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THE SOUTHERN AREA OF THE AMIRATE OF MECCA (3rd-7th/9th-13th CENTURIES), ITS HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND EPIGRAPHY

by

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

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ABSTRACT

This study has principally centred on the southern area of the amirate of Makkah in the 3rd-7th/9th-12th centuries and comprises four parts. The first part deals with the political situation in the capital, Makkah. It gives a brief survey of the sharifian families in Makkah, the internal affairs and the competition and rivalry for power. There is a discussion too of the transfer of government from one dynasty to another, their relations with the Abbasid caliphs in Iraq, the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt, and later with the Ayyubids who based themselves in Egypt after the demise of the Fatimids. This chapter also gives prominence to the relation of the sharifs of Makkah to the Yemen in three periods: Sulayhid, Ayyubid and early Rasulid.

The second part includes an attempt, based upon personal inquiry on the ground and other research, to deal with the locality of the port of al-Sirrayn, the second largest port of Makkah after Jeddah on the Red Sea, its geographical position, its rise and development, its decline and the economic role it played. This second part also includes an archaeological survey of the site of al-Sirrayn, its residential area, the harbour, the tombs and the only reservoir of water referred to in the sources. It also includes an accurate description of relics found on the ground. Furthermore, it deals with the inhabitants of al-Sirrayn, their origins, occupations, its sharifian rulers and the role played by some of these rulers in Yemeni-Makkan relations in the late period of the Ayyubids and the early period of the Rasulids.

The third part of this study discusses the ᶜAshm settlement and its region, its position, its subservience to Makkah, and the other settlements in this area. This section deals also with the factors which made for the creation of ᶜAshm, its development and its decline, as well as with its inhabitants, their occupations, the history of the ruling dynasty and the history of the gold mine for which it was renowned. It also gives a comprehensive survey of the settlement of ᶜAshm and the other settlements as regards their residential areas, mosques, tombs and the relics found there, scattered on the surface of the ground. The section also studies the style of building found in ᶜAshm in particular. Seven specimens of houses were chosen, in addition to the mosque and the market (sūq) of the town.

The fourth part concentrates upon the Kufic inscriptions, most of which were found on tombstones in the southern area of the amirate of Makkah. Relevant historical facts, the palaeography of the inscriptions in the region under consideration, the scripts and forms of patterns, are also discussed. These inscriptions have been divided, in the course of study, into five sections according to their chronological order, starting from the early inscriptions and ending with the 6th/12th century inscriptions.

This study also contains some appendices covering a number of sites which are believed to have been either part of the southern area of the amirate of Makkah or related to it in one way or another.

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INTRODUCTION

Makkah is well known all over the world. There is within its borders the Kaʿbah, which is the qiblah of all Moslems. In Makkah the Prophet Muḥammad was born and entrusted by God to convey His Word to mankind. It was also in Makkah that the call to Islam came, and it was from it that Islam spread to all parts of the world.

Makkah was one of the political capitals at the dawn of Islam. But soon it lost its political position when the caliphate was transferred to Syria, and later to Iraq. It therefore retained only its religious position. However, Makkah, thanks to the fact that the ʿAlids were able to rally together in it and its environs and to stage repeated revolutions against the ʿAbbasid Caliphate, which they regarded as having usurped their legal rights to the Caliphate, was able to achieve a measure of relative independence from the beginning of the 4th/10th century and to regain something of its earlier political status. It was able to dominate a vast area, extending from al-Furuʿ in the land of B.Sulaym in the north to the borders of Ḥaly b. Yaʿqūb in the south, including al-Ṭāʾif and the famous Hijazi port of Jeddah.

If Makkah, the capital, as well as the northern part of its amirate have been the object of serious study,(1) the southern part has not, as far as I am aware. References to it also in the Arabic sources have been very scanty.

Perhaps this is the main reason why I have chosen to

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(1) E.g. Al-Sulaymān, al-ʿAlāqāt al-Ḥijāziyyah, ʿAnqāwī, the pilgrimage; al-Wohaibi, The Northern Hijaz; Bā Qāsi, Bilād al-Ḥijāz; Mālikī, al-Marāfiq; al-Subāʿī, Tārikh Makkah.

write about this topic, to which I have given the title: "The southern area of the Amirate of Makkah (3rd-7th/ 9th-13th centuries), its history, archaeology and epigraphy."

The southern area of the amirate of Makkah is in the Tihāmī region, which extends from the south of Makkah in the north as far as Wadi Qanūnā in the south, and from the Red Sea coast in the west to the borders of al-Sarawāt in the east. Today this region constitutes the amirate of al-Līth and part of the amirate of al-Qunfidah, both of which belong to the present amirate of Makkah.

The region comprises a number of large wadis which extend from the mountains of al-Sarawāt and pour into the Red Sea. They are called Yalamlam, Līth, al-Shāqqatayn, Dawqah, Qarmā, Nāwān, la-Ḥsabah,(2) Qanūnā and Ḥaly; in addition to these there are a number of small wadis. Around these wadis there are villages which bustle with life and activity. Across this region there is the most important Yemeni pilgrim route to Makkah; it is called al-Jāddah al-Sulṭāniyyah; on it are seven famous stations, the chief of which are Qarmā, al-Sirrayn and Yalamlam. There are also, in this region, a number of Islamic settlements; the most important of them are ᶜAshm, Masᶜūdah and la-Ḥsabah. In addition to these is the port of al-Sirrayn, the second most important port of Makkah, after Jeddah.(3) This study deals

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(2) This place is attested in literary Arabic sources as al-Ḥsabah or Allaḥsabah, but the local inhabitants call it la-Ḥsabah and I have chosen to keep this form of the name. Since the colloquial word begins with the two consonants (ḤS), the definite article becomes l and a euphonic (anaptyctic) a vowel is introduced between the article and the word, hence la-Ḥsabah.

(3) Cf. Maps no.1 and np.2 below.

with these settlements and the port of al-Sirrayn which are a part of the amirate of Makkah.

This study covers four centuries, starting from the 3rd/9th century to which the oldest inscriptions belong, 239/853-4, and ends around the middle of the 7th/13th century, coinciding with the death of the most important ruler of the region, Rājiḥ b. Qatādah in the year 654/1256. However, the fourth part comprises a study of some inscriptions which probably belong, from the palaeographic point of view, to the second century. They are dealt with as the essential sources that they are. This thesis includes an objective study of the history, archaeology and epigraphy of the region. It deals historically with the rise of these settlements, their governors and inhabitants and their occupations, as well as the role of the amirate in the relations between Makkah and the Yemen. The historical portion of the study includes also a short résumé of the history of Makkah, the capital of the whole amirate, and the relations of its sharifs with their neighbours. Without this discussion of the role of the metropolis, any study of this sort would be incomplete.

With regard to the archaeology of the area, mention should be made of the fact that this study is based on a preliminary survey of the remains found in these settlements, such as walls of houses and mosques and what was found on the surface by way of fragments of pottery, glass and millstones. This aspect of the study is based on fieldwork which lasted approximately six months, during which I carried out small-scale excavations by using soundings in order to

discover walls concealed by sand dunes, especially in the site of al-Sirrayn.

This study also includes about 71 inscriptions which were collected from the settlements concerned, in addition to two inscriptions which were discovered in other neighbouring settlements. They have been included in this thesis for the purpose of comparison.

I must at this point refer to the sources upon which I have relied in preparing this research. Foremost among them are the aforementioned archaeological remains which are in the main far more reliable than literary sources. Mention should be made, in the first place, of the funerary and literary inscriptions recorded on them. Thanks to them I have been able to ascertain numerous facts about the political, cultural and socio-economic history of the amirate. We further mention the literary sources which are next in importance. In preparing this study I have relied on a great number of literary sources, the most important being those written by the Arab geographers, such as Ṣūrat al-Arḍ by Ibn Ḥawqal, Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm by al-Maqdisī, al-Mamālik wa-'l-Masālik by al-Bakrī and Mu^{c}jam al-Buldān by Yāqūt. In spite of inaccuracies in these writings concerning the location of certain places, they have provided us with useful information. As a result of this information it has been possible through field work to determine accurately the locations concerned.

Next I should mention general history books such as Tārīkh al-Rusul wa-'l-Mulūk by al-Ṭabarī, al-Muntaẓam by

Ibn al-Jawzī and al-Kāmil by Ibn al-Athīr. These books have been particularly useful to me especially from the historical standpoint. I have also benefitted from Arabic poetry, both the poetry recorded in the Dīwāns such as Dīwān Abī Khirāsh al-Hudhalī and Dīwān Abī Dahbal al-Jumaḥī, together with Arabic poetry which is scattered in Arabic geographical sources. Arabic poetry has preserved the names of certain Tihāmī places and their location.

Other sources of an encyclopaedic nature have been also useful, such as ᶜIqd al-Jumān by Badr al-Dīn al-ᶜAynī, Masālik al-Abṣār by al-ᶜUmarī and Ṣubḥ al-Aᶜshā by al-Qalqashandī. This is in addition to books of genealogy such as Jamharat ansab al-ᶜArab by Ibn Ḥazm, al-Ansāb by al-Samᶜānī, al-Ikmāl by Ibn Mākūlā and ᶜUmdat al-Ṭālib by Ibn ᶜInabah. These books have been useful in identifying the names of tribes and places covered by this study.

There are also specialist books which deal with history of a particular town or country. These are numerous and are either Yemeni or Makkan. The Yemeni books include Bahjat al-Zaman by Ibn ᶜAbd al-Majīd, al-Simṭ al-Ghālī al-Thaman by Ibn Ḥātim, al-Sulūk by al-Janadī and al-ᶜAsjad al-Masbūk by al-Khazrajī. Makkan books include al-ᶜIqd al-Thamīn and Shifāʾ al-Gharām by al-Fāsī, Itḥāf al-Warā by Ibn Fahd, Manāʾiḥ al-Karam by al-Sinjārī and Simṭ al-Nujūm al-ᶜAwālī by al-ᶜIṣāmī. To this group belong also other books specializing in the Makkan pilgrimage such as Durar al-Fawāʾid al-Munaẓẓamah by al-Jazīrī and Ḥusn al-Ṣafāʾ waʾl-Ibtihāj by al-Rashīdī. These books have been very useful.

Other modern works which have been particularly relevant to the first chapter of this study include Tārīkh Makkah by al-Subāᶜī, al-ᶜAlāqāt al-ᶜArabiyyah by Abū Saᶜīd and my own M.A. thesis, "Makkah wa-ᶜAlāqātuhā al-Khārijiyyah."

With the exception of the reference made by Ḥamad al-Jāsir in his Majallat al-ᶜArab under the title of "Bilād al- Arab fī baᶜḍ Muʾallafāt ᶜUlāmāʾ al-Andalus waʾl-Maghrib"(3) and also the reference made by ᶜAbd al-Muḥsin al-Ḥusaynī in his article on "al-Aqsām al-Jughrāfiyyah li-Jazīrat al-ᶜArab," the only reference to the port of al-Sirrayn is that mentioned in my thesis, "Makkah wa-ᶜAlāqātuhā al-Kharijiyyah," which was submitted in 1398/1978 to the University of Riyadh for the M.A. degree, although it did not include an accurate inquiry into the location of al-Sirrayn. With regard to the other settlements, they have not been mentioned, to the best of my knowledge, in any modern published work to date. These sites were unknown to researchers before the summer of 1398/1978 when I visited these places and identified their locations. This encouraged me to research further and to choose these sites as the subject for this study.

It is perhaps appropriate to mention, in this connection, the interest of Mr. Hasan al-Faqīh, deputy director of the education management of al-Qunfidah, in the history of Tihamāh concerning which he has built up a private archive. He has also published in al-Madinah newspaper, 1402/1982, four articles on the location of al-Sirrayn which were re-published in Majallat al-ᶜArab in 1403/1983.

The last chapter of this study has relied upon another group of works which have been published by modern writers, dealing with Kufic inscriptions. The most important of this group is Catalogue Général Du Musée Arabe Du Caire mostly by Gaston Wiet and others, La Necropoli Islamica Di Dahlak Kebir by G. Oman and Expédition Philby-Ryckmans-Lippens en Arabie by A. Grohmann. A good number of references and periodicals have also been used and are listed at the end of this study.

Eventually, we express the hope that this study will serve as a pioneer piece of research and generate other studies on the history of this unknown region.

PART I

The Political Situation in the Capital, Makkah, Until the Death of al-Malik al-Mas^{c}ūd 626/1229

CHAPTER 1

ʿAlids prior to the rise of the Sharifian dynasties in Makkah

- The early attempts by the sharifs to establish independent rule in Makkah.

- Makkah prior to the rise of the Musawids

The early attempts by the sharifs to establish independent rule in Makkah

Alid sharifs are descendants of the fourth Caliph ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, the cousin of the Prophet Muḥammad. They firmly believe that they are the rightful heirs to the caliphate, and that their right was usurped by the Umayyads. Because of this they frequently rebelled, their aim being to depose the Umayyad rulers and to regain their usurped rights. However, all these attempts met with failure and many Alids were killed fighting their enemy, the Umayyads.(1)

As for the Abbasids, history does not record any noticeable, positive and effective co-operation with their cousins, the Alids, during their early struggle against the Umayyads. Yet one of the Abbasid leaders, Muḥammad b. ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-ᶜAbbās managed to obtain a directive from Abū Hāshim b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyyah, who was of sufficient importance to pronounce on the Alid's right to the caliphate. (2) This took place when Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah felt that he was breathing his last breath, after he had been poisoned in 98/716. (3) Thus the Abbasids were able to make use of this directive to realise a political objective and their own desire for the caliphate. They also succeeded in winning over the masses to their side, who had previously been loyal and obedient to the Alids because of their

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(1) For further details of the Alid revolts during the Umayyad regime, see al-Aṣfahānī, Maqātil, 78-169; al-Qādī al-Nuᶜmān, Sharḥ f.1a-5b, 38a; Ibn Badrān, Tahdhīb, IV,31ff.,VI,15ff.

(2) Ibn Saᶜd, Ṭabaqāt, V,240-1; Khalīfah, Tārīkh, 316, Al-Yaᶜqūbī, Tārīkh, III, 40-1; al-Masᶜūdī, al-Tanbīh, 292; al-Aṣfahānī, Maqātil; 126:

(3) Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, al-Fakhrī, 143; Surūr, al-Ḥayāt, 132.

slogan "li-'l-riḍā min āl Muḥammad, (to gain the approval of Muḥammad's Family)." (4) Moreover, they based their claim on the fact that they were defending Ahl al-Bayt, and regaining their usurped rights.

When the Abbasids succeeded in putting an end to the Umayyad state in 132/750, (5) and Abū 'l-ʿAbbās al-Saffāḥ (132-136/750-754) became caliph, he proclaimed the establishment of an ʿAbbasid hereditary state which claimed that they ,the Abbasids,had a right to the caliphate rather than the ʿAlids. (6)

The Alids felt bitter disappointment as they believed that the Abbasids had usurped their own right to the caliphate, and they were thus no different from the Umayyads. (7) Indeed they were even more cruel because they had pursued with them a policy of deceit and treachery. (8) Thus the Alids became hostile from the outset and this hostility found expression in the eruption of many revolts in the Hijaz, some of which shook the very foundations of the Abbasid state.

Perhaps, the first and the most crucial of those revolts was the one led by Muḥammad b.ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, called al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah (9) He

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(4) Al-Ṭabarī; Tārīkh, VII, 379-80; H.Ibrāhīm,Tārīkh, II,13.

(5) Al-Dīnawarī, al-Akhbār, 370.

(6) Al-Yaʿqūbī, Tārīkh, III, 86-8; al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, VII, 425,428; al-Khuḍarī, al-Dawlah, 1, 129.

(7) Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, VII, 567; Ibn Badrān, Tahdhīb,VII, 242ff.

(8) Al-Aṣfahānī, Maqātil, 179 ff and Passim; al-Yaʿqūbī, Tārīkh, 111, 105, 110, Passim.

(9) Al-Masʿūdī, Murūj,111,306; Ibn ʿInabah, ʿUmdat,84-5; Cf.Table No.I below.

refused to give the oath of allegiance to al-Saffāḥ, and left Makkah in 136/754. (10) He hid himself thereafter from the eyes of the Abbasids and their supporters. The Abbasids were not able to pursue him because they were engaged in the initial tasks necessary for the establishment of their state. Abū Jaᶜfar al-Manṣūr (136-158/754-775) on becoming caliph, managed to pressurize the family of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah and the latter was compelled to emerge from his hiding in 145/762. (11) The first step taken by al-Manṣūr against the new rebel was to engage him in political correspondence. Each one wrote to the other letters which were considered among the finest in literary style ever written. (12) As a political solution could not be found, Abū Jaᶜfar dispatched an army under the leadership of his heir apparent, ᶜĪsā b. Mūsā. This army, moreover, was led by the cream of Abbasid commanders, who managed to kill Muḥammad in Ramaḍān of the same year. (13) They captured Medina, and then set out for Makkah, whose ruler, al-Ḥasan b. Muᶜāwiyah, fled to Basra to join Ibrāhīm b. ᶜAbd Allāh, the brother of Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah, 145/762. (14)

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(10) Al-Aṣfahānī, Maqātil, 173-7; al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, VII, 517-8; al-ᶜIṣamī, Simṭ, IV, 154, al-Subāᶜī, Tarīkh, I, 132.

(11) Al-Yaᶜqūbī, Tārīkh, III, 110; al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, I, 132.

(12) Al-Mubarrad, al-Kāmil, 313 ff; al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, VII, 566 ff; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, V, 5-7; Fāruq, "al-Rasā'il", V, 22 ff.

(13) Al-Aṣfahanī, Maqātil, 267-71; al-Yaᶜqūbī, Tārīkh, III, 111-2; al-Qāḍī al-Nuᶜmān, Sharḥ, f55a-6b; Ibn ᶜInabah, ᶜUmdat, 85.

(14) Ibn Kathīr, al-Bidāyah, X, 90; al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 162.

When al-Manṣūr had succeeded in quelling the rebellion, he delegated the affairs of Makkah to his uncle, ᶜAbd al-Ṣamad b. ᶜAlī, who persecuted the Alids and their followers.(15) That angered the Makkans greatly and they abused him in their poetry.(16) As a result he stepped up his opposition to the Alid cause. (17) This in turn led to the stabilization of affairs inside Makkah, which witnessed successive rulers from the Abbasid house. They tightened their grip over the town and exercised direct centralized rule. At the turn of the year 169/785 there was an Alid revolt against the Caliph al-Hādī (169-170/785-786) led by al-Ḥusayn b. ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.(18) He expelled the Abbasid ruler of Medina, and captured it, whereupon his supporters gave him the oath of allegiance. He called for the freeing of slaves, believing that their bondage was not supported by Islamic law and gave the command publicly that "any slave who comes to us is free." (19) This policy of freeing slaves might have been motivated by his desire to get their support and to attract them to his side. Then he set out for Makkah, but before entering it he was met by an Abbasid army at Fakhkh.

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(15) Ibn Ẓahīrah, al-Jāmiᶜ, 181; al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, I, 124-5.

(16) Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbih, al-ᶜIqd, V, 88; Ibn Qutaybah, al-Shiᶜr, II, 761.

(17) Khalīfah, Tārīkh, 440; al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, 11, 125.

(18) Ibn ᶜInabah, ᶜUmdat, 149. Cf. Table No.I below.

(19) Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, VIII, 195; al-Fāsī, Shifā', II, 179; Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, al-Fakhrī, 190.

He was killed with one hundred of his men at the end of 169/785-6. (20) This catastrophe was so devastating that it was said: "Next to Karbalā' no disaster was more devastating and agonizing than that of Fakhkh." (21)

During the reign of al-Ma'mūn (198-218/813-833), another revolt erupted under the leadership of the dā'ī of the Alids, al-Sirrī b. Manṣūr al-Shaybānī, (22) who took control of some regions of Iraq and sent an army to Makkah in 199/814 led by al-Ḥusayn al-Afṭas. (23) He managed to expel the Abbasid ruler Dā'ūd b. ʿĪsā, and they left for Jeddah and looted it. (24) Then he returned to Makkah, whereupon he was told of the sudden death of Muḥammad b. Ṭabāṭabā, al-Ḥusayn elected Muḥammad b. Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir, known al-Dībājah, in Rabīʿ I 200/815. (25) Thus, Makkah became the headquarters of this revolution. However the leaders treated the inhabitants brutally, which led al-Ma'mūn to send an army which evacuated them from Makkah in Jumādā II, 200/815. (26) This revolt had no sooner subsided than Makkah was the target of another revolt in 202/817. It emanated from the Yemen

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(20) Ibn Qutaybah, al-Maʿārif, 166; al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, Sharḥ, f. 57 a-b.

(21) Al-Masʿūdī, Murūj, I, 126; Ibn ʿInabah, ʿUmdat, 150.

(22) The daʿwah was for Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Tabātabā b. Ismāʿīl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat, 43; Ibn ʿAbd al-Majīd, Bahjat, 24; Ibn ʿInabah, ʿUmdat, 141.

(23) Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat, 53.

(24) Ibn Ẓahīrah, al-Jāmiʿ, 183; al-Subāʿī, Tārīkh, I, 128.

(25) Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, VIII, 537; al-ʿIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 189.

(26) Khalīfah, Tārīkh, 470; al-Fāsī, Shifā', II, 182.

and was led by Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim, who occupied Makkah, killed its ruler and persecuted the supporters of the Abbasids. (27) The crucial aspect of that revolt was that it came from the Yemen, which was the first attempt ever by that country in Islamic history, to invade Makkah. However, it resulted in two important developments. Firstly, al-Maʾmūn bestowed a fief (iqtāʿ) Tihāmat al-Yaman on Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-Sufyānī. (28) Perhaps this was to avert any threat that might come to the Hijaz from the Yemeni side.(29) Secondly, al-Maʾmūn surrendered and submitted to the Alid cause, by appointing an Alid ruler, ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan. (30) This might have come as the result of a policy charted out by al-Maʾmūn, which aimed to bring him close to the Alids.(31) Alternatively he might have wanted to silence the Hasanids in Makkah and to curry favour with their supporters. Whatever the reasons, matters were back to normal in Makkah under the new ruler, ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan, who held this post until 209/824-5. (32)

Thus, we can see how al-Maʾmūn's policy was to calm down the revolts of the sharifs in Makkah and to pave

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(27) Al-Fāsī; Shifāʾ, II, 184; al-ʿIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 190.

(28) Ibn ʿAbd al-Majīd, Bahjat, 25; al-Ashraf, Fākihat, f.18a-b; Ibn Asir, al-Jawhar, f.7 a-b; al-Janadī, al-Sulūk, f.28b.

(29) Ibn Khaldūn, al-ʿIbar, IV, 213, cf.al-Janadī, al-Sulūk, f.29a.

(30) Al-Fāsī, Shifāʾ, II, 184.

(31) Al-Maʾmūn appointed ʿAlī al-Ridā as his heir apparent, changed the state colour to green and married his daughter, Umm al-Faḍl to Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-Riḍā, Cf.al-Masʿūdī, Muruj, IV, 28.

(32) Al-Fāsī, Shifāʾ, II, 184; Daḥlān, Khulāṣat, 10ff.

the way for the new rulers who ruled Makkah on behalf of his successors, al-Muᶜtaṣim (218-227/833-842), al-Wāthiq (227-232/842-847), al-Mutawakkil (232-247/847-861) etc. However, the Abbasid Caliphs suffered from the weakness and deterioration of the time, due to Turkish interference in their domestic affairs, the escalation of disobedience, and the rebellious movements in provinces of the Abbasid state. (33)

These developments caused the emergence of a new Alid rebel in Makkah, Ismāᶜīl b. Yūsuf, who managed to occupy it in 251/865, and to expel its ruler, Jaᶜfar b. al-Faḍl al-ᶜAbbāsī. (34) Moreover, he looted all the money in the coffers of the Kaᶜbah and occupied Medina and Jeddah. (35) The Caliph al-Muᶜtazz (250-255/866-869) sent an army to Makkah, but it was not able to overcome Ismāᶜīl, who, however, died of smallpox in 252/866. (36) He was succeeded in the leadership of the revolt by his brother, Muḥammad al- Ukhaydir. However, the Makkans withdrew their support from him owing to his bad reputation, so he set out for al-Yamāmah where he founded the nucleus of the state of B. al- Ukhaydir, with al-Khiḍramah as his base. (37)

Historical sources do not furnish us with any data

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(33) Cf. al-Khazrajī, al-ᶜIqd, f.71 a-b; Abū Saᶜīd, ᶜAṣr, 193 ff; Shalabi; al-Tarikh, IV, 41.H.Ibrāhīm, Tārīkh,II,193ff.

(34) Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, IX, 346-7; al-Qarmānī, Akhbār, 224.

(35) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, V, 330; al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ,IV,190-1.

(36) Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, IX, 372; Ibn Khaldūn, al-ᶜIbar,IV,98.

(37) Al-Masᶜūdī, Murūj, IV, 180; Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat, 46; al-Qarmanī, Akhbār, 224; al-Shibl, "al-Dawlah", VI,460ff.

concerning any local Alid revolt that might have erupted after the death of Ismā^{c}īl b. Yūsuf, except that Makkah was affected by an Alid revolt that took place outside its borders. (38) It was the revolt of the Zanj (255-270/868 - 883), which was led by ^{c}Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, whose propaganda spread in the south of Iraq. (39) The rebels captured Makkah and caused great suffering there. However, Abū Ahmad al-Muwaffaq (d.278/891) succeeded in expelling ^{c}Alī from Makkah. (40)

We notice from this summary of the Alid revolts in the Hijaz that none met with success. It is possible that the reason was to be attributed to the importance of the Holy Places to the Abbasid caliphate, for they would always rush to quell any Alid revolt there, even in times of weakness. However, the end of the 3rd/9th century witnessed political changes which helped the success of the Alids in Makkah. Certain Shī^{c}ī movements which emerged in the Arabian Peninsula sympathized with the descendants of ^{c}Alī, in some way or other, or at least had one common objective with the Alids, namely the ending of the Abbasid state.

In the eastern part of Arabia the Qarmathians established their state in al-Aḥsā', then their influence

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(38) Al-Ṭabarī, Tārīkh, IX, 410ff; al-Subā^{c}ī, Tārīkh, I, 148.

(39) Al-Tabarī, Tārīkh, IX, 431ff; Ibn Asīr, al-Jawhar, f.13a; al ^{c}Abd al-Qādir, Tuḥfat, 82. The sourses available do not list the leader of this revolt among the Alids. They simply claim that he was of B. ^{c}Abd al-Qays Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat, 56-7; Ibn Khaldūn, al-^{c}Ibar, IV, 18; Ibn ^{c}Inabah, ^{c}Umdat, 232.

(40) Al-Fāsī, Shifā', 11, 190; al-Subā^{c}ī, Tārīkh, 1, 148.

spread to cover Ḥajr, al-Yamāmah, and Southern Iraq. (41) They managed to cut Iraq's communications with Makkah for some time. (42) In the Yemen the dāᶜī, Abū ʾl-Qāsim b. Ḥawshab (d.302/914) and his colleague ᶜAlī b. al-Faḍl al-Jadanī (d.303/915), succeeded in establishing an Ismāᶜīlī state in ᶜAdan Lāᶜah and in the mountainous Yāfiᶜ territory, heralding the appearance of the Fatimid Mahdī and putting the case for him. (43) As for northern and eastern Yemen, it fell under the state of the B. al-Rassī, the Zaydīs, who had established it in 284/897. (44) In North Africa the first Fatimid state hostile to the Abbasids emerged in 296/909. (45) Though it was far removed from the developments in Makkah, it did influence, in one way or other, the balance of forces in the Hijazi arena.

Makkah prior to the rise of the Musawids

While these events were taking place, a group of Alids of B. Sulaymān b. ᶜAbd Allāh managed to achieve

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(41) Ibn Sinān, Akhbār, 13; Idrīs, Kanz, f.7b; al-Khazrajī, al-ᶜIqd, f.71b; āl ᶜAbd āl-Qādir, Tuḥfat, 83ff.

(42) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, VI, 170-191.

(43) Al-Qādī al-Nuᶜmān, Iftitāḥ, 115; al-Yamānī, "Sīrat Jaᶜfar", IV, 115; al-Janadī, al-Sulūk, f. 30a-30b; al-Shahrī, al-Wasīṭ, 34; al-Khazrajī , al-Kifāyah, f.30b-31a.. Abbas, "Evolution", 86.

(44) Al-ᶜAlawī, Sīrat, 41; al-Muḥallī, al-Ḥadāʾiq, f.22a-b; Ibn ᶜAbd al-Majīd, Bahjat, 41; al-ᶜUmarī, Masālik,59; Ibn al-Qāsim, Ghāyat, I, 167-8. Ibn Khaldūn mentions that it was established in 288/901.Cf. ᶜIbar,IV,111.

(45) Al-Qādī al-Nuᶜmān, Iftitāḥ, 299; O'Leary,Short History 68ff.

independence in Makkah. (46) Their leader, Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, renounced his obedience to the Abbasids during the pilgrimage of 301/913 and preached in his own name, saying: "Thanks be to God who re-established right, made the flowers of the Faith blossom and complimented the da^{c}wah of the best of the Prophets by his grandsons, not his cousins. God's prayers be upon him and his pure family, and may God spare them with his blessings the aggression of aggressors, and may His word live forever in his descendants until the day of the Judgement." (47)

The sources do not enlighten us as to the destiny of the movement, whether it was to remain in Makkah or whether it was suppressed. It seems that it did not enjoy sufficient authority, nor were the events of its rule sufficiently clear to attract the attention of historians to it, hence the silence of the sources. Whatever the destiny of this attempt at achieving power and in spite of its obscurity, it was highly significant in that it proved that the Makkans were looking forward to the day when they would secure independence for their city, by freeing it from Abbasid dominance and placing it instead under the rule of a local Alid family. (48) Also it had far reaching political significance in the history of the Abbasid - Fatimid struggle to dominate Makkah, which attracted the attention of Abū ʾl-Qāsim (d.335/948), the Fatimid heir apparent, and encouraged

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(46) Al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, IV, 267-8; al-^{c}Iṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 192; al-Zayla^{c}ī, "^{c}Alaqat", 15; cf. Table No. I below.

(47) Ibn Khaldūn, al-^{c}Ibar, IV, 99; Surūr, al-Nufūdh, 10-11.

(48) Abū Sa^{c}īd, al-^{c}Alāqāt, 326.

him to write to the people of Makkah in 307/919 asking them to follow him. However, the people of Makkah did not heed his call. (49) This refusal highlights the drive towards independence which stirred the leaders of the Holy City, a drive implied in their reply to Abū ʾl-Qāsim, "This house has its God to defend it." (50)

However, this independence was destined to prove short-lived. Abū Ṭāhir the Qarmathian attacked Makkah in Dhu ʾl-Ḥijjah, 317/January, 930, and put an end to the emerging amirate. (51) Moreover he killed the sharif of Makkah, who might have been Muḥammad b. Sulaymān, and a large number of its inhabitants and visiting pilgrims and filled the well of Zamzam with their bodies. He dislodged the portal of the Holy House and everything inside the Kaʿbah, pulpits, trappings and gold and silver ornaments. Also he dislodged the Black Stone and carried it away to his residence in Hajr. He stripped the cloth trappings of the Holy Shrine and divided it among his friends. He took to looting and the shedding of innocent blood. This resulted in a terrible, indiscriminate massacre of the inhabitants, both male and female. (52) Whatever the nature and outcome of that massacre,

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(49) Al-Qurṭubī, Ṣilat, 43, al-Zaylaʿī, "ʿAlāqāt." 16.

(50) Al-Qurṭubī, Ṣilat, 43; Abū Saʿīd, al-ʿAlāqāt, 327.

(51) Al-Qalqashandī, Maʾāthir, I, 279; al-Bustāmī, al-Fawāyih, f.64a; al-Ṭabarī, al-Arj, f.35b; O'Leary, Short History, 86.

(52) Al-Masʿūdī, al-Tanbīh, 334; Al-Dhahabī, Duwal, I, 151; al-Khazrajī, al-ʿIqd, f.69b; Abū ʾl-Baqāʾ, Aḥwāl, f.63a; O'Leary, Short history, 85; al-ʿĀmirī, Ghirbal, f. 77b.

Abū Ṭāhir preached during the pilgrimage in the name of his master ᶜUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī (296-322/909-933) in Makkah. (53) Then he went back to al-Aḥsā', laden with the spoils of the war, including the Black Stone. (54) But no sooner had ᶜUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī heard the news of the catastrophe which had befallen the Holy House than he wrote to Abū Ṭāhir expressing indignation at his deeds. (55) Moreover, he demanded that the latter return the Black Stone and whatever he had taken from Makkah and added, "And if you do not carry out my orders, then the only alternative is the sword and my excommunicating you, who are the enemy of God and all people." (56) Abū Ṭāhir wrote back to al-Mahdī apologizing to him for not returning the Black Stone, and he said : "We took it by order and by order we shall return it." (57)

Abū Ṭāhir's control of Makkah continued. He imposed an economic blockade along the pilgrim road from Iraq and

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(53) Ibn Khaldūn, al-ᶜIbar, IV, 100; al-Qalqashandī, Subḥ. IV, 268. Some historians believe that the real name of ᶜUbayd Allāh al-Mahdī is Saᶜīd. But when he appeared, he proclaimed the name of ᶜAbd Allāh or ᶜUbayd Allāh. Cf. al-Hamdānī, Fī Nasab, 1, 19, 22 and 11 in the Arabic text. For the name ᶜAbd Allāh, cf. al-Qāḍī al- Nuᶜman, Iftitāḥ, 293-5; al-Iskandarānī, al-Ilmām, IV, 30.

(54) Al-Ḥamādī, Kashf, 20; Idrīs, Kanz, f.13a.

(55) Al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 193-4; al-Nahrawālī, al- Iᶜlām, 160.

(56) Ibn Sinān, Akhbār, 55. Idrīs, Kanz, f.13a.

(57) Ibn ᶜAbd al-Shakūr, Risālah, f.50a; al-Asadī, Kitāb Akhbār f.11 b; O'Leary, Short History, 86.

rejected an Abbasid offer in 322/933 to sanction his control over various regions, to release assistance for him from Basra, but asking him at the same time to return the Black Stone to its original place and preach in the name of the caliph. (58) Abū Ṭāhir rejected the offer, but allowed the pilgrims to reach Makkah in return for a payment for their safety. (59) The Abbasids even went to the extent of offering the Qarmathians 50,000 dinars to return the Black Stone. The Qarmathians rejected the offer, though they soon returned it to Makkah in 339/950. (60)

The disappearance of Abbasid influence from Makkah however, did not last for long, as they had their opportunity in the rising star of Muḥammad b. Ṭughj al-Ikhshīdī (d. 334/946) who ruled Egypt and Syria on their behalf. He had proved his mettle in thwarting Fatimid attacks on Egypt, whereupon the Abbasid Caliph, al-Muttaqī (329-333/940-944), rewarded him by appointing him ruler of Egypt and Syria, adding the two Holy Places in 332/943. (61) This would also apply to his descendants, his two sons Abū ʾl-Qāsim Anūjūr (d. 349/960) and Abū ʾl-Ḥasan ᶜAlī (d.355/966), under the guardianship of Kāfūr the eunuch (d.357/967). (62)
We here note that the designation of the Ikhshidids as rulers of Makkah at that time, after the death of Abū Ṭāhir al-Qarmaṭī,

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(58) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, V, 242.

(59) Al-Maqrīzī, Ittiᶜāẓ, 1, 183-184; Ibn Khaldūn, al-ᶜIbar, IV, 100.

(60) Al-Dhahabī, Duwal, 111, 160; al-Tabarī, al-Arj ,f.35a; al-Khazrajī, alᶜIqd, f69b; Esin, Mecca, 169.

(61) Al-Ṣabbāgh, Taḥṣīl, f.214b; Mitz, al-Ḥaḍārah, I,71.

(62) Ibn Saᶜīd, al-Maghrib, I, 172.

split among the latter's successors had its own political significance. Adding Makkah to Ibn Ṭughj, who had showed unusual bravery in repelling the Fatimids, supporters of the Qarmathians, from Egypt, meant he would ensure for Makkah ample protection in case it experienced another Qarmathian insurrection. Whatever the reasons behind the assignment, it was more a theoretical contract than actual practice. (63) Ibn Ṭughj had appointed Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan B. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz al-ᶜAbbāsī as his deputy in 333/944. (64) It seems that the Ikhshīdids succeeded in imposing their administration over Makkah and things were back to normal. The Makkans were satisfied with their affiliation to Egypt, as this meant economic assistance for their city. History tells us of the economic dependence of the Hijaz on Egypt through the centuries. On the other hand the Egyptians were keen to extend their influence to the Holy Places because of their moral influence, not to mention their religious status, in all corners of the Islamic world. (65) Besides, their domination over the Hijaz safeguarded for them the trade route through the Red Sea, and this would be guaranteed by placing under their own control the eastern side of the Red Sea, namely the Hijaz region. (66) The Ikhshīdī's rule over Makkah

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(63) Al-Fāsī, Shifāʾ, II, 193; Ibn Ẓahīrah, al-Jāmiᶜ, 189; Kāshif, Miṣr, 90-1. For the split among Abū Ṭāhir's successor; cf. Ibn Khaldūn, al-ᶜIbar, IV, 90

(64) Al-Ṣabbāgh, Taḥṣīl, f.215a.

(65) For an idea of the high esteem held by the Ikhshidids, see the letter of Muḥammad b. Ṭughj al-Ikhshīdī to Armanus, Emperor of the Byzantines. Cf. al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, IV, 10-18.

(66) Al-Zaylaᶜī, "ᶜAlāqāt," 34.

was not direct or centralized, but he kept some local leaders in Makkah from among the sharifs who thus enjoyed their semi-independence. (67) This explains their cooperation with the Ikhshīdī in repelling an attack on Makkah mounted by the Medinese sharifs of B. Muḥannā, the Ḥusaynids. This attack was planned by the supporters of the Fatimids in a bid to capture Makkah and to preach the message of the Fatimids. However the people of Makkah, under the leadership of the Hasanid Sharifs faced the invaders and prevented them from capturing Makkah. Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī appreciated the noble stand which was taken by the Makkans, and accordingly carefully looked after the City and bestowed material assistance on it. (68)

Ikhshīdīd sovereignty was maintained over Makkah, till it was conquered by the leader of the Musawid family, led by Jaᶜfar b. Muḥammad, towards the end of the Ikhshīdīd era. It took no time for him to preach in the name of al- Muᶜizz al-Fāṭimī (342-363/953-974). This will be the subject of the following pages.

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(67) Al-Qūṣī, "Tijārat", 71.

(68) Al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, IV, 269; al-Zaylaᶜī, "ᶜAlāqāt". 37.

Table No 1

Early Alid Revolutionaries in Makkah

- ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib
  - Al-Husayn al-Sibt
    - ᶜAlī Zayn al-ᶜĀbidīn
      - Muḥammad al-Bāqir
        - Jaᶜfar al-Ṣādiq
          - Muḥammad al-Dībājah (200/817) (1)
          - Mūsā al-Kāẓim
            - Ibrāhīm (202/) (2)
  - Al-Ḥasan al-Sibt
    - Al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā
      - Al-Ḥasan al-Muthallath
        - ᶜAlī al-Akbar
          - Al-Husayn (169/785-6)
      - ᶜAbd Allāh al-Maḥḍ
        - Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyyah (145/762)
        - Mūsā al-Jūn
          - ᶜAbd Allāh
            - Sulaymān
              - Dā'ūd
                - Abū 'l-Fātik ᶜAbd Allāh
                  - ....(4)
                    - Sulaymān
                      - Muḥammad (301/913)
                  - ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān (Sulaymanids) (8)
            - Mūsā al-Thānī (Musawids, Hashimids and B. Qatādah)(3)
          - Ibrāhīm
            - Yūsuf al-Ukhaydir
              - Muḥammad (B. al-Ukhaydir of al-Yamāmah)(5)
              - Ismāᶜīl (251/865)
      - Ibrāhīm al-Ghamr
        - Ismāᶜīl al-Dībāj
          - Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā
            - Muḥammad(5) (199/865)
            - Al-Qāsim al-Rassī (7) (The Zaydī Imams of the Yemen)

1. Cf. no.7 below.

2. This revolt came from the Yemen and both nos.1 and 2, among other attempts of the Alids in Makkah, led by the Husaynids though the first leader of No.1 was a Hasanid.

3. Cf. Ibn ᶜInabah, ᶜUmdat, 108-12; al-Samarqandī, Tuḥfat, the geneology of Mūsā al-Jūn; al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, I, 173; Cf. Tables nos.2,4 and 5 below.

4. The ancestor of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān is not mentioned in Ibn Ḥazm Jamhart, 47 al-ᶜIṣāmi, Simt 192. He might have been Muḥammad b. Dāʾūd al-Thānī b. Abī al-Fātik. Cf. Ibn ᶜInabah, ᶜUmdat, 101.

5. Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat, 46-7; Ibn Khaldūn, al-ᶜIbar, IV, 98-9.

6. This revolt came from Kufa and was taken over by Muḥammad al-Dībājah, cf. no.2 above.

7. Cf. al-Ashraf, Ṭurfat, 93-4ff; Smith, The Ayyubids, II, 81.

8. Cf. Table no.3 below.

CHAPTER 2

The Musawids

- The rise of the Musawid dynasty

- Abū ʾl-Futūḥ and the claim to the caliphate

- The decline of the Musawid dynasty

The Rise of the Masawid Dynasty

On discerning signs of the weakness suffered by the Ikhshidids in their last days - owing to the Fatimid threat against Egypt - the Alids revolted in Makkah under the leadership of Ja^{c}far b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. ^{c}Abd Allāh b. Mūsā al-Jūn. (1) He called for the fall of the Ikhshidids and proclaimed himself the ruler of an independent Makkah in 358/969. (2) By this action he was actually establishing a government of the 'first group' sharifs, who were referred to as the Mūsawids after Mūsā al-Thānī (3) When the Fatimids had achieved full control of Egypt, Ja^{c}far hastened to preach in the name of al- Mu^{c}izz in 358-969 and announced his affiliation to the Fatimid Caliphate and gave the Khuṭbah in the name of al-Mu^{c}izz that year. (4)

We do not know the reasons which prompted Ja^{c}far to rush to embrace the Fatimids so quickly. Historians differ on these points, some ascribing it to al-Mu^{c}izz's relations with the Hasanids, when he paid the wergild of

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(1) Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat, 47; Rif^{c}at, Mir'āt, 354; Cf. Table No.2 below.

(2) Ibn ^{c}Inabah, ^{c}Umdat, 108; al-Subā^{c}ī, Tārīkh, I, 172; Abū Sa^{c}īd, al-^{c}Alaqāt, 330. Abū ^{c}Sa^{c}īd calls them the Sulaymanids and their leader al-Ḥasan b. Ja^{c}far.

(3) Daḥlān, Kulāṣat, i6; al-Subā^{c}ī, Tārīkh, I, 172-3.

(4) Ibn ^{c}Udhārī, al-Bayān, I, 221, al-Batnūnī, al-Riḥlah, 74.

those who were killed in the course of the civil strife which erupted among the Talibids in Makkah in 348-959. (5) Others ascribe it to the sharifs' fear of the Abbasids who quelled their successive revolts. (6) It seems that the reasons were political and economic, and through it the leader of the revolt was able to secure self-determination for Makkah under the new regime in Egypt, together with economic support also. For when al-Muᶜizz knew of the noble stand which was taken by the sharifs he delegated to Jaᶜfar the responsibilities of Makkah and its confines. He also distributed considerable sums of money assessed by al-Maqrīzī to be twenty camel-loads, apart from loads of goods. (7)

To ensure their control of the Hijaz, the Fatimids were quick to conquer Syria in a bid to secure a land route which would make possible the affiliation of the Holy Places to Cairo. (8) Besides, they managed to extend their control over Tihāmat al-Yaman, where Ibn Ziyād, amir of Zabīd, and Ibn Ṭaraf, amir of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī, besides al-Ḥarāmī, amir of Ḥaly Ibn Yaᶜqūb, had preached in their name. (9) Thus the Fatimids ensured for themselves control of those vital regions.

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(5) Al-Maqrīzī, Ittiᶜāẓ, I, 101.

(6) Al-Batnūnī, al-Riḥlah, 74.

(7) Ittiᶜāẓ, I, 101; al-Jazīrī, Durar, 588.

(8) Al-Maqrīzī, Ittiᶜāẓ, I, 101; Ibn Taghrī-Bardī, Mawrid, f.123a; Abū Saᶜīd, al-ᶜAlāqāt, 332; al-Zaylaᶜī, 'ᶜAlāqāt',45.

(9) Ibn Ḥawqal, Ṣūrat, 32. Ḥaly is a famous wadi and urban site. Cf.480 below.

It is no surprise that the Fatimids were keen to extend their influence to Makkah and they were determined to bring it under their control from the day on which they established their state in al-Qayrawān. (10) Control of Makkah became more crucial than before. Formerly there had been no reason to seek a relationship with the legal caliph. However, when the Islamic world became torn between more than one caliphate, a theory emerged out of the struggle for the post, namely that the annexation of the two Holy Places was one of the prerogatives of the caliph, and that the caliph's influence in the eyes of Islamic nations would not be complete without support in the Khuṭbah of al-Ḥaramayn and the mentioning of the caliph's name in it. Al-Muᶜizz accordingly saw in the reading of his name from the pulpit at Makkah a necessary confirmation of his status as caliph. (11) This confirmation came this time through the Makkan leader himself, Jaᶜfar b. Muḥammad, as mentioned above.

The step taken by Jaᶜfar in preaching in the name of al-Muᶜizz was a new initiative which resulted in a series of disputes between the Abbasids and the Fatimids concerning Makkah. On the other hand it was a turning point in the history of the relations between the sharifs of Makkah on the one hand and Baghdad and Cairo on the other. The change ensured for them the maintenance of the region's independence in the future.

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(10) Al-Jūdharī, Sīrat, 83,93,107; Al-Maqrīzī, Ittiᶜāẓ, I,96.

(11) Metz, al-Ḥaḍārah, I, 23; al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, 1, 175 Abū Saᶜid, al-ᶜAlaqāt, 326- al-Zaylaᶜi, 'ᶜAlāqāt', 22.

However Fatimid influence in Makkah was soon to suffer a major setback. The Qarmathians, natural allies of the Fatimids, were soon to rise against them.(12) One of the main reasons behind that development might be the one mentioned by Ibn Taghrī-Bardī;(13) namely that the Fatimids refused to pay the dues which the Qarmathians received from the Ikhshidids. Alternatively the reason might be the one which was put forward by al-ᶜIṣāmī;(14) namely that the Abbasid caliphate supported the leadership of al-Ḥasan al-Aᶜṣam, the new leader of the Qarmathians, against his rivals, the sons of Abū Ṭāhir supporters of the Fatimids.

However, it is suggested that the reasons have to be weighed up, bearing in mind the strength and weakness of the Abbasid and Fatimid caliphates. The Qarmathians saw that coexistence with the Abbasids, in spite of a difference in creeds, would ensure economic gains greater than the ones secured under the strong caliph. Coexistence between the Buwayhids, (Shīᶜīs), leaders and ministers of the Abbasid State for more than one century (334/447/945/1052), and the Abbasids (Sunnis) was considered the closest example to be followed by al-Aᶜṣam and his men. They said; "If we had been quick to understand, as Ibn Buwayh was, we would have solved our problems, for he left the creeds aside and sought strength and authority and accordingly

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(12) Nāsir Khisrū, Safar Nāmah, 30; Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, IV, al-ᶜIbar, IV, 88-9, al-Maqrīzī, Ittiᶜāẓ, I, 187 ff; al-Zayaᶜī, 'ᶜAlāqat', 20-1.

(13) Al-Nujūm, V, 74.

(14) Simṭ, IV, 194-5.

the people obeyed him." (15) In accordance with that point of view the Qarmathians disobeyed the Fatimids and shifted their loyalty to the Abbasids. They preached in Makkah during the pilgrimage of 359/979 in the name of the caliph al-Muṭīᶜ al-ᶜAbbāsī (d. 364/974) and his ally, al-Ḥasan b. al- Aᶜṣam, the Qarmathian. (16) The Abbasids observed that victory by sending to the honoured Kaᶜbah a valuable present in a bid to prove to the masses of Moslems their spiritual and temporal authority over Makkah The present was in the form of gold and silver lanterns which were displayed outside the Kaᶜbah for fifteen days, surrounded by flags bearing the name of the Abbasid Caliph. (17)

The Fatimids were quick to react. They persuaded their allies, the Husaynids, rulers of Medina, and provided them with a force to capture Makkah. But the Makkans, with the help of the Qarmathians were able to defeat the Husaynids and forced them to retreat. (18) The defeat did not force al-Muᶜizz to go back on his determination to regain his influence in Makkah. He instigated B. Hilāl and other tribes against the Iraqi Caravan bound for Makkah and this resulted in the death of many of its pilgrims.(19) Thus the way was paved for the supporters of the Fatimids, among the Sharifs, to preach in the name of al-Muᶜizz

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(15) Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntaẓam, VI, 225.

(16) Al-Jazīrī, Durar, 245; al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 195.

(17) Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntaẓam, III, 53.

(18) Ibn Fahd, Ithāf, under the year 360 [980]; al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 195.

(19) Al-Ḥanbalī, Nuzhat, f.200a.

in 363/973, and drop the name of the Abbasids from the Khuṭbah. Thus Makkah became loyal to the Fatimids and left the Abbasid fold. (20)

Al-Muᶜizz did not stop at securing Makkah's loyalty and the mention of his name in the Khuṭbah there. He also prepared to spread the Ismaᶜīlī creed in Makkah. Al-Ḥanbalī comments; "in 363 [973] the Khuṭbah and prayers were dedicated in the Ḥaramayn to al- Muᶜizz. Rejections [on the part of Makkans] increased and there was a call [from al-Muᶜizz] for the cancellation of the [Sunnī] tarawīḥ prayers." (21)

It may be that al-Muᶜizz aimed, by spreading the state creed in Makkah, to create an atmosphere of spiritual affiliation. It is known that spiritual affiliation leads to the strengthening of political cohesion. At any rate, Makkah remained loyal to al-Muᶜizz until his own death in 365/975. (22) However, the town soon shifted its loyalty to the Abbasids, for the sources record that the name of the successor of al-Muᶜizz, al ᶜAzīz Bi-'llāh (365-386/975-996), was left out of the Khuṭbah in 365/975, and was replaced by the name of the Abbasid Caliph al-Ṭāiᶜ (d.393-1003). (23) The same sources do not mention that any positive action was taken by the

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(20) Ibn al-ᶜImād, Shadharāt, III, 44; al-Siyūṭī, Tārīkh, 269.

(21) Nuzhat, f.200b.

(22) Al-Zaylaᶜī, 'ᶜAlāqāt', 48.

(23) Ibn Khaldūn, al-ᶜIbar, IV, 51, 101; H.Ibrāhīm, Tārīkh, IV, 9.

Abbasids to regain their influence in Makkah. Besides, Baghdad was busy at that time dealing with the insurrection involving ᶜAḍud al-Dawlah and his nephew Bakhtiyār, the Buwayhid leaders. (24) Perhaps the loyalty of the Sharifs of Makkah to the Fatimids passed away as a result of the death of their leader, Jaᶜfar b. Muḥammad, who died around this time. (25) When his son, ᶜĪsā (d.383-993), succeeded him as amir of Makkah he preached in the name of the Abbasid Caliph al-Ṭāiᶜ as mentioned above.

One does not know the exact reasons behind this change in the relations of the Sharifs of Makkah in favour of the Abbasids. It could have been a departure from the religious policy adopted by the Caliph al-Muᶜizz in Makkah. Whatever the reason, al-ᶜAzīz did not watch developments passively for he dispatched an army which managed to lay siege to Makkah and to pressurize the inhabitants to preach in the name of al-ᶜAzīz in 366/976. (26) This event marks the beginning of direct Fatimid interference, which indicates their desire to hold fast to the control of Makkah. However the Abbasids were soon to answer in kind, for they sent an army to Makkah which managed to bring it back into the Abbasid fold in 368/978. (27) Also the Abbasids showered the people of Makkah with huge sums of money, hoping that such a policy would secure for them the people's love and

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(24) Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntaẓam, VII, 75.

(25) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, VI, 458.

(26) Ibn Khaldūn, al-ᶜIbar , IV, 51.

(27) Al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, IV, 269; al- Iṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 195.

loyalty. (28)

However, due to the fluctuations in the destinies of the Abbasids and Fatimids in the Hijaz arena at that time, and the impact of that on their relations with the region, the Fatimids faced Abbasid expansion with a similar expansion and they managed to impose their political hegemony over Makkah during the following year.(29)

Thus the Fatimids managed to exercise their control over Makkah for a period and it became clear, at that time, that the Abbasids were not able to face the Fatimids in battle. However, they did not passively accept the Fatimid success. They instigated Ibn Ḥāzim (d. 377/987) who was in control of the Wadi al-Qurā fort and he proclaimed his disobedience to the Caliph, al-ᶜAzīz, in 377/987. Moreover, he captured vast territories in the Hijaz and threatened Fatimid sovereignty there. (30) Thereupon Egyptian forces were ordered to move in the same year and to cut the new rebel down to size. The force managed to bring the Hijaz back under the control of the Fatimids. Furthermore, the army returned with the severed head of Ibn Ḥāzim. (31) Ibn Ḥāzim's rebellion was the last obstacle which faced the Fatimid Caliphate in the Hijaz during the regime of Sharif ᶜĪsā b. Jaᶜfar. Their sovereignty over Makkah was ensured and they were

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(28) Abū Saᶜīd, al-ᶜAlāqāt, 336.

(29) Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntaẓam, VII, 166; Abū Saᶜīd, al-ᶜAlāqāt, 336.

(30) Al-Anṭākī, Tārīkh, 224.

(31) Al- Anṭākī, Tārīkh, 224; al-Dawādarī, al-Durrah, VI, 219.

able to control most of the pilgrim routes and the Khuṭbah continued in their name. (32) Thus the Fatimids were able to control the pulpit of Makkah and they exploited it by talking of the responsibilities that they shouldered in terms of protecting the pilgrims, ensuring pilgrim routes and spending on projects for the Holy City.

It seems that the Abbasids could not compete with the Fatimids in terms of the prestige enjoyed by the latter in Makkah at that time. Nevertheless, the Abbasid Caliph, al-Qādir (381-422/991-1030) wrote to the heir apparent of Makkah, al-Ḥasan b. Jaᶜfar, later to be called Abū ʾl-Futūḥ, in 381/991, calling for his obedience and loyalty, instead of his showing his support for the Fatimids, and promising, in return, to recognize him and his family and maintain his family's exclusive right. (33) However, al-Qādir's communication was of no avail and Abū ʾl-Futūḥ disclosed al-Qādir's communication to the Caliph, al-ᶜAzīz. Al-ᶜAzīz rewarded him by sending money and presents which Abū ʾl-Futūḥ distributed among the Sharifs of Makkah. (34) He was appointed amir of Makkah and he draped the Kaᶜbah with white, the colour of the Fatimids. (35) Thus we find how al-Qādir's messages led the Abbasids from one failure to another, whereas it consolidated the Fatimid

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(32) Al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 195; al-Ṭawīl, Tārīkh, 211. The name of the Caliph al-Muqtadī is only mentioned once in the Khuṭbah of the pilgrimage in 379/989 Cf. Al-Jazīrī, Durar, 257.

(33) Ibn Fahd, Itḥāf, under the year 381 [991].

(34) Al-Fāsī, Shifāʾ, II, 194.

(35) Al-ᶜUmarī, Masālik, XXIV, f.11a.

position in Makkah. One no longer hears of any attempt against Makkah by the Abbasids, until the death of its Sharif, ᶜĪsā b. Jaᶜfar, in 384/993. He was succeeded, as amir of Makkah, by his brother al-Ḥasan b. Jaᶜfar, popularly named Abū ʾl-Futūḥ, (384-430/994-1038). (36)

Abū ʾl-Futūḥ and his claim to the caliphate

Abū ʾl-Futūḥ was one of the most prominent Sharifs who ruled Makkah. He was a brave and ambitious man and incidentally also an accomplished poet. (37) During the lifetime of his brother, ᶜĪsā, he wielded great influence and used to help his brother in administering the affairs of the amirate. Even the Abbasid and Fatimid Caliphs exchanged messages with him. (38)

On his succeeding as amir of Makkah his personal ambition came to the surface. He was not content with leading the Sharifs of Makkah or achieving an independent Hijaz, but he also coveted the caliphate itself, in the belief that he was worthy of the position and because of his indisputably genuine pedigree. (39) He thought it better not to execute his plans quickly; rather he would remain outwardly loyal to the Fatimids while inwardly working towards the unification of the Hijaz. So he never

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(36) Al-ᶜUmarī, Masālik, XXIV, f.11b.

(37) Al-Bākhirzī, Dumyat, 1,3.

(38) Al-ᶜUmarī, Masālik, XXIV, f.11a.

(39) Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhayl, 64.

dropped the mention of the Fatimid Caliph, al-Ḥākim Bi-Amr Allāh (386-411/996-1021), from the Khuṭbah in Makkah.(40) At the same time he made great strides in consolidating the foundations of his amirate. His influence thus stretched to the provinces of southern Tihāmah as far as the borders of the Yemen. He captured Ḥaly b. Yaᶜqūb. (41) Thus his influence covered large regions, but stopped short of the territory of B. Muhannā, rulers of Medina, supporters of the Fatimids and traditional enemies of the Hasanid amirs of Makkah. (42)

Abū ʾl-Futūḥ soon found the opportunity he was waiting for in the deterioration of relations between B. Muhannā and the Fatimids. The former were disputing the genealogy of the latter. (43) Thereupon, Abū ʾl-Futūḥ hastened to Medina in 390/999, which he captured, thus ending B. Muhannā rule over it. (44) Thus the low ebb in relations between B. Muhannā and al-Ḥākim, the Fatimid Caliph, and the deterioration of those relations, opened the door at last to Abū ʾl-Futūḥ, the third antagonist, and enabled him to reap the harvest. The Hijaz and Tihāmah fell under the princely rule of Makkah. Abū ʾl-Futūḥ waited for a pretext to revolt against Fatimid influence in Makkah. Soon after the turn

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(40) Ibn Fahd, Ifḥāf, under the year 386 [996].

(41) Al-Bakrī, al-Mamālik, 49; al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, IV, 79.

(42) Ibn Fahd, Ithāf, under the year 360 [980]; al-Zaylāᶜī, ʿAlāqāt, 56.

(43) Al-Jazīrī, Durar, 249.

(44) Al-Qalqashandī, Maʾāthir, I, 328; al-Ṣakhāwī, al-Tuḥfah, 1, 648.

of the 5th/11th century, Abū ʾl-Futūḥ found the reasons for disobeying al-Ḥākim, who had sent him a directive asking him to dissociate himself from the Companions and Wives of the Prophet. (45) Abū ʾl-Futūḥ was angry and in a speech attended by the Alid heads, he said, "People who raised high the banner of Islam after the Prophet ... yet he mentions them in a way in which they should not be mentioned. Did the Christians do such a thing to the disciples? No! instead they made every disciple's grave a place for pilgrimage and worship. If he were to order me to curse people who do not follow our religion, I would not like to be the curser." Abū ʾl-Futūḥ's speech kindle the Alids' enthusiasm and prepared them for the revolution against al-Ḥākim. One of them stood up and said, "O amir, this is what one says who should not go back on what he said." whereupon Abū ʾl-Futūḥ said, "Right you are!" (46) With the support of the sharifs he proclaimed Makkah independent in 402/1011 and left the name of al-Ḥākim from the Khuṭbah, inserting his own name. (47) Thus Abū ʾl-Futūḥ proclaimed himself totally independent ruler of the Hijaz without offering loyalty to anyone.

However, the available sources do not spell out the way which was taken by al-Ḥākim to face Abū ʾl-Futūḥ's disobedience, except that al-Ḥākim withheld foodstuffs sent

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(45) Ibn Khaldūn, al-ʿIbar, IV, 101; al-Fāsī, al-ʿIqd, IV, 78-9.

(46) Al-ʿUmarī, Masālik, XXIV, f.11a.

(47) Ibn Khaldūn, al-ʿIbar, IV, 101; al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, IV, 269.

previously from Egypt to the Ḥaramayn. (48) It seems that al-Ḥākim had not until that time seen Abū 'l-Futūḥ's disobedience as a threat to him. Consequently, the latter's influence was confined to the Hijaz; besides, he mentioned no other name besides his own in the Khuṭbah. He had not mentioned the name of the Abbasid caliph for example, neither had he aligned himself to any force hostile to the Fatimid caliphate. Instead he had contented himself with a proclamation of the independence of the Hijaz. Thereupon al-Ḥākim restricted his action to starving the Hijaz which depended heavily on Egypt, so that Abū 'l-Futūḥ found himself in pressing circumstances and was compelled to go back into the Fatimid fold.

Yet, new developments helped Abū 'l-Futūḥ to carry further his claim to the caliphate. Al-Ḥākim's quarrels with B. al-Jarrāḥ reached a climax when Ḥassān b. al-Mufarrij plundered the caravan of Yarkhatkīn, the Turk appointed by al-Ḥākim as deputy over Syria. Ḥassān b. al-Mufarrij killed him, then proceeded to al-Ramlah, a Syrian town, and looted it. (49) On the other hand al-Ḥākim persecuted the family of the Wazīr, Abū 'l-Qāsim Ibn al-Maghribī, and almost killed them. (50) But the wazīr managed to make his escape from Egypt and went to B. al-Jarrāḥ seeking refuge. They responded and granted

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(48) Al-Qalqashandī, Ma'āthir, I, 320 and Subḥ, IV, 269.

(49) Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhayl, 63; al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, IV, 70; Kurd, Khiṭaṭ, I, 218.

(50) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, IV, 69-70; ᶜInān, al-Ḥākim, 182.

him refuge. (51) They soon decided to call for Abū ʾl-Futūḥ and proclaim him caliph. (52) Hassān b. al-Mufarrij delegated Ibn al-Maghribī to proceed to Abū ʾl-Futūḥ and to persuade him to accept the post of imam. (53) However, Abū ʾl-Futūḥ gathered his people together and discussed the matter with them; '... They looked forward to an era of glory and proclaimed him caliph'. (54) He addressed them and named himself al-Rāshid Bi-ʾllāh. This was at the end of 402/1011-2. (55) He started to receive the proclamation of loyalty from those who supported him in Makkah and Medina. He propagated the doctrine of enjoining good deeds and preventing shameful ones. (56) When he had completed his preparations, he set out for al-Ramlah where B. al-Jarrāḥ welcomed him, greeted him as "Amīr al-Muʾminīn' and made his residence in Dār al- Imārah in al-Ramlah. (57) He proclaimed a safe conduct to those who lived in fear, the installation of justice, the enjoining of good deeds and the prohibition of shameful ones. (58) On the first Friday after his arrival, he rode to the mosque, while al-Mufarrij, Ḥassān's father, and all Ṭayy"

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(51) Yaqūt, Muᶜjam al-Udabāʾ, IV, 60.

(52) Al-Azdī, al-Duwal, f.58.

(53) Ibn al-Maghribī, Adab, VIII, 416.

(54) Al-Rawdhrāwarī, Dhayl, 236.

(55) Al-Rawdhrāwarī, Dhayl, 236; Ghāzī, Ifādat, III, f.54b.

(56) Alᶜ-Iṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 196; al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, I, 179.

(57) Al-Azdī, al-Duwal, f.58; Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhayl, 64; Kurd, Khiṭaṭ, I, 218.

(58) Ibn al-Maghribī, Adab, VIII, 416; al-Bīṭār, "Mawqif", 92.

accompanied him. On that day he was proclaimed caliph in the Friday Khuṭbah. (59) It seemed as if everything had come under the firm control of Abū ʾl-Futūḥ.

On hearing the news al-Ḥākim dispatched a Fatimid force to Syria. However, it was defeated near Dārūm, in southern Syria, (60) thus strengthening Abū ʾl-Futūḥ's sway in the southern part of the country and his men laid a prolonged siege to the coastal defences. (61) At this point al-Ḥākim felt that he could not face Abū ʾl-Futūḥ in battle. Worried, confused and fearing the worst, he tried to impress upon Amir Ṭayy Ḥassān b. Mufarrij to withhold his support from Abū ʾl-Futūḥ. He managed to persuade him and extracted a promise from him to this effect. (62) On the other hand, al-Ḥākim ordered an economic blockade of Makkah, prohibiting journeys there either by land or sea. He even made some pilgrims who were using the land route, turn back. (63) Besides this he managed to win to his side one of the leaders of B. Sulaymān, cousins and enemies of the Musawids, Abū ʾl-Futūḥ's clan. Their leader was Abū ʾl-Ṭayyib, appointed by al-Ḥākim amir of Makkah, and he succeeded in defeating Abū ʾl-Futūḥ's deputy and making the people of Makkah obey al-Ḥākim. (64)

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(59) Al-Azdī, al-Duwal, 58.

(60) Al-Dujaylī, 'Rasāʾil,' III, 421; al-Azdī; al-Duwal, 58.

(61) Kurd; Khiṭaṭ, I, 218-9; al-Zaylaʿī, 'ʿAlāqāt', 66.

(62) Al-Fāsī, al-ʿIqd, IV, 71.

(63) Al-Maqrīzī, Ittiʿāẓ, II, 90; De Gaury, Rulers, 60.

(64) Al-Rawdhrāwarī, Dhayl, II, 238; Ibn al-Maghribī, Adab, III, 417; Ḥ. Ibrāhīm, al-Dawlah, 239.

When news of the fall of Makkah reached Abū ʾl-Futūḥ and he realized that B. al-Jarrāḥ had not shown any enthusiasm to support him, he became convinced that they had solved their differences with al-Ḥākim and that they had thus failed him. This was bound to lead to grave consequences. Therefore, he rushed to al-Mufarrij, Hassān's father, and proclaimed that he was seeking refuge with him. (65) Al-Mufarrij was deeply impressed and he took it upon himself to reach a settlement. He mediated between Abū ʾl-Futūḥ and the Fatimids to bring about a settlement, in return for which Abū ʾl-Futūḥ should renounce his claim for the caliphate and purge Makkah of his enemy, B.Sulaymān, and remain ruler of Makkah under Fatimid sovereignty. (66) Thus Abū ʾl-Futūḥ resigned himself to such a status in a bid to save himself. He returned to Makkah in 403/1012. Abū ʾl-Ṭayyib experienced an eclipse of power and Abū ʾl-Futūḥ was reinstated. (67)

Abū ʾl-Futūḥ was once again loyal to al-Ḥākim. He mentioned his name in the Khuṭbah in Makkah and minted coins in his name. (68) He even rushed to Egypt to prove to al-Ḥākim his faithfulness, loyalty and intentions for the future. The visit left a good impression on al-Ḥākim and he bestowed presents and titles on Abū ʾl-Futūḥ. (69)

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(65) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd , IV, 71; al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 197.

(66) Al-Rawdhrāwarī, Dhayl, II, 238, Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhayl, 64.

(67) Al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 197.

(68) Al-Maqrīzī, Ittiᶜāẓ, 11, 95.

(69) Mājid, al-Ḥākim, 153.

On his return, he remained loyal to al-Ḥākim until the latter died in 411/1021, whereupon the Khuṭbah was made in the name of al-Ḥākim's son, his successor, al-Ẓāhir li-Dīn Allāh (411-427/1021-1035). (70)

However, Egypt's material support for Makkah decreased, possibly because of the drought and rising cost of living in Egypt in the first half of al-Ẓāhir's rule.(71) The reason also might have been the caliph's indulgence in entertainment and enjoyment. He was not very keen on maintaining Fatimid influence in Makkah and performing the Khuṭbah in the Fatimid name. This had its effect on relations with Makkah and attempts by the Abbasids to woo Abū 'l-Futūḥ soon made themselwes apparent. The Fatimids woke up to those developments and sent an ambassador to Makkah in Rajab 414/October 1023. (72) The ambassador managed to reinstate al-Ẓāhir in the Khuṭbah at ᶜArafāt, a mountain, east of Makkah, and in other sacred places.(73) Yet, it was clear that the Fatimids did not honour all their commitments towards Makkah and its sharifs at that time. (74) Abū 'l-Futūḥ therefore had to send a delegation of sharifs to Egypt, in Dhū 'l-Qaᶜdah 715/January 1025, in a bid to review their relations with the Fatimids.

However, the delegation suffered disappointment, as it

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(70) Al-Maqrīzī, Ittiᶜāẓ, II, 116; Surūr, al-Nufūdh, 19.

(71) Al-Maqrīsī, Ittiᶜāẓ, II,124, ff. and passim.

(72) Al-Musabbiḥī, Akhbār, 13. The ambassador's name is Abū 'l-Qāsim b. Rizq al-Baghdādī.

(73) Al-Musabbiḥī, Akhbār, 23.

(74) Al-Musabbiḥī, Akhbār, 72; Abū Saᶜīd, al-ᶜAlāqāt, 345; al-Zaylaᶜi,'ᶜAlāqāt', 71.

was not received by high-ranking state officials. The hosts indulged in procrastination to the extent that the delegation missed the pilgrimage of 415/1025. (75) Still they were given only half of their usual share of wealth and supplies. As for Abū ʾl-Futūḥ, he was not given his stipend, instead he was promised that it would be sent to him by sea. (76) Whereupon the Hijazi delegation returned home, unhappy with such treatment. As the Egyptian historian al-Musabbiḥī says "They did not find in Egypt the assistance which they sought." (77)

In spite of the bad treatment shown by the Fatimids, the sharifs of Makkah remained loyal to them. Moreover, Makkah remained loyal and obedient to the Fatimids till the death of Abū ʾl-Futūḥ in 430/1038. (78) He was succeeded, in the same year, by Tāj al-Maʿālī Shukr b. Abī ʾl-Futūḥ (430-453/1038-1061). (79)

The Decline of the Musawid Dynasty

Shukr b. Abī ʾl-Futūḥ, like his father, supported the Fatimids against the Abbasids. He had even gone so far as to prevent the Iraqi pilgrims from performing their religious

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(75) Al-Maqrīzī, Ittiʿāẓ, II, 169; Cf. al-Musabbiḥī, Akhbār, 77.

(76) Al-Musabbiḥī, Akhbār, 86.

(77) Al-Musabbiḥī, Akhbar, 86.

(78) Ibn Khaldūn, al-ʿIbar, IV, 102; al-ʿIsāmī, Simṭ, 198; al-Zaylaʿī, 'ʿAlaqat,' 78.

(79) Al-Aṣbahānī, Kharīdat, III, 7.

rites in certain years. (80) This led to a split within the Musawid dynasty; some, led by Shukr, supported the Fatimids, others objected to Shukr's policy and called for a return to the Abbasids in their Khuṭbah. The opposing group enjoyed the support of the clan of Jaᶜfar b. Abī Ṭālib. (81) It seems that those who were in opposition achieved some measure of success. Accordingly, Shukr had to seek the support of the amirs of Medina. However, the latter, instead of rushing to his assistance lent their support to the opposing party who wanted a return of the mention of the Abbasids in the Khuṭbah. (82) Shukr realized his inability to face an alliance of the Talibids against him and left Makkah for Egypt in 440/1048 to see the Caliph al-Mustanṣir (427-487/1035-1095) and to seek his help for making his return possible to the Makkan Amirate and the return of the Fatimids' name in the Khuṭbah. (83)

We are not told to what means al-Mustanṣir resorted in order to face the Makkan insurrection. However, it can be assumed that the Fatimids imposed an economic blockade on Makkah. This is supported by the fact that Makkah witnessed, in 447/1055, terrible inflation, making it impossible to find bread. As a result the local inhabitants and the pilgrims almost perished. The reason was

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(80) Al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, I, 181-2. Another reason behind that was the fact that the Iraqi pilgrim route was not secure. Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, al-ᶜIbar, IV, 102; al-Jazīrī, Durar, 254.

(81) Al-ᶜUmarī, Masālik, XXIV, f.12a.

(82) Al-ᶜUmarī, Masālik, XXIV, f.12b.

(83) Al-ᶜAynī, ᶜIqd, XI, f.40; al-Zaylaᶜi, 'ᶜAlāqāt', 75.

the non-arrival in Makkah of food from Egypt.(84) As for the Abbasids, they could not solve the economic crises in Makkah owing to the confusion in the ranks of the Buwayhids and their differences with the Abbasid Caliph, al-Qā'im (422-467/1031-1074).(85) It is natural to accept that the economic blockade made Makkah support its amir, Shukr b. Abī 'l-Futūḥ who made a comeback at the end of 448/1057. The return of Shukr and Fatimid influence to Makkah found expression in the absence of Iraqi pilgrims in 448-1057. (86) Further proof was the economic prosperity enjoyed by Makkah in the following year, which means that material assistance from Cairo was once again released in that year. Besides al-Sijillāt al-Mustanṣiriyyah mentions that the amir of Makkah in the year, 448/1057, was Tāj al-Maʿālī Shukr b. Abī 'l-Futūḥ. (87) After securing his position in Makkah, Shukr thought of extending his influence to cover Medina, seeking revenge against its rulers, the Husaynids. The latter had previously helped B. Jaʿfar to expel Shukr from Makkah and fulfil his father's ambition to unify the Hijaz under the leadership of the sharifs of Makkah. He exchanged letters with the Medinese which resulted in his extending his rule over Medina and thus securing the two sacred places. (88)

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(84) Al-Jazīrī, Durar, 254.

(85) Abū 'l-Fidā', al-Mukhtaṣar, 178-9.

(86) Al-Jarīrī, Durar, 254; al-Zayaʿī, 'ʿAlāqāt', 76.

(87) Mājid, 56.

(88) Al-Aṣbahānī, Kharīdat, III, 7; al-Fāsī, al-ʿIqd, V, 14.

Thus Shukr had the whole Hijaz under his control. He showed loyalty to the caliph, al-Mustansir, until he died in 453/1061. (89) He did not leave a successor to rule over Makkah. Finally the position went to one of his slaves. (90)

However the sources at our disposal do not mention this slave's name, nor do they mention that Shukr delegated authority to him. Yet he managed to have an edge over his masters, the Hasanids, and to win control over Makkah. This infuriated the sharifs and they revolted against the slave. However the most enraged of all were B. Abū ʾl-Ṭayyib. They attacked Makkah and took it from the slave. An amir emerged from their ranks, Muḥammad b. Abī ʾl-Ṭayyib ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim. (91) Thus the Musawid dynasty fell and the leadership of Makkah went to B. Abī ʾl-Ṭayyib, who were a branch of B. Sulaymān b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Mūsā al-Jūn. (92) Historians, who tend to divide the history of the sharifs into periods, are agreed on calling them the second period (93) and they give them the name of the Sulaymanids. (94) However, B. Abū ʾl-Ṭayyib behaved

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(89) Al-ᶜAynī, ᶜIqd, XI, f.400b; al-Fāsī, Taḥṣīl, f.416a; Idrīs, Kanz, f. 86b.

(90) Al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 198; Daḥlān, Khulāṣat, 18; al-Qarmānī, Akhbār, 224.

(91) Ghāzī, Ifādat, III, f.63a; al-Zaylāᶜī, 'ᶜAlāqāt'. 79

(92) Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat, 46-7;

(93) The first period was that of the Musawids, the third were the Hashimids and the fourth were B. Qatādah. Cf. Dahlan, Khulāṣat, 16, passim. al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, I, 173, 182; Rifᶜat, Miraʾāt, I, 354.

(94) Al-Qalqashandī, Nihāyat, 131; al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 198.

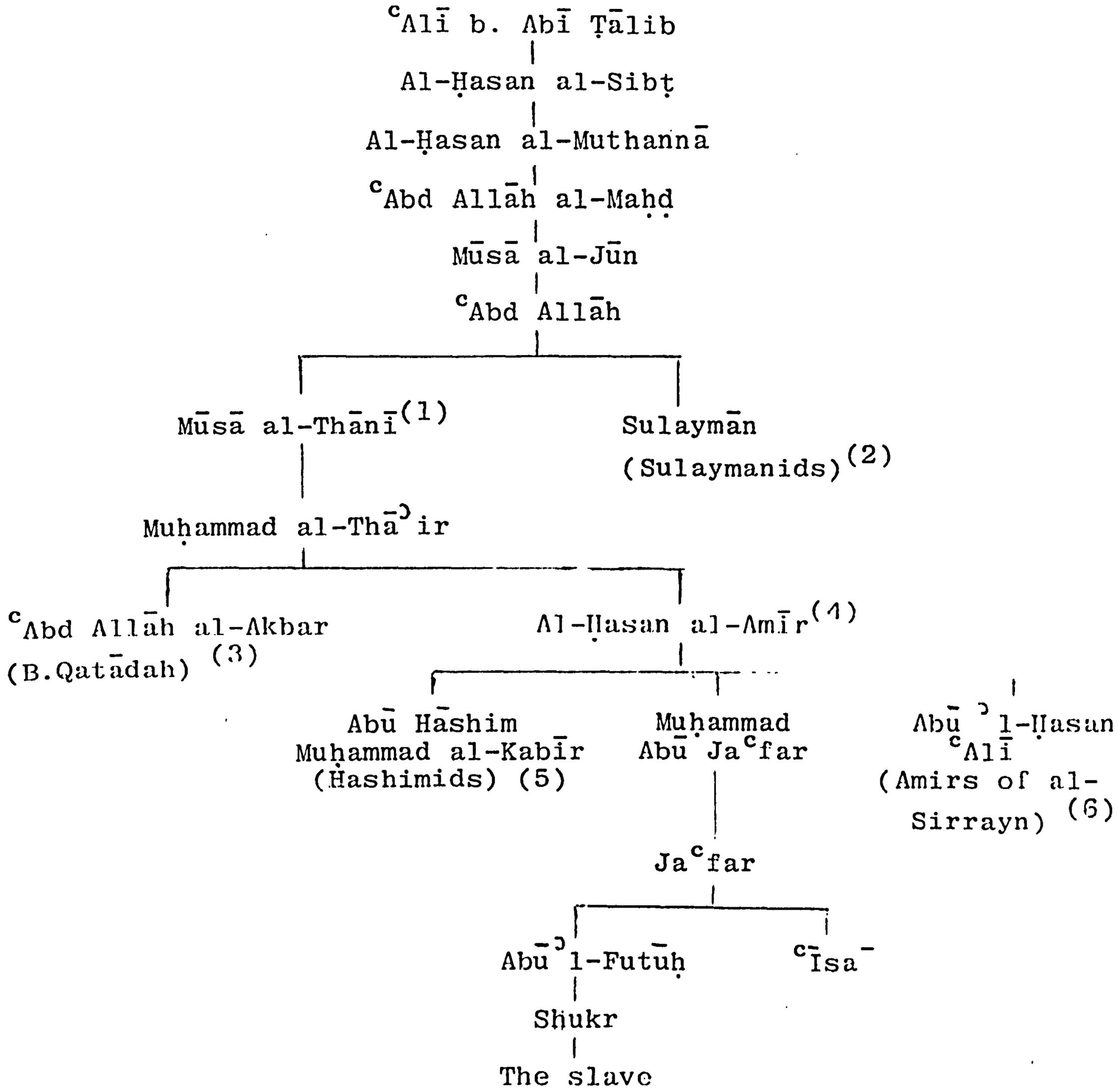
badly and proved to be thoroughly inefficient rulers of Makkah. They even went to the extent of taking away the gutter of the Ka^{c}bah and stripping it of its trapping. (95) Al-Mustanṣir, the Fatimid Caliph, finally permitted ^{c}Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, ruler of much of the Yemen, to interfere in the affairs of Makkah and to impose his rule there. Thus al-Ṣulayḥī managed to capture Makkah. Moreover, he put an end to the rule of the B. Abī 'l-Ṭayyib dynasty. (96) This was the first real Yemeni interference in Makkah and forms the subject of the following pages.

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(95) Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī, Mir'āt, XXII, f. 88b.

(96) Al-Fāsī, Shifā', II, 195; Ghāzī, Ifādāt, III, 63a.

Table No.2 — The Musawid Amirs of Makkah



1. Omitted in the tombstones of Qāyatabāy b.Sharaf b. Qāyatabāy, Cf. no.37 below; al-Bāshā, "Shawahid", 118, pl.41.

2. Cf. table no.3 below.

3. Cf. table no.5 below.

4. Al-Husayn in Ibn ᶜInabah, ᶜUmdat,108. Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat, 47; no.37 below.

5. Cf. table no.4 below.

6. Cf. Ibn ᶜInabah, ᶜUmdat, 108; table no.6 below.

CHAPTER 3

The Hashimid Dynasty

- ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayhī and the emergence of Yemenite influence in Makkah
- The Hashimid Sulahid dispute in Makkah
- Fatimid-Yemenite influence in Makkah recedes and Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar shifts his loyalty to the Abbasids
- Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar's successors and the end of the Hashimids

ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī and the emergence of Yemeni influence in Makkah

Apart from the revolution staged by Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā al-Kāẓim in the Yemen, and his occupation of Makkah in the year 202/817, Yemeni interference in Makkah was peaceful. This consisted of introducing some reforms in Makkah. We may mention in this respect, the fact that al-Ḥusayn b. Salāmah (d. 403/1012-3), the deputy ruler and first wazīr in the Ziyadid state, wanted to improve the Yemeni pilgrim routes to Makkah by digging wells and building mosques at all stations on these routes taken by the Yemeni pilgrim caravans, installing road marks indicating distances in miles, leagues and barīds between various stages. (1) He also wanted to make arrangements to provide drinking water in Makkah by connecting water to the plain and Mount ᶜArafāt. He also laid plans to dig canals between ᶜArafāt and Makkah in order to irrigate trees on the banks of these canals, and also to connect water to a small reservoir outside Makkah in order to cater for the drinking needs of its inhabitants. (2) However, the first real direct interference in Makkah was at the hands of ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī. Thus it is necessary to ask who was al-Ṣulayḥī and how did he interfere in Makkah?

ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī (439-459/1045-1068), founder of the Sulayhid state in the Yemen, is considered

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(1) ᶜUmārah, Tārīkh, 40-1; Bā Makhramah, Thaghr, 60; al-Janadī, al-Sulūk, f.182 b; al-Ḥibshī, al-Iᶜtibār, 23.

(2) Nāṣir Khisrū, Safar Nāmah, 123-4, 136; al-Zaylaᶜī, 'ᶜAlāqāt', 185-6.

one of the pioneer kings of Yemen, who had already set his sights on ruling Makkah. No sooner had he achieved the unification of most of the Yemen than he turned his eyes on the Hijaz with its sacred places, because it was the nearest place to the Yemen, was considered by Moslems to be the most important region and because it was lacking, more than any country, stable rule and good administration.(3) Therefore, al-Ṣulayḥī wrote to the Caliph, al-Mustanṣir, seeking his permission to take Makkah and establish his control there. (4) However, the Caliph al-Mustanṣir rejected al-Ṣulayḥī's offer. Moreover, he sent the former a message (sijill), in 448/1056, forbidding him ever to stand in the way of the amir of Makkah, Tāj al-Maʿālī Shukr b. Abī ʾl-Futūḥ. (5) Al-Ṣulayḥī heeded the directives of al-Mustanṣir and no longer interfered in the affairs of the Makkan amir. He even worked for the development of better relations with him with the result that the amir of Makkah wrote to al-Mustanṣir praising al-Ṣulayḥī's efforts towards helping him overcome the obstacles in the way of solving the problems of the Hijaz. (6) However, good relations between Shukr and al-Ṣulayḥī soon deteriorated due to rivalry over the control of Ḥaly b. Yaʿqūb, the town on the Tihāmah coast. This led to an

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(3) Al-Hamdānī, al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn, 88.

(4) Idrīs, Kanz, f. 86ff.

(5) Mājid, al-Sijillāt, 56.

(6) Mājid, al-Sijillāt, 37; al-Zaylaʿī, 'ʿAlāqāt', 80.

exchange of messages full of threats and intimidation.(7) However, al-Ṣulayḥī took no positive steps for fear of angering his imam, al-Mustanṣir. Accordingly, he wrote to him seeking his advice about Shukr and asking his permission to oust Shukr from Makkah and annex it to the Yemen. The Caliph al-Mustanṣir wrote back prohibiting such an act and saying, "Never meet God stained with the blood of the descendants of Fāṭimah al-Zahrā'." (8) Al-Ṣulayḥī heeded al-Mustanṣir's orders and bided his time, waiting for an opportunity to take Makkah. (9)

We may pause here to ask why al-Mustanṣir denied al-Ṣulayḥī permission to capture Makkah and dislodge Shukr. It might have been due to the fact that the Fatimids knew quite well that the Makkans held fast to their independence and refused all external authority. If al-Ṣulayḥī had succeeded in capturing Makkah he would not have succeeded in remaining there for long, and the Makkans might have been obliged to seek assistance from the arch-enemies of the Fatimids, the Abbasids, if that would retrieve for them their independence which they had maintained for more than one century. Besides, Shukr was known for his indisputable loyalty to al-Mustanṣir, a fact which made the latter insist on his presence in Makkah and deny al-Ṣulayḥī permission to expel Shukr from it.

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(7) Al-Hamdānī, al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn, 89. Al-Zaylaᶜī, 'ᶜAlāqāt', 80-1.

(8) Quoted from Idrīs, ᶜUyūn, ff.17-19, in al-Hamdānī, al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn, 89.

(9) Al-Zaylāᶜī, 'ᶜAlāqāt,' 81.

When Shukr passed away and confusion reigned in Makkah under the rule of B. Abī ʾl-Ṭayyib, al-Mustanṣir feared that such chaos might draw Makkah out of the Fatimids' sphere of influence. Therefore without hesitation, he gave al-Ṣulayḥī permission to proceed to Makkah and establish law and order there.

No sooner had al-Ṣulayḥī secured the permission of al-Mustanṣir than he left the Yemen for Makkah accompanied by a large group of Yemeni leaders. (10) He reached Makkah in Dhū ʾl-Ḥijjah 455/November 1063, and managed to wrest it from the hands of B. Abī ʾl-Ṭayyib and forced them, as already mentioned, to leave. Thereafter al-Ṣulayḥī wooed the local inhabitants of Makkah and worked to win their support by spending money on them. (11) Then he prepared to maintain security in the Holy Places by taking punitive action against the tribes that had committed acts of aggression against the pilgrims. (12) Then he took back the trappings and other things belonging to the Ka^{c}bah and formerly taken by B. Abī ʾl-Ṭayyib, when they captured Makkah after Shukr's death. (13) Thus by virtue of his statesmanship al-Ṣulayḥī won the favour of al-Mustanṣir. He also won the confidence of the local inhabitants and the pilgrims of Makkah as well.

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(10) Al-^{c}Aynī, ^{c}Iqd, XI, f.46b; al-Janadī, al-Sulūk, f.183a-b; al-Ashraf, Fākihat, f.33a.

(11) Al-Maqrīzī, al-Dhahab, 66; Bā Makhramah, Thaghr, 161.

(12) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, VIII, 96; al-Fāsī, Tuḥfat, f.188a.

(13) Al-Ṣabbāgh, Tahsīl, f.217a; al-Fāsī, Shifā', II, 195.

Al-Ṣulayḥī remained in Makkah till Rabīᶜ I, 456/ March, 1064. (14) The Hasanids were afraid lest al-Ṣulayḥī have designs of expanding into Makkah leading to its direct annexation to the Yemen, thus threatening the independence which the Makkans had enjoyed for a century. The sharifs gathered and opened negotiations with al-Ṣulayḥī about the future government of Makkah. They said to him, "leave our place and appoint from us whomsoever you choose." (15) Al-Ṣulayḥī accepted their suggestion and chose Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar b. Abī Hāshim (456-487/1064-1094) as deputy amir of Makkah. Al-Ṣulayḥī then went back to the Yemen. (16)

We do not know the reasons which prompted al-Ṣulayḥī to choose Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar who belonged to a family who had not exercised rule before, rather than a member of the Musawids or the Sulaymanids who had previously ruled Makkah. It seems however that al-Ṣulayḥī chose Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar for his personal efficiency and courage. (17) Besides, he was the son-in-law of Shukr, the last of the Musawid leaders. (18) This would have indirectly satisfied the Musawids, legal amirs of Makkah. Besides, transferring the emirate from the Sulaymanids and the Musawids to

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(14) Ibn Fahd, Ithāf, under the year 450 [1064]; Ghāzī, Ifādat, f.64b.

(15) Al-Fāsī, Shifāʾ, II, 196; al-Ṭabarī, Ithāf, f.9b. al-Subāᶜī, Tārikh, 183.

(16) Al-Fāsī, Shifāʾ, II, 196; al-Ṣabbāgh, Tahṣīl, f.218b.

(17) Cf. al-ᶜUmarī, Masālik, f.9a; al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, II, 186.

(18) Al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 198, al-Zaylaᶜī, 'ᶜAlāqāt',83.

another clan would have put an end to the recurrent conflicts between the two clans. It was for these reasons that al-Ṣulayḥī felt that shifting the emirate to the Hashimites would put an end to strife between the two above mentioned groups and stop their rivalries. Moreover, the ending of fighting in Makkah would, in turn, lead to political stability there.

So the Hasamids accepted al-Ṣulayḥī's offer to appoint Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar as their amir in Makkah, as long as this would prevent direct control by the Sulayhids.

The Hashimid Sulayhid dispute in Makkah

The Hashimids were a branch of B. al-Ḥasan al-Sibṭ. They were descendants of Abū Hāshim Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. ᶜAbd Allāh b Mūsā al-Jūn.(19) They constitute the third period of the sharifs, rulers of Makkah.(20) Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar was appointed amir of Makkah among the Hashimids, deputizing for al-Ṣulayḥī, who had returned to the Yemen, as mentioned above. However, the Sulaymanid sharifs soon revolted against Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar and removed him from Makkah. They appointed instead as amir, Ḥamzah b. Wahhās b. Abī ʾl-Ṭayyib.(21)

But the Sulaymanids did not enjoy the amirate for long, as Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar soon attacked Makkah, supported by the Hashimids. He regained it by force and proclaimed the name of the Caliph al-Mustanṣir in the Khuṭbah.(22) He was not, however, content with the position of the Sulayhid's deputy in Makkah, especially when he had regained it through the Hashimids and no one else. Accordingly, he broke away from al-Ṣulayḥī and maintained an independent Makkah. Moreover, he attacked the border town, Ḥaly b. Yaᶜqūb, and captured it in 456/1063, seizing the possessions there of al-Ṣulayḥī.(23) We see in that a naked challenge

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(19) Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat, 46-7; Ibn ᶜInabah, ᶜUmdat, 101; al-Baṭnūnī, al-Riḥlah, 74.

(20) Al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, 1,183; Rifᶜat, Mirʾāt, 354.

(21) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, I, 439f.; Daḥlān, Khulāṣat, 19-20.

(22) Al-Ṭabarī, al-Arj, f.84a; al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 199.

(23) Idrīs, ᶜUyūn, VII, 23; al-Hamdānī, al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn, 93. Cf. Map no.1.

to, and provocation of the authority of ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, thus making it known his plans for independence would not yield an inch of the territories including Ḥaly which had been affiliated to Makkah in the time of his ancestors. (24)

When al-Ṣulayḥī heard of the move by Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar, he did not rush into action against the latter before consulting the Caliph al-Mustanṣir and obtaining his approval. Al-Ṣulayḥī wrote to al-Mustanṣir, complaining of what Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar had done and requesting his permission to proceed and fight him. (25) Yet Caliph al-Mustanṣir instructed al-Ṣulayḥī not to embark in combat with Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar, rather he asked him to be lenient towards the latter, hoping that there might be reasons behind Jaᶜfar's action. (26)

Al-Mustanṣir might not have cared whether Makkah was under al-Ṣulayḥī or the sharifs, as long as the inhabitants recognised that he was imam and as long as the Khuṭbah was pronounced in his name. If anything, al-Mustanṣir preferred the town in the hands of the sharifs, believing that it was futile to try to control it by force. Besides the sharifs accepted the Fatimid genealogy and the existence of a blood relationship between them both, as was clear in their Khutbahs and their ceremonies. (27)

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(24) Al-Zaylāᶜī, 'ᶜAlaqat', 85.

(25) Mājid, al-Sijillāt, 40.

(26) Ibid.

(27) Cf. al-ᶜUmarī, Masālik, XXIV,f.11a; Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntaẓam, VIII, 294; al-Zaylāᶜī, 'ᶜAlāqāt',52, 86,96.

However, ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī soon found a pretext for removing the Hashimids from Makkah. Muḥammad b.Jaᶜfar had quickly shifted his loyalty to the Abbasids and dedicated his Khuṭbah to the Caliph al-Qā'im (d.467/1075) in 458/1065-6. (28) Al-Ṣulayḥī seized that opportunity and sent, in Ṣafar 458/January 1066, a delegation to Egypt to conduct talks with al-Mustanṣir and to ask for permission to proceed to Makkah to settle matters there. (29)

Al-Mustanṣir promptly granted al-Ṣulayḥī's request to take these steps, as long as Ibn Jaᶜfar had transferred his loyalty to the Abbasids. In Rabīᶜ I, 459/February 1067, al-Mustanṣir issued a sijill to ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī implying his approval of the latter's request and advising him to conduct matters wisely, avoiding the violation of Holy Places and not shedding the blood of the Alids. (30)

Al-Ṣulayḥī had no sooner got the sanction of his imam than he started his preparations for his journey to Makkah, and thus to preserve the maintenance of Yemeni sovereignty over it. His preparations complete, he set out for Makkah at the end of 459/1067, deputizing his son, Aḥmad al-Mukarram to look after the affairs of his kingdom in the Yemen. (31) He was accompanied by 2000 cavalry, all the Sulayhid house and the rest of the leaders of the Yemen,

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(28) Al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, IV, 458.

(29) Idrīs, ᶜUyūn, 78-80; al-Hamdānī, al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn, 96.

(30) Idrīs, ᶜUyūn, 82-96; al-Hamdānī, al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn, 306.

(31) Ibn ᶜAbd al-Majīd, Bahjat 53; al-Janadī, al-Sulūk, f.183a-b; Bā Makhramah, Thaghr, 161.

thus avoiding the possibility of their rising in revolt against his son, Aḥmad al-Mukarram, during ᶜAlī's absence. (32)

However, as luck would have it, al-Ṣulayḥī could not reach Makkah and achieve his objective. Saᶜīd al-Aḥwal b. Najāḥ, ex-ruler of Zabīd and leader of B. Najāḥ, supported by seventy of his men lay in ambush for al-Ṣulayḥī in al-Mahjam, in the north of Tihāmat al-Yaman to the east of al-Ḍāḥī. He took al-Ṣulayḥī's camp by surprise, while the occupants were resting, killed al-Ṣulayḥī in Dhū ʾl-Qaᶜdah, 459/October 1068 and seized all the possessions al-Ṣulayḥī was carrying with him. (33) Ibn Najāḥ then cut off the latter's head and took it back to Zabīd, accompanied by Asmāʾ bint Shihāb, al-Ṣulayḥī's wife, as a hostage. (34)

With al-Ṣulayḥī's assassination, the Hashimids in Makkah could feel free of competitors.

