

Sources for the History of the Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlī *Daʿwa* in Yemen and Its Relocation to India*

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To Prof. Patricia Crone

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Abstract

This article surveys the available sources for the history of the Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* in Yemen, in particular in the years leading up to its relocation to India in 974/1566 and beyond. To date, this period has received little attention from historians of Yemen and Ismāʿīlism due to a lack of available sources, which was caused by the exclusive nature of the community and the hostility it has faced throughout its history. The present contribution is a first step in closing this gap in Yemeni and Ismāʿīlī history. A sample from a collection of correspondence exchanged between the *daʿwa* officials in Yemen and India (*Qarāṭīs al-Yaman*) is edited in an appendix.

Keywords

India – Yemen – Ismāʿīlīs – Ṭayyibīs – sixteenth century – manuscript sources – published sources – *Qarāṭīs al-Yaman*

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1 Introduction

Preserving the knowledge of the outer and inner meaning of the faith (*ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*, respectively) and maintaining the spiritual and temporal well-being of the community of believers are the primary duties and concern of the Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlī *dāʿī muṭlaq* during the period of concealment (*dawr al-satr*).

This period began with the concealment of the heir to the Fatimid throne and Imamate, the infant al-Ṭayyib, following the assassination of his father al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh (d. 524/1130) and the takeover by the slain caliph's cousin, al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh (d. 544/1149). According to the Ṭayyibī tradition, the infant imam had to be rushed into hiding by loyal *dāʿīs* out of fear for his life.

The Ṣulayḥid queen Arwā bint Aḥmad (d. 532/1138) refused to recognise the imamate of al-Ḥāfiẓ, proclaiming instead her allegiance to al-Ṭayyib, thus severing Yemen's strategic ties with Egypt. A major restructuring of the hierarchical organisation governing the religious affairs of the community of believers accompanied this daring political move since the queen was aware of the bleak future of the Ṣulayḥid state in the absence of a suitable heir and the spread of internal dissent. The best alternative was to separate the leadership of the religious institution from the Ṣulayḥid state in order to preserve the *daʿwa* upon the imminent demise of the state.

The head of the religious institution, known as the *daʿwa*, was the *dāʿī muṭlaq* (chief *dāʿī*).¹ He was assisted by the *maʿdūn muṭlaq*, a second-in-command who might not necessarily inherit the top position, followed by the *mukāsir*, and numerous clerics or dignitaries (*ḥadd*, pl. *ḥudūd*, lit. ranks) appointed over the different communities spread around Yemen and India. The chief *dāʿīs* are entrusted with the *daʿwa* until the end of the period of concealment when the imam of the line of al-Ṭayyib will emerge from hiding.² So far, fifty-two chief *dāʿīs*³ have run the affairs of the community, first in Yemen from 532/1137

1 It has become common practice to translate *dāʿī muṭlaq* into chief *dāʿī*. However, this translation implies that the head of the *daʿwa* is overseeing other lower rank *dāʿīs*. This is not the case during the period of concealment when all *daʿwa* officials below the top three ranks mentioned above are considered *ḥadd* (pl. *ḥudūd*) and not *dāʿīs*.

2 See Ḥusayn Hamdānī, *Al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn waʾl-ḥaraka al-fāṭimiyya fī l-Yaman*, Cairo, Maktabat Miṣr, 1955.

3 There are 52 chief *dāʿīs* in the Dāʿūdī line, 51 *dāʿīs* in the Sulaymānī line, and 44 *dāʿīs* in the Alavī line. The names of all *dāʿīs* are listed in Ismail Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī Literature*, Malibu, Calif., Undena Publications, 1977, pp. 365–370.

until 974/1566 when the *da'wa* leadership moved to India where it is still active, leading native communities in South Asia and Yemen and a worldwide diaspora.

It is the religious obligation of the believers to preserve the knowledge of the faith from outsiders during the period of concealment. An oath of secrecy is administered to all seekers of the divine truth who would have gradual access to it depending on their ability to properly understand it and uphold it. Thus, Ismā'īlī literature is jealously preserved in the libraries of the *da'wa*, its seminaries, and the private collections of Ṭayyibī scholars. The *da'wa* has systematically avoided publication of Ismā'īlī primary sources. What is made available in print to believers is modern literature based on the sources or anthologies limiting the access to excerpts of the original texts.⁴ Upon receiving the proper permission (*fash*), trusted students of the faith would have access to original manuscripts or specially made reproductions to complete their studies. The obvious goal is to control the circulation of texts as much as possible.

Thus, the focus of this article is limited to the available sources for the history of the *da'wa* in Yemen, especially in the years leading to its relocation to India and beyond. Due to the exclusive nature of the community and the hostility it faced in Zaydī circles, the coverage it received in most non-Ṭayyibī sources is lacking in content and accuracy.⁵ Therefore, non-Ṭayyibī sources will not be covered in this article.

2 Major Ṭayyibī Sources on the History of the *da'wa* in Yemen

A sizeable collection of writings by Yemeni *dā'īs* and scholars has survived. Among those, three authors emerge as the most prolific and representative of the Ṭayyibī religious and intellectual school: the third chief *dā'ī* Ḥātim

4 The late *dā'ī* Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1965) used to publish an annual *Risāla ramadāniyya* in Mumbai for internal circulation, containing excerpts of poetry and prose from Ismā'īlī sources. The 48 *Risālas* are given individual titles corresponding in Arabic gematria to the year of publication. A few of them are available in research libraries.

5 Nahrwālī's *al-Barq al-yamānī fī al-faṭḥ al-ʿuṭmānī* is a noted exception. The author shows much interest in the Ṭayyibīs who played a major role in supporting the Ottoman conquest of Yemen. However, it is clear from his exposé of the Ṭayyibī divisions that he is at a loss regarding the identity and role of the different Ismā'īlī dignitaries, to such an extent that he refers to all Ṭayyibīs as *dā'īs*, whereas the chief *dā'ī* is referred to as al-Shaykh Yūsuf. Quṭb al-Dīn Nahrwālī, *al-Barq al-yamānī fī al-faṭḥ al-ʿuṭmānī*, Riyadh, Dār al-yamāma, 1967, p. 170.

b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī (d. 596/1199), the fifth ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd (d. 612/1215), and the nineteenth ʿImād al-Dīn Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan (d. 872/1468). The works of the *dāʿīs* Ḥātim and ʿAlī, predominantly doctrinal, educational and polemical in nature, are seminal for establishing the foundations of a distinct Ṭayyibī school of Ismāʿīlī thought.

However, ʿImād al-Dīn Idrīs' encompassing and exhaustive output is in a category of its own, reflecting his exceptionally long 44-year tenure at the helm of the *daʿwa*. ʿImād al-Dīn's writings that are of interest to us here are three works covering the history of the *daʿwa* from the rise of Islam to the author's time: the seven-volume *ʿUyūn al-aḥbār*⁶ covers the history of the *daʿwa* from the days of Muḥammad to the concealment of al-Ṭayyib and the fall of the Ṣulayḥid state. Next, Idrīs devotes a two-volume history, the *Nuzhat al-afkār*, to the history of the *daʿwa* and the contemporaneous Yemeni ruling dynasties up to 853/1449, around twenty years in the author's tenure over the *daʿwa*. Several manuscripts of the still unpublished *Nuzhat al-afkār* have survived.⁷ The library of the Institute of Ismaili Studies alone holds two complete sets of the *Nuzha* with a copy of the second volume dated 1087/1676 (cat. no. Ms. 1529), an unusually early date for an Ismāʿīlī manuscript.⁸ One particular set is of interest here despite its late dating. The two volumes were copied in Surat during the time of the fifty-first *dāʿī muṭlaq* Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1965) by two Yemeni scribes, Ḥamīd b. ʿAlī b. Ḥusayn b. Muḥsin al-Ġabal al-Yaʿburī in Ṣābān 1349/1930 (cat. no. A312) and ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Nāṣir al-Zahrī al-Yaʿburī in Ġumāda al-Āḥira 1350/1931 (cat. no. B333). One can deduce from the names and place of copying that the two scribes were either Yemeni immigrants or descendants of Yemeni immigrants who were affiliated with the religious

6 Six of the planned seven-volume edition of the *ʿUyūn al-aḥbār* have already been published. The printing of the remaining volume was halted at the beginning of the Syrian civil war. ʿImād al-Dīn Idrīs, *ʿUyūn al-aḥbār wa-funūn al-āṭār*, 7 vols., eds. Ayman Fuʿād Sayyid et al., London and Damascus, the Institute of Ismaili Studies and the Institut français du Proche-Orient, 2007–.

7 Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, p. 172.

8 Poonawala writes that the Zahid Ali collection contained a complete two-volume set of the *Nuzha*. However, only volume two (cat. no. Ms. 1125) is listed in the collection catalogue. See Adam Gacek, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts in the Library of the Institute of Ismaili Studies*, vol. 1, London, Islamic Publications, 1984, pp. 85–86, Delia Cortese, *Arabic Ismaili Manuscripts: The Zahid Ali Collection*, London, I.B. Tauris and the Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2003, pp. 126–127, and François De Blois, *Arabic, Persian and Gujarati Manuscripts: The Hamdani Collection*, London, I.B. Tauris and the Institute of Ismaili Studies, 2011, pp. 137–138.

seminary in Surat, al-Dars al-Sayfī. The remaining twenty years of ‘Imād al-Dīn’s life are covered in his *Rawḍat al-aḥbār*,⁹ which ends two years short of his death.

Thus, the *dāʿī*’s ambitious history of the *daʿwa*, from the prophetic period to his time, is the only surviving comprehensive historical account of the *daʿwa* written by an Ismāʿīlī.¹⁰ Its value lies not only in the subject matter but also in the lost sources and documents it references and quotes, the first-hand account the author provides for the contemporaneous events, and the alternative insider reading it offers to a history that was predominantly written by outsiders.

It took another four centuries for a Ṭayyibī author to produce a new general history of the *daʿwa*. Quṭb al-Dīn Sulaymān-ḡī¹¹ Burhānpūrī (d. 1241/1826), an Indian Ṭayyibī cleric of Dāʿūdī persuasion, wrote the *Muntazaʿ al-aḥbār fī aḥbār al-duʿāt al-aḥyār*, a comprehensive two-volume history of the *daʿwa* up to his time, still partially unpublished. Burhānpūrī’s main contribution is in the second volume, which is devoted to the history of the *daʿwa* in Yemen and India.¹² The earlier Yemeni section relies heavily on ‘Imād al-Dīn Idrīs’s historical writings, leaving an unfortunate gap in the period following the *dāʿī*’s death in 872/1468 since Burhānpūrī’s account beyond this date focuses on the events in India.

The internal breakup within the Ṭayyibī community, which occurred along geographical boundaries, most probably lies behind the silence of Indian sources on events in Yemen. The dispute over the leadership of the community between Dāʿūd b. Quṭb Šāh (d. 1021/1612) and Sulaymān b. Ḥasan (d. 1005/1597) ultimately led to the breakup of the community into Dāʿūdīs, known as Bohras, who are predominantly concentrated in India and Sulaymānīs, known as Makramīs, who are mainly concentrated in Yemen.

One might fairly assume that Burhānpūrī had no access to other sources, especially of Yemeni provenance, to complement and expand on ‘Imād al-Dīn

9 ‘Imād al-Dīn Idrīs, *Rawḍat al-aḥbār wa-nuzhat al-asmār fī ḥawādiṭ al-yaman al-kibār wa’l-ḥuṣūn wa’l-amṣār*, ed. Moḥammad al-Akwaʿ, Šanʿāʿ, al-Hayʿa al-ʿamma li’l-kitāb, 1995.

10 The Fatimid historian al-Musabbihī’s forty-volume chronicle is another comprehensive historical account produced by an Ismāʿīlī. Unfortunately, only one incomplete volume has reached us.

11 It is the custom in South Asia to add the suffix ‘-ḡī’ to personal names as an honorific.

12 I have already published a partial edition of the *Muntazaʿ al-aḥbār* from the first chief *dāʿī* al-Duʿayb b. Mūsā al-Wādiʿī (d. 546/1151) to the twenty-seventh *dāʿī* Dāʿūd b. Quṭb Šāh (d. 1021/1612). Quṭb al-Dīn Sulaymān-ḡī Burhānpūrī, *Muntazaʿ al-aḥbār fī aḥbār al-duʿāt al-aḥyār*, ed. Samer Traboulsi, Beirut, Dār al-ḡarb al-Islāmī, 1999.

Idrīs' account. This may suggest that the *daʿwa* manuscript collections preserved by the Dāʿūdī community in India lack additional literature covering the history of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* and community in Yemen. Unfortunately, it is hard to confirm this claim since Dāʿūdī *daʿwa* officials strictly prohibit outsiders from accessing their manuscript collections. The Makramīs in Yemen have proved equally reticent in opening their archives to outside scholars due to the long persecution they experienced under the Zaydī imamate in Yemen and the annexation of Nağrān, their traditional homeland, in the mid-twentieth century by the Saudi state, whose adherence to the strict Wahhābī school of thought keeps the Makramīs in check. All my attempts to establish fruitful contacts with Makramī *daʿwa* officials have failed and I doubt these sources will be made available to scholars in the near future.

3 Unexplored Sources

3a Two Sulaymānī Sources

However, Makramī authors did produce historical accounts that survived, at least partially, through alternative sources. Ġābir b. Fahd al-Makramī's *Ibrat al-labīb* and the anonymous *Badīʿ al-aḥbār* are two concise tracts dealing with the period surrounding the time of the relocation of the *daʿwa* headquarters in 974/1567 from Yemen to India. Unfortunately, we do not have access to the full text of the two works because they were later edited by Dāʿūdī scholars.¹³ The purpose of the editorial treatment was presumably to remove the sections covering the period of the Dāʿūdī-Sulaymānī schism and beyond, which was

13 The illegible name of the scholar who produced the abridgement of the *Ibrat al-labīb* is stated at the end of the manuscript as "Sayyidi 'Abd al-'Alī b. Sayyidi (unreadable) during the time of our master and lord the *dāʿī muṭlaq* Abū Muḥammad Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn." Poonawala gives the full name of the abridger as Sayyidi 'Abd al-'Alī b. 'Abd al-Qādir. No date is given for the abridgment though one can assume that it was done in the second half of the nineteenth century since 'Abd al-'Alī b. 'Abd al-Qādir was active during the time of the forty-seventh *dāʿī muṭlaq* 'Abd al-Qādir Nağm al-Dīn (d. 1885). Thus, only the copying of the manuscript was done in the first half of the twentieth century during the time of the *dāʿī* Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn. The date of 15 March 1936 is given by the copyist of the *Badīʿ al-aḥbār* without specifying a date for the abridgment. Poonawala does not list the name of the abridger. Ġābir b. Fahd al-Makramī, *Muntaza' min Ibrat al-labīb*, Ms., private collection, Ṣan'ā', Yemen, p. 61, Anonymous, *Badīʿ al-aḥbār*, Ms., private collection, Ṣan'ā', Yemen, p. 137, Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn, *Surur rushd marfū'a*, Bombay, British India Press, 1946, p. 129, and Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 248, 331, 338.

deemed inaccurate and unnecessary by followers of the Dā'ūdī *da'wa*. In fact, the need to abridge Sulaymānī writings, rather than dismiss them altogether, could be a sign of the Dā'ūdīs' desperate need for sources to fill the gap in the period between 'Imād al-Dīn Idrīs and the relocation of the *da'wa* to India. These two sources were apparently unavailable to Burhānpūrī in the early part of the nineteenth century; or perhaps he felt uncomfortable relying on Sulaymānī accounts in his *Muntaza' al-aḥbār*.

The abridgment of *Ibrat al-labīb* begins in 922/1516 when a Mamluk naval force, led by officers known as the *levends* (*lāwands* in the Arabicized version), under the leadership of Ḥusayn al-Kurdī landed at the coast of Zabīd from their stronghold on the island of Kamarān. The Ṭāhirid sultan 'Āmir b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb's refusal to support the Mamluks in their campaign against the Portuguese ships was interpreted as an act of aggression and necessitated a military intervention on the Yemeni mainland. Sultan 'Āmir was not aware that his forces were no match to the Mamluk troops and their guns, which brought about the end of the Ṭāhirid dynasty.¹⁴ The coverage of the *Ibrat al-labīb* ends with the accession of the twenty-fifth *dā'ī muṭlaq* Ḡalāl b. Ḥasan (d. 974/1566), the first *dā'ī* to be based in Ahmedabad, India. The author, Ḡābir b. Fahd al-Makramī is a Sulaymānī *dā'ī* about whom we know next to nothing. Poonawala suggests that he might be the brother of Ṣafī al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Fahd al-Makramī (d. 1042/1633), a key player in the Sulaymānī movement from its inception and the acting *dā'ī* during Ḡa'far b. Sulaymān's minority.¹⁵ Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Makramī was also the father of the thirtieth Sulaymānī chief *dā'ī*, the first of the Makramīs to occupy and monopolise the office, giving the community its popular name. If true, Ḡābir b. Fahd would have flourished in the first half of the eleventh/seventeenth century; that is, some fifty years after the move to India, making him a near contemporary to the period he covers.¹⁶

14 See Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn, *Ġāyat al-amānī fī aḥbār al-quṭr al-yamānī*, ed. Sa'īd 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Āšūr, 2 vols., Cairo, Dār al-kātib al-'arabī, 1968, pp. 642–651.

