



universität
wien

MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

“Southern Arabia According to al-Ḥimyarī”

verfasst von / submitted by

Clare Elisa Morgner

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts (MA)

Wien, 2021 / Vienna, 2021

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme code as it appears on
the student record sheet:

UA 066 676

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme as it appears on
the student record sheet:

Masterstudium Arabische Welt: Sprache und
Gesellschaft

Betreut von / Supervisor:

George Hatke, PhD

Foreword

When I began my studies I knew little about Southern Arabia, so having the opportunity to specialize in studying it with George Hatke was a real pleasure. In addition to the courses on Southern Arabia, he also offered a course reading travel writing by classical Arabic geographers which included an entry on Malta from *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fī ḥabar al-aqtār*. These courses were fascinating and I realised that I would like to combine elements of them in my MA thesis and attempt an annotated translation of a selection of entries on Southern Arabian locations from *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fī ḥabar al-aqtār*. I would certainly never have come to write this thesis without inspiration from George Hatke, and I would like to offer him my grateful thanks for introducing me to Southern Arabia as an area of study and to al-Ḥimyarī, as well as for his patience, help, and constructive advice as my thesis supervisor. My thanks also go to Univ.-Prof. Dr. Stephan Procházka for his advice and guidance throughout my studies and for his assistance in returning to study after the birth of my son.

I would also like to thank my husband, Thomas, without whom I could not have finished this thesis. He supported me both practically, by taking our children on long hikes so I could write, and he also motivated me when my perseverance was flagging. Additional thanks go to my mother for her practical and emotional support.

Structure

This subject of this thesis is a selection of entries from the geographical dictionary *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miṭṭār fī ḥabar al-aqtār* (The book of the fragrant garden of information about the countries) by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Abī Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Abd al-Mun‘im Ibn ‘Abd an-Nūr al-Ḥimyarī.¹

The opening chapter begins with a brief summary of Arabic geography, followed by a short description of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miṭṭār*, including an outline of its structure and details of the known manuscripts and editions. It goes on to look at the disputed question of authorship and provides an overview of the research surrounding al-Ḥimyarī's identity and other works he may have written. This is followed by a description of the sources al-Ḥimyarī used in his work, since much of the information provided is not first hand. This leads on to a small section on the academic importance of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miṭṭār*. Next there follows a summary of the current state of research, beginning with E. Lévi-Provençal's 'rediscovery' of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miṭṭār* and his subsequent work on it, then moving on to more recent monographs, articles, and translations. This opening section ends with an outline of the aims of the thesis.

While entries dealing with parts of the Iberian Peninsula and Italy have been discussed and translated several times, to the best of my knowledge none of the entries dealing with Southern Arabia have yet been translated or published. For this reason, the main body of the thesis will consist of annotated translations of a small selection of the entries which deal with locations in Southern Arabia, that is, in present-day Yemen, Oman, and southern Saudi Arabia. Each entry will be translated and any noteworthy geographical, historical or linguistic points will be explained in comments provided throughout the texts. Twelve entries will be translated in total: Ḍamār, Zabīd, Suhār, Suqutṛā, Šibām, aš-Šiḥr, Širwāḥ, Šana‘ā, Zafār, ‘Adan, Ma‘rib, and Nağrān. These were selected since they are places of historical interest and significance in the history of their respective regions. Last of all, a complete bibliography will be provided.

The transcription system used is that of the DMG except in the case of personal and place names where a well-known anglicised name exists and is usually used, for example, Jeddah instead of *Ġidda* and Muscat instead of *Masqaṭ*.

¹ The author's full name is a contentious issue; see Section 1.2.3 for more details. He will be referred to throughout this work simply as al-Ḥimyarī.

Table of Contents

1 Introduction.....	6
1.1 A Brief summary of Arabic Geography up to <i>Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi‘tār</i>	6
1.2 Information on <i>Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi‘tār</i>	7
1.2.1 The History of <i>Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi‘tār</i>	7
1.2.3 Content.....	8
1.2.4 The Manuscripts.....	10
1.3 Information on al-Ḥimyarī.....	12
1.3.1 Author.....	12
1.3.2 How Many Authors of <i>Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi‘tār</i> were there?.....	12
1.2.3 Al-Ḥimyarī's Identity.....	17
1.3.3.1 Aṣ-Ṣinhāgī al-Ḥimyarī.....	17
1.3.3.2 Al-Ḥimyarī at-Tūnisī.....	19
1.3.4 Other Works by al-Ḥimyarī.....	20
1.4 Additions to <i>Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi‘tār</i>	21
1.5. Authorial Sources and Method.....	22
1.5.1 General Information on Sources.....	22
1.5.1.2 Information on Specific Authors.....	23
1.5.1.2.1 Information on al-Bakrī.....	23
1.5.1.2.2 Information on al-Idrīsī.....	24
1.5.1.2.3. Information on <i>Kitāb al-istibṣār</i>	24
1.5.2 Method of Working.....	25
1.5.3 Sources used for Specific Areas.....	26
1.5.3.1 Andalusia.....	26
1.5.3.2 Central Europe.....	27
1.5.3.3 Malta.....	27
1.5.3.4 Italy.....	28
1.5.4.5 The Near East.....	29
1.5.4.6 East Africa.....	29
1.6 The Importance of <i>Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi‘tār</i>	29
1.7 State of the Art: Summary of Existing Translations, Commentaries, and Analyses.....	31
1.7.1 The Iberian Peninsula.....	31
1.7.2 Italy.....	33
1.7.3 Malta.....	33
1.7.4 Central Europe.....	33
1.7.5 Africa and Arabia.....	34
1.7.6 Authorship.....	34
1.8 About this Thesis.....	34
1.8.1 Edition used.....	34
1.8.2 Aims of the Thesis.....	34
1.9 Bibliography for Section 1.....	35
1.9.1 Printed Sources.....	35
1.9.1.1 The Encyclopaedia of Islam Volume II.....	39
1.9.1.2 The Encyclopaedia of Islam Volume III.....	40
1.9.2 Online Sources.....	40
2 Translations.....	40
2.1 Ḍamār.....	41
2.2 Zabīd.....	43

2.3 Suḥār.....	44
2.4 Suqūtrā or Suqutrā.....	46
2.5 Šibām.....	49
2.6 Aš-Šihr.....	51
2.7 Širwāh.....	54
2.8 Šana‘ā’.....	56
2.9 Zafār.....	62
2.10 ‘Adan.....	68
2.11 Ma’rib.....	70
2.12 Nağrān.....	79
3 Bibliography.....	87
3.1 Primary Source.....	87
3.2 Other Printed Sources.....	87
3.2.1 The Encyclopedia of Islam Volume II.....	89
3.2.2 The Encyclopedia of Islam Volume III.....	92
3.3 Online Sources.....	92
Appendix: Arabic Texts.....	93
1. Ḍamār.....	94
2. Zabīd.....	95
3. Suḥār.....	96
4. Suqutrā.....	98
5. Šibām.....	99
6. Aš-Šihr.....	101
7. Širwāh.....	102
8. Šana‘ā’.....	105
9. Zafār.....	108
10. ‘Adan.....	109
11. Ma’rib.....	113
11.1 Poem extract taken from <i>Diwān of al-A‘šā</i> edited by R. Geyer, p.34.....	114
12. Nağrān.....	119
Abstract in English.....	120
Abstract in Deutsch.....	120

1 Introduction

1.1 A Brief summary of Arabic Geography up to *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿtār*

As a geographical work, *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿtār* cannot be viewed in a vacuum, since it is very much a product of the Arabic geographical literature which came before it, both literally, in that it is composed largely of excerpts taken from earlier works, and also in the way that the genre influenced al-Ḥimyarī. Therefore, it is both interesting and useful to briefly review the discipline of Arabic geography up to the late seventh century AH / 13th century CE when al-Ḥimyarī is estimated to have been writing.

Pre-Islamic geographical knowledge was limited and covered only 'certain traditional and ancient geographical notions' and names of places on the Arabian Peninsula and neighbouring lands.² However, the rise of Islam and the subsequent expansion of the Arabs into many other territories, including the conquest of Persia, Egypt, and parts of India meant that Arabic scholars gained access to texts and knowledge collected by scholars from these countries, as well as acquiring 'easy access to their centres of learning, laboratories and observatories.' Both Iranian and Persian authors influenced the budding discipline of Arabic geography, but it was the Greek influence which dominated the discipline; one of many ways this can be seen is in the use of the Greek idea of the division of the world into different Climes.

The development of Arabic geography through exposure to the works of other cultures began in earnest towards the beginning of the 3rd century AH /9th century CE under the 'Abbāsīd Caliph Abū Ḡaʿfar al-Manṣūr who placed great importance on translating scientific works into Arabic, and a large number of Arabic geographical works were produced at this time. A distinct divide developed between authors such as al-Yaʿqūbī, Ibn al-Faqīh, and al-Masʿūdī, who dealt with the world as a whole in general but went into much greater detail on the 'Abbāsīd Empire, covering a wide range of subjects as diverse as the 'road-system of the 'Abbāsīd Empire' and mathematics, and those authors such as Ibn Ḥawḳal and al-Muqaddasī, who dealt almost exclusively with the Islamic world and its borders. The notion of including a wide range of knowledge and disciplines under the heading of geography including locating and describing countries and peoples, customs, history, astronomy, and philosophy under the heading of geography is a feature which carried on into later centuries and can clearly be seen in al-Ḥimyarī's work as well.

² The information in this paragraph and the remainder of Section 1.1 is taken from EI² s.v. *Djughrāfiyā*. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0194>. Consulted online on 01 May 2020.

The 5th century AH / 11th century CE represents the high point of Arab geography, with extensive knowledge developed in many areas and standardised ways of presenting geographical information now adopted; well known geographers from this era include al-Bīrūnī, Ibn Yūnus (an astronomer), and al-Bakrī, whose work al-Ḥimyarī utilised extensively. Although many geographical works were still produced after the 6th century AH / 10th century CE, these were increasingly 'recapitulations and *résumés* of the traditional and theoretical knowledge found in the works of earlier writers', rather than original works. There are, however, still several renowned geographers dating from this time, such as al-Idrīsī and Abū 'l-Fidā'. Writing in the late seventh century AH / 13th century CE, al-Ḥimyarī belonged to this later era and in many ways his work fits the description of a recapitulation and *résumé*, although, as will be discussed, this does not mean that his work is without value.

1.2 Information on *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'tār*

Many of the conventional starting points for an introduction to a book, such as the exact name and the biography of the author, are not easily answered in the case of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'tār fī ḥabar al-aqtār*; this introduction begins with an outline of its content and layout, as it is one of the few areas where definitive facts can be given. Beginning on solid ground, the introduction can then move from the known to the more speculative.

1.2.1 The History of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'tār*

Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'tār fī ḥabar al-aqtār is a geographical dictionary (i.e. a book of geographical place names in Arabic alphabetical order with a description of each location under its entry) written by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Abī Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im Ibn 'Abd an-Nūr al-Ḥimyarī,³ probably in the late seventh or early eighth century AH (late 13th- early 14th century CE).⁴ It should be noted that the geographical dictionary is not a concept created by al-Ḥimyarī; there were already several other, older geographical dictionaries in existence by this time. One of these, *Kitāb mu'ğam mā sta'ğam min asmā' al-bilād wa-l-mawāḍi'*, was written in the 5th AH / 11th CE century by al-Bakrī and features heavily in this work.⁵

3 Lewicki 1960:221. This is the name given on the Medina manuscript; the issue of the author's identity will be addressed in Section 1.3.3. At the end of the 1984 'Abbās edition used for this translation, the author is cited as Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Mun'im b. 'Abd al-Nūr al-Ḥimyarī.