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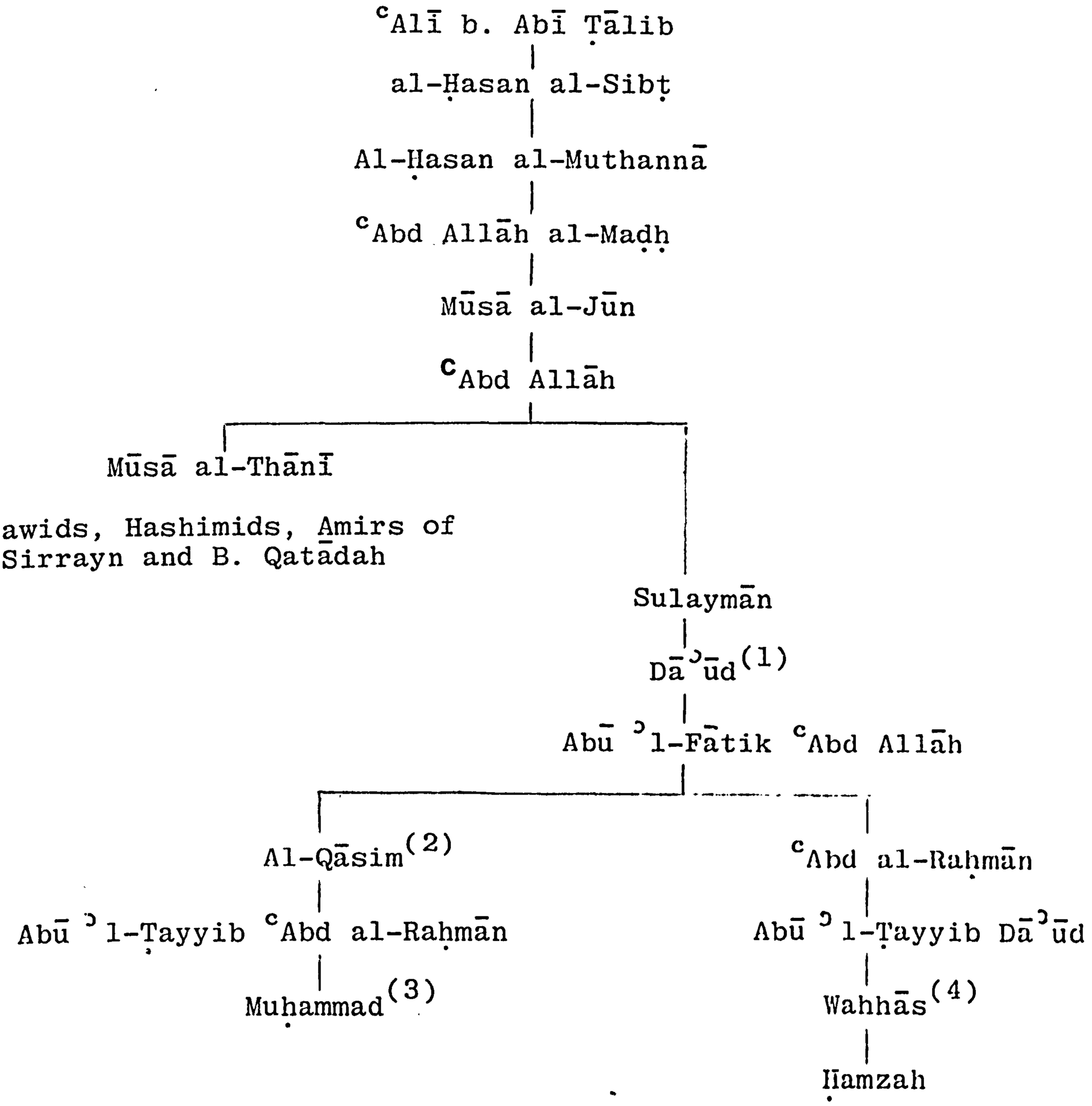
(32) Ibn ᶜAbd al-Majīd, Bahjat, 53; Ibn al-Daybaᶜ, Bughyat, 47; Ibn al-Qasim, Ghāyat, I, 256; al-Janadī, al-Sulūk f. 183b

(33) Al-Maqrīzī, al-Dhahab, 66; Bā Makhramah, Thaghr, 163.

(34) Ibn Fahd, Ithāf, under the year 459 [1068]; al-ᶜAqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, I, 118.

Table No.3

The Sulaymanids



1. Al-Ashraf, Turfat, 108-9, adds Mūsā b. ᶜAbd Allāh, b. Mūsā b. ᶜAbd Allāh, he also lists Sulaymān among the sons of Mūsā al-Thānī who in fact is the brother of the latter. Cf. Ibn ᶜInabah, ᶜUmdat, 91,99-101; also cf. Table no.2 above.
2. Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat, 47, omits Qāsim; he also does not mention the genealogy of ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Abī ʾl-Fātik.
3. Cf. Ibn ᶜInabah, ᶜUmdat, 101; Ghāzī, Ifādat, III, f.63a; al-ᶜIṣamī, Simṭ, IV, 197, does not mention the name of Muḥammad, he instead mentions Abū ʾl-Ṭayyib b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān.
4. Al-ᶜIṣāmī, al-Simṭ, IV, 200, does not go beyond Wahhās.

Fatimid-Yemeni Influence in Makkah recedes and Muḥammad b. Ja^{c}far shifts his loyalty to the Abbasids

After the killing of al-Ṣulayḥī, Muḥammad b. Ja^{c}far was in full control of Makkah. He did not force any counter claim there. But the Abbasid and the Fatimid caliphates had undergone a new development. Changes had also taken place as far as the central authority of the Sulayhids in the Yemen was concerned. This led to the tilting of the balance of power in favour of the Abbasids, throughout the whole of the Islamic world in general, and in Makkah in particular. The Abbasid caliphate got rid of the nightmare of the Shī^{c}ī Buwayhids, thanks to the Sunnī Saljuks. They gave back to the Abbasid caliphate its power and grandeur and strengthened its position in the Islamic world. Besides, since the arrival of the Saljuks in Baghdad, their interest in Makkah was clear, since their leader, Tughrulbik (d.455/1053) made clear their policy towards the Holy Places when he expressed his desire to make the pilgrimage to Makkah, to repair the roads that lead to it, to set out for Syria and Egypt and to remove its ruler al-Mustanṣir . (35) As the star of the Abbasid caliphate rose, the Fatimid caliphate suffered an eclipse and experienced profound regression as a result of the great disaster which befell Egypt from 444-454/1052-1062. (36) The situation had no sooner improved than Egypt suffered from the strife caused by the slaves and Turks. The latter emerged victorious, rebelled against

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(35) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, VIII, 71; cf. al-Qāḍī al-Nu^{c}mān, al-Majālis, 476-7.

(36) Al-Maqrīzī, Itti^{c}āẓ, II, 224 ff; H. Ibrāhīm, Tārīkh, IV, 180.

al-Mustanṣir and forced him to sell his treasures at a poor price dictated by them. (37) Their leader, Nāṣir al-Dawlah Ibn Ḥamdān, went to the extent of delivering the Khuṭbah in the name of the Abbasid Caliph, al-Qā'im, in Alexandria. He also turned trade away from the Delta and prevented the arrival of foodstuffs in Cairo. (38)

In the Yemen Aḥmad al-Mukarram was busy restoring his father's kingdom and saving his mother from her bondage under B. Najāḥ.(39) When he had achieved that, he indulged himself in pleasure and leisure, leaving the affairs of the Yemen in other hands. (40)

All these events took place at a time when the sharifs of Makkah were pressing the Fatimids for the stipends and donations they used to receive under the Fatimid Caliphate. One might excuse the sharifs of Makkah who pressed for financial help from Egypt, owing to the poor resources in Makkah itself and the commitments of the ruling sharif towards the rest of the sharifs who had nothing else to live on except that assistance. There is no wonder that the sharifs of Makkah had shifted their relations in favour of the Abbasids from the sixth decade of the 5th/11th century onwards.

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(37) Al-Maqrīzī, Itti^{c}āẓ, 275-6.

(38) Al-Maqrīzī, Itti^{c}āẓ, 302-303.

(39) Ibn ^{c}Abd al-Majīd, Tārīkh; 54-5; Ibn al-Dayba^{c}, Bughyat, 48-9.

(40) Mājid, al-Sijillāt, 203; al-Janadī, al-Sulūk, f.183b.

The Fatimid caliph al-Mustanṣir, in fact, had not failed in his duty towards the sharifs of Makkah. However the circumstances under which he lived made it difficult for him to honour his commitments even towards his own palace. Nevertheless, he communicated with Aḥmad al-Mukarram, the ruler of the Yemen, asking him to send him the stipends of the Ḥaram, as he,al-Mukarram, knew that any delay in despatching them would harm the people there. But it seems that owing to the deteriorating relations between al-Mukarram and Muḥammad b. Ja^{c}far, the former delayed the delivery of the stipends. Accordingly the latter had to send a sijill to al-Mukarram in 461/1068. In it al-Mustanṣir explained the conditions under which he lived in Egypt and his failure to honour his financial commitments towards Makkah. Then he asked al-Mukarram to despatch 10,000 dinars to the Ḥaramayn giving the sharifs the impression that he was granting them that amount under instructions from the caliph. (41) It seems that al-Mukarram did not comply with the demands of his imam, as he was busy settling his accounts with the people of the Yemen who had attacked him after the killing of his father. (42)

When the Fatimids and the Ṣulayhids failed to send

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(41) Mājid, al-Sijillāt, 203.

(42) Al-Mukarram faced a large-scale insurrection after the death of his father. Most of the Yemen slipped out of his hands and he had only the capital, San^{c}ā', and even there he had enemies. However, he managed to avenge his father's death and to win back all the regions. Cf. ^{c}Umārah, Tārīkh al-Yaman, 56ff; al-Ashraf, Fākihat, ^{c}f.44 a-b; al-Khazraji, al-Kifayah, f.40b; Ibn al-Dayba^{c}, Bughyat, 48ff.; Ḥasan Sulaymān, Tarīkh, 186 ff.

the stipends of the Makkan sharifs, Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar pronounced the Khuṭbah in the name of al-Qā'im, the Abbasid caliph, and in that of the Saljuk Sultan, Alp Arslān, (d. 465/1072-3) in 462/1069. Then he sent a delegation, along with his son, to seek an audience with the Sultan Alp Arsalān, informing him of the decision taken by his father. (43) The sultan and Caliph al-Qā'im, were satisfied with Muḥammad's action and rewarded him with a sum of money which historians suggest was as high as 30,000 dinars. (44) The Abbasid caliph then delegated Abū 'l-Ghanā'im, head of the Talibids in Baghdad, to meet the sharifs of Makkah and discuss with them the future of relations between the Abbasids and the Makkans. An agreement was reached to dedicate the Khuṭbah to al-Qā'im, the Abbasid Caliph , and Sultan Alp Arslān, and to change the emblem from white, the colour of the Fatimids, to black, the colour of the Abbasids. (45) In return for this the sharif of Makkah was given an annual stipend of 10,000 dinars. (46) This agreement was enforced as the Hashimid sharif of Makkah delivered the Khuṭbah during the pilgrimage of 463/1071. This Khuṭbah was delivered as follows: "Thanks be to God who through sound opinion guided us to the people of this house, replaced the ageing trappings with the black ones,

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(43) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, VIII, 108; al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, II,111.

(44) Ibn Fahd, Ithāf, under year 462 [1069]; al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 200.

(45) Al-ᶜUmarī, Masālik, XXIV, f. 9 a-b.

(46) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, VIII, 107-8.

moved our hearts in the direction of obedience and the election of the imam of the community." (47) Abbasid-Makkan relations developed, were so well cemented and established that the Hashimids, upon a demand from the Caliph al-Qā'im, neglected the line of the adhān, "come to the best of deeds" in 464/1071-2. (48) Thus the most prominent of the hallmarks of Shīᶜism was eradicated from Makkah. Moreover the development of Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar's relations with the Abbasids enabled him to seek their assistance in attacking B. Muhannā, rulers of Medina, an action which resulted in its occupation and annexation to Makkah in 465/1072. (49) The Khutbah in Medina was given in the name of al-Qā'im, the Abbasid, and Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar was thus named the amir of the Ḥaramayn. (50)

However, the Fatimids did not stand idly by, while this Abbasid success was achieved in Makkah. In 466/1073, the Caliph al-Mustanṣir sent two messengers to Makkah. They met the Amir Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar, bitterly criticised him for his reciting the Khuṭbah in the name of the Abbasid caliph and Sultan Alp Arslān and offered money for him to drop their names from the Khuṭbah. But the amir of Makkah did not listen to them and drove the messengers

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(47) Al-ᶜUmarī, Masālik, XXIV, f.9b; Ibn Khaldūn, al-ᶜIbar, IV, 103, al-ᶜIṣamī, Simṭ, IV, 199-200.

(48) Ibn Taghrī-Bardī, al-Nujūm, V, 89.

(49) Al-ᶜUmarī, Masālik, XXIV, f.9a.

(50) Al-ᶜUmarī, Masālik, XXIV, f.10a.

away. The Abbasids appreciated his stand and sent him and his men enough money to satisfy him. (51)

However Abbasid sovereignty was doomed to be short-lived in Makkah, as Egypt enjoyed prosperity and stability once again. The state could then exercise its control over its subjects. (52) This was thanks in particular to the efforts of Badr al-Jamālī (d. 487/1094), ruler of Acre, whom al-Mustanṣir summoned in 466/1073 and appointed wazīr. After settling the affairs of Egypt, the new minister asked the amir of Makkah to show obedience to the Fatimids; failing this he would be deprived of his amirate at the hands of other sharifs. (53) Though Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar rejected Badr al-Jamālī's ultimatum he could not resist the pressure exerted on him by the rest of the sharifs. He, therefore, reluctantly delivered the Khuṭbah in the name of al-Mustanṣir. (54) All the emblems in Makkah which bore the name of the Caliph, al-Qā'im, and Sultan Alp Arslān were replaced by those bearing the name of the Fatimid Caliph, al-Mustanṣir. (55) However, the Fatimids were unable to honour their obligations. They sent only 1000 dinars to Makkah in 468/1075, (56)

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(51) Ibn Fahd, Itḥāf, under the year 466 [1073]; al-Zaylaᶜī, 'ᶜAlāqāt,' 95.

(52) Ibn Muyassar, Akhbār, 30.

(53) Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, al-Ishārah, 58; al-Jazīrī, Durar, 256; al-Mannāwī, al-Wizārah, 211.

(54) Ibn Muyassar, Akhbār, 24.

(55) Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntaẓam, VIII, 294.

(56) Ibn Fahd, Itḥāf, under the year of 468 [1075].

Baghdad sent 20,000 dinars, which gladdened the heart of Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar who accordingly preached in the name of the Abbasids. (57) Though the Khuṭbah was delivered again in the name of the Fatimids at times, Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar shifted his loyalty to the Abbasids for good in 479/1076. He also finally stopped mention of the name of the Fatimids in the Khuṭbah of Makkah. (58) He then sent a delegation to Baghdad which was accorded a warm reception. Ibn al-Jawzī describes the scene, "The Dīwān attendants came out to receive them, returned with the Koran reciters with them, who dismounted and kissed the honourable threshold. Later they were taken to the guest house and given the usual gifts." (59)

Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar remained loyal to the Abbasids till he died in 487/1095. (60)

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(57) Ibn al-Jawzī, al-Muntaẓam, VIII, 294.

(58) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, VIII, 144.

(59) Al-Muntẓam, IX, 27.

(60) Al-ᶜUmarī, Masālik, XXIV, f.10a; Al-Jannābī, al-Baḥr, f 432a; al-Ṭabarī Itḥāf, f.9b.

Muḥammad b. Ja^{c}far's successors and the end of the Hashimids

From our study of Makkah under Muḥammad b. Ja^{c}far, one notices how the Abbasids enjoyed a great measure of sovereignty over Makkah during his time, as against the Fatimids who were busy consolidating their authority in Egypt and neglected the Hijaz. Thus the Abbasid presence was maintained in Makkah until the death of Muḥammad b. Ja^{c}far, as has been mentioned above. When his son, Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ja^{c}far (487-518/1095-1124) succeeded him, he initiated his activities by invoking the names of the Fatimids in the Khuṭbah in 488/1095. (61) The Saljuk commander Uṣbahid set out from Damascus, attacked Makkah and drove out Qāsim. (62) The sources do not explain the reasons behind this attack on Makkah by Uṣbahid, but a study of the rivalries over Makkah between the Abbasids and the Fatimids will show that the Saljuk Turks supported the Abbasids against the Fatimids. One does not preclude the suggestion that the Abbasids acted in answer to Qāsim's invocation of the Fatimids in his Khuṭbah. Besides, the attack was launched from the nearest Abbasid-Saljuk territory to Makkah, namely Damascus.

At any rate, Qāsim quickly massed his troops in 488/1095 and fought the Saljuk commander, Uṣbahid b. Saratkīn, at ^{c}Asfān, fifty miles north of Makkah on the

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(61) Ibn Fahd, Ithāf, under the year 488 [1095]; al-Subā^{c}ī, Tārīkh, I, 186.

(62) Al-^{c}Iṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 203; al-Subā^{c}ī, Tārīkh, 187.

pilgrim route. Qāsim defeated Uṣbahid, so that the latter was forced to turn back to Damascus giving up his attempt to occupy Makkah. (63)

Although Qāsim defeated the Saljuk commander, he did not then deliver the Khuṭbah in the name of the Fatimids, but rather in the name of the Abbasids in 489/1095. (64) It seems that Uṣbahid's action was a warning that the Abbasids would not leave him to play the game which his forefathers had played. Thus he might have concluded that it would be safer to mention the name of the Abbasids in the Khuṭbah instead of risking new threats from them and their supporters. In any case, the Abbasids were satisfied with Qāsim's performance during the rule of Caliph al-Mustaẓhir (d. 512/1118) and perhaps also his son, Caliph al-Mustarshid (d. 529/1135). They bestowed on him gifts and money. (65) Qāsim was not only loyal to the Abbasids, but also provoked the Fatimids within their own territory. Al-Nuwayrī, quoted by al-Fāsī, mentions that Qāsim despatched a naval expedition to ᶜAydhāb on the western side of the Red Sea. The expedition plundered the town and killed some merchants there. (66) The rest escaped and complained to al-Afḍal, the Fatimid wazīr, who wrote a threatening letter to the sharif of Makkah. The wazīr prevented the Egyptian pilgrims from going to Makkah in

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(63) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, VIII, 487; al-Ṣabbāgh, Tahṣil, f.218a; De Goury, Rulers, 62.

(64) Al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, I, 187; De Goury, Rulers, 62.

(65) Ibn Khaldūn, al-ᶜIbar, IV, 104; al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 204.

(66) Al-ᶜIqd, VII, 29.

514/1120. He also stopped material assistance. This resulted in great suffering. (67) Amir Qāsim was repentant and wrote to al-Afḍal in 515/1120, expressing his regret and promising to return the money to its owners.(68) It can be seen then how Qāsim had taken a bold step which had not been taken by the sharifs of Makkah since the time of Abū 'l-Futūḥ. He was trying to win the favour of the Abbasids. He was approved of in Baghdad and remained loyal to the Abbasids till his death in 518/1124. (69) He was succeeded as amir of Makkah by his son Fulaytah b. Qāsim (518-527/1124-1132). (70) The latter inaugurated his assignment by preaching in the name of the Abbasid Caliph al-Mustarshid. (71) He maintained justice among the inhabitants of his amirate and removed taxes formerly imposed on them; accordingly they were deeply impressed.(72) On the other hand one finds nothing in the writings of the historians to suggest that he maintained the name of the Abbasids in the khuṭbah or that he shifted it to the Fatimids. However, Taqī al-Dīn al-Fāsī mentions that, during Fulaytah's rule, the Iraqi pilgrims continued flocking into Makkah. (73) Thus we do not preclude the possibility

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(67) Al-Fāsī, al-ʿIqd, VII, 29-30.

(68) Al-Fāsī, al-ʿIqd, VII, 29.

(69) Al-ʿIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 203.

(70) Al-Jannābī, al-Baḥr, f.431a; De Gaury, Rulers, 62.

(71) Al-ʿIṣamī, al-Simṭ, IV; 204; al-Ṣabbāgh, Taḥṣīl, f.218b.

(72) Al-Fāsī, al-ʿIqd, VII, 20.

(73) Shifā', II, 229.

that he preached in the name of the Abbasids till his own death in 527/1132. (74)

On the death of Fulaytah his sons quarrelled over who was to rule. Fighting broke out in which one of them, Hāshim (527-549/1132-1154), emerged victorious and he became the sole ruler. (75) Fighting among brothers for the seat was a new development in the history of the sharifs of Makkah, a development which was often to be repeated later. However, Hāshim lacked his father's kindness and sense of Justice. (76) He differed with the Abbasid and preached in the name of the Fatimid Caliph al-Ḥāfiẓ (d. 544/1149). Thus he antagonized the Sulayhid al-Ḥurrah Arwā bint Aḥmad (d. 532/1137-8), ruler of the Yemen. (77) She was then preaching in the name of Imam al-Ṭayyib, son of al-Āmir (495-524/1101-1131), not recognising al-Ḥāfiẓ as caliph. Al-Ḥāfiẓ lacked the qualities required of an imam that Arwā thought should be present in the Fatimid caliph. (78) She warned Hāshim not to continue preaching in the name of al-Ḥāfiẓ. (79) Thus the Yemen was interfering once again in the domestic affairs of Makkah. However, Sharif Hāshim was no less lucky than his grandfather, Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar,

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(74) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, VIII, 341; De Gaury, Rulers, 62.

(75) Al-Gannābī, al-Baḥr, f.431a; al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, I, 188.

(76) Al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, I, 188-9.

(77) Ibn Khaldūn, al-ᶜIbar, IV, 104; Surūr, Siyāsat, 32.

(78) For this split in the Fatimid Caliphate, cf. Ibn Muyassar, Akhbār, 71-4; Ibn Taghrī-Bardī, al-Nujūm, V, 237 ff; Bates, "Ismāᶜīlī coins," 154-6.

(79) Ibn Khaldūn, al-ᶜIbar, IV, 104; Surūr, Siyāsat, 32.

when al-Ṣulayḥī threatened an invasion of Makkah that was unsuccessful. Arwā passed away in 532/1137-8. (80)

Hāshim was soon to shift his loyalty to the Abbasids at the end of his rule and remained so till his own death in 549/1154. (81) His son al-Qāsim b. Hāshim (549-557/1154-1161) succeeded him. (82) He made a point of mentioning the name of the Abbasid Caliph, al-Mustanjid (d.566/1170), in the Khuṭbah. (83) On the other hand he tried to improve relations with the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt. Therefore, he sent the poet, ᶜUmārah al- Yamanī (d.569-1179) in 550/1155 to discuss ways of cementing relations between the amir of Makkah and the Caliph al-Fāᵓiz and his Wazīr al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ṭalāᵓiᶜ b. Ruzzayk. (84) When ᶜUmārah entered the hall of the Dhahab palace to meet them, he recited an eulogy of the caliph and the wazīr, in which he referred to his leaving Makkah for Cairo as an ambassador. Some lines follow (85)

الْحَمْدُ لِلْعِيْسِ بَعْدَ الْعَزْمِ وَالْهِمَمِ حَمْداً يَقُوْمُ بِمَا أَوْلَتْ مِنَ النِّعَمِ
قَرَّبْنَ بُعْدَ مَزَارِ الْعِزِّ مِنْ نَظَرِيْ حَتَّى رَأَيْتُ إِمَامَ الْعَصْرِ مِنْ أُمَمِ
وَرُحْنَ مِنْ كَعْبَةِ الْبَطْحَاءِ وَالْحَرَمِ وَفْداً إِلَى كَعْبَةِ الْمَعْرُوْفِ وَالْكَرَمِ
حَيْثُ الْخِلَافَةُ مَضْرُوْبٌ سُرَادِقُهَا بَيْنَ النَّقِيْضَيْنِ مِنْ عَفْوٍ وَمِنْ كَرَمِ

I am grateful to my camels, after my own determination and drive;
grateful for the bounties which have been accorded to me.

For 'the camels' drew me nearer after the abode of splendour Makkah and now I behold the Imam of the age, the Imam of nations.

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(80) Ibn ᶜAbd al-Majīd, Bahjat, 61; Ibn Khaldūn, al-ᶜIbar, IV,104. For this unsuccessful invasion by al-Ṣulayḥī of the Sharif of Makkah, Muḥammad b. Jaᶜfar, cf. 54 above.

(81) Al-Ṣabbāgh, Taḥṣīl, f.218b; al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, I, 188.

(82) Al-Ṭabarī, Itḥāf, f.9b.

(83) Ibn Khaldūn, al-ᶜIbar, IV, 104; Surūr, Siyāsat, 32.

(84) ᶜUmarah, al-Nukat, 31-32; Alwash, Umara, 39.

(85) ᶜUmarah, al-Nukat, 32-4; Alwash, Umara,40.

They left the Ka^{c}bah of the water bed [i.e. the Ka^{c}bah itself] and the Ḥaram a delegation to the ka^{c}bah of kindness and generosity [i.e. the imam and his wazīr].

Where in the caliphate has pitched its tent.
Between the two extremes of forgiveness and revenge.

The Caliph, al- Fā'iz and his Wazīr Ibn Ruzzayk received ^{c}Umārah warmly and bestowed on him money and presents. He then returned to Makkah in 550/1155.(86) It seemed then as if relations between Makkah and the Fatimids were improving. However, the army of Sharif Qāsim attacked and looted Egyptian and Syrian merchants and pilgrims. (87) Once again Sharif Qāsim despatched ^{c}Umārah to Egypt in 552/1157, with a message expressing his apology for what had happened in Makkah. (88) It seems that ^{c}Umārah's second assignment succeeded in cementing relations between Qāsim and the Fatimids, for the former received from Egypt aid to the value of 10,000 dinars approximately.(89) This angered the Abbasids and they despatched an army to Makkah which succeeded in dislodging Qāsim in 556/1160 and replacing him with his uncle, ^{c}Īsā b. Fulaytah.(90) But Qāsim attacked Makkah once again and took it from his uncle in 557/1161. (91) A few days later ^{c}Īsā attacked Makkah and Qāsim was put to death. (92) Makkah thus came

(86) ^{c}Umārah, al-Nukat, 34-5.
(87) Al-Fāsī, al-^{c}Iqd, VII, 33.
(88) ^{c}Umārah, al-Nukat, 42.
(89) Al-Fāsī, al-^{c}Iqd, VII, 34.
(90) Al-Fāsī, al-^{c}Iqd, VII, 35; De Gaury, Rulers, 62.
(91) Al-Fāsī, Shifā', II, 198.
(92) Al-Jannābī, al-Baḥr, f, 432a; al-Qalqashandī, Subḥ, IV, 271.

under the control of his uncle, ᶜĪsā b. Fulaytah (557-570/1161-1179). (93) One can see that owing to the instability in Fatimid Egypt, the Abbasid Caliphate managed to settle things in Makkah by force and through the constant changing of amirs.

Developments soon helped the entrenchment of Abbasid influence in the Hijaz. The Ayyubid Saladin, a staunch Sunnī, managed to impose his own control over the Caliph, al-ᶜĀḍid (556-567/1160-1171), the last Fatimid Caliph in Egypt. He forbade all reference to the Fatimid caliph's name from the minbars of Egypt. Instead he instructed the replacement of the name of the Abbasid Caliph, al-Mustaḍī' (d. 575/1179), in the khuṭbah. (94) In 567/1171 his messengers arrived in Makkah to support the mention of the Abbasids in the khuṭbah in Makkah. (95) Thus Īsā b. Fulaytah preached for almost two years in the name of the Abbasids. Then Saladin proclaimed the fall of the Fatimids in the same year and the rise of the Ayyubid state. (96) Thereupon the amir of Makkah began mention of the name of Saladin alongside that of the Abbasids in Makkah and they no longer had rivals there. In fact Saladin nominally recognized the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad, tried to consolidate his influence in Makkah and also permitted the

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(93) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, VI, 466; De Gaury, Rulers, 62.

(94) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, IX, 111; O'Leary, History, 213.

(95) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, IX, 111-12; Ibn Khaldūn, al-ᶜIbar, IV, 104; al-Subaᶜī, Tarīkh, I, 192.

(96) Al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 6-7; al-Shalabī, al-Tārīkh, V, 157-8.

mention of the name of the Abbasid caliph in the khutbah there. The amir of Makkah, ᶜĪsā b. Fulaytah accepted this. Baghdad recommenced the pilgrim procession to Makkah under the leadership of whomsoever the caliph chose. (97)

However, ᶜĪsā b. Fulaytah soon faced rivalry from relatives attempting to share power. This became a permanent theme throughout future stages of the history of the sharifs. His brother, Mālik b. Fulaytah, questioned his authority in 565/1169, enjoyed victory over Makkah, then made peace with his brother, ᶜĪsā, and left Makkah for Syria. (98) Soon after that he attacked Jeddah and captured some of its riches in 567/1171. (99) Afterwards he marched on Makkah at the head of an army of Hudhayl. ᶜĪsā came out against Mālik and defeated him. Makkah remained under the control of ᶜĪsā until his death in Shaᶜbān, 570/1174. (100) The control of Makkah then moved to his son, Dā'ūd b. ᶜĪsā (d. 590/1193) who, however, ruled for a short time. The Abbasid Caliph, al-Nāṣir, (571-597/1170-1200) deposed him and appointed in his stead his brother, Mukthir (571-597/1170-1200) in 571/1170. (101)

Although Mukthir's appointment was due to the Abbasids, he and his group of sharifs became aware of Abbasid tyranny and how appointments and dismissals were carried out by them. It became clear that they had run short

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(97) Al-Fāsī, Shifā' , II, 198.
(98) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, VI, 466-7.
(99) Al-Ṣabbāgh, Taḥṣīl, f.219a; al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, I, 202.
(100) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, VI, 466-7.
(101) Al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 205; Al-Ṭabarī, Itḥāf, f.10a.

of the stratagems used under the Fatimid State. The sharifs had no alternative but to rely on themselves and to prepare themselves for any potential Abbasid design. One modern writer describes to us how the sharifs prepared themselves for defence of their amirate: "[The sharifs] began the building of a castle on Gabal Abū Qubais [Jabal Abī Qubays], immediately above the city, into which they could retreat and defend themselves in case of need, and at the same time instituted more regular payments to the bedouin, some of whom they henceforward kept by them as a standing army." (102)

When Baghdad came to hear of Mukthir's fortifications and his plans for self-defence, it considered this a challenge to its authority in Makkah. Thereupon it instructed the pilgrimage amir, Ṭāshtakīn, to oust Mukthir from Makkah and demolish his castle. Ṭāshtakīn managed to defeat Mukthir, oust him from Makkah and remove his fortifications. (103) Moreover, he summoned the amir of Medina, Qāsim b. Muhannā and appointed him amir of Makkah on instructions from the Abbasid state. (104) Thus the Abbasid Caliphate unmasked their intention of getting rid of the Hasanids. The Abbasids could have put an end to the latter presence in Makkah, but for the Hasanids'

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(102) De Gaury, Rulers, 63; also cf. al-Jannābī, al-Baḥr, f. 432a; al-Ṣabbāgh, Tahṣīl, f.219a.

(103) Al-ᶜIṣāmi, Simṭ, IV, 205; al-Ṭabarī, Ithāf, F.10a.

(104) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, VII, 276; al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, I, 204.

presence there, their relations with the tribes stationed along the road to Makkah and the bearing this had on the Iraqi pilgrims' security prevented the Abbasids from doing so for some time. However, the Abbasids took steps to replace them with their cousins, the Husaynids. Their plans, however, were quite unsuccessful, the Makkans making it impossible for Ibn Muhannā to rule for more than a few days, so that he was obliged to withdraw. (105) Dā'ūd b. ʿĪsā returned and finally Mukthir came back as ruler with Dā'ūd's agreement. (106)

The two brothers alternately filled the post of amir of Makkah and eventually Mukthir became the sole amir after the death of his brother, Dā'ūd, in 590/1193. (107) This was the case till 597/1200, the year which witnessed the end of the Hashimids at the hand of Qatādah b. Idrīs. (108) Qatādah b. Idrīs was the founder of the ruling Qatādah dynasty, the fourth period. (109)

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(105) Al-Ṭabarī, Ithāf, f.10a,; De Gaury, Rulers, 63.

(106) Al-Sinjārī, Manā'iḥ, 276; al-Ṭabarī, Ithāf, f.10a. During the time of Mukhthir, Ṭughtakīn, the Ayyubid governor of the Yemen and brother of Saladin, had stopped for a time in Makkah after his pilgrimage in 581/1185. He removed the capitation tax on pilgrims imposed by the sharifs of Makkah, substituting an annual subsidy to the sharifs. Cf. al-Sinjārī, Manā'iḥ, 277; al-ʿIṣāmī, Simṭ, 206; De Gaury, Rulers, 63.

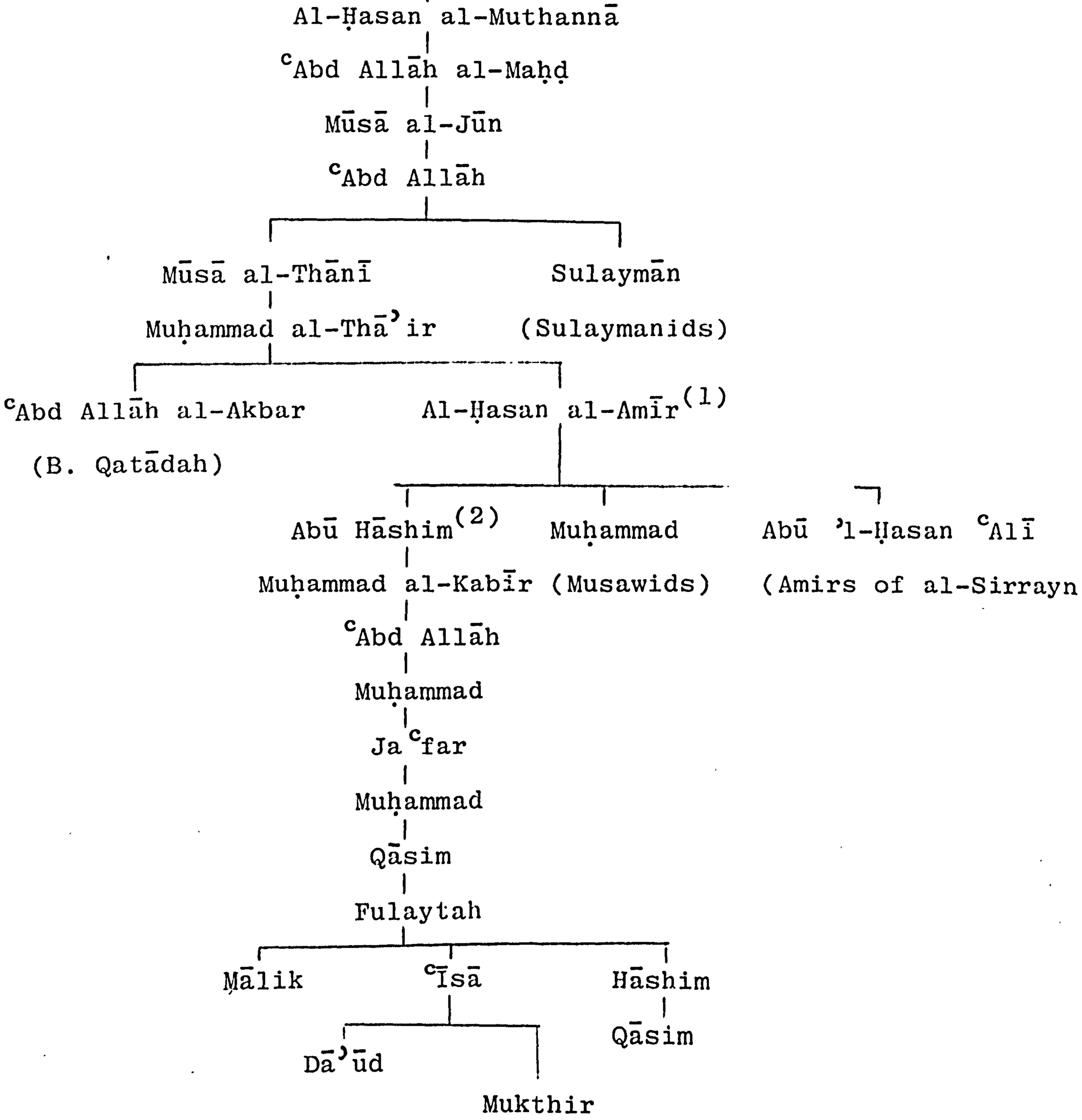
(107) Al-Fāsī, al-ʿIqd, VII, 279; al-Qarmānī, Akhbār, 225.

(108) Al-Fāsī, al-ʿIqd, VII, 278; al-Subāʿī, Tārīkh, I, 205.

(109) Cf. 41 above.

Table No.4

The Hashimid Amirs of Makkah



(1) Ḥusayn in Ibn ᶜInabah, Umdat, 108; al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, I, 173; al-ᶜIṣāmī correctly mentions al-Ḥasan but he adds another al-Ḥasan before Muḥammad, Simṭ, IV, 199.

(2) The genealogy of Abū Hāshim is not included in Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat, 47.

CHAPTER 4

B. Qatādah

- The rise of the Qatādah Family in Makkah
- The Yemeni occupation of Makkah during the late Ayyūbids

The Rise of the Qatādah Family in Makkah
(597-626/1200-1229)

B. Qatādah are of the same stock as the Hashimids, the two families having a common ancestor; they meet at ᶜAbd Allāh al-Kabīr b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Mūsā al-Jūn, within the genealogy of the Hasanid sharifs. (1) The family of Qatādah were bedouins living in al-ʿAlqamiyyah.(2) Attaining full maturity, Qatādah had acquired fame as a warrior and had led his clan, B. Muṭāᶜin, in their defeat of the sharifs of B. Ḥirāb, as well as B. ᶜĪsā b. Sulaymān, from whom Qatādah took Yanbuʿ and also al-Ṣafrāʾ, the key pass between north and south of the Hijaz. In addition Qatādah was able to win over the tribes of B. Muḥammad and B. Ibrāhīm. (3)

When Qatādah had decided to take Makkah from the Hashimids, who were on the decline, he despatched an expedition led by his son, Ḥanẓalah, who managed to occupy Makkah and depose Mukthir, the last amir of the Hashimids in 597/1200. (4) However, Muḥammad, the son of Mukthir, made a counter attack on Makkah, but this was unsuccessful.(5)

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(1) Ibn ᶜInabah, ᶜUmdat, 115; cf. table no.5 below.

(2) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, VII,32; al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simt, IV,207-8; al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, I, 205. Al-ᶜAlqamiyyah is a village in Yanbuʿ al-Nakhl, the province of Medina. Cf. al-Jāsir, Muᶜjam, II, 846.

(3) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, VII, 32; De Gaury, Rulers, 83. Al-Ṣafrāʾ lies in the province of Medina, its people are B. Sālim of Ḥarb tribe. Cf. al-Jāsir, Muᶜjam, I,648.

(4) Al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk, I, 162; al-Jannābī, al-Baḥr,f.432b.

(5) Al-Ṭabarī, Nashʾat, 492; De Gaury, Rulers, 83.

Thus Qatādah came to rule Makkah, the first in control there of his family. This branch then ruled Makkah until they were expelled from the Hijaz by Ibn Sa^{c}ūd in 1343/1929. (6) In the beginning Qatādah had shown a remarkable determination to see the Hijaz both independent and unified. Accordingly in 606/1204 he invaded the territory of Sālim b. Qāsim al-Ḥusaynī, the amir of Medina. (7) Sources indicate that a battle took place between Qatādah and Sālim at Dhū $^{\prime}$l-Ḥulayfah, near Medina. However, Qatādah not only failed to defeat Sālim, but also was compelled to retreat to Makkah, where Sālim then followed him and laid siege to the town. (8) However, Qatādah made great efforts to attract the followers of Sālim to his side and the latter withdrew to Medina acknowledging the superior strength of Qatādah. (9) Later Qatādah looked forward to bringing the province of al-Ṭā$^{\prime}$if under his control. He therefore sent a successful expedition against the tribe of Thaqīf, living in the area south-east of Makkah and in al-Ṭā$^{\prime}$if, with the result that Qatādah ruled over them and included their lands in his amirate. (10) Thus Qatādah controlled the whole of Hijaz from Yanbu^{c} in the north to Ḥaly in the south. (11)

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(6) Rif^{c}at, Mir$^{\prime}$āt, 354; Antonious, the Arab Awakening, 334-5.

(7) Al-Sinjārī, Man$^{\prime}$iḥ, 281, al-Ṭabarī ,Ithāf, F.12a.

(8) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, IX, 269; al-Ṣabbāgh,Taḥṣīl,F.220a.

(9) Al-Jannābī, al-Baḥr. f.433a; al-Ṭabarī, Ithāf, f.12a.

(10) Al-Ṣabbāgh, Taḥṣil, f.219b; al-^{c}Iṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 210.

(11) Ibn al-^{c}Athīr, al-Kāmil, IX, 345; al-Fāsī, Shifā$^{\prime}$, II,199.

As far as his relationship with the Abbasids and Ayyubids is concerned, Qatādah did not seem to have much interest in cementing good relations with either side. Qatādah had always believed that he had a strcnger claim to the caliphate than the Abbasid Caliph in Baghdad.(12) The result was that Caliph al-Nāṣir (d.622/1225) was considered his biggest enemy and determined to get rid of him by any means. Qatādah, however, was a resolute man, not a coward. His bravery is illustrated by an event in 608/1211, when the Iraqi caravan led by the Amir ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Yāqūt, a slave of the Abbasid Caliph, came to Makkah to perform the pilgrimage.(13) While the pilgrims were at Minā, a Holy Place east of Makkah, an Ismāʿīlī leapt on a sharif, a cousin of Qatādah, and killed him. (14) This sharif bore a considerable resemblance to Qatādah and so the assailant assumed him to be Qatādah. (15) Consequently, Qatādah accused the Abbasid Caliph, al-Nāṣir, of plotting to have him killed and affirmed that the sharif who was killed had only been mistaken for Qatādah.(16) Therefore, Qatādah and his men attacked the Iraqi caravan and a great number of the pilgrims were killed and their caravan looted. (17)

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(12) Abū Shāmah, al-Dhayl, 123; al-Fāsī, al-ʿIqd, VII,57; De Gaury, Rulers, 85.

(13) Al-Ṭabarī, Nashʾat, II, 493.

(14) Al-ʿIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 210; al-Ṣabbāgh, Tahsīl, f.220a. al-Sinjārī, Manāʾih, 281; De Gaury, Rulers, 84.

(15) Al-Fāsī; al-ʿIqd, VII, 48.

(16) Al-Ṭabarī, Nashʾat, 86, 493.

(17) Ibn al-Furāt, Tārīkh, V, 121, Abū Shāmah, al-Dhayl, 78; al-Ṭabarī, Nashʾat, 86-493.

Thus the Iraqi pilgrims returned home in great misery, weeping over their misfortune.

From that time the Abbasid Caliph was determined to have his revenge on Qatādah for this massacre. However, he realized the problems of sending an army through the Arabian desert and the consequences of being involved in encounters with bedouins. So the caliph decided to persuade Qatādah to come to Baghdād in a bid to deceive him in one way or another. (18) Therefore, the Caliph al-Nāṣir, sent a great quantity of gifts and money to Qatādah in the following year, 609/1212. These presents arrived with the amir of the Iraqi pilgrim caravan, in an attempt to give the impression that the caliph harboured no anger towards Qatādah after the attack on the Iraqi pilgrims the previous year. (19) So the amir of the caravan approached Qatādah in an attempt to persuade him to go to Baghdad to meet the Caliph al-Nāṣir.(20) Qatādah suspected the motive behind this invitation, bearing in mind the previous incident. So he asked for a brief delay for consultation with his relatives.(21) As a result they decided to challenge the Caliph al-Nāṣir. (22) On the next day, Qatādah told the Iraqi amir

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(18) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, VII, 50; al-Ṣabbāgh, Tahṣīl, f.220a.

(19) Al-Ṭabarī, Nashᵓat, I, 90, II, 495; al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, VII, 50.

(20) Al-Jannābī, al-Baḥr, f.432b; al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 211.

(21) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, VII, 50; al-Sinjārī, Manāᵓih, 285.

(22) Al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, 211-2; al-Ṣabbāgh, Taḥṣīl, f.220a.

of his refusal to go to Baghdad, as it would certainly mean the end of his life. (23) He also enclosed the following verses to be delivered by the Iraqi amir to the Caliph al-Nāṣir:

وَلِيْ كَفُّ ضَرْغَامٍ أَصُوْلُ بِبَطْشِهَا ... وَأَشْرِيْ بِهَا بَيْنَ الْوَرَىٰ وَأَبِيْعُ
تَظَلُّ مُلُوْكُ الْأَرْضِ تَلْثِمُ ظَهْرَهَا ... وَفِيْ بَطْنِهَا لِلْمُجْدِبِيْنَ رَبِيْعُ
أَأَجْعَلُهَا تَحْتَ الرَّحَىٰ ثُمَّ أَبْتَغِيْ ... خَلَاصًا لَهَا إِنِّيْ إِذاً لَرَقِيْعُ
وَمَا أَنَا إِلَّا الْمِسْكُ فِيْ كُلِّ بُقْعَةٍ ... يَضُوْعُ وَأَمَّا عِنْدَكُمْ فَأَضِيْعُ

I have a lion's hand and by its strength I attack;
With it I buy and sell among men

Kings of the earth persist in kissing the back of my hand,
while those suffering drought find a spring
of water in its palm.

Shall I place it under the millstone, then seek to free it?
How stupid I would be!

I am nothing but musk, whose fragance spreads everywhere;
after my coming to you, I would then myself be dispelled like musk . (24)

Yet it appears that the amir was honest with Qatādah and informed him that he would not dare to take these verses to the Abbasid Caliph, knowing that the consequences would be grave for Qatādah himself and his men. (25) The amir seems to have had considerable respect for Qatādah and his family and did not want to see them placed in danger. He eventually was able to persuade Qatādah not to send the verses to the caliph. Also he suggested that if Qatādah

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(23) Al-Ṭabarī, Nash'at, I, 92.

(24) Abū Shāmah, Dhayl, 123; al-Fāsī, al-ʿIqd, VII, 50-51; Idrīs, Kanz, f.167a.

(25) Al-Ṭabarī, Nash'at, I, 92; al-Subāʿī, Tārīkh, I, 206.

were suspicious of the motives of the caliph, he should not go to Baghdād. Alternatively he could test al-Nāṣir's intention by sending him one of his sons. (26)

Qatādah accepted the amir's suggestion and sent his son, Rājiḥ, to meet the Caliph, al-Nāṣir. (27) The son, however, returned safely to Makkah after his visit. (28) Subsequently, Qatādah praised the amir as a sincere friend and said, "God curse the first decision taken in anger." (29)

Another explanation offered by some historians is that the verses of Qatādah had already been sent to Baghdad when he decided not to present himself to the Iraqi pilgrim caravan in answer to the caliph's demand. (30) Upon receiving the verses the caliph cursed Qatādah and swore that he would make him suffer. The caliph threatened to send his forces from Baghdad and Damascus against Qatādah. (31) Therefore, the argument continues, Qatādah surrendered to the caliph's threat and sent his son, as stated before.

As for the attempt of the Ayyubids in the north to gain influence in Makkah, this was far more serious than that of the Abbasids. The reason for this was that the

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(26) Al-Ṭabarī, Nash'at, I, 92; Bā Qāsī, Bilād al-Hijāz, 47.

(27) Al-Ṭabarī, Nash'at, I, 93; al-ʿIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 212.

(28) Al-Sinjarī, Manā'iḥ, 285; al-ʿIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 212.

(29) Al-Fāsī, al-ʿIqd, VII, 52; al-Sinjārī, Manā'iḥ, 286.

(30) Ibn ʿInabah, ʿUmdat, 115-6; al-Jannābī, al-Baḥr, f.432b.

(31) Al-ʿIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 209; De Gaury, Rulers, 84.

Ayyubids at the outset gave their backing to the amir of Medina, Sālim b. Qāsim (d. 613/1216), the enemy of Qatādah, with whom the latter quarrelled about the control of Medina, as mentioned above. The Ayyubids had the utmost contempt for Qatādah as a result of what he did to them in the incident described below.

In 611/1214 the Ayyubid, ᶜĪsā b. al-ᶜĀdil, the governor of Damascus, came to the Hijaz to perform the pilgrimage. (32) He was warmly received in Medina by Sālim b. Qāsim. The latter also accommodated ᶜĪsā in his palace in Medina and accompanied him to Makkah. (33) When they arrived at Makkah, Qatādah received them coolly. (34) They asked him to provide a house in which to stay, Qatādah indicated with his stick al-Abṭaḥ, a wide wadi. (35) This was, of course, in contradiction to the accepted rules of hospitality. However, Qatādah might have wanted to hold them in contempt. Whatever had in fact happened, ᶜĪsā considered this as a great insult and determined to seek revenge. (36) Returning to Damascus, the Ayyubid governor despatched troops and money in order to support Sālim against Qatādah. (37) However, it was to no avail because the

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(32) Al-Sinjārī, Manā'iḥ, 287; al-Nuᶜaymī, al-Dāris, I, 585.

(33) Abū Shāmah, Dhayl, 87, al-Ṣabbāgh, Taḥṣīl, F.220a. al-Sinjārī, Manā'iḥ, 287.

(34) Al-Nuᶜaymī, al-Dāris, I, 586, al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, I, 208.

(35) Abū Shāmah, Dhayl, 87; al-Sinjārī, Manā'iḥ, 287.

(36) Al-Ṭabarī, Itḥāf, f.12 ab; al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, I, 208.

(37) Al-Sinjārī, Manā'iḥ, 287; Bā Qāsī, Bilād, 47.

latter defeated Jammāz b. Qāsim, Sālim's brother and successor, when he attacked Jeddah in 613/1216. (38)

Thus Qatādah was able to keep the Hijaz independent, far removed from interference from the Abbasids and the Ayyubids. Qatādah was encouraged by the fact that the Ayyubids were heavily involved in fighting the Crusaders, who had invaded Egypt in 617/1220. (39) Moreover both the Abbasids and the Ayyubids had become discouraged by the harshness of the desert between them and the Hijaz, as well as by the raids of the bedouins on the Egyptian and Iraqi troops en route for Makkah. Qatādah himself had realized the value of the desert. Therefore, as he lay old and ailing, he recommended it to his sons as their best weapon, saying 'God has protected you and your country by its aridity and remoteness." (40)

In 617/1220-1, when he was about 90 years old, Qatādah was suspected of planning to transfer command of Makkah to a younger brother whose name is not mentioned in the sources. (41) When Qatādah's son, Ḥasan, heard of this he murdered his uncle. But when in turn Qatādah heard this news, he planned to kill his son. The latter, however, killed him first. (42) Ḥasan kept this concealed

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(38) Al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk, I, 185; al-Ṣabbāgh, Tahṣīl, f.220a.

(39) Abū Shāmah, al-Dhayl, 116-7; De Goury, Rulers, 85.

(40) Al-Tabarī, Nash'at, II, 495; al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, VII, 52; De Ġaury, Rulers, 85.

(41) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, IX, 346; al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 213.

(42) Al-Jannābī, al-Baḥr, f.433a; al-Sinjārī, Manā'ih, 288. al-Ṣabbāgh, Tahṣil, f.220a; Idrīs, Kanz, f.167a.

and hurried to the Grand Mosque where he informed the people that his father, whose health had been deteriorating, was seeking to have Ḥasan recognised as his successor.(43)

When Ḥasan was accepted as ruler of Makkah, he wanted to ensure that he had no rivals, so he recalled his brother, whose name also is not mentioned, from Yanbuᶜ and killed him too. (44) Thus Ḥasan became the undisputed ruler of Makkah, initiating a regime begun in violence, but which was to last seven and half centuries.

News of these violent events spread abroad and the death of Qatādah indicated to the Abbasids that they could look forward to regaining their influence in Makkah. Accordingly the caliph, al-Nāṣir appointed his slave, Aqbāsh al-Nāṣirī, amir of the Iraqi pilgrim caravan. He went to Makkah in 618/1221 carrying gifts from the caliph for Ḥasan b. Qatādah, the new ruler of Makkah. (45) Yet Rājiḥ b. Qatādah, Ḥasan's brother, who is said to have lived somewhere to the south of Makkah, had a keen desire to share this position with his brother, Ḥasan. (46) No sooner had Rājiḥ met the Iraqi amir near ʿArafāt, a Holy place east of Makkah, than he offered him money in return for supporting him against his brother, Ḥasan.(47)

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(43) Al-Ṭabarī, Nashʾat, I, 99, II, 500; al-Jannābī, al-Baḥr, f.433a.

(44) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, IX, 346; al-Qarmānī, Akhbār, 225.

(45) Abū Shāmah, al-Dhayl, 123; al-Sinjārī, Manaʾiḥ, 295; al-Jazīrī, Durar, 272; De Gaury, Rulers, 86.

(46) Al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 214; Jalāl, "ᶜAlāqāt", 32.

(47) Al-Jannābī, al-Baḥr, f.433b; al-Ṣabbāgh, Taḥṣīl, f.220b.

Aqbāsh was tempted to accept Rājiḥ's offer. However, he avoided a direct reply to his request and they all moved to al-Zāhir, an area to the west of Makkah. (48) Hearing of this meeting, Ḥasan concluded that his brother had already received Aqbāsh's support. Ḥasan therefore, hastened to close the gates of the Ḥaram and roused his supporters. (49) Hearing of this move Aqbāsh al-Nāṣirī rose forth from his camp in order to prevent it. However, Ḥasan's men thought that Aqbāsh was coming to confront them and attacked him, striking off his head and taking it to Ḥasan on a lance. (50) Ḥasan then ordered it to be displayed at al-Masᶜā, in the Grand Mosque, near the house of al-ᶜAbbās. (51) Ḥasan's men wanted to loot the Iraqi pilgrims, but he prevented them and wrote to the caliph apologizing. (52) The caliph was unable to do more than accept Ḥasan's apology and recognized him as amir of Makkah. (53)

The Yemeni occupation of Makkah during the late Ayyubids

As for Rājiḥ, he fled to his base which was probably al-Sirrayn, a medieval port to the south of Makkah, a full discussion of which follows below, and got in touch with

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(48) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, IX,346; al-Jarnābī, al-Baḥr, f. 432 b.

(49) Ibn Khaldūn, al-ᶜIbar, IV, 106; De Gaury, Rulers, 86.

(50) Abū Shāmah, Dhayl, 123, al-Jazīrī, Durar, 273; De Gaury, Rulers, 86.

(51) Abū Shāmah, Dhayl, 123; al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, I,211.

(52) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, IX, 346; al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, IV,167.

(53) Al-Sinjārī, Manāʾiḥ, 289; De Gaury, Rulers, 86.

al-Malik al-Masᶜūd, the Ayyubid governor of the Yemen, urging him to take Makkah and regain Ayyubid influence there. (54) Al- Masᶜūd accepted Rājiḥ's proposition and soon set out for Makkah in Rabīᶜ I 619/1222. At a battle at al-Masᶜā, al-Masᶜūd defeated Ḥasan and dismissed him from his rule over Makkah. (55) Although guilty himself of certain excesses al-Masᶜūd was able to stop all theft, robbery and unruly behaviour in Makkah. (56)

The important aspect of al-Masᶜūd's occupation of Makkah was the fact that he granted Makkah as a fief to Nūr al-Dīn ᶜUmar Ibn Rasūl. (57) Ibn Rasūl was the first non-sharif to rule Makkah directly. This innovation at any rate, continued at least till the time of Abū Numayy. (58) On the other hand, this occupation was considered the first real and direct interference in Makkah from the Yemen. This event, except for a short time during the reign of ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī, as has already been mentioned earlier, (59) gave the Yemen an advantage over Egypt and Iraq in controlling Makkah and leading the Moslems during the time of the pilgrimage.

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(54) Al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, I, 212; Jalāl, "ᶜAlāqāt," 32.

(55) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, IV, 170; Ibn Ẓahīrah, al-Jāmiᶜ, 192; Ibn al-Daybaᶜ, Qurrat, I, 416.

(56) Al-Sinjārī, Manā'iḥ, 290; De Gaury, Rulers, 88.

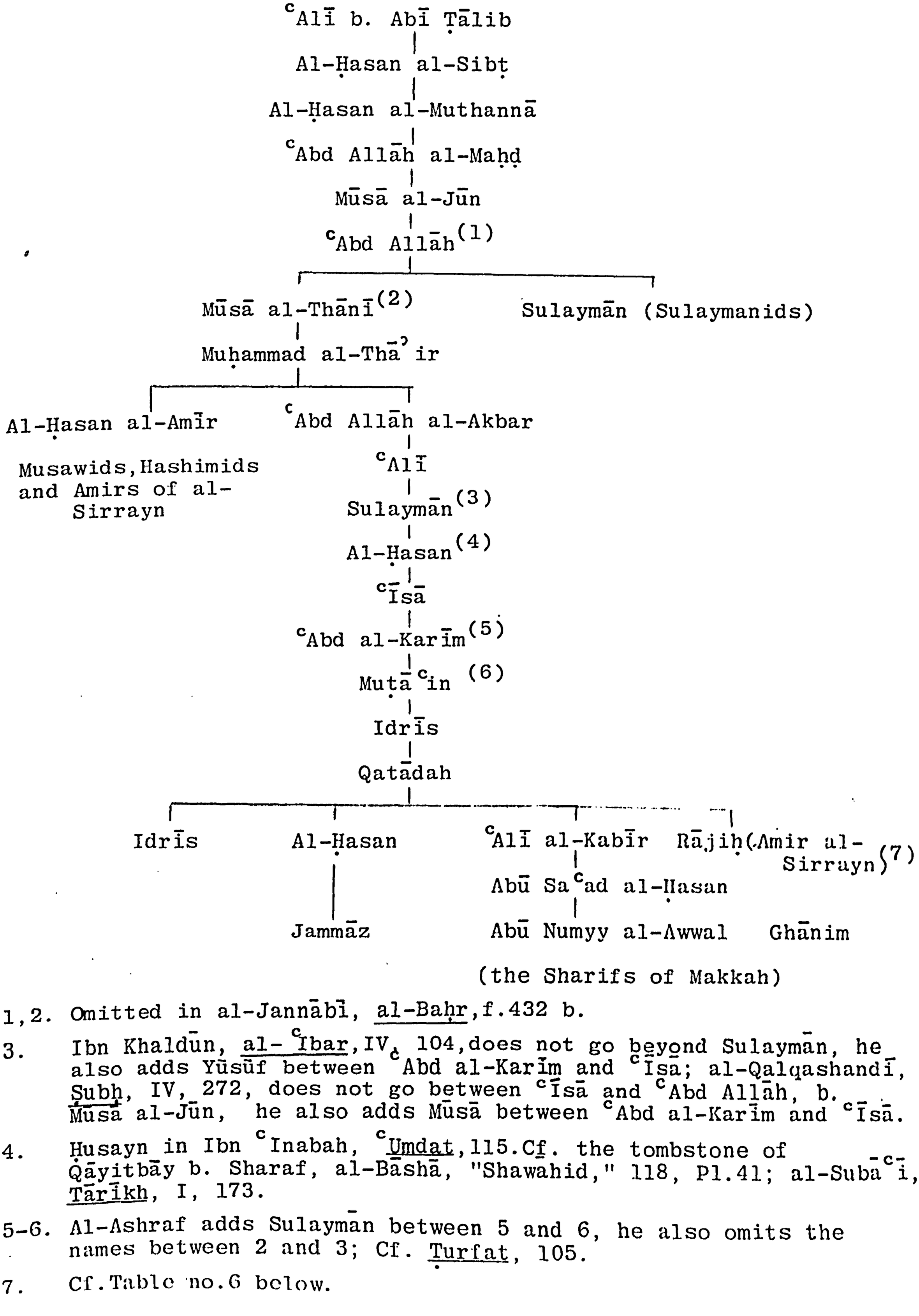
(57) Al-Maqrīzī, al-Dhahab,77 and al-Sulūk, I, 213; Smith, the Ayyūbids, 11, 88. ᶜUmar Ibn Rasūl is the founder of the Rasulid State in the Yemen in 628-9/1231-2. Cf. M. ᶜA.Aḥmad, Banū Rasūl, 98; Smith, Ayyūbids, II, 90.

(58) Abū Numayy b. Saᶜīd one of the sharifs of Makkah who died in 701/1302 cf. Ibn ᶜInabah, ᶜUmdat, 116; al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 225.

(59) Cf. 48-51 above.

Table No.5

B. Qatādah, Amirs of Makkah



(the Sharifs of Makkah)

1,2. Omitted in al-Jannābī, al-Baḥr, f.432 b.

3. Ibn Khaldūn, al-ᶜIbar, IV, 104, does not go beyond Sulaymān, he also adds Yūsūf between ᶜAbd al-Karīm and ᶜĪsā; al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, IV, 272, does not go between ᶜĪsā and ᶜAbd Allāh, b. Mūsā al-Jūn, he also adds Mūsā between ᶜAbd al-Karīm and ᶜĪsā.

4. Ḥusayn in Ibn ᶜInabah, ᶜUmdat, 115. Cf. the tombstone of Qāyitbāy b. Sharaf, al-Bāshā, "Shawahid," 118, Pl.41; al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, I, 173.

5-6. Al-Ashraf adds Sulaymān between 5 and 6, he also omits the names between 2 and 3; Cf. Turfat, 105.

7. Cf. Table no.6 below.

As for Rājiḥ b. Qatādah, al-Masᶜūd renewed his governorship of al-Sirrayn and added to it Ḥaly and half of al-Mikhlāf, in order to keep him satisfied. (60)

As for his brother, Ḥasan b. Qatādah, who had fled to Yanbuᶜafter the incident of al-Masᶜā, he quickly gathered troops from Yanbuᶜ in order to attack the Yemeni force and drive them out of Makkah. However, Ibn Rasūl met him at al-Ḥudaybiyah, thirty kilometres to the west of Makkah and defeated him in 620/1223. (61) Afterwards Ḥasan went to Damascus and Baghdad to seek help, but he died in Baghdad and was buried in the shrine of Mūsā al-Kāẓim in 622/1225. (62)

Ibn Rasūl ruled Makkah until 623/1227 when he was recalled to the Yemen by al-Masᶜūd to be the latter's governor there. (63) On the other hand, al-Masᶜūd appointed as a ruler of Makkah Sārim al-Dīn Yāqūt, his freed man in the same year. (64) On his way to Egypt al-Masᶜūd died of paralysis in Makkah and was buried in al-Maᶜlāh, a famous old cemetery, on Monday Jumādā II 626/April 1229. (65)

We note from the material referred to above that the Alids made assiduous, successive attempts to get some rights in Makkah. They had almost achieved some success

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(60) Al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk, I, 213; al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 215.

(61) Al-Jazīrī, Durar, 274; Ibn Zahīrah, al-Jamiᶜ, 192; Bā Qāsī, Bilād, 51-2. Ibn Taghrī-Bardi mentions that Ibn Rasūl was defeated at the hand of Ḥasan and returned to the Yemen. Cf. al-Manhal, I, 229.

(62) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, IV, 170-1; al-Sinjarī, Manā'iḥ, 291; De Gaury, Rulers, 88.

(63) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, VI, 341; Ibn al-Daybaᶜ, Qurrat, I, 416.

(64) Ibn Ẓahīrah, al-Jāmiᶜ, 192; al-Ṣabbāgh, Tahsīl, f. 221b; al-Subaᶜī, Tārikh, I, 215.

(65) Ibn Ḥātim, al-Simṭ, I, 195; al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, VII, 494; Smith, The Ayyūbids, II, 90; M. ᶜA. Aḥmad, B. Rasūl, 89; al-ᶜĀmirī, Ghirbāl, f. 121b.

in this respect, at the hands of Muḥammad b. Sulaymān at the beginning of the 4th/10th century. However, the growing strength of the Qarmathians and the rise of a strong pro-Abbasid state in Egypt, the Ikhsidids, prevented them from achieving their ambitions. But, soon, an opportunity presented itself for the sharifs, during the reign of the Musawid dynasty, for relative independence in Makkah, since their leader Jaᶜfar b. Muḥammad established the first sharif government in Makkah. This independence was reinforced with the rise of the Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt which was hostile to the Abbasids. The Alids, however, did not remain content with independence; they began to aspire to the Caliphate during the reign of Abū ʾl-Futūḥ. But the aspirations entertained by Abū ʾl-Futūḥ to win the caliphate were wrecked upon the rock of Fatimid opposition during the reign of al-Ḥākim. Thus the sharifs became content with their local independence in Makkah and the areas belonging to it.

The sharifs' contest for power and the weakness of the Fatimid Caliphate drew the Yemen into the arena of the conflict in Makkah, under ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī whose interference in Makkah led to the rise of a new dynasty, i.e. the Hashimids. This dynasty was able to maintain its independence in Makkah. They benefited from Fatimid-Abbasid rivalry to get the names of their caliphs mentioned in the Khuṭbah, in Makkah, during the pilgrimage and on religious occasions. This dynasty adopted a balanced attitude, an even-handed policy of allegiance

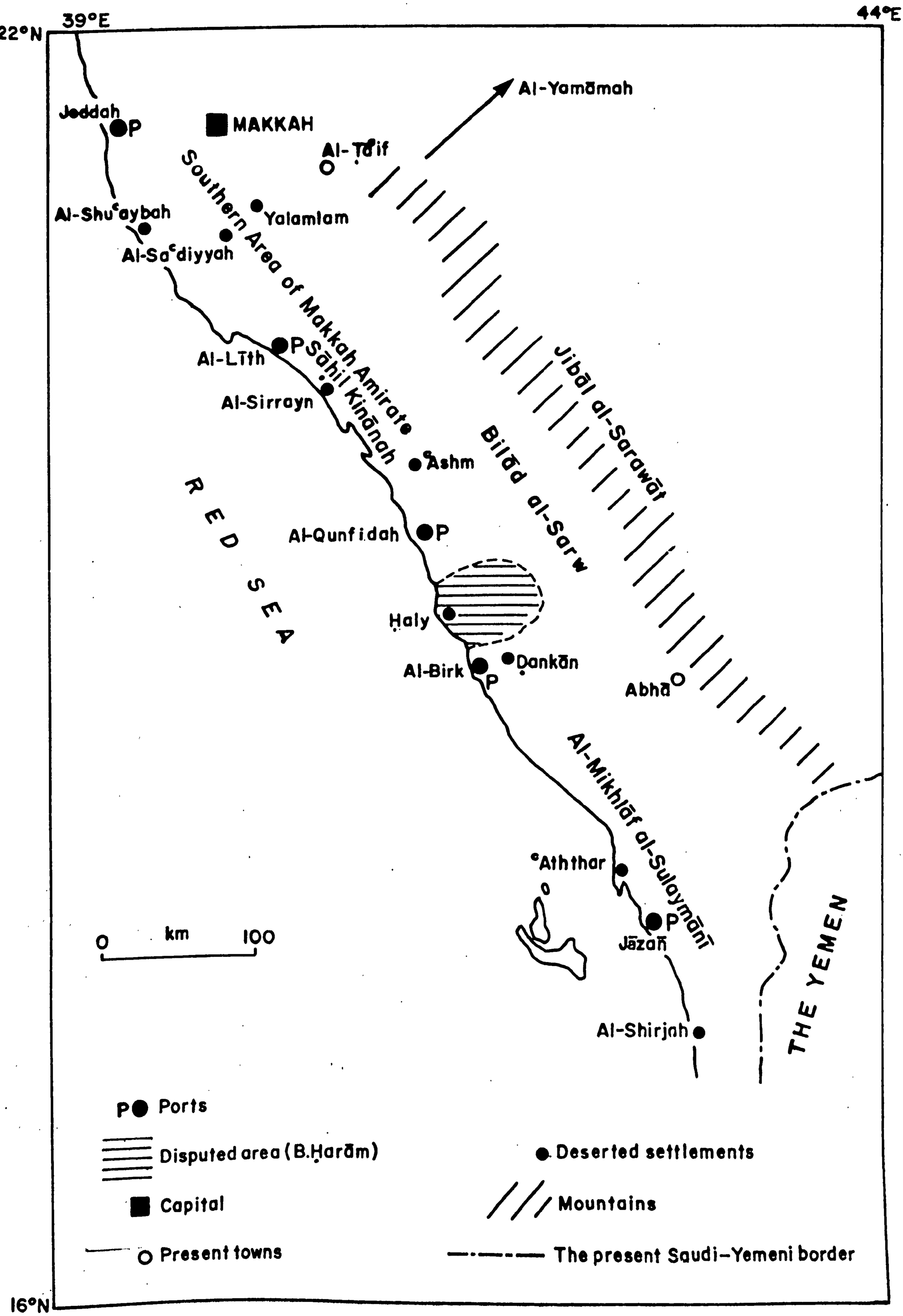
either to the Abbasids or to the Fatimids, depending on the economic and political circumstances of these two caliphates.

When the Fatimid caliphate came to an end, and a pro-Abbasid state was set up in Egypt, namely the Ayyubid state, the sharifs of Makkah realized that they had to rely on themselves in order to maintain their independence. In this respect they were boosted by their relations to the bedouins who were resident on the pilgrimage routes and who were prepared to intercept any Abbasid or Ayyubid expedition on a signal from the amir of Makkah. This state of affairs, however, did not last long. The reason is that the cruelty of B. Qatādah, the new family who became the rulers of Makkah after the Hashimids, as well as the misdemeanours of some of the Qatādī amirs, combined to put an end to the rule of Ḥasan b. Qatādah, at the hands of the Ayyubid, al-Malik al-Masʿūd. A non-sharif ruler was appointed over Makkah. This fact paved the way, once again, for direct Yemeni interference in the affairs of Makkah. This also signified, at least for some time, the end of Abbasid influence in Makkah, even during the pilgrimage period, in which the amir of the Iraqi caravan usually had some opportunities to enjoy such influence. For the time being al-Malik al-Masʿūd challenged the Iraqi right to run up the flag of the Abbasid caliphate on Mount ʿArafāt, running up that of the Yemen instead.(66)

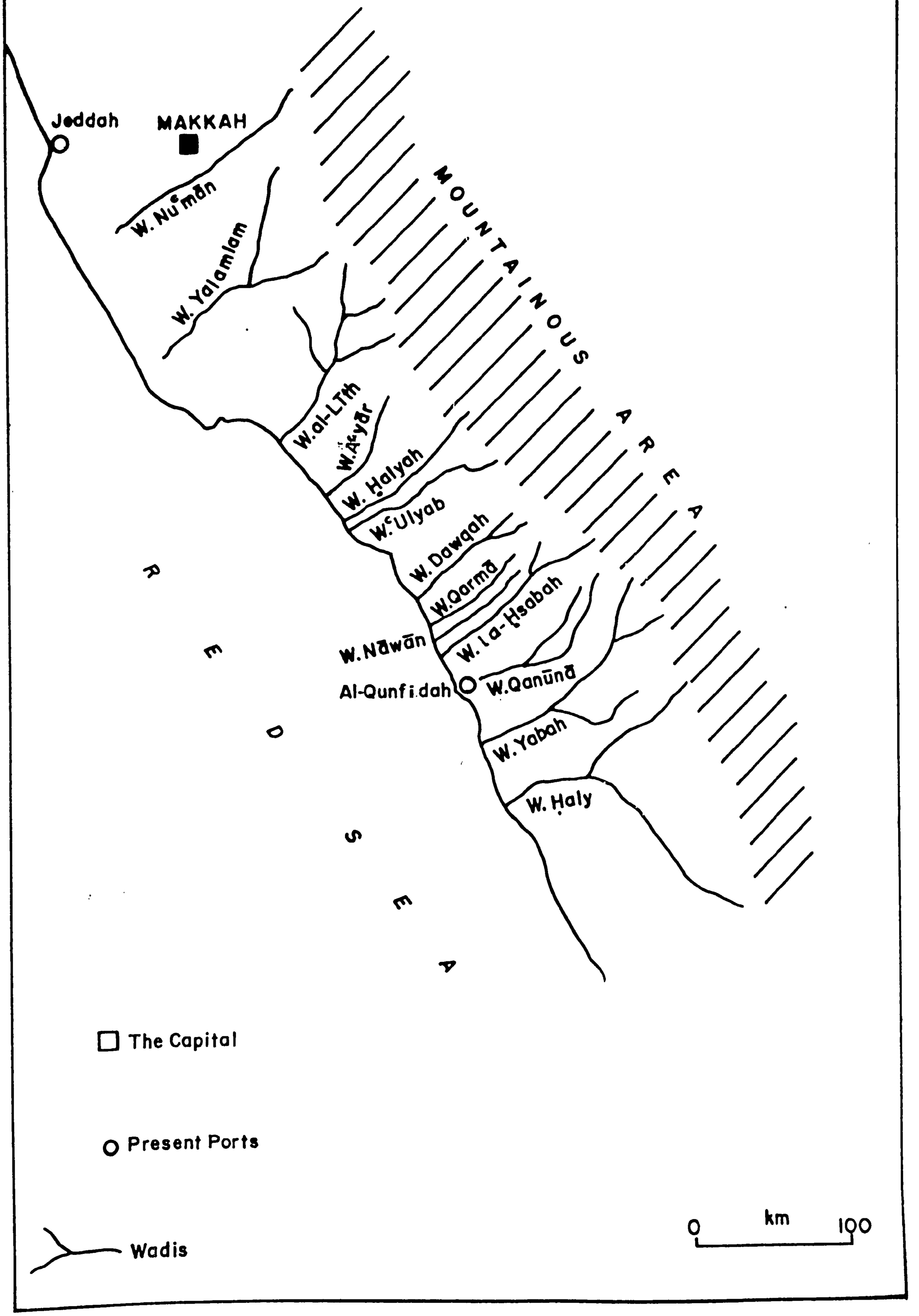
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(66) Ibn Khaldūn, al-ʿIbar, IV, 106; al-Qalqashandī, Subḥ, IV, 272; al-Fāsī, al-ʿIqd, VII, 493; al-Sinjārī, Manāʾih, 289; al-Subāʿī, Tārīkh, I, 213-4.

Map No.1 THE SOUTHERN AREA OF THE AMIRATE OF MAKKAH



MAP No.2 WADIS IN THE SOUTHERN AREA OF THE AMIRATE OF MAKKAH



PART II

The Port of al-Sirrayn

CHAPTER 5

The name and the Location

- The name of al-Sirrayn
- The location of al-Sirrayn in the Arab Geographers
- The region of al-Sirrayn

The name of al-Sirrayn

Al-Sirrayn is considered one of the most important Islamic ports on the east coast of the Red Sea and is mentioned in a number of early Arabic sources. However, it has now completely disappeared and is forgotton. There exist at present no more than some minor archaeological remains still visible among the sand-hills of the area, which lead one to assume that it is the site of al-Sirrayn. This site is generally known by the local inhabitants as al-Maṣna^{c}ah or Qaryat B. Kubrā. (1) We shall try, after consulting the sources and making an initial survey, to locate the genuine site of al-Sirrayn and to discover the historical and civilizing role it played.

First and foremost the word al-Sirrayn is found in the Arabic sources as tathniyat al-Sirr (two Sirrs), in the genitive or accusative majrūran aw manṣūban. (2) It is seldom found as al-Sirrān, the nominative, (marfū^{c}an) when used as the subject. (3) The word al-Sirrayn derives from the root sir, which generally means "keep secret" (4) and according to Ibn Manẓūr, from sirr al-wādī, which means that it is the central and most fertile point in the

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(1) Some of the local inhabitants call it al-Masna^{c}. However, al-Maṣna^{c}ah is more correct, both among the people and in the sources. cf.95-9 below.

(2) Yāqūt, Mu^{c}jam, III, 219; al-Zabīdī, Tāj, III, 266.

(3) Al-Sukkarī, Sharḥ, III, 1678.

(4) Al-Jawharī, al-Ṣiḥāḥ, II, 681.

wadi. (5) Al-Aṣmaᶜī emphasises the previous meaning by the following verse:

وَأَغْفِ تَحْتَ الْنَجْمِ الْعَوَاتِمِ وَاهْبِطْ بِهَا مِنْكَ بِسِرٍ كَاتِمِ

"Take a nap under the dark stars
and descend from where you are with their guidance
into a fertile wadi."

He also adds that sirr means "fertile wadi" and kātim means that the wadi normally never dries up. (6) Furthermore, this meaning is well attested in the pre-Islamic South Arabian inscriptions. (7) Thus the linguistic meaning applies to the topography of the site of al-Sirrayn, for here it is surrounded by two fertile plains containing many species of wild grasses. (8) One type of these grasses is known as Jawwah, which forms the staple food of the cows which graze upon it.

Al-Maṣnaᶜah or al-Maṣnaᶜ, another name by which the site is known among the local inhabitants, means, in classical Arabic, ḥawḍ aw sahrīj (cistern or reservoir). (9) The koran also mentions this in the following verse:

(وَتَتَّخِذُونَ مَصَانِعَ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَخْلُدُونَ)

"And you get for yourselves fine buildings in
the hope of living therein for ever". (10)

One of the other major meanings of maṣānīᶜ, singular maṣnaᶜah,

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(5) Lisān, IV, 358-9.

(6) Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān, IV, 359.

(7) Cf. Rossini, Chrestomathia, 200.

(8) Cf. Pl.2 no.III and Pl.6 no.Xi.

(9) Al-Jawharī, al-Ṣiḥāḥ, 111, 1246; Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān, VIII, 211.

(10) Sūrat al-Shuᶜarā , 129.

in the Koran commentaries is 'cistern' or 'reservoir' containing flood water (sayl) for drinking and other purposes.(11) Al-Maṣnaᶜah in al-Sirrayn is mentioned in the Arabic sources. Al-ᶜUdhrī, for example, points to the fact that al-Sirrayn has a maṣnaᶜah at the gate of the town. (12) Consequently, it can be assumed that the reservoir (maṣnaᶜah) was the only relic left behind after the decline of the town which remained to be utilized by the ancestors of the present local inhabitants. (13) That is to suggest that the name of al-Maṣnaᶜah remains in their memories up to the present time. (14) On the other hand, another meaning for maṣnaᶜah in classical Arabic is 'town'. Al-Aṣmaᶜī, quoted by Ibn Munẓūr, says : "Arabs call maṣānicᶜ 'towns' when plural and maṣnaᶜah 'town' when singular." (15) Therefore, it can be concluded that this al-Maṣnaᶜah was the only substantial town in this wide plain. Its remains could have been seen by the ancestors of the present local inhabitants who called it al-Maṣnaᶜah, a name which was handed down to successive generations in the course of centuries.

As for Qaryat Banī Kubrā, the third name by which local inhabitants know this site, sources at our disposal do not provide any information concerning it. However, it

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(11) Ashraf, The Holy Quran, Trans., 962; Khan, The Quran,362.

(12) Al-Ṭabarī, Tafsīr, XIX,59; al-Nīsābūrī, XIX, 70;Darwazah, al-Tafsīr, 111, 128.

(13) Cf. Pl.5 no.X.

(14) Al-Faqīh, "Tārīkh" 55.

(15) Lisān, VIII, 211.

seems that this name was coined by local inhabitants themselves who tell an infamous tale about the end of B. Kubrā at the hands of the Hasanid sharifs. The story runs as follows. Ibrāhīm, Balqāsim and Aḥmad, sons of Ḥasan b. ᶜAjlān, the sharif of Makkah (d.829/1425-6) set out from Makkah for this area.(16) B. Kubrā showed them good hospitality, but they fed their horses badly. The brothers considered this a great insult and determined to seek revenge. They went to B. Sawādah,(17) the traditional enemies of B. Kubrā, seeking their help in attacking the latter. Moreover, the brothers felt assured of victory if the B. Sawādah came under their leadership.

The plan agreed upon was to attack B. Kubrā in their own town during the Friday dawn prayer when they would be congregating as normal in the town's central mosque (Jāmiᶜ) in a body, men, women and children. The plan resulted in a wholesale massacre of B. Kubrā, except for one pregnant woman, who came to the eldest brother, Ibrāhīm, and asked him for refuge. Later the woman gave birth to twins, a boy called Ḥaḍā and a girl, Rīt, who were brought up among the sharifs. However, when the brother and sister attained full maturity, they found it

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(16) Sources at our disposal do not mention that any of Ḥasan b. ᶜAjlān's sons attacked al-Sirrayn. However, Ḥasan b. ᶜAjlān himself and some of his sons had been expelled by Rumaythah in 818/1415 to al-Shuqqān, one of the recent names of the area of al-Sirrayn. Furthermore, Aḥmad, Ibrāhīm and Barakāt had lived there for some time. Cf. al-ᶜIṣami, Simṭ, IV, 256,259, 267.

(17) Kaḥḥālah mentions three clans of Sawādah, i.e. Sawādah of Bilī, Sawādah Ṭayy and Sawādah of the Azd. Consequently, the latter, if we accept this story, would probably be B. Sawādah, the allies of the sharifs, because this province is near the land of the Azd. Cf. Muᶜjam Qabāʾil al-ᶜArab, II, 563.

difficult to marry any of the sharifs because of their noble lineage. Consequently, the sharifs forced Ḥaḍā to marry his sister, Rīt, resulting in a new line called later al-Ḥaḍārīt, a combination of Ḥaḍā and Rīt.

One is tempted to accept the tale of the hospitality and the subsequent massacre, yet the common story of the marriage as substantiating the origin of the name al-Ḥaḍārīt cannot be accepted. Whatever the truth of the matter, al-Ḥaḍārīt now live together with some of the sharifs in lower Wadi ᶜUlyab, al-Shāqqah al-Yamāniyyah.(18)

In fact the existence of the sharifs in al-Sirrayn as governors preceded this event as will be discussed later. (19) So the story of B. Kubrā's massacre at the hands of the sharifs, if it were true, could have taken place later, when the sharifs migrated en masse to al-Sirrayn. They settled there and may well have come into conflict with B. Kubrā, which led, ultimately, to their demise at the hands of the new residents.

The question is therefore, who were B. Kubrā who had inhabited this site before the sharifs? Reference to the genealogical sources finds no mention of them.(20) However al-Hamdānī in his Ṣifat Jazīrat al-ᶜArab says: "Al-Sirrayn is the coast of Kinānah." (21) Yāqūt also says "The lower part of Wadi Ḥalyah belongs to Kinānah."(22)

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(18) Al-Faqīh, "Tārīkh", 95.

(19) Cf.140ff below.

(20) Such as : Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharah; al-Qalqashandī, Nihāyat al-Arab; al-Baghdādi, Sabā'ik al-Dhahab; Kaḥḥalah, Muᶜjam Qabā'il al-ᶜArab.

(21) 259.

(22) Muᶜjam al-Buldān, II, 297.

(23) Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 120, 259, 262; Al-Ashraf, Ṭurfat, 59. al-Qalqashandī, Nihāyat, 373-4.

It is therefore possible that Kinānah somehow came to be described as B. Kubrā, because Kinānah was one of the oldest and greatest (Kubrā) tribes that had lived in the southern provinces of Makkah. (23) Furthermore Kinānah remains today the largest tribe in the region of al-Qunfidah together with their allies, B. Yaᶜlī and B. Zayd. (24)

Returning, after this digression, to the name of al-Sirrayn, we find that al-Fīrūzābādī adds it to the word rataqah saying, "Rataqat al-Sirrayn is on the coast between Ḥaly and Jeddah." (25) This name would reflect the nature of the harbour of al-Sirrayn because the dictionary meaning of rataqah (plur. rutūq) is "impregnable place", as well as "gap". (26) Al-Zabīdī prefers the former meaning. (27) Whatever the meaning of the name, al-Sirrayn occupied an impregnable and fortified harbour, as described by al-Idrīsī. (28)

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(23) Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 120, 259, 262; al-Ashraf, Ṭurfat, 59. al-Qalqashandī, Nihāyat, 373-4.

(24) The clan of B. Yaᶜlī now live in the coastal area of Wadi Yabah, the province of al-Qunfidah. B. Zayd territory is the whole of Wadi Qanūnā. Cf. Fu'ād Ḥamzah, Qalb, 154, 204; Kaḥḥālah, Muᶜjam, II, 448, III, 1267; al-Barakātī, al-Riḥlah, 102-3; Cornwallis, Asir, 34, 36.

(25) Al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt, II, 48 and III, 235; al-Zabīdī, Tāj, iii, 266.

(26) Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān, II, 114; al-Jawharī, al-Ṣiḥāḥ, IV, 1480

(27) Tāj al-ᶜArūs, III, 354.

(28) Nuzhat, 106; cf. al-Faqīh, 'Tārīkh', 56; Shawkat, "Jazīrat", 19.

The Location of al-Sirrayn in the Arab Geographers

Arab geographers differ in the location of al-Sirrayn. Some of them who lived in the 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th centuries, had perhaps heard of al-Sirrayn as a tract or a site to the south of Makkah and the north of the Yemen. Their works, however, show a dearth of information concerning al-Sirrayn. Others describe more elaborately and record the distances between Makkah and al-Sirrayn, as well as between the latter and other towns to the south and north. That was, at any rate, from the late 4th/10th century.

The earliest reference in Arab literature is perhaps the verse of Abū Khirāsh al-Hudhalī, a poet born in pre-Islamic times, but who died during the caliphate of ᶜUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb. Praising his bull, Wāqid, he says: (29)

غَذَاهُ مِنَ السِّرِّيْنِ اَوْ بَطْنِ حَلْيَـــةٍ فُرُوْعُ الْأَبَاءِ مِنْ عَمِـــيْمِ السَّوَائِلِ

"He (the poet's bull) was nourished by the stems of the fodder in the grassy river beds of al-Sirraynof the botton of Wadi· Ḥalyah".

This reference is, of course, not geographical but poetical. However, It is very useful as the first ever mention of al-Sirrayn. Furthermore, the linking of al-Sirrayn with Wadi Ḥalyah, an area known to me personally very well and to be referred to below, suggests the proximity of the two places and helps to establish the site of al-Sirrayn.

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(29) Abū Khirāsh, Dīwān, f 189b; al-Sukkarī, Sharh, III, 1210.

The mention of al-Sirrayn in geographical sources began later, beginning from the middle of the 3rd/9th century. Al-Yaᶜqūbī, is the first to include al-Sirrayn among the provinces of Makkah, such as Baysh and la-Ḥsabah. (30) In another place he also says: "As for the coastal sites of Makkah, they are Aden, la-Ḥsabah, al-Sirrayn and Jeddah." (31) Al-Ḥarbī, describing the Yemeni pilgrim route, says: "From Wadi Dawqah to al-Sirrayn, from al-Sirrayn to Wadi al-Subāᶜ and from Wadi al-Subāᶜ to al-Līth." (32) However al-Ḥarbī is more accurate than the former when he speculates that al-Sirrayn lies between Dawqah in the south and Wadi al-Subāᶜand al-Līth in the north. These places, apart from Wadi al-Subāᶜ, are well known in the southern area of the Amirate of Makkah. (33)

Speaking of the Omani coastal pilgrim route to Makkah, Ibn Khurdādhabah mentions that al-Sirrayn lies between Ḥaly and Aᶜyār, which are both to the south of Makkah. (34) Qudāmah says the same thing. (35)

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(30) Al-Buldān, 316. Baysh is a famous wadi containing many settlements in Jazān province. Cf. al-ᶜAqīlī, al-Muᶜjam, 61-63. La-ḥsabah is a famous wadi and its villages will be included in this study.

(31) Al-Yaᶜqūbī, Al-Buldān, 319.

(32) Al-Manāsik, 646. Wadi Dawqah lies to the north of Wadi Qarma in the province of al-Qunfidah. Cf. Kaḥḥālah, Jughrafiyat, 207; al-Wāsiᶜī, Tārīkh, 85. Al-Līth is the capital of the area of al-Līth in the province of Makkah. It lies 190 km. south of Makkah. Cf. Kaḥḥālah, Jughrafiyat, 205-6; Hogarth, Hejaz, 30.

(33) For Wadi al-Subāᶜ, cf. 00 below.

(34) Al-Masālik, 147-8. Ḥaly is a famous Wadi in Tihāmah. It has about fifty villages and between it and Sabyā, near Jāzān, there is seven days' journey. Al-Wāsiᶜī Tārīkh, 86; cf 112,479 below.

(35) Al-Kharāj, 192.

Al-Hamdānī considers al-Sirrayn among the lands of Ḥarām. Moreover he identifies it as being on the coast of Kinānah. (36) In yet another passage, he places it on the ancient Ṣanᶜā' pilgrim route to Makkah via Tihāmah. (37) Al-Iṣṭakhrī locates al-Sirrayn on the border between the Yemen and the Hijaz. Moreover, he also speculates that this border extends to Yalamlam, al-Ṭāᵓif, Najd and the Persian Sea. (38) However, he is undoubtedly mistaken, because al-Sirrayn is far from the Hijazi-Yemeni border; besides it lies within the territories of the Hijaz. (39) It seems, at any rate, that al-Iṣṭakhrī suggests that, because of the fame of al-Sirrayn as a stopping place on the Yemeni pilgrim route, as well as being a harbour, it played a very important part in linking the Yemen with Hijaz.(40) For whatever reason, geographers who followed him such as Ibn Ḥawqal in his Surat al-Ard (41) and others, undoubtedly quote him when they too place al-Sirrayn on the border between the Yemen and the Hijaz. (42)

Since the 2nd half of the 4th/10th century, another group of geographers tried to elaborate on the available

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(36) Ṣifat, 259. B. Ḥarām is a clan from Kinānah b.Khuzaymah b. Mudrikah. cf. Al-Ashraf, Ṭurfat, 59.

(37) Al-Ḥamdānī, Ṣifat, 341.

(38) Masālik al-Mamālik, 14. Yalamlam, Mīqāt al-Yaman lies about 80 km. to the south of Makkah. Cf. al-ᶜUdhrī, Manāzil, f.14b; Cf.488 below.

(39) Al-Bakrī, al-Mamālik, 48.

(40) Al-Faqīh, "Madīnat", 578.

(41) 19.

(42) Ibn al-Subāhī, Awḍaḥ, cf. al-Sirrayn; Kaḥḥālah, Jughrafiyat, 48-50 al-Ḥusaynī, 'al-Aqsām', 767-8.

information on the location of al-Sirrayn. Furthermore, they concentrated on assessing the distances between al-Sirrayn and other sites around it, south or north, both by stages or leagues.

Al-Maqdisī, perhaps the leading geographer of this group estimates the distance between Makkah and al-Sirrayn as three days' journey and that between al-Sirrayn and Jeddah as four days! (43) Subsequently, al-ʿUdhrī accurately describes the coastal pilgrim route through Tihāmah and records the distance from Makkah to Yalamlam as ten leagues. For some reason, he ignores the distance from Yalamlam to al-Sirrayn. (44) However, his student Abū ʿUbayd al-Bakrī (45) furnishes us with a good description of the above mentioned route and gives an assessment of the distance from Yalamlam to al-Sirrayn, when he says: "He who would like to take the route from it [Yalamlam] through sandy terrain, full of trees and grasses, such as arāk (Salvadora persica) and idhkhir (andrpogon), beside the route are freely grazing livestock with their shepherds. On the third day he comes finally to al-Sirrayn." (46) It is remarkable that this description of this route agrees with the knowledge we have previously of the nature of some parts of the route.

Assessing the distance from Yalamlam to al-Sirrayn

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(43) Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm, 106-7.

(44) Manāzil, f. 14b.

(45) Cf. Ibn Bashkawāl, al-Ṣilah, I, 277; al-Jāsir, "Kutub", 230; al-Ghunaym, Maṣādir al-Bakrī, 20.

(46) Al-Bakrī, al-Mamālik, 48.

as three days' journey seems to be fairly accurate. Al-Idrīsī also accurately records the distance between al-Sirrayn and Ḥaly as five stages, and from al-Sirrayn to al-Shu^{c}aybah as three days. (47) On the other hand he does not record the distance between Makkah and al-Sirrayn. However, ^{c}Umārah mentions the distance from al-Sirrayn to Makkah as five days' march. (48) ^{c}Umārah is more likely to be right, for he knew al-Sirrayn quite well and mentions the fact that he performed the pilgrimage in 545/1150 and passed through the town. (49) Yāqūt also claims that the distance between Makkah and al-Sirrayn is four or five days' march. (50) However, Abū 'l-Fidā' assesses the distance from Makkah to al-Sirrayn as four long days' march. (51) This is possibly equal to five ordinary days' march, and is known among camel drivers as shaddah wa-tadrījah (a days' journey and a quarter) referring to the time which camels take from one stage to another. (52)

In assessing distance by leagues, al-^{c}Udhrī alone so far among early Arab geographers, records the distance between al-Sirrayn and Ḥaly as nineteen parasangs. (53)

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(47) Nuzhat, 106; cf. Shawkat, "Jazīrat," 19-20. Al-Sh^{c}aybah lies 135 km. south-east of Makkah. It had been a port of Makkah before 26/646, when Jeddah took its place. There is a plan put forward by the Sa^{c}udī Government to restore al-Shu^{c}aybah. Cf.128-9 below.

(48) Tārīkh al-Yaman, 43.

(49) Al-Nukat, 31; Cf. Alwash, Umara, 29; al-Faqīh, "Madinat," 580.

(50) Mu^{c}jam al-Buldān, III, 219; cf. Ibn Samurah, Ṭabaqāt, 318.

(51) Taqwīm al-Buldān, 93.

(52) Cf. Al-Barakātī, al-Riḥlah, 13.

(53) Manāzil, f.,14b; cf. al-Qalqashandī, Subḥ, V,15; al-^{c}Aynī, ^{c}Iqd, I,f.34a.

However, Abū ʾl-Fidāʾ and Ibn al-Subāhī follow al-ᶜUdhrī in giving the same distance between al-Sirrayn and Ḥaly.(54)

Whatever the truth of the matter, none of the above mentioned geographers seems to be interested in mentioning the distance in leagues between Makkah and al-Sirrayn. Ibn al-Mujāwir (d. 690/1291) however, in his historical/ geographical work, Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir, gives the distance between Makkah and al-Sirrayn as seventeen parasangs. (55)

In conclusion, the fact of the name of al-Sirrayn being connected with Wadi Ḥalyah in this early period is good evidence that al-Sirrayn lies more or less in this Wadi. (56) Furthermore it seems from the derivation of the word sirr that the town lies on flat land. The name comes, therefore, from the nature of the land on which the town was built. Consequently, the site of al-Sirrayn would seem to be formed from two adjoining sirrs, the town rising between them and taking its name from them. Perhaps the best proof of that is that the word al-Sirrayn is found in some Arab sources as al-Sirrān in the nominative, as mentioned earlier. Then this word became indeclinable in the oblique cases, just like al-Baḥrayn (Bahrain). (57)

It is obvious too that adding al-Sirrayn to the word Rataqah gives a realistic description of its natural

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(54) Taqwīm, 93; Ibn al-Subāhī, Awḍah, cf.al-Sirrayn.

(55) I, 53.

(56) Al-Faqīh, "Madīnat,", 580.

(57) Cf. al-Zamakhsharī, al-Jibāl, 30,34.

harbour. Furthermore, it is clear from the writings of Arab geographers that al-Sirrayn was no more than a stopping place on the Yemeni pilgrim route in the early centuries of Islam. Therefore, they do not give much detail about its location and commercial activities. On the other hand, it should be noted from the late 4th/10th century, that the opinion of geographers became clearer concerning al-Sirrayn and they were in approximate agreement that the distance between Makkah and al-Sirrayn was five days' journey. This corresponds to the actual distance and there were well known stages for people who travelled by the pilgrim route on camels before modern means of transport. (58) These pilgrims at any rate did not know it as al-Sirrayn, though they knew Ḥamdānah instead. Ḥamdanah is a famous well at the mouth of Wadi Ḥalyah, only two kilometres to the east of al-Sirrayn. (59)

It is furthermore worthy of note that if we accept the general estimation of 40 kms to a day's journey, the distance between al-Sirrayn and Makkah amounts to a five days' journey, giving a distance of 200 km., which more or less agrees with today's distance. Similarly if we take a league to be six miles, as Ibn Munẓūr suggests, (60) then the distance between al-Sirrayn and Ḥaly of 19 leagues would be 114 miles or about 182 km., which again roughly corresponds with today's distances. (61)

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(58) Al-Barakātī, al-Riḥlah, 13.

(59) Cf. map no.3.

(60) Lisān, III, 14.

(61) Al-Faqīh, "Madīnat," 580.