15 Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, pp. 244, 248 and Burhānpūrī, *Muntaza' al-aḥbār*, pp. 213–215.

16 For coverage of the period based on *Ibrat al-labīb*, see my "The Ottoman Conquest of Yemen: The Isma'īli Perspective," in Jane Hathaway (ed.), *The Arab Lands in the Ottoman Era*, Minnesota, Center for Early Modern History, 2009, pp. 41–60.

The *Muntazaʿ min ʾIbrat al-labīb*: Two Manuscript Copies from Private Libraries

I have access to two manuscript copies of the *Muntazaʿ min ʾIbrat al-labīb*; the first is an undated manuscript from a private library in Ṣanʿāʾ, Yemen. The manuscript is 61 pages long, with 15 lines per page, written in a rough *nash* hand. The second is a modern manuscript from a private library in Ṣanʿāʾ copied by ʿAlī Muḥammad Ḥaydar b. Ḥaydar Yaḥyā Muḥammad Ṣalāḥ Aḥmad b. ʿĀmir al-Qirī al-ʿAbrāt [sic] in 1410/1989. It is in 53 pages, with 13–15 lines per page and written in a neat *nash* hand. It is probable that the second manuscript is a copy of the first.¹⁷

While Ġābir b. Fahd al-Makramī's account presents the events leading to the relocation of the *daʿwa* from a Yemeni perspective, the *Badīʿ al-aḥbār* does the same but from an Indian one. The abridgment, *Muntazaʿ min Badīʿ al-aḥbār* starts with the deputyship of Mullā Ādam b. Sulaymān over the community in Gujarat, India on behalf of the chief *dāʿī* in Yemen and ends in 974/1566 with the appointment of the twenty-fifth chief *dāʿī* Ġalāl b. Ḥasan and the relocation of the *daʿwa* seat to Ahmadabad, India.

Unfortunately, the anonymous author of the late Dāʿūdī abridgment attributes the original to an unnamed Sulaymānī author (*li-baʿḍ al-Sulaymāniyyīn*). Either he ignored the identity of the author or he thought naming him would not benefit his Dāʿūdī readership.¹⁸ However, a short extract from a work entitled *Badāʾiʿ al-aḥbār* in a scrapbook kept by Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Hamdānī (d. 1898)¹⁹ and others is attributed to a certain ʿAḥmad-ġī b. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf b. Miyān Shams-ġī who was one of the Sulaymānī sect at the time of Ġaʿfar b. Sulaymān (the twenty-eighth *dāʿī* according to the Sulaymānī reckoning,

17 In the first manuscript, after writing the title of the work, the scribe mistakenly omits the name of the author's father, Fahd. It was later added above the line in a different hand. The omission appears in the second manuscript. Likewise, the name of the abridger's father is not legible in the colophon of the first manuscript. The copyist of the second manuscript instead of writing the name as "Sayyidī ʿAbd al-ʿAlī b. Sayyidī (unreadable)" decides to write only the abridger's name "Sayyidī ʿAbd al-ʿAlī" omitting "ibn Sayyidī," which makes no sense.

18 In his abridgment of the *Ibrat al-labīb*, Sayyidī ʿAbd al-ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Qādir kept the name of the original author, Ġābir b. Fahd al-Makramī. However, there is no evidence that he is also responsible for the abridgement of the *Badīʿ al-aḥbār*.

19 Muḥammad ʿAlī al-Hamdānī is a noted Ṭayyibī scholar who flourished in the nineteenth century and believed in the imminent reappearance of the hidden Imam. See Abbas Hamdani, "History of the Hamdani Collection of Manuscripts," in De Blois, *Arabic, Persian and Gujarati Manuscripts*, pp. xxviii–xxx.

reigned from 1005/1597 to 1050/1640)".²⁰ This information is supported by internal evidence from the *Badī' al-aḥbār* in which the author quotes an account by his father (*abī*) Miyān Šams b. Ġa'far.²¹ Thus, the author can be the son or grandson—since *abī* can be used to refer to one's grandfather—of Miyān Šams-ġī, a dignitary of the *da'wa* who was active during the days of the twenty-sixth chief *dā'ī* Dā'ūd b. 'Aḡab Šāh (d. 997/1589) and hoped to be his successor. Miyān Shams-ġī was disappointed when the *dā'ī* selected Dā'ūd b. Quṭb Šāh instead. Ultimately, he removed himself from the *da'wa* affairs and his sons followed Sulaymān b. Ḥasan when he claimed his right to the office.²² If Aḥmad-ġī b. 'Abd al-Laṭīf b. Šams-ġī was the author of the *Badī' al-aḥbār* he would be a contemporary of Ġābir b. Fahd al-Makramī and a near contemporary to the period he is covering.

The *Muntaza' min Badī' al-aḥbār*: Two Manuscript Copies from a Private Library and the Institute for Ismaili Studies (IIS)

I have access to two manuscript copies of the *Muntaza' min Badī' al-aḥbār*.

- The first belongs to a private collection in Ṣan'ā' and was copied in 1354/1936 by Amīn-ġī b. 'Alī Bhāi al-Kāthiyāwārī. This manuscript is 138 pages long, with 13 lines per page, written in a rough *nash* hand. The subtitle, *Aḥbār wulāt al-mu'minīn min ahl al-Hind*, is given at the beginning of the text.
- The second copy is included in a volume of collected works (*maḡmū'*) housed at the Institute of Ismaili Studies library (cat. no. 5). The manuscript is a collection of five historical texts, the first of which is the *Muntaza' min Badī' al-aḥbār*. The volume is in 234ff., with a variable number of lines per page, written in different *nash* hands on brown wove paper, without watermarks, some rubrics and quarter-cloth binding. However, the copyist dropped the title, *Muntaza' min Badī' al-aḥbār*, while keeping the subtitle, *Aḥbār wulāt al-mu'minīn min ahl al-Hind*, without attributing it to the anonymous Sulaymānī author.²³

20 According to De Blois, the excerpt from the *Badā'ī' al-aḥbār* is written "in a different hand," which makes the ascription of the copying to Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī and dating hard to prove. Unfortunately, I was not able to consult the scrapbook to compare the two texts and confirm De Blois' conclusion. It is also not clear if the excerpt is extracted from the original complete text or the abridgment. De Blois, *Arabic, Persian and Gujarati Manuscripts*, p. 234.

21 *Muntaza' min Badī' al-aḥbār*, p. 6.

22 Burhānpūrī, *Muntaza' al-aḥbār*, pp. 196–197.

23 A detailed description of the volume is given below. See Gacek, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts*, vol. 1, p. 2.

The importance of the *Badī' al-aḥbār* lies in setting the background and focusing on the career of the first two Indian chief *dā'īs*, Yūsuf b. Sulaymān and Ġalāl b. Ḥasan. It complements *Ibrat al-labīb* in its focus on the life and careers of the *muhāğirūn* (the migrants), the Indian Ṭayyibīs, who regularly travelled between Yemen and Gujarat and some of whom resided in Yemen for extensive periods to study and serve the *da'wa* and its leader.

The account in the *Badī' al-aḥbār* is generally more detailed than that of the *Ibrat al-labīb*. As such, some ambiguities and gaps in the *Ibra*, which are either due to the author or to the abridger, are clarified and filled in by the *Badī' al-aḥbār*. For example, it is not clear from al-Makramī's account whether Ġalāl b. Ḥasan, then *wālī* of the *da'wa* in India, was in Yemen or India when he acceded to the leadership of the *da'wa* in 974/1566. It becomes clear from the *Badī' al-aḥbār*'s detailed coverage of Ġalāl b. Ḥasan's career that he was in India at the time of the demise of his predecessor *dā'ī* Yūsuf b. Sulaymān. Thus, the relocation of the *da'wa* seat to India happened as a result of the appointed *dā'ī*'s decision not to move to Yemen the traditional seat of the *da'wa*, rather than making the decision in Yemen to move to India. This way, an internal conflict between the Yemeni believers, on one side, and the *dā'ī* and the Indian ones, on the other, was avoided, at least in the short term.

