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THE DĀ'Ī ḤĀTIM IBN IBRĀHĪM AL-ḤĀMIDĪ

(d. 596 H./ 1199 A.D.)

AND HIS BOOK *TUḤFAT AL-QULŪB* *

by

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To the memory of the late Professor Gustave von Grunebaum

The crisis of succession in Fāṭimid Egypt

In the year 524/1130 a great convulsion occurred in the history of Fāṭimid Egypt which had wide repercussions, particularly upon the history of Yaman. The tenth Fāṭimid Caliph al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh was murdered by a Nizārī assassin and was succeeded by 'Abd al-Majīd al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh who enjoyed the support neither of the Nizārī nor of the rival Musta'lian Ṭayyibī faction of the Fāṭimid Da'wa. The new Caliph's accession ushered in a period of internal decline and of external pressure from the Crusaders and the Turks, which in turn led to the rise of Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn al-Ayyūbī who conquered Egypt in 567/1171. In the next two years Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn's brothers Tūrānshāh and Ṭughtigin brought most of the area of previous Fāṭimid influence under his authority, from Syria and Palestine in the north to Ḥijāz and Yaman in the south.

On this period refer to the following studies: Casanova: *Les Derniers Fāṭimides*, 415 seq.; Wiet: *Materiaux*, 83 seq.; Cahen: *Chroniques*, 1-27.

We have conflicting reports concerning the succession to Caliph al-Āmir and they raise a number of questions: Did al-Āmir die childless? Did he die leaving a daughter, but not a son? Did he have an infant son named Ṭayyib who was shortly afterwards disposed of? Or was it that Ṭayyib survived, was taken into hiding, claimed Imāmate and had his claim acknowledged by a substantial following, even though political power and the Caliphate had meanwhile passed to 'Abd al-Majīd al-Ḥāfiẓ, who by the end of two

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years after the assassination of Caliph al-Āmir had established himself as the eleventh Fāṭimid Caliph?

The view that Ṭayyib did exist, as obtained from Yamānī Ismā'īlī sources had been stated by Husayn Hamdānī, *Ṭayyibī Da'wa*, in 1931 and was confirmed after checking many other sources by S. M. Stern, *Succession*, in 1951.

Stern's excellent and exhaustive treatment of the subject could still have been improved if the following two sources had been available to him: (i) the full text of *Tuḥfa* and (ii) *Nuzha* of Dā'i Idrīs (both mss.), which have since been used by Husayn Hamdānī, *aṣ-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, Cairo, 1955, which remains the best account of the Ṭayyibī Da'wa available.

Two factions in Ṣulayḥid Yaman

Yaman during the time of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty had stood united and firm in support of Fāṭimid Egypt, but by the time of the Fāṭimid succession crisis of 524/1130, the Yamānī Ismā'īlī community under the Ṣulayḥid dynasty was split between two factions: One party supported the cause of Ṭayyib; and since he became a hidden Imam, it declared the Da'wa in Yaman independent of the Egyptian state. Its leader was the Dā'i Dhu'ayb b. Mūsā al-Wādī'i (d. 546/1151) who was supported by Sayyidnā l-Khaṭṭāb b. Ḥasan al-Hamdānī (d. 533/1138), the Sulṭān of Ḥajūr (see Poonawala: *al-Khaṭṭāb*), and the Ṣulayḥid Queen Arwā (d. 532/1137) who also supported and blessed their activity. The centre of their power was the district of Ḥarāz, south-west of Ṣan'ā', the area from which the Ṣulayḥids had originally sprung. The other faction was led by the Qāḍī 'Imrān b. al-Faḍl, the spokesman of various Hamdānī clans and the king-maker of Ṣan'ā' and by Saba' b. Abī s-Su'ūd (d. 533/1138), the Zuray'id ruler of 'Adan. Although both leaders ostensibly derived their authority from the Queen Sayyida (for her reputation over all Yaman was so great that they could hardly pretend to do otherwise), they, in fact, repudiated her adherence to the Ṭayyibī cause and remained loyal to Egypt and the Caliph 'Abd al-Majīd al-Ḥāfiẓ. Having tied their fortune to a political cause, the Ḥāfiẓī Da'was of Ṣan'ā' and 'Adan were swept away in the Ayyūbid conquest of 569/1173, whereas the Ṭayyibī Da'wa of Ḥarāz survived and endured to the present day, being sustained by a faith which was to prove more durable than military conquest.

Stern, *Succession*, note 5, p. 197 on the name of the Ṣulayḥid Queen says that Ismā'īlī and general sources give it as "Sayyida" and not as "Arwā" which is the name of the Queen's daughter. Indeed another later princess, Arwā bint 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥī is mentioned by 'Umāra and al-Khazrajī (see Kay's *Yaman*, 76, 160, 296), but she is not the Queen's daughter. However in Dā'i Idrīs: *Uyūn*, VII, 204 (ms. of Hamdānī coll.) as well as in Kay's ed. of 'Umāra's *Ta'rīkh* (Arabic text, 16), the Queen's name is mentioned as "Arwā". In fact in the early Yamānī Ismā'īlī texts the name is used as "as-Sayyida al-Ḥurra" (the Noble Lady) qualifying the name Arwā. In Yaman, she is popularly remembered to this day

as Arwā. A mosque still stands in Ṣan‘ā’ called Jāmi‘ Arwā and a principal highway of ‘Adan is called Ṭariq al-Malika Arwā. The name “Sayyida” or “Arwa” is used indiscriminately in this article, on the assumption that she was generally known to her people by both these names. Cf. Husayn Hamdani, *aṣ-Ṣulayhiyyūn*, note 1, p. 142.

The rift between the two factions, which became pronounced in the years that elapsed between the death of Queen Sayyida in 532/1137 and the Ayyūbid conquest, did not, however, originate with the death of Caliph al-Āmir and the disappearance of Imām Ṭayyib in 524/1130 but extended far back in Ṣulayhid history, to the last years of the reign of the founder of the dynasty, ‘Alī b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayhī, who died in 459/1066. The initial cause of the rift is not clear, but a clue to its nature is provided in the work here under consideration, the *Tuḥfat al-qulūb* of Dā‘ī Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī.

The passage of the *Tuḥfa* (ms. Hamdani coll.), 121-122 is reproduced in Idrīs: *‘Uyūn*, VII, 102-104 (also ms. Hamdani coll.) and in Ḥasan b. Nūḥ: *al-Azhār*, II, 71-75 (ms. Lokhandwala coll.) An edition of the *Tuḥfa* with an English summary and notes is being prepared by me.

Qāḍī Lamak and the question of Ṣulayhid succession

In the year 454/1062 the Ṣulayhid ruler ‘Alī b. Muḥammad sent his chief Qāḍī, Lamak b. Mālīk al-Ḥammādī on an extended embassy to the court of the eight Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir (d. 487/1094). Lamak was lodged at the famous Dār al-‘Ilm, which was then the headquarters of the Fāṭimid Da‘wa as well as the residence of the Chief Dā‘ī al-Mu‘ayyad fī d-Dīn ash-Shirāzī (d. 470/1077). Ḥātim states that al-Mu‘ayyad taught Lamak the religious sciences and acquainted him with the intricacies of esoteric doctrine, but every time that Lamak sought to fulfill his mission he was told to wait until the winter. In this manner five winters passed until at last Lamak was asked to write down his questions which he did under 27 headings. He was then taken to the presence of the Imām who invested him with 27 robes of honour and in reply to his questions said that Lamak should not be in haste, for news had just been received that his master ‘Alī b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayhī had been assassinated and he would have to return with a mission on behalf of the Caliph granting permission to al-Mukarram to succeed his father. When Lamak returned to Yaman (probably at the end of 459/1067), after the pilgrimage during which ‘Alī was assassinated, or early in 460/1068) he confided the substance of his newly acquired learning and knowledge only to three persons, the King al-Mukarram, the Queen Arwā and Aḥmad b. Qāsim b. Dallī and to no one else. Dā‘ī Lamak was thereafter consulted by al-Mukarram on all important matters.

He is described by the *Tuḥfa* as Qāḍī Quḍāt al-Yaman wa-Hādī Hudātiḥā, a position he held even before his journey to Egypt. By a near-contemporary non-Imṣā‘ilī authority, Ibn Samura (d. 586/1189), Lamak and his son Yaḥya are mentioned as Qāḍīs of Dhū Jibla and Ibb on behalf

of Queen Sayyida Arwā (*Ṭabaqāt*, 234). Idris in his *Nuzha* I, 83-84 (ms. of Hamdani coll.) says: Qāḍī Lamak was from the Banū Ḥammād branch of the Hamdān settled at Lihāb in Ḥarāz and was later transferred to Ṣan'ā' and then to Dhū Jibla. It is probable that Ibn Mālik al-Ḥammādī (5th/11th cent.) author of the book *Kashf Asrār al-Bāṭiniyya* may have been a brother of Qāḍī Lamak and fell out with him because of religious and political differences (see Fu'ād Sayyid's note no. 3 on p. 234 of his edition of *Ṭabaqāt* cited in this note). On his return from Egypt Dā'ī Lamak remained the executive head of the Da'wa under the Ṣulayḥid rulers al-Mukarram and Arwā, although these rulers were in nominal charge of the organisation. He is referred to by later Ismā'īlī writers as ad-Dā'ī al-Balāgh (e.g. Hasan b. Nūḥ [d. 939/1533] on p. 20 of his *al-Azhār*, III, ms. of the Hamdani Coll.) He resided at Dhū Jibla and Ibb and had as his assistant the Qāḍī Jarīr b. Yūsuf (Ibn Samura, idem.). The exact date of the death of Qāḍī Lamak is not known, but we can infer from the text of *'Uyūn*, VII (cited above), 168 that he died sometime before 491/1097 when his son Yahyā appears to be in charge of the Da'wa, in the time of the Caliph al-Musta'li (d. 495/1101).

This account shrouds the purposes of Lamak's embassy in mystery. They can be inferred however, from other sources and from an examination of contemporary events.

Firstly, before the story is introduced, the Dā'ī Ḥātim says (p. 121) that 'Alī b. Muḥammad, after having established his power completely, thought of going to *al-abwāb aṭ-ṭāhira*, which is later clarified by him to be the court of the Caliph al-Mustanṣir, and that in pursuance of this wish, he sent the mission of Dā'ī Lamak. This was evidently the major purpose of the mission.

From the year 454/1062 to 459/1067, Egypt was in the grip of the worst famine and plague of its history, a visitation described by the Arabic chronicles as *ash-shidda al-'uẓmā*, the "greatest calamity." The country's misery was further increased by the ravages wrought by Turkish troops led by an adventurer Nāṣir ad-Dawla. Indeed such was the terrible plight of Egypt that even the Caliph himself was reputedly sustained only by the bread brought to him by the daughter of the grammarian Ibn Babashādh (Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nujūm*, V, 105; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, I, 133-235). These five years were also the time when the power of 'Alī b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥī reached its peak. Is it not reasonable to suppose, therefore, that he was tempted to appear in Egypt in the role of saviour of the country, the role which Badr al-Jamālī was afterwards to play in 467/1074? It is equally reasonable to assume that the Caliph and the Chief Dā'ī al-Mu'ayyad divined his intentions and sought to frustrate them by continually evading Dā'ī Lamak's requests to be allowed to discuss the purposes of his mission. Weight is lent to this inference by a *siyill* of Caliph al-Mustanṣir dated Rabi' I, 459/1067 in which he tries to dissuade 'Alī from making the journey to Egypt; and in a transparent attempt to divert his attention elsewhere, the Caliph suggests that 'Alī undertake the conquest of Ḥaḍramawt (*siyill* reproduced in Idrīs: *'Uyūn*, VII, 82). 'Alī's departure for the pilgrimage at the close of 459 H. in

defiance of the Caliph's wishes, and his avowed intention of proceeding to Cairo afterwards seems to bear out our interpretation.

A *second* purpose of Lamak's mission appears to be to settle the question of the succession to 'Alī's rule in Yaman. 'Alī ruled Yaman by virtue of being a Fāṭimid Dā'ī, but the Da'wa, unlike the Imāmate was not a hereditary institution. After 'Alī's death, the Fāṭimid Caliph might have chosen as a Dā'ī-ruler someone outside the Ṣulayḥid family. Such an event had already happened at the outset of Fāṭimid history when the Caliph al-Mahdī did not appoint any of the sons of the then Dā'ī-ruler of Yaman Ibn Ḥawshab Maṣṣūr al-Yaman to succeed him on the latter's death in 302/914. However, there was a difference. In 302 H. the Fāṭimid Caliph had intended to break his political connections with Yaman, but during the Ṣulayḥid period this connection was jealously maintained.

To complicate the matter, 'Alī's eldest son and heir apparent al-A'azz died at Zabīd in Muḥarram, 458/1066. A supplementary mission under Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Lihābī had to be sent to Cairo to settle the question of succession. The outcome was to 'Alī's satisfaction. The Caliph wrote to 'Alī and his younger son Aḥmad al-Mukarram in letters dated Rabī' I, 458 H. ('*Uyūn*, VII, 76-81) assuring 'Alī of the continuance of rule in his dynasty and confirming the succession of al-Mukarram as 'Alī desired. In the Da'wa collections there is a *Qiṣṣat ar-ru'ya* (Ivanow: *Literature*, 99; present in the Hamdani coll.) of 'Alī in which Imām al-Mustanṣir promises 'Alī, in a dream, the continuance of his dynasty — a wish brought true shortly afterwards by the *siḥils* of al-Mustanṣir referred above. In any case when Dā'ī Lamak returned to Yaman at the turn of the year 459-460/1067-68, he brought the Caliph's official sanction for the succession of al-Mukarram (*Tuhfa*, 122; '*Uyūn*, VII, 104).

Still a *third* matter with which the mission of Dā'ī Lamak was concerned and which is very closely connected with the above, was the exact relation between the Da'wa and the political rulers of Yaman. In the time of 'Alī b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥī, the state and the Da'wa were headed by him in Yaman for he was both the Ṣulṭān and the Chief Dā'ī. It was possible that the Fāṭimid Imām-Caliph and the Central Dā'ī at Cairo might see considerable advantages to be reaped from the separation of the state and the Da'wa in Yaman. Hence the political power in Yaman would implicitly be assured to the Ṣulayḥid dynasty, while the Yamanī Da'wa would be brought under the control of Cairo, thus ensuring that the Ṣulayḥid state of Yaman would continue in its loyalty to the Fāṭimid Caliphate of Egypt. In this connection we read in the *Tuhfa* (p. 125) of Dā'ī Ḥātim that Lamak b. Mālik al-Ḥammādī returned to Yaman being appointed the Chief Dā'ī of his country by Caliph al-Mustanṣir whereas when he had travelled previously to Egypt, he was

only the Chief Qāḍī. Of course, al-Mukarram was not offended, for he was addressed as Dā'ī, and he retained an influence in the religious organisation, but the leadership of that organisation had passed into the hands of Lamak b. Mālik. This far-reaching change was brought about by a subtle distinction now made between the *Dā'ī bi-l-qalam* and the *Dā'ī bi-s-sayf*. Thus Lamak was to control the Da'wa as such, and al-Mukarram, the state, both supporting each other in their common loyalty to the Fāṭimids of Egypt, but in case one should prove disloyal, the other would invoke sanctions against him.