To sum up, taking account of the relevant distances, however measured, and the direct relationship between the topography and the basic meaning of the word, it can be reasonably argued that the correct location for al-Sirrayn, the subject of this study, is approximately 200 kms. south of Makkah. To be accurate it lies in the area which is called al-Maṣnaᶜ or Qaryat B. Kubrā, only two kilometres to the west of the famous well of Ḥamdānah. (62)

The region of al-Sirrayn

Al-Sirrayn lies on the edge of a pastoral-agricultural area consisting of a number of fertile wadis of which one can assume al-Sirrayn was the regional capital. According to some sources, al-Sirrayn was a dependency of Makkah (ᶜamal min ᶜamāl Makkah).(63) Others also indicate that al-Sirrayn was a province (mikhlāf) attached to the amirate of Makkah. (64) It is likely that the word, ᶜamal in this context would be synonymous with the word mikhlāf. This word, mikhlāf, is a geographical term which designates a wadi or more, comprising a number of villages. (65) This description or designation is applied to al-Sirrayn, which in fact comprises two large wadis called Ḥalyah and ᶜUlyab. (66) It contains also a small wadi called Aᶜyār.

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(62) Cf. map no.3.

(63) Al-Yaᶜqūbī, al-Buldān, 316; al- Udhrī, Manāzil, f.15b.

(64) Al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat, 106; cf. Shawkat, "Jazīrat", 19.

(65) Cf.182 below.

(66) Cf.al-Zamakhsharī, al-Jibāl, 63, 164.

Wadi Ḥalyah

The most important of these is Wadi Ḥalyah; al-Sirrayn lies near the mouth of that Wadi, as already mentioned. It is a well known wadi, frequently mentioned in the poetry of B. Hudhayl. (67) It is mentioned in feuds and fighting between B. Hudhayl and al-Azd. Seven members of Hudhayl attacked Thābir of the Azd. Thābir killed six of the former and the seventh escaped. When the Hudhalī leader, Sulmā b. al-Muqᶜadī al-Hudhalī, knew of what had happened, he took an oath, swearing that he would never "touch his head for the purpose of cleaning or oiling" till he had wreaked vengeance upon the enemy, the Azd. Sulmā attacked Thābir and found them in Wadi Ḥalyah; they were killed and their homes were taken as booty. (68)

Wadi Ḥalyah emanates from the mountain of ᶜAfaf in B. Mālik territory, (69) and pours into the Red Sea near al-Sirrayn. (70) It is a large wadi which has been

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(67) Al-Sukkarī, Sharḥ, I, 402, 490; II, 633, 671; III, 1168, 1310.

(68) Al-Sukkarī, Sharḥ, II,796-8. There is today, in the Southern Amīrate of Makkah, a tribe called al-Maqāᶜidah, a branch of the well-known Balᶜayr tribe. The nisbah of al-Maqāᶜidah is al-Muqᶜadī. They live in the town of al-Ḥabīl and its outskirts, about 35 km. South-east of al-Qunfidah. It is likely, therefore, that there is a blood relationship between that tribe and the well-known Hudhayl tribe, in particular their leader Sulmā b. al- Muqᶜadī.

(69) Al-Barakātī, al-Riḥlah, 14; Philby, Highlands, 701.

(70) Al-Faqīh, "Madinat", 567.

described as "a wadi providing much good (kathīr al-khayrāt) in which dukhn (millet) and durra (sorghum) are grown on a large scale. Its land is a spacious expanse (of land) over which water flows, surrounded on the right and in the north by arāk [salvadora persica] and ṭarfā trees [tamarix gallica] such that any visitor, when approaching the area, would feel as though he were approaching a vast forest extending in an oblong shape, from the upper parts of the wadi to the lower." (71)

The inhabitants of the wadi, as would appear from Arabic poetry, comprised basically these tribes; al-Azd, B. Hudhayl and Kināmah. (72) At present the majority of its inhabitants are B. Ḥasan, the Sharifs, with various sub-divisions. (73) Traditional agriculture includes dukhn, durra, sesame, water melon and melon. Its trees are arāk, ᶜushar (asclepiap procera) cedars and tamarisks. The cedars and tamarisks are mentioned in Arabic poetry, (74) and this shows that there have been good quality trees in the Wadi of Ḥalyah for a considerable time.

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(71) Kaḥḥālah, Jughrāfiyat, 206; cf. al-Barakātī, al-Riḥlah, 13-4.

(72) Al-Sukkarī, Sharḥ, 11, 792; cf. al-Aṣfahānī, al-Aghānī, XXI, 212; XXII, 148-9;al-Zamakhshari, al-Jibāl, 63; Yāqūt, Muᶜjam, 11, 297.

(73) Al-Barakātī, al-Riḥlah, 13; Philby, Highlands, 699.

(74) Al-Sukkarī, Sharḥ, III, 1105; al-Asfahānī, al-Aghānī, XXII, 149.

Wadi ᶜUlyab

Some works of Arab geography mention that Wadi ᶜUlyab is a stage on the Yemeni pilgrim route to Makkah. (75) Al-Hamdānī, however, is more accurate in describing its location when he mentions that it is situated between Khabt al-Bazwā' and Khabt Udhun. (76) The first place is unknown, but it lies to the north of ᶜUlyab, according to a poem by Abū Dahbal al-Jumaḥī, a poet living in the early Umayyad Caliphate, in which he mentions his trip to Jāzān. (77) The second place lies to the south of ᶜUlyab and is still so called to this day. (78) Al-Bakrī also mentions that ᶜUlyab is a wadi of Hudhayl. (79)

Wadi ᶜUlyab lies to the south of Wadi Ḥalyah. It is one of the large wadis in the region of al-Sirrayn. It gathers its waters (sayl) from the mountains of al-Khurmah in the territory of Zahrān. (80) The distance between the springs of ᶜUlyab and those of Ḥalyah is about 50 km; they gradually begin to converge until the distance amounts to roughly 2 km. at their mouths at the Red Sea. (81)

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(75) Ibn Khurdādhabah, al-Masālik, 148-9; Qudāmah, al-Kharāj, 192.

(76) Ṣifat, 233. Cf. also al-Idrīsī, "Uns", 61.

(77) Dīwan Abū Dahbal, 106; Yāqūt, Muᶜjam, I, 411; IV, 148; cf. al-Aṣfahānī, al-Aghānī, 111, 111-2.

(78) Al-Faqīh, "Madīnat," 575.

(79) Muᶜjam, III, 965.

(80) Al-Barakātī, al-Riḥlah, 14; Kaḥḥālah, Jughrāfiyat, 206; Philby, Arabian Highlands, 701.

(81) Philby, Arabian Highlands, 701.

This wadi today is known as al-Shāqqah al-Yamāniyyah or ᶜUlyab; it is characterized by its plentiful water, trees and agriculture, similar to what ha been mentioned earlier as features of Wadi Ḥalyah. At the beginning of the Islamic era, or prior to it, Wadi ᶜUlyab was renowned for its trees. In Arabic poetry, the name of Wadi ᶜUlyab was coupled with palm trees, tamarisk and the dawm trees, (82) though it must be mentioned that there are no palm trees and dawm in Wadi ᶜUlyab now.

The main village of Wadi ᶜUlyab is al-Ṣahwah, which is the chief town of the region, including Wadi Ḥalyah. Its inhabitants are B. Ḥasan, the sharifs, namely Ḥalyah ᶜAyyāf, and few of al-Ḥaḍārīt already mentioned. (83) In the past, the inhabitants, according to some sources, were B. Hudhayl. (84)

It seems that the level of civilization of ᶜUlyab was greater than that of Wadi Ḥalyah, with the exception of al-Sirrayn. Two archaeological sites have been found. One is in the centre of the village of al-Ṣahwah, of which we shall speak below. The other lies 14 km. to the east of al-Ṣahwah, in the northern reaches of the wadi. It comprises 10 small sites extending 5 km. These are tells. (85) Nothing is clear except some building foundations and ruins of houses, pottery fragments and pieces of baked brick. There is a cemetery which lies to the west of this site; it contains old, abandoned

(82) Al-Sukkarī, Sharḥ, III, 1105; al-Aṣfahānī, al-Aghānī, III, 111; Yāqūt, Muᶜjam, IV, 148.

(83) Al-Barakātī, al-Riḥlah, 14; al-Faqīh, Tārīkh, 83; cf. 98 above.

(84) Al-Bakrī, Muᶜjam, III, 965; Zakī, Shiᶜr, 18; Cf. al-Aṣfahānī, al-Aghanī, 11, 210.

(85) Pl.1 No.I.

tombs on which no inscriptions were found. To the west of the tombs and the site, traces of a kiln of baked brick were found. (86)

Wadi Aᶜyār

Wadi Aᶜyār lies to the north of Wadi Ḥalyah. It is the smallest wadi in the region of al-Sirrayn. It is mentioned in the writings of some Arab geographers such as Ibn Khurdādhabah and Qudāmah, who state that it lies on the Yemeni pilgrim route to Makkah. (87) Yāqūt mentions Aᶜyār when he is dealing with Ḥalyah, saying that "Ḥalyah is a wadi which lies between Aᶜyār and ᶜUlyab and runs into al-Sirrayn." (88) Al-Ḥarbī mentions another name for a wadi which lies to the north-east of al-Sirrayn, that is Wadi al-Subāᶜ. (89) Since at present no wadi between al-Līth and al-Sirrayn bears this name, a modern writer suggests that Wadi Subaᶜ is in fact Wadi Aᶜyar. (90)

In Wadi Aᶜyar are grown all the agricultural crops already mentioned in the Wadi Ḥalyah and ᶜUlyab. Wadi Aᶜyār, however, is less famous and less extensive in area than the other two wadis.

Between these wadis, to the north and south, there are wide plains (sing. khabt) with masses of thumām grass;

(86) Pl.1, no.II.

(87) Al-Masālik, 148; Qudāmah, al-Kharāj, 192-3.

(88) Muᶜjam al-Buldān, 11, 295.

(89) Al-Manāsik, 646.

(90) Al-Faqīh, "Madīnat", 575.

it is fairly thickly dotted with acacias.(91) The most important of these plains is Khabt Ḥifār which is renowned for its rich pasture. This factor has been responsible for the region's wide reputation for animal wealth, especially camels and sheep.(92)

Thus we may conclude that al-Sirrayn was the chief town of a pastoral and agricultural region extending from north of Dawqah in the south, to south of al-Līth in the north. This region belongs today to the town of al-Lith, the regional capital of the area.(93) It is believed that al-Līth has inherited from al-Sirrayn its importance, as will be explained below.

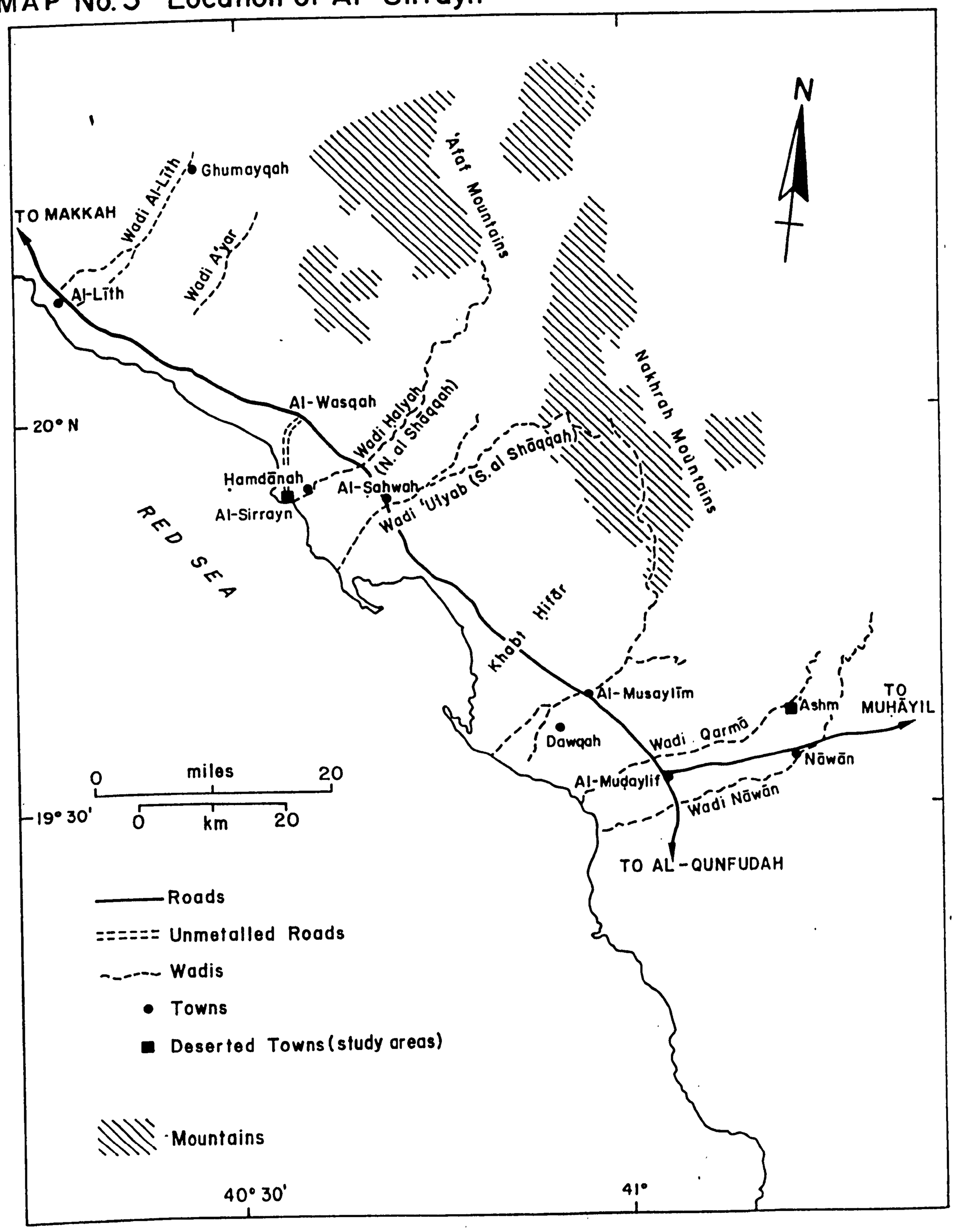
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(91) Philby, Arabian Highlands, 700.

(92) Philby, Arabian Highlands, 699.

(93) Kaḥḥālah, Jughrāfiyat, 205-6; Fuʿād Ḥamzah, Qalb, 74.

MAP No. 3 Location of Al-Sirrayn



CHAPTER 6

Preliminary achaeological survey of al-Sirrayn

- The road to al-Sirrayn
- The inhabited area
- The cemeteries
- The remains of al-Maṣna^{c}ah
- The location of the harbour

The road to al-Sirrayn

It is evident that al-Sirrayn was situated only two kilometres to the west of Ḥamdānah, as already mentioned.(1) Hence al-Sirrayn lies on longitude 40°33' and latitude 25°22' north. The second site bordering upon al-Sirrayn is al-Wasqah, which lies eleven kilometres to the north-east. Al-Wasqah is a stopping place on the modern road which links al-Qunfidah and Jāzān with the famous cities in the Hijaz. Moreover, the people of al-Wasqah are mainly from the clan of al-Naᶜarah of the sharifs of Dhawū Ḥasan.(2) In a minority is another clan of the sharifs called al-Barākīt.(3) Both are descendants of al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭalib.(4)

The journey to al-Sirrayn, begins at al-Wasqah. One leaves the modern road and the line of cafes and takes the land route westwards which becomes a dirt road leading to the edge of a salt marsh beyond a few dwellings belonging to al-Barākīt. This marks the end of the village of al-Wasqah. Then the road turns south-west through soft marsh on which some patches of wild grasses are scattered and a few solitary tamarisk trees (ṭarfāʾ) can be seen along the eastern edge of Wadi Ḥalyah.

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(1) Cf.107 above.

(2) Kaḥḥālah, Qabāʾil, I, 271; Cornwallis, Asir, 32;

(3) Fuᶜād Ḥamzah, Qalb, 158; al-Faqīh, "Tārīkh",83. Al-Faqīh relates Dhawū Ḥasan and Dhawū Barakāt to al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAjlān. He is undoubtedly mistaken, because Dhawū Ḥasan are related to Abū Saᶜīd al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. Qatādah and Dhwū Barakāt to Barakāt b.Abī Numayy II. Cf. al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 336; al-Barakātī, al-Riḥlah, 107.

(4) Al-Barakātī, al-Riḥlah, 107; Fuʾād Ḥamzah, Qalb, 146.

The road continues monotonously till it ends in gray sand-hills, which seem to contain no buildings other than a demolished hut (sabl).(5) This might have been used by fishermen, or coast guards who live nearby. It is among these gray sand-hills that the archaeological remains of al-Sirrayn are to be found. (6)

The inhabited area

It should be noted first and foremost that the site of al-Sirrayn has no recognizable remains of actual buildings, such as are found in ᶜAshm, Ḍankān, ʾa-Ḥsabah, and al-Khuluf. These sites will be referred to later. It would seem that most of the remains are beneath the above mentioned tells, though some scattered stones and fragments of baked brick can be seen on the surface, which can be taken as evidence of earlier buildings. In addition there are foundations which have been uncovered by the monsoon wind, known locally as ghubrah. This ghubrah blows over the region from mid-June to mid-August.(7)

It is evident from the initial survey that al-Sirrayn covers six small adjoining hills which could well conceal the remains of demolished houses and other buildings. These six hills are indicated by the letters A, B, C, D, E and F. (8) There are also two cemeteries situated to

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(5) Ṣabl (pl. Ṣubūl) is a square or rectangular hut with flat roof. Cf. Prochazka, 'Architectural Terminology', 118.

(6) Pl.2, no.III.

(7) Al-ᶜAqīlī, al-Muᶜjam, 17.

(8) Cf. Plan no.1.

the north of the inhabited area. The bigger one, nearer to the inhabited area is named al-Maqbarah al-Janūbiyyah (the southern cemetery) and the other one, al-Maqbarah al-Shamāliyyah (the northern cemetery). Moreover, another hill lies on the bank of Wadi Ḥalyah, only 600 m. to the east of the hills and cemeteries. (9) The above locations can be defined as follows:

Site A is formed from a small, low hill, on which quantities of coral stones of varying sizes used in house building are scattered, as well as some baked brick fragments, proving that there were buildings beneath. Minor excavation was carried out which resulted in the discovery of a wall extending from east to west about 4 m. long and 60 cm. thick. The wall is well constructed from stones similar to those found on the surface. The southern side of the wall is rendered with the stone masonry appearing on its northern side. (10) However, it ought to be noted at this juncture that site A is covered with deep sand which makes it difficult to find artefacts.

As for site B, this consists of foundations of semi-circular buildings in which are found many fragments of baked brick with a thick layer of brick dust beneath. (11) It would appear that this site is al-Maḥraq, the name of a place in which the unbaked bricks were fired after being

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(9) Cf. Plan no. I.

(10) Pl. 2, no. IV.

(11) Pl. 3, no. V.

dried in the sun. This kiln is similar to many of this type of burnt brick kiln in the province of al-Qunfidah, especially in al-Rujbān in Wadi Qanūnā. Also it appears to be similar to those kilns found in Kawd am-Saila in Aden.(12)

Site C is formed from a pile of building debris, plus a line of stones resembling foundations. The area of this site is covered with cut coral and baked brick fragments together with small pieces of plain or coloured clay and glass vessels.(13)

Site D is close to sites B and C, although it is larger than the others. It has similar terrain being full of shaped coral fragments and pieces of clay pots. Moreover, a tiled area was found on this site, but the material is so far unidentified. This area was presumably the ground floor of one of the houses.

Site E is near the three above sites and similarly well covered with pieces of stone and coral. It is possible that they were once used in house-building. In addition there are some multicoloured glazed porcelain vessels, which are light and dark green, as well as dark yellow. Moreover, some fragments of transparent glass were found in this site whose colours vary from white to light green. They also vary in thickness.(14)

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(12) Serjeant, "Pottery", XI, 108. Al-Rujbān is a small village in Wadi Qunūnā in the province of al-Qunfidah. Most of its population are of African origin, known among the local inhabitants as al-Maghāribah. Cf.Philby, Highlands, 694.

(13) Pl.3, no.VI.

(14) Some of these samples were collected and shown to experts in the Araeology Department in the University of Riyadh. It has been suggested that they were similar in styles to those known to date from Abbasid times.

On site F the foundations of the walls are more apparent than on other sites and are noticeable for their straightness and the area which they cover. Moreover the pieces of cut coral are here larger than elsewhere. Furthermore, some light brown stones are also found amongst the coral. These had probably been brought from the eastern mountains. More brick was found on this site than on any of the previous sites except for the area of al-Maḥraq which is indicated by letter B. A great deal of porcelain, clay and glass fragments were found in this site.(15)

The hill of site F gradually descends towards the south-east where it ends in the salt marsh. Small piles of rubble, on which are found the remains of buildings, occur on the lower slopes of the hill between al-Maḥraq in the south-east and the salt marsh in the north-east. There is also a flat area to the north of this site which has no remains and might therefore have been an open place or cleared area (maydān).

The general aspect of the site of al-Sirrayn is an expanse of sand-hills.(16) Perhaps, the most important feature is the one adjoining site C which extends about 250 m. to the east and over which a quantity of artefacts are distributed. Other sand-hills extend 100-200 m. to the south of site C. These hills contain substantial amounts of construction material and the remains of pottery, as well as beads and

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(15) Cf. Pl.4, no.VII.

(16) Cf. Pl.4, no.VIII.

shells. There is also another tiled area similar to that already mentioned. This sand-hill gradually descends towards the south-west where it ends in a narrow plain about 50 m. wide. This separates the town from the sea.

The cemeteries

With reference to the cemeteries, the southern one is situated only 200 m. to the north of the inhabited area and has a hexagonal shape. Most of the tombstones in this cemetery are buried under the wind-blown sand. (17) A small excavation was therefore undertaken which resulted in the discovery of thirty tombstones. Unfortunately, most of the inscriptions on them are undated, but the dated ones are of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. All of the tombstones in this cemetery are affected by erosion, though none appear to have been vandalized.

A significant aspect which is evident from the type of stone on which the inscriptions had been engraved, is that it was originally brought from the mountainous plateaux which lie about 30 km. to the east of al-Sirrayn. This proves the population's desire to commemorate their dead. Moreover it underlines their ability to inscribe and also points to a wealthy society. On the other hand some fragments of brick were buried under some of the tombstones in this cemetery. This may prove that this material was known in al-Sirrayn before the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries.

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(17) Cf. Plan no.1, pl.2, no.III.

The northern cemetery lies only 300 m. further north and is on a small hill, resembling a circle in shape. It should be noted that some foundations, mainly of cut coral are found in the north-east of this cemetery. (18) These might possibly be the remains of mausoleums or domes which were frequently built over the graves of holy men. That certainly was the practice in the Hijaz and Tihāmah until they came under Saudi rule. So far, the remains of four tombstones have been found in this cemetery, at least one of which dates probably from the middle of the 4th/10 century.

However, the contents of this cemetery would have been a more likely target for theft than the other. That is because of its nearness to the old road to Jāzān and the fact that many of its tombstones had been revealed by the action of the wind. Because of this some tombstones and baked bricks have been removed from al-Sirrayn to the village of al-Wasqah, and used in building a room belonging to the shaykh of the area. Some of the most valuable inscriptions can be seen lining the walls of the Shaykh's room. (19)

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(18) Pl. 5, IX.

(19) It is unfortunate that the recent inhabitants of the area were mostly ignorant of the value of such ancient finds and used these treasures in building their primitive dwellings. Such valuable relics might well be lost for ever unless the archaeological authorities hasten in their work of saving them.

The remains of al-Maṣnaᶜah

Al-Sirrayn contains yet another sand-hill, covered with cut coral and ancient shell remains. It lies about 600 m. to the east of the cemeteries and the inhabited area. As a result of surface excavation a strong wall was discovered on the top of the hill. The wall is 3.10 m. in length from the east to the west, by 100 cm. in width and 40 cm. in depth. Moreover, the wall is in good condition and both sides are well rendered. (20)

It is possible that this wall was the building of al-Maṣnaᶜah (cistern) which had supplied the city with water. Its situation in Wadi Ḥalyah meant that it would be constantly kept full of water during the rainy season. If it can be assumed that the entrance of the city was in the east, an early description suggesting that the cistern was at the gate of the town (21) may well refer to this site.

Another possibility cannot be ignored. That is that this relic was possibly a castle built to protect the town from raids which might have come from inland.

The location of the harbour

As for the location of the harbour of al-Sirrayn it is evident from the survey that no sizeable remains have been found to indicate its site. Yet available source material suggests that a port existed. The harbour has

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(20) Pl.5, no.X.

(21) Al-Maqdisī, Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm, 86.

been described as being fortified and its mercantile role will be discussed later. An accurate survey was consequently made in all seaward directions in an attempt to locate the harbour, but without success. It is, however, most likely that the site of the harbour is about 200 m. to the south of the inhabited area. (22) This suggestion is supported by the following evidence. Firstly, our material mentions the site of the inhabited area as being near the sea. Al-Ḥimyarī, for example, indicates that the wall of the town of al-Sirrayn is by the Sea. (23) Secondly, this site seems to have the deepest water along the whole coast of al-Sirrayn. Thirdly, it was well fortified because of the rocky hill which lies to the north-west of al-Sirrayn. This hill provides a natural wind break for ships in the harbour. Lastly, quantities of cut coral, baked brick fragments and building stones were found in an area which could indicate the site of the quay. It is usual to find coral in such places, but the stones and bricks could well have been transferred from inland to construct the quay.

To summarize, it can be seen that the port of al-Sirrayn was probably on this site, though there is little evidence to support this except a rocky edge about 40 m. long, facing a rocky pile about 200 m. out to sea. Even so, it is not known whether it is the relic of a building or a coral deposit. The local guide

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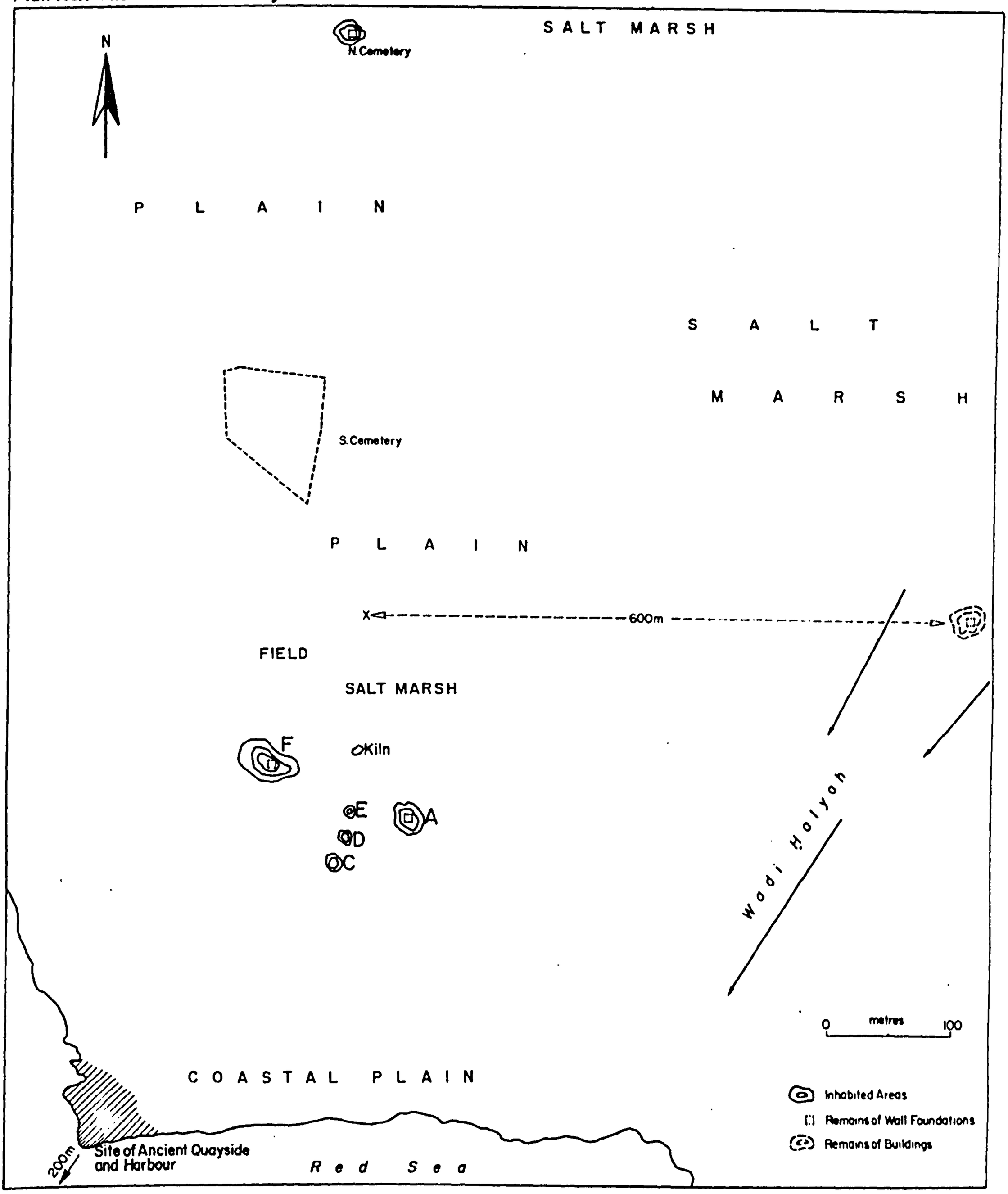
(22) Cf. plan 1- pl. 6, XI.

(23) Al-Rawḍ, 312.

failed to conduct the party over to this pile owing to the depth of water.

Fortunately it was possible to return to the site of al-Sirrayn during the summer to investigate how far the eastern coast of the Red Sea in this area is affected by the tide during the monsoon season, known locally as the ghubrah. In fact it appeared to have been little affected and by a remarkable chance a large ship weighed anchor near the site being investigated, which undoubtedly adds to the likelihood that the harbour of al-Sirrayn is situated somewhere near.

Plan No.1 The Town of Al-Sirrayn



CHAPTER 7

The Settlement

- The rise and the development of al-Sirrayn
- The inhabitants of al-Sirrayn and their activities

The rise and the development of al-Sirrayn

The sources at our disposal pay no attention to the rise of al-Sirrayn other than the 7th/13th writer, Ibn al-Mujāwir, who briefly indicates that al-Sirrayn was built by the Persians on the sea coast. (1) This might point to the fact that al-Sirrayn existed in pre-Islamic times. It might possibly have been a fortified staging post for the Persians on their road to Jeddah and northern Hijaz. This might well have been during their control of the Yemen (575-632A.D.)(2) or perhaps during the Empire of the Medes, when the Persians had some influence in the Red Sea. (3) However Ibn al-Mujāwir's description does not accord with the verse quoted above of Abū Khirāsh al-Hudhalī who describes al-Sirrayn as a grazing area, rich in grasses on which livestock feed. Nevertheless al-Sirrayn, like Jeddah, might have been used as a harbour by the Persians. (4) Jeddah subsequently declined as a port before or after the emergence of Islam. (5) However, it regained its importance when it was used in 26/646 by the caliph ᶜUthmān as a harbour for Makkah instead

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(1) Al-Mustabṣir,I,53.

(2) Cf. al-Tījān, 316-7, al-Yaᶜqūbī, Tārīkh, I, 162; al-Aṣfahānī, al-Aghānī, XVII, 308-10; Stookey, Yemen, 23.

(3) Schoff, The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, 50-1; al-Qusī, "Tijārat Miṣr", 7.

(4) Ibn al-Mujāwir, al-Mustabṣir,I,42; Ibn Faraj, al-Silāḥ, f.5a; al-Ḥaḍrāwi, al-Jawāhir, 414.

(5) Al-Hāshimī, Siyāḥatī, 69.

of al-Shuᶜaybah.(6) Consequently, it can be assumed, if Ibn al-Mujāwir was correct, that al-Sirrayn declined after being used as a staging post by the Persians and later regained its importance and was further developed during Islamic times.

The rise of al-Sirrayn was possibly due to the nature of its location as a military and maritime post which controlled the trade routes both by land and sea between the Hijaz and the Yemen.(7) Its position is further enhanced by its being the nearest harbour to the south of Makkah, linking with other harbours on the Red sea, namely in the Yemen and Abyssinia, (8) and at the same time with the fertile province of Tihāmah and the Sarawāt mountains. This paved the way for al-Sirrayn to play an important role in the commercial movement between Makkah and the nearby centres of population. Another factor, moreover, which influenced the rise and the development of al-Sirrayn during Islamic times was the pilgrimage to Makkah. Al-Sirrayn consequently became a centre for large gatherings of people who had come by land and sea from the Yemen and countries beyond on their way to Makkah. Thus al-Sirrayn became the most important centre on the Yemeni pilgrim route to Makkah. (9) Obviously, therefore, the

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(6) Al-Fāsī, Shifā', I, 87-8; Bā Qāsī, Bilād, 63.

(7) Al-Ḥusaynī, 'al-Aqsām', 767.

(8) Al-Ḥimyarī, al-Rawḍ, 312; al-Ghunaym, al-Jughrāfiyat, 126.

(9) Al-Faqīh, 'Tārīkh' 38; cf. Ibn Samurah, Ṭabaqāt, 216, 222-3.

development of al-Sirrayn, seems to pass through a phase of gradual rise during the early centuries of Islam.

It is evident from the sources that al-Sirrayn was, during the first three centuries, a fairly unimportant town. It was probably no more than a stopping place on the Yemeni pilgrim route to Makkah between the Yemen and the Hijaz. Perhaps the best illustration of the situation of the town of al-Sirrayn during this era is the comment recorded by Ibn Ḥawqal (floruit 4th/10th century), when he describes the governor of al-Sirrayn saying "The income of al-Sirrayn from taxation collected from the boats passing through its harbour carrying slaves and goods is hardly sufficient for the wālī and his men." (10) He goes on to add that the town is hardly worth mentioning. (11) Thus it can be seen that al-Sirrayn, by the end of the 3rd/9th century was a small town, with an income that did not meet all the needs of the governors. Then al-Sirrayn started to develop from the 4th/10th century onwards, as both literary and epigraphic evidence shows, to a high level of achievement. Al-Maqdisī (d. 388/997) says, "Al-Sirrayn is a small town, has a fortress and a jāmiᶜ. Al-Maṣnaᶜah is at the entrance of the town. It is, furthermore, the port for al-Sarawāt, the source of grain, dates and much honey." (12)

(10) Sūrat al-Arḍ, 25.

(11) Ibn Ḥawqal, Surat, 25.

(12) Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm, 86; cf. Abū l-ᶜAlāʾ al-Maᶜarrī, Risālat, 17.

Here it can be noticed, for the first time is the mention of the fortress, the main mosque, al-Masna^{c}ah and the gate-way al-Sirrayn. These at any rate furnish proof of the aspects of civilization in al-Sirrayn. This description also indicates the important relationship between al-Sirrayn and the region of al-Sarawāt in this early period. (13)

Al-Sirrayn reached the summit of its development in the 5-6th/11-12th centuries. It was then described as a significant town. Al-^{c}Udhrī says, "Al-Sirrayn is a big town belonging to the province of Makkah. It has a market, a jāmi^{c} and a wall on the sea side. Its houses are built of wood and grass, its jāmi^{c} being an exception, as it is built of mud. Its products are a variety of durra (sorghum) and sesame produced on land irrigated by flood water [sayl] and there is good grazing land. Its inhabitants wear loincloths [sing. izār] and robes [sing. ridā$^{\flat}$] . Its food supplies are brought from Abyssinia and elsewhere." (14)

His contemporary, al-Bakrī, says much the same, but with slight differences. For example, he states that the majority of the houses of al-Sirrayn were built of wood and grass, as well as the baths. He also states that al-Sirrayn had folds of livestock and that its food supplies were brought from ^{c}Aththar and Ḥirdah. (15)

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(13) Al-Faqīh, "Tārīkh", 42-4.

(14) Manāzil, f.15b.

(15) Al-Mamālik, 48.

It should be noted from al-ᶜUdhrī's generalizations about the houses of al-Sirrayn being built of wood and grass that this contradicts the fact that several piles of debris consisting of shaped coral and baked bricks, presumably from houses, have been found at al-Sirrayn. However, al-Bakrī is probably correct about the houses of al-Sirrayn, because similar houses of wood and straw have also been found elsewhere in this region. (16) Of course, this does not diminish the significance of the town of al-Sirrayn, as this building material was in general use until recent times in all the settlements along the eastern coast of the Red Sea, such as al-Līth, al-Qunfidah, al-Birk, al-Qaḥmah and Jāzān. (17) Moreover, Jeddah, the famous port of the Hijaz, is recorded as having houses made of wood and thatch. (18)

Be that as it may, al-Idrīsī also indicates the importance of al-Sirrayn during the first half of the 6th/12th century, saying, "Al-Sirrayn is a well-fortified place...., its wālī and the tax collector (jābī) collect import and export duty from the ships passing through al-Sirrayn to and from the Yemen, carrying goods, food and slaves." (19)

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(16) Cf. al-Faqīh, "Tārīkh", 46.

(17) Philby, Arabian Highlands, 632-9; Rutter, The Holy Cities, I, 49-61,71 and passim; al-Faqih, "Tarikh", 46; K. ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ, Mountain, 93-4; Rafīᶜ, ᶜAsīr, 155,157.

(18) Ibn Jubayr, Riḥlat, 73; Burckhardt, Travels, 9.

(19) Nuzhat, 106.

It may be concluded from the comments above that al-Sirrayn was an Islamic town. It attained its importance and developed steadily as a result of the stability and prosperity which followed the establishment of the Islamic state. Consequently, Ibn al-Mujāwir's claim that al-Sirrayn was built by Persians, is merely a personal opinion, so far unsupported by reliable sources. (20) Al-Sirrayn also passed through a period of slow growth to become a large town in the 5-6th/11-12th century. It is documented that al-Sirrayn acquired the amenities of an established town such as citadel, markets, baths etc. accompanied by trade to and from the Yemen and Abyssinia, and other neighbouring territories.

The Inhabitants of al-Sirrayn and their work

It has previously been mentioned that al-Sirrayn, according to al-Hamdānī is on the coast of B. Kinānah.(21) Yāqūt also describes the upper reaches of Wadi Ḥalyah as belonging to Ḥadhayl and its lower to Kinānah. (22) Furthermore, Wadi Ḥalyah is often mentioned in the poetry of Hudayl, whereas al-Sirrayn is only occasionally

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(20) Ḥamad al-Jāsir, in his Majallat al-ᶜArab article, doubts the authorship of Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir by Ibn al-Mujāwir al-Dimashqi, for it was almost certainly written by a Persian of the same name. Al-Jāsir also doubts some of the book's information on the Persians and their control over the Hijazi ports. Cf. al-ᶜArab, 15, 1980, III-V, 233-7; cf. al-Faqīh,"Tārīkh",39.

(21) Cf. 98 above.

(22) Muᶜjam al-Buldān, II, 297.

mentioned. (23) It seems, therefore, that the prominent Kinānah formed the population of al-Sirrayn. Yet this would appear unlikely, since such a strict division of tribal territory is likely only among desert-dwelling bedouins. A more plausible assumption is that the town was inhabited by more than just these two tribal groups and it undoubtedly had the same population structure as other large settlements. The nature of urban life plays a great role in attracting a variety of people, who migrate into towns to seek their livelihood. This is because the means of earning one's livelihood in towns are more diverse than elsewhere. Then certainly from previous indications Kinānah, as well as Hudhayl, very likely formed a large element of the population of al-Sirrayn, at least in the earlier period of the history of the town. Moreover, the governors' class of sharifs and their men seem also to have been present in al-Sirrayn, as well as some people of African descent. (24) There was also a variety of people who migrated from Jeddah to al-Sirrayn in 473/1080-1. (25)

It is also evident, from the nisbahs and kunyahs which have been found in the inscriptions, that al-Sirrayn brought together a variety of people in its population. For example Abū Sawrah is attested in some sources

(23) Al-Sukkarī, Sharḥ, passim; Abū Khirāsh, Dīwān, f.189b, f.190b.

(24) Al-Faqīh, "Tārīkh", 82.

(25) Ibn al-Mujāwir, al-Mustabṣir, I,46.

and is a Persian name. (26) Al-Hazzānī, also attested, was related to one of the Arab clans, some of whom lived in al-Yamāmah, in Najd. (27) Al-ᶜAshmī indicates a man from ᶜAshm, a town in the southern Amirate of Makkah which will be included in this research. (28) Al-Basyūnī refers to Basyūn, a town in Egypt. (29) Al-Ṭā'ifī, refers to al-Ṭā'if, 80 km. south-east of Makkah. (30) Lastly, al-Ḥajabī, might be mentioned from B. ᶜAbd al-Dār b. ᶜAbd Manāf, a clan of Quraysh, named al-Ḥajabah (caretakers) who served the Kaᶜbah. (31) This hijābah is a religious position they have held continuously since before Islam. (32). On the other hand, the population of al-Sirrayn were mostly Sunnī Moslems, possibly adopting the Shāfiᶜī madhhab, as is evident from some inscriptions, (33) though the sharif governors might have been Shīᶜī Zaydīs. (34)

Thus it can be seen that the population of al-Sirrayn was not limited to Kinānah and Hudayl, as related

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(26) Pl.25, no.24; al-Zabīdī, Tāj, III, 283.

(27) Pl.33, no.51; Ibn Mākūlā, al-Ikmāl, VII, 413-4; Kaḥḥālah, Qabā'il, III, 1217-8.

(28) Pl.24, no.20.

(29) Pl.25, no.22; al-Zabīdī, Tāj, IX 140.

(30) Pl.25, no.21; cf. 332 below.

(31) Pl.26, no.25; al-Samᶜānī, al-Ansāb, IV, 64-5.

(32) Cf.Sūrat al-Nisā', 58; al-Tamīmī, "Sādin", 11.

(33) Pl.30, no.39; al-Maqdisī, Aḥsan, 96; Kaḥḥālah, Jughrāfiyat, 280.

(34) Cf.Ibn Jubayr, al-Riḥlah, 78; al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, XIII, 227.

in the earlier sources. In fact there was a variety of common people of local and migrant kinds. This is, of course, typical of urban populations with their many activities, as well as the abundance of employment.

As for the activities of the inhabitants, they included fishing, either for food or trade which was the same in most other towns of the eastern coast of the Red Sea; (35) and appears to have been one of the main occupations of the population of al-Sirrayn. Then came pearl fishing, a successful commercial activity in al-Sirrayn. Ibn al-Akfānī, lists al-Sirrayn among the most famous pearl-fishing centres in the Red Sea, along with Dahlak al-Qulzum. (36) Moreover, it is probable that boat building was an important industry in al-Sirrayn. Consequently, the population of this region succeeded in producing different kinds of boats, such as canoes (hawārī) and dhows (sanābīk). (37) These craft might well have been built by sections of the community within al-Sirrayn, because this industry has existed along the coast of Tihāmah until recent times. (38) It is also thought that another section of the community worked at extracting coral from the sea and shaping it for building purposes.

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(35) Twitchil, Saudi Arabia, 25.

(36) Nukhab al-Dhakhā^{c}ir, 31-32. Dahlak is the famous island and port in the Red Sea between the Yemen and Abyssinia, now belonging to Ehtiopia. cf. Yāqūt, Mufam al-Buldān, II, 492; Al-Qulzum was an ancient harbour at the extreme north-eastern point of the Red Sea. It lies 1½ kilometres to the north of the port of Suez. Cf. al-Qusī, "Tijarat", 36. Rushbrooke, Western Arabia, 102.

(37) Al-Wās^{c}ī, Tārīkh al-Yaman, 103.

(38) Twitchill, Saudi Arabia, 30-31; al-Faqīh, "Tārīkh", 85.

This occupation was also known mainly in the eastern coastal settlements of the Red Sea until recent times. (39)

Salt panning was very likely another main occupation in al-Sirrayn and was practised by making small hollows or pits in the salt marsh which extends in many parts around the town. The salty water beneath the marsh gathers in these hollows and is then left to evaporate, leaving a solid layer of good edible salt. This industry probably arose to meet the town's own need for salt and, in addition, to export it to the inland regions of the Tihāmah and al-Sarāt. (40)

It is evident from available sources that the population of al-Sirrayn was also occupied in farming, near the plain of al-Wadiyayn, which lies to the east of the town. (41) They produced such crops as durra, sesame and dukhn. (42) They might also have been occupied with stockbreeding because it is mentioned that al-Sirrayn had livestock folds. (43)

It is also obvious from the fact that some houses

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(39) Al-Faqīh, "al-Qunfidah", 47.

(40) Al-Faqīh, "Tārīkh", 85 by D.B.Doe, in his talk in the seminar for Arabian Studies, 1983. This type of salt panning was mentioned and it was shown that it goes back for centuries. This also was seen in Jeddah, cf. Niebuhr, Voyage, I, 223, Tab. LV.

(41) Al-Wādiyayn known today as al-Shāqqah al-Shāmiyyah and al-Shāqqah al-Yamāniyyah. Cf. 108,110 above.

(42) Al-Himyarī, al-Rawd, 312. The root of arāk trees might have been used in producing a type of tooth-brush. This is reported by Ibn Baṭṭūṭah in his riḥlah. Cf. Tuḥfat, 149.

(43) Al-Bakrī, al-Mamālik, 48; al-Himyarī, al-Rawd, 312.

in al-Sirrayn were built of wood and grass that another craft must have been the cutting and bringing of wood from al-Wadiyayn where there is a large area of tamarisk trees (tarfā') and also salvadora persica (arāk). (44) The same material would have been used in other industries such as the manufacture of ploughs and drinking bowls i.e. maʿṣūb for which Wadi Ḥaly was renowned. (45) Another skill which must not be overlooked is the brick and pottery industry. (46) It has already been mentioned in the survey section that quantities of baked brick and pottery fragments have been found at the site of al-Sirrayn, so obviously some people were employed in their production. Also the frequency of the inscriptions on tombstones and the quality of the inscriptions would furnish proof that there was another important skill practised by local people.

On the other hand, the practice of certain other crafts may be deduced from the nisbahs of the tombs' occupants. For example, al-Qaṭṭān indicates a cotton manufacturer or merchant. (47) Al-Naddāf indicates a cotton teaser. (48) Al- Warrāq, refers to stationer or copyist. (49)

However, commerce was the most important activity

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(44) Kaḥḥālah, Jughrāfiyat, 106.

(45) Al-Maqdisī, Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm, 98.

(46) Al-Faqīh, "Tārīkh", 85.

(47) Pl.35, no.62.

(48) Pl.31, no.46.

(49) Pl.32, no.48; cf.336 below.

practised among the population of al-Sirrayn. Presumably, therefore, al-Sirrayn had an active market buying and selling a wide range of products from near and far, including imports from the Yemen and Abyssinia. (50) Moreover, a further source of income came from taxation which was levied on the boats landing or passing through al-Sirrayn's harbour as mentioned previously. The taxation level in the time of al-Maqdisī was one dinar per camel load and one dinar per basket of saffron; slaves were one dinar per head. (51) Furthermore, the hiring of camel caravans to transport goods to al-Sarāt and to Makkah was another source of employment. (52) It can be seen that the transportation of goods both by land and sea was a major occupation in al-Sirrayn.

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(50) Al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat, 106.

(51) Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm, 104.

(5-) Al-Zaylaᶜī, "ᶜAlāqāt", 264.

CHAPTER 8

The Political History

- The rulers of al-Sirrayn

- The role of the governor of al-Sirrayn, Rājiḥ b. Qatādah, in the relations between Makkah and the Yemen (626-654/1229 - 1256)

The Rulers of al-Sirrayn

Sources available mention al-Sirrayn as a governorship attached to the Amirate of Makkah. (1) However, these sources fail to disclose, at least in the early period, the name of any of its rulers, or their administrative and political relationship to the amir of Makkah the mode of their appointment and their obligations to their suzerain.

The first person mentioned in connection with al-Sirrayn may have been Abū Hārūn Mūsā b. Muḥammad b. Kathīr al-Sirraynī. Al- Sam^{c}ānī mentions that "he was from al-Sirrayn, reported ḥadīth according to ^{c}Abd al-Malik b. Ibrahim al-Jiddi and transmitted them to Abū 'l-Qāsim Sulaymān b. Aḥmad b. Ayyūb al-Ṭabarānī." (2) However, one knows practically nothing about this man. Was he the governor of al-Sirrayn or one of its ulema? One also does not know the dates of his birth or death, but it appears from the biographies of his disciples, one of whom was Abū 'l-Qāsim Sulaymān b. Aḥmad al-Ṭabarānī born in 260/873, (3) that al-Sirraynī lived in the 3rd/9th century before the domination of the independent sharif dynasties in Makkah.

When the sharifs began their rule in Makkah at the

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(1) Al-^{c}Udhrī, Manāzil, F.15b; al-Bakrī, al-Mamālik, 48. Al-Ḥimyarī, al-Rawḍ, 312.

(2) Al-Ansāb, VII, 79-80.

(3) Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, 11,141; Ibn Taghrī-Bardī, al-Nujūm, V, 59.

beginning of the 4th/10th century, it seems that they followed the prevalent traditions of the time and appointed their kinsfolk to the governorship of important provinces.(4) Ibn ᶜInabah states in the genealogy of Muḥammad al-Thaᵓir, the ancestor of Musawid sharifs, rulers of Makkah, that at least three of the sons of ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥasan (or al-Ḥusayn, as some historians call him) (5) ruled in al-Sirrayn; the first ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Amīr b. Muḥammad al-Akbar or al-Thāᵓir b. Mūsā al-Thānī b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Mūsā al-Jūn b. ᶜAbd Allāh al-Maḥḍ b. Ḥasan al-Muthannā b. al-Ḥasan al-Sibṭ b. ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. (6)

To corroborate Ibn ᶜInabah's statement a tombstone has been found in al-Sirrayn bearing the name of Amir Abū ᵓl-Husayn Yaḥyā b. ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b.Mūsā b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Mūsā b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. (7) This genealogy is similar to the former, even if this Yaḥyā is not specifically mentioned by Ibn ᶜInabah. Perhaps Ibn ᶜInabah did not know of him, or possibly his name was dropped inadvertently in copying. The inscription mentions the date, but this has been obliterated and the exact dates in question cannot be known, even if part of the inscription is clear. The date of the amir's death is probably the 8th day remaining from the month of al-Muḥarram, 361/12-13th of November 972.(8)

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(4) Cf.al-Azraqī, Tārīkh Makkah, 235f; Abū Shāmah, al-Rawḍatayn, I,217-9, II, 234; al-fasī, al-ᶜIqd,V, 62-4, H.Ḥasan, Tārīkh, II, 12.

(5) Ibn ᶜInabah, ᶜUmdat, 108.

(6) Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat, 47, al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd,I,170; al-Iṣamī, Simṭ, V, 199.

(7) Pl.29, no.37.

(8) Cf. no.37 below; al-Faqīh, "Madīnat", 838-9.

He may have been appointed governor of al-Sirrayn by his cousin Abū Muḥammad Jaᶜfar b. Muḥammad al-Amīr b. Ḥasan b.Muḥammad al-Thāʾir (d. 370/980), who seized Makkah in 358/968 and acknowledged the supremacy of the Fatimid Caliph al-Muᶜizz, as has been mentioned above.

The brother of the above ᶜAbd Allāh was also a governor of al-Sirrayn. He was al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥasan al-Amīr b. Muḥammad al-Thāʾir etc., mentioned by Ibn ᶜInabah among the rulers of al-Sirrayn. (9) However, the latter failed to state how he became governor, and who appointed him to this office. Other sources also fail to report the matter. It seems that al-Ḥasan was also the brother of Yaḥyā and he came to the governorship after, or in conjunction with him. He was probably appointed by his cousins, the rulers of Makkah, and may have been a contemporary of the amir of Makkah, ᶜĪsā b. Jaᶜfar, who died in 384/994.

Ibn ᶜInabah states that the above mentioned al-Ḥasan was succeeded by Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan. He calls him the amir of al-Sirrayn and describes him as a tyrant who killed his son because the latter aspired to take over the government.(10) He also states that Yaḥyā left children. (11) They might have succeeded to the governorship of al-Sirrayn, at least during the rule of their own Musawid cousins who governed Makkah until 453/1061, as mentioned earlier.(12)

The province of al-Sirrayn might have been their own fief (Iqtaᶜ)

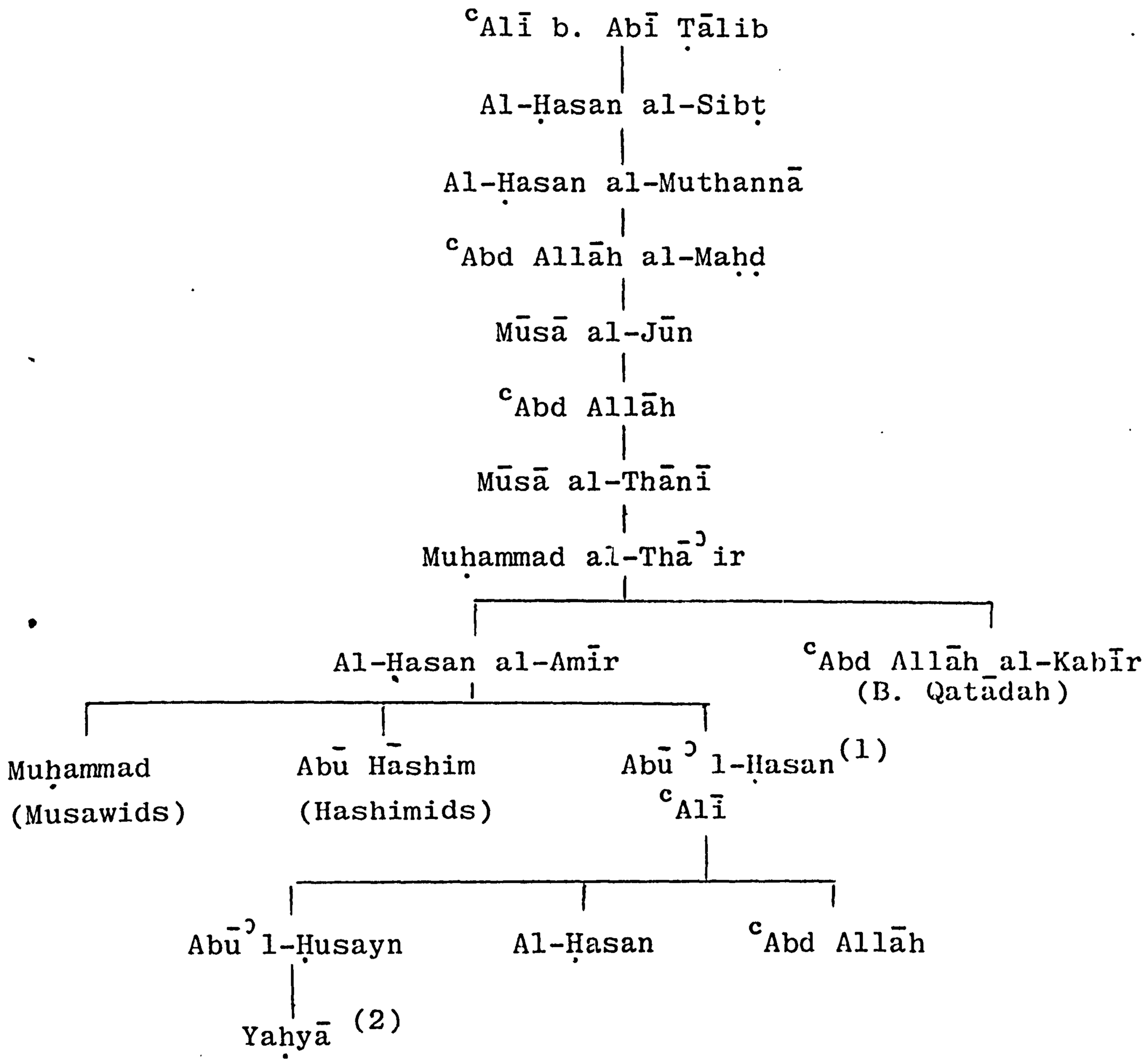
(9) ᶜUmdat al-Ṭālib, 108; al-Samarqandī, Tuḥfat, cf. the genealogy of Muḥammad al-Thāʾir.

(10) Ibn ᶜInabah, ᶜUmdat, 108.

(11) Ibn ᶜInabah, ᶜUmdat, 108.

(12) Cf. 21-42 above.

Table No.6 The Amirs of al-Sirrayn during the Musawid period in Makkah



1. Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat, 47, does not mention Abū ʾl-Ḥasan ᶜAlī

2. Cf. inscription no.37 below.

Sources available to us fail to mention any rulers of al-Sirrayn during the amirate of the Hàshimids, even though the port was flourishing during their reign and its governor was their nominee. He paid dues to them out of the taxes he levied on the ships coming to the port. Al-Idrīsī states that the governor of al-Sirrayn paid half the dues to the amir of Makkah. (13) It is probable that the governorship of al-Sirrayn may have been held by members of the Hashimid family, in the same way as their predecessors were related to the Musawid amirs.

When the family of Qatādah took over the government of Makkah their relatives were appointed to rule over the provinces. (14) It is believed that al-Sirrayn fell to the lot of Rājiḥ b. Qatādah, although no clear reference to this fact appears in the Arabic sources. These sources state that Rājiḥ lived with the bedouins on the outskirts of Makkah and that he resided in al-Wādiyayn. (15) Al-Wādiyayn is in fact the region surrounding al-Sirrayn, as mentioned above. Al-Ṣabbāgh and al-Jannābī go further and mention that Rājiḥ lived in al-Sirrayn between Ḥaly and Makkah. (16) Rājiḥ's governorship of al-Sirrayn was confirmed when al-Malik al-Masᶜūd, the Ayyubid governor of the Yemen, attacked

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(13) Nuzhat al-Mushtāq, 108.

(14) Ibn Fahd, Ithāf, under the year 597-9 (1201-3); al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, 207, 213-4.

(15) Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, IX, 345; Ibn Fahd, Ithāf, under the year 618 (1221); al-Qarmānī, Akhbār, 225; al-Jazīrī, Durar, 272.

(16) Tahṣīl, f. 221b; al-Baḥr, f.434a.

Makkah in 619/1222 and deposed Amir Ḥasan b. Qatādah, appointing ᶜUmar Ibn Rasūl to take his place. (17) The sources now mention that al-Malik al-Masᶜūd appointed Rājiḥ to rule over al-Sirrayn, adding to his dominion Ḥaly and half of al-Mikhlāf, as mentioned above. There is no inconsistency between the nomination of Rājiḥ as governor of al-Sirrayn by al-Masᶜūd and his having held the same office in the days of his father, as it is believed that his brother Ḥasan dismissed him then, owing to a disagreement between the two brothers. (18) So it is probably for this reason that he assisted al-Masᶜūd against his own brother, claiming to avenge his brother who, it is alleged, had been killed by Ḥasan, as stated above.

When al-Malik al-Masᶜūd gained victory over Ḥasan b. Qatādah and expelled him from Makkah, he may have renewed Rājiḥ's governorship of al-Sirrayn and recompensed him by adding Ḥaly and half of al-Mikhlāf. It appears that the addition of these places to Rājiḥ's dominion was a conciliatory gesture towards him, as he might, by helping al-Masᶜud, have coveted the amirate of Makkah itself, at least in this early period. Anyhow, al-Masᶜud gave the Makkan amirate to ᶜUmar Ibn Rasūl in the first attempt to nominate a candidate outside the sharifs to this high position.

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(17) Al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk, 1, 213; al-Fāsī, Shifā', 11, 198-9; Bā Qāsi, Bilād, 15; al-ᶜAsīrī, "al-ᶜAlaqat," 121.

(18) Al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 213; al-Jazīrī, Durar, 272. al-Qarmānī, Akhbār, 225.

On the other hand, all historical sources make a point of stating that Rājiḥ b. Qatādah was amir of Makkah and that he succeeded his brother, Ḥasan at this point with the help of the Ayyubids and then the Rasulids.(19) Some sources claim that he had ruled Makkah six or eight times, giving the years of the period of his rule. (20) Certain contemporary historians follow the same course, but are inconsistent in what they write, considering him amir of Makkah in some passages and denying this statement in others. (21) The writings of most of these historians reveal a failure to examine the texts sufficiently scrupulously. In fact Rājiḥ never held the amirate of Makkah in the sense of holding the authority of the previous amirs or even subsequent sharifs in that post, e.g. Idrīs b. Qatādah (d. 669/1270), Abū Numayy and others, right down to recent times.

During the period which followed al-Malik al-Masᶜūd's subjugation of Makkah, we know that Rājiḥ b. Qatādah was governor of al-Sirrayn, Ḥaly and half of al-Mikhlāf, whereas Makkah was governed by ᶜUmar Ibn Rasūl who was succeeded by Yāqūt b. ᶜAbd Allāh al-Masᶜūdī as stated earlier. ᶜUmar Ibn Rasūl became the ruler of the

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(19) Ibn Ẓahīrah, al-Jāmiᶜ, 192; al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 217-22. al-Ṣabbāgh, Taḥṣīl, f. 221a, 222b.

(20) Al-Subāᶜī, Tārīkh, I, 220; Bā Qāsī, Bilād, 53-8; Āminah, "ᶜAlāqāt", 53-85.

(21) ᶜIlayyān, "al-Ḥayāt al-Siyāsiyyah", 91-7.

Yemen and sent his troops to Makkah, a period considered by many historians to coincide with that of Rājiḥ b. Qatādah's amirate of Makkah. This must, however, be a matter of doubt.

The reason is that Rājiḥ b. Qatādah, as a governor of al-Sirrayn assisted ᶜUmar Ibn Rasūl, who became well known as al-Malik al-Manṣūr, and led his Rasulid troops against the Ayyubids. He took part in most of the battles and placed himself with his bedouin followers at the disposal of the Yemeni forces. It is probable that this co-operation and the presence of Rājiḥ at the head of the Yemeni troops going to Makkah led many historians to think that Rājiḥ wanted to obtain the amirate of Makkah. However, it should be noted that these expeditions were not sufficiently successful for the Yemenis to enable al-Manṣūr to nominate one of his men to rule over Makkah, as will be explained below.

It will be seen in the following section that al-Malik al-Manṣūr had on occasion been sending troops under the Yemeni commanders to Makkah and Rājiḥ joined them on the way upon their arrival in al-Sirrayn or thereabouts. Another time al-Manṣūr had supplied Rājiḥ with men, ammunition and money when he was in al-Sirrayn and asked him to march on Makkah. (22) If Rājiḥ had indeed been in Makkah, historians would have undoubtedly made this clear.

When the Yemenis succeeded in seizing Makkah, al-Malik al-Manṣūr appointed one of his commanders as his

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(22) Ibn Ḥātim, al-Simṭ, I, 206; al-Khazrajī, ᶜUqūd, I, 49; al-Ṣabbāgh, Taḥṣīl, f. 221b.

deputy in the city, (Ibn ᶜAbdān, al-Shallāḥ, Ibn al-Musayyab and others). No mention is made of his appointing Rājiḥ. But when the Ayyubids were victorious, historians state that the Yemeni commanders left Makkah, but there is no mention of Rājiḥ himself leaving the city or negotiating with the Ayyubids, which means that he was not there. If he had been in Makkah at that time, the sources would not have refrained from mentioning his expulsion from the city. For Rājiḥ usually returned to his base in al-Sirrayn at the end of his missions, which were aimed at seizing Makkah for his ally, the Rasulid king.

Certain historians may assume that the commanders were men of arms, whereas Rājiḥ was the administrative governor of Makkah. However, a denial of this fact is found in the histories. The last ruler of Makkah under al-Manṣūr was Ibn al-Musayyab to whom al-Manṣūr gave the city as a fief on condition that he hand to him an annual tribute and one hundred horses, as will be mentioned below. He, therefore, and none other, was clearly responsible for both military and non-military affairs and there can be no question that Rājiḥ was any kind of civilian administrator. Also if one reads the history of the sharifs of Makkah during that period, one finds no one competing with them in raising taxes from outside the town. This was the prerogative of the sharif of Makkah himself and he obtained money in abundance also from neighbouring rulers in the form of contributions and grants. On the other hand, it will be seen that Ibn

al-Musayyab, when he misbehaved, was not opposed by Rājiḥ, but, in fact, was dismissed by Abū Saᶜīd al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. Qatādah, the governor of Wadi Fāṭimah on behalf of the Rasulid, al-Malik al-Manṣūr. If Rājiḥ had been holding power in Makkah, it would have been he who undertook this mission to please his friend al-Malik al-Manṣūr. He may have been at his base at al-Sirrayn and unable to act quickly against Ibn al-Musayyab.

There remains a point mentioned by some Makkan historians, such as al-Fāsī, who reflect a generally held point of view. One finds him doubting Rājiḥ's accession to the amirate of Makkah. He is said to have stated that, "al-Manṣūr's armies remained in Makkah in 636/1238 and I do not know whether Rājiḥ was with them or not." (23) In another place he states that "al-Manṣūr went with a huge army to Makkah in 639/1241 and seized it. He appointed his slave Fakhr al-Dīn al-Shallāḥ as his deputy. I do not know whether he appointed Rājiḥ as deputy jointly with him or not; apparently, he did not." (24) Ibn Khaldūn states that Rājiḥ returned to Makkah in 635/1237 with al-Malik al-Manṣūr and remained there until 647/1249 when he fled to al-Sirrayn after its seizure by his nephew Abū Saᶜīd b. Qatādah. (25) This was quoted by al-Fāsī who says: "This is doubtful in many aspects. One is that Rājiḥ did not remain in Makkah from 635-47 (1237-49) as it was governed during this period by several rulers as mentioned before." (26)

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(23) al-ᶜIqd, IV, 377.
(24) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, IV, 378.
(25) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, IV, 378, Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, al-ᶜIbar, IV, 106.
(26) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, IV, 378.

He mentions Ibn al-Walīdī, Ibn al-Taᶜizzī, Ibn al-Nuṣayrī, al-Shallāḥ and Ibn al-Musayyab, as will be discussed later.

Along with al-Fāsī, a modern writer presumes that al-Malik al-Manṣūr appointed Rājiḥ to govern Makkah from the time he sent his first army to the Hijaz in 629/1231.(27) However, this writer soon contradicts himself when he says: "It is apparent that the sons of Qatādah were not content with the Rasulids' method of governing Makkah which was not different from the Ayyubids' system. The Rasulid sultan, Nūr al-Dīn ᶜUmar, did not appoint deputies to rule over Makkah from among the sons of Qatādah despite their co-operation with him in opposing the Ayyubids".(28)

Finally, there is another relevant point. Al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī states that, "Abū Saᶜīd al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. Qatādah became ruler of Makkah [647/1249]after the rule of several other persons between him and his uncle, Ḥasan b. Qatādah, the last of whom was Ibn al-Musayyab."(29) One finds that al-Ṭabarī al-Makkī does not mention Rājiḥ's name. He also clearly states that Ibn al-Musayyab was a ruler of Makkah.(30) This also applies to other

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(27) ᶜIlayyān, "al-Ḥayāt," 1, 90.

(28) ᶜIlayyān, "al-Ḥayāt,", 96.

(29) Nash'at, II, 502.

(30) Al-Ṭabarī, Nash'at, II, 502.

deputies of al-Malik al-Manṣūr, such as Ibn al-Walīdī, al-Shallāh, etc.

There is also an incident showing that Rājiḥ b. Qatādah had no desire to rule over Makkah. In 651/1253 Rājiḥ regained Makkah from Jammāz, the son of Ḥasan b. Qatādah, the former amir of the town, for the Rasulids and with their help. Rājiḥ however left Makkah soon to his son, Ghānim, and went back to his seat in al-Sirrayn.(31) He also mediated between his brother, Idrīs, and his nephew, Abū Numayy, when they quarrelled in 654/1256.(32) Hence it should be concluded that Rājiḥ was only governor of the southern area of the Makkan amirate, with al-Sirrayn as his base and from there Rājiḥ played his role in the events taking place in Makkah. However, it does not appear unlikely that Rajiḥ gained a footing in Makkah for short periods at certain times during these events.

It may be asked what were the reasons which led Rājiḥ to espouse the cause of the Rasulids against the Ayyubids, and to assist them in commanding their expeditions to seize Makkah, without asking them to be allowed to assume the office of amir or without aspiring to this high office. There is no doubt that the Rasulids' recognition of him as governor of the southern area of the amirate of Makkah was the foremost reason for Rājiḥ's agreeing to assist them in opposing the Ayyubids in the Hijaz. In addition there

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(31) Al-Jannābī, al-Baḥr, f.434a.

(32) Ibn Fahd, Ithāf, under the year 654(1256); al-Sinjārī, Manā'iḥ, f.300a.

were the great material benefits which he reaped. It will be seen in the following section that al-Manṣūr had sent to Rājiḥ enormous sums of money, asking him to enlist the bedouins to fight alongside the Yemeni troops. There is no doubt that he benefited greatly from the money placed at his disposal.

One has also reason to believe that the competition between members of the Qatādah's family pushed Rājiḥ to take this stand. The family of Qatādah were divided into two parties; one supporting the Ayyubids, with its seat in Yanbuᶜ under the leadership of Abū Saᶜīd al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. Qatādah; (33) the second party under the leadership of Rājiḥ at al-Sirrayn, supporting the Rasulids. This jealousy and animosity between family members led to their exclusion from the amirate of Makkah until 647/1249. The best description of this family rivalry is to be found in the statements of Qatādah's minister, Abū ʾl-Rabīᶜ Sulaymān b. ᶜAbd Allāh al-Dārimī (d.642/1244). "The Fatimids [i.e. the Qatādah family descended from Fatimah] benefit the people, but they do evil to one another." (34)

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(33) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, II, 384; Ibn Fahd, Ithāf, under the year 630 (1232); al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 219; Bā Makhramah, Thaghr, 177-8.

(34) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, III, 610.

Table No.7

B. Qatādah Amirs of al-Sirrayn

- ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib
  - Al-Ḥasan al-Sibṭ
    - Al-Ḥasan al-Muthannā
      - ᶜAbd Allāh al-Maḥḍ
        - Mūsā al-Jūn
          - ᶜAbd Allāh
            - Mūsā al-Thānī
              - Muḥammad al-Thāʾir
                - Al-Ḥasan al-Amīr
                  - Muḥammad (Musawids)
                  - Abū Hāshim (Hashimids)
                  - Abūʾl Hasan[1]
                    - ᶜAlī (Amirs of al-Sirrayn)
                - ᶜAbd Allāh al-Kabīr
                  - ᶜAlī
                    - Sulaymān
                      - Al-Ḥasan
                        - ᶜĪsā
                          - ᶜAbd al-Karīm
                            - Mutāᶜin
                              - Idrīs
                                - Qatādah
                                  - Rājiḥ
                                  - ᶜAlī al-Kabīr
                                    - Abū Saᶜīd al-Ḥasan
                                      - Abū Numayy al-Awwal
                                        - Rumaythah
                                          - Mubārak
                                          - Mughammis (Amirs of al-Sirrayn in 7461)
                                          - ᶜAjlān[1]

1. They were appointed jointly as amirs of al-Sirrayn by their brothers ᶜAjlān b. Rumyathah b. Abī Numayy. Cf. al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, VI, 60.

The role of the governor of al-Sirrayn, Rājih b. Qatādah, in relations between Makkah and the Yemen (625-654/1229-1256)

The death of al-Mas^{c}ūd heralded a new era in the Yemen. ^{c}Umar Ibn Rasūl proclaimed himself king and took the name of al-Manṣūr. After a time he put an end to Ayyubid influence in the Yemen, proclaimed an independent Rasulid state and remained two years (626-628/1228-1230), bringing stability to the country. (35) He aspired during that period to add Makkah to his dominions. It appears that al-Manṣūr was expecting a reaction from the Ayyubids to his proclamation of a Rasulid state and decided to move the battle out of the Yemen. He also wanted to enhance his power and glorify himself in the eyes of the people by seizing Makkah, the Holy City of Islam.

The first steps he took in these endeavours were to erect the fortress of al-Birk and fill it with loyal troops. (36) It was at the recommendation of Sharif Yaḥyā b. Ḥamzah, one of the Sulaymānī sharifs of al-Mikhlāf al-Sulaymānī whose chief town was Ḥaraḍ, that al-Manṣūr and he made a pact of co-operation and mutual assistance. (37) Al-Manṣūr sent an emissary to Mūsā b. ^{c}Alī al-Kinānī, leader of Ḥaly b. Ya^{c}qūb, asking him to wage war on the Ayyubid soldiers. Mūsā readily agreed and honoured the king's emissary. (38) The Rasulid king bestowed the

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(35) Ibn Ḥātim, al-Simṭ, I, 201-4; Idrīs, Kanz, f.188a; al-Janadī, al-Sulūk, f.192b; Ibn Taghrī-Bardī, al-Manhal, I, 230.

(36) Al-Khazrajī, al-^{c}Asjad, 211; Ibn al-Dayba^{c}, Qurrat, II, 19; al-^{c}Aqīlī, al-Mikhlāf, I, 216; Cf. pl.40, no.XXXVIII (App.)

(37) Ibn Ḥātim, al-Simṭ, I, 203.

(38) Al-Khazrajī, al-^{c}Asjad, 211; Ibn Hutaymil, Dīywān, 158.

title of amir on him. (39)

Circumstances played an important part in favour of al-Malik al-Manṣūr. Rājiḥ b. Qatādah, ruler of al-Sirrayn, proclaimed his allegiance and support and encouraged the sultan to march on Makkah and free it from its Ayyubid governor Ṭughtakīn b. ᶜAbd Allāh al-Kāmilī. (40) Al-Manṣūr agreed to Rājiḥ's advice. In 629/1231 he despatched an army to Rājiḥ under the command of Ibn ᶜAbdān (d. 630/1232) with huge sums of money. The army stopped at al-Abṭaḥ and lay siege to the Ayyubid governor in Makkah. (41) In a last effort to keep Makkah, Ṭughtakīn distributed money among the population to ensure their allegiance. (42) Sharif Rājiḥ sent them letters reminding them of the benefactions which the Rasulid, Nūr al-Dīn, had made to them when he was amir of Makkah under the last Ayyubid ruler of the Yemen, al-Malik al-Masᶜūd. (43) The leaders of Makkah inclined towards Rājiḥ, the Rasulid sympathizer. When the Ayyubid Ṭughtakīn was aware of this, he fled with his followers to Yanbuᶜ. (44) This place,

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(39) Al-Khazrajī, al-ᶜUqūd, I, 85; al-ᶜAsjad, 211.

(40) Daḥlān, Khulāsat, 24; ᶜIlayyān, "al-Ḥayāt," 90; Aminah; "ᶜAlāqāt", 53.

(41) Al-Khazrajī, ᶜUqūd, I, 49; Ibn Fahd, Itḥāf, under the year 629 (1231).

(42) Ibn Ḥātim, al-Simṭ, II, 204; al-Khazrajī, al-Kifāyah, f.142a.

(43) Al-Ashraf, Fākihat, f.98b.; al-Khazrajī, al-ᶜAsjad, 198.

(44) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, V, 64-5; al-Sinjārī, Manā'iḥ, 293.

as is understood from contemporary sources, was controlled by an Ayyubid garrison supplied from Egypt by way of the Sea. (45) He wrote from there to al-Malik al-Kāmil (d.635/1238), the Ayyubid king of Egypt, informing him of his plight. The latter sent him a big army commanded by Amir Fakhr al-Dīn b. Shaykh al-Shuyūkh (d.647/1249).(46) He also persuaded Shīḥah, the governor of Medina, and Abū Sa^{c}īd al-Ḥasan b. ^{c}Alī b.Qatādah, the governor of Yanbu^{c}, to assist him in expelling the Yemeni forces from Makkah. Thus the Ayyubid armies were able to defeat the Yemenis and their allies, Rājiḥ's bedouins, and kill Ibn ^{c}Abdān, the Rasulid commander in 630/1232.(47) Ṭughtakīn and Fakhr al-Dīn entered Makkah in the month of Ṣafar/November of the same year. (48) Ṭughtakīn gave vent to his anger and looted the town for three days. (49) When al-Malik al-Kāmil heard of his action, he was furious and dismissed him, appointing Ibn Mujallī in his place in 630/1232. (50)

It seems that the Yemenis, after Ibn ^{c}Abdān's death and Rājiḥ's defeat, retreated to al-Sirrayn. Ibn Ḥātim states that in 631/1233 al-Manṣūr sent money to

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(45) Daḥlān, Khulāṣat, 25; Āminah, "^{c}Alāqāt", 60-8.

(46) Al-Fāsī, al-^{c}Iqd V, 65: Ibn Fahd, Ithāf, under the year 630(1232) Ibn Taghrī-Bardī, al-Nujūm, VI, 363

(47) Ibn Ḥātim, al Simṭ, I, 205; al-Ṭabarī, Ithāf, f.12b.

(48) Al-Ṣabbāgh, Tahṣīl, f.221a.

(49) Al-Khazrajī, al-^{c}Uqūd, I, 50; al-Sinjārī, Manā'ih, 293.

(50) Ibn Ḥātim, al-Simṭ, I, 206; al-Fāsī, al-^{c}Iqd, VII,64

sharif Rājiḥ asking him to spend it on the troops with him and to march with them on Makkah to make war on Ibn Mujallī. Sharif Rājiḥ complied with this order and marched to Makkah. When Ibn Mujallī knew of Rājiḥ's progress, he left the city and went to Egypt. Rājiḥ entered Makkah at the head of al-Manṣūr's troops. (51) Peace came at last to the Holy City and al-Malik al-Manṣūr came by camel that year to perform the pilgrimage. (52)

However, the calm did not continue for long in Makkah. An Ayyubid army commanded by Asad al-Dīn Jafrīl b. ᶜAbd Allāh al-Kāmilī and five other commanders succeeded in expelling the Rasulid Amir Ibn al-Baṣrī in 632/1234 and seizing the city. (53) Al-Malik al-Manṣūr did not hesitate; in 633/1235 he equipped a new army in the Yemen under the command of Amir Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn ᶜAbdān. He also sent money to Sharif Rājiḥ at al-Sirrayn and ordered him to raise troops. (54) When they came near Makkah, the Egyptian army went out to meet them. They joined in battle at a place called al-Kharīfayn between Makkah and al-Sirrayn. (55) The Arabs fled and

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(51) Al-Simṭ, I, 206; cf. also al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, I, 54; Ibn Ẓahīrah, al-Jāmiᶜ, 193.

(52) Al-Maqrīzī, al-Dhahab, 79-80; al-Sinjārī, Manā'iḥ, 294.

(53) Al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk, I, 250; al-Khazrajī, al-ᶜAsjd, 199; Ibn al-Daybaᶜ, Qurrat, II, 6.

(54) Al-Ashraf, Fākihat, f.98b; al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk, I, 250; al-Khazraji, al-ᶜAsjad, 199.

(55) Al-Ashraf, Fākihat, f.98b; al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, I, 55. Al-Kharīfayn does not figure in the sources atour disposal.

Amir Shihāb al-Dīn was captured. The Ayyubid governor of Makkah, Jafrīl, sent him in chains to Egypt. (56) However, Ibn Ḥātim mentions this incident as occurring in 634/1236, agreeing that the battle took place in al-Kharīfayn. Sharif Rājiḥ had with him the tribes of B. Shuᶜbah, a Hijazi tribe who lived south of Makkah, (57) and B. Kinānah in order to help al-Malik al-Manṣūr, but they were defeated in this locality and al-Shihāb Ibn ᶜAbdān was taken prisoner. (58) It should be noted that Kinānah and B. Shuᶜbah lived in the southern area of the amirate of Makkah. It seems that they formed the forces of the governor of al-Sirrayn, Rājiḥ b. Qatādah, when he was the ally of al-Manṣūr of the Yemen.

Be that as it may, when things did not turn out in favour of al-Malik al-Manṣur in Makkah he decided to go there himself. (59) In 635/1237 he led an army of one thousand horsemen. (60) When he arrived at al-Sirrayn, Rājiḥ b. Qatādah joined him with three hundred cavalrymen. Al-Manṣūr ordered Rājiḥ to march on Makkah. (61) When Jafrīl was aware of Rājiḥ's march against him, supported

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(56) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, III, 434; al-Ṣabbāgh, Tahsīl, f.221a. al-Sinjarī, Manā'iḥ, 295.

(57) Al-Fīrūzābādī, al-Qāmūs, II, 132; Kaḥḥālah, Qabā'il, II, 596; al-ᶜAqīlī, "B. Shuᶜbah", 895ff.

(58) Ibn Ḥātim, al-Simṭ, I, 215.

(59) Al-Khazrajī, al-ᶜAsjad, 202; al-Kifāyah, f.145b; Ibn al-Daybaᶜ, Bughyat, 81.

(60) Al-Ashraf, Fākihat, f.99b; al-Sinjārī, Manā'iḥ, 295.

(61) Al-Khazrajī, al-ᶜUqūd, I, 61; al-Daybaᶜ, Qurrat, II, 10-11.

by al-Manṣūr, he evacuated Makkah after burning all his munitions and other equipment and went with his men to Medina. (62) Al-Malik al-Manṣūr stayed in al-Sirrayn. A messenger came from Rājiḥ informing him of the seizure of Makkah and Jafrīl's flight. (63) The king sent him valuable presents. Al-Malik al-Manṣūr was now able to enter Makkah and resume his sovereignty over it. He remained in the city until the month of Rajab 635/February 1238, then he left for the Yemen after appointing Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Walīdī and Ibn al-Ta^{c}izzī as governors of Makkah. (64)

The Ayyubids did not resign themselves to the Rasulids' victory over their troops in Makkah. They sent one thousand horsemen to Sharif Shīḥah b. Qāsim, the amir of Medina. He marched on Makkah and al-Manṣūr's men fled immediately in 637/1239. (65) But in the following year al-Manṣūr sent Ibn al-Nuṣayrī with a huge army. They were joined by Rājiḥ at al-Sirrayn and marched on Makkah. (66) Shīḥah fled and went to Cairo asking for help from the new Ayyubid ruler, al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn Ayyūb. (67) The latter acceded to Shīḥah's request

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(62) al-Janadī, al-Sulūk, f.193a; Ibn Fahd, Ithāf, under the year 630 (1237); Ibn Ẓahīrah, al-Jāmi^{c}, 193.

(63) Al-Ashraf, Fākihat, f.99b; Ibn al-Dayba^{c}, Qurrat, II, 10-11.

(64) Al-Khazrajī, al-^{c}Asjad, 203; al-Sinjārī, Manā'iḥ, 295.

(65) Al-Khazrajī, al-Kifāyah, f.145b; al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk, I, 300.

(66) Ibn Fahd, Ithāf, under the year 637 (1239); Ibn al-Dayba^{c}, Qurrat, II, 11-12.

(67) Al-Fāsī, al-^{c}Iqd, VIII, 173; al-Sinjārī, Manā'iḥ, 295.

immediately. He gave him an army under the command of ᶜAlam al-Dīn al-Kabīr and ᶜAlam al-Dīn al-Ṣaghīr, both Ayyubid commanders. (68) They succeeded in recovering the city from the Rasulid Yemenis and allowed people to perform the pilgrimage in the same year under Ayyubid leadership. (69)

In 639/1241, al-Malik al-Manṣūr sent a large army to the governor of al-Sirrayn, Rājiḥ b. Qatādah, in order to expel the Ayyubids from Makkah. (70) When Rājiḥ was making his preparations, the Ayyubids received reinforcements from Egypt under the command of Mubāriz al-Dīn b. Barṭās and Muḥammad al-Dīn Aḥmad b. al-Turkmānī, both Ayyubid commanders. The Yemenis heard of this and retreated to al-Sirrayn. They wrote to the Rasulid al-Manṣūr asking for help. (71)

Al-Manṣūr decided to put an end to this political uncertainty in the Holy City and marched in person at the head of a huge army. When the Egyptians were aware of his coming, they fled, razing the seat of government to the ground and destroying all its arms and ammunitions. (72) Al-Manṣūr entered Makkah in the month of Ramaḍān of this year/March 1242, where he ordered an end to all dues and

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(68) Al-Khazrajī, al-ᶜAsjad, 203; al-Ṣabbāgh, Tahṣīl, f.221a.

(69) Al-Khazrajī; al-ᶜUqūd, I, 65, al-Kifāyah, f.146b.

(70) Al-Ashraf, Fākihat f.100b; al-Ṣabbāgh, Tahṣīl, f.221b.

(71) Ibn Fahd, Itḥāf, under the year 639 (1241); al-Ṭabarī, Itḥāf, f.12a.

(72) Al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk, I, 310; al-Jannābī, al-Baḥr, f.433b.

levies (mukūs) and to extortion. (73) It should be stressed that the historical sources do not state that Rājiḥ accompanied him on this occasion. Al-Malik al-Manṣūr had with him on this expedition Sharif ᶜAlī b. Qatādah, the brother of Rājiḥ. (74) It is assumed that ᶜAlī was a supporter of the Yemeni Rasulids whereas other sons of Qatādah joined the Ayyubids and lived in the fortress of Yanbuᶜ under the leadership of Abū Saᶜīd al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. Qatādah. (75) However, al-Malik al-Manṣūr was able to bring the latter into his fold and appointed him ruler of Wadi Fāṭimah. (76) He bought the fortress of Yanbuᶜ from Abū Saᶜīd and destroyed it, to put an end to the Ayyubid presence there. (77) Also he persuaded the Ayyubid commander Mubāriz al-Dīn b. Barṭās and all his family to join him. They came in and al-Manṣūr welcomed them and bestowed on them great honours. (78) He appointed his slave Fakhr al-Dīn b. al-Shallāḥ ruler of Makkah and returned to the Yemen in 640/1242. (79)

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(73) Ibn Ḥātim, al-Simṭ, I, 221; al-Maqrīzī, al-Dhahab, 79-80.

(74) Al-Khazrajī, al-ᶜAsjad, 205, al-Kifāyah, f.147a.

(75) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, II, 384, al-Jazīrī, Durar, 670.

(76) Ibn Ḥātim, al-Simṭ, II, 220-1; al-Ashraf, Fakihat, f.101a.

(77) Al-Khazrajī, al-ᶜAsjad, 205; Ibn Fahd, Ithāf, under the year 639/1241); Ibn Ẓahīrah, al-Jāmiᶜ, 193.

(78) Al-Khazrajī, al-ᶜUqūd, 1, 68-9; Ibn al-Daybaᶜ, Bughyat, 81; al-Sinjārī, Manā'iḥ, 296.

(79) Al-Janandī, al-Sulūk, f.193a; al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, VIII, 175; Bā Makhramah, Thaghr, 177-8.

It seems that the Yemenis succeeded in keeping the peace in Makkah this time. Ibn al-Shallāḥ made great efforts to make improvements. He built a madrasah in Makkah named after al-Malik al-Manṣūr, al-Madrasah al-Manṣūriyyah, and a caravanserai, Ribāṭ al-Sharābī in 641/1243. (80) He made the desert routes secure and Iraqi pilgrims were able to come to Makkah for the first time after seven years' interruption. (81) Al-Malik al-Manṣūr's generosity to the inhabitants of Makkah continued during the seven year governorship of his deputy, Ibn al-Shallāḥ. (82) Historians describe this period as one of the most prosperous and flourishing which the Holy City had seen. (83)

However, al-Malik al-Manṣūr accepted an offer from Ibn al-Musayyab to let him hold Makkah as a fief in return for his remitting a sum of money and one hundred horses to the Rasulid annually. (84) Al-Malik al-Manṣūr dismissed Ibn al-Shallāḥ and appointed in his stead Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Musayyab as deputy in Makkah in 646/1248. (85)

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(80) Al-Janadī, al-Sulūk, f.193a; al-Khazrajī, al-ᶜAsjad, 205; Ibn al-Daybaᶜ, Qurrat, I, 12; Nājī, al-Madāris, 310-2.

(81) Ibn Ḥātim, al-Simṭ, II, 221; al-Ashraf, Fākihat, f.101a. al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk, I, 312.

(82) Al-Khazrajī, al-ᶜAsjad, 205; Ibn Ẓahīrah, al-Jāmiᶜ, 193.

(83) Ibn Ḥātim, al-Simṭ, I, 221-2; al-Ashraf, Fakihat, f.101b.

(84) Ibn Fahd, Itḥāf, under the year 646 (1248); al-Ṭabari, Itḥāf, f.12b.

(85) Ibn Ḥātim, al-Simṭ, I, 226; al-Ashraf, Fākihat, f.102b

Ibn al-Musayyab abused his authority, imposing heavy taxes and appropriating some of the alms sent from the Yemen. (86) He endeavoured to build up his own strength and fortify Makkah to throw off al-Manṣūr's sovereignty. (87) But Abū Sa^{c}īd, the governor of Wadi Fāṭimah attacked ^{c}Alī b. al-Musayyab in 647/1249. (88) He arrested him for having disputed al-Manṣūr's authority and kept him in prison until al-Manṣūr should decide his fate. (89) However, news came in the same year of al-Manṣūr's assassination. (90)

This confused state of affairs presented an opportunity to the Qatādah's family to restore their own rule to Makkah. Sharif Abū Sa^{c}īd found no rival to challenge his rule. On the other hand one finds that the governor of al-Sirrayn, Rājiḥ b. Qatādah, played no part in the events surrounding Ibn al-Musayyab's misrule and his imprisonment by Abū Sa^{c}īd. It seems that Rājiḥ experienced no change of circumstances, since his allies, the Rasulids, still held matters in their hands and Abū Sa^{c}īd now acknowledged their supremacy.

The death of al-Manṣūr and the concern of his successor, al-Muẓaffar, with internal matters in the Yemen

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(86) Al-Khazrajī, al-^{c}Asjad, 205; Ibn al-Dayba^{c}, Qurrat, II, 15-16.

(87) Al-Jannābī, al-Baḥr, f.434a; al-Khazrajī, al-Kifāyah, f. 149a.

(88) Al-Ashraf, Fākihat, f.102b; al-Sinjārī, Manā'iḥ, 297.

(89) Ibn Fahd, Itḥaf, under the year 647 (1249); al-^{c}Iṣāmī, al-Simṭ, IV, 219.

(90) Al-Janadī, al-Sulūk, f.193a; al-Ashraf, Fākihat, f.103a; al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk, I, 333, al-Khazrajī, al-^{c}Uqūd, I, 83-4; Ibn Asir, al-Jawhar, f.7b.

allowed Abū Sa^{c}īd to establish his rule in Makkah. (91) In 651/1253, war broke out between him and Jammāz b. Ḥasan b. Qatādah, who with the help of the Ayyubid ruler of Damascus, al-Malik al-Nāṣir, was able to kill his uncle, Abu Sa^{c}īd, and regain Makkah for the Ayyubids. (92) However, this state of affairs did not last long, Rājiḥ reappeared on the scene and marched from al-Sirrayn with the help of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar; he captured Makkah from Jammāz and expelled him to Yanbu^{c}. (93) The Rasulids' dominance returned to the Holy City. They had frustrated the Ayyubids' endeavours for the last time. (94) Rājiḥ, now an old man, had no wish, it seems to rule Makkah. He left it to his son, Ghānim, in the month of Rabī^{c} I 652/May 1254. (95) He returned to al-Sirrayn, but his son soon shifted his allegiance to the Mamluks who had got rid of the Ayyubids and assumed power in Egypt in 648 /1250. (96)

Ghānim b. Rājiḥ did not enjoy his rule of Makkah for more than a few months. (97) He was confronted by an alliance of Idrīs b. Qatādah and the latter's nephew, Abū Numayy. They succeeded in ousting him in Shawwāl /648/November 1250 and took over the government. (98) The sources

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(91) Al-Tujībī, Mustafād,305; al-^{c}Iṣāmī, Simṭ, IV,219; al-Sinjarī, Manā'iḥ, 299.

(92) Ibn Khaldūn, al-^{c}Ibar, IV, 106; al-Tujībī, Mustafād,305; Ibn Ẓahīrah, al-Jami^{c}, 193.

(93) Ibn Khaldūn, al-^{c}Ibar, IV, 106; al-Khazrajī, al-Kifāyah, f. 165a; al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, IV, 273; Ibn Fahd, Itḥāf, under the year 651(1253).

(94) Daḥlān, Khulāṣat, 27; ^{c}Ilayyān, "al-Ḥayāt," 95.

(95) Al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk, I, 396; Ibn Ẓahīrah, al-Jāmi^{c}, 193.

(96) Abū Shāmah, al-Dhayl, 158; al-Subā^{c}ī, Tārīkh, I,219; Āminah, " Alaqāt", 80.

(97) Al-Khazrajī, al-^{c}Uqūd, I, 115; al-Kifāyah, f. 165a.

(98) Al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk, I, 396; al-Ṭabarī Itḥāf. f.14a; al-Qarmani, Akhbar, 226.

available to us do not mention the power supporting this alliance, but it seems that it was opposed to Yemeni interests. Al-Malik al-Muẓaffar clearly did not like the seizure of Makkah by Idrīs and Abū Numayy. He sent an army under Ibn Barṭās in Dhū'l-Qa^{c}dah 652/December 1254 and he succeeded in defeating the sharifs in a place near Makkah called Qawz al-Makkāsah. (99) He entered the city and took over its government in the name of al-Malik al-Muẓaffar.(100) The sharifs did not resign themselves to this loss. They sought the help of Jammāz b. Shīḥah, amir of Medina, who hastened to their help.(101) They encircled Makkah, defeated the Yemeni army and seized Ibn Barṭās in 653/1255. (102) Furthermore, they asked him to pay a ransom of 5,000 dinars for his release. (103) As he was unable to find the money, he wrote to Rājiḥ b. Qatādah at al-Sirrayn asking him for the sum requested. Rājiḥ complied. (104) Ibn Barṭās was now released and eventually returned to the Yemen. (105)

Soon a dispute arose between Idrīs and his nephew

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(99) Al-Fāsī, Shifā', I, 202. This place, Qaws al-Makkāsah, is known today as Qawz al-Nakkāsah.

(100) Ibn Fahd, Ithāf, under the year 652 (1245); al-Rashīdī, Ḥusn, F.29b; al-Qarmānī, Akhbār, 226.

(101) Al-Khazrajī, al-^{c}Uqūd, 120; al-Sinjārī, Manā'iḥ, 300.

(102) Al-Rashīdī, Ḥusn, F.30a; al-Ṣabbāgh, Taḥṣīl, f.221b.

(103) Ibn Ḥātim, al-Simṭ, I, 320; al-^{c}Iṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 221.

(104) Ibn Ḥātim, al-Simṭ, I, 320; M.^{c}A. Aḥmad, B.Rasūl, 363.

(105) Al-Maqrīzī, al-Sulūk, I, 120; Ibn al-Dayba^{c}, Qurrat, II, 32; al-Jazīrī, Durar, 279.

Abū Numayy in view of the former's leaning towards the Yemen, whereas the latter's wish was to befriend the Mamluks in Egypt.(106) Idrīs went off in anger to al-Sirrayn where he met his brother, Rājiḥ, who then accompanied him to Makkah and used his good offices to reconcile the two parties in 654/1256. The compromise was that they both rule jointly as before.(107)

It seems that this incident was the last act of the governor of al-Sirrayn in Makkah as he died in the same year,(108) after having championed the Rasulids' cause in the Holy City for about 25 years.

It should be noted that Rājiḥ was not alone in his stand, but was supported by the inhabitants of al-Mikhlāf who espoused the Rasulids' cause during their quarrel with the Ayyubids and then with the Mamluks. The name of Rājiḥ may have gained prominence by the fact that al-Sirrayn may well have been the capital of the southern area of the amirate of Makkah and that he was the undisputed leader of the Arab tribes in the area who fought alongside the Rasulid troops. We have already noted the support of Mūsā b. ᶜAlī al-Kinānī, the shaykh of Ḥaly b. Yaᶜqūb for al-Malik al-Manṣūr from the beginning of his plan to fight the Ayyubid and annex Hijaz to the kingdom of the Yemen.(109)

The poet of al-Mikhlāf al-Qāsim b. Hutaymil of the 7th/13th century, allotted a whole section 'al-Kināniyyāt', in his

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(106) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, I, 459.