4 Vallvé Bermejo 1990:33.

5 See Section 1.5.1 General Information on Sources.

The French Arabist Évariste Lévi-Provençal is credited with the rediscovery of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār*,⁶ and while it is true that it was through his 1938 work *La péninsule ibérique au moyen-âge d'après le Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fī ḥabar al-aḳṭār: Texte arabe des notices relatives à l'Espagne, au Portugal et au sud-ouest de la France. D'Ibn 'Abd Al-Mun'im Al-Ḥimyarī* that *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār* became well known to Western scholars and subsequently received so much attention, it is not correct to say that it had been completely forgotten, especially in North Africa.⁷

The book is mentioned in different historical Arabic sources throughout the centuries; for example, Ḥāḡḡī Ḥalīfa's *Kaṣf az-zunūn 'an asāmī l-kutub wa-l-funūn* mentions a book named *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fī ḥabar al-aḳṭār (w-) al-amṣār*,⁸ while in his *Nafḥ at-ṭīb*,⁹ al-Maqqarī refers to *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fī dīkr al-mudun wa-l-aḳṭār* in discussing the famous battle of Zallāqa.¹⁰ While the titles are slightly different to the one given here, the content of the entries makes it practically certain that they are both referring to the same *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār*.¹¹ Al-Qalqaṣandī is also known to have used al-Ḥimyarī as a source through which he had access to other, less easily accessed sources,¹² a phenomenon discussed later in Section 1.6 The Importance of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār*.

1.2.3 Content

Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār contains an introduction written by al-Ḥimyarī in which he explains that his purpose in writing it was to bring together two different genres, 'geographical-descriptive' and 'historical-narrative' writing. He believed that it was this innovation which gives his work the edge

6 EI² s.v. Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī. <http://dx.doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3030>. Consulted online on 13 August 2018.

7 Ibid.

8 1017-67 AH /1609-57 CE. Ḥāḡḡī Ḥalīfa, also known as Kātib Čelebi, was a historian, bibliographer, geographer, and prolific author born in Istanbul. His *Kaṣf az-zunūn* is an Arabic bibliographical dictionary which lists over 14,500 titles alphabetically. EI² s.v. Kātib Čelebi. http://dx.doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0467. Consulted online on 30 August 2017.

9 ca. 986-1041 AH /1577-1632 CE. Al-Maqqarī was a North African biographer, later *imām* and *mufī* at al-Qarawiyyīn mosque in Fez. *Nafḥ at-ṭīb*, a work in two parts on Muslim Iberia, is his main work. EI² s.v. al-Maqqarī. http://dx.doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4832. Consulted online on 31 August 2017.

10 Lévi-Provençal 1932:386. The Battle of Zallāqa took place on 12 *Raġab* 479 AH /23 October 1086 CE between Alfonso VI and Yūsuf b. Tāšufīn, the Almoravid sovereign of Morocco, who fought on behalf of the *Ṭā'ifa* princes of al-Andalus. The Almoravid win cost Alfonso large numbers of soldiers and tributes previously paid to him and, vitally, served to 'check the progress of the Reconquista'. EI² s.v. al-Zallāka. http://dx.doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_8104. Consulted online on 07 September 2017.

11 Navarro Oltra 2012:447.

12 'Abbās 1999:265. 756-821 AH /1355-1418 CE. Al-Qalqaṣandī was an author, legal scholar, and secretary in the Mamluk chancery. His works covered law, *adab* and *kitāba* ('the secretarial art') His seven volume *Ṣubḥ al-a'šā fī šinā'at al-inšā'* is an encyclopaedia on chancellery work. EI² s.v. al-Qalqaṣandī. http://dx.doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3832. Consulted online on 13 September 2017.

over that of his predecessors such as al-Idrīsī,¹³ as it makes it 'richer in historical information' and gives 'fuller geographical descriptions'.¹⁴

Thus, although *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ār* is described as a geographical dictionary, it is actually much more than the name implies, as is the case with many Arabic geographical works (See Section 1.1 A Brief summary of Arabic Geography up to *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ār*). It alphabetically compiles names of places, cities, *comarcas*,¹⁵ seas, islands, rivers, lakes, mountains and various buildings which al-Ḥimyarī believed to be worth mentioning such as the *Ka'ba* and the lighthouse in Alexandria. As well as providing a geographical description of these places it also includes accounts of wonders (*'ağā'ib*) associated with them and, in the case of certain areas, provides a political chronicle of events up until the end of the 7th century AH (13th century CE); the entries dealing with locations in al-Andalus offer a lot of information on the Almoravid and Almohad eras, for example. In fact, in many entries its scope broadens even further to include culture, economics, natural resources, industrial and artisanal activities, distances between places, people connected with a site, and poetry. It covers extensive parts of the known world including the Iberian Peninsula, areas in western and eastern parts of Europe, northern Africa, eastern Africa, the Near and Far East as well as Central Asia.¹⁶

In his introduction, al-Ḥimyarī states that he compiled the names in alphabetical order to make finding facts easier and also explains his criteria for inclusion of an entry; a place should either be famous in itself, be a place where an important event took place, or should be in some way connected with a story worthy of mention. However, he also appears to have included information that was of interest to him personally at the time, which makes his work interesting reading.¹⁷

An entry usually begins with a description localizing the place and giving administrative geographical details (if it is populated); occasionally al-Ḥimyarī comments on the correct spelling of a place. His information is not infallible and there is sometimes some confusion. Occasionally, for example, the same locality is listed more than once, as in the case of Huesca, which is described under both *Wašqa* and *Waška*. V.C. Navarro Oltra, who wrote the entry on al-Ḥimyarī in *Biblioteca de al-Andalus*, points out that it is not always clear in these instances whether al-Ḥimyarī actually

13 See Section 1.5.1 General Information on Sources for more information.

14 De Simone 1984:8-11 via Brincat 1995:34.

15 Spanish term for an administrative division comprising a number of municipalities.
www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/spanish-english/comarca. Consulted online on 07 March 2017.

16 Navarro Oltra 2012:447-8.

17 Ibid.

realises that these are two different places or not, although sometimes he does explicitly explain that the two spellings are variations on the name of one place, as in the case of the city of Chinchilla, which is listed as both *Ġiṅġāla* and *Šantġāla*.¹⁸ Moreover, homonyms are often all listed together, as in the case of *Bāġa*, which refers to cities in locations as diverse as al-Andalus, *Ifriqiya* and China.¹⁹ Occasionally, information is repeated or it appears under one entry when it should have been under another.²⁰ It is often clear that al-Ḥimyarī had no personal knowledge at all of the place he was writing about, but as Navarro Oltra notes, given the quantity of information he provided and the material he was working with, this is not surprising.²¹

‘Abbās suggests the text might not actually have reached us in its complete form since several later authors who used *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi‘ār* as a source state that they obtained a certain reference from al-Ḥimyarī yet these entries do not appear in any of the known manuscripts. Tantalizingly, given the focus of this thesis, this happens with al-Qalqašandī in his description of the Yemeni city of Ta‘izz but also affects various places in Andalusia, such as Játiva (*Šāṭiba*).²²

Although the entries span several continents, the information is not evenly distributed and a significant number of the entries are for places on the Iberian Peninsula, the Maghreb and *Ifriqiya*.²³ In fact, ‘Abbās’ edition contains 1,650 entries of which fully 10% concern the Iberian Peninsula.²⁴ There are just barely more entries for eastern Arabia than for western Arabia; for example, of the 174 entries under the letter *alif*, 95 are locations in the east and 79 in the west, with 32 and 34 for the Maghreb and al-Andalus respectively but only 33 for Arabia and Iraq and 17 for the area of Syria-Palestine.²⁵ Lévi-Provençal believes this suggests that al-Ḥimyarī was from a Maghrebi or Iberian background.²⁶

1.2.4 The Manuscripts

It was through the sources cited by 19th century CE Moroccan historians that Lévi-Provençal first became aware of the existence of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi‘ār* but he did not have the opportunity to

18 Navarro Oltra 2012:447.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid 448.

21 Ibid. See Section 1.5 Authorial Sources

22 Ibid 450.

23 Lévi-Provençal 1932: 386.

24 Navarro Oltra 2012:447.

25 Lévi-Provençal 1938:xxi.

26 Ibid. xx.

read it until 1922 when he discovered a fragmentary copy of the first half of the book (up to the letter *zā*) in a library in Fez; he believed it to date from the 12th century AH (18th century CE).²⁷ He was also able to locate another more complete copy of the first half of the book in Meknes, dating from around the same time as the Fez manuscript and another even more fragmentary manuscript in Salé. The Salé manuscript is at least a century older than the copies in Fez and Meknes and appears to be the remains of an older copy of the work in one volume, although the first and last quarters are missing and the two remaining quarters have significant gaps.²⁸ Later on, a colleague alerted him to the presence of another two volume copy in Timbuktu which happily proved to be virtually complete, making it an essential document for Lévi-Provençal when it came to compiling his *La péninsule Ibérique au Moyen Age d'après le Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār*.²⁹ Uniquely, this last manuscript also contained the final page of the second volume, which, despite a major tear, furnished Lévi-Provençal with a significant amount of previously missing information, including the author's full name and probable profession, the place he completed the work, the date of the manuscript itself – 10th *Muḥarram* 1049 AH (13th May 1639 CE),³⁰ and states that the work was composed in Jeddah in 866 AH (1461 CE).³¹

Since Lévi-Provençal's initial investigation, two further, earlier, manuscripts have come to light; one in the Nuruosmaniye library in Istanbul which was written before 1045 AH (1635 – 36 CE), and another complete manuscript in the *Šayḥ al-Islām*'s library in Medina,³² whose final page includes the date *Ġumādā* I 971 AH (December 1563 – January 1564 CE) which the Polish Orientalist Lewicki takes to be the date of completion of that manuscript since, as mentioned above, the Timbuktu manuscript suggests that the work itself was composed in 866 AH (1461 CE).³³ This makes the Medina copy the oldest known copy of this text.³⁴

27 Lévi-Provençal 1938: ix-x.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid. x-xi.

30 Ibid.

31 EI² s.v. Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3030>. Consulted online on 13 August 2018.

32 Ibid.

33 Lewicki 1960:221.

34 Ibid. 342. This is according to Lewicki; Małecka states that both these recently discovered manuscripts are approximately the same age. See Małecka 1963:333.

1.3 Information on al-Ḥimyarī

1.3.1 Author

As the full title of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miṭṭār* appears with different variations, so too does the name of the author. The final page of the Medina manuscript gives the name of the author as *aš-šayḥ al-faqīh al-ʿadl* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Abī Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim Ibn ʿAbd an-Nūr al-Ḥimyarī, which is also the version of the name ʿAbbās uses in his edition.³⁵ Lewicki believes this version to be more 'exact' than the longest version known up to that point Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Abī Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, the one given in the Timbuktu manuscript,³⁶

Thus far scholars are in agreement on the facts but after this point, views as to who al-Ḥimyarī might have been and how many al-Ḥimyarīs worked on the book diverge into three distinct schools of thought: a Ceutan al-Ḥimyarī, an al-Ḥimyarī at-Tūnisī, and two editions of the work (possibly) written by two related al-Ḥimyarīs writing several generations apart. Each of these viewpoints will be explained below.

1.3.2 How Many Authors of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miṭṭār* were there?

Some of the confusion which arises has come about as a result of the entries which the aforementioned Ḥāḡḡī Ḥalīfa included in his *Kašf az-ẓunūn*, since he lists two works with this title under two separate entries.³⁷ The first time the work is mentioned in *Kašf az-ẓunūn* it is referred to as *Rawḍ al-miṭṭār fī aḥbar al-aqṭār* and attributed to Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥimyarī who died in 900 AH (1494-95 CE); there then follows a quote of the first words and the essential passages of the preface, which correspond to those found in the manuscripts used by Lévi-Provençal.³⁸ The second entry is much shorter, with no dates or quotes and the title given is *Rawḍ al-miṭṭār fī ḥabar al-aqṭār*, whose author was *aš-šayḥ al-ʿumda* Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī.³⁹

Reactions to this information have varied. Lévi-Provençal notes that, while nothing would be easier or more natural than to assume that these two entries refer to one and the same work written at the

³⁵ Navarro Oltra 2012:447.

³⁶ Lewicki 1960:221.

³⁷ Lévi-Provençal 1938:xiii.

³⁸ Ibid. xiii – xiv.

³⁹ Ibid.

end of the 9th century AH (15th century CE),⁴⁰ he rejects this idea and suggests that they refer to two different editions of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿtār*. He believes the first refers to an edition which has subsequently been lost to us and was written by a member of the al-Ḥimyarī family in the 7th century AH (13th century CE), while the second is a newer edition which was written by another family member and is the one that Lévi-Provençal himself discovered.

Lévi-Provençal's conclusion that the other *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿtār* mentioned must be an earlier version was based on several pieces of information. Firstly, in his *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā*, al-Qalqašandī makes frequent reference to *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿtār*, obviously using it as a source. *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā* was completed in 814 AH (1442 CE), so it is clear that *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿtār* must already have been written by then, making the *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿtār* attributed to the al-Ḥimyarī who died in 900 AH (1494 CE) too late to be the book he used.⁴¹ Therefore, Lévi-Provençal believed that al-Qalqašandī must have used an earlier version of this work.⁴² Moreover, Lévi-Provençal believed that a work entitled *Ġanī (Ġanā) al-azhār min ar-rawḍ al-miʿtār* was a summary of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿtār*, was the work of al-Maqrīzī,⁴³ who died in 848 AH (1442 CE), once again meaning that the date of 1494 CE (900 AH) given for *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿtār* is too late for this to have been the work summarised.⁴⁴

More generally, Lévi-Provençal also notes that none of the historical events mentioned take place later than the end of the 8th century AH (14th century CE) or beyond the Almohad period, unusual for a work written at the end of the ninth (15th CE),⁴⁵ so he suggests that the work was initially composed during the 7th century AH (13th century CE) or towards the beginning of the 8th (14th CE) by an initial al-Ḥimyarī. He posited that these dates, together with the name of the author and the date of *Ṣafar* 17, 866 AH (November 20th 1461 CE) given on the manuscript as the date of completion, suggest that there is the second author, probably a descendant of the first original author. This later al-Ḥimyarī took this first edition during the second half of the 9th century AH (15th century CE), made several changes, gave this edition almost the same title and then attributed the entire work to himself, as if it were his original work.⁴⁶ Lévi-Provençal concludes that the biography

40 Ibid xiv.

41 Hamarneh 1970:81.

42 Navarro Oltra 2012:450.

43 766-845 AH/1364-1442 CE. Al-Maqrīzī was an Egyptian historian and author. He was a prolific writer on many different regions and eras. EI² s.v. al-Maqrīzī. http://dx.doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4838. Consulted online on 04 October 2017.

44 Hamarneh 1970:81.

45 Lévi-Provençal 1938:xv.

46 Ibid. xvi. The Meknes manuscript has most of the introduction preserved, but no mention was made of the first

and date of death provided by Ḥāḡḡī Ḥalīfa actually refer to this second al-Ḥimyarī while the less specific entry referred to the original author.⁴⁷

T. Lewicki agrees with Lévi-Provençal on this issue and so provides this same information in his entry on al-Ḥimyarī in the second edition of *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*.⁴⁸ Lewicki is convinced by Lévi-Provençal's initial theory of two editions for two main reasons. Firstly, none of the 'great treatises' written in the 8/9th centuries AH (14/15th centuries CE) are among the many sources used by al-Ḥimyarī. Given the breadth of the sources he used, it seems very unlikely that he would not have used these works had they been in existence, suggesting that he must have compiled his work before these authors had completed their works. Secondly, like Lévi-Provençal, he notes that the account of historical events provided by al-Ḥimyarī does not go beyond the events of the 7th century AH (13th century CE), which again suggests that the writer was not writing much later than this.⁴⁹

However, the Italian Arabist Umberto Rizzitano disagrees with Lévi-Provençal's interpretation of the situation, although he does admit that it is tempting to believe there was a second al-Ḥimyarī writing in the second half of the 9th century AH (15th century CE).⁵⁰ Firstly, he does not believe that *Ġany (Ġanā) al-Azhār min ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār* refers to al-Ḥimyarī's *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār* and asserts that it is actually a summary of al-Idrīsī's *Nuzhat al-Muštāq*, a belief which had been put forward by Vollers as early as 1889, echoed by Blochet in 1925 and was eventually confirmed by Wiet in 1939.⁵¹ This means that the dates this book was written are no longer relevant for this discussion. He also argues that the date of 866 AH (1461 CE) written in the colophon of the Timbuktu manuscript (which Lévi-Provençal believed was the date al-Ḥimyarī finished writing this work) is in fact the year in which the copyist finished his completed copy ('non necessariamente la "prima"').⁵² This is a belief shared by 'Abbās, who also suggests that the year 900 AH (1494 CE) given by Ḥāḡḡī Ḥalīfa is the date of the copy of the manuscript handled by that author and that he confused this date with the date of al-Ḥimyarī's death.⁵³ Rizzitano's explanation questions whether the date of 900 AH (1494 CE) given in *Kašf az-ẓunūn* for al-Ḥimyarī's death is even 900 AH. He notes that the Arabic words *sab'a* (7) and *tis'a* (9) are easily confused in manuscripts due to their similar forms in handwriting, so much so that scribes even used to specify with '*as-sīn*' or '*at-tā*' to

edition by the second author which Lévi-Provençal considers 'disloyal'. Lévi-Provençal 1938:xx.

47 Navarro Oltra 2012:450.

48 Brincat 1995:33.

49 Ibid.

50 Rizzitano 1956:285.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid. 286.

53 Navarro Oltra 2012:450.

be sure the numbers would not be confused.⁵⁴ This had already been noted by Gaudefroy-Demombynes in 1923 when he looked into the sources used in *Ṣubḥ al-a‘šā*; he had also suggested that the date in *Kaṣf az-ẓunūn* should actually read 700 AH (1300 – 1301 CE) for this very reason.⁵⁵ Rizzitano consulted various manuscripts of *Kaṣf az-ẓunūn* and in one of them al-Ḥimyarī's death was actually recorded as being in 723 AH (1323 CE).⁵⁶

Having rejected 900 AH (1494 CE) as the date of al-Ḥimyarī's death, Rizzitano seeks to pinpoint a time of writing for the original *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi‘tār*. He does this by analysing the content of the entries dealing with historical matters and looking at the latest dates mentioned. He cites the entry on Lucera (*Lūġārah*) in Puglia, Italy which contains the remark “...*fino a che li espulso dalla città l'attuale cape della Sicilia*”.⁵⁷ Rizzitano believes this refers to the expulsion of the last groups of Muslims from Sicily which, in the case of Lucera, is known to have happened under Charles II of Naples in 1300 CE (which corresponds to 700 AH), leading him to conclude that the author lived “fino al primi decenni del 700”, otherwise he would not have referred to the *current (attuale)* ruler.⁵⁸ Taking this evidence together with the conclusions outlined in the previous paragraph, Rizzitano believes the issue of the two al-Ḥimyarīs is resolved and concludes that there was only ever one author: Abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im aṣ-Ṣinhāġi al-Ḥimyarī, who died in 727 AH (1327 CE).⁵⁹

Since the publication of Rizzitano's theory, most subsequent scholars have agreed that there was only one author of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi‘tār* who lived in the 7th century AH (13th century CE). Among them are De Simone, the Italian Arabist,⁶⁰ the Moroccan historian Muḥammad al-Manūnī, and ‘Abbās himself, who examines the issue in the introduction to his 1975 edition of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi‘tār* and draws the same conclusion.⁶¹

One later scholar does disagree with Rizzitano, namely S.Hamarneh, who addresses the authorship issue in his 1970 paper "Are there one or two authors of the work ar-Rawḍ al-mi‘tār by al-Ḥimyarī?".⁶² Hamarneh states that he discussed the issue of authorship with both Lévi-Provençal

54 Rizzitano1956:287

55 Lévi-Provençal 1938:xv.

56 Rizzitano1956:288.

57 Ibid.

58 Ibid. 288 -9.

59 Rizzitano1956:289.

60 De Simone 1984: 8-11 via Brincat 1995:34.

61 Vallvé Bermejo 1990:37.

62 Hamarneh 1970:80.

and Rizzitano, both of whom 'were able to support their claims with strong arguments'.⁶³ He adds that the issue is further complicated by the fact that 'most of the large encyclopaedic works of the period do not mention al-Ḥimyarī at all', for example, in *Ṣubḥ al-a'šā*, Qalqaṣandī only refers to 'the author of *ar-Rawḍ al-mi'tār*', meaning that it is necessary to 'make the book itself the final judge in determining its date and authorship'.⁶⁴ Like Rizzitano, he examined the text for entries which cited historical events using words which suggested they were taking place at the time of writing, for example, the description of 'Asqalān, modern day Ashkelon on the coast of Israel, states 'today it is a prosperous city under the Franks' (i.e. the Crusaders) a description he believes best describes 'Asqalān in the second half of the seventh century AH (13th century CE).⁶⁵ Hamarneh concludes that many examples taken together suggest that al-Ḥimyarī wrote *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'tār* 'while the Crusaders were still in the Holy Land, and when some of the ports of Palestine and Syria were still in their hands, or at least some of the time', and concludes that 'al-Ḥimyarī (the first) lived and wrote his book in the second half of the seventh century AH.' ⁶⁶

Hamarneh concedes that Rizzitano's assertion of only one author 'makes sense' but adds that 'his discussion lacks details concerning chronology of events, personalities involved, and method of additions'.⁶⁷ He gives several examples to support the theory of two authors. Firstly, that there are two entries on ar-Ramla, modern day Ramla in central Israel, under *aliḥ* and *rā'*; the first corresponds to the information given by al-Idrīsī while the second 'is identical' to the text found in *Kitāb al-uns al-ḡalīl fī tāriḥ al-quds wa-l-ḥalīl* by Muḡīr ad-Dīn al-'Ulaymī.⁶⁸ Since al-'Ulaymī died in 928 AH (1522 CE), Hamarneh concludes that 'the first entry was written by the original author, the (first) al-Ḥimyarī, while the second was added by the (second) al-Ḥimyarī'.⁶⁹ In the entry on *az-Zallāqa* there is a reference to a time of decline which Hamarneh believes fits with the dates for the second al-Ḥimyarī but not for the first, since his era was a time of moderate progress when Muslims were victorious in al-Andalus. This entry also contains a passage asking God to have mercy on al-Ḥimyarī's soul which Hamarneh believes was added by the second al-Ḥimyarī 'in keeping with the custom... of praying to God for mercy on the dead (especially as this was his forebear)'.⁷⁰

63 Ibid. 83-84.

64 Ibid. 84.

65 Ibid. 85.

66 Ibid. 86.

67 Ibid. 87.

68 'The most comprehensive and detailed source for the history of Jerusalem written during the Middle Ages'. Little, Donald P. 1995. "Muḡīr Al-Dīn Al-'Ulaymī's Vision of Jerusalem in the Ninth/Fifteenth Century." In *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115:2:237-247.