There appear to be other purposes for the five-year embassy of Dā'ī Lamak in Egypt, namely to gain the Caliph's approval of 'Alī b. Muḥammad's desire to control the Sharīfate of Mecca (which was only partially realised); the opening of a new Da'wa on the west coast of India controlled from Yaman (which came about in 460/1068); the question of the transfer of the bulk of Fāṭimid literature from Egypt to Yaman; and the role of Yaman in the new Fāṭimid trade-policy, which was becoming more and more directed towards the East following the loss to the Fāṭimids of their possessions in North Africa and the Mediterranean. These issues, however, are not relevant to our paper and need not detain us here (see Hamdani, A.: *Sīra*, 155-160; *Fāṭimid-Abbāsīd Conflict*, 185-191; *A Mediterranean Power*, 385-396). These must surely have formed part of the 27 questions posed by the Qāḍī Lamak to the Fāṭimid Caliph in Cairo.

Qāḍī 'Imrān and the Ṣulayḥīd al-Mukarram

To turn now to the history of the Fāṭimid Mission in Yaman: The second Ṣulayḥīd ruler al-Mukarram was married to Sayyida Arwā bint Aḥmad b. al-Mukarram aṣ-Ṣulayḥī by his father 'Alī shortly after the death of his elder brother al-A'azz in 458/1066 (*'Uyūn*, VII, 82; *'Umāra* in Kay's trans., 39 gives the date incorrectly as 461/1069). Sometime later he became paralysed, and in 467/1074 he retired to Dhū Jibla, shortly after the death of his mother (*'Uyūn*, VII, 82), leaving the state-affairs in the hands of the Queen Arwā, who resided probably in Ḥarāz, while Ṣan'ā' was put under the charge of 'Imrān b. al-Faḍl al-Yāmī along with Abū s-Su'ūd b. As'ad b. Shihāb (*'Uyūn*, VII, 82).

Al-Mukarram's paralysis, according to 'Umāra (in Kay's trans., 35) was caused by the wounds he sustained in his battle at Zabīd to rescue his mother Asmā' bint Shihāb at the very outset of his career (461/1069). Later in the text (p. 40), however, 'Umāra implies that it was the outcome of al-Mukarram's having given himself to a life of pleasure.

Dhū Jibla and its fortress Ta'kar overlook the Mikhlāf Ja'far. See an exhaustive note on that place in Hamdani, H.; *aṣ-Ṣulayḥīyyūn*, 136, note 1.

Qāḍī 'Imrān b. al-Faḍl was a proud son of Hamdān, very remotely related to the Ṣulayḥī family (for his full genealogy, see Hamdani, H.: *aṣ-Ṣulay-*

ḥiyyūn, 137, note 5). He had supported ‘Alī b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥī in most of his wars and had led a mission on his behalf to Egypt in 459/1067 to urge the Fāṭimid Caliph to permit the visit of the Ṣulayḥid Sulṭān. From this mission which supplemented the already existing embassy of Qāḍī Lamak b. Mālīk in Cairo, he had brought back the *siḡill* of the Caliph dated Rabi’ I, 459/1067 (*‘Uyūn*, VII, 82). He was now holding the position of Commander-in-Chief of the Ṣulayḥī army, and was appointed the governor of Ṣan‘ā’ (*‘Uyūn*, VII, 119: Idrīs mentions him as “Amīr al-ḡuyūsh” and says he wielded a great influence throughout the kingdom of al-Mukarram). At the height of his power, he visited al-Mukarram at Dhū Jibla and let the son of a poet called al-‘Uthmānī recite his father’s verses insulting the memory of al-Mukarram’s father ‘Alī b. Muḥammad. Al-Mukarram, who until now had shown ‘Imrān much respect and courtesy refused to see him anymore, and when ‘Imrān persisted in demanding an audience, al-Mukarram referred him to Queen Arwā. ‘Imrān was shortly removed from the governorship of Ṣan‘ā’ (*‘Uyūn*, 121-123).

What could have been the reason for this sudden estrangement between ‘Imrān and al-Mukarram? No reason is expressly mentioned in our sources.¹ Was it a sudden intoxication with power that turned ‘Imrān’s mind? To accept this would be to over-simplify the motive. Judging from the later alignment of forces, it would appear that ‘Imrān was rallying the various groups of Banū Hamdān against the central family of the Ṣulayḥids largely out of resentment at the influence wielded by a female ruler who not only relied mainly on the army-leaders coming from the Ṣulayḥī family or who were closely associated by loyalty to her, but who was also falling more and more under the influence of the Da‘wa, headed by the Chief Dā‘ī Lamak b. Mālīk al-Ḥammādī. In the meanwhile al-Mukarram had died at the end of 477/1084, and was nominally followed by his minor son ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Mustanṣir under the regency of the Amīr Abū Ḥimyar Saba’ b. Aḥmad (more about him later), a close relation of al-Mukarram and the Queen. However the real power was wielded by Queen Arwā herself with the full backing of the Da‘wa under the leadership of the Qāḍī Lamak.

Al-Mukarram’s death: Idrīs (*‘Uyūn*, VII, 126) gives the date 477/1084. Various other historians give the date as 484/1091 (e.g. ‘Umāra, Kay’s trans., 42 and al-Janādī. *as-Sulūk*, Bib. Nat. Paris, ms. 2127, suppl. 767, fol. 184 obv.). However Idrīs’s version is confirmed by a *siḡill* of Caliph al-Mustanṣir dated 1st Rabi’ I, 478 H. followed by another *siḡill* dated 10th Rabi’ I, 478 H. offering condolences on the death of al-Makarram and appointing his son ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Mustan-

¹ Idrīs (*‘Uyūn*, VII, 125) says that Qāḍī ‘Imrān reacted against al-Mukarram’s appointees, Ibn Hibāla and his assistant Najm b. Bishāra. If the identity of these two individuals and their views were known it would explain the motivation of ‘Imrān’s attitude.

ṣir as the next ruler. (nos. 14 and 48 in Hamdani, H.: *Letters*, 314 and 320-321). There are no *ṣijills* addressed to al-Mukarram after the end of 476 H.

The rivalry of the two Qāḍīs, 'Imrān and Lamak, although not mentioned as such, doubtless affected the course of events. It dated from the time of their meeting in Egypt in 459/1067 before the death of 'Alī b. Muḥammad, and it continued through the reigns of several Hamdānī rulers of Ṣan'ā' both during and after the time of Queen Arwā. It was further consolidated by the split in the Da'wa itself in 524/1130 between the Ṭayyibī and Ḥāfiẓī factions, providing the successors of the two Qāḍīs with two separate and hostile platforms. Although 'Imrān and his successors took a stand hostile to the Sayyida and her Da'wa, they could never come out openly against her and showed her due deference because of her high reputation and popularity in all Yaman. In fact Qāḍī 'Imrān himself fought in Queen Arwā's war against the Najāhids in 479/1086 and was killed in it by a lance-thrust from Sharīf Yaḥyā b. Ḥamza b. Wahhās al-Ḥusaynī who had come to the help of the Najāhids (*Nuzha*, I, 62; *Uyūn*, VII, 133).

We have a long *Risāla* of the poet Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Qimmī,¹ who served as a secretary to al-Mukarram, written on behalf of al-Mukarram to the Caliph al-Mustansir at the end of 461/1068-9 in which the internal tribal revolts of Yaman are described. They were fomented by the Najāhids of Zabīd and the Sharīfs on the northern frontier who obviously took advantage of the death of 'Alī aṣ-Ṣulayḥī, the weakness of Egypt and the general resentment to the Da'wa in Yaman.

The retirement of al-Mukarram in 467/1074: his death in 477/1084 and the succession of his minor son 'Alī 'Abd al-Mustansir with the regency of Amīr Sabā and the defacto sovereign authority of Queen Arwā had further emboldened the tribes to show their inependence from the central Ṣulayḥid power.

Queen Arwā and her advisors

Queen Arwā relied heavily on the advice of Qāḍī Lamak, Amīr Abū r-Rabī' 'Āmir b. Sulaymān of the Zawāḥī family which had originally brought the Ṣulayḥids in power in 439/1047, and Amīr Abū Ḥimyar Saba' b. Aḥmad b. al-Muẓaffar of the Ṣulayḥī family. Unfortunately for the Queen the mutual bickerings between the two leaders 'Āmir and Sabā had fomented the tribal discontent and weakened the Ṣulayḥid state (this view is expressed by Idrīs, *Uyūn*, VII, 135). Caliph al-Mustansir was obliged to send *ṣijills* (*Uyūn*, VII, 135-141) dated 480/1077 and 481/1088 which brought about a recon-

¹ It is reproduced in Hamdani, H.: *aṣ-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, Appendix 2, 308-318, and summarised there, 127-129.

ciliation between these leaders. At Cairo the Chief Dā'i al-Mu'ayyad had died in 470/1077 and the control of the central Da'wa had passed in the hands of the dictator Badr al-Jamālī. Al-Mu'ayyad was highly respected in Yaman, but Badr al-Jamālī was reluctantly accepted by the Yamani Da'wa. Lamak's adherence to Badr only brought disrespect for the Da'wa in Yaman, but this adherence was necessary in the interest of the Ṣulayḥid affiliation to Fāṭimid Egypt. With the death of Sabā in 491/1098, 'Āmir in 492/1099 and of Lamak about this time, the Queen stood in need of finding new advisers.

Abū Ḥimyar Saba's grandfather was the uncle of 'Alī b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥī. Saba' was a great warrior as may be seen from his wars against the Najāhids. He was also a great poet, and his verses are reproduced by Idris. The verses of his contemporary Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-Qimmī in Saba's praise are also reproduced. On his being removed from the governorship of Ṣan'ā', 'Imrān b. al-Faḍl wrote verses reproaching al-Mukarram and extended his censure to Saba' also (Idris, *Nuzha*, I, 79). On al-Mukarram's death in 477/1084 Sabā contrived to get the Caliph's permission to marry the Queen Arwā, but noticing her reluctance he gallantly withdrew. Despite his defiance of the Queen on many occasions, she liked him and even pampered him. She allowed him to remain the official Regent on behalf of her minor son 'Alī 'Abd al-Mustanṣir till he died in 491/1098 (Idris, *Uyūn*, VII, 131-144; 'Umāra, Kay's trans., 43-49 and Hamdani, *aṣ-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, 150-161).

On Saba's death, 'Imrān's son Aḥmad brought about the removal of Ṣulayḥid influence from Ṣan'ā'. This resulted in the establishment of the Hamdānid Kingdom of that place.

It is the belief of the present writer that Saba's family multiplied in the district of Ḥarāz and became known as the Ya'ābir from whom arose Amīr Saba' b. Yūsuf al-Ya'buri, the defender of Dā'i Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm's Da'wa in Ḥarāz against the Hamdānid ruler of Ṣan'ā', 'Alī b. Ḥātim, a descendent of Qāḍī 'Imrān b. al-Faḍl.

The time of the Fāṭimid Caliphs al-Musta'li (487-495/1094-1101) and al-Āmir (495-524/1101-1130) saw the power of another Sultān emerging in Yaman — Queen Arwā's confidant, al-Amīr al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abī l-Barakāt b. al-Walīd al-Ḥimyarī, who resided at Dhū Jibla and looked after the Queen's treasures at Ta'kar. The history of his wars and victories, mainly against the Najāhids of Zabīd and the Zuray'ids of 'Adan, need not detain us here ('Umāra in Kay's trans., 49-56). It should only be noted that Ṣan'ā' now fell away from Ṣulayḥid control and came under the Hamdānids supported by the family of Qāḍī 'Imrān b. al-Faḍl. When al-Mufaḍḍal died in 504/1110 ('Umāra in Kay's trans., 54), the Queen kept the administration of the state in her own hands until the arrival of Ibn Najīb ad-Dawla from Egypt. Ismā'īlī sources play down the role of al-Mufaḍḍal, for, on the one hand, he was of great service to the Queen; on the other, he antagonized the family of Saba' b. Aḥmad whose support for the Fāṭimid Da'wa in Yaman was to be of a very long standing. He may have been largely responsible for alienating the rulers of Ṣan'ā' and 'Adan from their loyalty to Queen Arwā and the Tayyibī Da'wa that was soon to be established.

During and after al-Mufaḍḍal's time the leadership of the Da'wa was in the hands of Dā'ī Yaḥyā b. Lamak b. Mālik al-Ḥammādi who took over the charge of the Da'wa from his father about 491/1098 and kept it till his death in Jumāda II, 520/1126 (Idris, *Nuzha*, I, 86; cf. Ibn Samura, *Ṭabaqāt*, 234). Between the death of al-Mufaḍḍal in 504/1110 and the arrival of the Ibn Najīb ad-Dawla in 513/1119, the Queen could rely on the Da'wa of Yaḥyā b. Lamak.

However, during this period there was another Sulṭān in Jurayb, in Ḥajūr district who was as brave and loyal to the Queen as al-Mufaḍḍal, as poetic as Sabā b. Aḥmad and as loyal to the Da'wa as the Dā'ī Yaḥyā. He was Sulṭān al-Khaṭṭāb b. al-Ḥassan b. Abī l-Ḥaffāz al-Hamdānī.

Idris, *Nuzha*, I, 86-91, contains a biographical notice on him. First study on him was by Hamdani, H.: *Ṭayyibī Da'wa*, 46-47. More on him was added by Stern: *Succession*, 244-249. Again Hamdani, H.; *aṣ-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, 193-204 contained his biography set in its historical perspective. And finally Poonawala: *al-Khaṭṭāb*, 29-95 offered a detailed study on him.

During his time the Ṭayyibī Da'wa was established with Dā'ī Yaḥyā's successor, the Dā'ī Dhu'ayb b. Mūsā al-Wādi'i, as its head. It was Sulṭān al-Khaṭṭāb's hand that forged the military power for the defence of the Ṭayyibī Da'wa at its outset, and when Queen Arwā turned away from the memories of al-Mufaḍḍal and the excesses of Ibn Najīb ad-Dawla, she found in Sulṭān al-Khaṭṭāb the defender of her faith and the protector of her realm, particularly against the incursions by the Najāhids, the Sulaymānī Sharīfs in the North and the Banū 'Akk. Al-Khaṭṭāb contributed much to Ismā'īlī literature (Ivanow: *Literature*, 51-52) and died in 533/1138 a year after Queen Arwā's death.