(107) Ibn Fahd, Ithāf, under the year, 654(1256); Al-Tujībī, Mustafād, 306; al-Qarmānī, Akhbār, 226.

(108) Al-Jannābī, al-Bahr, f.434a; al-Sabbāgh, Tahsīl, f.221b; al-Subāᶜī, Tārikh, I, 221.

(109) Al-Ashraf, Fākihat, f.104b; al-Khazrajī, al-Kifāyah, f.152a.

Dīwān, (110) to poems commending Aḥmad b. ᶜAlī al-Kinānī, brother of the former, for his support of the Rasulid commanders. (111) These poems were composed at the instigation of the Shaykh of Ḥaly and were a true picture of the events taking place in Makkah. In addition there was the presence of Kinānah and the Arabs of B. Shuᶜbah among the bedouins led by Rājiḥ with the Yemeni forces. (112) It is also well-known that Kinānah inhabited al-Mikhlāf from Ḍankān in the south to al-Līth in the north. (113) As for B. Shuᶜbah they dwelt south of Makkah as far as al-Khaḍrā , north of al-Līth. (114)

All this had a great bearing on events and their shaykh, Ibn Sulaymān, imposed a condition on the sharifs before the Yemenis entered Makkah that if the Yemeni troops were defeated, they should be committed to his trust, so that he would be able to equip them and send them back to the Yemen. When Ibn Barṭās was defeated in 652/1254, ᶜAṭiyyah b. Sulaymān provided the vanquished Yemenis at his own expense with sustenance and helped them return to their country. (115)

It should also be noted that the Rasulids made efforts to improve their relations with the leaders of al-Mikhlāf generally and B. Qatādah in particular. They

(110) Dīwān Ibn Hutaymil, 158-77.

(111) Ibid, 163-4, 170-2.

(112) Ibn Ḥātim, al-Simṭ, I, 215.

(113) Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 259.

(114) Ibn al-Mujāwir, al-Mustabṣir I,52; al-Barakātī, al-Riḥlah, 12.

(115) Ibn Ḥātim, al-Simṭ, I, 320-1.

even resorted to political marriages, al-Manṣūr marrying off his daughter ᶜĀzibah to ᶜAlī b. Qatādah, the brother of Rājiḥ. (116) The Rasulids also exploited the economic conditions to the best of their ability to strengthen their hold on Makkah and to tip the balance in their favour in the struggle with the Ayyubid-Mamluk Egyptians in the Hijaz. (117)

In fact the Yemeni - Egyptian struggle over Makkah illustrated an intense persistence on the part of al-Malik al-Manṣūr to keep Makkah under his domination. He kept the battle-field away from his Yemeni territories. Whenever he found the Ayyubids successfully taking Makkah, he built up his forces and expanded them to recover the Holy City. This is the reason for the successive expeditions of both parties and the recurrence of battles between the Yemeni army and that of al-Malik al-Kāmil and then of his son al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Najm al-Dīn b. Ayyūb. Each party gained, lost and regained Makkah time and again, until it fell to the Rasulids during the last days of al-Malik al-Manṣūr. The battles were mostly indecisive. Ayyubid reinforcements took a long time to arrive in Makkah, whereas the relative nearness of the Yemen and the alliance of the tribes of the southern area of the amirate of Makkah, had the effect of facilitating matters on the Yemeni side in the conflict and allowing them to send

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(116) Ibn Ḥātim, al-Simṭ, I, 224-5; al-Ashraf, Fākihat, f.104b; al-Khazraji, al-ᶜUqūd, I, 83; al-Kifāyah, f.151b.

(117) Darrāj, "ᶜIdhāb", 202-3; ᶜIlayyān, "al-Ḥayāt", 96-7; Āminah, "ᶜAlāqāt", 84.

fresh troops readily. This was in addition to sharif Rājiḥ's efforts in al-Sirrayn to enlist the services of the Mikhlāf bedouins, thus helping to ensure a superiority of numbers most of the time. Nevertheless, it should be said that the preparations of each opposing expedition depended on the evaluation of the strength of the forces left by the other party to defend his presence in Makkah. The material temptations were the ultimate factor in both parties' attitudes.

It should be noted that no battle was fought between them inside Makkah. One side, realising that a contending army was coming, pulled out and left the city to their rivals without strife. They joined battle outside of Makkah which was itself kept safe out of reverence for its sanctity. (118) Economic conditions and internal stability in the Yemen played their own part in assisting the Rasulid cause in Makkah, in contrast to the situation in Egypt where the rulers were occupied by wars of the Crusades and beset by other local problems. (119)

Finally, a word must be said about the decline of al-Sirrayn, even if the historical sources refrain from alluding to this fact. It seems that the conflict which it witnessed during the rule of Rājiḥ b. Qatādah led to a lack of security and affected trade and transport

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(118) M. ʿA. Aḥmad, B. Rasūl, 354-4

(119) Cf. Abū Shāmah, al-Dhayl, passim, al-Kātib, Husn al-Manāqib, 1-11 and passim, al-Khowaiter, Baibars, 7-8.

activities. New ports arose, rivalling its commercial supremacy, such as al-Līth in the north and al-Qunfidah in the south. (120) There was also the port of Dawqah which, it is related, had the produce of its famous wadi transported by ships to Jeddah and thence to Makkah. (121)

Moreover, it is presumed that the Yemeni pilgrim route to Makkah changed its course in a direct line from al-Shāqqah to al-Līth, instead of going west to pass through al-Sirrayn as previously. This change of course caused Rājiḥ himself to build a fort on the new route. For Ibn Khaldūn states that Rājiḥ erected the fort in the 650s/1250s, half a day's journey from al-Sirrayn.(122) The remains of this fort are still to be seen today, if it can be assumed that it is the one lying in the village of al-Ṣahwah on the northern bank of Wadi ᶜUlyab, called today al-Shāqqah al-Yamāniyyah. (123)

If the port of al-Sirrayn still existed after the 7th/13th century, then the previous traditions relating to the destruction of Qaryat B. Kubrā in the 9th/15 century, if indeed it is true, may have put an end to all semblance of life in al-Sirrayn and committed it to oblivion.

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(120) Al-Faqīh, "al-Qunfidah", 40.

(121) Al-Barakātī, al-Riḥlah, 16.

(122) Al-ᶜIbar, IV, 221; Kay; Mukhtaṣar, 122, cf. ᶜUmārah, Tārikh, 149.

(123) Cf. Pl.6 no.XII above.

Plate I.



No. I. One of the foundation walls and building remains found on northern bank of Wadi ᶜUlyab (al-Shāqqah al-Yamāniyyah).



No. II. Site of burnt brick kilns found on northern bank of Wadi ᶜUlyab.

Plate 2.

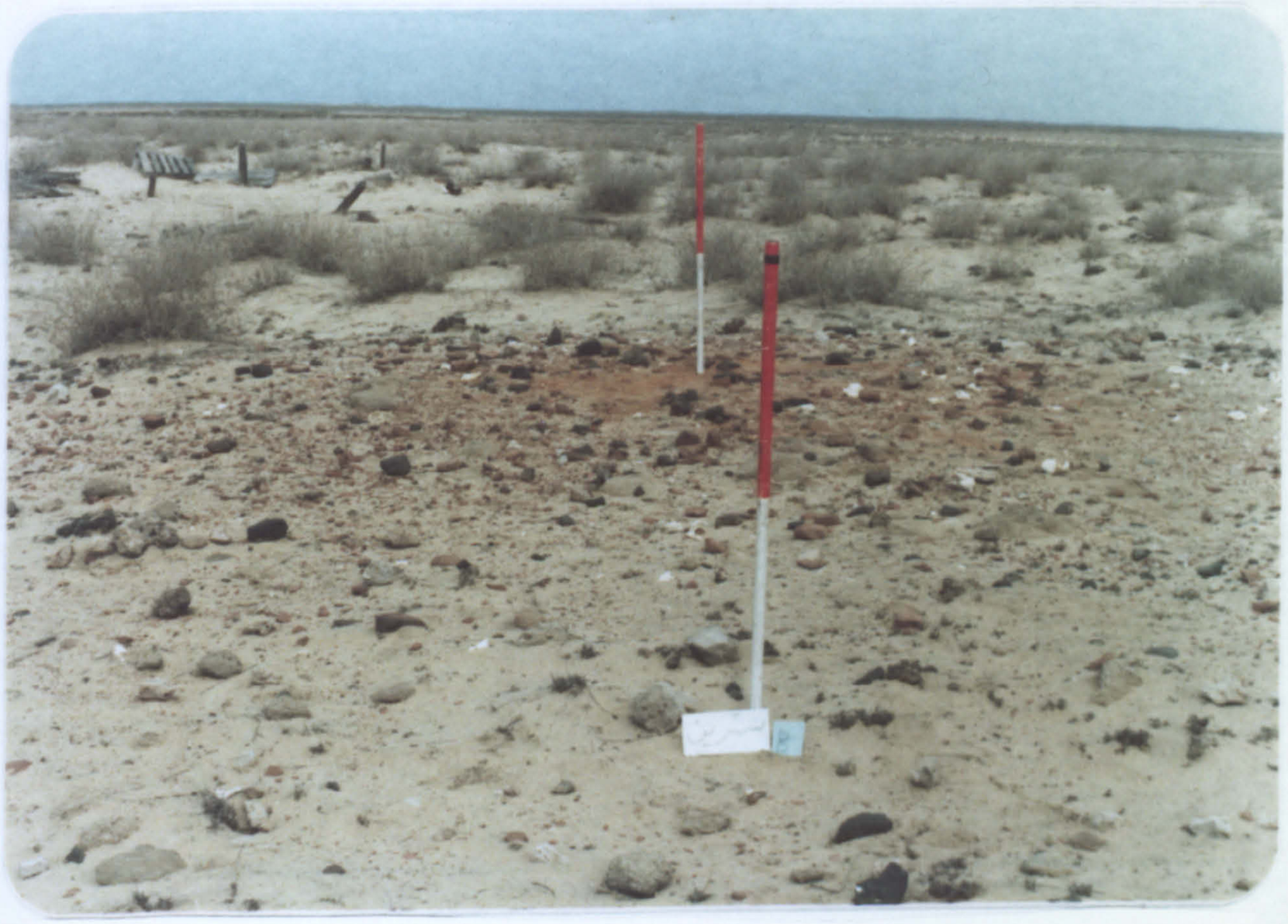


No. III. General view of the site of al-Sirrayn.



No. IV. Excavated wall in al-Sirrayn.

Plate 3.

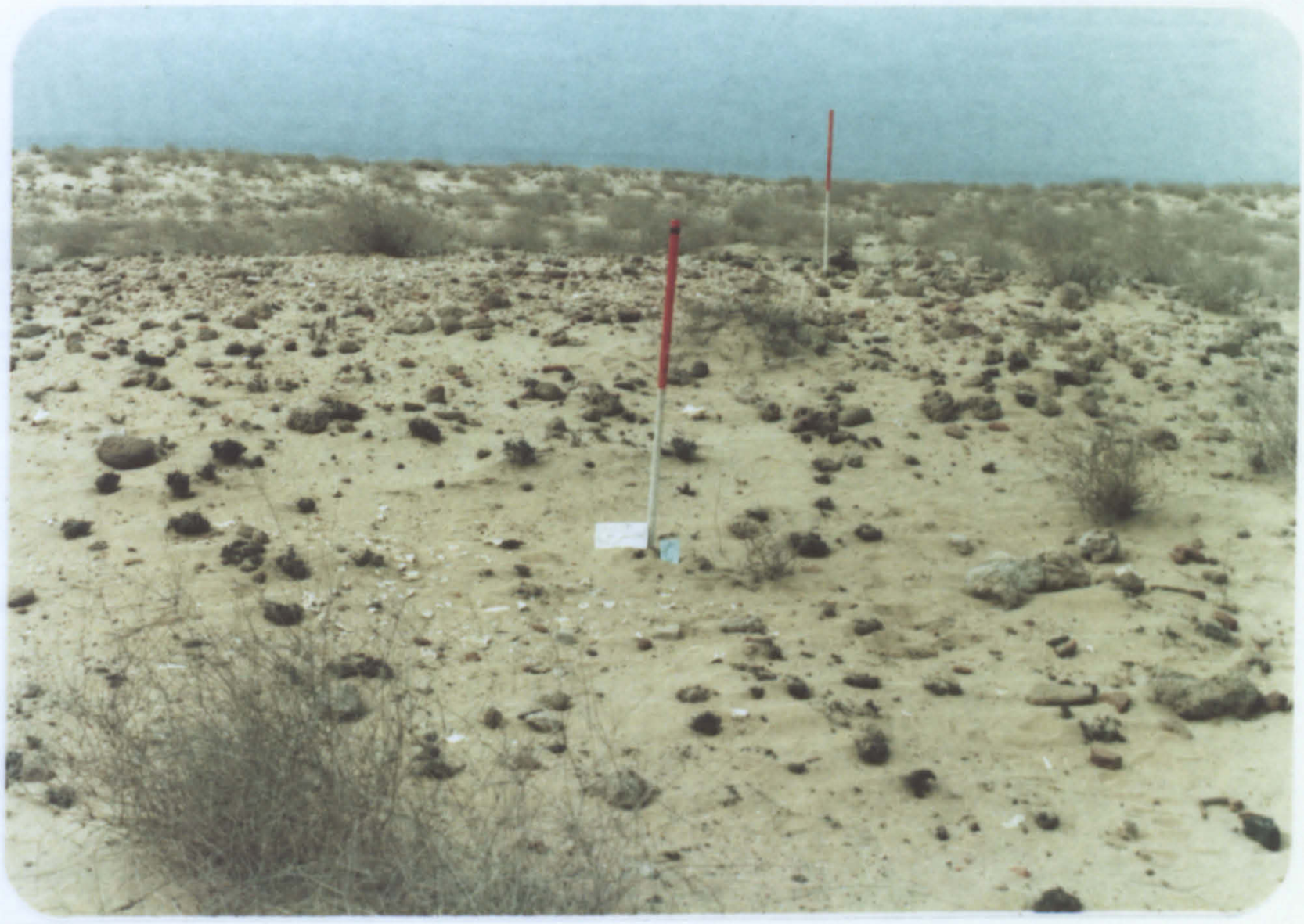


No. V. The site of the kiln in al-Sirrayn.

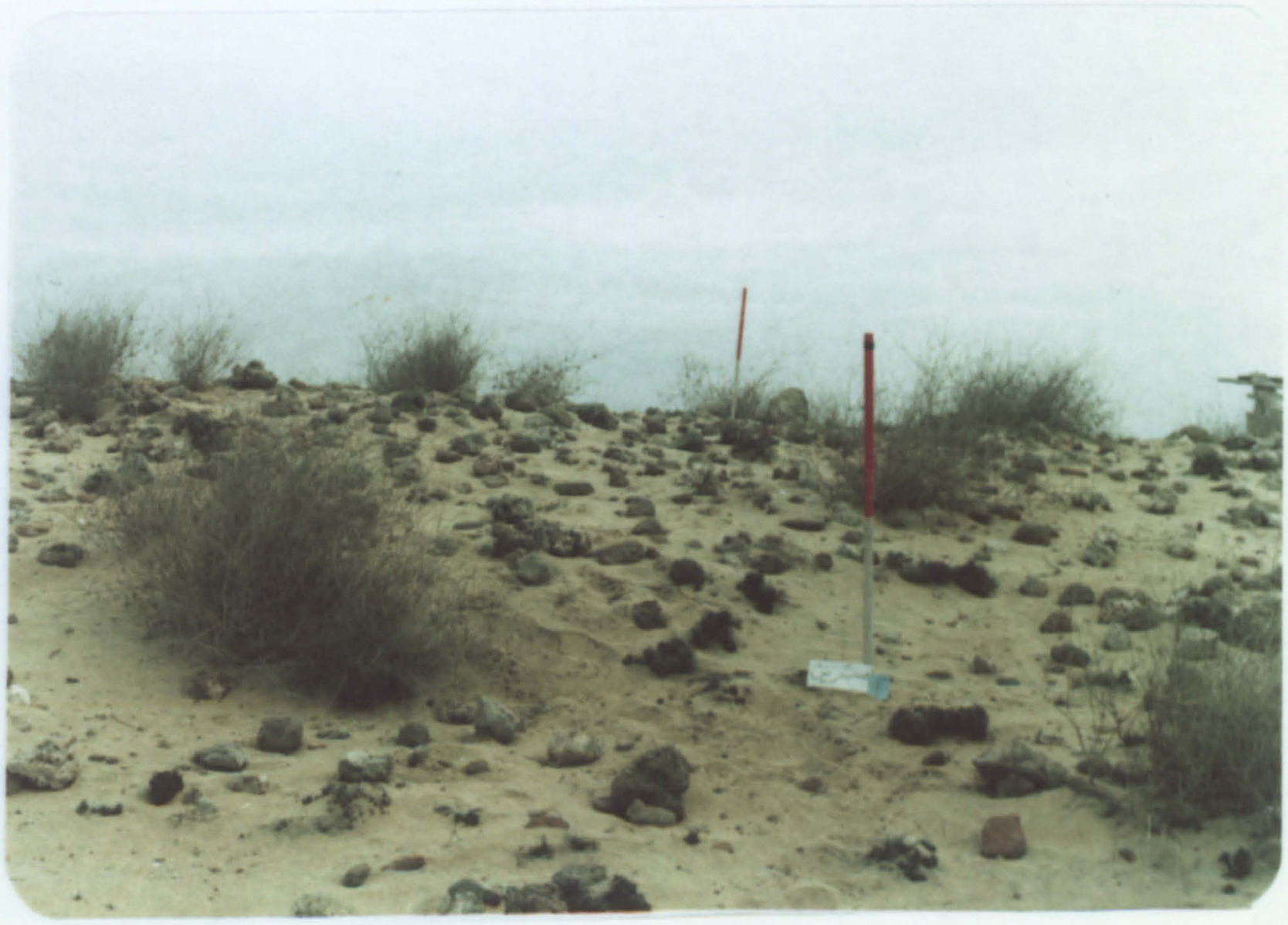


No. VI. A selection of potsherds including personal effects, ring and kohl metal stick(mirwad) or needle found on the site of al- Sirrayn.

Plate 4.



No.VII. Sand-dune at the site of al-Sirrayn covered with broken pottery and other fragments.



No.VIII. Sand-dune at the site of al-Sirrayn covered with cut coral and baked brick fragments where houses used to stand.

Plate 5.



No.IX. Northern cemetery at al-Sirrayn showing the outline foundations of the walls surrounding the tombstones.



No. X. Excavated wall found to the East at the site of al-Sirrayn which may have been a reservoir for drinking water.

Plate 6.



No. XI. View of the Red Sea taken from the site of al-Sirrayn which, it is suggested, may well have been an important area for shipping, with the harbour situated nearby.



No.XII. Remains of building found in al-Sahwah, Wadi ᶜUlyab, which, it is suggested, may well have been the Sharīf Rājih's castle.

PART III

The Settlement of ᶜAshm

CHAPTER 9

The Settlement of ᶜAshm in the Arabic Sources

The province of ᶜAshm

The Islamic Settlement in the province of ᶜAshm

The Settlement of ᶜAshm in the Arabic Sources

ᶜAshm is the name given by local inhabitants to this settlement, which is also called al-Qaryah or Qaryat B. Hilāl. This latter name is given because it is thought to be a relic of B. Hilāl, the well-known Arabian tribe, to which the inhabitants of this area attribute all ancient abandoned ruins or wells, etc., despite the tradition that this tribe was a destructive agent and left no relics of a civilised character. (1)

The name of ᶜAshm is well known among the local inhabitants and its site is recognized, and ruins obvious. We need not, therefore, determine its location or go further into the question of its name. However, it should be noted that ᶜAshm occurs in some Arabic sources as ᶜAsham (bi-taḥrīk al-shīn). (2) The basic meaning of the word is 'dry' or 'decayed', and when employed as an epithet of trees, it means 'parched by wind', and of land, 'of parched trees'. (3)

This meaning suits well the character of ᶜAshm itself, for it is arid, desert land and its trees are thorny, such as the acacia. (4) However, this definition should not be taken as the reason for the naming of the

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(1) Cf. Ibn Khaldūn, al-ᶜIbar, IV, 62-3; Muqaddimah, 126-8; M.H.Zaydān,"al-ᶜArab", 170.

(2) Al-Hamdānī, al-Jawharatayn, 23a; al-Zamakhsharī, al-Jibāl, 166; Yaqūt, Muᶜjam, IV, 126; cf. Bikhazi, "Coins",13.

(3) Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān, II, 787; al-Fīrūzābādī, al-Qāmūs, IV, 150; al-Jawāhrī, al-Ṣiḥāḥ, V, 1985.

(4) Cf.Pl.12, no.XXIII.

settlement, as most parts of the southern provinces of Makkah, except for the wadis, are similarly arid and produce the same trees as ᶜAshm in its natural environment. Nevertheless, no other place of this name is known in the whole of the southern area of the amirate of Makkah, as far as I know.

On the other hand, al-Hamdānī believes that this place was attributed to ᶜAsham of Quḍāᶜah. (5) One finds it difficult to accept that the settlement of ᶜAshm or its gold mine was named after this person, as the dwellings of B. Quḍāᶜah were in remote Yemen and Syria and their descendants were not found in this part of the amirate of Makkah, which is nearer to the Hijaz than to Syria and the Yemen. (6) However, this does give credance to the view that this town was named after a person called ᶜAshm. Also some inscriptions have been found in the cemeteries of ᶜAshm corroborating this opinion.(7) Thus it is possible to infer that the settlement of ᶜAshm was named after a person who might have dwelt there before the advent of Islam and given his name to the locality. The same name reappears

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(5) Al-Hamdānī, al-Jawharatayn, 23a; al-Jāsir, "al-Maᶜādin"; 909; al-Faqih, "Tārikh", 7. This ᶜAsham of Quḍāᶜah may have been ᶜAsham b. Ilḥāf/or Alḥāff b. Quḍāᶜah b. Mālik. Cf. al-Hamdānī, al-Iklil, I,256. This name, ᶜAsham or ᶜAshm is also found among the delegations of ᶜAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī to the Fatimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir in 458/1066. Cf. Idrīs, ᶜUyūn, VII, 78; al-Hamdānī, al-Ṣulayḥiyyūn, 96.

(6) For further information about Quḍāᶜah and this point of view, cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, Nasab , f. 34a; al-Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 194,319; Ibn Ḥazm Jamharat, 8, 440; Nashwān, Shams, 87.

(7) Pl. 24, no. 18.

among the inhabitants after the Islamic era. It should therefore be accepted that the name of this place is ᶜAshm as pronounced by local people and not ᶜAsham. The linguistic meaning may be a mere coincidence, something frequent in Arabic sources. (8)

ᶜAshm is a place little mentioned in Arabic sources. References are brief. It is a great pity that geographical literature does not provide information on the history of this settlement, its governors and its historical and cultural achievements during the years of its existence. In spite of the scant information available, it is at least useful to determine ᶜAshm's identity as a province of the southern area of the amirate of Makkah. The first reference to ᶜAshm as a province is found in Ibn Khurdādhabah (d. 300/912) who mentions ᶜAshm as part of the provinces of Makkah. He states, "And its provinces in Tihāmah are Ḍankān, ᶜAshm and Baysh..." (9) This text provides clear proof that ᶜAshm was a province of Makkah, which means that it was one of the southern capitals of the amirate of Makkah. It is assumed that it contained a number of settlements, as the word mikhlāf (province), a word applied to ᶜAshm, is a geographical term given to one wadi or more, containing a group of villages, governed by a ruler attending to its affairs. (10)

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(8) Similar to the meaning given to Makkah, Jeddah and Ḥaly. Cf. Ibn al-Mujāwir, al-Mustabṣir, I, 2-3, 40-1, 52-3.

(9) Al-Masālik, 133.

(10) Yāqūt, Muᶜjam, I, 37, V, 67; al-Faqīh, "Tārīkh", 9.

In this sense ᶜAshm is situated on the southern side of Wadi Qarmā and to the north of Nāwān and la-Ḥsabah, wadis which will be mentioned later. These wadis were filled with historical settlements, more or less contemporary with ᶜAshm, such as Masᶜūdah, al-Naṣā'ib, north and south la-Ḥsabah. It is probable that these settlements were dependant on ᶜAshm which was, it seems, the regional capital. Al-Yaᶜqūbī indeed mentions ᶜAshm as a dependency of Makkah. He says, "The dependencies of Makkah are al-Sarāt, ᶜAshm, Baysh and al-Sirrayn." (11) This statement of al-Yaᶜqūbī is similar to that of Ibn Khurdādhabah with a slight variation of terms, the first using the word mikhlāf (province) and the second ᶜamal (dependency), which amount to the same thing.

Al-Hamdānī, the 4th/10th century writer, mentions ᶜAshm as the land of B. Ḥarām of Kinānah. He also says of ᶜAshm that it is a "gold mine". (12) Furthermore he refers to it within the stages of the old pilgrim route from Ṣanᶜā' to Makkah where he says, "...the old pilgrim route goes to upper Ḥaly, ... then ᶜAshm and al-Līth" (13) Al-Hamdānī further mentions Ashm in a poem of Abū 'l-Jayyāsh al-Ḥijrī who describes this route saying;

فَقَنُوْنَا فَأَرْضُ دَوْقَةَ فَاللِّيْثُ فَعَشْمُ السِّرِّيْنِ فَالسَّرَاءُ

"Then Qanūnā, the land of Dawqah, al-Līth, ᶜAshm al-Sirrayn and al-Sarā' " (14)

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(11) Al-Buldān, 316.

(12) Ṣifat, 259.

(13) Ṣifat, 341.

(14) Ṣifat, 382. Abū 1-Jayyāsh was descended from al-Hijr b. al-Hinw. Cf. al-Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 380; Shākir, ᶜAsir, 97.

It should be noted that the poet does not enumerate the sites geographically according to their place on the route, but cites them in a manner to suit his poetical metre. Moreover, it should be noted that al-Hamdānī makes no attempt to determine the locality of ᶜAshm, whether it was in the amirate of Makkah or not.

Al-Maqdisī considers ᶜAshm as a province and lists it among other provinces of Tihāmah, such as Ḍankān and Baysh. (15) However, he does not state that it was a dependency of Makkah. It seems that it was his method to describe the places he had visited or heard of, without endeavouring to attribute them to the amirate to which they belonged. There is however a useful note in the margin, saying, "Makkah has mikhlāfs which are fortresses... among its fortresses in Tihāmah are Ḍankān, al-Sirrayn, al-Shᶜaybah, ᶜAshm and Baysh." (16) It seems that the editor, quoting al-Idrīsī, notes the deficiency of the text and adds the information to complete the meaning.(17)

Al-Bakrī (d. 496/1095) in his Muᶜjam mā ʾstaᶜjam makes the same statement as his predecessors among the Arab geographers by placing ᶜAshm among the provinces of Makkah in Tihāmah. He says, "Its provinces in Tihāmah are Ḍankān, ᶜAmm [ᶜAshm] and Bayn [Baysh]". (18) Al-Bakrī

(15) Aḥsan, 88.

(16) Al-Maqdisī, Aḥsan, 88.

(17) Cf. al-Idrīsī, Nuzhat, 145.

(18) I, 308-9.

also mentions ᶜAshm in another passage of his work and says, " ᶜAmm [ᶜAshm] is a Makkan province in Tihāmah".(19) It should be noted that al-Bakrī errs in his spelling of the name of ᶜAshm in two places, in spite of the fact that he states that he composed his Muᶜjam in order to correct the names of places misspelt by his predecessors.(20) He makes these mistakes in the names of ᶜAshm and Baysh, whereas others do not.

Al-Idrīsī (d. 560/1165) also mentions ᶜAshm saying, "Makkah has provinces which are fortresses. Some of those in Tihāmah are Ḍankān, al-Sirrayn, al-Shuᶜaybah and ᶜAshm."(21) Al-Idrīsī's writings indicate the importance of ᶜAshm's natural position and its military fortresses, represented by the towers found there. Being a dependency of Makkah, it might have been one of its front-line fortresses in the south, on the road leading to the Yemen.(22) However, al-Idrīsī was not contemporary with the time of ᶜAshm's prosperity, as the written sources taken from funerary inscriptions found in that place show that this settlement was ruined before al-Idrīsī's time, i.e. the 6th/12th century. The latest dated inscription found there dates from the middle of the

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(19) Muᶜjam mā>staᶜjam, IV, 970.

(20) Muᶜjam mā>staᶜjam, see al-Muqaddimah, I; al-Ghunaym, Maṣādir, 31.

(21) Nuzhat, 27; Cf. Shawkat, "Jazīrat", 27.

(22) Al-Faqīh, "Tārīkh", 21.

5th/11th century. (23) It seems that al-Idrīsī describes a place he might have heard of which was of great importance during its existence.

A further indication that ᶜAshm did not exist in the 6th/12th century is the statement of Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) that " ᶜAshm was a town in Tihāmah to the rear of the mountain in the area of la-Ḥsabah." (24) It should be noted that Yāqūt uses the past tense, which indicates that ᶜAshm had been ruined for a long time. Furthermore, it is found that Yāqūt, alone, of all the Arab geographers who mention ᶜAshm, is able to indicate its place accurately, for he states that it was in Tihāmah in the region of la-Ḥsabah which is about ten kilometres south of ᶜAshm. (25) Anyone who did not previously know ᶜAshm could find it, following Yāqūt's description.

It should be noted in the geographers' statements that they stress the point that ᶜAshm was a dependency of the Makkan amirate during the period of its prosperity and that it was not only a settlement, but also a province of southern Makkah. ᶜAshm may have been the capital town of the whole province. We have remarked that ᶜAshm occupies a site surrounded by at least three wadis full of villages and life. The discovery of historical settlements on the outskirts of these wadis leads one to assume

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(23) Pl.37, no.68.

(24) Mujam al-Buldān, IV, 126.

(25) Cf. Map no.4; al-Faqīh, "Tārīkh", 23.

that ᶜAshm was the capital of an area extending from the south of Dawqah in the north to the north of Qanūnā in the south, and from the shores of these wadis in the west to the limits of al-Sarawāt in the east. Thus the region of ᶜAshm included the settlements of north and south la-Ḥsbah, Masᶜūdah, and al-Naṣā'ib. The limits of ᶜAshm may have extended to the region of al-Khuluf and al-Khalīf, as will be explained later, as these two have a strong palaeographic connection with, and are influenced by ᶜAshm. One ought to speak of the province in general terms and of the settlement in particular.

The province of ᶜAshm

It is evident that the province of ᶜAshm in Tihāmah contains a number of well-known wadis which have a good rainy season. These wadis descend from the high plateaux of al-Sarāt and ultimately reach the Red Sea. A great number of villages and hamlets rise along the sides of these wadis in which life flourishes. These wadis are, from north to south, Qarmā, Nāwān and la-Ḥsabah.

1. Wadi Qarmā

Wadi Qarmā starts from the mountains of the Zahrān tribes which are to the east of the wadi. It is joined by a number of large and small ravines (shiᶜāb), such as al-Thuᶜbān, al-Kharbān, Abū Furaẏᶜ and al-Shiᶜb al-Yamānī. Wadi Qarmā extends only one kilometre to the north of ᶜAshm and passes through some inhabited villages and hamlets belonging to B. Zubayd and al-Marāzīq and flows into the sea

near the area inhabited by al-Malāwiḥah, another clan of B. Zubayd. Wadi Qarmā is seldom mentioned in the early sources, except for some rare references which place it on the pilgrim route from Zabīd to Makkah. (26) Early sources do not mention that it is a wadi, though Yāqūt does refer to Wadi ᶜAshm when he writes of the Tihāmī wadis which flow down from the mountains of al-Sarāt in the Red Sea. (27) It is probable that Yāqūt's reference refers to the same wadi, but he gives it another name, Wadi ᶜAshm, considering the fact that the famous ᶜAshm lies on Wadi Qarmā.

However, travellers and geographers of the 14th/20th century accurately describe Wadi Qarmā and give valuable information about its topography and agriculture. For example Sharaf b. ᶜAbd al-Muḥsin al-Barakātī, at the beginning of the second decade of this century, mentions that Qarmā is a fertile wadi which has a lot of trees and water. Its agricultural crops are durra, dukhn, sesame and cotton. (28) Kaḥḥālah says exactly the same thing. (29) The Yemeni historian, ᶜAbd al-Wāsiᶜ al-Wāsiᶜī, includes Qarmā among the famous wadis of al-Qunfidah in which all kinds of Tihāmī agricultural crops

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(26) Al-Yaᶜqūbī, al-Buldān, 317; al-Bakrī, Muᶜjam maʾstaᶜjam, 1066; Yāqūt, Muᶜjam, IV, 330.

(27) Muᶜjam, III, 205.

(28) Al-Riḥlah, 18.

(29) Jughrāfiyat, 207.

grow well. (30) In his visit to Makkah in 1925, Rutter passed through Wadi Qarmā. Though he does not mention its name, he describes al-Muḍaylif as the centre and weekly market of Wadi Qarmā even today, saying: "Al-Muḍaylif is a small village which owes its existence tc the proximity of several deep wells... At the village, a weekly market is held, to which the bedouins come in from the surrounding wastes to buy or barter rice, clothing and other town wares from al-Qunfuda." (31)

It should be noted that Rutter does not mention any other hamlets or cotton fields in Wadi Qarmā, because he does not seem, from a scrutiny of his account of the expedition as a whole, to have had any interest in such matters. This is in contrast to Philby who elaborates more, giving much information about Wadi Qarmā. He mentions that the distance between Wadi Qarmā and Nāwān is two miles and that the wadi rises in the higher regions on the slopes of Qarmā. (32) He also says : "Qarmā, the source of Wadi Qarmā, is a massif of the higher foothills, but well on the near side of the main range, whose general line and prominent features could be seen ... The lower Tihāmah range comprising Qarmā near its southern end and Nakhra in the north." (33)

(30) Tārīkh al-Yaman, 85.

(31) The Holy Cities, 1, 76-77.

(32) Arabian Highlands, 696.

(33) Arabian Highlands, 697.

As for the people of the slopes of Qarmā and Qarmā itself, Philby states that the eastern area belongs entirely to various elements of the Zahrān tribe, such as Bal-Aswad, Bal-Aḥmar, B. Falāḥ, whereas Qarmā itself is Ḥarb territory belonging to B. Zubayd. (34)

It should be noted that Philby is correct in his geographical description of Wadi Qarmā with regard to the distance between it and Wadi Nāwān, the mountainous slopes of the wadi, and the tribes who live to the east and to the west. Nevertheless, Philby confuses Bal-Aḥmad, the Zahrānī clan, and Bal-Aḥmar who live in ᶜAsīr far away from Wadi Qarmā. (35) Also Philby does not mention Āl Ẓahīrah, a Zahrānī clan, whose dwellings are on the eastern slopes of Wadi Qarmā, close to the north-east of ᶜAshm.

As for the agricultural crops of Wadi Qarmā and its hamlets, Philby is indeed accurate, when he says, "We passed on to camp in Wadi Qarmā. On the way we passed scattered hamlets of Shanani [al-Sinaniyyah] with the village of Bahrah further back on our right, actually in the wadi or on its left bank. In all this area, too, there were numerous fields of prosperous cotton, as well as plenty of dhurra, as pleasant a country as one could wish to see." (36) On the next day Philby mounted his ass to investigate and document the other side of Wadi Qarmā,

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(34) Philby, Arabian Highlands, 697.

(35) Cf. Cornwallis, Asir, 58-9; Rafīᶜ, ᶜAsīr, 106.

(36) Philby, Arabian Highlands, 696.

when he "struck through the cotton fields, in some of which I saw a considerable admixture of dhurra. Beyond them lay sandy, undulating country, with patches of dukhn sown on the chance of rain." (37)

It is obvious that Philby does not locate the eastern part of Wadi Qarmā, north of ᶜAshm, where irrigated farming is found. The irrigation is mainly achieved by means of water scoops (sawānī) which depend upon animal power. (38) However, the period in which Philby's expedition took place, seems to have been a time of prosperity. He attended the weekly market of the province which is held in the village of al-Muḍaylif every Sunday and he mentions that the millet (dukhn) was sold during the day at about 45 lbs. to the riyāl or about 1/6th of an English pound. (39)

2. Wadi Nāwān

The watercourse of Wadi Nāwān, is only nine km. to the south of Wadi Qarmā. (40) It is a huge wadi with regular seasonal floods (suyūl) from the eastern mountains of Zahrān. It passes through an area only five km. to the south of ᶜAshm and it pours into the Red Sea. The extensive arable lands which stretch along the two sides of Wadi

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(37) Philby, Arabian Highlands, 698

(38) Al-Raddādī, "Transformation", 20.

(39) Philby, Arabian Highlands, 696.

(40) Al-Jāsir, al-Muᶜjam, II, 203.

Nāwān are certainly larger than those of Wadi Qarmā. The eastern part of Wadi Nāwān is inhabited by Āl Sa^{c}ad, a Zahrānī clan, with the village of Nāwān, to the south-east of ^{c}Ashm, as their centre. (41) The central wadi is inhabited by B. Zubayd al-Rawāshid, with al-Muḍaylif as their base. (42) The western part of Wadi Nāwān belongs to the ^{c}Ajālīn tribe whose centre is also al-Muḍaylif. (43) Many villages and hamlets are to be found along the sides of Wadi Nāwān which is famous among the wadis of Tihāmah.

Early available sources do not refer to Nāwān at all. It seems that its existence between Qarmā and la-Ḥsabah and their proximity make it difficult for writers to distinguish its location from these wadis. Contemporary writers, however, have much to say about Wadi Nāwān and mention it as precisely as Wadi Qarmā. (44) Philby writes accurately about his visit to this wadi in the first half of this century. He describes precisely its sources, hamlets and crops, when he says: "The wadi rises far back on the slopes of Shadha [Shadā] and is comparable in importance with some of the bigger channels further south and with Wadi Qarmā about two miles to the north.... It certainly gets regular floods, whose effect

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(41) M.M. al-Zahrānī, Bilād Zahrān, 64.

(42) Philby, Arabian Highlands, 696.

(43) Al-Barkātī, al-Riḥlah, 18; cf. al-Bilādī, Nasab, 67-8.

(44) Al-Wāsi^{c}ī, Tārīkh, 85; Kaḥḥālah, Jughrāfiyat, 207; al-Barakātī, al-Riḥlah 17.

was shown by a very large area of cotton around ᶜUqda and some excellent crops of dukhn, to say nothing of a forest of qadhab and tarfa about the actual channels. On the first ... there was much prosperous looking dhurra and some fields of sesame. The channel lay between ten foot banks of sands, but beyond it the cultivation began to thin out round Khuraiya [Khurayyah] and to give way to a thin acacia jungle. Beyond this, however, the cotton re-appeared in numerous attractive plots about the scattered little hamlets of ᶜAqabin." (45)

It would seem then that Philby did not visit the whole of Wadi Nāwān, only the area of al-Rawāshid, nor did he visit the eastern part, to the south of ᶜAshm, nor the western part whose people are the ᶜAjālīn, as mentioned above. However, there is not too much difference between the various parts of Wadi Nāwān except for some irrigated agriculture to be found in the eastern part beyond the settlement of ᶜAshm. In both Wadis Nāwān and Qarmā lote trees (sidr, ziziphus spina-christi) are in abundance and are utilized for house roofing.(46) They also produce a sort of fruit called nabq. (47)

3. Wadi la-Hsabah

It is situated to the south of Wadis Qarmā and Nāwān and is the longest wadi in the province of ᶜAshm. It has, moreover, the best supply of water and consequently rich

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(45) Philby, Arabian Highlands, 696.

(46) Mughram, "Assarah", 78.

(47) Hutter; The Holy Cities, 1; 661. Nabq is a hard round berry, closely resembling a small crab-apple in outward appearance and in taste. It contains, however, a single

vegetation. It has its source in the high mountains of al-Sarāt and is supported by a number of tributaries (sing. shi^{c}b) such as Nuṣabah, Baṭāṭ, Yaḥar and al-Ḍayq. There is a number of villages along its banks which are inhabited by different tribes such as, from east to west, Ghāmid al-Zinād, Zahrān, Zubayd and al-Ashrāf al-cAbādilah.(48)

As for our Arabic sources, la-Ḥsabah is considered to be one of the oldest and most famous sites in Tihāmah. The first ever mention of la-Ḥsabah in the sources might well have been in the biography of Nāfi^{c} b. ^{c}Alqaṃah al-Kinānī, the governor of Makkah during the time of the Umayyad Caliph, ^{c}Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, who proudly said, "I am the son of Qanūnā and la-Ḥsabah." (49) Al-Ya^{c}qūbī, a 3rd/9yh century writer, says "la-Ḥsabah is a region attached to Makkah." (50) Yāqūt mentions la-Ḥsabah as a wadi saying, "la-Ḥsabah is a wadi to the south of al-Sirrayn, the distance between them one night's journey." (51) He also mentions la-Ḥsabah as a place close to ^{c}Ashm. (52)

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(48) Al-Barakātī, al-Riḥlah, 17; Thesiger, "A Journey", 189, 191.

(49) Al-Fāsī, al-^{c}Iqd, VII, 323-325.

(50) Al-Buldān, 316.

(51) Mu^{c}jam, II, 258.

(52) Yāqūt, Mu^{c}jam, IV, 126.

As for modern writers, they consider la-Ḥsabah to be one of the most famous and fertile wadis in the province of al-Qunfidah.

Wadi la-Ḥsabah is distinguished by having a permanently running ghayl. Philby in his expedition to ᶜAsīr passed through Wadi la-Ḥsabah and says, "The main channel of Wadi Ahsabah is about 200 yards wide and down its centre in a twenty-yard bed quite a good stream was merrily purling away. This wadi has a permanent ghail running further up, but this was flood water coming down, and in it a group of men and women were watering their cattle." (53)

It should be noted that Philby does not deal with Wadi la-Ḥsabah and its agriculture in detail, limiting himself to describing its water-course. This is in contrast to his more usual method where he elaborates considerably. He does, however, give more details of the adjoining wadis, Lūmah to the south and al-Shaghaz to the north. (54) Both Lūmah and al-Shaghaz are less important than the former. However, the mention of the ghayl by Philby in Wadi la-Ḥsabah furnishes the proof that Wadi la-Ḥsabah does have an ample share of the seasonal flood. As a result of this ghayl, irrigated areas of cultivation rise in this wadi, south-east of ᶜAshm settlement, which produce valuable crops of grain and aromatic plants. There were also plenty of water scoops (sawānī) in this area which produce much the same sort of crops.

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(53) Arabian Highlands, 695; cf. pl. 7 no.XIII.

(54) Philby, Arabian Highlands, 694-5; cf. al-Khaṭīb, Sabᶜ, 256-7; Thesiger, A Journey, 191.

Wadi la-Ḥsabah is well filled with trees and vegetation and is a typical example of the wadis of northern Tihāmah, south of Makkah. (55) Desmond Foster, the Senior Locust Officer of the Middle East Anti-Locust Unit in Arabia, comments, "The most varied and some of the most luxuriant vegetation of the region is associated with the drainage system. The vegetation of the Wadi Alahsabah, which reaches the sea some 16 km. north of Qunfidah and is typical of the region has been examined in some detail.

"Within the foothills at an elevation of about 200 m. and about 16 km.from the sea, the wadi passes between the last stony slopes of the foothills which support an open 'orchard' of Acacia tortilis and other species, with various widely spaced perennial woody herbs between the loose boulders.

"The watercourse is liable to swinging floods so that much of the bed is swept bare of plant life. Nevertheless, trees of Acacia spp. grow on the gravel banks and shrubs of Leptadenia pyrotechnica and tussocks of Panicum turigidum colonize beds of silt. On the fringing banks Acacia orchard is well-developed with A.chrenbergiana the characteristic and most abundant species present...The main watercourse in this part remains bare of vegetation due to scouring, but dense fringing thickets of Salvadora persica and groves of Tamarix sp. are features of this reach. Behind the immediate wadi fringe, on gravelly and silty soil with surface gullies, Accasiachrenbergiana is still the dominant tree, while

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(55) Cf. pl.8 no.XIV.

others usually present include Ziziphus sp., Delonix elata and Ficus sp...." (56) The reporter then continues to describe the nature of Wadi la-Ḥsabah till it reaches the sea.

It is evident from this report that the writer is interested only in the vegetation, and therefore, he pays no attention to farming and the land. However, it would be correct at this point to say that huge areas of alluvium silt deposit extend along the banks of Wadi la-Ḥsabah and its delta which is irrigated by seasonal floods and produces varied crops of grain and vegetables.

On the other hand, huge areas of flat land (khabt) are full of thorn trees and grass which provide excellent fodder for a large number of camels, cows, sheep and goats. The fame of the province of ᶜAshm for livestock production was widespread until recent times. The most important of these khabts are probably, Lūmah, al-Matn, al-Shaᶜīrah and al-Dawāyā. These khabts are included in Philby's account of his expedition. He speaks about Lūmah and al-Matn saying, "...The first part of which was an extensive and very attractive grassy plain, sprinkled with spring flowers of the desert, including a creeping convolvulus with little white flowers. Here we saw gazelle, very red, I thought, for any of the desert species and almost like a fallow deer....The grassy plain continued, being known as Mathn [al-Matn] and terminating in a low cross-ridge which marks the boundary of the delta of

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(56) "Vegetation", 482-3.

Wadi Aḥsabah." (57) As for the other side of these khabts, north of Qarmā, Philby says, "We traversed the slight depression of Khabt Dawaya, with a good sprinkling of Qadhab bushes and ᶜAlb trees [ᶜilb, Spina Christi] and came to pleasant, low, grass-covered downs, extending to the well-wooded fringe of Wadi Douqa." (58)

From what has been said in this part, one can conclude that ᶜAshm was a centre lying in the middle of a province which contained three huge wadis, a number of smaller ones and huge grassy plains. These wadis produced a variety of different crops, as well as animals which still give the province great importance. Also it should be said that, even if the description previously given of these wadis and the agricultural products thriving there is considered as pertaining to a later period than that of our present study, nevertheless it can be assumed that it conforms to the conditions prevailing at that time. The mode of life and agricultural methods of the area remained stable in the past and changed only very recently. The change in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia generally, and in Tihāmah in particular, occurred only during the past twenty years, as a result of the development which occurred simultaneously with the increase of oil production and the high price it fetched. Before that, the lives of the people and their mode of existence in these wadis remained stagnant without discernible transformation in spite of the long years of habitation and culture.

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(57) Arabian Highlands, 694-5.

(58) Philby, Arabian Highlands, 695.

Cities prosper and fall, people flourish and die, but the wadis and natural phenomena of the land remain eternally. There is no doubt that the natural configuration and agricultural resources of (the wadis of) the province of ᶜAshm remained identical through the ages until the 80s/60s of the present century.

The Islamic Settlements in the province of ᶜAshm

The province of ᶜAshm contains, besides ᶜAshm town itself, a number of other Islamic settlements which, from their archaeological remains and building style, seem to have been more or less contemporary with ᶜAshm in some periods of their existence. These settlements are centred on two of the more important wadis of the province, viz. Wadi Qarmā and Wadi la-Ḥsabah. The settlements in question are, as already mentioned, Masᶜūdah, al-Naṣā'ib and southern and northern la-Ḥsabah.

1. Masᶜūdah

It lies to the north-east of Thuᶜbān gorge, a tributary of Wadi Qarmā, at a distance of two kilometres from al-ᶜAqīlī village which is the nearest known place of habitation, separated from it by a rugged mountain pass. The settlement lies in a depression, surrounded by mountains on all sides: to the north and the west, al-Shabak and to the south and the east, al-Ḥabl. The neighbouring inhabitants in the area belong to the Āl-Ẓahīrah tribe of Zahrān. (59)

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(59) M.M. al-Zahrānī, Bilād Zahrān, 63.

The area of the settlement is small, as is evident from the plan of Masᶜūdah. (60) It is third in importance in the province, after ᶜAshm and northern la-Ḥsabah, from the viewpoint of its structures and arhchaeological remains.(61) The walls of its houses, however, are more evident than those of ᶜAshm, their height sometimes attaining 150 cm.(62) It was not greatly exposed to the depredation of passers-by. The mountains surrounding it from all sides preserved it against winds and no roof rubble is evident.

The only building material available in Masᶜūdah is the stone brought from the neighbouring mountains. Its building style is similar to that of ᶜAshm and will be referred to later, but generally the buildings of Masᶜūdah are simpler than those of ᶜAshm. Some modern houses have been found in Masᶜūdah, as is evident from a tombstone bearing a Kufic inscription, used as a threshold. (63) Many graffiti are found on house foundations, seemingly of a later date than the tombstone inscriptions, and the writers may have tried to imitate the professionals who engraved the tombstone inscriptions. (64)

The only water supply in the town is a well lying at a distance of 200 m. to the south-west of the residential area. It is said that it is a Hilālī well. This indicates that it is an old well and might have been dug and made

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(60) Cf. plan no.2.
(61) Cf. pl.8, no.XV.
(62) Cf. pl.9, no.XVI.
(63) Pl.20, no.3 below.
(64) Pl.9, no.XVI.

with mountain stones when the settlement prospered. (65) It is now derelict and unused.

The cemetery lies to the east of the village at a short distance. It contains a small number of tombstones bearing simple Kufic inscriptions of a style probably of the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries. A reliable informant, Ḥasan al-Faqīh, told me that he has seen an inscription dated 150/767. Some millstones were found on the ground similar to those discovered in ᶜAshm and northern la-Ḥsabah. It is believed that these stones were used to grind gold ore. (66) This denotes that the gold mine of ᶜAshm served this area and la-Ḥsabah, as will be explained later.

2. Al-Naṣā'ib

The word is the plural of naṣibah, meaning a tombstone. It lies to the west of Masᶜūdah at a distance of about two kilometres. It is also called al-Ṣahwah (i.e. 'a saddle' or 'raised ground'). (67) It is a small burial ground in a barren desert. It ends in the south at about 500 m. from the Thuᶜbān ravine. To the east, at the same distance, is another small ravine separating it from al-ᶜAqīlī village. No traces of buildings appear around the cemetery, nor anything denoting life. It seems that the buildings were of a temporary nature, made of wood and grass thatch, a practice still known in the area today; or perhaps the buildings were buried under the sand dunes surrounding them

(65) Cf. Plan No.2.

(66) Cf. Pl.9 no.XVII;

(67) Ibn Manẓūr, Lisān, XIV, 471.

on all sides. The tombs may have belonged to a family of the neighbouring settlements which buried its dead in this place. The Naṣā'ib burial ground contains five tombstones bearing undated Kufic inscriptions, similar to those found at Mas^{c}ūdah and the early ^{c}Ashm period of palaeography. (68)

3. The two settlements of la-Ḥsabah

In Wadi la-Ḥsabah there were two Islamic settlements, one on the southern bank of the wadi and the other on the northern. The distance between the two settlements is about 10 km. To distinguish between them they are called la-Ḥsabah al-Janūbiyyah (Southern la-Ḥsabah) and la-Ḥsabah al-Shamāliyyah (Northern la-Ḥsabah).

a) Southern la-Ḥsabah. It lies, as mentioned above, on the southern side of the famous Wadi la-Ḥsabah, about 10 km. south-east of ^{c}Ashm. The road to this settlement starts at the kilometre mark 15 on the Makkah-Maḥāyil road, going south through Wadi la-Ḥsabah which rises to the wadi edge in an area of thick vegetation where the remains of the settlement are found.

This was a very small settlement situated in a depression filled with the remains of simple houses and a cemetery hidden by a cluster of rushes. To the north of the cemetery, at a distance of about 150 m. are the remains of buildings on a hill stretching northward towards the Wadi. These may have been fortifications. At a distance of approximately 500 m. to the west of the cemetery are the remains of

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(68) Cf: Pl:20; Hb:4 below.

a large palace. (69) It is the most obvious relic in the area, as its high walls are still standing. It must have consisted of two or three storeys. This palace is probably the most recent Islamic building of archaeological interest in the province of ʿAshm. The local people call it Qaṣr Barakāt. They also call certain African families living in this area and the opposite bank of the wadi "slaves of Barakāt". This palace may have taken its name from Sharif Barakāt b. Ḥasan b. ʿAjlān, one of the Makkan sharifs, who died in 859/1455. (70) Thus this palace might have been built in the 9th/15 century.

The cemetery lies between the two previously inhabited areas of the site. (71) It is a large cemetery, but its remaining funerary inscriptions do not exceed seven, four of which date from the second half of the 6th/12th century. (72) Some of those buried are designated as al-Sulṭān b. al-Sulṭān and are related to the Zahrān. (73) Modern houses are scattered around this site to the west, south and east. The present inhabitants, on the same side as the slaves of Barakāt, are of the Āl- Dumaynah tribe of the Zahrānī B. ʿUmar. (74)

b) Northern la-Ḥsabah settlement. As one comes from Nāwān Village it may be approached from a point at kilometre mark 20 on the Makkah-Maḥāyil road on the first bridge on Wadi la-Ḥsabah to the north. (75) Then the road turns to

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(69) Pl.10,no.XVIII.

(70) Al-ʿIṣāmī, Simṭ, 275; al-Fāsī, al-ʿIqd, IV, 86ff.

(71) Plan no.3.

(72) Pl.37, no.70 and pl.38, 71-73 below.

(73) Pl. 37,no.70 and pl.38, 71-3 below.

(74) Fuʾād Ḥamzah, Qalb, 153; M.M.al-Zahrānī, Brīād, 64;

(75) Cf. map no.4.

the north-east under the bridge through Wadi ʾa-Ḥsabah, ascending to the mountain pass called Daḥlat al-Ḥajar, joining the Ḍayq tributary where the settlement lies on its eastern shoulder. The distance from the settlement to the bridge is about two kilometres. The settlement overlooks Wadi la-Ḥsabah in the south. South-east of the settlement lies a gravel plain. To the north and east are situated the hills of Mafṣalat al-Gharīb. Between these foothills and the settlement is agricultural land. To the west is the Ḍayq tributary which flows into Wadi la-Ḥsabah and extends norwards to Jabal al-ᶜAṣdā' overlooking the great Wadi Ḍawqah. The Ḍayq tributary is flanked on the west by hills known as Daḥlat al-Ḥajar. The present inhabitants of the settlement belong to B. ᶜUmar of Zahrān and they call it al-Dār or Dār B. Hilāl. As previously mentioned, all ancient and abandoned places are attributed to B. Hilāl, the famous Arabian tribe.

The Northern ʾla-Ḥsabah settlement follows ᶜAshm in importance, with its extensive area, style of building and archaeological remains. (76) The well-known millstones found in this site are even more plentiful than those in ᶜAshm. It appears from the examination of the settlement's residential area that it was a prosperous town. Its houses were compactly arranged, separated by thoroughfares and pedestrian ways. There were also public squares of various sizes with houses built round them. The style of buildings and thoroughfares is similar to that of ᶜAshm, and

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(76) Cf. Pl.10, no.XIX.

will be described later. The market has also been found to resemble in its design that of ᶜAshm. (77)

The mosque lies in the centre of the settlement, its solid walls remaining visible to a height of about one and half metres. Externally they are supported by cylindrical pilasters, but not internally. (78) This style goes back to early Islamic times and is seen in some places on the Zubaydah route from Kufa to Makkah. (79) In the mosque courtyard there is a cavity built of mountain stone and it appears now not to have been smoothed over with plaster or similar material. It is believed that it was a well or pool built inside the mosque for use for ablutions by the faithful before prayers. (80) A similar arrangement in the same style has been found in al-Khuluf mosque. (81)

In this settlement a very great number of millstones were found both inside the houses and around them, flattened by long use and in a greater quantity than in ᶜAshm. (82) It is believed the mill stones were used to extract gold from ore, as will be explained when dealing with the planning and inception of the ᶜAshm settlement. (83) Alongside

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(77) Cf.224-5 below and plan no.11.

(78) Pl.11, no.XX.

(79) Cf. Al-Rāshid, Darb Zubaydah, 161,170-1, Fig.d,site 7.

(80) Cf. plan no.4.

(81) Cf. 483-4 below

(82) Cf. Pl.11, no.XXI.

(83) Cf.244 below.

these smooth and flattened stones have been found coarse ones of a type similar to those still in use today for milling grain in the area and also in the Yemen. (84)

The cemeteries lie to the east of the settlement and are numerous, denoting the long period of its existence. No inscriptions were found in the cemeteries close to the residential quarters. (85) These cemeteries may have been used before inscriptions became common in the area or before any of the local people learned this particular skill. However, later cemeteries in the east and south are full of inscribed tombstones written in simple Kufic characters. No dated inscription has yet been discovered, but the style of the inscriptions indicate that they originate from the early period of the Kufic script. It should be noted that the settlement's cemeteries are divided into family or tribal zones, as will be explained later when dealing with the ᶜAshm cemeteries. An inscription found in northern la-Ḥsabah mentioning the name of a deceased woman is surrounded by her sons' graves, and their names are stated, as will be discussed later. (86) Among the names on the tombstones is that of a Makkan, denoting a close relationship between the province and Makkah and immigration from the Hijaz. (87) A discussion of this point will also follow.

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(84) Cf. Serjeant, "San^{c}ā' food," 548, Ch.26, fig.no.10.

(85) Cf. plan no.4.

(86) Pl.21, no.6; cf. 299 below.

(87) Pl.20, no.1; cf.289 below and table no.8.

To the east of the first cemetery and residential area, at a distance of about 500 m. lies an old cemetery of the type called saqāyā (sing. saqiyyah) where the dead are buried in sealed stone sarcophagi or vaults built in the ground and having a height and breadth of not more than one metre. They bear Kufic inscriptions of a primitive character, which may go back to the 1st/7th century. (88) Similar well-built graves of the same type have been found in the place called Umm Niḥyayn between Northern and Southern la-Ḥsabah on the old route of al-Mukhwāh, now adjacent to the asphalt highway.

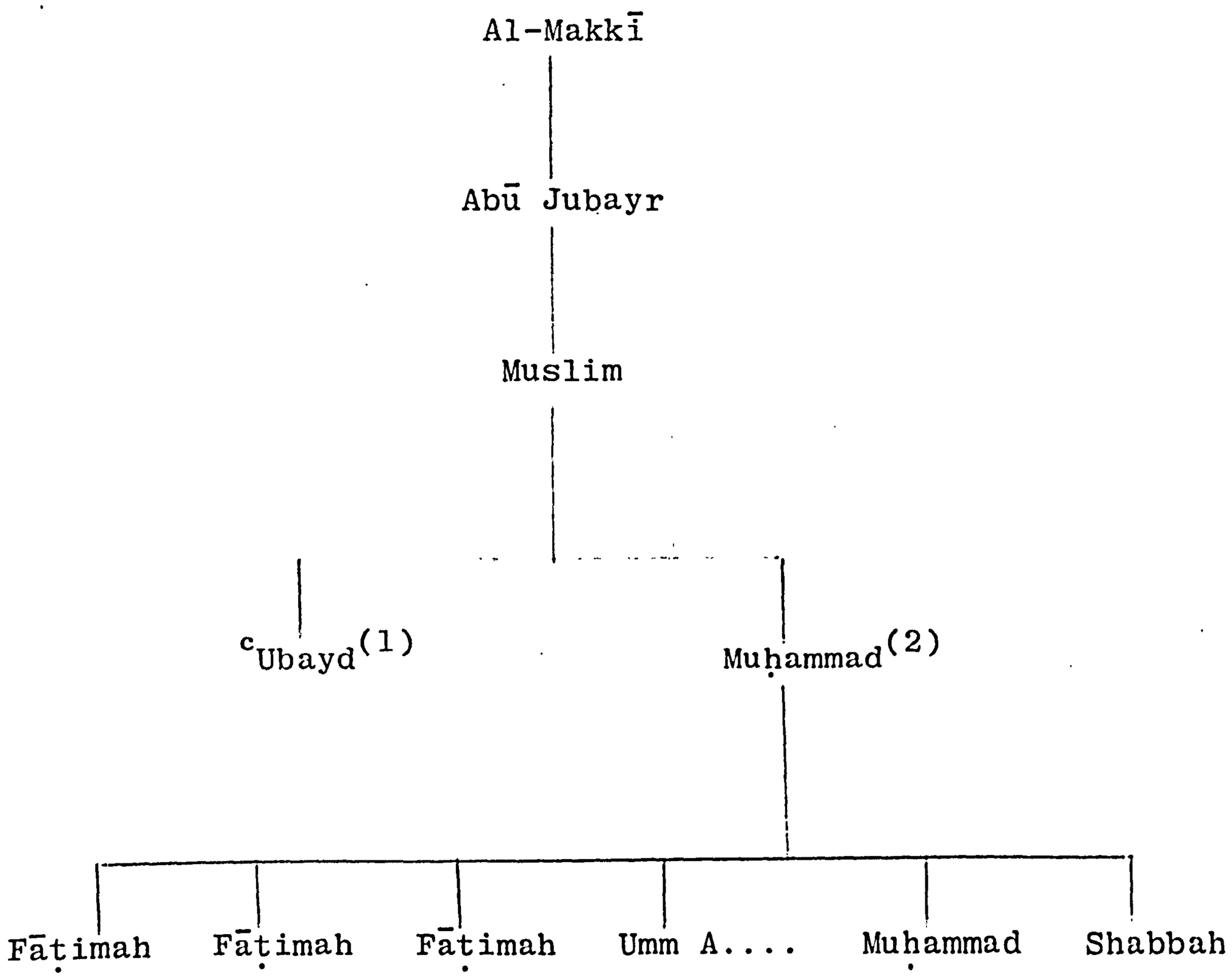
No trace of red bricks was seen in the two la-Ḥsabahs and only a very small quantity of potsherds and broken glass has been found.

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(88) Cf. Pl.12, no.XXII.

Table No.8

The Family of Abū Jubayr al-Makkī



1. Cf. Pl.20 no.I below.

2. Cf. Pl.21 no.6 below.

41°00'E 41°30'E

Map No. 4 THE PROVINCE OF ʿASHM

Al-Khulūf and Al-Khalīf

Jabal Shadā

To Makkah

W. Dawqah

Masʿūdah

Jibāl Ghāmid al-Zinād

N. Ia-Ḥsabah

Dawqah

W. Qarmā

ʿAshm

Nāwān

S. Ia-Ḥsabah

Muḍaylif

19°30 N

W. Nāwān

W. Ia-Ḥsabah

W. Lūmah

R E D S E A

W. Qanūna

Sūq al-Aḥad

Al-Qunfidah

To Jāzān

Deserted Towns (Study Areas)

Towns

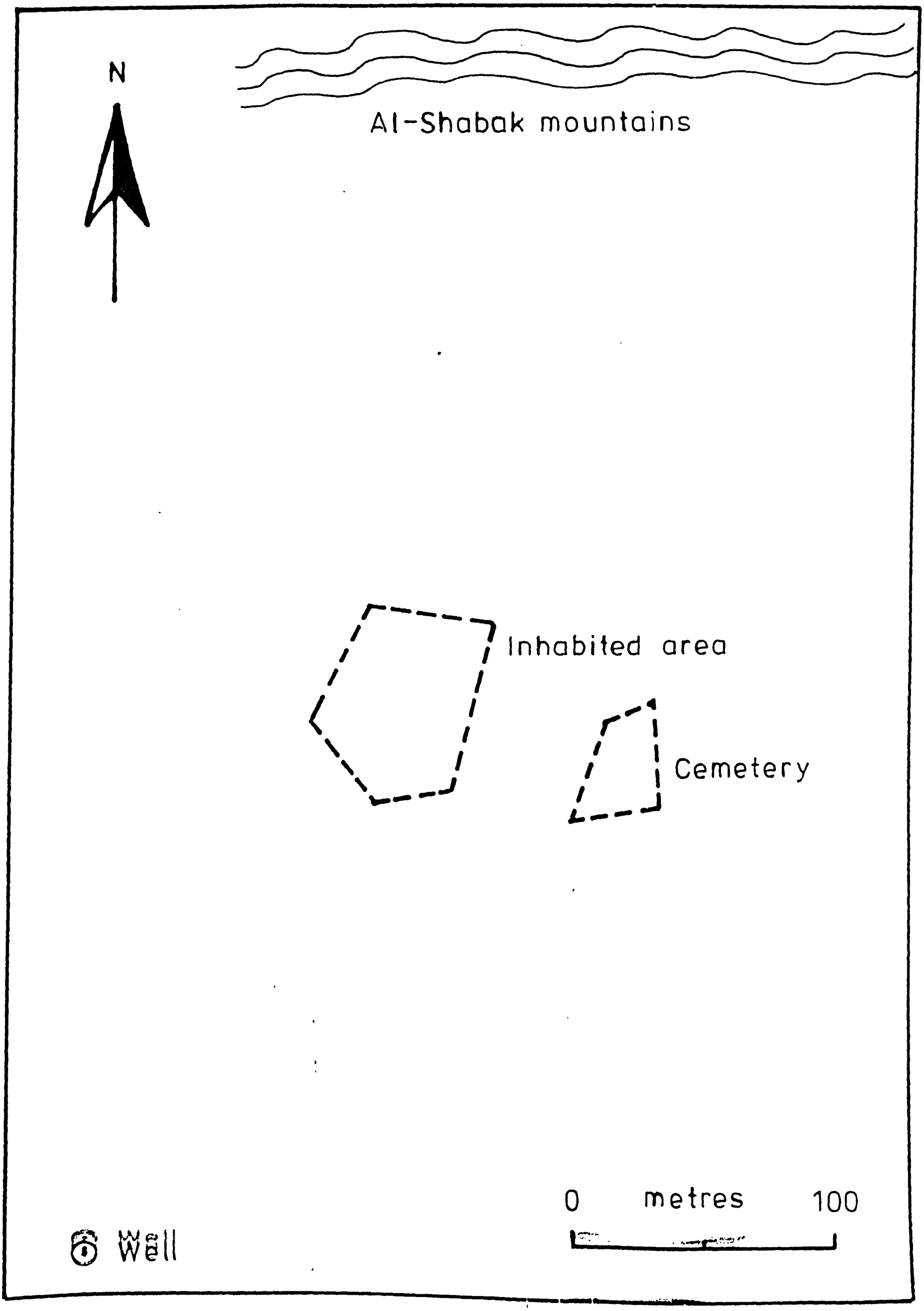
Roads

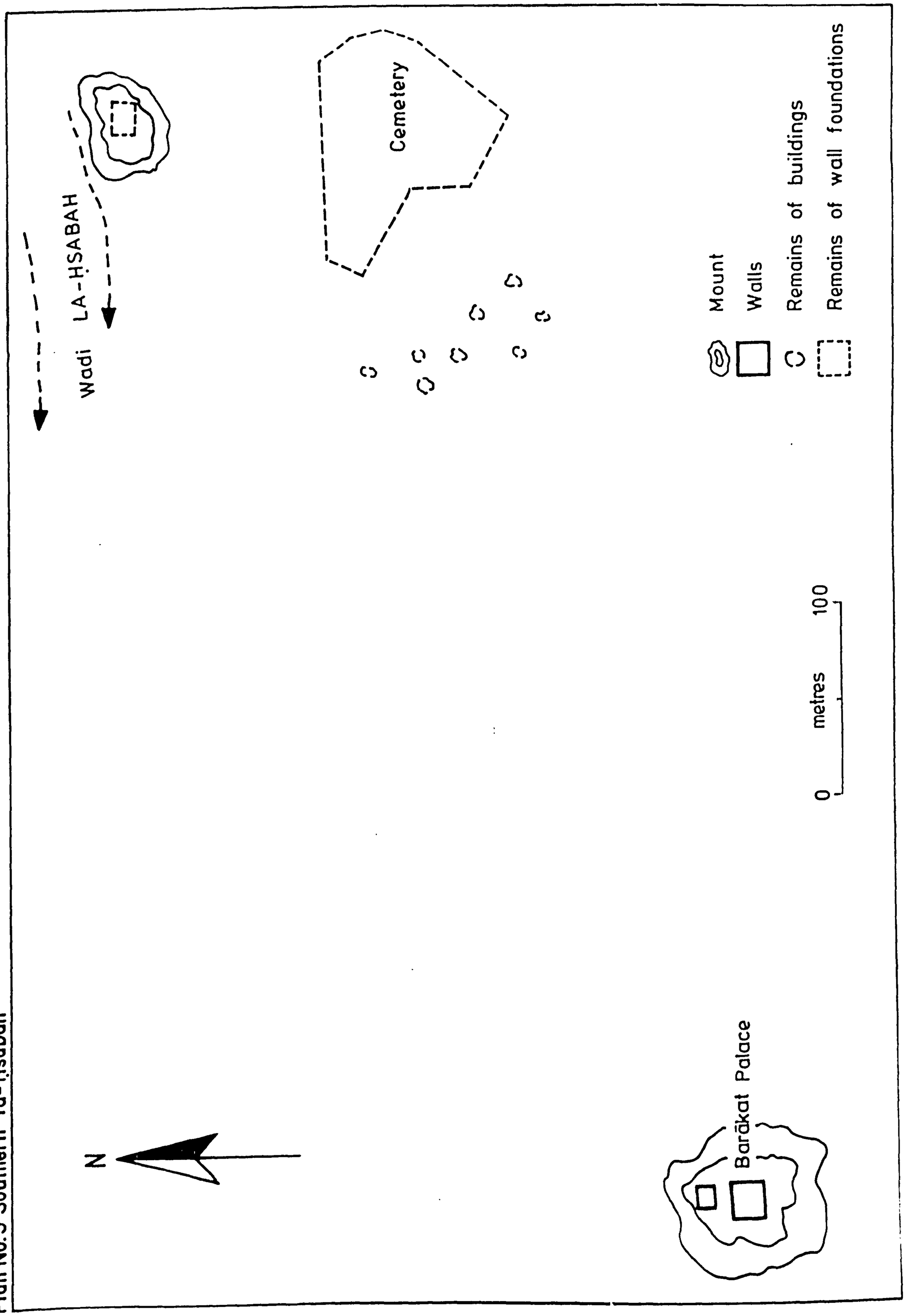
Unmetalled Roads

Wadis

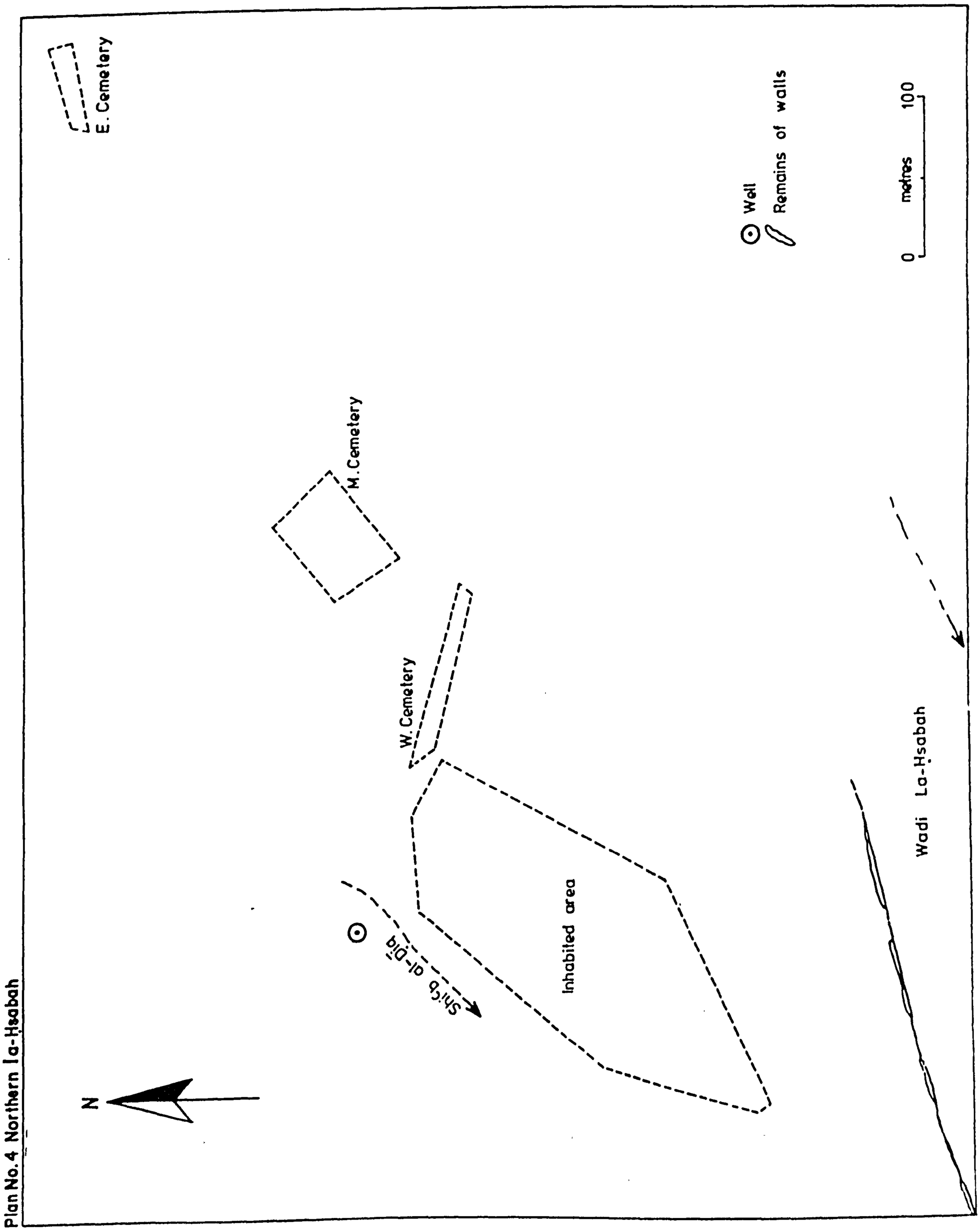
19°00'N

Plan No. 2 The Settlement of Maʿūdah



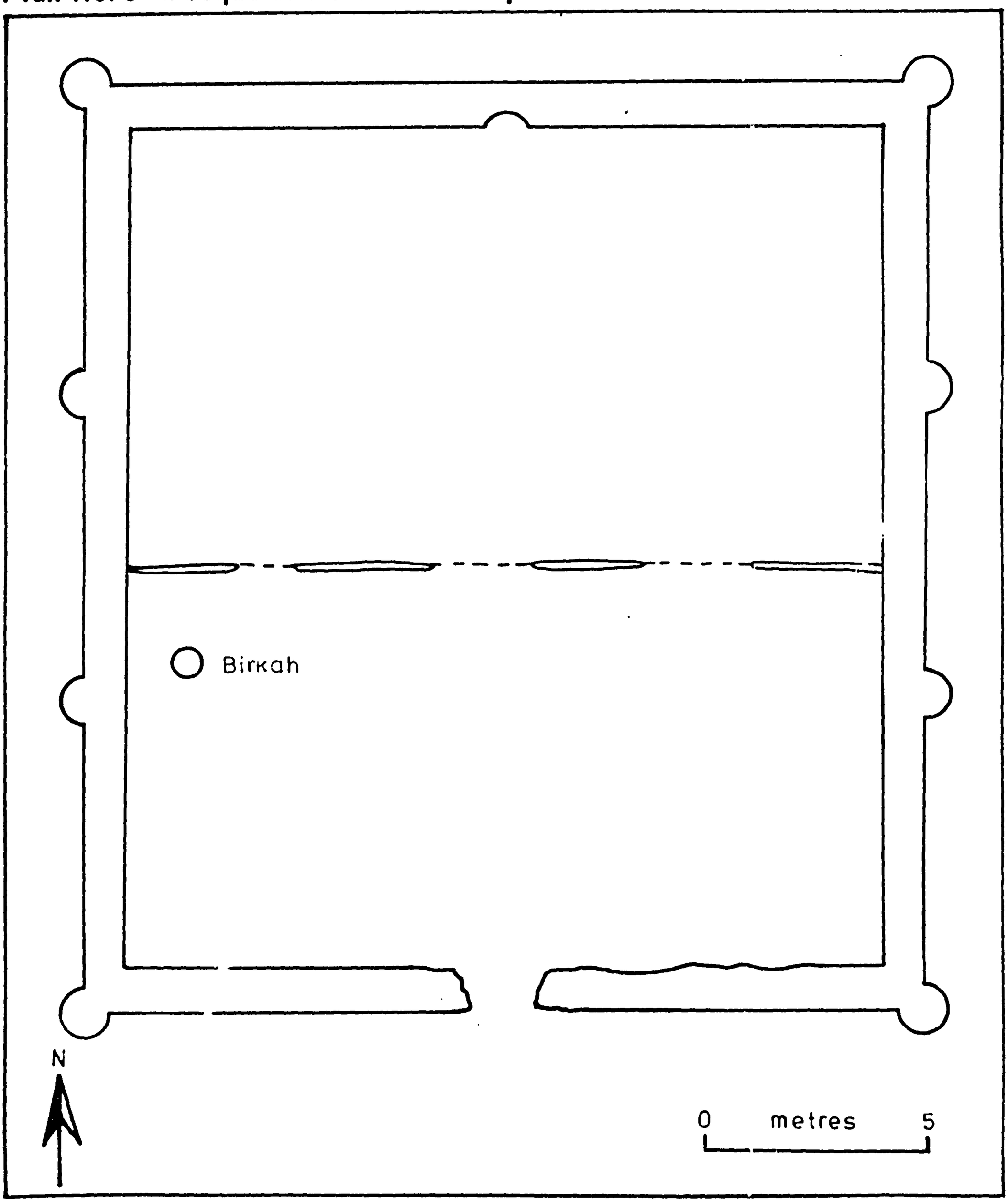


Plan No.3 Southern Ia-Ḥsabah



Plan No. 4 Northern Ia-Ḥsabah

Plan No. 5 Mosque of Northern Ia-Ḥsabah



CHAPTER 10

EXTERNAL SURVEY OF THE ᶜASHM SETTLEMENT

- The physical location
- The plan of the ᶜAshm Settlement

A. The inhabited quarters

B. The cemeteries

The physical location

ᶜAshm is situated approximately two kilometres from the southern bank of Wadi Qarmā. It is the border between the coastal plain to the west and the mountainous country to the east. The principal centres adjoining ᶜAshm at present are al-Muḍaylif and Nāwān, which are connected by a modern network of roads to Makkah and other important towns. It is thus possible to define the roads leading to ᶜAshm through these two centres by three land routes: (1)

The first and the easiest is the left hand route commencing at Muḍaylif which is situated on kilometre mark 295 of the Makkah route, then going to the east and turning north, passing through Ḥadabat Zubayd and al-Baqāqīr, running parallel to Wadi Qarmā from the south as far as ᶜAshm. This is an easy dirt road of twenty kilometres. Thus the distance between Makkah and ᶜAshm may be estimated to be about 315 km. by this route.

The second route, which is the central one, begins from Nāwān which is situated at kilometre mark 310 on the Makkah-Maḥāyil route. It then runs north-east, leaving al-Baqāqīr village to the left where it joins the previous road until it comes to ᶜAshm. It is a more difficult, sandy track and its length is approximately 13 km.

The route to the right begins at kilometre mark 8 of the Nāwān-al-Mukwāh route, then goes to the north

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(1) Cf: map H8:4.

passing Wadi Nāwān through the ᶜAshm ravine, which is a tributary of Wadi Nāwān. It climbs some small hills before arriving at ᶜAshm. The length of this route is approximately 6 km. and it is thus the shortest way to ᶜAshm after leaving the asphalt road. However, it is a rough,difficult track, passing through sand dunes and narrow ravines. Both roads cover the ruins of the town of ᶜAshm. (2) The settlement of ᶜAshm is flanked by mountains on three sides : Jabal Abū Furayᶜ to the east, al-Dissah to the south-east and al Ṣannīᶜah to the south. On the north it is bordered by hills called Umm al-Ṭawq.

Two ravines cross the settlement, al-Kharbān, south of the principal housing quarter, separating the settlement and its cemetery C from the two cemeteries A and B in the southern quarter and the forts on the Jabal al-Ṣannīᶜah. The other ravine, Abū Furayᶜ, descends from the mountain of the same name, passes to the north of the principal quarter of the settlement, separating it from the northern and eastern cemeteries. These two ravines meet a short distance to the west of the town and form a single tributary flowing into Wadi Qarmā to the east of ᶜAwāṣiyah village.

The settlement of ᶜAshm lies between the two ravines. It is completely deserted with no inhabitants whatsoever. A deep calm pervades the site, only broken sometimes by the

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(2) Cf. pl.12,no.XXIII- pl.17 no.XXXIII.

bleating of goats grazing on the mountain slopes, or the uproar of vehicles passing the outskirts of the settlement, transporting firewood and fodder to the bedouin encampments and farms nearby.

The plan of the ᶜAshm settlement

A. The inhabited quarters

The settlement of ᶜAshm comprised two quarters;(3) one having a great quantity of remains and ancient traces giving the impression that it was the principal habitable quarter. It extends over a high hill sloping to the west and south towards the Kharbān ravine and to the east to the eastern cemetery C, and to some house foundations forming the eastern end of this quarter. It also climbs to the north, to come to a sudden end at the Abū Furayᶜ ravine, which constitutes a danger to the settlement with its eroding south bank. Most of the ruins of houses are built of mountain stones and red baked bricks in this quarter. They vary in their standard of beauty and design from the middle to the edges, as well as in the height of their foundations and the quality of stone used in the buildings which rise to 45-120 cm. It may be deduced from the type of stone used in building the settlement houses and structures that it was hewn from the adjacent hills. The stones were carefully chosen and dressed to suit the intended type of building. Baked bricks were also used on occasion, but on a smaller scale. These bricks were found in some houses which, it

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(3) Cf. Pl.no.6.

is thought, had more than one storey. The bricks were probably selected because they were lighter and easier to handle. A large quantity of the baked bricks was found in the ruins of the great palace discovered in the centre of the settlement to the east. It was one of the largest and finest buildings and may have been the governor's seat, or the residence of a wealthy citizen. Baked bricks have also been found in the ruins of the mosque, especially at the south-eastern end where, presumably, the minaret was situated. They are scattered among the stones and probably formed the upper parts of the minaret. The same type of brick has been found in the ruins of several houses in ᶜAshm.

It should be noted that certain houses now buried beneath rubble in this quarter have door lintels bearing inscriptions commemorating their erection. Evidence of this is a lintel which was found bearing an undated Kufic inscription. (4) Another stone commemorated the date of the settlement's mosque, 414/1023.(5) Moreover, two other undated inscriptions were found, one of them a foundation stone of a house, even though it was located outside the built up area. It was inscribed with the Koranic Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ.

The general aspect of this settlement of ᶜAshm, and especially this quarter, is that of a planned town with crowded houses separated by thoroughfares and having some public buildings. Its buildings are, for the most part, curved at their ends rather than angled. The courtyards

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(4) Cf. Pl.13, no. XXIV.
(5) Pl:34, no.56 below.

of houses mostly do not have right-angled, but rounded or radiused corners. (6) The houses have more than one room. Most of them have front porches (now called barandah), as is current in hot countries where the inhabitants take refuge during the hot hours of the day seeking shade and cool air which they cannot find in the rooms, especially in summer. (7) Most of the houses have courtyards (sing. finā') which are usually in front of the building or form one or two set backs (sing. Irtidād). (8) It is seldom that one finds any house with four set backs. Seven houses have been surveyed in this quarter in addition to the mosque and the market ruins. Most of these houses are situated near the mosque. The following is the information thus obtained:

House no.1, comprises three rooms and barandah; its approximate area is 80 sq. m. There is, in addition, a courtyard of about the same dimensions. On the north-western corner of the court there are remnants of a building of about 8 sq. m. Apparently it was a latrine, as it is common in this area to place latrines outside and not within the house. Beyond the court there is a curtain wall (kaśrah) of 2 x 3 metres near the main entrance. This curtain wall might have been meant to screen the people inside the court from the eyes of passers-by from the west. (9) A similar arrangement can be seen in houses from Qaṭar. (10) The house is built with stone hewn from

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(6) Cf. Plan nos. 8, 9 and 10.

(7) Cf. Plan nos. 9 and 10. Barandah is a kind of portico in front of the house, its roof connected with the house roof supported by front pillars. No building exists between the pillars.

(8) Cf. Plan nos. 8, 9, and 10.

(9) Plan no:7:

(10) Cf. al-Kubaysī; The plan of al-Jumail village.

nearby mountains and brought to the site. The remains of the walls are about 50-75 cms. high.

House no.2, lying to the south-west of the mosque, and separated from it by a thoroughfare about 4.5 metres wide, comprises a large room divided internally and a court (fināʾ) situated on the northern side. The total area is about 65 sq. m.(11) It seems that it was a building attached to the mosque, probably a hospice (ribāt) or school(madrasah) for the instruction in reading and writing. The building is similar to house no.1 and the walls do not exceed 50 cms. in height.

House no.3, is to the south of no.2, separated from it by a thoroughfare approximately 3 - 3.5 m wide. It comprises three rooms, the largest divided into sections. The total area is about 82 sq. m. A large court is attached to the north side of the house, its own northern wall being about 20 m. long. It becomes narrow from the two sides, adjoining the house, until the width becomes no more than approximately 13 m. near the gate. In the middle the court is wider, about 22 m., and it ends in a curve towards the south side. (12) The house is built of local stone and lies in ruins. There is a small quantity of rubble inside and around it. Of its walls there remain only low foundations of no more than 50 cm. in height.

House no.4, comprises two rooms, having an area of

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(11) Plan no.8.

(12) Plan no.8.

40 m, one partially divided by a wall. A large courtyard partially surrounds the house on two sides. Its area from near the gate is about 4.5 m. in width and from the western wall 10m. Its length from the south to the north is about 15. In front lies an open space, separating the court from the houses Nos. 5 and 6. (13) It is built of local mountain stone. The fragments of baked bricks among the ruins suggest that this material formed part of higher walls. The remnant of the walls is about 50-80 cm. high. (14)

House No.5 lies behind no.4 at the end of the open space. They are separated by a passage-way 1.5-2 m. wide. The house is made up of a hall and two rooms. The smaller one leads to a rear court of irregular shape. (15) The front court is about 9.5-13 m. wide and the length from the middle about 9 m. It is built of hewn mountain stone. The remnant of the wall does not exceed 50 cm. in height. (16)

House no.6 is situated to the north-west of no.5, separated from no.4 by a small space. It comprises two rooms divided into sections internally and a barandah running along the length of the two rooms. The area of the rooms and the barandah is about 76 sq. m. Attached to this house in the south is a large court of irregular shape, terminating on its southern side with a 2.25 x 3 m.

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(13) Plan no.9.

(14) Cf. Pl.13 No. XXV.

(15) Plan no.9.

(16) Cf. Pl.14 no.XXVI.

protruding curtain wall (kasrah) representing that of no. 1 above.(17) The purpose of this wall is to screen the entrance and the people inside from the gaze of passers-by, as has already been explained above. This house, like no.5, is built of hewn mountain stone. Remnants of broken red bricks are seen in the ruins indicating the use of this material in this house.

House no.7 is considered as one of the most impressive houses to survive in ^{c}Ashm.(18) It comprises four rooms having a total area of 79 sq. m. On the northern side there is a barandah extending the whole length of the house and having an approximate area of 33 sq. m. The barandah has three openings leading into a courtyard with rectangular foundations in between the openings (see plan no.10). These latter might have supported walls extending to the roof between the openings. The courtyard is quite large and of an irregular shape. It surrounds more than two sides of the house to the north and to the west. The longest measurement of the court is about 21 m. and the widest 24 m. On its north-east side there are the remains of a building with an area of about 12 sq. m. which, it is presumed, was a latrine, as is evident in house no.1. It is built of stone, hewn from the adjoining mountains and carried to the side. These stones are well cut. The remnants of the wall are about 50 cm. high.

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(17) Cf. Pl.no.9.

(18) Cf. Pl.No. 10.

It is to be noted that these houses which were surveyed in ᶜAshm cannot be considered the best examples. They were chosen because of the small quantity of rubble covering them, which made access to them easier, and also the determination of their boundaries and adjacent streets and spaces. It has been evident from the above description that more convenient stone, hewn from the mountains surrounding ᶜAshm forms the basic building material, together with baked bricks. As for roofs, nothing has been found of any covered house, but it is presumed that the roofs were of wood from local trees, covered by mats and mud. Much earth rubble has been found inside the houses which may conceal some historical facts on ᶜAshm (e.g. the lintels inscribed with the owners' names, domestic vessels and pieces of old coins). It is also to be noted that the latrines in certain houses lie in the corner of the courtyards, and that there were protruding curtain walls at the entrances. These still exist in the area. The large courts might have contained some temporary buildings for use as grain and fodder stores or sun-shelters away from the stone houses.

The mosque lies in the south-west sector. It was constructed relatively late in the settlement of ᶜAshm in 414/1023 by Amir Yaᶜlī b. ᶜAbd Allāh. (19) It is a large building with pillar foundations in the inside amounting to 26 pillars, of which 21 are in its northern half covering an area of 308 sq. m. Five pillar foundations stand in the southern half on an area of 63 sq. m. (20) It is presumed that the mosque roof was supported by these pillars and

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(19) Pl. 34 no.56 below.

(20) Pl. no.11.

the covered area was the space between them. There was a large open area in the mosque forming the greater part of the building. The ground might have been blinded with gravel, because remnants of the material can still be seen. The minaret was in the south-east corner and its area was included within the southern part of the mosque. It is now in ruins and its foundations are surrounded by stone rubble and baked bricks. It is presumed that the upper part was built of baked bricks. The prayer niche (mihrab) is situated exactly in the centre of the northern wall of the mosque. It can be inferred from its foundation that it was built according to sound engineering principles and considerable attention was given to the dressing and tooling of the stones. Lime mortar between the large stones is still evident in the lower foundations.

The market lies in the central northern area of the main quarter. The visible remains show two rows of shops opposite each other, separated by a thoroughfare about 6-7 m. wide. Seven such shops are found on the northern side of the east-west oriented throughfare, supported by a single wall 32.5 m. long. There are in front of them, in the south-west, two shops separated from four others on the same by a passage-way 2-3 m. wide. The length of this row, with the lane, is about 29 m. Most of the shops, of which the ruins and foundations have been discovered, are of nearly equal area. Each shop comprises, for the most part, two sections : a rear section, probably used to store goods, and a front part for display. Among these shops there are

two having three sections, the third section seemingly used as a shelter from the sun. Two shops which stand back from the line of other shops in the street have only one section. It is probable that the remaining area was covered by thatched roofs or pergolas which disappeared with time. To the east and west of the market area, there are large spaces where, it can be assumed, cattle were sold, or which were used for other purposes not requiring a building. (21)

It is thought that ᶜAshm had a large market consistent with its position in the centre of a province containing a number of wadis producing various agricultural crops. This may have been in addition to its proximity to the region of al-Sarāt, which made ᶜAshm a market town where the inhabitants of al-Sarāt and of the coastal plain met to exchange their agricultural products and buy commodities which they needed. (22) It is believed therefore that the uncovered remains of ᶜAshm market only represent a small part of its former extent. (23)

We now revert to the other quarters of ᶜAshm. To the north-west of the principal quarter there are sandy heights which, we have reason to believe, were inhabited, but the sand covers their remains and no ruined houses can be seen. The only things visible on the surface are broken utensils, potsherds and similar materials.

The second quarter lies to the south-west of the

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(21) Cf. Plan No.12.

(22) Cf. Mughram, "Assrah", 197-8; Fuᵓād Ḥamzah, ᶜAsīr, 77.

(23) Cf. Plan 14, no.XXVII.

principal housing quarter, at a distance of about 200 m. It appears from the visible ruins that it extended over part of the hill parallel to the Kharbān gorge to the south. (24) The ruins consist of rubble and house foundations, indicating especially in the west, some huts typical of those prevalent in Tihāmah. The buildings may have been of stone, but were buried by the sand blown by the wind, as this part of ᶜAshm is open to the sands lying to the west. On this hilly ground extending to the west and north potsherds and broken glass of various colours were found.

To the east of this quarter, at a short distance, lie two small mountains on which building foundations exist, some of them one metre high. It seems that these were towers commanding a view over long distances over the whole area. They occupy a strategic position controlling the routes from the Yemen and the northern and western roads. To the south-west of these two mountains, at the back of the second quarter, lies an area revealing the ruins of stone buildings. They are notable for their large courts and may have been military barracks adjoining the two aforementioned control towers. (25)

Remains of millstones have been found scattered on the ground in the ᶜAshm settlement and house courts. (26) The stones are smooth and their deep cavities indicate long

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(24) Cf. Plan no.6.

(25) Cf. Plan no.6.

(26) Cf. pl.15 No.XXVIII.

use and give an idea of the material ground and crushed by these millstones which, we presume, was gold ore. (27) These millstones are quite different from those used for crushing grain, also found in this area. (28) Similar millstones for gold crushing were found at Mahd al-Dhahab and mentioned by Twitchell and ᶜAbd al-Qaddūs al-Anṣārī. (29) Mahd al-Dhahab ("The cradle of gold") is a well-known gold mine dating from before Islam and has continued to the present day. (30)

Potsherds and broken glass were found in the ruins of ᶜAshm in great quantities, especially on the sand-hill forming the second quarter and the north-west part of the first quarter, as well as on the slope forming the southern side of Abū Furayᶜ gorge to the north of the principal quarter. However, these remains have started to decrease as they have been picked up by visitors who have come to ᶜAshm for various reasons. The colours of these remains are various and their style is that of the Abbasid Islamic period. (31) It is unfortunate that no coins have been found, but it is said by local inhabitants that one of them discovered gold and silver coins. He also found a well near the Kharbān gorge when it was washed by the torrent. However, it was

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(27) Cf. Pl.15, no.XXIX.

(28) Cf. Pl.16, no.XXX.

(29) Saudi, 162; al-Jāsir, "al-Maᶜādin," 925; al-Anṣārī, Bayn al-Tārīkh, 173.

(30) Yaqūt, Muᶜjam, IV, 245, V, 154; Twitchell, Saudi, 160-4.

(31) Cf. Pl.16, no.XXXI.

filled up with earth, since it was feared that it would create strife between the tribe and their rivals.(32) An excavation should be made in the area to uncover further interesting facts. House floors in ᶜAshm are covered with earth and its removal may reveal more information.

B. The cemeteries

A salient feature on the plans of ᶜAshm is the great number of cemeteries which extend far beyond the area of the inhabited town. This may be due to the fact that ᶜAshm flourished for a long time, probably from before the Islamic era to the middle of the 5th/11th century.(33) A second observation may be made:that other areas of the settlement are still buried under the sand and could not be uncovered.

The cemeteries extend all around the settlement on all sides.(34) They may have been divided into plots for family or tribal reasons and we believe that each family possessed a special burial ground, as has been current practice until recently in Tihāmah. It has been found that members of the same family, fathers, brothers and sons, are buried in the same cemetery and rarely is a member of the same family found in another cemetery.(35)

The number of the cemeteries discovered until now

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(32) Verbal communication from Shaykh ᶜAlī b. Marzūq, head of the tribe of Zubayd.

(33) Cf. pl.37, no.68 below.

(34) Cf. plan no.6.

(35) Cf. pl. 26, 35, 36, nos. 27, 59, 60, 63, 64, 66 below.

in ᶜAshm is seven. (36) They extend from the south-west entrance of the settlement as far as its boundary in the north-west. These cemeteries are divided into three groups, western, eastern and northern according to their sites. They have been referred to as A, B, C, D, E, F and G, as follows :- (37)

A and B: These two cemeteries lie at the end of south-western ᶜAshm, beginning at the side of the second quarter and stretching for a long distance on the sandy ground. The sand and wind have obliterated most of their tombstones. These two cemeteries are considered the oldest in the areas, as one inscription was found here dating back to 239/853-4. (38) Twenty-four inscriptions have been discovered, three of them going back to the 3rd/9th century and the fourth, found at B in the far south, going back to the 4th/10th century. Thus we have reason to believe that the cemetery extended southwards with the passing of time. An undated inscription was found here, but denoting palaeographic features of the first half of the 5th/11th century. Inside this cemetery lies a sand hill which is thought to have covered an extensive cache of inscriptions. Two tombstones have been discovered bearing the names of the scribes. (39)

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(36) Cf. Pl.17, no.XXXII.