The *da'wa* history abounds with occasions where members of the community disagreed with the decisions of a living *dā'ī*. When properly handled, these crises did not escalate out of control. *Dā'ī* Yūsuf's handling of the resentful Banū al-Anf is a good example. The clan of Banū al-Anf has provided 17 of the 23 *dā'īs* who ruled over the Ṭayyibī community in Yemen. As a result, several members of the clan expressed their displeasure with the appointment of an Indian *dā'ī* from outside the clan seeking positions of power outside the confines of the *da'wa* and community. These were provided by the Ottoman administration, which was eager to attract local chieftains to its side. The *dā'ī* recognised Banū al-Anf's difficulty in accepting the loss of the *da'wa* leadership. As a result, he reluctantly conceded to their increasing involvement with the erratic Ottoman administration, knowing that this would ultimately create problems for the *da'wa* and its welfare.

Eventually, *dā'ī* Yūsuf decided that it was better to appoint another Indian he trusted to succeed him. One could hardly imagine the dying *dā'ī* appointing a successor from the Banū al-Anf, the allies of Rıdvan Pasha, in whose prison he had spent a difficult year. Of course, the Yemenis could have challenged the testified appointment (*naṣṣ*) of the deceased *dā'ī*, but such drastic claims usually resulted in tearing apart the community. Few people were willing to take this course.

Despite the later Dā'ūdī abridgment, the two Sulaymānī sources, the *Ibrat al-labīb* and the *Badī' al-aḥbār* remain an invaluable source for the later history of the Ṭayyibī *da'wa* in Yemen. They are complimented by another important source, the *Qarāṭīs al-Yaman*, a collection of correspondence exchanged between the *da'wa* officials in Yemen and India.

3b *A Collection of Correspondence between Officials in Yemen and India: The Qarāṭīs al-Yaman*

The correspondence between the *da'wa* officials in Yemen and India have partially survived in private collections that are mostly not open to researchers. One might also assume that some of these letters are preserved in the archives of the Jameat-us Sayfiyya in Surat and the *da'wa* headquarters in Mumbai. However, at some point, a member of the Ṭayyibī community thought of preserving a collection of letters he had access to in a volume titled *Qarāṭīs al-Yaman*. We are fortunate to have access to this volume.

The letters collected in the *Qarāṭīs* cover a wide range of topics, from the obvious administrative and religious affairs of the community to social enquiries about family and friends. Of particular interest are the letters discussing current events, such as developments on the Zaydī front, relations with the Ottoman administration, and the internal affairs of the Ṭayyibī community.

The letters suffer from a heavy editorial hand, for not only are the conventional devout openings and conclusions omitted but also several sentences, and probably passages, from the body of the text. These are replaced by the formula *ilā qawlihi* ('to where he says'). At times, the editor provides a summary of some passages, which are evident from the sudden shift from the first person to the third person voice. Substantial details have been lost through these omissions, which seem arbitrary in several cases. In addition, not all the letters are dated, some giving only the day and month; this prevents us from pinning down the years of particular events not mentioned in other sources.

In order to provide a historical context for the compilation, the anonymous compiler inserts extensive quotations from al-Makramī's *Ibrat al-labīb* between the letters.²⁴ Unfortunately, we cannot tell if these excerpts are taken from the original complete *Ibrat al-labīb* or from the abridgment.

The edited letter included in the appendix is an interesting example highlighting the unique first-hand accounts and insider information that the *Qarāṭīs* provide, while illustrating the abridgment style of the anonymous com-

24 See *Qarāṭīs al-Yaman*, Ms., University library, Tübingen, Germany, ff. 19^v–26^v and 29^r–33^v.

piler. It is, however, one of the longer letters in the volume.²⁵ In other cases, the compiler only preserves the name of the sender and addressee, the date, and a few words from the original document. Nonetheless, there is much to learn from the *Qarāṭīs*, especially as it extends beyond the relocation of the *daʿwa* to India.

Three *Qarāṭīs al-Yaman* manuscripts are known to exist: in the Hamdani collection, the University of Tübingen library, and the Institute of Ismaili Studies library.

- The first belonged to the famous Hamdani collection, known as al-Ḥizāna al-Muḥammadiyya. Most of the manuscripts in the collection ended up in the private collection of Prof. Abbas Hamdani.²⁶ Some of those in the possession of the remaining heirs of Šayḥ Fayḍ Allāh al-Hamdānī found their way into the collections of Tübingen University, Mumbai University, and the al-Ḥizāna al-ʿAlawiyya in Vadodara, India. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of the Hamdani manuscript of the *Qarāṭīs* is unknown to us. We know about this manuscript from a bibliographical list of the Hamdani collection compiled by Šayḥ Fayḍ Allāh al-Hamdānī.²⁷ Accordingly, this *Qarāṭīs* manuscript contains documents covering the period between 800–1100/1397–1688.²⁸
- The second manuscript was also part of the Hamdani collection and it bears its seal. It is now housed in the University of Tübingen library (cat. no. Ma VI 330).²⁹ This *Qarāṭīs* manuscript contains documents covering the period between 904–1105/1498–1693, more than a hundred years less than the previous manuscript. However, this does not necessarily entail the loss of a large number of letters since the chronological coverage in the volume is, at times, uneven.

The Tübingen manuscript is in 103 ff. of 10 lines per page, written in a *nash* hand. It ends abruptly without a colophon, leaving us in the dark as to the identity of

²⁵ For a description of the letter and its content, please refer to the appendix.

²⁶ Abbas Hamdani donated the manuscripts of the Hamdani collection in Ismaili possession to the Institute of Ismaili Studies, making them available to scholars of Ismaili and Islamic studies and ensuring that they would be preserved for the future.

²⁷ Ismail Poonawala writes in his seminal *Biobibliography of Ismaili Literature* that he consulted Hamdani's list. See Poonawala, *Biobibliography*, p. 403. It seems he did not have access to the actual collection, though he most probably was able to consult the manuscripts in Abbas Hamdani's possession.

²⁸ See Poonawala, pp. 326–328. See also Poonawala's contribution to the present volume.

²⁹ An online catalogue is in preparation.

the copyist and the dating of the manuscript. However, it seems to be of modern provenance, probably late nineteenth to early-twentieth century. It contains 99 letters of varied length and is divided into two distinct parts written in the same hand and separated by a blank page (f. 74^v). The first part, containing 51 letters, begins after the *basmala* with a truncated sentence: “and from the letter of Sayyidnā Ḥasan” (*wa-min qirṭās Sayyidnā Ḥasan*), which might be due to the loss of the first part of the text. The last letter is dated 989/1581.

The second part contains 48 letters in total. The section begins with the sentence: “copied from (*manqūl min*) the *qarāṭīs* of Ahmadabad and Yemen,” which suggests that its source is another collection of letters. Unlike the first part, the letters are not always listed in chronological order. The earliest letter in the second collection is dated 1082/1671 and the latest 1105/1693.³⁰

- The third manuscript of the *Qarāṭīs* is housed at the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London (cat. no. 5). It forms part of a larger volume of collected works (*maǧmūʿ*) containing four other texts. The volume is in 508 pp., 16.5 × 8 cm. of variable number of lines per page and written in different *nash* hands, brown wove paper, without watermarks, some rubrics and quarter-cloth binding.³¹ It seems that the copyist happened to chance upon some damaged manuscripts, which he attempted to preserve by copying them, despite being unable to identify their titles and authors.

The first is the *Muntazaʿ min badīʿ al-aḥbār*, titled here as *Aḥbār wulāt al-muʾminīn min ahl al-Hind*.³² A blank folio (ff. 61^{r-v}) separates it from the second text, which bears no title and begins abruptly (f. 62^v), suggesting that it is extracted from a larger work. It is also incomplete at the end (f. 143^v), leaving the identity of the copyist and the dating of the manuscript unknown. The description “*aǧzāʾ awrāq [sic] al-aḥbār al-muntaḥaba min al-sīra fī dīkr al-duʿāt min sayyidnā Quṭb al-Dīn aʿlā Allāh qudsahu*” (i.e. scattered pages from selected anecdotes from the lives of the *dāʿīs*, starting with *dāʿī* Quṭb al-Dīn) is written on the upper left corner of f. 62^r in a different pen. The text, in part, covers the lives of the thirty-second chief *dāʿī* Quṭb al-Dīn Quṭbḥān b. Dāʿūd (d. 1056/1646) and his successor Šuǧāʿ al-Dīn Pīrḥān b. Aḥmad-ǧī (d. 1065/1655).

30 See *Qarāṭīs al-Yaman*, ff. 81^{r-v} and 90^v–91^r, respectively.

31 For a codicological description of the manuscript, see Gacek, *Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 2. However, Gacek's description is not accurate. It only mentions the first text, ignoring the remaining four.