Ibn Najīb ad-Dawla's career is crucial to the understanding of the status of Yamanī Dā'īs. He was a librarian of Afḍal Shāhīnshāh, the Fāṭimid wazīr, well-versed in esoteric doctrine and was chosen by Afḍal and afterwards confirmed in his mission by the wazīr Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī to go to Yaman in 513/1119 as a Dā'ī in charge of bringing the state of Queen Arwā under strict administrative control by the Fāṭimid Court. He and his Armenian soldiers made themselves odious in Yaman. The Queen contrived to have him arrested and drowned, although she managed to conceal her responsibility for the act and continued to make a show of obeying the commands of the Fāṭimid Court. Soon after Ibn Najīb ad-Dawla's death a close member of the Ṣulayḥid family, Fakhr al-Khilāfa 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh was appointed the Ṣulayḥid administrator at Dhū Jibla. To the outside world (e.g. 'Umāra, al-Khazrajī) Ibn Najīb ad-Dawla and his successor 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh appeared as Dā'īs; although in the entire historical tradition of the Yamanī Da'wa from this time onwards they have only an administrative and not a Da'wa status. In fact Ibn Najīb ad-Dawla came and went like a

nightmare, leaving in the heart of Queen Arwā a deep distrust of the Fāṭimid Court and a desire for independence from it. The opportunity to gain this independence came with the death of Caliph al-Āmir in 524/1130 and the usurpation of the infant Imām Ṭayyib's rights by the eleventh Fāṭimid Caliph 'Abd al-Majīd al-Ḥāfiẓ.

For al-Muwaffaq 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Najīb ad-Dawla see 'Umāra (in Kay's trans.), 57-64; Idrīs: 'Uyūn, VII, 182-185; cf. Hamdani, H.: *aṣ-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, 168-174. Stern: *Succession*, 223, is misled in accepting Ibn Najīb ad-Dawla and 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh as official heads of the Yamani Da'wa on the basis of the very passage in 'Umāra (Kay's trans., 134-137) whose authenticity, at least in part, he doubts. In fact, this entire passage is confused and it is futile to separate the fact from the fiction contained in it.

From 524/1130 to the time of her death in 532/1137, the Queen did everything in her power to consolidate the Ṭayyibī Da'wa; and in her will she bequeathed a large fortune to it (Idrīs, 'Uyūn, VII, 209-220; reproduced in Hamdani, H.: *aṣ-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*, Appendix 9, 323-330).

The Hamdānids of Ṣan'ā'

Ṣan'ā' had had a long history of association with the Fāṭimid Da'wa since its first conquest by the Dā'ī Ibn Ḥawshab Maṣṣūr al-Yaman. It had flirted with the Ya'furids, the Fāṭimids and the Zaydī Imāmate, until it was finally conquered by the Dā'ī 'Alī b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥī in 450/1058 who made it his capital and the capital of all Yaman by 455/1063. It was first administered under him by his brother-in-law As'ad b. Shihāb ('Uyūn, VII, 15) and then under al-Mukarram by 'Imrān b. al-Faḍl ('Uyūn, VII, 119). We have noted how 'Imrān was removed from this position and how this led to a long-standing rivalry between the Ṣulayḥids and Banū 'Imrān ('Uyūn, VII, 121-123, 125). When Sabā died in 491/1097 and al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abī l-Barakāt exercised authority under the Queen, it gave an opportunity to a spokesman of the Hamdānī clans, Ḥātim b. al-Ghashīm of Mughlis family to exercise authority at Ṣan'ā' until his death in 502/1108. Ḥātim was followed by his son 'Abd Allāh for two years, followed by Ḥātim's second son Ma'an until 510/1116.

Al-Khazraji: *al-Kifāya* and Kay: *Yaman*, 230, note.

'Imrān himself had warned al-Mukarram and Saba', in verse, of the rising influence of Ibn Mughlis (Idrīs: *Nuzha*, I, 79). It was Aḥmad b. 'Imrān¹ who now in 510/1116 assumed the leadership of the Hamdānī clans and set up one Hishām b. Qubbayb as the ruler of Ṣan'ā', expelling Ma'an. Stern

¹ Not 'Imrān himself as mentioned by al-Khazraji. 'Imrān had died in 479/1086 (Idrīs, *Nuzha*, I, 62).

considers this as a change of dynasty (*Succession*, 251), but Dā'ī Idrīs informs us that Hishām b. Qubbayb was a cousin of Ḥātim b. al-Ghashīm and thus belonged to the same family (*Nuzha*, I, 79). The role of Banū 'Imrān as the king-makers of Ṣan'ā' has escaped the notice of recent writers. Eventually, the Banū 'Imrān took upon themselves the direct responsibility of the city's administration.

Qubbayb: The name is clearly and repeatedly spelled "Qubbayb" in al-Khazraji's *al-Kifāya* and Idrīs' *Nuzha*. The spelling "Qubbayt" as given by Zambaur, Kay and Stern, therefore, needs to be corrected.

The tenure of Hishām b. Qubbayb's rule is not known. He was followed by his brother Ḥimās who ruled until 527/1132, and then by Ḥātim b. Ḥimās who died in 533/1138. The power behind their rule were the leaders of the Hamdānī tribes, Ahmad b. 'Imrān b. al-Faḍl and his son Ḥātim (as is clear from al-Khazraji's *al-Kifāya*). By this time the Ṭayyibī Da'wa had been created in 524/1130, supported by the Queen Arwā, and opposed by the rulers of Ṣan'ā', who found themselves in the opposite camp of the Fāṭimid Ḥāfiẓī Da'wa (*Nuzha*, I, 80).

It was in the year 533/1138 when Queen Arwā and Sayyidnā l-Khaṭṭāb were no more, and when the ruler of the façade at Ṣan'ā', Ḥātim b. Ḥimās b. Qubbayb had died, that the house of 'Imrān breathed freely again, and came forward to assume the responsibility of ruling Ṣan'ā' directly. The heritage lost by 'Imrān, when al-Mukarram removed him from the governorship of Ṣan'ā', was now regained by his grandson Ḥātim b. Aḥmad b. 'Imrān b. al-Faḍl, who ruled Ṣan'ā' from 533/1138 until his death in 556/1160.

This time it was really a change of dynasty. The support for the Ḥāfiẓī Da'wa remained. The weight of the Hamdānī tribal confederation behind Banū 'Imrān also remained.

I do not propose to dilate on the rule of Ḥātim b. Aḥmad b. 'Imrān and his son 'Alī b. Ḥātim (556-559/1160-73) as it has been well covered by S. M. Stern (*Succession*, 251-253). The reign of 'Alī b. Ḥātim is relevant to our purpose as it is closely connected with the Dā'ī Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī. Both men were engaged in a long drawn out war with each other, for which the reader is referred to the biographical sketch of Ḥātim al-Ḥāmidī in this article (see below) and to the Arabic supplement appended here.

A passage from Dā'ī Idrīs's *Uyūn al-akhbār* quoted by Stern (*Succession*, 251) shows the vigorous resistance of Sulṭān 'Alī b. Ḥātim and his brother Bishr to the Ayyūbid conquerors. Idrīs mentions that the children and relatives of these brothers were scattered over a wide area surrounding Ṣan'ā' where they held onto various fortresses for a long time during the Ayyūbid period. From this we may divine the reason why the Ḥāfiẓī Da'wa

survived for such a long time in Yaman. Sulṭān 'Alī found natural allies in the Zuray'id rulers of 'Adan, who had ties of blood and faith with him, because they were Hamdānīs and because they supported the Ḥāfiẓī Da'wa. 'Alī, therefore, allied with them against the danger emanating from Zabīd, first from the local Mahdid Khārijī rulers and then from the foreign Ayyūbid invaders.

The slow progress made by the Ayyūbid brothers Tūrānshāh and Ṭuḡtigīn towards the conquest of Ṣan'ā' and its environs is described in *as-Simṭ* by a descendant of the Hamdānī kings of Ṣan'ā', al-Amir Badr ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḥātim (d. ca. 700/1300).

The Zuray'ids of 'Adan

The history of the Zuray'ids of 'Adan is well summarised in the accounts of 'Umāra (in Kay's *Yaman*, text, 48-59; trans., 64-80) and al-Khazrajī (in Kay's *Yaman*, 266-279: notes) from whom later historians have made mere reproductions. They belonged to the Yām branch of Banū Hamdān, as did the Banū 'Imrān of Ṣan'ā'. Their ancestor 'Abbās b. Karam had rendered meritorious service to the first two Ṣulayḥī rulers — 'Alī and al-Mukarram, and was given the hinterland of 'Adan, while his brother Mas'ūd received the port and the coastline of 'Adan in reward. Since 'Adan formed part of the dowry of Queen Arwā, they were made to pay direct allegiance to her and to render to her a part of their revenues. However, their sons Zuray' b. 'Abbās and Abū l-Ghārāt b. Mas'ūd declared their independence of the Queen, but were partially brought under her suzerainty by the wars of al-Mufaḍḍal.

It was the grandson of Zuray', Sabā b. Abī s-Su'ūd, who united the port and the interior of 'Adan under his rule and began the process of taking over the fortresses in the southern highlands which belonged to the Ṣulayḥids. At this point he also assumed the title of Dā'ī, for he was recognized as such by the later Fāṭimids. He was thus allied to Egypt and to the Da'wa of 'Abd al-Majīd al-Ḥāfiẓ. Moreover, he made his port a prosperous entrepot of trade between Egypt and India via the Red Sea. He died in 533/1138, and his successors were also designated as Dā'īs, until the coming of the Ayyūbid conquest in 569/1173.

Idris, *Nuzha*, I, 77-78 states that the Caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ sent an envoy, al-Qāḍī ar-Rashid, to demand the allegiance of Sabā to his cause. Saba' gave it secretly while keeping up a pretence of loyalty to Sayyida Arwā. This puts the Zuray'id position in its proper perspective.

Sulṭāns and Dā'īs: The question of their succession

There were other dynasties in Yaman on the eve of the Ayyūbid conquest besides the Ṣulayḥids, the Hamdānids and the Zuray'ids. They were the Khārijī Mahdid dynasty of Zabīd, the Zaydī Rassid Imāmate of Sa'da and

the Sulaymānī Sharīfs on the northern frontiers whose changing fortunes kept on variegating the kaleidoscopic picture of Yamanī politics. It is not intended to go into their history here. Of them only the Zaydī Imāmate survived as did the Ṭayyibī Da'wa of Ḥarāz and for the same reason: an abiding faith in its respective validity that had entered the very soul of Banū Hamdān.

We have not intended above to relate the full history of the Ṣulayḥid, the Hamdānid and the Zuray'id states, but have only selected facts that would clarify the position of the Fāṭimid Da'wa in Yaman. Nor have we intended to relate the entire early history of the Da'wa which will be found in Husayn Hamdani's *aṣ-Ṣulayḥiyyūn*. All we have tried to do is to elucidate the position of the Ṭayyibī Da'wa vis-a-vis the Ḥāfiẓī Da'wa in its historical perspective. Let us therefore pass on now to the question as to what was the actual succession of Dā'īs in Yaman since the inception of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty, and the exact apportioning of religious and political power between the Sulṭān and the Dā'ī.

On the question of the succession of Dā'īs, Stern (*Succession*, 222 seq) tried to make some sense out of a highly corrupt and misleading passage in 'Umāra (Kay's trans., 134-137). Had the full text of the *Tuḥfa* and Dā'ī Idrīs's *Nuzha* been available to him, the whole sequence of Dā'īs described by him would have been entirely different. What has further misled him is the date of al-Mukarram's death, which he gives after 'Umāra as 484/1091, whereas we have it as 477/1084 in the Da'wa literature, which should be more reliable. Hence al-Mukarram's supposed relation with the Da'wa between 477 and 484 H., in Stern's account, has completely gone out of focus.

As we have seen, the first Ṣulayḥid ruler 'Alī b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥī was the head of the state as well as of the Da'wa, while al-Mukarram was in charge of the state and only partly in control of the Da'wa, because of the appointment of Qāḍī Lamak b. Mālīk al-Ḥammādi as the Chief Dā'ī. However, control shifted more to the ruler Sayyida Arwā as she was given by the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mustansir (d. 487/1094) the religious rank of Ḥujja, shortly after the death of her husband al-Mukarram in 477/1084 (Idrīs: *Uyūn*, 130-131). This rank was higher than that of Lamak, who remained Dā'ī Balāgh¹. Dā'ī Lamak was followed in the leadership of the Da'wa by his son Yaḥyā on the death of Lamak about 491/1098. On Yaḥyā's death in Jumādā II, 520/1126 (Idrīs: *Nuzha*, I, 86), Dhu'ayb b. Mūsā al-Wādi'ī al-Hamdānī was appointed Chief Dā'ī and was first assisted in the affairs of the Da'wa by Sulṭān al-Khaṭṭāb of Ḥajūr and on the death of the latter in 533/1138 by Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī al-Hamdānī.

Dā'ī Ḥātim, *Tuḥfa*, 126-127; Idrīs, *Nuzha*, I, 86. Idrīs mentions that his residence was Ḥawth in the district of az-Zāhir. According to al-Hamdānī's *Ṣifa*, 112, Ḥawth was the home of the

¹ Ḥasan b. Nūḥ, *al-Azhār* (ms. Hamdani coll.), III, 20. We will later refer to the various ranks in the hierarchy of Ismā'īlī Da'wa.

Banū Wādī'a, probably not very far from Ḥarāz. The Banū Wādī'a were the descendants of Wādī'a b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir b. Nashij b. Dāfi' b. Mālik b. Jusham b. Hāshid, thus belonging to the Hāshid branch of the Hamdān tribe.

When the Ṭayyibī Da'wa was promulgated in 524/1130, Dhu'ayb, al-Khaṭṭāb and Ibrāhīm stood by the Queen Arwā in her determination to resist any further extension of Fāṭimid control. At the time of Queen Arwā's death in 532/1137, Dhu'ayb was declared to have the rank of Dā'i muṭlaq¹. Under him the Da'wa gained an independent existence, independent both of the Fāṭimid Caliphate in Egypt and of the Ṣulayḥid state in Yaman, which in any case collapsed with the death of Queen Arwā. Thus Dhu'ayb became the first Dā'i muṭlaq of the Ṭayyibī Da'wa. He died in Muḥarram 546/1151 (Idris: *Nuzha*, I, 91) and was followed in the leadership of the Da'wa by Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmīdī (*Nuzha*, I, 92; see Arabic Appendix). On the latter's death in Sha'bān, 557/1161 his son, the Dā'i Ḥātim took over the charge of the Da'wa. It is from his book *Tuḥfat al-qulūb* that the first information concerning the above succession is derived.

The designations "Dā'i" and "Sultān" were used at that time in Yaman in both a narrower and a wider sense. Thus, the real sovereigns of Yaman were men like Sultān 'Alī b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥī or Sultān al-Mukarram. There were, however, governors like Saba' b. Aḥmad aṣ-Ṣulayḥī or leaders of tribal groups like 'Āmir b. Sulaymān az-Zawāḥī or local barons like al-Mufaḍḍal and al-Khaṭṭāb who were also called the sultāns. Even Dā'i Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmīdī is called sultān by al-Khazrajī (*al-Kifāya* quoted in Stern, *Succession*, 253).

Da'wa was a collective organisation of many Dā'is presided over by a chief Dā'i. After 'Alī b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥī, the Chief Dā'is, successively, were Lamak, Yaḥyā, Dhu'ayb, Ibrāhīm and Ḥātim. But they had assistants who were also called Dā'is; some achieved later the rank of Chief Dā'i, some did not. Among those who did not attain the status of the Chief Dā'i were such eminent men as al-Khaṭṭāb and Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥārithī.