(37) Cf. Plan no.6.

(38) Pl.22, no.11 below.

(39) Pls. 23, 26, nos. 15, 28 below.

C: This cemetery lies to the east of ᶜAshm. It is the largest cemetery, but almost devoid of inscriptions. It is believed that it is the most recent and its eastern part was the last to be used in ᶜAshm. The western part seems to be the oldest in this cemetery. Five insciptions were found, two of which bear a 5th/11th century date.(40) It is believed that many inscriptions on the tombstones are buried under the sand.

D and E: These two cemeteries are situated to the north-east of the settlement. They abound in inscriptions, most of them dated and in good condition. They comprise three burial grounds lying between two mountains and thus least exposed to sands. However, they have been subjected to desecration owing to the motor road passing through them to neighbouring villages. (41) It was noted that these cemeteries contained the graves of many prominent citizens, and a section was reserved for the governors of the family of ᶜUwayd. (42) The number of inscriptions discovered is about thirty-two, more than half of them dated in the 3rd/9th, 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries.

F: It lies in the north-east and is surrounded by rocky hills which have preserved traces of it for hundreds of years. However, it was desecrated by local inhabitants who used its tombstones as shooting targets, thus breaking

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(40) Cf. pl. 35, no.61 below.

(41) Cf. pl.17, no.XXXIII.

(42) Cf. 251 below.

them and obliterating their inscriptions. (43) This cemetery is considered to be old in view of the palaeographic features of its inscriptions, despite the fact that certain of them relate to the beginning of the 5th/11th century. Eighteen inscriptions at least have been discovered, only three of them dated in the 5th/11th century. (44) One inscription bears the name of its scribe. (45) A common grave was found for two women named Ḥaẓiyyah and Ḥammādah. (46) To the north of this cemetery lies a small gorge on the farther side of which there is a dilapidated cemetery. One grave only remains visible and it is thought that it goes back to the pre-Islamic era, as it is not aligned correctly with Makkah, as is usual in Moslem burials. (47)

G: This is in fact two cemeteries connected through a gorge in the northern slopes and lies in the north- of the settlement of ᶜAshm. The inscriptions have been exposed and decayed because of floods. Many inscriptions are scattered in the bottom of the gorge swept there by storm water. It has also been devastated by wind and the natural elements. About ten inscriptions have been found, all undated. However, palaeographically this would seem to be the oldest Islamic cemetery to be found in ᶜAshm and some

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(43) Pl. 22, no.9 below.

(44) Pls. 33, 35, nos. 53, 59, 60 below

(45) Pl. 22 no.9 below.

(46) Pl. 27 no.30 below

(47) Cf. Sūrat al-Baqarah, 142-5; Sūrat Yūnis, 87.

of the graves may go back to the 1st/7th and 2nd/8th centuries.

Briefly, the ᶜAshm cemeteries are full of tombstones most of which bear Kufic inscriptions, some of them dated.

It should be noted that most of the graves bear two inscriptions, one dated and the other undated, and sometimes both undated. Some graves were found with three inscriptions, one of them at least dated. (48) The inscriptions usually carry the basmalah, then one or more Koranic verses or invocations and then the name of the deceased, an invocation of mercy and date of death, if given. Some of the inscriptions bear the inscriber's name. (49) The quality of calligraphy and ornament appears to vary according to the era, the rock on which it is inscribed and the social position of the dead person. (50)

It should also be noted that many tombstones bearing Kufic inscriptions were found scattered on the roadsides of ᶜAshm and on the hills surrounding the cemeteries, some of them broken and others in good condition. (51) Some tombstones were taken for great distances by passers-by or by shepherds, who did not recognize their value. It may be assumed that some tombstones were carried away and used in buildings at various distant places over the years. One of the places where these have been carried for building purposes is

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(48) Cf. pls. 23, 26, 27, nos. 15, 16, 28, 29. below.

(49) Pls. 22, 23, 26, 33, 34, 37, 38, nos. 9, 15, 26, 28, 52, 56, 70, 71.

(50) Cf. 36 nos. 63, 64, 66 below

(51) Cf. pl. 18, no. XXXIV.

al-ᶜAqīlī village in the region of Zahrān situated in the Thuᶜbān gorge, a tributary of Wadi Qarmā some five kilometres north of ᶜAshm. The inhabitants of this place are the tribe of Āl- Ẓahīrah of Zahrān. This is a modern village. It was said that the person who carried away the tombstones is a certain Mansī b. Ghurfān al-Zahrānī in order to use them to erect a well. When he abandoned his project, he left them in a fodder shed. Accordingly, all these inscriptions are in a bad condition. Many of the stones were broken on the way and others were damaged by humidity and cattle urine, as cattle lay upon the inscriptions. (52) There remain some 17 inscriptions in good condition, seven of them to be dated back to the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. (53) It is evident from the names inscribed on them that they were brought from the northern and eastern cemeteries. The carrier may have been encouraged to remove the tombstones by finding them along the road to his village which passes by ᶜAshm through these cemeteries. (54)

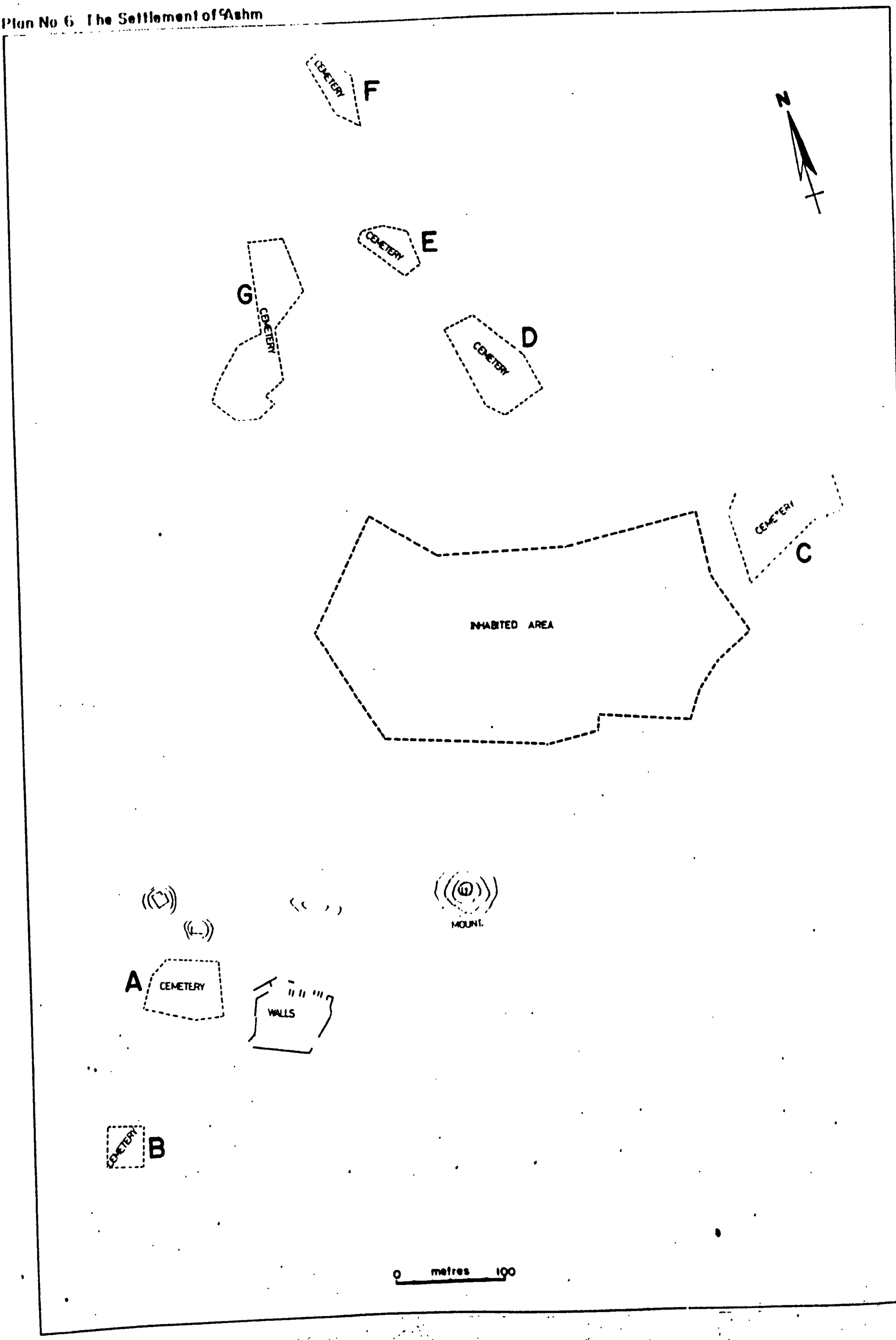
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(52) Cf. pl.18, no.XXXV.

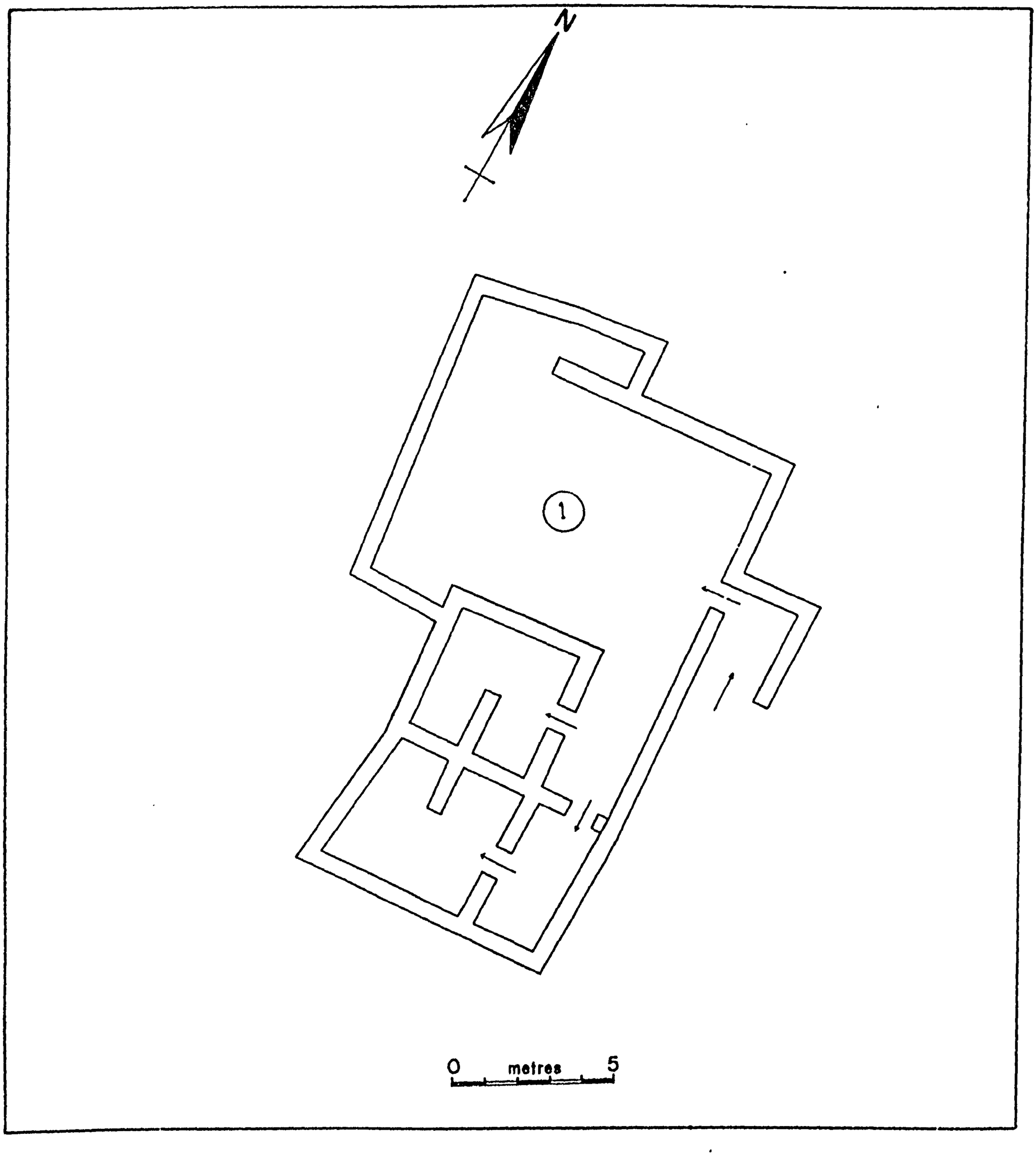
(53) Pls,34, 36, 37, nos. 55,57,64,68 below.

(54) Cf. pl.17, no. XXXIII.

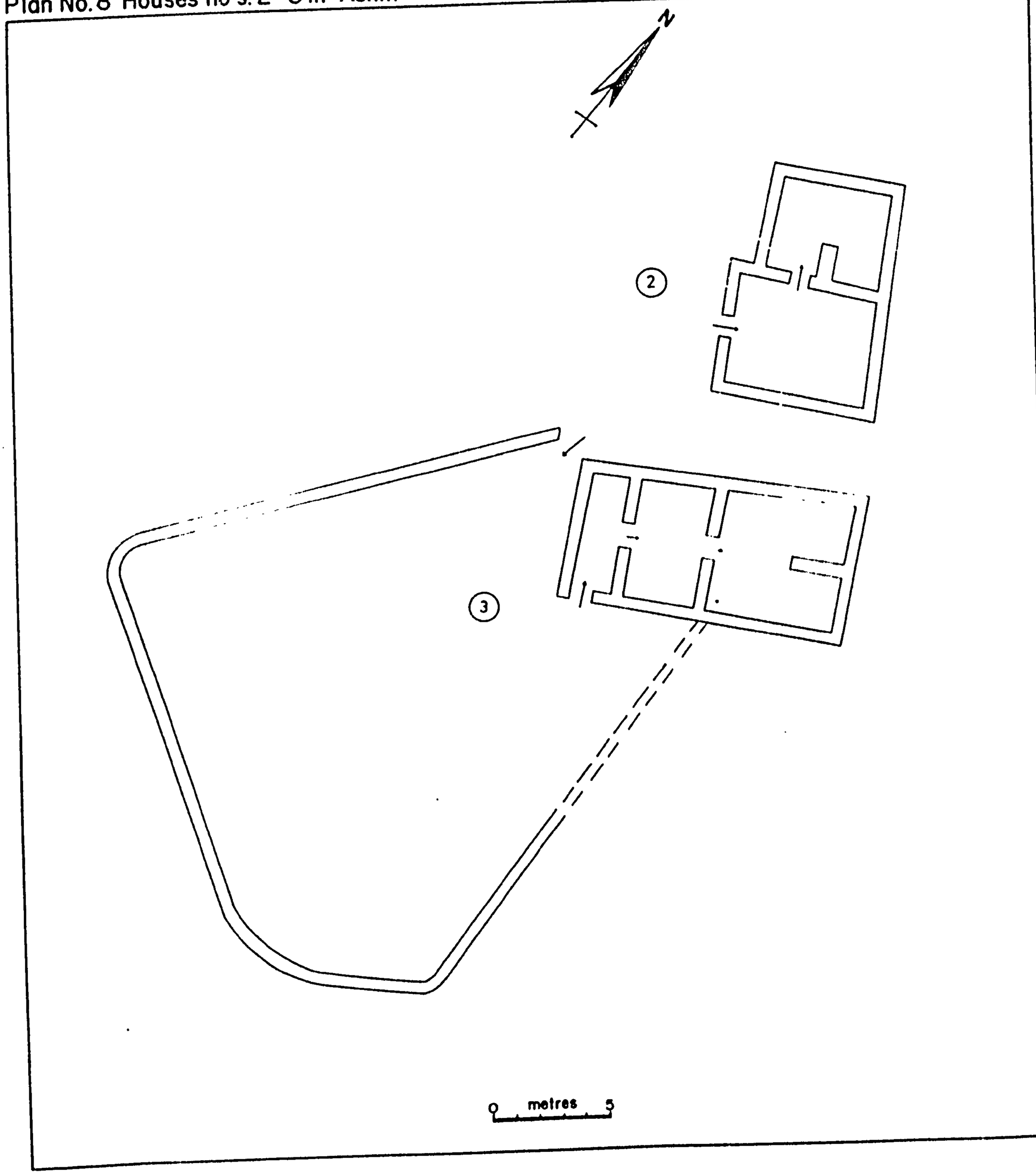
Plan No 6 The Settlement of Ashm

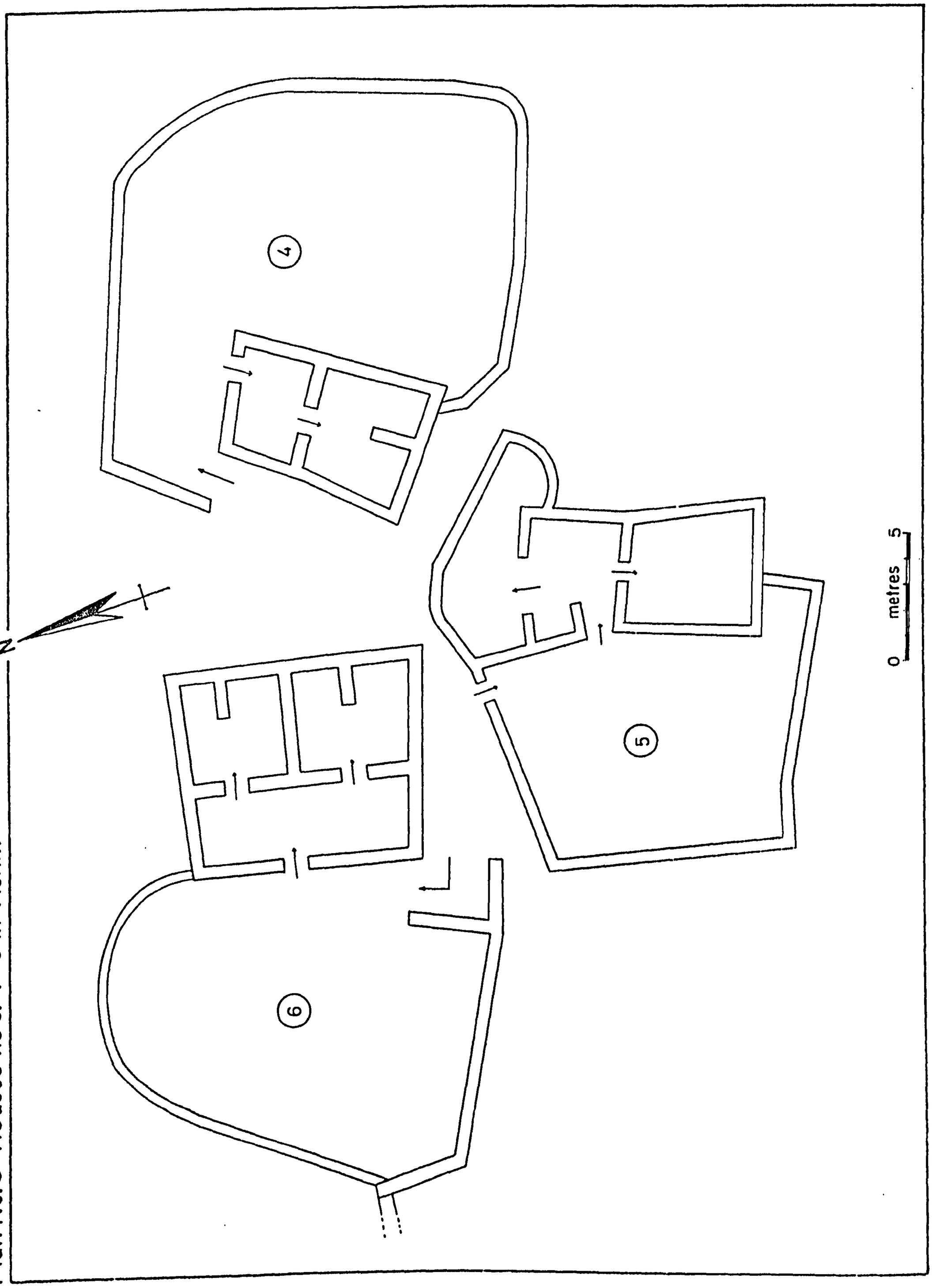


Plan No. 7 House Number 1 in ʿAshm



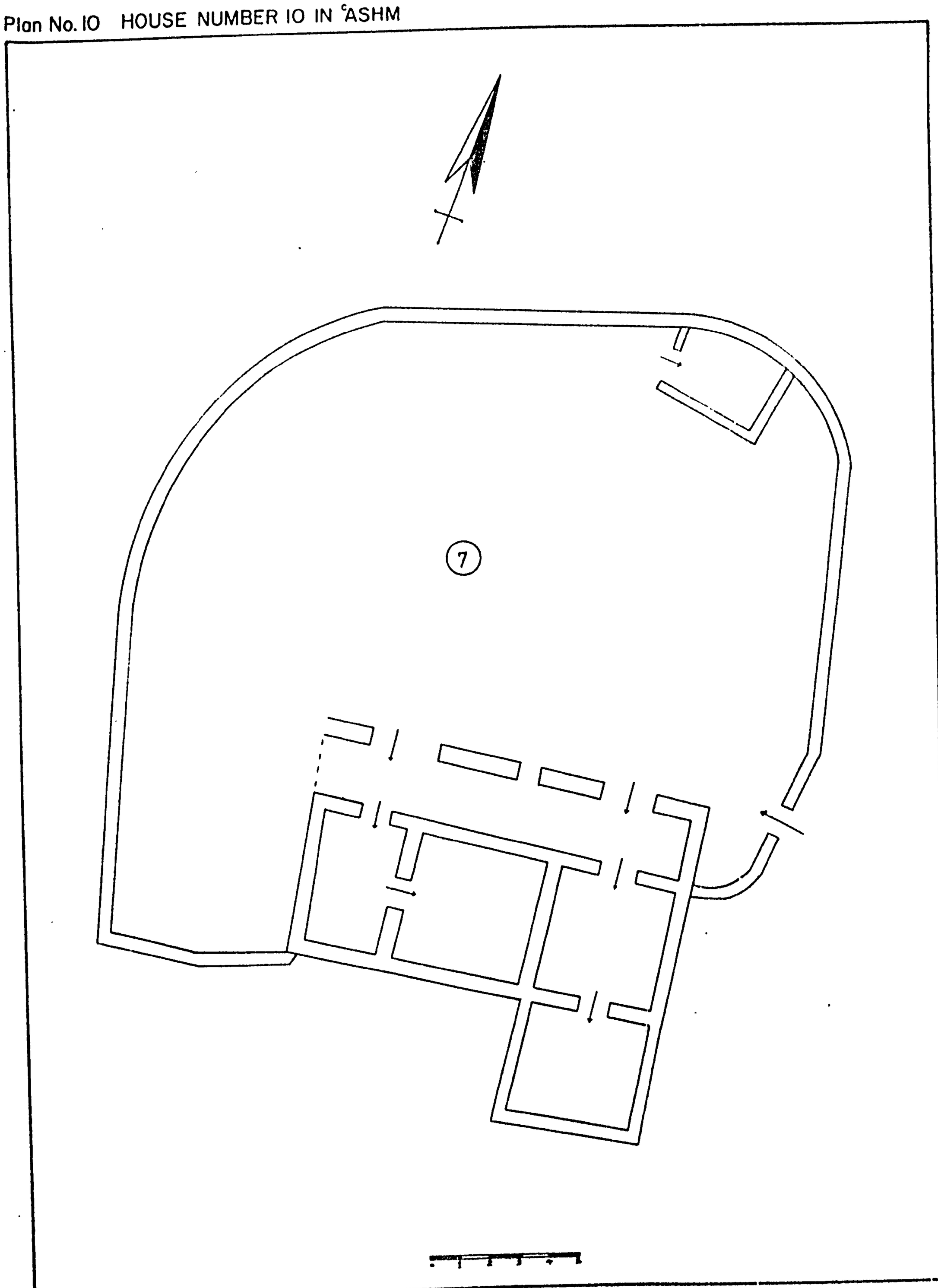
Plan No. 8 Houses no's. 2-3 in ᶜAshm



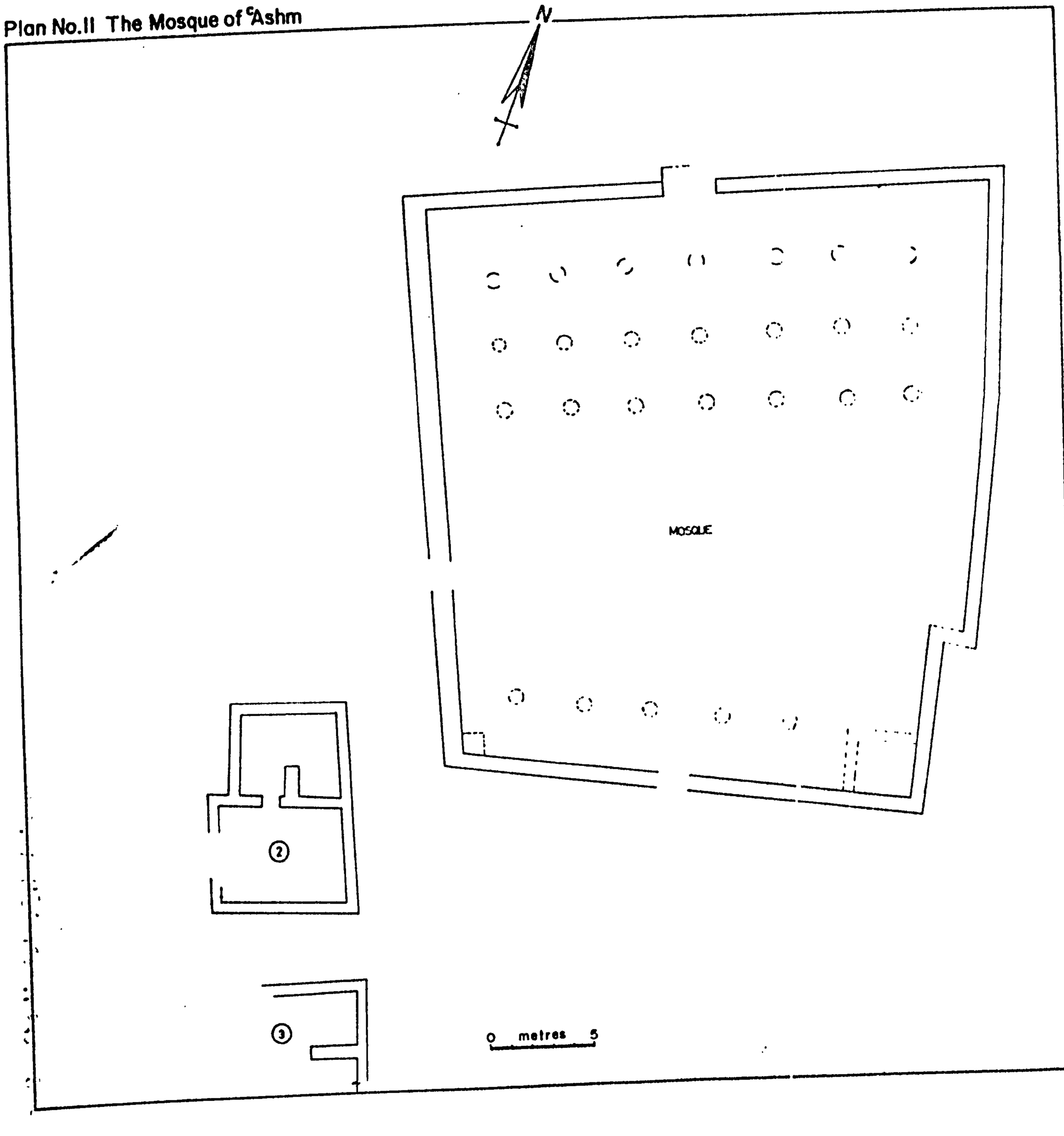


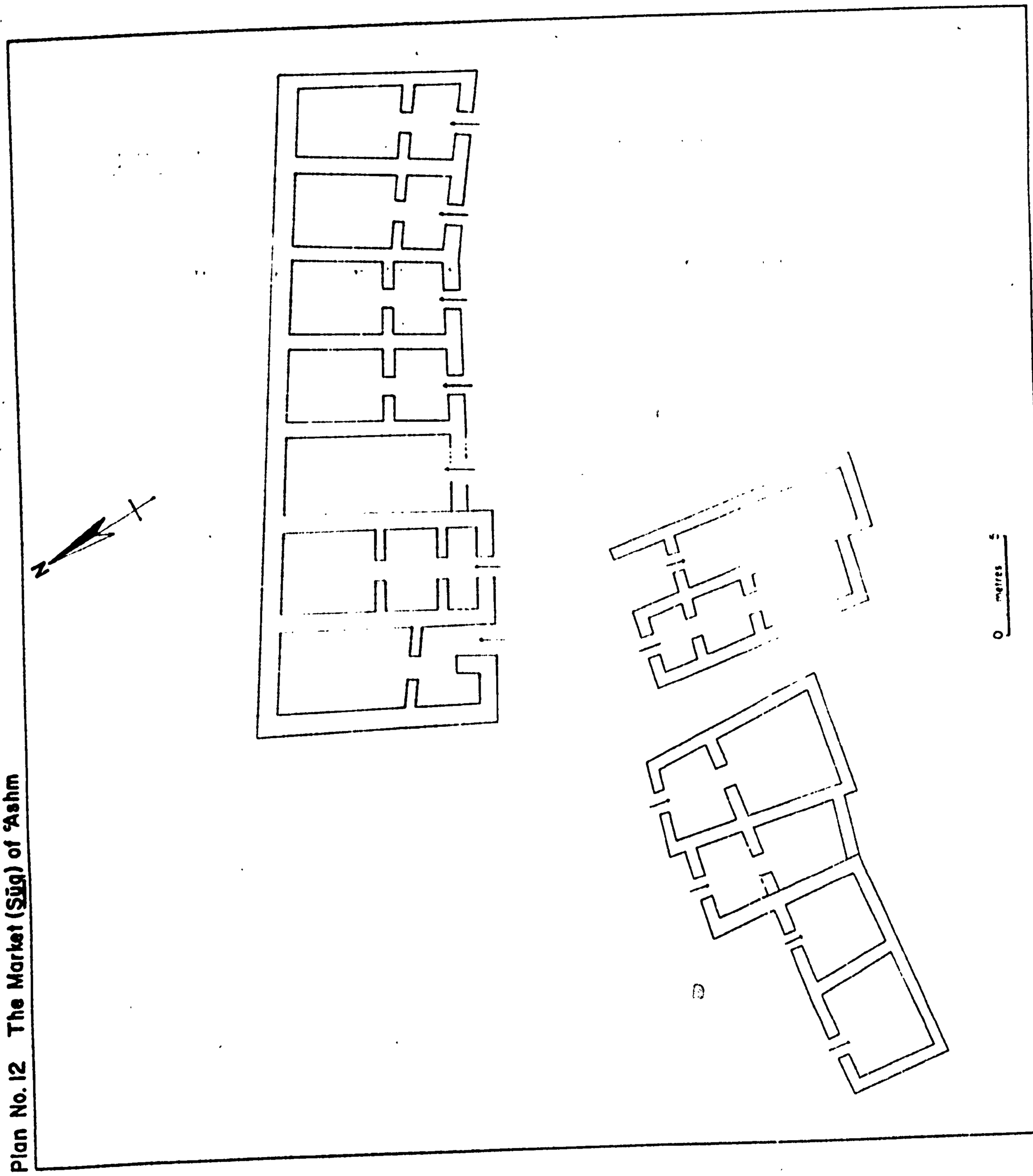
Plan No.9 Houses no's. 4-6 in ʿAshm

Plan No. 10 HOUSE NUMBER 10 IN ASHM



Plan No.11 The Mosque of ʿAshm





Plan No. 12 The Market (Sūq) of 'Ashm

CHAPTER 11

THE RISE AND DECLINE OF THE SETTLEMENT OF ^{c}ASHM

Reasons for the rise of the settlement

Gold mining

Other occupations

The population

The governors of ^{c}Ashm

The decline and fall of the ^{c}Ashm settlement

Reasons for the rise of the settlement

The town of ᶜAshm flourished for several reasons, the foremost of which was its geographical position. It should be noted that it lies in the intersection of two different surface elevations : the eastern mountains and the western plain. Thus it became a meeting place of the inhabitants of hilly regions and those of the coastal plains of Tihāmah and was, as has already been stated, an important market for exchanging their wares and agricultural produce which originated in both regions. It also became a landmark on the old pilgrim route from Ṣanᶜā' to Makkah. It has already been mentioned that al-Hamdānī states that ᶜAshm lies on the old Ṣanᶜā' route to Makkah. (1) This route was known as Darb al-Faṣm in certain places.(2) It was one of the shortest routes to Makkah, passing through rocky areas and following a direct line through Ḍankān, Miᶜqad, Upper Ḥaly, Yabah and thence to ᶜAshm and Makkah. (3)

Another important feature of the rise of ᶜAshm was its position in an agricultural and pastoral area. It has already been stated that it is surrounded by three major wadis producing various agricultural crops cultivated in Tihāmah, in addition to the products of al-Sarawāt whose

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(1) Ṣifat, 341; al-Faqīh, "Tārīkh", 26-8.

(2) Such as Wadi Yabah, Ḥaylat al-ᶜUmūr and Ḥaylat al-Maqāᶜidah, south-east of al-Ḥabīl, where some graffiti were found on the side of this old route. Cf. pl.19, no.XXXVI.

(3) Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 341.

borders start a little to the east of ᶜAshm and which is described as "a mine of grain, dates and honey." (4) There is no doubt that agriculture played an important part in the inception of ᶜAshm. It can be assumed that ᶜAshm, as a regional capital, may have had an official responsible for levying taxes and sending them to Makkah.

Another important factor affecting the rise of this town was the statement in old sources that ᶜAshm was a gold mine. (5) This precious metal was one of the resources of Makkah. Al-Yaᶜqūbī states that metal possessed by Makkah is from a gold mine in ᶜAshm. (6) Accordingly, mining operations may have attracted the workmen and helped to expand the settlement and assure its prosperity. This metal was not peculiar to ᶜAshm only, but was found in other places in the region, especially in the settlements of north la-Ḥsabah and Masᶜūdah which are both situated in the province of ᶜAshm. This is corroborated by the existence of millstones in these two settlements similar to those found in ᶜAshm which, we belive, were used to grind the ore and extract the gold particles. Al-Hamdānī, states that ᶜAshm is a mine and settlement. (7) This differentiation probably means that the gold mine of ᶜAshm stretched beyond the settlement proper and included other places in the province, and that mines were known before the rise of the settlement. We have reason to believe that gold mining

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(4) Al-Maqdisī, Aḥsan, 86.
(5) Al-Hamdani, al-Jawharatayn, 23a.
(6) Al-Buldān, 316.
(7) Ṣifat, 259.

may have been already known before the Islamic era and the metal exploited before the inception of ᶜAshm, which sprang up because of the mining operations in the midst of the area from which it took its name. As it became the region's capital, the mine may have been attributed to ᶜAshm.

Gold mining

We are led to the conclusion that the rise of ᶜAshm settlement was connected with gold mining and that this practice was known a long time before the Islamic era, since the settlement of ᶜAshm lies in an area where mining was practised in pre-Christian days. It is stated that gold mines in Arabia existed near the mountain range separating the interior from the narrow coastal area called Tihāmah. This region may have been the target of commercial expeditions sent by neighbouring countries in search of gold of which they extracted unimaginable quantities. (8)

It is believed that the mine of ᶜAshm lies within this region which is part of Tihāmah, the southern part of the Hijaz, adjacent to the Sarawāt range of mountains. There is also a more accurate delimitation. It was said that the principal gold mines in ancient times were confined to the area surrounding al-Qunfidah as far as Ḥaly and ᶜItwud. (9) With regard to the natural description it was stated that the gold mines existed in granite areas which are covered by newly-formed sand rocks. (10) This description applies to ᶜAshm settlement which is situated to the north-east of

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(8) Moritz, "al-Maᶜādin 580-1.

(9) J. ᶜAlī, al-Mufassal, I, 192.

(10) Moritz, "al-Maᶜādin," 582.

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It is believed, however, that the ᶜAshm mine continued to be exploited well after 184/800. It is mentioned by al-Yaᶜqūbī (18) (3rd/9th century) and al-Hamdānī (4th/10th century). (19) The latter is considered an important writer on the subject of mining. He says, "As for known mines, the mine of ᶜAshm in the land of Kinānah...Its gold is a good red, its pound, by ᶜAlawī weights, it sold at 104 dinars (mutawwaqah). It is good and plentiful." (20) Thus, even if the mention of mines is at first scanty, al-Hamdānī states that the ᶜAshm mine was well-known. It may have been in his time, i.e. the 4th/10th century, because he gives details of the mine and the value of its gold. Others state that the ᶜAshm mine was known in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. (21) Thus it is clear that the ᶜAshm mine was an ancient one and goes back in history to this early period. A sure indication of this fact is the discovery of a great number of old, damaged millstones and others more modern, denoting their long period of use.

However, it is believed that the settlement of ᶜAshm does not date from very ancient times. It may, however, have originated from before the Islamic era or shortly after it. It was at first a small settlement and

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(18) Al-Buldān, 316.

(19) Al-Jawharatayn, 23a.

(20) Al-Hamdānī, al-Jawharatayn, 23a. The mutawwaq dinar weighed 2/3 mithqāl and 2 ḥabbah; cf. Bikhazi, "Coins", 13.

(21) Kaḥḥālah, Jughrafiyat, 27.

then flourished in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. It grew in importance after the flow of immigrants from the Hijaz into the southern regions at the close of the 2nd/8th and beginning of the 3rd/9th centuries. (22) This is corroborated by the discovery of Hijazi names on some inscriptions in the ᶜAshm cemeteries. (23)

There is no exact information on the methods of exploitation of this mine. Was it owned or operated by the state or by individuals? However, it seems that there were no strict rules covering the mines in Arabia. Consequently, the Prophet Muhammad granted the Qabaliyyah mine, between Medinah and Yanbuᶜ, as a fief (iqṭāᶜ) to Bilāl b. al-Ḥārith al-Muzanī. (24) The B. Sulaym mine was held in trust by the inhabitants, as is inferred from a statement reported by Ibn ᶜAbd al-Barr to the effect that Abū Ḥusayn al-Sulamī came to the Prophet bearing gold from his mine. (25) This state of affairs, at any rate, remained until 128/745 when Kathīr b. ᶜAbd Allāh was mentioned as administrator of this mine. (26)

As for the ᶜAshm mine, the sources available do not speak of its ownership, whether it was held by the state or granted as a concession to individuals. It is thought, however, that it may have been public property. This explains the immigration from the Hijaz to these regions.

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(22) Moritz, "al-Maᶜādin," 587.

(23) Pls. 20,22,23,29, nos. 3,12,13,14, 36 below.

(24) Al-Bakrī, Muᶜjam, 1047-51; Ibn Badrān, Tahdhīb, 111,300.

(25) Ibn ᶜAbd al-Barr, al-Istīᶜāb, II, 635; Cf. Ibn Hajar al-Iṣābah, VII, 44; al-Jāsir, "al-Maᶜādin", 920-1.

(26) Al-Tabarī, Tārīkh, VII, 348; Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil, IV, 297.

The state, as they did from the other mines in the Hijaz, might have levied a tax of a tenth or fifth of the revenue obtained from the minerals (rikāz). (27) Furthermore, the local governors of ᶜAshm must surely have had their share of the proceeds.

Other occupations

With regard to the other activities of the inhabitants which may be deduced from the relics found in ᶜAshm and its natural resources, the same comments apply as those already made concerning the port of al-Sirrayn. It seems that the two regions were similar except with regard to the activities peculiar to the sea coast. It is believed, on the other hand, the agricultural pursuits were on a wider scale than in al-Sirrayn owing to ᶜAshm's geographical position among fertile wadis, as previously stated. The inscriptions found here, are also more extensive than in any place in Tihāmah, including al-Sirrayn. We discover the names of certain professional scribes in ᶜAshm whose influence extended beyond the settlement. (28) In addition certain ᶜAshmīs became famous for stone engraving, e.g. al-Ḥaffār, and they may have passed on the profession from father to son. (29) Another trade professed by ᶜAshmis was stone cutting from the adjacent mountains for the purpose of building or inscriptions. This work is known in the Islamic era, and the names of certain stonecutters are preserved in

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(27) Moritz, "al-Maᶜādin," 584, cf. al-Dārimī, Sunan, 393; al-Nasāʾī, Sunan, I, 345.

(28) Pls. 33, 34, nos.52, 56 below.

(29) Pl. 23, no.15 below.

the biographies of B. Hudhayl poets. (30) Allied to this trade was stone dressing and making millstones which were found in abundance in ᶜAshm, Masᶜūdah and north la-Ḥsabah, which had been dependencies of ᶜAshm province, as stated earlier. This is corroborated by the discovery of an inscription bearing the name of al-Muᶜallim (31) (master), which appellation in the language of Tihāmah and Hijaz denotes a person skilled in a profession such as building, stonecutting, brickmaking, even if the person concerned does not know how to read or write. (32)

The population

Having related the activities of the people of ᶜAshm it must be asked who they were. In the sources available, only two references are found treating of the inhabitants of this settlement. Al-Hamdānī states that "ᶜAshm is of the territory of Kinānah." (33) The second reference is by Yāqūt who says; "Its inhabitants in my opinion are of al-Azd because it lies in the lowlands of their mountains near the dwellings of Kinānah." (34) It should be noted here that ᶜAshm is situated at the meeting place of the tribe of Kinānah of Tihāmah and that of the mountain-dwellers of al-Azd, so the two tribes would be represented in the town. An inscription found in ᶜAshm bearing the

(30) Cf. al-Aṣfahānī, al-Aghānī, V, 65.

(31) Pl.32 no.49 below.

(32) Cf. Ibn Faraj, al-Silāḥ, f.14a; ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb, "Tawqīᶜāt," 547-50, 553; al-Bāshā, al-Alqāb, 478.

(33) Ṣifat, 259.

(34) Muᶜjam; IV; 126.

name of al-Kinānī confirms the existence of Kinānah there. (35) As for al-Azd, in spite of not having discovered up to now inscriptions bearing Azdī names in ᶜAshm, we believe that the tribesmen of al-Azd lived there for two reasons. Firstly, the tribe of Zahrān forms the bulk of the inhabitants of the area nowadays, as it has been previously stated. (36) Zahrān belongs to al-Azd and the present inhabitants may be the offspring of the former residents of ᶜAshm province. (37) Secondly, some inscriptions of Southern la-Ḥsabah pertaining to the last years of the 6th/12th century bear the name of Zahrānī. (38) In the genealogy of Zahrānīs, names have been found of persons who lived in ᶜAshm in the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. (39)

It appears therefore that the inhabitants of ᶜAshm were originally related to the tribes of al-Azd and Kinānah. However, a flourishing mining and agricultural town such as ᶜAshm which afforded many business and work opportunities would surely, like al-Sirrayn,have attracted immigrants from other tribes. Epigraphic sources furnish evidence of a population admixture in the settlement of ᶜAshm. Certain families coming from the Hijaz may have lived in ᶜAshm, as has been said previously, such as

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(35) Pl.32 no.50 below.

(36) Cf. 190, 192, 199, 233 above.

(37) Ibn Ḥazm, Jamharat, 376, 379;M.M.al-Zahrānī, Bilād Zahrān, 15-16.

(38) Pls. 37,38 nos. 70,71,72 below.

(39) Pls. 29, 33, nos. 43,53 below.

al-Jumaḥī, a clan of Quraysh, (40) and al-Makkī relating to Makkah. (41) Other Qurashīs who emigrated to ᶜAshm include descendants of ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib, (42) the grandfather of the Prophet Muḥammad, and Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, who challenged the Umayyads in the Hijaz. (43) The inscriptions of ᶜAshm reveal also the presence of persons of Yemeni descent. (44) Also the nisbah al-Jamalī refers to a clan of Murād, found among the inscriptions of ᶜAshm. (45)

The governors of ᶜAshm

There is another point relevant to the rise of ᶜAshm ignored by the Arabic sources at our disposal, viz. the governors of ᶜAshm province during the Islamic period, despite the insistence of these sources that ᶜAshm was a southern or Tihami province of the amirate of Makkah. (46) However, some epigraphic sources give us indications of the identity of some of these governors. The title amir occurs before the names of three persons on inscriptions found at ᶜAshm, and they all relate to an ancient family called ᶜUwayd, a descendant of ᶜUbayd Allāh b. Muḥammad. (47) It is thought that members of this family governed ᶜAshm province from the end of 3rd/9th century at the latest. The office may have

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(40) Pl.22, no.12; al-Samᶜānī, al-Ansāb, 299-300; al-Fāsī, al- Iqd, III, 291; IV, 101.

(41) Pl. 20, no.1 below and table no.8 above.

(42) Pl.23, no.13 below

(43) Pl.23, no.14; al-Fāsī, Shifā', II, 13; cf. below.

(44) Pls. 34, 63, nos. 58, 65 below

(45) Pl.29, no.36 below

(46) Al-Yaᶜqūbī, al-Buldān, 316; al-Bakrī, Muᶜjam, I, 308-9; cf. 182-7 above.

(47) Cf. Table no.9.

been held by their forefathers before that century. In confirmation of this view one finds no such title attached to the names of other persons of this or other families. This title, at any rate, was confined to certain members of the ᶜUwayd Family, an indication that the amirate was attached to this clan and that this title is not an original part of the name, but a designation of office. (48)

The first such appellation we find on the inscriptions is that of the amir's mother, Ḥammādah bint Ṣaᶜb b. ᶜAbd Allāh (d. 378/989). (49) It is believed that this Ḥammādah may have been the mother of Amir ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜUwayd. His grandfather, Muḥammad b. ᶜUbayd Allāh, may have been the governor of the settlement at the end of the 3rd/9th century and beginning of the 4th/10th century. (50) This amir left two sons, ᶜAbd Allāh and ᶜUwayd al-Kabīr. The first left a son, Aḥmad b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Muḥamnad (d.410/1019) (51) and Yaᶜlī b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad (d. 395/1004-5). (52) The other left sons named, ᶜAbd al-Rahmān, ᶜUbayd Allāh and ᶜAbd Allāh, each of whom left sons of their own. (53)

However, it is probable that the office of amir was kept in the family of ᶜUwayd b. Muḥammad, as the title

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(48) Cf. Pl. 39,no.76 (App.).

(49) Pl.34, no.45 below.

(50) Cf. table no.9.

(51) Pl.33 no.54 below.

(52) Pl. 39, no.77 (App.).

(53) Cf. pls.21,32,36, nos. 43,47,63 below.

amir is mentioned before the name of ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜUwayd b. Muḥammad b. ᶜUbayd Allāh. (54) He died in 377-987 and may have been succeeded by Yaᶜlī b. ᶜAbd Allāh who qualified for the office also. (55) It seems that he remained in office a long time, as the construction of the ᶜAshm mosque in 414/1023 was attributed to him as mentioned above. It is to be regretted that we did not find a tombstone dedicated to him and stating the year of his death. Yaᶜlī left a son, Muḥammad b. Yaᶜlī and a grandson (d. 439/1048), whose name is unclear on the inscriptions.(56) It is however, presumed that the office of amir may have been transmitted to his brother, ᶜUwayd b. ᶜAbd Allāh and then to the latter's son ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜUwayd b. ᶜAbd Allāh who died in 434/1043. (57) It is likely that the amirate remained in his descendants until the downfall of the settlement and departure of certain members of the family to la-Ḥsabah. Among the descendants of ᶜAbd Allāh was Sultan Maḥfūẓ b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Badr b. Yahyā b. al-Malīḥ b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜUwayd al-ᶜUwaydī who died in 585/1189. (58) It should be noted that members of the ᶜUwayd family were the governors of ᶜAshm and their rule was hereditary in spite of the province being a dependency of Makkah. It means that ᶜAshm might have been a kind of

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(54) Pl.31, no.43 below.

(55) Pl.34, no.56 below.

(56) Pl.36, no.66 below.

(57) Pl. 36, no.64 below.

(58) Pl. 38, no.73 below.

Table 9

The Family of ᶜUwayids
(governors of Ashm)

ᶜUbayd Allāh

Muḥammad

ᶜAbd Allāh

Aḥmad — Maryam (d.410/1019)

Yaᶜlī (d.395/1004-5)

ᶜUwayd

ᶜUbayd Allāh — ᶜUwayd (d.434/1042-3) — ᶜUbayd Allāh — Muḥammad (d.434-1042-3)

ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān — Fātimah (d.385/995)

Muḥammad — Amir ᶜAbd Allāh (d.377/987) — (ᶜAbd)_al-Raḥman (d.(4) 45/1053)

ᶜUwayd — ᶜAbd Allāh (d.434/1043) — al-Malīḥ — Yaḥyā — Badr — ᶜAbd Allāh — Sulṭān Maḥfūẓ, governor of la-Ḥsabah, (d. 585/1189)

Amīr Yaᶜlī, (was alive in 414/1023) — Muḥammad — (.....) (d.(4)37/1045)

feudal estate belonging to this family. The rule of this family was not confined to the settlement, but included the whole province, since they preserved this office after the downfall of ᶜAshm as a provincial capital and after the rise of Southern la-Ḥsabah, which may have inherited ᶜAshm's position, and the change of title from amir to sultan.

The decline and fall of ᶜAshm settlement

As for the decline of ᶜAshm, one finds no indication in the available sources of the period when this took place, or the reasons for its downfall. However, it is noted that the last inscriptions discovered at ᶜAshm relate to the year 449/1057. (59) Even with this evidence we can barely assert that this was the end of the town or that the inscriptions ceased entirely. The inscriptions may have continued for some time, but we are inclined to believe that this settlement did not remain in existence after the 5th/11th century. The disappearance of the factors that led to the rise of ᶜAshm, enumerated above, may well have contributed to its decline.

Of course the natural position of ᶜAshm did not change, as the settlement site remained a meeting place between the coastal plain in the west and the mountain area to the east. But we think that other elements came into play in the local arena and led to the decline of the site. The principal factor was the fact that the deviation of the pilgrim route from the Yemen to Makkah

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(59) Pl.37, no.68 below.

which shifted to the west of ᶜAshm by about twenty kilometres, to what is known as the Sultani route (al-Jāddah al-Sulṭāniyyah). (60) The interior route thus lost its importance. This deviation took place from the 4th/10th century and we find al-Hamdānī describing it as the "old Sanᶜā' route." (61) This shift did not affect ᶜAshm only, but we find other places affected by it, such as Ḍankān and Maᶜqad, which suffered the same fate.

New places arose on the border of al-Sarāt disputing with ᶜAshm the position which it had held for so long. Of these places we mention al-Khuluf and al-Khalīf which remained flourishing during the time of the decline of ᶜAshm. (62) Moreover, southern la-Ḥsabah which had been a dependency of ᶜAshm is another instance. It remained prosperous until the end of the 6th/12 century and probably a long time thereafter. It seems that it inherited the position of ᶜAshm as provincial capital to such an extent that its ruler took the title of sultan. (63)

Another reason for the decline of ᶜAshm was the decline of its gold mine which had been an economic pillar of the town's important position. It should be noted that this gold mine is not mentioned after the 5th/11th century. (64) There is no doubt that its decline deprived ᶜAshm of an important resource. In addition, the settlement may have suffered considerable epidemics or famines resulting from the

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(60) ᶜUmārah, Tārīkh, 42-3; al-Jazīrī, Durar, 469-470.

(61) Ṣifat, 341; cf. 183 above.

(62) Cf. al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, IV, 238, 408.

(63) Cf. Pls. 37, 38, nos. 70, 71 below.

(64) Kaḥḥālah, Jughrāfiyat, 27.

aridity of its soil and the destruction of its cattle and, consequently, the suffocation of its life. (65) The historical sources do not mention any such famine, but it should be noted that the Islamic world in general suffered such calamities during this period. Egypt, for example, endured hardship, which was known as al-shiddah al-ᶜuẓmā, towards the middle of the 5th/11th century when foodstuffs became scarce, the value of gold declined, many people died and everyone, rich and poor, amir and pauper, were adversely affected to the extent that the Caliph al-Mustanṣir offered his household furniture for sale. (66) Makkah especially, and the Hijaz in general, were affected by the Egyptian disaster. The famine spread to the Holy Cities. The amir of Makkah, as well as the amir of Medina, seized the lamps of the holy shrines to melt down and mint from them silver and gold coins. Also, pilgrims were not able to come to Makkah at that time. (67)

It can be assumed that the southern area of the amirate of Makkah, as well as ᶜAshm, was also affected by these dire events. The famine may have been accompanied by epidemics killing many people and causing others to emigrate to the mountain wadis where plantations still thrived. It is possible that some remnants of the ᶜUwayd governing family were among the emigrants, and that they went to Southern la-Ḥsabah to find sustenance from the Wadi

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(65) Al-Faqīh, Tārīkh, 101.

(66) Al-Maqrīzī, Ighāthat, 24, Ittiᶜāz, II, 224ff.; Ibn Muyaṣṣar, Akhbār, 17, H. I. Ḥasan, Tārīkh, IV, 180; al-Zaylaᶜī, "Alāqāt," 90-1.

(67) Al-Jazīrī, Durar, 254-5.

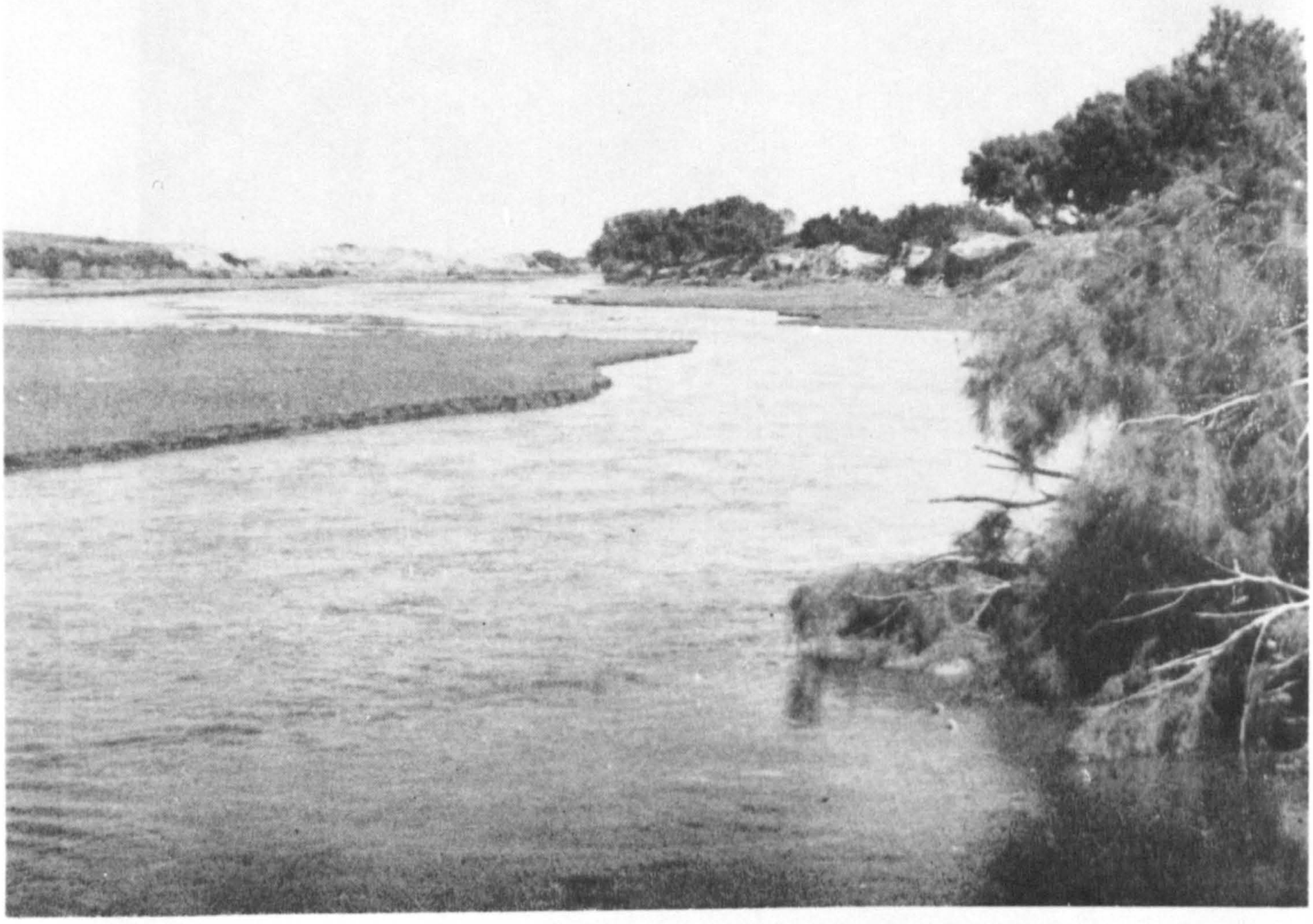
water (ghayl) and neighbouring agricultural settlements.(68) In this place an inscription has been discovered going back to the 6th/12th century bearing the name of a member of this family, as has been mentioned above. The inhabitants of this part of la-Ḥsabah are known today by the name of Āl Dumaynah. This name was found inscribed on an ᶜAshm tombstone, (69) and the present citizens of la-Ḥsabah may be of emigrant ᶜAshmī descent. Thus evidence is given that a collective emigration was one of the reasons for ᶜAshm's decline and fall.

It can be deduced from the above that ᶜAshm was a dependency of the Makkan amirate and seat of one of the southern Makkan provinces. It is also presumed that ᶜAshm was known before the Islamic era and that it prospered after the advent of Islam. Its prosperity was brought about by several factors, particularly the discovery of gold ore in it and in some dependent settlements. Probably the most prosperous years of ᶜAshm were during the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries and the first half of the 5th/11th, when it expanded and developed into a thriving town with every aspect of civilised planning and conveniences. The high standard of refinement and education is confirmed by the great number of inscriptions which vie in quantity, beauty and excellence with other inscriptions found in Islamic capital cities. These inscriptions have filled many gaps in our study and complemented deficiencies in literary sources. Through them we have acquired a knowledge of certain aspects of the inhabitants' lives and professions and the family whose members ruled the ᶜAshm province.

(68) Al-Faqīh, Tārīkh, 103.

(69) Pl.22, no.10 below.

Plate 7.



No. XIII. Wadi la-Ḥṣabah in flood (after Philby)

Plate 8.



No. XIV. A picture taken from the site at S. la-Ḥsabah, illustrating the very fertile land adjacent to the settlement.



No. XV. Remains of houses found at the site in Mas^{c}udah.

Plate 9.



No. XVI. A wall found at the site of Masʿūdah showing graffi incised on some of its stones.



No.XVII. Fragment of mill stone found in the settlement of Masʿūdah.

Plate IO.



No. XVIII. A picture showing the very well preserved walls, still standing, of the palace of Barakāt in S.la-Ḥsabah.



No. XIX. Remains oF demolished houses found in N . la- Ḥsabah.

Plate II.



No.XX. Remains of the mosque discovered in N. la-Hsabah.



No.XXI. Large fragment of mill-stone found in N. la-Ḥsabah.

Plate I2.



No.XXII. Sarcophogi with two inscriptions found at the cemetery at N. la-Hsabah.



No. XXIII. General aspect of whole site of the settlement of ᶜAshm.

Plate I3.



No. XXIV. Door lintel bearing Kufic inscription found in ʿAshm.



No. XXV. Complete foundations of a house in ʿAshm.

Plate I4.



No. XXVI. Remains of foundations of houses found in ᶜAshm.



No.XXVII. Remains of market (sūq) shops in ᶜAshm

Plate I5.



No.XXVIII. Complete mill-stone found in ᶜAshm.



No.XXIX. Mill-stone indicating its long use, found in ᶜAshm.

Plate I6.



No. XXX Fragments of rough mill-stones found in ᶜAshm.



No.XXXI. Potsherds including glass, pottery and sea shells collected from ᶜAshm.

Plate I7.



No.XXXII. One of the cemeteries in ᶜAshm.



No.XXXIII. Road passing alongside the settlement and the cemetery in ᶜAshm.

Plate I8.



No. XXXIV. Broken tombstones found on a hill in ^{c}Ashm.



No. XXXV. Cattle pen found with intact and broken tombstones in al-^{c}Aqīlī.

Plate I9.



No.XXXVI. A picture taken from the site at Wadi Yabah, on the old pilgrim route to Makkah, showing graffiti of pre-Islamic and Islamic inscriptions.



No.XXXVII. Permanent stream (ghayl) in la-Hsabah.

PART IV

The inscriptions of the southern area of the Amirate of Makkah (1st - 6th/7th - 12 centuries)

CHAPTER 12

Introduction to the inscriptions

- The inscriptions

Introduction to the inscriptions

Certain classical Arabic sources have recorded statements about the Arabic script and its origin, some of which are probably nearer to legend than actual history. Such is the tawqīf theory which ascribes the script to God who gave the Arabic letters to Adam or the Prophet Hūd.(1) Other sources have adopted the Himyarite theory, according to which Arabic writing was derived from the Himyarite script (musnad) which flourished in the Yemen.(2) Others incline to the Hira theory stating that three persons of the Bulān section of Ṭayy set down the Arabic alphabet on the Syriac model and taught it to the people of Anbār who, in turn, passed it on to the inhabitants of Hira. From there it found its way through Dūmat al-Jandal, in the north of present-day Saudi Arabia, to Makkah and al-Ṭā'if a short time before the advent of Islam.(3) All these theories have been criticised and discussed by a number of modern scholars, who have tended to refute and disprove them.(4)

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(1) Ibn Fāris, al-Ṣāḥibī, 7-8; al-Jahshiyārī, al-Wuzarā', al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, 111,10-12; cf. ʿAfifī, Nash'at, 74, 77.

(2) Ibn Khaldūn, al-Muqaddimah, 349. For more details of these theories, cf. Abbot , Rise, 1-5; al-Jubūrī M., al-Khaṭṭ, 7-10, Jumʿah, Qiṣṣat, 7-10; ʿAfīfī, Nash'at, 14, 49.

(3) Al-Balādhurī, Futūḥ, 456-7; Ibn al-Nadim, al-Fihrist, 6-7; Abbot , Rise, 7.

(4) Cf. Jumʿah, DTKK, 17-18; Qiṣṣat, 8-14, al-Munajjid, DTKA, 12-13, Abbot , Rise, 7, al-Jubūri, Aṣl, 19-28; Taṭawwur, 7-14.

The prevalent theory advocated by most students of epigraphy, in the modern era is that the Arabs borrowed their method of writing from their cousins the Nabataeans who established their Kingdom before Islam, in southern Syria and northern Hijaz.(5) This view is corroborated by the apparent resemblance of excavated Nabataean inscriptions with certain characteristics of the Arabic script.(6) Some scholars go further in stating that the Arabic script is the latest form of the Nabataean.(7)

In fact one is unable, in this brief introduction, to accept or reject these theories, as this is not the main interest of this study. It seems that the previous argument that the Arabic script originated from the Nabataean, is dependent mainly upon the fourth century A.D. Nemara inscription, which is considered by some scholars to be the first step in Arabic writing. One cannot say with certainty whether the Nemara inscription is Nabataean or another type of script. Beeston states that the

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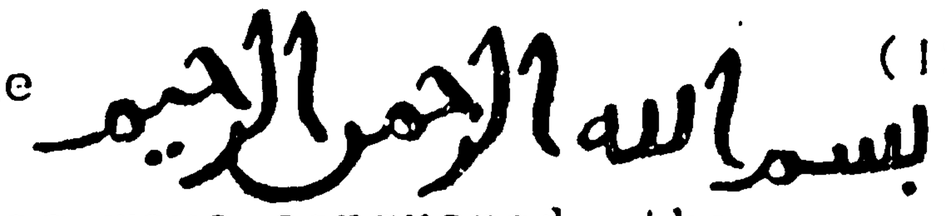
(5) Abādah, Intishār, 8-9; Abbot , Rise, 4-5, 8-9, 14, 16, It is understandable from some references that the Arabic script, borrowed in form mainly from the Nabataean characters, was influenced later, in its diacritical and vowel signs, by the Syriac; Cf.Abbot , Rise, 2; Beeston, Cambridge,11-13, al-Jubūrī, Asl,148,50.

(6) Jumᶜah, DTKK, 17 and see the Nemara inscription, 52.

(7) Al-Munajjid, DTKA,13. The following are some of the characteristics of the Nabataean script:
a) attaching the letters of the word one to another except for certain independent letters which are not bound to the following letters, e.g. dāl, dhāl, rā' zāy and wāw; b) using certain letter forms at the beginning of words different from their forms at the end of words, e.g. the letters hā' and yā', c) letters lacking diacritical dots; d) the feminine form of tā' is not written as a tā' marbūṭah similar to the final hā' in current Arabic orthography, but with normal tā' maftūḥah, such as amat = amah, ḥabbat = habbaḥ. This was also the case in some early Arabic scripts.
Cf. al-Munajjid, DTKA, 19.

"Nemara inscription is in a northern type of script closely similar to Nabataean."(8) Nabia Abbot also says: "The first Arabic inscription we have is the Namārah inscription of Imru' al-Ḳais, dated 328, referring to "King of all the Arabs" and written in a script which represents an advanced stage of evolution from the Nabataean."(9) Thus it is believed that there was a so-called script of the northern type, originating from the late Nabataean, which, it is suggested, developed from the latter. It has been stated that Makkah was using this type of script in the time of the Prophet,(10) which may well have been recorded by historians as the Hijazi script.(11)

Apparently, with the advent of Islam, the Arabic script was known in the towns of the Hijaz. We begin to hear of the Makkah and Medina scripts. It appears however that their broad characteristics are similar and they are merely two local names for a single script. Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/1092) describes them, saying: "The Makkī and Madīnī scripts have their alifs curved towards the right hand and upper fingers. There is a slight reclining position in their form, as in the following example (12)



When neighbouring countries were conquered, the Hijazis took their script with them to the subjugated towns

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(8) Cambridge, 10.

(9) Rise, 4.

(10) Beeston, Cambridge, 11.

(11) Al-Fiᶜr, "Taṭwwur", 93-104; Jumᶜah, DTKK, 19; al-Jubūri, M; al-Khatt, 20-21.

(12) Al-Fihrist, 8 cf. Dodge, Fihrist, I, 10; Kratchkovskaya, "Epigraphy", 1710, Fig. 580.

where they established themselves. The Arab conquerors built the settlements of Basra and Kufa.(13) In due course there appeared the local Arabic scripts, called after the names of Basra and Kufa, which may have been further developments of the Arabic Hijazi script.(14) The Basra script did not live long, but Kufic flourished and spread.(15) Thus it can be noted that the Kufic script is perhaps a development of the Hijazi. However, the Kufans paid great attention to devising a new form of Hijazi script. They trimmed and stretched its forms so that it became different from the cursive (līn) Hijazi. The new Kufic script was stiff and angular, easily recognisable. Before long it spread all over the Islamic world.(16)

This style of script is the one in which we are interested in this study. It has been studied by several European scholars and a few Arabs.(17) Some Europeans have considered

(13) Ibn Khaldūn, al-Muqaddimah, 350.

(14) Al-Fi^{c}r, "Taṭawwur", 33.

(15) Ibn Khaldūn, al-Muqaddimah, 350; al-Jubūrī, al-Khaṭṭ, 44.

(16) ^{c}Abbādah, Intishār, 11-13; Jum^{c}ah, DTKK, 20; al-Jubūri M., al-Khaṭṭ, 44.

(17) Europeans have taken great pains to publish Kufic inscriptions, study, authenticate and collect them. They have issued catalogues and written many papers and books on the subject. Arab endeavours came late and are less extensive. However, the Arab scholars have presented many useful works to students and lovers of the Arabic script. For further information about these efforts, cf. Ibrahim Jum^{c}ah, DTKK, 29-41; al-Fi^{c}r, "Taṭawwur", 8-26; al-Jubbūrī, Taṭawwur, 7-14 and Aṣl, 13, ^{c}Afīfī, 34-8. It should also be stated that certain studies state that the first to draw attention to the importance of funerary inscriptions was ^{c}Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulsī (d.1143-1731). However, this is not true. Al-Nābulsī was preceded by Taqī l-Dīn al-Fāsī (d.832/1428-9), who realized the importance of such inscriptions and drew from them information on certain people whom he mentions in his biographies. Cf. al-^{c}Iqd al-Thamin I-VIII, Passim; Cf. also Shifā' al-Gharām, II, 206-8.

it as ornamental. Some have divided it into various categories, from the simple Kufic to foliated, floriated and architectural.(18)

The Arabs studied this script with other forms of Arabic writings and the objects they fulfil. They called it the "monumental script" which is used generally on inscriptions on tombstones, commemorative plaques and similar tablets.(19) They took a rather cautious stand towards the ornamental side of the Kufic script which interested their European colleagues. Some Arab scholars have rejected this totally and submitted the Kufic script to a proportional system (al-nusbah al-fāḍilah) measuring the length of the letter alīf relative to its width and to its width and to other letters. They established for this script a proportion of 1:7 in the relation of straight letters to the initial alif.(20)

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(18) Flury, "Ornamental", 1743; Grohmann, "The Origin", 183, Arif, Arabic, 23-5.

(19) Jumᶜah, DTKK, 28; al-Fiᶜr, "Taṭawwur" 60-4.

(20) Jumᶜah, DTKK, 46ff; al-Fiᶜr, "Tatawwur," 41. Al-Qalqashandī quotes the following from the letters of Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'.

"He who desires to produce good calligraphy and to write well proportioned script should adopt a principle for forming his letters, making it a law which he should follow without fail .... As an example in Arabic calligraphy, you should write an alif in any style (qalam) and make its width in proportion to its length, i.e. one-eighth, the length being eight times the width. Then place the compass in the middle of alif to draw a circle round it. This is the way to arrive at the size of letters in correct proportion. You will not need any measurement other than alif and the circle around it."
Cf. Ṣubḥ, III, 41-3.

It is suggested that the ornamental side of the Kufic script, whether those ornaments are attached to the letters' tips or drawn between the lines, is in fact a true embellishment adding beauty and grace to the inscription, provided they are not exaggerated or overdrawn in such a way as to overshadow the script and make it difficult to read.(21) This view is corroborated by aesthetic differences observed by students between inscriptions of the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries and the preceding centuries.(22)

However, it is irrational to subject this form of script to the proportional method applied to the naskhī or līn scripts, which method might be applicable once and irrelevant at other times. In fact, Kufic inscriptions are beautiful works of art made by a combination of reason, hand and eye so that their letters and ornaments appear symmetrical and harmonious. This explains the elegance produced by the relative length of upright letters in contrast to the short, inelegant letters.

The inscriptions

In our study of the southern area of the amirate of Makkah, we should subject our inscriptions to scrutiny employing the two sets of criteria, European and Arab, mentioned above. With regard to the first theory which considers the Kufic script as ornamental, it is relevant to divide these inscriptions into three categories, viz. simple Kufic, foliated and floriated Kufic. Simple Kufic is devoid of foliage, embellishment or interlacing. The two other categories, foliated and floriated Kufic are,

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(21) Cf Beeston, The Cambridge, 15.
(22) Jum^{c}ah, DTKK, 127-9, 143-6, 155-7, 219-13 and passim.

to an extent, confused and it is difficult to separate them. They are defined by Grohmann as follows. "Before I go into details, it is necessary to make a clear differentiation between (a) foliated Kufic and (b) floriated Kufic, for both have been frequently confused, even by experienced scholars.

"Foliated Kufic is characterized by the decoration of the apices of the letters, consisting of half-palmettes and 2 - or 3-lobed leaves, ... floriated Kufic shows the same decoration, but in addition floral motifs, tendrils, and scrolls growing from the terminations or even from the medial forms of the letters."(23) Using the above definition, the inscriptions of our area of study can be classified as: simple Kufic, represented by nos 1,2,3,4,5,6, 7,8,9,(?)10,(?) 12,20,30,31,36,40,41,42,43,44,45,49,50,70,72 and 73;(24) Foliated Kufic may apply to inscriptions nos.11, 13,14,22,23,24,25,26,27,28,29,34,35,37,38,39,46,55,57 and 65; the remainder, nos. 15,16,17,18,19,21,32,33,47,48,51,52,53,54, 56,58,59,60,61,62,63,64,66,67,68,69 and 71 are floriated.

Thus it can be noticed that these inscriptions of the southern area of the amirate of Makkah contain quite a number of foliated and floriated Kufic. This is in contrast to what Grohmann says: "It is surprising that, even in epitaphs, real foliated and floriated Kufic, which is so frequently used in Egyptian epitaphs, never occurs in the inscriptions of Philby-Ryckmans-Lippens expedition, which covered such a vast area. Also interlinear decorative symbols within the

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(23) Grohmann, "the Origin," 183: cf. Flury, "Ornamental." 1743-44

(24) Nos. 9 and 10 are undistinguished, it is suggested to be a transitory stage between foliated and floriated Kufic.

text, as e.g. heart-shaped leaves, rosettes, wedges etc. are never to be found!' (25) In fact, the Hijaz in general and Makkah in particular brought to perfection this style of Kufic as early as 243/857, as stated by Grohmann himself, who reports that the Hijaz was among the three Islamic countries from which foliated and floriated Kufic originated. (26)

As for the other point of view, classifying the Arabic scripts according to their specific aims, it might be said that in this region so far, or at least during the first five centuries of the hijrah, there was only the formal, stiff script called monumental Kufic. This kind of script appears only on stones. It has not been found on coins, wooden boards or pottery. This monumental Kufic falls into two categories:

a) foundation inscriptions for corner stones of mosques or door lintels; These are scarce and insignificant. (27)

b) funerary inscriptions; they are plentiful and form the bulk of this study.

The technique of inscribing is either by incision or in relief. The first was the earlier and easier method; its letters are thin and elegant, following a single basis or rule with regard to the writing. It is represented by inscriptions nos. 1 - 31, 40, 41, 46, 49, 52 - 55 and 57 - 61. As for the second case, the letters are mostly thick and flat and they are sometimes inconsistent. Some

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(25) Expédition, 24.

(26) "The origin", 208-212.

(27) Cf. pl.13,no. XXIV above, pl.34, no.56 below and pl.44, no.79 (App.)

of these inscriptions are nos. 32 - 39, 42 - 45, 47,48,51,56 and 62 - 73. The latter is not so easy to execute and might have required a preceding design by the scribe and great attention in carrying out the work. Some of the inscriptions under study,carved by this method,are beautiful works of art.(28) The instrument used in both cases is believed to be the chisel.(29)

The stones on which the inscriptions are incised are, in general, blocks of hard stone of various shade of grey, green and brown, apparently not squared off and of varied shape. Some resemble wedges of which the narrowest part has been buried while the wider part carries the inscription. The material turns out to belong to groups of volcanic or sedimentary rock, limestone, sandstone, granite and basalt.

With regard to the palaeographic characteristics, the Kufic script is used for the most part, at least at al-Sirrayn and ᶜAshm, in periods which do not go beyond the end of the 5th/12th century; the naskhī begins at la-Ḥsabah in the next century. Apart from tombstones nos. 70,71 and 72, the inscriptions under study have no diacritical points or vowel signs, nor do theygive any indication of hamzah, whether initial, medial or final. Furthermore, the medial alifs in the role of matrix lectionis (alif al-Madd) are omitted in many of our collection, as will be noticed below.

The texts inscribed on tombstones follow the following pattern for the most part:

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(28) Jumᶜah, DTKK, 85.

(29) Grohmann, Expédition,20.

1. The basmalah; this appears on all inscriptions except no. I;

2. One or more passages of the Koran mentioning God's name and usually containing moral precepts and mention of Paradise and its ever lasting bliss;

3. a prayer inspired by the Koran or Hadīth;

4. the deceased person's name, a prayer for his soul, some pious, elegiac lines and a supplication for his joining the Prophet in Paradise;

5. a prayer for the Prophet which usually ends the inscription (on some inscriptions this is found at the beginning, as in nos. 3,14,20 and 21)

6. in some inscriptions after the Prophet's prayer there is mention of the family of the Prophet without citing names. On one inscription, no.8, the Prophet's name appears, coupled with that of his son, Ibrāhīm

7. some of the inscriptions, e.g. nos. 4 and 70, do not bear the name of the deceased. This might have been specifically at his request prior to his death in a spirit of humility, or according to the local saying, "Blessed is a grave whose occupant is unknown."

8. the date of death and the scribe's name usually appear at the end. The scribe's name on inscription no.15 appears outside the border at the top on the right side.(30) The date of death is found outside the border in no.31.

9. the date of death becomes almost an essential element

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(30) Cf. al-Bāshā, "Shawāhid", pl.38, fig.18.

from the 3rd/9th century onwards, particularly in ᶜAshm. The date of birth never appears, nor is any reference made to the age of the dead person. Indeed no such practice appears in other places on funerary inscription in Kufic, as far as I am aware.

10. from the texts it is impossible to derive personal biographical information. Only from nisbahs, professional names (asmāʾ al-hirāf) and from honorific titles is it possible to gain any personal information about the deceased, as has already been discussed above.

Quite a number of these inscriptions are dated, the oldest one bearing the date 234/848-9 and the latest 585/1190. Other inscriptions bear no date, but it is possible to determine this by different means, e.g.:

1. The presence of two tombstones bearing the name of the same deceased one of which is dated and the other without date. The date of the second one may be easily inferred from the first.

2. Family ties between deceased persons such as father, son and grandson. This may assist us at least to determine an approximate period of time on the assumption that a generation represents about 35 years.

3. Internal inferences from inscriptions such as the scribe's name, which help to determine the date.

4. Comparison of the palaeography of the inscriptions in this region with dated ones in other places.(31) However,

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(31) Most of the inscriptions under study are unique, particularly the inscriptions of ᶜAshm, and are difficult to compare with other inscriptions elsewhere.

caution is recommended in such cases because of a difference in style which can be found in different places and with different scribes. Grohmann has an interesting view on this subject, he says: "Since this angular script shows a more or less nondescript type, it is very difficult or sometimes even impossible to suggest any certain date. On the other hand, dating according to seemingly typical forms of letters - which look old but in fact occur throughout nearly the whole period in which this old monumental angular style was used, e.g. open Ain or triangular Mīm or Hā - might be considered purely haphazard. Well known examples, as e.g. the dating of the inscription of Selemīya in 150 instead of 558 A.H., show the danger of any such attempt. However, an obvious relationship between the style of writing, together with certain isolated forms on the one hand, and the style of writing and forms in certain dated parallels on the other, occasionally allow these texts to be dated."(32) However, we cannot make the assertion that a development of this nature has taken one century in any given region or even half a century. Therefore we shall endeavour as much as possible to relate undated inscriptions to other dated ones by century only, perhaps to a half a century and not to a precise date.

In such cases we shall take the dated Tihāmah inscriptions in the first place as a basis for determining the age of undated tombstones. Then we shall compare Hijazi inscriptions because of their proximity to this area and their mutual influence one on the other, in addition to the fact that this region has always been a part of

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(32) Expédition, XXI.

southern Hijaz whose capital is Makkah. Then the comparison extends to other countries while taking into consideration their proximity to Hijaz and Tihāmah and the extent of relations existing between them.

Of course, such a comparison will be with similar funerary inscriptions or other relevant epigraphic examples when we believe there is a resemblance in the quality of the stone and the effort and difficulty of making lapidary inscriptions. We shall not resort to writings on papyrus nor to manuscript, numismatic and pottery scripts unless we fail to find funerary examples of the relevant period.

With regard to the arrangement of the inscriptions we follow the logical scheme accepted by previous scholars who arranged their studies in chronological order.(33) From this point of view we may classify the area's inscriptions into five main categories, with some intervening subsections, as follows:

1. Early inscriptions, undated, being mostly simple in style. This category is represented by inscriptions nos. 1,2, 3,4,5,6,7,8,9 and 10. The last two bear characteristics which prompt us to classify them in a transitory stage heralding a later period.

2. 3rd/9th century inscriptions. They represent the highest degree of excellence in the Kufic script of the region. They form three groups, the first relating to the first half of the century. Some examples are inscriptions nos.11,12,13 and 14. The second group is called the school of Aḥmad al-Ḥaffār. It relates to the second half of the

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(33) E.g. cf. al-Munajjid, DTKA,11; Miles, "Tombstones",215.

3rd/9th century and is represented by inscriptions nos.15, 16,17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24 and 25. The third group also relates to the 2nd half of the 3rd/9th century. It is called the school of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn and represented by inscriptions nos.26,27,28,29 and 30.

3. 4th/10th century inscriptions, consisting mostly of Kufic in relief. They form two groups, the first being of the school of al-Sirrayn, in Kufic script in relief, nos. 32,33,34,35,37,38,39,48, and the second of inferior quality, called the school of ᶜAshm. Some of the inscriptions of this group are 42,43,44,45 and 47. In addition inscriptions nos.31,36,40,41,46 and 50, are incised.

4. 5th/11th century inscriptions, consisting of two groups belonging to the school of Yaᶜlī b. Mūsā. The first group is represented by nos.52,53,54,55,57,58,59,60, and 62, including also nos.51 and 62 belonging to the school of al-Sirrayn. The second group is in Kufic, in relief, and represented by inscriptions nos.56,63,64,65,66,67 and 69.

5. 6th/12th century inscriptions. They all belong to southern la-Ḥsabah and comprise one Kufic inscription, no.69, and four representing a kind of cursive (ṯulṯīn) script nearer to naskhī than Kufic. These four inscriptions are nos.70,71,72 and 73. All tombstones of this century show epigraphy in relief.

A detailed discussion of the above categories and their subsections will follow.

PAGE NUMBERING AS ORIGINAL

No.1

Provenance: N.1a-Ḥasabah. No date, probably 1st-2nd/7-8th cent. Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape, possibly broken lower left side. 8 lines. Incised, simple Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 65 x 34 cm. approx. (Plate 20, no.I). N.B. no basmalah (1)

Text

١- هـــذا قـــبر

٢- أبـــي نعـــام

٣- عبيـــد بـــن

٤- مسلـــم بن أبـــي

٥- جبيـــر المكـــي ٠ ر

٦- حمـــه ربـــه وأد

٧- خلـــه جنـــات

٨- النعيـــم

Translation

1. This is the tomb of
2. Abī Nuᶜām
3. ᶜUbayd b.
4. Muslim b. Abī
5. Jubayr al-Makkī
6. May his Lord have mercy upon him and
7. bring him into the gardens of
8. Bliss (2)

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(1) In this it is not unique, cf. certain early inscriptions from Hijaz published by al-Munajjid, D T K A pl.16,55,57; cf. Rostem Rock, 24-7; Grohmann; Expédition, 1-2, pl.XXIII Z1; Miles, "al-Ṭā'if", 237-41, pl. XVII, XVIII, Ḥamidullah, "Some Arabic" 427-8, Pls. 8, 9 and 10.

(2) After Koran, cf. Sūrat al-Mā'idah, 65.

Commentary

This inscription (ℓ.2) bears the name Abū Nuᶜām. This name Nuᶜām is not found in the sources at our disposal, although the name Nuᶜmān is well attested in Arabic literature(3) even at the present time. Nuᶜām may be an abbreviated form of Nuᶜmān. With regard to al-Makkī, the nisbah of the decreased, this refers clearly to Makkah, the famous Holy city. (4)

On palaeographic grounds this inscription may be described as the oldest found so far in this collection, with the exception of that found on Abū Farwah's tomb discovered in one of the Northern la-Ḥasabah cemeteries, whose tomb type differs from the others in this province. (5) Inscription no.1 lacks a systematic arrangement of words and letters. It is also to be noted that the alifs curve to the left, a phenomenon which does not appear in the numerous inscriptions which have come to my knowledge. It is also to be remarked that the medial mīm (ℓ.6) resembles a non-Kufic ṣād. Such a mīm occurs on some early inscriptions.(6) Nabataean signs might be traced in letter jīm and the final "returning" ya (ℓ.5). There are also extensions on the base of independent alifs pointing to the right with

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(3) Ibn Mākūlā, al-Ikmāl, VII, 357-8; al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, VII, 341-3.

(4) Cf.251 above and table no.8.

(5) Cf.207 above and pl.12, no.XXII above.

(6) Cf. Ḥamidullah, "Some Arabic", 434 ff. pls.8 and 10; al-Munajjid, TDKA, 108, fig 61; al-Juburī, Aṣl, pl.22, fig.A.

barb or hook. This barbed form of the alifs might be connected with the late Nabataean form of alif, (7) but has become common in later Kufic inscriptions, assuming an ornamental character. (8) All the same, this inscription represents a more developed stage than the first funerary inscription known to us, that of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Hajarī dated 31/652. (9) Various old inscriptions have been seen, similar to this one from a palaeographical point of view.(10) Thus it is suggested that this is a 1st-2nd/7th-8th century tombstone.

No.2

Provenance: Masʿūdah. No date, presumably 1st-2nd/7-8th cent. Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape, possibly broken upper right side. Fractured at the bottom. 8 lines. Incised, simple Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 60 x 26 cm. approx. (Plate 20, no.2).

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(7) Cf. Grohmann, "the Origin", 188; Arif, Arabic, 35; al-Fiʿr, "Taṭawwur," 208.

(8) Cf. Jumʿah, DTKK, 147; Cf. pl.33, no.51.

(9) Cf. Hawari, "the Most", 322 ff, pl.III; Catalogue, I, Pl, 1; no. 1508/652.

(10) Hawari, "the Most", 322 ff, pl.III; Combe, Repèrtoire, I, 6; Wiet, Album, pl.1, inv.no.1508/20; al-Basha, "Shawahid", 84, pl.1

Text

١- بســـــم اللـــــــه

٢- الـرحمـــــن الـــــر

٣- حيـــم ٠ هـــــذا

٤- قبـر عبـد الـــــــر

٥- حمـــن بـن خلـد [كـــذا]

٦- بـن عبـد العزيـــــز

٧- رحمـــــت [كـــذا]

٨- اللـــه عليـــــه

Translation

1. In the name of God,
2. the Compassionate, the
3. Merciful. This is
4. the tomb of ᶜAbd al-Ra-
5. ḥmān b. Khālid
6. b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz
7. May the Mercy of
8. God be upon him

Commentary

This tombstone resembles palaeographically the former. There is an apparent similarity in the form of the letters of the hā', rā' and nūn and also the height of the loop of the medial mīm over the line base and the form of the initial hā' (ℓ.3). The difference appears in the straight alifs, but these preserve the extension to the right at their base. A possible sign of Nabataean influence on this inscription is the omission of the alif in the role of lengthening the vowel in the word Khālid (ℓ.5). Also the tā' in the word raḥmatu (ℓ.7) is written as a tā' (maftūḥah) rather than the correct tā' marbūṭah. (11)

(11) Cf. 277 above; al-Fiᶜr, "Taṭawwur", 208; al-Jubūrī, Aṣl, 53, 60.

No.3

Provenance: Mas^{c}ūdah No date, probably 1st-2nd/7-8th cent. Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape. 12 lines. Incised, simple Kufic. No measurement of this tombstone has been taken (Plate 20, no.3).

Text

١- ... ...

٢- على محمد الـ

٣- نبي عبـــــدك

٤- ونبيـــك ور

٥- سولك ،وار

٦- حم عبـــــدك

٧- محمد بن عبـــــد

٨- الرحمـــن بـــن

٩- خلـــد [كذا]

١٠- برحمتـــــك

١١- انك غفـــــور

١٢- رحيـــم آميـــن

Translation

1. [O God bless]
2. Muḥammad the
3. Prophet, Your slave,
4. Your Prophet and
5. Your messenger, and may [you] have
6. Mercy upon Your slave
7. Muḥammad b. ^{c}Abd
8. al-Raḥmān b.
9. Khālid
10. By Your Mercy
11. You Art indeed oft-forgiving,
12. most merciful.(12) Amen.

(12) After Koran, cf. Sūrat al-Baqarah, 218 and passim.

Commentary

This tombstone had been transported to the residential area and used as a house doorstop in such a way that the building obliterated about two lines, one of which, presumably, bears the basmalah and the second the two first words of the taṣliyah (the Prophet's prayer) of which only the letter mīm appears.

The occupant of this tomb is named Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Khālid. It seems that he was the son of ʿAbd Raḥmān mentioned on tombstone no.2, above. The Kufic characters may be considered a development of the former two, at least from the point of view of the letters and line arrangement. There is palaeographically, however, no apparent change. The letters rā' (ℓ.4, 8, , 11 and 12), final nūn (ℓ.7,8) and hā' (ℓ 2, 6, 7, 8, 10 and 12) in this inscription are similar to those in nos. 1 and 2 above. The medial mīm is well aligned in some words (ℓ.6, 7,12) and raised over the line in others (ℓ.1, 2, 8, 10, 12).(13) both forms of mīm can be noticed in early Umayyad inscriptions.(13) The lengthening vowel alif is also omitted in the word Khālid (ℓ.9) in the same manner as in inscription no.2 above.

No.4

Provenance: al-Ṣahwah. No date, probably 1st-2nd/7-8th cent.

Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape. 5 lines. Incised, simple Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 16 x 32 cm. approx. (Plate 20, no.4).
N.B. No name of the deceased appears

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(13) Al-Jūbūrī, Aṣl, Pl.22, Figs. A-D.

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الـــــر

٢- حيم • ان الله وملئكته [كذا]

٣- يصلون على محمد النبي

٤- يائيها [كذا] الذين آمنوا

٥- صلوا عليه وسلموا تسليما •

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the
2. Merciful. God and his angels
3. bless Muḥammad the Prophet,
4. O those who believe,
5. invoke (God's) blessing upon him and grant him peace.(14)

Commentary

This inscription is unclear in places. However it was possible to read it after sprinkling it with white powder. The Kufic characters show the same palaeographic characteristics as the former ones, i.e. nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4, with regard to the form of the hā' (ℓ.1,2), rā' (ℓ.1), medial mīm (ℓ.3,4,5) and the final hā' (ℓ.2,4), as well as the "returning" yā' in the word al-Nabī (ℓ.3). Some of the shaft letters curve to the right making it closer to the Hijazi script rather than the Kufic.(15) The words malā'ikah (ℓ.2) and yā'ayyuhā (ℓ.4) are similar to Koranic orthography even today.(16) We have certain early inscriptions bearing similar palaeographic characteristics, such as the two inscriptions found on Muʿāwiyah's dam near al-Ṭā'if, bearing the date 58/677-8.(17)

(14) After Koran, cf. Surat al-Aḥzāb, 56.

(15) Al-Fiʿr, "Taṭawwur", 198.

(16) Sūrat al-Aḥzāb, 57.

(17) Cf. Miles, "al-Ṭā'if", 236-242, pl.18 a,b; al-Munajjid, TDKA, 101-3. figs.55-7; Ḥamidullah, "Some Arabic", 438 f. pl.10.

This leads us to think that this inscription dates from the 1st-2nd/7-8th century.

No.5

Provenance: al-Sirrayn, N.cemet. No date, presumably 1st-2nd/7-8th cent. Basalt. Tombstone of irregular shape, broken left centre. 13 lines. Incised, simple Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 34 x 16 cm. approx. (Plate 21, no.5).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيـــم

٢- هذا ما تشهد عليـــــه

٣- أم يوسف ابنت [كذا] رزيق

٤- بن سمح • تشهد ان الا اله ا

٥- لا الله وحده لا شريك

٦- له وأن محمد [كذا] عبده ور

٧- سوله ، صلى الله عليه

٨- وسلم وأن الساعـــة

٩- آتية لا ريب فيها وأن الله

١٠- باعث من في القبـــور

١١- على ذلك حييت وعليـــه

١٢- ماتت وعليه تبعث ن [كذا] شا [كذا]

١٣- اللـــه

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
2. This is what has been testified by
3. Umm Yūsuf bint Ruzayq
4. b. Samḥ. She testifies there is no God
5. but Allāh, the One, no partner
6. does He have, and that Muḥammad is His servant and

7. His messenger. May God bless him
8. and give him peace; and that the hour
9. will indeed come, there is no doubt about it, and that God
10. will resurrect those who are in their graves (18)
11. In this belief she lived, and in it
12. She died, and in it she will be raised if wills
13. God

Commentary

This inscription contains a number of confusing points. It is unique in its palaeographic characteristics and resembles only slightly the Tihāmah inscriptions studied here. Its formulae remind us of those in North Africa and Egypt (19) and no equivalent ones have been found in Tihāmah or in the Hijaz in this early period, except on two epitaphs of al-Bijādiyyah and in the vicinity of al-Ṭā'if, as far as I know. (20) The only link between it and the early Tihāmah inscriptions is the form of the initial and final hā' in nos. 2 and 4, the final dāl in no.3, the final alif maqṣūrah (ℓ.7, 11) in no.3 and the nūn in all the four above inscriptions. But we have three tombstones of Egypt dated 71/691, 174/790 and 179/795, where there is an apparent palaeographic similarity with this inscription, as well as an analogy of form and substance of the text. (21) We would venture to ascribe

(18) After Koran, cf. Sūrat al-Ḥajj, 7.

(19) Cf. Miles, "Tombstones" 215 ff, nos.1-12; al-Zaidān, "People", pls.I-XX.

(20) Al-Bāshā, "Shawāhid" 84 pl.23; Grohmann, Expédition, 22-23, Z16 pl.IV, 2.

(21) Jum^{c}ah, D T K K 134, 147, pl.13, 14; Hawary, Catalogue, I, Pls.I, nos. 4521 and 7155; cf. Combe, Repèrtoire, I, 12-3.

this inscription to the 1st/7th century in comparison with the Egyptian epitaph of the year 71/691, (22) but the excellent calligraphy casts doubt on this assumption in spite of the clear date it bears. (23) We would therefore prefer to be cautious and to take into consideration that this inscription is similar to three Egyptian ones, except the medial ᶜayn which has an open arch absent in the early Tihāmah inscriptions. It should be assumed therefore that this inscription relates to a period extending from the late 1st/7th to the end of the 2nd/8th centuries.

Dictation peculiarities should be noted in this inscription, i.e. adding an alif to the form word ibnat (ℓ.3), and omitting alif al-tanwīn at the end of the word Muḥammad (ℓ.6) and the alif of the word in (ℓ.12).

No.6

Provenance: N.1a-Ḥasabah No date, probably 2nd/8th cent. Limestone. Tombstone of irregular shape, eroded right side. 7 lines. Incised, simple Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 28 x 40 cm. approx. (Plate 21,no.6).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيـــم ٠

٢- هذا قبر عبيدة بنـــت

٣- عبد الله ، وقبور بنيهـا

٤- حولها ، شبة [و]

٥- محمد ومحمد وأم ا

٦- ... وفطمة [كذا] وفطمة [كذا] و

٧- فطمة [كذا] بني محمد بن مسلم

(22) Cf. Hawary, "the Second", 289-93, pl.I.