32 See above on the *Badīʿ al-aḥbār*.

The third text, the *Qarāṭīs al-Yaman*, begins on f. 144^v following a blank page (f. 144^r). It bears no title and does not start with the customary *basmala*, as in the Tübingen manuscript. This might be due to the loss of the first part of the text. The text does not include the “*qarāṭīs* of Ahmadabad and Yemen” found in the second part of the Tübingen manuscript. This supports the conclusion that the two parts are from different collections of letters.

On f. 194^r, the *Qarāṭīs* is followed, without any break, by an account of the final days of the thirty-third chief *dāʿī* Šuġāʿ al-Dīn Pīrḥān b. Aḥmad-ġī and the appointment of his successor Badr al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. Mullā Rāġ (d. 1085/1674). This account ends with some abridged letters sent by *dāʿī* Badr al-Dīn to Yemen,³³ which might have confused the copyist making him believe that the latter text was part of the *Qarāṭīs*. However, it is clear from the context and chronology that they are not.

The fifth text, missing both beginning and end, starts on f. 209^r and is preceded by a blank page. It is an account of the final days of the thirty-sixth chief *dāʿī* Kalīm al-Dīn Mūsā b. Zakī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Ṭayyib (d. 1122/1710) and his son and successor Nūr al-Dīn Nūr Muḥammad (d. 1130/1718).

3c *An Incomplete Manuscript from the Western Library of the Great Mosque, Šanʿāʾ*

Another historical text that ought to be examined closely is a history of the thirty-second Sulaymānī chief *dāʿī* Hibat Allāh b. Ibrāhīm (d. 1160/1747) and his son and successor Ismāʿīl (d. 1184/1770). The manuscript is housed at the Western Library of the Great Mosque of Šanʿāʾ (cat. no. tāriḫ 44).³⁴ It is in 271 ff. of 13–17 lines per page, 24 × 16 cm., written in a *nash* hand lacking dots. The incomplete manuscript—both beginning and end are missing—is attributed on the cover page to “a Makramī from Naġrān” (*li-aḥad ahl Naġrān al-Makārīma*). Nevertheless, the surviving portion of the text is extensive in coverage and very rich in material. The author’s writing style is reminiscent of that of ʿImād

33 See *Aḥbār wulāt al-muʾminīn*, ff. 202^v–208^r.

34 From a note attached to the cover page, the *faqīh* Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Šāmī presented the manuscript to the crown prince of the Zaydī imamate (*al-mawlā walī ʿahd al-muslimīn*) [Aḥmad Ḥamīd al-Dīn] on 17 Rabīʿ al-Āḥir 1354/18 July 1935. Al-Šāmī thought that the manuscript might be of interest to him since “the house of al-Qāsim would not have succeeded without the support of the Makramī *dāʿīs* and because the author vilifies al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Amīr and Hāšim b. Yaḥyā.” Muḥammad al-Maliḥ & Aḥmad Muḥammad ʿĪsawī, *Fihris maḥṭūṭāt al-Maktaba al-ġarbiyya bi-l-Ġamiʿ al-kabīr bi-Šanʿāʾ*, Cairo, Manshaʿat al-maʿārif, ca. 1978, p. 649.

al-Dīn Idrīs, especially in the *Nuzhat al-afkār*, where he alternates between the developments within the community and those around Yemen in general.

3d *The Ottoman Archives*

One last resource deserving thorough investigation is the Ottoman archives. During the two periods of Ottoman rule in Yemen, 1538–1636 and 1872–1918, Ottoman officials submitted numerous reports about the different groups and factions in the country. The Makramīs were, naturally, of interest to the Sublime Porte since they both had a history of cooperating against the Zaydī power machine. These reports need to be closely examined by Ottomanists as they might provide much needed information on the Makramīs in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, of which we know very little.³⁵

4 Conclusion

Writing a comprehensive history of the Ṭayyibī *daʿwa* and community in Yemen is difficult given the present state of the sources. So far, only Burhānpūrī's historical overview and ʿImād al-Dīn Idrīs' work devoted to twenty years of the Ṭāhirid period have been published. In order to write a comprehensive history of the Ṭayyibīs in Yemen, it is necessary to publish and study Idrīs' seminal history, *Nuzhat al-afkār*, and examine the literature produced or preserved by the later Ṭayyibī scholars in India. Most of the sources are still in manuscript form, which might intimidate interested scholars. However, the intellectual rewards gained by bringing the history of this important community to light are unmatched and the service it does to the historians of Yemen, India, and the Indian Ocean is great.

The available sources discussed in this article allow us to write a history that is broad enough to entice interested historians to search for additional resources and, perhaps, the Ṭayyibī scholars and *daʿwa* officials, whether Dāʿūdī, Sulaymānī, or ʿAlawī, to make whatever historical manuscripts and documents in their possession available for scholarship.

35 I would like to thank Professor M. Şükrü Hanioglu for drawing my attention to these reports.

Appendix

The *Qarāṭīs al-Yaman* gives us a unique view of the events as they are developing in Yemen. It consists of correspondence exchanged between the *daʿwa* officials in Yemen and India. As discussed above, the collection of documents have been heavily abridged by an anonymous person. We are therefore left with the material that the abridger felt worthy of preservation. The letter edited here was sent by the Ṭayyibī chieftain Amīr ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥasan to the *dāʿī* in India. Though one of the longest in the collection, it is still not preserved in its entirety; some parts are clearly paraphrased, using the third person voice, whereas the first-person voice is dominant in others. The identity of the addressee is not clear at the beginning of the letter but it becomes so near the end when the author refers to the addressee as “sayyidnā,” an honorific reserved for the *dāʿī al-muṭlaq*. The letter reads like a report about the declining situation of the Ṭayyibī community tracing it back to the rise of the Zaydī leader al-Muṭahhar Šaraf al-Dīn and the collapse of Ottoman control over the Yemeni highlands. The result is an interesting overview of the Ottoman-Zaydī conflict in Yemen and the role the Ṭayyibīs played in the restoration of Ottoman sovereignty over the country.

The edition of the letter is based on two manuscripts. A detailed description of the manuscripts can be found in the above section on the *Qarāṭīs al-Yaman*:

The first manuscript [ق], housed at the University of Tübingen library (cat. no. Ma VI 330), is in 103 folios of 10 lines per page and written in a *nashḥ* hand. The edited letter is included in the first part from ff. 63^r–73^v.

The second manuscript of the *Qarāṭīs* [ح] is housed at the Institute of Ismaili Studies in London (cat. No. 5). It forms part of a larger volume of collected works (*mağmūʿ*) containing four other texts. The volume is in 234 folios of variable number of lines per page written in different *nashḥ* hands. The *Qarāṭīs al-Yaman* is the third text in the volume. The text ends abruptly in the same fashion as the Tübingen manuscript, which prevents us from identifying the copyist and the date of copying. The edited letter is included on ff. 185^v–193^v.

The two manuscripts complement each other since they both have equal numbers of lacunae and misreading. As a result, I decided to collate the two manuscripts without using either as a base. Some clear scribal mistakes or misreading, especially of personal and place names, were corrected in the body of the text while preserving the original in the footnotes. Any references to other letters in the *Qarāṭīs al-Yaman* are based on the Tübingen manuscript [ق]. The edited text follows the common rules of orthography for modern standard Arabic.

Edition of the Text

[من قراطيس اليمن]

وأيضاً³⁶ من كتاب الأمير عبد الله³⁷ سنة 38٩٧٨ ذكر فيه: إنه قد كان انتهى إلى حضرتكم على لسان المولى ميار طيّب بن محمد تحقيق أصل الفتنة الواقعة بين أصحابنا، أولاً فيما بينهم، وبين حي سيدنا نجم الدين³⁹ قدس الله روحه إلى أن عزم على الخروج من [خ186] الجهة اليمنية، وما اتفق بسبب ذلك فيما بين أهل الدعوة من [ق63ب] الاختلاف وتجروء بعضهم على بعض، بل على مالك الجميع حتى آل الأمر إلى ما آل إليه من عموم المصيبة، واستيفاء كلّ واحد⁴⁰ من البلاء نصيبه، إلى أن هلك الطالب والمطلوب، كلّ ذلك من سوء نيات الجماعة، ومخالفتهم لمن أوجبت له عليهم الطاعة.⁴¹

ثم سوء تدبير الباشا رضوان⁴² على ما فيه هلاك للمسلمين، وانسباط دولة الظالمين من فعله في جناب حي سيدنا نجم الدين قدس الله روحه، ثم بإخلافه العوائد ونقضه لما قرره الباشوات الذين من قبله من القواعد [ق164أ] حتى خربت البلاد. ولم ينتبه إلا وقد اتسع الحرق واستفحل أمر المخدول مطهر⁴³.