He belonged to Banū l-Ḥārith b. Ka'b, a famous Yamani tribe derived from al-Madhḥij, which in turn stemmed from Banū Murra who were derived from 'Arib, a branch of the Hamdān confederation. It is this tribe that built the famous temple known as the "Ka'ba of Najrān" (*al-Hamdānī, Ṣifa*, 93). In the time of Dā'i Ḥātim, the centre of Banū l-Ḥārith was Diyār Banī Maḥriz (see Arabic Appendix). Dā'i Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥārithī was the first assistant of Dā'i Ḥātim. Whereas the latter's headquarters was in Ḥarāz, Dā'i Muḥammad was stationed in Ṣan'a', a place ruled by the hostile king of the Hamdānid dynasty, Sultān 'Alī b. Ḥātim and under attack of the Ayyūbid invaders, Turānshāh and Tughtagīn. It was a time when refugees

¹ The very designation suggests an independent status, although in the Ismā'īlī hierarchy of Da'wa, a Dā'i muṭlaq comes after the Dā'i balāgh, who comes after the Ḥujja, who comes after the Bāb, who comes after the Imām, but more on this later.

were pouring in Ḥarāz from Ṣan'ā' and elsewhere, a situation that completely overwhelmed Dā'ī Muḥammad. He died in Shawwāl, 584/1188 (see Arabic Appendix). He was the compiler of a large chrestomathy of Ismā'īlī literature in two volumes entitled *Majmū' at-Tarbiyya* (see Ivanow, *Literature*, 54-61) among other works.

They were nevertheless called Dā'īs. The king al-Mukarram was designated Dā'ī s-sayf, a distinction created for him, implying that he was to be in charge of political matters only. Queen Arwā had the rank of Ḥujja, the highest that any Dā'ī has held in Yaman; yet that dignity was only honorific, not executive. For the purposes of the religious mission, she was not the executive head at all. Ibn Najīb ad-Dawla, who was imposed on Ṣulayḥid Yaman by Fāṭimid Egypt and only reluctantly accepted as such, was also known as Dā'ī. Saba' b. Abī s-Su'ūd, the Zuray'id ruler of 'Adan, took the title of Dā'ī, but on behalf of the Ḥāfiẓī Da'wa, and he was generally recognised as such, because of his pretence of having received his authority from Queen Arwā. The non-Ismā'īlī sources like 'Umāra and al-Khazraji, often do not make any distinction between Dā'ī and Chief Dā'ī. Consequently, relying on them, one is apt to get a false picture of the succession of Chief Dā'īs in Yaman.

Complementary to this discussion let us turn to the list of the Dā'īs given by 'Umāra (Kay: *Yaman*, text, 100-102; trans., 134-137). According to him 'Alī b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥī was followed by his son al-Mukarram as the head of the Da'wa, and the latter by Sulaymān az-Zawāḥī. In fact, he means Sulaymān's son 'Āmir, for Sulaymān had died a long time before. He then comes to Qāḍī Ibn Mālik. Here he could mean either Lamak or Yaḥyā.

The only manuscript of the history of Yaman by 'Umāra, on which both Kay and Ḥasan Sulaymān base their editions, has a person Ibn Mālik (with a lacuna before his name) mentioned in the list of Dā'īs. He is Lamak, says Ḥasan Sulaymān, p. 127; whereas Stern, *Succession*, 220 interprets the name as Yaḥyā b. Lamak b. Mālik. It is possible that both the names were mentioned, as in Ibn Samura, *Ṭabaqāt*, 234. Although Ibn Samura mentions Lamak and Yaḥyā together, he calls them Qāḍīs, and not Dā'īs.

The succession then passes to 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Najīb ad-Dawla, then to 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh aṣ-Ṣulayḥī, to Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī and finally to his son Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm. 'Umāra adds: "She (i.e. Queen Arwā) next transferred the office of Dā'ī on behalf of the Khalīfa al-Ḥāfiẓ to the family of Zuray'. 'Sufficient' said the Queen, 'for the Banū ṣ-Ṣulayḥī is that which they know respecting (the fate of?) our lord aṭ-Ṭayyib.'" Stern (*Succession*, 216, seq.) omits the words, "that which they know respecting our lord aṭ-Ṭayyib" on the basis of al-Janādī's reproduction and considering it an interpolation by a Ṭayyibī copyist. However, that may be, it does not alter the order of succession given by 'Umāra.

In this connection it is interesting to note that Idrīs (*Nuzha*, I, 86) has a sentence similar to that

of 'Umāra: *wa-qālat al-ḥurra as-Sayyida a'lā Allāh qudsahā: yakfī banī ṣ-Ṣulayḥī mā nālūhu min al-amr ilā hādḥā l-āwān wa-a'ṭāhum minhu awliyyā' az-zamān.*

From this passage of 'Umāra, Stern draws two conclusions whose validity is open to question:

1. On the basis of 'Umāra's omission of the name of Dhu'ayb, while at the same time he lists the Ṭayyibī Dā'īs Ibrāhīm and Ḥātim al-Ḥāmidī, Stern argues that Dhu'ayb was never the leader of the Ṭayyibī Da'wa, that Ibrāhīm was appointed head after Ibn Najīb ad-Dawla and 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh aṣ-Ṣulayḥī, that he was followed by the Zuray'ids and that he later recaptured the leadership.

This is like concluding from the text of Dā'ī Ḥātim, who does not refer to Ibn Najīb ad-Dawla, that the latter did not figure at all in the history of the Da'wa. This would be equally incorrect.

What better authority for the order of succession and the status of Dā'ī Dhu'ayb can there be than the Dā'ī Ḥātim himself, who must have known him personally? It should be remembered that Dā'ī Dhu'ayb died as late as 546/1151. Between then and the death of Da'ī Ḥātim in 596/1199 there was a period of fifty years only. Judging from the long career of Dā'ī Ḥātim, he could have lived much longer than fifty years and in his youth could have known Dā'ī Dhu'ayb as the leader of the Ṭayyibī Da'wa.

The weakness of 'Umāra's knowledge of the leadership of the Da'wa is further evidenced by the fact that he mentions Sulaymān (or 'Āmir) az-Zawāḥī as the head of the Da'wa after al-Mukarram, although in his own account of Ṣulayḥī history, 'Āmir does not occupy that position.

2. The second conclusion of Stern is that Queen Arwā between the years 526/1131 and 532/1137 was undecided in her own mind about the succession, but in the end acted in the name of the Caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ and appointed Saba' b. Abī s-Su'ūd, the Dā'ī of the Fāṭimids, thus conferring *de facto* authority upon the Zuray'ids. Even if we take the words of the Queen, "sufficient for the Banū ṣ-Ṣulayḥī is that which they know respecting our lord aṭ-Ṭayyib," to be entirely an interpolation, it would not follow therefrom that the Queen under any circumstances acted on behalf of the Caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ. It would be logical, however, to think that Saba' b. Abī s-Su'ūd, in adopting the title of Dā'ī for himself, did so in collusion with Fāṭimid Egypt and the Central Ḥāfiẓī Da'wa in Cairo. He could have used the name of the Queen to ingratiate himself with the people, realising her immense popularity. This is evident even from the political conduct of the Zuray'ids. They had been granted the government of 'Adan by the Queen, and although professing outward loyalty to her, they had been simulatenously depriving her of her possessions in the central highlands, for which on the Queen's behalf al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abī l-Barakāt had to wage prolonged warfare against them.

‘Umāra, himself a staunch supporter of the Zuray‘ids, the Ḥāfiẓī Da‘wa and the Caliphate of Egypt, in his narration of Ṣulayḥī history in the time of Queen Arwā perpetrated the same wilful error as had been done by his Zuray‘id patrons.

The mention of Ibn Najīb ad-Dawla and ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh aṣ-Ṣulayḥī, in ‘Umāra’s list, savours of the official Ḥāfiẓī Fāṭimid version and therefore should not in any way distract us from accepting the list given by Dā‘ī Ḥātim, for he, no doubt, knew better who his immediate predecessors were.

The office of Dā‘ī muṭlaq

Let us now consider the office of the *Dā‘ī muṭlaq* in the context of the evolution of the Ismā‘īlī hierarchy. Ivanow (*Sudies*, 9-25) has derived certain explanations for the hierarchical terminology based on an early work, *Kitāb ar-Ruṣhd wa-l-hidāya* (in *Collectanea*, I, 185-213) attributed to the Dā‘ī Ibn Ḥawshab Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, who established the first Fāṭimid base in Yaman in 268/881 even before the Fāṭimid Caliphate was established in North Africa in 298/909. The terminology is misleading. It contains terms like *lāḥiq* and *mutimm* which even at the outset of the Fāṭimid Caliphate were disappearing, and no sequential order of the Da‘wa ranks emerges from it. However, the first work of importance that reveals this order although — yet in its evolutionary state — is *K. al-Farā‘id wa-ḥudūd ad-dīn* by the son of the same Ibn Ḥawshab, Ja‘far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman who was contemporary to the first two Fāṭimid Caliphs, and who lived first in Yaman and later in North Africa.

Al-Farā‘id contains the earliest known statement of the ancestors of the Fāṭimid al-Mahdī and this was published in Hamdani, H.: *Genealogy*. The present writer is editing passages from *al-Farā‘id* concerning the Da‘wa hierarchy for publication. Since they are *obiter dicta* here, only their substance is reproduced. The term *ḥudūd ad-dīn* is not used in its literal meaning of “limits of religion” nor in the legal connotation of “the principles of religious law,” but is used in a peculiar Fāṭimid connotation, “the ranks of the Da‘wa hierarchy”.

At the very outset, the order is stated in his words: “*inna l-‘ilma yanḥadīru min an-nāṭiqi ilā l-waṣiyyi wa-yanḥadīru min al-waṣiyyi ilā l-a‘immati thumma ilā l-ḥujaji thumma ilā d-du‘ātī thumma ilā l-mu‘minīna wa-l-a‘immatu wa-n-nuṭaqā‘u yastamiddūna min Allāhi ta‘ālā*” (ms. text, 5). “The knowledge passes from the *nāṭiq* to the *waṣī*, and from the *waṣī* to the *imāms*, then to the *ḥujjas*, then to the *dā‘īs*, then to the *mu‘mins*. The *imāms* and the *nāṭiqs* derive its benefit from the Almighty”. The *Nāṭiqs* are the Prophets who brought revealed religions and headed the cycles of seven ordinary *Imāms*. Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl and the founder of the Fāṭimid Caliphate, al-Mahdī are included among them. Each of these have a *Waṣī*, as Prophet

Muḥammad's Waṣī was 'Alī. They initiate the series of Imāms that follow in their cycle.

The Imām of a particular time has as his officers the Dā'īs, who in totality constitute the Da'wa. The head of a group of Dā'īs in each sector (*jazīra*) is called Ḥujja. The Ḥujjas and the Dā'īs under them have a community of the believers — Mu'minūn who are the initiated, as distinguished from the Mustajībūn who are the seekers, who in turn are distinguished from the ordinary run of Muslims.

Dā'ī Ja'far shows a refreshingly free manner of explaining these rigid ranks by the literal meaning of their terms — particularly *ḥujja* or Proof. A Nāṭiq is a Ḥujja for God; an Imām is a Ḥujja for Nāṭiq, and so on. Each superior rank has lower ranks attached to him — hence *lawāḥiq*. Thus Imām is a Lāḥiq for Nāṭiq, Ḥujja is a Lāḥiq for Imām. The first of any series of Ḥujjas at any level (Nāṭiq, Imām, Ḥujja or Dā'ī) is a *muṭlaq*; but the chief assistant of a Ḥujja in the sense of an Imām is a *bāb* (*al-Farā'id*, ms., 42, 52).

Here we have a genesis of a proper hierarchical structure which became standardised and rigid as time passed. Ivanow was uncertain whether in early terminology a Ḥujja was superior or inferior to the Bāb (*Studies*, 20), but the text of Dā'ī Ja'far clarifies the situation. Ivanow further under-stands Ḥujja as a “promoted Dā'ī (*Studies*, 17), which is not even implied in *Kutāb ar-Rushd* upon which he bases his understanding, for the explanation of the literal meaning of *ḥujja* at different levels is not grasped.

We know that the Dā'ī Ḥamīd ad-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. ca. 411/1020), while he was in 'Irāq before coming to the court of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim in Cairo, was known as Ḥujjat al-'Irāqayn. Nāṣir-i-Khusraw (d. ca. 470/1077) of the time of Caliph al-Mustansir was known as the Ḥujja of Central Asia, and Sayyida Arwā as the Ḥujja of Yaman. They occupied, in their own sectors, the highest rank in the Da'wa.

The number of Ḥujjas corresponded with the number of regions to which the Da'wa reached. Later Yamanī writings, with a sort of retrospective insight, stated that there were always 24 Ḥujjas — 12 of the Day and 12 of the Night — but this was merely symbolic of the Da'wa's wide coverage, and not an historical fact. Ivanow, although he realises the symbolism, reads a particular meaning into this division: that the twelve Ḥujjas of the Day are the leading Dā'īs in their sectors, while the twelve of the Night were their prototypes at the Centre, assembled as a committee under the Central Dā'ī, and each in charge of his respective sector (*Studies*, 16). This presumption is uncritically adopted by Marshall Hodgson in his article, *Ḥudjdja* (EI²). It is possible, however, to interpret the symbolism in another way: that the Ḥujjas of the Day were the ones that controlled the Da'was in the regions under Fāṭimid control, and operated freely and openly; while those of the

Night were the ones who led their organisation in regions under enemy control, who operated under a hostile administration and who remained concealed, as if under cover of night.

As for the *bāb*: Although according to our *Kitāb al-Farā'id*, the seven Imāms had seven Proofs (*ḥujjas*) under them called *bābs* (ms., 52), the term Bāb, in the time of Dā'ī Ja'far, had yet not received its full meaning and substance. The position of the Dā'ī Ḥamid ad-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. ca. 411/1020) under the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim, and of Dā'ī al-Mu'ayyad ash-Shirāzī (d. 470/1077) under Caliph al-Mustansir, is described as that of *bāb* or *bāb al-abwāb* (for emphasis). They are also known as *Dā'ī d-du'āt* (not an insider — Ismā'īlī term, but a popular non-technical usage). Thus the Bāb would become the Head of the Central Da'wa, next only to the Imām-Caliph. He would control, under his authority, the Ḥujjas of various sectors. This is the sense in which Bāb appears in *Kitāb Rāḥat al-aql* of the same al-Kirmānī (Ivanow: *Studies*, 20-21).

Strothmann (*Gnosis-Texte*, 57) gives the Ismā'īlī hierarchy based on very late Yamani sources as follows: (1) Nāṭiq; (2) Waṣī; (3) Imām; (4) Bāb; (5) Ḥujja; (6) Dā'ī, who has three successive ranks: (a) Balāgh, (b) Muṭlaq, (c) Maḥṣūr; (7) Ma'dhūn, who has also three successive ranks: (a) Muṭlaq, (b) Maḥṣūr, (c) Maḥdūd; (8) Mukāsir; (9) al-Mu'min al-Bāligh; (10) al-Mustajīb. This is confirmed in an earlier source Strothmann did not see, *Kitāb Tuhfat al-qulūb* (3-4, 138) of Dā'ī Ḥātim which is the first proper source for this subject. Ḥātim's assistant (Ma'dhūn) Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥārithī, confirms the hierarchy in his *Risālat al-Ḥātimīyya*. This is followed by several later works culminating in the *Kitāb Zahr al-ma'ānī* of Dā'ī Idrīs 'Imād ad-Dīn (d. 832/1428) in the Yamani phase of the Da'wa, and *Kitāb al-Azhār* (vol. II) of Dā'ī Ḥasan b. Nūḥ (d. 939/1532) in the Indian phase. The standardisation achieved by Dā'ī Ḥātim became a permanent feature in the later history of the Da'wa.

