāzī adds, "and that is what al-Shāfi'ī replied when he was asked". *(8)* Indeed, this is in Shāfi'ī's *Risālah*. *(9)* Rāzī also states that *ijtihād* is "reasoning by means of the *usūl*" (*al-istiqlāl bi-'l-*usūl*). *(10)*

After the time of al-Shāfi'ī, al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870), though not primarily a jurist (*usūlī*), separates *ijtihād* from its old association with *ra'y* and *giyās*. *(11)*

*(8)* *Irshād al-Fuhūl*, 220.
*(9)* Al-Shāfi'ī, 477.
*(10)* *Irshād al-Fuhūl*, 220.
it was not long before Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889) restricted the term mujtahid to the great scholars of the past who could not be equalled, denying ijtihad to contemporaries. (12)

Many others after that repeated their utterances that "the door of ijtihad had virtually been closed!" (13) But why had that happened? The perfect answer comes from Ibn Khaldun:

"These four authorities [i.e. the four Sunni madhāhib] are the ones recognized by tradition in the Muslim cities (wa-waqafa 'l-taqlīd fī 'l-amsār. İnda hā'ulā'i 'l-arba'ah).

Tradition-bound people (al-mugallidūn) obliterated all other [authorities], and scholars no longer admit any differences of opinion (wa-sadda 'l-nāb bāb al-khilāf). The technical terminology of the sciences has become diversified, and there are obstacles preventing people from attaining the level of independent judgement (rutbat al-ijtihad). It is also feared that (the existence of differences of opinion) might affect unqualified people whose opinion (reasoning) and religion could not be trusted (wa-man lā yūthaqu bi-ra'yih wa-lā bi-dīnih).

Thus, (scholars) came to profess their inability (to apply independent judgement), and get the people to adopt the tradition of the authorities) mentioned and

(12) Ibn Qutaybah, Ta'wil mukhtalaf al-Halīth, 19, 30.
of the respective group of adherents of each (taglīd hā'ulā'ī kullun wa-man ikhtāsu bi-hi min al-
mugallīdīn). They forbade one to modify his traditional
( allegation) (taglīd), because that would imply
frivolity (talā'īīub). All that remained after basic
textbooks had been produced in the correct manner, and
the continuity of their transmission had been
established, was to hand down the respective school
traditions for each individual adherent, to act in
accordance with the traditions of his school (wa-camila
kullu maqallīd bi-madhhab man galladhu). Today,
jurisprudence means this, and nothing else. The person
who would claim independent judgement nowadays would
be frustrated and have no adherents (wa-mudlaci-
'l-ijtihād li-hadha 'l-ahd mardūl marquār cala-
cāqībayh)". (14)

Thus Ibn Khaldūn diagnoses the deep dilemma of the
four madhhab, but this cannot be given in general terms
since Zaydīs or all Shi'ītes always have their own mujtahids.
This is because the Shi'ītes are regarded as the spokesmen
of the Hidden Imam. (15) Their position is thus quite
different from the Zaydīs or the ulema among the Sunnīs.
However, although the idea of closing the door of ijtihād
became a Sunni practice, there were also from time to time

(14) Ibn Khaldūn, Fargādinah, III, 6.
(15) Abu Zahirah, Tarīkh al-Kadhāhib, II, 115; 122, 1026.
individuals who appeared, moved either by ambition, or by
objectivity and by a feeling of duty, not tied down by
doctrines (al-madkhabiyyah), who returned to the earliest
meaning of ijtihad and who asserted their right to form
their own opinion from first principles usul (not furu).
One of these was Ibn Rushd (Averroes) (d. 595/1198),
another Ibn Hazm (d. 456/1064). Among the Hanbalis who
were "strongly opposed to all attempts at reducing the
principles of Islam to construction of the human intelligence,
who

but they showed great flexibility in applying them to the
problems of social life", (16) was Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 728/
1328. Another was Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyyah (d. 751/1350)
who repeats the idea that at all times there must exist at
least one mujtahid and that the ulema agreed that a muqallid
is not among Ahl al-ilm (17) and no door of ijtihad has
been closed.

Both Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn al-Jawziyyah suffered from
injustices and imprisonment. Al-Suyuti (d. 911/1505) could

(16) Hourani, Arabic thought, 18; cf. Ibn al-Jawiyyah,
F'ilan al-Mawaqihat, I, 94-112.
also be mentioned here as one of the few exceptions of the Shafi'i school which had many qalîms and good scholars, but they were rather muftâz not mujtahidûn, such as al-Haythami (d. 807/1405), Ibn Majr (d. 352/1468) al-Muttaqi al-Hindî (d. 975/1567) etc. This is not, however, an excuse for Goldziher to claim that: "Sunni qulama' are regarded universally as the subservient creatures of the government".  

Al-Shawkânî in the same Zaydî vein is imbued with the ideas of ijtihâd and rejects completely taqlîd. He does not miss any opportunity in all of his writings to remind his reader and all seeking knowledge of the essentiality and necessity of ijtihâd for the Muslim. He quotes Ibn al-Jawzî (d. 597/1201) that taqlîd invalidates the advantage of reason.

(19) EI 2, III, 1027.
(20) Al-Shawkânî, al-Qawâl al-Mufîd, 25.
2. The evidence of ijtihād

For the purpose of proving ijtihād sound and forbidding taqlīd, al-Shawkānī wrote his treatise entitled al-Qawl al-Mufīd fī adillat al-ijtihād wa-ʾl-taqlīd. He starts by giving an example of the forbidding of taqlīd from the early times by the Prophet and his Companions. The meaning of the verse, "Obey God, and obey the Apostle and those charged with authority among you (ḥīn ʾl-amr minkum)" is not as the muqallidūn interpret it, namely as a direction to obey the ulema who are probably meant by ḥīn ʾl-amr, but means rather the ulema or the umārā', but one should obey either the ulema or umārā' only when they give their orders according to the Shari'ah. It is reported in a sound hadīth that, "There can be no obedience for any creature (makhluq)

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(21) Published in Cairo, 1347/1928. In a personal communication dated 12 September 1982, James D. Chancellor of Duke University, U.S.A. informs me that he is planning to translate this treatise and that he is interested in al-Shawkānī's theory of theory of ijtihād and taqlīd.

in disobeying the Creator (al-Khalîq)". Obeying the ulema, 
al-Shawkâni states, is not to imitate them blindly, unless 
they themselves are guided along the correct path. If the 
ulema do the opposite, then they are guiding others to 
disobey God. (23)

The Mughallûdûn, in al-Shawkâni's opinion, are always 
being misled by those whom they are following. They used 
to give examples of cases from time to time of the Prophet 
and his Companions denying that"...accepting riwâyah is not 
imitation (taqlîd), since this acceptance means agreement 
with the argument (qabûl al-hujjah), while imitation (taqlîd) 
is the acceptance of opinion (al-ra'y)." He explains 
that he does not demand that everyone must become a mujtahid. 
What he requests is not employing ra'y and copying it with- 
out understanding the riwâyah. This indeed led to the 
development of the madhâhib and the widening of the gap 
between them. Moreover everyone thinks that the imam of

(23) Al-Qâwl al-Mufîd, 11.  
(24) Al-Qâwl al-Mufîd, 12.
his madhhab is the only one who is correct and that the others are wrong. Enmity and mutual hatred become common among Muslims as a result of satanic innovation al-bid'ah al-shaytāniyyah (25) On this he quotes Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah who in his turn reports that Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 150/767) and Abū Yusuf (d. 183/799) both said, "No-one has the right to repeat our teaching until he knows our sources from where he have drawn them". Al-Shawkānī gives long explanations, quoting al-Shāfi‘ī and other imams supporting this point.

As for the Ahl al-Bayt, al-Shawkānī turns his comments to them. Their books are full of well known ideas expressing disapproval of taqlīd. In the Yemen, the īlam, Sayyid Muhammad al-Wazīr in his books wrote "what quenches one's thirst", in the words of al-Shawkānī, especially in his book Ithār al-haqq ĕla 'l-khalq. One could say the

(27) Al-Jawl al-Mufīd, 25; Ibn al-Wazīr's Ithār published in 1318/1900, is one of the best books of Islamic thought in its subject, as is his book Al-Awāsam min al-sawāmin. Al-Shawkānī admired Ibn al-Wazīr and says of him in his extensive biography, "that it is close to the truth if he says that the Yemen has not produced an īlam such as him", al-İddā', II, 32.
same of the ideas of Imam al-Ḥādi Yahyā b. al-Husayn (d. 298/910) whose madhhab the Yemenis have followed from the end of the third/ninth century till now. It is well-known among his followers and those who are acquainted with his madhhab that he was unequivocally and without any doubt against taqlīd. In spite of his opposition to taqlīd, however, his followers imitated him. Their "explanation", Shawkānī suggests, is most peculiar. Some of their late mujallids say that they do so, though he forbade taqlīd! By this it can be understood that their later works, either on usūl or fawā'id (branches), are not written following their imam's madhhab. It is as if the Hadawī mujallids are similar to those of the other madhhabs. But this was not the case of the earliest followers of al-Ḥādi himself or those of the "great" Imam Zayd b. ʿAlī before him. This is, then, the crime (jināyah) of the madhāhib, al-Shawkānī adds, calling down God’s curse upon them (adhhabah hū Allāh)! (28)

In the Yemen, in al-Shawkānī's days, some Zaydī Hadawīs became, as we pointed out in the last paragraph, fanatical in their following of taqlīd and al-Shawkānī refers to the

(23) Al-Qawl, 25-6.
incident of 1216/1302 and the common people's attitude in
their support for the fanatics against the moderates and
mujtahidūn.

Fanaticism (ta'assub) for any madhhab, in al-Shawkānī's
view, is the problem, not ignorance (al-jahl), since it is
not difficult to seek the disciplines (Cūlūm) of ijtiḥād.
Here, in the Qawāl, he gives a very simple picture as a
proof of his argument. But he insists in his Irshād
al-Fūhūl on higher qualifications which are naturally
compatible with the Cūlūm/mujtahid, but not with the ordi-
mary or simple muqāllid. It is in reality difficult for
anyone to achieve these qualifications. Al-Shawkānī leaves
the details of the disciplines of ijtiḥād to his book Adab
al-talab to which we have already referred above on page 185.

It is of interest to mention that the main purpose of
al-Shawkānī's writing his biographies was to disprove
"...the opinion widespread among the rabble (jama'ah

(30) Al-Qawāl, 27.
(31) Irshād al-Fūhūl, 220-30.
that only their predecessors had the authority to expand on the Islamic sciences (شَبَّائِل), and not their successors; and so also this idea has become common among some people of the four madhāhib, so that it is impossible to find a mujtahid after the sixth/twelfth century (as some have said) or after the seventh/thirteenth century (as yet others have claimed). This article is based on ignorance and is easy for those of little knowledge to understand...

However this, we have seen, is al-Shawkāni's interest in, and his defence of, the idea of ijtihād as serving freedom of thought, while at the same time preserving the essence of the original Islamic articles of faith. Inevitably he was attacked by the conservatives for his claim that taqlīd should be forbidden. They said that this idea was tantamount to anarchy of thought which could not be counted by the rules of the madhhab. This argument is still not closed in the Islamic world.

3. The Irshād al-fuḥūl ("Guidance of the master-jurists")

Al-Shawkāni's famous book Irshād al-fuḥūl ila taḥād is one of two which deal with

(33) Published in Cairo for the first time in 1347/1929.
his theories of *ijtihād* and ideas of jurisprudence (*usūl al-fiqh*). The second is *al-Sayl al-jarrār* whose main subject is Zaydi jurisprudence. The following is a brief review of their more important original, controversial or traditional issues and of their reputation and importance from my point of view.

Al-Shawkānī wrote his books on *usūl al-fiqh* during the height of his intellectual abilities. Thus they show the advantages of the deep understanding of the writer, his use of numerous and diverse source material from the different schools and sects. Also sometimes they show an arrogant and mocking approach in his criticism of opponents, particularly the *mugallīdūn*.

In the *Irshād* he divides the book into seven parts, calling each *maqṣūd*, (purpose). Under each *maqṣūd* there are many chapters (*fasl* pl. *fusūl*). This is in addition to an introduction and conclusion.

It is very interesting that in the introduction al-Shawkānī states that the art of *usūl*, the subject of his

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(34) The first part of the book was published in Cairo in two volumes in 1389-1/1971-1.
book, unwittingly makes many mujtahidūn mughallidūn and also causes many others (—again unwittingly—) who adhere to proofs (adillah) to fall into the habit of employing ra'y! He adds nothing to the common definitions of the subject, but it appears to him most likely that tahsīn (expressing approval) and taqībīn (expressing disapproval) are matters of reason outside Share'ah. He follows the same understanding as Ibn al-Amīr in his Dirāyah, of the most important Zaydī book on the subject, al-štāyah by al-Husayn b. Yahyā (d. 1050/1640). It is noticeable from the long introduction that, though al-Shawkānī admires the author of the Ghīrah (37) is influenced by him and quotes from him and many other Zaydīs, al-Shawkānī neglects to mention any of them by name in this book.

Moreover, Shawkānī's attitude is the same as Ibn al-Amīr's on a number of technical terms in the field of usūl al-fiqh, e.g. al-haqlqah (fact), al-majāz (figurative expression), etc. (38) He supports the Mustasiliite view

(35) Irchād, 3.
(36) Irchād, 6-7.
(38) Irchād, 19-24.
that one cannot be made to undertake what is impossible (man ق al-taklf bi-mala yutaq). This is also held as a belief by the Zaydi and no doubt it is a correct and reasonable view since God says, "On no soul doth God place a burden greater than it can bear...O our lord, Lay not upon us a burden greater than we have strength to bear", as Shawkani himself quotes.

In the first maqsad there is nothing of importance and al-Shawkani adds nothing worthy of mention. But with the beginning of the second maqsad on the subject of the infallibility of the prophets he depends on others and avoids the Mutazilite partiality for the impossibility of the prophets' falling into great sin (kaba'ir) and the possibility of their falling into venial sin (sagha'ir). There is much evidence of venial sin from the Qur'an.

What removes al-Shawkani even further from mainstream Zaydi tradition is his supporting the idea that, if the Prophet

(39) Irshād, 8-11.
(40) Al-Baqarah, II, 186; Irshād, 3.
(41) Irshād, 29-31.
(42) XX, 121.
Muhammad forbade some action and then perpetrated the deed himself, this action was his own private affair and it did not permit Muslims to do likewise. On the other hand, the consensus - and indeed this is the view also of some of the Mu'tazilis - dictates that the actions of the Prophet were balanced against his prohibitions and if it happened that he did something contrary to one of these prohibitions, this action became an example to be followed because the Prophet is infallible. However Ibn al-Amîr states in his unpublished Manzumah, a treatise in verse on usul al-fiqh:

"Wa-fi'luhu li-mâ kana nahi.\[\text{An-hu ibahatun qâla bi-hi dhû 'l-nuhâ}.\]

"Truth and lying" (al-sidq wa-'l-kadhib) has been given many definitions. Al-Shawkâni summarises three famous definitions: first the common notion that sidq is what is in agreement or conformity with truth, (al-sidq mā tābaq al-wāqi'). The second is that of al-Jâhiz: the verification of the means (ithbât al-wâsîtah). Al-Mizâm and his followers suggest that sidq means "what conforms with belief (mā tābaq al-î'tîgâd). Al-Shawkâni's opinion is that sidq is what is

\[\text{Ishâd, 31-7.}\]
in conformity with truth and belief, whereas lying is what is contrary to either one of them.

Criticism could be levelled at al-Shawkānī's approval and acceptance of the evidence of one single person (khābr al-wāhid). We know for example that Caliph Abū Bakr refused to accept the testimony of one person and Imam ĀIī used to demand an oath from the witness (rawī), thus, in his view, providing a second testimony.

It could also be said that al-Shawkānī rejects the idea of unanimity (ijmāʿ) (which is one of the four usūl), though he accepts ijmāʿ in the case of the khābr al-wāhid. He goes further by saying that the two Sahih of al-Bukhārī and Muslim became sound by the ijmāʿ of the nation (al-ummah). If he means each hadith individually this is of course incorrect, since we know criticism did arise against one of their hadiths.

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(44) Irshād, 39-40. Al-Shawkānī unfortunately does not specify his source and it has not been possible to examine these definitions in the original context.

(45) Irshād, 43.


(47) Irshād, "al-Jātīn al-ḥālīthā, 53.

(48) Irshād, 44.
However, al-Shawkānī does not finish his chapter concerning īmān without providing us with a good and reasonable notion of "personal reliability and honorable record" (ṣadālah). In his view if a man has not committed any great sin (kabīrah) and is known to respect religion and not to indulge in the transmission of suspect hadīth (riwāyah) he is indeed reliable. The importance of this is that al-Shawkānī himself follows those who suggest that the perpetrator of venial sin is "unreliable". (49)

On this point Jahāf reports an argument between himself and al-Shawkānī and this can be read in his biography below. (50)

However al-Shawkānī makes the reasonable suggestion that he who persists in committing venial sin is not like one who commits a minor sin since there is no proof of similarity between the two. He decides also that there is no "reliability" (ṣadālah) in an adulterer (fāsin). (52)

One of his strongly-held opinions is that expressed in

(49) Iḥshād, 59.
(50) Iḥshād, 45.
(51) See Appendix II.
(52) Iḥshād, 47.
the chapter concerning prohibition (al-nawāhi). His view is that prohibition is only possible where an absolute wrong is involved.

But when al-Shawkānī meets philosophical and theological problems his position is very similar to the traditional school (salaf). Thus his opinion is a traditional one in dealing with the problem of the metaphorical interpretation of anthropomorphic terms applied to God, where it can be shown that a literal sense is impossible.

Al-Shawkānī refers to al-Juwaynī (d. 487/1085), his famous pupil al-Chasālī (d. 505/1111) and al-Fāzī (d. 606/1209) as responsible for widening the scope of ta'wil, but at the end of their life they disapproved of ta'wil, and came back to the view of the salaf. He also opposes the Mu'tazilites in some of their interpretations of ta'wil.

Al-Shawkānī, in the last chapter of the fourth maqāsid of his book deals with nineteen questions on the subject of abrogation (māṣīkh), the meaning of an abrogating verse (māṣīkh) which supersedes another verse (mansūkh). The

(53) Irshād, 26.
(54) Ibi, 155.
subject became very important in both commentaries and works of usul al-fiqh. A mujtahid must know all the rules and conditions of nashkh, both those of reason (aqliyyah) and of law (shariyyah). The author reviews the different points, showing great insight and an abundance of knowledge. In one of the points concerning promise and threat (al-\(\text{wa}^{\circ}\)d wa-\(\text{wa}^{\circ}\)\(\text{Id}\)) or Paradise and Hell, which is one of the common principles held by both Zaydiyah and Mu\(\text{t}^{\circ}\)tazilites, we find al-Shawkani disagrees with the latter on the question of the threat (al-\(\text{wa}^{\circ}\)\(\text{Id}\)). The Mu\(\text{t}^{\circ}\)tazilites claim that there is no abrogation of \(\text{wa}^{\circ}\)\(\text{Id}\). Al-Shawkani allows for the cancellation of God's threat, since it is part of His goodness to be merciful. He refers to Abu 'l-Hasan al-Basri (d. 495/1004) on this point. Al-Basri himself in "Bab Nashkh, al-shay' qabla fi'lih" states that his shaykhs, some followers of Abu Hanifah and some of those of al-Shafi'i are not allowed to abrogate anything before it actually happens. However al-Shawkani's view is more

(55) *Ishahid*, 163
(56) *Ishahid*, 166
(57) *Al-Basri, al-Mu'tamad*, 1, 407.
acceptable, not only as he says, for its association with
goodness and evil (al-husn wa-'l-qubh), but also for two
other attributes of God: will (mashī'ah) and mercy (rahmah).

If al-Shawkānī, in his last act of ijtihād, is success-
ful in arguing his case against the Mu'tazilites, however,
his argument in agreement with them on the same page is
less convincing. Al-Shawkānī follows al-Basrī in his
claim that there was a verse of the mushaf which begins
"al-shaykh wa-'l-shaykhāh, if the two are guilty of lewd-
ness, stone them both together outright, as a punishment
from God". Al-Shawkānī here and in his commentary Fath al-
gādir accepts that there is such a verse and that ʿUmar
said once that, because he did not want people to say that
he added a verse to the Qur'ān, he would not do so. This

(58) Al-Shawkānī, Irshād, 166.
(59) Al-Basrī, al-Muʾtamad, I, 418-9. Al-Basrī adds that
it might have been only in a revelation (wahy), not
the mushaf itself. The editor of al-Muʾtamad,
Hamidullah, was wise enough to comment that "if
[al-Basrī] means by revelation the Torah (Old
Testament), this hukm is in it". Cf. Leviticus, 20:20;
Deuteronomy, 22:22.
(60) Fath al-Qādir, III, 4.
"verse", he adds, is abrogated and there only remains the rule (hukm) that lies behind it. Al-Shawkānī makes here two certain errors. The first error is that he misinterprets the meaning of naskh here, since there is no such verse, but there is a sumūmah on this issue (i.e. the practice of the Prophet) in the incident of Mā'īz and al-Chāmidiyyah.

This is what had happened with Surat al-Nisā', 15, which was abrogated. Secondly, he wrongly says that this hadīth "al-shaykh wa-'l-shaykhah" is in the Sahīh of al-Bukhārī. Indeed, it is not, neither is it in the Sahīh of Muslim.

(61) Cf. II, 428, 550 below.
(62) Abū 'l-Qāsim Hibat Allāh, al-Masāikh wa'l-mansūkh, 118; Fath al-Qādir, I, 437-40, IV, 3-5; Surat al-Ahzab, IV, 259.
(63) Ibn Hajar, Fath al-Bāri, XII, 114-55; Muslim, al-Sahīh, II, I. Ibn Hajar, Fath al-Bāri, XII, 119-20, suggests that al-Bukhārī deliberately ignores the remainder of the hadīth when he compares it with one related by al-Bukhārī's shaykh, Ḥānī b. 'Abdullāh. He adds that Mālik and Naṣā'ī report the hadīth but "...Naṣā'ī takes Ṣufyān's version to be erroneous (waḥm) and numerous transmitters relate the hadīth, from Zuhārī without this addition (i.e. al-shaykh wa'-l-shaykhah). I do not know why Ibn Hajar does not quote the hadīth of Ahmad in his Fath, V, 193, probably out of confusion, rather than ignorance.
Moreover it is completely alien to the vocabulary of the Qur'ān as Nöldeke observes, and finally what would be the wisdom of punishing an old man and woman (shaykh and shaykhah), not young, if we accept this deficient story? (65)

To return to al-Shawkānī's Irshād. His fifth Maqsad is one of the best and the most useful parts of usūl al-fiqh and relevant to modern life. In this part, al-Shawkānī discusses different views on analogy. He takes into consideration issues such as masāliḥ (sing. maslahah) (public interest), istishāb (presumptive applicability of previous legal ruling) and istidāl (reasoning). Although he does not mention their names, the influence of the Yemeni thinker al-Maqbali in his unpublished book Ḥayā al-tālib and Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyyah on al-Shawkānī's analogical reasoning is clear.

As for al-Shawkānī's originality and progressive views, modern reformers, such as Muhammad ʿAbduh (d. 1322/1905) and

(64) Burton, Collection, 90.
(65) Imam Zayd b. ʿAlī, al-Rawd al-Maṣīr, "Kitāb al-ʿIjadi", V, 429-502; al-Kurtada, al-Jalā, VI, 133-42; Shawkānī, Hayl, VIII, 281-311; for other sources see II, 428, 559 below; and for a comparison between the different maḥālīh, cf. al-Juzayrī, Kitāb al-Fiqh, V, 1-60, especially 60.
(66) Hayl, 173-209.
Rashīd Rida (d. 1354/1935) found in him the support for their own ideas. In Yusr al-Islām Rida quotes al-Shawkānī to give evident approval for the point under discussion. The following is the quotation of Rida on the subject of qiyaṣ:

"The qiyaṣ which is acceptable is the one based on cilla,⁶⁹ 'reflective cause' which gave rise to the original textual ruling...Furthermore, it is not hidden from those of sound mind and understanding that the general and particular contents of the Qurʾān and Sunna make provision for every event that occurs...There is no disagreement over use of the cilla if it has been textually specified. Disagreement only arose over the question whether its use should be classified as qiyaṣ or as acting in accordance with the revealed texts. Most of the jurists took the former view, while the opponents of qiyaṣ took the latter view. Thus the difference over this is only verbal. For this reason the matter is of little importance, and what has been regarded as of great moment in the dispute over this question is really only small". (70)

(67) Kerr, Islamic Reform, 193-6.
(68) Rida, Yusr al-Islām, 68-9.
(69) The ascertainment of the reason or cillah underlying a legal rule is an essential step in the process of reasoning by analogy (qiyaṣ). A legal principle established by an original case is extended to cover new cases on the grounds that they possess a common cillah. Al-Shawkānī gives eleven definitions and gives twenty-four conditions. Cf. Ikhād, 181-3.
Finally, as we started this chapter on the subject of *ijtihād*, it is not necessary to return to this subject which forms the final part of al-Shawkānī's valuable and fruitful book. There is no need to go back to this point though there are still many points and views which could be mentioned. Instead we shall review the second important and more controversial book by al-Shawkānī on the subject of *fiqh*, al-Sayl al-jarrār.

4. *Al-Sayl al-Jarrār, the "Raging Torrent".*

From its very title, this book of al-Shawkānī shows his severe criticism of one of the most important Zaydi text books, *al-Azhār* by Imam Ahmad b. al-Murtadā (d. 840/1436).

The strong language and severe criticism of the work led three Azharī Egyptians and a Yemeni Azharī to publish the first part of the *Sayl* in Cairo in 1390-1/1970-1. It appears

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(71) Cf. p. 175 above.

(72) He is the late Qāsim Chūlib Ahmad who was once, after the revolution (1382/1962) a minister of education for a short time. His Egyptian collaborators were Mahmūd Amīn al-Yawārī, Mahmūd Dūshīm Zayid and Banyūlī Baṣīrān.
from the long introduction, full of political propaganda,
that they were labouring under the delusion that al-Shawkānī
was anti-Zaydi and against his imams! Unfortunately after
the death of Qāsim Chālib the last portion of the book has
not so far appeared. Here I am using the Chester Beatty
MS which is guaranteed reliable and signed by al-Shawkānī
himself.

Imam Ahmad b. Yahya b. al-Murtadā who failed to retain
a hold of his imamate, found himself thrown into the Qal‘ah
prison of the Qasr of ‘Anṣār for seven years (794-801/1392-9).
At the age of twenty-nine (not nineteen) , thrown into
prison in difficult and grievous circumstances, al-Murtadā
wrote his unique abridgement on the subject of fiqh, Kitāb

(73) In 1978 through my brother in Cairo, I asked the Majlis
al-‘Ālī li-Shu‘ūn al-Islamiyyah, the organisation for
Islamic affairs who published the first part, if there
is any intention to publish the rest, since I would
hope myself to do so. The reply was in the affirm-
ative, but nothing has happened from then to this day.

(74) In the introduction, I, 10 and II, 471, the editors
say that his age was nineteen. This is unbelievable,
the mistake comes from the Bahr of al-Shawkānī, I, 122,
who supports his birth was in 775/1374. But the intro-
duction to al-Bahr al-zakhkhar (2nd edition) gives his
birth as 764/1363 and this is acceptable.
al-Azhar. His material was taught orally to a fellow prisoner, ʿAlī b. al-Hādī, a disciple of his, who upon release had a written copy of the work made. (75) This in fact explains the high eloquence, brevity and also the difficulty of understanding some of its vague arguments.

Later al-Murtada was the first to write a long commentary in six volumes on the Aṣḥār. His sister Dahmā' bint Yahyā (d. 837/1434) was one of the first commentators. Her commentary is in four volumes, as al-Shawkānī states.

From that time until al-Shawkānī's there are thirty-four other commentaries on the book, either in the form of marginal explanations (ḥashiyah) or commentaries and criticisms. (79) This illustrates the importance and influence of the book. Among the most prominent of these

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(75) 1st edition, Cairo, in the year 1357/1938.
(76) Al-Hibshī, Nasādir, 485, quoting the historian Ahmad b. Abī 'l-Bīlāl.
hawāshī and ʿshurūḥ are:

1. Al-Maqbalī : al-Qanār
2. Al-Jalāl : Dawʾ al-Qanār
3. Ibn al-Amīr : Munḥat al-Chaffār

Finally there is that of al-Shawkānī which supports the basic Zaydī idea of ʿijtihād and indeed it is not far from the previous commentaries. The differences, naturally, are commensurable with each individual and especially concern the points which the individual authors find attractive and/or of interest. Al-Shawkānī, however, takes advantage of their excellent efforts and ʿijtihād. He accepts certain points, rejects others, puts forward his own arguments and adds what he believes to be correct. Sometimes he succeeds but not always. His problem is not the fine and critical vision which he displays but rather his stylistic

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(30) The private copy of al-Shawkānī is the one I use here, since it came into the possession of Qādi Husayn al-Sayyāghī who kindly gave me permission to copy it.
(31) A beautiful copy made from the original by Qādi Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Jirāfī who kindly allowed me to take a photo-copy of it.
peculiarities which sometimes give the impression of superiority or scorn of others' views. Sometimes he exaggerates minor things.

However the following is not a review or discussion of al-Sayl al-jarrār ("The Raging Torrent"), since this in fact requires a separate comprehensive study. We are here merely giving a few examples of al-Shawkānī's views on different issues in the work.

Al-Azhār is arranged in the traditional way of fiqh books. It starts with "Kitāb al-Tahārah" and ends with 'Kitāb al-Siyar'. There are twenty-nine such books and under some of them many different chapters (sing. bāb, plur. abwāb). Al-Shawkānī, like others before him, follows the same arrangement in his commentary.

In the brief introduction al-Shawkānī declares himself an arbitrator between al-Azhār and its opponents on the one hand and between the opponents themselves, when they disagree, on the other.

But from the very beginning al-Shawkānī rejects not only what al-Kurtābī says in his first five words:

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(83) Al-Sayl, I, 3.
"mugaddimatu lā yasa' u al-mugallidu innārahū", but also the ideas of al-Jalāl and Ibn al-Amīr on this introduction. He becomes an adversary, not an arbitrator. The point about taqlīd is that the mugallid cannot deny what al-Murtada is going to tell him in his introduction (mugaddimah). After thirteen pages of argument al-Shawkānī concludes that, if Ibn al-Amīr suggests that a short-sighted or stupid man could be excused for his taqlīd, why then was he asked by al-Murtada to know the opinion of others, since he is already a mugallid and therefore following somebody else?!

If we suppose, al-Shawkānī continues, that his stupidity (balādah) does not allow him to understand the opinion of one whom he imitates, then this person is even more of a fool!

The first bāb in the Ashār is on the subject of impurity (najūsah), as opposed to purity or cleanliness (tahārah). Both hold an important place in Islam for "purity is half of the faith" as Muslim reports the Prophet saying.

Fiqh deals with bodily, physical impurity. Sexual inter-
course, menstruation and childbirth are religious impurities. Actual impurities have a perceptible body. (86) Al-Murtadaš says they are ten: "wine (al-muskü), cows, pigs and what is begotten of them, dead bodies (except those of men), fish, animals used for food and creatures that have no blood (mā lā dam labu) i.e. insects, and certain discharges from the body". (87)

Al-Shawkānī discusses all these in detail, but showing a more liberal attitude. He says we must throw doubts and evil temptations away and follow only the true and tolerant Shari'ah. (88) On more than two occasions he refers to al-Jalāl's opinions of the Prophet's practices as delusion (waht), since al-Shawkānī believes that the Prophet's deeds are his own in a private capacity, unless they are opposed to the Qur'ān or the Shari'ah. (89)

In "Kitāb al-Salah" since there are no great differences, it might be of interest to mention that al-Shawkānī limits

(87) Al-Sayl, I, 21.
(88) Ibid., I, 42.
(89) Ibid., I, 64, 69.
the ideas of the Ḥāfīzīs, who claim to be Shi'ites, to four innovations (bid'ah): hostility towards the Sunnah; slander of predecessors (aslāf); two prayers at once; failure to attend Friday prayer in the mosque with others. In the 

words of al-Shawkānī:

1 تضییع السیّة والثّب لِلادّ لالف والجیموع وترک الجمیع
2 عداؤه السیّة والثّب لِلادّ لالف والجیموع

In al-Bayl al-jarrār he criticises those who pray the two prayers of noon (zuhr) and late afternoon (gaur) at one and the same time, saying that necessity is no excuse, as the Azhār suggests. He adds that al-Tirmidhī says of his Sunan that all its Ḥadīth are sound, except for two, one of them is the evidence on prayer used by al-Murtada! Al-Shawkānī takes the opportunity to speak of al-Jalāl's opinion on this subject and comments that his accepting such an argument is laughable on the one hand, but brings

on tears on the other!

(90) Al-Shawkānī, Ǧīmān, 234.
(91) Al-Bayl, I, 193-5.
As for the Friday prayer, al-Murtadā's opinion is that it is right only when the imam (i.e. the ruler) is just (Cādīl). Al-Shawkānī rejects this completely and says this is not part of Shari'ah and that which is not must be thrown in the face of him who makes such a suggestion.

Al-Shawkānī opposes the Azhar in many points on the question of tax (zakah). He claims that zakāh on the produce of the land should be paid only on four crops: wheat, barley, dates and raisins, whilst al-Murtadā rules that zakāh should be paid on every type of produce from the land. Likewise al-Shawkānī says, where a person owns property, it is only necessary to pay zakāh on the income from any profit, whereas the Azhar says that zakāh must be paid on the capital value of the property itself. In some respects, al-Shawkānī accepts only such of Shāfi‘ī's law as comes within the Zaydī madhhab. For instance, he agrees with Shāfi‘ī that there should be no zakāh on personal jewellery. However, al-Shawkānī's

(93) Al-Ṣayl, II, 92.
views on the subject are more reasonable and realistic. He was against injustice in general and this we have pointed out above. But he appears in one of his comments the exact opposite. Al-Murtada says that the imam should not increase tax more than his predecessors. Al-Shawkānī says on the contrary that the imam is free to act in the interests of Muslims, either to increase or decrease taxes, but without causing harm to the peasants. He swings across the whole spectrum of Yazī thought to remind his reader of one of the correct common beliefs, that is the condemnation of those who suspect each other of being unbelievers (takfīr al-ta'wīl). He writes wisely and convincingly, adding additional details on this point in the Badr.

In the rest of the second part of volume I of the Sayl, which ends with the religious observances (ṣabādāt), there are still some other important points which are worthy of mention. Since, however, this part of the work has already

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(95) Al-Zayl, II, 79.
been published in Cairo and in thus of more value and easier
to use in order to appreciate al-Shawkānī's views, we shall
turn our attention to Volume 2. The remaining kutub of
Volume I are dealt with in "Kitāb al-Zawm" (fast), "al-Hajj"
(pilgrimage), "al-Nikāh" (marriage) and "al-Talāq" (divorce).
The last two are in fact part of statutes (ahkām).

(98) Volume 2 begins with "Kitāb al-Bay" (selling).

Al-Shawkānī disagrees with al-Murtadā's terms in the matter.
He suggests that mutual agreement (tarād) is essential in
the sale, but again brings in the idea of willingness (tibat
al-nafs). It is clear that desire is not always
essential, since need in many cases is the only factor in
the sale. However, the Hadāwī Zaydis accept sale by necessity
whereas for al-Shawkānī it is null and void. He argues that,
for example, if someone in debt cannot sell his land at a
high enough price to discharge his debt, he must remain in

(98) Chester Beatty, MS 3964. The first part of this work
was published in Cairo in two volumes. The second
unpublished volume we shall therefore call Volume III.
(99) Al-Żayd, II, 1-3.
prison. It is not legal for anyone to buy this property. It is also the same for one who offers his property for the purpose of going to Mecca for the pilgrimage. No one must buy from him at less than the real price and he should perform the pilgrimage. The same applies to marriage.

Al-Shawākānī here agrees with al-Jalāl, but not with Ibn al-Amīr who follows Abū Ibn al-Athīr (d. 607/1210). The latter believes that, anyone who is compelled to sell, then his sale is null and void. This, says Ibn al-Amīr, is a "forced sale" (bayʿ al-mikrah). Al-Shawākānī criticises the Hadawīs (here in the Aṣhār) for accepting to sell to anyone who will use the property in some sinful purpose ( func. maṣūyah).

Usury is forbidden by the Qurʾān and Sunnah. There are, though, some differences in detail between the various madhhāhib. In "Bāb al-Ribawiyyāt" of "Kitāb al-Bayʿ" al-Murtadā emphasizes types (jins) and estimation (taqādir) either by weights or by measures. In al-Shawākānī's opinion

(100) Al-Raydī, III, 1-5.
there is *riba* only on the six things named by the Prophet, i.e. gold, silver, wheat, barley, oil and dates. He fails to prove the case for the possibility of sale by barter by postponing payment (*nasi‘ah*) and then paying with a different kind of goods. In his opinion this is too difficult. Nowadays of course there is the additional problem of an ever fluctuating currency. The simple idea here is there must be no monopoly or usury in the necessities of life. He insists that deals should be carried out using only Medinese measures such as the *ra‘l* (pound), *ra‘‘* (another measure of weight) etc. He probably has in mind only grain, gold and silver. The conditions of *ru‘yah* (seeing goods before a sale) or refusal to grant anyone the right of withdrawal from a sale (*khiyārah*) and a fault which renders a sale void, all these are among the subjects dealt with at length in great detail by al-Shawkānī.

He gives a reasonable solution to the problem "Kitāb al-Shuf‘ah" (right of pre-emption). He disagrees with the Ḥadawīs and the Ḥanafīs on the question of the right of

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(101) *Al-Jayl*, III, 28.
pre-emption involving a neighbour, rejecting the idea. Though al-Shawkānī does not approve of ḥiṣā', he proves his case using ḥiṣā' and accepts al-Shāfī'I, Ahmad and Mālik in many of these issues.

There is the important subject of commercial enterprise (shirkah) which is related to problems of land and those who work on the property of someone else. He accepts, but also disagrees with, many of the Ḥadawīs' points, giving details which might change in different circumstances, but building and land are still the common enterprise of relatives and partners and his views accord more with his own era. He rejects the idea of an owner being a nuisance to his neighbour, even if the owner is actually working on his own property. The Azhār says he has the right to do what he likes on his own property, even if it is a nuisance for his neighbour. Sharing interest depends entirely on the portion of capital, not on personal efforts, which are given more importance by the Ḥadawīs. He says, though, that

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(102) Al-Jayl, III, 43-7.
(103) Ibid., III, 51-5.
(104) Ibid., III, 49.
agreement between partners is the basic rule, regardless of who has more capital or less. This subject in some points is complicated and it is probably for this reason that al-Shawkānī wrote an unpublished treatise entitled al-Mabāḥith al-wafīyyah fī 'l-shurkh al-urvedīyyah.

Waqf is among those points which bring about differences of opinion on points of detail. The purpose of the endowment must be a work pleasing to God (qurban).

Al-Shawkānī remarks on those who may try to exclude some of their children from inheritance or to keep their fortune only in their family by endowment, saying it is against God's law of inheritance since the heir is free to do what he wants with his bequest. Another point he suggests is that waqf does not finish with the end of its subject, for example the demolition of a mosque. Waqf must continue in a way similar to that of the intention of the founder; if his intention is not clear, waqf might be transferred.

(106) This treatise is among others which the present writer is editing and hoping to publish soon.
(108) For waqf in Yemen, Conjeaut, Van à, 151-4; Zayn al-Abidin, "The role".
into anything believed to be serving his original intention.

Al-Shawkānī does not agree that any property or item (he gives the example of a lamp or a door of a mosque) could be waqf unless the owner declares the endowment. He also disagrees with al-Murtadā that an endowment should not be made for a mosque before it is built. He says there is no law (sharī'ah) or reason (sā'il) to prevent this and there is also no proof that the location of a mosque should not change to another in the interest either of the endower (wāqif) or in the general interest. He agrees here with al-Hasan al-Jalāl. Al-Shawkānī gives evidence from the time of the Companions when they moved the mosque next to the Treasury (Bayt al-Mal) when they were afraid of theft. (110)

In the steps of al-Jalāl also al-Shawkānī is against the decoration of the mihrāb, saying that it is against the hadith of pride (mubahah) in the mosques and is a sign of the Day of Judgement. This hadith is reported by Anas and

(109) Al-‘ayl, III, 89-90.
(110) Al-‘ayl, III, 90-91.
narrated by Ahmad, Nasā'ī, Abū Dāwūd and Ibn Mājah.

Al-Shawkānī adds that it is this type of decoration which is used by Jews and Christians.

Al-Shawkānī agrees with the Ahl al-Paris and the Hādāsiyyūn on the question of the administration of the waqf (wilāyat al-waqf), namely that it should be in the hands of the founder and after him his heirs. It is also the responsibility of the imām and the ēkim to appoint a wālī.

According to the Hādāsiyyūn this wilāyah was invalid, but al-Shawkānī disagrees (following the Hādāsiyyūn) and objects, saying this is not the place in which to discuss this matter which must be dealt with in "Kitāb al-Siyar", i.e. in the last chapter.

If we leave "Kitāb al-Ghasb" (unlawful seizure) for which al-Shawkānī insists on the obligation of compensation and the guarantee in every case and "Kitāb al-Aymān" (oaths)

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(113) al-Brayl, III, 91-4; this point has already been discussed above, in the last chapter, p. 21b, under "al-Shawkānī and the imāmāte".
we find in the chapter on hunting some interesting differences which should be mentioned.

First al-Shawkānī disagrees with the Madawiš who regard as lawful the eating of everything from the sea. He accepts only what is caught, not what is found floating dead on the surface. (115) Al-Jalāl was inclined to accept this before him. Secondly the Madawiś, as the Ashār reports, take exception to the eating of the predatory birds, such as the falcon and hawk, but again al-Shawkānī disagrees. He is also against limiting the means of killing animals to a sharp implement only. He points out that the criterion is the penetration (ikhtirāq) of the implement and in his opinion using a gun in hunting is permissible, since a bullet does not strike, which is forbidden, but penetrates. (116) It is a reasonable view, as also is his refusal to eat the meat not only of Jews or Christians (Ahl al-kitāb), but also of non-believers, even if he mentions the name of God at the time of slaughter. (117) Maqbulī and Jalāl both go far in

(114) Al-Isayl, III, 95-120.
(115) Ibid., III, 121.
(116) Ibid., III, 121-3.
(117) Ibid., III, 124-5.
forbidding only what is slaughtered in the name of anyone other than God (li-chayr Allah). However, none of the Muslim ulema refuses the meat of Jews and Christians, but none of them also accept that of the unbeliever (kafir).

On the question of eating, al-Shawkānī disagrees with many points raised in the Azhār, which forbids the eating of horse meat, hare and spleen, while others regard them as "disapproved of" (makrūh), not forbidden. He supports his opinions by some sound hadīths.

Just as the Hadawīs ban the eating of any meat which is not slaughtered by a Muslim, they also ban the use of gold and silver in any way. Al-Shawkānī says that there is no text (nass) which supports this, except for a ruling not to eat or drink from gold or silver bowls and cups etc.

Maqbalī, Jalāl and Ibn al-Amīr) all state the use of gold and silver is only disapproved of (kurāhiyāh), not specifically prohibited.

(121) Al-Maqbalī, al-Šanārī, III, 110.
In "Bab al-'Adā'" (chapter on the office of qādi) al-Shawkānī accepts al-Murtadā's qualifications of a qādi with some comments and argues that the position is not makrūh; it is rather a duty for him who can give a judgment. He completely rejects the idea that the appointment (wilāyah) should be legitimate, only if the imam (i.e. the ruler) is right (haqq). He insists on the necessity to submit to the ruler, even if he is unjust, unless he shows himself to be an open infidel (al-kufr al-baḥāḥ). He gives the example of the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid dynasties. This view of al-Shawkānī is a common one among the Sunnī madhhabs, but not among the Shi'ites, including the Zaydīs. Al-Murtadā adds that the authority (wilāyah) of the qādi could come from the muhtasib. But al-Shawkānī answers that "he who has not received the oath of allegiance from the people has no wilāyah".

Al-Shawkānī means that muhtasib has not the authority to appoint the qādi and this is not what al-Murtadā means.

(122) Al-Zayl, III, 174-5.
(124) See above p. 214.
Muhtasib here is the one who acts on behalf of the ruler and indeed this post, if it happens to exist as an authority, is of the same rank as emir whom al-Shawkānī previously suggests should be submitted to in the same way as a ruler (mulāt al-amr). He deals with this subject in some detail in his capacity as chief qādī.

Legal punishment (al-hudud) is the responsibility of the imam and his assistants. Al-Shawkānī rejects the idea that the imam can dismiss a case without punishment. (125)

For a drunkard (sakrān) and adulterer, al-Shawkānī disagrees with the Azhār. He agrees with al-Jalāl and Ibn al-Amīr that he should not be flogged, but stoned. (126)

Al-Shawkānī agrees with the Hadawī Zaydīs that the married (muhassan) adulterer should be sentenced to both flogging and stoning. The Sunnī madhhabs, such as Shāfi‘ī, Hanafī and Mālikī, disagree with both punishments at the same time and al-Jalāl supports them in this. Al-Shawkānī

(126) Al-‘Azīl, III, 191.
(127) Al-‘Azīl, III, 194.
takes full advantage of the situation to criticize al-Jalāl's opinion strongly. He does not agree to the killing of a fornicator by the husband who has found him in the act with his wife, his slave, or his daughter.

The legal punishment for drunkenness, in al-Shawkānī's opinion, should be executed on the evidence of only two reliable witnesses or one man, plus two women. This demonstrates the same strict attitude as with the previous accusation of adultery, while the Ashār asks for four witnesses. In the rest of the chapter, which deals with theft in particular, and the full range of crimes, both minor and serious, the differences are not wide, but there are many details including the amount of blood money (diyāh) to be paid and fines (ārash, pl. urūsh) or penalties for bodily injury.

The last chapter in al-Sayl al-jarrār is that of "Kitāb al-Siyar" which deals with the position of the imam, (the man and his position), his rights and duties. This point has already been covered in the previous chapter.

(129) Al-Sayl, III, 200f.
(130) Al-Sayl, III, 201-3.
(131) Cf. above p. 214.
For many other important regulations and views, political
and religious, the following are illustrations of
al-Shawkānī's originality, the ideas he adopted, the
controversies he aroused and the arguments he put forward.

Jihād (holy war) is a collective duty (fard kifāyah),
and not an individual one (fard ġayn). The Hadawi Zaydīa,
such as al-Murtadā, state that the free adult Muslim is
obliged to join the army, even if his parents disagree.

Al-Shawkānī rejects this and says that obedience to ones
parents is an individual duty. This is also
al-Maqbalī's and al-Jalāl's opinion. They both
disagree with al-Murtadā, that an Arab adult unbeliever
should not be a slave, if he happens to be captured.

Al-Shawkānī emphasizes that there is no difference between
an Arab or non-Arab in this matter. He gives the
example of those of Tamīm in the time of the Prophet and
and also when the Prophet said to the Meccans at the

(133) Al-Maqbalī, al-Ṭabarānī, II, 196; al-Jalāl, Durr al-
Tabārānī, II, 255.
(135) Al-Zayd, III, 271.
Conquest of Mecca, "Co, you are free." Any land within Dar al-Harb ("Abode of War"), in contrast to Dar al-Islām ("Abode of Islam"), is permitted to be appropriated, as enemy territory (dār ḫibāḥah). Even the person of the Muslim within Dar al-Harb may be treated as an unbeliever, but his property is sacred. Again within Dar al-Harb there can be no requital or punishment of any bloodshed (lā qisān fī-hā wā-lā arsh).

Al-Shawkānī, however, disagrees saying that the Muslim as well as his property must be excepted from ḫibāḥah, together with any of his children who are minors. The tyrant (būchāh, pl. būchāh) in the Ashār is defined as the one who acts as if he is right (muhāq) and the imam is wrong (mubtil). Further he is the one who fights against the imam. Al-Shawkānī agrees and, moreover, is against any open opposition to the imam, even if he is unjust. This is indeed the crux of the Zaydī madhhab, not the least, mainly irrelevant argument of al-Murtadā in

Jews from Arabia is not in contrast to his own opinion. (142)  

For the Ḥadāthī Zaydīn the order of the Prophet applied to the Hijaz and that they were permitted to remain on their own estates (khutat, sing. khuttah) only with permission from the Muslims and for the latters' benefit (maslahah). (143)  

Al-Shawkānī insists that they should be expelled from the whole of Arabia, that they could live free anywhere else under Muslim protection and that, even if anyone might bring proof (dalīl) of benefit, i.e. from the continued presence of the Jews in Arabia, this very proof would be in direct conflict (tašādun al-dalīl) with the incontestable proof that the Prophet did order their expulsion. (144)  

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(142) Al-Qayl, III, 395.  


(144) Al-Qayl, III, 396; Tašādun al-dalīl, a well-known technical term in fiqh, means in simple terms the clash of two contrary proofs, in which case only the first in acceptable to the fiqhā’ī and the second must be rejected.
It is interesting to note that, when al-Maqbalī is consulted on this point, he is found to be proving the point that the Prophet did indeed order the expulsion of the Jews from the whole of Arabia. Moreover al-Maqbalī, then in self-imposed exile in Mecca, says that Imam al-Mahdī Ahmad b. al-Hasan (1087-92/1678-81) decided to evict the Jews from the Yemen, either because of what is reported in the Hadīth literature or because of their corruption.

Al-Maqbalī was asked by the Imam, through the emir of the Yemeni pilgrimage, for his opinion as to where he should send them. Al-Maqbalī, after weighing up the question, replied that they should go to India where they would not pay the jizyah (which is what they wanted) and moreover where the country was large enough to assimilate them easily.

Al-Mahdī Ahmad had already assembled them in Mocha and Aden, awaiting al-Maqbalī’s answer. The Imam, however, died before this plan could come into effect.

(146) Ibid.
The last point in the Ashār and consequently al-Sayl al-Jarrār is the question of apostasy (riddah). Al-Shawkānī successfully refutes one argument of the Ashār, that concerning the accusation of unbelief (takfīr) without proof as clear as "the light of day", in his own words. Al-Shawkānī gives evidence from the Sirah and mentions many sound hadīth. Here he agrees with other Yemeni Zaydīs, though not with the Hadādīn, such as al-Jalāl and al-Maqbālī.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Al-Shawkānī as Muhaddith

وَقُولُوا صَلِّ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَتَنَارِضُ اللَّهَ امْرَأَٰءاً سَمِعَ مَقَالَتِي
فَوَعَاهَا فَأَداها كَمَا سَمِعَهَا

"May Allāh make radiant [the face of] someone who has heard what I have said, has learnt it by heart, and has then repeated it as he heard it."

The Prophet.

"He who insists on spreading falsehoods in my name, let him prepare his seat in Hell."

Hadīth Sahīh
Al-Shawkānī as a Ḥadīth

1. The Ḥadīth

The Hadīth (Tradition) of the Prophet and its science ʿilm al-Hadīth is in the view of al-Shawkānī the most important subject for an ṣālim or one seeking knowledge. He paints a remarkable picture of the Hadīth scholar. He goes further than that when he strongly criticises famous and distinguished ulama such as al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) and al-Shazālī (d. 505/1111) in the field of fiqh, or al-Zamakhshārī (538/1144) and al-Fādkh Khān al-Rāzī (d. 605/1209).

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(1) Adab al-talah, 52.
(2) Al-Juwaynī, an Ashʿarite, became known as "Imām al-Harawayn", "the Imam of the two sanctuaries", Mecca and Medina, after he had stayed there about four years when he fled from Baṣḥal. We have met him on many occasions in the last chapter while reviewing Al-Shawkānī's Zayl.
1209) in the field of tabi'īn, for using "weak" (da'īf) or "invented" (manhaj) hadith without understanding or distinguishing the simple fact of the different categories of Hadith. (3)

We need go no further into the background of al-Shawkānī to recognize his deep knowledge and great understanding in this field. It is easy to realize this fact from all his writings. He constantly makes use of the "Six Books" (al-Kutub al-Ṣittah, al-Yanahāt al-Ṣitt or "the Six Sahīh" i.e. the correct, reliable collections of Tradition)

and other famous collections, such as that of the Hunatta' of Mālik, the Sunah of al-Dāraquṭnī (d. 335/945) or all the later secondary collections. His teaching these books for half a century (i.e. all his working life) and deep immersion in Ḥilāl al-Hadith led some to regard him as one of the Ahl al-Hadith, rather than one of the fuqaha'. He was indeed both in one man.

(3) Al-Ma, 53.
(4) See above p. 172-185.
(5) They are the collections by:
   i) al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870)
   ii) Muslim (d. 256/870)
   iii) Abu Dāwūd (d. 275/883)
   iv) al-Tirmidhī (d. 270/882)
   v) al-Nasā'ī (d. 292/905)
   vi) al-Kāfī (d. 292/905)
(6) Cf. our volume II below, "Sources of al-Shawkānī".
2. Mayl al-Awtār

Al-Tawākānī's fana as a muhaddith came from his book

Mayl al-Awtār in which he devotes himself to an
interpretation of Ibn Taymiyyah's al-Muntaqā min hadīth
al-ahkām. This is Ĥabd al-Salām b. Taymiyyah (d. 652/1254),
not his famous grandson Taqī 'l-Dīn Ahmad b. Ĥabd al-Nālīn
(722/1323). However, the Muntaqā of Ibn Taymiyyah is one
of the few books on the hadīth of ahkām (statutes), i.e. the
legal consequences of the facts of a case. Among those who
wrote or composed on the subject is Taqī 'l-Dīn Ĥabd al-Chānī
al-Maqdānī al-Manbālī (d. 690/1293) who composed his Ĥandat
al-ahkām and its commentary Inkām al-ahkām. Sharh al-Ahkām by
Ibn Daqīq al-Ĥid (d. 704/1304).

Ibn Majār (d. 852/1448) in his turn wrote Bulūḥ al-maram
min hadīth al-ahkām, a commentary of which was written by the
Yemeni Zayū scholar, Ibn al-Anfī, and published in his well-
known book Subūl al-Salām.

Before al-Tawākānī, Muḥammad al-Mundūrī (d. 744/1343),

(7) Cairo, first edition, 1342/1923.
(9) Cairo, first edition, 1342 (1924).
Abū 'l-ʿAbbās Ahmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Khallī (d. 771/1369) and Sirāj al-Dīn ʿUmar b. ʿAlī al-Muqaddas al-Shāfiʿī (d. 804/1401) all wrote on Ibn Taymiyyah's work. In fact the last two did not finish their books. The reason for these commentaries is not only the importance of Ibn Taymiyyah's al-Muntaqā, but also, as al-Shawkānī and others before him point out, the lack of critical vision of Ibn Taymiyyah's material which he selected (intaqā) from the Sahihān of al-Bukhārī and Muslim, the Musnad of Ahmad and the four Sunan. In other words Ibn Taymiyyah in his book omits the isnād and does not distinguish between saḥīh (sound) and daʿīf (weak). What is more he includes some hadīth mentioned by al-Tirmidhī, who usually criticises the category of the hadīth, if it is daʿīf, but Ibn Taymiyyah mentions such hadīth without applying this criticism.

Al-Shawkānī, under the supervision of his eminent shaykh, ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Ahmad and al-Naqūs al-Maktabī,

(7) Al-Shawkānī, the introduction of al-Muṣal, I, 25-31.
(10) Ibid., I, 31.
began to compile his remarkable and voluminous commentary on the Muntāqā of Ibn Taymiyyah. Both shaykhs died in 1207-9/1792-3 before he had finished. When al-Shawkānī completed his work he was less than forty and the Kā'il became one of his important early works on judicial matters. He does not only explain, correct and criticize, but also adds valuable and accurate material to the original. He uses all the collections of Hadīth and many of its shurūh, such as that of al-Jawāfi (d. 676/1277) on Muslim and Ibn Majār (d. 952/1449) on al-Bukhārī and countless others both ancient and modern. By reason of this al-Shawkānī's Kā'il is of infinitely more value than the Muntāqā of Ibn Taymiyyah. It met with universal acclaim and became an essential source for teaching. Al-Shawkānī himself taught his students and disciples from this book, side by side with other classic collections. From thence forward in the Yemen it became a tradition to study the book. In many other Arab and Islamic

(11) He wrote the book in four large volumes. Among the famous early editions is that of Cairo, 1347 (1929), India, 1357 (1935) and recently of Cairo, 1398 (1938) in ten volumes, edited by al-Fād and al-Jawāfi. It is the last which I have myself consulted.

countries the šāfi'ī has been used for teaching, including
al-Ashār and in India and later in the 1340s/1920s it became
part of the curriculum of the Madrasah al-Shāfi'i al- Ḥāfi'ī in
Cairo and in other šāfi'i ah colleges in different Arab
countries.

3. Darr al-sahābāh

One of the very few unpublished books of al-Shawkānī is
Darr al-Sahābāh fi manāqib al-qarābāh wa-l-Sahābāh, a
critical edition of which comprises Volume II of this study.
Al-Shawkānī wrote this book in 1241/1924. It is, there-
fore, probably his last major work and one of his last
compositions in general. In this book al-Shawkānī uses his
immense talent and deep knowledge of Ḥadīth in order to
attempt the important subject of the Prophet's family, Ahl
al-Bayt, and his Companions' virtues (manāqib). The

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(13) Our edition is based on the author's original unique
autograph MS copy which was preserved in the private
library of Imām Yāhya Ḥanāfī al-Ḥāfi'ī (d. 1327/1909)
and part of which he presented as a waqf in 1360/1943 to
the library of the Great Mosque in Mada'in. (Ḥadīth
No. 42).
importance of the book comes from al-Shawkānī's successful attempts to join together material on the virtues of the Ahl al-Bayt and those of the Companions in one volume, extant to everyone who features in the work what is due to him or her on the Prophet's own authority. Indeed, the nature of the subject and the method on which al-Shawkānī depended in quoting all the maqāmāt from different sources laid the author open to the same criticism he himself had used against others, namely of using daʿīf (weak) or maqūl (invented) hadīth.

The book is arranged in five parts (bāb): first virtues in general; second the virtues of the ten Companions who were promised entry into Paradise; third, the virtues of the Ahl al-Bayt; fourth the virtues of the rest of the Companions (men and women); and finally the virtues of the Followers (Tabiʿūn) and the Islamic nation in general. In each of the five parts are many chapters (fusūl). He deals with

(14) ‘I. al-Shawkānī’s criticism at the beginning of this chapter, p. 271.
a total of a hundred and eighty-four persons.

Al-Shawkānī uses, directly or indirectly, and consults sixty-three sources and references. From all sources, the book contains about one thousand five hundred hadīth among which are a few "invented" (mawduʿ) ones. Each hadīth, however, has been investigated and its category assigned, according to the isnad and reliability of its chain of authorities. Unfortunately I have found from this investigation that many "invented" hadīths are included by al-Shawkānī himself in one of his books which is devoted to such material. However, all criticisms and necessary annotations can be found in Volume II.

Our criticism concerning the status of "invented" hadīth is not only directed at al-Shawkānī, since many great scholars before him committed the same fault. The problem

(15) Since al-Shawkānī mentions only manāqib (virtues) of each one without a biography, I have added biographies of those names appearing in the text. cf. II, Appendix I, 397-402; also all names appearing in isnāds and names mentioned in the text.

(16) cf. II, 11-22 below.

for al-Shawkānī, as has been pointed out before, is that he was always rigid in his criticism of others in this precise matter. This particular point apart, Durr al-sahābah gives us a vivid picture of the Medinah community and the close circle of those around the Prophet through the reports of the Muhaddithūn, not the historians. From this point of view this material is well worthy of study.

4. Some other works on Hadīth by al-Shawkānī

Among al-Shawkānī's works on Hadīth is his sharh (commentary) Tuhfat al-Ḥakīmīn on a treatise, al-Ḥusn al-Ḥasīn of Shams al-Dīn Muhammad al-Jazārī (d. 833/1429).

The treatise concerns duṣā (invocation) and its adab (etiquette), where and when it is permitted. The superiority of the Qurān and the benefit of praying to God to bless the Prophet comprises the final part of the Ḥusn and

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(13) Al-Shawkānī gives us his biography in his al-Bair, II, 237-8; the Tuhfah has been published with some footnotes by the late historian, Zabārah, Cairo, 1350 (1931). To our knowledge, the fourth edition, 1393 (1973) is the latest.
al-Shawkānī’s Tuhfah. The latter was published in Cairo in 1350 (1931). Recently a wider and truly remarkable work on Hadīth was published which depends entirely on al-Shawkānī, together with a deep analysis of his views on the subject.

This was compiled by one of the second generation disciples of al-Shawkānī, Qādī Yahyā b. Muhammad al-Iruyānī (1299–1362/1882/1963).

Qutr al-Walī (20) on the subject of the Prophet’s hadīth al-Walī (i.e. the friend of God or a man close to God), is another book of al-Shawkānī on Hadīth. This hadīth is one of importance in the Sahīh of al-Bukhārī on the subject of the ilkāyah which came to provide an important support for the Sufīs, but not for those among the extremists or those who are not guided in all their actions by the Qurʾān and the Sunnah, as al-Shawkānī himself

(19) Edited by the author's distinguished son, the ex-President of the Yemen, Qādī 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Iruyānī, and published in Damascus, 1327/1909–1910.

(20) Edited for the Ph.D. degree by 'Abd Allāh Ibrahim al-Malāḥ and published under the title Wilāyat Allah wa-l-'Iltāfa ilayhā, Cairo, 1329 (1950).
states.

It might be useful here to clarify the subject by quoting the hadith in the words of the Prophet as Abu Hurayrah reported:

"Allah the Almighty has said: Whosoever shows enmity (man ṣāliṯ waliyya) to a friend of Mine, I shall be at war with him. My servant does not draw near to me with anything more loved by Me than the religious duties I have imposed upon him, and My servant continues to draw near to Me with supererogatory works (muḥāfīl) so that I shall love him. When I love him I am his hearing with which he hears, his seeing with which he sees, his hand with which he strikes (yabdushu bihā), and his feet with which he walks. Here he to ask 'something' of Me, I would surely give it to him; and were he to ask me for refuge, I would surely grant him it". (23)

Al-Shawkānī notices that Ibn Hajar in his Sharḥ does not explain this hadith in more than three pages, so he takes on the responsibility of interpreting it in three hundred and seven published pages. (25)

(21) Al-Shawkānī, Ḥujj al-Walī, 225-7; for more details of al-Shawkānī’s views of Sufism, cf. the useful introduction of the editor and his footnotes; see also the Dīwān of al-Shawkānī, 75-8.
(22) See the biography of Abu Hurayrah in our vol. II, 563 below.
(24) Al-Shawkānī, Hilyat Allāh, 213.
(25) Ibid., 217-524.
There is another book concerning one of the hadîth qudsî (sacred hadîth) i.e. one in which the Prophet reports what has been revealed to him by God, though not necessarily His actual words. A hadîth qudsî is in no way regarded as part of the Holy Qur'ân. This book is Futur al-Jawhar which was written in 1290/1324, only three months after al-Shawkâni had written the previous work, Qutr al-Wâli. The author gives us the precise date and they were bound in one volume. The British Library copy of Futur al-Jawhar was copied in the following year by al-Shawkâni's disciple, Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Sâtibî (d. 1255/1339), who was greatly involved in copying hadîth, and partly by al-Shawkâni's son, Ahmad. However this long and important hadîth reported on the authority of Abû Dharr al-Shifârī begins as follows:

(27) Al-Tâjî's Al-Kabîr's Library, no. 365, Hadîth.
(28) Or 3997. Cf. al-Qâ`im, Masâlih, 231-2.
(30) For his biography, see vol. IV, 546 below.
"My servants, I have forbidden oppression for myself and have made it forbidden among you, so do not oppress one another..." (31)

Al-Shawkaṇī makes the same remark here as in Qutr al-Walī, namely that he observes that al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277) explains this hadīth in only half a page and that there is no-one of the ulama who tries to give this hadīth an interpretation which is worthy of its remarkable importance. (33) It is clear that al-Shawkaṇī did not know that Taqī 'd-Dīn Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 728/1328) had composed a treatise (risālah) on this hadīth. (34) In fact al-Shawkaṇī's hadīth al-jawhar is more important and far-reaching in both depth of knowledge and originality of ideas. It is also a different treatment of the subject and is three or four times longer than that of Ibn Taymiyyah.

(31) Muslim, Sahīh, "Sāb tahrīm al-sulm", II, 2, 194; Ahmad, Munṣūr, V, 190.
(32) C2. al-Nawawī, Sharḥ Muslim, XVI, 131-4.
(33) Al-Shawkaṇī, Hadīth al-Jawhar, 1.
(34) Ibn Taymiyyah, al-Raqa'ī il al-Munāfiqīn, III, 205-46.
(35) A. edition of the hadīth in its preparation and it will include a comparison between Shawkānī's and Ibn Taymiyyah's treatises.
CHAPTER NINE

Al-Shawkānī as a Qurānic commentator (mufassir)
1. **Al-Shawkānī as a Qur'anic commentator (mufassir)**

The major modern pioneer study in the field of Qur'anic commentary (tafsīr) is that of the late Muhammad Husayn al-Dhahabī (1) who was assassinated by extremist Muslims in Cairo in the summer of 1393/1973. Al-Dhahabī wrote a chapter on the Zaydis and their attitude to tafsīr. The problem which he faced was that there were no Yemeni sources in this field available to him and only two commentaries were known, one of which was *Fath al-Qadīr* by al-Shawkānī which had already been published in Cairo in 1349/1930. It happened that the Yemeni delegation to the first meeting of the Arab League arrived in Cairo in 1945. Among the delegation

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(1) His study is *al-Tafsīr wa-l-mufassirūn*.
(2) *Al-Dhahabī*, II, 229-93.
was "an eminent figure", Qādi Muhammad b. ǦAbdullāh al-ǦAmrī (3) whom al-Dhahabī met and consulted. Drawing on Qādi Muhammad's knowledge, he wrote his chapter on Zaydi taḥsīr adding his own remarks on al-Shawkānī's Fath al-Qādir.

Thirty-eight years after al-Dhahabī's study, nothing further, unfortunately, has been done and we still face the same problem of a lack of anything on the subject to this day. So it will be useful to return to clarify this point and to give some background in brief before reviewing al-Shawkānī's important work.

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(3) He is the brother of the present writer. He died in a tragic air accident near Moscow in the summer of 1380/1960, together with the Yemeni historian Qādi Muhammad al-Ǧahāri and the rest of a Yemeni delegation on their way to Moscow and Peking. The description of Qādi Muhammad is al-Dhahabī's.

(4) We have recently heard that a Saudi student, Muhammad al-Thumārī is writing a study on al-Shawkānī as a mażīrah in the University of Ḥaram al-Ğamāl, Mecca. It is hoped that this study will prove useful.
2. The Yemeni commentators before al-Shawkānī

Without taking into account the early Yemeni commentaries, such as that of Wahb b. Hunabbih (d. 114/732) or ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Saffārī (d. 211/827), and those of the Zaydi imams up to the time of scholar-imam ʿAbdullāh b. Hanẓah (d. 614/1217), who has a tafsīr mentioned by al-Shawkānī and the philologist and scholar-emir Ḥāshwān b. ʿAḍī al-Himyarī (d. 572/1173), who has a tafsīr called Ḥāshwān fī tafsīr al-Qurʾān, ʿAbī ʿl-ʿajīb (d. 656/1258), the disciple of the famous Māturīdite qādī, Jaʿfar b. ʿAbī Thalāṣa, composed Ḥāshwān fī 'l-naṣīkh wa-'l-mansūkh fī 'l-Qurʾān, and also his contemporary, ʿAlī al-Sanāʿī al-Shubānī (d. 655/1257) wrote Ḥāshwān al-qawān in four volumes. Among the commentaries of this era there is also Ḥāshwān fī 'l-tafsīr by ʿAtiyyah al-Ṭayyib.

(5) See Zuqūq, CAV, I.
(6) Al-Thawrātī, Ḥāshfī, al-Qanūnī, Tarāqī, 151-2.
(7) Brockelmann, CA II, 308, 2, 7, 587-8; al-Thawrātī, Ḥāshfī, Tarāqī, 17; al-Qanūnī, Naqīḥī, 21.
(8) Al-Mukhtārī, Nāṣīḥī, 17.
(9) al-Ṭayyib, Usūl, 17.
b. Muhammad al-Majrāḥī al-Sadī (d. 559/1167), a renowned Zaydi scholar.

In the eighth/ninth century at least four competent Yemeni Zaydi scholars wrote useful and important commentaries, the originals or good copies of which can be found in al-Jāmi′ al-Kabīr Library in Jānā, and the Ambrosiana in Naples. They were: al-Adqan (d. about 732/1331), al-Haṣan al-Wahhābī (d. 721/1320), al-Mufliḥ b. Mufliḥ (d. c. 723/1321), and Abū Bakr al-Khaḍḏād (d. 800/1397), the latter a Manṣūri from Zabīl, whose tafsīr, al-Shawkānī says, became famous among the people of his time.

The acceptance and the influence of the Kāshāf of al-Zamakhsharī (d. 623/1025) who had strong Mu'tazilite leanings, is clear and important in the majority, if not all, of the Yemeni commentaries down to al-Shawkānī. The latter does not always agree with him because of his

(10) Al-Shawkānī, Kāshāf, 27; al-Muваthīh, Nafālīn, 17.
(11) Al-Kabīrī, 20-1.
(12) Sabrān, Nafālīn, I, 229; al-Shawkānī, II, 223; erroneously gives his name as al-Adqan!
(14) Al-Muваthīh, Nafālīn, 20-1.
(15) Al-TaКī, al-Bahr, I, 186.
Mustazilite ideas.

Among those who explain or abridge the Kashshāf are

Abdūllāh b. al-‘Ādāmī (d. 210/1402), Alī b. Abī ’l-Qāsim
(d. 237/1433) who has besides his abridgement of the Kashshāf,
al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr in eight volumes. His great disciple,
Muhammad b. ʿAbdullāh al-Wazīr (d. 340/1436), who was not in
the end on good terms with his shaykh, also has a
Tafsīr. Bahrān al-Masʿūdī (d. 257/1559) has attempted a
joint commentary of the Kashshāf of al-Zamakhsharī and the
Tafsīr of Ibn Kathīr (d. 724/1323) in his al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr,
in addition to another Ḥadīth on the Kashshāf.

Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Thalāṭī (d. 332/1433), the famous
author of al-Thamarāt al-Yāmīnah shows great admiration for
al-Zamakhsharī in his three volumes which have been reviewed
by al-Ṭabāhī. Indeed this Tafsīr concerns only the
verses on legal regulations (āyāt al-ahkām).

(17) Al-Thawrī, al-Balāzī, I, 185.
(19) Ibid., I, 485.
(21) Ibid., II, 24; al-Ṭabāhī, Manāẓir, 223.
and the eminent Yemeni scholar who wrote commentaries on the Kashaṣṣaf are Tahir al-Shāfiʿī (d. 1062/1652), (22) al-Shāfiʿī al-Isfahānī (d. 1099/1689), (23) al-Qaṣbālī (d. 1108/1696) with his excellent critique, al-Ithāf li-talḥat al-Kashaṣṣaf.

Hāmid b. Ḥasan Shākir (d. 1173/1760) who was not at odds with Ibn al-Amīr, wrote a hāshiyah on the Kashaṣṣaf.

When Ibn al-Amīr heard this, he said that there is a hāshiyah of al-Saʿd ("good fortune" but referring to Tāḥṣāṣānī), but this particular hāshiyah would best be named al-Shāhī (a Yemeni word, the opposite of Saʿd, meaning "ill-fortune")! Ibn al-Amīr himself wrote Kasaṣṣaf al-ridwān (24) and another work on taḥṣāṣ not on the Kashaṣṣaf.

(22) Al-Hibshi, Masādir, 27.
(23) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 191–4; al-ʿAmīr, Masādir, 224; al-Hibshi, Masādir, 27.
(25) Al-Shawkānī, al-Badr, I, 189; Zabārah, Nashr, I, 419; al-ʿAmīr, Masādir, 298.
(26) Broekelmann, CAS, 8, 11, 582; al-Hibshi, Masādir, 30; al-ʿAmīr, Masādir, 295–9.
Another commentary on the Ḥarābīf was that of the Ǧālih, (27) Ahmad b. Ǧālih b. Abī 'l-Ṭūjāl, the grandson (d. 1191/1777).

Although the Amār al-taṣāfīl of Baysāfī (d. 691/1292) has met with popularity in the Yemen, as elsewhere, especially among those who lean towards the Sunnah, there are few studies on it, if any at all. Ǧālih al-Dīn al-Kawkabānī (d. 1191/1777) summarized the two commentaries of al-Zamakhsharī and al-Baysāfī in his Surār al-aṣāfīr. (28)

However there are dozens of treatises by individuals on certain chapters or verses of the Qurʾān throughout the history of taṣāfīr in the Yemen which are completely ignored here in order to keep the discussion brief, as well as many other important marginal works. (29)

By al-Shawkānī's time the science of Quranic interpretation and the literature of taṣāfīr had come to a zenith within the general field of Quranic studies and writings.

Among the many close friends and contemporaries of al-Shawkānī who wrote a taṣāfīr are his shaykh, Abī al-ṣādir

(27) Zāhirah, Taḥrīr, I, 133.
(28) Zāhirah, Taḥrīr al-Bayrānī, II, 166.
(29) A list of these is readily available in al-Ḫibbānī, Taḥdīr, 16-21.
Ahmad b. Qâ'ida al-Mâjid, (d. 1222/1807) the son of al-Shakhshâkh b. Muhammad, wrote his voluminous commentary, Thâyîr al-râ`înân fi tafsîr al-Qur`ân in three volumes.

Finally, Jahhâf (d. 1243/1828) the historian, wrote a commentary entitled al-`Ilm al-jadîd fi '1-tafsîr ("the new science concerning tafsîr"), so far undiscovered, which causes al-Shâijî to doubt the author's mental health!

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(31) Al-Shakhshâkh, al-Badr, I, 420-2; Jahhâf, 82-93; al-Nâbi, Khâlid, 21.
(32) Zahârah, Nayl, I, 124; al-Nâbi, Khâlid, 31, who mentions that a copy of it is in al-Jâmi` al-Jâbir Library, Tafsîr no. 58.
(33) Al-Shâijî, Tafsîr, 124b.
2. The Ṭabīb al-Dīrī of al-Qādiī

Al-Qādiī wrote a number of works on the
with the help of diverse and extensive knowledge of the
school of Ṭabārī, which he himself
laboured on for six and a half
(1222-2/1608-14). In addition to al-Durr
and the Ṭabārī of al-Qādiī (911/1505) which he admired
al-Qādiī disagreed and which he strongly criticized, he
used many books as his sources, none of which he himself
mentions at the very beginning. Among them are:

1. Ibn Jarir al-Ṭabari
2. Abū Jaʿfar al-Yahhāni
3. Ibn Cātiyyah al-Dimashqī
4. Abū Ināq al-Thabībī
5. Abū ʿAlī al-Wahidi
6. Al-Makīn al-Jashani
7. Ibn Cātiyyah al-Muhārībī
8. Zakhr al-Dīn al-Ṣāfī
9. Abū CAbdullāh al-Qurtūbī
10. Arūn al-Dīn al-Ṭayfūrī
11. Abū Nasr al-Andalūsī
12. Ibn Kathīr

(34) Pīth al-Qādiī, v, 524.
(36) He uses them throughout his path, see also his Ṭabārī
al-Qādiī, 10, 32-7.
The importance and value of the Tahlīl also lay in the
liturgical material which al-Ṭabarī recounts with
his apologia and arguments. In addition to liturgical
material, he shows clearly his employment of and borrowing
from such media sources on the subject as Maqāl al-Qur'ān
of al-Zajjāj (d. 301/913), al-Janbharah of Ibn Durayd (d. 321/
933), Tahābīn al-Lubabah of al-Azhari (d. 371/980) and the
Tibāh of al-Janbharah (d. 393/1002) and so on.

Al-Thahabī, already an accomplished muhaddith with his
major hadith work Futūh al-Azhār completed, turned all his
expertise and knowledge thus gained to tafsīr. It is
irrevocable that on occasion he accepts weak or fabricated
hadith and traditions. This is indeed a fault which
should be raised as a criticism against him, as al-Thahabī
well realizes.

(37) Cf. for example, Fath, his commentary on verses 55,
47 of "Gurmat al-Fa'i'ah", II, 40-61; II, 215 "al-Iṣār";
IV, 257 his introduction to "al-Azhāb"; V, 21,
"al-Abghār".

(38) Al-Thahabī, al-Tafsīr, II, 288.
However, al-Shawkānī follows his own peculiar method which he elaborates in his introduction. This method is a combination of "proven" (al-muqallid) and "understanding" (al-muqallid). By this al-Shawkānī gives himself a free hand to accept or reject many things which can be found unquestioned in other commentaries.

Here, in Fath al-Qadīr also, al-Shawkānī does not abandon his cause against the "imitators" (muqallidūn). (39)

In at least ten commentaries he argues against those who imitate their predecessors in their practice without understanding what they are doing. The answer of all the muqallidūn was to quote what the Qur'ān says of them:

"When they do aught that is shameful, they say: 'We found our fathers doing so and God commanded us thus'. Say: 'Nay, God never commands what is shameful: Do ye say of God what ye know not?"" (40)


Al-Shawkānī is sometimes successful in his argument, but at other times not, either because of the exaggeration he employs, or because his terminology is not appropriate for the comments he is making.

It is worthy of mention that his treatment of some important and controversial issues, such as that of the uncreated and eternal character of the Qurʾān (khalq al-Qurʾān) is excellent and successful. He comes to the conclusion that Muslim accusing one another is wrong in itself, the matter should be left and the answer lies only with God.

However, Fath al-Dārī became well-known throughout the Arab and Islamic world, as well as his Nāyī al-Awār and Ibrāhīm al-Fuhūl. Moreover, he also has ten, or probably more, treatises on some verses or their particular meaning in the Qurʾān. Among the unpublished tafsīr treatises is that which deals with the argument of those suggesting

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(42) Some of these treatises were published by Ibrāhīm Hilāl, along with others, entitled Khāliq al-Thaqāfah, Cairo, 1936 (1976), 2 vols. Fath, 14 vols., 31-37.
that Hell is mortal. He has arid views on this point which depend on three verses from the Qur'ān. This particular treatise is indeed worthy of publication and we hope to publish it, along with others, before long.

(187) Al-Maṣūfī, Ḥusayn al-ṣāliḥīn, al-Ṭāhir al-Khayrī
Library, P. 320.)
Al-Shaukānī as biographer, historian, and poet

وقال رحمه الله في مدح صنعاء وقد غاب عنها مدة سنة:

1. سلام على صنعاء وإن قرب الغماد، ألم ترى في الدنيا ها العلم الفرقة، أيا حديثاً لمباشراً فتمن خلق سوحها، يلاحظه في ذهور النين والبنصة.

2. أرجو أن تكون هذه النصوص مصدقاً والمصدقة

Al-Shaukānī, Divān.
1. Al-Thawārī as biographer/historian

By collecting his six hundred and ten biographies in his important work al-Badr al-Sāḥī bi-maḥāsin man badd al-
aqrān al-Sāḥī, al-Thawārī adds to his other disciplines that of historian/biographer. His work is indeed a contribution to Arabic biographical literature in general and this, as is well-known, is of immense richness throughout all the stages of the literature.

Al-Thawārī, as mentioned above, said that his purpose in writing his biographies was to prove that there are many eminent scholars and mujtahids after the seventh/thirteenth century down to his own time, none of whom has closed the door of ājihād. The idea led him to be involved in writing history, since he was aware of the meaning of

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(1) The Yemeni historian, Zabārah, published the book in Cairo in 1349 (1929), with his own useful supplement of 441 biographies.

(2) cf. above p. 247-9.
history and, as he says in his introduction, elegant style and *raj* are not the language of historiography and criticises those late historians for doing so, neglecting the essential task of explaining situations and giving no specific dates of birth and death and so on. This elegance of language is, al-Shawkānī adds, "not a part of the science of history..." (3)

However, although al-Shawkānī maintains a strict balance between native Yemenis and others, Arabs and non-Arabs, the Yemeni biographies are indeed vivid and detailed and the most important. Especially important are those of his contemporaries, the events, thought, education, the struggle between parties and the ideas which form the basis of his book. He writes with warmth of the private and friendly relationship between himself and many eminent and intellectual friends.

Al-Shawkānī in general mentions his sources and is always honest in his quotations. He writes about the biographers themselves as a part of his book. He shows a critical vision of their writings and their attitudes.

(3) Al-Bady, I, 3.
(4) 308 Yemenis, as opposed to 302 non-Yemenis.
The biography of al-Bayhūlā (d. 911/1505) might here be mentioned as an excellent example of al-Shawkānī's criticism of other biographies of al-Bayhūlā. He shows how prejudiced al-Sakhrī (d. 902/1496), the contemporary and   adversary of al-Bayhūlā, was in his book al-Daw' al-Ṭāmī." Al-Shawkānī depends on both the Egyptian scholars, in addition to Ibn Majār (d. 959/1452), al-Shahābī (d. 743/1342), al-Ammari (d. 772/1362), al-Zahārī (d. 784/1383), Ibn Sājah (d. 795/1393) and many others.

Another example of al-Shawkānī's criticism is that directed against the judgment of the Yemeni biographer, al-Haymī (d. 1151/1739), in his biography of Yūsuf al-Kawkabānī (d. 1115/1703) of whose poems al-Haymī doubts the originality. Al-Shawkānī is wiser and more

(6) Ibid., al-Badr.
(7) Ibid., I, 292-3.
(8) Ibid., I, 292-3.
(10) Ibid., I, 322.
(11) Ibid., I, 192-4; cf. his biography of Yūsuf al-Kawkabānī, al-Badr, II, 132.
broad-minded in his criticism of the author of *Yanat al-
ma'am*, Yusuf b. Yahya (d. 1121/1709), not only because of the latter's accusing his contemporaries of possessing every short-coming, but also because of his extremist Imamī attitude, and his neglecting many eminent opponents of his own beliefs. This, al-Shawkānī says, is not a historical method of writing about others. More than that, al-Shawkānī continues, there is the confusion of the author in his alphabetical arrangement of the book.

Among al-Shawkānī's many Yemeni opponents were al-Shawwafī (d. 312/925), Ibn al-Dayha (d. 306/917), Ibn Abī 'l-Rajāl (d. 1029/1620), Ǧārī b. Ali Ṭalhā (d. 1042/1633), al-Jumūdī (d. 1077/1667), the scholars of Îl al-Dājr, Yahyā b. al-Husayn (d. 1100/1690) and many others. Al-Shawkānī points out that he found no complete biography and definite dates of the birth and death of the last great historian. He suggests that Yahyā b. al-Husayn is neglected by other writers because of the objectivity and frankness he shows in his numerous works.

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(13) *Al-Dail* II, 372-3.
(14) *Al-Dail* II, 373-4.
(15) *Al-Dail* II, 373-4.
Al-Thawrānī’s reluctance to show injustice and his support for the mujtahidūn and their ideas is clear in scores of his biographies, such as that of Ibn Yammānī, e.g. Ibn Taymiyyah (d. 723/1323) and al-Suyūtī. The same can be said in connection with the great Yemeni scholars and what they had suffered or faced either from rulers or their narrow-minded opponents. Ibn al-Wazīr, al-Maqbālī and al-Jalālī all met opposition and al-Thawrānī approves of their views and is in sympathy with them in their long biographies.

The case of Ibn al-Amīr, who was imprisoned in 1166/1752 by order of Imam al-Mahdī al-Mābūsī is one of the unhappy incidents which occurred as a result of the reaction of "zealous bipots and rabble", in the words of al-Thawrānī. He writes of that incident in Ibn al-Amīr’s biography, namely that he saw him in a dream in 1206/1791 and in this dream Ibn al-Amīr, on horseback, dismounted and embraced al-Thawrānī, weeping loudly. Then al-Thawrānī later asked a certain interpreter of dreams what the meaning of his dream was; the interpreter answered:

(16) Al-Thawrānī, i, 43–77.
(17) Al-Thawrānī, ii, 117.
"That happened to him is ordained to happen to you!" After that event, al-Thawrāt continued, many stories and predictions that "happened" to him and only Allah saved him from their evil. This indeed illustrates al-Thawrāt's style and presentation - all this in a fine and simple language.

Al-Thawrāt states at the end of al-Dair that he collected his biographies in 1213/1802 in about four months. However, he adds many events and dates after that year till nearly the end of the following decade. This important book is invaluable and has been widely consulted and used throughout this study. It is indeed indispensable in any research which involves any personality whose biography can be found within its pages.

(19) Al-Dair, II, 177.
(20) Al-Dair, II, 372.
2. Al-Shawārāfi as a poet

When the Dīwān of al-Shawārāfi was published last year, it astonished those who knew al-Shawārāfi as a qāfīh and a
mufassir or those who thought that he was typical of the
fugkhā. Also others, who have read none of his poems in
al-Badr al-Tāli', did not think that his poems could possibly
form a dīwān. However, al-Shawārāfi composed more than 2,500
lines in scores of long and short poems. His poems cover
all the recommended subjects of the Arab poet: sūqat al-
(qadh), dawār (da'm), hadd (fard), mittān (jann)
and politics. Education and morals are included, but not
love poetry and no ḥarajī verse, which nevertheless
flourished during his time. However, al-Shawārāfi from the
very beginning refused to regard himself as a professional
poet. He wondered how he could spend his time on poetry,
when he had occupied his early childhood and youth seeking
the different branches of knowledge day and night. Then he

(29) Ṭūb, al-Shawārāfi, al-Dīwān, 2, al-Qāhirah, 1933.
was involved in teaching, iftā', writing treatises and
books and finally he found himself with an extremely
demanding position, that of ǧādī 'l-qādīh. (21) Al-Ṭaṭārāni
is here trying to explain and emphasize that talent in not
enough in writing verse without being able to immerse one-
self in it. He is correct, but also he shows great modesty
in saying this, since one of his poems might well be
compared in excellence with outstanding contemporaries. He
uses poetry sometimes as a political manifestation to
explain his views or attitudes, as is pointed out above.

A full and detailed appreciation of his poetry is given in
our introduction to his Ḍīwān. (23) The latter is indeed
an excellent mirror of contemporary Yemeni society and a
tree landmark in Yemeni literature.

(21) Al-Ṭaṭārāni, Ḍīwān, 49.
(22) 22, p. 17, 205.
(23) 22, p. 226 and passim in the footnotes of the text.
APPENDIX I

The decree of Imam al-Mansur Ali to his provincial officials concerning taxation, 1222 / 1807.

المرسوم المنصوري في رفع المظالم، والمساواة في الحقوق والواجبات بين أبناء الدين

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

والصلاة والسلام على رسوله الأمين وله الطاهرين

(الحمد لله)

هذا مارجعه النور الشريف وجزم به رأيه تعالى

المشفي، وهو العدل الذي قامت به الحوافين والأرض، والشرع الذي أمر الله به عباده في بلاده

بطولها وعرض.

محمد بن علي الشوكي (1)

طلىَّوَناَّ عَنْ عَالِيٍّ، وَنَطِيَّوَتِهِ نِورٌ قَضِيلٌ، وَهُوَ رُجُبٌ بِهِ، طَابُ عِزَّكَ، وَطَارَ فِي الأَقْطَارِ ذِكْرُكَ، فَانْتَلَّ اِلْجِرَاحُ خَلْفَهُ، أَيْدِيِ اِلْإِمَامَةِ عَلَى الْبِلَادِ، وَمِنْ مِنْطَفَر

أَمَانَ نَشْرُهَا أَكْثَرُ الْرَّعَايَةَ عَلَى (الْحَاجَاَرِ) (2)، والبَلاذِرِ. وَمِنْ مَوارِدٍ كَثِيرٍ فَحَلَّتْ

لِلْشَّارِيْبِ، وَمِنْ شَرْائِبِ حُقِّ كَرَعَتِ مِنْ مَعِينِهَا أَفْوَادِ الْمَساَئِلِ أَجْمِيعِ، وَمِنْ حَقَائِبِ بَرُقَتَ قَامَت

(1) أَعْلَامِهِ اِلْإِمَامَانِ عِلْمُهُ عَلَى وَرَوْعَةِ مَطْلُوبِيٍّ: هَذَا مَارْجِعُهُ نُورُ الْشَّريفِ أَعْلَامِهِ عِلْمُهُ، حَسَبَ رَفَعُهُ

(2) لَادِيْلِ (الْحَاجَاَرِ)
هب لعهد أسواقها، وصارت عدكم لっぱ الطاقة، وأطروحة التوزيع إثراء، وثروة
أكد الباطل إكراماً؛ وماذاك إلا أن مولانا إمام الزمن، وأنهير المرأة من «بني الحسن»،
وذكرت العطرة في قطر الين، أمام المؤمنين، النصبو، خلق الله عزه عليه صفحات
الدهور: رجع نظرة الشريف، المريد بالفلاح والنجاح، وخز رأيه العظيم المؤسس
أين شاه الله على الهم والصلاح: أن جميع طاعة في جميع الأقطار، وكل من شملته دولته
المباركة في الأنداد والأزور ليس عليهم من اللطلب إلا ما آتيته الشرع في جميع
ما يكون قد كنناها ما كان، ما فيه حق الله عز وجل، لا يعيبون غير ذلك، فإن طلب تفيراً
أو فتاً زائدًا على ما أوجب الله تعالى، فلا طاعة له، وعلى المسلمين أن يأخذوا على يده،
ويتبوا أمرهم إلى القاضي في الجهة، وعلى القاضي أن يتبع ذلك إلى (الحضرة») الإيمانية
حتى ينال من العقوبة ما ينجر به من رحم أن يفعل كفعله. وإذا دام القاضي طالماً أو
حابي رجلاً، رام غير مأرضاً الله فقد استحق أن يعزل عن هذه الوظيفة الدينية، فليس
يمتحن لها. ولا أمانون عليها.
فليفرح زوج المرأة، وينبجج صدوره، ونجيهم تلوينهم: فلا خطاب عليهم
«جبيلة» ولا «قائلاً»، ولا «سيلا»، ولا «زُروة»، ولا «دَفعة»، ولا «ييري
محري»! هذه الأمور الحادة التي لم يأذن الله بها، بل بأخذ العالم عليهم ما أوجب الله عز
وجل من كل شيء، يعني كما ورد فيه الشرع الشريف، ومن راع عن شيء من ذلك فقد
استحق ألقاً العقوبة، وأعظم المكافأة. وهكذا من عمل معاملة مختلفه على نوع من
أنواع الزواج، فالله خالق ذي الجلال، ومنقوته واجبة على كل مسلم.
وعلى الجاهل أن يتعلم وعلي العالم أن يتعلم، فليفعل حكام الجهات على مارحه إسلامًا

(1) يعني به الحسن بن الإمام الشافعي بن أحمد بن محمد (769-1280 هـ) وهو الجهد السابع العيسويه.
(2) ما بين لأنه يعلم أن مولانا إمام الزمن، وأنهير المرأة من بني الحسن،
(3) لن يكون تعتبر بل كان قد طارت قلبي على يد أمير دومه. ثم الأمور تحاول بالسجود، والذكاء، والذكاء.
(4) كانت في عصر أُمُر أنواع من
النحو، وصحيح من النبرة للدولة.
(5) في الإسلام: لما.
وأمر بإبقائه وسمعنا منه كما يقتضيه تعميده الشريف أعلى هذا، وعلى كل حاكم أن يقرأ هذا
على رعة الفطر الذي هو فيه، والجمعهم، وينقل لأهل كل قري صورة يخطه وعلامات
ليبقى بذلك. وبعدها يدفعون به ظالم كل ظالم، وجوّر كل جحاير، فهذه سنة عدل واضحة
المدار، وذخبر الخير باقية في جميع الأعصار قد أظهر الله سبحانه إمامنا محمدًا، وساعده في
الدارين بأجرها، واستحق به إن شاء الله ما ورد عن جده الصطفى ﷺ من الأجر العظيم
والخير العام ل الإمام العادل والسلطان الفاضل.
وعلى كل حاكم من حكام الجهات أن يبعث من لديه رجالاً أمناء عارفين، يُعلّمون
الناس معاملتهم، وما يجب عليهم لله عزّ وجلّ من صلاة، وصيام، وحج، وتهيئته على
الوجه الطيب لله تعالى عزّ وجلّ. فمن هذه سنة حسننا كان له أجرها، وعلى من غيره
وزرها،
فأخبر الله الذي أحببا بإمامنا معامل الشرع الشريف وأقام به سن العدل المنين،
المقدّس عن التغيير والتبديل والتحريف، وألحه بأنه العدل من أئمة الكرم، وجعله بين
خير هذه الدار ودار السلام.

(1)
APPENDIX II

Abstract from Durar Nuhur al- Hûr al-‘in of dhâhâf, a biography of al-Šawkânî

ترجمة الإمام الشوكاني

( نسيلة من ذُرْرْ تُحَور الحُور العين لِبِحَاف)\(^{(6)}\)

وفيها [1269 هـ / 1796 م] نصب الإمام لفصل الأحكام في الجزء الثاني من شرح، والتمول الجهيد الجماعة حتى في المناقشات في اللغة: "وكان إذا ذكر ندرمو بالجامع المذهب ومعلمة: في كثير من المشروعي، ومولدها صادقة نار الآمنين ثامن وعشرين شهر التسعين ١٧٣ هـ (٥ / 1٥٠ م) ولما بلغ الحافظ الجماهير، جار الله..."
إبراهيم بن عثمان الأتام (1) ، نصب المنزل له للقضاء، وهو مكة قال: "و أنا لاندري أمر أريد.

قال مظهر بن الحسن الحرمي الصوفي ، المعرف بأبي الطحايط (2) في ذلك قصيدة

منها: (238) ، وعملا بعضا قدره وجهها إلى الإمام، وأملاها على الحاكم والعام، بكل

مقام.

نظم الإمام شرعة الدبوق

بالخلاء العامة المُؤكَّة

فكانا هو في الزمان مضادة، والقرآن

قال: هو كما قال، وأخذ الزمان في الأعيان والأعمال أخذ في الفروع عن أحمد بن

عمرو الجذلاني (1)، وعن القاضي أحمد بن محمد الجازى، وأخذ في الآت عن شيخنا فخر

القاضي والداة، القاسم بن بخي الكولاني، وعن عبد الله بن الحسن بن علي الأبيض، وعن

شيخ الأعلام الحسن بن إسماعيل المغربي في شرح مطول و"العضد" و"الكشاف"

و"البدار الثانى" وغيرها، وعن شيخنا الأساتذة الجهيد، المجتهد، الإمام الرحلة، المحدث

على بن إبراهيم بن عامر، وجمع عليه صحيح أبي عبد الله البخاري، وعن الإمام أهل المقول

والنقل عبد القادر بن أحمد بن عبد القادر في الأصولين وأحدثه وهبه صار يقام، وقام

بالتدريس في الآت، وشدد له بالله أهل زمانه...

وبلغت به المعرف إلى أن أجل له كل طلب للعلم عرف، فصار رأيًا في الاتفاق

وعينا يسعليها التغلب، ، نقلًا ، أو ماتمه الآمنة، عالياً هائلاً في الحاصل، أخبارًا

فبها يعرف الجهة، شاعراً، نادأ...

وعنه خلق لا خصوص ، منهم مولى هذا الدفء، ، نهر الله تعالى له، في النحو

الصرف، والمقوى والبيان، وأصول الفقه الحديث.
وعنهم: محمد بن أحمد السوادي، محمد بن أحمد بن عبد شمس، وأحمد بن علي بن
حسين بن المتوكل، محمد بن عبد الله بن هاشم (الثاني)، وحسن بن إسحاق السيدناء، وعبد
الرحمن بن أحمد البهلكي، وأحمد بن عبد الله الصدوي، وعلي بن أحمد هاجر، وإبراهيم بن
محمد بن يحيى، وعبد الله بن حسن البصري، وأحمد بن لطف الله جحاف، وإسحاق بن
إبراهيم بن حسن، وأحمد بن حسن النوران، وحسن بن محمد العظمي، ومحمد بن علي
العمري، وحاذري بن حسن الفارتي، وحسن بن عبد الكريم بن أحمد بن عبد إنبي،
وحيى بن محمد الجبوري، وحيى بن مهير بن إسحاق، وحيى بن علي الشوكاني، وأحمد بن
يوسف الربيعي القاضي، وولد (1)، وغير هؤلاء من ذكرناه في كتابنا: عبادات بتراجم
الصحاب.

مأرأت أنشئ منه في التدريس، يصل ليله بنهره في الإفادة، وله مصناط تدلك
على قوة الساءد وعنة الأطلال، لا يدعي القول المجاز من حجة توضح الهجة، ررق الشعاعة
في تناسبه مع القضاء، وكاد الإجعاب يقوم على حسنها، وتناولها من بلوذ به، وذكرها في
دروهم.

ألقى: المنتمي (1) شرحًا فجاه في ست عشرة مناكية ورقجه، ساءه، نيل الأطرار
شرح منتقى الأخبار.
وله حاشية (2) على: "شفاء الأمر المسلمين" في نحو ثلاثمائة ورقه، سلك فيها طريقة
الجلال في الإنصاف.

(1) الأصل. والدعا. زلفا فل، والصحيح مأني وبناء، وهم: إبراهيم بن أحمد، وهو الأكبر، وكان فاضلاً و عملاً
رفاعة، والثاني: حسن بن أحمد بن يوسف الربيعي، كلاهما تَلَّى على الإمام الشوكي، وكان الشافعي من أمه
نامذج، وأدرك قراءة له. له: نهج العدل عام حكم دينه الناقص، طبع في جزئين، وله توفي بعد أخيه
إبراهيم في سنة 1372 هـ/ 1954 م.
(2) منتقى الأخبار: له نسخة (تم تأريخ (25/ 273 م)، مطبوع مجهز، وكذلك شرحة نيل الأطرار: منه عدة
طبعات.
(3) هي: يدل العام على شفاء: لأول مرة: صدر، بين المذهب سنة 1223 هـ في مكتبة الجامع الكبير
والعلال: هو العلامة المعروف الحسن بن أحمد الخالد (1013 هـ - 1081 هـ/ 1603 م - 1663 م) صاحب ضوء
البهار وغيره.
وله » البدر الطالب بحاسن من بعد القرن السابع » كل به » وفتيات الأعيان 
للفقيه أحمد بن خلكان .

وله كتاب » الدراي » متنا وشرحًا في الفقه » وضعه على متقي الدليل » وجرده عن أباطيل الأفويل .

وله » نذوق لطيف » في علم الاشتقاق » ولم تقف على شيء في هذا الشأن .

وله كتاب في » الموضوعات (1) جمع فيه » موضوعات ابن جوزي وغيرهما ، فجاء مفيدا.

وله تفسير (1) » هو في تحرير أيام تبرييرنا لهذه الورقات .

وله رسائل ومسائل تحملها جملات كثيرة (2).

وله رغبة وحبة في العلم وفقهه » بُعِد الطالب وبرَعَه في سلوك جدارة الاجتهاد.

والعمل ما جاء عن سيد العباد صلى الله عليه وسلم (1) تلألأت الألوان والألوان .

ويبن أن ينشله وبلاغاته » وذاكرته في المدالة » فقال مامعاه : » هي محافظة 
دينية تحمل صاحبها على ملاءمة النقوى والروحه » وترك الرذائل »

فقلت له : ماترك الرذائل ؟

قال (21) : » ماكان عند الناس متنا ».

قلت : الامتنان كان لعاد الرحمن » والمتنون وأهل الرذائل » أتباع الأنبهة عليهم السلام » قال الله تعالى عن قوم تفوه » أنؤمن لك لاتبعك الأرذلون » (3) » وقال :
» أنتمملا إلا الذين لم أروا إذا (4) » وفي بعض التفسير » أنهم الخاكون .

فأجاب ذلك على مارس به » ابن الحاجب » في » عصر المناهث ».

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(1) تفسير موضوع كتابة فنف الجبر.
(2) تفسير موضوع كتابة فنف الجبر.
(3) نمو تشكيلاً ما ينفر منه حضر هذا ورحمة.
(4) تصوير »، كالأيام 27.
(5) دم: آية 143.
ائم البัย وربما يشعر بهما الفزع في نفوسهما، فإن ذلك معلوم بـ "الأبي نايف";
وإن كان بعضهم من ترتيب النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم وأنه قال:
"إذا مات فقد تبعه ماتني". وإذا كان هذا في السوورة وأنا وضعت بعض من غاية فما ظنك بالآية والآيات، واسترسل الكلام إلى
القول يوتأت القرآن، وهو يبت طبول الذي تبث فيه نقل الكتاب والسنة.
وفي مذهبه أن يضغف الأذان ويزيد الإقامة، وفي صرح:
النثقي، وهو من يرجع إلى أن الجمع بين الصلاة في حديث جمع النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من غير عذر ولا سبب في جمعه، وينوي: هو البسيط، يقصد الإنسان إلى أن يقارب مصباح
الشيء مثل ويقوم فيه، فقد يصادف خروج الوقت، وقد يتأخر قليلاً، وقد يقدم قليلاً، ويصل عليه الآخر، ويذهب أولئك. والثلث، عن جملة القرآن، استدلالاً، محدث
"أُثرِّوا بِأَدْهُلْ قَرْآنٍ عَنْ أَبِي دَاوُدٍ"، وله. ثم ذهب أخراً إلى إن التوابل على الآمة
 جميعاً، وقال: ما أقوله: "أُثرِّوا بِأَدْهُلْ قَرْآنٍ. لا أقوله بِأَدْهُلْ الكتاب، المارد به أمة
موسى، وهذا المارد به أمة محمد عليه السلام.
وجمعه يضغف حال من لا يضبط أوقاته لأمر ديني أو أمر ديني بالغا، وما

(1) "تفسير القراني". (2) "تفسير البخاري"، (3) "تفسير أبو داود"، (4) "تفسير محمد"، (5) "تفسير الإمام محمد بن حكيم". (6) "تفسير الإمام محمد بن حكيم"، (7) "تفسير الإمام محمد بن حكيم". (8) هو من حديث الإمام علي، ونقل رأي الشوكاني مسقطاً في سبيل أهل السنة والجماعة.
الناس إلا واحدة من هذين، وكثيراً ما ينادي أباه الطغراني هذه(1) :

إذا مالتم تكن منظماً مطعماً
وإن لم ت sokلك المستقبلاً جمعاً
сяياً من تلك وسنك
فإن تطبع من السدء بئي":

وتأيته يتم على المتين والمتصدح، ويقول : ما ينغي الساحب الناء أن يحاد
عليها، ولا ينغي المتصدح أن يحاد عليه، وهذا الكلام لصاحب الناء في مقال.

وله الشعر الجيد الشوك، كتب إليه إلى الحنين بن أحمد البياني(2) بن
حائم السامي(3) سؤالاً، وأتاه عن الروح، ألمكاك هو أم الموطن؟ فقال :

باستي، فلوك الميلاء دام لنا
من نور فيلكما ما يكينن الطغما
(4)
ولا تكره هذا النور أن حنجتا
نور الزواهر يشبع مطرز العيد
إيجاع حقق هذا من يبه حكما
(5) وما علمنا خلافا في فئذ مل
منى وخبرة في الشعر أو نفيا
قالوا : بأن شهادات القلوب إذا
قامت بصداق وحاد صار مذنما
ومأ نهَب امرأ صاحب البياني له
منطعاً، بأنك في السكك قد تطأ
بسببية لتساوي السوء بئيها
(6) وقد تذكرنا تصوراً تصورة
وإذا السوق من قمك المتكمل خل
في اعتراف قياس في الشروعي
ما مكنا صار متنافأ أن منلكا
وقد ترددت في تقريèresه

(1) مؤيد الدين الطغراني في الحنين الطغراني (ت 330 هـ) مصباح النظام مجموع الشعوب.
(2) أبو أحمد بن ملك بن أحمد البياني
(3) حائم بن السامي
(4) مطلب
(5) مطلب
(6) مطلب
(7) مطلب
(8) مطلب
(9) مطلب
لا تقدم بين يديه إلا شكل بأن يكون بحر بالعلوم طبيباً.
وقد أتى بعده فاختبر قريباً
فالفوق بالقوة منفاساً (1) ومعنون
ولا أن تكون بالتنبيك فهو على
ووهجات وواكي ما نكتت
فليس بدي هلا صار ملتزمراً (3)
وعن الك اندول ولا أولئكها العدما
وقد تألف لخانانا على نسيط (5)
وقد ورد علي من جنابه هذه الآيات:

(6)
(7)
(8)
(9)
(10)
(11)
(12)
(13)
(14)
(15)
لا تقل قد قال رَبُّكَ İşte النجات من حكم الشرع. 
كان الرجل إذا مات في المسجد فإن القول نقلت عن رضي الله عنه فاصم رضي الله عنه. 
ولم يَبْنِيَ الإقْوَالَ عَلَيْهِ الرَّحْمَةُ، بل خُضَبُ تَبْعُدٍ من قُضَارِيَةٍ وَهُجَّالَةٍ وَبَلاذِرَةٍ، وَقَسَمَةٌ وَقَسَمَةٌ.

أَيُّهُ الَّذِی زَادَ مَعِنَّا إِنَّ الْحَمْلَ مِنَ الْجَلْدِ فَلَيْنَ أَنَّهُ الْجَلْدُ الرَّمْلُ، 
فَعَلَّی السَّرْطَانُ يَسُوَّدُ الرَّزَقَ وَوَعَاهُ هَذَا الْجَلْدُ.

فَقَالَ لِطَفِلِ اللَّهِ عَفَرُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَی هَذَا:

أَعِنَ التَّنَطُّاسَةَ وَالْقَطْعَةَ، وَالْقَصَّوْلَ وَالْقَضْصَابَةَ، 
وَكَنَّا الأَعْرَاضَ وَالْحَمْلَ وَالْمَشْطَالَ، بَيْنَ خَلْقِي بَيْنَ أَرْضِي وَبَيْنَ سَمْوِي. 
وَلَبَنَيْتُمْ مِنْ نَسَأَةٍ، وَلَمْ تَنْطِبُوا أَقْلِمَةً.

(1) من الأصل: يا خليلي الكذَّابُوا لا بداء السبيل. 
(2) في الأصل: لنفثا سيناء ونصبها ورود والبعد غاه مستقيم. 
(3) في الأصل: ولننس وفِلسِنْ مِنْهَا لَبْدَوْنُ. 
(4) من الأصل: يا خليلي الكذَّابُوا لا بداء السبيل. 
(5) في الأصل: لنفثا سيناء ونصبها ورود والبعد غاه مستقيم.
تَلَقَّـيَّ أَنْـهَـا رَحْـمَـا اللَّـهُ 
مَـمَـمَةً ثَـرِىَ السَّـبُـحَـيَّ مـَـدَـنَـيْـنَـا مـَـمَّـا يَـرابِعُ نـَـا 
إِنـِي مَـنْـهِـمْ ضَيْـيُـهُ 
كَـلَـنا نَـالَـا ظَـلَـا ظَـلَـا 
وَفَـيـَـزُـنُـا فَـيـَـزُـنُـا 
أَقَـلَـحَـا وَكَـلَـحَـا
رَـتَّـبَـا قَـطُـعُ رَـبُّـا
مَـنْ بَـلَـى جَـيْـا مَـلَـيْـلَـا 
سَـدَّـا عَـلَـى النَّـزَـا بـَـظُـنُـلُ 
فَـمَـنِيَّا نَـشَـيْـلَيْـنَـا 
أَوَّـلَـا وَالْـلَّـلَّـهُ ﻓَـيَـرُ 
فَـمَـنِيَّا نَـشَـيْـلَيْـنَـا 
لا قَـصَـلَـيْـنَـا ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
ـمَـنِيَّا نَـشَـيْـلَيْـنَـا 
إِنَّا نَـشَـيْـلَيْـنَـا ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
فَـمَـنِيَّا نَـشَـيْـلَيْـنَـا 
إِنَّا نَـشَـيْـلَيْـنَـا 
وَالْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـنَـا 
وَلَـلْـلَّـهُ ﻓِـي النَّـبِـيِّـ
نعم: لم يبرز الإمام في القضاة من يُريد مثله، أقطعه(1) لذلك البب صدقات وصابة، وجب اللوز، وصدقات الزوّة وسنّة وانوار، وهم: شوّكان وشَّوْبان وغيره هذه ما أقطعه شيئاً واسعاً، ومن صدقة بيت راجح، وأضاف إليه صدقة بيت قبمان، وصدقة بيت الحيّي، ووصية التوهي وتّم، ولم ينتم عليه أحد شيئا إلا ما كان من ركونه على الأمناء، وكانت هذه أن تكون إجماعية.

وفي نعمة وحبّة للاحتفال بالصدور من الناس، محبّاً للمبتعثة الأنيقة، وليس الفاخر من النُقاب مع انسجام طين ورقة، ومجدّ على الأمر المبكر،(2) وعند الإضاف إلى المعين عنة في الأمور الشرعية، وتفصّل أن تكه تكره الصحاب في موقف الحكم، وأنه يدرك منها الميل مع البعيد.

(1) كان الأولى أن يقول: ظنّة بذلك البب على صدقات ... فأنعزال، تبتّط، بل وليس من حقّه! تلك الصدقات أعطاءً حالًا به: بل جعلته تحت إشرافه لوزع في أوجه الخبر المبكره كما أوضح بيس وانوهًا، وعلي في البين وفط مستقل يشرف عليه موظف كبير يعرف ناظر الوصايا، ومسؤوله في الغرب لا علاقة لها بناطر الوزاء العامه (وزير الأوقاف حالياً) وله مقابل ذلك نسبة 100%.
APPENDIX III

Abstract from Nafahāt al-Anbār of Al-Hūthī[1] – another biography of al-Shawkānī

ترجمة أخرى للإمام الشوكياني

( مستندة إلى نفحات السهير للحوذی[2])

اللغة العربية: أبو علي، يار الله، محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن
الحسن بن محمد بن صالح بن إبراهيم بن محمد الشوكياني، وبه ينتهي إلى عهد عباس. يفتح
الجزاء المجمع، وسكون الثمن من تحت وفتح الثمن المجمع، وعدها [51] نون مفتوحة،
وخيشة هو ابن زيد بن قتيبة بن ربيعة بن مهبهة الأصغر، وقية النسب معرفة في كتاب
الأسباب[3]، وهو ينتهي إلى بكيل بن جعفر، ثم إلى حدان بن هود.

وشككان: قرية من قرى السماحية، إحدى قيائل خولان، بينها وبين صنعاء دون

مسافة يوم[4].

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[4] وشككان: قرية من قرى السماحية، إحدى قيائل خولان، بينها وبين صنعاء دون

مسافة يوم.
وصاحب الترجمة هو قاضي قضاة الإسلام، ومفتى المسلمين، ومفيد الأمام، إمام العلم، والمعرف، والنقل، ظلَّ يتارف، المُعرّفة بالتحقيق אחרُه ومؤَّبه، والزاهر بالعلم، فإنَّه وقاومه مُجتمعَ الزمان وواستانَ هذه الروحان، والعلاء الأبعان، جامع خلق العلم، العلية والنيلية، منظفُ مرات الفنون الفرعية من الأصالة، مَحْكُوَّة الفناء ومصباحها، والمثيرِ به سماواته وصحاته، ألف يتأليف شتات الفنون، وصفٌ بصناديقه المُثير المكون، فؤلاء مُعجَّب على حسنها بين عماء الإسلام، وأناضاؤه وأعائه في شناء الأوجود، وفتىَهُ، هي عدة الخصاع، والمُحال، وأقولة في مندرك الخلاص قاطعة للتجار والخصم، وأحكامه، في خلافاته الممطورة أصول الأحكام، جمع بين الرئاسة والدراسة للعلم، والتحقيق لحدودها، والرسوم، والأدب الغني والبلاغة في النثر والنظم، وطول بقاء في إنشاء الرسائل، وحسن الأخلاق والطاعة الشامل، في المُعنى، والعرض الطاهر، وصِحابة النفس، وطيب السرائر، والงาม، والفتحوية، والذكاء، والعلمية، وحفظ السن والآثار، والتواريخ، والأخبار، وعِناء الاطلاع، وشدة الاستحضار، وحسن البراء والإذائر، ومروجه، وسلامة الصدر، وكرة الاعتلاج ولائحة القدر، والبعد عن الشهادات، وحسن النظر في فصل الخصومات، ومعرفة الحفائر وجودة الرأي في جميع الورادات، واهتمام بأمور المسلمين، ونُذُر المتروكين، وشفقة على ضُعفاء المساكين مع ورود الشحيح، وعِناء المؤس على نيان من التقوى صحيح، والخلجة فتحها وأوصائها لاتجاهل بها فلم، ولا يكن التعبر عنها فم. وقد أثار إلى بعض أحواله الثاني العلامة، الوجهه عبد الرحمن بن يحيى الأدبي، المقدم ذكره فيها كتبه من قصيدة منها: 

1. (1) عبد الرحمن بن يحيى الأدبي، الشاعر، العلامة، المفسر، الفيلسوف (1318 - 1371 هـ/1900 - 1942 م). 
2. أمير الشعراء في عصر الإمام الشوكاني، بل هو أعمى، شاعر، مُتَمَيِّز، وأوَّل من شاعره، القاضي، الفيلسوف، مُتَنَوِّعُ مProv. معِينٌ للتحقيق، العلامة الرئيس، الفيلسوف، عبد الرحمن بن يحيى الأدبي، ومُتَنَوِّعُ مProv. معِينٌ للتحقيق، العلامة الرئيس، الفيلسوف، عبد الرحمن بن يحيى الأدبي، وصِبَتِه، هناء عبد الله الإلهي، مراعٌ، مُتَنَوِّعُ مProv. معِينٌ للتحقيق، العلامة الرئيس، الفيلسوف، عبد الرحمن بن يحيى الأدبي، والشاعر، مُتَنَوِّعُ مProv. معِينٌ للتحقيق، العلامة الرئيس، الفيلسوف، عبد الرحمن بن يحيى الأدبي، وصِبَتِه، هناء عبد الله الإلهي، مبروكَ اللهم، ف👕، وما دُلَى كثير من الخُطَب، ومن صدفة المَهْدِي الكبير فِنْضِ، الأوَّل، الشوكاني، ف(Scene، محظوظ، و يوجدُ لكثير من البصيرة، ومن سخة شفقة المَهْدِي الكبير فِنْضِ، الأوَّل، الشوكاني، ف(Scene، محظوظ، و يوجدُ لكثير من البصيرة، ومن سخة شفقة المَهْدِي الكبير فِنْضِ، الأوَّل، الشوكاني، ف(Scene، محظوظ، و يوجدُ لكثير من البصيرة، ومن سخة شفقة المَهْدِي الكبير فِنْضِ، الأوَّل، الشوكاني، ف(Scene، محظوظ، و يوجدُ لكثير من البصيرة، ومن سخة شفقة المَهْدِي الكبير فِنْضِ، الأوَّل، الشوكاني، ف(Scene، محظوظ، و يوجدُ لكثير من البصيرة، ومن سخة شفقة المَهْدِي الكبير F
ليَمَّاٍ وَعَلَى هَٰذِهِ ٓيَتَّبِعَةُ الْإِنْسَانِ
غَواْرِبَ مُؤْجِهَةَ ذَاتِ ارْتِاقَاءٍ
إِلَيْهِ فِقْلِهِ عَنْ عَذَّرِ مَلاَهَ
وَلَٰٰكِنَّ اللَّهُ مَطَّىٰهُ اِسْبَنَاسُ
فَأَقْلَىَ أَنَّا عَلَىٰ لَكِنَّةٍ
وَلَكِنَّ صَبِيرَةَ الذُّرُوعُ أَضْحَىٰ
وَحَيْنَّ قُضْوُةٌ بَادِيَ بَعْطَاءٍ
بَفْرَاءِ الْخَصَرِ مَحْسُودُ الزُّوَاءَ
فِي عِلَمِ الْلُّغَاتِ أَبَا عَلِيٌّ
وَبِالْنُّفْوُ عِلْبَةٍ وَالْكَلِاميِّ
وَيُبَذِّلُ النُّفَاطِمَ مِنْ اِحْضَانَاءٍ
عَمِّرْ فِي هَٰذِهِ قَبْضَوُأَ حَجَّانِهَا
غَثَأَ الأَطِّيْبَةِ فَحَقَّ الأَئِنَاءٍ
فِي الطَّيْرِ وَالآخَامِ حَمَّالٌ
وَفِي الْغَفَّٰرِ وَالْمَأْوَأَ جَمِـلًا
وَفِي الْقَفْفِ أَبِنِ رَشِدٍ مِّنْ تَحَلْتَ
وَعَنْدَ قَضَبِهِ وَلَدِى قَفَّاً
فَلَوْ لِأَمْضَىَ مِنْ بَعْدِ أَوْ كَا
إذا لم يَدُونَ رأِيًا في علوم
أنادي فلأتراك نيصبح الأعيان
بأناك صاحب النهض العملاً
ولأناك عالم الفكر المثلى
 وأن المَجْدَة المَانِعَة التي ينك
والنَّاس قد يكونوا ما أن ينك
فإنها لفظ يُكتب في النِّسائم
وأن النَّاس لا يُكرة لفظ من مثيل
فإن ضياء الدين استنارَتْ
أصاب بك الفانينى فرضَ عين
فSpo.* ٤٤٥
فلم يَكدُنَّ بحَمِيَة نباتاء
جربَةً في النِّهم وأمه ورض...
فائدَة* ٤٤٦
وقد أحبتَ لفظًا بحَمِيَة

مول صاحب الترجمة في يوم الاثنين لثلاث قين من شهر المعدة سنة ثلاث
وبعَين
ومائة وألف ١٧٦٠ م، ونَّتَّا في ضياء، فقَرأ الترانمو ما يعلق به من التجويد وحسن
الأداء، وحفظ مئون الفنون غباً، خصائصها ومطولتها، وقرأ على مشايخ عصره، وحقق
أولَهُ علم الفنفَطَقَتى سارت بذكاء الركبان، وضربت الأعيان به الأمثال في كل مكان،
وأجَلُ من أخْحَفَ عنه في الفنفَفَقَتى من الشائل الفلاسي العلامة أحمد بن محمد الخزازى
قوأ عليه
شِرْح الأزهارِ، و»البيان» لابن مظفر ولم يزل يخفق حتى صار إماساً فيه، وأتق
وراجع، وناظر، ونالَ أصلَ الفنفَقَتى من علاء، وصار إلى» ضياء * كالفنفَقَتى العلامة

المراجع:
1. البيت أفنان من: صدر الطالب، ٤٣٧٠
2. بعد هذه ستة أبيات هي نية التصوير، طرُنَّاها في القدر، ٤٣٨٦
3. الأصل: مغر، وتفهَّج من: صدر الطالب، ٤٣٧٣، ٤٣٧٥ م، ثم شرح الفنفَقَتى في ضياء،، انتقل
من ذكر، وناظر جَنَّة، فنَّدَعَ البعْشَ، بعث النَّاس أن يقرأوا على النَّاس إلى النَّاس،، ونَّبَتَنَّ فالتاء،، ونَّفْرَت على النَّاس،، وأتق
4. لسُّدَة: في موضع بين الإمام، تصور على وراء، بهاء، كُلَّاء، كُلَّاء، كُلَّاء، كُلَّاء
5. See chapter III, see chapter III, P. 104
6. أنصر: صدر الطالب، ٤٣٧٢ ونائب الوتر، ٤٣٨١، أنحَيْنَح، ٤٣٨٤، النقص: ٤٣٩١.
حسن بن علي بن أحمد بن ناصر النجفي، وسندى العلامة الحسين بن أبي الدنيا(1) وأسرابه وأصحاب الترجمة فأذوا ما بهم من تفهيم ألفتهما وإتقانه، وشدة استحضار الفوائد مسألة، وسرعة باردهنها في الأسئلة، وإبراز الأشياء والنظائر والأوجه الفقهية وصار متعذب النبأ، مسألة عليه فيه، يقصد لأجله من الأقطار، وتعقد فناءا عند جميع الحكام [55] والنظر.

ثم قرأ في سائر الفنون فتح النحو والصرف، والبيان واللغة، والعروض والقوافي، والطقس والأصوات والحساب والملاحية، والفرائض، وعلم الأثر والحديث، ورواية ودراية، وعلم التفسير، وطلاع الدواوين الشعرية، والكتب التاريخية، وبحث في كتاب الرجال، والعرب والمعديلا، وضمير وذكاء نتائج، وفيهم صادق وحضار عظم، وألمية، وتفاذا، وفيحيلة، وتحقيق، وإتقان وضبط وحقبان، حتى فائق الأقران، (أصيح) زلة الزمان.

(1) أصحاب أحمد بن علي بن أحمد بن حسن بن صاحب التسمية والطيب، وكان عالماً، فقيهاً، أدبياً، شاعراً. أرمل إلى معنا، وأخذ من العلماء أحمد بن صالح بأي الرجال وصدرت، يجيبهم. وقد توفي سنة 887ه 235 م، فت임، سنة 1333ه 1915م. والناحية: في الطرطوس.

حسن بن علي بن أبي إبراهيم بن علي الديلمي، الفارسي: (362 هـ 1327 م).

عالم، مفسر، تفسير، ماهر. منيار الأسابيع والوفاة، أخذ من علماء سنة مفتوح رأسه كعلامة لسان العرب في يهودية الترجمة سنة 1175هـ 1762م. فالمعرفة العربية، وعلوم الحديث على أشهر عدائها كالعلامة ابن الأثير، ولن جدع و سحاب شاكر ومحمد زرارة، وأخرون ورجح إلى ذمار حيث عقد على الترجمة لمعه. وكتب أخذ معنا، سنة 1500ه، فتاين في الإسلام الشافعي في القراطس على وفد شيخ الشرع العربي ودرس الله جمع معنا، وقد Posted هناءك نيدا إلى بلده وسائر أشدها، ومواقفه بين منازع، وكان نفخ عليه الزواج بناءً لربة فأذعك على طهورها وحصن حلال. وقد قويت علاقته بالكرملية حتى أنه لم نجد مع الإمام الشافعي أحمد سنة 242هـ 857م. وسجل له نجاة عنده:

وله معه رسول ومطبوع، له كتاب في الفقه مفيد سماه: المعركة، في أثاثا فداه نظم في 1500 من صنف شقيق بالعمل الكبير، ليتناقصها في أثاثا، 1500، وكان مملاً، متحراً، وحصينه بسيرة. حكاية، ففيما ميزي، أنه أحد أولاد الهيوي صاحب الموقف الذي كان معهنا. وقد توفي في الشافعي سنة أخرى بعد أن ناهي عن المقالة سنة 1327هـ 1909م. مصداق

 المصدر: [55].
ثم نظر في سائر فنون علم العقول، وفي كتاب تهذيب الأخلاق وتصنيف النفوس، واتصل به الشيخ الإسلام عبد القادر بن أحمد بن ملاحه، وأقترب من أنواره، وقرأ عليه "صحيح مسلم" من أوله إلى آخره مع مراجعة شرحه لل النووي، ثم "سنت الترمذي"، وفي جامع الأصول "مقدار الربيع" وفي "المطلوب" نحو ثلثه، وبعضه من "سنن ابن ماجة" ومن " سنن النسائي"، وبعضاً من "شفا" القاضي عياض، ومن "ضوء النهار" لابن تيمية، وبعض ما في البحر الزخارف، وحاشيته [للزهري]، ومن "ضوء المنظمة" للجلال، وحاشية الشيخنا عليه، وحرف جحب الأنظار، وبعض المنظومة في الدين العقدي، وشرحها له، و"فرقةăn الناموس" لشيخنا "الزهري"، وبعض ما في شرح المواقف للشريف، وأوائل داعم الأوهام، و"شرح الفلائل" للجوري [51]، وبعض ما في "صحاح الجوهر"، وكذلك من "فتح البأري شرح البخاري" [51].

ورأى عليه "شرح منظومة الجزري" في العروض والشروحات، وكان الشيخنا بأمره بالاقتصار على بعض المجموعات، ويأمره بالشروع في غيرها إلا في أحياته وذكائه.

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السيد عبد القادر بن أحمد بن عبد الروؤف بن عبد الله بن الشتانية، الذي قام الإمام الشتانية بشرحه في كتابه المهد في النظرة، في بين الأبطر: 958 هـ (1553 م)، توفي بعد سنة من نشأته في مكة في المجاهل الكبير [العربيا] براءة 16 م، وعند وفاته: 524 هـ، وقيل: 526 هـ. (1)

(1) السيد عبد القادر بن أحمد بن عبد الروؤف بن عبد الله بن الشتانية، الذي قام الإمام الشتانية بشرحه في كتابه المهد في النظرة، في بين الأبطر: 958 هـ (1553 م)، توفي بعد سنة من نشأته في مكة في المجاهل الكبير [العربيا] براءة 16 م، وعند وفاته: 524 هـ، وقيل: 526 هـ. (1)

(2) السيد عبد القادر بن أحمد بن عبد الروؤف بن عبد الله بن الشتانية، الذي قام الإمام الشتانية بشرحه في كتابه المهد في النظرة، في بين الأبطر: 958 هـ (1553 م)، توفي بعد سنة من نشأته في مكة في المجاهل الكبير [العربيا] براءة 16 م، وعند وفاته: 524 هـ، وقيل: 526 هـ. (1)

(3) السيد عبد القادر بن أحمد بن عبد الروؤف بن عبد الله بن الشتانية، الذي قام الإمام الشتانية بشرحه في كتابه المهد في النظرة، في بين الأبطر: 958 هـ (1553 م)، توفي بعد سنة من نشأته في مكة في المجاهل الكبير [العربيا] براءة 16 م، وعند وفاته: 524 هـ، وقيل: 526 هـ. (1)

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(5) السيد عبد القادر بن أحمد بن عبد الروؤف بن عبد الله بن الشتانية، الذي قام الإمام الشتانية بشرحه في كتابه المهد في النظرة، في بين الأبطر: 958 هـ (1553 م)، توفي بعد سنة من نشأته في مكة في المجاهل الكبير [العربيا] براءة 16 م، وعند وفاته: 524 هـ، وقيل: 526 هـ. (1)
واستحضاره للقواعد وتمكنه الراسخ في العلوم، وأجاد له شيخنا إجازة عامة، وكتب له
خطه على أكثر هذه الموضوعات.
وقرأ على شيخنا العلامة علي بن إبراهيم بن عامر(1) "صحيح البخاري" من أوله إلى
آخره، وأجاد له إجازة عامة.

وقرأ على النافذ العلامة شرف الإسلام الحسن بن إسحاق المقرزي(2) "سند نافذ داوو
من أواخره إلى آخره، وبعضًا من "شرح الخطابي" عليها، و"شرح ابن زيلان"، وقرأ
عليه "المطوى" جمعه مع حواسيبه "الشافعي" و"الشريف" و"شرح العضد" في
الأصول، جمعه مع "حاشيته للشريف" عليه، وقرأ عليه "الكتاب" جمعه مع حاشية
السعد عليه في أوله، و"حاشية السراج" عليه في آخره، وقرأ عليه جميع
شرح بلوغ المرام إلا فونا بيسارا من أوله، وقرأ عليه بعضًا من "صحيح مسلم" و"شرح
النوري"، ومن "النتيجة" ومن "شرح الرسالة النبوية" في النطق، و"حاشية
الشريف" عليها، وأجاد له إجازة عامة.

وأجاد له شيخنا العلامة يوسف بن محمد المرجاني(3).

(1) علي بن إبراهيم بن علي بن إبراهيم بن أحمد بن عامر الشهيد: 1100 - 1377 هـ، 1693 - 1763 م.
(2) الحسن بن إسحاق المقرزي: 1680 - 1773 م.
(3) يوسف بن محمد بن علي بن المريجاني: 1313 - 1393 هـ، 1895 - 1975 م.
ومن شعره مجيئاً على القاضي عبد الرحمن بن أحمد الأحمر (1)

1. وقعت حبيب أم وردة عيساء
2. بعيِّنَكَ أَنَّكَ مَنْ قَدْ مُرَّتْ خِلَالَ النَّوْعَ
3. وَحَلَّ طَلَّعَتْ لَنَّكَ حَيَّالَ التَّوَاصِلِ بَعْضَهَا
4. وعَادَتْ لَنَا الأَيَامُ بِيَوْمٍ زَوَاهُ أَ
5. فَقَانَ كَانَ مُقَافِلل بَيْتَينَ بِفَتْحَةٍ
6. فِيَ دَهْرٍ فَرُطَ مَنْ صَلْبُ دَبْرُ مَجِيلةٍ
7. وَفَيَانَقُ قَدْ أَعْتَبَتْ مِنْ بَعْضٍ الْكُرُوِّ
8. وَقَمَ بِأَعْجَاعِيَ خَطْ رَبْعٍ مَطْبَيْنَ
9. وَسَكَنَ صَهْلُ الْمُهْرِ وَأَنْصَرَ تَكْبِيَةٌ
10. [89] قَدْ كَانَ أَعْتُبَاتُ أَفْحَامٍ مَذَاَلِكَ
11. وَمِنْ دُونٍ مَأْلِبَهُ بِكُلِّ سَمَوَتٍ

سنة 762 هـ مُحَيَّنَتَهُ الرَّسُولُ ﷺ وَأَخَذَ عِنْهَ وَأَجَازَهُ جَمِيعًا مَعْوَىً رَبِّهِ. وَكَانَ فَهْدَ أَمَّهُ رَبِّهِ.
12 وسلبْ قَسَوِي لَا تَحِيْثَ عَن الْقُصَب
13 لَمْ تَنْهَكْ نَزْحَاتِي تَجْعَلَ نَوارً
14 إِذْ أَنْتُ عِينَيْ يُنْبَعُونَ خَفٍّ أَلْسَمًا
15 وَأَنْتُ عِينَيْ يُنْبَعُونَ ذَكَرًا بَخَاصًا
16 وَقَدْ طُفِقَ عَنْ النَّهَارِ بَعْضًا
17 وَطَنُّ الأَرْبَاطُ كَانَ فَسُودَ وَكَذَٰلِكَ
18 وَنُقِدْتُ بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ بَيْنَ يَدَيْهَا
19 وَفَنِّلْ بَيْنَ يَدَيْهِ فَتْرَةً بَاخِفَاءً
20 وَلَكِنَّ نَزْحَاتِي لَزِرْوَةً مَّاجِدَ
21 فَقَدْ خَلَلْنَاهُ فِي بَيْتٍ مِنَ الْجَمِيعِ شَايْحٍ
22 وَهَٰذَةَ أَزْمَةُ أَغْرَ مَهادٍ
23 وَقَدْ عَرَجَتْ عَلَى الْمَكْلَمِ أَيْضًا:
24 دَعُوَّي لَوْمَي عَلَى فَرْطِ الْمُسْلَى
25 كَأَنْ تَنْبِئَيْنِي عَلَى الْمُسْلَى
26 أَبْنُيْنَاهَا بَيْنَكَ عِنْدَكَ فَؤَادٍ
27 فَلَا حَكَّ مَعَهَا هْوَابُكَا الْمُسْلَى
28 وَنَحْبُ بَيْنَكَ مَسْأَمًٰرَةً وَفَرْن
29 [٤٥] فَأَخْبِرْ يَوْمًا عَلَيْهَا

(1) النَّواد: مَعْطَى بعْضُ الْقُسَبْ عِنْدَيْنِ
(2) في الْجَرَّاء نَقْلَتْ حَالَةً أنْ هُدِيْهَا لَا يُذْكَرُ لَفْيَاتَهَا، وَهُوَ صَحِيحٌ وَذلِكَ سَنَةَ ١٢٥٥ هـ/٢٠٣٥ مـ.
(3) بعْدَهَا ٢٢ بِثْبَانَةُ تَحْصُيْنَةُ نَظْرُ الْمُسْلَى:
(4) عَيْنَيْ بِالْمُسْلَى كَأَنَّهَا مِثْلُ: ١٦٣٤
(5) الْمُسْلَى: صفَّرُتُهَا رَفْقَاً وَهُوَ مُنْسَبُ عَلَيْهَا، وَهَٰذَةَ فِي الْفَلَا، فَعَلَى لَا يُذْكَرُ فِي أَنْثَرَهَا.
7 وناشطها الديان والعُرُفُها الـ(1)
8 وما حادي المكسيّة إلا رُسُلًا
9 حذفت فَصَّلت غُزَّوا طَرَاهُم
10 فلا رفعت نُكَّيًا إلى الأمام في مَثَالًا
11 ترَوَّعي بين شخصين يَكَلَّمُهم بين
12 أمرًا بيومى الفراق أُقيت فأُقيت
13 فَأَنتَ إن كَبَرَ المَنْثُوُبُ يَوْمًَا
14 وظفُت بحُدُد أهلُ المَنْثُوُبُ وَلْيَكُن
15 أقوم به إن فَجَّت لذنيه
16 وَهُمُ الْمَكْسُولُ غَيْرُ غَيْر
17 يَسْخَرُون عَضُودة خِيَّرَ وَمَن
18 يجَّصُرُ السَّمَى في أمن وحَمْوَف
19 ذَهَّبَ وَهُوَوُفُ في طَرَاهِن يَوْمٍ
20 قُلْ عَلَى فَضَائِلْهُ إِنَّ ما
21 أَلا إِنَّ النَّصِيرُ رَبُّ النَّصِيرِ الـ(2)
22 وَمَن حَسَّى الفُضَائِلُ غَيْرٌ وَإِن
23 فَا كُنَّ عَذَابَ الْمَكْسُولُ بِعَذَابٍ بَعِيدٍ

(1) ناشطها: تنويتها في سرعة وننشاطه: معرفة فتح، وهو الم служ من السور.
(2) بريدة: الهال عون، وصرة التحويل، للضروبة.
(3) الأمان: بعما، وكثيرما ما يجعل الناصح، عليه، والغائب، يدف في الأصل، عنا، وله، لا يعود بذلك معنى البيت.
(4) أخذت غَمُّ: نفعه.
(5) والد: بعدها، بعدها، ومصر، بمدد مدرسة.
(6) بريدة: نقص على جدها في م، المضرع.
(7) في مَعَسَّر: معدة المَعَسَّر، وهو النوب، الحُكم، العَمِيل.
(8) وعلًا وعلًا: بريدة، بعدها، الأول، أولًا، وهي ، وف، وَف، والعلًا، ثمانية، بينها، لا، يفيد، ومعناتها
(9) النوب.
فإنَّ نُفُوذُة أصْل الْبَلاَء
يَجْوِدُ بِهِ عَلَى غَبَادَ وَجَنَّاَء
قَابِسًا فِي النَّسَى إِلَى النَّسَى
إِلَى عِينِ الْمَيْقَةَ وَالْجَمَلَاَء
لَمْ ضَفْعَّ وَقَادَّ للْحَمْرَاء
كَكَ الْكُفُودَ اِنْتُجِيَ فِي النَّسَى
إِلَيْهِ لَأَقْبَلَ رَبُّ النَّسَى
(1) تَنْتَحِي عَنْ أَرْيَابِ اللَّدَاَء
(1) لَا يَبْيَسُ عَنْ سَوْطِ الْبَرَاء
(1) لَمْ بَلْقَاءَ مِنْ بَعْدِ الْمَدِاء
فَوَضَّاهُ الْرَّجُلُ النَّفَيسُ لَكَمْ رَأْيٌ
كَفَّ طَلَبَ مِنْ شَنْيِ النَّسَى
وَفِي نَفْعَةٍ خَلْقِيَّةِ الْلَّوَاَء
(2) تَمَكَّنَ فِي النَّسَى فِي الْحَمْرَاء
بِهِ الْمَصْائِلِ يَجْوِدُ إِلَى الصَّيْاء
(3) فَفَعَّلَ بِهَا البَورِيَّةَ تَحْوِي الْبُرَاء
(3) فَيَعْرُجُ فَيْنَ أَهْلُ الْإِنْسَاء
(3) فَتَقَنَّ عَلَى الْبُلُوحِ عَنْ شَوْبِ الْقَفَاءَ
(4) وَهَنَّ النَّحُشُ مِنْ خَلْلِ الْبَهاءَ
34 أناني بيان بِحُبٍ مَنْ ثَأرْنَهُم
44 على نَفْض الأصابع في لَغْان
45 تحديد من تَعَاوُدَه مَفْضَوم
46 يعاني من خُصُوم أو خَصام
47 فَمَنْأَ في شَراخ أو غَوبيل
48 فَإِذْ يَتَضَرَّعْ وَقَتْ تَراة
49 وَإِذ يُعَضِّبُ الْبَيْلَ في نَشْرٍ وَطْنِي
50 وَقَفَانَا بِبَيْنِ وَدَيْ في نُفْر
51 بَدَا مَنْ تَأَمَّلَ نَجْمٌ صَرَيح
52 كَيْ لَيْسَ الْبَيْسَ مَنْ يَجَّضَسُو
53 يَغْلَبُ الْحُكْمُ يَبْرَفْقُ
54 يَغْلَبُ الْحُكْمُ يَبْرَفْقُ
55 وِعِظَتُهُمَا كَفَاءً، وَإِلا فَهي كُلِّها مِن غَرْرَ القُصَائِدَ.

وفي هذا القدر منها كِبَابٍ، وَإِلا فَهي كُلِّها مِن غَرْرَ القُصَائِدَ.

(1) في الأصل: وَنَبَارٍ وَمَوْجَعٍ وَهُمْ لا يَقْبَلُونَ وَمِنْكَ بَلَّاءٍ وَإِنْ كَيْدَانَا بِكمْ أَمَّاِ.
(2) يَسِيرُ: مَدْرَقُ مَالٍ وَهُوَ الْكَتَابُ.
(3) الأَمْسِ: زَوْهُ الْبَيْلَ وَالْقَوْلُ: طَفْرُ الْأَوْلِيَاءِ وَالْخَتَامُ: يَزْعُبُ الْخَتَامُ. وَيَمِنُُ كَلِّ ذِي حَرْفٍ. وَقَدْ مَدَ
(4) ضرورة وَعَدَّةٌ قَرَاءَةُ الدِّبْوَانِ.
(5) الْأَصْلُ: يَنْصِبُ الْلَّغْانَ الْمَاشِيَةَ وَلَا يَنْفَرُ الْعَشَبَ. وَالْمَجْعُوْمُ مِنْ الْبَيْلَ: يَتَضَنُّعُ. وَقَدْ كَفَئَ الْأَمْسِ: الْحُكْمُ يَبْرَفْقُ. وَقَدْ كَفَّهَا الْقُصَائِدَ.
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