(23) Jumᶜah, DTKK, 134

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
2. This is the tomb of ᶜUbaydah bint
3. ᶜAbd Allāh, and the tombs of her children
4. around her, Shabbah [and]
5. Muḥammad and Muḥammad and Umm A
6. ...and Fāṭimah and Fāṭimah and
7. Fāṭimah banī Muḥammad b. Muslim

Commentary

This tombstone belongs to a mother and her sons and daughters. It is believed that they died during their mother's lifetime. We also note the recurrence of the names Muḥammad and Fāṭimah. This may be interpreted in two ways: (a) either they died one after the other and whenever a new son or daughter was born he or she was given the deceased's name; or (b) certain Moslems give the name of Muḥammad to all males and Faṭimah to all females and then add a second name for the purpose of identification. The Kufic is well aligned, denoting progress in writing, although it preserves the faults of the earlier inscriptions above, e.g. the omission of the alif in the role of lengthening vowels (matrix lectionis) three times in the word Fāṭimah (ℓ.6, 7). It is further noted, for the first time, that the letter sīn and similar letters have their dents in the form of small triangles. This form of sīn occurs in Makkah as early as 144/761. (24) This contradicts G. Oman's statement that this form of the sīn appears in a period covering about 20 years, precisely from 465-485/1072-1092. (25) He may

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(24) Al-Fiᶜr, "Risālat", 81, 85. Text no.1.

(25) Dahlak, II, 6. The occupants may belong to the family of al-Makki, cf. Table no.8 and pl.20, no.I.

refer specifically to the epitaphs of the island of Dahlak. Other similarities appear between this inscription and those of the Bay^{c}ah mosque, e.g. medial <u>tā'</u> (ℓ.6,7), initial <u>wāw</u> (ℓ.3, 5,6), final connected <u>hā'</u> (ℓ.4.6.7) and initial ^{c}<u>ayn</u> (ℓ.2,3). (26) We think therefore that this inscription relates to the second century.

<u>No.7</u>

Provenance: Ḍankān No date, presumably 2nd/8th century. Limestone. Tombstone of irregular shape. 11 lines. Incised, simple Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 35 x 24 cm approx. (Plate 21, no.7).

<u>Text</u>

١- بسم الله الرحمـــــن

٢- الرحيـــم ٠ اللهـــم

٣- نور السمـــــوات

٤- والارض نور لعلـــــي

٥- بن أحمد بن خلد [كذا] المر

٦- جوم في قبره وآد

٧- خله جنـــــات

٨- النعيم ، برحمتـــــك

٩- آميـــن ٠ صلى الله على

١٠- محمد النبي وعلى

١١- أهل بيته وسلـــم ٠

<u>Translation</u>

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate,
2. the Merciful. O God,
3. light of the heavens
4. and earth, shed light on ʿAlī

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(26) Cf. al-Fi^{c}r, "Risālat", text I-II, 80-8.

5. b. Aḥmad b. Khālid, the
6. late, in his tomb and
7. bring him into the gardens of
8. Bliss.(27) By Your mercy
9. Amen. May God bless
10. Muḥammad the Prophet and
11. his Family and give them peace.

Commentary

It is believed that this inscription combines the pecularities of Nos.1-4 above, and the inscriptions which follow in this group. The innovation occurs in the form of simple adornment in the apices of the shaft letters, even including the dents of the sīn, bā', yā' and nūn (passim). These simple adornments also occur in the terminations of the final letters such as the dāl, rā', mīm and wāw (passim). These adornments form a forked-shape or small triangles which appear in Egypt in the 2nd/18th century.(28) In addition the words Allāh twice (ℓ.1,9) and Allāhumma (ℓ.2) have an intermediate element between the two lāms, in the form of an arc rising above the base line. This idiosyncracy occurs on a tombstone in Egypt dated as early as 190/806.(29) The alif, in the role of lengthening the vowel, in the word Khālid (ℓ.5) is omitted as in Nos. 2 and 3 above.

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(27) After Koran, cf. Sūrat al-Nūr, 35 and Sūrat al-Mā'idah,65.

(28) Hawary, Catalogue, I, Pl.II, no.1506/142; Jum^{c}ah, DTKK, 150, pl.15.

(29) Hawary, Catalogue, Pl.V, no.1506/747.

No. 8

Provenance: N. la-Ḥasabah No date, probably 2nd/8th cent. Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape. 6 lines. Incised, simple Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 30 x 34 cm. approx. (Plate 21, no.8).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيـــــم ٠

٢- هذا قبر فيض ابن [كذا] بحر

٣- رحمه الله وغفر له ذنبـــه

٤- ونور له في قبره ولقـــاه

٥- حجته والحقه بنبيه محمدا [كذا]

٦- صلى الله اليه أو ابنه ابراهيم !

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
2. This is the tomb of Fayḍ b. Baḥr
3. May God have Mercy upon him, and forgive him his sin[s]
4. and shed light on him in his grave and provide him with
5. [the appropriate] plea and join him with his Prophet, Muḥammad
6. May God bless him or his son Ibrāhīm !

Commentary

This inscription may be considered as palaeographically the most developed in this group. The number of words in each line is in proportion to the space between lines. The script is only partially clear because of the weathering of the stone. The scribe has flattened the heads, dents and tails of most of the letters. The form of the final hā' and the letter rā' occurs in Ṣān'ā' as early as 136/753-4.(30) A further remarkable feature is the combination

(30) Lewcock; "Architectural", 348; pl.18.57.

of the trefoil ornament with final yā' (ℓ.4,6). This kind of ornament occurs in Makkah in the middle of the 2nd/8th century as in the inscription of Masjid al-Bay'ah [31] and its use spread thereafter through Tihāmah and the Hijaz, especially in the 3rd/9th century. [32] However this tombstone still preserves some characteristics of the 1st-2nd centuries, such as the triangular hā' (ℓ.1, 2,3 and 5), the loop of the medial mīm (ℓ 3,5), rising over the base line and the general shape of the initial ʿayn (ℓ.3,6) and the shortness of its higher jaw. This form of ʿayn is attested in certain inscriptions of the Umayyad period. [33] There is also to be noted the addition of alif in the word ibn (ℓ.2). Therefore, it can be concluded that this inscription belongs to the 2nd/8th century. The mention of the Prophet's son, Ibrāhīm, here is quite remarkable. It is, as far as I am aware, unique.

No.9

Provenance: ʿAshm (N.cem.f.). No date, probably 2nd-3rd/8-9th cent. Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape, broken lower left side. 8 lines. Incised, beautiful Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 34 x 30 cm. approx. (Plate 22, no.9).

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(31) Al-Fiʿr, "Risālat" 80-81, Text I and II.

(32) Cf. Grohmann, "the Origin", 209, fig 27; Expédition, 77, Z 112; cf. no.52 below.

(33) Al-Munajjid, DTKA, 108, Pl.61.

Text

١- بسم الله الـــــــر

٢- حمن الرحيـــم • اللهـم

٣- نور السموات والأر

٤- ض ، نور لأم محمـــــدا

٥- بنت [هكذا] عبد الرحمن في

٦- قبرها والحقهـــــا

٧- بنبيها وكـــــتب

٨- محمد بن الطفيـــــل

Translation

1. In the name of God, the
2. Compassionate, the Merciful. O God
3. light of the heavens and earth, (34)
4. Shed light on Umm Muḥammad
5. bint ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in
6. her tomb and let her meet
7. her Prophet. And it has been written by
8. Muḥammad b. al-Ṭufayl

Commentary

This inscription may be considered as a transition between the former early inscriptions and those of the subsequent centuries. It has combined the form of triangular crochets of hā' (ℓ.6,7), noted above, and the vertical limb (ℓ.2) widespread in the 3rd/9th century, below. In addition, we note the use of a spike or forked-form to adorn the heads and the terminations of the letters as in

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(34) After Koran, cf. Sūrat al-Nūr, 35.

no.7 above. The forms of the letters dāl (ℓ.4,5,8), kāf (ℓ.7), and dād (ℓ.4) are nearly identical with those in nos 3,4, and 8 above.

Innovations in this inscription are the terminations of certain final or isolated letters ending in arrow heads, e.g. mīm (ℓ.1,2), tā' (ℓ.3,5), wāw (ℓ.7) and dāl (ℓ.4,5). The heads of the hā' (ℓ.2) and rā' (ℓ.3,4) are close to the horizontal base. The words Allāh (ℓ.1) and Allāhumma (ℓ.2) have an intermediate element between the two lāms, that in (ℓ.1) a double one, in (ℓ.2) a single one with a dot in the middle (cf. no.7). The two lām-alifs (ℓ.3,4) begin with a triangle dotted in the middle and then end on the right and left with symmetrical "shepherd's crooks" facing each other. This form of the letter lām-alif is found in Egypt on tombstones dating from the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. (35) The most striking stylistic feature here is the final yā' (ℓ.5) with a long retreating tail, which is carried back underneath four words and is curved at two points to dip under letters which project beneath the base line. This is probably a Makkan form in the tombstones and it has not been discovered in any inscription of this period except in the Hijazi epitaphs such as those of B. Sulaym (36) and on a Makkan stele dated 243/857-8. (37) It has also been found in a number of tombstones included in this study in Tihāmah dating from the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries. (38) This

(35) Hawary, Catalogue, I, pl.XI, No.2721/56.

(36) Al-Bāshā, "Shawāhid.," 87-8,pl.25.

(37) Al-Fi ᶜr, "Taṭawwur", 280-4; Wiet, Catalogue, 11, pl.X, No.982(

(38) Cf. nos.10,28 and 52 below.

area is naturally an Hijazi province, dependent on the Makkan amirate, both now and in former times. (39) However, the most outstanding innovation in the inscription under review is the name of the scribe at the end of the text. This custom spread in ᶜAshm from the 3rd/9th century onwards and is originally an Hijazi usage followed from the 1st/7th century. (40) It has, for instance, not been depicted on an Egyptian tombstone, despite their profusion, which fact led a famous Egyptian writer to express sorrow at not having found a tombstone in Egypt inscribed with the name of the scribe except the Mubārak al-Makkī inscriptions which were brought from Makkah or were inscribed by him in Egypt in a Makkan style. (41)

Anyhow, this inscription is similar, from the point of view of palaeography, to Egyptian inscriptions dating from the final years of the second century. (42) Moreover the second tombstone of this particular woman depicts an early form of the final qāf which can also be dated to the end of the 3rd/9th century. (43) Thus we have reason to believe that it represents a stage extending from the end of the 2nd/8th to the beginning of the 3rd/9th centuries.

No.10

Provenance : ᶜAshm transported to al-ᶜAqīlī. No date, presumably, 2nd-3rd/8th-9th cent. Limestone. Tombstone of

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(39) Cf. 141, 251 above and also the introduction.

(40) Cf. nos. 15, 26, 28, 52, 56, 70 and 71 below; Grohman, Expédition, 57-8, Z68,69.pl.XII,6; Miles, "al-Ṭā'if"; 210-11; Rostem, Rock, 27.

(41) Jumʿah, TDKK, 169-71.

(42) Cf.Hawary, Catalogue, I,pl.V, no.1506/747 and pl.VI, no.1508/9.

(43) Cf.pl.39,no.74; al-Fi r, "Taṭawwur", 248; Lewcock, "Architectural", 348, pl.18,57.

irregular shape, split at the bottom, 10 lines. Incised, simple and somewhat clumsy Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 39 x 35 cm approx. (Plate 22, no.10).

Text

١- بسم الله الـــــــر

٢- حمـــــن الرحـــــــيم

٣- اللـهم نور السمـــــا

٤- وات والأرض ،

٥- نور لكلثـــــــم

٦- ابنت [كذا] دمينة في

٧- قبرها ولقهـــــا

٨- حجتهـــا والحق [ـها]

٩- بنبيهـــــا

١٠- محمد صلـــــى

Translation

1. In the name of God the
2. Compassionate, the Merciful
3. O God, light of the heavens
4. and the earth, (44)
5. shed light on Kaltham
6. bint Dumaynah in
7. her tomb and provide her with
8. [the appropriate] plea and join her
9. with her Prophet
10. Muḥammad. [May God] bless [him]

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(44) After Koran, Cf. Sūrat al-Nūr, 35.

Commentary

The name of Kaltham's father is Dumaynah. This name is not uncommon in this province, as it is current in the large Zahrān tribal group called Dumaynah living not far from ᶜAshm to the east and south-east, especially in la-Ḥsabah. There is every reason to believe that the members of this tribe are descendants of certain ᶜAshmis as mentioned above.

This inscription also may be considered to date from the transitory period between this group and the following one. The Kufic is conspicuous for the form of the hā' (ℓ.2,8), the rā' (ℓ.3,4) and the ḍād in nos. 8 and 10 above and the medial hā' crochet (ℓ.3,7,8 and 9). The final yā' (ℓ.10) runs back in a long tail beneath the word Muḥammad. This form of the yā' already occurs in no.9 above and nos. 28 and 52 below. The arc between the two lāms in the word Allāh (ℓ.1) and other words forms a trefoil ornament. The scribe has often gone to some length to use arcs in other words (ℓ.2,5,7,8 and 9); such an ornament is somewhat similar to an undated tombstone in al-Ṭā'if.(45) It is also found in Egypt on the stelae dating from the 2nd-3rd/8-9th centuries.(46) This allows us a dating of this tombstone in the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries.

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(45) Grohmann, Expedition, 5-7 Pl.11, Z4.

(46) Wiet, Catalogue, IX, pl.I, no.8638, pl.III, no.8857; also cf. Hawary, Catalogue, I, pl.V, no.1506/747 and pl. VI, no.1193.

CHAPTER 14

3rd/9th century inscriptions

1st half of the 3rd/9th century

No. 11

Provenance, Ashm(S.cem. A). Dated 239 / 853-4 .
Limestone. Tombstone of irregular shape. 8 lines. Elaborate incised ornamental Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 40 x 30 cm. approx. (Plate 22, no.11).

Text

١- بسم الله الر
٢- حمن الرحيم ا
٣- للهم اغفر لأم محمد
٤- ذنبها ولقها حجتها وأ
٥- لحـ [قـ] ـها بنبيها وأد
٦- خلها في شفاعته
٧- وكتب في سنه تسع
٨- وثلاثين ومائتين سنة [كذا]

Translation

1. In the name of God, the
2. Compassionate, The Merciful
3. O God forgive Umm Muḥammad
4. her sin[s], and provide her with [the appropriate] plea, and
5. let her meet her Prophet and
6. bring her into his intercession.(1)
7. Written in the year of
8. 239 [853-4] year [sic]

Commentary

This tombstone is considered the second oldest dated inscription discovered in Tihāmah, the first bearing the date 234/848-9 found at al-Khalīf. It is regretted that this

(1) After Koran, cf. Sūrat al-Zumar, 44.

latter is not sufficiently clear in the photograph in our possession to include in this study. It resembles somewhat the Umm Muḥammad inscription under study. (2)

It will be noted that this inscription is free from the flexibility depicted in most former inscriptions. It is a model of stiff memorial Kufic, thus heralding a new stage called by a modern writer the "period of great excellence" (ᶜaṣr al-tajwīd al-aᶜẓam). (3) Its outstanding features are the decoration of the shaft letters and sides with small triangles; the lowering of the base of the initial and medial bā' (ℓ.5) under the base line so as to represent two parallel cup-like shapes. There are also the diminishing of the initial lām in the word alḥiqhā' (ℓ.4,5) and its curving to the left so as to appear as an ornament of the letter hā'. The most remarkable feature is to be noted in the decoration of the space between the two lāms in the word Allāh (ℓ.1) with four segments and an arc-shaped elongation in the letters dhāl (ℓ.4) and dāl (ℓ.5). Another feature to be noted is the lowering of the bottom of connected alifs (ℓ.4 - 6 and 8) below the base of the line. This occurs in an Egyptian Stele as early as 196/812. (4) The most striking peculiarity is a symbol of three leaves of the lām-alif so as to bring to mind the shape of a butterfly. The only blemish in this beautiful inscription is the absence of the letter qāf in the word alhiqhā'. (ℓ.5).

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(2) Cf. Pl.39, no.75 below.

(3) Jumᶜah, DTKK, 161.

(4) Hawary, Catalogue, Pl.VIII, no.2721/138; also cf. Arif, Arabic, no.2.

No.12

Provenance: cAshm (S.cem.A). No date, probably 1st half of the 3rd/9th cent. Sandstone. Tombstone of rectangular shape. 7 lines. Incised, fine Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 29 x 25 cm. approx. (Plate 22, no.12).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

٢- اللهم نور السموات والارض ،

٣- نور لعلية ابنت [كذا] أحمد

٤- بن محمد بن عمرو الجمحي

٥- في قبرها ولقها حجتها

٦- وألحقها بنبيها محمد

٧- صلى الله عليه وسلم

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate the Merciful
2. O God, light of the heavens and earth, (5)
3. Shed light on cAliyyah bint Aḥmad
4. b. Muḥammad b. cAmr al-Jumaḥī,
5. in her tomb and provide her with [the appropriate] plea
6. and let her meet her Prophet Muḥammad
7. May God bless him and grant him peace

Commentary

The nisbah of the deceased refers to Banū Jumaḥ, a clan of the well-known Quraysh, originating from Makkah. (6)

The Kufic is beautiful and bears the characteristics of no.11 above. It can be assumed that it is by the same hand. In this inscription one finds the same ornamental motifs as in the former, e.g. the decoration of the shaft letter

(5) After Koran, Sūrat al-Nūr, 35.

(6) Al-Samcānī, al-Ansāb, III, 299-301.

apices, as well as the terminations of the others in the form of small triangles and the lowering of the bottom of some medial letters below the base of the lines as in (ℓ.1,2,3,5,6,7). In addition to these can be seen other ornamental elements twice between the two lāms of Allāh (ℓ.1,7) and one in the "returning" yā' (ℓ.5) which resembles a trefoil motif. These elements occur in Hijazi inscriptions dating from the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries and also in al-Q.ayrawān in 235/849. (7)

For the first time in the Tihāmah inscriptions under study the medial open ᶜayn (ℓ.3) should be noted. This form of open ᶜayn is considered by scholars as Nabataean in origin.(8) It appears early in the Hijaz and some Islamic countries, (9) but in this region it is only introduced in the 3rd/9th century. (10)

No.13

Provenance: ᶜAshm(S.cem. A). No date, presumably the 1st half of the 3rd/9th century. Limestone. Tombstone of irregular shape. 10 lines. Incised, elaborate Kufic. Average height and width 28 x 23 cm. approx. (Plate 23, no.13).

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(7) Cf. al-Fiᶜr, "Taṭawwur", 239; al-Bāshā, "Shawāhid," 92, pl.26. Roy, inscriptions 11, pl.6, no.52.

(8) Al-Fiᶜr, "Taṭawwur", 208.

(9) Jumᶜah, DTKK, 131-7, pl.6,7,12 and 13, Rostem, Rock,24.

(10) Cf. pl.23 nos. 23, 15,16;pl.24,no.17 and 18; Hamidullah, "Some Arabic", pl.10, 438f.

Text

١- بسم الله الـــــــر

٢- حمن الرحيم • هـذا قـــــبر

٣- سعيد بن محمد بن سعيـــــد

٤- بن رزيق بن محمد بن الحار

٥- ث بن نوفل بن رزيق بن الحا

٦- رث بن هاشم بن عبد منـــــا

٧- ف بن عبد المطلب • نور

٨- الله له في قبره ولقاه حجته

٩- والحقه بنبيه محمد صلى

١٠- الله عليه وسلم تسليما

Translation

1. In the name of God, the
2. Compassionate, the Merciful. This is the tomb of
3. Sa^{c}īd b. Muḥammad b. Sa^{c}īd
4. b. Ruzayq b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥāri
5. th b. Nawfal b. Ruzayq b. al-Ḥā
6. rith b. Hāshim b. ^{c}Abd Manā
7. f b. ^{c}Abd al-Muṭṭalib. May light be
8. shed by God on him in his tomb and provide him with [the appropriate] plea
9. and let him meet his Prophet Muḥammad, may the blessing of
10. God be upon him and grant him peace.

Commentary

It seemsfrom the name of the occupant of the tomb that he was a descendant of ^{c}Abd al-Muṭṭalib. However, we know no descendant of his called ^{c}Abd Manāf with the exception of Abū Ṭālib, also called ^{c}Abd Manāf, who begot only Ṭālib

ᶜAlī, ᶜAqīl and Jaᶜfar. (11) However, an examination of the names in the deceased's genealogy shows that they are current in Quraysh. (12) This man may have been a descendant of those Qurayshites who migrated to the province of ᶜAshm. Zurayq may also be read as Ruzayq, both of them well known Arab names. (13)

The Kufic falls also in the category of nos. 11 and 12 above. They are alike in their lettering and obvious ornaments. However, the greatest link between this and no.11 appears in the form of the lām preceding the medial hāʾ (ℓ.4,5) and the adjacent hāʾ and the jīm (ℓ.8) which are all similar to their corresponding letters in no.11 above. Worthy of note in this inscription is the form of the final qāf (ℓ.5); it represents the early form of qāf which has been prevalent since the 1st/7th century appearing however rarely until it disappeared at about the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. (14)

No.14

Provenance: ᶜAshm (N.cem.G) No date, probably 1st half of the 3rd/9th century. Sandstone, Tombstone of irregular shape, broken left and right sides, obliterating part of the actual inscription. This and exposure to the elements have affected the upper part. 9 lines, the first five lines are not clear.

Incised, simple Kufic, adorned in places. Average height and width of inscribed area 30 x 16 cm.approx. (Plate 23,no.14).

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(11) Muṣᶜab, Nasab, 17,39; Caskel, Gamharat, I, table 5.

(12) Cf. Muṣᶜab, Nasab, passim; cf. Ibn Saᶜd, al-Ṭabaqāt, V, 233.

(13) Ibn Ḥabīb, Mukhtalif, 356; Ibn al-Maghribī, al-Inās, 154.

(14) Grohmann, Expédition, 25-7, Z18, pl.111,4; cf. al-Fiᶜr, "Taṭwwur", 248.

Text

١- ...

٢- ... [الـر] حمن الـرحيم ٠

٣- ا للـهم صلـي

٤- علـى محمـــد [الـ]

٥- نبـــي ، واجعل

٦- ٠٠ سكيمة [حكيمة] بنت هر

٧- ون [كذا] بن عبد الله

٨- بن الـزبير من ورثة

٩- جنة نعيـــم

Translation

1. ....

2. ... The Compassionate, the Merciful

3. O God bless

4. Muḥammad [the]

5. Prophet, and exalt

6. Ḥakīmah bint Hār

7. ūn b. ᶜAbd Allāh

8. b. al-Zubayr, among the inheritors of

9. the Garden of Bliss. (15)

Commentary

The occupant is named Ḥakīmah bint Hārūn b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. However, we have no evidence that she was the grand-daughter of ᶜAbd Allāh b. al-Zubayr. She may have been a distant descendant, as his sons left many children. (16)

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(15) Surat al-Shuᶜarāʾ, 85.

(16) Musᶜab, Nsāb, 237-43.

The characteristics of this tombstone are its coarse inelegant letters, depriving the writing of any beauty. Apart from the returning yā' (ℓ.3) and the half palmette ornament in the second lām in the word Allāh (ℓ.7) which is noted for the first time in this collection, this inscription has certain features in common with no.11 above, as e.g. the apices of initial and medial bā', tā', nūn, yā', (ℓ 6,7,8), and the circular loop of the mīm (ℓ.9), in addition to the shape of the rā' (ℓ.6.8), the final nūn (ℓ.7,8) and the tā' murbūṭah (ℓ.5, 8, 9). Other features comprise a split-arrow shape at the end of the final mīm, (ℓ.9) and the horizontal head of the jīm (ℓ.9). Such an ornament can be seen in no.11 above in the word bi-sm. It also occurs in undated epitaphs in al-Suwarqiyyah, on the Iraqi pilgrim route to Makkah, and in Egypt at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century. (17)

A dictation fault should be noted in the omission of the alif, lengthening the vowel in the word Hārūn (ℓ.6).

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(17) Al-Rāshid, Darb, 244,247, Fig.1, m; Hawary, Catalogue, I, Pl.21,no. 3969/2.

2nd half of the 3rd/9th century inscriptions

a) The school of Aḥmad al-Ḥaffār.

No.15

Provenance: ^{c}Ashm (S.cem.A) dated, 262/875-6

Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape, possibly broken left and upper left sides. 3 & 11 lines. Incised, very beautiful Kufic with elaborate floral motifs. Average height and width of inscribed area 43 x 26 cm. approx. (Plate 23, no.15).

Text

١ـ نقـــــش

٢ـ أحمـــــد

٣ـ الحفـــــار

١ـ بســـم

٢ـ الله الرحمن الرحيم ٠

٣ـ شهد الله أنه لا اله

٤ـ الا هو والملائكة وأو

٥ـ لوا العلم قائما بالقسط

٦ـ لا اله الا هو العزيز الحكيم ٠

٧ـ هذا قبر عبد الله

٨ـ بن داود بن سعيد

٩ـ رحمه الله ٠ توفي سنة

١٠ـ اثنتين وستين

١١ـ ومائتين [كذا] والسلام ٠

Translation

1. [It is] inscribed by

2. Aḥmad

3. al-Ḥaffār

1. In the name of

2. God, the Compassionate, the Merciful

3. God bears witness that there is no God

4. but He, and verily angels and men
5. endowed with knowledge carrying out justice
6. There is no God but He, the Mighty, the Wise (18)
7. This is the tomb of ᶜAbd Allāh
8. b.Dāʾūd b.Saᶜīd
9. May God have mercy upon him, he passed away in the year
10. 262 [865-6]
11. Finis

Commentary

The Kufic script and decoration are considered to be a fine model to be followed. The scribe, Aḥmad al-Ḥaffār, has introduced a new ornamental design different from all those prevalent in ᶜAshm and superior to most contemporary designs in other places. Outstanding up to this time was Mubārak al-Makkī's inscription dated 243/857-8. (19) However, this was unique in its time among funerary inscriptions, so that Flury takes it as a model of comparison in his study of the Nayīn mosque, concluding that this palaeographic style relates to the 3rd/9th century. (20) A look at the Makkī inscriptions is enough to show the great disparity between them and those of al-Ḥaffār which are far superior to the former. This may be attributed to the time lapse, as al-Ḥaffār's inscriptions came about 1-2 decades after those of al-Makkī.

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(18) Sūrat Āl ᶜImrān, 18.

(19) Jumᶜah, DTKK, 167-71, pl.19 Wiet, Catalogue, II, Pl.X, No.9820.

(20) "Le Decor," 230-4, PlXXXIV; cf. Grohman, "the origin", 208-9, fig. 27. Jumᶜah, DTKK, 169; al-Fiᶜr, "Taṭawwur", 281-82; Wiet, Catalogue, II, XII, no.1271.

As for the palaeographic characteristics, they are the scribe's use of three-lobed leaf ornaments in all the letters of the inscription, giving a palmette form in the apexes of adjacent letters and half palmettes in single shafts. This type of ornament is also apparent at the beginning and ends of most other letters. The form of hā' (ℓ.6) resembles a bird's wings. The sharply pointed triangular sīn can be seen in the word bi-sm (ℓ.1) where in ℓ.3,5,8,9,10,11, it forms dents of a comb. The arch of the medial ʿayn is open, made in the form of a goblet. The loop of the mīm, initial, medial and final, (ℓ.1,3,4,8,10) forms a circle with the base line running through its centre as diameter. The final nūn's tail (ℓ.10,11) curves upward and ends in a three-lobed leaf. The lām-alifs take various forms: in ℓ.4(twice), the first is interlaced and the second criss-cross, as well as in ℓ.6 where the first has a vertical line. All end in floriated apexes. This form of interlaced lām-alif is unique in this region though there are many different styles of interlaced lām-alif which appear later in many countries of the Islamic world.(21)

The scribe is also careful to embellish the space between lines with ornamental tendrils. The basmalah, for instance, is inscribed under two symmetrical sprigs from which a lamp is hanging. From the heads of certain letters single or twin branches protrude as in ℓ.4,5,7,8. The spaces between lines were filled with four-lobed rosettes. The dents of the letter sīn in the word sanat (ℓ.9) are

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(21) Cf. Flury, Islamische, 21, Abb.4, Pls. XIV, XV, XVIII; "Bandeaux", Pl.XXXVII; "la Mosquée" 44, fig.I; Roy, Inscriptions, pl.4, no.13C; Arif, Arabic,105; Niebuhr, Voyage, 11, pl.XIII.

shaded with three harmonious ornamental units looking much like rockets, to use a modern conception.

The text is enclosed within an ornamental border at the top and at the sides. It represents the shape of mihrab capped at the top by a cusped ogee arch, with three cusps on each side of the central ogee. The frame is made up of two borders enclosing a continuous band. This type of mihrāb is unique and, no similar form is known before this time as far as I am aware. This is the first time this has been encountered in such a mature manner and it indicates well the artist's skill. He may have been influenced by the Hijazi decorations which appeared before that time. (22) Also the scribe signed his name in the upper right corner of the stone outside the border under two floral sprigs. The Koranic formula is the first to appear in the inscriptions of this region and becomes common on certain tombstones below.

No.16

Provenance: ^{c}Ashm (S. cem.A) No date: (Cf. no.15) Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape, broken lower left side. 9 lines. Incised, elaborate Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 34 x 27 cm. approx. (Plate 23, no.16).

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(22) Cf. Grohman, Expédition, pl. IV, Z16; "the Origin", 209. Fig.27; Wiet, Catalogue, II, no.9820; Album 4, no.3903.

Text

١- بســـــم

٢- اللـه الـرحمن الـرحيم ٠

٣- اللـهم اذا جمعت ا

٤- لــخلائق لـفضل العطا وا

٥- قلت العـاثرين عثراتـهم

٦- فـأقل عبد الـلـه بن داود

٧- بن سعيد عثراته وا

٨- لحقه بنبيه محمد

٩- صلى الله عليه وسلم ٠

Translation

1. In the name of
2. God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
3. O God, if you gather together
4. creation to offer plentiful gifts and
5. annul the mistakes of those who commit them,
6. annul ᶜAbd Allāh b. Dāʾūd
7. b.Saᶜīd's mistakes and
8. allow him to join his Prophet Muḥammad
9. May God bless him and grant him peace

Commentary

This inscription, in the name of ᶜAbd Allāh b. Saᶜīd, the same person as the occupier of no.16/5, has also a third grave stone, though this is not studied here. It is believed that this inscription was inscribed by the same hand. However, it seems that he did not take great care to embellish the Kufic and borders. The second isdiscussed here in order to observe another specimen of his work and to make a comparison with other inscriptions of the period. Among its palaeographic

peculiarities is the existence of small triangles forming the heads of most shaft letters, the dents of the sīn (ℓ.6), the apexes of final hā' (ℓ.2, 6,7,8), the initial and medial bā', as well as its sisters as in ℓ.1,5,6,7,8 and 9. There is a close resemblance between the letters ḍād and ṭā' (ℓ.4). The second lām in the word Allāh (ℓ.2) comes below the base line. A further remarkable form is the same work in ℓ.6 with the medial lām inclined in a curve to the left, towards the final hā'. This occurs in the vicinity of al-Ṭā'if and Dahlak in the 3rd/9th century. (23) Certain floral motifs can be noted in this stele: a rosette appears on the summit of the arc between the two lāms of the word Allāh (ℓ.2), a similar arc occurs in the Hijaz as early as 250/864. (24) The shaft of the letters thā' (ℓ.5) and bā' (ℓ.6) ends in two sprigs; the letter tā' (ℓ.5) ends in a tendril. The text is surrounded on three sides by a simple border, its upper coming to a point like a miḥrāb.

No.17

Provenance: ᶜAshm (S. cem.A) No date, probably 2nd half of the 3rd/9th cent. Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape, broken lower left side. 12 lines. Incised, elaborate beautiful Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 42 x 22 cm. approx. (Plate 24, no.17).

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(23) Grohmann, Expédition, Pl.11, 2 Z4; Oman, Dahlak, II, 40, 53.

(24) Cf. Grohmann, "the Origin", 209; Jumᶜah, DTKK, 175, fig.22.

Text

١- بسم الله

٢- الرحمن الرحيم

٣- قل هو الله أحـــد • الله

٤- الصمد • لم يلد ولم يو

٥- لد • ولم يكن له كفوا أحد •

٦- اللهم نور السموات

٧- والارض رب العرش

٨- العظيم • نور لمحمد بن

٩- عبيد بن عبد الرحمن

١٠- في قبره والحقه بنبيه محمد

١١- صلى الله عليه وسلم •

١٢- انك رؤف رحيم •

Translation

1. In the name of God
2. the Compassionate, the Merciful
3. say, He is One God, God
4. the Eternal. He has not begotten, neither was He
5. begotten, and He has no one like unto Him (25)
6. O God, light of the heavens
7. and earth, Lord of the mighty throne (26)
8. Shed light on Muḥammad b.
9. ᶜUbayd b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān
10. in his tomb and let him meet his Prophet Muḥammad
11. May God bless him and give him peace.
12. You are indeed Compassionate, Merciful.

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(25) Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ, 1-4.

(26) After Koran, cf. Sūrat al-Nūr, 35 and Sūrat al-Naml, 26.

Commentary

This inscription belongs to al-Ḥaffār's calligraphic school and may have been written by the same hand. One notes the presence of extremely decorative calligraphic elements represented by three-lobed leaves at the apexes and terminations of most of the letters, as in no.15 above. However, certain differences may be noted: the border is less elaborate; it is simply a graded line with rosettes on top and two floral sprigs at the shoulders. On the top of the word bi-sm there is a seal with minute circles between the points and the centre. A relatively similar element occurs as early as 238/853 in an Egyptian stele preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. (27) Spaces between the lines are filled with fine three-leaf units resembling feathers. An innovation is the form of medial mīm (ℓ.1,2,4, and 8) representing a solar disc with emanating rays. The final mīm in the word raḥīm (ℓ.12). has a long tail, closely resembling a nūn. The arc shape between the two lāms of the word Allāh can be noted twice in ℓ.3,6 with a palmette on the top of the arc. Also the second lām in the same word (ℓ.1,3) comes below the base of the line as in no.16. The Koranic formula, Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ, occurs in this inscription for the first time.

No.18

Provenance: ^{c}Ashm (S.cem.A) No date, presumably, 2nd half of the 3rd/9th cent. Basalt. Tombstone of irregular shape, broken lower right. 9 lines. Incised, elaborate Kufic. The average height and width of inscribed area 35 x 20 cm. approx. (Plate 24, no.18).

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(27) Miles, "Tombstones" 218-9, no.4, pl.2, fig.4.

Text

١- بسم الله الـــــر

٢- حمن الرحيم • اللهم

٣- اذا جمعت الأولين و

٤- الاخرين لميقات يوم

٥- معلوم ، فاجعل علـــي

٦- بن جلاد بن مخلد

٧- تخرج به أبي [كذا] عشم

٨- من رفقاء محمد صلى ا

٩- لله عليه وسلم •

Translation

1. In the name of God, the
2. Compassionate, the Merciful. O God
3. if You gather together the first and
4. the last for the appointment of a day
5. [already] known, (28) include ᶜAlī
6. b. Jallād b. Mukhlid
7. through whom Abū ᶜAshm graduated [in his studies]
8. among the companions of Muḥammad. May the blessing of
9. God be upon him and grant him peace.

Commentary

The Kufic style resembles that of no.16 above and preserves the characteristics of this palaeographic school represented by the following features: the medial open ᶜayn (ℓ.2,3) is in the form of a goblet as in nos. 15, 16, 17 above; the adornment of the heads of the shaft letters in the form of small triangles; the arrow-shaped head at the

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(28) After Koran, cf. Sūrat al-Wāqiᶜah, 49.

end of the final mīm as in ℓ.1,2 . This shape of mīm occurs in the three aforementioned stelae. Another peculiarity is the curving second lām in the word Allāh (ℓ.1,2) and its gradually shortening towards the final hā' in the same word. The final nūn (ℓ.2) curves up and ends in a fork-shaped head.

The simple graded border comes to a head in the form of a bush. A similar form of miḥrāb as this in no.18 and nos. 16 and 17 above occurs in Tashkend as early as 230/844. (29) An isolated floral motif occurs in the space between the word bi-sm and the upper arc of the border. Also the neck of the dāl ends almost in a tendril. In addition, certain spaces between the lines are filled with four-lobed rosettes. This form of rosette occurs, for the first time in no.15. The words min (ℓ.7) and Allāh (ℓ.8) are unclear. The first two words in ℓ.7 (takharraja bi-hi) make up an educational term among the ulema, (30) i.e. the deceased person was a scholar and Abī ᶜAshm was his disciple. The text reads erroneously "Abī," the genetive form.

No.19

Provenance: ᶜAshm (N.sem.G) No date, probably 2nd half of the 3rd/9th cent. Limestone. Tombstone of irregular shape, possibly broken upper right side.. 9 lines. Elaborately incised adorned Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 24 x 17 cm. approx. (Plate 24, no.19).

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(29) Karabacek, Orientalisehen, 7, fig.1, Grohmann, "the Origin," Pl.I, fig.I.

(30) Cf. al-Dhahabī, Tadhkirat, III, 817, IV, 1500.

Text

١- بســـم اللـــــه

٢- الرحمـــــن الرحيـم

٣- قل هو اللـه أحد • اللـه

٤- الصمد • لم يلـد ولـم

٥- يولـد • ولـم يكن لـه

٦- كفـوا أحد • اللـهم

٧- أجعل أم أبيـها ا

٨- بنت [كذا] يزيد من الفـا

٩- ئزين •

Translation

1. In the name of God,
2. the Compassionate, the Merciful
3. Say, He is one God, God
4. the Eternal, He has not begotten, neither was
5. He begotten, and He has none
6. like unto Him. (31) O God
7. exalt Umm Abīhā
8. bint Yazīd among those who will
9. triumph (32)

Commentary

This inscription lacks the first name which is replaced by a kunyah, a usage prevalent in Tihāmah. Thus the deceased woman might have been named after her father's mother. A similar appellation has been traced on an epitaph from the island of Dahlak. (33)

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(31) Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ, 1-4.

(32) After Koran, cf. Sūrat al-Ḥashr, 20.

(33) Oman, Dahlak, I, 46, Pl.38.

As for the Kufic, it is believed that it belongs to the collection represented by the Ḥaffār school. This is clear in the forms of the letters dāl (ℓ.3,4,5,6,9) and the tail of the final nūn (ℓ.5,9). Also the shape of the medial ᶜayn (ℓ.7), the two consecutive lāms preceding the final hā' in the word Allāhumma (ℓ.6), the circular shape of the loop of the mīm which recurs in nos. 15-18. Apart from the form of the small triangles in the apices of some letters, the stele has no ornaments except two symmetrical floral sprigs ending in a vertical shaft placed over the word bi-sm (ℓ.1). This element appears, in a later time, on inscriptions from Āmid, Diyār Bakr. (34) The alif is superfluous in the word bint (ℓ.7 and 8)

No.20

Provenance: al-Sirrayn (N.cem.) No date, presumably, 2nd half of the 3rd/9th cent. Basalt. Tombstone of irregular shape. 8 lines. Incised, unclear Kufic. No measurement of this tombstone has been taken. (Plate 24, no.20).

Text

١- بسم الله الـــر

٢- حمن الرحيم ٠

٣- اللـهم صلـي علـى

٤- محمد النبي و

٥- اجعل أم عبـــــد

٦- الله سعيدة ابنت [كذا]

٧- سعيد بن العواف

٨- العشمي من الآمنـــــين

(34) Flury, "Bandeaux", 241, fig.I, pl.XXIII.

Translation

1. In the name of God, the
2. Compassionate, the Merciful
3. O God bless
4. Muḥammad the Prophet and
5. include Umm ᶜAbd
6. Allāh bint
7. Saᶜīd b. al-ᶜAwwāf
8. al-ᶜAshmī among those who are safe.(35)

Commentary

The nisbah al-ᶜAshmī refers to ᶜAshm, the well-known settlement covered in our study. The Kufic is not legible as it is engraved on rough unpolished stone with crude cavities marring its beauty and the clarity of the writing. However, after careful examination, the inscription is found to be calligraphically of good quality.

The characteristics of this inscription resemble the school of Aḥmad al-Ḥaffār. This is clear from the shape of the letter dāl (ℓ.5,6,7), the decoration of the shaft apices, the method of writing and the word Allāh (ℓ.1,3 and 6) as in nos.16,18,19 above, the final alif maqṣūrah in the words Sallā and ᶜalā (ℓ.6) resembling that of no.16 above. The only difference is in the form of the medial ᶜayn head which is closed to form a reversed triangle. This may be an expression of al-Sirrayn's independent personality, as compared with towns of this region. (36)

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(35) After Korān, cf. Sūrat al-Ḥijr, 46.

(36) Cf. pl.25, nos. 23 and 24; pl. 28, nos. 33-5.

No.21

Provenance: al-Sirrayn (S.cem.) No date, presumably 2nd half of the 3rd/9th cent. Basalt. Tombstone of irregular shape, broken lower middle right side. 9 lines. Incised, elegant Kufic, Average height and width of inscribed area 30 x 19 cm. approx. (Plate 25, no.21).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن

٢- الرحيم ٠ اللهم

٣- صلي على محمد

٤- النبي ، واجعل أم

٥- عثمن [كذا] بنت محمد

٦- بن عبد الرحمن

٧- الطائفي لوالد

٨- يها ذخرا في

٩- الجنة

Translation

1. In the name of God the Compassionate,
2. the Merciful. O God
3. bless Muḥammad
4. the Prophet and make Umm
5. ᶜUthmān bint Muḥammad
6. b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān
7. al-Ṭā᾽ifī for her parents
8. a treasure stored away in
9. Paradise

Commentary

The nisbah, al-Ṭābiqī or al-Ṭā'ifī, refers either to al-Ṭābiq, a place in Baghdad known as Nahr al-Ṭābiq, or more likely to al-Ṭā'if, the well-known Hijazi city lying at 85 km. to the south-east of Makkah. (37) The Kufic bears the palaeographic characteristics of the 2nd half of 3rd/9th century and may be ascribed to al-Ḥaffar's calligraphic school. One finds in this inscription the long tailed nūn (ℓ.6) and the angular one (ℓ.1,5) recurring in al-Ḥaffār's inscription no.15. above. We also note the similarity between the apices and ends of most of the letters here and al-Ḥaffār's inscription no.16 above. Al-Ḥaffār's influence is also apparent in the shape of the medial ᶜayn (ℓ.4) which resembles a goblet in the lowering of the second lām of word Allāh (ℓ.2), and the final connected alif (ℓ.7) below the base line as in no.16. This inscription is characterized by a "returning" final yā' (ℓ.8) with its tail shaped like an arrow head. A similar yā' occurs in an Egyptian stele dated 216/831. (38) A fault in this inscription is the omission of the alif in the role of lengthening the vowel in the word ᶜUthmān (ℓ.5). There is a floral element on the top of the word bi-sm. The word dhukhr, translated "treasure stored away," implies that she has died before her parents. (39)

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(37) Ibn Mākūlā, al-Ikmāl, V, 264-5; al-Samᶜānī, al-Ansāb, VIII, 167-8.

(38) Hawary, Catalogue, I, pl.27 no.1506/707.

(39) Cf. al-Bukhārī, Fāth, II, 91-6, III, 190; Ibn Ḥanbal, Musnad, II, 378, 473, IV, 183-4.

No.22

Provenance: Al-Sirrayn (S. cem.) No date, probably 2nd half of the 3rd/9th cent. Limestone. Tombstone of irregular shape, weather-beaten so that certain letters are far from clear. 10 lines. Elaborate,incised Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 37 x 25 cm. approx. (Plate 25, no.22).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن
٢- الرحيم • شهد الله
٣- أنه لا اله الا هو وا
٤- لملائكة وأولو [كذا]
٥- العلم قائما بالقسط
٦- لا اله الا هو العزيز
٧- الحكيم • اللهم اجعل
٨- حمده ابنت [كذا] سليما
٩- ن بن رزق البسيوني
١٠- من رفقا [ء] محمد في الجنة •

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate,
2. the Merciful, God has testified
3. that there is no God but He, and
4. the angels and men
5. endowed with knowledge, carrying out justice
6. that there is no God but He, the Mighty,
7. the Wise. (40) O God include
8. Ḥamdah bint Sulaymā
9. n b. Ḥizq al-Basyūnī
10. among the companions of Muḥammed in Paradise

(40) Sūrat Āl ʿImrān, 18.

Commentary

The nisbah al-Basyūnī refers to a village in Egypt. (41) With regard to the Kufic there is a marked similarity between it and most of the inscriptions cited as being under the influence of Aḥmad al-Ḥaffār's method. This similarity is expressed by the small triangles forming the letter heads and tails, the circular loop of the mīm (ℓ1,2,4,5,7,8,10), and the dents of the sīn (ℓ.1,5,8,9) as in no.14. The resemblance is also conspicuous in the loop of the qāf in the word qist (ℓ5). The letter lām-alif (ℓ3,6) is depicted here in almost every shape inscribed by al-Ḥaffār, although some lam-alifs (ℓ.3,6) are enlarged almost in the manner of epitaph no.215 which, it is suggested, in the Philby collection dates from the 3rd/9th century. (42) A similarity also exists in the manner of writing the two lāms of Allāhumma (ℓ.7) and their relationship with the following hā as in no.15. The long tail of the final nūn (ℓ.1) is a common feature of this category.

No.23

Provenance: al-Sirrayn (S. cem.) No date, probably 2nd half of the 3rd/9th cent. Basalt. Tombstone of irregular shape possibly broken upper left side. 7 lines, Incised, elaborate Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 24 x 21 cm. approx. (Plate 25, no.23).

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(41) Cf. 135 above.

(42) Grohmann, Expédition, 21-2, Pl.11,5.

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن

٢- الرحيم ٠ اللهم اذا

٣- جمعت الاولين والا

٤- خرين لميقات يوم

٥- معلوم ، فاجعل محمد

٦- بن عثمن [كذا] من ا

٧- لامنين ٠

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate
2. the Merciful. O God when
3. You gather together the first and the
4. last for the appointment of a day [already] known
5. include Muḥammad
6. b. ᶜUthmān among those who are
7. secure. (43)

Commentary

The Kufic is open and legible and characterized by its beautiful and elongated vertical letters. It combines long tailed nūns (ℓ.1) and angular ones (ℓ.3,4,6,7) with other attributes of Aḥmad al-Ḥaffār's method. In addition, it is noted that the medial ᶜayn (ℓ.3,5) which comes from al-Sirrayn, has acquired a distinct character in this inscription. The most remarkable feature is the shape of the lām-alif (ℓ.3,7) with two limbs outcurving so as to resemble an elegant drinking glass. The alif in the role of lengthening the vowel in the word ᶜUthman (ℓ.6) is omitted.

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(43) After Koran, Sūrat al-Wāqiᶜah, 49 and Surat al-Ḥijr,46.

No.24

Provenance: al-Sirrayn (S.cem.) No date, presumably 2nd half of the 3rd/9th cent. Basalt. Tombstone of irregular shape. 8 lines. Incised, elaborate Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 29 x 26 cm. approx. (Plate 25, no.24).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الر
٢- حيم • اللهم اذا جمعت
٣- الاولين والاخرين
٤- لميقات يوم معلوم ،
٥- فاجعل محمد بن و
٦- زير بن أحمد بن محمد
٧- بن أبي سورة
٨- من الآمنين •

Translation

1. in the name of God, the Compassionate, the
2. Merciful, O God when You gather together
3. the first and the last
4. for the appointment of a day [already] known
5. include Muḥammad b. Wa
6. Zīr b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad
7. b. Abī Sawrah
8. among those who are secure. (44)

Commentary

The occupant of the tomb has a grandfather named Abū Sawrah, and this is a Kunyah found in certain Persian

(44) Cf.134-5 above; al-Dūlābī in al-Kunā does not mention Sawrah, he mentions instead Suwayrah, cf. 1, 201.

names, denoting a mixed settlement in the town of al-Sirrayn.(45)

The Kufic is open and legible and its style resembles that of no.23 above, and no.25 below, as well as the ornamental letters. The text is surrounded on three sides by a simple border, appearing for the first time in al-Sirrayn. heralding a new era of beautiful ornamental borders.

No.25

Provenance: al-Sirrayn (S.cem.) No date, probably 2nd half of the 3rd/9th cent. Basalt. Tombstone of irregular shape, possibly broken lower left side. 13 lines. Incised, elegant Kufic, Average height and width of inscribed area 39 x 23 cm. approx. (Plate 26, no.25).

Text

١ـ بسم الله الرحمن

٢ـ الرحيم • قل هو الله

٣ـ أحد • الله الصمد •

٤ـ لم يلد ولم يو

٥ـ لد • ولـــم يكـــــن

٦ـ له كفوا أحد • هذا

٧ـ قبر وهب بن مو

٨ـ سى بن رزق مولا [كذا]

٩ـ محمد بن عبد الله

١٠ـ بن مشافي [مشافع] المعرو

١١ـ ف بأبي رزق عد [عيد]

١٢ الحجي • رحمـــه

١٣ ـ اللـــــه •

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(45) Surat al-Wāqiᶜah, 49 and Surat al-Ḥijr, 46.

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate,
2. the Merciful. Say. He is one God
3. God the Eternal.
4. He has not begotten, neither was He
5. begotten, and He has none
6. like unto Him. (46) This is the
7. tomb of Wahb b. Mū
8. Sā b. Rizq, Freed slave, of
9. Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh
10. b. Mushāfī [Mushafīᶜ] known
11. as Abū Rizq ᶜAd [ᶜĪd]
12. al-Ḥajabī. May mercy be granted to him
13. by God

Commentary

The deceased was a free man or client (Mawlā) of a man named Muḥammad b. ᶜAbd Allāh al-Ḥajabī, the nisbah referring to Banū ᶜAbd al-Dār, a branch of Quraysh, the gate-keepers of the Kaᶜbah. (47) The inscription is affected by the elements which have obliterated certain letters and changed its nature. It is difficult to read all the words. In ℓ.10 a word gives two possible readings. The same also applies to ℓ.11, ᶜAd and ᶜĪd.

The Kufic characters are beautiful and mostly resemble those of nos. 23 and 24, above and may be compared to similar inscriptions in Philby's collection of the same period.(48)

The text is surrounded on three sides by an ornamental border which is considered as progressive in relation to that of no.24 above.

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(46) Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ, 1-4.
(47) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, III, 21-2,104-5; cf
(48) Grohman, Expédition, 24,28, pl.111, Z.17,20.

2nd half of the 3rd/9th century inscriptions

b) The school of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn

No.26

Provenance: cAshm (E. cem.D) Dated, 285/898.

Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape, 9 lines. Incised, elaborate ornamental Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 39 x 26 cm. approx. (Plate 26, no.26).

Text

١– بسم الله الرحمن الر

٢– حيم • اللهم نور السموات

٣– والأرض ، نور لمريم ابنت [كذا]

٤– ابراهيم بن أبي عمران في

٥– قبرها ولقنها حجتها والحقها

٦– بنبيها محمد صلا [كذا] الله

٧– عليه وسلم و

٨– كتب أحمد بن الحسين

٩– في سنة خمس وثمانين ومائتين

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the
2. Merciful. O God light of the heavens
3. and earth, (49) shed light on Maryam bint
4. Ibrāhīm b. Abī cImrān in
5. her tomb and prompt her [to deliver] her [appropriate] plea and bring her to meet
6. her Prophet Muḥammad, may God bless
7. him and give him peace. And
8. Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn has written this inscription
9. in the year 285 [898]

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(49) Sūrat al-Nūr, 35.

Commentary

Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn's epigraphic school is characterized by its grasp of Aḥmad al-Ḥaffār's method, though he adds to it certain innovating elements, giving it a distinct mark. One finds in this inscription an elongation of the shaft letters (alif, lām, the initial bā', nūn and yā') giving them a sense of elegance. Half palmette ornaments are used extensively in most letters, especially in the apexes of the shaft letters. Adjacent letters (e.g. the alif-lām in Allāh (ℓ.1) are connected by three-lobed leaves, forming a palmette adornment. Also to be noted are the elongation of the shaft of the connected Hā' (e.g. Allāh, (ℓ.1) and its three-lobed leaves in the word Allāh (ℓ.1,6); the elongation of the tails of the final nūn (ℓ.1) and yā' (ℓ.4) is longer than al-Ḥaffār's elegant initial ᶜayn (ℓ.4), forming a kind of crest-like spiral above the horizontal base;(50) the elongation of the neck of the kāf and dāl (ℓ.8) and their upward curve ending in a triple leaf motif; a return to the triangular shaped hā' (ℓ.2,5,6) formerly appearing in ᶜAshm. (51) Certain detached letter terminations are formed into small triangles or arrow heads (e.g. the final mīm of Maryam ℓ.3). The decorated frame which appears on either side of the text is shaped like a chain between two simple lines. There is, however, a simple line above the text on top of which appears a series of V-shaped, slightly curved lines. It will be noted that there is nothing to complete the frame at the bottom. Apart from the upper side, there

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(50) Cf. Wiet, Catalogue, II, pl.XII, no.1271.

(51) Cf. pl.22, no.9.

are similar borders found in Egypt dating from the 3rd/9th century. (52)

No. 27

Provenance: cAshm (E.cem D) No date, probably 2nd half of the 3rd/9th cent. Limestone. Tombstone of irregular shape, broken at the bottom. 11 lines. Incised, ornamental Kufic. The average height and width of inscribed area 39 x 23 cm. approx. (Plate 26, no.27).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن
٢- الرحيم • اللهم نور النور
٣- مدبر الامو [ر] باعث من في القبو
٤- ر ، اجعل أم جعفر فاطمة
٥- ابنت [كذا] محمد بن أبي عمران
٦- من الآمنين الفائزين الذين
٧- لا خوف عليهم ولا هم
٨- يحزنون ونور لها في قبر
٩- ها والحقها بنبيها
١٠- محمد صلى الله عليه و
١١- سلـــــم •

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate,
2. the Merciful, O God, light of light,
3. He who conducts affairs, the Resurrecter
4. of those in the graves include Umm Jacfar Fāṭimah
5. bint Muḥammad b. Abī cImrān

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(52) Cf. Wiet, Catalogue, VII, pl.I, no.1506/ 410, pl.IV, no.1506/778 and pl.X, no.1506/548.

6. among those who will triumph, who shall
7. have no fear, nor shall they
8. grieve. (53) And shed light upon her in her tomb
9. and bring her to meet her Prophet
10. Muḥammad, God bless him and grant him
11. peace.

Commentary

This tombstone has been eroded by the wind which has oblitered and discoloured some of its letters, rendering it difficult to read. The occupant of the tomb is Umm Jaᶜfar Fāṭimah bint ᶜImrān. She may have been the cousin of the woman of inscription no.26 above, in which case this is evidence of their being contemporaries or, at least, close together in time. The palaeographic characteristics of this inscription assign it to the Aḥmad b.al-Ḥusayn school. Half-palmette decorations are profusely used. They can be found in the various shaft letters, including initial and medial bā', nūn and rā' (ℓ.1,5,6,8,9,10); also in the dents of sīn (ℓ.11). Certain loops of wāw (ℓ9,10) and qāf (ℓ.8,9) are embellished by three small dots. The text is partially surrounded by a plain frame having on its crest a trefoil adornment with illegible writing on both sides. (54)

No.28

Provenance: ᶜAshm (S.cem A). Dated, Shawwāl, 289/Sep-Oct.902. Limestone, Tombstone of irregular shape. 11 lines. Incised, elaborate ornamental Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 36 x 24 cm. approx. (Plate 26, no.28).

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(53) After Koran, cf. Sūrat al-ᶜArāf, 49.

(54) Cf. pl.24, nos. 17 and 18.

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٠

٢- كل نفس ذائقة الموت

٣- وانما توفون أجوركم ٠

٤- يوم القيمة [كذا] فمن زحزح عن

٥- النار وأدخل الجنة فقد فاز .

٦- اللهم اجعل محمد بن حفص بن

٧- المعمر من الفائزين ٠ آمين رب

٨- العالمين ٠ وصلا [كذا] الله على محمد

٩- النبي وسلم ، وكتبه أحمد بن

١٠- الحسين في شوال سنه تسع وثمانين وما

١١- تين [كذا]

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. Every soul shall taste death,
3. and You shall be paid your full recompense
4. on the day of Resurrection. He who is kept away from
5. the fire and admitted to Paradise, has indeed succeeded.(55)
6. O God, assign Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ b.
7. al-Muᶜammar to those who will triumph. (56) Amen. Lord
8. of the universe The blessing of God be upon Muḥammad
9. the Prophet, and grant him peace. It has been written by Aḥmad b.
10. Al-Ḥusayn in Shawāl of the year
11. 289 [Sept. - Oct. 902]

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(55) Sūrat al-Anbiyā , 101-102.

(56) After Koran, cf. Sūrat al-Ḥashr, 20.

Commentary

This inscription is also attributed to Aḥmad b.al-Ḥusayn. He inscribed it four years after no.27 above, but one finds no visible difference in calligraphic method. This is an expected finding, considering the short space of time between the two. The same methods used by the scribe are very clear both in the script and the embellishment. It should be noted that the connected hā' shaft is bent to the left and ends in a three-lobed leaf (e.g. ℓ.1, 2,4,5,9 and 10). The neck of the dāl (ℓ.5,6,8,9) and the kāf (ℓ.1,3,9) end in an ornament resembling a serpent's mouth, a form depicted on at least one inscription from Dahlak. (57) The terminations of final mīm and tā' or bā' are shaped as a triangle once (ℓ.1,9) and as three-lobed leaves on a second occasion (ℓ.3). The medial ᶜayn may (ℓ.6 and 7) represent a form similar to a kind of a "fleur-de-lys". Such an ᶜayn has been seen in an Hijazi inscription belonging to the Philby collection and also in an Egyptian epitaph.(58) The inscription is bordered on its three sides by beautifully decorated designs. At the top there is a trefoil pattern in the middle. The final alif in the word Ṣallā (ℓ.8) is mamdūdah, rather than the normal alif maqṣūrah. This was probably written thus deliberately in order to continue the decoration, as is clear in nos 26 above and 29 below. The alif in the role of lengthening the vowel, in the word al-Qiyāmah (ℓ.4) is omitted, a feature common in early Arabic orthography, e.g. both in the Koran and epigraphy.(59) The Koranic formula occurs only in this inscription and no.46 below.

(57) Oman, Dahlak, I, 29, no.23. cf. also Arif, Arabic, 42, nos.8, 15 and 28.
(58) Grohman, Expédition, 28, pl.III, Z19; Jumᶜah, D T K K, 173-174, fig.20 pl.14.
(59) Cf. Al-Fiᶜr, "Taṭawwur", 197, passim; Beeston, Cambridge, 12.

No.29

Provenance: ^{c}Ashm (S.cem A). No date, (cf. no.28)
Sandstone. Tombstone of nearly rectangular shape. 9 lines, plus 3 lines outside the border, left and right sides and top. Incised, elaborate ornamental Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 38 x 33 cm. approx. (Plate 27, no.29).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٠
٢- سبحان مبيد الأمم ومحيي الر
٣- مم والممنن بالنعم ذلك
٤- الله الأعلا [كذا] له الأسماء الحسنا [كذا]
٥- اللهم اجعل محمد بن حفص
٦- ابن المعمر من المزلفين لديك و
٧- امنن عليه بالنظر اليك ، وأنر وحد
٨- ته وانفراده واجعل الجنة منقلبة
٩- ومعاده ٠ آمين رب العالمين ٠
١- قل هو الله أحد ٠ الله الصمد ٠ لم يلد
٢- ولم يولد ٠ ولم يكن له كفوا أحد ٠
٣- لا اله الا الله محمد رسو
٤- ل الله

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
2. Praise to Him Who destroys nations, revives the
3. dead, and gives benefactions. He is
4. God the High; these are the most beautiful names. (60)
5. O God, assign Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ

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(60) After Koran, cf. Sūrat Ṭāhā, 8.

6. b. al-Muᶜammar to those who are in favour with You and
7. grant him the favour of looking upon You.
   And light his solitude
8. and isolation, and make Paradise his abode
   and habitation.
9. Amen. O Lord of the Universe.

The three additional lines

Right : 1. Say, He is one God, God the Eternal, He has not begotten,

Left : 2. Neither was He begotten, and He has none like unto Him (61)

Upper : 3. There is no God but Allāh, Muḥammad is the messenger of God.

Commentary

This tombstone is for the same deceased as no.28, and seems to be inscribed by the same hand. Although it has been the policy in writing this study to discuss in detail only one inscription of those found in numbers more than one, we were, however, compelled to consider this particular inscription in view of the supplication contained in it which is new in Tihāmah and denotes the cultural standing attained by ᶜAshm.

From the palaeographic point of view, this inscription preserves the standard of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn's inscriptions of nos. 26 and 28 above, with two differences. The first is the arched elongation of the letter dhāl (ℓ.3), the

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(61) Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ, 1-4.

lengthening of its neck and its ending in a foliated form. The second is the embellishment of the detached hā' (ℓ.8,9) which thus resembles a tuba. Final alif is mamdūdah, twice in the words al-ᶜAlā and al-Ḥusnā (ℓ.4), rather than the normal alif maqṣūrah. This occurs in nos. 26 and 28 above.

The text is bordered with a partial frame on three sides, left, right and top in which the scribe combines the two decorative methods of nos. 26 and 28 above. For the first time we find writing outside the border. This method has been followed in later inscriptions, especially in al-Ṣirrayn in the 4th/10th century.

No.30

Provenance: ᶜAshm, transported to al-ᶜAqīlī. No date, presumably 2nd half of the 3rd/9th cent. Limestone. Tombstone of irregular shape. 8 lines. Incised, clear Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 27 x 26 cm. approx. (Plate 27, no.30).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الر

٢- حيم • سبحان مبيد الامم

٣- ومحيي الرمم والممنن بالنعم

٤- ذلك الله الأعلى ، له الأ

٥- سماء الحسنى • اللهم اجعل

٦- حظية وحمادة ابنتي [كذا] عبد

٧- الله بن يوسف من الفائزين

٨- آمـــــين

Translation

1. In the name of God, the
2. Compassionate, the Merciful. Praise to Him Who
destroys nations,
3. revives the dead and gives benefactions.
4. He is God the High, His are the
5. most beautiful names.(62) O God assign
6. Ḥaẓiyyah and Ḥammādah, daughters of ᶜAbd
7. Allāh b. Yūsuf among those who will triumph
8. Amen.

Commentary

This inscription has been affected by dampness as it is now to be found in a cattle pen, as is evident from the photograph.(63) The natural colour of the tombstone has altered and its surface is chipped.

It bears the names of Ḥaẓiyyah and Ḥammādah, who were sisters. It seems that they died on the same day, which is a rare occurrence. It was probably the result of an epidemic or an accident such as a collapsed house, a drowning or fire.

It is suggested that this inscription pertains to the 2nd half of the 3rd/9th century and probably belongs to Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn's school, although it does not attain this category's high standard of ornamentation. The reasons for including it in this category or, at least, ascribing it to the 2nd half of the 3rd/9th century, are as follows:

1. The text is enclosed within a three sided frame, which, although plain, corroborates our opinion, as frames did not appear in this region's inscriptions before the 2nd

(62) After Koran, Sūrat Ṭāhā, 8.

(63) Cf. pl.18, no. XXXV.

half of the 3rd/9th century, as mentioned in inscription no.15 above.

2. The text contains an entirely new supplication and one not found apart from in inscription no.29 above of this collection.

3. There are some points of similarity between this inscription and nos. 28 and 29 above by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn. We note for instance that the hā' adjacent to the bā' in the word subḥān (ℓ.2) resembles its counterpart in no.28 above. Also there are the shapes of the final nūn (ℓ.2,3,5,7 and 8), dāl (ℓ 2,6) and final mīm (ℓ 1,2 and 3) with the variable decoration of the letters. The first shows a three-lobed leaf, whereas here there are spikes or wedge-shapes. There is also a similarity between the arc, the final hā' of the word Allāh (ℓ.1,4) and that of Aḥmad b. al Ḥusayn no.25 above. However the lām-alifs take on a different shape from the Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn's collection, but the shape found here is present in inscription no.15 of this period. The medial ᶜayn (ℓ.5) has the form of a goblet. This form occurs in ᶜAshm as early as 262/875-6 (cf. no.15, above).

CHAPTER 15

4th/10th century inscriptions

No.31

Provenance. ᶜAshm (S.cem.B). Dated Dhū ʾl-Qaᶜdah 315 Jan. 928 Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape. 11 + 2 lines. Incised, simple, partially adorned Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 35 x 24 cm.approx. (Plate 27,no.31).

Text

١ـ بسم الله الرحمن

٢ـ الرحيم • قل هو الله

٣ـ أحد • الله الصمد •

٤ـ لم يلد ولم يولد •

٥ـ ولم يكن له كفوا

٦ـ أحد • هذا قبر السيد

٧ـ ه ابنت [كذا] عبيد بن عمر

٨ـ رحمها الله وغفر

٩ـ لها ولقاها حجتها وا

١٠ـ لحقها بنبيها محمد عليه

١١ـ السـلام •

١ـ توفيت في ذى القعدة سنة خمس

٢ـ عشر سنة [كذا] وثلاث مئة •

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate,
2. the Merciful. Say He is one God
3. God the Eternal.
4. He has not begotten, neither was He begotten
5. and He has none like unto Him.(1)
6. This is the tomb of al-Sayyida
7. h bint ᶜUbayd b. ᶜUmar
8. May God have mercy upon her and may He forgive
9. her and provide her with [the appropriate] plea and
10. allow her to join her Prophet Muḥammad
11. peace be upon him

(1) Surat al-Ikhlāṣ, 1-4.

1. She passed away in Dhū ʾl-Qaᶜdah in the year

2. 315 [Jan. 928]

Commentary

This inscription bears the name of al-Sayyidah bint ᶜUbayd b. ᶜUmar. She may have been a descendant of the Prophet's house or perhaps al-Sayyidah was her personal name, now common among the women of this region. Without the al, the name appears in al-ᶜIqd al-Thamīn by al-Fāsī. (2)

The characteristics listed below do not represent the high standard of the Kufic of the 4th/10th century. There are no ornamental elements with the exception of small triangles or forked shapes in the apices and terminations of most of the letters. If the inscription did not bear a clear date, one would ascribe it to an earlier period. But it seems that the excellence of incised Kufic which appeared in the 3rd/9th century has passed away to herald a new stage of Kufic in relief flourishing in al-Sirrayn in the 4th/10th century and in ᶜAshm in the 5th/11th century as will be noted below.

No.32

Provenance: al-Sirrayn (S.cem) Dated, Shawwāl 331/June-Jul.943

Basalt. Tombstone of irregular shape. 10 lines. Elaborate, partially ornamental, in relief. Average height and width of inscribed area 29 x 27 cm. approx. (Plate 27, no.32).

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(2) VIII, 251-252.

Text

١ـ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

٢ـ لقد كان لكم في رسو

٣ـ ل الله أسوة حسنة لمن

٤ـ كان يرجو الله واليو

٥ـ م الاخر وذكر الله كثير

٦ـ ا ٠ هذا قبر خديجة ابنت [كذا]

٧ـ أحمد بن محمد بن

٨ـ محسن توفيت رحمها

٩ـ الله في شوال سنة

١٠ـ احد [كذا] وثلاثين وثلاثمائة

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. You have indeed in the Apostle
3. of God a fine example of [conduct] for anyone
4. whose hope is in God and the
5. final day, and who commemorates God much. (3)
6. This is the tomb of Khadīǰah bint
7. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b.
8. Muḥsin. She passed away, may mercy be granted to her by
9. God, in Shawwāl, the year
10. 331 [Jun.-Jul. 943]

Commentary

This is the first dated inscription bearing this kind of script to be found in this region. Such early script occurs in Makkah on a pillar in the Grand Mosque as early

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(3) Sūrat al-Aḥzāb, 21.

as 167/783-4. (4) In Egypt it occurs on epitaphs dated 203/818. (5) Also this type of Kufic in relief occurs in San$^{c}\bar{a}$' before 133/750. (6) The inscription is weather-beaten and the two first lines are difficult to decipher. The scribe has adhered to a balanced proportion between the lines and words. In spite of the short crude letters, one finds an attempt to embellish the letter apexes with small triangular adornments and fill the space between the lines with four-lobed rosettes and floral elements. The letter nūn in the word Muḥsin (ℓ.8) and thalāthīn (ℓ.10) resembles a rā'. The letter yā' in the word fī (ℓ.9) resembles hā' makhṭūfah in thuluth script. (7) This kind of yā' became common in some inscriptions of al-Sirrayn dating from this century. (8) Dictation faults are detected in the omission of the alif maqṣūrah at the end of the word iḥdā (ℓ.10) and the addition of alif to the word bint (ℓ.6).

No. 33

Provenance: al-Sirrayn (S.cem.) No date, probably 1st half of the 4th/10th cent. Basalt. Tombstone of irregular shape, broken upper right, left and lower left sides, 12 lines. Beautifully elaborate and ornamental Kufic, in relief. Average height and width of inscribed area 36 x 35 cm approx. (Plate 28, no.33).

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(4) Al-Fi^{c}r, "Risālat", 82, 86, Text I and II.

(5) Hawary, Catalogue, I, 7; Pl.XII, no.272181.

(6) Lewcock, "Architectural", 344, Pl.18, 55.

(7) Al-Qalqashandī, Ṣubḥ, III, 98.

(8) Cf. nos. 40, 48 and 51 below.

Text

١ـ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم • يـ [ـاذا]

٢ـ السلطان الشامخ والعز الباذ [خ]

٣ـ والملك القاهر والنور الزاهر والضـ [ـؤ]

٤ـ الباهر والكل الظاهر • اذا نفخ في الصو

٥ـ ر وبعثرت القبور وتعاظمت الأمور و

٦ـ ضاقت الصدور ، واشتد القلق وكثر

٧ـ العرق وخيف الرهق • وتدنيت [كذا] الموا ز

٨ـ ين وحشرت الدواوين • فاجعل جعفر

٩ـ بن علي بن الحسن بن أبي العرام من الآمنين

١٠ـ يوم الفزع الأكبر ، والحقه

١١ـ بنبيه محمد صلى الله عليه

١٢ـ وسلـــــم

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
2. Wield Ō You Who exalted power, lofty glory,
3. irresistible Kingship, and [You] are illumination
4. brilliant and everything that is evident.
5. When the trumpet is blown, graves scattered, matters serious,
6. breasts cramped, anxiety overwhelming,
7. Sweat in abundance, oppression to be feared
   the balances come closer
8. and the chancelleries assembled, (9) assign Jaᶜfar
9. b. ᶜAlī b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-ᶜArām
   [al-ᶜUrām] among those who are secure
10. on the day of great terror, and let him join
11. his Prophet Muḥammad May God bless him
12. and grant him peace.

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(9) After Koran, passim.

Commentary

This tombstone bears the name of Ja^{c}far b. ^{c}Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. Abī ʾl-^{c}Arām or it can be read Abū ʾl-^{c}Urām. Both are Kunyahs recognized by Ibn Mākūlā. (10)

This is one of the most beautiful inscriptions in relief to be uncovered in Tihāmah so far, though its palaeographic characteristics occur in an Egyptian stele and tombstone from B. Suʿlaym which may date from the 3rd/9th-4th/10th centuries. (11) This inscription shows the artist's skill in executing fine work. Its letters are compact, in an harmonious manner. However, the scribe's attempt to fill the line with the greatest number of words in his endeavour to include a long supplication makes him compress his writing at the ends of the lines, making it hard to decipher. The above is the suggested reading. Also this does not tarnish a beautiful artistic picture.

It is believed that this inscription belongs to the 1st half of the 4th/9th century in view of the similarity of its style to no. 32 above. This is evident from the manner of adorning the letter apexes and the form of letters themselves. Comparing this inscription with no.32, we conclude that they were both carved by the same hand, or at least, belong to the same period. The only discrepancy is the higher artistic standard of this inscription than no.32, and the smallness and approximation of letters in this inscription, as compared with the coarseness and spacing in no.32. In addition it is worthy of mention that this

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(10) Al-Ikmāl, VI, 305-6.

(11) Cf. Wiet, Catalogue, VII, Pl.IX, no.1506/864; al-Bāshā, "Shawāhid", 111-4, pl.38, no.18.

inscription lacks the rosettes filling the spaces between lines, while preserving certain independent floral motifs (ℓ.11). It should be noted also that the final letter of the qāf (ℓ.6,7) resembles the letter wāw, but the qāf's tail is pointed, whereas the wāw's tail is triangular.

Above the first line is a border embodying recurrent decorative units, representing six-lobed rosettes. The top border bears an arc with six-pointed star containing a circle surrounded by unclear decorative elements. The earliest recorded instance of a similar arc is on stelae in Dahlak dated 326/938. (12)

No. 34

Provenance: al-Sirrayn (N.cem.) No date, presumably 1st half of the 4th cent. Basalt. Tombstone of somewhat rectangular shape. 3+ 16 lines. Beautiful elaborate, ornamental Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 52 x 42 cm. approx. (Plate 28 no.34).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم • ان ر
٢- بكم الله الذى خلق السموا
٣- ت والأرض في ستة أيام ثم است
٤- وا [كذا] على العرش يغشى الليل النها
٥- ر يطلبه حثيثا والشمس والقمر
٦- والنجوم مسخرات بأمره ألا له
٧- الخلق والأمر تبارك الله
٨- رب العالمين • ادعو ربكم
٩- تضرعا وخفية انه لا
١٠- يحب المعتدين • اللهـــم

(12) Oman, Dahlak, II, 22,24,38,50;64;nos.19,21,34,44 and 58.

١١- اذا جمعت الملأ لفضل
١٢- العطا وابانة الجزا [كذا] فما
١٣- جعل راجي مولاه منصور ؟
١٤- بن نصر بن منصور؟من الذ
١٥- ين لا خوف عليهم ولا هم
١٦- يحزنون ٠

١- قل هو الله أحد ٠ الله
٢- الصمد ٠ لم يلد ولم يولد ٠ ولم
٣- يكن له كفوا أحد ٠

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
   Surely,
2. your Lord is Allāh, who created the heavens
3. and the earth in six days; then; He settled
4. Himself on the throne. He makes the night
   cover the day,
5. pursuing it swiftly. The sun and the moon
6. and the stars, are all made subservient by His
   command, Hearken, His is
7. the Creation and its regulation. Blessed is God,
8. the Lord of the universe. Call upon your Lord
9. in humble entreaty in secret. He does not
10. love those who exceed the limits. (13) O God when
11. You gather together the crowds to offer in abundance
12. gifts and to clarify the recompense, so
13. assign him whose hope is in his Lord, Manṣūr?
14. b. Nāṣr b. Manṣūr? to be among those who
15. shall have no fear, nor shall they
16. grieve (14)

(13) Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ, 1-4.
(14) Sūrat al-Aᶜrāf, 55-6.

1. Say, He is one God. God
2. the Eternal. He has not begotten, neither was He begotten. And He has none
3. like unto Him (15)

Commentary

This inscription is the second one, beautifully carved in relief in Tihāmah during this period. The epigraphy shows a resemblance to inscriptions nos. 31 and 32 above, with regard to the manner of inscribing and decorating the letters, whether initial, medial or final. Also a similar inscription dated 326/938 has been seen among the stelae of the island of Dahlak. (16) This leads us to believe that it belongs to the 1st half of the 4th/10th century. It is partially surrounded by a three-sided border on which appears Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ. This is the first border enclosing script to be found in al-Sirrayn. It became common in most subsequent inscriptions here, whereas writing outside the border appears in ᶜAshm as early as 289/902. (17) The border at the top represents an arc; its outside is decorated by four-lobed rosettes. Inside there is an ornamental element which forms a palmette. A similar arc occurs also in a tombstone on the island of Dahlak dated 326/938. (18)

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(15) After Koran, cf. Sūrat al-Aḥqāf, 13.

(16) Oman, Dahlak, II, 38, no.34.

(17) Cf. Pl.27, no.29 above.

(18) Oman, Dahlak, II, 22-3, no.19.

No.35

Provenance: al-Sirrayn (S.cm.) No date, probably 1st half of the 4th/10th cent. Limestone. Tombstone of nearly rectangular shape, probably broken upper left and lower right sides 12 + 3 lines. Carved, elaborate, legible Kufic in relief. Average height and width of inscribed area 44 x 35 cm. approx. (Plate 28, no.35).

Text

١ـ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٠
٢ـ لقد كان لكم في
٣ـ رسول الله أسوة حسنة
٤ـ لمن كان يرجو الله واليو
٥ـ م الآخر وذكر الله كثير
٦ـ ا ٠ اللهم اذا جمعت الا
٧ـ ولين والاخرين لميقات يو
٨ـ م معلوم ، فاجعل محمد
٩ـ بن عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن
١٠ـ خلف بن ٠٠٠ من الفائز
١١ـ ين ٠ برحمتك يا رحم [كذا] الرا
١٢ـ حمين ٠

١ـ شهد الله أنه لا اله الا هو والملا
٢ـ ئكة وأولوا العلم قائما
٣ـ بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز الحكيم ٠

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
2. You have indeed in the
3. Apostle of God a fine example of [conduct]
4. for anyone whose hope is in God and the

5. final day, and who commemorates God much. (19)
6. O God when you gather together the
7. first and the last for the appointment of a day
   which has been
8. determined upon. Assign Muḥammad
9. b. ᶜAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b.
10. Khalaf b. ... to be among those who will triumph
11. by Your mercy, O most Merciful one of
12. those who show mercy. (21)

1. God has testified that there is no God but He, and
   the angels
2. and men endued with knowledge, established in
3. justice [proclaim] that there is no God but He,
   the Mighty, the Wise. (22)

Commentary

Apart from the "returning" yā' in the word fī (ℓ.2), the style of the Kufic resembles those of nos 32 and 34 above. The border of this inscription also resembles that of no. 34 above, though it has no upper decorated arc. I have been unable to decipher the last words of the deceased's name or to suggest any other reading. The alif in the word yā'arḥam (ℓ.11) is omitted.

No.36

Provenance: ᶜAshm (E. Cem.E) Dated, Dhū 'l-Qaᶜdah, 350/Dec.961. Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape. 10 lines. Incised, simple Kufic, of difficult legibility. Average height and width of inscribed area 32 x 26 cm. approx. (Plate 29,no.36).

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(19) Sūrat al-Aḥzāb, 21.
(20) After Koran, cf. Sūrat al-Wāqiᶜah, 50.
(21) After Koran, cf. Sūrat al- Aᶜrāf, 151.
(22) Sūrat Āl ᶜImrān, 18.

Text

١– بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم .

٢– هذا قبر الخطاب بن أسيد ابن [كذا]

٣– أحمد ابن [كذا] أسيد الجملي . غفر

٤– الله ذنبه ولقاه حجته

٥– والحقه بنبيه محمد صلى ا

٦– لله عليه وسلم تسليما

٧– توفي في شهر ذى القعدة

٨– سنة خمسين وثلاثمئة

٩– سنة [كذا] رحمة الله عليه و

١٠– ... ...

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. This is the tomb of al-Khaṭṭāb b. Asīd b.
3. Aḥmad b. Asīd al-Jamalī. May God forgive
4. his sin[s] and provide him with
   [the appropriate] plea
5. and bring him to meet his Prophet Muḥammad. May
6. God bless him and grant him peace
7. He passed away in the month of Dhū ʾl-Qaʿdah
8. the year 350 [Dec. 961]
9. May the Mercy of God be upon him and,
10. .....

Commentary

This inscription is unclear because of the tombstone's rugged surface and the letters themselves turning into the same colour as the rock. In spite of all efforts to clarify the script, such as cleaning and sprinkling it with white powder,

it could not be made to look cleaner and more legible than it appears on the photograph.

The script is artistically inferior and almost illegible. If it were not for the date it bears, we would have considered it earlier. However, it appears that the heyday of ᶜAshm in the 3rd/9th century has begun to decline. No decoration worthy of mention is apparent in this inscription. Similar inscriptions dating from the 4th-10th, have been found in Egypt bearing the same characteristics as no.36. (23)

The importance of this inscription does not derive from the style of its writing but from the information it carries. The deceased person is al-Khaṭṭāb b. Asīd al-Jamalī, this nisbah refers to Jamal, a numerous branch of the Murād tribe. (24) Also Asīd is attested in classical Arabic and recognized by al-Fāsī. (25)

The text is partially enclosed within a border consisting of two simple parallel lines. Between them angular decorations form small cross-like shapes. The last words (ℓ.10) are too obscure to be deciphered.

No. 37

Provenance: al-Sirrayn (N.cem.) Dated 21-2 Muḥarram 361?/12-3 Nov. 972. Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape, weather-beaten. 13 lines. Good, partially ornamental Kufic, carved in relief. Average height and width of inscribed area 52 x 38 cm. approx. (Plate 29, no.37).

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(23) Cf. Wiet, Catalogue, VI, pl.IV, no.395 and pl.V,no.13646.
(24) Al-Samᶜānī, al-Ansāb, III, 302-304.
(25) Al-ᶜIqd, III, 218-9.

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٠

٢- [قل] هو نبأ عظيم ٠ أنتم عنه معرضون ٠

٣- [هـ] ـذا قبر الامير أبي

٤- [الحـ] ـسين يحي بن علي بن ا

٥- [لحسن بن] محمد بن موسى بن عبد

٦- [الله بن مـ] ـوسى بن عبد الله بن ا

٧- [لحسن بن ا] لحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب ٠

٨- ... مضجعه ورحم مطر

٩- [حه توفي] رضي الله عنه لثمان بقين

١٠- [من مـ] ـحرم سنة احدى و

١١- ستـ [ـين] وثلثمائة [كذا] ٠ الحقه [الله] بسلفه

١٢- الطاهرين ٠ وصلى الله على محمد

١٣- وآله وسلم ٠

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. Say this is a message supreme from which you turn away.(26)
3. This is the tomb of the amir Abū
4. al-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā b. ᶜAlī b. a
5. [l-Ḥasan] b. Muḥammad b. Mūsā b. ᶜAbd
6. [Allāh b. Mūsā b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. a
7. [l-Ḥasan b.] al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib
8. ... his grave and May [God] have Mercy upon his place (location)
9. He passed away, May God be pleased with him, 8 [nights] remaining of
10. Muḥarram of the year
11. 361 [12-3 Nov. 972]. May God bring him to meet his ancestors

(26) Sūrat Ṣād, 67-8.

12. the pure one, May God bless Muḥammad

13. and his family and grant them peace.

Commentary

The word amir (ℓ.3) is a title here meaning governor,[27] so this inscription is extremely important, because it bears the name of an amir of al-Sirrayn and the family's genealogy going back to ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. It is published in this study as a document corroborating the views we have expressed above. It has been exposed to the rigours of the atmosphere, so its letters have been obliterated and have sunk, some of them down to the level of the surface. Many words on the right hand side are obscured by a series of hollows cut into the stone by the elements.

From a palaeographic point of view it is considered to be a new conception in an inscription in relief which magnifies the letters of certain words, especially the names of the deceased (ℓ.3-5). This gave them an elegant appearance enhanced further by the beauty and symmetry of the letters. A similar style of writing is found in inscriptions from B. Sulaym and Egypt dating from the 4th/10th century.[28] This inscription represents a transitory period in the 1st half of the 4th/10th century and also its 2nd half, because some of the features characterizing nos.32, 33 and 34 above, have remained in existence. In addition there are two four-lobed rosettes, one on top of the nūn

(27) Al-Bāshā, al-Alqāb, 180; Combe, Répertoire, I, 7, no.8 and III, 4 no.805.

(28) Cf. al-Bāshā, "Shawāhid," 114-6, pl.39, fig.19, Wiet, Catalogue, IV, pl.1, nos. 2721/134, 12607, pl.VIII, no.2721/169; ᶜAbd Al-Tawab, Steles, 151, no.151.

in the word al-Ḥusayn (ℓ.4), and the second above the dāl in ᶜAbd (ℓ.5). Similar rosettes occur in no.32 above. The change is represented, as we have said already, by magnifying the names and reducing the letters of other words, thus ignoring symmetry and disregarding methodical rules and principles. (29) The text is partially surrounded by a border enclosing some writing, which unfortunately cannot be deciphered, but although a few words can be made out, we can detect no acceptable meaning, but it seems that they are part of a poem.

No.38

Provenance: al-Sirrayn (S.cem.) No date, probably 2nd half of the 4th/10th cent. Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape, weather-beaten. Some of its words obliterated by the elements and cavities formed in the stone. 10 + 3 lines of illegible Kufic carved in relief. Average height and width 51 x 38 cm. approx. (Plate 29, no.38).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٠
٢- شهد الله أنه لا اله الا
٣- هو [و] الملائكة وأولوا
٤- العلم قائما بالقسط
٥- لا اله الا هو هو العزيز الحكيم ٠
٦- اللهم صلي على محمد النبي ٠
٧- هذا قبر محمد

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(29) Cf. Jumᶜah, DTKK, 176.

٨ـ بن جعفر بن عبد

٩ـ و • رحمه الله وجعله

١٠ـ ذخرا لوالديه من النار •

١ـ قل هو الله أحد • الله الصمد •

٢ـ لم يلد ولم يولد • ولم

٣ـ يكن له كفوا أحد •

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
2. God has testified that there is no God but
3. He, the angels and men endued with
4. Knowledge, established in justice [proclaim]
5. that there is no God but He, the Mighty, the Wise. (30)
6. O, God bless Muḥammad the Prophet
7. This is the tomb of Muḥammad
8. b. Ja^{c}far b. ^{c}Abd
9. ū. May God have mercy upon him and make him
10. a treasure for his parents [stored away] against Hell

1. Say, He is One God, God the Eternal
2. He has not begotten, neither was He begotten, and He has
3. none like unto Him. (31)

Commentary

The palaeographic characteristics of this inscription are similar to those of the 2nd half of the 4th/10th century found in al-Sirrayn. This is indicated by the wideness of the letters, especially in the words carrying the name of the deceased (ℓ.7 and 8). There is a resemblance between this stele and no.37 above and 39 below, represented by the form of the shaft of initial and medial bā' (ℓ.7,8) and

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(30) Sūrat Āl ʿImrān, 18.

(31) Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ 1-4.

final nūn (ℓ.1, 8) and with the end resembling a hook shape. There is also a similarity between this inscription and no.37 above, in the forms of the lāms in the word Allāh (ℓ.1,2,6,9) and the lām-alif (ℓ.5). This leads us to think that it belongs to the 2nd half of the 4th/10 th century.

The text is surrounded by a border on three sides on which is inscribed Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ. It seems that this inscription is the last to bear script outside the border.

The deceased might have been a child, or at least died in his parent's lifetime, as is evident from the end of the formula. (32)

No.39

Provenance: al-Sirrayn (S.cem.) No date, presumably 2nd half of the 4th/10th cent. Limestone. Tombstone of irregular shape, weather-beaten, broken lower left side. 8 lines. Unclear Kufic carved in relief. Average height and width of inscribed area 28 x 18 cm. approx. (Plate 30, no.39).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٠

٢- اللهم اذا جمعت الأو

٣- لين والاخرين لميقات

٤- يوم معلوم ، فاجعل

٥- محمد بن اسحق [كذا]

٦- بن الحسين بن

٧- أحمد الشافعي

٨- من الآمنين ٠

---

(32) Cf. pl.25 and 27 above.

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. O, God when you gather together the first
3. and the last for the appointment of
4. a day which has been determined upon. (33) Assign
5. Muḥammad b. Isḥāq
6. b. al-Ḥusayn b.
7. Aḥmad al-Shāfiʿī
8. to be among those who are secure.

Commentary

This inscription bears the name of Muḥammad b. Isḥāq b. Aḥmad al-Shāfiʿī, a nisbah deriving from the man's religious denomination, that of al-Shāfiʿī, the founder of one of the four Sunnī madhhabs. (34)

The inscription from a palaeographic point of view fairly closely resembles those of nos.37 and 38 above and is almost identical with no. 49 below. Adorned letters are limited to the hā' (ℓ.5), the dāl (ℓ.5,7) the nūn (ℓ.6) and the yā' (ℓ.7). The first four lines are obscure though they can just be deciphered.

No. 40

Provenance: ʿAshm (e. cem.D) Dated Jumādā 'l-Ākhirah 371/Dec. 981 Basalt. Tombstone of irregular shape, fractured into two pieces. 9 lines. Incised, simple Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 44 x 30 cm. approx. (Plate 30,40).

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(33) After Koran, cf. Sūrat al-Wāqiʿah, 50.

(34) Al-Samʿānī, al-Ansāb, VII, 254-6.

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

٢- لقد كان لكم في رسول الله

٣- أسوة حسنة لمن كان يرجوا

٤- الله واليوم الآخر وذكر الله

٥- كثيرا ٠ هذا قبر مريم ابنت [كذا] يعيش

٦- رحمة الله عليها ورضوانه

٧- توفيت في شهر جماد الآخر [كذا]

٨- سنة واحدة [كذا] وسبعين وثلثمئة [كذا]

٩- سنة [كذا]

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. You have indeed in the Apostle of God
3. a fine example of [conduct] for anyone whose hope
4. is in God and the final day, and who commemorates God
5. much. (35) This is the tomb of Maryam bint Yaʿīsh (36)
6. May God's mercy and approval be upon her.
7. She Passed away in the month of Jumādā ʾl-Ākhir [sic]
8. The year 371 [Dec. 981]
9. year [sic]

Commentary

This insciption is also considered as a proof of the great divergence in the standard of perfection which characterized ʿAshm tombstones in the 3rd/9th century and this stele. Although this is inferior to 3rd/9th century inscriptions, it is however superior to nos. 31 and 36

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(35) Sūrat al-Aḥzāb, 21.

(36) The name Yaʿīsh is a classical Arabic name recognized by Ibn Mākūlā, cf. al-Ikmāl, VII, 431-2.

above in artistic merit. There is no doubt that the lapse of time is relevant as the present inscription is nearer to the 5th/11th century which also saw fine calligraphy from ᶜAshm. The outstanding attributes are the form of the final mīm (ℓ.1,2,4 and 5) and nūn (ℓ.1,3) with tails which represent pointed curves; the shaft letters lean towards the right, a characteristic of the Hijazi script. (37) The decoration of the apexes of the letters is only one, lobed-shape (e.g. ℓ.1,2).

Above the first line is a border of a running zig-zag band with a broad centre and a narrow band on either side. There is a grammatical fault in the use of the word wāḥidah (ℓ.8) which is nearer to the colloquial language, than to the classical Arabic iḥdā. The adjective qualifying Jumādā is also erroneously al-Ākhir (ℓ.7).

No.41

Provenance: ᶜAshm (E. cem.D) No date, probably 2nd half of the 4th/10 cent. Basalt. Tombstone of irregular shape. 8 lines. Incised, simple Kufic, partially adorned. Average height and width of inscribed area 35 x 32 cm. approx. (Plate 30, no.41).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٠

٢- لقد كان لكم في رسول الله

٣- أسوة حسنة لمن كان يرجوا

٤- الله واليوم الآخر وذكر الله كثير

٥- ا ٠ هذا قبر عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله

٦- بنجهم بن محمد الأسلمي

٧- رحمة الله عليه ورضو

٨- انه

(37) Al-Fiᶜr, "Taṭawwur", 198.

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate the Merciful.
2. You have indeed in the Apostle of God
3. a fine example of [conduct] for anyone whose hope is in
4. God and the final day and commemorates God much (38)
5. This is the tomb of ᶜAbd al-Rahmān b. ᶜAbd Allāh
6. b. Jahm b. Muḥammad al-Aslamī
7. May God's mercy be upon him and His
8. approval

Commentary

The nisbah al-Aslamī may refer to Aslam b. Afṣā b. Ḥārithah b. ᶜAmr who was the brother of Khuzaymah. Alternatively it might refer to Aslam b. Jumaḥ b. ᶜAṭā Abū Marwān. (39)

The Kufic characters are palaeographically closely related to the previous inscription, no.40, in view of a similarity in the shapesof the medial and final mīm (ℓ.1,3,4,5,6 and 7), final nūn (ℓ.2,3), the loop of the qāf (ℓ.2), the final hā' (ℓ.3) and the bottom of the alif in the word yarjū (ℓ.3), which is parallel to the tip of the loop of the wāw; also the forms of letters dāl and hā' in the word hādhā (ℓ.5). In addition there is the resemblance in the formula, particularly in ℓ.7 where it first occurs in the inscriptions of Tihāmah. Thus the epigraphy, in all probability, can be assigned to the 2nd half of the 4th/10 century.

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(38) Sūrat al-Aḥzāb, 21.

(39) Al-Samᶜānī, al-Ansāb, I, 249; cf. al-Dhahabī, al-Mushtabih, I, 27.

No. 42

Provenance: ᶜAshm (E. cem. D) Dated, Ramaḍān 376/Jan. 987 Limestone. Tombstone of irregular shape, broken lower left. 11 lines. simple Kufic, carved in relief. Average height and width of inscribed area 60 x 32 cm. approx. (Plate 30, no.42).

Text

١ـ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٠
٢ـ سارعوا الى مغفرة من ر
٣ـ بكموجنة عرضها
٤ـ السموات والأرض أ
٥ـ عدت للمتقين ٠ هذا
٦ـ قبر محمد بن الجابر بن
٧ـ محمد ٠ غفر الله
٨ـ ذنبه العظيم
٩ـ توفي في شهر رمضان
١٠ـ سنة ست وسبعين
١١ـ وثلاث مئة سنة [كذا]

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. Hasten to forgiveness from your
3. Lord and a Paradise whose price is
4. the heavens and the earth
5. prepared for the righteous. (40) This is the
6. tomb of Muḥammad b. al-Jābir b.
7. Muḥammad. May God forgive

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(40) Sūrat Āl ᶜImrān, 133.

8. his great sin[s].

9. He passed away in the mouth of Ramaḍān,

10. the year 376

11. [Jan. 987] year [sic]

Commentary

The deceased person may well have been the father of the *occupant* of no. 53 below and ancestor of no.52, 70, 71 and 72 below.

A study of this inscription shows the great difference between the perfection attained by al-Sirrayn in this century and the ᶜAshm inscriptions in relief. If ᶜAshm had taken the lead in incised inscriptions in the 3rd/9th century, it is al-Sirrayn that led the way in perfecting inscriptions in relief in this century. A simple examination of this inscription makes comparison between the two towns, ᶜAshm and al-Sirrayn, almost superfluous.

This inscription is characterized palaeographically by a tendency to shorten and widen the shaft letters, e.g. the alif (ℓ.3), lām (ℓ.7) and the limbs of the lām-alif (ℓ.4), thus losing one of the elements of elegance i.e. elongation and the slimming of the letters as in no. 15 above and nos. 52 and 64 below, for instance. Another remarkable peculiarity is that the final mīm (ℓ.8) has a loose tail curved at the bottom and the body of ẓā) is not connected to its shaft in the word al-ᶜaẓīm (ℓ.8). The inscription lacks decoration, except a single element on the apex of the alif (ℓ.8) and a small inverted triangle on top of the

first line. The last three lines are crowded, undistinguished, and somewhat clumsy. The Koranic formula is the first to appear in this area and becomes common in certain tombstones below. The word thalāthumi'ah (ℓ.11) incised in two words instead of one word should be compared with nos. 43, 45, 47, 63, 64 and 68 below.

No. 43

Provenance: ᶜAshm (E cem. E.) Dated, Rabīᶜ al-Awwal 377/Aug. 987. Limestone. Tombstone of irregular shape, broken lower right. 9 lines. Simple Kufic, carved in relief. Average height and width of inscribed area 32 x 26 cm. approx. (Plate 31,no.43).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٠
٢- سارعوا الى مغفرة من ربكم
٣- وجنة عرضها السموات
٤- والارض أعدت للمتقين ٠ هذ
٥- اقبر الامير عبد الله بن عويد
٦- بن محمد بن عبيد الله عفرا
٧- لله ذنبه آمين ٠ توفي في شهر
٨- ربيع الأول سنة سبع وسبعين و
٩- ثلاث مائة

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
2. Hasten to forgiveness from your Lord
3. and a Paradise whose price is the heavens
4. and the earth, prepared for the righteous. (41)
   This is the
5. tomb of the amir ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜUwayd

(41) Sūrat Āl-ᶜImrān, 133.