Dā'ī has a very general literal sense of a missionary. There is not one, but several Dā'īs under every unit of the Da'wa. The sub-divisions of the rank appear to be of purely Yamani origin from the Ṣulayḥid period in its history, although the terms, *balāgh*, *muṭlaq* and *maḥṣūr* were used in earlier sources in a loose, and not yet technical, sense. Dā'ī Lamak b. Mālik was the only one known to be the Dā'ī Balāgh in order to distinguish his rank as inferior to that of Queen Arwā, who was accorded the dignity of Ḥujja, but superior to ad-Du'āt al-muṭlaqūn who followed later and who regarded him as the founder of their Da'wa.

With Dā'ī Dhu'ayb b. Mūsā al-Wādi'ī *ad-Du'āt al-muṭlaqūn* commence their series. The term signifies the commencement of the Ṭayyibī Da'wa, and it echoes a passing use of the term in the *Kitāb al-Farā'id* where it appears

as *al-Muṭlaqūn al-awwalūn* (p. 53) — the commencers or initiators of the series of Dā'īs at any level.

Under the actual historical circumstances obtaining at the close of the Ṣulayhī period in Yaman, when the Ṭayyibī Da'wa was emerging as an entity independent of the Fāṭimid Caliphate, the term *muṭlaq* was a very appropriate revival of Dā'ī Ja'far's earlier, though passing, usage. From now onwards, all that the designation "Dā'ī muṭlaq" meant was the Chief of the Ṭayyibī Da'wa, and it was not restricted to Dā'ī Dhu'ayb (the commencer), but was used to designate the subsequent chiefs of the Ṭayyibī mission, namely Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī and his son Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm.

Thus we have now a historical perspective by which to measure the standing which our author Dā'ī Ḥātim enjoyed. In fact, it is by his efforts and his writings that the office was perpetuated and endowed with an ethical obligation much greater than was understood by some of the later occupants of the office, who felt that they had the arbitrary power in their hands to oppress their community and exploit their blind faith. Thus in the Dāwūdī Bohra community (Ṭayyibī Ismā'īlīs) of India, the Chief Priest (*dā'ī muṭlaq*) Ṭāhir Sayf ad-Dīn (d. 1966) carried a litigation designed to increase his authority in the community, right up to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (Records of Privy Council Proceedings, London, 1945, Part II [Exhibits], 831-841), citing as one of his principal authorities for defining the rights and duties of a Dā'ī muṭlaq the *Kitāb Tuhfat al-qulūb* of Dā'ī Ḥātim. The *Tuhfa* contains within itself the full text of an earlier Risāla called *al-Mūjiza al-kāfiya fī ādāb ad-du'āt*¹ of the Dā'ī Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm an-Naysābūrī of the time of the Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mustansir (d. 487/1094), which, as the title suggests, contains a statement about the qualifications of a Dā'ī. The ideal set therein is the one that our Dā'ī Ḥātim emulates and recommends for the leaders of the Da'wa. An-Naysābūrī at the end of his Risāla summarises these qualifications in only three words — knowledge (*ilm*), piety (*taqwā*) and statesmanship (*siyāsa*)². Neither in *Mūjiza* nor in *Tuhfa* is hereditary succession mentioned as a condition or qualification for holding the office of Dā'ī.

The lower ranks of Ma'dhūn and Mukāsir, mentioned for the first time in the *Tuhfa* as having fixed status in the hierarchy, are mere assistants. Usually, but not always, the Ma'dhūn took over as the Dā'ī muṭlaq on the latter's death. The term Ma'dhūn means the one permitted to work on behalf of a Dā'ī, and in this loose literal sense it is mentioned as early as the

¹ Reproduced in *Tuhfa*, 150-209. It forms the basis of Ivanow's *Organisation*, 1-35.

² The text explains *siyāsa* as *ta'ālif al-qulūb*, i.e., joining of hearts; hence it would not mean either diplomacy or political intrigue, but a gentle, reasonable, statesmanlike conduct.

time of Dā'ī Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī (d. ca. 322/933) and Dā'ī Abū Ya'qūb as-Sijistānī (d. ca. 370/980).

An interesting feature of this hierarchy is that an ordinary faithful, *mu'min bāligh*, who is initiated into the community by a covenant (*mūthāq*)¹, is not considered outside the ruling elite but a part of them. Nor is a candidate member, *mu'min mustajīb* an alien to the organisation. The hierarchy, therefore, is designed to reach out to the public and not to remain as a narrow, secret and secluded entity. It has a graded system of education. It is in this sense that the much talked about "degrees of initiation" (al-Maqrīzī: *al-Khiṭaṭ*, I, 348 seq.; cf. O'Leary: *Short History*, 21-29) exist and not in the sense of a programme of gradual seduction of a simple orthodox muslim toward unbelief and *zandaqa*. However, in later times, the Da'wa defeated its main purpose by withdrawing into its shell, both because of external persecution and internal crises of leadership. Original secretiveness which was meant for self defence became a meaningless habit.

Biographical Sketch of Dā'ī Ḥātim al-Ḥāmidī

Finally, let us sketch the biography of the Dā'ī Ḥātim very briefly. The Arabic supplement appended to this article contains the most detailed account of him available, by the famous Yamanī Dā'ī and historian Idrīs 'Imād-al-Dīn al-Anf (d. 832/1428). It is taken from his hitherto unpublished history of the Yamanī Ṭayyibī Da'wa entitled *Kitāb Nuzhat al-afkār*, I, 91-106 (Ms. Hamdani Coll.). The biography of Ḥātim is preceded by that of his father Ibrāhīm, and this is also included in the supplement.

Hamdani, H.: *aṣ-Ṣulayhiyyūn*, 270-280, has paraphrased these accounts of Ibrāhīm and Ḥātim, but here the full text has been offered. See also a notice by W. Madelung in EI² on three generations of Ḥāmidīs-Ibrāhīm, Ḥātim and 'Alī.

Ibrāhīm and Ḥātim belonged to the Ḥāmidī family. Dā'ī Idrīs says that Ḥāmid and Ḥammād were brothers and belonged to Banū Hamdān (*Nuzha*, I, 83-84). Thus the Ḥāmidī family of Ibrāhīm and Ḥātim was closely related to the Ḥammādī family of Lamak b. Mālik and like the latter dwelt somewhere in Ḥarāz.

The first incumbent of the office of Dā'ī muṭlaq, as we have noted above, was Dhu'ayb b. Mūsā al-Wādī'ī. On his death in 546/1151, he was succeeded by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī². Ibrāhīm was assisted by his Ma'dhūn 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd of the 'Abshāmī Qurashī al-Anf family, descendants

¹ Also known as *'ahd*. It is referred to by Dā'ī Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman in the opening page of his *Kitāb al-Kashf* and repeated regularly by later writers.

² Author of the famous book *Kanz al-walad* which represents the first serious attempt in Yaman to make the *Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-ṣafā'* the leading authority for all future doctrinal literature.

of Walid b. 'Utba of the north Arabian stock (see Hamdani, H.: *Ṭayyibī Da'wa*, 2-3, for a full notice on this family; cf. *Tuhfa*, 209). 'Alī was a learned man and author of a few Risālas that have been reproduced by later writers. After his death in Ramadān, 554/1159, Ibrāhīm took his son Ḥātim and Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥārithī as his new assistants. On Ibrāhīm's death in 557/1161, his son Ḥātim became the next Dā'ī muṭlaq.

Abū Ṭayyī' Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidī (for the *kunya* see Arabic Supplement) became the third Dā'ī muṭlaq of the Ṭayyibī mission. He was an active and alert man, and began his career by taking the fortress of Kawkabān with the help of the Hamdān and Ḥimyar tribal groups. When the last Hamdānid Sulṭān of Ṣan'ā', 'Alī b. Ḥātim b. Aḥmad b. 'Imrān b. al-Faḍl, saw the influence of the Dā'ī Ḥātim spreading in Dhīmār and Naqīl Banī Sharḥa close to Ṣan'ā', he bribed a close associate of the Dā'ī, a certain Aḥmad b. al-Ḥabir al-Hibrī to betray his master, with the promise of appointing him leader of certain contingents of the Banū Hamdān army. In the war that ensued between the Sulṭān and the Dā'ī, the latter was defeated and forced to abandon Kawkabān in 561/1165. Dā'ī Ḥātim retreated to Lu'lu'a and Ray'ān which were under the control of the Banū Hibra. Before the battle, Sulṭān 'Alī had written to the Dā'ī not to create a division among the Banū Hamdān, for as we have seen above, the family of 'Imrān b. al-Faḍl always claimed to represent the larger Hamdān tribal confederation. The Dā'ī had replied to him in a long qasīda, in which he revealed himself to be a versatile poet. Incidentally we know the *kunya* Abū Zayd for Sulṭān 'Alī, from this qasida.

Kawkabān is a mountain near Ṣan'ā' where are also to be found the Shibām Kawkabān and the palace (Yāqūt: *Mu'jam*, IV, 594). In *Ghāyat al-amānī*, I, 317, Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn says that the Kawkabān region which was inhabited by Banū Zawāḥī was taken by the Hamdānid king of Ṣan'ā' 'Alī b. Ḥātim in 561/1165, after a three-year occupation by the Dā'ī Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī. The date is confirmed by an earlier source, al-Khazrajī's *al-Kifāya* (passage quoted in Stern, *Succession*, 252); although Ibn ad-Dayba' in his *Qurra* (fol. 31a, b) gives the date 564/1168.

Dhīmār means a mountain side. According to al-Hamdānī (*Sifa*, 104) Dhīmār is a fertile district whose chief town is 'Ans inhabited by clans descended from 'Ans b. Madhḥij. Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, III, 7) says that Dhīmār is a village two *marḥalas* away from Ṣan'ā'. He also describes a high mountain called Ṣayd in the Dhīmār range of Mikhlāf Ja'far, whose summit has a castle called Sumāra (*Mu'jam*, III, 438). At present Dhīmār is the biggest town in the highlands after Ṣan'ā'.

Naqīl Banī Sharḥa: Although Yāqūt explains that "Naqīl" is a summit difficult of ascent (*Mu'jam*, V, 103) he does not specifically mention Naqīl Banī Sharḥa. We have it, however, from al-Ḥujarī (*Mu'jam*, II, 167) that Banū Sharḥa is a region in the Qaḍā'ib district near Ṣan'ā', at present notorious for narcotics.

Hibra, according to Redhouse in his edition of al-Khazrajī's *al-'Uqūd* III (Pt. 3), 1080, is a place in the Hamdān territory near Jabal Sharaf.

Lu'lu'a is a place between Birk and Rāḥa, according to Redhouse and the map of Glazer.

Ray'ān is not identified, although it should have been in the vicinity of the above towns.

From the territory of Banū Hibra, the Dā'ī went to Bayt Radm in the Banū Shihāb territory. The town was under the control of his own son-in-law, who received him well. With his help, he reached Ḥarāz, and from a town in that district called Shu'āf, he climbed the fortress of Ḥazra, and took it by surprise.

This is confirmed by the author of *Ghāyat al-amānī*, I, 320 and the date given is 569/1173, the year in which the Ayyūbid invasion of Yaman began.

Ḥarāz and Hawzan: According to al-Ḥamdānī (*Ṣifa*, 103) Ḥarāz and Hawzan lie between Wādī Surdud and Wādī Sihām that enclose Ṣan'ā'. Ḥarāz comprises of seven towns and the country encompassed by them (*Ṣifa*, 105). Ḥarāz and Hawzan are the names of the sons of al-Ghawth b. Sa'd b. 'Awf b. 'Adi belonging to the greater Ḥimyar group.

Shibām and Masār are two famous mountains in Ḥarāz (Irvine: *Ḥarāz*, EI²).

Shu'āf and Ḥazra are not identified either in Yāqūt's *Mu'jam* or al-Ḥamdānī's *Iklīl* or *Ṣifa*. However, Redhouse states that Shu'āf is near Ṣan'ā' on the road to Ma'rib (ed. of *al-'Uqūd*, III, Pt. 3, note 522). From the text of *Nuzha* (see Arabic Supplement) it seems that Ḥazra is the name of a fortress situated at Shu'āf and that they are located at Ḥajr north of Ḥarāz.

Bayt Radm, according to Yāqūt (*Mu'jam*, I, 520) was one of the fortresses of the Ṣan'ā' region.

Banū Shihāb are from Khawlān stemming from Murra b. 'Arib b. Zayd b. Kahlān (al-Ḥamdānī: *Iklīl*, I [al-Akwa' ed.], 357-421)

This victory was celebrated by the poet Ḥanzala b. 'Alī in a poem which is quoted in the *Nuzha* (see the Arabic Supplement). One interesting fact that is mentioned here by Dā'ī Idrīs is that the Ḥāfiẓī Da'wa was prevalent in Ḥarāz till the arrival of Dā'ī Ḥātim.

It is possible that this Ḥanzala b. 'Alī was the father of the sixth Dā'ī muṭlaq, 'Alī b. Ḥanzala b. Abī Sālim al-Mahfūẓī al-Wādī'ī (d. 626/1229), author of *Simṭ al-ḥaqā'iq* (for the latter, see Ivanow, *Literature*, 74).

The Dā'ī then reached the mountains of Shibām and received the submission of its lower peak Ḥuṭayb, which was to become his headquarters. This was the country of the Ya'burī Ḥamdānīs whose leader was Sabā' b. Yūsuf. Together, the Dā'ī and Saba', stormed the higher peak of Shibām and took it. A qasida celebrating the victory is also reproduced in the *Nuzha*.

Shibām: Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, III, 318 says that a person from Shibām related it to him that there were four Shibāms in Yaman: (1) Shibām Kawkabān westwards from Ṣan'ā', and between the two places there was a day's journey. It is to this Shibām that Yāqūt's reporter belonged; (2) Shibām Sukhaym, south-east of Ṣan'ā', and between the two places there was a distance of three farsakhs; (3) Shibām Ḥarāz, north-west of Ṣan'ā', and between the two places there was two days' journey; and (4) Shibām Ḥaḍramawt, and it is a city of Ḥaḍramawt like Tarīm. The Shibām that is referred to by Idrīs is the Shibām Ḥarāz.

Ḥuṭayb, which appears to be the lower peak of Shibām Ḥarāz, belonged in the time of al-Ḥamdānī (d. 332/943) to Qāsīd b. Yāfi' (*Ṣifa*, 89).