36 وأيضاً: سقط من خ.

37 هو الأمير الشهير أمير اللواء الشريف والسنجق العالي المنيف فخر الدين عبد الله بن حسن بن محمد من زعماء الدعوة في اليمن. انظر قراطيس اليمن، ١50.

38 سنة ٩٧٨: فراغ في خ.

39 هو الداعي نجم الدين يوسف بن سليمان، أول داعي من أصل هندي يتولى سدة الدعوة في اليمن عام ١٥٣٩/٩٤٦.

40 واحد: خ أحد.

41 الطاعة: خ الطاعات.

42 رضوان باشا بن مصطفى باشا: كان عيّن بكلربكيا (واليا) على اليمن الأعلى ومركزه صنعاء سنة ١٥٦٥/٩٧٣.

43 انظر النهروالي، البرق الباني في الفتح العثماني، نخ حمد الجاسر، الرياض، دار اليمامة، ١٩٦٧، ١٥٧-١٦٤. المطهر بن الإمام شرف الدين: زعيم زيدي قاد القبائل الزيدية ضد الدولة العثمانية في اليمن واستطاع دحرها حتى زييد كما سيرد لاحقاً في هذه الرسالة.

فأخذ سعدة⁴⁴ وبلادها ثم الظاهر ثم الثور⁴⁵ وبلادهم ومشارك⁴⁶ صعفان⁴⁷ وفي خلال ذلك أتاها العزل وولاية [خ186ب] الباشا حسن⁴⁸، فخرج من صنعاء في أول ذي قعدة [كذا] سنة ٩٧٤ وجعل نظر الكلّ إلى مراد باشا.

وعند ذلك تحرك المخدول وحصر صنعاء من جميع الجهات، وأراد مراد باشا الطلوع إلى دمار⁴⁹ فما أتى إلى دمار إلّا وقد أحبط بها، فجهز الأمير أحمد قزل باش والأمير يوسف في عسكر فالتقاهم [ق64ب] عسكر المخدول، وكان أول النهار للترك وفي آخره قُتل قزل باش، ووصلوا إلى محط مراد باشا بدمار إلى أن قُتل مراد باشا آخر الأمر، ووصلوا برأسه إلى مطهر.

فانحلت قوى من في صنعاء ولم يروا غير تسليم المدينة مع القصر مواجعة، فغدر بهم ولم يف لهم، وفي أثرها حاصروا طيبة في صفر سنة ٩٧٥ وقُبض الأمير محمد بن إسماعيل⁵⁰ وأولاده بعد القبض على بيته بجميع ما فيه، وحُبسوا في الدار الحمراء في القيود العظيمة التي أصغرها [خ187أ] عشرون رطلاً.

وجمّز المخدول صنوه إلى تعز⁵¹ [ق65أ] وأذعنت جميع البلاد للمخدول شامًا ويمًا وشرقًا وغربًا وامتحن اسم الدولة الحنكارية من جميع الجبال، وكان أمر عظيم لم يُسمع بمثله.

44 لعلها صعدة وهي أول البلدان البائية التي استولى عليها المطهر من الأتراك. انظر يحيى بن الحسين، غاية الأماني في أخبار القطر الباني، تخ سعيد عاشور، القاهرة، دار الكاتب العربي، ١٩٦٨، ٧٢٥، أو سعدان وهو من حصون الدعوة في شهاة. انظر Robert Wilson, *Gazetteer of Historical North-West Yemen*, Hildesheim, Georg Olms Verlag, 1989, p. 189.

45 الثور: ق شرر.

46 مشارك: خ مشاركة.

47 صعفان: ق ضعفان.

48 الأمير أروس حسن باشا: كان من أمراء السناجق المحافظين وعُيّن واليًا على اليمن الأعلى سنة ٩٧٤/١٥٦٦. انظر النهروالي، البرق الباني، ١٧٣-١٧٤.

49 دمار: خ صنعاء.

50 الأمير عز الدين محمد بن إسماعيل من بني الأنف الذين منهم أكثر دعاة اليمن. وقد خالف الداعي يوسف وعاداه وقد سمحه المطهر مع أولاده حين قام على الدولة العثمانية في اليمن وتوفي في الحبس مع ولديه سنة ٩٧٩. انظر قراطيس اليمن، ١٥٥-١٥٥ب.

51 ورد في البرق الباني أنّ المطهر أرسل علي بن الشويح للاستيلاء على تعز. انظر النهروالي، البرق الباني، ١٨٥.

وأما أصحابنا فكان المخدول كتب لهم حين هربوا خطوطاً ووثائقاً بجميع بلاد أهل الدعوة وأتاهم مقررهم على الحال الذي قرّره عليه الترك، فلم يتركهم إلا ريثما تمكّن من شيام، فأخرجهم من طيبة الداخلية إلا سيدي عبد الله⁵² وولده مع تضييق شديد من الترسيم وغير ذلك.

إلى أن ذكر الأمير عبد الله في الكتاب [ق65ب] أمره فقال: لما كان الأمر هكذا ولم أجد مسلماً للنجاة، كتبت المخدول ودخلت فيما دخل فيه الجميع⁵³، وجعلت الحجة في التأخر ما لزم أولادي ومكالي⁵⁴ بطيبة من الترسيم، وطلبت منه الأمان وأن لي ما للجماعة وعلي ما عليهم، وأنا على يقين أنه غير وافي لي. فأقبلت إليه وأنا [خ187ب] على نية الهرب بعد أن أستخرج مكالي عيالي، وألزمي بتسليم شيام فسلمته إليه، وواجهته بعد إخراج أولادي من البيت إلى طيبة الخارجة في رابع شهر ربيع الأول سنة ٩٧٥، وبقيت في صنعاء وأولادي [ق66أ] في طيبة سبعة أشهر ونصف لم يقع لي إذن بالخروج إليهم ولا لهم بالدخول إليّ، بل كان يضمّر أمراً ختب الله أمله فيه، إلى أن دبّرت وتسلّلت من صنعاء مُستخرجاً أولادي من طيبة مُستصحباً لهم معي.

إلى أن ذكر في الكتاب وصوله بعد أمور عدّة إلى حسن باشا إلى زبيد رابع ذي الحجة، وألزم حسن باشا الناظر والأمراء والأغوات⁵⁵ وسائر العسكر على طبقتهم أن يتلقوا الأمير عبد الله، فدخل معهم دخولاً معظماً. وأظهر فيه الباشا الفرح والسرور وأمر بتلبس [ق66ب] المدينة سبعة أيّام، وضربت المدافع والزربانات⁵⁶، وتلقاه الباشا ماشياً خارج الدار وخلع [خ188أ] عليه وعلى ولده خلعة سنّية، وكلم الجميع بما معناه: إن من يرعى حب الدولة السلطانية فيفعل مثل هذا، الناس يهربون متاً وهو يهرب إلينا مخاطراً لنفسه وأولاده وغير ملتفت إلى بيت ولا مال ولا أثاث، فمن رفده فكأنما ردف مولانا السلطان ورفدني. فتكلّم كلّ أحد منهم بما يعرفه فيه من الجميل، وأنزلوه في دار

52 سيدي عبد الله بن الداعي يوسف نجم الدين، أول الدعاة الهنود في اليمن.

53 الجميع: خ الجمع.

54 مكالي: الأصح مكالي، ومعناها باللهجة اليمنية: "نسائي".

55 الأغوات: ق الأغوات، خ الأعوان.

56 الزربانات: خ الدربانات، والصحيح "زربانات" (zarbzen) وهو نوع من المدافع الصغيرة المستخدمة في الجيش العثماني. انظر سهيل صابان، المعجم الموسوعي للمصطلحات العثمانية التاريخية، الرياض، مكتبة الملك فهد الوطنية، ٢٠٠٠، ١٣٠، والنهروالي، البرق الباني، ٢٦٣.

معدّة بفرشها وجميع آلاتها وأقبل بعد ذلك الأمراء [ق67أ] كلّ واحد بقدر وسعه من الكساء والفراش وآنية النحاس والعيني⁵⁷ وغير ذلك.

ثمّ كانت غزوة موزّع من مْخا وكانت الدائرة على الترك، ثمّ غلبوا جليسة⁵⁸ وقتلوا من بها، فاشتدّت الأحوال وانقطعت الآمال ولم يبق في يد حسن باشا إلّا زبيد واضطربت الأقدام⁵⁹ وتوجّه البعض إلى كمران⁶⁰ وأقبل المخدول علي بن الشّويع⁶¹ بعساكره إلى حائط، وقد استولى عليه عجبته، نهار السبت الرابع [خ188ب] من ربيع الأوّل سنة 629٧٦ وخطّ فيه وأراد رتبة بيت⁶³ الفقيه الدخول⁶⁴ إلى [ق67ب] زبيد فحين سمع بذلك ابن الشّويع حمّز ولده واثصل⁶⁵ الخبر إلى زبيد.

فذكر الأمير عبد الله في كتابه: إنّّا خرجنا في ستّين فارس ومئة راجل لنصف منها بنادق، فلقينا أوائل عسكر المخدول وكانت الهزيمة بهم حتّى وصلوا محطّهم واستقاموا، فحمل العسكر المنصور حملة واحدة، وأخذوا⁶⁶ منهم مئة وخمسة نفر في لمحة الطرف ورجعوا إلى زبيد سالمين ظافرين. وفي الإثنين أجمع الباشا على الخروج بنفسه فمنعناه وخرجنا متوكّلين [ق168] على الله فقاتلناهم من الشروق إلى قرب نصف النهار فمنحنا الله أكتافهم قتلاً وأسراً ونجى ابن الشّويع بعد أن أبصر⁶⁷ الموت ببصره، وكانت هذه أوّل الفتوح.

57 العيني: ق الصبي.

58 لم أهدد لهذا المكان ولعلّ المقصود هنا هو مدينة خيس، جنوبي زبيد التي استولى عليها ابن الشّويع قبل ان يصل إلى زبيد. انظر النهروالي، البرق الباني، ١٩٦.

59 الأقدام: ق أقدام.

60 كمران: خ كرمان.

61 ابن الشّويع: ق خ ابن الوشيع، بنو الشّويع من الأشراف الحمزات. انظر الحجري، مجموع بلدان اليمن، تخ. اساعيل الأكوّع، ط ٢، صنعاء، دار الحكمة البانية، ١٩٩٦، ج ٢، ٤٥٩.

62 سنة 976: فراغ في خ.

63 بيت: ق بن.

64 الأرجح من سياق المعنى: للدخول.

65 في الأصل: "واتسع"، وقد شطبت.

66 وأخذوا: ق أخذوا.

67 أبصر: سقط من ق.

وفي السابع عشر وصل الباشا عثمان⁶⁸ إلى كمران فبين خَفَّ معه، وسائر [خ189أ] العسكر والعدّة والعدد تأخّر خلفه في مراكب عدّة، واليًا على اليمن وجعل أمر حسن باشا إليه، إن شاء أمسكه معه وإن شاء أنفذه إلى الأبواب، وطلب عثمان باشا الأمير عبد الله إلى كمران فخرج في ٢٢ ربيع الآخر من زبيد ووصل [ق68ب] في ٢٧ فتلقاه بغاية الإكرام والإعظام⁶⁹ والإنعام وكسى وخلع ووضع له مراسم شريفة ببلاد الدعوة حيث كانت، وناط به جميع أمور حضرته وصيّره أول داخل إليه وآخر خارج من عنده.

ثم ارتحل من هناك ووصل إلى بيت الفقيه وأرسل الأمير فيروز ففتح مَوْزَع والمُخَا وبذل الأمان والعفو عمّا مضى من مساعدة أهل الطغيان، ورجع الناس إلى بلدانهم. ثم ارتحل بعد وصول فيروز حتى وصل إلى حائط [خ189ب] في ثاني جمادى الآخرة في أحسن [ق69أ] زَيٍّ وأجمل حال وهناك التقى به حسن باشا، ثم أقام إلى أن تلاحق به ماها [كذا] أراد استلحاقه.

ثم قصد في أول شهر رجب إلى مدينة تعزّ فأخذ بالسيف قهراً، ثم وصل⁷⁰ الوزير سنان باشا⁷¹ وأجمع الرأي على حصار القاهرة⁷² إلى أن أذعن من فيها للتسليم وطلبوا أن يكون الأمير عبد الله الواسطة فيما بين ذلك، فتوسّط ونزلوا إلى الباشوين بوساطته فوفيا لهم وأفاضوا عليهم كرمها وخيرها، وخلعوا على الأمير خلعة سنّية وزقاً إليه السنجق الشريف [ق69ب] بجميع ما يلزمه من المعروف وغيره⁷³ في ٢٢ ذي قعدة [كذا]، وجمّراه من العدّة إلى الخلاف ففتح الله على يديه. وكان رتبة⁷⁴ حصن عروس من [خ190أ] أهل الدعوة فأرسلوا إلى الأمير فتزل بهم إلى الوزير ففعل بهم من الخير ما هو أهل.

68 عثمان باشا بن أزدمر باشا: عَيّن بكريكي على اليمن عام ١٥٦٨/٩٧٦ ليعيد سيطرة الدولة العثمانية في اليمن ولكنه غُزل من منصبه بعد عام إثر خلاف مع السردار سنان باشا.

69 والإعظام: سقط من خ.

70 وصل: خ كان وصول.

71 الوزير سنان باشا: عَيّن سرداراً على اليمن مما أدّى إلى احتدام الخلاف بينه وبين عثمان باشا إلى أن عزله سنان باشا من ولاية اليمن بعد فتح تعزّ وحصن القاهرة. انظر النهروالي، البرق الياني، ٢٣٧-٢٤٥.

72 القاهرة حصن منيع في جبل صبر المطلّ على مدينة تعزّ. انظر النهروالي، البرق الياني، ٢٢٧-٢٣١.

73 وغيره: ق وغير.

74 رتبة: خ مرتبة.

ولم يزل الوزير يقاتل المخذولين ومهزّمهم ويفتح البلاد والأمير عبد الله عونهُ وعُضده إلى أن قصد المخذولين إلى إبّ في الحادي عشر من المحرم فأجلاهم عنها قهراً وهزّمهم هزيمة فاضحة. واستمروا منهزمين حتّى دخلوا صنعاء [ق 170] في السابع عشر. ثم كان نزول أهل حصن حَدِيد⁷⁵ على يد الأمير كنزول من تقدّم. وكتب أهل ذمار⁷⁶ إلى الأمير يطلبون الأمان فعزم في العشرين إلى ذمار إلى أن دخلها دخولاً حسناً. وفي الطريق إليها كانت مواجهة القبائل من جملتهم أهل عراس، نظم الأمير [خ 190ب] حصنهم وبلادهم في سلك أهل الدعوة.

وهرب المخذول من صنعاء ووصلت كتب أهلها إلى الأمير يطلبون الأمان، فسار الوزير إليها وواجه أهلها بوساطة الأمير في سبتان⁷⁷ على طبقاتهم، فقابلهم [ق 70ب] الوزير بالمعروف وبذل الجميل والصفح والعفو عمّا مضى ودخل صنعاء أكرم دخول، وأذعنت البلاد وخمدت نيران البغي والفساد.

ثم ذكر الأمير في كتاب [كذا] حال الأصحاب فقال: وقد تقدّم حال الشيخ محمد بن إسماعيل وما كان عن حبسه مع عياله، وبعد خروج الأمير إلى زبيد من صنعاء عمد المخذول إلى أولاد عبد الله بن جعفر [خ 191] قبض عليهم وأخذ جميع ما ظهر لهم من الأموال وأودعهم السجون⁷⁸ مفترقين في الحصون⁷⁹، وذكر سيدي عبد الله قد تقدّم و [ق 171أ] أولاد حي إدريس في جهة حراز على حالهم متصرفون له إلا أنّه قبض عليهم نصف زكاتها.

فلما حطّ الوزير بصنعاء وصلوا إليه حامدين مسلمين، فقرّر الأمير أحوالهم أحسن تقرير، وكان إسماعيل ولد الشيخ محمد بن إسماعيل⁸⁰ ومكالفه بصنعاء في بيت عبد الله سوار في تضيق عظيم وأخرجهم الأمير إلى بيوتهم في طيبة آمنين، ثم تسلّم الأمير حصن فده⁸¹ بعد عشرين يوماً ورتّب فيها.

75 خد:ق خ حد. انظر النهروالي، البرق الباني، ٢٦٩-٢٧١.

76 في الأصل: رذما.

77 سبتان: ق ميان.

78 وأودعهم السجون: ق وأولاده مسجونون.

79 الحصون: خ الحصن.

80 ولد الشيخ محمد بن إسماعيل: سقط من ق.

81 حصن فده، يعرف أيضاً بحصن أفندة وهو من حصون الدعوة يقع على جبل مطّل على طيبة ووادي ضهر.

ثم ذكر الأمير في كتابه وفاة سيدي عبد الله⁸² [خ191ب] وتوجد على ذلك، ثم ذكر إقامة الحاج علي [ق71ب] بن إدريس مقامه لكونه كان أقيم ثانياً في الرتبة، ثم ذكر توجهه لفتح جبل تيس⁸³، ففتح حراز أولاً ثم جبل تيس، ووقع اضطراب عظيم في اليمن الأسفل فخرج إليها وأصلح.

وذكر المحاربات بين الوزير وبين المخدولين إلى أن حوصروا، وفي آخر الحال وقع الصلح على تسليم حصون منها مسار⁸⁴ وغيرها، وذكر أخذ شبام ونقل أولاده من برّج إلى هناك وإنزال أولاد سيدي حسن بن سيدي عبد الله من طيبة أيضاً إلى هناك لمقام سيدي حسن المذكور في [ق72أ] حراز.

ثم ذكر الأمير في الكتاب أن عبد [خ192أ] الله بن إدريس في هذه الوقعات⁸⁵ معه خائض غارها مصطلحاً لحرّ نارها، وصنوه حسن ملازم في باب الوزير، مفتقد أحوال ثلاً وهدان على نظر الأمير إلى قوله: فنعّم الظهيران النصيران الباذلان أنفسهما في رضا مولاهما.

ثم ذكر امتثاله لما أمر به من تسليم أموال حي سيدينا يوسف قدس الله روحه إلى نجله سيدي إسماعيل وفعله معه ما يليق بحاله إلى قوله فيه: وهو حيث ما ذكر سيدينا جعلت فداه [ق72ب] من الكمال والفضل والحسب⁸⁶، إلى قوله في آخر الكتاب: [خ192ب] لكن يا سيدينا، جعلت فداك، البدار البدار! تدارك دعوتك قبل هلاكها وتلافها قبل ارتطامها في الجهل وارتباكها.

وكان الأمير ذكر في أول الكتاب أنه كان أراد حين ألزم حي سيدينا نجم الدين أعلى الله قدسه في أيام الباشا رضوان خلاص سيدينا وحفظ مكلفه حين بان له عيب الأصحاب ومكرهم، فلم يوافق الأمل الأحوال بل حال بينه وبين ما يريد ما حال، فاختار أن يُخَصَّ هو [ق73أ] بالبلاء حتى لا يعمّ البلاء أهل الدعوة، فُجِس⁸⁷ بعد أن عرض على السيف وسلّمه الله سبحانه. فبقي في [خ193أ] الحبس من أول شهر⁸⁸ شوال سنة ٩٧٣ إلى شهر⁸⁹ شوال سنة ٩٧٤ إلى أن منّ الله بالقدر عندما

82 زيادة في خ: قس.

83 تيس: ق قيس.

84 في الأصل: سار.

85 الوقعات: ق الرفعات.

86 الحسب: ق الحسن.

87 فُجِس: خ فخبسه.

88 شهر: سقط من خ.

89 شهر: سقط من خ.

وقع الاتفاق من أصحاب رضوان الباشا [كذا] أنه⁹⁰ إن أخرج الأمير وجعل نظر حراز إليه انصلحت أموره، فأجيبوا إلى ذلك وأخرجوه في الحادي عشر من شوال، وجمّعوا معه الأمير محمد قزل باش⁹¹ وألزموه الخروج معه بعد أن⁹² ضمن ثلاثين⁹³ ضمين⁹⁴ ورهن ولديه [ق73ب] في بيت الأمير محمد بن إسماعيل. فأقام في جمّات حراز يمارس ويعامل إلى سلخ محرم سنة ٩٧٦ إلى أن⁹⁵ كان من أمر صنعاء وتغلب مطهر عليها ما كان، فكتب إليه [خ193ب] وأقبل عليه، وقد تقدّم ذكر⁹⁶ ذلك فيما تقدّم.

90 أنه: خ منه أنه.

91 قزلباش: ق قزلباشا، خ قزلباشا.

92 فراغ في ق.

93 ضمن ثلاثين: سقط من ق.

94 ضمين: خ خمين.

95 أن: سقط من ق.

96 ذكر: سقط من ق.

سنة ٩٨٠ ذكر فيه الاستحقاق في الطلوع الى
 اليمن وقال فيه والعسل الابيض المطلوب لهم
 يوجد منه قليل ولا كثير في بلاد الدعوة وغير
 الحان السنين وضعف الثمار وايضا من كتاب
 الامير عبد الله سنة ٩٧٨ ذكر فيه انه قد
 انتهى الى حضر تكدر على لسان المولى ميان طيب
 بن محمد تحقيق اصل الفتنة الواقعة بين اصحابنا
 اولافما بينهم وبين جيديدنا نجم الدين قس
 الى ان عظمهم على الخوارج من الجبهة اليمنية وما
 اتفق بسبب ذلك فيما بين اهل الدعوة من

FIGURE 1 Qarāṭis al-Yaman. MS Tübingen, University Library, Ma VI 330, f. 63^r.

منتزع من عبرة اللبيب لجابر ابن المكرمي
 من بني مكرم من جربان من قبيلة همدان
 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

فاو لما ذكر فيه ان الداعي علي بن عبد الله كان مقيمًا بطيبة
 بين ظهري همدان وكان أخوه وابن أخيه الداعي ادريس
 ابن الحسن عماد الدين قدس الله روحه بشبام اليعابر وكان
 أمه الزبيديه من بني الناصر قد أكثروا في نكايه الداعي
 وهدان لاسيما بعد الملك الظافر عامر ابن طاهر فكاتب
 الداعي شمس الدين السلطان عامر ابن عبد الوهاب الى تغز بأخذ
 ثار الملك الظافر وانه يقوم بنصرته فأجابه الى ذلك السلطان
 بطلب تسليم أحد ولديه اليه رهينه بالوفا وكان له ولدان ،

FIGURE 2 Beginning of Muntaza' min 'Ibrat al-labīb. MS Private collection, Ṣan'ā', Yemen, p. 1.

علي ابن جعفر الشهيد علي أملاك الدعوه / تمت وبالحير عمت
وهذا ما يخصه المولى العلامة الفاضل سيدي عبد العلي
في عهد سيدنا الداعي المطلق طاهر سيف الدين قدس الله
روحه في أعلى عليين /

بعون الله كان الفراغ من نسخ هذه النسخة
من عبدة اللبيب في تمام الساعة التاسعة من
ساعات يوم الأحد الثامن عشر من شهر محرم ١٠٤١ هـ
عشر وأربع مائة والفرس في مدينة صنعاء حماها
رسمه من كل مكروه : بخط : علي محمد حيدر بن حيدر
يحيى محمد صلاح أحمد ابن عامر القيري العبراتي
غفر الله له ولوالديه بحق سيدنا محمد وآله الطاهرين

FIGURE 3 End of Muntaza' min 'Ibrat al-labīb. MS Private collection, Ṣan'ā', Yemen, p. 53.

٢

مستتر من بديع الاخبار لبعض المسلمين
 اخبار ولاية الهند المومنين من اهل الهند
 الذين اولهم ملا ادم السيد ناجد الهم
 ومه اسفين كسب الله الرحمن الرحيم في جميع الامور
 ثم لم يزلوا بعين الذين امنوا بحايد مولاي
 عبد الله في ثوب التقية مستترين ولاعمال
 الكفار فظهر من حق اني الى بيت من بلاد
 امرار السلطان من اهل الاسلام واقاموا
 المساجد وسواها واهلها بالهندية
 راجعين الى الهدى من الضلال وقيل مستترين
 الدين من اهل الحق وكانوا بالتقوى الورع
 والامانة عند المسلمين والكافرين مشهورين
 ولدى القضاء بعد قهر معتبرين وشهادتهم
 نصح

مقتضاها ١١ - ٣ - ٣٦
 ابتداء في ١٩ - ١٢ - ١٢٠٦
 ابتداء في ١٩ - ١٢ - ١٢٠٦

FIGURE 4 Beginning of Muntaza' min Badī' al-ahbār. Ms Private collection, Ṣan'ā', Yemen, p. 2.

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 العلويين والفيلسوفين الروحانيين والسياسيين
 بحق سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين الطاهرين صلوات الله
 عليهم اجمعين امين رب العالمين في بلدة شتاكروز
 وقت اقامته فيها خادما للحضرة السيفية الطاهرة
 في مدرسة دار العلوم السيفية الواقعة في دار
 الاقامة السيفية وكرسها الله في عصر داي الله
 الامين ذي الشرف الجسيم والفضل المبين سيدنا
 مولانا آية الله في دهر سيف الدين الله طاهرا الله بقاء الله
 يوم الدين بحق سيدنا محمد وآله الطاهرين صلوات

FIGURE 5 End of Muntaza' min Badī' al-aḥbār. MS Private collection, Ṣan'ā', Yemen, p. 138.