6. b. Muhammad b. ᶜUbayd Allāh

May his sin[s] be forgiven by

7. God. Amen. He assed away in the month of R-

8. bīᶜ al-Awwal, year

9. 377 [Aug.987]

Commentary

This tombstone is very important because it bears the name of the amir of ᶜAshm province from the ᶜUwayd family as mentioned above. With regard to its palaeographic characteristics, this inscription resembles that of no.42 above, except that its letters are more symmetrical and its words better arranged. A form of small triangles can be traced on the top of the shaft letters (e.g. ℓ.1,5 and 6). Above the first line is a border of small continuous circles between which is a plain undulating line.

The two last words of the ending (ℓ.9) are too difficult to be deciphered. However, a suggestion can be offered, namely sallam-wa-ṣaddaq, meaning probably that the dead person believed in the Islamic creed, which is represented by the shahādah, and was confirmed in the faith. This meaning occurs in a longer formula on certain tombstones.(42) It seems however that the engraver wanted brevity for lack of space and adopted this abbreviated phrase. Such brevity has been found in an inscription on pottery reading "tawakkal tukfā, put your trust [in God], you will be safe."(43)

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(42) Cf. Miles, "Tombstones", 215-7,nos.1,2 and 3; Combe, répertoire, I, 295,no.381 and passim; al-Zaidan, "People," pls., I-XI; ʿAbd al-Tawab, Steles,Passim and pl.21, no.5 above.

(43) Flury, "Ornamentāl" 1751 Fig. 606.

No. 44

Provenance: ᶜAshm, transported to al-ᶜAqīlī. No date, probably, 2nd half of the 4th/10th cent. Limestone. Tombstone of irregular shape, broken left side. 6 lines. Open and very clean Kufic carved in relief, simply decorated in parts. Average height and width of inscribed area 27 x 24 cm. approx. (Plate 31, no.44).

Text

١ـ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٠

٢ـ اللهم اذا جمعت الأو

٣ـ لين والآخرين لميقات

٤ـ يوم معلوم ، فاجعل

٥ـ صعب بن عبد الله

٦ـ بن صعب من الآمنين ٠

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. O God, when you gather together the
3. first and the last for the appointment
4. of a day which is determined upon, (44) assign
5. Ṣaᶜb b. ᶜAbd Allāh
6. b. Saᶜb [to be] among those who are secure

Commentary

The script of this inscription is clear and makes easy reading. Its importance lies in the fact that it bears the name of the father of the Amir's mother Ḥammādah b.Saᶜb (d. 387/989), occupant of grave no.45 below. This means that it belongs to the category dated the 2nd half of the 4th/10th century. The Kufic seems to be coarse, lacking

(44) After Koran, cf. Sūrat al-Wāqiᶜah, 50.

elegance, though the scribe has taken care to put twisted ornamental motifs (ℓ.2-6) to fill the spaces between the lines. However, they lack any element of beauty. There is a flattening and widening of the shaft letters (ℓ.1,2 and 4) in the manner of some Hijazi inscriptions. (45) This widening also occurs in no. 42 above. The engraver tried to embellish the apexes and the terminations of the letters with a forked-shape adornment (ℓ.1,2,3,5 and 6) and two-lobed leaves, as for example in the alif (ℓ.4). The letter nūn (ℓ.1,3,5 and 6) resembles to a certain extent the rā' (ℓ. 1 and 2) in this inscription.

No. 45

Provenance: ᶜAshm (E. cem. E) Dated, Ramaḍān 378/Jan. 989 Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape, fractured through the middle. 9 lines. Fairly unclear Kufic, carved in relief. Average height and width of inscribed area 31 x 23 cm. approx. (Plate 31, no.45).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

٢- سارعوا الى مغفرة من ر

٣- بكم وجنة عرضها السمو

٤- ات والأرض أعدت للمتقين

٥- هذا قبر أم الامير حمادة ابنت [كذا]

٦- صعب بن عبد الله رحمة الله

٧- عليها • توفيت في شهر رمضان

٨- سنة ثمان وثلاث مئة سنة [كذا]

٩- وسبعين سنة [كذا]

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(45) Cf. Grohmann, Expédition, pl. 2, Z 15; al-Fiᶜr, "Taṭawwur", 300.

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. Hasten towards forgiveness from
3. your lord and a Paradise whose price is the Heavens
4. and the earth, prepared for the righteous. (46)
5. This is the tomb of Umm al-Amīr Ḥammādah bint
6. Ṣa^{c}b b. ^{c}Abd Allāh. May God have Mercy
7. Upon her. She passed away in the month of Ramadan,
8. the year 378 [Jan.] 989
9. year [sic]

Commentary

This inscription bears the name of Ḥammādah, the amir's mother, whom we believe to be the mother of the Amir Muḥammad b. ^{c}Abd Allāh and daughter of Ṣa^{c}b b. ^{c}Abd Allāh of no. 44 above. We have already mentioned that the word amir is not a personal name but a kunyah relating to a title of office. This is corroborated by the fact that the name of Ḥammādah was found inscribed on her second tombstone without this title. (47)

The Kufic characters very closely resemble those of nos. 42 and 43 above. In fact the two inscriptions might have been carved by the same hand. However, this tombstone seems to be more artistically developed than the two former as can be evidenced from the shape of the final nūns (ℓ.7 and 8) which sweep upwards to the height of the top of the vertical letters. The nūn also in the word Ramaḍān

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(46) Sūrat Āl-^{c}Imrān, 133.

(47) Cf. Pl.39, no.76 (App.)

resembles a detached hā' which recurs in certain inscriptions from ᶜAshm relating to the 3rd/9th century. (48) The word sanat, twice in ℓ .8 and 9 is drawn out in order to fill space.

No.46

Provenance al-Sirrayn (s. cem.) Dated, Shawwāl 379/Feb.990 Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape. 10 lines. Incised, elegant Kufic. Average height and width 48 x 26 cm. approx. (Plate 31, no.46).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

٢- ان الذين سبقت لهم منا

٣- الحسنا [كذا] الئك [كذا]عنها مبعدون

٤- لا يسمعون حسيسها وهم فيما [كذا]

٥- اشتهت أنفسهم خالدون ٠

٦- هذا قبر علي بن محمد بن

٧- زيد النداف رحمه الله

٨- توفي في شوال سنة تسع

٩- وسبعين وثلثمائة [كذا] وصلى الله

١٠- على محمد النبي وآله وسلم ٠

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
2. Those who have been promised previously by us
3. a good reward, will be removed far from it.
4. They will not hear the slightest sound [sic] thereof; and they will
5. abide in a state of Bliss that their souls desire. (49)

(48) Cf. pl. 27, no.29.

(49) Sūrat al-Anbiyā' , 101-2.

6. This is the tomb of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad b.

7. Zayd al-Naddāf. May God have Mercy upon him.

8. He passed away in Shawwāl of the year

9. 379 [Feb. 990] God bless

10. Muḥammad the Prophet and his family and give them peace.

Commentary

This is the last incised inscription from al-Sirrayn in this century to be studied here. It is a unique inscription as the others were mostly carved in relief Kufic in this period. The intensive active participle from denoting a profession, al-Naddāf, means a cotton teaser, a trade well-known throughout the Islamic history. (50)

The characteristics of the script are represented by an elongation of the shaft letters and their ending in a decoration, such as small triangles, wedge-shapes and two or three lobed-leaves (medial hā' ℓ.5), denoting that the artist did not adopt a standard rule in his work. The sīn dents are shaped like small triangles (ℓ.2,3,5 and 8). This form of sīn can be observed in Makkah in the second/eighth century and in Tihāmah in certain early inscriptions. (51) The tails of the final nūn, rā' and mīm (ℓ.1,4, and 5) are swept upwards to the height of the vertical letters and end in a decoration resembling a dragon's head. Such a decoration has been noticed in certain inscriptions of North Africa and ʿAshm. (52) The initial, medial and final shaft of the letter hā' (ℓ.2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9 and 10) is stretched to equal

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(50) Cf. 138 above.

(51) Al-Fiʿr, "Risālat", 81, 85, text no.I and 2; cf.pl.21 no.6, above.

(52) Arif, Arabic, e.j. 8, 15, 28; cf. Pls.26,27, nos.28 and 29 above; cf. also, Oman Dahlak, I, 29, no.23; Wiet, Cataglogue, VI, Pl.IV,no.2721/1004, pl.V, no.2721/419; Garçin, Qūs, 68, pl.VI.

the letter alif in length. The medial fā' and qāf (ℓ.2 and 5) are represented in the shape of a small rhomboid. We note also the method of inscribing lām in the word al-ḥusnā, (ℓ.3) where there is a distance between the body of the hā' and the line level with a small lām attached to it, somewhat resembling an initial bā'. A closely similar lām occurs as early as 239/853-4 in a tombstone made in ᶜAshm.(53) Other scribal errors are the omission of wāw in the word ūlā'ika (ℓ.3), the connection of the word mīm with the word fī (ℓ.4) and the alif of the word al-ḥusnā (ℓ.3) being mamdūdah, instead of normal alif maqṣūrah.

No. 47

Provenance: ᶜAshm (E. cem. E) Dated, Shaᶜbān 385/Sep. 995. Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape. 10 lines. Fairly clear Kufic, partially decorated, carved in relief. Average height and width of inscribed area 31 x 26 cm. approx. (Plate 32, no.47).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٠

٢- سارعوا الى مغفرة من ربكم

٣- وجنة عرضها السموات

٤- والأرض أعدت للمتقين ٠

٥- هذا قبر فاطمة ابنت [كذا] عبد

٦- الرحمن بن عويد بن محمد بن عبيد

٧- الله ٠ رحمة الله عليها ورضو

٨- انه ٠ توفيت في شهر شعبان

٩- سنة خمس وثمانين وثلث [كذا]

١٠- مئة سنة [كذا]

(53) Cf. Pl.22, no.11, above.

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. Hasten towards forgiveness from your Lord
3. and a Paradise whose price is the heavens
4. and the earth, prepared for the righteous. (54)
5. This is the tomb of Fāṭimah bint ᶜAbd
6. al-Raḥmān b. ᶜUwayd b. Muḥammad b. ᶜUbayd
7. Allāh. May God's Mercy and approbation be upon her
8. She passed away in the month of Shaᶜbān,
9. year 385 [Sep. 995]
10. year [sic]

Commentary

The occupant of the tomb is Fāṭimah bint ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜUwayd b. Muḥammad b. ᶜUbayd Allāh, a member of the ᶜUwayd family and a niece of the Amir ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜUwayd (d. 377/989). (55)

The style of Kufic, with the exception of medial ᶜayn (ℓ.2), very closely resembles those of nos. 42, 43 and 45 above. In fact the four inscriptions might have been carved by the same hand. However this one is considered as superior to the other three as regards the symmetry of its letters and words, the equal spaces between lines, at least in the first five lines. There are sporadic ornamental letters, which form a small, almost triangular shape. The letter mīm (ℓ.1) has a sweeping foliated terminal. On the top of the letters wāw and ᶜayn (ℓ.2), there is a twisted line. There is a small circle over the letter tā' (ℓ.3). A reversed triangle lies on the top of the first line.

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(53) Sūrat Āl ᶜImrān 133.

(54) Cf. pl.31, no.43, above.

(55) Cf. Pl.31, no.43, above.

Provenance: al-Sirrayn (S.cem.) Dated, Dhū ʾl-Ḥijjah 393/Oct.-Nov. 1003. Basalt. Tombstone of irregular shape, broken upper and left sides, weather-beaten, its top half has certain words obliterated, making them difficult to decipher. 11 lines. Partially clear and ornamental Kufic, carved in relief. Average height and width of inscribed area 29 x 21 cm. approx. (Plate 32, no.48).

Text

١– ... .. [ان الذين اشتر]

٢– وا بآيات الله ثم[ـنا قليلا أولئك]

٣– لهم أجرهم عند [ربهم والله]

٤– سريع الحساب ٠ يايها[ـ الذين آمنوا]

٥– اصبروا وصابروا [ورابطوا و]

٦– واتقوا الله لعلكم [تفلحون]

٧– هذا قبر رزق بن ... ...

٨– محمد الوراق ٠ رحم[ـة الله]

٩– عليه وأكرم مصيره

١٠– توفي في شهر ذى الحجة

١١– سنة أربع وتسعين وثلثما [ئة] [كذا]

Translation

1. ...[They barter not]
2. the signs of God for a [paltry price. It is those who]
3. shall have their reward with their Lord. Surely, God is
4. swift at reckoning. O [you who believe]
5. be steadfast and strive to excel in steadfastness [and be on your guard and]

6. be mindful of your duty to God, that you may [prosper] (56)
7. This is the tomb of Rizq b.....
8. Muḥammad al-Warrāq. May the mercy of God
9. be upon him, and May [God] honour his destiny
10. He passed away in the month of Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah
11. of the year 394 [Oct.-Nov. 1003]

Commentary

This is the last inscription of al-Sirrayn carved in relief in the 4th/10th century to be studied here. The names are also inscribed in fairly thick and legible letters, a feature which spread during the 2nd half of the 4th/10th century and its influence extends to the beginning of the 5th/11th century in al-Sirrayn. We find it difficult to decipher the last word in the occupant's name (ℓ.8), but two readings are possible, viz. al-Barrāq, a name common today in Tihāmah. However the bā' is detached from the rā' which itself resembles only the isolated rā' in the word Rizq (ℓ.7) and not a connected rā' as in some words (ℓ.5,7,9 and 10). The other reading is al-Warrāq, if we presume that the loop following the lām is a loop of the letter wāw having its tail removed either during the artist's work or later obliterated by the rigour of the weather. This is more probable as this loop resembles the loop of the qāf in words qabr and Rizq (ℓ.7). Should this reading be correct, it gives us a hint that the word al-warrāq (stationer or copyist) (57) refers to a profession which was probably known in al-Sirrayn.

(56) Sūrat Āl-ʿImrān, 200-201.

(57) Arif, Arabic, 15.

The peculiarities of the script are the widened, short and fairly thick letters in relief; the tips are embellished by a floral design and lobes of sorts, though both are not usually combined. (58)

It will be noted that the bottom of the letter alif (ℓ.5 and 7) forms a long element to make it look like two alifs. The final yā' (ℓ.10) resembles a hā' makhṭūfah in the thuluth script. This yā' recurs in a number of the inscriptions of the 4th/10th century in al-Sirrayn and ᶜAshm, (59) but here it ends in foliated motifs. Floral elements can be traced in the spaces between the lines (6-10). Some of the tips of the letters end in tendrils i.e. the wāw (ℓ.9), the rā' (ℓ.7 and 9) and the final mīm (ℓ.9). In addition, the letter qāf in the word Rizq (ℓ.7) ends in an ornament resembling a rosette and tendril. Also the half-palmette can be seen in the head of the letter hā' (ℓ.8).

No. 49

Provenance: ᶜAshm (E. cem. D) Dated, Shaᶜbān 399/May 1009 Sandstone, Tombstone of trapezoid shape. 9 lines. Incised, simple Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 32 x 24 cm. approx. (Plate 32, no.49)

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٠

٢- سارعوا الى مغفرة من ربكم

٣- وجنة عرضها السموات

٤- والأرض أعدت للمتقين ٠

٥- هذا قبر محمد بن يحي بن محمد

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(58) Jumᶜah, DTKK, 163-4; cf. Wiet, Catalogue, VII, pl. XVII, no.1506/875.

(59) Cf. nos. 32, 34, 39 above, and nos. 50, 51 below.

٦- بن المعلم • توفي في شهر شعبان

٧- سنة تسع وسبعين وثلثما

٨- ئة سنة [كذا] • وصلى الله على محمد

٩- النبي وآله وسلم •

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. Hasten towards forgiveness from your Lord
3. and Paradise whose price is the heavens
4. and the earth, prepared for the righteous (60)
5. This is the tomb of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad
6. b. al-Muᶜallim. He passed away in the month of Shaᶜbān
7. the year 399 [May 1009]
8. year [sic] May God bless Muḥammad
9. the Prophet and his family and give them peace.

Commentary

This inscription bears the name of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Muᶜallīm. This al-Muᶜallim is a laqab (appellation) bestowed on skilled professionals. This laqab is still current in Tihāmah and the Hijaz as well as in Egypt, as it has been observed in some inscriptions there. (61)

It is considered as an inferior palaeographic specimen of this century. The scribe has attempted to end the tails of the letters with certain pointed curves, such as the final nūn (ℓ.1, 4,5,6 and 7), the final mīm (ℓ.1,2, and 6), the rā' (ℓ.1,2,3,4,5 and 6) and the dād (ℓ.4). This feature occurs in ᶜAshm as early as 371/981 (62)

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(60) Sūrat Āl ᶜImran, 133.

(61) Cf. nos. 40, 41, above.

(62) Cf. 373 above.

and spreads during the first three decades of the 5th/11th century, as will be stated later. (63) The text is surrounded on three sides by a simple continuous border, comprising alternating opposed arcs of circles. Its upper centre is marked by lifting it to a point.

No. 50

Provenance: (cAshm N. cem.G.) No date, probably 4th/10th cent. Limestone. Tombstone of irregular shape. 8 lines. Incised, simple Kufic. No measurement of this tombstone has been taken. (Plate 32, no.50).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٠

٢- لقد كان لكم في

٣- رسول الله أسوة

٤- حسنة لمن كان يرجوا

٥- الله واليوم الآخر و

٦- ذكر الله كثيرا ٠ هذ

٧- ا قبر محمد بن يحي بن محمد

٨- الكناني ٠ رحمه الله ٠

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate the Merciful
2. you have indeed in
3. the Apostle of God a fine example
4. of [conduct] for anyone whose hope is
5. in God and the final day, and
6. who commemorates God much. (64) This

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(63) Cf. Hawary, Catalogue, III, Pl.11, no.11031; Kratchkovskaya, Arabskie, nos. 1,2 and 6.

(64) Sūrat Āl cImrān, 18.

7. is the tomb of Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad

8. al-Kinānī. May God have mercy upon him

Commentary

This tombstone is weather-beaten and we have only been able to have a clear picture of it by treating it with ink. This is not an ideal way to treat inscriptions as it may change their natural aspect, but we were compelled to resort to this because this is the only inscription bearing the name of al-Kinānī. This al-Kinānī is a nisbah relating to the well known tribe of Kinānah which dominated most of the part of the region covered by this study, including ᶜAshm, as stated in certain sources. (65)

The style of this inscription is, despite its simplicity, an amalgam of that of older inscriptions and those of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries. The form of the final mīm (ℓ.1,2) and triangular hā' (ℓ.4) resembles the early inscriptions nos. 8 and 14 above. The elongation of the initial bā' in the word bi-sm (ℓ.1), the independent hā' in the word uswah (ℓ.3) and the final one in the word raḥimahu (ℓ.8) is attested in certain 3rd/9th century inscriptions e.g. nos. 13, 21 and 24. Some of the forms of these letters occur in inscriptions in the vicinity of al-Ṭā'if and Banū Sulaym, relating to the 3rd/9th century. (66) However, we have reason to believe that this inscription relates to the 4th/10th century, because the dated inscriptions of this century were usually incised in an

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(65) Cf. 134,249 above.

(66) Grohman, Expédition, 19, Pl.4, Z 13; al-Bāshā, "Shawāhid", 92. pl.28.

unartistic manner, more or less without adhering to any fixed method. They were rather a combination of the styles of former and later centuries e.g. nos. 31 and 36 above. The formula of this inscription and the form of the final yā' in the word fī (ℓ.2) have only been noted in the Tihāmah inscriptions of the 1st half of the 4th/10 century. These started to be used as early as 331/943 in an epitaph from al-Sirrayn and then ᶜAshm in inscriptions nos. 40, 41 above. The form of the final triangular hā' in the word Allāh (ℓ.1), the word ḥasanah (ℓ.4), the body of the letter dāl (ℓ.2, 6 and 7) and the kāf (ℓ.6 and 8) have some similarity with the same letters in an inscription from ᶜAshm dated 371/981. (67)

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(67) Cf. Pl. 30, no.40 above.

CHAPTER 16

5th/11th century inscriptions

The Yaᶜlī b. Mūsā school

No. 51

Provenance: al-Sirrayn (S. cem.) Dated, al-Jumᶜah, 3rd Ramaḍān 403/18 March 1012. Limestone. Tombstone of irregular shape, broken left and upper right sides. 12 lines. Clear and legible, partially ornamental Kufic, carved in relief. Average height and width of incised area 32 x 28 cm. approx. (Plate 33, no.51).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الر
٢- حيم • لقد كان لكم
٣- في رسول الله أسوة
٤- حسنة لمن كان يرجوا
٥- الله واليوم [الاخر] وذكر الله
٦- كثيرا • هذا قبر جعدة
٧- ابنت [كذا] ياسر مولى كلا
٨- ب بن محمد الهزائي
٩- توفيت يوم الجمعة لثلث [كذا]
١٠- خلون [من]شهر رمضان سنة
١١- ثلثة [كذا] واربعمائة رحـ [مـ] ـها
١٢- اللـــــه

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the
2. Merciful. You have indeed
3. in the Apostle of God a
4. fine example of conduct for anyone whose hope is
5. in God and the final day and who commemorates God
6. much. (1) This is the tomb of Jaᶜdah
7. bint Yāsir, the freed man of Kilā-

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(1) Sūrat Āl-ᶜImrān, 18.

8. b b. Muḥammad al-Hazzānī.

9. She passed away on Friday, (2) 3rd of the month

10. of Ramaḍān of the year

11. 403 [18 March 1012] . May Mercy be upon her

12. by God.

Commentary

The father of the deceased was a freed man or client (mawlā) of a person called Kilāb b. Muḥammad al-Ḥazzānī. This name Kilāb is an Arabic name, recognized by Ibn Mākūlā in his Ikmāl. The nisbah, al-Hazzānī, refers either to a certain people called Hazzān or to a tribe from the Yemen. (3)

The style of the Kufic may be considered an extension of that of the 2nd half of the 4th/10 century. Its features are a combination of thick and short letters with tip decorations, as tombstone no. 48 above. However, this one is less lavish in this sense than no. 48. The final yā' (ℓ.3,7 and 8) resembles hā' makhṭūfah in the thuluth script. This form of yā' is frequent in the 4th/10th century. (4) The tip of the detached lower right alif (ℓ.4) is decorated with a stretched leaf appearing like two alifs. Such a peculiarity is seen in inscription no.48 above. The final mīm (twice ℓ.1 and 2) has a sweeping foliate terminal. This also occurs in no.48 above and is

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(2) This day is correct because the year 1012 was a leap year and began on Tuesday. Therefore, the 18th of March was Friday. Cf. Grenville, Calendars, 26,73 tables one and four.

(3) Ibn Mākūlā, al-Ikmāl, 313-4; Kaḥḥālah, Mu^{c}jam, III, 1218.

(4) Cf. nos. 32, 34, 39 and 50 above.

found in a tombstone of B. Sulaym in the Hijaz, relating to the 4th/10 century. (5)

No. 52

Provenance: al-Khalīf, al-Rahwah cem. Dated Muḥarram 406/ Jun.-Jul. 1015. Limestone. Tombstone of trapezoid shape, split from the top towards the middle. 9 lines. Incised, elegant, ornamental Kufic. No measurement of this tombstone has been taken (Plate 33,no. 52).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٠
٢- سارعوا الى مغفرة من ربكم
٣- وجنة عرضها السموات و
٤- الارض أعدت للمتقين ٠ هذا
٥- قبر محمد بن محمد بن الجا
٦- بر بن علي بن عمر السني ،
٧- رحمه الله ٠ توفي في شهر
٨- محرم سنة ست وأربعمائة ٠
٩- وكتب يعلي بن موسى بيد ، ٠

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. Hasten towards forgiveness from your Lord
3. and a Paradise whose price is the heavens
4. and the earth, prepared for the righteous. (6)
5. This is the tomb of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-Jā-
6. bir b. ᶜAlī b. ᶜUmar al-Sunnī [al-Sinnī]

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(5) Al-Bāshā, "Shāwahid", 111-4, pl.38.

(6) Sūrat Āl ᶜImrān, 133.

7. May God have Mercy upon him. He passed away in month of
8. Muḥarram of the year 406 [Jun.-Jul. 1015]
9. And Yaᶜlī b. Mūsā has inscribed [the tombstone] by his hand.

Commentary

This inscription is from the settlement of al-Khalīf, near Qilwah, to the north-east of ᶜAshm. It is important because it shows a relationship between ᶜAshm and al-Khalīf as the scribe comes from ᶜAshm and his name and style of script have been found on ᶜAshmī inscriptions. Also the father of the deceased and his children's tombs are found in ᶜAshm and S. la-Ḥsabah (cf. table 10; nos.42, 70, 71 and 72) This denotes the connection between the two settlements on the one hand. On the other hand, we shall use this inscription as a criterion for later inscriptions using the incised method during this period and make comparisons, or at least attempt to discover any latent influences. As for the inscriptions carved in relief, we shall compare them to that of Yaᶜlī b. Mūsā (the second inscription to bear his name) no. 56 dated 414/1023.

The nisbah al-Sunnī relates to sunnah (orthodox tradition) which was adopted by many persons as a nisbah. The other possible reading, al-Sinnī, relates to Sinn, a place name, by whichare known a village of Baghdad, a place near al-Bawārij on the road to Mawṣil, in Iraq, and a village of al-Rayy in Iran. (7)

This inscription is characterized by the length of

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(7) Al-Samᶜānī, al-Ansāb, VII, 175-8.

the shaft letters, including the final hā' (ℓ 1,7 and 8), which bestows on them a certain sense of elegance; (8) also the symmetry of decoration of adjacent vertical letters according to a unique method of embellishing the top with a small triangle or two or three lobed-leaves, e.g. the alif with the lām three times (ℓ.1) and the lām with the shaft of the final hā' (ℓ.1 and 7). The final nūn (ℓ.1,2,4,5 and 6), mīm (ℓ.1), wāw (ℓ.1 and 3), dād (ℓ.4) and the alif maqṣūrah (ℓ.2) have tails which sweep upwards to the height of the top of the vertical letters and end in an adorned apexes. Also the neck of the letters dāl (ℓ.4 and 5), kāf (ℓ.2), the crest of the initial ᶜayn (ℓ.2, 4 and 6) have the same style as in earlier inscriptions, though they are shorter. This type of ᶜayn occurs in the Yemen in 445/1053. (9) The arch of the medial ᶜayn is closed, but it sinks down to form the shape of two symmetrical leaves. This form of ᶜayn occurs in ᶜAshm as early as 385/995 in tombstone no.47 above. The lām-alif is given a base resembling a trefoil ornament. (10) The same is visible in the body of the "returning" yā' (ℓ.6 and 7). This yā' recurs and extends to the left to enclose five words (ℓ.6) and four words (ℓ.7). (11)

The inscription is embellished by beautiful ornamental borders comprising two parallel lines enclosing small, symmetrical, recurrent circles with small dots inside. The

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(8) Cf. Wiet, Catalogue, VI, pl.VII, no.9482.

(9) Cf. Niebuhr, Description, pl.VI.

(10) Cf. al-Fiᶜr, "Taṭawwur", 310 and 352.

(11) Cf. Pl.22, nos. 9 and 10, pl.23, no.14; al-Bāshā, "Shāwahid", pls. 25, 33 and 37.

centre of the top is marked by a fleur-de-lys with scroll ornament on the left hand side.

Floral sprigs can be seen over the word bi-sm (ℓ.1). The last four lines of the inscription are rather obscure.

No. 53.
Provenance: ᶜAshm (E. cem. F.) Dated, Shaᶜbān, 407/Jan. - Feb. 1017. Basalt. Tombstone of irregular shape. 6 lines. Incised, decorated Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 28 x 22 cm. approx. (Plate 33, no.53).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الر
٢- حيم • ولمن خاف مقام
٣- ربه جنتان • هذا قبر
٤- قسمة ابنت [كذا] الجابر بن
٥- محمد • توفيت في شعبان
٦- سنة سبع وأربعمائة

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the
2. Merciful. But for him who fears to stand
3. before his Lord there are two Gardens.(12) This is the tomb
4. of Qismah bint al-Jābir b.
5. Muḥammad. She passed away in Shaᶜbān of
6. the year 407 [Jan. - Feb. 1017]

Commentary

It is believed that this inscription belongs to the Yaᶜlī b. Mūsā school or it might even be in his own hand. All the characteristics of no. 52 above, are visible here,

(12) Sūrat al-Raḥmān, 47.

whether the tails of the nūns and similar letters, or the shaft of the hā' (ℓ.1) and the shape of the medial ʿayn (ℓ.5). The border is simple comprising a line surrounding the inscription on three sides with, in the centre at the top, an inverted triangle resembling certain 4th/10th inscriptions in ʿAshm. (13) The formula occurs in this inscription for the first time, but it becomes common in this century.

No. 54

Provenance: ʿAshm (E. cem. E). Dated 21-2 Shawwāl 410/19-20 Feb. 1019. Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape. 11 lines. Incised, ornamental Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 51 x 36 cm. approx. (Plate 33, no.54).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

٢- اللهم اذا جمعت الأ

٣- ولين والاخرين لميقات

٤- يوم معلوم • فاجعل مر

٥- يم ابنت [كذا] أحمد ابن [كذا] عبد

٦- الله ابن [كذا] محمد ابن [كذا] عبيد

٧- الله من الفائزين • برحمتك

٨- يا أرحم الراحمين • توفيت

٩- لثمان بقين من شوال

١٠- سنة عشر وأربعمائة

١١- سنة [كذا]

(13) Cf. nos. 42, 44 and 47, above. The deceased woman may have been the daughter of the occupant of no.42 above.

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. O God when you gather together the
3. first and the last for the appointment of
4. a day determined upon. (14) Assign Mar-
5. Yam bint Aḥmad b. ᶜAbd
6. Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ᶜUbayd
7. Allāh to be among those who will triumph, by
   Your mercy.
8. O You who are the most Merciful of all who show mercy. (15)
   She passed away
9. with 8 [nights] remaining of Shawwāl
10. year 410 [19-20 Feb.1019]
11. year [sic]

Commentary

The deceased woman is Maryam bint Aḥmad b. ᶜAbd Allāh, a member of the ᶜUwayd family, rulers of the ᶜAshm province. (16) The Kufic has been influenced by the calligraphic method of Yaᶜlī b. Mūsā, represented by an extension of the final hā' in the word of Allāh (ℓ.1, 6 and 7), the tail of the nūn (ℓ.7, 8 and 9), the tip of the final mīm (ℓ.5 and 8) and the flattening in the shape of small triangles of the apices and the tails of certain ornamental letters. There are some variations comprising the addition of a small branch, curved like a spiral towards the inside under the triangular adornment in most of the

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(14) After Koran, cf. Sūrat al-Wāqiᶜah, 50.

(15) After Koran, cf. Sūrat al-Aᶜrāf, 151.

(16) Cf. table no.9.

aforementioned letters. A similar spiral is noticed in the tombstones from B. Sulaym in the Hijaz relating to the 4th/10th century. (17) Other variants are the inscribing of the initial and medial mīm (ℓ.6 and 9) in a triangular shape, a lean to the left in the shaft of the final hā' (ℓ.10),(18) and the similarity between the loop of the qāf in the word baqīna (ℓ.9) and the ᶜayn in the word arbaᶜu-mā'ah (ℓ.10). (19) There is a twisted line on the top of the word baqīna (ℓ.9). (20) The border also is different: here plain, a thin line having on top a small triangle and on the two sides a six-pointed star. The first four lines are obscure and difficult to decipher.

No.55

Provenance: ᶜAshm, transported to al-ᶜAqīlī. Dated Ṣafar, 414/May 1023. Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape, probably broken left side. 8 lines. Incised, fine, elegant Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 43 x 28 cm. approx. (Plate 34, no.55).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الر

٢- حيم ٠ ادخلوا الجنة لاخو

٣- ف عليكم ولا أنتم تحزنو

٤- ن ٠ هذا قبررحيمة ابنت [كذا] أحمد

٥- توفيت في شهر صفر سنة

٦- أربع عشرة وأربعمائة

٧- غفر الله ذنبها

٨- والحقها بنبيها محمد

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(17) Al-Bāshā,"Shawāhid" 102-5, pl. 33,34.
(18) Cf. Wiet, Catalogue, VI, Pl.XI, no.2721/457,Pl.XV,no. 1506/284
(19) Cf. Miles, "ᶜAlī B. ᶜĪsā," 479,fig.1.
(20) Cf. Wiet Catalogue. VI Pl.XXIV. no.3150/125.

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the
2. Merciful. Enter Paradise; no fear
3. shall come upon you nor shall you grieve. (21)
4. This is the tomb of Raḥīmah bint Aḥmad
5. She passed away in the month of Ṣafar of the year
6. 414 [[May 1023]
7. May God forgive her sin[s]
8. and bring her to meet her Prophet Muḥammad.

Commentary

This inscription belongs to the school of Yaᶜlī and the Kufic style closely resembles that of no. 52 and 53 above. The resemblance also can be noted in the ornamental letters. The border is plain, formed by a fine line surrounding the inscription on three sides with a small triangle on top having a smaller triangle on its upper base like an upside down cedar tree. The Koranic formula occurs in this inscription for the first time.

No. 56

Provenance: ᶜAshm. Dated, Rabīᶜ I 414/June. 1023
Limestone. Cornerstone of irregular shape, fractured into five pieces. 10 x 3 lines. Elaborate ornamental Kufic, carved in relief. No scale has been taken for this stone. (22) (Plate 34, no.56).

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(21) Sūrat al- Aᶜrāf, 49.

(22) My thanks are due to my friend Ḥ. al-Faqīh who photographed the stone and placed the photograph at my disposal.

Text

١- بسم
٢- الله الرحمن الرحيم ٠
٣- أقبل على صلاتك ولا تكن
٤- من الغافلين ٠ أمر بعمارة
٥- هذا المسجد الأمير
٦- يعلي بن عبد الله
٧- بن عويد ، أطال الله
٨- بقاه [كذا] من [كذا] شهر ربيع الأ
٩- ول سنة أربع عشرة وأربعمائة
١٠- وكتب يعلي بن موسى ٠

١- انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله واليوم الآخر وأقام
الصلاة وآتا [كذا] الزكاة
٢- ولم يخش الا اله فعسى أولئك أن يكونوا من المهتدين
٣- وأقم الصلاة طرفي النهار وزلفا من الليل ان الحسنات
يذهبن السيئات ذلك ذكر للذاكرين ٠

Translation

1. In the name
2. of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
3. Apply yourself to your prayer and be not
4. one of those who are not aware [of the truth].
   The order for building
5. this Mosque was by the Amir
6. Ya^{c}lī b. ^{c}Abd Allāh
7. b.^{c}Uwayd, May God prolong his
8. life, in the month of Rabi^{c} al-a
9. wwal of the year 414 [June. 1023]
10. And Ya^{c}lī b. Mūsā has inscribed [the inscription]

1. He alone can tend the Mosques of God who believes in
   God and the last day, and observes prayer, and pays zakāt
2. and fears no one but God. It is these who are likely
   to be guided aright. (23)
3. observe prayer at the two ends of the day, and the hour
   of night in the proximity of the day. Surely good
   deeds do away with evil ones. This is a reminder for
   those who would remember. (24)

Commentary

This inscription was found probably used as a corner-stone in the Jāmiᶜ of the ᶜAshm settlement and bears the founder al-Amīr Yaᶜlī b. ᶜAbd Allāh of the ᶜUwayd family.(25) It also bears the same characteristics as no. 52, executed by the same scribe, Yaᶜlī b. Mūsā. The only difference is that the former was incised and the latter is carved in relief. The letter lām-alif (ℓ.8) is different from no.52, otherwise there is a complete similarity between the two inscriptions.

An innovation in this inscription is the protrusion of an upper arc curved inside the loop of the qāf (ℓ.3), fā' (ℓ.4), wāw (ℓ.9), the initial mīm (ℓ.5 and 8) and the crochet of the letter hā' (ℓ.5). These have later become a floral motif and are found in many places of the Islamic world. (26) The script in the border closely resembles that of no.52 above.

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(23) Sūrat al-Tawbah, 18. Yaᶜmura is here translated thus, though it carries also the connotation of 'frequenting', 'visiting'.

(24) Sūrat Hūd, 115.

(25) Cf. 253 above and Table no.9.

(26) Cf. Niebuhr, Description, Tab.VI; Wiet, Catalogue, VI, Pl.XV, no.3150/120, Pl.XXIII, no.1506/368; Caskel, Arabic, pl.XXI, D 223.

No. 57

Provenance: ᶜAshm, transported to al-ᶜAqīlī Dated Dhū ʾl-Ḥijjah 427/Oct. 1036. Basalt. Tombstone of trapezium shape. 10 lines. Incised, fine Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 42 x 22 cm. approx. (Plate 34, no.57).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الر
٢- حيم • سارعوا الى مغفرة
٣- من ربكم وجنة عرضها
٤- السموات والأرض أعدت
٥- للمتقين • هذا قبر كتنة
٦- بن ميمون بن محمد
٧- توفي في شهر ذى الحجة
٨- سنة سبع وعشرين وآر
٩- بعمائة سنة [كذا] غفر الله
١٠- ذنبه •

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the
2. Merciful. Hasten towards forgiveness
3. from your Lord and a Paradise whose price is
4. the heavens and the earth, prepared
5. for the righteous. (27) This the tomb of Katanah
6. b. Maymūn b. Muḥammad
7. He passed away in the month of Dhū ʾl-Ḥijjah of
8. the year 427 [Oct. 1036]
9. year [sic]. May God forgive his
10. sin[s]

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(27) Sūrat Āl ᶜImrān, 133.

Commentary

This inscription is fairly similar to that of no.54. It embodies the characteristics of the Yaᶜlī b. Mūsā school, but has certain variations which may have developed during the period of 14-21 years, thus representing an evolution of this style. The variations include the disappearance of leaves from the apexes of the letters, replacing them with a sort of fine, curved arc in almost all of the tips of the letters. These elements are seen in Egyptian stelae dated 436/1045. (28) The triangular mīm (ℓ.1,2,3,3,6 and 9), and hā (ℓ.3, 5 and 7) have some variations with regard to the decoration. The top of the inscription is embellished by a decorative band having three bands in the middle, forming a reversed triangle, with inside a small circle dotted in the middle and, on the sides, two six-pointed stars enclosing two circles also dotted in the middle. Some words (ℓ.6,7 and 8) are obscure.

The name Katanah has been detected in a Khalīfī inscription, though it is not attested in Arabic literature. (29)

No. 58

Provenance: ᶜAshm (E. cem. D) Dated, Rabīᶜ II 429/Jan-Feb. 1038 Limestone. Tombstone of irregular shape, fractured into two pieces and broken, upper left side. 8 lines. Incised, fine Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 37 x 23 cm. approx. (Plate 34, no. 58).

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(28) Cf. Wiet, Catalogue, VI, Pl.XXII, no.52; cf. Oman, Dahlak, 159-66, Pls.XLIX-LVI.

(29) Cf. Pl.44, no.80, (App.). The names, Kabshah, Kayyisah, Kashnah, Kashshah and Kishshah are attested in al-Mushtabih by al-Dhahabī. Cf.11, 540-3.

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الر [حيم]

٢- ولمن خاف مـ [ـقا]

٣- م ربه جنتـان • هذا

٤- قبر ابراهيم بن يحي

٥- بن زكرى بن عبد الله • توفي في

٦- شهر ربيع الاخر سنة تسع [و]

٧- عشرين وأربعمائة سنة [نذا]

٨- غفر الله ذنبه والحقه بنبية •

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. But for him who fears to stand
3. before his Lord there are two Gardens. (30) This is
4. the tomb of Ibrāhīm b. Yaḥyā
5. b. Zakarī b. ᶜAbd Allāh. He passed away in
6. the month of Rabīᶜ al-Ākhir of the year
7. 429 [Jan.-Feb. 1038] year [sic]
8. May God forgive his sin[s] and bring him to meet his Prophet.

Commentary

The grandfather of the deceased man is named Zakarī b. ᶜAbd Allāh. This name is not attested in Arabic literature as far as I know. The only reference about this name is found in al-Simṭ al-Ghalī al-Thaman. (31) Also it does exist in the province of Jāzān, in the south-west of Saudi Arabia, and I personally know certain people who

(30) Sūrat al-Raḥmān, 47.

(31) Ibn Ḥātim, I, 465.

bear this name. It is furthermore found on a tombstone in al-Khalīf denoting the relationship between the two settlements. (32)

The Kufic style bears a close resemblance to that of no. 57 above, and exhibits most of the palaeographic attributes of the Yaᶜlī b. Mūsā school. There is however a noticeable variation, in the adornment of the upper part of this tombstone by a fine line enclosing in the middle a mitre-like shape.

No. 59.

Provenance: ᶜAshm (E.cem. F.) Dated, Jumādā II 430/March 1039

Limestone. Tombstone of irregular shape, weather-beaten. 8 lines. Incised, fine Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 33 x 28 cm. approx. (Plate 35, no.59).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٠
قل هو الله أحد ٠ الله الصمد ٠
٣- لم يلد ولم يولد ٠ ولم يكن له كفو
٤- ا أحد ٠ هذا قبر يحيا [كذا] بن الحسن بن عبد
٥- الله بن موسى ٠ توفي في شهر جماد
٦- ى الاخر [كذا] سنة ثلثين [كذا] وأربعمائة
٧- سنة [كذا] ٠ وصلى الله على محمد النبي
٨- وآله وسلم تسليما ٠

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful
2. Say, He is one God. God the Eternal
3. He is not begotten, neither was He begotten. And He has none like Unto Him, (33)

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(32) Cf. Pl.45 no.83 (App)
(33) Sūrat al-Ikhlāṣ, 1-4.

4. This is the tomb of Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥasan b. ᶜAbd
5. Allāh b. Mūsā. He passed away in month of Jumādā
6. al-Ākhir [sic] of the year 430 [March 1039]
7. year [sic]. And may God bless Muḥammad the Prophet
8. and his family and give them peace.

Commentary

This inscription falls into a category developed from the Yaᶜlī b. Mūsā school in the 3rd decade of the 5th/11th century. This development is represented by the forms of sporadic, fine, curved arcs resembling an ornament on the tip of the letters with displeasing results. While these variations are to be considered as a development, they are in fact generally less attractive and less elegant than the inscriptions of the two earlier decades of this century i.e. nos. 52, 53 and 55 above. The Kufic characters very closely resemble those of nos. 57 and 58 above, and 60 and 61 below. In fact the five stones might have been incised by the same hand. Also the decoration above the first line resembles that of no. 57 above in shape; however, there is here an illegible script inside the shape resembling a reversed triangle.

No. 60

Provenance: ᶜAshm (E. ce. F.). Dated, Shaᶜbān 430/May 1039 Limestone. Tombstone of irregular shape, probably broken, left side. 7 lines. Incised, fine Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 18 x 24 cm. approx.

(Plate 35, no.60).

Text

١ـ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ٠

٢ـ ولمن خاف مقام ربه جنتان ٠

٣ـ هذا قبر خالد بن الحسن

٤ـ بن عبد الله بن موسى

٥ـ توفي في شهر شعبان

٦ـ سنة ثلثين [كذا] وأربعمائة

٧ـ سنة [كذا]

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. But for him who fears to stand before his Lord there are two Gardens.(34)
3. This is the tomb of Khālid b. al-Ḥasan
4. b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. Mūsā
5. He passed away in the month of Shaᶜbān of
6. the year 430 [May 1039]
7. year [sic]

Commentary

It is believed that the occupant of this grave is the brother of no.59 above, and that he died about two months after his brother. This year may have been one of misfortune for the family. The palaeography shows the same characteristics as those of his brother's tombstone and insriptions nos. 57 and 58 above. They may have been inscribed by the same hand. The border decorations above the first line resemble those of nos. 57 and 59, but here there is inside the shape, resembling a reversed triangle, the phrase Ḥasbunā Allāh "God is our sufficiency". This may be the same phrase as on no.59 above, but I was unable to decipher it, as it had been scraped by a sharp instrument. This may

(34) Surat al-Raḥmān, 47.

denote tampering with inscriptions in the southern area of the Amirate of Makkah.

No. 61

Provenance: ^{c}Ashm (E.cem.C.) transported to A.D.M. dated, Jumādā I 431/Jan.-Feb. 1040. Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape. 7 lines. Incised, simple Kufic. The average height and width of inscribed area 20 x 18 cm. approx. (Plate 35, no.61).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم.

٢- ولمن خاف مقام ربه

٣- جنتان . هذا قبر يوسف

٤- بن يعقوب بن الحسن.

٥- توفي في شهر جمادى الاول [كذا]

٦- سنة أحد [كذا] وأربعمائة

٧- وثلثين [كذا] سنة [كذا]

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. But for him who fears to stand before his Lord
3. there are two Gardens. (35) This is the tomb of Yūsuf
4. b. Ya^{c}qūb b. al-Ḥasan
5. He passed away in month of Jumādā 'l-Awwal [sic]
6. of the year 431 [Jan. Feb. 1040]
7. year [sic]

---

(35) Sūrat al-Raḥmān, 47.

A.D.M Archaeology Department Museum (University of King Saud, Riyadh).

Commentary

This inscription may be considered as belonging to the same category of nos. 57-60 above from a general and decorative point of view as well as the method of inscribing the mīm (ℓ.2 and 5) and the hā' (ℓ.3 and 5) in triangular form. We however note the disappearance of the two curved arcs over the loops of the mīm, wāw (ℓ.2,4 and 5) and crochet of the hā' which flourished in the aforementioned inscriptions. Instead, there is an arc, a reversion to a specimen of the Yaᶜlī b. Mūsā school, no.56. It is therefore safe to state that the method represented by the said five inscriptions, discussed above, did not please the artistic mind of the ᶜAshm people and they returned to the style of the two inscriptions nos. 52 and 56 above, signed by Yaᶜlī b. Mūsā.

No. 62

Provence: al-Sirrayn (S. cem.) Dated, Rabīᶜ I, 433/Nov.1041
Basalt. Tombstone of irregular shape, broken lower right side. 10 lines. Elaborate ornamental Kufic, carved in relief. Average height and width of inscribed area 32 x 22 cm approx. (Plate 35, no.62).

Text

١- بسم الله ا
٢- لرحمن الرحيم • قل
٣- هو نبأ عظيم • أنتم
٤- عنه معرضون • هذا
٥- قبر مرضية بنت عبد
٦- الله بن يحيى بن محمد
٧- بن القاسم القطان
٨- تتوفيت [في] شهر ربيع

٩- الاوّل سنة ثلث [كذا] و

١٠- ثلثين [كذا] وأربعمائة.

Translation

1. In the name of God, the
2. Compassionate, the Merciful. Say;
3. this is a great message
4. from which You do turn away. (36) This is
5. the tomb of Mardiyyah bint ᶜAbd
6. Allāh b. Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad
7. b. al-Qāsim al-Qaṭṭān
8. She passed away in the month of Rabīᶜ
9. al-Awwal of the year
10. 433 [Nov.1041]

Commentary

The word al-Qaṭṭān (ℓ.7) is a nisbah relating to the profession of cotton manufacturer or merchant. (37) With regard to the palaeography, it is to be noted that al-Sirrayn has now adopted a different style from that of ᶜAshm. Influenced by ᶜAshm, it has endowed the ᶜAshmī style with its particaular characteristics. This inscription is an example corroborating the above view. One finds that the ᶜAshmī influence during this period is represented by the shapes of the shaft of the final hā' (ℓ.1) and the lowering of the second lām of Allāh (ℓ.1) below the base line, the medial yā' and final hā' in the word Mardiyyah (ℓ.5). This has already been depicted in inscriptions nos. 11, 12 and 28 since the 3rd/9th century. In addition we

(36) Sūrat Sād, 61-8.
(37) Cf. 138 above.

find the same influence on the medial ᶜayn (ℓ.10) which resembles a "fleur-de-lys". This form of ᶜayn occurs in ᶜAshm as early as 289/902. (38) However, the characteristics of the apigraphy of al-Sirrayn are apparent in the tips and the tails of some letters whose decoration ends in the shape of a serpent's mouth, i.e. the rā' (ℓ.1), the nūn (ℓ.7) and the wāw(ℓ.3), where the final tā' in the word bint (ℓ.5) is coiled like a question mark. The dents of sīn (ℓ.2,7 and 9), shīn (ℓ.8) and other letters (ℓ.3,5 and 10) have their lower tips ending under the base line, as well as the initial and medial hā' in the words hādhā (ℓ.4) and shahr (ℓ.8). The final mīm has sweeping tails ending in a simple ornament (ℓ.2,3 and 7) and floral motif (ℓ.1). The most striking feature is the shape of the latter wāw (ℓ.9) which ends in a floral motif. Also the floral motifs can be traced in the tail of letters wāw (ℓ.3), the final nūn (ℓ.2), tā' (ℓ.5) and dāl (ℓ.6). In many cases there is a relative similarity from a palaeographic point of view, between this tombstone and four other stelae from Dahlak, dated 434-461/1043-1069. (39)

The upper border comes to a point like a miḥrāb top, a shape later seen in inscriptions nos, 63, 64 and 65 below. This border, however, is not decorated. Inside there is an almost triangular loop adjacent to two four-lobed rosettes. Under the text there is a circle enclosing a four-lobed rosette also.

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(38) Cf. pl.26, no.28 and pl.27, no.29 above; cf. Wiet Catalogue, VI, pl. XXXVI, no.12336/1.

(39) Oman, Dahlak, I, 17, 18, 20, 22-23 and pl.13,14,20 and 28. Also cf. Garçin, Qūṣ, 84f. pl.VII; Flury, "Le Decor", 371,Fig.3.

No.63

Provenance: cAshm (E. Cem.E.) Dated, Ramaḍān 434/March-April 1043. Basalt. Tombstone of irregular shape, fractured into three pieces. 9 lines. Elegant adorned Kufic, carved in relief. Average height and width of inscribed area 40 x 25 cm. approx. (Plate 36, no.63).

Text

١- بسم
٢- الله الرحمن الرحيم
٣- ولمن خاف مقام ربه
٤- جنتان • هذا قبر محمد بن
٥- عبد الله بن عويد بن
٦- عبيد الله بن عويد بن
٧- محمد بن عبيد الله •
٨- توفي في شهر رمضان سنة ا
٩- ربع وثلاثين وأربع مائة •

Translation

1. In the name
2. of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
3. But for him who fears to stand before his Lord
4. there are two Gardens. (40) This is the tomb of Muḥammad b.
5. cAbd Allāh b. cUwayd b.
6. cUbayd Allāh b. cUwayd b.
7. Muḥammad b. cUbayd Allāh.
8. He passed away in the month of Ramaḍān of the year
9. 434 [March-April 1043]

(40) Sūrat al-Raḥmān, 47.

Commentary

This is an important inscription of ᶜAshm, from the point of view of the characteristics of the script and the historical information it conveys, as it bears the name of a member of the family of the ruling ᶜUwayd. (41)

With regard to its palaeographic characteristics, it belongs to the collection represented by inscription no.56 which was originally the cornerstone of the mosque inscribed by Yaᶜlī b. Mūsā in relief. There is a clear elegance in this inscription, as shown by the ornamental motifs resembling a question mark attached to the body of the letter hā' (ℓ.2,4) and the loops of fā' (ℓ.3), qāf (ℓ.4) and the wāw (ℓ.3,4 and 8). These motifs occur in Egyptian stelae as early as 429/1038. (42) Worthy of mention is the shape of the short final mīm (ℓ 2,3) ending with a tail curving to the bottom with a pointed tip. Such a mīm has been seen in two inscriptions, nos. 40 and 43 above, dated 371/981 and 377/987. Also the ends of the rā' (ℓ.2 and 9), the wāw (ℓ.3,5,6,8 and 10) have curved tips to the left. The final nūn in all the lines and the neck of the dāl sweep up and curve to the lower left. This present inscription heralds a collection where the word bi-sm is inscribed in the middle of the line under the head of the border which depicts usually the shape of a miḥrāb.(43) Also the word arba ᶜumā'ah (ℓ.9), carved here in two words, which frequently recurs in some tombstones from ᶜAshm dating from the 4th/10th century.(44)

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(41) Cf. Table no.9.

(42) Wiet, Catalogue, VI, pl.XXI, no.50.

(43) Cf. pl.36, nos. 64, 65 and 66; pl. 37, no.67 and 68.

(44) Cf. nos. 42, 43,45 and 47 above, 64 and 68 below.

No. 64

Provenance: ᶜAshm, transported to al-ᶜAqīlī. Dated Shawwāl 434/April-May 1043. Basalt. Tombstone of irregular shape. 9 lines. Floral Kufic carved in relief. Average height and width of inscribed area 37 x 28 cm. approx. (Plate 36, no.64).

Text

١- بسم
٢- الله الرحمن الرحيم
٣- ان الذين سبقت لهم منا
٤- الحسنا [كذا] الئك [كذا] عنها مبعدو
٥- ن ٠ هذا قبر عبدالله
٦- بن عويد بن عبيد الله بن
٧- عويد بن محمد بن عبيد
٨- الله ٠ توفي [في] شهر شوال من سنة
٩- أربع وثلاثين وأربع مائة٠

Translation

1. In the name
2. of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
3. Those who have previously been promised by us a
4. good reward, will be removed far from it. (45)
5. This is the tomb of ᶜAbd Allāh
6. b. ᶜUwayd b. ᶜUbayd Allāh b.
7. ᶜUwayd b. Muḥammad b. ᶜUbayd
8. Allāh. He passed away in Shawwāl of the year
9. 434 [April-May 1043]

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(45) Sūrat al-Anbiyā', 101.

Commentary

This tombstone belongs to a member of the ᶜUwayd family. We believe he was amir of ᶜAshm, as he was the nephew of the Amir Yaᶜlī b. ᶜAbd Allāh and ancestor of Sultan Maḥfūẓ ruler of la-Ḥsabah. (46)

The Kufic characters, in addition to those of no.63, show a generally superior precision, though the time difference does not exceed one month. This is not astonishing as the occupant of the tomb is none other than the amir of the settlement and father of its future amir. However, it contains some additions distinguishing it from the style of no. 63 above. This is evident by the leaves climbing over the head of the letters. The scribe did not content himself, as in no.63, with the ornaments of the body of hā' (ℓ.2,4 and 7) and the loops of the mīm (ℓ.3 and 8), the wāw (ℓ.5,6,7,8 and 9) and qāf (ℓ.5 and 8). He went even further by embellishing similarly the peculiarity between the two lāms of Allāh (ℓ.2,5 and 6), shaping them into different decorative motifs. The medial ᶜayn (ℓ.4) is illustrated in a form totally different from inscription no. 63 above. Thus one finds that ᶜAshm, which did not excel in inscriptions in relief in the 4th/10th century, has now attained a high standard of perfection. The border represents a band in the shape of a mihrāb, enclosing continuous small circles. It is to be noted that the word fī (ℓ.8) is omitted and also the letter wāw (ℓ.4) in the word ūlā'ika.

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(46) Cf. 253 above and Table 9.

No.65

Provenance: ᶜAshm (E.cem. E) No date, probably 1st half of the 5th/11th century. Basalt. Tombstome of irregular shape, with small splits to left and right. 9 lines. Elegant Kufic, carved in relief. Average height and width of inscribed area 51 x 25 cm. approx. (Plate 36 , no.65).

Text

١- بسم
٢- الله الرحمن الرحيم
٣- سارعوا الى مغفرة من ربكم
٤- وجنة عرضها السموات
٥- والارض أعدت للمتقين ٠
٦- هذا قبر محمد بن أ
٧- حمد بن مهدى اليما
٨- ني ٠ غفر الله ذنبه
٩- ولقاه حجته والحقه بنبيه٠

Translation

1. In the name of
2. God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
3. Hasten towards forgiveness from your Lord
4. and a Paradise whose price is the heavens
5. and the earth, prepared for the righteous. (47)
6. This is the tomb of Muḥammad b. A
7. ḥmad b. Mahdī al-Yamā
8. nī. May God forgive his sin[s]
9. and provide him with [the appropriate] plea and bring him to meet his Prophet.

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(47) Sūrat Āl ᶜImrān, 133.

Commentary

This inscription has no exaggeration in the use of ornaments climbing over the letters. Nevertheless it preserves the collection's characteristics in the style and attached decorations (cf. nos. 56, 63 and 64 above, 66, 67 and 68 below), e.g. the form of letters ᶜayn (ℓ .3), dāl (ℓ .5,6 &7), and the placing of the word of bi-sm in the middle of the line under the head of the border represented by a miḥrāb shape. Of the peculiarities of this insription we note the shafts of the letters e.g. the lām (ℓ .7) which are wide from the top and slender at the bottom in order to counterbalance the horizontal letters. The earliest recorded instance of somewhat similar shafts is a stone in the vicinity of al-Ṭā'if which was brought to light by Philby. (48) Also the initial and medial mīm (ℓ .2, 6 and 7) has a remarkable peculiarity representing a small circle enclosing an even smaller circle. A similar mīm has been attested in the Philby collection too and in an Egyptian stele dated 382/992. (49) The border is almost similar to no.64, leading us to think that it is chronologically close to the former inscription, no.64 above.

The nisbah, al-Yamānī, of the deceased man's grandfather indicates that he was originally from the Yemen. (50)

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(48) Grohmann, Expédition, pl.2, Z15; Cf. Hawary, Catalogue I, pl.XIV, no.3380/12.

(49) Grohmann, Expédition, 16-7, pl.2, Z11; Wiet Catalogue, V, pl.LXI, no.9201.

(50) Cf. 251 above.

No. 66

Provenance: ^{c}Ashm (E. cem. D) Dated, Rajab 437/Feb.-March 1046

Basalt. Tombstone fragment of irregular shape. 8 lines. Elegant floral Kufic, carved in relief. Average height and width of inscribed area 33 x 19 cm. approx. (Plate 36, no.66).

Text

١- ســـ [ـــم]
٢- الله الرحمـــ [ـن الرحيم]
٣- ان الذين سبقت لـ [ـهـم منـا]
٤- الحسنـا [كذا] [أولـئك عنهـا] مبعدو [ن]. ه [ذا قبر ...]
٥- ابن محمد بن يعلي بن عبد الله
٦- ابن عويد بن محمد [بن عبيد الله.]
٧- توفي في شهر رجـ [ب سنة]
٨- سبع وثلاثين [وأربعمائة]

Translation

1. In the name of
2. God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
3. Those who have been promised
4. a good reward by us, will be removed far ... from it. (51) This is the tomb of ...
5. b. Muḥammad b. Ya^{c}lī b. ^{c}Abd Allāh
6. b. ^{c}Uwayd b. Muḥammad b. ^{c}Ubayd Allāh
7. He Passed away in the month of Rajab of the year
8. 437 [Feb.-March 1046]

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(51) Sūrat al-Anbiyā', 101.

Commentary

It is regrettable that this inscription, despite its beauty and historical importance, has come to light in part only, as shown in the photograph. The broken part was probably carried away or lost among the rubble of ᶜAshm. The occupant belongs to the ᶜUwayd family rulers, of the ᶜAshm province. (52) He was the grandson of the Amir Yaᶜlī who built the mosque of ᶜAshm in 414/1023. Having read other ᶜUwayd Family inscriptions, we may reconstruct the man's genealogy. He is .... b. Muḥammad b. Amir Yaᶜlī b. Amir ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜUwayd b. Muḥammad b. ᶜUbayd Allāh.

The palaeographic characteristics very closely resemble those of nos. 63 and 64 above, and 67 below. In addition, there is a new feature: the shape of circles filling up spaces between lines and the form of a border made up of small continuous symmetrical arcs carved on the same level as the letters, i.e. scalloping.

No. 67

Provenance: ᶜAshm (N. cem Ǧ.) No date inscribed, Dhū ʾl-Qaᶜdah 442/March-April 1051 (53) Basalt. Tombstone of irregular shape, fractured into three pieces, one of them missing. 8 lines. Elegant ornamental Kufic, carved in relief. Average height and width of inscribed area 36 x 29 cm. approx. (Plate 37, no.67).

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(52) Cf. Table no.9.

(53) Cf. pl.39 no.78 (App.). These two stones belonging to this grave, one dated, this particular one under discussion undated.

Text

١- بسم

٢- الله الرحمن الرحيم

٣- ان الذين سبقت لهم منا

٤- الحسنا [كذا] أولئك عنها

٥- مبعدون • هذا قبر حسن ا

٦- بن [كذا]سعيد ابن[كذا] عبدالله ابن [كذا]

٧- الحكم الوبائي • لقاه الله حجته

٨- والحقه بنبيه •

Translation

1. In the name of
2. God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
3. Those who have been previously promised by us,
4. a good reward will be, from it,
5. far removed. (54) This the tomb of Ḥasan
6. b. Sa^{c}īd b. ^{c}Abd Allāh b.
7. al-Ḥakam al-Wabā'ī. May God provide
   him with [the appropriate] plea
8. and bring him to meet his Prophet.

Commentary

This tombstone was found broken on the right side and at the bottom. One of the fragments was found and stuck to the inscription as shown in the picture. Part of the letters qāf and hā in the word wa — alḥaqahu (ℓ.8) was lost in the missing fragment. Other words have been almost obliterated in the middle (ℓ.4 and 5). It seems that it has been used as a base for grinding or crushing some hard material, such as grain or coffee.

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(54) Sūrat al-Anbiyā', 101.

The Kufic features very closely resemble those of nos. 63, 64, 66 above and 68 below, in fact the five stones might have been carved by the same hand.

With regard to the decoration, this inscription resembles that of no.66 above, but the small circles filling the spaces between the lines are not hollow here. The end of the last words of the inscription is drawn out in order to fill space.

Al-Wabā'ī is a nisbah which might refer to al-Wabā'ah, a place in Wadi Nakhlah near Makkah. (55)

No.68

Provenance: ᶜAshm (removed to al-ᶜAqīlī). Dated Rabīᶜ II, 449/Sept. 1057. Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape, weather-beaten. 8 lines. Elegant ornamental Kufic. Average height and width of inscribed area 43 x 27 cm. approx. (Plate 37, no.68).

Text

١- بسم
٢- الله الرحمن الرحيم
٣- ولمن خاف مقام ربه
٤- جنتان • هذا قبر علي ابن [كذا]
٥- أحمد ابن [كذا] بكير • توفي في
٦- شهر ربيع الآخره
٧- سنة تسع وأربعين
٨- وأربع مائة

(55) Yāqūt, Muᶜjam, V, 359.

Translation

1. In the name of
2. God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
3. But for him who fears to stand before his Lord,
4. two Gardens. (56) This is the tomb of ᶜAlī b.
5. Aḥmad b. Bukayr. He passed away in
6. the month of Rabīᶜ al-Ākhirah
7. of the year 449
8. [Sept. 1057]

Commentary

This one of the inscriptions was transported from ᶜAshm to al-ᶜAqīlī. It has been damaged by humidity as it has been left lying in a cattle pen. The surface has been peeled, obliterating some of the letters (ℓ.3,4,5,6 and 7). This inscription draws its importance from the fact of being the last dated one found in ᶜAshm. It belongs to the year 449/1057. It is also one of the few not to separate the letters of a single word and divide them between two consecutive lines.

The Kufic style very closely resembles those of nos. 63, 64, 65, 66 and 67 above; in fact they might have been carved by the same hand. The border form is almost identical with nos. 66 and 67. The letter mīm in the last word of the inscription (ℓ.8) is drawn out in order to fill space (cf. nos. 45 and 67 above).

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(56) Sūrat al-Raḥmān, 47.

CHAPTER 17

6th/12th century inscriptions

The S. la-Ḥsabah collection

No. 69

Provenance: S. la-Ḥsabah. No date, probably 5th-6th/11th-12th cent. Sandstone. Tombstone of irregular shape. 6 lines. Legible ornamental Kufic, carved in relief. Average height and width of inscribed area 27 x 22 cm approx.
(Plate 37, no.69).

N.B. no name of the occupant appears.

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم.
٢- سارعوا الا [كذا] مغفرة من
٣- ربكم وجنة عرضها
٤- السموات والارّض أعدت
٥- للمتقين . وصلى الله على محمد
٦- النبي وآله وسلم تسليما.

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. Hasten towards forgiveness from
3. your Lord and a Paradise whose price is
4. the heavens and the earth prepared
5. for the righteous. (1) May God bless Muḥammad
6. the Prophet and his family and give them peace.

Commentary

This is the last real Kufic inscription from this region studied here. Its characteristics show it to be inferior to the ᶜAshmī inscriptions of the 5th/11th century, but it has been influenced by them, especially by nos.63-68, above. This influence can be seen in the elongation of the

(1) Sūrat Āl ᶜImrān, 133.

shaft of the final hā' in the word Allāh (ℓ.1 and 5) and the lowering of its second lām below the base line. The shape of the final mīm (ℓ.1, 3 and 6) ending with a tail curved below to the right and the shape of the neck of the medial kāf (ℓ.3). The influence of ᶜAshm is also evident in the decoration resembling a question mark on the top of the loops of certain letters, e.g. the wāw (ℓ.2), the mīm (ℓ.1 and 3) and the rā' (ℓ.3) and on the circular forms filling the spaces between the lines, as in nos. 66 and 67 above. However, this inscription shows the same variations as in the shape of the short, flattened tail of the nūn (ℓ.1 and 5) and the form of inscribing and decorating the initial hā' twice (ℓ.1). A similar non-decorative hā' has been seen in a stele from Dahlak dated 517/1123. (2) The forms of the final and medial triangular hā' (ℓ.2 and 3), dāl (ℓ.4) and "returning" yā' (ℓ.5 and 6) have been noted in nos. 70 and 71 below, which date from the 6th/12th century. This leads one to place this inscription in the late 5th/11th or early 6th/12th century. It should be remarked that the word ilā (ℓ.2) is inscribed with alif mamdūdah, instead of the normal alif maqṣūrah.

No.70

Provenance: S.la-Ḥsabah. No date, but presumably 580/1184-5. (3) Basalt. Tombstone of irregular shape. 12 lines. Incised, simple script, carved in relief. Average height and width of inscribed area 40 x 24 cm. approx. (Plate 37, no.70).

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(2) Oman, Dahlak, I, 67-70, Pls. LVII-LX.

(3) Cf. no.71, below.

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن

٢- الرحيم ٠

٣- ولمن خاف مقام ربه جنتان ٠

٤- هاذا [كذا] قبر الخليفي

٥- السلطان ابن [كذا] السلطان ابراهيم بن

٦- عمر ابن [كذا] محمد ابن [كذا] سليم بن الجابر ابن [كذا] علي

٧- ابن عمر ابن [كذا] الاشيم السلمي الزهراني ٠ رحمة

٨- الله عليه وعلى كاتبه ... حسن ابن [كذا]...

٩- ابراهيم و ... ... ولده ودفن معه ولده

١٠- محمد ... رحمة الله عليه

١١- وصلى الله على

١٢- محمد وآله وسلم٠

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate,
2. the Merciful.
3. But for him who fears to stand before his Lord there are two Gardens. (4)
4. This is the tomb of al-Khalīfī
5. al-Sulṭān b. al-Sulṭān Ibrāhīm b.
6. ᶜUmar b. Muḥammad b. Salīm (Sulaym) b. al-Jābir b. ᶜAlī
7. b. ᶜUmar al-Ashyam al-Sulamī al-Zahrānī. May the Mercy of
8. God be upon him, and his scribe Ḥasan b.
9. Ibrāhīm, and his son was buried with him
10. Muḥammad ... May the Mercy of God be upon him.
11. And God bless
12. Muḥammad and his family and give them peace.

---

(4) Sūrat al-Raḥmān, 47.

Commentary

The occupant is al-Khalīfī, al-Sulṭān b.al-Sulṭān Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad al-Sulamī al-Zahrānī. The nisbah, al-Khalīfī, probably relates to al-Khalīf, the above mentioned settlement where one of the ancestors of the deceased was buried. (5) However, such a nisbah is not attested in Arabic literature. Al-Sulamī is a nisbah referring either to the Hijazi tribe of Banū Sulaym or probably to Sulaym, the second ancestor of the deceased person. (6) Also the nisbah, al-Zahrānī, relates to the well-known tribe Zahrān of the Azd, some of whose branches live in this province. (7)

The title "sultan" is bestowed usually on governors.(8) We have already stated that the rulers of ᶜAshm were of the ᶜUwayd family and the tombstone of the last of them has been discovered in southern la-Ḥsabah near this tombstone, and bearing the same title. (9) It should be said that the al-Jābir family might have been prominent in ᶜAshm. It is probable that there was between them and the ᶜUwayd family ties of some sort or a marriage relationsip, as their graves lie side by side with the ᶜUwayd tombs in the eastern cemetery. (10) However, none of the Jābirs in ᶜAshm bore a title indicating that he was ruler during the whole period of the heyday of ᶜAshm. The situation may have

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(5) Cf. pl. 33, no.52 and table 10.

(6) Al-Samᶜānī, al-Ansāb, VII, 111-13, 124.

(7) Al-Samᶜānī, al-Ansāb, VI, 327-8; cf.

(8) Al-Bāshā, al-Alqāb, 323.

(9) Cf. pl.38, no.73 below and table no.9.

(10) Cf. nos. 42 and 53 above, table no.11.

changed after their migration to la-Ḥsabah and probably the government alternated with the ᶜUwaydīs, or the occupant or his family ruled before Sultan Maḥfūẓ (d. 586/1190). They may also have ruled the province in conjunction with the ᶜUwayd family. This view is corroborated by the fact that joint rule appeared in Makkah during this period and may have been carried from the capital to the provinces. (11) There is another explanation for this title: it may have been honorary, or indicative of prestige or fame and not of rule, (12) as it has been given to the father, and his son who died at the same time and was buried with his father without acceding to the sultanate. (13) This title was also given to the second son who died one year after them i.e. 581/1185-6, and he was a mere scribe. (14)

The script tends to be a primitve naskhī rather than Kufic. It may be that it is of the rounded type (muqawwar) used in the dawāwīn (government departments), not usually for funerary purposes. It contains a number of obliterated words (ℓ.4,8,9 and 10). The only link between this inscription and the last real Kufic one, no. 69 above is in the form of final hā' (ℓ.7, 10 and 11) and dāl (ℓ.9 and 10) where they resemble those of no. 69. It should be noted that this is the first time that the letters have dots on them in the funerary inscriptions of this area. There is a relative similarity, from a palaegraphic point of view, between this inscription and a stele from Egypt, dated 567/1172. (15)

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(11) Cf. 72 above.

(12) Al-Bāshā, al-Alqāb 326, 329, 336, 337; Combe, Répertoire, VIII, no.4554.

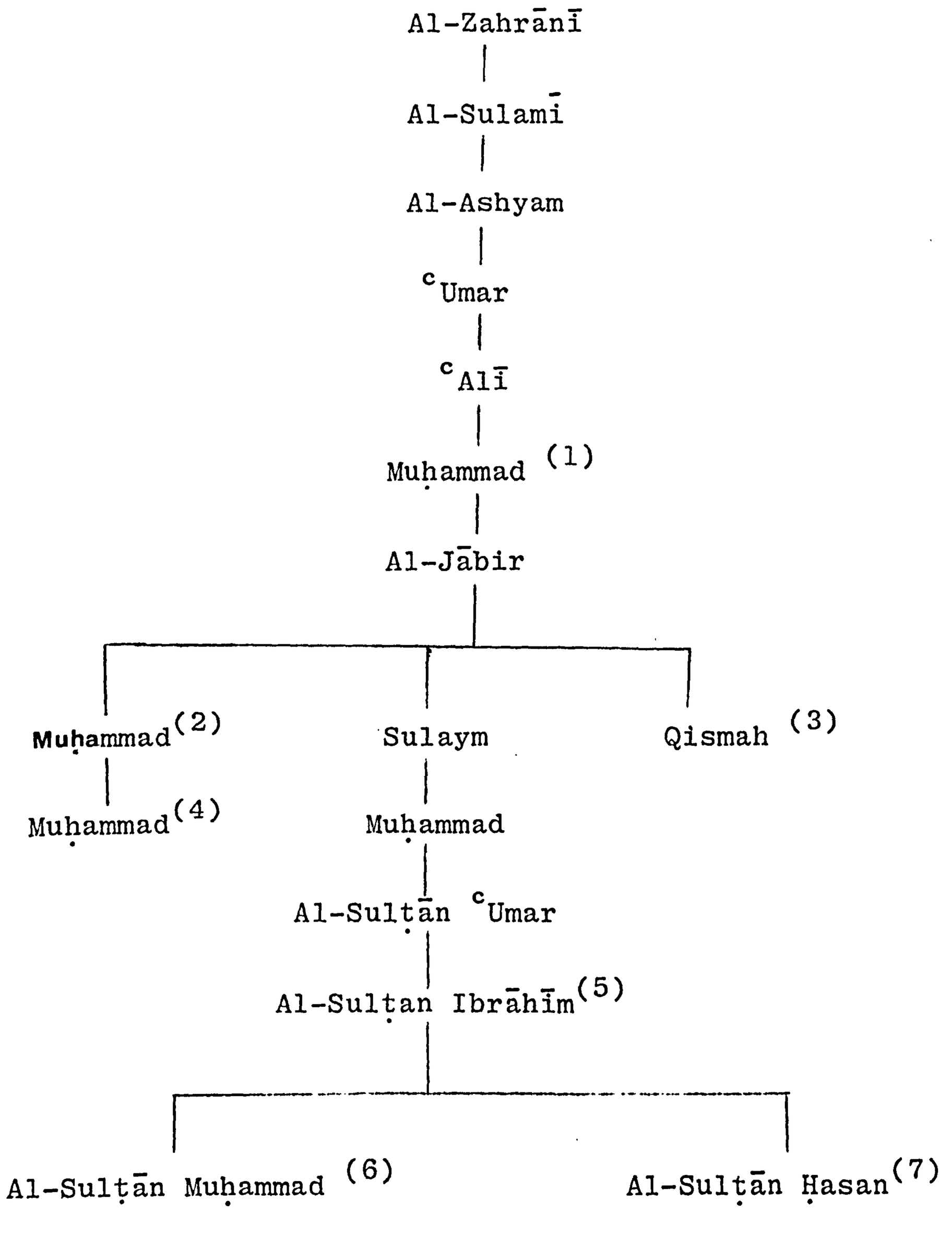
(13) Cf. no.71, below.

(14) Cf. 72, below.

(15) Cf. Wiet, Catalogue, VI, pl.XXXVI, no.5933.

Table No.10

The family of al-Jabīr



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(1) Omitted from nos. 70, 71 and 72.

(2) Cf. no.42.

(3) Cf. no.53

(4) Cf. no.52

(5) Cf. no.70.

(6) Cf. no.71.

(7) Cf. no.72.

The scribe is Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm the deceased person's own son and he prayed for God's mercy on himself and his son (i.e. the scribe's son). The formula is usual in the tombstones of la-Ḥsabah; it appeared in ᶜAshm from the 5th/11th century onwards.

No.71

Provenance: S. la-Ḥsabah Dated, 580/1184-5.

Basalt. Tombstone of irregular shape. 7 + 1 lines. Fairly simple naskhī, carved in relief. Average height and width of inscribed area 26 x 26 cm. approx (Plate 38, no.71).

Text

١ـ بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

٢ـ ولمن خاف مقام ربه جنتان • هاذا [كذا] قبر

٣ـ السلطان ابن [كذا] السلطان محمد xxx

٤ـ ابن ابراهيم ابن [كذا] عمر ابن [كذا] محمد ابن [كذا] سليم ابن [كذا] الجا

٥ـ بر السلمي الزهراني • رحمة الله عليه وعلى

٦ـ والديه وعلى كاتبه حسن ابن [كذا] ابراهيم ابن [كذا]

٧ـ عمر ابن [كذا] محمد ابن [كذا] سليم ابن [كذا] الجابر السلمي الز هراني

١ـ سنة ثمانين وخمس مئة

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

2. But for him who fears to stand before his Lord, there are two Gardens. (16) This is the tomb of

3. al-Sulṭān b. al-Sulṭān Muḥammad

4. b. Ibrāhīm b. ᶜUmar b. Muḥammad b.Sulaym b. al-Jā

5. bir al-Sulamī al-Zahrānī. May the Mercy of God be upon him and upon

(16) Sūrat al-Raḥmān, 47.

6. his parents, and upon his scribe Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b.
7. ᶜUmar b. Muḥammad b. Sulaym b. al-Jābir al-Sulamī al-Za[hrānī]

1. The year 581 [1184-5]

Commentary

This inscription bears the name of Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, the son of the deceased of no. 70 above. (17) He died on the same day and was buried in his father's grave, as is clear from the above tombstone. One does not know the reason for the death of both men, but it may have been the result of an accident such as drowning, fire, the collapse of a house or an enemy attack.

The scribe is Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm, the deceased man's brother and his father's son. He made this inscription bearing the same palaeographic characteristics as his father's, but he exerted more care in his brother's inscription. One finds him here bringing the words closer, making the letters more compact and embellishing the inscription, with some decorative circles filling the spaces between lines and also in the middle of the nūn in the word Ibn (ℓ.6). These small circles are to be noticed also in the inscriptions nos. 66,67 above, dated 437/1045, 442/1051 and in no. 69 from la-Ḥsabah, dating from the late 5th/11th and early 6th/12th centuries.

There is writing on the left side of the tombstone, illegible except for the year of death 580/1184-5. (18)

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(17) Cf. Table no.10.

(18) Cf. pl.38 no.71a.

This date applies also to inscription no. 70. The first line of the inscription is obscure. It should be noted that the word Khamsu mi'ah is inscribed as two separate words.

No. 72

Provenance: S. la-Hsabah Dated, 581/1185-6.

Basalt. Tombstone of irregular shape. 9 lines. Simple naskhī script, carved in relief. Average height and width of inscribed area 29 x 35 cm. approx. (Plate 38, no.72).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
٢- ولمن خاف مقام ربه جنتان • هاذا [كذا] قبر الخليفي
٣- السلطان ابن [كذا] السلطان حسن بن ابراهيم بن عمر بن محمد
٤- ابن سليم بن الجابر بن علي بن عمر بن الاشيم السلمي الزهراني
٥- من أبناء جابر ... ... الجار ؟ بأسياف
٦- وهرجان ؟ على ... ... غيظان
٧- وكتبه في شهر xxxxx واحد وثمانين
٨- وخمس مئة xxxx صاحبها وكا
٩- تبها ، وصلى الله على محمد وآله وسلم •

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. But for him who fears to stand before his Lord there are two Gardens. (19) This is the tomb of al-Khalīfī
3. al-Sulṭān b. al-Sulṭān Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿUmar b. Muḥammad

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(19) Sūrat al-Raḥmān, 47.

4. b. Sulāym b. al-Jābir b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar
   b. al-Ashyam al-Sulamī al-Zahrānī
5. From the sons of Jābir .....
   who protect their neighbour with swords
6. and ? ..... angry
7. And has inscribed the inscription
   in month .... 851 [1185-6]
8. Its owner and scribe,
9. and may God bless Muḥammad and
   his Family and give them peace

Commentary

This tombstone bears the name of the scribe Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm who died one year after his father's and brother's death. It is inscribed by someone other than Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm, but nevertheless it bears his imprint as in nos. 70 and 71 above, from a palaeographic point of view. The scribe may have been the son of Ḥasan who is mentioned in inscription no.70 above, so that his palaeographic method bears resemblance to his father's. Some of the words (ℓ.5,6,7 and 8) are obliterated and some can not be deciphered and translated.

No.73

Provenance: S. la-Ḥsabah Dated, Sat.17th ... 586/1190

Basalt. Tombstone of irregular shape. 10 lines. Simple naskhī script carved in relief . Average height and width of inscribed area 39 x 28cm. approx. (Plate 38, no.73).

Text

١- بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

٢- هذا قبر السلطان بن

٣- السلطان محفوظ بن عبدالله

٤- ابن بدر بن .... بن المليح بن عبدالله

٥- ابن عويد بن عبدالله بن عويد

٦- العويدى . رحمة الله عليه

٧- توفي في يوم السبت يوم سبعة

٨- عشر ... ست

٩- وثمانين وخمس مئة سنة [كذا] وصلى [الله]

١٠- على سيدنا محمد وآله

١١- وسلم.

Translation

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.
2. This is the tomb of al-Sulṭān b.
3. al-Sulṭān Maḥfūẓ b. ᶜAbd Allāh
4. b. Badr b. Yaḥyā (?) b. al-Malīḥ b. ᶜAbd Allāh
5. b. ᶜUwayd b. ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜUwayd
6. al-ᶜUwaydī. May the blessing of God be upon him.
7. He passed away on Saturday, the day of 7
8. and 10 (i.e. 17) Rajab (?), year (?) 6
9. and 580 [1190] year. May God bless
10. our lord Muḥammad and his family
11. and give them peace.

Commentary

The script is crowded, undistinguished and clumsy. It has been made worse by the rough volcanic stone on which it is engraved. Some words (ℓ.4, 8 and 10) are doubtful and

the last word (ℓ.11) rather obscure.

The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it bears the name of Sulṭan Maḥfūẓ al-ᶜUwaydī, the last ruler of the ᶜAshm province known to us so far. (20) This indicates the emigration of the family to southern la-Ḥsabah and probably its being chosen as provincial capital, instead of ᶜAshm which may have been destroyed from the 2nd half of the 6th/12th century onwards as stated before.

The palaeographic characteristics of this inscription are the same as nos. 70, 71 and 72 above; the first two of them are engraved by Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm al-Zahrānī. However, this inscription is different in that it lacks diacritical points which have been a feature of funerary tombstones, at least in the first five (7-11) centuries. It also lacks good order in its words and lines, e.g. the contiguity of words in certain lines and their separation in others, all this leading to difficulty in reading of some of the text.

Nos. 70, 71, 72 and 73 above are of particular interest and importance in the field of Arabic epigraphy and palaeography. They clearly mark a transition period, the change from Kufic to naskhī. The period concerned is 580-586/1184-90.

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(20) Cf. 253 above and table no.9.

Plate 20.



No. 1.



No. 3.



No. 2.



No. 4.

Plate 2I.



No. 5.



No. 7.



No. 6.



No. 8.



No. 9.



No. 11.

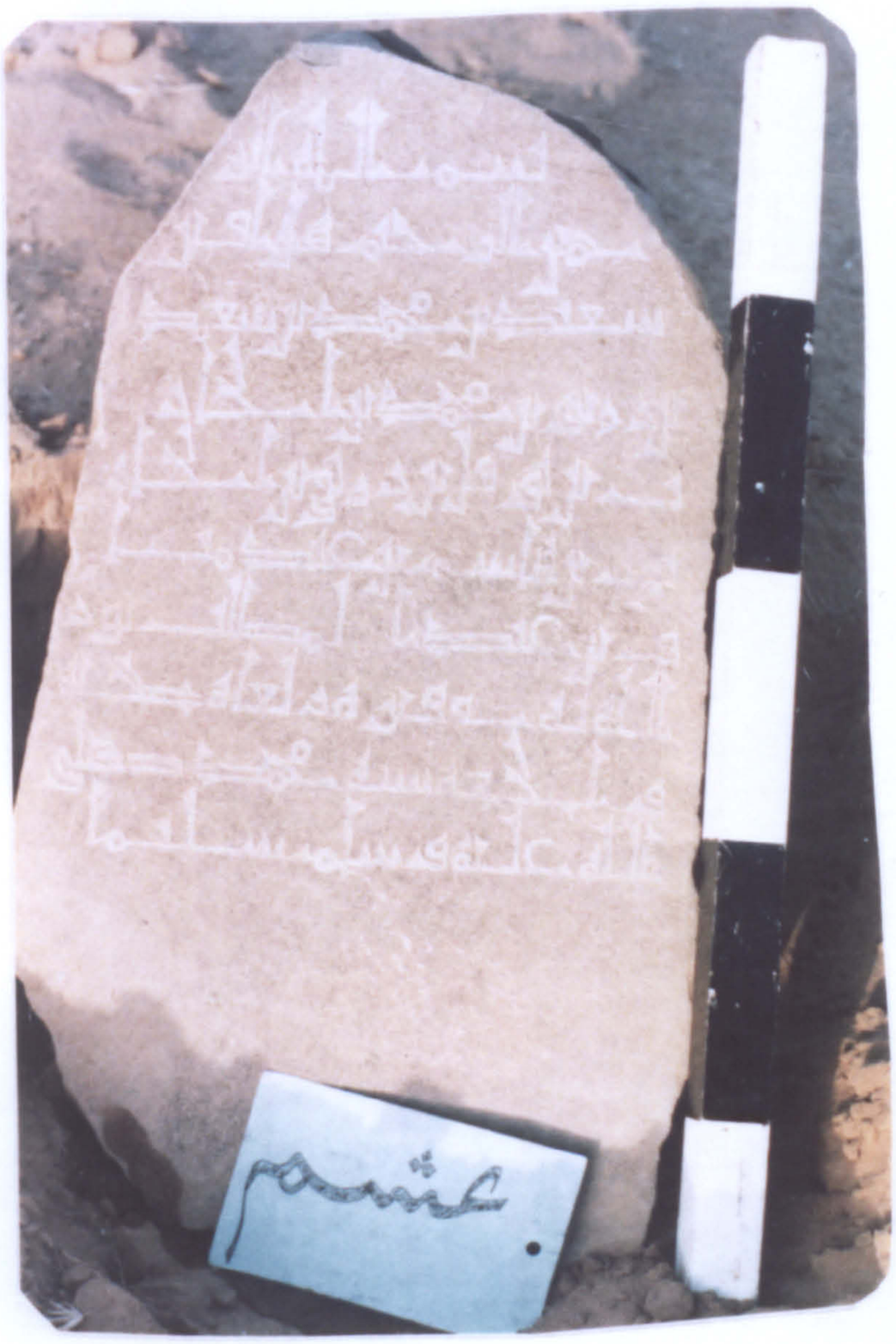


No. 10.



No. 12.

Plate 23.



No. 13.



No. 15.



No. 14.



No. 16.



No. 17.



No. 19.



No. 18.



No. 20.

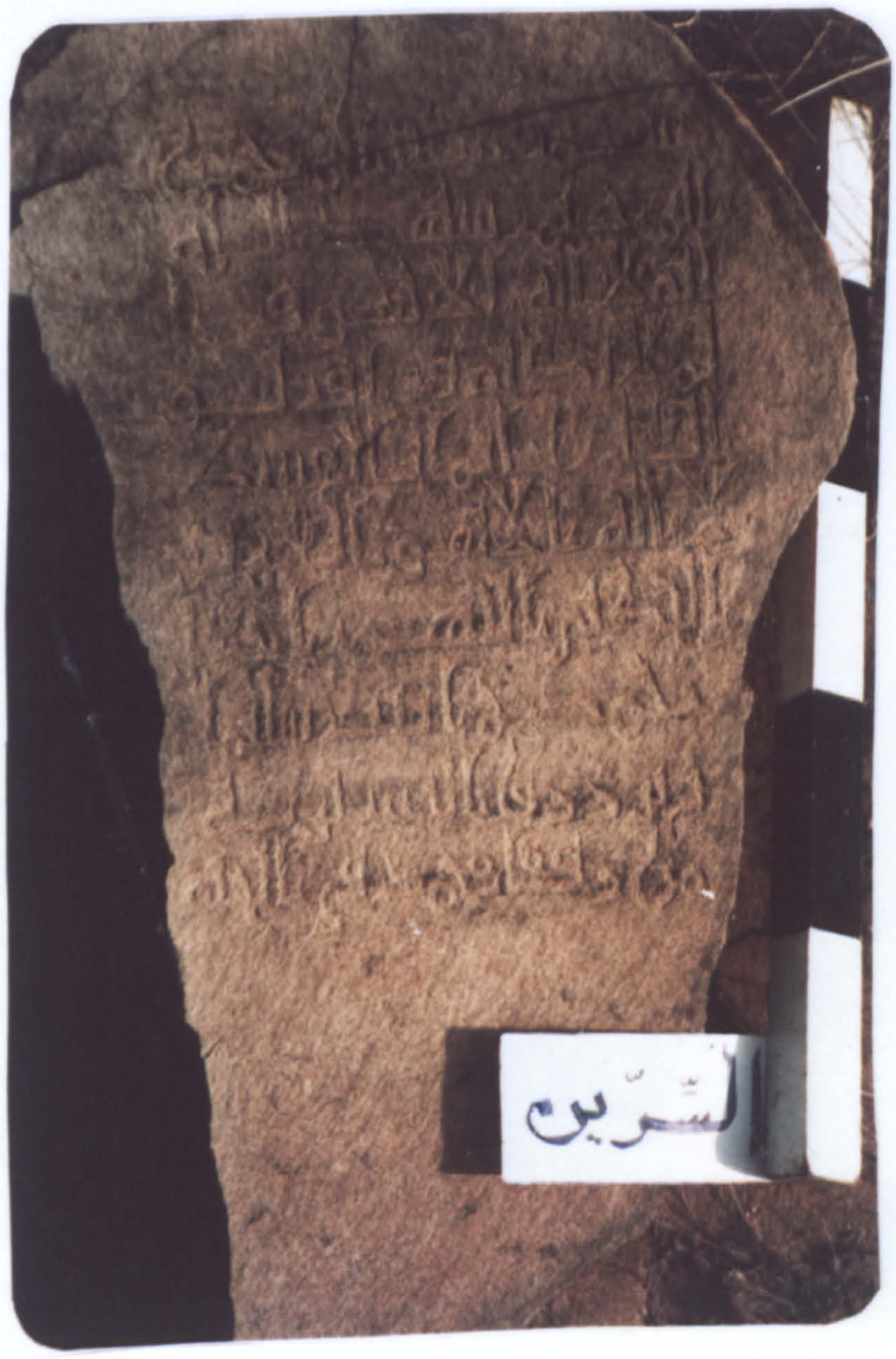
Plate 25.



No. 21.



No. 23.



No. 22.



No. 24.

Plate 26.



No. 25.



No. 27.



No. 26.



No. 28.

Plate 27.



No. 29.



No. 31.



No. 30.



No. 32.

Plate 28.



No. 33.



No. 34.



No. 35.

Plate 29.



No. 36.



No. 38.



No. 37.



No. 39.



No. 41.



No. 40.



No. 42.

Plate 31.



No. 43.



No. 45.



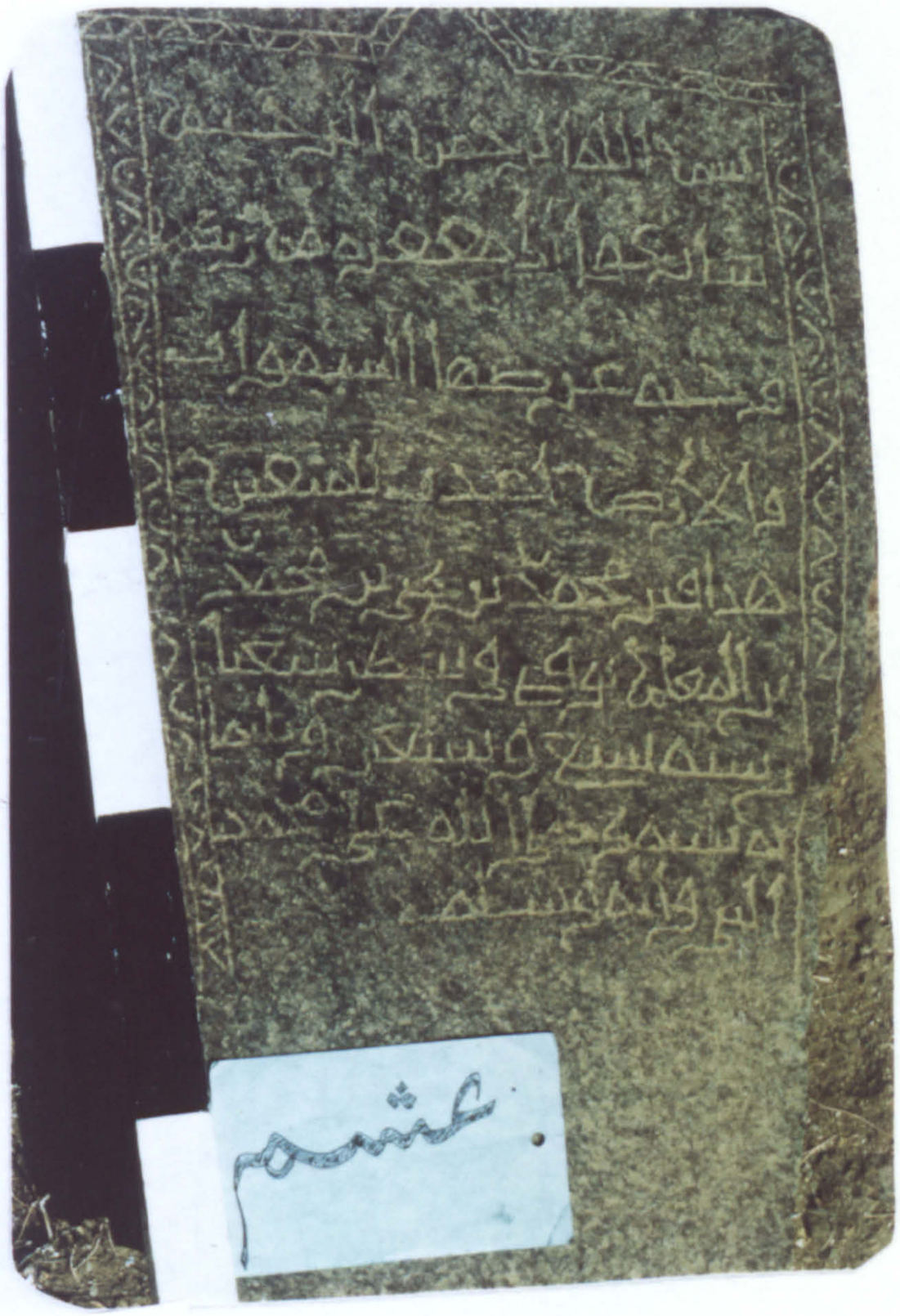
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No. 46.



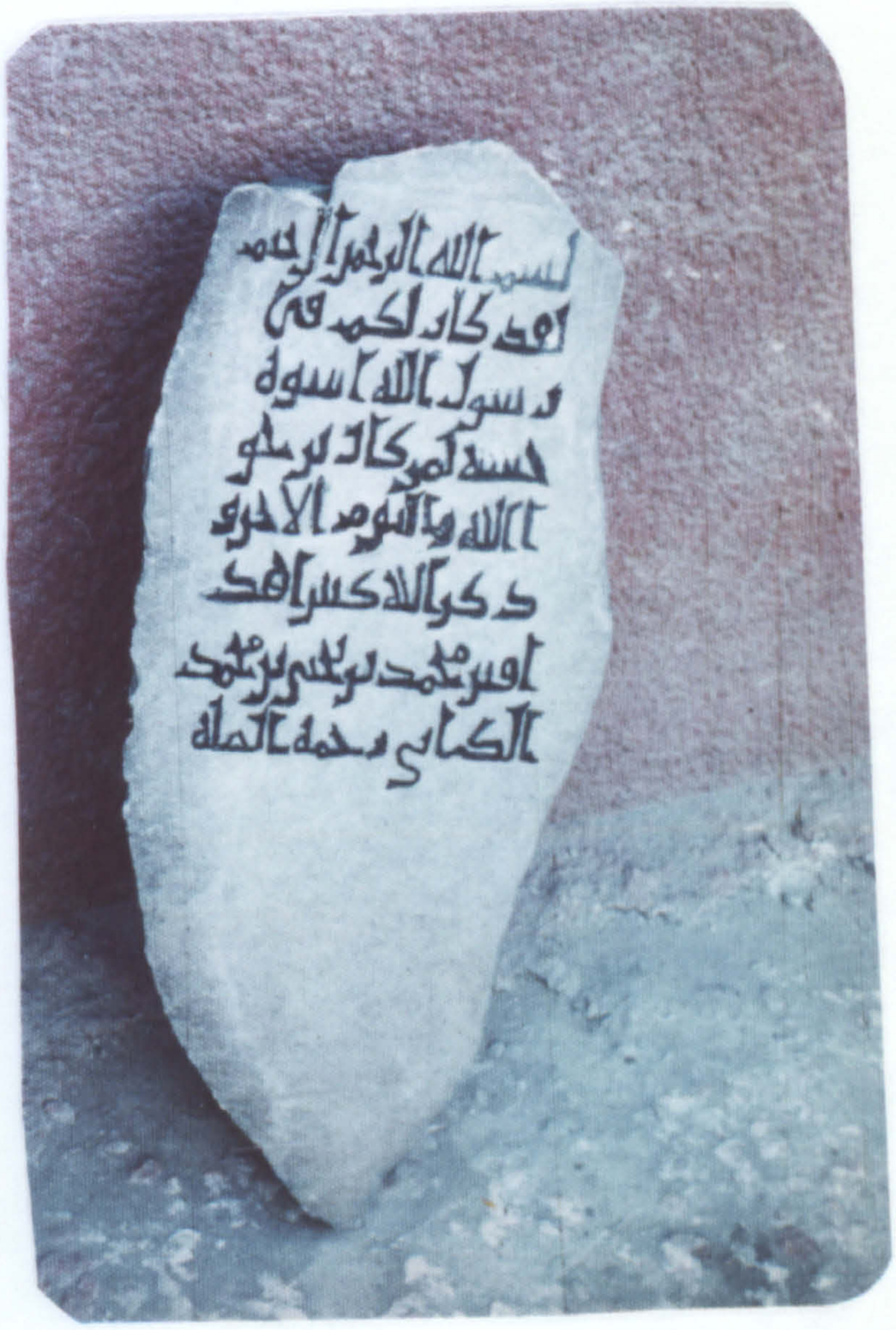
No. 47.



No. 49.

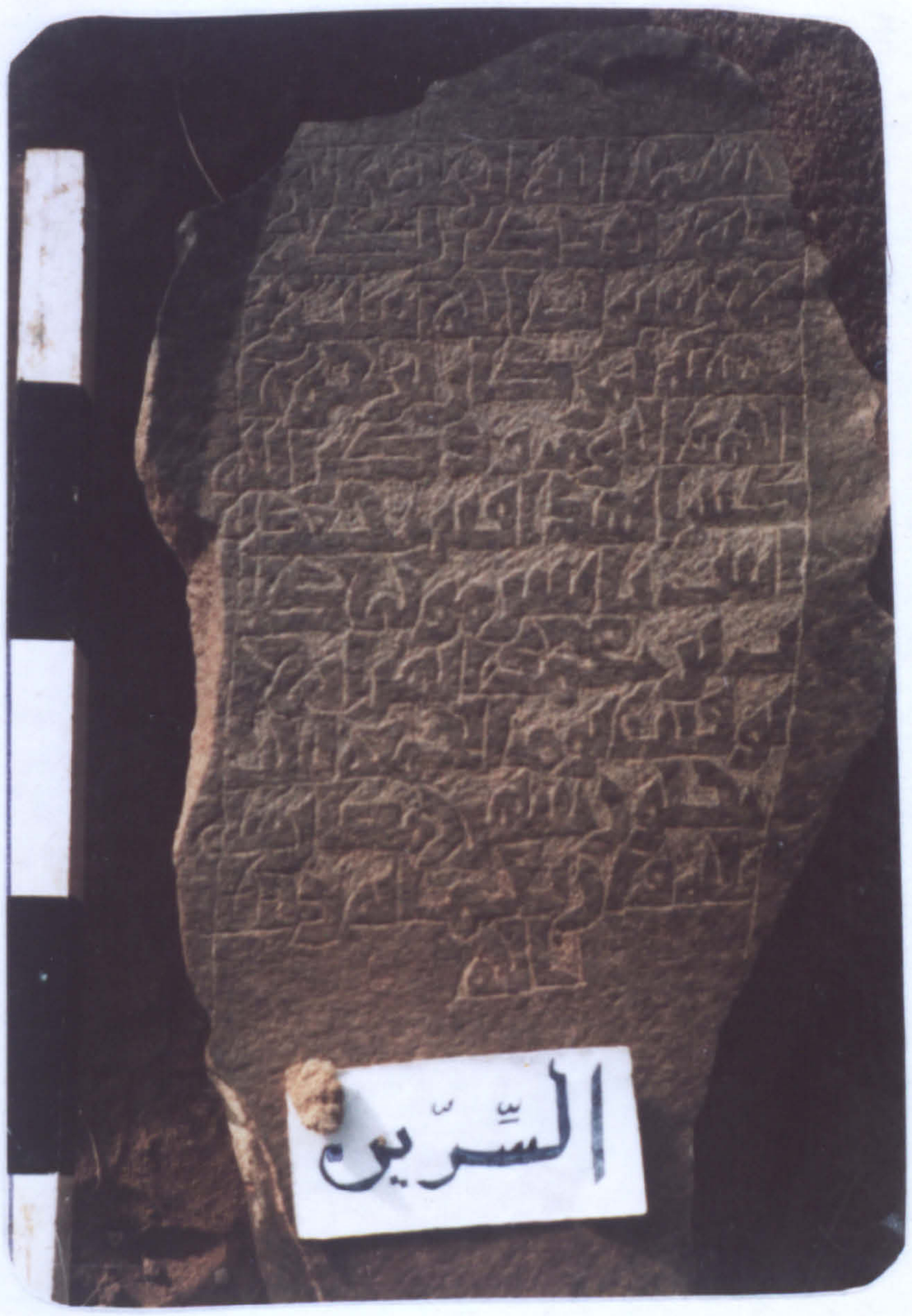


No. 48.



No. 50.

Plate 33.



No. 51.



No. 53.



No. 52.



No. 54.

Plate 34.



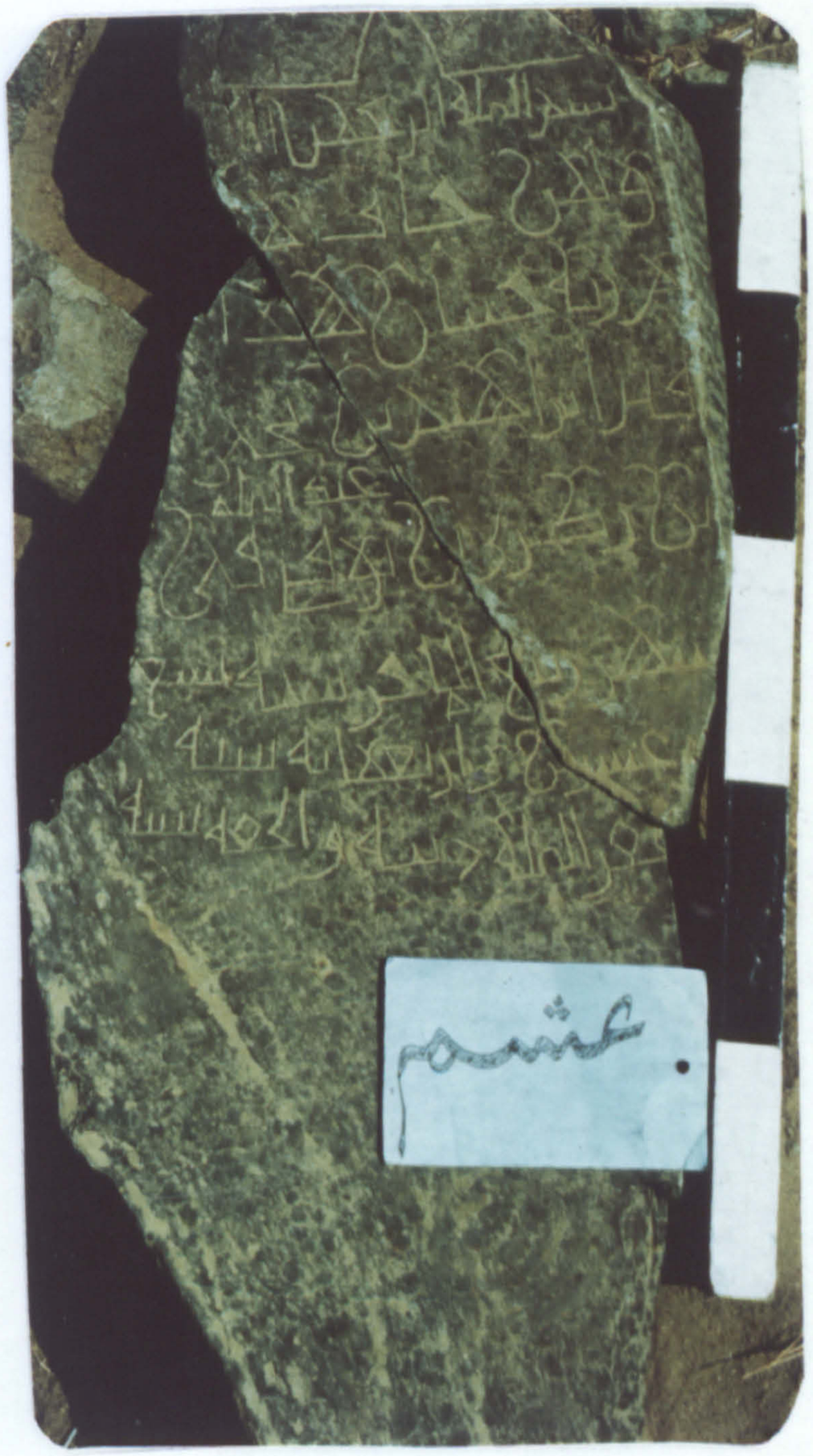
No. 55.



No. 57.



No. 56.



No. 58.

Plate 35.



No. 59



No. 61



No. 60.



No. 62.



No. 63.



No. 65.



No. 64.



No. 66.

Plate 37.



No. 67.



No. 69.



No. 68.



No. 70.

Plate 38.



No. 71.



No. 71a.



No. 72.



No. 73.

CONCLUSION

It can be seen from this study how the sharifs of Makkah struggled with and were engaged in a prolonged rivalry against the ʿAbbasids to establish an independent Makkan amirate. They achieved limited success at the turn of the 4th/10th century. When the Fatimid Caliphate was established in Egypt, the sharifs of Makkah were encouraged by them and this helped them in the course of their initial steps to consolidate their independence and strengthen their position. However, the sharifs soon revealed new designs, when Abū ʾl-Futūḥ claimed that he was the Caliph and was more worthy of the title than the Fatimids. This prompted the Fatimids to work against him until he was deposed. Abū ʾl-Futūḥ then tried again to win back their favour, proclaiming once more his loyalty to them. He discarded the idea of the caliphate, together with the sharifs who succeeded him throughout the Islamic era. In modern times only Sharīf al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī claimed the caliphate. Otherwise the Sharīfs of Makkah preferred, after the failure of Abū ʾl-Futūḥ, to maintain their domestic independence, which increased and decreased according to the strength or weakness of the two caliphates, the ʿAbbasids in Baghdad and the Fatimids in Cairo. Makkah's independence was affected also by the changing tides of the struggle between the Fatimids and the Abbasids.

We should bear in mind the fact that the influence enjoyed by these two countries did not diminish Makkah's independence, except to the extent that the Makkans had to pray for this caliph or that from the <u>minbar</u> and accept

aid from him. Perhaps the Sharifs of Makkah are to be excused, for they achieved its independence, but could not form a strong army to defend it, owing to the low population figures in Makkah and its surroundings. Besides, its resources could not meet even a part of its expenditure. Therefore, the sharifs had to come to terms with the powerful, and accept endowments and presents from this party or that.

We also conclude from this study that the Yemen became a party to the struggle over Makkah from time to time during that early period. At the time it did not enjoy the influence that could enable it to interfere on a larger scale, as the Yemen itself was torn frequently between rival factions. However, though circumstances were not favourable for the Yemen at that time to engage in expansionist policies, its role in Makkah was only natural, by virtue of its geographical proximity to the Holy City and the absence of any great natural barrier between the two. Besides, there was the economic factor that the Yemen was the granary upon which Makkah depended after Egypt. Moreover, the Yemen was considered one of the foremost Islamic regions in terms of Shī^{c}ī affiliations, whether Zaydī or Ismā^{c}īlī. These two groups were united on one thing; their love of the ʿAlids and their defence of the Alid cause.

It was inevitable, then, that the Yemen should play a prominent role in the affairs of Makkah, but the Yemenis were thwarted by the circumstances of the international scene and the scramble for Makkah by the big powers, the Abbasids and the Fatimids. No sooner had the former

stood alone on the battle field in Makkah after the fall of the latter than they began to enjoy power there during the decline of the Hashimids who had been compelled by Saladin to pray for the Abbasids.

However, the governorship of Makkah was monopolized by the sharifs during the time of Qatādah who was able to keep it free from outside interference. There were some occasions when Ḥasan wanted to co-operate with the Abbasids just shortly after he became ruler. However the incident of the murder of Aqbāsh put an end to this.

On the other hand, an opportunity for direct intervention by the Yemen in Makkah soon presented itself during the period of the late Ayyubids and early Rasulids. This was due to dissension among members of B. Qatādah and led to the direct occupation of Makkah in 619/1221 by the Yemen, and the removal of the sharifs from Makkah. This occupation entailed an act of intervention by Tihāmah in the political game after the appointment of Rājiḥ b. Qatādah as amir of the southern area of the amirate of Makkah and his alliance with the Rasulids. This situation resulted in the insistence of both the Ayyubids in Egypt and the Rasulids in the Yemen upon full control of Makkah, a fact which meant the removal of the sharifs from the control of Makkah for about twenty-five years. Abū Sa^{c}īd al-Ḥasan b. ^{c}Alī b. Qatādah snatched the reigns of power in Makkah from the Rasulid governor, Ibn al-Musayyab in 647/1055-6, which coincided with the murder of al-Malik al-Manṣūr, the Rasulid ruler of the Yemen.

On the other hand, at a time when Makkah, the capital, was suffering from instability and experiencing conflicts and revolutions, its southern region was quietly building a civilization and towns which have not received the attention they deserve in the Arabic sources. Its geographical position, as it were, obscured its importance until very recently; its only reputation was that it was a remote area without any historical significance. This study has demonstrated, it is hoped, that it is now possible to regard the area in a new light, and that it is, in fact, well worthy of attention. Perhaps the most important result reached by this study is the discovery of the towns of al-Sirrayn and ᶜAshm.

The first, al-Sirrayn, was the main port for the southern area of the amirate of Makkah. The conclusion reached is that it was ruled by four sharifian families in Makkah; during this period the port did not get involved in the conflict taking place in Makkah, except during the reign of B. Qatādah.

Al-Sirrayn owes its existence to a number of factors, the most important being its unique geographical position which made of it a meeting-place of land and sea routes, and enabled it to be the only outlet for a vast agricultural area extending to al-Sarawāt, including the province of ᶜAshm. These factors were responsible for the development of al-Sirrayn, and causing it to prosper and grow; this prosperity reached its peak in the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries. It is concluded that al-Sirrayn had trade relations with the ports of Hijaz, the Yemen and

even Ethiopia. Furthermore, it played a part as an entrepôt between these ports and the interior of the southern Makkan amirate. Thus it attracted émigrés from various countries. Al-Sirrayn was able to build a prosperous civilization which has been indicated by the relics found; the survey included its residential sectors, tombs, harbour and the only source of water it had.

Regarding the second settlement, ᶜAshm, it is concluded that this historically important town was the capital of a region which contained other historical settlements. There were factors which played an important role in its development. It is, for example, situated on the Yemeni pilgrim road to Makkah and is surrounded by an important agricultural area and represents a transitional stage between the coastal plain and the mountain regions. However, the most important factor is the existence in it of a gold mine, known in the pre-Islamic era, which was prosperous during the Islamic age. Until the 5th/11th century, ᶜAshm used to produce high quality gold products which were known in southern Hijaz. Gold mining in ᶜAshm led to its prosperity and made it the object of attraction for many émigrés who came to it from various quarters and countries and who contributed to its urban development. ᶜAshm may be regarded as the largest settlement in the region, as far as I am aware, from the point of view of urbanization. Our archaeological survey revealed that it was a large town, well developed and planned. Its fine planning can be seen in the system of its thoroughfares, the building patterns and styles of its houses and its infrastructure. It is also

clear that its inhabitants had fine taste and were rich and prosperous. The system of its market and the spacious nature of the shops discovered, show that the market was a large one and that the town experienced a period of economic boom. That the province of ᶜAshm bustled with life and activity is shown by the spacious extent and expanse of its region, the existence in it of a number of Islamic settlements, the architectural patterns in these settlements and the planning of their residential quarters, especially Northern la-Ḥṣabah.

Perhaps the most important discovery in al-Sirrayn and ᶜAshm and other settlements in the southerr area of the amirate of Makkah is the funerary inscriptions. From these inscriptions it was possible to extrapolate much of historical and palaeographical value. Their historical value resides in the fact that they are a documentary record of the people of these settlements, the occupations they pursued and the governors who ruled them. Their palaeographic value lies in revealing the development of the Kufic script in the region, both incised and in relief. The former started as a simple form which began to develop, until it reached its peak in the 3rd/9th century. The latter also started as a simple form in the 4th/10th century and began to develop until it reached its zenith in the form of impressive aesthetic works of art in the middle of the 5th/11th century. Also this region witnessed the beginning of a naskhī funerary script in the 6th/12th century.

As for the decoration of the stones it is of two kinds; the first is the calligraphic decoration, which is

virtually non-existent in the early simple Kufic inscriptions. It began to assume rudimentary decorative shapes in the form of pustules or protrusions at the head of vertical letters and seen in the shape of a spike or fork, and of simple leaves which begin to develop into three-lobed leaves in the 3rd/9th century, symmetrical ornaments, half-palmettes, shapes of rosettes, simple and decorative arcs, extensions in the word Allāh and other letters, forming some letter heads into the shapes of animals' heads.

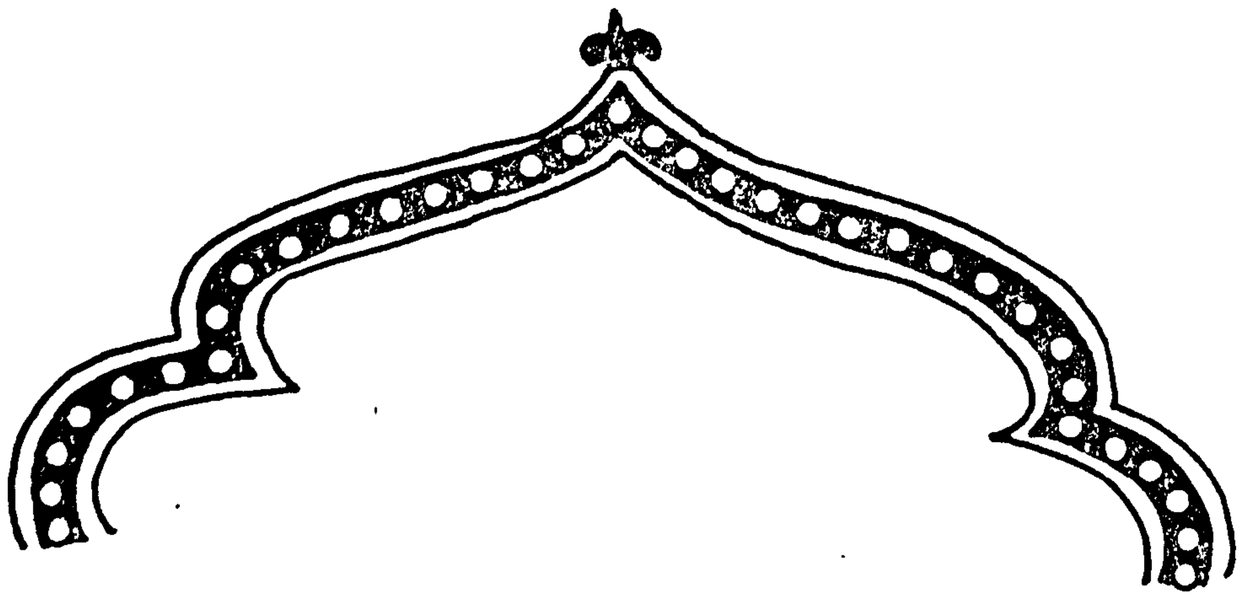
The second kind of decoration is that surrounding the inscription on three sides only. This is the peculiarity of the inscriptions found in this region. We have noted the presence of simple patterns which were no more than simple lines enclosing the text from three sides only. Others were decorative units, which were similar in shape to chains, circles, curves and other geometric forms. The upper parts of some patterns were decorated with small rosettes, seals and hexagonal star forms.(1) Writing outside the patterns appears in the 2nd half of the 3rd/9th century and this adds to the text valuable literary material.

These conclusions mentioned above are an extrapolation from literary, archaeological and epigraphic, the relics which were found and which were used for the discovery of historical facts which, it is hoped, will be a contribution to human knowledge.

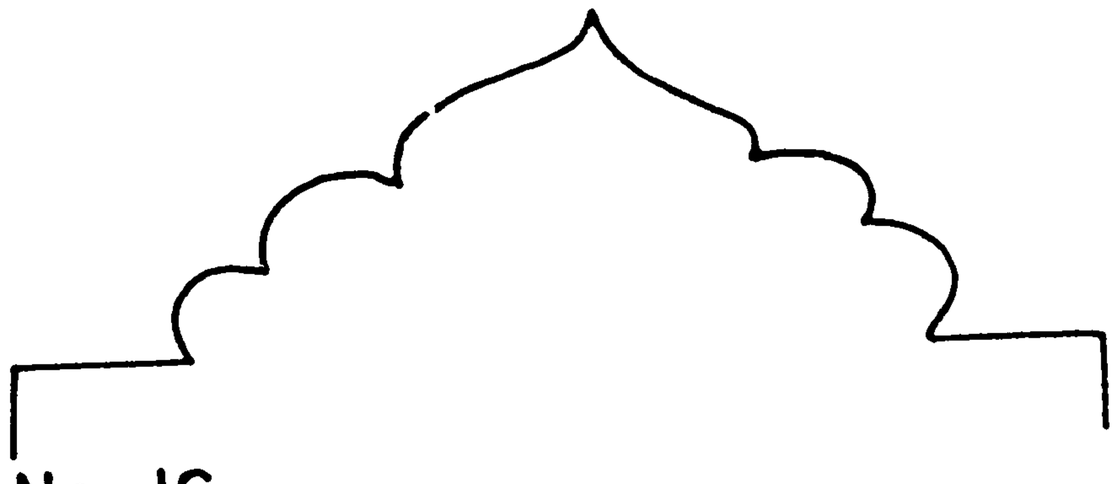
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(1) Cf. Figs. 1,2 and 3 below.

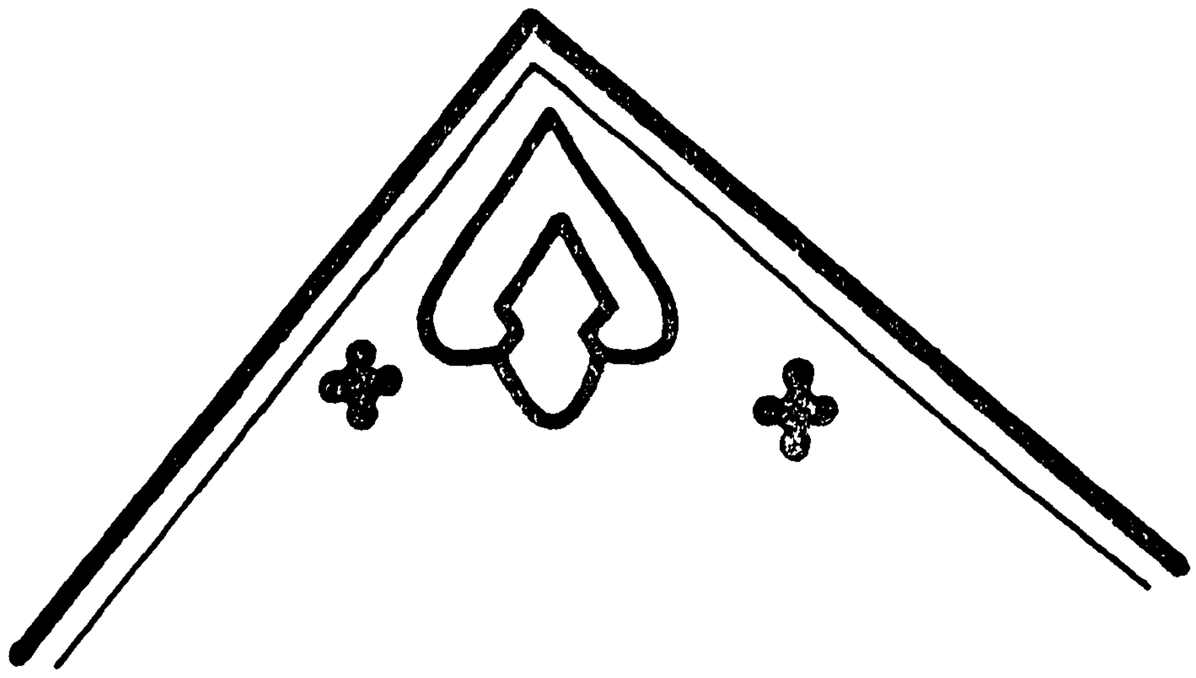
Fig. 1 Different Types of Miḥrāb (Niche) Shapes



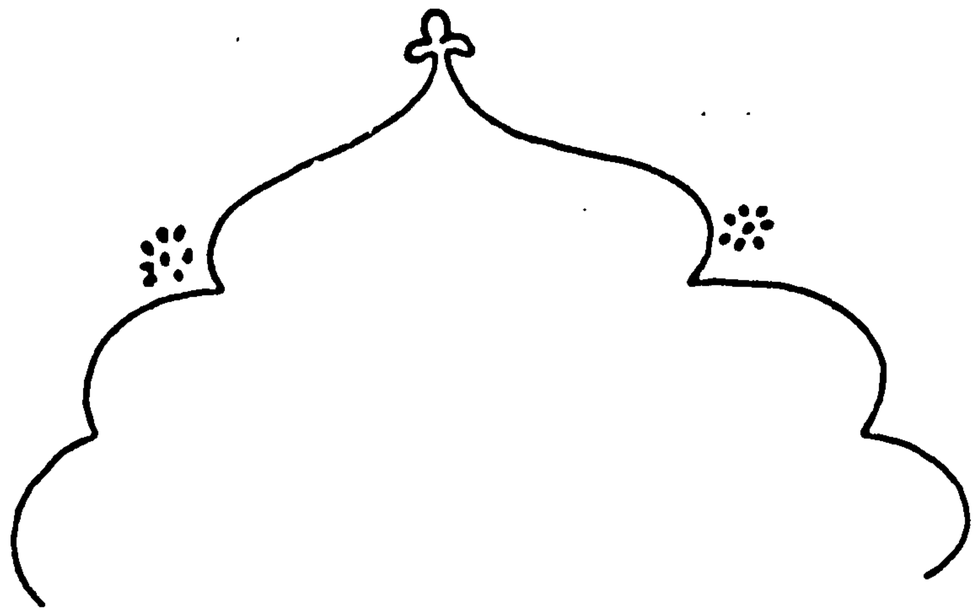
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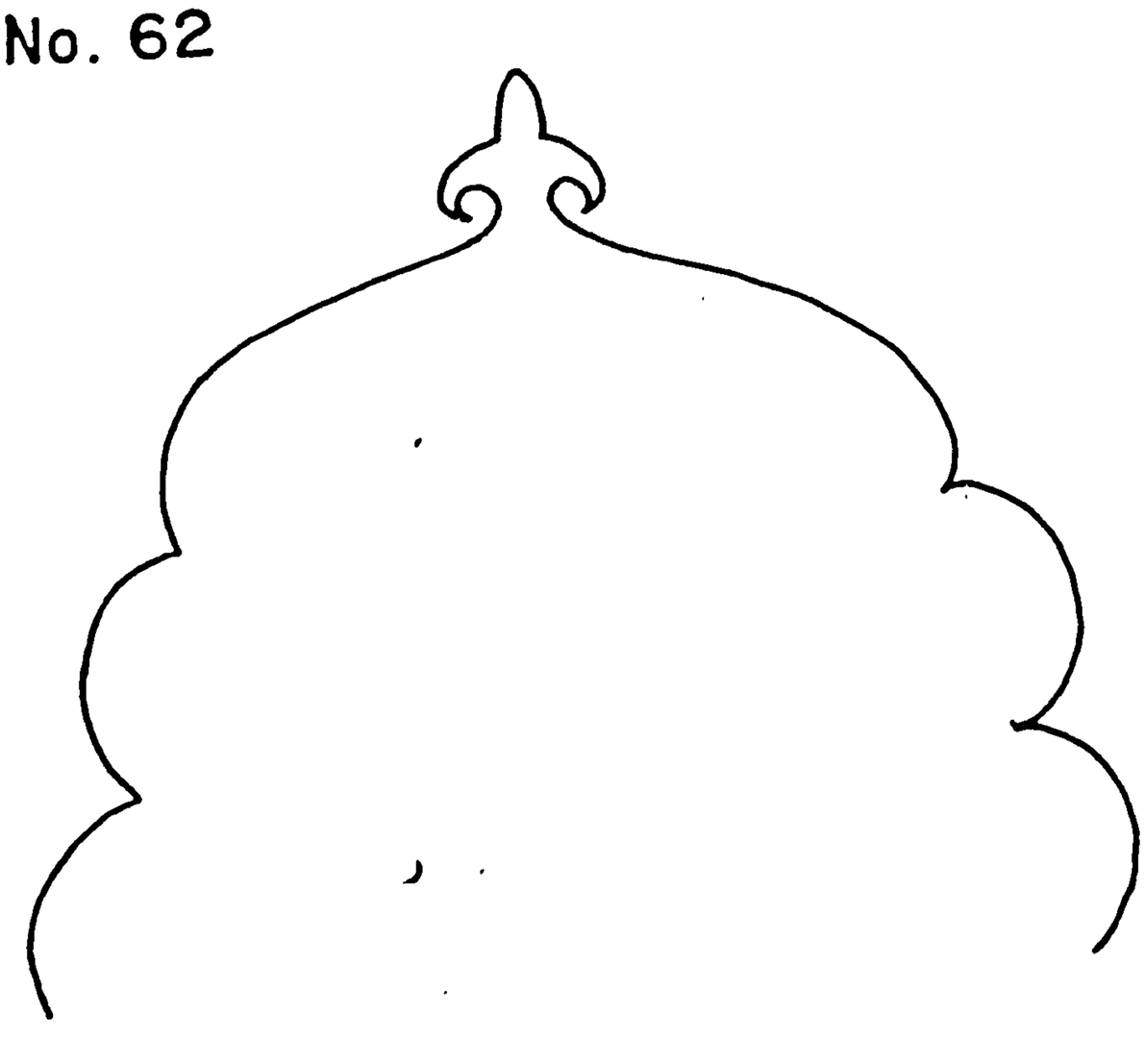
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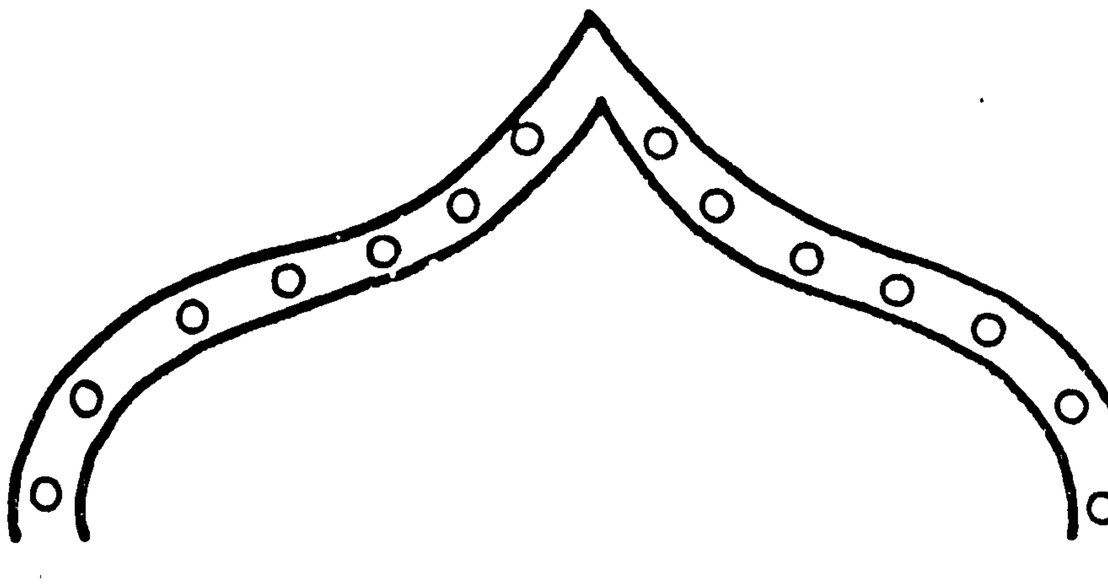
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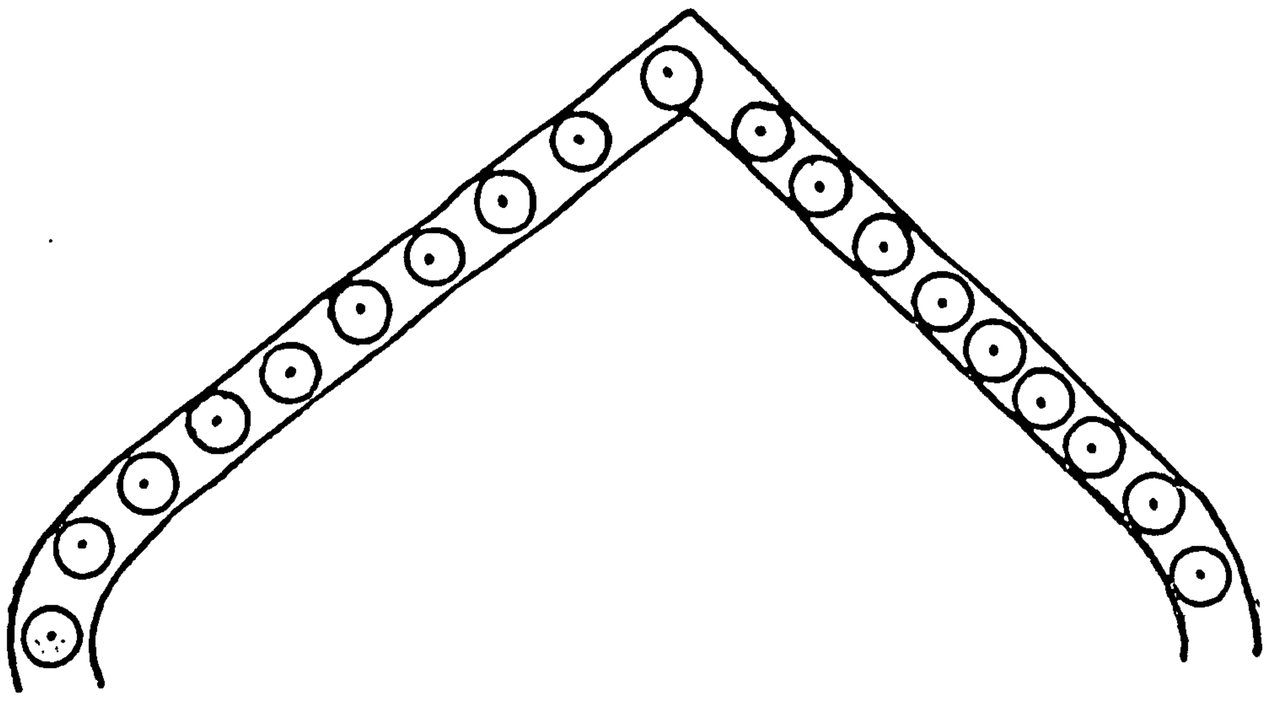
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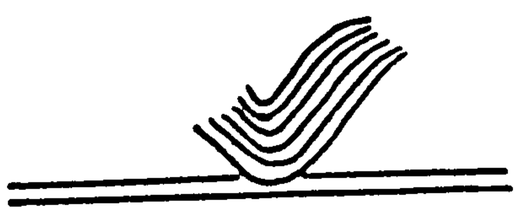


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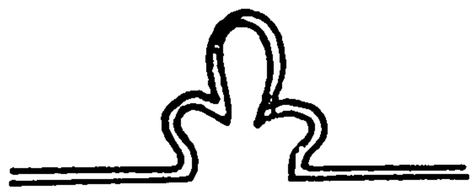


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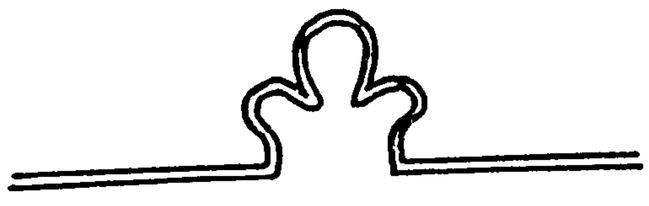
Fig.2 Different Styles of the Top of the Borders



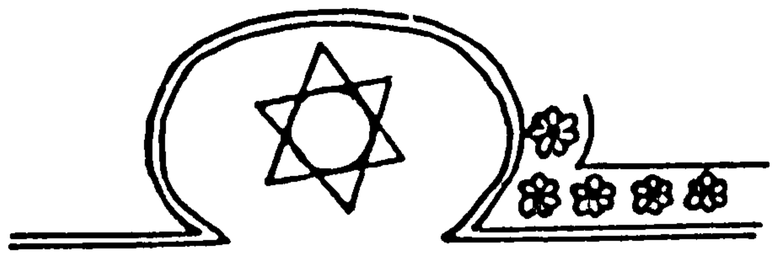
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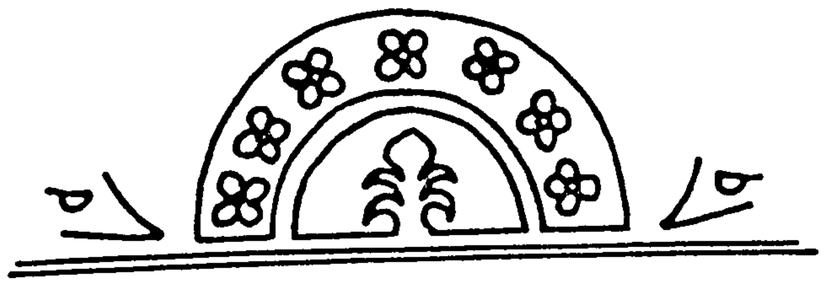
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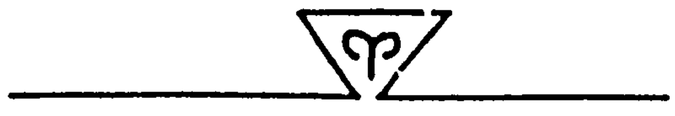
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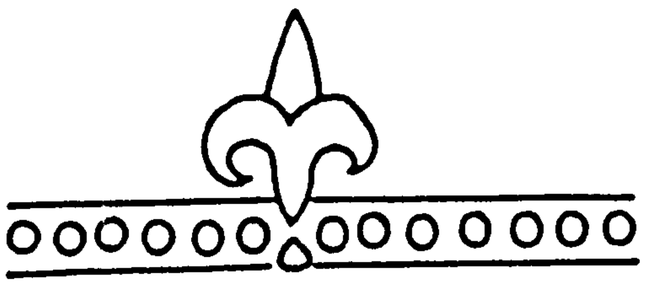
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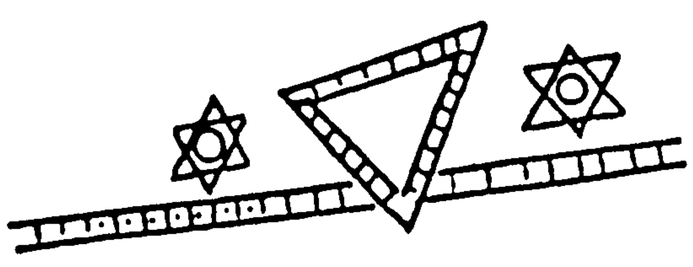
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No. 52

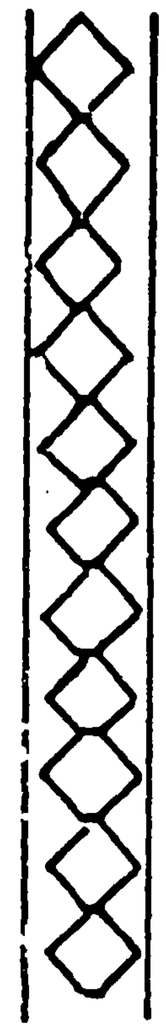


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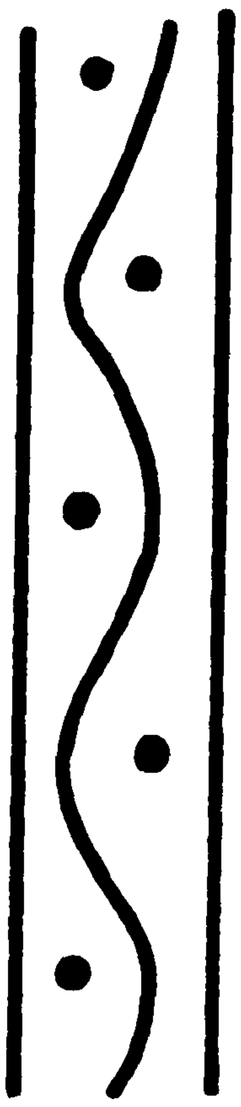
Fig.3 Different Types of Decorative Bands form the Borders of some of the Inscriptions



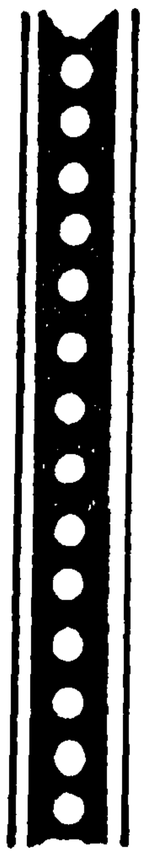
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No. 25



No. 15



No. 29

APPENDICES

Birk al-Ghimād

Birk al-Ghimād, or simply al-Birk, is one of the Tihāmī sites known to Arab geographers who indicated that it is a site in the Yemen. Al-Bakrī mentions that the Prophet's Companion, Abū Bakr, left to emigrate to Abyssinia. When he reached Birk al-Ghimād, in the territory of the Yemen, he was met by Ibn al-Dughunnah, leader of the al-Qārrah tribe, who told Abū Bakr, "A man like you should not leave his country. Go back to your country and you are in my safe conduct." Abū Bakr returned to Makkah.(1) Yāqūt states that Birk al-Ghimād is a town in the Yemen, in which ᶜAbd Allāh b. Jadᶜān, one of the leaders of Quraysh in the pre-Islamic era, was buried.(2) Al-Hamdānī believes that it is Ḥarrat Kināmah "at the farthest end of the Yemen".(3) He quoted the words uttered by Saᶜd b. Muᶜādh al-Anṣārī, and al-Miqdād b. al-Aswad al-Kindī, both Companions of the Prophet Muhammad, who said to the Prophet: "If you want us to cross the sea, we will certainly do so; if you want us to head for Birk al-Ghimād, in the land of the Yemen, we would certainly make that our destination."(4) Al-Birk is also mentioned in the poetry of the Hudhalīs, coupled with other Tihāmī places which enter into the scope of this study.(5)

Birk al-Ghimād was not as far from Makkah as al-Miqdād or others imagined. It lies to the south of Makkah

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(1) Muᶜjam māᵓstaᶜjam, I, 244.

(2) Muᶜjam al-Buldān, I, 399.

(3) Ṣifat, 306.

(4) Ṣifat, 366.

(5) Al-Sukkarī, Sharḥ, III, 1043.

approximately 450 km. distant. It is a small town on the coast of the Red Sea at the edge of the Ḥarrah referred to by al-Hamdānī as Ḥarrat Kinānah.(6)

On the surface in the area of al-Birk there are remains of al-Ḥarrah volcanic rocks upon which it is difficult to walk and which extend a long way to the east and south of the town. This reduces any chance of cultivation with the exception of some palm trees in a depression to the north of al-Birk inside the wall. In 1925 there were very few of these trees.(7) There are, however, good agricultural areas in a region to the east of al-Birk known by the name of al-Shurufāt, which is the resort of the people of the town. For their livelihood the people depend on fishing and selling fish. There are two walls which surround Birk al-Ghimād. One of them is a recent internal one built over 200 years ago.(8) The other is an old external one probably built by al-Malik al-Manṣūr ᶜUmar b. Rasūl in the year 628/1230-1.(9) Probably some restoration work was done in comparatively recent times. The remains of the wall are 300 m. long, extending from the sea to a depression. It is separated from the eastern mountains by a deep wadi about 15 m. deep. In height it is more than 4 m. at the entrance and about 40 m. at the west end which soon began to disappear with the building of the new road between Makkah

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(6) Ṣifat, 118.

(7) Rutter, the Holy Cities, 47.

(8) Philby, Arabian Highlands, 680.

(9) Ibn Ḥātim, al-Simṭ, II, 203; al-Khazrajī, al-ᶜUqūd, I, 85.

and Jazān.(10) There are, at the al-Ḥarrah end, on the east side of the wall, old tombs which have no inscriptions. They are built in the shape of primitive domes with no filling between the unpolished stones which are used in building them.(11)

In the main, the inhabitants of Birk al-Ghimād are B. Hilāl. Their branches are B. Jābir, B. ᶜAlī and B.Ṣubayḥ. Their common ancestor is called Khitārish.(12)

Today al-Birk belongs to the Makkan amirate and is the chief town of a number of villages, the most important of which are Dhahbān in the south, al-Dabsā and ᶜAmiq in the north, whose leadership is undertaken by the sons of Shaykh Muḥammad b. ᶜAbduh.(13)

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(10) Cf. pl. 40, no.XXXVIII.

(11) Cf. pl. 40, no.XXXIX.

(12) Fuᶜād Ḥamzah, Qalb, 203; Cornwallis, Asir, 38.

(13) Cf. Ibn al-Mujāwir, al-Mustabṣir, I, 54-5.

(14) Cornwallis, Asir, 36.

The Ḍankān Settlement

Ḍankān lies in the Manjaḥah area, Tihāmat ᶜAsīr. It is situated to the east of the well-known al-Qaḥmah, on the road between al-Birk and Jāzān. It can be reached through al-Maṭᶜan by the track which starts from kilometre mark 10 south of al-Qaḥmah opposite Mount Kudummul which stands in the sea.(1) The road then extends east across Wadi Ḥamaḍah, then Wadi Yatamah, both of which are mentioned by al-Hamdānī.(2) This road to al-Maṭᶜan is 35 km. long; from al-Maṭᶜan it extends north towards Ḍankān which is situated 18 km. from al-Maṭᶜan. This road is generally rough and at various points it runs into high and steep terrain.

Ḍankān lies in the middle of an extensive plateau surrounded by a depression, Wadi Ḍankān, beyond which are the Athlah mountains in the east, and al-Musaydirah mountains in the west. From north to south the plateau extends beyond the depression. The surface is covered by quartz, white rubble and some scattered volcanic rocks.

In the middle of this plateau lies the Ḍankān settlement, which is called by some local inhabitants Ḥabīl al-Ṣawāmiᶜ. It is a totally abandoned place, except for some bedouin tents (sing. khidr) near-by. There is nothing left of this settlement, except tombs, millstones, ruins of houses and some foundations, all constituting what can be recognised as residential quarters.(3) The most important of these foundations is what we believed to have

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(1) Ibn al-Mujāwir, al-Mustabsir, I, 54-5; al-ᶜAqīlī, al-Muᶜjam, 80, 185, 190.

(2) Sifat, 65, 68, 259; See also Shākir, ᶜAsīr, 95.

(3) Cf. plan no.13, map no.1 and pl. no.41, nos. XL and XLI.

been a mosque, which is mentioned by al-ᶜUdhrī. (4) Around the mosque are scattered some buildings, some of whose walls are visible.

Mountain stone has been used as the building material in the Ḍankān settlement. The stones have been arranged aesthetically to suit the building. Specimens of these stones have been found and are different from stones of the mountains surrounding Ḍankān. They were therefore brought from somewhere else.

The Ḍankān settlement was contemporaneous with the ᶜAshm settlement (up to the fifth/eleventh century). In its early days it seems to have been prosperous. Al-ᶜUdhrī (5th/11th century) describes it as a "a wild mountainous town which has a mosque, a market, villages and rasātīq. Its inhabitants have monkeys which guard their shops when they are away. They have also a wadi from which gold nuggets are extracted." (5) However, its importance apparently began to decrease subsequently, as we note that al-Idrīsī (6th/12th century) has little complimentary to say of it : "Ḍankān is a small town; its inhabitants are resident there and do not leave it for any other place. A man may live and die there without leaving it to see other places. Other people come to it and leave it. The goods handled by its inhabitants are limited in number. The things they manufacture are trivial and despicable. Their estates are small; their food is not palatable and it

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(4) Manāzil, f. 15a. cf. plan no.14.

(5) Al-ᶜUdhrī, Manāzil, f. 15a. Cf. al-Jāsir, "Kutub", 231.

is in general not good." (6)

Ḍankān became famous because it was a staging post on the Yemeni pilgrim route to Makkah. (7) and also as a result of the extraction of gold from the mine for which it was renowned in its early days. (8) This mine is mentioned by al-Hamdānī as follows. "The mine of Ḍankān is on the Kinānah territory with Azd lying between them. In our time an amount [of gold] was found as a result of flooding [sayl] and both the sultan and his people benefitted. Its value is less than that of the ᶜAshm metal. A pound with maximum ᶜAlawī fineness is worth one hundred and a half dinars". (9)

Geographers have held conflicting views as to whether Ḍankān belongs to Makkah or to Ṣanᶜā'. Ibn Khurdādhabah (3rd/9th century) and al-Bakrī (d.487/1094) classify it as a province belonging to Tihāmī Makkah. (10) Al-Yaᶜqūbī (3rd/9th century)believes that it belonged to Ṣanᶜā'. (11) Yāqūt (d. 626/1229) classifies it as belonging to the Yemen. (12)

It seems to me that Ḍankān, during the period of al-Hamdānī at least, belonged neither to Makkah nor to Ṣanᶜā'. It probably belonged to ᶜAththar which lies

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(6) Nuzhat, 106. Cf. Ibrāhīm Shawkat, "Jazīrat", 19.

(7) Ibn Khurdādhabah, al-Masālik, 148; al-Yaᶜqūbī, al-Buldān, 317.

(8) Al-ᶜUdhrī, Manāzil, f.15a; Kaḥḥālah, Jughrāfiyat,28;al-Anṣārī, Bayna 'l-Tārikh, 193.

(9) Al-Hamdānī, al-Jawharatayn, 23a and b.

(10) Ibn Khurdādhabah, al-Masālik,133; al-Bakrī,Muᶜjam,I,306.

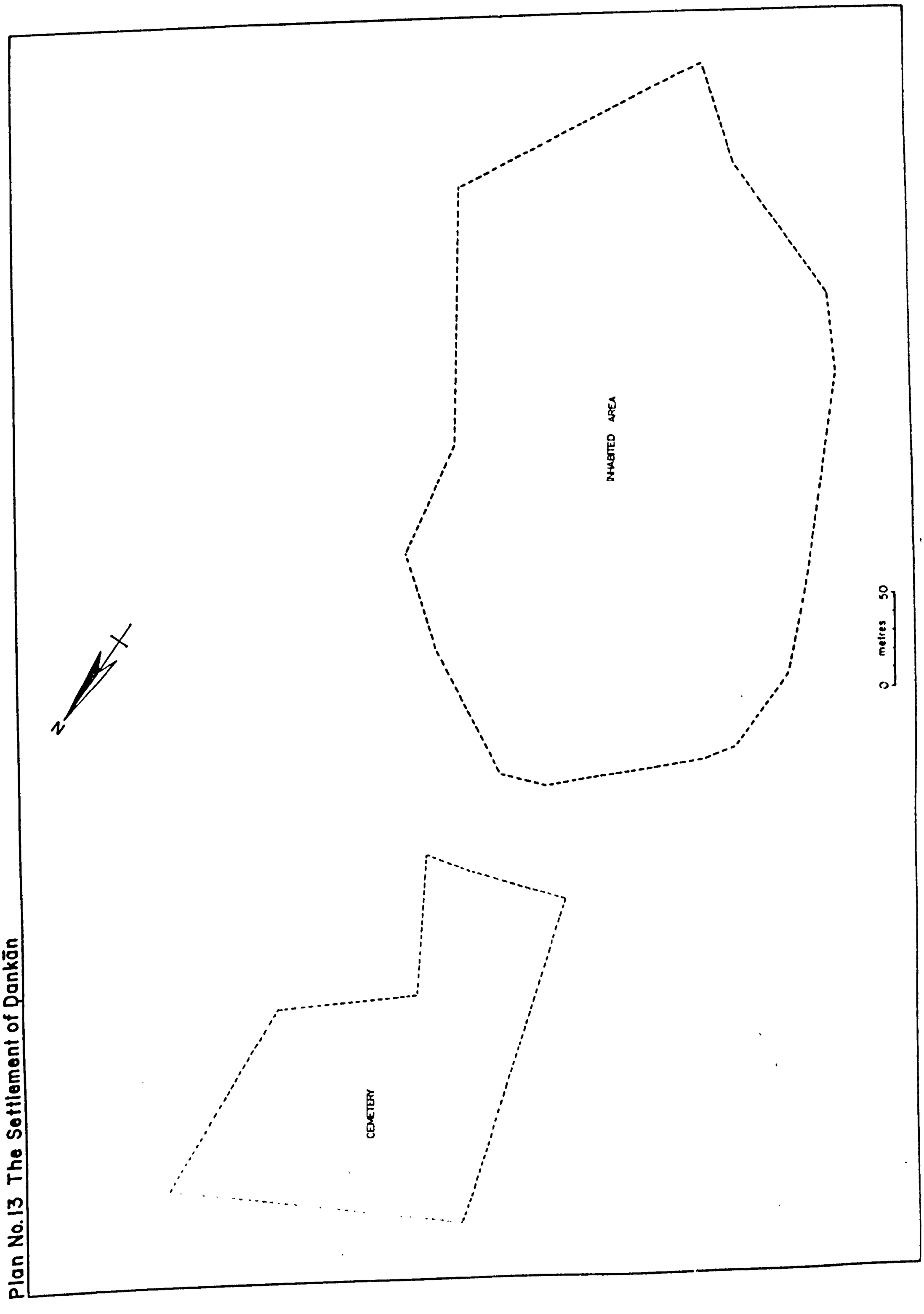
(11) Al-Buldān, 318.

(12) Muᶜjam al-Buldān, III, 464.

at the end of Wadi Baysh on the sea coast to the south-west of Ḍankān. (13) Perhaps Yāqūt's view is close to the truth when he says that it belonged to the Yemen, because as a term 'Yemen' is wider than Ṣanᶜa', if we accept the idea that 'the Yemen' denotes all that lies south of the Kaᶜbah. (14)

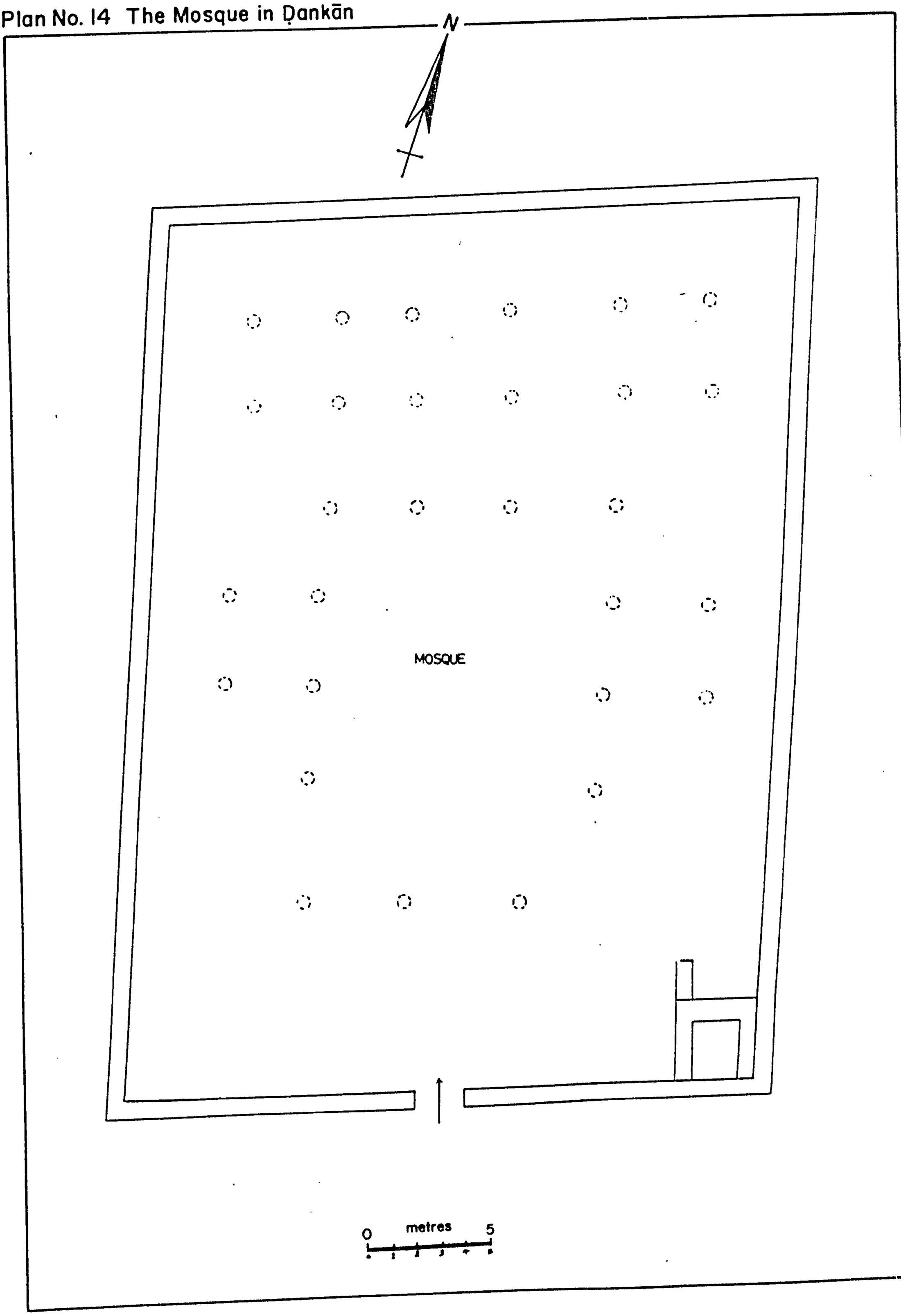
(13) Cf. al-ᶜAqīlī, Muᶜjam, 89, 154-9; al-Āthār, 24-5; cf. map no.1

(14) Ibn al-Mujāwir, al-Mustabṣir, I,39.



Plan No.13 The Settlement of Dankān

Plan No. 14 The Mosque in Ḍankān



Ḥaly b. Yaᶜqūb

Wadi Ḥaly is a famous and fertile wadi of Tihāmah. It is at present in the Qunfidah region, on the eastern coast of the Red sea.(1) It lies 60-70 km. from the town of Qunfidah.(2) Wadi Ḥaly derives its water from mountains of al-Sarawāt and pours into the sea. On both sides of the wadi there are dozens of populated villages, the most famous of which, at present, is al-Ṣuffah, the regional capital of the wadi. Its tribes are Kināmah, al-Ṣuḥab, al-Ghawānimah, al-Salālimah and ᶜAbīd al- Umarā . All are known collectively by the name of Ḥalāwinah.(3)

In the Islamic era, the capital of Wadi Ḥaly was an ancient coastal town called, in the literary sources, Ḥaly b. Yaᶜqūb.(4) Today it is an ancient unknown place; it was probably located near the village of al-Mahabiyah, or it is the site known as Ḥaly Qadīm (old Ḥaly).This is a site near the two places known today by the names of al-Ṣulb and Makhshūsh. Nothing remains of it except sand dunes covered by some wild shrubs and houses of al-Sādah al-ᶜArāqiyah. There is no evidence in the sources available to us to indicate the period during which it began to disappear. It seems, however, that it survived till the beginning of this century. From Rutter's description it is clear that the place in which he stayed on his way

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(1) Al-Wāsiᶜī, Tārīkh, 85-6; Wahbah, Jazīrat, 40.

(2) Kaḥḥālah, Jughrāfiyat, 284-5.

(3) Cornwallis, Asir, 36-7; Fu'ād Ḥamzah, Qalb, 145-6; Thesiger, "A Journey", 190.

(4) Cf. Ibn al-Subāhī, Awḍah, cf. Ḥaly; al-ᶜAynī, ᶜIqd,II, f.342.

to Makkah is the same town as Ḥaly b. Yaʿqūb or something near to it.(5) The road was diverted from it as a result of abandoning camels as a means of transport in favour of cars. Its importance has been replaced by modern settlements such as Kiyād and al-Ṣuffah.

In the early Islamic era, the town of Ḥaly b. Yaʿqūb belonged to the amirate of Makkah.(6) Historically it was known as one of the most important stations or stages on the pilgrim route from the Yemen to Makkah.(7) It was also known as a political entity from the 4th/10th century when Ibn Ḥawqal mentions that its ruler, of B. Harām, supported the Fatimids whom he praised in his Friday khutbahs.(8)

With regard to its relations with the amirate of Makkah, it may be said that the first reference to this question was made in the year 412/1021-2. According to our sources Abu 'l-Futūḥ was able to oust its ruler, al-Ḥarāmī, from power but soon it was regained by the Ṣanʿā' ruler, who, it is believed, was ʿAlī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī.(9) When the Ayyubid al-Malik al-Masʿūd captured Makkah in the year 619/1221 he added the town of Ḥaly to the territory of Rājiḥ b. Qatādah, ruler of al-Sirrayn, as previously mentioned. When the

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(5) The Holy Cities, I, 65.

(6) Al-Bakrī, al-Mamālik, 49; Cf. Serjeant, The Portuguese, 5.

(7) Cf. Ibn Khurdādhabah, al-Masālik, 148.

(8) Ṣūrat al-Arḍ, 34.

(9) Al-Bakrī, al-Mamālik, 49; Ibn Fahd, Itḥāf, the events of the year 412/1021-2; cf. 31 above.

Rasulids took over government in the Yemen, the first sultan, Nūr al-Dīn, conferred upon Mūsā, shaykh of Ḥaly, the title amir.(10) In spite of Rājiḥ's moral influence in Ḥaly, which lasted all his life, the town now apparently started to be within the orbit of the Rasulids. It was subsequently ruled by a member of the Kinānī amirs.(11) When relations began to deteriorate between the Rasulids and the sharifs of Makkah, the latter wanted to annex the town of Ḥaly to the Makkan amirate and occasionally achieved some success in this. (12) It seems, however, that it was finally subjected to the rule of the Rasulids during the period of Mamluk dominance over Makkah.

There are strong reasons which support this view. Sharif Abū 'l-Ghayth b. Abī Numayy, ruler of Makkah, for example, stated that he proceeded in the company of the Mamlūk leader, Tuqṣubā, to pursue his two brothers, Rumaythah and Ḥumayḍah. When Abū 'l-Ghayth and the Mamluk leader reached the borders of the Ḥaly b. Yaʿqūb amirate, the Mamluk leader refused to enter, saying: "These are the beginnings of territory belonging to the ruler of the Yemen. We cannot enter this land except by a decree from the sultan, al-Malik al-Nāṣir". He then went back.(13) It is therefore

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(10) Al-Khazrajī, al-ʿAsjad, 211; Dīwān Ibn Hutaymil, 158.

(11) Diwān Ibn Hutaymil, 149 ff.

(12) Cf. al-Fāsī, al-ʿIqd, IV, 96, 101; al-ʿIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 245, 262.

(13) Al-Fāsī, al-ʿIqd, IV, 235, 407; al-Khazrajī, al-ʿUqūd, I, 410.

possible to affirm that Wadi Ḥaly was not part of the Makkan amirate during most of the historical period under discussion. It was rather an area of dispute between the Makkan sharifs and the Yemeni kings. More often than not the influence of the Yemen in Ḥaly was greater than that of the Makkan sharifs.

Apart from politics, however, contacts between Ḥaly and the amirate of Makkah were strong until the late 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries. A number of Ḥaly personalities settled in Makkah and carried out trade there. Of these we may mention ᶜUmar b. ᶜAlī b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalawī (d. 765/1363-4), Muḥammad b. ᶜUmar b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥalawī, son of the above (d. 782/1380), Aḥmad b. Miftāḥ al-Qufaylī (d. 819/1416) and Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Ṭawāshī (d. 827/1423-4).(14)

(14) Al-Fāsī, al-ᶜIqd, II, 227; III, 20; 185.VI, 338-9.

The Two Settlements of al-Khuluf and al-Khalīf

These are two neighbouring settlements which lie 6 km. to the north of the present settlement of Qilwah, one of the regional capitals of Tihāmat al-Bāḥah. They are not mentioned by the Arab geographers. Only two references to them have been found - one by al-ᶜIṣāmī, and the other by al-Sharjī. The former mentions that al-Khuluf is a fortress six days from Makkah.(1) The latter says that al-Khuluf and al-Khalīf belong to the Hijaz, are next to the Yemen and the two are usually mentioned together. In the majority of cases, people would not mention one without the other.(2)

It can be concluded that al-Khuluf and al-Khalīf both belonged to Makkah in view of the fact that they were not far from the southern area of the Makkan amirate, especially ᶜAshm, and also what we already have mentioned, namely that there were relations between the two settlements and ᶜAshm; there is also some similarity in the name of some persons occurring in the inscriptions in both of them, executed by a ᶜAshmī called Yaᶜlī b. Mūsā.(3)

The best way to reach al-Khuluf and al-Khalīf from the ᶜAshm settlement at the present time would be through the modern al-Mikhwāh road. After leaving al-Mikhwāh, heading north-west across Wadi Malīl, Wadi Suqāmah, Rīᶜ al-Manqaḍ and Wadi Yaḥar as far as Qilwah, the traveller would then reach al-Khuluf and al-Khalīf.

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(1) Al-ᶜIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 228. For Qilwah cf. al-Salūk, Bilād, 210.
(2) Al-Sharjī, Ṭabaqāt, 101.
(3) Cf. nos. 42, 52, 53, 56, 70-72 and table no. 10 (text).

Al-Khuluf lies at the summit of a hill overlooking Wadi Maḥlā , which is a branch of the Wadi Dawqah in the east. It has a large number of ruined houses and a mosque whose walls and arches of red brick are still standing.(4) There is in al-Khuluf only one inscription which was taken to the near-by village of al-Khalwah, where it exists on the wall of a ᶜīd prayer hall. In the mosque of al-Khuluf there is a cistern or well in the middle of the courtyard and a minaret on the right hand side of the mosque.

There is also in the west of the settlement a dilapidated shrine. It appears from its building style and general shape that it was aesthetically pleasant. (5) It is the shrine of Mūsā b. ᶜUmrān, one of the Moslem holy men (sing. walī) who lived and died in al-Khuluf.(6) Around the shrine of Mūsā b. ᶜUmrān there are tombs which appear, judging from their shape, to have been collective tombs or domes which have been constructed over the shrines. At the foot of the hill over which the residential sector lies there is the well which was used for drinking. It is covered, with the exception of an opening for light which people can reach through a covered passageway connecting it with the centre of the settlement.(7)

Al-Khalīf lies at about 2 km. to the west of al-Khuluf. They are separated by the extension of Wadi Maḥlā, al-Rahwah, the lower part of Wadi Rīm, which is also one of the branches of Wadi Dawqah.

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(4) Cf. pl.42, nos., XLII and XLIII.

(5) Cf. pl.43, no.XLIV.

(6) Ṭabaqāt, 159.

(7) Cf.pl.43 no.XLV

Today al-Khalīf is an inhabited town. Its inhabitants, the Mashāyīkh, are a branch of the well known tribe of Zahrān. Its shaykh is called ᶜAbd Allāh al-ᶜAwājī. Most of the al-Khalīf inscriptions were removed and used in building houses. In the girls' school there are two inscriptions and in the boys' school there are three.(8) In a house next to the boys' school there are a further two.(9) There are also other inscriptions in houses which I have not been able to reach.

There is in the Khalīf settlement a beautiful shrine, that of Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. Jumayᶜ, the ancestor of the Mashāyīkh. Its remains are still clearly visible. Red bricks and stones were used in building it. It was visited by people and is said to have had beautiful domes. Marble traces also are still visible. There is a tombstone in the middle of the shrine. The name of the person inscribed on the stone was erased in the year 1360/1941 by members of Hayʾat al-amr biʾl-maᶜrūf waʾl-nahī ᶜan al-munkar. Nothing was left on the stone except the words "In the Name of God the Compassionate the Merciful" and two verses from the Koran.(10)

An entry on Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. Jumayᶜ, the man buried in the shrine, together with a biography of his son Muḥammad, can be found in Ṭabaqāt al-khawāṣṣ which describes Shaykh Ibrāhīm as one of the great Moslem holy men

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(8) Cf. pl. 44, no. 79 and pl. 45, no.81.

(9) Cf. pl.44, no. 80.

(10) Cf. pl. 44, no.XLVI.

and as a man of miracles (karāmāt).(11) The Shaykh of al-Khalīf, who is one of the grandsons of Shaykh Ibrāhīm, keeps a genealogical tree of the family and all the descendents. I have had access to it; it is a document still in MS about three metres long and 25 cm. wide, together with a summarized one measuring 100 x 25 cm. tracing their genealogy back to Sayyid Ibrāhīm, and thence to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.(12) The document also says that Shaykh Ibrāhīm had come to al-Khalīf in the year 777/1375-6 from Morocco, settled there and lived, died and was buried there.

Al-Khuluf and al-Khalīf witnessed one of the battles which took place in the year 632/1234-5 between the Ayyubids and the Makkan sharifs on one side, and the Rasūlids and Sharif Rājiḥ b. Qatādah, amir of al-Sirrayn, on the other. The latter were defeated and the Yemeni leader was captured.(13)

In the month of Ramaḍān, 715/1315, Rumaythah b. Abī Numayy, was attacked by his brother Ḥumayḍah with the help of the Mamluks. The former escaped to al-Khalīf and married the daughter of its ruler and there he fortified himself. Ḥumayḍah came later, captured al-Khalīf and destroyed the fortress. He also captured Rumaythah in the month of Dhū ʾl-Qaʿdah in the same year.(14)

A small site called al-Rahwah lies about 700 m. to the east of al-Khalīf. In it there is the house of

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(11) Ṭabaqāt, 151.

(12) Cf. pl.45, no.82; al-Salūk, Bilād, 102.

(13) Al-ʿIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 218.

(14) Al-ʿIṣāmī, Simṭ, IV, 238.

Shaykh al-ᶜAwājī, as well as a large cemetery at the foot of the mountain overlooking the wadi. On this site there is a number of inscriptions. They have been tampered with and there is a large number of them in the courtyard of one of the farms there. It has been possible to discover ten Kufic inscriptions, most of which are dated. The oldest belongs to the year 234/848-9, the most recent to the year 468/1075-6. They are all in a pleasing Kufic style.(15)

To the north-west of al-Khuluf and al-Khalīf, 16 km. along a rough road, there lies another site called al-Ṣanaqah in the middle of the great Wadi Shaᶜrā . This site is a small cemetery with the remains of walls around tombs which give the impression that they were part of houses giving shade to the tombs. There were also domes similar to those towering over the shrines of Mūsā b. ᶜUmrān in al-Khuluf and Ibrāhīm b. Jumayᶜ in al-Khalīf. A small number of inscriptions was found on these tombs. At least three of them are in a good condition. Two of them belong to the year 534/1139-40 and 584/1188.(16)

In conclusion it may be [illegible] and al-Khalīf were probably part of the [illegible]irate and that they were prosperous in the era in which ᶜAshm also prospered. The methods of writing and building style are also similar to a great extent to those of ᶜAshm.

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(15) Cf. pl. 39, no.75 and pl. 45, no.83; also see no.52 (text).

(16) Cf. pl. 45, no.84.

YALAMLAM

Yalamlam is a site which belongs to the amirate of Makkah. It lies two stages south of Makkah. (1) Most geographers mention that it is the meeting point (mīqāt) of the people of the Yemen, (2) with the exception of Ibn Rustah (3rd/9th century) who says that the meeting point of the Yemenis was Qarn al-Manāzil. (3) It is inferred from the text of Ibn Rustah that he means those who follow the high route which passes by al-Ṭā'if. Yalamlam is then the rendezvous of the Yemenis who travel to Makkah following the middle (al-jāddah al-Sulṭāniyyah) and the coastal roads. This is supported by al-Hamdānī's (d. 334/946) view that Yalamlam is the meeting point for the people of Tihāmah. (4) Al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) also says that Yalamlam is on the Yemeni road to Makkah; it is the meeting point for people who go on pilgrimage there. (5)

It is a large wadi which derives its water from the al-Ṭā'if mountans and which runs south west to pour into the Red Sea. (6) All the wadi is a meeting point for those who live beyond it or pass by it, pilgrims on their way to Makkah. But we do not know the exact old location of Yalamlam, nor the place from which pilgrims used to proceed towards the Holy Places before recent times.

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(1) Al-Bakrī, Mu^{c}jam, IV, 1398-9; Yāqūt, Mu^{c}jam, I, 441; Cf. map no.1.

(2) Al-Hamdānī, Ṣifat, 326; al-Bakrī, al-Mamālik, 49; Yāqūt, Mu^{c}jam, I, 441.

(3) Al-A^{c}lāq, 184

(4) Ṣifat, 326.

(5) Mu^{c}jam, IV, 1398

(6) Al-Bakrī, Mu^{c}jam, I, 187; cf. map no.2.

Before settling this point, we must refer to the fact that the locality used until the last decade was called al-Sa^{c}diyyah, which is one of the villages of Wadi Yalamlam and which lies on the land route between Makkah and Jāzān. (7) It was then replaced by the site known as the new mīqāt which lies a little to the south of the Qahwat Ṭafīl on the new asphalt road between Makkah and Jāzān. This last site is no doubt a new site which is only a few years old. What, then, about al-Sa^{c}diyyah - was it the same old mīqāt site, or was it, perhaps, another site established later? There is no evidence either to disprove or prove either point; but we believe that there is another place which is about 50 km. to the east of al-Sa^{c}diyyah. I personally visited this place during field work in 1981. It is called Yalamlam and its main village today is Wudyān, which is the capital of Wadi Yalamlam. It is a small village, mainly inhabited by the Fahm tribe, and to the west lies the land of al-Jaḥādilah tribe. (8) Wudyān lies at the northern end of the Wadi Yalamlam. A little to the west of Wudyān, a distance of about five kilometres, enough evidence has been discovered on the edge of the wadi to support the view that this "site" was a station on the Yemeni route to Makkah from the pre-Islamic era to the present time. This evidence consists firstly of the presence of a permanent ghayl in the extension of Wadi Yalamlam and "umbrellas" of huge

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(7) Al-Nahrawālī, al-Barq, 138-9; al-Barakātī, al-Riḥlah, 11;

(8) Al-Barakātī, al-Riḥlah, 12, 108; Hogarth, Hejaz, 44-5; Fu'ād Hamzah, Qalb, 136. Cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, al-Mukhtalif 371; Ibn al-Maghribī, al-Inās, 233; al-Bilādī Nasb, 62.

rocks on both sides of the wadi. These umbrellas are big enough to accommodate a large number of people - a point which induces us to believe that they were used as resting places in hot weather. Secondly the presence of a large amount of old drawings and writings on these rocks, some belonging either to the pre-Islamic or Islamic era. They have been found side by side with some recent writings, a fact which shows that the site has been frequented by caravans for a long time.(9) For this reason we may assume that it is the oldest station on the Yemeni road in Wadi Yalamlam. It is also likely that it was, before al-Sa^{c}diyyah, the mīqāt of the people of the Yemen, and that al-Sa^{c}diyyah was established after it, due to a diversion of the pilgrim route to the west. This point is supported by the fact that the Arab geographical sources do not mention al-Sa^{c}diyyah.

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(9) Cf. Pl.46, nos XLVII and XLVIII.

Plate 39.



No. 74.



No. 75.



No. 76.



No. 77.



No. 78.

Plate 40.



No. XXXVIII. Remains of the wall of al-Birk which, it is suggested, may well have been built by ʿUmar b. Rasūl.



No. XXXIX. A picture taken from the site at al-Birk, illustrating some of the old tombs inside the wall.

Plate 41.

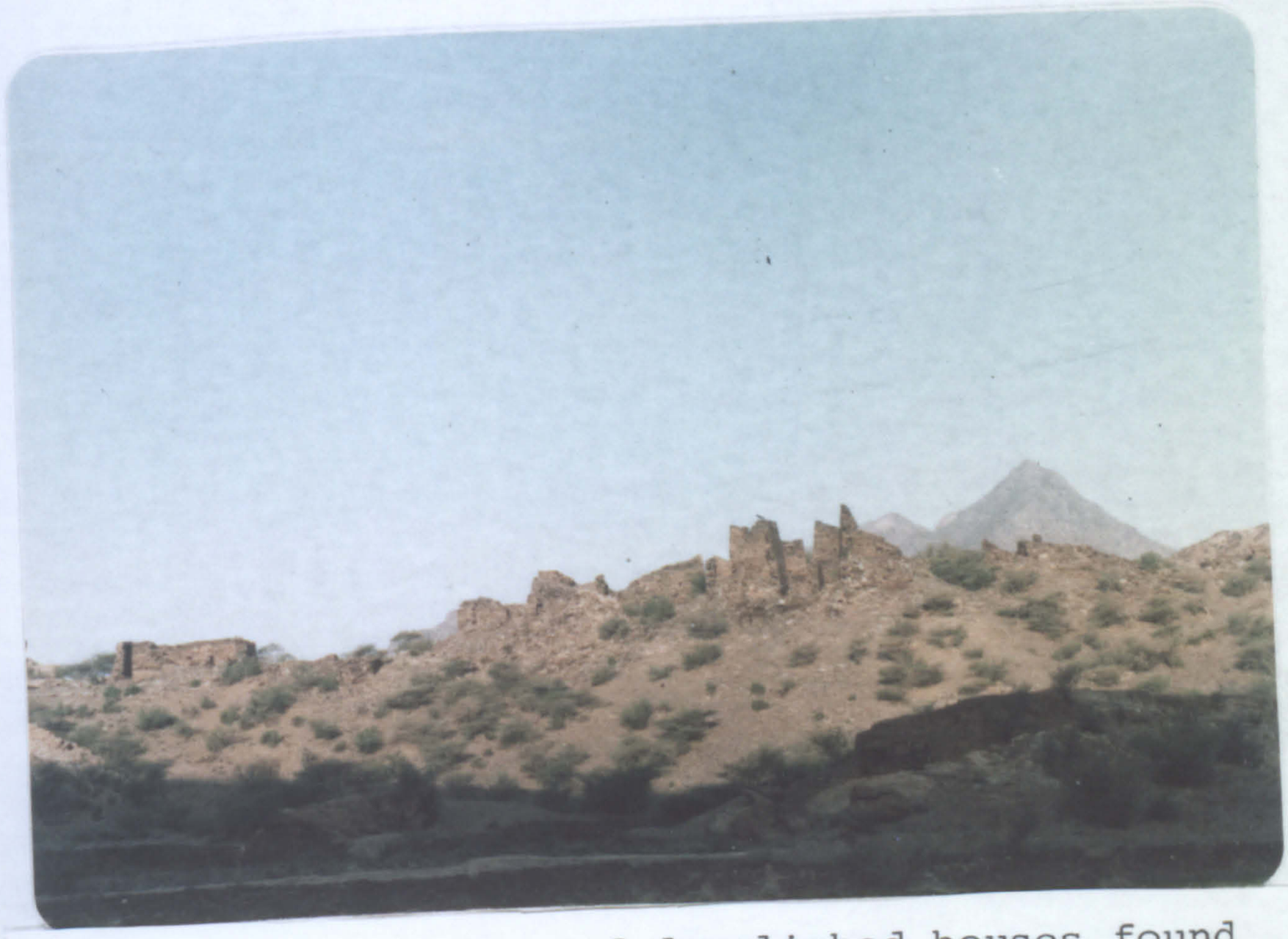


No. XL. Remains of the mosque in Ḍankān.



No. XLI. Large millstone found in Ḍankān.

Plate 42.



No. XLII. Ruins of demolished houses found in al-Khuluf.



No. XLIII. A picture showing the very well preserved ruins of the mosque in al-Khuluf.

Plate 43.



No. XLIV. Remains of the tomb of al-Shaykh Mūsā b. ʿUmrān found in al-Khuluf.



No. XLV. A covered well with remains of a covered passageway connecting it with the centre of the settlement of al-Khuluf.

Plate 44.



No. 79.

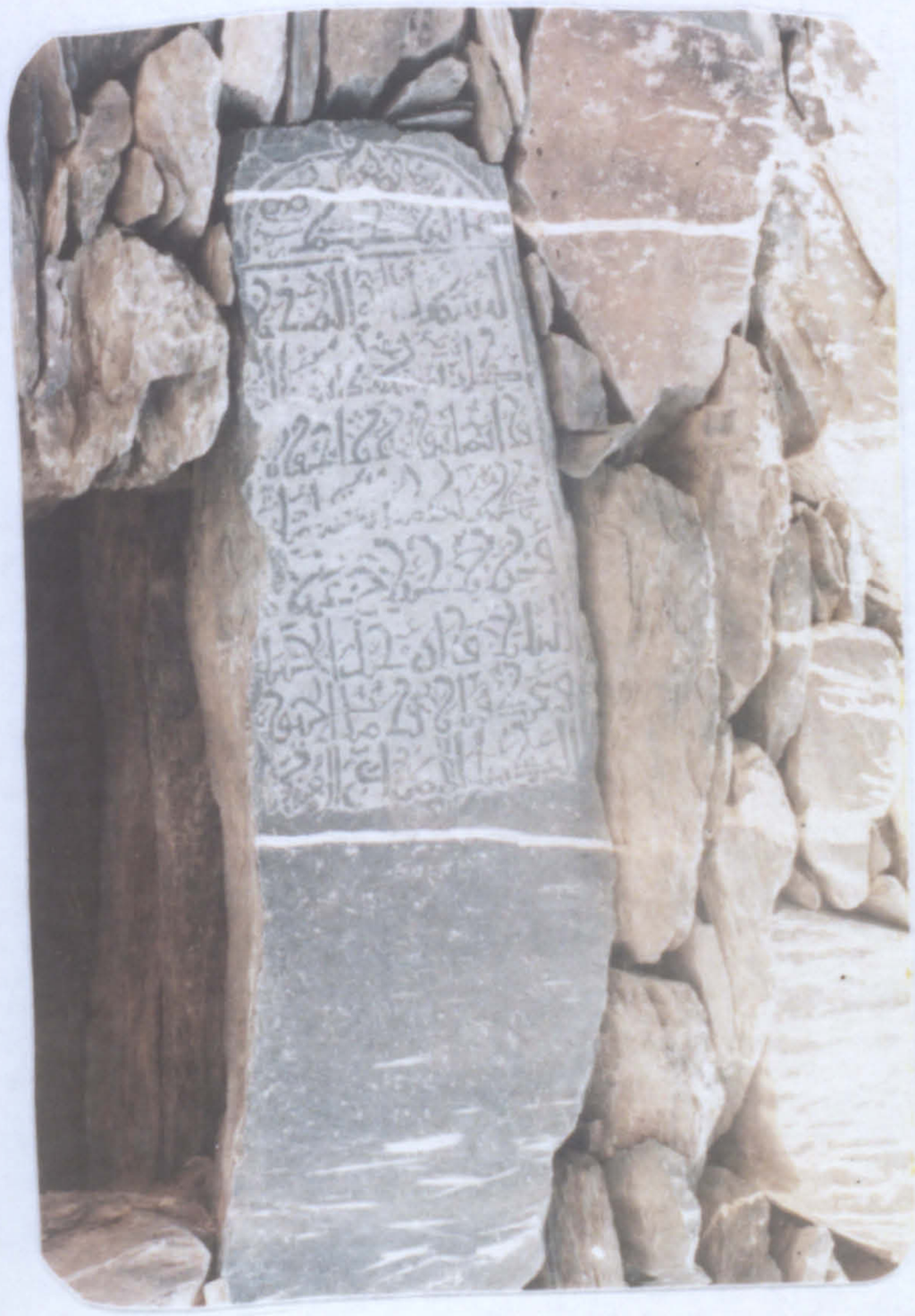


No. 80.



No. XLVI. Remains of the tomb of al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm b. Jumayʿ whose name was erased in 1360/1941.

Plate 45.



No. 81.



No. 83.

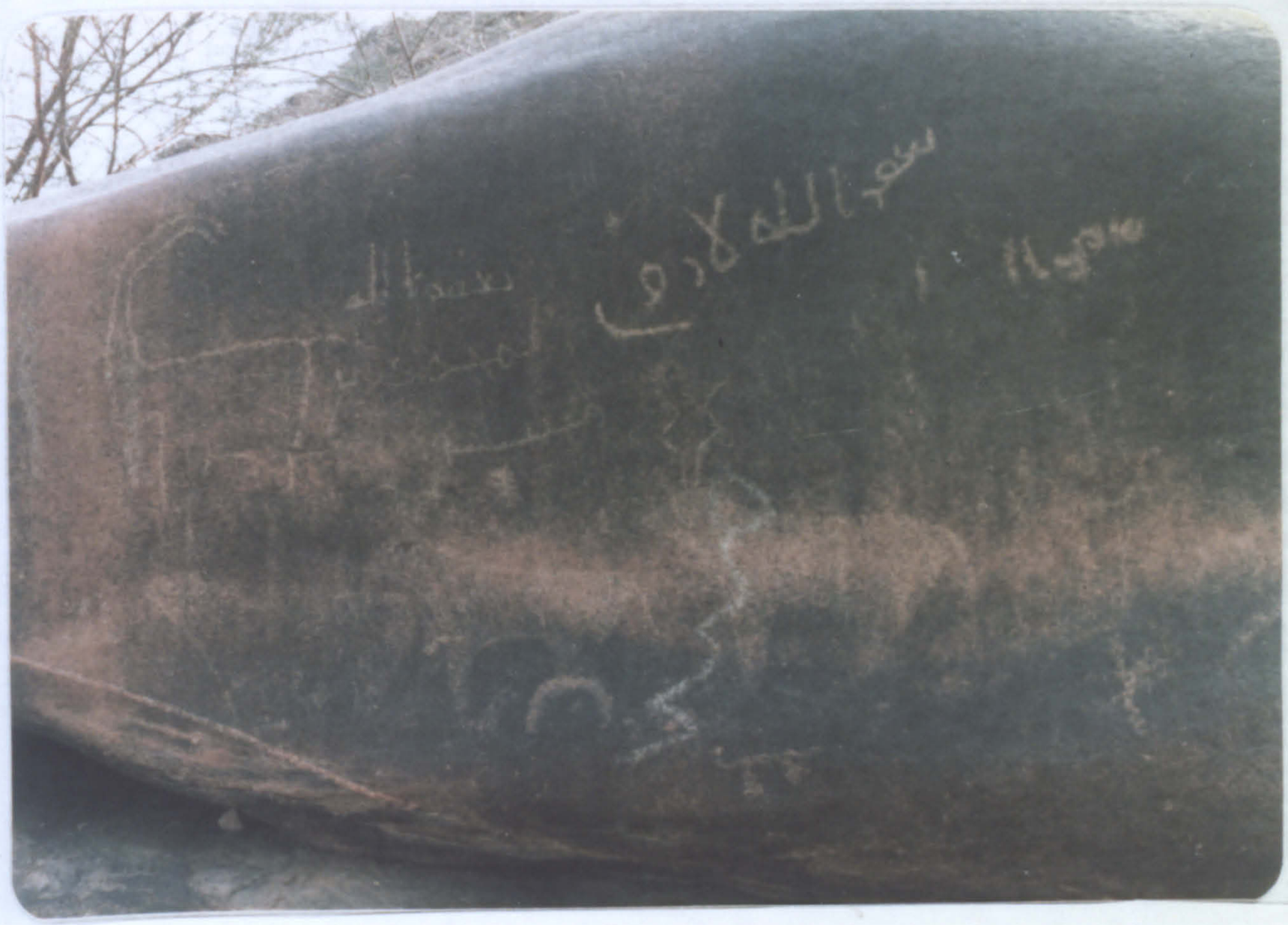


No. 82.



No. 84.

Plate 46.



No. XLVII. A picture taken from the site of Yalamlam, illustrating old drawing, on the rock, of wild animals.



No. XLVIII. A picture taken from the site of Yalamlam, showing graffiti of Arabic inscriptions.

عشـــم ... عـروس تهـامـة ...

للهِ روعةُ مَا شَاهدتُ في عَشَـمِ ... أطلالَ ماضٍ طَوتْهُ موجةُ العَدَمِ
اطلالَ اسْلافِنَا نِعمَ الذِينْ هُـمُ ... أَرْسَوْا وشَادُوْا حَضاراتٍ من القِدَمِ
اطلالَهُمْ رَغمَ انَّ الدَّهرَ انْهَكَهَا ... مَا زِلتُ أشْنَمُّ فِيْهَا طيِّبَ النَّسَمِ
هَذا الرُّكامُ الذِى ضَمَّتْ بَواطِنُـهُ ... أَنبَاءَ كلِّ عزيزٍ مَاجدٍ قَـرِمِ
يَحْكِيْ بِغَيْرِ لسَانٍ رَغْمَ انَّ لَـهُ ... بكلِّ رُكْنٍ تَهَاوَى الفُ الفُ فَمِ
من قبلِ ألفٍ من الأعوامِ قدْ بُنِيَتْ ... على نظامٍ فريدٍ ليسَ كالنُّظُمِ
تحيطُهَا الراسِيَاتُ الشُّمُّ شَامِخةً ... كأنَّها السُّورُ تحمِيْهَا من الأُمَمِ
يَشقُّهَا الروضُ روضُ الخَيرِ يرفدُهَا ... بما تَجُوْدُ بهِ هتَّانَةُ الدِّيَـمِ
وحولُهَا " السَّمرُ " غَابَاتٌ يحطُّ علىٰ ... افنَانِها كلُ طيرٍ رَائِعِ النَّغَمِ
شَمالُها شِعْبُ قَرْمَاءٍ نَسائِمُـهُ ... تطهِّرُ النَّفسَ من هَمٍ ومن سَأمِ
تَسْرِىْ الهوينَىٰ بكلِّ العطْرِ من "سُكَبٍ" ... "والضَّيْمرانِ" وضَوْعِ "البِرْكِ والسَّلَمِ"
يفوقُ الفُ ذِرَاعٍ طُوْلُ عَامِرِهَـا ... وعَرْضُهُ مثلُهَا انْ قِيْسَ بالقَدَمِ
فمن يَرَىٰ روعةَ البنيانِ تُدْهِشُـهُ ... يَرَىٰ الجَمَالَ كعِقْدِ الدُّرِّ مُنْتَظِـمِ
كلُّ البُيُوْتِ من الأَحْجَارِ قد رُفِعَتْ ... وَحَوْلَهَا سَاحَةٌ لِلْخَيْلِ والغَنَـمِ
تَدُلُّ عن سِعَةٍ في الرِّزْقِ وَافِرَةٍ ... كأنَّما الخَيْرُ موقوفٌ على " عَشَـمِ "
والمسجدُ الرَّحْبُ تَستهوِىْ مهابتُهُ ... قَلبِيْ كأنِّي بهِ في سَاحَةِ الحَـرَمِ
حَنَّتْ عليهِ بيوتُ النَّاسِ في دَعَةٍ ... فكان كالملكِ بين الجُنْدِ والخَدَمِ
وشرقَهُ قامَ قصرٌ دَلَّ ظَاهِـرُهُ ... على ذَويهِ أُولِي السُّلطانِ والحُكـمِ
عَالٍ يدلِّلُ عن مَجْدٍ عَلاَ وسَمَـا ... كَأنَّهُ هَرَمٌ لو قِيْسَ بالهَرَمِ
حجارُهُ السُّوْدِ لو دُقَّتْ غَدَتْ كُحُلاً ... تُجَدِّدُ النُّورَ في أَحْدَاقِ كلِّ عَمِي
فَنٌّ وذَوْقٌ وابْدَاعٌ يقولُ لنـا ... ان التَّقَدُّمَ فِينا ليسَ في العَجَمِ
ايـامَ كُنا وكانَ النورُ يغمُرُنَـا ... كان الاجَانِبُ مُلْتَفِّيْنَ في الظُّلَمِ
سُقْيَا لأَهْلِى مَنَارَاتِ الهُدَىٰ أبدًا ... كأنَّهُمْ خُلِقُوا للفَنِّ والقَلَمِ
وسُوْفُهَا لم تَزَلْ فيه مَعَالِمُهُ ... رَغْمَ الخُلُوِّ آرَاهُ جِدَّ مُزدَحِمِ
وخلفَهُ ساحَةٌ للعِيْرِ ان وَرَدَتْ ... تَسُوْقُ للناسِ أَصْنَافاً من النِّعَمِ...
نَواهِدٌ في قُبُورِ الكُلِّ شَاهِدةٌ ... على سُمُوِّ بَنِيْهَا من ذَوِىْ الهِمَمِ
كأنَّما هي لوحاتٌ قد انْتَثَرَتْ ... لا بَلْ أَجَلُّ لمَا تَحْوِىْ من الحِكَـمِ

دلالةُ المَوْتِ لَكِنْ من صِنَاعَتِهَا ... بَدَتْ لعَيْنِيْ كثَغْرِ الطِّفْلِ مُبْتَسِمِ
لَكَمْ تَسَاءلتُ من حُبٍ ومن عَجَبٍ ... رَأَيْتُ حَقًا أم انّي كنتُ في حُلُمِ
فَارَفْتُهَا وفُؤَادِيْ قد تَعَلَّقَهَا ... تركتُهَا طَائِعاً لكنْ على رَغَمِيْ
فحبَّذَا زَوْرَةً أخرَىٰ أُحَدِّثُهَا ... عَسَايَ أَعْرِفُ ما أُذْكِي بِهِ قَلَمِيْ
لِأَنْظُمَ الشِّعْرَ عن صَدْقٍ وعن ثِقَةٍ ... حتى أَفِيْ ذِكرَ ذَاكَ الشاعرِ العَشَمِيْ
ارضٌ رَعَتْ مثلَهُ لا بُدَّ اذكرُهَا ... أكرمْ بِها مَوْئِلاً للفَارسِ العَلَمِ
اناشدُ النَّاسَ كلَّ النَّاسِ في بلدِيْ ... أن يحفظُوْا ذِكرَهُمْ في هذه القِيَمِ
من لم يُحَافِظْ على تَارِيْخِ أُمَّتِهِ ... انِّي أُنَادِيْهِ ثُبْ يا قَاطِعَ الرَّحِمِ
تلك الكُنُوْزُ التي عَدَّدْتُهَا نُهِبَتْ ... اللهَ كمْ أَوْرَثَتْ في الصَّدْرِ من أَلَمِ
حتى القُبُورُ اسْتُبِيْحَتْ دَوْنَ مَا وَرَعٍ ... من كُلِّ فاقِدِ حِسٍّ تَافهٍ نَهِمِ
أمجادُنَا تلك لم تَأتِ بلا تَعَبٍ ... مَهْرُ الحضَارةِ مَجْهُودٌ وسَيْلُ دَمِ
من لم يَصِلْ أَمْسَهُ الماضِيْ بِحَاضِرِهِ ... آتِيْهِ يمضِيْ كمَاضِيْهِ الى عَـــدَمِ
بَلَّغْتُكُم وطَرَحْتُ العِبْءَ عَنْ كَتِفِيْ ... عسَى الضَّمِيرَ بهذا الشَّعْبِ لـم يَنَـمِ

شعـر : عادل مصـطـفـى الروســان

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