Ya'ābir: Although Ya'ābir are not mentioned in earlier genealogical literature, we have it from al-Ḥujarī, *Mu'jam*, III, 329 that they are one of the tribes of Shibām Ḥarāz. Probably the name attaches to the tribe of Saba' b. Yūsuf from his time onwards, and may mean "those who have

crossed over" to Shibām Ḥarāz from elsewhere. We know the *kunya* of Saba' b. Yūsuf to be "Abū Ḥimyar" from a qasida of the Dā'ī 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid, lamenting the death of Amīr Sabā. The following is the verse in question:

أبا حَمِيرَ أَرْكَى بَنِي الْعَصْرِ مَوْلِدًا وَأَكْرَمَ ابْنَا يَعْبَرَ الصَّيْدَ نَاشِيًا

(*Dīwān* of 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid, Ms. Hamdani Coll.)

It is interesting to note that an earlier Amīr has the same name and *kunya*, Abū Ḥimyar Saba' b. Aḥmad b. al-Muzaḥḥar (d. 491/1097) whom Queen Arwā had made Regent on behalf of her son, 'Alī 'Abd al-Mustanṣir.

I have seen in the Hamdani collection manuscripts written by Ya'burī copyists who also describe themselves as Muḥaffarī. This may indicate that the Ya'burī leader Saba' b. Yūsuf may have been a descendant of the earlier Amīr Saba' b. Aḥmad b. al-Muzaḥḥar. If this was so, the former would, like the latter, belong to the Ṣulayḥid family of the Yām branch of the Hāshid division of the Hamdān tribe. If this was not so, the Ya'burīs were Hamdānis outside Ṣulayḥid derivation.

Saba' b. Yūsuf afterwards campaigned in the district of Lihāb and in a series of heroic battles, he succeeded in taking its fortress, Ḥamiḍa. Thereafter, most of Ḥarāz was gradually brought under his control. Two qasidas of the later Dā'ī 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid and the poet Ḥanzala b. 'Alī commemorate the victories of Sabā at various sites in Ḥarāz.

Lihāb, according to Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, V, 27, could also be spelled Luhāb. According to al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 105, Lihāb is a place in Mihklāf Ḥarāz.

A neighbouring tribe, the Banū Ḥakam, succeeded in treacherously killing the Amīr Sabā'; and the Dā'ī 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid wrote a qasida lamenting his death and urging the Ya'burīs to take revenge. At last the Ya'burīs rose against the Banū Ḥakam, and devastated their territory, *akamat al-'uluww* in the Hawzan district of Ḥarāz. This fact is also commemorated in a poem by 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid.

Banū Ḥakam were descendants of Banū Madhḥij who were derived from 'Arīb of the Hamdān tribe, and they lived in Hawzan (*i.e.*, Ḥarāz). There was another tribe known as Banū Ḥakam, and they lived on the northern coastal region of Yaman. The famous historian 'Umāra al-Ḥakamī al-Yamanī could have belonged to one or the other of these two tribes (see Kay: *Yaman*, 217, note).

The district of Ḥarāz and its Shibām mountains, which were dominated by its three summit-fortresses, namely Shibām, Jawḥab and Ḥuṭayb, remained in Dā'ī Ḥātim's hands, with Ḥuṭayb as his headquarters. In the cave below Ḥuṭayb he used to hold his assemblies, teach, write books, and receive the Dā'īs from all parts of Yaman, and also from the remote regions of Sind and Hind (this is confirmed by *Ghāyat al-amānī*, I, 320).

It is clear from *Nuzha* that the Shibām range of mountains in Ḥarāz has three prominent peaks, each dominated by a fortress. The highest is Shibām, whose castle was constructed by 'Alī b. Muḥammad, the founder of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty. The middle summit is Jawḥab. The lowest is Ḥuṭayb which was fortified by Dā'ī Ḥātim.

Dā'ī Ḥātim had stationed his assistant Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥārithī at Ṣan'ā', because the Sultān 'Alī b. Ḥātim was in difficulties with the Ayyūbid invaders led by Tūrānshāh and Ṭughtigīn and the people were seeking refuge with the Da'wa (according to *Ghāyat al-amānī*, I, 335-6, the Ismā'īlī Da'wa declined during this period). Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir proved incapable of carrying out his mission and within a short time he died in Shawwāl, 584/1188. Dā'ī Ḥātim replaced him with 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd. Although the latter resided at Ṣan'ā', he used to visit the Dā'ī at Ḥarāz quite often and the Dā'ī placed his son 'Alī under his care for education and training. After some time 'Alī b. Muḥammad reported to Dā'ī Ḥātim that 'Alī b. Ḥātim was now ready to assume charge of the Da'wa, and Dā'ī Ḥātim thereupon designated his son his successor.

'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walīd al-'Abshāmī al-Qurashī became the fifth Dā'ī muṭlaq and died in 612/1115. He was a prolific writer. Among his many works, the following are particularly noteworthy: (1) *Kitāb Dāmigh al-bāṭil*, in refutation of al-Ghazzālī's *Kitāb Faḍā'il al-bāṭiniyya*, (2) *Dīwān*, collection of his poems of great historical value, and (3) *Tāj al-aqā'id*, a compendium of Ismā'īlī creed. See Ivanow, *Literature*, 69-74.

'Alī b. Ḥātim al-Ḥāmīdī's tenure as fourth Dā'ī muṭlaq was 596-605/1199-1209. His works have been enumerated by Ivanow, *Literature*, 68-69.

'Alī b. Muḥammad remained the chief Assistant (Ma'dhūn) of 'Alī b. Ḥātim, who in due course designated him his successor. 'Alī b. Muḥammad had written a qasida lamenting the death of Dā'ī Ḥātim and hailing the succession of 'Alī b. Ḥātim, which is reproduced in the *Nuzha*.

Dā'ī Ḥātim died on 16 Muḥarram 596/7 November 1199 and was buried under the fortress of Ḥuṭayb in the Shibām mountains in Ḥarāz. His tomb is still a site of pilgrimage by the Ṭayyibī Ismā'īlīs of Yaman and India.

Pictures of his tomb and of Ḥuṭayb taken by Husayn Hamdani in 1931 are reproduced in his book *aṣ-Ṣulayhiyyūn*, 281.

The Works of Dā'ī Ḥātim

Dā'ī Ḥātim was not only a great warrior, poet and organiser of the Da'wa but he was also a great writer and compiler of works on doctrine, history and polemic. Not all of them are readily available, but their range and extent may be gauged from the following list compiled from the *Fihrist* of al-Majdu', Ivanow's *Ismā'īlī Literature*, Husayn Hamdani's *aṣ-Ṣulayhiyyūn* and Muizz Goriawala's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Fyzee Collection of Ismā'īlī Manuscripts*:

1. *Tanbih al-ghāfilīn*: on ethics: it condemns two major vices of character — envy and hatred — and it contains in addition two Risālas from *Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-ṣafā'*, and extracts from *al-Majālis* of the Fātimid Caliph al-'Azīz (d. 386/996).
2. *Jāmi' al-ḥaqā'iq*: a summarised compilation in two volumes divided into eighteen chapters,

of the lectures of Dā'ī al-Mu'ayyad fi d-Dīn ash-Shirāzī (d. 470/1077). The collection is classified by subject.

3. *al-Majālis*: Originally 128 lectures, of which the last 52, beginning with no. 77, have survived; mainly about the events of the time of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.
4. *al-Majālis*: another collection of 15 lectures, on ethical problems.
5. *Mafātīḥ al-kunūz*: a reply to questions raised about the Fāṭimid origin of Caliph al-Mahdī, the quiddity (*māhiyya*) of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq and related matters.
6. *Risālat an-Naqd 'alā ahl al-makhāṭ*: on ethics; on the basis of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib's sayings, the Dā'ī Abū Ya'qūb as-Sijistānī's *Risālat al-Wā'iz*, sayings of Dā'ī al-Mu'ayyad, and a poem of Sayyidnā l-Khaṭṭāb.
7. *Risālat at-Tadhkira*: on the doctrines of Creation and Return; extracts from earlier Dā'īs, including one from the Dā'ī Yaḥyā b. Lamak al-Ḥammādi.
8. *Kitāb ash-Shumūs az-zāhira*: two volumes of esoteric speculative philosophy. Rare, but quoted in *Kitāb al-Azhār*, Vol. I. Not included in the *Fihrist* al-Majdu'.
9. *Risālat Zahr badhr al-ḥaqā'iq*: eighteen problems of esoteric philosophy.
10. *Kitāb al-Iḥsān fī khalq al-insān*: a small treatise on human evolution as a cosmological and physical process — a remarkably lucid interpretation based mainly on the *Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-ṣafā'*. It has been edited with a complete translation and an introduction by Robert Bauer for his M.A. degree at the American University in Cairo, May, 1967.
11. *al-Mafākḥir wa-l-ma'āthir*: on the virtues of 'Alī.
12. *Mafātīḥ an-ni'ma*: religious and philosophical miscellany.
13. *al-Majālis al-azhār*: on the 'Id of Ghadīr al-Khum.
14. *Kitāb al-Masālik*: listed by Ivanow, but not in the *Fihrist* of Majdu'. No reference and no details given.
15. *Maṣābiḥ al-ḥaqā'iq al-hādiya ilā awḍaḥ at-ṭarā'iq*: listed by Ivanow, but not in the *Fihrist*. No reference and no details given.
16. *Kitāb al-Jawhara* (or *al-Jawhariyya*): on matters related to the Da'wa. It is mentioned in the *Tuḥfa*.
17. *Kitāb Tuḥfat al-qulūb wa-furjat al-makrūb*: the subject of our study. See details below:

Kitāb Tuḥfat al-qulūb

Since the Arabic text of the *Tuḥfa* and an English summary of it will be published soon it is not intended to give a detailed analysis of the book here. It is to be hoped, however, that its importance has emerged from the above discussion, and this impression may be reinforced by a description of some of its salient features.

Because it was written for Ḥātim's associates in the Da'wa who had posed certain questions to which they required answers, the work enlarges upon the principles, history, and structure of the Da'wa. A lengthy section at the beginning is taken up with a description of the cosmological process of development set in motion by the Creator. The theory of ten Intelligences is then adopted accounting for the long cycles of cosmological existence and their relation to the different spheres of the Universe. The argument is developed along familiar neo-Platonic lines as enunciated by *Rasā'il Ikhwān aṣ-ṣafā'* and analysed by Strothmann in his *Gnosis-Texte* (Göttingen, 1943).

The creation of the earth goes through the stages of mineral, plant and animal existence, and from this background, stage by stage, man emerges. The discussion here of man's ascent should be seen in conjunction with the account in Ḥātim's book, *Kitāb al-Iḥsān fī khalq al-insān*. Man's ascent is compared by Ḥātim with the ascending degrees of knowledge and the rise in the ranks of the Da'wa. The process entails the need for the complete obedience and subordination of every lower rank or stage to the one above it. The two processes of cosmological emanations from above and physical and human evolution from below lead to the rise of the Prophets and the Imāms, who appear at the point of culmination of the two processes. The ultimate goal of man's creation is his return to the Creator from whom he has his existence, thus completing the cycle. These are not only the principles of natural existence but they are also those of the Da'wa, and an individual's comprehension of them depends upon his rendering complete obedience to the Imām, who is the manifestation on earth of the Creator's infallibility, and to whom obedience is rendered through submission to the Dā'ī, the Imām's representative.

From these premises the author proceeds to a discussion of the position, rank and role of the Dā'ī. He states that the whole arrangement of the Da'wa is based upon knowledge, and he goes on to describe the structure of the Da'wa from the Nāṭiq to the Mustajīb. It is here that the great importance of the *Tuhfa* resides, for Dā'ī Ḥātim's account is not only the first complete description of the Yamānī Ismā'īlī Da'wa but it was through his efforts that its structure was completed and formalised. The *Tuhfa* itself stands as a landmark in the history of the evolution of the Da'wa for although the institution has continued to exist in Yaman and in India until the present day, its structure has never changed from that set forth by Dā'ī Ḥātim in the *Tuhfa*.

The shape of the Da'wa as it finally evolved in Fāṭimid Egypt was due primarily to the work of the Dā'ī al-Kirmānī during the reign of the Caliph al-Ḥākim, and later to that of the Dā'ī al-Mu'ayyad in the reign of the Caliph al-Mustanṣir. It was inherited by the Yamānī da'wa, but because the Ṭayyibī Da'wa was independent of the parent organisation its structure was bound to undergo modification with the passage of time. Several changes were made between the time of the Dā'ī Dhu'ayb and that of the Dā'ī Ḥātim, most notably in the creation of the rank of *Dā'ī muṭlaq* and the definition of his status and responsibilities. The *Tuhfa* both embodies and completes this process of modification and evolution.

Another lengthy section of the *Tuhfa* is devoted to a history of the successive Yamānī Dā'īs. It includes the earliest extant account of the mission of the Dā'ī Lamak to Egypt, and it lists the names of his officers throughout

Yaman. Scores of names of persons in charge of Da'wa offices are mentioned, many of whom were local rulers and were called *sultāns* (see pp. 132-140). At the end of the *Tuhfa* (pp. 150-209) is given the full text of the Risāla referred to above, entitled *al-Mūjiza al-kāfiya fī ādāb ad-du'āt*, by the Dā'i Aḥmad b. Muḥammad an-Naysābūrī (5th/11th century), which sets out the rights, duties, qualifications and responsibilities of a Dā'i.

It seems that the *Tuhfa* was written shortly after the death of Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥārithī in 584/1188 when 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid was appointed in his place as the Dā'i's Ma'dhūn at Ṣan'ā'. After describing the qualities of a Dā'i (as set forth in *Mūjiza*) Dā'i Ḥātim states (p. 209) that if any person possesses all these qualities it is 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid, who has the further distinction of being descended from Ibrāhīm b. Abī Salmā of the Banū 'Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy of the Meccan Quraysh. Such praises are heaped upon 'Alī b. Muḥammad in the *Tuhfa* that at first glance it would almost appear that the work was composed by Dā'i Ḥātim for the express purpose of preparing the minds of the Ismā'īli community for the nomination of 'Alī b. Muḥammad as the next Dā'i. But as events revealed, 'Alī b. Muḥammad himself suggested to Dā'i Ḥātim that he designate his son 'Alī his successor, and the suggestion was taken up and acted upon.

APPENDIX

An extract from *Kitāb Nuzhat al-afkār* (vol. I) of the Dā'i Idrīs 'Imād ad-Dīn b. Ḥasan al-Anf al-Qurashī (d. 833/1428).

1. The numbers in the Arabic text are of the pages in *Nuzha's* ms. which belonged to the late Shaykh Fayḍ Allāh b. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Hamdānī of Surat, India.
2. The notes to the Arabic section contain only those references that have not been commented upon in the English text of the article.

وقام الداعي الأجل إبراهيم بن الحسين الحامدي بالدعوة فأقام من الشريعة الحنفية دعائهما¹ وأوضح معالمها ونهى عن المنكر وأمر بالمعروف وتحنن على أهل دعوته تحنن الوالد البر العطوف ودل على ولاية أهل البيت الأطهار وأبان الدعوة إليهم بالجهر والإسرار، وقمع الجاحدين للحق الأشرار، واعتضد بالداعي علي بن الحسين بن أحمد من آل الوليد القرشي² السديد، وكان له

¹ Here the reference does not seem to be to the Islamic Shari'a in general, but to the Ismā'īli law in particular as embodied in *Kitāb Da'ā'im al-islām* of the Qāḍī Abū Ḥanifa Muḥammad b. Nu'mān (d. 363/974). Our ms. of *Nuzha* has the spelling *al-ḥanifiyya* instead of *al-ḥanafīyya*.

² Our ms. of *Nuzha* has the spelling *al-Qurayshī* instead of *al-Qurashī*.

معاضداً على أمره قائماً بنشر الدعوة في سره وجهره. وكنا جميعاً من العلماء الاعلام
الهادين إلى ولاية الأئمة الطاهرين عليهم السلام، ولما الفضل والعبادة
والديانة والزهادة وحسن الأخلاق وطاعة الله الواحد الخلاق، فاهتدى
المهتدون بهداهما. واقتدوا في الأعمال الصالحة بها. وفي الداعي علي بن
الحسين قال الشيخ محمد بن طاهر الحارثي — شعر¹ :

أبا حسن أنقذت بالعلم أنفساً	وأمنتها من طارق الحدثان
فجوزيت بالحسنى وكوفئت بالمنى	ودمت سعيداً فى أعز مكان
تزورك عني كل حين تحية	تعطر ربعاً لللقى ومعاني
[92] عمرت بصنعا دعوة طيبة	جعلت لها أساً وشدت مباني
ولم تخش فيها سطوة من معاند	ظلوم غشوم بالعداوة داني
وأصبحت يا ابن ابن الوليد لأهلها	ملاذاً من الاهواء ومدجاً حاني
فلا زال ناديها بيقياك عامراً	تسر ولياً ما وتكبت شاني

وتوفى الداعي الاجل علي بن الحسين بن جعفر بن الوليد القرشي العسيمي
قدس الله روحه في الليلة المصباحة عن يوم السبت الخامس من شهر رمضان من
سنة أربع وخمسين وخمسائه. فاعتضد بعد وفاته الداعي إبراهيم بن الحسين
الحامدي بنجله المشابه له في زهده وفضله حاتم بن إبراهيم بن الحسين
الحامدي، وبالشيوخ الأجل محمد بن طاهر الحارثي، فعاضده ووازراه، وبإقامة
الدعوة الشريفة ظاهراً. وهما نجا الدعوة الزاهران وسحابا علمها وجودها الماطران،
ولهما في الدعوة الغراء حسن الطريقه والدلالة الهادية إلى علم الحقيقة، فما زال
هؤلاء الدعاة بالهداية قائمين والدعوة إلى الله وأوليائه لازمين حتى توفي
الداعي الأجل إبراهيم بن الحسين الحامدي — عليه رضوان الله — في
شهر شعبان سنة سبع وخمسين وخمسائه.

فقام بعده ولده الداعي حاتم بن إبراهيم بن الحسين الحامدي قدس الله
روحه بأمر الدعوة في جزيرة اليمن، وأرسل إلى من بعد عنه من يهديه
إلى سبيل الحق الأبين. وأوضح الحجة وأبان المحجة في فضل الوصي [93] وآله
الطاهرين ونقل الروايات على صحتها من المحدثين إيضاحاً لفضلهم وإظهاراً

¹ Metre: *at-tawīl*.

لعدلم وله في الدعوة السهم المعلن، وهو أخرى بما ينسب إليه من الفضل الشهير وأولى، وكتبه وتأليفاته مشهورة للطالبيين مباحة للسائلين والراغبين. وعرف الناس فضله ووعظه وبيان حجته، قال إليه كثير منهم، والتفت إليه حَمِيرُ وهمدان، وملكوه حصن كوكبان. فلما رأى السلطان علي بن حاتم اليامي — وهو يومئذ صاحب صنعاء وما يليها من ذمار وسائر الجهات إلى تقيل بني شرجة — مَيَّلَ الناس إلى الداعي حاتم بن إبراهيم، وإقبالهم عليه، داخلته المنافسة والحسد وخاف منه على دنياه التي¹ بها اشتغاله وعليها إقباله مع أن الداعي حاتم بن إبراهيم تصغر الدنيا في عينيه، وهو معرض عن ما أقبل الناس منها إليه، طالباً من الآخرة الحظ الأوفر، معرض عن ما في الدنيا من العرض والجوهر. فقصد السلطان علي بن حاتم بكل مقصد لما تداخله من الكبر والحسد، واستأهل همدان ببذل المال، وضاعف إليهم العطاء والنوال، فصرف أكثرهم إلى ماعنده، وأبلغ في معاداة الداعي حاتم بن إبراهيم جهده. وكان أحمد بن الحبير الهبري ممن يثق الداعي حاتم ابن إبراهيم بوده، ومن أخذ عليه أكيد إيمانه وعهده. قال إلى السلطان [94] علي بن حاتم اليامي وسأله أن يقدمه على همدان²، وأفسد على الداعي حاتم بن إبراهيم كثيراً ممن معه في كوكبان. وقد كانت طالت الحروب بينه وبين السلطان علي بن حاتم. وحاصر كوكبان حتى مل الحرب. وركن إلى الصلح وهو بما عند الداعي غير عالم. فعرفه ابن الحبير الخبيث بفراغ الشحنة وأنه قد قل ما أعدده الداعي الحامدي لطول الفتنة. وسأله أن يقدمه على همدان، وأن يكون أميراً على الرجالة والفرسان. فأعطاه صاحب صنعاء ما طلب وقدمه حتى غلب، ولم يكن ذلك غير ساعة، وبلغ الداعي حاتم بن إبراهيم مادبر. فخرج عن الحصن الذي كان فيه وعن مناوأة علي بن حاتم تأخر. وكان خروجه إلى مشايخ هبرة من همدان في لؤلؤة وريعان. فقصدهم علي بن حاتم بالحرب وجمع عليهم، وأحفل عليهم بالخيال والرجال، وتابع عليهم القتال. ثم إن السلطان علي بن حاتم كتب إلى الداعي الأجل حاتم بن إبراهيم يعاتبه ويلطفه،

¹ Our ms. reads: *alladhī*.

² This expression could be omitted as it is repeated a few lines later.

ويقول له : اظهر دينك واجمع أهل دعوتك ، ولا تفرق همدان ، وتحملهم على العداوة والشنآن. وضمن ذلك شعراً. فعرف الداعي أن ذلك منه غدر ومكر ، فأجابهُ يَكْتُهُ على أفعاله ويلومه في ما دبره من احتياله ، وضمنه هذه الأبيات مما قيل على لسانه — شعر ¹ :

أتاني من أبي زيد كتاب
[95] يعاذلني ويختلني بنبل
ويودعها قوارص كامنات
ولكني اصيخ لها وأغضي
فكن في امرنا حكماً وعدلاً
مقالك فيم تصدع عود يام
أما والمصطفى إنى ليام
عبيد الطيب الطهر الذي لا
ولكن منكم قصدا وعمداً
أبحتم منعها وازلتموها
ورتم حبل دعوة آل طه
فأصبح كل منتسب إليهم
وتزعم أنني باغ لدنيا
ولا عجب ترجم في ظنا
وأما في الحراب فليس عارا
رويدك لا تباعد ما سيدنو
ستعلم من له العقبي ويبدو
ومن عجب مقالك لى مجدداً
بلى والله في إظهار ديني
علام نذرتم قتلي وفهتتم
ولم اتبعتموني السم ² سرّاً؟

تضمنه من العتبي فنون
يحس بلذعها الرجل الفطين
تجافيهما القلوب ولا تلين
وأذنو في العتاب ولا ابين
فأنت لكل مكرمة خدين
وانت بلم شعشهم قمين
بمالي والذي أحوي أصون
يشابهه على الدنيا قرين
على يام بدا الداء الدفين
فلا منع ولا عرض مصون
وحبلهم هو الحبل المتين
تسوموه الصغار فيستكين
وياغيها لمقوت لعين
وفي الاخيار رجمت الظنون
ورسم الحرب ذا وكذا يكون
فكل بالذي يجني رهين
بلا شك لك الخبر اليقين
فما احد بصدك لا يدين
نصبن لي الحبائل والمنون
بطردي ؟ ياأبا زيد ابينوا
فقل صدقاً فمثلك لا يمين

¹ Metre: *al-wāfir*.

² This is not clear in the text.

على اني نصيحكم الأمين
المهذب من له الرأي الرصين
ولم أثلم علاه ولا اشين
مكانكم من العليا مكين
سوابق كلما نشرت تزين
لها الضد المعاند والقرين
فقد لاح الصباح المستبين
صفا ما بيننا الماء العين
فعلتم آل عمران فبينوا
ويوشك كلما يقضى يبين
من الموت المعازل والحصون

وأدنا قبل ذى بشر غداى¹
[96] وساعده أبو الحسن الاشم
فصارمني وارخص سوم بيعي
وأنتم يا عطارف شم يام
لكم في الدعوة الغراء قدما
ولكن خلتم عنها فمكم
فان أنتم رجعتم واستقلتم
وواليتم إمام العصر صدقا
وإن بنتم وعاندتم كما قد
صبرنا للجهاد ولم نبال
إذاحم الحمام فليس ينجي

فلما رأى الداعي الأجل حاتم بن إبراهيم ما اجتمع همدان فيه له وعليه ،
خشى ان يكون افتراقهم على يديه ، وقصد صاحب بيت ردم من بني
شهاب ، وهو بعل ابنة الداعي حاتم بن إبراهيم ، فوصل الى ابنته مستخفياً
مغتماً ، فلما عرفت بعلها التقاه بالاعزاز والاكرام ، وسأله أن يطيل عنده المقام ،
فامتنع الداعي وسأله أن يوصله إلى حراز ففعل ، ووصل إلى موضع يسمى
شعاف ، يدعوا الناس وقد مالوا إلى عبد الحميد² وتوالوه. فلما رأى الناس
فضله وزهده وفصاحته وحسن موعظته وعذوبة قوله وما نشر عليهم من علم
[97] الائمة وفضائل أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب عليه أفضل السلام —
وكان الداعي حاتم بن إبراهيم بليغاً مفلحاً وعالماً إلى منزلة لا ترتقى — أقبلوا
إليه مسرعين ، وتوالوا إليه مهطعين . وطلع من شعاف إلى الظهرة فسلموا
له الحجر ، وقصده اهل دعوته زمراً بعد زمرة. وفيه يقول حنظلة بن علي بن
عبد الله رحمه الله³ :

الغراصبح ظاهراً فى الظهرة لما غدا فيها قرار الدعسوة

¹ The meaning of this verse is not clear.

² The reference is to the eleventh Fāṭimid Caliph 'Abd al-Majīd al-Ḥāfiẓ li-Dīn Allāh (524-544/1130-1149).

³ Metre: *al-kāmīl*.

إذحل فيها حاتم هادي الوري داعي الدعاة لقصد خير أئمة
أعني ابن إبراهيم من وضحت به أنوار أقمار الهدى وتجلت

فوق في الظهره حتى تسلم حصن الحطيب. وهو من معاقل حراز الرفيعة
وحصونه المنيعه ، ثم اجتمع له اهل دعوته وتوالوا إليه متفقين على طاعته ،
وكان زعيمهم سبا بن يوسف اليعبري ، فصمد إلى حصن شبام ، فاستولى عليه
ولم يكن فيه غير محرس في رأس قفلته اربعة رجال لم يشعروا حتى ملك عليهم ،
وفي ذلك يقول القائل ¹ :

أمثال مولانا الامام الطيب من كل ليث شمري اغلب
فتحت شبام بالمواضي جهرة وسمت لذروته بكل مشطب
لله در عصابة يمنية فيها اليعابر كل عالي النصب
قوم لهم في الكرمات اوائل مشهورة وشجاعة لم تغلب
من كل ندب للساك مطاول ماضي العزيمة لا ينال مهذب
قدحنته الحادثات وعضها بأحد ناب في الخطوب [98] ومخلب
فاستبشروا يا مؤمنين وشمروا من فتح مولاكم بأيسر مطلب

واجتمعت له خيل من همدان واجتمعت إليهم من في حراز من أهل دعوته
من البلدان. وكان زعاؤهم اليعابر وسبا بن يوسف فيهم كالاسد الهاصر ، وهو
سيف الداعي الحامدي الذي يضرب بجده وهامه الذي هو زعيم جنده فقصد
بهم سبا بن يوسف إلى لهاب على من كان فيه من القبائل ، فقتل منهم في تلك
التلال كل مقاتل. وصال عليهم كالهزبر الصائل وفي ذلك يقول القائل — شعر ² :

حلت بسوحك رحمة الغسفار فاستخدمت لك نافذ الاقدار
وجرت بحسب رضاك افلاك العلى فكأن جاريها بأمرك جاري
وتحقق الفضلاء طراً أن ذى فتح بلطف من إمامك ساري
الهبّت ناراً في لهاب فأحرقت عصب الضلال معاً بتلك النار
وبعثت نحوهم بجيش أغلب يزجي المنون وجحفل جرار

¹ Metre: *al-kāmil*.

² Metre: *al-kāmil*. This qasida is by the Dā'i 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid and is included in his *Dīwān*.

يرجى لشيد على ومنع ذمار
وبني البتول السادة الاطهار
والقاطعين أواصر الفجار
من يعبر ومجيج وكرار^١
ولدى الكريهة كالهزبر الضاري
بالنصر يتبع سنة الأنصار
متدرع بمهابة ووقار
اكرم به من صارم بتار
أو قاضيا أو خائضا لغمار
أوراكعاً أو مانعاً للجار
وعفاته باغاثة ومغار
عالي الذرى متمنع الأقطار
الجزار تحصين عن الجزار
جرى الصقور لفرصة الاطيوار
بيض الوجوه تضيء كالاقمار

من صيد^١ همدان بن زيد خير من
الطائعين لاحمد ووصيه
والناصرين دعاة آل محمد
والشم^٢ من جنب^٣ وعنس^٤ والذرى^٥
من كل مبتسم لدى وفادة
موف بما لله عاهد موقن
[99] ويقودهم ليث هصور باسل
سيف الامام سبا بن يوسف ذو العلى
لم يلف إلا قاريا أو قارئاً
أو رافعا لمنار آل محمد
أو مغنيا أو مفنيا لعداته
وافى العدى مستعصمين بشامخ
يرجون تحصينا وهل لذبائح
فجرت له الجرد العتاق صواعداً
ويحثها أسد على سهواتها

الى قوله

إيها أبا طيء^٦ و لا تنكل فقد
قد مدت الدنيا إليك يمينها
أعطاك ربك غاية الأوطار
باليمن ثم يسارها بيسار

¹ *ṣayd* (pl. *ṣīd*) means a proud person. It is also the name of a mountain in Mikhlāf Yaḥṣub According to Yāqūt (*Muʿjam*, III, 438) it is a high mountain in the Dhīmār range in Mikhlāf Jaʿfar, whose summit has a castle called Sumāra. See note on Dhīmār in the text of this article p. 280.

² *ash-shumm* means a leading person. It is also the name of a place near Ṣayd in Wādī Surdud near Ṣanʿāʾ. (al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 72).

³ *Janb*, name of a tribe descended from Madhḥij branch of the Hamdān (Kay: *Yaman*, note 217).

⁴ *ʿAns*, another branch of the Madhḥij settled in Dhīmār district.

⁵ *adh-Dhurā* in the Yaʿābir territory in Ḥarāz (as it appears in the *Diwān* of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid, ms., 103). Al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 217, quotes verses of one Abū l-Ḥayyāsh who mentions *adh-Dhurā*.

⁶ *Mujayyih* and *Karār* are two of the seven sections of the Ḥarāz district (al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 68 and 105).

⁷ *Abū Ṭayyī* is the *kunya* of Dāʿi Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmīdī, as it appears from the qasida of Ḥanzala b. ʿAlī which follows.

وما زال سبا بن يوسف رحمة الله عليه في لهاب يقاتل المعاندين ويذل المتمردين وقام لحمضة¹، وما زال يجاهد أهلها حتى فتح الله عليه بها، فتسلم حصن حمضة، وهى أرفع طود فى لهاب، وسمع له كل من سكن تلك الجهات وأجاب. وفي ذلك يقول حنظلة بن علي رحمة الله عليه — شعر² :

مغالق أبواب السعادة والنصر ولم تدعن الأضداد للغلب والقهر به آمنت من كل خوف ومن دعر حظوظاً فقد صارت على قمة النسر فاسفله يسمو علواً عن القدر وكم لك من منى على العبد والحر من اهل الولا من حي روع كما الجمر؟ وأقوام صدق لا تميل الى الغدر ويا ذا المساعي الغر والنهي والأمر شبا عزمه يزرى بحد الظبي البتر أعاديك، يا ذا الحزم والعزم والفخر له، وأباد الضد فى السهل والوعر وما فيه، من حسن البشاشة والبشر توالى فتوح ليس تحسب بالحصر	بك انفتحت يا داعي الطيب الطهر فلولاك لم تفتح مغالق حمضة [100]أبا طيء! يا داعي اليمن الذى حراز بفضل من أياديك أحرزت وحصن شبام قد سما بك طوده وكم لك من فضل وكم لك من يد ألست الذى انقذت كل مخوف بسعدك قام اليعبرى بن يوسف مطيعاً لأمر منك يا خير آمر غدا لك سيفاً قاطعاً ماضي الشبا بتأييدك الساري إليه سطا على فبلغ ما قد رام إذ أنت آمر فهنت هذا لفتح فى حصن حمضة ولا زال بعد الفتح فتح، وبعده
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وما زال سبا بن يوسف اليعبرى يصول على الاعداء كالضرغام، ويرمي أعداء الداعي حاتم بن إبراهيم بالحام، وهو فى قومه مطاع، وهم فى عز وامتناع، حتى فتكت به بنو حكم غدرًا، وقتلوه رحمة الله عليه بغيا ونكرا. وفى ذلك يقول الداعي على بن محمد بن الوليد الانف³ من قصيدة يجرى على نغم ثاره، والأخذ بأوتاره — شعر⁴ :

¹ *Ḥamiḍa*, a castle in the Lihāb section of Ḥarāz as it appears from the context here.

² Metre: *aṭ-ṭawīl*.

³ This *qasida* is included in the *Diwān* of Dā'i 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid (ms. Hamdani Collection). It consists of 53 verses and it commences with the following verse:

أبت نكبات الدهر الآت ماديا وأحداث عصر السوء الآت تواليا

The verse quoted in the note on Ya'ābir in the text of the article pp. 281-282, also belongs to this *qasida*.

⁴ Metre: *aṭ-ṭawīl*.

إلى يعرب طرا وبلغ مقاليا
 وصيد حراز الغر اسمع ندائيا
 وبلغ لهايا والتيوم¹ الاقاصيا
 ومن كسبوا العليا وشادوا المبانيا
 وحاكم عدل كان بالحق قاضيا
 لمعضل ما أعىى الرجال الأذاكيا
 ولو كان للموت الزوام ملاقيا
 بلا منة منه ، وما كان حاويا
 فأولاه عفواً بالذى كان جانيا
 وثوروا ولا تفضوا بذاك توانيا
 ولا في اشتداد الأمر يعطي التراخيا
 تنوء بكم ثقلا وعنكم مداريا
 على غدرهم لا يظفرون مواليا
 غدا لقبيح العار والغدر راضيا
 به وغدا للغادرين مضاهيا
 تصيرهم بالمرهفات أضحيا
 عجزتم غدا عاراً على الدهر باقيا
 يكن من الحزن الشديد مكاييا
 بفجر انتصار يستبيح الاعاديا
 ونصراً عزيزاً لا محالة جاريا
 يد الدهر ما غطى دجى الليل ساريا

فيا أيها الغادى تحمل ألوكة
 وخص أباة الضيم ابناء يعبر
 ذرامعجل واخصص كرازا وهوزنا
 [101] وقل يا ذوى الاحلام والفضل والنهى
 أنسيتم سلطانكم ورئيسكم
 ملياً بحكم الشرع والمنع ، فاصلا
 حليف الوفى من ليس ينقض عقده
 ويبذل من دون المحالف نفسه
 وكم غادر فيه تملك أسره
 فلا تهنوا فى تقم ثار ابن يوسف
 فلم يك فيما نا بكم بمقصر
 وما زال حملاً لكل عظيمة
 أجدوا طلاباً للعدو فانهم
 ولم يؤوهم إلا غرور كمثلهم
 تقمص ثوب الحزي والعيب وارتدى
 وشنوا عليهم غارة يعبرية
 وتغسل عن أعراضكم ما لو أنكم
 ودونكموها من نصيح مشارك
 مقيم بليل الوجد يرجو انكشافه
 وإن لكم عوناً من الله فاعلموا
 فلا قرعت من بعد هذا صفاتكم

[102] فقام اليعابر واحتشدوا وقاموا في أخذ الثأر وقعدوا ، والتأم إليهم أحلافهم
 وإخوانهم ، ووافقهم الداعي الأجل حاتم بن إبراهيم ، فحرضهم وأوصاهم
 بالصبر لينالوا غرضهم . فقصدوا بني حكم إلى موضعهم ، وهو أكمة العلو هوزن .
 فالتقوهم بالقتال وقد أمد بني حكم عساكر من المعاندين الابطال ، فطال بينهم
 القتال اشتد ، وتذمر كل يعبرى وتأسد . فدخلوا عليهم دارهم قهراً ، وأحصوهم

¹ *at-tayūm* could not be traced in our geographical sources.

قتلا وأسرا. فلم يشذ الا قليل منهم ممن نجا هاربا بحشاشته ، ونجا تأخر منيته .
 فيقال ان الذى قتل من بنى حكم ذلك اليوم ثلاثمائة رجل. وأسلمت
 النساء والاطفال ، وانتهب ما احتووه من متاع ومال. وأخربوا اكمة العلو ،
 وهى إلى اليوم خراب يباب. وفي ما منحهم الله تعالى من الانتصار واقتضاء
 الأوتار يقول الداعي المجيد على بن محمد بن الوليد قدس الله روحه — شعر ¹ :
 أجل هكذا تقنى العلى والمفاخر وتنقم اوتار ويشار ثائر
 فلا شرفا إلا الذى حيز بالطبى ولا مجد الا ماحوته اليعابر
 أناف لهم مجد على قمة السها بناه لهم صبر ويض بواتر
 حكمن المواضي فى بنى حكم معا بحق فقال العز ذا الحكم جائر
 ألم يقر انبا صالح مع قومه وأن شقي القوم للناق عاقر²
 فدمدم رب العالمين عليهم فبادوا جميعاً شبيهم والاصاغر
 [103] كذلك لما مالت أشقياءها بنو حكم واستحسن الغدر غادر
 فصار سبا مستشهدا بسيوفها هناك وأشقت قاتليه المقادر
 ابادتهم أسياف أبناء يعبر ودارت عليهم بالهلاك الدوائر
 فصيرهم رب السموات عبرة تخاف الذى صاروا إليه العشائر
 وأضحو القى بالقاع صرعى لحتفهم ولم يحممهم من تقمة الله ناصر
 على انهم قد عاضدتهم جحافل على القدر من اشكلهم وعساكر
 فلم تغن عنهم كثرة بل تفرقوا فذلك مأسور وذلك عاثر
 ومنهزم قد أنخب الخوف قلبه ولم يلق ملجا ذاهل العقل حائر
 فيا حبذا يوم أغر أتت به إلينا بقتل الغادرين البشائر
 فعم الورى فى الخافقين سروره فهم حامد لله جهرا وشاكر
 ذرى يعبر ماالمسك إن فاح نشره بأطيب مما عنكم الطرس ناشر
 أبى لكم ان تحملوا الضيم أنكم أباة لكم فاقت وطابت عناصر
 فمالك من غالب قط ان صفت لداعيكم منكم وطابت سرائر

¹ Metre: *at-tawīl*. This *qasida* is included in the *Diwān* of Dā'i 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid. It comprises of 43 verses of which a selected few have been quoted in our text. The first verse of the *qasida* in the *Diwān* is the same as the first verse in our text.

² A reference to the Qur'ānic story of Ṣāliḥ and Thamūd (*sūra: ash-shams*, 91/13).

فلو رستم اقصى المدى لم يفتكم
 فهنئتم النصر العزيز ودمتم
 إذا حاتم عون لكم ومظاهر
 بعز منيع ما ترنم طائر

ولما صار شباب اليعابر بيد الداعي الأجل حاتم بن إبراهيم احكم عمارته ،
 وبنى فى القفلة السفلى وحصنها . لأنها كانت القفلة العليا بنيت أيام الداعي
 الصليحي الأوحده على بن محمد . فأما الجوحب فكانت عمارته من بعد . وسنذكر
 ذلك إذا انتهينا إلى موضع [104] ذكره ، ومن الله المعونة . وكان مقر الداعي حاتم
 ابن إبراهيم فى الخطيب . وعاضده على أمره والقيام بدعوته الداعي الاجل محمد
 ابن طاهر الحارثي ، من بنى الحارث بن كعب ، وهو من بنى محرز بيت رئاستهم ،
 فأقامه الداعي حاتم بن إبراهيم فى صنعاء للدعوة ، وأقام فى كل صقع من
 أصقاع اليمن مأذونا . وواصله أهل الدعوة من السند والهند وأقطار اليمن .
 وتحت الخطيب كهف كبير ، كان يحضر عنده فيه أهل دعوته ، وينشر فيهم
 من علمه وحكمته . وله تأليفات كثيرة فى تصحيح إمامة أمير المؤمنين على بن
 أبى طالب صلى الله عليه ، وتقديمه على الصحابة ، وفى فنون كثيرة من العلم .

وفى أيامه دخل اليمن الملوك بنو أيوب : توران شاه وطغتكين بن أيوب ،
 فتغلبوا على اليمن وغلبوا الملوك والقبائل . والتجأ كثير منهم إلى حراز إلى
 الداعي الحامدى ممن هو على مذهبه ودينه . والداعي محمد بن طاهر منتصب
 للدعوة فى صنعاء غير مكترث بما صار إليه الناس من الجور والاعتداء حتى
 توفى الداعي محمد بن طاهر الحارثي ، أعلى الله قدسه ، فى شهر شوال الكريم
 سنة اربع وثمانين وخمسائه . فأقام الداعي حاتم بن إبراهيم بعده الداعي
 المجيد على بن محمد بن الوليد واعتضد به وصير إليه أمر أهل دعوته . فانتصب
 الداعي الأجل علي بن محمد للدعوة فى صنعاء واستقام ، وقام بأمر المتصلين
 به حق القيام ، وكان [105] يسافر إلى الداعي الأجل حاتم بن إبراهيم
 إلى حراز . وتولى تعليم ولد الداعي حاتم بن إبراهيم ، علي بن حاتم ، حتى
 ارتضاه ، وعرف تبخره فى العلوم التى فيها مائله وساواه . فقال لوالده : إن
 ولدك حرّى أن تجعله فى مقامك ، وتقييمه فى الدعوة ليخلفك بعد انقضاء أيامك .
 فانتقده أبوه واختبره ، ووجده كما نباه الداعي علي بن محمد وأخبره . فأقام ولده

علي بن حاتم للدعوة بعده. وعرضه بالداعي علي بن محمد الأنث وشده. وفي الداعي علي بن حاتم يقول الداعي علي بن محمد، لما صرف أمر الدعوة إليه وعول والده في إقامتها عليه — شعر¹:

أبا حسن أدركت أسنى المطالب
وأصبحت في أفق الديانة أوحداً
ويدراً لشمس الدين مطرح نورها
فهنئتها من نعمة أبدية
حييت بها عند البلوغ مبلغاً
ولا غرو إن جاء النجيب ولادة
يحل بماء القدس طيب أصله
ولم لا وأنت الأصل من فرع دوحة
فجذك إبراهيم والفذ حاتم
فكم نفخا من روح قدس وجليا
وكم انقذا من حيرة وضلالة
[106] وكم هذبا في مذهب الحق أهله
قفوتها دينا ودنيا فأنت من
ولادة جسم طاهر وسلالة
ونور بدا من نور علم كما بدا
فقم فافتح الدنيا وأعلي من الهدى
فشد دعوة للطيب الطهر وانتدب
بحزم وعزم ذي اقتدار مؤيداً
وجد وجد صاعد ونباهة
وعقل وتديير يشيد دعوة
ودمت لدين الله تعالى منارة

وحزت من العليا أجل المراتب
ومعنى المعاني للحدود الاطايب
به يستمد النور زهر الكواكب
مواصلة بالقدس من كل جانب
الى أرفع العليا وأسنى المطالب
من الاصفياء الأكرمين النجائب
صباح مساء فهو منشى الرغائب
تدلى جناها بالثار لراغب²
أبوك أقاما الدين عالي المناصب
بباهر برهان الهدى من غياهب
وكم طوقا من مئة ومواهب
وكم أذهبا في جحده من مذاهب
مصاص لباب الصفو محض الضرائب
لصلب زكي طيب وترائب
عن الضؤ ضؤ شارق غير غارب
مناراً وخذ للحق من كل غاصب
لأمرهم واقصد لكل محارب
بنصر عزيز من إلهك غالب
ورأي سديد ظاهر الرشد صائب
علت، ويفكر صادق الحدس ثاقب
وتهدم ببيان الغواة النواصب

¹ Metre: *aṭ-ṭawīl*. This qasida is included in the *Dīwān* of Dā'i 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid. It consists of 25 verses. The first verse of the qasida in the *Dīwān* is the same as the first verse in our text.

² On the margin of the *Nuzha* and also in the *Dīwān*, this verse reads as follows:

ولم لا وأنت الفرع من دوحة التقى وغصن تدلى بالجنا المتراكب

فعاظيد الداعي علي بن حاتم والده، والداعي علي بن محمد يرافده حتى قضى الله على الداعي حاتم الحامدي، قدس الله روحه، واستكمل عمره، فكانت وفاته، أعلى الله قدسه، في حصن الخطيب بحراز يوم السبت السادس عشر من شهر المحرم أول سنة ست وتسعين وخمسائه. وقبره تحت حصن الخطيب بحراز في بلاد اليعابر.

Dā'i 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid's *Diwān* contains many qasidas in praise of Dā'i Ḥātim, which could not be included here due to the difficulties of Arabic printing.

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