69 Hamarneh 1970:88.

70 Ibid. 88-89.

Hamarneh concludes by agreeing with Lévi-Provençal that there were indeed two authors of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ār*, with the main work written by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī and before the end of the seventh century (13th century CE), while a second al-Ḥimyarī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ḥimyarī who lived in the early 10th century AH (16th century CE), 'added several passages and extra information to the original text, as well as omitting some parts at random'. Like Lévi-Provençal, Hamarneh surmises that he might have been a descendant of the original al-Ḥimyarī and have inherited the book, using his name and some emendations to 'pose as its author'.⁷¹ Hamarneh also voices concern that important information which the first al-Ḥimyarī had initially included might have been lost in this way and suggests that the information which the second al-Ḥimyarī provided was so scant that he was actually 'a copyist rather than an author, since he lacked completely the qualifications of an original author'.⁷²

1.2.3 Al-Ḥimyarī's Identity

As we have seen, although there is not a universal consensus as to whether there was only one al-Ḥimyarī who wrote the book or another who made later additions, it is general agreed that the book was initially written in the late 7th or early 8th century AH (late 13th to early 14th century CE) by a man named al-Ḥimyarī. Who was this al-Ḥimyarī and what was his background?

1.3.3.1 Aṣ-Ṣinhāgī al-Ḥimyarī

After extensive research, Lévi-Provençal concluded that the al-Ḥimyarī in question was the Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im aṣ-Ṣinhāgī al-Ḥimyarī whose biography was written by Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb.⁷³ Writing later, 'Abbās reaches the same conclusion, commenting that discovering al-Ḥimyarī's biography was difficult, something he attributed to the fact that 'his comparatively long list of antecedents (*nasab*) had been abridged in the sources', but added that he was able to find some information on him in Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb's biography.⁷⁴ In fact, Navarro Oltra states that the majority of those academics who have researched the subject have reached the same conclusion and believe that

⁷¹ Hamarneh 1970:90.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Navarro Oltra 2012:450. 713-773 AH /1313 -1375 CE. Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb was a vizier and historian from Granada. 'An almost unparalleled source for knowledge of the history and culture of the end of the 7th/13th century and of the greater part of the 8th/14th century', he wrote more than 60 works on a wide range of subjects including history, poetry, medicine and literature; his writing style was much admired. EI² s.v. Ibn al-Khaṭīb. http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3252. Consulted online on 15 January 2018.

⁷⁴ 'Abbās 1999:262.

this al-Ḥimyarī is the most likely candidate for the author of this work.⁷⁵

Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb informs us that al-Ḥimyarī was a man from Ceuta (*Sabta*) who was part of a delegation sent to Granada to declare allegiance to the Nasrid rulers who had just occupied it and that he died a short time later of the plague when returning from Fez; Lévi-Provençal believed this to be the Black Death outbreak of 1349 CE.⁷⁶ He is described as being a devout, honest, and well-educated man, 'well-versed in the sciences, a careful linguist and an able chess player'. He worked in the legal profession but was also part of the political scene.⁷⁷ He held several titles: *faqīh* (jurisconsultant), *ṣayḥ*, and *ḥāfiẓ*.⁷⁸ Unfortunately, despite this detailed biography, Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb does not mention whether the man he describes ever wrote a book.⁷⁹

Further information can also be found in Ibn Ḥaḡar al-ʿAsqalānī's work, *ad-Durar al-kāmina fī aʿyān al-miʿa at-tāmina*,⁸⁰ a source referenced by Rizzitano, De Simone, and ʿAbbās, among others, where his date of death is given as 'in the eleventh month of 727' AH (September 1327 CE) and it is recorded that he studied under two *ṣuyūḥ* in Ceuta and was a grammarian, linguist, a *muqriʿ*,⁸¹ a *mufasssir*⁸² and a *ḥadīth* scholar.⁸³

ʿAbbās also found a mention of this al-Ḥimyarī in al-Maqqarī's *Naḡh at-tīb*. However, in it al-Maqqarī asserts that al-Ḥimyarī is an Andalusian since his knowledge of the history of al-Andalus is excellent, saying 'a house's owner is aware of what it contains', while also pointing out that none of the information al-Ḥimyarī gives on Ceuta is original but all comes from the three main sources. However, ʿAbbās suggests that this does not rule out the possibility that al-Ḥimyarī was from Ceuta, explaining that he was not 'an accomplished geographer ... he was not bold enough to make original geographic observations, even about his own country'.⁸⁴

The main issue, as ʿAbbās notes, is that none of these biographical sources about al-Ḥimyarī actually mention his having written a book by the name of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿār* nor do they say that he was a geographer, although ʿAbbās does suggest that the same conclusion as to geographic credentials could actually be drawn from *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿār* since 'there is little evidence in the

⁷⁵ Navarro Oltra 2012:444.

⁷⁶ Vallvé Bermejo 1990:34.

⁷⁷ 'Uomo pio, retto, colto'. De Simone 1984: 8-11 via Brincat 1995:34.

⁷⁸ Brincat 1995:34.

⁷⁹ Navarro Oltra 2012:445.

⁸⁰ 773-852 AH /1372-1449 CE. Al-ʿasqalānī was an Egyptian *ḥadīth* scholar, judge, and historian. This work is a biographical dictionary of leading figures of the eighth century AH (14th century CE). EI² s.v. Ibn Ḥaḡjar al-ʿAsqalānī. http://dx.doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3178. Consulted online on 07 September 2018.

⁸¹ Reciter of the Qur'an. Wehr 2011 s.r. قرا.

⁸² The author of a *tafsīr* (exegesis of the Qur'ān).

⁸³ ʿAbbās 2011:263.

⁸⁴ ʿAbbās 2011:264.

book itself to assume that he was a geographer, as he did not travel and nor did he record his observations'.⁸⁵

1.3.3.2 Al-Ḥimyarī at-Tūnisī

Navarro Oltra also suggests another al-Ḥimyarī as the possible author of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'tār*. He explains that there were two men with similar names who lived in the same era but came from different places. The first of these is the Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im aṣ-Ṣinhāgī al-Ḥimyarī discussed above in 1.2.3.1, while the second is Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Mun'im b. 'Abd an-Nūr al-Ḥimyarī at-Tūnisī. This al-Ḥimyarī was also known as Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im and Ibn 'Abd an-Nūr.⁸⁶

Muḥammad al-Manūnī, who published an article on just this issue in 1977, states that it is this al-Ḥimyarī who is the sole author of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'tār*.⁸⁷ He reached this conclusion by analysing the work of previous researchers but also by considering the dates given in a manuscript entitled *Ṭabaqāt al-mālikīya* written by an anonymous author towards the end of the 11th century AH (16th century CE) in which there is a brief biography of a man known as Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Mun'im b. 'Abd an-Nūr al-Ḥimyarī at-Tūnisī. This work was written drawing on various sources including *Dībāğ* by Ibn Farḥūn,⁸⁸ and not only provides the longer version of this man's name but also states that he was the author of a two volume work entitled *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'tār fī aḥbar al-aqtār*, an almost identical title to that of the work examined here.⁸⁹

His exact date and place of birth are unknown, but it is known that he was a disciple of Ibn Burṭuluh who died in Tunis 661 AH (1263 CE), so Navarro Oltra suggests that he must have been born sometime in the last decades of the first half of the 7th century AH (13th century CE). He was probably born in Tunis or was at least a long-time resident because of his *nisba* at-Tūnisī.⁹⁰ For his part, al-Manūnī suggests that this al-Ḥimyarī may have been born in al-Andalus and later moved to

⁸⁵ Ibid. 265.

⁸⁶ Navarro Oltra 2012:444.

⁸⁷ Al-Manūnī 1977:367-72 via Navarro Oltra 2012:444.

⁸⁸ Died 799 AH /1397 CE. Ibn Farḥūn was an influential Mālikī jurist'. The work referred to here is a history of Mālikī scholars. EI³ s.v. Ibn Farḥūn. http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_30773. Consulted online on 23 January 2018.

⁸⁹ Al-Manūnī 1977:367-72 via Navarro Oltra 2012:444.

⁹⁰ Navarro Oltra 2012:444-5.

Tunis, although he stresses that this is only a hypothesis.⁹¹ Ibn Farḥūn, who has the most information on this particular al-Ḥimyarī, states that he was a sage who well known for his wide-ranging knowledge. It seems that he completed most of his education in Tunis where he studied under different masters, among them Abū l-Qāsim Ibn Abī Bakr al-Yamanī, also known as Ibn Zaytūn, who was a *faqīh* and *qāḍī*, the aforementioned Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh al-Azdī, better known as Ibn Burtūluḥ, who had trained in al-Andalus under prestigious masters and was also a *ḥaṭīb*,⁹² imam of the mosque in Béjaïa, and a *qāḍī*, and Abū ‘Amr ‘Uṭmān b. ‘Atīq Ibn ‘Arabīya, born in 600 AH (1203-4 CE) who was the author of a *dīwān* and a series of poems.⁹³ This al-Ḥimyarī's *kunya* and the *ism* Ibn ‘Abd an-Nūr led al-Manūnī to believe that this must be the author of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi‘tār*, an impression he believes is strengthened by the fact that Ibn ‘Arabīya and his poetry appear many times in *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi‘tār*.⁹⁴ There is no mention in the sources of this al-Ḥimyarī's place of death and no agreement on a date, with Ibn Farḥūn asserting that he was still alive in 726 AH (1325-6 CE) while Ibn al-Qāḍī states that this was the year in which he died.⁹⁵

1.3.4 Other Works by al-Ḥimyarī

Obviously, other works which can be attributed to the author depend on which al-Ḥimyarī is taken to be the author of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi‘tār*. As mentioned in Section 1.3.3.1, there is no mention of aṣ-Ṣinhāgī al-Ḥimyarī having written any books, although the sources also do not explicitly state that he did not write a book.

On the other hand, *Ṭabaqāt al-mālikīya* and Ibn Farḥūn both mention that al-Ḥimyarī at-Tūnisī is the author of 'varios e importantes escritos sobre distintas materias'.⁹⁶ Navarro Oltra believes that by combining both these above-mentioned sources three of four other works mentioned can be identified. Firstly there is *al-Ḥāwī fī l-fatāwī*, described by Ibn Farḥūn as a compendium of legal opinions modelled on *al-I‘lām bi-nawāzil al-aḥkām* the work of the *faqīh* and *qāḍī* from Jaén, Abū l-Aṣbaḡ ‘Īsā Ibn Sahl al-Asadī. Al-Maqqarī mentions a work named *Muḥtaṣar al-Ḥāwī fī l-fatāwī* which, as the name suggests, is a summary of an earlier work called *al-Ḥāwī fī l-fatāwī* which he attributes to Ibn ‘Abd an-Nūr. This Ibn ‘Abd an-Nūr could refer to al-Ḥimyarī at-Tūnisī, especially considering that at-Tinbuktī, the West African biographer,⁹⁷ also attributes this work to Ibn ‘Abd an-

91 Al-Manūnī 1977:367-72 via Navarro Oltra 2012:445.

92 Preacher. Wehr. 2011 s.r. خطيب.

93 Al-Manūnī 1977:367-72 via Navarro Oltra 2012:446.

94 Ibid.

95 Navarro Oltra 2012:446.

96 Ibid.

97 Also known as Aḥmad Bābā, al-Tinbuktī was a 'Sudanese jurist and biographer' and *faqīh*. Most well-known for his

The second work is entitled *Nafahāt al-ṭib fī iḥtiṣār tafsīr Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb* and is again described by both Ibn Farḥūn and in *Ṭabaqāt al-mālikīya*. It is said to be 'a good seven volume summary'.⁹⁹ A third work both sources attribute to al-Ḥimyarī is *Taqyīd 'alā al-Ḥāṣil*. It is a two volume commentary on one of the various summaries already in existence on Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb's treatise called *al-Maḥṣūl fī uṣūl al-fiqh*. Given that al-Ḥimyarī at-Tūnisī was a student of the *faqīh* and *qāḍī* Ibn Zaytūn, it is probable that it was under Ibn Zaytūn that al-Ḥimyarī at-Tūnisī first learned of Ibn al-Ḥaṭīb's work and its many summaries.¹⁰⁰

1.4 Additions to *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār*

Navarro Oltra notes that a further unresolved question pertaining to *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār* concerns the additions made to the first edition of the book. While it is clear that additions were made, it is simply not known for certain who the author or authors of these additions are nor even how many additions were made and where.¹⁰¹ Those scholars who accept the theory of two al-Ḥimyarīs have a natural candidate for the majority of the emendations and additions, namely the second al-Ḥimyarī, but even here, nothing is certain.

In the introduction to his edition, 'Abbās indicates one of these additions, noting that an event is described in the entry on Eilat (*Ayla*) which happened much later than the 7th century AH (13th century CE,) concerning the penultimate Mamluk Sultan of Egypt, Qānṣūh al-Ġūrī, who died fighting the Ottomans in the Battle of Dābiq in 922 AH (1516 CE),¹⁰² but he does not speculate as to who might have added this information.¹⁰³ Navarro Oltra suggests that the version of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār* as we know it today was possibly not finished until the 16th century CE or later.¹⁰⁴

1005AH /1596 CE supplement to Ibn Farḥūn's biographical dictionary of the *faḳīhs* of the school of Mālik b. Anas. EI² s.v. Aḥmad Bābā. http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0401. Consulted online on 25 January 2018.

98 Navarro Oltra 2012:446.

99 Ibid.

100 Navarro Oltra 2012:450.

101 Ibid.

102 Site of the Ottoman victory under Selim 1 against the Mamluks in 1516 CE. Woodhead, Christine. 2008. "Review: Les Ottomans en Égypte. Historiens et conquérants au XVI^e siècle by Benjamin Lellouch". In *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 51:2:394-397.

103 Navarro Oltra 2012:450.

104 Ibid.

1.5. Authorial Sources and Method

1.5.1 General Information on Sources

In his introduction, al-Ḥimyarī explains that he wrote *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿtār* using the work of three earlier Arab geographers: al-Bakrī,¹⁰⁵ al-Idrīsī's *Kitāb Nuzhat al-muštāq fī ihtirāq al-āfāq*,¹⁰⁶ and another book, the anonymous *Kitāb al-istibṣār fī ʿaḡāʾib al-amṣār*,¹⁰⁷ which is itself almost a copy of al-Bakrī's work.¹⁰⁸ Since al-Ḥimyarī's sources had themselves made extensive use of earlier sources, in drawing on these writers al-Ḥimyarī actually made indirect use of myriad other sources. To give just one example, in using al-Bakrī's work al-Ḥimyarī included work by al-Bakrī's master, al-ʿUḍrī,¹⁰⁹ and many more including Ibn Rusta,¹¹⁰ al-Masʿūdī,¹¹¹ Ibn Qutayba,¹¹² al-Balāḍurī,¹¹³ and Ibn al-Faqīh.¹¹⁴

The scholars who have examined *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿtār* agree that al-Ḥimyarī's use of main sources as set out in his introduction is true, but most believe he also used other sources; both Rizzitano and Levi-Provençal stress that al-Ḥimyarī makes generous use of previously existing sources while only actually citing them on very rare occasions.¹¹⁵ When ʿAbbās edited *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿtār* for the edition published by *Maktabat Lubnān* in 1975, he conducted a preliminary

¹⁰⁵ See next paragraph.

¹⁰⁶ See later in this same section.

¹⁰⁷ See later in this same section.

¹⁰⁸ EI² s.v. Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3030>. Consulted online on 13 August 2018.

¹⁰⁹ Brincat 1995:30. 393-478 AH / 1003-1085 CE. Al-ʿUḍrī was a geographer and ḥadīth specialist from Almeria. Today he is best remembered for his geographical writing which he based on those of Aḥmad ar-Rāzī. EI² s.v. al-ʿUḍrī. http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1271. Consulted online on 07 February 2018.

¹¹⁰ Ibn Rusta lived in the 3rd century AH / 9th century CE and is the author of *Kitāb al-aʿlāq an-naḥṣa* which covers mathematics, geography, history, and other subjects. EI² s.v. Ibn Rusta. http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3339. Consulted online on 12 February 2018.

¹¹¹ 283-346 AH / 895-957 CE. Al-Masʿūdī was a polymath and author from Baghdad. He wrote many books in diverse fields such as history, geography, philosophy and natural science. However, only two of his works still survive today, *Murūḡ ad-dahab*, a work combining history and geography with science, and an abridged version of this work, *Tanbīh*. EI² s.v. al-Masʿūdī. http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0704>. Consulted online on 12 February 2018.

¹¹² Ibn Qutayba lived in the 3rd AH / 9th CE century and was a Sunnī polygraph, theologian and writer of *adab*. EI² s.v. Ibn Qutayba. http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0333. Consulted online on 12 February 2018.

¹¹³ Al-Balāḍurī was a 3rd AH / 9th CE century Arabic historian, also said to have translated from Persian. Two major historical works have survived, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, about the Muslim conquests, and the unfinished *Ansāb al-Ašrāf*. EI² s.v. al-Balāḍurī. http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0094. Consulted online on 12 February 2018.

¹¹⁴ Navarro Oltra 2012: 449.

Ibn al-Faqīh was a 3rd AH / 9th CE century Persian geographer and historian, most famous for his geographic work *Muḥtaṣar kitāb al-buldān*. EI s.v. Ibn al-Faqīh. http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/9789004206106_eifo_SIM_3156. Consulted online on 2 February 2018.

¹¹⁵ Vallvé Bermejo 1990:37.

study of research into which sources al-Ḥimyarī had used and concluded that these included, but were not limited to, Muḥammad Ibn Ishāq,¹¹⁶ al-Iṣfahānī (Abū l-Faraġ¹¹⁷ and al-‘Imād),¹¹⁸ and the poet al-Ma‘arrī,¹¹⁹ and, for the information concerning the *ridḍa*, *Kitāb al-Iktifā’* by the Andalusian Ibn Sālim al-Kalā‘ī.¹²⁰ In addition to footnotes throughout the text which detail the sources used for that section, ‘Abbās’ edition of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi‘tār* also contains an index of the books mentioned in the text which numbers 105 works including geographies, histories, literature, religious works, linguistic works, works on plants, agriculture, biographical dictionaries, anthologies, genealogies and an erotic treatise.¹²¹

1.5.1.2 Information on Specific Authors

Since much of the text of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi‘tār* is derived from three main sources, al-Bakrī’s works, al-Idrīsī’s *Kitāb Nuzhat al-muštāq*, and *Kitāb al-istibṣār fī ‘aġā’ib al-amṣār*, it is interesting to know something of the sources and their backgrounds. A summary of each is provided below.

1.5.1.2.1 Information on al-Bakrī

Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī was described by Lévi-Provençal (together with al-Idrīsī, see Section 1.5.1.2.2 below) as ‘the greatest geographer of the Muslim West, and one of the most characteristic representatives of Arab Andalusian erudition in the 5th/11th century.’¹²² Very little is known of his life, other than that he was from the principality of Huelva (*Walba*) and Saltes (*Šālṭīs*) on the Iberian Peninsula’s Atlantic coast. His father was its sovereign but the principality was soon annexed by the

116 85-150 AH /704-767 CE (although other dates for his death have been suggested). Ibn Ishāq was ‘One of the main authorities on’ the biography of the Prophet. EI² s.v. Ibn Ishāq. http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3222. Consulted online 13 February 2018.

117 284- 356 AH /897-967 CE. Al- Iṣfahānī was an ‘Arab historian, litterateur and poet’, best known for his *Kitāb al-Aġānī*, a collection of songs, their melodies, the poets who wrote them, and the lives of the ancient Arab tribes. EI² s.v. Abu ‘l-Faraġ al-Iṣbahānī. http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0181. Consulted online 13 February 2018.

118 519- 597/1125-1201 CE. This al-Iṣfahānī was also known as ‘Imād ad-Dīn and was a historian who wrote ‘a voluminous anthology of the Arab poets of the 6th AH/ 12th CE century’. His most famous work is *al-Faṭḥ al-qussī fī l-faṭḥ al-quḍī*. EI² s.v. ‘Imād al-Dīn. http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3546. Consulted online on 13 February 2018.

119 363-449 AH /973-1058 CE. Al-Ma‘arrī was an author and poet who lost his eyesight at an early age but had an excellent memory. He is the author of *Saqṭ az-zand* and *Luzūm mā lā yalzam*. EI² s.v. al-Ma‘arrī. http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0599. Consulted online on 13 February 2018.

120 Navarro Oltra 2012:449.

565- 636 AH/ 1170-1238 CE. Al-Kalā‘ī was a ‘Mālikī scholar, historian, orator and poet from al-Andalus’. EI² s.v. al-Kalā‘ī. http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3805. Consulted online on 13 February 2018.

121 Navarro Oltra 2012:448.

122 This quote and all information given here on al-Bakrī is taken from EI² s.v. Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī. http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0265. Consulted online on 29 January 2018.

king of Seville, and al-Bakrī and his father were moved, probably to Córdoba, or possibly to Seville. He studied under well respected masters and quickly established himself as a distinguished author who was well informed on a wide range of subjects including theology, philology and botany, although his specialty was geography, which is surprising given that he is not reported to have travelled very much.

He is now remembered for his two major geographical works, *Kitāb mu'ğam mā sta'ğam min asmā' al-bilād wa-l-mawāḍi'* (Dictionary of the unintelligible names of countries and places) and *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* (The book of highways and kingdoms), both of which were used by al-Ḥimyarī in this work. *Kitāb mu'ğam mā sta'ğam* is, as the name suggests, 'a list of toponyms, mostly referring to the *Djazīrat al-'Arab*, which occur in the poetry of the *djāhiliyya* and the literature of the *ḥadīth* and the spelling of which had given rise to discussions.' The work also includes information on the territories of the important tribes of Arabia. *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, as the title again implies takes 'the form of a roadbook, including an estimate of distances between each town or staging-post.' Al-Bakrī took his subject far beyond simple physical distances, and included extensive accounts of political and social history, providing detailed information on much of North Africa and on the Idrīsids and Almoravids which is still highly valued by scholars today.

1.5.1.2.2 Information on al-Idrīsī

Al-Idrīsī is known today for his book *Kitāb Nuzhat al-muštāq fī iḥtirāq al-āfāq* (The book of pleasant journeys to faraway lands), which unusually for an Arab scholar was written for the Norman king, Roger II of Sicily and so is also known as *Kitāb Ruḡār*; his world map is similarly known as the *Tabula Rogeriana*. It is a descriptive geography with maps, intended as a key to a silver planisphere he had also made. If little is known about al-Bakrī's life, even less is known about al-Idrīsī. F. Pons Boigues suggests this is because 'the Arab biographers considered al-Idrīsī to be a renegade, since he had lived at the court of a Christian king and written in praise of him in his work.'¹²³ He was possibly born in Ceuta in 493 AH / 1100 CE and might have studied in Córdoba. He claims in his work that he had travelled extensively in the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa but does not explain how he came to be living and working at Roger's court in Sicily. He is believed to have died in 560 AH / 1165 CE.

1.5.1.2.3. Information on *Kitāb al-istibṣār*

Kitāb al-istibṣār fī 'ağā'ib al-amṣār (The book of reflection on the wonders of the capitals) is a

¹²³ This and all information provided on al-Idrīsī is taken from EI² s.v. al-Idrīsī. http://dx.doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3494. Consulted online on 04 October 2017.

geographical-historical work by an anonymous author. It has three parts; the first provides a detailed description of Mecca and Medina, the second 'some more or less legendary information on the history and geography of Egypt', and the third provides a description of North Africa and the *Bilād as-Sūdān* together with other historical information ranging from interspersed 'fantastic stories' to 'contemporary documents of undeniable interest.'¹²⁴ Its author is believed to be 'most probably a Moroccan living in the second half of the 6th AH/ 12th CE century'. It seems likely that there were two authors, since the author wrote that he was writing in *Ramaḍān* 587 AH/September-October 1191 CE, but events later than this are also mentioned, suggesting a second, later author, similar to the situation with al-Ḥimyarī's work.

1.5.2 Method of Working

‘Abbās analysed al-Ḥimyarī's method of working and puts forward several interesting points for consideration. While he agrees that it is clear that al-Ḥimyarī had a copy of al-Idrīsī's work, he suggests that al-Ḥimyarī did not actually copy it verbatim but 'extracted from it the names of the known places and arranged them in alphabetical order. He then used al-Bakrī's *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* and other books to obtain the information he needed which was not available in al-Idrīsī's work.'¹²⁵

‘Abbās also points out that there are several flaws in al-Ḥimyarī's accounts, some of which stem from his method of working; they lack depth, there are misspellings which went unnoticed by al-Ḥimyarī (for example, '*Al-Zabadānī* appears as *Al-Zaidān*', an error which ‘Abbās believes demonstrates that al-Ḥimyarī was copying from a text rather than listening to recitation). There are also many repetitions since, where al-Ḥimyarī found two different accounts of a place or event, he included both. Moreover, *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi‘ṭār* only mentions localities that are already well known, while lesser-known places are ignored.¹²⁶

During her examination of the sources used by al-Ḥimyarī for his Italian entries, De Simone was also able to make some observations on al-Ḥimyarī's working style. She agrees with ‘Abbās that some flaws and repetitions are down to al-Ḥimyarī remaining true to his sources even when they contradicted each other, as in the case of Sardinia, where an al-Idrīsī quote in paragraph one says it

¹²⁴ This quote and all information on *Kitāb al-istibṣār* is taken from EI² s.v. *Istibṣār*. http://dx.doi.org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3676. Consulted online on 07 February 2018.

¹²⁵ ‘Abbās 2011:266.

¹²⁶ Ibid.266-7.

has three cities but in paragraph three a quote from another source says it has four.¹²⁷

Hamarneh, who published several entries from *Rawḍ* on the Near East, also notes al-Ḥimyarī's method of combining information from many sources rather than relying on one source and believes it makes al-Ḥimyarī's descriptions more 'comprehensive' than those given by other authors.¹²⁸ Like ʿAbbās, Hamarneh notes that al-Ḥimyarī did not copy 'information blindly from his predecessors, such as al-Idrīsī and Ibn Ḡubayr, without observing and recording the historical events which were taking place around him, especially those related to the ports and cities in Palestine and Syria held by the Crusaders, and which were recaptured one after the other by the Muslims.' He points to the entry on Jerusalem which is largely taken from al-Idrīsī but has several significant differences; while al-Idrīsī had written (accurately for his time), 'It (Jerusalem) was in their (the Crusaders') hands to *[sic]* the time of writing this book', in al-Ḥimyarī's account Jerusalem is referred to as being in Muslim hands, information which was in turn correct at *his* time of writing.¹²⁹

1.5.3 Sources used for Specific Areas

Many of the scholars who have translated parts of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿtār* have also sought to establish al-Ḥimyarī's sources and by collating the results of their research it is possible to draw a fuller picture of al-Ḥimyarī's sources and how he used them.

1.5.3.1 Andalusia

Lévi-Provençal had already observed that most of the material pertaining to Andalusia had been taken from al-Bakrī's *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*,¹³⁰ but Navarro Oltra has also listed other sources al-Ḥimyarī used for his entries on the Iberian Peninsula. This is an extensive list and includes above-mentioned sources such as al-Idrīsī, whom al-Ḥimyarī used for more than a third of his entries on al-Andalus, the anonymous *al-Istibṣār fī ʿaḡāʾib al-amṣār*, and al-ʿUḍrī (sometimes via

¹²⁷ De Simone 1984:80 via Brincat 1995:34.

¹²⁸ Hamarneh 1970:86.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Brincat 1995:36.

al-Bakrī) as well as Ibn Ḥayyān,¹³¹ Ibn Baṣkuwāl,¹³² ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb,¹³³ Ibn Ġubayr,¹³⁴ and aṭ-Ṭurṭūṣī's lost work (perhaps via al-‘Uḍrī).¹³⁵ He also used volumes of poetry such as that by al-A‘ma al-Ṭuṭīlī.¹³⁶

1.5.3.2 Central Europe

As for the Central European entries, Lewicki asserts that, although al-Ḥimyarī did not give his sources, it 'surely must have been al-Bakrī', a conclusion he reaches based on 'the similarity of the names given to the Hungarians (*Anqalaš* or *Unqalaš*)' which appear in both *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* and in *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi‘ār*.¹³⁷ After analysing all the material pertaining to Central and Eastern Europe, Lewicki notes that none of the information given is actually original and names al-Iṣṭaḥrī,¹³⁸ al-Bakrī, and Ibn Rusta as sources, though he adds that there are clearly other sources which he has not identified and expresses the hope that a detailed analysis of the sources will be possible when a complete critical edition of these areas is published.¹³⁹

1.5.3.3 Malta

In his monograph on the Malta entry, Brincat notes that the accounts used are taken from al-Bakrī. He adds that an interesting side effect of al-Ḥimyarī's reliance on sources such as al-Bakrī, who

131 377-469 AH / 987-1076 CE. Ibn Ḥayyān was 'without doubt the greatest historian of the Middle Ages in all Spain, both Muslim and Christian'. There are many works attributed to him but the two best known are *Muqtabis* and the *Matīn*. EI² s.v. Ibn Ḥayyān. http://dx.doi.org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3196. Consulted online on 27 February 2018.

132 494-578 AH / 1101-1183 CE. Ibn Baṣkuwāl was a traditionist and historian from Cordoba best known for his *Kitāb aṣ-ṣila*, a biographical dictionary of scholars in al-Andalus. EI³ s.v. Ibn Baṣkuwāl. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_30737. Consulted online on 18 March 2018.

133 c.174-238 AH / 790-853 CE. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb was 'one of the foremost jurists (*faqīh*) and *ḥadīth* experts' of his time in al-Andalus. EI³ s.v. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_23346. Consulted online on 18 March 2018.

134 Born in 540 AH / 1145 CE Valencia, Ibn Ġubayr was a traveller and writer best-known for his *Riḥla* covering large parts of North Africa and the Near East. EI² s.v. Ibn Ġubayr. http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3145. Consulted online on 18 March 2018.

135 Died in 520 AH / 1126 CE. Aṭ-Ṭurṭūṣī was an Andalusian Sufī, scholar and pupil of al-Bāġī. He lived an ascetic life for some time before becoming a teacher in Egypt and founding a *madrasa*. He is the author of *Kitāb al-ḥawādiṯ wa-l-bida’*. Fierro, M. "Spiritual Alienation and Political Activism: The *ḡurabā’* in al-andalus during the Sixth/Twelfth Century" In *Arabica* T. 47, Fasc. 2:230-260. (2000). <https://www-jstor-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/stable/4057476>. Consulted online on 25 August 2018.

136 Died either in 520 AH / 1126 CE or 525 AH / 1130 CE. Al-A‘ma al-Ṭuṭīlī was known as the Blind Poet of Tudela (Andalusia). EI³ s.v. al-A‘ma al-Ṭuṭīlī. http://dx.doi.org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_22753. Consulted online on 25 August 2018.

137 Lewicki 1960:342.

138 Al-Iṣṭaḥrī's biography is unknown but he was 'one of the first and most important representatives of the new trends adopted by Arabo-Muslim geography in the 4th AH / 10th CE century.' EI² s.v. al-Iṣṭaḥrī. http://dx.doi.org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3673. Consulted online on 25 August 2018.

139 Lewicki 1960:342.

often incorporated travellers' tales and documents he found in the archives in Cordoba, is that, although he was writing years after many of the events he described, in many cases the accounts of the events are contemporary accounts. This is the case in the entry on Malta, where the events described took place in 439-440 AH (1048-49 CE) and 444-445 AH (1053-54 CE), around the time al-Bakrī was writing.¹⁴⁰

1.5.3.4 Italy

For the entries on Italy, Rizzitano notes that al-Ḥimyarī mostly used al-Idrīsī's *Nuzhat al-muštāq* and, to a lesser extent, Ibn Ḡubayr's *Riḥla*.¹⁴¹ He adds that al-Ḥimyarī can be distinguished from those chroniclers and geographers who came before him because he has 'the tendency to engraft historical anecdotes collected from various sources'; some of these can be easily identified, while others have not yet been found and could even be lost entirely.¹⁴²

De Simone's research agrees with Rizzitano's findings; when she compared parts of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār* with those sources that were traceable, it became clear that al-Ḥimyarī had copied out entire sections of al-Idrīsī's work.¹⁴³ Despite his mention of al-Bakrī, De Simone contends that al-Ḥimyarī did not actually make direct use of a copy of *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, noting that al-Ḥimyarī's accounts are often more detailed than those of al-Bakrī.¹⁴⁴ However, this anomaly could be explained by 'Abbās' description of al-Ḥimyarī's method of working as described in Section 1.5.2. De Simone also compared information given by al-Ḥimyarī with information provided by Ibn Šabbāṭ,¹⁴⁵ a contemporary of al-Ḥimyarī who also cites al-Bakrī as his source, in cases where Ibn Šabbāṭ has 'explicitly attributed' these passages to al-Bakrī. This research led her to suggest that it is possible that neither of them actually knew al-Bakrī's work directly, but rather had access to it through a compendium written by Ibn Ḡalandah, an epitomizer of al-Bakrī.¹⁴⁶

140 Brincat 1995:30.

141 Rizzitano 1956:291.

142 Brincat 1995:15.

143 De Simone 1984:80 via Brincat 1995:34.

144 Ibid.

145 Died in 680 AH/ 1282 CE. Ibn Šabbāṭ was a Tunisian author who wrote *Šilat as-simṭ wa-simat al-mirṭ* which deals with the history of al-Andalus, among other subjects. Nicola Clarke, "Medieval Arabic accounts of the conquest of Cordoba: Creating a narrative for a provincial capital" In *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London. 74:1:41-57. (2011).

146 De Simone 1984 via Brincat 1995:35.

1.5.4.5 The Near East

Although Hamarneh published several entries from *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿtār* on the Near East, he does not appear to have specifically conducted a study into the sources al-Ḥimyarī used. However, while commenting on al-Ḥimyarī's method of working (see section 1.4.2) he does mention that al-Ḥimyarī combined information from many sources and mentions al-Idrīsī and Ibn ʿĠubayr in particular.¹⁴⁷

1.5.4.6 East Africa

Małecka analysed al-Ḥimyarī's entries on East Africa and concluded that, like those on Italy, they seem to be mostly based on al-Idrīsī.¹⁴⁸

1.6 The Importance of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿtār*

Most of the scholars who have written about or translated sections of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿtār* agree that it is an important work in the field of Arabic historical geography. There are two main reasons for this importance: the historical information it furnishes us with and the record it provides of other sources.

In terms of historical information, Joaquín Vallvé Bermejo describes *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿtār* as 'indispensable' for those studying the historical geography of al-Andalus,¹⁴⁹ with Lévi-Provençal writing that it provides 'le récit le plus long et la plus circonstancié de la bataille de Zallāqa', for example.¹⁵⁰ Lévi-Provençal also adds that the level of detail provided on the histories of the Almoravid and Almohad dynasties in Spain suggest that al-Ḥimyarī may have been using a chronicle dealing with this time period alongside his other sources.¹⁵¹ *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miʿtār* also contains one of only three remaining versions of the Pact of Tudmīr¹⁵² signed in *Rağab* 94 AH (April-May 713 CE) and whose authenticity is now being questioned.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Małecka 1963:333.

¹⁴⁹ Vallvé Bermejo 1990:33.

¹⁵⁰ Lévi-Provençal 1932:87.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² A province in the south of Umayyad Al-Andalus. There are many differing accounts of the Pact of Tudmīr, but all that is historically certain is that the Visigoth governor, Theodemir, 'surrendered to the invading Muslim troops by concluding a treaty with...ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the son of Mūsā b. Nuṣayr'. EI² s.v. Tudmīr. http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1243. Consulted online on 27 August 2018.

¹⁵³ Navarro Oltra 2012:448.

In his monograph on Malta, Brincat notes that al-Ḥimyarī's account of the conquest of Malta contains some previously unknown information and is therefore 'genuinely new'. Popular belief has always held that Malta has consistently been a Christian island since St. Paul was shipwrecked there and converted the inhabitants.¹⁵⁴ However, al-Ḥimyarī relates that Malta fell to Aghlabid raiders and was left deserted; no mention is made of Gozo.¹⁵⁵ This account supports the hypothesis many scholars had previously suspected but been unable to prove, namely, that the Arab conquest brought about a 'complete break' between the preceding Byzantine period and the years that followed the conquest.¹⁵⁶ More recently, however, this hypothesis has been challenged by Cooperson, who reinterprets part of al-Ḥimyarī's account, as well as by Fiorini and Zammit.¹⁵⁷

Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār is also of value for the record it provides of sources now lost to us. For example, one of al-Ḥimyarī's main sources, al-Bakrī's *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, now exists only as fragments and cannot be successfully reconstructed in its entirety.¹⁵⁸ Al-Ḥimyarī's citing of al-Bakrī could thus provide us with some of al-Bakrī's writings which are not among the remaining fragments of *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*. De Simone found, for example, that one anecdote in the Sicily entry is written in the style of al-Bakrī but is not found in *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*.¹⁵⁹ She also notes that some sections attributed to al-Bakrī and found in both al-Ḥimyarī and Ibn Ṣabbāt, for example, the entry on Syracuse, are not found in any editions of al-Bakrī's work which are known to us. These incidences led her to suggest that there must have been another, longer, edition of al-Bakrī's work available at one time. This is the exact same conclusion as that reached by Andre Ferré when he was completing A. van Leeuwen's critical edition of al-Bakrī.¹⁶⁰ *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār* may contain more examples originally taken from al-Bakrī's work but now

¹⁵⁴ Cooperson 2015:347.

¹⁵⁵ Fiorini 2010:1-11 via Cooperson 2015:347

¹⁵⁶ Brincat 1995:19.

¹⁵⁷ Cooperson examines the translation of the sentence “ḥadamū ḥiṣnahā wa-ghanimū wa-SBW mā ‘ajazū ‘an ḥamlihi.” While Brincat's collaborator Manwel Mifsud translated SBW as “sabbū” (they cursed), resulting in the translation “they demolished its fortress, and they looted, and desecrated (?SBW) what they could not carry”, Cooperson suggests reading SBW as “sabaw” (they captured). In this case, “wa- sabaw mā ‘ajazū ‘an ḥamlihi” would mean “they captured more people than they could carry back to their ships and therefore, that the island was not left deserted when they left.” (Cooperson 2015:348).

Fiorini and Zammit note that it would be unusual for the Aghlabids to have expended so much energy conquering Malta only to leave it open for retaking, and argue against the theory of depopulation (Fiorini & Zammit 2016:183-185). They also point to archeological evidence which 'can be adduced to show that the 9th-11th centuries can no longer be thought of as sterile, as has consistently been claimed in the past'. (Fiorini & Zammit 2016:191) Looking at archeological and textual evidence and reinterpreting the facts, they suggest that the island was not deserted and that 'the Arabs practically never left the Maltese islands after 870'. (Fiorini & Zammit 2016:205).

¹⁵⁸ Brincat 1995:30.

¹⁵⁹ De Simone 1984:80 via Brincat 1995:34.

¹⁶⁰ Al-Bakrī. *Kitāb al-Masalik wa l-mamalik*. Ferré and van Leeuwen (Eds). Carthage: Beit al-Hikma. 1992. via Brincat 1995:35.

missing and could therefore help us to reconstruct a more complete edition of his work.

I. Kratchkovski discussed al-Ḥimyarī's sources in his *Histoire de la littérature géographique arabe*, with particular emphasis on the sections taken from al-Idrīsī. He sees *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār* as important for al-Idrīsī in the same way as for al-Bakrī, that is, in providing access to texts that have not been preserved elsewhere, writing '*nous nous trouvons devant un nouveau texte d'al-Idrīsī qui pourra avoir une grande importance pour établir le texte du Nuzhat al-muštāq et en préparer l'édition*'.¹⁶¹

Brincat has a different supposition for the explanation of the entries written 'in the style of al-Bakrī' but not found in *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, suggesting that they may in fact be taken from al-ʿUḍrī, since they date from the same time period and area, and the last entry written in this style and dated comes from 460 AH (1068 CE) (al-ʿUḍrī died in 478 AH /1085 CE). Indeed, al-Bakrī did state that he used his master, al-ʿUḍrī, as a source, (al-ʿUḍrī, in his turn, is said to have used aṭ-Ṭurṭūšī as his source), but unfortunately both al-ʿUḍrī's and aṭ-Ṭurṭūšī's works are now lost.¹⁶² Brincat therefore suggests that al-Ḥimyarī 'may turn out to be a precious witness for the reconstruction of the lost works of al-ʿUḍrī',¹⁶³ and, by extension, possibly for the works of aṭ-Ṭurṭūšī.

1.7 State of the Art: Summary of Existing Translations, Commentaries, and Analyses

1.7.1 The Iberian Peninsula

As mentioned above in Section 1.2.1, *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār* was 'rediscovered' in the West by E. Lévi-Provençal and he published several books and articles providing translations and commentaries on the entries concerning the Iberian Peninsula and examining the question of al-Ḥimyarī's identity. These include the articles *L'Espagne musulmane d'après le répertoire historico-géographique d'Ibn ʿAbd al-Mun'im Al-Ḥimyarī* (1932), and his much longer book, *La péninsule Ibérique au Moyen Age d'après le Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fī ḥabar al-aḫṭār d'Ibn ʿAbd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī* (1938) in

¹⁶¹ Kratchkovski 1963 via Brincat 1995:34. Attempts to locate the text uncovered references to I. Kratchkovski's original 1957 Moscow-Leningrad Russian text *Арабская географическая литература*. A partial French translation was undertaken by ʿUṭmān Ḥašim, S.A.D.: Cairo, 1963. (Information from Miquel, A, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle*. Mouton & Co and École pratique des hautes études. Mouton-Paris-La Haye.1973:xlvi).

¹⁶² Brincat 1995:30.

¹⁶³ Ibid. 37.

which he provides an annotated translation of every entry he found concerning the Iberian Peninsula as well as a discussion on the manuscripts found, the identity of the author, and a glossary.¹⁶⁴

V.C. Navarro Oltra wrote the detailed entry *al-Ḥimyarī* in Volume I of the *Biblioteca de al-Andalus* which deals with the questions of authorship, sources and provides a list of works as well as discussing the state of the art.

Given the numerous rich and detailed descriptions of locations on the Iberian Peninsula, it is not surprising that there are a significant number of articles by other authors offering translations or analyses of one or more of al-Ḥimyarī's entries on this region. *Cuatro ciudades de al-Andalus y un "solo" autor* by Joaquín Vallvé Bermejo (1990) discusses the issue of dating *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār* and then provides annotated translations of the entries on the cities of Malaga, Jaen, Almeria and Granada. *Les illes de Minūrqa i Yābisa segons el "Kitāb al-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fī khabar al-aḳṭār"* d'Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī (2001) and *Unes notícies referides a Mallorca d'Ibn 'Abd Al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī* (1999) are both Catalan publications by Catalina Vanrell Berga which offer a quick overview of al-Ḥimyarī's life and translations of al-Ḥimyarī's entries on Menorca, Ibiza and Mallorca respectively.

Other works use *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār* as a starting point to explore other subjects. *La expansión islámica en la Península Ibérica: los datos de al-Ḥimyarī* by Christine Mazzoli-Guintard (2010) collects all the entries in *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār* which refer to the Islamic expansion at the beginning of the 8th century and discusses information pertaining to the area of the conquests as well as the conditions which prevailed at the time. *La navegación en el Atlántico sur en la Baja Edad Media: a propósito de Canarias y la entrada uqiyānus del Kitāb al-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fī jabar al-aḳṭār de Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī (m. 900/1494)* by Maravillas Aguiar Aguilar (2014) looks generally at sea voyages along the Atlantic coastline but deals more specifically with the Canary Islands, found in *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār* under the entry *uqiyānus*, (ocean, used here to mean the Atlantic Ocean).¹⁶⁵ Aguilar's article provides a short discussion of Arab knowledge of the islands and then gives the Arabic text of the entry entitled *uqiyānus* and its Spanish translation. Aguilar adds that a partial translation has been published before in Spanish by M.P. Maestro González (M.P. Maestro González *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār*, Valencia, 1963).¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁴ Lévi-Provençal also published the Arabic text of the entry on Crete as *Une description arabe inédite de la Crète* (1956).

¹⁶⁵ Aguiar Aguilar 2014:41.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid. 40.

1.7.2 Italy

There has also been a lot of interest from Italian scholars in al-Ḥimyarī's descriptions of Italian locations, with several books and articles published. These include the 1956 article *L'Italia nel Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miṭār fī ḥabar al-aqtār di Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī* by the Italian Arabist Umberto Rizzitano in which he discusses the authorship of the work in depth. He also published the entries dealing with Sicily. In her monograph *La descrizione dell'Italia nel rawḍ al-miṭār di al-Ḥimyarī* (1984), Adalgisa De Simone looks not only at the entries concerning Italy but also examines al-Ḥimyarī's sources in considerable depth and looks at his methods of compiling his work. She also addresses the issue of the identity of the author of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miṭār* in detail. There is also *Un'inedita descrizione araba di Roma* by Maria Nallino (1964) providing the entry on Rome and an Italian translation, and an Italian translation of the entry on Entella (in Sicily) is given in *La resistenza di Entella nel racconto di al-Ḥimyarī (XIV sec.)* by F. Gabrieli (1983).

1.7.3 Malta

In 1995 J.M. Brincat published a monograph on al-Ḥimyarī's entry on Malta, *Malta 870 – 1054: Al-Himyarī's account and its linguistic implications* in which he examines the Arab conquest of Malta by looking at its linguistic history. Brincat provides the Arabic text for the *Malta* entry from 'Abbās' 1975 edition of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miṭār* complete with an English translation. Brincat also discusses al-Ḥimyarī the man and his reliability as a source.

1.7.4 Central Europe

T. Lewicki has published several articles on Central European localities mentioned in *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-miṭār*: a description of Prague and of Mieszko I's Polish state, *Brāḡa et Miška d'après une source arabe inédite* (1959-60), and the Russian language *"Кумаб ар Райд ал-Му'тар" Ибн 'Абд ал-Мун'има ал-Химйари (XV в) как источник сведений о восточной, центральной северной Европе* (1960), a 'survey of all the information on Eastern, Central and Southern Europe scattered throughout the dictionary'.¹⁶⁷ Lewicki also wrote the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* Volume II entry on al-Ḥimyarī.

¹⁶⁷ EF² s.v. Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3030>. Consulted online on 13 August 2018.

1.7.5 Africa and Arabia

Far fewer entries on Arabia and Africa have been translated: Ch. Pellat published a description of Baṣra (1954), while A. Małecka published *La côte orientale de l'Afrique au Moyen Age d'après le Kitāb al-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār de al-Ḥimyarī (XV e s.)* in 1963 which discusses translations of Arabic texts dealing with the east coast of Africa and presents the untranslated entries from *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār* pertaining to this region. S. Hamarneh published a translation of al-Ḥimyarī's descriptions of Jerusalem (1969) under the entry *Īlīyā'* as well as a translation of the entry on Damascus (1967). Hamarneh mentions that G. Wiet had announced a plan to publish certain entries from *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār*, 'especially passages referring to Egypt'. (G. Wiet, Un résumé d'Iḍrīsī, "Bull. Soc. Royale de Géogr., d'Egypt", XX, 1939, p.161.), but this does not appear to have been taken further.¹⁶⁸

1.7.6 Authorship

Hamarneh examined the complicated issue of the authorship of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār* in his 1970 paper *Are there one or two authors of the work ar-Rawḍ al-mi'ṭār by al-Ḥimyarī?* in which he sets out to answer this question and also provides a review of the literature published on the subject at that time. M. al-Manūnī also sought to finally clarify the identity of the author in his 1977 work *Ḥall muškila tattaṣil b-ism wa-'aṣr mu'allif 'al-Rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fī ḥabar al-aḳṭār*; he and Hamarneh reach different conclusions.

1.8 About this Thesis

1.8.1 Edition used

The entries translated here are taken from the second edition of the book *Ar-Rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fī ḥabar al-aḳṭār: mu'ḡam ḡuḡrāfi ma'a fahāris šāmila* edited by Iḥsān 'Abbās and published in Beirut by Maktabat Lubnān in 1984, a reprint of the 1975 first edition.

1.8.2 Aims of the Thesis

To the best of my knowledge, the complete text of *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fī ḥabar al-aḳṭār* has never been translated. However, since extensive translations with commentaries are available for

¹⁶⁸ Hamarneh 1970:80. Hamarneh was writing in 1970 and Wiet died in 1971 so it is unlikely that anything was completed in this time. Hubert Jean. "Éloge funèbre de M. Gaston Wiet, académicien ordinaire". In *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 115^e année, 2:253-256, 1971.

certain areas, especially for the European entries, it does not seem useful to provide another alternative translation for these sections, but rather to focus on those areas which have not previously been dealt with, such as Southern Arabia, which would hopefully be of interest both to scholars in the field of Arabic Studies or Southern Arabian Studies and to historians, as well as being interesting reading in its own right. A translation of all the entries concerning the southern Arabian Peninsula is an undertaking beyond the scope of this thesis since there are many entries. With this in mind, I have selected twelve entries on places I believe have played an important role in Southern Arabia at different times in its history: Ḍamār, Zabīd, Suḥār, Suquṭrā, Šibām, aš-Šiḥr, Širwāḥ, Ṣana‘ā, Zafār, ‘Adan, Ma‘rib, and Nağrān.

1.9 Bibliography for Section 1

1.9.1 Printed Sources

‘Abbās, Iḥsān. "A brief encounter with a geography text". In *The earth and its sciences in Islamic manuscripts: Proceedings of the Fifth Conference of al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation*. 24-25 November 1999. London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation. 2011. pps. 261-267.

Aguiar Aguilar, Maravillas. "La navegación en el Atlántico sur en la Baja Edad Media: a propósito de Canarias y la entrada uqiyānus del Kitāb al-rawḍ al-mi‘ṭār fī jabar al-aqṭār de Ibn ‘Abd al-Mun‘im al-Ḥimyarī (m. 900/1494)". *Vivir de tal suerte. Homenaje a Juan Antonio Souto Lasala*. Meouak, Mohamed & de la Puente, Cristina (Eds). Cordoba: CNERU-CSIC. 2014. pps. 31-46.

Brincat, Joseph M. *Malta 870 – 1054: Al-Himyari's account and its linguistic implications*. Valletta: Said Internat. 1995.

Cabanelas Rodríguez, Darío. 1951. "Finisterre en el "Rawḍ mi‘ṭār" de Ḥimyarī". In *Texts and studies on the historical geography and topography of al-Andalus, IV*. Sezgin, Fuat; Ehrig-Eggert, Carl & Neubauer, Eckhard (Eds). Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University. 2008. pps. 208-210.

Nicola Clarke, "Medieval Arabic accounts of the conquest of Cordoba: Creating a narrative for a provincial capital" In *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London. 74:1:41-57. 2011.

Cooperson, Michael. "Al-Ḥimyarī's Account of Medieval Malta. A Reconsideration". In *Fuzzy Boundaries Festschrift für Antonio Loprieno I*. Amstutz, H.; Dorn, A.; Müller, M.; Ronsdorf, M.; Uljas, S. (Eds) Hamburg: Widmaier Verlag. 2015. pps.347-351.

De Simone, Adalgisa. *La descrizione dell'italia nel Rawḍ al-Mi'tār di al-Ḥimyarī*. Mazara del Vallo: Liceo Gimnasio Gian Giacomo Adria. 1984.

Fierro, M. "Spiritual Alienation and Political Activism: The *ḡurabā'* in al-Andalus during the Sixth/Twelfth Century" In *Arabica* T. 47, Fasc. 2:230-260. 2000.

Fiorini, Stanley & Zammit, Martin R. "Οἱ Παῖδες Ἄγαν Ἀθέου The Arabs in Malta: 870-1150". In *Melita Classica* 3:179-208. 2016.

Gabrieli, F. "La resistenza di Entella nel racconto di al-Ḥimyarī (XIV sec.)". In *Italia euro-mediterranea nel Medioevo: testimonianze di scrittori arabi. Antologia di saggi a cura di M.G. Stasolla*. Stasolla, M.G. (Ed). Bologna: Pàtron. 1983. pps.209-211.

Hamarneh, Saleh K. "Are there one or two authors of the work ar-Rawḍ al-mi'tār by Al-Ḥimyarī?". *Folia Orientalia* 12: 79-90. 1970.

Hamarneh, Saleh K. "An unpublished description of Jerusalem, in the Middle Ages, as found in the ar-Rawḍ al-Mi'tār, by 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī". *Folia Orientalia* 1:145 -156. 1969.

Hamarneh, Saleh K. " The description of Damascus in the ar-Rawḍ al-Mi'tār by al- Ḥimyarī". *Folia Orientalia* 9:275 -290. 1967.

Ḥimyarī, Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-. "Córdoba según al-Himyari". *Al-Mulk* 1:7-35. 1959-60.

Ḥimyarī, Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-. *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'tār fī ḥabar al-aḳṭār: mu'ḡam ḡuḡrāfī ma'a fahāris šāmila*. 'Abbās, Iḥsān. (Ed). Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān. Second Edition. 1984.

Hubert, Jean. "Éloge funèbre de M. Gaston Wiet, académicien ordinaire". In *Comptes rendus des*

séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 115^e année, 2:253-256. 1971.

Lévi-Provençal, Evariste. 1956. "Une description arabe inédite de la Crète". In *Texts and studies on the historical geography and topography of Southern and Western Europe, II*. Sezgin, Fuat; Ehrig-Eggert, Carl & Neubauer, Eckhard (Eds). Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University. 2009. pps.247-255.

Lévi-Provençal, Evariste. 1938. "Ḳurṭuba = Córdoba, Cordoue". In *The Umayyad mosque in Córdoba: texts and studies, III*. Sezgin, Fuat; Ehrig-Eggert, Carl & Neubauer, Eckhard (Eds). Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University. 2008. pps. 71-88.

Lévi-Provençal, Evariste. 1932. "L'Espagne musulmane d'après le répertoire historico-géographique d'Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im Al-Ḥimyarī." In *Texts and studies on the historical geography and topography of al-Andalus, II*. Sezgin, Fuat; Amawi, Mazen; Ehrig-Eggert, Carl & Neubauer, Eckhard (Eds). Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University. 1993. pps. 386-388.

Lévi-Provençal, Evariste. 1938. *La péninsule ibérique au moyen-âge d'après le Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'tār fī ḥabar al-aḳṭār: Texte arabe des notices relatives à l'Espagne, au Portugal et au sud-ouest de la France. D'Ibn 'Abd Al-Mun'im Al-Ḥimyarī*. Leiden: Brill.

Lewicki, T. 1960. "Brāḡa et Miška d'après une source arabe inédite". In *Texts and studies on the historical geography and topography of Southern and Western Europe, II*. Sezgin, Fuat; Ehrig-Eggert, Carl & Neubauer, Eckhard (Eds). Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University. 2009. pps. 220-224.

Little, Donald P. "Mujīr Al-Dīn Al-'Ulaymī's Vision of Jerusalem in the Ninth/Fifteenth Century." In *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115:2:237–247. 1995.

Małecka, A. "La côte orientale de l'Afrique au Moyen Age d'après le Kitāb al-rawḍ al-mi'tār de al-Ḥimyarī (XV e s.)". *Folia Orientalia* 4:331- 339. 1963.

Manūnī, M al-. "Ḥall muškila tattaṣil b-ism wa-‘aṣr mu’ allif 'al-Rawḍ al-mi‘ṭār fī ḥabar al-aḳṭār' ". *al-Manāhil*. X:367-72. 1977.

Mazzoli-Guintard, Christine. "La expansión islámica en la Península Ibérica: los datos de al-Ḥimyarī". In *Del Nilo al Ebro: Estudios sobre las fuentes de la conquista islámica*. García Moreno, Luis A & Viguera Molins, María Jesús (Eds). Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá de Henares (Servicio de Publicaciones). 2010. pps. 245-266.

Nallino. M. 1964. "Roma nel dizionario geografico-storico di al-Ḥimyarī (XIV sec.)". In *Texts and studies on the historical geography and topography of Southern and Western Europe, II*. Sezgin, Fuat; Ehrig-Eggert, Carl & Neubauer, Eckhard (Eds). Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University. 2009. pps. 319-333.

Navarro Oltra, V.C. "Al-Ḥimyarī, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Abd al-Mun‘im". In *Enciclopedia de la Cultura Andalusí: Biblioteca de al-Andalus*. Vol. 1: *De al-‘abbādīya a Ibn Abyaḍ*. Lirola Delgado, Jorge & Puerta Vilchez, José Miguel (Eds). Almería: Fundación Ibn Tufayl de Estudios Árabes. 2012.

Pellat, Ch. "Extraits d'une notice inédite sur Baṣra." In *Arabica* 1:2: 213-215. 1954.

Rizzitano, Umberto. 1956. "L'Italia nel Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi‘ṭār fī ḥabar al-aḳṭār di Ibn ‘Abd al-Mun‘im al-Ḥimyarī". In *Texts and studies on the historical geography and topography of Southern and Western Europe*. Vol. II. Sezgin, Fuat; Ehrig-Eggert, Carl & Neubauer, Eckhard (Eds). Frankfurt am Main: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University. 2009. pps 283-292.

Vallvé Bermejo, Joaquín. "Cuatro ciudades de al-Andalus y un "solo" autor". In *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino (Segunda Época)* 4:33-48. 1990.

Vanrell Berga, Catalina. "Les illes de Minūrqa i Yābisa segons el "Kitāb al-rawḍ al-mi‘ṭār fī khabar al-aḳṭār" d'Ibn ