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THE SUCCESSION TO THE FATIMID IMAM AL-ĀMIR, THE CLAIMS OF THE LATER FATIMIDS TO THE IMAMATE, AND THE RISE OF ṬAYYIBĪ ISMAILISM

by

S. M. Stern

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I

Ismailism was rent, on two different occasions in its history as the religion of a state, by a violent dispute over the succession to the Imamate. While in other dynasties laying claim to the Caliphate, quarrels of this kind, by no means of rare occurrence, generally had no lasting effects and, once settled, were of interest to none but historians, both cases in Fatimid history where the inheritance of an Imam was disputed by rival factions were destined to have far-reaching consequences. Looking at these controversies from the outside and from such a distance of time, we are apt to minimize their importance and fail to do justice

to the passions aroused by differences over the rights of individuals of no great personal qualities. One ought not, however, to forget that the person of the Imam stood, for the Ismailis, in the very centre of their religious system; it was of overriding importance; on it depended the continuity of institutional religion as well as the personal salvation of the believer. "Whosoever dies without recognising the Imam of his time, dies a pagan's death" is one of the most often quoted maxims of Ismailism. The quarrel over the succession of al-Mustaʿlī — the first of the two schisms mentioned above — may have been for some of the participants primarily a matter of political intrigue and of contending interests, a struggle for power between a dictatorial minister and a prince ousted by him; but for many the question who was the rightful Imam, al-Mustaʿlī or Nizār, must have been one of paramount religious concern. It was, in effect, not so much the person of the claimant that weighed with his followers; they were not moved by any superior merits of Nizār as a ruler (this is, of course, obvious in the case of the infant al-Ṭayyib) — it was the divine right personified in the legitimate heir that counted.

During the thirty-five years or so of the reigns of al-Mustaʿlī and al-Āmir this conflict between the Fatimid government and the Nizārīs was one of the main preoccupations of the Fatimid state and certainly dominated the Ismaili religious scene¹. There can be little doubt that this internal struggle played a large part in the ultimate ruin of the Ismaili cause. By a stroke of bad luck, the Nizārī crisis was to be followed, in less than four decades, by another, which alienated still more adherents of Ismailism from the cause of the Caliphs of Cairo, the crisis over the succession to al-Āmir.

The present essay has as its aim to elucidate, first, the issues involved in that crisis; secondly, the attitude of the Fatimid régime as it finally emerged; and, thirdly, the repercussions of the conflict in Yemen.

II

Al-Āmir was assassinated, probably by Nizārī emissaries, on the 2nd Dhu-l-qaʿda, 524 A. H. (1130 A.D.)². The events that followed have

¹ See my article: *The Epistle of the Fatimid Caliph al-Āmir (al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya)*; its date and its purpose, in: J.R.A.S., 1950, p. 20 ff.

² Cf. G. Wiet in: *Journal Asiatique*, 1921, II, p. 112, for the different dates mentioned by the historians. (Add to the authorities mentioned there, e.g., Ibn Ḥammād, ed. Vonderheyden, p. 60; al-Warrāq, in: *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*, ed. Colin and Lévi-Provençal, p. 311; *al-Bustān al-jāmiʿ*^c

never formed the subject of a critical investigation based on the different sources available. To be sure, G. Wiet devoted to the problem a few penetrating pages in the *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Le Caire*, vol. II (Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, LII, 1930), p. 83 ff., summarizing the data indicated by previous historians and adding to the list many valuable passages capable of clarifying obscurities. Important pieces of evidence can, however, still be added; moreover, Wiet — writing just before the discovery of the Ismaili literature of India — could take no account of these documents, indispensable for the real evaluation of the issues. On the other hand, scholars acquainted with Ismaili literature seem never to have taken up this matter for its own sake; when touching it *en passant*, they were content either to reproduce the version current in the tradition of the Yemenite-Indian *da'wa*¹ or to rely merely on general impressions in criticising it². It is, however, only a comparative treatment of Ismaili and of general historical sources that can shed light on what really happened.

From the point of view of our present investigation, the main lesson that we learn from our recently won acquaintance with the history of the Yemeni Ismailism and its Indian derivative, is the knowledge that these Ismailis were followers of the Imam al-Ṭayyib: they belonged to the “Ṭayyibī *da'wa*”.

A characteristic symptom of our previous ignorance of even the name of al-Ṭayyib is the fact that E. Griffini, in his article on the two Ismaili manuscripts of the Ambrosian Library (Z.D.M.G., 1915, p. 81, n. 3) could not understand the formula, which he was quoting from a Zaydite work, for the oath of the Ismailis: *ولاه الامر بن الطيب*. Griffini reads *ولاه الامن* instead of the correct *ولاية الامر بن الطيب*, which should be, of course: *ولاية الطيب*, *بن الامر*: “(If I make a false oath, I deny) the allegiance due to al-Ṭayyib the son of al-Āmir”.

cf. below, p. 198). The *‘Uyūn al-akhbār* (VII, 313, in the manuscript at my disposal), like the Ṭayyibī tradition in general, gives the year as 526; it is difficult to say how the mistake arose. As to the day, the *‘Uyūn* has Tuesday the 3rd Dhu-l-qa‘da, as have, e.g., Ibn Khallikān, the *Miṣṣat al-zamān* and al-Qalqashandī.

¹ So the various articles of H. F. Hamdani: *The Life and Times of Queen Sayyida Arwa the Sulayhid of the Yemen* in: *Journal of the Central Asian Society*, 1931, p. 505 ff.; *The History of the Ismā‘īlī Da‘wat and its Literature during the last phase of the Fatimid Empire*, J.R.A.S., 1932, p. 126 ff.; *Some unknown Ismā‘īlī authors and their works*, J.R.A.S., 1933, p. 359 ff. Their merit lies precisely in acquainting Western scholars for the first time with the outlines of Ismaili history as it appears in the light of the literature of the Bohra.

² So the article *Ismā‘īliyya* (W. Ivanow) in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Supplement*. (To the author of this article, as well as to Hamdani, the pages of Wiet were evidently unknown.)

In their belief, al-Ṭayyib was a child of al-Āmir born a short time before his assassination; they assert — to quote the relevant article of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (see p. 195 n. 2) — that on the death of al-Āmir his “infant son and heir, al-Ṭayyib— whose existence is much doubted by historians¹ — was taken into concealment . . . The followers of the Fatimid tradition still believe that the Imams, successors of al-Ṭayyib, are living in great secrecy somewhere and are going to manifest themselves when the time comes”.

It must be stressed, in order to obviate possible misunderstandings, that the Ṭayyibī Ismailis do not believe that al-Ṭayyib is still alive: it is his successive descendants, living in concealment, that they hold to be their Imams. The Ṭayyibī authors dissociate themselves emphatically from the *wāqifi* Mahdiyyism of, say, the Twelver Imāmīs or the Kaysānīs.

As we see, some doubt is cast on the historical existence of al-Ṭayyib by the author of the article. What are we to think? To be sure, had we to rely solely upon the beliefs and assertions of the Ṭayyibī Ismailis, there would be good grounds, if not for actual rejection, at least for a guarded suspension of judgment. The *dāʿīs*, trained in the doctrine of the uninterrupted continuity of the holy lineage, were now faced with the fact, incredible to them, of the Imam dying without leaving a male offspring, and there would be no intrinsic difficulty in making their disappointment responsible for the phantom existence of an infant heir, appearing on the scene for a short while — as if only to satisfy the requirements of the dogma — and promptly disappearing again. But this is not the case: the historical reality of al-Ṭayyib is attested by unimpeachable entries in various Fatimid Annals.

a) The extracts that have come down to us from the Chronicle of Ibn al-Muyassar (d. 677) contain the following passage (*Annales d’Égypte*, ed. H. Massé, p. 72), going back, in all probability, to the lost chronicle of Ibn al-Muḥannak (d. 549)²: “In Rabīʿ al-awwal (of the year 524 A.H.) a son named Abu-l-Qāsim al-Ṭayyib was born to al-Āmir; he was designated by the Caliph as his heir (*walī ʿahdih*). Miṣr (*i.e.* Fuṣṭāṭ) and Cairo were decorated, music was played in the streets and at the gates of the palaces. New suits of clothes were issued to the troops and the

¹ This seems simply to be the author’s way of speaking; at least I do not know of any discussion of the historicity, or otherwise, of al-Ṭayyib, either by Arabic or modern historians. What is meant is, obviously: whose existence is open to reasonable doubts. — The same reservations about the existence of al-Ṭayyib are expressed by Ivanow also in *A Creed of the Fatimids*, p. VI: “the problematic infant son of al-Āmir, al-Ṭayyib”; *The Rise of the Fatimids*, p. 20: “Al-Ṭayyib . . . whose historical reality is highly questionable and whose existence is a matter of faith”.

² See Cl. Cahen, *Quelques Chroniques des derniers Fatimides* in: *Bulletin de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale*, 1937, p. 5.

palaces were decorated. Al-Āmir ordered that draperies, utensils, ornaments and gold and silver plate should be brought forth from the treasure-houses for purposes of decoration. The Great Hall (*al-īwān*)¹ was hung with tapestries and arms. This continued for a fortnight; at the end of this period, the ram, which was to be slaughtered at the 'aqīqa ceremony, was brought in, hung with embroidered trappings and silver necklaces, and was slaughtered in the presence of al-Āmir. Then the child was brought in, and the Chief Qadi Ibn al-Muyassar² was given the honour of holding it. Pieces of gold dinars were strewn over the heads of the people. Tables, too, were laid, and fruit had been ordered beforehand from the provinces of al-Fayyūm, al-Sharqiyya and al-Qalyūbiyya; the palace was filled with fruit and other sweets and the atmosphere was heavy with the fragrance of aloe and amber."

Now, we have here, plainly, not the special pleading of a dogmatic theologian defending his doctrines, but the straightforward entry of an annalist recording, in the manner usual in such works, a great public occasion. He refers in a matter-of-fact way to events of public knowledge: the birth of an heir to the throne (no doubt officially proclaimed all over the country), public rejoicing in the capital, palace festivities attended by notable persons. One can see little grounds for impugning the evidence of such a text.

In these circumstances, we shall have to admit as authentic the *sijill*, preserved in Ismaili books³ and in the unique manuscript of the History of Yemen by 'Umāra (H. C. Kay, *Yaman, its early Mediaeval History*, 1892, p. 100 ff.)⁴, in which al-Āmir announces the birth of al-Ṭayyib to his vassal in Yemen, al-Malika al-Sayyida⁵. There is the evidence of Ibn al-Muyassar for the proclamation of the infant prince

¹ Cf. on the Great Hall al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 388.

² Cf. for him Wiet, in: J.A., 1921, II, p. 66, n. 5.

³ Quoted in the *Majmū' al-tarbiya* of Ṭāhir b. Muḥammad (see Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 53); then in the *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, VII, 315 ff.

⁴ See on this passage below, p. 218.

⁵ It seems that the name Sayyida Arwa given to the queen by Hamdani (in the article quoted above, p. 195, n. 1) is based solely on the corrupt passage in 'Umāra, Kay p. 22, where the word "Arwa" must be deleted. Arwa was the name of a daughter of the queen (Kay pp. 76, 160, 296). The queen is always named al-Sayyida, which is expressly stated to have been her personal name, 'Umāra, Kay p. 28: *ismuhā <al-> Sayyida bint Aḥmad* etc.; *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, VII, 134: *wa-zawwajahū (scil. al-Mukarram) abūhu al-ḥurra al-taqiyya al-Sayyida ibnat Aḥmad* etc.; al-Malik al-Ashraf Ibn Rasūl: *Ṭuraf al-aṣḥāb fī ma'rifat al-ansāb*, ed. Zetterstéén, Damascus 1949, p. 117: *al-Sayyida bint Aḥmad, wa-hiya al-Sayyida bint Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Muzaḥfar, wa-qāla nās: b. Muḥammad au b. 'Alī wa-Allāh a'lam.* — About *al-Sayyida* as a proper name cf. C. A. Nallino, *Raccolta di Scritti editi e inediti*, vol. III, p. 433.

as the heir; it is but natural that this should have been announced by letters to the population of Egypt as well as to that of the dependent countries. In the text of the *siġill* itself there is nothing to arouse suspicion.

A few months after the birth of al-Ṭayyib, the Caliph was murdered; the power was seized by his cousin, ‘Abd al-Majīd, while the heir was pushed aside. What happened to him? Ibn al-Muyassar (Ibn al-Muḥannak) confines himself to the laconic remark (p. 74): “When al-Āmir was murdered, al-Ḥāfiẓ (‘Abd al-Majīd) concealed the existence (*amr*) of the child that had been born to al-Āmir that year”.

b) Further details are given in a passage of a Syrian chronicle from the end of the VIth century A.H./XIIth cent. A.D., bearing the title *al-Bustān al-jāmi‘* (ed. Cl. Cahen in: Bulletin d’Etudes Orientales, Damascus, 1938, p. 121-2), which reads as follows: “In that year (*scil.* 524) al-Āmir was killed on Tuesday the 14th of Dhu-l-qa‘da, in the Jazīra. His reign over Egypt lasted twenty-nine years. He had as on to whom he explicitly left the Caliphate (*naṣṣa ‘alayhi*), named Abū Muḥammad (obviously a mistake for Abu-l-Qāsīm). Al-Ḥāfiẓ ‘Abd al-Majīd conspired against him with a certain Nāṣir al-Laythī, master of the horse (*rakkāb*) of al-Āmir’s household, who took the child to his house. Up to this day, there is no information available about his fate, whether he died or what other fate overtook him. There is in Egypt a party which holds that he is alive and regards him as the Imam.”

This passage is by no means as free from doubt as that quoted above; it is not a record of what was matter of public knowledge, but relates what must be considered mere rumours. Whatever we may think, however, of the information it gives about the fate of the child, — the inference seems to be that he was quietly done away with by Nāṣir — the passage still further confirms the historical existence of al-Ṭayyib. Moreover, we learn from it that al-Ṭayyib had, at the time when the chronicler wrote, faithful adherents in Egypt.

c) A third passage is of even less objective authority as to the problem of al-Ṭayyib: it does not purport to be anything but a reproduction of the tenets of the Ṭayyibī Ismailis. On the other hand, it is valuable as testifying to the presence of Ṭayyibis in Syria, at the end of the sixth/twelfth century. The chronicler Ibn Abī Ṭayyī of Aleppo writes: “It is said that the people of Ṣan‘ā are of the opinion that al-Āmir had a child, named al-Ṭayyib. They are of the Āmirī persuasion; in Syria, too, there are some people belonging to the Āmiriyya.”¹

¹ The passage from the lost chronicle of Ibn Abī Ṭayyī has been preserved by Ibn al-Furāt;

The tradition of the Ismailis of Yemen, supporters of al-Ṭayyib, gives a different version of his fate, which also contains interesting information about the measures taken by ‘Abd al-Majīd against the adherents of the infant prince. We shall, of course, be on our guard against taking on trust everything that they have to say; if we cut out certain legendary elements and a few easily recognizable tendentious features, there will still remain a considerable residue that can be accepted as reliable.

The following account is taken from the ‘*Uyūn al-akhbār*’ of Idrīs, who is, however, only reproducing the story as told by a very early authority, the *dā‘ī* Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmīdī, who was contemporary with the events he relates. (Died 557; cf. Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 52; see also below, p. 218, 220, 227-228.) The following is a translation of the story of Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmīdī, as far as it is textually quoted in the ‘*Uyūn al-akhbār*’ (see for the Arabic text Appendix no. I): “The *dā‘ī* Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmīdī says: The most intimate associates of the Commander of the Faithful al-Āmir bi-aḥkām Allāh used to be Ibn Madyan, the ‘holder of the rank’ (*ṣāhib al-rutba*), Ibn Raslān, al-‘Azīzī, Qūniṣ (?) and Naslān (?)¹. They belonged to the most eminent *dā‘īs* and were noted for their devotion to the Caliph and their intimacy with him. Ibn Madyan did not, usually, leave his own house, while the others were regular in attendance on al-Āmir, the position of Qūniṣ being lower than that of the other three. The Imam al-Āmir used to say: “Nobody will fight for me except these four people”. — It was their custom, after listening to the utterances of the Imam, a great part of which remained unintelligible to them, to pay a visit on their way home to the ‘holder of the rank’, their *shaykh*, who used to give them the necessary explanations: You said this or that to our Lord, his answer was so and so and it contains a hidden allusion to this or that matter and is to be taken in this or that sense. — When the words of the Imam, “Nobody will fight for me except these four people”, proved too difficult for their comprehension, they went, according to their custom, to Ibn Madyan, the ‘holder of the rank’ and asked him about it. He answered: “The Imam will disappear by murder; the land will be torn by dissension; Abū ‘Alī the son of al-Afḍal will assume power; he will proclaim

cf. Cl. Cahen, in the article quoted above (p. 196, n. 2) p. 18, n. 7. It is to the courtesy of M. Cl. Cahen that I owe the extract: *وقيل ان اهل صنعاء يرون ان له (scil. al-Āmir) ولد اسمه الطيب (المخضب ? ms.) وهم أمرية المذهب وبالشام جماعة من الأمرية.*

¹ These persons do not seem to be known from other sources; the pronunciation of the names of two of them is uncertain.

the religion of anti-Shiism (*dīn al-naṣb*) and kill the adherents of the Imam (*al-auliyā'*) and send them into exile. When he feels strong enough, he will send for the four of you and will put before you the choice either of abjuring the Imam (*viz.* al-Ṭayyib) or of being killed. You will contend for the Imam and curse Satan. Naslān, al-‘Azīzī and Raslān will be killed; you, Qūniṣ, will flee to Yemen, but will later return and meet your death. I shall go, al-‘Azīzī, and hide in your house; they will arrest me the day after your execution and put before me the same choice as is offered to you; I shall not prefer this world to the next, and shall find a martyr’s death”. They enquired: “Who will be Imam after the death of al-Manṣūr (*i.e.* al-Āmir)?” He answered: “The seventh one, al-Ṭayyib — he will be hidden”. They asked: “Who will be the ‘holder of the rank’ after you?” He answered: “My brother-in-law, Abū ‘Alī. He will go into hiding together with his master and stay where he stays”.

Idris continues by saying that it all happened as al-Āmir and Ibn Madyan had foretold. When al-Āmir was assassinated, the *dā'īs* administered the oath of allegiance to al-Ṭayyib, Ibn Madyan and Abū ‘Alī being in charge of the *da'wa*, while al-Āmir’s cousin, ‘Abd al-Majīd took over the ‘guardianship of the palace’. When, however Abū ‘Alī, the son of al-Afḍal, seized power, he showed his hostility to the Imams, proclaimed in Cairo the anti-Fatimid religion and persecuted the *auliyā'*. ‘Abd al-Majīd, too, showed signs of apostasy (*niḥāq*) and aspired to sovereignty. Abū ‘Alī b. al-Afḍal, in concert with al-Ḥasan, the son of ‘Abd al-Majīd, arrested the *auliyā'* and persecuted the true believers, expelling even their womenfolk (six hundred of whom took refuge in the Maghrib). He threatened with death the four people mentioned above if they did not abjure al-Manṣūr and his son (*i.e.* al-Ṭayyib). Qūniṣ escaped, the others were arrested and, remaining steadfast in their loyalty, were put to death, together with a great number of believers. Ibn Madyan, too, was arrested in the house of al-‘Azīzī and was executed. Qūniṣ fled to Yemen, but later returned and was killed. Abū ‘Alī went with the Imam into hiding ¹.

The whole story is related in the unmistakable style of martyrological legend. We will not discuss the story (so characteristic of Ismaili historiography, permeated with the spirit of hagiology from end to end) of the miraculous prophecy by al-Āmir, accompanied by the detailed exegesis of Ibn Madyan. The account given by Idrīs of the conditions prevailing after the death of al-Āmir is also inaccurate on many scores;

¹ It is certain that the role attributed by Idrīs to al-Ḥasan the son of al-Ḥāfiẓ is due to a confusion with the events of the year 529 (see the chronicles under that year).

we shall see presently what actually happened. On the other hand, there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the facts concerning the persons of the entourage of al-Āmir, mentioned by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmīdī. We have to admit that there was a persecution against some who remained loyal to the infant heir born only a few months before al-Āmir's death.

Finally, to summarize the contradictory information of our sources about the fate of the child, we note that Ibn al-Muyassar does not say anything definite on the point; the *al-Bustān al-jāmi'* suggests that he was secretly killed at the instigation of 'Abd al-Majīd, while the Ṭayyibīs assert that he was hidden by his faithful followers.

We shall see (p. 228) that Queen al-Sayyida is alleged to have bequeathed her personal belongings eight years later (in 532) to the Imam al-Ṭayyib. — There is also a legend, widely known among the Ṭayyibīs, which presupposes that al-Ṭayyib lived in concealment in an inaccessible district of the Farthest West. I quote the legend from one of the 'Epistles of Ramaḍān' issued yearly by the present *dā'i*, Ṭāhir Sayf al-dīn (no. 24 of the series, for the year 1359, entitled *Dhāt al-baraka*, p. 85; the whole series, privately printed, is available in the Bodleian Library). The story is related on the authority of 'Alī b. Muḥammad (b. al-Walīd). He was sitting, together with a man from the tribe of al-Ḥakam and the poet As'ad b. Ḥasan in the *khān* of Zabīd. They were talking to a man who had recently arrived from the Maghrib, bringing a present to Sayf al-Islām (Tuḡtakīn, brother of Saladin, who ruled in Yemen 578-93). The conversation turned on the contemporary claimants of the Imamate: 'Abdallāh b. Ḥamza (the Zaydī Imam al-Manṣūr; 593-614), the (Almohad) Caliphs of the family of 'Abd al-Mu'min, Muḥammad b. Ghassān (the Kharijite Imam) of Oman and the Abbassid Caliph of Baghdad. The Maghribi said that none of them was the Imam; he knew the real one. Questioned by the others about the abode of the Imam, he told the following story. One of his Andalusian friends, a merchant and a follower of the Mālikī *madhhab*, bought a crystal vessel on one of his voyages to Egypt. On returning to the Maghrib, he found that nobody wanted to buy it because of its high price. He had a friend who used to trade with people living in the Extreme West, behind high mountains, where there is little of civilization. On seeing the vessel in his friend's hand, he told him he knew a customer who could afford to buy it. The merchant and his friend went to the market place of the Western district where the latter used to ply his trade; then they went through a mountain pass; there was there a guard which was unwilling to let pass the merchant who was unknown to it. So the other went on alone in order to obtain the necessary permit. As he returned the next day with the permit, they could proceed. Soon they came to an encampment; in the middle there was a sumptuous tent, where a great number of servants were to be seen, such as at the court of no other king. Before entering, the merchant was warned by his friend not to greet the prince with the greetings current among tyrannous rulers, but to say, instead: *al-salām 'alā amīr al-mu'minīn wa-raḥmat Allāh wa-barakātuh*. They entered the tent; on seeing the prince, the heart of the merchant was instantly filled with reverence and love. The prince asked him for the news of Cairo and what remained of the palace. His questions showed that he was well acquainted with those places. He then told the merchant: "You have bought this vessel from an old man, named so and so"; giving his exact description. The merchant answered that this was correct. The prince said: "Give him our best regards and ask him about the remaining two vessels; buy them on my behalf". He gave the merchant a great sum of money in order to buy those

and yet other vessels, of which he gave him exact descriptions. Before leaving, the merchant said that he wanted to enter into the allegiance of the prince. On this the prince administered to him, in a private audience, the *'ahd*. The merchant left immediately for Egypt, met the old man and told him the story. The latter fell on his knees thanking God, touched the merchant with reverence and said in tears: Happy are you who have had this great privilege. The old man recounted that all those vessels had been given to him by al-Āmir who spoke to him as follows: if he should one day find himself in need and knew not where his Lord was staying, he was to sell one of the vessels; it would yearn for its master and find its way to him. The merchant bought all the vessels and also took a letter from the old man; and returned to the West to the prince. — It seems that the mention of the various 'pretenders' and especially that of the obscure Kharijite Imam of Oman Muḥammad b. Ghassān (about whom I could find no information in the sources accessible to me), proves the antiquity of the legend. — (Incidentally: another Kharijite Imam of Oman, a contemporary of al-Ḥākim and also apparently not known otherwise, is mentioned in the list of the 'pretenders' of his time by Ḥamid al-dīn al-Kirmānī (*Kitāb al-maṣābīḥ*, fol. 84, 86, 91 of the copy in my possession); his name is 'Amr al-Nazwānī, *i.e.* of Nazwa, the old stronghold of Kharijism in Oman.)

III

Power was assumed, immediately after the death of al-Āmir, by his cousin 'Abd al-Majīd, or, to put it in a manner more corresponding to the real situation, by two favourites of the late Caliph who put him forward as the nominal ruler. What was the ideology by which they justified the new régime before the public? The article of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* to which we have already referred has the following answer: "The last four Fatimid Caliphs of Egypt were not regarded as Imams even by themselves and the *khutba* was read in the name of *al-Qā'im*, the promised Imam who will come on the Last Day". We shall see how far this view is from being correct, for al-Ḥāfiẓ and his successors did profess to be fully legitimate Imams. However, before al-Ḥāfiẓ eventually made this claim, a period was to pass in which the ideological foundations of government went through a series of most remarkable changes.

For the initial seizure of power by al-Ḥāfiẓ we have fortunately at our disposal a narrative setting forth in precise terms the official version by which his régime was justified.

There is a remarkable contrast between the precise information on such matters given by the good Egyptian sources, with their real understanding of the issues involved, and the nondescript and confused accounts by non-Egyptian chroniclers like Ibn al-Qalānisi and Ibn al-Athīr.

The account is from the pen of one of the best authorities on Fatimid history, Ibn al-Ṭuwayr (525-617)¹: "When Hazārmard and Barghash

¹ Quoted by Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Popper, III, 4-5. Cahen, p. 10-11, has shown that Ibn Khaldūn's account, IV, 70 ff., is a condensation of that of Ibn al-Ṭuwayr. — For references to the other historians dealing with these events cf. Wiet's pages quoted above, p. 195.

saw that there was nobody to take charge of the government, they chose the Emir Abu-l-Maymūn ‘Abd al-Majīd, who was the eldest member of the reigning family. They put about the story that the late Caliph had, a week before his death, prophesied what was going to happen. He had applied to himself the words: *al-miskīn, al-maqtūl bi-l-sikkīn*, “The poor man, who will be killed by a dagger”. He had announced that one of his wives was pregnant and that he had seen a dream according to which she was to give birth to a male child destined to become the Caliph under the tutorship of ‘Abd al-Majīd Abu-l-Maymūn, having as his vizier Hizabr al-mulūk (*i.e.* Hazārmard) and as his chamberlain and commander-in-chief the Emir Yānis... A *sijill* to this effect was read in the Great Hall with al-Ḥāfiẓ sitting in a lodge; the reading was done by the Chief Qadi from a *minbar* erected in the front of the lodge, in the presence of the chief men of the state.” Other historians, too, inform us that ‘Abd al-Majīd assumed the regency pending the expected delivery of the widow of the late Caliph ¹.

About the strange prophecies put into the mouth of al-Āmir in the proclamation cf. *‘Uyūn al-akhbār*, VII, 312: “When the time arrived for al-Āmir to depart to the presence of his God and to join Muḥammad and his associates, he made allusions to this effect to his intimates employed in his *da‘wa*. For instance: there was brought before him a beautiful apple in its skin, having in its middle a fine big green and fresh kernel. The Imam took it, asked for a knife and dipped it into the apple up to the hilt. He said to those present: This is my likeness; I shall be taken away from the midst of you and the iron will touch me as you have seen. Another instance: ‘Ali b. al-Ḥusayn, the secretary of the two holy cities (*kātib al-ḥaramayn*), was sent by Ibrāhīm b. Abī Hāshim, the ruler of Mecca [not mentioned in the standard history, Chr. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, vol I; according to the sources he quotes — p. 65; Table I, no. 42 — the ruler at this time was Fulayta, the grand-son of Abū Hāshim; have we perhaps to read <Abū> Ibrāhīm and take this as the *kunya* of Fulayta?] to the noble court of al-Āmir. The Commander of the Faithful ordered the *dā‘ī* Abu-l-fakhr [who seems to be unknown elsewhere] to provide him an honourable lodging. ‘Ali b. al-Ḥusayn stayed for a whole year. Abu-l-fakhr used to urge the Imam to finish the outstanding business of ‘Ali b. al-Ḥusayn so that he could return to the Hijaz; the Imam, however, would take no heed and merely give the answer: *Miskīn ibn miskīn, maqtūl bi-l-sikkīn*.” — These stories are characteristic of the style of Ismaili propaganda. It will be noted that the story of Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī, quoted above, is based on the same motive of the Imam foreboding the future events, although its tendency is diametrically opposed to that of the story spread by the government of ‘Abd al-Majīd. Such stories formed an essential part of Fatimid propaganda and we see how they could be used by rival fractions in an internal strife.

¹ It is obvious from the account of Ibn al-Ṭuwayr and the other chronicles that the notion of the *‘Uyūn al-akhbār* about ‘Abd al-Majīd initially assuming the regency on behalf of al-Ṭayyib is completely false. The Ṭayyibī tradition puts the blame for the ousting of al-Ṭayyib squarely on Abū ‘Alī Kutayfāt. As a matter of fact, the claims of al-Ṭayyib were discounted from the very beginning of the regency of ‘Abd al-Majīd.

There remains one question to be answered, in connection with this proclamation of the government of 'Abd al-Majīd and Hazārmard. We have seen that al-Ṭayyib had been proclaimed as the heir at his birth, several months before the death of his father; and that the news of this was broadcast *urbi et orbi*. Now we hear about the dream al-Āmir had a few weeks before his death concerning the expected posthumous birth of an heir, about the guardianship of 'Abd al-Majīd for the unborn child, and so on! Now it was all very well for the government secretly to kill the little al-Ṭayyib, if that was indeed what happened—but still some explanation had to be given to the public of why effect was not given to the proclamation in his favour, made at the time of his birth. If we read between the lines of the declaration reported by Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, we shall find the aim of the story of al-Āmir's dream to be in fact this: that by that dream the former appointment of al-Ṭayyib was abrogated and superseded by that of the child to be born. What was given out about the fate of al-Ṭayyib (whose existence the government could not, after all, simply deny), is not mentioned by Ibn al-Ṭuwayr; we may guess that it was asserted that he died, either before or after the death of al-Āmir. The only allusion to the official position of the then government in this matter is the cryptic phrase of Ibn al-Muyassar: "He (*scil.* 'Abd al-Majīd) concealed the matter of the child that had been born to al-Āmir".

The rule of Hazārmard proved, however, to be of short duration. Abū 'Alī Aḥmad (nick-named Kutayfāt), the son of al-Afḍal, was raised to the vizierate by the army¹. We may assume that, for some time at least, the arrangements concerning the status of 'Abd al-Majīd were continued as before².

It was probably at the moment when the expectations of the birth of a male heir proved false, that the new vizier made the radical change that affected the very foundations of the régime. By the extinction of the direct line a vacuum was created. We cannot appraise with certainty the share that religious convictions and political expediency had in forming the decision of Abū 'Alī to fill the gap in the manner that he did. The Fatimid dynasty was declared deposed and the empire was placed under the sovereignty of the Expected Imam, the Mahdi

¹ According to Ibn al-Muyassar (p. 74) on Monday (or Thursday) the 16th of Dhu-l-qa'da. "He arrested Abu-l-Maymūn ('Abd al-Majīd) the morning after his *bay'a*". The last phrase is not quite clear; does it mean: the day after he, *scil.* the new vizier, had payed his allegiance to the regent, 'Abd al-Majīd? or does *bay'a* here mean simply: his appointment as vizier?

² This seems to be confirmed by the fact that the *khutba* was read in the Yemen, as we shall see, in the name of al-Ṭayyib (this being due to the special position of the Yemenites), 'Abd al-Majīd as regent and Abū 'Alī as vizier.

of the Imamite Twelver Shia. ('Abd al-Majīd was, of course, removed from the regency and put into custody.)

One could, a priori, attempt to put a different construction on the procedure of Abū 'Alī. As the direct Fatimid line became extinguished, he declared the sovereignty to devolve on the Mahdi-Qā'im, the expected Messiah of the *Ismā'īlīs*, not of the Twelvers — *i.e.* a descendant of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, not the Mahdi of the Twelver line. Such an assumption has, however, no base whatsoever in our authorities, who say expressly that Abū 'Alī adopted the Imamite creed. — When Wiet says: "... l'Imam Attendu, c'est à dire un hypothétique descendant de Nizār, fils de Mustanṣir" (p. 86; similarly also in *Précis de l'Histoire d'Égypte*, II, 191) he is, no doubt, mistaken.

This solution secured the maximum amount of power to Abū 'Alī Kutayfāt, who ruled as a dictator responsible to no one either in theory or practice. To be sure, our sources assert that Abū 'Alī was an Imamite by conviction, and his religious views may in fact have played an important part in his decision.

We have coins of the year 525 (struck in Cairo, Fuṣṭāṭ and Alexandria) bearing the name of "The Imam Muḥammad Abu-l-Qāsim *al-muntaẓir li-amri-llāh*, Commander of the Faithful". Other coins (Alexandria, 526) give greater prominence to the person of the regent; they read as follows: "*Al-imām al-mahdī al-qā'im bi-amri-llāh ḥujjat Allāh 'ala-l-'ālamīn*"; furthermore: "Al-Afḍal Abū 'Alī Aḥmad, his Representant (*nā'ib*) and Lieutenant (*khalīfa*)".

I know the following coins of this type. 1) Dinar, Alexandria, 525 (Paris, H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, III: *Égypte-Syrie*, n. 439, p. 163; Cairo, St. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of the Arabic Coins preserved in the Khedivial Library*, no. 1268, p. 194). — 2) Dinar, Cairo, 525 (London, St. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, IV, p. 55-6). — 3) Dirham, Cairo, 525 (Berlin, H. Nützel, in: *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 1906, p. 276). — 4) Dirham, Miṣr, 525 (Vienna, E. Bergmann, in: *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1873, p. 158 ff.). — The form *al-muntaẓar(-ir?) li-* (or *bi-*) *amri-llāh* is curious; so far as I know, it is not used elsewhere among the Twelvers. It seems to have been coined in imitation of Fatimid usage. See H. Sauvaire and St. Lane-Poole, *The Twelfth Imam on the Coinage of Egypt* in: J.R.A.S., N. S. VII, p. 140 ff. — The following is the protocol assumed by Abū 'Alī Kutayfāt, according to al-Rūhī (MS Oxford, Uri no. 865, in the article "al-Ḥāfiẓ" — no pagination), Ibn al-Muyassar (p. 75) and al-Suyūṭī (*Ḥusn al-muḥāḍara* II. 131 — *wuzarā' Miṣr*): *al-sayyid al-ajall al-afḍal sayyid mamālik arbāb al-duwal (mālik aṣḥāb al-duwal, Ibn Muyassar) wa-l-muḥāmi 'an ḥauzat al-dīn wa-nāshir janāh al-'adl 'ala-l-muslimīn al-aqrābīn wa-l-ab'adīn nāẓir imām al-ḥaqq fi ḥālatay ghaybatihī wa-ḥuḍūrihī al-qā'im bi-nuṣratihī bi-māḍī sayfihī wa-ṣā'ib ra'yihī wa-tadbīrihī amīn Allāh 'alā 'ibādihī wa-hādi-l-quḍāt ila-ttibā' shar' al-ḥaqq wa-'timādihī wa-murshid du'āt al-mu'minīn bi-wādiḥ bayānihī wa-irshādihī ... Abū 'Alī Aḥmad ibn al-sayyid al-ajall al-afḍal Shāhinshāh amīr al-juyūsh. (Wiet has already pointed out — p. 86, note 2 — that the dedication of Ibn al-Ṣayrafi's *Qānūn dīwān al-rasā'il* has the same protocol and must, therefore, refer to Abū 'Alī Kutayfāt.) — The style follows closely that of the Fatimid viziers after Badr Amīr al-juyūsh. The phrase: *murshid du'āt al-mu'minīn* might even suggest at first sight that, as he remained the head of the Ismaili hier-*

archy of the *dā'īs*, Abū 'Alī must have remained an Ismaili himself (cf. above, p. 205). This would be, however, a false conclusion. It was not impossible for a Fatimid vizier to be personally a non-Ismaili and yet to assume the customary title of the 'director' of the *dā'īs*. So it is not so surprising that Abū 'Alī, though he was personally a non-Ismaili and even 'disestablished' Ismailism as the religion of the State, still remained the titular head of the *da'wa*.

All this meant, of course, the abolition of Ismailism as the state religion of Egypt¹. Nevertheless, Abū 'Alī did not propose to outlaw it² and even showed it a certain amount of consideration: in the college of qadis which he appointed and which consisted of four members, there sat an Ismaili, in addition to a Ḥanafī, a Shāfi'ī and an Imāmī (Ibn al-Muyassar, p. 74; cf. H. F. Amedroz, *Office of Kadi*, J.R.A.S., 1910, p. 786). Moreover, if the view put forward above is correct, Abū 'Alī went so far as to become, after the practice followed by Fatimid viziers, titular head of the Ismaili *da'wa*.

It was, no doubt, a vague reminiscence of the intermezzo of Abū 'Alī, as it has been just described, when allegiance was paid to the 'Expected Mahdi', that induced Ivanow to postulate that during the reigns of the last four Fatimid Caliphs the "*khutba* was read in the name of al-Qā'im" (cf. above, p. 202). The information concerning the *coup d'état* of Abū 'Alī was erroneously referred to the reigns of al-Ḥāfiz and his successors.

If Abū 'Alī hoped to establish his régime firmly as the 'Lieutenant' of an Imam whose appearance was to be expected in a conveniently distant future, he was quickly and cruelly deceived. His reign did not last more than a year. The Ismaili elements evidently did not relish the idea of being relegated to the status of a disestablished religious sect; the Emir Yānis organised resistance, and found a great response, especially among the soldiers of the Kutāmī *jund*, the hereditary mainstay of Fatimid rule. Abū 'Alī was killed while riding outside the city and 'Abd al-Majīd fetched from his prison (16th Muḥarram, 526). The event was commemorated annually, right to the end of the Fatimid dynasty, by the 'īd *al-naṣr* held on that date; cf. al-Maqrizī, *Khitāṭ*, I, 357, 490.

¹ According to al-Rūḥī "he dropped the mention of the House of Ismā'īl" (*i.e.* the Fatimids), *asqaḥ dhikr al Ismā'īl*. The same information occurs also in Ibn al-Muyassar (p. 75) in an altered form: "He dropped the mention of Ismā'īl b. Ja'far from whom the Ismā'īliyya derive their name". The person of Ismā'īl does not play any special role in Ismaili ritual — so this form of the notice is obviously corrupted from that which it has in al-Rūḥī. — According to al-Rūḥī he abolished from the *adhān* the formula *Muḥammad wa-'Alī khayr al-bashar*; Ibn al-Muyassar mentions, instead, the formula *ḥayy 'alā khayr al-'amal*.

² It is probable that the persecution of the staunchest adherents of al-Ṭayyib, mentioned in the passages of Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī, has nothing to do with the adoption of Imamism; it probably belongs to the preceding period and was due to their opposition to the regency of 'Abd al-Majīd on behalf of the unborn child of al-Āmir, instead of al-Ṭayyib.

At first this restoration meant a return to the *status quo*, 'Abd al-Majīd bearing the title of Regent. This is expressly stated by al-Maqrīzī (I, 357) and is confirmed by a coin struck in Alexandria in 526, bearing the old legend: Abu-l-Maymūn 'Abd al-Majīd *walī 'ahd al-muslimīn* (E. T. Rogers, *Quelques pièces rares*, in: Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte, 1882, p. 31 ff.). This was, of course, absurd; there was no legitimate heir for whom 'Abd al-Majīd could act as regent. If Ismailism was to continue the basis of the régime, there was only one way open, to proclaim 'Abd al-Majīd as Imam and to try to find some theological justification for the settlement of the Imamate upon him. Such justification was the more imperative as never before in Fatimid history had an Imam been succeeded by any one who was not his son; the situation of 'Abd al-Majīd was, therefore, delicate enough and required careful handling.

On the 3rd of Rabi' II, a few months after his restoration as regent, 'Abd al-Majīd was proclaimed Imam under the title of al-Ḥāfiẓ li-dīn Allāh. Ibn al-Muyassar, p. 75: "On the 3rd Rabi' al-ākhir there was read a *siġill* containing the proclamation of 'Abd al-Majīd as Imam. He rode in the attire of the Caliphs from the Gate of the Feast to the Golden Gate . . . He ordered that the following *khutba* should be pronounced on the *minbars*: O God, bless the one through whom Thou hast fortified Thy religion, after Thy enemies tried to destroy it . . . our Lord and Master, the Imam of our epoch and of our time, 'Abd al-Majīd Abu-l-Maymūn etc.". (Cf. also Ibn Taghribirdī, III, 3.) "More than a year after the assassination of al-Āmir, as if nothing had occurred in the meantime, al-Ḥāfiẓ informed the people of Egypt of his predecessor's death and made efforts to give a firm foundation in theory to his power as Imam. He had an ingenious idea of the way to achieve this: al-Āmir had transmitted the Caliphate to his cousin al-Ḥāfiẓ in the same way as Muḥammad had once conferred the succession on his cousin 'Alī, near the Pool of Khumm" (Wiet). There was, of course, as little mention of al-Ṭayyib, as of the prophecy of al-Āmir about the birth of the male heir and the regency of the Emir 'Abd al-Majīd till he should grow up and be able to succeed to his father's heritage and rule as Imam ¹.

¹ The following account of the accession of al-Ḥāfiẓ by Ibn Ḥammād (548-628) — which he received orally from the qadi Abu-l-Makārim Hibat-Allāh al-Miṣrī — though it is rather confused, deserves to be quoted (ed. Vonderheyden, p. 60). "Al-Ḥāfiẓ was of the family of the Caliphs, but was not the son of a Caliph, while it was part of their law and doctrine (read: *wa-kān min rasmihim wa-madhhabihim allā yuwallū* . . . instead of *wa-kāna-bna ra'isihim wa-madhhabuhum* . . . ?) not to entrust the Caliphate to any but the son of a Caliph. Al-Āmir died childless, but it was thought that he left one of his wives pregnant". The next words are, no doubt, corrupt: *wa-lidhālika bi-l-Ḥāfiẓ*. "As no child was born, 'Abd al-Majīd al-Ḥāfiẓ said to his *dā'i* — this is how they name the

The *siḡill* proclaiming ‘Abd al-Majīd as Imam has luckily been preserved by al-Qalqashandī¹. It begins with the full protocol in the usual Fatimid style; in addition, it asserts emphatically, in the very preamble, that the inheritance of his forefathers the Imams has, indeed, devolved on al-Ḥāfiẓ. Coming to the body of the *siḡill*, al-Ḥāfiẓ leads up to his argument by a discreet allusion to the previous troubles: “The moon of truth, even if it is hidden for a time, will appear in the end in the fulness of its light” etc., and reaffirms the main doctrine of Ismailism: that “God does not leave the Moslem Community without an Imam to lead them on the right path”, that “the earth, when it is darkened by the loss of an Imam, will immediately regain its brightness by the accession of another”. Al-Āmir, who was, like his ancestor ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, assassinated by criminals, “often mentioned, some times explicitly, some times obscurely, that he was well aware of the rights of the Commander of the Faithful (*i.e.* al-Ḥāfiẓ); till at the end he expressed this in unmistakable terms . . . He did so because of his knowledge that he (al-Ḥāfiẓ) was the noblest branch on the trunk of Prophecy and that his father, the Emir Abu-l-Qāsim . . . had been named by al-Mustaḡfir *walī ‘ahd al-muslimīn*²; this title is found in the text of the endorsements and grants (*taswīghāt*) addressed to the Chancery offices, in inscriptions on buildings and in documents of sale and purchase, as is of common knowledge”. As Abu-l-Qāsim never came to reign, his appointment as *walī ‘ahd al-muslimīn* might appear purposeless; it has, however — so

person who administers the *bay‘a* and is in charge of the *dā‘wa* —: Pay allegiance to me. But the *dā‘i* refused; so they deposed him and appointed another *dā‘i* who paid allegiance to him (al-Ḥāfiẓ). — This story, too, was told me by Abu-l-Makārim; I have no further information (about the reign of al-Ḥāfiẓ). The account is too vague to allow definite conclusions to be drawn from it. We may connect it with the story about the resistance of the *dā‘is* during the regency of al-Ḥāfiẓ; on the other hand, it is, of course, possible that there was active opposition also at the time of the final assumption of the Imamate by al-Ḥāfiẓ in 526. (For the qadi Abu-l-Makārim, the authority of Ibn Ḥammād who was an Egyptian by origin, but served the Almohads (d. 586), see R. Brunschvig in: *Mélanges Gaudet-Demombynes*, p. 155 ff.)

¹ *Ṣubḥ al-a‘shā*, IX, 291 ff. A few corrections in the text: p. 294, last line: instead of *وعلمه ان اباه الامير ابا القاسم عمه*, read *وعلمه من اباه الامير ابا القاسم عمه*; p. 295, last line: instead of *وجعل ابن عمه عبد الرحيم الخ* read *وجعل ابنه عبد الرحيم الياس ولي عهد المسلمين*; p. 296, l. 13, read: *ووافق <اسمه اسم> جن*.

² This is confirmed by the declarations made in the anti-Nizāri demonstration of 516 A. H. and the corresponding passage of the *al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya*. The argument was there used to prove the superiority of al-Musta‘lī, that he bore the title of *walī ‘ahd al-mu‘minīn*, while his brothers (among whom is Abu-l-Qāsim, the father of al-Ḥāfiẓ) had to content themselves with the inferior status of *walī ‘ahd al-muslimīn* (see the article quoted above p. 194, n. 1, p. 23).

the *siġill* asserts — an inner meaning (*fi ḍimn dhālika bāṭin lā yaʿqiluhū illa-l-ʿālimūn*): in fact, it envisaged Abu-l-Qāsim's son, al-Ḥāfiẓ. It is in this way that al-Ḥāfiẓ claims for his accession the *naṣṣ* or appointment by the preceding Imam, a *conditio sine qua non* in Ismaili theory. But how could one justify the transfer of the Imamate from cousin to cousin, an event without precedent in the history of the dynasty, where, up to that time, sons had invariably succeeded to fathers? There are, however, in the opinion of al-Ḥāfiẓ, events in history which serve as precedents for his accession, nay, even more, which are to be taken as foreshadowing it 'typologically'. ("For events turn out similar in all respects, preceding events support the succeeding ones, and are to be taken as *types* — indication, *ramz* — of them.") At Ghadīr Khumm Muḥammad had appointed 'Alī as his successor; the latter's father had been present at the time of that event. In the same way al-Āmir appointed his cousin al-Ḥāfiẓ, although his uncles were alive: "thus he was following the example of the Prophet". There was another 'type': al-Ḥākīm had, as was well known, appointed his cousin 'Abd al-Raḥīm Ilyās as his heir. Now, this appointment had no practical consequences, as al-Ḥākīm was succeeded not by him, but, as was right, by his own son. Does that mean that the appointment of his cousin by al-Ḥākīm had been in vain? By no means: "there is in that appointment a subtle and deep meaning and a secret hidden from the eyes of the common crowd". Al-Ḥākīm knew perfectly well that, having a son, there was no point in making a cousin his heir; the succession of cousin to cousin is to operate only in the case of an Imam who dies without heir. Al-Ḥākīm, in making that appointment, had no other purpose than to constitute a precedent, or type, for the case of al-Ḥāfiẓ. When al-Manṣūr Abū 'Alī al-Āmir bi-aḥkām Allāh — whose names and *laqab* corresponded with those of al-Ḥākīm — died without heir, "the hidden secret appeared and the allusion became manifest . . . He followed the example of the Prophet . . . and made clear the implicit meaning of al-Ḥākīm . . . He (al-Āmir) used to give him (al-Ḥāfiẓ), in the seating arrangements at table, the same precedence that he had himself . . . and used to depute him to pray over deceased of rank who were worth to be prayed over by the Imam . . . As this matter is now perfectly clear . . . and everybody, foe and friend, understands that God has given the Commander of the Faithful the Imamate" and has favoured him with the support of the vizier Yānis, "it is your duty to pay allegiance to the Commander of the Faithful" etc.

The document summarized above is of great importance; indeed, it constitutes the charter on which the whole Fatimid rule was based

during the forty or so years which were to remain to it. We see that there can be no question of al-Ḥāfiẓ and his successors "not being regarded as Imams even by themselves". The arguments employed in it may, or may not, sound casuistical and unconvincing; that is beside the point. What matters is that the proclamation clearly shows that al-Ḥāfiẓ claimed the rights of the Imamate; by publishing, in his *sijill*, an elaborate apology of his position, he aimed at making people forget the uncertain hesitations which marked his first steps and conveying the idea that his succession had come about in a straightforward way without any complications.

The régime never ceased from that time to assert its legitimacy. Let us take, for example, the inscription from the very year 526 — the inscription whose interpretation gave Wiet occasion to write those paragraphs which we have mentioned repeatedly (*Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, Le Caire*, II, no. 566, p. 81 ff.)¹. The Caliph is here called according to the usual Fatimid protocol: "The servant of God and His beloved our Lord and Master the Imam al-Ḥāfiẓ li-dīn Allāh ('*abd Allāh wa-waliyyuhū maulanā wa-sayyidunā al-Imām al-Ḥāfiẓ li-dīn Allāh*'). In addition, the Qadi Sirāj al-dīn Abu-l-Thurayya mentioned in the inscription bears, among various ordinary titles, some that seem to have a special stress: "[pillar] of the prophetic dynasty, support of the 'Alid and Ḥāfiẓite Caliphate" ([...] *al-daula al-nabawiyya, 'imād al-khilāfa al-'alawiyya al-ḥāfiẓiyya*)².

It would be very easy to multiply examples of the titles of Imamate employed by al-Ḥāfiẓ and his successors on coins, in documents etc.; this would, however, be superfluous. It is evident that the later Fatimids (al-Ḥāfiẓ, al-Zāfir, al-Fā'iz and al-Āḍid) considered themselves fully legitimate Imams and bore the appropriate titles.

The Ismaili traditions, too, were no doubt kept up under these Caliphs. We can compile an almost complete list of the Chief *Dā'īs* who held office under them³. The literary activity of the Ismaili theologians can

¹ In the inscription, instead of *al-qāḍi al-mu'ayyad al-amīr Sirāj al-dīn*, as Wiet, read: *al-qāḍi al-mu'ayyad al-amīn S.*

² *Al-daula al-ḥāfiẓiyya* and *al-imāma al-ḥāfiẓiyya* occurs also in documents emanating from the Chancery (cf. al-Qalqashandī, VI, 450, VI, 108; VIII, 344 — quoted by Wiet, who seems, however, to read too much into this usage).

³ Sirāj al-dīn Abu-l-Thurayya Najm b. Ja'far, *qāḍi al-quḍāt* and *dā'ī al-du'āt*, appointed in 526 (Ibn al-Muyassar, 76⁸ 9); Abu-l-Zāhir Ismā'īl b. Salama, in office in 543 (*idem*, 88⁸, cf. 75¹⁰); Abu-l-Zahr b. Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Ghaffār, in office in 549 (*idem*, 93¹³⁻¹⁴); *al-jalīs* Ibn 'Abd al-Qawī, before and during the times of Shirkūh (al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭat*, I, 391; according to this passage, during the last times of the Fatimid dynasty the Chief *Dā'ī*ship was hereditary among the Banū 'Abd al-Qawī).

be assumed to have continued. If we have no specimens of their products, this is easily explained: "Ḥāfiẓī" Ismailism, as we may call this branch, did not long survive the fall of the Fatimid dynasty and there was nobody to preserve its literature in the manner that "Ṭayyibī" literature was preserved in Yemen and India.

To be sure, Ismailism in Egypt did not disappear immediately after Saladin put an end to Fatimid rule. P. Casanova has collected the evidence about the various Fatimid pretenders, genuine or otherwise, who tried to restore the fallen dynasty (*Les derniers Fatimides*, in: *Mémoires publiées par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française*, vol. VI, 1893, p. 415 ff. ¹). For particulars it is enough to refer to this interesting paper; here we shall quote only the passage in which Casanova summarizes the results of his investigations (p. 444): "The partisans of the Fatimids kept up their agitation for a long time. The main conspiracies were, in Cairo, that of the poet 'Umāra ² in 568 A.H., and in Upper Egypt that of the general Kanz al-daula (569-70). Salāḥ al-dīn discovered the former; his brother al-Malik al-'Ādil combatted and annihilated the latter conspiracy . . . So the partisans of the Fatimids renounced the idea of an open contest. — We know also the names of several pretenders, *viz.*: a person, probably in Cairo, who took the title al-Imam al-Musta'ṣim bi-llāh, and whose name, Abu-l-'Abbās Zāhir leads me to consider him a cousin of al-'Āḍid (the last Fatimid Imam); a self-styled son of al-'Āḍid, called Dāwūd, in 572 A.H. in the town of Qift; a grand-son, possible genuine, of al-Ḥāfiẓ in the year 588, in Cairo; finally, in Fez, a grand-son of al-'Āḍid". To this list we may add another pretender who appeared as late as 1298: Dāwūd b. Sulaymān b. Dāwūd, grandson of the Dāwūd mentioned above (Ibn Ḥajar, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, III, 13; quoted by A. N. Poliak, *Dibrē yēmē ha-'Arābīm*, Jerusalem 1945, p. 155). Moreover, an isolated community of Ismailis is mentioned in 1327 by a geographer as existing in the village of Uṣḫūn; we may assume that there were other similar Ismaili remnants in other parts of Egypt, too.

A. N. Poliak in: J.R.A.S., 1939, p. 429 (quoting, for the Ismailis in Uṣḫūn and in two other villages of the neighbourhood, al-Dimashqī, ed. Mehren, p. 233). The use made by Poliak of these data is somewhat fanciful. Moreover, the information about the Ismailis contained in the special oath devised by the Mameluk chancery for their use, reproduced by Ibn Faḍlallāh and al-Qalqashandī, and especially those to be found in the comments of the latter on the formula — must not be accepted at its face value. The oath itself looks more like a

¹ About the pretender in Fes (executed in 600) and his son (610 or 612) cf. also R. Brunschvig, in: *Mélanges Gaudefroy-Demombynes*, p. 156, note 1.

² More correctly: in which the poet 'Umāra, too, was implicated.

product of erudite fancy than a form actually in use, while many of the comments of al-Qalqashandī are evidently spun out of the text and are not based on an independent tradition. — The formula has been translated by B. Lewis, *Ismā‘īlī Notes*, B.S.O.S., 1948, 597-8, who, however, says that it “may, on the whole, be relied upon as giving the approved formula for the numerous Ismailis still to be found in the Mamluk dominions”.

We have seen (above, p. 197) that besides the official “Ḥāfīzī” Ismailism there were in Egypt adherents of al-Ṭayyib, too; they are recorded even in Syria. The party was known in these countries as “al-Āmiriyya”. They seem to have played no great role; at least they left no traces except in the meagre passages of the two chroniclers quoted above. It was the Yemen that was to become the home of “Ṭayyibī” Ismailism.

IV.

While in Egypt Ismailism succumbed soon after the end of the Fatimid dynasty, it has survived in Yemen — even if in very restricted dimensions — down to the present day; moreover, Yemeni Ismailism founded a thriving colony in India. The Ismailism of Yemen and India is, however, exclusively of the Ṭayyibī persuasion. To be sure, this was not the case from the very beginning. We may anticipate the results of the following investigation by stating that, after the death of al-Āmir, both the Ḥāfīzī and Ṭayyibī parties found adherents in Yemen.

On the history of Ismailism in that country before and after the schism we have at our disposal evidence emanating from both factions. We must undertake the detailed analysis of these texts, even at the peril of unduly prolonging this chapter.

On the official Fatimid side, we have the History of Yemen by ‘Umāra¹. The author’s own religious convictions are anomalous enough: he seems to have managed to reconcile his Shāfi‘ī Sunnism with an ardent attachment to the Fatimids². This attachment was by no means confined to a mere political loyalty to the powers that be; his books bear witness

¹ Published by H. C. Kay, London 1892. In the only manuscript known the book bears the title *Ta’rīkh al-Yaman*. So also in Abu-l-Fidā, Cairo 1325, I, 3 (Introduction); II, 24 (s.a. 203); II, 153 (s.a. 412); III, 35 (s.a. 554). In Ibn Khallikān, s.v. ‘Umāra (ed. Wüstenfeld V, 104), and s.v. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī (V, 91) it is called *Akhhbār al-Yaman*. Other sources call it *Kitāb al-Mufīd fī akhhbār Zabīd*: al-Janādī, in: Derenbourg, *‘Oumara du Yemen*, II, 547; *op. cit.* 544 has: *Mufīd ‘Umāra*, in order to distinguish it from another book of the same title, the *K. al-M. fī a. Z.* of Jayyāsh; *op. cit.* 542, 631, 633, 637, 649: *al-Mufīd*; Al-Sakhāwī, *I‘lām al-tanbīh*, p. 127: *al-Mufīd fī akhhbār Zabīd*; Idrīs, *‘Uyūn al-akhhbār, passim: al-Mufīd*. The history of Zabīd does, in fact, occupy a prominent place in the History of ‘Umāra; nevertheless, the second part of the title: “. . . fī akhhbār Zabīd” does not seem to be altogether justified.

² Cf. I. Goldziher, *Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Bāṭiniyya-Sekte*, p. 7-8.

that he assimilated to a great extent the Ismaili point of view; and it is well known that after the fall of the dynasty he paid with his life for his continued advocacy of the Fatimid cause. His history was written in the year 563 for al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil al-Baysānī, at that time Chancellor and Chief Secretary to the Caliph al-Āḍid. In it ʿUmāra recapitulates the earlier history of the contemporary Yemeni dynasties, treats in greater detail of the events of the hundred years or so preceding his own epoch and also gives an account of contemporary events. For the periods treated in detail by ʿUmāra, his History remained the standard work, which all later historians used as a quarry. Unfortunately, the book has come down to us in a single manuscript only ¹.

¹ Brit. Mus., Or. 3265 (Rieu, *Supplement*, p. 374-8). The manuscript is very faulty; nor is Kay's treatment of the text satisfactory. (His merit lies in the rich material brought together by him for the historical commentary.) Some emendations have been proposed by W. Robertson-Smith in J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 18 ff.; cf. Kay's rejoinder, p. 218 ff. Since the time of Kay's edition, much material, in the form of quotations from the book, has become available, so that a much better text could now be produced. — As an illustration of the state of the text, I wish to dwell at some length on one particular passage that has already exercised the minds of several scholars. On p. 58 ʿUmāra tells a story about the generosity of the *dāʿī* Imrān b. Muḥammad the Zurayʿid. He (ʿUmāra) owed the prince the amount of three thousand dinars; but on returning to his court from Egypt, gave him a letter from the Fatimid vizier al-Malik al-Šāliḥ (Ṭalāʿ b. Ruzzik) demanding that ʿUmāra should be allowed to pay back the money by instalments. (That is the meaning of the term *taqsīṭ*, cf. Dozy, II, 344; it is misunderstood by the translator.) "What is the purport of al-Malik al-Šāliḥ's letter" asked the *dāʿī*. Al-Qāḍī al-Rashīd, who was also present, answered: *taqsīṭ*. The *dāʿī* answered: بل يقدم بين يدين يقسط على ائناف فينسط Kay 'emends' (note 2): يُقَسِّطُ عَلَى الْاِنْفَاءِ فَيَقَسِّطُ and translates: "Let ʿUmāra offer us two lines of verse, in which he shall strictly observe the laws of rhyme, and the account shall be regulated." W. Robertson Smith, in: J.R.A.S., 1893, p. 206-7, after a suggestion about the meaning of *taqsīṭ* (which is, however, wrong), remarks: "The first يقسط seems to be a dittography. "Let him first produce two verses on the subject rhyming in *qāf*." The prince prescribes the rhyme to secure an impromptu." H. Derenbourg (*Oumara du Yemen*, II, 111) is not much nearer to the point: "Let ʿUmāra recite, exclaimed the *dāʿī*, two verses ending in the letter *qāf* preceded by *sin*". In a note, Derenbourg adds: "The command of the *dāʿī*, about the rhyme in *sin qāf*, results from the form in which the passage of ʿUmāra is quoted in Bā Makhrama, *Taʿrikh*, fol. 93vo. [The text as it is quoted by Bā Makhrama — whom Derenbourg adduces to support his interpretation — bears out mine; see ed. Löfgren, vol. II (1950), p. 184.] *Sin* precedes *qāf* in the verb *saqaṭa*, 'to fall', which I suppose must be read wherever Kay printed *qasaṭa* . . . cf. Kay, *Yaman*, p. 58 note 2. In the translation, p. 78, certain details are open to doubt, but the passage as a whole is clear." — The correct interpretation of the passage is, no doubt, as follows. Read: بل يقدم سين يقسط فينسط (بل يقدم بين يدين and سين represent, of course, the same skeleton: سين). Translate: "Let the *sin* of the word يقسط ("it shall be paid by instalments") be made to precede the *qāf* of the same word, so that it (becomes) ينسط ("it — *scil.* the debt — shall be waived)".

Of the historical sources of the Ṭayyibīs, I have been able — in addition to some pages of a contemporary polemical treatise by al-Khaṭṭāb — to make use of the following: a) A chapter from a book of the *dā'ī* Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī (the son of the Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī, mentioned above as an authority on the persecution of the followers of al-Ṭayyib), bearing the title *Tuḥfat al-qulūb wa-ḥarajāt al-kurūb* (Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 55)¹. This passage gives a short review of the earlier Ismaili *dā'īs* of the Yemen and adds a detailed list of the contemporary dignitaries of the *da'wa*. We have here an important primary source. b) The well known compilation of Idrīs 'Imād al-dīn: *'Uyūn al-akhbār*. The final paragraphs of this book (vol. VII, p. 325 ff.) deal with the "troubles that arose after the death of al-Āmir". Idrīs has preserved for us a few original documents that will prove of use; on the other hand, he is a compiler, working with materials of various origins. He had before him 'Umāra's book² and the writings of various Ṭayyibī authors; his account will be seen to be an attempt to harmonize the Ṭayyibī point of view with the data given by 'Umāra.

Let us begin with 'Umāra. His book cannot be called well constructed; its various chapters are strung together without much internal cohesion. That on the Ṣulayḥids ends abruptly with the mention al-Malika al-Sayyida's affliction over the arrest of the *dā'ī* Ibn Najīb al-daula (p. 48). (It is, indeed, sufficiently puzzling why 'Umāra is silent about the further history of the queen.) There follows the chapter about the Banū Zuray', in which 'Umāra goes back to the beginnings of the family fortunes. When Saba' b. 'Alī is first introduced (p. 49), the title *dā'ī* is attached to his name; on p. 55, in a passage which will command our attention in the latter part of this chapter, it is explicitly stated that he was in charge of the *da'wa* of al-Ḥāfiẓ. There is, however, no account given in the main body of the book of the events that led to the transfer of the *dā'ī*ship to the Zuray'ids.

This matter is dealt with in the last paragraph of the book, a kind of appendix, which bears the inscription: "Chapter in which are enumerated the persons who had held the office of *dā'ī* in Yemen for the Fatimids" (p. 100-2). 'Umāra mentions there: 'Alī b. Muḥammad, the founder of the Ṣulayḥid house; his son al-Mukarram Aḥmad — both of whom

¹ Ivanow gave further details about the treatise in: *Journal of Bombay Branch of R.A.S.*, 1939, p. 1 ff. I have no manuscript of the book at my disposal; the passage in question is reproduced from the extract in the *Kitāb al-azhār*. See Appendix no. II.

² The History of 'Umāra, quoted under the name of *al-Muḥīd* (cf. above note 52) is one of the main sources of vol. VII.

combined sovereign power with the *dā'ī*ship; Sulaymān al-Zawāhī¹; the Qadi [Yaḥyā b. Lamak]² b. Mālik; and, finally, 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Najīb al-daula³. — From a chance remark of 'Umāra in another part of his book (p. 45) we learn that a certain 'Abdallāh b. 'Abdallāh (so ed.; the *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, which quotes the whole chapter in question — VII, 301 ff. — has 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh, which is perhaps preferable), a Ṣulayḥid, "exercised the functions of *dā'ī* after Ibn Najīb al-daula". The text goes on to recount the notification received by al-Malika al-Sayyida of the birth of al-Ṭayyib and his appointment as heir; the *siḡill* announcing this event is given *in extenso*. It is related that al-Ḥāfiẓ, in the first year of his rule, styled himself *walī 'ahd al-muslimīn*. The Queen then appointed as *dā'ī* Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmīdī. "She transferred the office of *dā'ī* on behalf of the Caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ to the family of Zuray'. «Sufficient», said the Queen, «for the Banū al-Ṣulayḥī is that which they know respecting our Lord al-Ṭayyib». Then the office was held by Ḥātīm b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmīdī, "down to our time". "It was transferred under the reign of al-Ḥāfiẓ to the family of Zuray'." The first *dā'ī* of that house was Saba' b. Abi-l-Su'ūd; he was succeeded by Muḥammad b. Saba'.

If we want to paraphrase the passage as it stands and interpret its force, we shall have to say something like the following. Al-Malika al-Sayyida remained convinced of the rights of al-Ṭayyib; she took care to have his *da'wa* preached by Ibrāhīm (followed by his son Ḥātīm). On the other hand, she was obliged — by political necessities, we may safely suppose — to appoint *dā'īs* on behalf of al-Ḥāfiẓ, too. But, in

¹ Sulaymān b. 'Āmir, of the eminent Ismaili family of al-Zawāhī, half-brother of al-Malika al-Sayyida; his appointment as *dā'ī* is mentioned also in the body of 'Umāra's book, where it is added that he was subsequently poisoned by the Queen's minister, al-Mufaḍḍal (p. 28; cf. also p. 34).

² There is a lacuna in the manuscript between the words *qāḍī* and *b. Mālik*; there is, however, not the slightest doubt that we have to supply: *Yaḥyā b. Lamak*. On him see Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 50, and below in the present study, p. 219.

³ His history is told at length in the body of 'Umāra's book (p. 42-8). All the information of the *'Uyūn al-akhbār* about him (VII, 297 ff.) derives from 'Umāra. (Idris quotes, however, in addition two poems by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Imrān praising the exploits of Ibn Najīb al-daula; p. 304-5.) — I wish to put forward, with due reservation, the suggestion that this 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Najīb al-daula was a grandson of Najīb al-daula 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Jarjarā'ī (mentioned in Ibn Taghribirdī, ed. Popper, II, 130, 142). — On the ultimate fate of Ibn Najīb al-daula, about which 'Umāra and the other Yemeni historians have no information, cf. Ibn al-Muyassar, p. 20 (l. 10 read: *أبن <نجيب الدولة>*), 21; Ibn Khaldūn, IV, 70; F. Wüstenfeld, *Fatimiden*, p. 296 ff. (after Ibn Zāfir). "Umāra's silence on the subject is easily understood. Believing the *dā'ī* to be innocent, he did not wish to charge al-Āmir with a judicial murder" (Robertson-Smith, *loc. cit.*, p. 205).

doing so, she was yielding to *force majeure*; in her heart she remained true to al-Ṭayyib, the rightful Imam: "Sufficient for the Banū al-Ṣulayḥī is that which they know respecting our Lord al-Ṭayyib".

To paraphrase the passage, is to lay bare its difficulties. In fact, it does not seem to me easy to believe that it was written by 'Umāra. It is not that there are intrinsic reasons for declaring that the events could not have happened in the way described; indeed, we shall come to the conclusion that they actually did happen in approximately that way. But, admitted that the passage relates what is historically true, it is still impossible to believe that 'Umāra described them in this way. This sounds paradoxical; but we must recall the ideological premisses of the post-Ḥāfiẓī Caliphate of the Fatimids and 'Umāra's attitude towards that Caliphate. We have seen that the book in which this passage is supposed to have stood, was dedicated to a high dignitary of the Caliph, a grand-son of al-Ḥāfiẓ. Is it, then, conceivable that 'Umāra should say, in so many words, that the true heir of al-Āmir was al-Ṭayyib; that al-Ḥāfiẓ and his descendants are — by implication — usurpers; that the Zuray'ids, his patrons, whom, in all his writings, he never ceases to praise, are 'second class' *dā'īs*, owing their appointment to a merely outward compliance with political pressure, while the real *dā'īs* of the real Imam are the Ḥāmidīs? On internal grounds the conclusion seems, then, inevitable that the passage has been tampered with. This is borne out by external evidence, too.

We have mentioned that late historians use 'Umāra's book extensively; among them is al-Janadī. Now, in a passage, clearly based on the paragraph we are dealing with, he writes as follows¹: "When Ibn Najīb al-daula departed, as will be related hereafter, the queen appointed in his place the *dā'ī* Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī. When she received tidings of the death of al-Āmir and of the accession of his successor al-Ḥāfiẓ in Egypt, she transferred the office of *dā'ī* to the family of Zuray', as will hereafter be clearly explained. «Sufficient», she said, «for the family of al-Ṣulayḥī is what they have done in the cause of our Lords, upon whom be the blessings of God». This occurred after the death of the *dā'ī* Ibrāhīm, and the first of the family of Zuray' to be invested with the dignity was Saba' son of Abu-l-Su'ūd". Further on, according to Kay, after relating the end of Ibn Najīb al-daula's career

¹ See Kay, note 102, p. 297-300. — Kay has seen some of the difficulties of the text of 'Umāra. He points out, very pertinently, that "the unsatisfactory manner in which the edict of the khalifa al-Āmir is introduced and interrupts the subject of the chapter, is in itself suspicious". Kay will not be blamed if some of the further suggestions in the note miss their mark; the background of these events was, of course, quite obscure at the time.

in Yemen, al-Janadī repeats the statement in almost the same words, but adds that Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī did not long survive his appointment and that at about the time he died there came news of the death of the reigning Caliph in Cairo, on the receipt of which the Queen transferred the office of *dāʿī* to the Zurayʿites.

It is probable that al-Janadī has preserved for us the actual wording of the sentence put by ʿUmāra into the mouth of the Queen. "Sufficient for the family of al-Ṣulayḥī is what they have done in the cause of our Lord, upon whom the blessings of God". That is to say: the time of the Ṣulayḥids is past; the Fatimid *daʿwa* is in need of fresh forces — hence the appointment of the Zurayʿids. This is a good justification of the position of the Zurayʿids and is, as a matter of fact, the way one expects ʿUmāra to speak. It may be suggested that by a slight yet ingenious change (*ʿalimū* instead of *ʿamilū* and *our Lord al-Ṭayyib* instead of *our Lords*) a Ṭayyibī hand produced out of the passage, originally a vindication of the Ḥāfiẓī *dāʿīs* of the house of Zurayʿ, support for the Ṭayyibī cause. The same hand added the sentence about Ḥātim's succession to his father; by a somewhat awkward repetition (*It was transferred . . . Zurayʿ*) he connected the interpolated sentence with the end of the original text. It was again the same interpolator who inserted the passage about the birth of al-Ṭayyib, the text of the *siḡill* and the note about the original style of al-Ḥāfiẓ as a mere regent ¹.

In the following translation of the paragraph adopted, with corrections, from Kay, what is to be considered the original text of ʿUmāra is printed in italics, while the assumed Ṭayyibī interpolations are in smaller type.

CHAPTER IN WHICH ARE ENUMERATED THE PERSONS WHO HELD THE OFFICE OF DĀʿĪ IN YEMEN FOR THE FATIMIDS

Of their number was the dāʿī ʿAlī b. Muḥammad the Ṣulayḥī, who combined the office of dāʿī with the supreme power as temporal sovereign. Next was his son al-Mukarram Aḥmad the Ṣulayḥī, who likewise combined both offices. After him the Sultan Ṣulaymān al-Zawāḥī exercised the functions of dāʿī, but did not hold sovereign rule. Then the Qadī [Yaḥyā b. Lamak] b. Mālīk al-Ḥāmidī combined the office of dāʿī and qadī, but did not exer-

¹ As the British Museum manuscript of ʿUmāra can have hardly belonged to Ismailis, we must, the hypothesis of an interpolation admitted, assume that the archetype from which it was copied passed through Ismaili hands. One takes recourse to the assumption of so far reaching an interpolation with diffidence — but I cannot see how one can escape the force of both the internal and external evidence.

cise sovereign rule. Next 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Muwaffaq *fi-l-dīn*, son of Najīb al-dāula, held the office of *dā'ī* and exercised sovereign rule, under the authority of the Lady Queen al-Sayyida, over part of her dominions.

Then, when the official notification was received from our Lord the Imam al-Āmir bi-ahkām Allāh, Commander of the faithful, bringing to the Queen, his *hujja* in the province (*jazīra*) of Yemen¹, the glad tidings of his son, our Lord the Imam al-Ṭayyib Abu-l-Qāsim, and the new-born Prince's designation as successor to the Imamate, (it was) conceived in the following terms²:

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Gracious.

From the servant of God and His beloved, al-Manšūr Abū 'Alī, al-Āmir bi-ahkām Allāh Commander of the Faithful, unto the Lady the Queen, the highly esteemed, the pure, the stainless, the matchless of her age, sovereign lady of the kings of Yemen, the pillar, the true friend of the Imam, treasure of the Faith, support of the true Believers, refuge to the *mustajīb*s, protectress of the truly directed, favourite of the Commander of the Faithful, Guardian of his blessed servants³. Etc. etc. Soon afterwards our Lord al-Āmir died and al-Ḥāfiẓ succeeded. The first edict that reached the queen from him purported to proceed from *walī 'ahd al-muslimīn*.

In the second year of the Commander of the Faithful the Queen appointed the noble dā'ī Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmīdī.

She next transferred the office of *dā'ī* on behalf of the Caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ to the family of Zuray⁴. „Sufficient”, she said, “for the family of al-Ṣulayhī is what they have done in the cause of our Lords, upon whom the blessings of God”. [This occurred after the death of the *dā'ī* Ibrāhīm.]⁴

She next transferred the office of *dā'ī* on behalf of the Caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ to the family of Zuray⁴. “Sufficient”, said the Queen, “for the Banu al-Ṣulayhī is what they know respecting our Lord al-Ṭayyib”.

Then the office was held by his son Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmīdī, down to the present day. It was transferred under the reign of al-Ḥāfiẓ to the family of Zuray⁴.

¹ Note the discrepancy; while in the first paragraph it is implied that al-Sayyida did not exercise a spiritual function, here she is called *hujja*. It is suggested that the difference is between the genuine 'Umāra, who does not know of al-Sayyida as a spiritual authority, and the Ṭayyibī tradition which does (confer below p. 221, 223, 224, n. 3).

² The text of the *siġill* can be corrected with the help of the version contained in the 'Uyūn al-akhbār (cf. p. 197, n. 3). P. 100 l. 17 read *khāliṣat al-Imām* instead of *khāṣṣat al-Imām*. L. 18 *al-mustajībīn* is, of course, correct, *al-mustanjidīn* a mistaken alteration. L. 21 after *yahmadu* add *ilayka*. P. 101 l. 2 *muhtadīn*, 'Uyūn: *al-mahdiyyīn*, probably correctly; l. 4 after *inqaḍū* add *minhā*; l. 5 *a'qabahā* read *-hū*; l. 8 after *zakiyyan* add *raḍiyyan*; l. 11 'izzatihī read *ghurratihī*; l. 12 *al-mafāṣil* read *al-faḍā'il*; l. 14 after *qadaḥa* add *bihī*; l. 21 'Uyūn reads, more correctly: *wa-ghauthan li-l-muštariġhīn wa-ghaythan li-l-muntajī'in* instead of *wa-'aunan li-l-muštarrīn wa-ghauthan li-l-muntajī'in*. P. 102 l. 2 after *maḥalliki* add 'indahū; *imtana'a*, 'Uyūn reads *irtafa'a*; l. 6 *minhā* read *minhum*; l. 7 *minhu wa-l-ḥuḍūr* read *fi-l-bādīn wa-l-ḥuḍūr*; *wa-'lamī* read *wa-'malī*. There are small divergences in the final formulas.

³ This protocol of the Queen recurs also in the *khutba* quoted below and in the documents preserved in the collection of al-Mustanṣir's *siġillāt* (cf. B.S.O.S., 1933, p. 307 ff.) and in the 'Uyūn al-akhbār.

⁴ The information given in this passage about Ibrāhīm is one of the main difficulties in the whole problem. According to Ṭayyibī sources (cf. below and Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 52) he was ap-

The first of them was the matchless Emir Saba' b. Abi-l-Su'ūd b. Zuray b. al-'Abbās al-Yāmī, who combined the office of dā'ī with sovereign rule. He was succeeded by his son, the great, the crowned, the powerful dā'ī, dā'ī of the Commander of the Faithful, Muḥammad b. Saba', in whose hands likewise the functions of dā'ī and the royal office were combined.

The text of 'Umāra as here reconstructed clearly aims at claiming the "apostolic succession" for the dā'īship of the Zuray'ids who are represented as appointed by al-Malika al-Sayyida, the last of the line of the Ṣulayḥids who had played such an outstanding role in Yemenite Ismailism. We learn little, however, about the actual circumstances of the crisis which led to the emergence of the Zuray'ids.

The passage of the dā'ī Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm (see Appendix no. II) also leaves our curiosity unsatisfied on this point; it contains, however, valuable information about the dā'īs, complementing the data furnished by 'Umāra.

We can leave aside the beginning of the passage, dealing with the earliest period of the Ismaili *da'wa* in Yemen, which does not concern us here. The figure who holds, in the epoch of the Ṣulayḥids, the main interest of Ḥātim, is the qadi Lamak b. Mālik. He was sent by 'Alī b. Muḥammad the Ṣulayḥid as his envoy to Cairo, where he stayed until 'Alī's death. There he enjoyed the teaching of the great Ismaili scholar of the period, al-Mu'ayyad fi-l-dīn, who held the office of Chief *Dā'ī*. On the accession of 'Alī's son Aḥmad al-Mukarram, Lamak returned to Yemen. Ḥātim defines his position as follows: "He was the dignitary of the pen (*ṣāḥib rutbat al-qalam*), by the side of the two excellent dā'īs, the dignitaries of the sword, al-Ajall al-Auḥad (i.e. 'Alī b. Muḥammad) and his son al-Mukarram". Lamak was succeeded by his son Yaḥyā. Yaḥyā, jointly with al-Malika al-Sayyida, appointed various *ḥudūd*, i.e. subordinate dā'īs. The most distinguished among them was al-Dhu'ayb b. Mūsā (cf. Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 52; died 546), whom Yaḥyā appointed as his successor. Al-Dhu'ayb appointed as his assistant al-Khaṭṭāb (cf. Appendix no. III); "the two of them were in charge of the *jazīra* and appointed its *ḥudūd* . . . both during the life-time of the *ḥujja* and the dā'ī and after their death".

After the death of al-Khaṭṭāb (533) al-Dhu'ayb appointed the writer's

pointed as an assistant of al-Dhu'ayb after the death of al-Khaṭṭāb (533), succeeded to al-Dhu'ayb on the latter's death (546), and died in 557. According to our text he was appointed dā'ī in 526 and, according to al-Janādī's version (it is difficult to decide what the original text of 'Umāra was) died before the transfer of the *da'wa* to the Zuray'ids, i.e. soon after 526. We have to assume that the Ṭayyibī tradition is substantially correct. — Cf. below, p. 228.

father Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī in his stead. After the death of al-Dhu'ayb Ibrāhīm succeeded to his office.

Ibrāhīm, in his turn, adopted as his assistants 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walid (cf. *Guide*, p. 53) and Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir (cf. *Guide*, p. 53; died 584). On Ibrāhīm's death (557, according to Ismaili tradition), the author, his son, succeeded him. His two assistants were Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir and 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid (cf. *Guide*, p. 56). For our present purpose there is no need to go into the other details, interesting as they are, which the author gives about the organization of the *da'wa* under his own *dā'iship*.

The discrepancies between the accounts of Ḥātīm and 'Umāra, due to the different points of view of the two authors, will appear from the following table, confronting the lists of the leaders of the *da'wa* in Yemen as given by them.

	<i>Ḥātīm</i>		<i>'Umāra</i>	
official head of <i>da'wa</i>	spiritual leader			
'Alī			'Alī	
	Lamak			
al-Mukarram			al-Mukarram	
al-Sayyida	Yaḥyā		Sulaymān	
No <i>ḥuḡḡa</i> after disappearance of al-Ṭayyib	Dhu'ayb		Yaḥyā	} al-Sayyida exercising temporal rule
			Najīb al-daula	
	Ibrāhīm		'Alī b. 'Abdallāh	
			Ibrāhīm	
	Ḥātīm			
	and the succe- sion of <i>dā'is</i>		Zuray'ids	

The first difference is that Ḥātīm has, in contrast to ‘Umāra, two parallel lines of succession. This, however, does not yet involve a real contradiction. Ḥātīm himself stresses that, while Lamak and his successors were regarded as the leaders of the *da‘wa* in spiritual things, the first place in it belonged to the Ṣulayḥids. It is true, that for Ḥātīm the line of Lamak has a very special significance; it provides the foundations for the ‘apostolic succession’ of the *dā‘īs*, the actual heads of the Yemeni *da‘wa*, when, after the ‘concealment’ of al-Ṭayyib, it became autocephalous. In the period of ‘*kashf*’, the members of this line had occupied the second rank, under the chiefs of the *da‘wa* (being, at the same time, the spiritual leaders of the movement); when, at the beginning of the period of ‘*satr*’, the office of those chiefs falls into abeyance, they, the successors of Lamak, are left as the highest dignitaries of the *da‘wa*. Al-Dhu‘ayb is a specially important link, bridging in his person the two periods and assuring, over the critical moment of the ‘disappearance of the Imam’, the continuity of the line. So it is not surprising that Ḥātīm makes much of Lamak and his successors; nor does, of course, ‘Umāra’s silence imply much: he does not mention them because they were *not* the heads of the *da‘wa* — and it is those that he wanted to enumerate in the paragraph in question.

How far the hierarchy of the *da‘wa* in Yemen was systematized and if we can assume that the actual heads of the *da‘wa* were called *ḥujja*, and those of the next degree *dā‘ī muḥtaq*, cannot be decided with certainty. ‘Umāra always uses the word *dā‘ī* for what according to the system should be called *ḥujja*; and even Ḥātīm, while he once employs the term *ḥujja*, usually calls the Ṣulayḥids *dā‘īs*. In general, the organization of the Fatimid *da‘wa*, and the system of its hierarchy, which can be shown to have undergone some changes, is in need of further investigation.

The other difference, however, is not any more one of emphasis but one of fact, and a reconciliation of the two accounts is impossible. From ‘Umāra’s list it clearly follows that al-Malika al-Sayyida “did not exercise the functions of a *dā‘ī*”, evidently because of her sex. Therefore, while she kept secular sovereignty, the office of *dā‘ī* was entrusted to other persons. Ḥātīm regards her as being also the spiritual head of the *da‘wa*. In this he follows earlier Ṭayyibī authorities; already al-Khaṭṭāb undertook, as we shall see, to prove that a woman could be a *ḥujja* and that al-Malika al-Sayyida *was* a *ḥujja*. For this reason, Ḥātīm also eliminates the whole series of *dā‘īs*, from Sulaymān to ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh, who according to ‘Umāra filled that position under the reign of al-Sayyida. The very Yaḥyā b. Lamak is transferred from the line of the heads of the *da‘wa* (where he figures in ‘Umāra) to that of the “spiritual leaders”. It seems obvious that ‘Umāra’s account represents historical

reality better than that of Ḥātīm. Of the schism after the death of al-Āmir, there is no mention; Ḥātīm's interest lies in the uninterrupted chain of the legitimate *da'wa* and passes over the adversaries with a disdainful silence.

The case is quite different with Idrīs in the *'Uyūn al-akhbār*; he is very eager to tell the story of the schism and to explain it in terms of the Ṭayyibī *da'wa*. He has before him 'Umāra's History; and he feels called upon to make the facts there recorded palatable for Ṭayyibī-Ismaili taste. His solution lies in a harmonization, not unlike that which the interpolator of 'Umāra resorted to. Al-Malika al-Sayyida remained faithful to the Imam al-Ṭayyib to the end of her days; she saw herself constrained to conform, outwardly, to the *de facto* power of al-Ḥāfiẓ and to appoint the Zuray'id Saba' b. Abi-l-Su'ūd as the latter's *dā'ī*. Now, there would be, theoretically, two ways open for Idrīs in characterizing the Zuray'ids; he could depict them in dark colours as traitors, blackguards, *munāfiqūn*, in the familiar manner of sectarian historians of his kind, or he could represent them as true believers who, in acting contrary to their convictions, were merely practising *taqiyya*. It was the second alternative that Idrīs chose. (Is it because he was unconsciously influenced by the panegyrics on the Zuray'ids which he read in 'Umāra?)

After this lengthy but indispensable analysis of our sources, we may proceed and try to reconstruct the actual history of the *da'wa* in Yemen during that critical period. It should be understood, however, that the following attempt is made with the greatest reserve. Not only does the lack of evidence constrain us to leave many gaps in the narrative; many points where a positive solution is attempted are conjectural, many others too obscure even to admit conjecture. There is, however, a hope that the picture presented here may, in the future, be completed, clarified and revised. The writer of this article has not at his disposal the whole of the relevant literature; writings by the contemporary Yemenite authors — some of which will be more particularly mentioned below — and historical books like the *Nuzhat al-afkār* by Idrīs, dealing with the history of the *da'wa* in Yemen after the schism, may well yield further material.

The restorer of Ismaili power in Yemen, 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, was also the head of the *da'wa*; he "combined the office of *dā'ī* with the supreme power as temporal sovereign", to use the expression of 'Umāra. After his death in 459 (1066-7 A.D.), his son, Aḥmad al-Mukarram, succeeded him in both capacities. As is well known, soon after his accession al-Mukarram retired from affairs, and the effective power remained in

the hands of his wife, al-Malika al-Sayyida. The nominal sovereignty and also the *dāʿī*ship remained, however, in the possession of al-Mukarram. The real leader of the *daʿwa*, as far as spiritual matters were concerned, was, however, Lamak b. Mālik and not the Ṣulayḥid princes, whose strength lay, no doubt, in their arms rather than in theological studies. After the death of al-Mukarram (484 A.H. 1091 A.D.), al-Malika al-Sayyida continued as temporal ruler of the Ṣulayḥid state; but, evidently, it was not considered as suitable to have a woman as the spiritual head of the *daʿwa*, and a relative of hers, Sulaymān al-Zawāḥi, was appointed as *dāʿī*. He was succeeded first by Yaḥyā b. Lamak and then by Ibn Najīb al-daula, who came to Yemen in 513 (1119-20 A.D.).

After the fall of Najīb al-daula (519 A.H. 1125-26 A.D.) we hear of the *dāʿī* ʿAlī (ʿAbdallāh) b. ʿAbdallāh. It seems permissible to assume that al-Dhuʿayb played in this period the same role as Lamak b. Mālik a generation before: he was the leading theologian of the *daʿwa*, but not its official head.

We have seen above that ʿUmāra ignores al-Dhuʿayb; this is hardly due to his hostility to one who had become the leader of the Tayyibīs, enemies of the Egyptian Fatimids (he does mention Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī!); the reason is, more likely, that al-Dhuʿayb has never been the head of the *daʿwa* before the schism. On the other hand Ḥātim passes in silence the *dāʿīs* mentioned by ʿUmāra because of his assertion that al-Malika al-Sayyida served, in spite of her sex, as the head of the *daʿwa*.

We do not know how long ʿAlī (ʿAbdallāh) b. ʿAbdallāh remained in office, whether he was directly followed by Ibrāhīm (this seems the more likely alternative) or there was another *dāʿī* between them — as ʿUmāra is silent on this point.

The ordinary course of the *daʿwa* is interrupted by the news of the events following each other swiftly in Cairo. There arrives from the court the *siḡill* announcing the birth of the heir, al-Ṭayyib. We have the testimony of al-Khaṭṭāb b. Abī Ḥifāz about the receipt of the *siḡill* in the court of al-Malika al-Sayyida (*Ghāyat al-mawālīd*, extract in Ivanow, *Rise of the Fatimids*, Arabic texts, p. 37). “When al-Āmir was about to die, he made the appointment by *naṣṣ* and ordered it to be announced in all the *jazīras*. *Siḡills* containing his high commands and endorsed by autograph signs of his exalted hand were addressed to his *ḥujja* and *waliyya*, appointed in our *jazīra* by his fathers the pure Imams, God’s blessings upon them. We were in her presence when the *siḡills* arrived and heard with our own ears when they were read out. She explained them to us and attested their authenticity; she also adduced as proofs for the correctness (of al-Ṭayyib’s appointment) the stories quoted above. He (al-Āmir) appointed as a trustee his cousin, *walī ʿahd al-muslimīn*,

in the same way as his forefathers had made similar arrangements; he deposited with him (the Imamate) for his son, whom he placed under his care . . .” From a passage of the *‘Uyūn al-akhbār* we learn that the name of the messenger who carried the *siġill* of al-Āmir was Muḥammad b. Ḥaydara.

Then comes confusing news: al-Āmir assassinated, ‘Abd al-Majīd regent, Abū ‘Alī Kutayfāt b. al-Afḍal seizing power. In Cairo, it was comparatively easy for the government of ‘Abd al-Majīd to make away with the infant heir, spread a version of the late Caliph’s utterances tacitly denying his rights and, in general, be silent about him. But Yemen was far away, the local adherents of the Fatimid cause either were insufficiently informed of what has happened in Cairo, or were unwilling to follow suit in abandoning the infant who had the *naṣṣ* of his father, the deceased Imam. So we have the curious fact that the *khuṭba* pronounced on the occasion of the commemoration (*‘azā*) of the murdered Imam by the Egyptian envoy, Muḥammad b. Ḥaydara, mentioned above, reads as follows — if we can rely on the credibility of the Ṭayyibī tradition, *‘Uyūn al-akhbār*, VII, 320 ff. ¹: “. . . (His loss) is compensated by the accession, in his stead, of his son, appointed by his *naṣṣ* . . . our Lord al-Imam al-Ṭayyib Abu-l-Qāsim, the Commander of the Faithful . . . O God, support by Thy spirit the Imam that Thou hast appointed . . . prosper his guardian (*i.e.* ‘Abd al-Majīd), who is the regent (*walī al-‘ahd*) on his behalf, being as he is of the same pure flesh and blood. Strengthen his pure ‘Alid dynasty (*daulatuhu-l-‘alawiyya-l-ṭāhira*) by giving Thy assistance to the vizier of his realm, who by his words and acts directs affairs from behind the throne of his Caliphate, *al-sayyid al-ajall al-aḥḍal amīr al-ġuyūsh sayf al-Imām nāṣir al-islām kāfīl quḍāt al-muslimīn wa-mu‘addid du‘āt al-mu‘minīn* ² Abū ‘Alī Aḥmad, the servant of our Lord, God’s blessings upon him. O God, make his sword reach his enemies . . . as he received his high position in the service of Thy Friend (*walī*; *i.e.* the Imam al-Ṭayyib) from his father (*i.e.* al-Afḍal) and his grandfather (*i.e.* Amīr al-ġuyūsh Badr). O God, cover with the blessings of Thy providence the *ḥujja* of Thy Friend, and the *ḥujja* of his fathers, in this *ġazira* ³ . . . our Mistress and Sovereign the Lady the Queen al-Sayyida

¹ The authenticity of the text is not above suspicion— cf. the following notes. The reasons for doubt are, however, not decisive and a final judgement will become possible only if and when sources as yet unused yield more materials on which to base our criticism.

² This is a much less elaborate protocol than that adopted by Abū ‘Alī Kutayfāt later, after his *coup d’état*, and tallies well with the practice of the preceding viziers.

³ If this title of *ḥujja* is more than a formality and implies that al-Malika al-Sayyida stands at the head of the *da‘wa*, there arises the difficulty that, as we have seen, ‘Umāra’s list proves that

al-raḍiyya al-ṭāhira al-zakiyya waḥīdat al-zaman sayyidat mulūk al-Yaman ‘umdat al-islām khālīṣat al-Imām dhakhīrat al-dīn ‘umdat al-mu’-minīn ‘iṣmat al-mustarshidīn kaḥf al-mustajībīn waliyyat Amīr al-mu’-minīn wa-kāfilat auliya’ihi-l-mayāmīn.” The time of the *khuṭba* can be fixed; it must have been pronounced shortly after the accession of Abū ‘Alī. It is extremely strange to see coupled together the names of al-Ṭayyib, ‘Abd al-Majīd and Abū ‘Alī¹. The distant province of the Yemen was, in fact, lagging behind the quickly changing developments in the metropolis and trimmed up the confused and controversial problems of the constitution in its own fashion.

The attachment to al-Ṭayyib is also apparent in the long dirge on al-Āmir, composed by the same Muḥammad b. Ḥaydara and preserved in the *‘Uyūn al-akḥbār* (vol. VII, p. 323 ff.). We find there lines like the following: “You (*viz.* al-Āmir) have left a son who guides us in righteousness; it is in vain that misled people think it will diminish by your death. How can a fire kindled by God be extinguished through the talk of those who deny your rights . . . He (*viz.* al-Ṭayyib) is the Imām; it is Gabriel that has undertaken to nourish him, by the command of God who watches over him. Though he is a mere suckling, he speaks in righteousness and puts its cloak on his shoulders If al-Manṣūr (al-Āmir) has passed away, we say: Here is his son!”. Or in another similar piece: “The heart is consoled by the thought that their light passes from one person to another. If a noble father disappears from them, the light shines in the person of a noble son. This was, in truth, warranted by al-Manṣūr; when he died, he made good his promise.”

It is probable that the interregnum of al-Afḍal junior and his defection from Ismailism did not greatly affect the Yemen; his rule lasted only a short time and he probably had not much occasion to interfere with the affairs of the province. We may assume that the allegiance of the Yemen continued in the form which we have just noted: al-Ṭayyib Imam, ‘Abd al-Majīd regent, Abū ‘Alī al-Afḍal vizier. That this was in striking contrast with political realities, probably troubled them little.

the Queen was *not* holding the office of *dā‘ī*. A conjecture that at some time the objections to her sex were overcome and the Queen was appointed as *dā‘ī* is perhaps not impossible, although improbable (after Ibn Najīb al-daula’s fall, there followed as *dā‘ī* ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh — and this leaves little space for al-Sayyida as *dā‘ī*); at least there seems to be no evidence to confirm it. All these points (cf. also above, p. 221, 223) can only be cleared up after an examination of al-Khaṭṭāb’s *Ghāyat al-mawālīd*.

¹ One is tempted to doubt the authenticity of the *khuṭba* also on the score of the mention of al-Ṭayyib. On the other hand, the mention of Abū ‘Alī may speak for its genuineness. The explanation of the situation as given in the text will perhaps be found acceptable.

The crisis came to a head only at the accession of 'Abd al-Majīd al-Ḥāfīz to the Imamate in 526. It was but natural that he should endeavour to make the Yemen acknowledge his pretensions; and that his self-determined advancement should meet with resistance.

As a matter of fact, the alleged exclamation of al-Malika al-Sayyida on receiving the news of the proclamation of al-Ḥāfīz rings true enough; the story is from the *'Uyūn al-akhbār* (vol. VII, p. 333)¹. "He (*viz.* 'Abd al-Majīd) formerly used to prefix to his letters to al-Malika al-Sayyida the formula: From the *walī 'ahd* of the Moslems and the cousin of the Commander of the Faithful. Then he wrote: From the Commander of the Faithful. At this she said: I am the daughter of Aḥmad (today, as I was yesterday). Yesterday he was the *walī 'ahd* of the Moslems and today he is the Commander of the Faithful! He is entering a field that is not his and usurping a station from which he is remote!"

We may well imagine that a bitter fight ensued, at the court of the Queen as well as all over the country, between the staunch adherents of al-Ṭayyib and those who were ready to acknowledge the new Imam al-Ḥāfīz. It is easy to understand the points of view of both parties. In favour of al-Ṭayyib spoke the dogma of the lineal descent of the Imams and of the unchangeable character of the *naṣṣ* — and al-Ṭayyib had been, in effect, appointed by a *naṣṣ*. The idea of an Imam disappearing "into concealment", too, was by no means a novelty in Ismailism which had already had its "Concealed Imams". On the other hand, al-Ḥāfīz was the *de facto* ruler; he had made out, as we have seen, a tolerable case to justify his succession according to Ismaili doctrine; and for many it may have seemed in accordance with the best interests of the movement to rally behind the dynasty reigning in Egypt.

Unfortunately, owing to the lack of evidence, the particulars of the course taken by this dispute escape us almost completely. It is only the outcome that we recognize: the Ismaili movement in the Yemen split into two rival fractions.

¹ The original reads: وبعد ذلك سا عبد المجيد ابن محمد ابن المستنصر بالله عم الى ما ليس له باهل، وادعى الرتبة العليا من الفضل، فمخرق على العالمين، ولم يراقب ديان يوم الدين، وادعى امره المؤمنين، وكان قبل ذلك يكتب الممكة الملكة السيدة بنت احمد حجة الائمة في الجزيرة اليمنية، ذات الرتبة الشريفة السنية، من ولي عهد المسلمين وابن عم امير المؤمنين ثم كتب اليها من امير المؤمنين فقالت انا ابنة احمد بالامس ولي عهد المسلمين واليوم امير المؤمنين لقد جرى في غير ميدانه، وادعى امرا يبعد عن مكانه، واعلمت اهل دعوتها انه تكك عهد، وخالف رشده، وادعى ما ادعاه الظالمون من قبله، وارتقى المقام وليس هو من اهله

a) The party of al-Ḥāfiẓ was led by the family of the Zurayʿids. What were the exact circumstances of their accession to the office of *dāʿī*, we do not know. ʿUmāra, who can be considered, in view of his long association with the princes of that family, as their semi-official mouth-piece, asserts that the office was vested in them by al-Malika al-Sayyida. It is significant that Idrīs does not contradict this statement quoted by him; he either has no different tradition on this point, or has a tradition in accordance with it.

b) The leaders of the "legitimists" adhering to al-Ṭayyib were al-Dhuʿayb, al-Khaṭṭāb and Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī. We still have some specimens of the apologetic and polemic literature composed at this epoch, as for example the *Ghāyat al-mawālīd* of al-Khaṭṭāb, that has acquired a certain notoriety in another connection¹. "It begins with the usual speculations about the necessity of guidance for the people which God, in his mercy, never refuses, always keeping in the 'twelve islands of the earth' His 'proofs'. One of such proofs, for the Yemen, is the petty local princess, al-Ḥurra al-Malika (al-Sayyida). There follows a lengthy discussion of the question whether a woman can be such a *ḥujja*, or not, which is decided in the affirmative. Then follow esoteric speculations about the manifestation of divine wisdom in man, about the question of the *satr* (or concealment) of Imam al-Ṭayyib, and *satr* in general, about succession of Imams. In the fourth *bāb* are discussed the questions of the genealogy of al-Ṭayyib, and of his being a legitimate successor of his ancestors, and the belief that he is not dead." (Ivanow, *Rise*, p. 20-21.)

The account of al-Khaṭṭāb about the arrival of the *sijill* appointing al-Ṭayyib as crown-prince has been quoted above, p. 223. — Ivanow doubts the authenticity of the book; in my opinion, however, its contents, as given by Ivanow, are the best indication of its genuineness. It is not clear for what reasons Ivanow impeaches the authenticity of book and states that "the whole matter seems from the beginning to the end to be extremely suspicious" (p. 21). Admittedly, the doctrine of the book about the descent of al-Mahdī is "extraordinary" and needs explanation; yet to say that this, together with the fact "that one of the religious leaders of the community, just a few years after the calamity [of the disappearance of al-Ṭayyib] writing in a purely abstract and academic manner, basing his speculations on the vaguest and most abstract principles, confines himself, in short, to the bare assertion that we must believe him to be alive" makes it "almost obvious that the work belongs to a much latter period" — is clearly a *non sequitur*. Nor is the suggestion that "perhaps it was composed by Sayyidnā Idrīs himself" sufficiently warranted by the single fact that traces of a similar view about the origin of al-Mahdī are to be found in the works of Idrīs. — The book seems to be, in effect, by al-Khaṭṭāb, and a closer study of it is an urgent desideratum. The passage printed by Ivanow (Arabic texts, p. 35-9) aims at showing that the Emir Abu-l-Qāsim

¹ According to it al-Mahdī, the first Fatimid Caliph, was not a lineal descendant of Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl; cf. B. Lewis, *Origins of Ismāʿilism*, p. 109; W. Ivanow, *Rise of the Fatimids*, p. 20-23.

(‘Abd al-Majīd al-Ḥāfiẓ) *walī ‘ahd al-muslimīn* was appointed only as a trustee, *mustauda‘*, for al-Ṭayyib. For this purpose he quotes a long series of historical precedents — beginning with the personages of Biblical history, who, as well known, are fitted in by the Ismailis into their peculiar historical system, and ending with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya and al-Mahdī, the last two being trustees for al-Ḥusayn and al-Qā’im, respectively. The implication is, of course, that the Emir, assuming the office of Imam, was guilty of an impious usurpation. — Ivanow has evidently taken for the ideology of al-Ḥāfiẓ what is in fact an argument of his adversaries; and combining this alleged ‘trustee’ Imamship of al-Ḥāfiẓ (as his Imamship *ought* to have been according to his *adversaries*) with the alleged *khuṭba* recited by al-Ḥāfiẓ for the Expected Mahdī (which is based on an error, cf. above, p. 206) reached his theory about the character of the later Fatimid Imamate, that has been criticised in the second chapter of this study.

There is one thing which seems to give a hint about some of the events that happened during that obscure period. ‘Umāra seems to suggest that in 526 (1131-2 A.D.), before the rise of the Zuray‘ids, al-Malika al-Sayyida appointed Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī as *dā‘ī*. On the other hand, we know from Ḥātīm b. Ibrāhīm that Ibrāhīm became the assistant of al-Dhu‘ayb after the death of al-Khaṭṭāb (533/1138-9 A.D.) and succeeded al-Dhu‘ayb on the latter’s death (546/1151-2 A.D.). One is tempted to assume that during the conflict Ibrāhīm lost his office owing to his Ṭayyibī sympathies and was supplanted by the Zuray‘ids; and that he then joined the Ṭayyibī party, but played there at the beginning a more subordinate role under al-Dhu‘ayb and al-Khaṭṭāb till their death left him the leader of the party.

What was al-Malika al-Sayyida’s own position in the conflict? From the contents of the *Ghāyat al-mawālīd*, as cited above, it seems to follow that the Ṭayyibīs claimed her as of their own party. Moreover her will, quoted in the *‘Uyūn al-akhbār* (vol. VII, p. 342) — if the text is authentic — shows that she never ceased in her heart to remain faithful to al-Ṭayyib, whatever she had been prevailed upon to do in public. In the preamble of the will, containing a long confession of faith, there are enumerated all the Imams; the list ends with al-Ṭayyib. The text goes on to give a detailed description of the Queen’s jewellery (11 pages)¹, which is said to have been brought from the treasury for the inspection of the persons attesting the will; all the jewellery is bequeathed, as a *qurbān*, to the Commander of the Faithful al-Imām al-Ṭayyib Abu-l-Qāsim. *Al-sultān al-ajall* Aḥmad b. Abi-l-Ḥusayn b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī is appointed as executor; his duty is to deliver the jewels, after the Queen’s death, “at the Gate of the Friend of God” (*bāb walī Allāh*), “to the person that will be appointed by the order of

¹ The enumeration of the jewellery, although not very rich in technical terms, has some archaeological interest.

the Imam to receive them". Aḥmad should also obtain a receipt signed by the Imam (*al-khaṭṭ al-sharīf al-imāmī*).

On the other hand, al-Malika al-Sayyida is reported to have appointed the Zurayʿids who were subsequently at the head of the Ḥāfiẓī party in Yemen. It seems that the management of affairs slipped away from the hands of the old princess and she was constrained to take a course contrary to her personal inclinations. Lack of evidence prevents us from going beyond this general — and also conjectural — statement. The events of the last years of al-Malika al-Sayyida (526-32 / 1131/2-1137/8 A.D.) remain altogether obscure.

ʿUmāra does not speak of the last years of the Queen; is that because he does not want to touch on delicate affairs? The somewhat melancholy tone of the words attributed to the Queen on 'transferring' the *dāʿwa* to the Zurayʿids ("It is sufficient etc.") and the decline of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty after her death, seem to show that there was a serious conflict between the Ṣulayḥids and the Egyptian party. The person and the memory of the old princess were, however, spared even by those whom she favoured less, and her prestige was invoked by both the opposing parties. — I think that such an interpretation of the events would render the greatest justice to our sources.

The influence of the Ṣulayḥid house was eclipsed; and after the death of the princess, those members of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty of whom we hear at all, are no more than local barons. It remains to say a few words about the later history of the rival leaders of the Egyptian-Fatimid and the Ṭayyibī parties, who now occupy the scene instead of the Ṣulayḥids.

The local dynasty of Aden, the Zurayʿids¹, who became the chief supporters of the cause of the Egyptian Fatimids, had come into prominence during the reigns of the Ṣulayḥids ʿAlī b. Muḥammad and al-Mukarram. In recompense of their services they received Aden and the surrounding region. One can read in ʿUmāra the fluctuations of the internal struggles between the members of the family and their bickerings with the Ṣulayḥids over financial arrangements. It was Saba' b. Abi-l-Suʿūd the Zurayʿid who took up the cause of al-Ḥāfiẓ in Yemen and received — under very obscure circumstances, as we have seen — the title of *dāʿī*, or, in full: "The matchless, the victorious, glory of the Empire, honour of the Caliphate, right arm of the Realm, sword of the Imam, crown and chief of the Arabs, *dāʿī* of the Commander of the

¹ The main source for the history of the Zurayʿids is ʿUmāra, p. 50-59. The text is very faulty, but can be corrected from Ibn Mujāwir, ed. Löfgren, *Texte zur Geschichte der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter*, I, 40 ff., where the whole chapter of ʿUmāra is cited in a more correct form. (*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, s.v. *Karam (Banu 'l-)*, by R. Strothmann, merely resumes ʿUmāra.)

Faithful" (*al-dā'ī al-auḥad al-muẓaffar majd al-mulk sharaf al-khilāfa 'aḍud al-daula sayf al-Imām tāj al-'arab wa-muqaddamuha dā'ī Amīr al-mu'minīn*) ('Umāra, p. 50). After his death (533 / 1138-9 A.D.) his two sons, 'Alī and Muḥammad, fought over the succession; it was the younger, Muḥammad, who prevailed in the struggle. "The Upright Qadi (al-Qāḍī al-Rashīd) Aḥmad b. al-Zubayr¹ had started from the Holy Gates (*i.e.* the court of the Imam in Cairo) in 534/1139-40 A.D. with a charter investing al-A'azz al-Murtaḍa 'Alī b. Saba' with the management of the Majīdī *da'wa* (*al-da'wa al-majīdiyya*)²; on his arrival he found that 'Alī was dead, so he invested Muḥammad b. Saba', giving him the titles: the honoured, the crowned, the mighty (*al-mu'azzam al-mutawwaj al-makīn*)" ('Umāra, p. 55). Muhammad died in 548 / 1153-4 A.D.) and was succeeded by his son 'Imrān. Like his father, he is always called by 'Umāra — who enjoyed the hospitality of both — by the title of *dā'ī*. We have also coins of 'Imrān. Struck in Aden in the year 556, they bear the name of the Imam al-'Āḍid on one side, and the name of 'Imrān on the other: *auḥad mulūk al-zaman, malik al-'arab wa-l-Yaman, 'Imrān b. Muḥammad*³. On his death in 561 (1165-6 A.D.)⁴, he left three small

¹ For him see Wiet in: *Journal Asiatique*, 1921, II, p. 115. If Idrīs makes al-Qāḍī al-Rashīd responsible for the defection of Yemen from the Ṭayyibī cause (p. 334; cf. also the passage quoted in Appendix no. IV: "When al-Q. al-R. came to Yemen and religion was confused") he has, no doubt, this passage of 'Umāra in mind and is putting a false construction on it.

² Kay inadvertently translates: "the noble office of *dā'ī*", as if there stood in the text *al-da'wa al-majīda*.

³ St. Lane-Pool, *Catalogue of the Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. V, no. 358, p. 121. (Cf. the remarks of P. Casanova in: *Revue Numismatique*, 1894, p. 216-18; E. Zambaur, *Nouvelles Contributions à la Numismatique Orientale*, in: *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1915, p. 172.) The coinage is described by 'Umāra, p. 27. — It is remarkable that, according to the passage of 'Umāra just quoted, the Mālikī dinars introduced by al-Mukarram the Ṣulayḥid continued to be struck until 'Imrān introduced the new inscription. Has this any bearing on the history of the *da'wa*?

⁴ The stone erected to his memory in Mecca is still extant. It has been published, from notes by Hassan Hawary and Zaky Hassan, in the *Répertoire Chronologique d'Épigraphie arabe*, no. 3267 (*s.a.* 561, vol. IX, p. 44-5), but without any comments. The text of the inscription reads: (1) *بِسْمِ اللَّهِ* — Qoran, LV, 26-27 — (2) *هذا مشهد الملك الاجلّ الاوحد الامير المكرم الظهير المؤيد النصير سيف الامام (3) ركن الاسلام عماد الدين نظام المؤمن عظيم اليمن فريد الزمن ذى المجدين داعي امير المؤمنين (4) ابي موسى عمران (بن) المعظم المتوجّح المكين داعي امير المؤمنين ابي عبد الله محمد بن الاوحد المظفر (5) عماد الدين داعي امير المؤمنين ابي حمير سبأ بن ابي السعود بن الزريع بن العباس بن موسى الكرم الياهمى [الباقى في الاطبع] المهداني (6) تعهده الله بالرضوان وبنوّه منازل الجنان في مستقرّ ملكه مدينة عدن يوم الجمعة لتسع خلون (7) من شهر ربيع الاخر من سنة احدى وستين وخمس مائة وكان معها خوّله الله من علوّ الشان (8) وعظيم لسلطان شديد الغرا*

children; the kingdom was administered on their behalf by the vizier Yāsir b. Bilāl.

The Hamdānid rulers of Ṣan‘ā, of the house of Hishām b. Qubbayt, also owed allegiance to al-Hāfiẓ. When they were succeeded by another Hamdānid family, the descendants of ‘Imrān b. Faḍl, governor of Ṣan‘ā under the Ṣulayhids, the new dynasty also continued to be vassals of the Fatimids (see Appendix no. IV).

So far as the leaders of the Ṭayyibī party are concerned, it is enough to refer to the account of Ḥātīm b. Ibrāhīm, quoted above. It is to be added, however, that a piece of information preserved in Yemenite chronicles shows us Ḥātīm also as a warrior (cf. Appendix IV, p. 249).

The news of the fall of the Fatimid dynasty at the hands of Saladdin was, of course, received by the Ṭayyibīs with satisfaction; they considered it as a divine punishment meted out to the usurpers. The *‘Uyūn al-akhbār* (vol. VII, p. 384; see Appendix no. V) quotes some verses by the *dā‘ī* Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥārithī on this subject; turning to the “Majīdī faction” (*al-ḥirqa al-majīdiyya*), i.e. the adherents of the Fatimids in Yemen, the *dā‘ī* addresses them as follows: “Where are those that spread falsehood among mankind, bearing lying and imbecile witness; who turned on their heels and followed the command of a rascally tyrant? A sickness of the soul has undone them; they deny the covenant of the Friend (of God; *‘ahd al-walī*), and are unbelieving traitors. Rebellion (*niḥāq*) has made them stumble; all of them are off the road of guidance. They know nothing about the hidden meaning of things and are contravening the open *naṣṣ* and what has been arranged by al-Āmir. They are keeping back from Ḥātīm (b. Ibrāhīm) and his preaching. Curses upon them; is it not Ḥātīm who is the skilled physician, the *dā‘ī* of the *jazīra*, the son of its *dā‘ī*, by whose light *miḥrābs* and *minbars* are shining? It is he who manifests the true essence of the science of Muhammad’s

يُحْيِي بَيْتَ اللَّهِ الْمُحْرَمِ فَأَخْتَرْتَهُ الْإِمَامَ دُونَ الْمَرَامِ (9) وَعَلِمَ اللَّهُ صِحَّةَ نَيْتِهِ وَأَحْسَارَ لِرُفُوهِ سَعْيِهِ بِرَحْمَتِهِ
 بَعْدَ أَنْ وَقَفَ بِهِ بِعَرَفَاتٍ وَالْمَعَشَرَ الْمُحْرَمِ وَصَلَّى عَلَيْهِ خَلْفَ الْمَقَامِ وَأَطْلَقَ جَمِيعَ الْحَاجِّ ذَلِكَ الْعَامِ.
 The second half of the inscription is completely misunderstood by the editors. It means that ‘Imrān died before he could fulfil his wish of making the pilgrimage — so it was his coffin that was taken to Mecca and buried there. (The last meaning must be concealed by the words *وأحسار* and *لرُفُوهِ سَعْيِهِ*, which the editors seem to misread.) That the body of ‘Imrān was transferred to Mecca is also mentioned by al-Janādī, who quotes a passages to that effect from some book of ‘Umāra (cf. Kay, note 68, where the text is given, however, in a corrupt form; a more correct text is to be found in Bā Makhrama, ed. Löfgren, II, 186-7). One of the authorities of Bā Makhrama (*loc. cit.*) — Al-Janādī/‘Umāra — gives the date 560; another — the book *al-Sharaf al-a‘lā* (Brockelmann, II, 173) — the correct 561.

family and their secret knowledge. He is the *ḥujja* of God, present amongst us; a true witness who says nothing untoward.”

The conquest of Yemen by the Ayyubids put an end to the rule of the Zuray‘ids and the Hamdānids¹, and with it, to the ‘Majīdī’ party in Yemen. Some isolated remnants seem to have lingered on a few years more. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd composed, probably in the last quarter of the sixth/twelfth century, polemical treatises against them. One of these, bearing the title *Tuḥfat al-murtād wa-ghuṣṣat al-aḍḍād*, is still extant. (Published by R. Strothmann, *Gnosis-Texte der Ismailiten; arabische Handschrift Ambrosiana H 75*, in: *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, 1943, p. 159 ff. The argument of the treatise is of no direct relevance here.) The co-religionist, to whom the pamphlet is dedicated, had some disputations “with a person belonging to the *maǧīdiyya*, who play in our time the role of ‘adversaries’ (*aḍḍād*)”; ‘Alī, who, as he says, had already written other treatises against the Majīdian heresy (he enumerates these treatises, which have not, however, come down to us), undertakes to prove the Imamate of al-Ṭayyib.

APPENDIX No. I. (Cf. above, p. 199 ff.)

IBRĀHĪM AL-ḤĀMIDĪ ON THE PERSECUTION OF THE LOYALISTS AFTER THE DEATH OF AL-ĀMIR

‘*Uyūn al-akhbār*, VII, 330 ff. (copied in *Kitāb al-azhār*, II, 10 ff.).

قال الداعي ابرهيم بن الحسين الحمادى اعلى الله قدسه : وكان اختصاص امير المؤمنين الامر باحكام الله عم لابن مدين صاحب الرتبة وابن رسلان والعزيزى وقونص ونسلان وكانوا من افاضل دعائه واهل الاخلاص والاختصاص وكان ابن مدين صاحب الرتبة لا يزال فى منزله وهؤلاء اصحابه لا يزالون بين يديه وقونص دون الثلاثة فى المنزلة وكان الامام عم يقول هؤلاء الاربعة لا يثاقف عنى غيرهم وكانوا اذا سمعوا قوله عم لا يفقهون كثيرا منه ولا يروحون منازلهم حتى يدخلون على شيخهم صاحب الرتبة فيقول قلم لمولانا وقال لكم وشارته الى كذا وكذا ومعناه كذا وكان ذلك دأبهم على مرور الزمان فلما خفى عنهم قوله عم لا يثاقف عنى غير هؤلاء الاربعة تقدموا الى ابن مدين صاحب الرتبة فسالوه عن ذلك فقال ان الامام يظهر الغيبة

¹ About the resistance offered to the armies of Saladdin by the last Zuray‘ids and Hamdanis cf. Kay, notes 63 (p. 274 ff.) and 101 (p. 294 ff.).

بالقتل فاذا اظهرها وقع في البلد المخلاف وتولى الامر ابو على ابن الافضل ويعلن بدين النصب ويقتل الاولياء ويطردهم فاذا قويت يدك ارسل اليكم يا هؤلاء الاربعة يقول اما تبرأتم من الامام والا قتلتم فتخاصمون عن الامام وتسبون الشيصبان فيقتل نسلان والعزيزى ورسلان ويهرب انت يا قونص الى اليمن وتأتى بعد ذلك فلا يفوتك القتل وانى اكون فى بيتك يا عزيزى منكما فيقبضوا على بعد قتلكم فى النهار الثانى فيعرضوا على ما عرض عليكم فلا اختار الدنيا على الدين واستشهد قالوا فمن الامام بعد اظهار المنصور الغيبة بالقتل قال لم انه السابع الطيب وانه مستور مكتوم قالوا فمن صاحب الرتبة بعدك قال انه صهرى القاضى ابو على وانه يغيب بمغيب صاحبه ويحل حيث حل

The following passage, recounting how the prophecy of al-Āmir, as exposed by Ibn Madyan, came true, is not a quotation from Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī, but gives the gist of the story in the own words of Idrīs (cf. above p. 200).

APPENDIX No. II. (Cf. above, p. 214, 219 ff.)

HĀTIM B. IBRĀHĪM ON THE HISTORY OF THE DA‘WA IN YEMEN

(From his *Tuḥfat al-qulūb*)

Quoted in *Kitāb al-Azhār* of al-Ḥasan b. Nūḥ, II, p. 70 ff.

واعلم ايها الاخ بانه لما كانت المراتب فى الدعوة الهادية سلام الله على صاحبها محفوظة محروسة بالقائمين بها المقامين فيها من قبل اولياء الله وائمة دينه سلام الله عليهم فى جميع الجزائر وكانت جزيرة اليمن من اخص الجزائر عند الموالى سلام الله عليهم فضلها على سائر جزائر بالنبي المصطفى المكرم، والبيت العتيق المعظم، كما اوضح ذلك مولانا الامر صلح فى بعض سجاته الشريفة بقوله: "ولما كانت جزيرة اليمن من الاصقاع التى يراعى امير المؤمنين جميع امورها، ويوثر اصلاح كبير احوالها وصغيرها، اذ كانت من مهاجر المسلمين من اول الزمان، ومحل اهل الايمان، منذ اشتدت قاعة الاسلام الى الان، ولم تخل من ابناء الدعوة الفاطمية، واولياء الدولة العلوية " هذا قوله صلح كانت الدعاة بينه الجزيرة وما ينضاف اليها من بلاد الهند والسند دائمة الاستمرار، على ممر

الاعصار، لا ينتقل منهم منتقل الا من بعد ان يتيم واحدا مقامه، يحفظ لدين الله نظامه، الى ان انتهى امرهم الى سيدنا منصور الين اعلى الله قدسه اذ كان قدومه الى الين مهاجرا عن امر مولانا الحسين بن احمد اخر الائمة المستورين صلح اجمعين فاقام برهة يدعو اليه الى ان ورد عليه الامر بالدعوة الى مولانا المهدي صلح ووصله الداعي ابو عبد الله الشيعي مهاجرا عن امر مولاة فتولى سيدنا منصور الين تربيته، ورفع في منازل العلم درجته، ونفذ من بين يديه مهاجرا الى المغرب وسير سيدنا منصور الين داعيا بامر مولاة من اولاد الداعي الذي كان قبله بالين الى الهند والسند فلذلك صار امر هذين الصقعين مصروفا الى صاحب جزيرة الين وكان من امره في الين ما قصه صاحب كتاب افتتاح الدعوة ثم اتصلت الدعوة بعد فبين اقام من الدعاة (الدعوة MS) واحدا بعد واحد الى ان انتهت الى الداعي سليمان بن عبد الله الزواحي فاقام سيدنا الداعي الاجل الاوحد على بن محمد الصليحي اعلى الله قدسهم جميعا وكان من سفارته لخاله السلطان احمد بن المظفر قدس الله ارواحهم الى مولانا المستنصر صلح ليستاذن له بالقيام بالسيف ثم ما راه من الرؤيا التي تحرك بها لاخذ حصن مسار ما هو مذكور في كتاب سيرته فقام بالسيف واستولى¹ على الجزيرة باسرها ثم هم بالتهوض الى العراق والهجرة الى الابواب الطاهرة فلم ير الا انه سفر سيدنا قاضي قضاة الين وهادي دعائها ملك بن مالك اعلى الله قدسه وقدس روحه يطلب له النسخ² من مولانا المستنصر بالله صلح وعلى اله وابنائهم الطاهرين بما يقتضيه الامر العالى من ما هم به اعلى الله قدسه فتقدم القاضي المذكور في جماعة من وجوه الاولياء الى ان ورد الديار الطاهرة وسلم ما استودعه الاجل الاوحد بعد اداء فرض السلام ونزل في دار سيدنا مويد اعلى الله قدسها جميعا وجعل يناجي الحضرة النبوية سلام الله عليها بالنسخ للداعي المذكور فلا يجاب الا بالقول كيف تستاذن وقد آن وقت الشتاء فاقام مدة وهو في خلال ذلك يتعلم من سيدنا المؤيد اعلى الله قدسها ويكتب ما افاده وإلقاءه اليه الى ان ينقض الشتاء ثم يعاود المطالعة فلا يجاب الا بالجواب الاول فاستشفح

¹ From here the text is also reproduced in the *‘Uyūn al-akhbār*, VII, 166 ff.

² This is the word used by Ḥātim for the *venia docendi* of a *dā‘ī*.

بسيدنا المؤيد في استنجاز حوائجه فلم يجب سيدنا المؤيد الا بالجواب الاول الى ان مضى له خمس سنين في الديار الطاهرة وهو مقيم على ذلك كلما طالع في ذلك لم يجب الا بما اجيب اولا فقال ذات يوم لسيدنا المؤيد اعلى الله قدسهما يا سيدنا ما تقول في هذا الجواب وقد مضى شتاء وشتاء والجواب في كل مطالعة هذا الجواب فقال له اعلم ان الكلام الائمة عم ظاهرا وباطنا وحقيقة لا يعلم ذلك الا الله تعالى وهم عم وفي مدة اقامة القاضي الاجل لا يفارق سيدنا المؤيد اعلى الله قدسهما الا [بل *Uyūn*] بين يديه يسأله وياخذ عنه ويكتب ما استفاده منه الى ان استوعب ما عنده ثم كتب اليه في اخر الامر سبعة وعشرين مسألة يطلب جوابها منه فقال له ما جواب هذه الا من مولاك فليس بينك وبينه حائل ولا مانع فتقدم بالمسائل الى مولانا المستنصر صلح فاجابه عليها بسبعة وعشرين جوابا وكساه عند كل جواب قيصا اشارة منه صلح الى رفعه له واعلائه بسبعة وعشرين درجة من درج العلم والمعارف فلما كان ذات يوم ورد الامر على سيدنا المؤيد وسيدنا ملك اعلى الله قدسهما بالمثل بين يدي مولانا عم فلما مثلا بين يديه قال للقاضي احسن الله عزاك في داعيك فان السودان قتلته في هذه الساعة فحفظ القاضي تاريخ ذلك الوقت فكان الوقت الذي استشهد فيه الاجل الاوحد قدس الله روحه لم يتقدم ولا يتاخر وقد كان في جواب مولانا وسيدنا للمؤيد حين شفع بالنسخ السابق ذكره قد ان وقت الشتاء يا مؤيد ولسوف يروح بسفارة جديدة وامر جديد فاقام العزا الى سيدنا ملك قدس الله روحه [في حضرة الامام *Uyūn* adds] خمسة شهور من اهل النواحي والامصار ثم ان الامام صلح اقام سيدنا الداعي المكرم قدس الله روحه وسفر بذلك سيدنا ملك اعلى الله قدسه وهي السفارة الجديدة والامر المجديد الذي رمز به له قبل اوانه ثم قال مولانا المستنصر صلح لسيدنا ملك قدس الله روحه انا لما نظرنا ان العمر لذلك الداعي قد انقضى وان شتاء الحصاد قد قرب ودنا راينا ان نوقفك لئلا يقتل الداعي المذكور في غير جزيرته [المجزيرة التي فيها ملكه *Uyūn*] فيقتل جميع الاولياء معه فلما عاد سيدنا ملك الى اليمن باقامة الداعي المكرم خليفة لايه قدس الله ارواحهم جميعا لم يسمح من حقائق علمه الا بالشيء القريب للداعي المكرم والحرمة الملكة واحمد بن قاسم بن

دلى¹ لا غيرهم قدس الله ارواحهم² ثم اودع ولدك سيدنا يحيى ابن ملك جميع ما عندك من العلم والحكمة واستخضه به وهباً للخلافة في مقامه من بعدك فلما استوعب ما عند ابيه من جميع المعارف ودنت نقلته اقام ولدك المذكور مقامه ونصبه خليفة منه ونائباً عنه فيما كان فيه ثم انتقل الى رضوان الله تع ومحل قدسه وكان اعلى الله قدسه صاحب رتبة القلم مسائراً للداعيين الاجلين صاحبى السيف الاجل الاوحد وولد المكرم رفع الله درجاتهم واعلى منازلهم ورزقنا شفاعتهم ولا اخلائنا عن بركاتهم جميعاً بمنه وكرمه ثم ورد من مولانا المنصور ابي على الامر باحكام الله امير المؤمنين صلح النص على سيدنا يحيى بن ملك بالرتبة التى اقامه فيها والله كما اتصل بوالدك النص بالرتبة من مولانا المستنصر والمستعلى صلح مع الفسح له من سيدنا المؤيد اعلى الله قدسه ولما صار امر الدعوة الى سيدنا يحيى بن ملك اعلى الله قدسها اقام حدود الجزيرة وامر ونهى فيهم مدة عمره الى ان اتصل به سيدنا الذؤيب بن موسى الوادعى اعلى الله قدسها فعلمه فهدبه ثم اقامه هو والحرة الملكة قدس الله روحهما في جزيرة اليمن داعياً، ومنذراً لاهلهما وهادياً، ثم نصب هو اعنى سيدنا الذؤيب سيدنا الخطاب اعلى الله قدسها معيناً له وموازراً واستخرج له الفسح الكريم من الحرة الملكة والداعى المذكور قدس الله ارواحهم جميعاً فقاما في الجزيرة ونصبا كافة الحدود، ودعيا الى عبادة الحق المعبود (المعبود .r.)، وامامة امامهما الحاضر في ايامهما الموجود، مدة ايام الحجة والداعى اعلى الله قدسها وبعد نقلتها ثم انتقل سيدنا الخطاب قدس الله روحه فاقام سيدنا الذؤيب بن موسى الوادعى الوالد الاجل ابراهيم بن الحسين الحامدى قدس الله ارواحهما مقامه، وجعله خليفة من بعدك متوالياً من الامر الذى وليه حله وابرامه، ثم فوض اليه امر الجزيرة اليمنيه قاصبها ودانيها، واصرف اليه ما كان هو يتصرف فيه في جميع اقطارها ونواحيها، وقد كان الوالد المذكور رفع الله درجته استوعب كل ما كان عند سيدنا الخطاب اعلى الله قدسها من العلوم والمعارف ثم زاد كماله سيدنا الذؤيب اعلى الله قدسها بما افضى به اليه، واطلعه من سر الحقيقة عليه، فلما

¹ I have no further information about this person.

² Here ends the quotation in the *ʿUyūn al-akhbār*.

انتقل سيدنا الذؤيب الى دار كرامة الله ومحل رضوانه وقد كان تحت يده حدود منصوبون جعل قبل نقلته امرهم مصروفا الى الوالد يعلى منهم الشريف، ويوقف في مكانه من استحق التوقيف، ويعزل من تفتضى المحكمة عزله، ويتولى فيهم جميعا ما توجه السياسة الدينية من الامر عنده وحله، فقام في الجزيرة قيام من تقدمه ونصب الحدود والفسك والفسق وقطع مقالات الغلاة واسكتهم وطمس اعتقاداتهم وانمى زرع المحكمة ونور بالمعارف صور اولى الطاعة وعمهم بجزيل النعمة مدة ايامه، وطول لبثه فيهم ومقامه، وكان من افضل من نصب من الحدود النضلاء الابرار، والسادة العلماء الاخيار، الشيخ الاجل العالم العفيف، الطاهر الشريف، على بن الحسين بن الوليد قدس الله روحه فعلم الاولياء، وارقي مراتب اهل الصفاء، مثل الشيخ الفاضل، السيد الكامل، محمد بن طاهر شريف العناصر، مبدأ العلوم البواهر، فقام هذان الحدان الشريفان في اهل الحق مقاما محمودا، وكان العلم والفضل في ايامهما بهما موجودا، فسعد بسعادتهما الاتقياء، وشقى بمخالفتهما الاشقياء، الى ان انتقل الشيخ الاجل على ابن الحسين اعلى الله قدسه الى دار كرامة الله فقام الشيخ الاجل محمد بن طاهر في الاولياء مقامه، وحفظ بعدك من الدين نظامه، وعمر الوالد اعلى الله قدسه جميع اصقاع الجزيرة بنصب حدود فاضلة، اهل معارف كاملة، فلما دنت نقلته، وآنت الى محل رضوان الله رحلته، فسح لمملوك آل محمد الاطهار عم رقا، وطلبهم صدقا، وجعله خليفة له وقائما عنه فيما كان قائما به من امر الجزيرة وانتقل الى دار كرامة الله ومخيم قدسه، وماوى اوليائه ومحل انسه، فجدد مملوك آل محمد عم الفسوح لمن اعترف بذلك واطاع، وافتقد احوال كل مفسوح له في جميع الاصقاع، بعضا بالمكانة لهم والمراسلة، وبعضا بالمشافهة والمواصلة، فعلم الراغب، وافاد الطالب، ونفى بجهد اعتقاد الغلو والتناسخ من اعتناق به، والزم المحجة الوسطى المجانية للغلو والتقصير من التزم بسببه، وشر في معونته الشيخان الاجلان محمد بن طاهر وعلى بن ابي (sic MS) محمد بن الوليد رفع الله درجاتهما، واجزل من الخيرات افادتهما، وطمسا بنشر علومهما الباطل، وثقفا بقواطع حججهما الشاك المائل، واوريا ببراهينهما الباهرة زناد الحق، وانطقا بدلائلها النيرة الزاهرة السن الصدق، ووازر الكل بماله، وحميد افعاله

وجزير افضاله، السلطان السيد الافضل احمد بن هشام فغمر الاولياء بالاحسان، وعهم بالجد والامتنان، فكان هاؤلاء السادة الفضلاء جمالا لاهل الدنيا والدين، وزينا للايمان والمؤمنين، يشتاقي الى جميل افعالهم، وكرم خصالهم، من عرفهم من ولي صادق، وضد منافق، فنجذبوا بحسن سيرتهم في الدين، وبلغ عباراتهم للمستهددين، الى الحق كثيرا من الناس، واخرجوهم من الشك والالتباس، وقد كان الشيخ الاجل، السيد الافضل عالي القدر والمحل، علي بن محمد بن الوليد ذو الدين الاكيد، والفعل الحميد، رفع الله في الدارين درجته، واعلى في الدين والدنيا منزلته، في اول منشاءه درس على عمه الشيخ الرشيد، الموفق السعيد، علي بن الحسين بن الوليد اعلى الله قدسه في ايام حيوته واقتبس من علومه الكاملة، واقتفى سيرته الحميدة الفاضلة، فلما انتقل الشيخ الاجل الزاهد، قدوة الصالحين من الاولياء العابد، الى الاستفادة من الشيخ الاجل محمد بن طاهر، حميد المساعي والماتر، فارتوا من تيار علمه، واقتدا به في فضله وحلمه، حتى استفرغ وعاه، وساواه في رتبته وضاهاه، ثم انتقل الشيخ الاجل المذكور الى رحمة الله تعالى ورضوانه، ومحل قدسه وجنانه، فامت له ما امله فيه والد¹ من الاستخلاف له في حياته وبعد وفاته، وذلك لما عرفه منه واختبره به من عفته ونسكه وطهارته، وورعه وديانته وصدقه وولايته، وعلمه وامانته، واخلاصه وحسن سيرته، وشافي نطقه وعبارته، واحتوائه على جميع حصال الشرف والمعروف، وان جميع الفضل فيه وعند موقوف، واطلقت له شريف النسخ والاطلاق، وصرفت اليه في جميع الجزيرة اخذ العهد والميثاق، والنسخ لمن استحق ذلك من اهل الدين والوفاق، وجعلت اليه امر من كان معه مني فسح يقدم منهم العالم الفاضل، ويعزل منهم المخائد عن سيرة اهل الحق المائل، فافهم ما ذكرته لك فيه ايها السائل وبه تتوسل، وعلى علمه فاجعل المعول، وقد كنت نصبت واقمت قوما من فضلاء الاخوان، انتقلوا الى رحمة الله والرضوان، ثم اني لما اختبرت الولد العزيز لذي وقلي علي بن حاتم بن ابراهيم² تولا الله توفيقه وتسديده في امر دينه ودنياه فوجدته نزه السيرة، صافي البصيرة،

¹ Obscure.

² Cf. *Guide*, p. 56.

منير الصورة، كامل في الامور، مجانباً لكل محذور، فسحت له باخذ العهد والميثاق، والتعليم لاهل الوفاق، والنيابة عنى فيما كنت متوليه من جميع الاصفاغ والافاق، واقمته مقامى حسبما اقتضا له موجب الاستحقاق، فالله تعالى يتولى معونته وكلايته، وتوفيقه ورعايته 'بجق النبي محمد واله صلح اجمعين

فصل

فاما استنفهاكم ايها الاخ عن تفاضل رتب حدود الجزيرة وتنايلها وتواصلها وابانة السابق منها والتالى فاعم علمك الله الخير وجعلك من اهله بانه لما كان كل حد في الجزيرة قائم برتبة من رتب الدين من داع فا دونه كان سيدنا الذؤيب اعلى الله قدسه في وقته العالى على جميعهم وسيدنا الخطاب دونه في افقه لانه محدوده الى ان انتقل سيدنا الخطاب وصار والد الجميع اعلى الله قدسها جميعا قائما مقام سيدنا الخطاب في حفظ رتبته فلما انتقل سيدنا الذؤيب بعد اقامته لوالد الجميع مقامه صار الشيخ الاجل على بن الحسين مع والد الجميع بازاء سيدنا الخطاب مع سيدنا الذؤيب فلما انتقل الشيخ الاجل المذكور قام الشيخ الاجل محمد بن طاهر مع والد الجميع في مقام الشيخ الاجل على بن الحسين اعلى الله قدسهم جميعا فلما صار الامر الى اخيك كان الشيخ الاجل محمد بن طاهر معه كما كان مع ابيه فلما انتقل الشيخ المذكور الى دار كرامة الله قام الشيخ الاجل سيدنا على بن محمد بن الوليد مع اخيك مقام المالك محمد بن طاهر والمالك على بن حسن (? حسين .r) مع ابيه وسيدنا الخطاب مع داعيه وهؤلاء اهل السبق الذين صار من بقى منهم في منازل دعائم وحائزا الرتبة فاما الحدود في وقتك هذا فاننا اذكر لك اهل السبق منهم والزيادة في الفضل وقد ذكرت لك اقامتى للولد العزيز لدى وعندى في مقامى فهو اول حدود الجزيرة والسابق لهم ثم يتلوه في الفضل والرتبة من قدمت ذكره في رسالتى هنك بانه اكمل حدود هنك الجزيرة في وقتنا هنك وافضل، واعلم واعف واكمل، الشيخ الاجل المالك على بن محمد بن الوليد فاعرف فضله وتحقق على قدره وشريف فعله ولا تقدم عليه غيره فقد نطت به كل من في يدك فسح منى وخبطتم تحت يدك وذكرت ذلك في فسح كل واحد منهم وذلك لفضله وكاله وحلمه وعفته وطهارته وادبه

ورجائه ويتلوها في الفضل السلطان الاجل المالك احمد بن هشام لعبته وسبقه وبذله
 لماله ثم يتلوهم في الفضل الشيخ الاجل محمد بن احمد الاحورى وذلك لولايته وورعه
 ونسكه وعبادته ويتلوهم السلطانان الاجلان منيف بن هشام العلوى وزريع بن اسعد
 الشبائي (الشبائي variant) ومنيف المقدم لفضله وسبقه وشرفه ويتلوهم الشيخ الاجل
 السيد الافضل عبد الله بن عبد الله تولى الله توفيقه، وثبت الى الهدى طريقه،
 ويتلوهم الولد الاجل حنظلة بن قاسم ثم يتلو هؤلاء القضاة الاجلاء السادات على بن
 حنظلة ابن ابي سالم¹ ثم مسعود بن عبد الله ثم محمد بن علي ثم يتلوهم الشيخ الاجل
 جابر بن يعلى الوداعي ثم يتلوهم الشيخ الاجل عبد الله بن محمد الاسحاق ثم يتلوهم الشيخ
 الاجل سعد بن محمد بن سليمان بن حارث ثم يتلوهم القاضي الاجل محمد بن اسعد
 ابن عمران ثم يتلوهم الشيخ الاجل معمر بن غطوة القبسى ثم يتلوهم الشيخ الاجل رافع
 ابن احمد بن منصور بن هران ويتلوهم الشيخ الاجل السيد على بن الحسين بن علي
 ابن مالك² تولى الله توفيقه، وثبت الى الهدى طريقه، ثم يتلوهم الشريف الاجل جوهر
 ابن موسى ثم يتلوهم الشيخ الاجل احمد بن علي بن ابراهيم ثم يتلوهم الشيخ الاجل موسى
 ابن زهير اليايى ثم يتلوهم الشيخ الاجل عمار بن سرجيل (سرجيل ms) ثم يتلوهم
 السلطان الاجل جحفل بن علي ثم يتلوهم السلطان الاجل الوشاح بن عمران ثم يتلوهم
 الشيخ الاجل على ابن الحسين بن علي بن مالك² ثم يتلوهم السلطان الاجل زنج بن
 حسن ثم يتلوهم الشيخ الاجل حاتم بن مدافع ثم يتلوهم الشيخ الاجل عبد علي بن محمد
 ثم يتلوهم الشيخ الاجل عمرو بن مجيى ثم يتلوهم السلطان على بن محمد بن ابي السمر
 السواء ثم يتلوهم القاضي الاجل مجيى بن عبد الحسين ثم يتلوهم الشيخ الاجل ابراهيم
 ابن سعيد بن احمد بنعمان ثم يتلوهم القاضي الاجل حسن بن علي بجبل الشرق فهؤلاء
 المحدود في الجزيرة اليمنية، ذات اليركات السنية، تولى الله رعايتهم وكلايتهم وامدهم
 بمواده القدسية وايدهم، ويسوارى نظراته الرحيمة ارقام زلفا لديه واصعدهم، وجعل
 هذه الجزيرة بمساعد الدين معمورة، وبنظرات ولاية امره الرحيمية منظورة، بمنه وكرمه

¹ Cf. *Guide*, p. 59. He later became the chief of the *da'wa* and died in 626.

² Repeated by mistake? Or is some part of the name to be changed?

عز وجل وهذا التوقيع على حسب نظم منازل هؤلاء الحدود ودرجاتهم وتتابهم في فضلهم فليعلم ذلك من وقف عليه ويتحققه ويعمل بحسبه والله يتولى توفيق الجميع برحمته عز وجل

واعلم ايها الاخ بان هؤلاء الحدود اعلى الله درجاتهم ونور بصائرهم قد صار كل واحد منهم في صقع من اصقاع الجزيرة المذكورة) وهو نائى من الحد الثانى الذى هو اخوه ومنهم من لا درس له ولا رياضة في العلم عنده وإنما دعت الضرورة الى اقامته وجعل في صقعه سدادا من عوز سد به ثغر ذلك الصقع حين لم يوجد فيهم اصلح منه وربما يسأل عن مسألة فلا يجد لها جوابا لقلته درسه وفهمه ورياضته فاذا عدم ذلك وكان عنده فصل من الحقيقة قد حصل له بعهود ومواثيق وإيمان مغلظة على كتمانها فيخشى ان يطلع السائل على عجزه عن الجواب ويوهم عند السائل ان لديه من العلم ما لا يفهمه السائل فلا يزال يزجل القول حتى يضطره الحاح السائل الى كشف الحقيقة لمن لا يستحقها فيكشفها له ويتعدى الامر في ذلك ولم يتعظ بقول النبي عليه وآله السلام «اربع لو شدت المطايا اليهن حتى ينضين لكان قليلا الا يرجو العبد الا ربه ولا يخاف الا ذنبه ولا يستحى الا جاهل ان يتعلم ولا العالم اذا سئل عما لا يعلم ان يقول لا اعلم» ويقول امير المؤمنين صلح «نصف العلم لمن لا يعلم ان يقول الله اعلم» وقد ذكرنا في صدر هذه الرسالة كثيرا مما هذا سبيله وما يجرى من اقتراح المقترحين وتعننت السائلين التاركين لادب الدين ويكفيم ردا في ذلك قول مولانا الحسين بن على صلح لسائل ساله فقال يا مولاي هل افترض الله تعالى علينا سؤالكم فقال نعم قال السائل اين ذلك قال في قوله تعالى «فاستلوا اهل الذكر ان كنتم لا تعلمون» قال السائل فهل افترض عليكم اجابتنا قال عم كلا بل ذلك الينا ان شئنا اعطينا وان شئنا منعنا قال السائل اين ذلك قال في قول الله تعالى «هذا عطاءنا فامنن او امسك بغير حساب» وإنما اعدناه ههنا لما نريد ابضاحه من تحريم الكلام بالحقيقة في سائر الجزيرة الا على من ياتي ذكرهم فيما بعد والحجج ايها الاخ على كتمان سر اولياء الله اكثر من ان يحصى، واعظم من ان يستقصى، ويكفى من ذلك ما قاله مولانا الصادق صلح «ان المذيع لسرنا كالشاهر سيفنا في وجوهنا» وما

قال ايضا صلوات الله على الائمة من ولدك «من اذاع سرنا اهل البيت اذافه الله برد الحديد» وثل ذلك قال مولانا المعز صلح والله «لو صدق الدعاة الينا فيما امرناهم به ما تخلف عن اجابتنا اثنان لا والله ولا واحد» والله تعالى يقول «وان لو استقاموا على الطريقة لاسقيناهم ماء غدقا» فهلا ذكر فاعل ذلك ما شرط عليه في العهد الكرم بقوله «وانك تكلم ما سمعته من تاويل قران» الى اخر الشرط وان من اعظم البدعة ان يقترح المستجيب على المكاسر اطلاقه على ما لا يستحقه بل الواجب عليه سؤاله له وخضوعه وتضرعه اليه للفائقة فان شاء اعطاه وان شاء منعه حسبما توجهه الحكمة الالهية، وتفترضه السياسة الربانية، وكذلك ليس بجائز للمكاسر ان يقترح على المطلق ولا للمطلق ان يقترح على الداعي ولا للداعي ان يقترح على المحجة ولا للمحجة ان يقترح على الباب ولا للباب ان يقترح على الامام ولا للامام ان يقترح على الوصى ولا للوصى ان يقترح على النبي ولا للنبي ان يقترح على الخيال ولا للخيال ان يقترح على الفتح ولا للفتح ان يقترح على المجد ولا للمجد ان يقترح على التالى ولا للتالى ان يقترح على السابق ولا للسابق ان يقترح على غيب الغيوب بل كل لمن فوّه مربوط، وكلهم عن غيب ذى العزة محجوب، حجب مقربون وعباد مكرمون، لا يسبقونه بالقول وهم بامرهم يعملون

وايرادى ايها الاخ لهذا الفصل تاديب منى لمن وقف عليه من الاخوان كثيرهم الله وانماهم واعلام لهم بانه يجب على كل محدود تلقى فوائد حقه بغير تكبر ولا اقتراح، ولا تهاون به ولا امتداح، بل يرضى ما وصله به وافاده، ويقبل ما انعم به عليه واعطاه، ويتتهى اذا نهاه، ويشكر على ما من به عليه وحياه، والان فليعلم كل من وقف على رسالتي هذه من كافة الاخوان انى قد حرمت الكلام والافادة بالحقيقة والمذاكرة فيها وطلبها في جميع الجزيرة الا من خمسة حدود ففى بلاد حراز وما والاها فلا يكون ذلك الا من الولد العزيز على بن حاتم او ممن رضيه لافادة ذلك وفسح له فيه وفى بلاد همدان وما والاها لا يكون ذلك الا من الشيخ الاجل السيد الفاضل الكامل على بن محمد او ممن امره بذلك وارتضاه له وفسح له بالمذاكرة فيه وفى عدن ابن ولحج وما والا ذلك من النواحي فلا يكون ذلك الا من الشيخ الاجل

محمد بن احمد بن عباد الاحورى وفي ناحية مخالف جعفر والمعاشر وما والا ذلك فلا يكون ذلك الا من السلطانين الاجلين السيدين منيف بن هاشم وزريع بن اسعد تولا الله رعايته الجميع وكلايتهم وتسديدهم وتوفيقيهم فمن طلب ذلك من غير هؤلاء الحدود المذكورين فحرام على المفيدين والمستفيدين ذلك فمن خالف هذا الرسم وتعدى هذا الحتم فقد نكث العهد واخل بالشرط وانا برىء من فاعل ذلك لمخلافه لما ذكرته وتعديه ما به امرته فمن كان منى عمل بذلك وقبل ما شرطته عليه مما هنالك ومن تعدى ما امرته به فالله تعالى يكافئه ويحكم عليه

وقد كان ممن فسخ له اسمعيل بن على الزواحي¹ فعلا في ائمة الحق وادعى في رسول الله صلح وعليهم جميعا ما يدعيه فيه اليهود والنصارى والمجوس والصائبة ونسبه الى ما يعاقبه الله عليه ويحلك به في العذاب الويل، والحزى الطويل، والبلاء والتنكيل، فلقد اضل من تابعه من الجهال، ونسب النقص الى ارباب الكمال، وادعى الهية البشر، وجحد فضل النبي المطهر، صفوة الله من عباده، ورحمته المنزلة على اهل بلاده، فانه جل وعلا يلعن من وضعه عن على رتبته وينصفه ممن نسب اليه ما هو مبرأ عنه ومنزه منه وكيف يعتقد الجساء الاندال، اعتقاد السوء في اهل الفضل والكمال، قاتلهم الله ولعنهم عدد الرمل والحصا، من ما يرى وما لا يرى، وعدد قطر الماء، ونجوم السماء، وما احاط به الهوا، بحق محمد وآله الطاهرين صلح اجمعين قال سيدنا الداعي ابو البركات ابن بشر الحلبي² اعلا الله قدسه في بعض مجالسه «ودعاة السوء هم الذين غلوا في ائمة الاعصار، وانتقصوا منازل اصحاب الادوار، فضلوا واضلوا كثيرا وضلوا عن سواء السبيل» ولو ذهبنا الى ايراد ماجاء عن الموالى سلام الله عليهم وحدودهم اعلى الله قدسهم من الرد على هذه الفرقة الغاوية التي تغلو في الائمة وتنقص النطاق صلح جميعا واللعن لهم والبراءة منهم لاحتجنا الى عدة كتب وفيما يقف عليه الاخوان من كتب الدعوة الهادية سلام الله على اربابها مما هذا سبيله بلاغ لقوم عابدين

¹ Perhaps a member of the great Ismaili family of al-Zawāhī, who played a very prominent part in the history of the sect in Yemen. — The great interest of the passage is evident; I shall comment upon it in another connexion. [The MS has لاسمعيل له — من فسخ له being a correction above the line.]

² Cf. *Guide*, p. 51.

APPENDIX No. III (cf. above p. 219)

SOME DATA CONCERNING AL-KHAṬṬĀB

I give in the following a few extracts from the *‘Uyūn al-akhbār* concerning al-Khaṭṭāb b. Al-Ḥasan b. Abi-l-Ḥifāz. This important author (see for his works Ivanow, *Guide*, p. 51 and above p. 227) is shown in them as one of the warring barons of the Yemen, fighting for the Fatimid cause with the sword as well as with books.

We learn something about his family from *‘Umāra* (p. 69). Recounting how Ibrāhīm b. Jayyāsh took refuge with Ḥusayn b. Abi-l-Ḥifāz al-Ḥajūrī in al-Jurayb¹, he notes: “The Banū Abi-l-Ḥifāz belong to the clan of the Banū Jurayb (?) b. Sharaḥbīl² and are regarded as descendants of Hamdān”.

More details about the geneology of the family and the early history of al-Khaṭṭāb are yielded by the introduction of al-Khaṭṭāb’s diwan, an extract of which is quoted in the *‘Uyūn al-akhbār* (VII, 366).

وله ولاخيه سليمان اشعار حسنة في ديوان معروف مشهور موجود وقال مؤلف ديوانها وها من ولد حريث (? جريب) بن شرحيل ثم من ولد مولد بن حجور ثم من ولد زيد ابن عليان بن عريب بن جشم بن حاشد بن جشم بن خيوان³ ابن نوف ابن همدان ومسكنها الجريب وجرت المقادير بينهما بعد موت ايها الحسن ابن ابي الحفاظ رجع بالاختلاف وقلة الائتلاف وتنافرا وشجرت بنهما المحرب في سنى الخمسمائة الى اربع عشرة وخمسمائة فغلب الخطاب على الامر وهو الاصغر سنا فانترج عنه سليمان الى قومه من حجور بنى افلح بالعرق ثم الى الامام ابي الغارات على ابن يحيى بن حمزة بن وهاس السليمانى بالساعة⁴ ثم الى الحبيشة آل نجاح بزويد والى

¹ For Jurayb in the country of Ḥajūr see al-Hamdānī, *Jazīrat al-‘Arab*, p. 113.

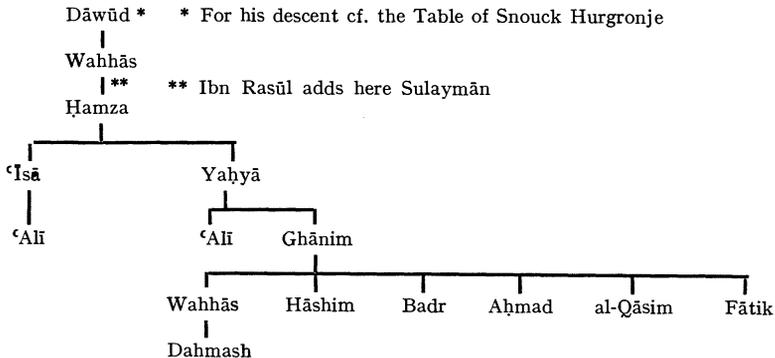
² In the text to be quoted presently: Ḥarīth (?) b. Sharaḥīl. The Jurayb quoted by Kay, note 76, has hardly anything to do with the family we are dealing with. According to the same note, al-Khazrajī reads in our passage: al-Ḥārīth.

³ MS حشم بن حوان. For the geneology from Hamdān to ‘Arīb cf. F. Wüstenfeld, *Genealogische Tabellen*, Table no. 9. (In that table, however, Ḥajūr is given as Ḥ. b. Aslam b. ‘Alyān b. Zayd b. Jusham.) Ibn Ḥazm has (*Jamharat ansāb al-‘Arab*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, p. 369-70): Ḥ. b. Asl. b. ‘Aly. b. Zayd b. ‘Arīb b. Ḥāshid b. Jusham. Instead of Nauf b. Hamdān (as in our text and Wüstenfeld) Ibn Ḥazm reads Naufal b. H. Ibn Rasūl, *Ṭuraf al-aṣḥāb*, p. 117, gives, in the geneology of the Ṣulayḥids: Ḥ. b. Asl. b. ‘Aly. b. Zayd b. ‘Arīb b. Jusham al-awsaṭ b. Ḥāshid b. Jusham al-akbar b. Khayrān (sic) b. Nauf b. Hamdān. (The last four links also p. 123.)

⁴ This piece of information provides an important link in the history of the Zaydite Sulaymānī Imams, which can now be reconstructed as follows. (Kay, note 88, has, as usual, some good sug-

قوادهم الفواتك منفلج ومنصور بن منفلج ومن الله واسحق بن مرزوق وأبي محمد مسرور
وسرور وأحمد بن مسعود الجزلي¹ فبيش مستنصرا بهم على أخيه فاستغار بغارات عليه

gestions; Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie*, p. 115, and Table A, is very incorrect.) Ḥamza b. Wahhās had a long struggle with Abū Hāshim, the ancestor of the Hawāshim sharifs, over the sovereignty of Mecca, about the year 450. (Cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, I, 62-3 and Genealogical Table I, no. 36.) When the Hawāshim succeeded in gaining the supremacy in Mecca, the family of Ḥamza transferred its seat to the Yemen. Yaḥyā, the son of Ḥamza, ruled in 'Aththar; at the time of the invasion of the Ghuzz (about the end of the XIth cent.; cf. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, I, 64) he was carried off to Iraq. In his absence, his brother, 'Isā, ruled instead of Yaḥyā; but the latter, on his return to the Yemen, managed to kill 'Isā (al-Janādī, in: Derenbourg, *Oumara du Yémen*, II, 580). In our text we find 'Alī, the son of Yaḥyā, as the ruler of al-Sā'īd (cf. al-Hamdānī, *Jazīrat al-'Arab*, p. 54, 119) in the beginning of the VIth/XIIth century. We are well acquainted, from 'Umāra and elsewhere (cf. Kay, Index, p. 355), with Ghānim b. Yaḥyā. This was a brother of our 'Alī; al-Khazrajī (in: Kay) gives his lineage as Gh. b. Y. b. Ḥamza b. Wahhās. (Zambaur, *loc. cit.*, says he was expelled from Mecca in the year 450 — confusing him with his grand-father!) Other members of the family are the following. 1) 'Alī b. 'Isā, (d. 556); 'Umāra in: 'Imād al-dīn, *Kharīdat al-qaṣr*, in Derenbourg, II, 564-5 (cf. I, 50); Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad, *Simṭ al-la'āl*, MS Leiden 1970, fol. 56v ff. Ismā'īl quotes 'Umāra — but erroneously describes the book dealing with the poet as *al-Mufīd fi akhbār Zabīd* (adding: *bal Akhbār al-Yaman!* cf. above p. 212 n. 1), while in reality the quotation comes from the book on the poets of Yemen; he has also additional information. 'Alī was an important leader of the Zaydiyya. He lived in Mecca, where he exchanged verses (quoted by Ismā'īl) with al-Zamakhsharī. 2) Dahmash b. Wahhās, 'Imād al-dīn, *op. cit.*, in Derenbourg I, 565; d. "67" (as he was a contemporary of 'Imād al-dīn, this does not, of course, mean 467 — so Derenbourg — but 567). 3) Hāshim b. Ghānim, mentioned by Ibn Abī Ṭayyī, in: Abū Shāma, *Kitāb al-rauḍatayn*, I, 217 (cf. Derenbourg, *op. cit.*, I, 50; *idem*, *Vie d'Ousama*, p. 424). — Genealogical details about the later Sulaymānī sherifs, descendants of Ghānim b. Yaḥyā, are contained in *Ṭuraf al-aṣḥāb fi ma'rifa al-ansāb* of al-Malik al-Ashraf Ibn Rasūl, ed. K. W. Zetterstéén (Damascus 1949), p. 108-110. (In the genealogy of Ghānim there occurs, between Ḥamza and Wahhās, the name Sulaymān, not mentioned by the other sources — also not in the genealogy given by the *Simṭ al-la'āl*.) According to Ibn Rasūl, Ghānim had six sons: Wahhās, Hāshim, Badr, Aḥmad, al-Qāsim, Fātik. Descendants of them ruled in various towns: Jāzān, Baghta, Baysh. The genealogical tree of the family is, then:



¹ See for them Kay, Index. (It is only Abū Muḥammad Masrūr who does not seem to be mentioned by 'Umāra; we have probably to read: Abū Muḥ. Surūr.)

ولم يتمكن من البلد مع الخطاب لان الخطاب تعلق بال الصليحي بذي جيلة ايام
الحرة الملكة السيدة بنت احمد بن محمد بن قاسم الصليحي قدس الله روحه فبلغ
السلطان الخطاب غرضه واستمكن من سليمان فقتله غيلة رماه بجربة له تسمى المرجة
وقبره بموضع يسمى المريج من الطرف وليث في الامر بعدك وبعد قتل اخيه احمد بن
الحسن لانه قتلها جميعا عشرين سنة وكانت لهما اعنى الخطاب وسليمان فراسة
معروفة قوية حتى عرفا باسم مفولى فحطان واجيز لسليمان في ستمائة كتاب ولاخيه
الخطاب في اربعمائة كتاب وركب سليمان في ايامه في ثلاثائه فارس وركب الخطاب
(في) ايامه في خمسمائة فارس هذا قول صاحب الديوان

An allusion to the same events is to be found in a passage of 'Umāra's lost history of Yemenite poets, quoted in the 'Uyūn al-akhbār and 'Imād al-dīn's *Kharīdat al-qaṣr*.

'Uyūn al-akhbār, VII, 365-6:

Extract from 'Umāra in the *Kharīdat al-qaṣr* (MS Paris), published by H. Derenbourg, *Oumara du Yémen*, II, 580:

ومن شعراء اليمن سليمان بن ابي
الحفاظ صاحب مدينة الجريب له:

كنتم تمنون رجبا ان تهب لكم

من النسيم ولو يومين تتصل

فجاءكم مثل ما هند به هبلت

من العقيم التي عاد بها هلكوا

قال صاحب المفيد:

ومن شعراء اليمن المجيدين الخطاب بن
الحسن بن ابي الحفاظ وكان قد اخرج
اخاه سليمان من مدينة الجريب الى زبيد ثم
كتب اليه يلطف به فمن شعره وليس من
جيد شعره - قال - انما هي التي اتفق
حضورها وكتب بها الى سليمان وهو بزبيد

اخوه الخطاب بن ابي الحفاظ من الشعراء
المجيدين وكان قد اخرج اخاه سليمان
من مدينة الجريب الى زبيد ثم كتب
اليه يلطف به حتى اذا قدر عليه غدر
به وقتله ومن شعره قوله كتب به الى
اخيه سليمان بزبيد

عينك عين الرشا المخاذل
 والمجيد جيد الظبية العاطل
 قد كنت ذا عقل جليدا ولكن
 الهوى يلعب بالعاقل
 كأنها من حسنها درة
 اخرجها الموج الى الساحل
 اذا بلغت العرق فاربع به
 معرسا تعريسة النازل
 واخصص سليمان بها خير من
 يعلم من حاف ومن ناعل
 اخى ومولاي ومن لحمه
 لحمى ومن حامله حاملى

عينك عين الرشا المخاذل
 والمجيد جيد الظبية العاطل

(Four other verses extant in the manuscript have been left out by the editor, as he remarks in a note.)

The religious background of his wars is well brought out in a poem of his quoted in the *‘Uyūn al-akhbār* (VII, 370). He fights in the service of al-Manṣūr (al-Āmir) (line 4; *da‘wa Āmiriyya*, l. 26) the Ibādīs, the Sunnis and the Zaydīs (l. 16); pronounces the *khutba* and mints the coinage in the name of the Fatimids (l. 14). The main object of the poem is to solicit the help of al-Malika al-Sayyida.

وقال يستنصر بالحرة الملكة ويذكر ما اقام من الدعوة الى الامام الامر باحكام
 الله واقامته الخطبة له وباسمه وضرب السكة حيث يقول [شعر]:

حرام على النوم غير غرار	يلم بجفنى بعد طول نفار
ومل على نفسى السلو الى مدى	انال به حقى وادرك ثارى
واظهر اعلام الهدى مستطيرة	اشعة اقمار لها ودرارى
واظهر للمنصور مولاي دعوة	موطدة فى مسكنى وقرارى
واعلنها كسفا بغير تستر	واكتشفها جهرا بغير سرار
امثلى يلهيه فيلهو بلذة	ترنم اوتار وشرب عقار
ويرضى بما يرضى به من معيشة	من الناس فى دنياه كل حمار

ساركبها شوسا عاصية القرى واكشف داجى ليهلا بنهار
واضربها من عزمى بصوارم واضرمها من همتى بنيار
فمن مبلغ مولاتنا ابنت احمد نهاية القصى وقطب مدارى
سلامى والمامى وزاكى نحتى وان بعدت دارى وشط مزارى
امولاتنا حقت لديك نصيحتى حقيقة علم ليس فيه تمارى
وما كان من كشف الفناع لمذهى جهارا ولم اخشى العدى فادارى
خطبت لمولانا واظهرت سكة عليها اسمه طارت بكل مطار
لدى معشر حبل الضلالة عندهم معار وحبل الدين غير معار
ثلثة اصناف اباض وناصب واخر زيدى احطن بدارى
ضربتهم بعضا ببعض كانوا احك حجارا منهم بججار
والبسنتهم من بعد خلعى ما اكنسوا من العز ثوبى ذلة وصغار
وفارقت اولادى واهلى وما حوت جميعا يدى من فضة ونضار
ورمت رضى المنصور فيما اتيته اذا فارقت درى قشور محارى
فهل لى ايا مولاتنا منك عاضد معين به يضغى زنادى وارى
امولاتنا لا تتركينى بقفرة وحيدا لاعداء تروم دمارى
وقوى بامرى والحظينى بلحظة فلحظك غاد بالسعادة سارى
ولى غرض لا بد لى من مناله بلا رهبة منى ولا بجذارى
سامضى لها عزى فاما منية تجينى تفك من وثاق اسارى
والا علت لى دعوة امرية بها واليهما نسيتى وشعارى

Some anecdotes about him are quoted ('*Uyūn al-akhbār*, VII, 367 ff.) from a book by 'Umāra bearing the title *Unmūdhaj mulūk al-Yaman* (which does not seem to be known otherwise).

قال عمارة فى كتابه المعروف بانموزج ملوك اليمن :

وما يوصف من احكام السلطان الخطاب بن الحسن صاحب مدينة الجريب انه كان يشرف من طاق لينظر الداخلين الى سوق الجريب فجاء رجل وهو يصيح انا بالله وبمولانا الخطاب فقال له ما شانك فقال انى بعت ثورا لى لا املك غيره وارتدت

ان اخذ بئمنه ما يقوت اهلى وذكر له عدد دراهمه وقال انى صررتها فى ثوبى وقطع طرار الثوب واخذت منه قال تعلم خصمك قال لا اعلمه قال فإ الذى افعل لك ثم وقف السلطان فى الطاق واهل السوق يمرون به راجعين عنه حتى نظر الى رجل قد رجع من السوق وهو يحمل وعاء سمن فامر باحضاره اليه فاحضر فامرهم ان يصيبوا سمنه فصبوه ووجد الدراهم كما عدّها صاحبها ووصفها واستقر الرجل صاحب السمن بها فاعطاها الرجل التى هى له فقيل له ما الذى علمت به ان صاحب السمن هو الذى اخذها وكيف اخترته من بين اهل السوق قال انى وقفت انظر الى من دخل السوق وقد انفق بضاعته ورجع ونظرت الى هذا الرجل دخل يحمل السمن وخرج به كما دخل فعلت ان ذلك لشان فعجب القوم لذهنه وفطنه وما اهتدى اليه فى قضيته ومن ذلك ما روى انه جاء رجل يشكئى ويصيح وذكر ان بعض الشرط اخذ عليه دراهم وانه لا يعرف خصمه وكان احد عبيك يغمز رجليه وجماعة معه فقال للعبد الذى يغمزه اقر بما اخذت عليه والا عاقبتك فافر بذلك وسلم له دراهمه كما وصف فقيل للسلطان الخطاب من اين علمت ان عبدك هذا هو الذى اخذ دراهمه قال ان هذا حين صاح حسست يد العبد قد عرقت فاتيته بذلك، هذا معنى قول عمارة ولم يحضر كتابه المذكور عندى فانقل اللفظ

APPENDIX No. IV (Cf. p. 231)

THE DYNASTY OF 'IMRĀN B. AL-FAḌL

The *'Uyūn al-Akhhbār* contains valuable information about this family. We knew already from 'Umāra (p. 30 = *'Uyūn al-akhhbār*, VII, 198) that 'Imrān b. al-Faḍl¹, of the sub-tribe of Yām and of the tribe of Hamdān, was appointed (together with As'ad b. Shihāb) as a deputy of al-Mukarram in Ṣan'ā. From the *'Uyūn al-Akhhbār* we learn that, owing to resentment over what he considered as a slight to his person, 'Imrān fell out with his overlord. This is what the *'Uyūn al-akhhbār* says (VII, 203):

¹ He composed a dirge on the death of al-A'azz, son of 'Alī al-Ṣulayhī, in 458 A.H. (*'Uyūn al-akhhbār*, VII, 127).

وفي مدة اقامة الملك المكرم بمحصن التعكر وصل اليه القاضي عمران بن الفضل اليايى وانتهى الى باب التعكر المسمى باب الكلبيب والمملك المكرم لما به بن العلة وكان مع عمران بن الفضل جماعة كثيرة فمنعه الولاة عن دخول الحصن وامر بالتزول الى ذى جبلة وصرف امره الى الحجرة الملكة فاصابه لذلك كبر شديد ووقع معه امر عظيم يعوذ بالله من الكبر المردي والهوى المطفي وقال في ذلك قصيدة اولها [شعر]

اباب كلبيب اننى لك هاجر على اننى داع لمولاك شاكر

وهي قصيدة طويلة يذكر فيها افعاله وسوابقه مع الملك الداعي على بن محمد الصليحي عم ووقائعه وظن ان رجوعه براى ابن هباله ونجم بن بشاره وكانا يتوليان خدمة الملك المكرم فقال في قصيدته هذه المذكورة

فاما بدين بابه بن هباله وماذونه نجم فعمران كافر

نعوذ بالله من الكفر بعد الايمان، والكبر والطغيان¹

To be sure, in another passage the *'Uyūn al-Akhhbār* attributes the estrangement between Imrān and the Ṣulayḥids to the dismissal of 'Imrān from the governorship of Ṣan'ā; but this can be also taken as the consequence, not the cause, of the estrangement. Vol. VII, p. 377:

واما صنعاء فانه كان الملك المكرم احمد بن على الصليحي ولي فيها القاضي عمران بن الفضل اليايى ايام سكون الصليحي في ذى جبلة والتعكر ثم عزله عنها وكان ذلك من الاسباب التي كانت بها المباعثة بين عمران بن الفضل والداعي المكرم وفي ذلك يقول القاضي عمران بن الفضل اليايى يخاطب الداعي المكرم احمد بن على الصليحي والامير سبا بن احمد بن مظفر الصليحي من قصيدة يقول [شعر]

ولا تجرحا بالعزل اكياد معشر اذا غضبوا عل القنا وتكسرا
فلوان مولانا معدا اتاكما بعزل تولى الكل منا وادبرا
ولا تفرقا من لفه والداكما وعودا الى عقليكما وتدبرا
فان انتما انكرتما ما نظمته فصدقني غدا من طلعة الشمس اشهرا

¹ It is evident, however, from the verses quoted subsequently that he remained loyal to the Fatimids.

وولى صنعاء وأعمالها حاتم بن الغشيم من بنى المنلس وهو من الغز ثم من مذكر ثم من يام وصارت الى اولاده بعد وحين دخل القاضى الرشيد الى اليمن وقمع التخليط فى الدين والاعتقاد، ومالوا الى عبد المجيد واتباعه ايثارا للدنيا على المعاد، وملك صنعاء وأعمالها السلطان حاتم الحميد بن احمد بن عمران فى سنة ثلث وثلثين وخمسمائة وملكها بعد ابنه السلطان على بن حاتم وضربت لهما باسمها السكة واقسمت لهما الخطة ولما دخل توران شاه ابن ايوب المسمى الملك المعظم الى اليمن مال على بن حاتم الى حصن براش وعاد الى صنعاء بعد رجوع توران الى اليمن الاسفل وانصرافه الى مصر ثم لما دخل الى اليمن المسمى الملك العزيز سيف الاسلام طغتكين بن ايوب اقام السلطان على بن حاتم بصنعاء حتى عمر الحصون الرفيعة، وشيد المعاقل المنيعه، كذمرمر الحصن المشهور المنيع الرفيع، السامى على كل طود منيع، والعروس والفصين وغيرها من الحصون وشحنها ثم ارتفع اليها وحل حصن ذمرمر هو واخوه السلطان بشر ابن حاتم وفرق اولاده واولاد اخيه فى الحصون وملك صنعاء طغتكين بن ايوب والحديث فى ذلك بطول ان اخذنا فيه، ولم نقصد اليه فنستقصيه.

According to the information given by al-Khazraji (see Kay, note 42, p. 257) Ḥātim b. al-Ghashīm severed Ṣan‘ā and the surrounding country from the Ṣulayḥid kingdom; whether this is correct or not, Ṣan‘ā soon returned to the Fatimid allegiance. Ḥātim died in 502 and was succeeded by his sons: ‘Abdallāh, who died of poison after a reign of two years and subsequently Ma‘n, who was deposed in 510. From that year to 533 another Hamdānid family reigned in the town: Hishām b. Qubbayt, Ḥimās b. Qubbayt and Ḥātim b. Himās. As stated by Idrīs, they were adherents of al-Ḥāfiẓ¹. In 533 Ḥamid al-daula Ḥātim b. Aḥmad b. ‘Imrān b. al-Faḍl — grandson, therefore, of the governor appointed by the Ṣulayḥid al-Mukarram — acquired the town. He was attacked in 545 by the Zaydī Imam al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad, but was able, eventually, to defend himself. Ḥātim died in 556 and was succeeded by his son ‘Alī. ‘Alī took the leading part in an alliance, formed in the first half of 569 against ‘Abd al-Nabī, son of ‘Alī b. al-Mahdī. He was the reigning prince of Ṣan‘ā when, six months after his campaign against

¹ It is true that he does not know — or does not mention — that there has been a change of dynasty.

the Mahdiyyes, Yemen was invaded and conquered by Tūrānshāh. (Cf. Kay, p. 230 and J. W. Redhouse, Introduction to al-Khazraji's *Pearl-Strings, A History of the Resuliyy Dynasty*, I, 15 ff. — both after al-Khazraji; Zambaur, *Manuel de Généalogie*, p. 119; al-Malik al-Ashraf Ibn Rasūl, *Ṭuraḥ al-aṣhāb fī ma'rifat al-ansāb*, ed. Zetterstéen (Damascus 1949), p. 117 ff. [The correction of the editor, p. 117 note 1, is wrong.]

The *ʿUyūn al-Akhhār* contains the record of an interesting episod in the fighting between Ḥātim and the Zaydite Imam al-Mutawakkil, shedding light on the Ismaili convictions of the former (vol. VII. p. 372 ff.): he restored the inscription containing the names of the Fatimid Imams, which had been erased by the Zaydite.

وكانت وفاتها (scil. of Queen Sayyida) قدس الله روحها في شهر شعبان من شهر سنة اثنين وثلاثين وخمسمائة ودفنت في جامع ذي جبلة ايسر القبلة في منزل متصل بالمسجد الجامع وقد ذكر ان بعض المتغلبين من ملوك اليمن اراد ان يخرج جنتها الشريفة عن قبرها حين انكر المتفقهون كونها فيه، واتوا من الشبهة بما يبطله الحق وينفيه، ففتحوا عن قبرها حتى انتهوا الى التابوت فوجدوا فيه قفصا مقلدا ففتحوا عنه فاصابوا فيه كتبا واحكاما تشهد انها استننت فيه ذلك المنزل عن المسجد لقبرها فيه ووجدوا بذلك علامات القضاة والاحكام، وشهادة الشهود الثابتة عند المحكام، فردوا قبرها على ما كان عليه، وردوا تربته وحجارتة اليه، وقبرها الى اليوم يزوره جميع فرق الاسلام، ويعترف بفضلها وعدلها الخاص والعام، وياتي الى قبرها من اصيب بظلم او جائحة او علة في بدنه او بلية فيبتهلون بها، ويستشفون الى الله تعالى في كشف ما اصابهم بفضلها، فكل من اخلص لديها النية، وسأل الله تعالى متوسلا بها صحيح الطوية، ازال الله ببركتها ما عراه، وفرج عنه بفضلها ما انتابه واسجاب الله ما به دعاه، وذلك مشهور معروف، ظاهر موصوف

والمسجد الجامع بذي جبلة المذكور هي التي تولت عمارته بتمامها، وهيات موضع قبرها فيه في ايامها، وجامع صنعاء فهي التي وسعته، وصححت عمارته وزينته، وامرت ان تكتب فيه اسماء جميع الائمة من على بن ابي طالب عم الى امام عصرها، عم فائتبت ذلك في الحائط القبلي من المسجد الجامع بامرها، ثم كشط في ايام احمد بن

سليمان امام الزيدية بغيا وعدوانا، وحشدا وطغيانا، وإعيد بخصي وإشراس ايام حاتم ابن احمد بن عمران بن الفضل الياهي ثم كئط في دولة عيال يحيى من الاشراف، وتلك سحجة اهل الجور والاعتساف، واساء الائمة مكتوبة في سقف ذلك الجامع الى الان بخط الكوفي لم يوبه له كما حقق لي بعض من راه <و>تحققه من الاخوان ولا يزال الظالمون يكدحون في اخفاء ما ظهر من فضل اهل الفضل، وياتون من ذلك خلاف القسط والعدل

The restoration of the inscription by Ḥātim shows conclusively that he was an Ismaili. Moreover, there seems to be evidence to show that his dynasty belonged to the adherents of the Egyptian Fatimids — although Idrīs is silent on this point. We have information about wars waged by his son ‘Alī against Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm, the leader of the Ṭayyibīs; this seems to imply different party allegiance.

The following extract is taken from the *Kifāya* of al-Khazrajī, MS Leiden, Or. 302, p. 67. (This seems to be the only mention of Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm in a non-Ismaili chronicle, excepting the interpolated passage in ‘Umāra.)

فلما كان سنة احدى وستين وخمسةائة خالف عليه [على بن حاتم .i. e. السلطان حاتم ابن ابراهيم الحامدي وقام في شبام حراز وبايعه قوم كثير من همدان ونقلوه من حراز الى ديفان ولؤلؤة ليكون قريبا من حرب السلطان على من حاتم فاقامت الحرب بينهم مدة ثم هزمهم السلطان على بن حاتم فطردهم فهربوا الى كوكبان وكان كوكبان في ذلك اليوم لبني الزواحي فخرج السلطان على بن حاتم في اثرهم واخرب مدينة شبام حمير وما حولها من البلاد ثم لم يزل الحرب عليهم حتى اخرجهم من كوكبان وتسلم الحصن يومئذ من ابي النور بن على الزواحي واستولى عليه وذلك في سنة اربع وستين وخمسةائة وكانت مدة المحصار على كوكبان من السلطان على بن حاتم ثلث سنين

(The substance of the account can also be found in Kay, p. 299 and Redhouse, p. 17, both of whom used al-Khazrajī.)

APPENDIX No. V (Cf. p. 231)

POEMS BY MUḤAMMAD B. ṬĀHIR ON THE FALL OF THE FATIMIDS
AND AGAINST THE MAJĪDĪS

‘*Uyūn al-akhbār*, VII, 384.

قال الداعي الاجل محمد بن طاهر الحارثي حين بلغه انتقطاع امر العاضد [شعر]

عبد المجيد مضى وباد الظافر	وانهد ما شادا وبدن مائر
والفائز الزمن العليل كبا به	عما يؤمل فيه دهر عائر
والعاضد ابن العم شنت شمله	واباح محرمه العدو الكاشر
يا للعجائب كيف صاحت صيحة	فيهم ودارت بالنكال دوائر

ويقول فيها يخاطب الفرقة المجيدية [شعر]

ابن الموه كل زور في الوري	والشاهد القدم الغوى الزائر
والناكصون معا على اثارهم	تنبعا لما نص الغوى الجائر
اودى بهم مرض النفوس فجاحد	عهد الولي وناكث ومناكر
زلت بهم قدم النفاق فقهروا	فالككل عن نهج الهداية جائر
جهلوا خفيات الامور وخالفوا	النص الجلي وما نجاه الامر
وتخلفوا عن حاتم ودعائه	تبا لهم وهو الطيب الماهر
داعي الجزيرة وابن داعيه الذي	شرقت محاريب له ومنابر
مبدي حقائق علم آل محمد	منه وما اشتملت عليه سرائر
هو حجة الله فينا شاهد	عدل لدينا لا يفند حاضر

ADDITIONAL NOTES

1. To p. 209: "At Ghadīr Khumm Muḥammad had appointed ‘Alī as his successor ... In the same way al-Āmir appointed his cousin al-Ḥāfiẓ."

Cf. the lines of the poet Ḥāfiẓ al-Ḥaddād (Brockelmann, I, 303; Suppl. I, 46r) in a panegyric on al-Ḥāfiẓ (MS. Vatican Ar. 1171, fol. 6rv):

ورث ابن عم محمد من بعده	حق الخلافة منصفا في نقلها
وورثتها عن ابن عمك حقها	فجری قیاس خلافة في شكلها

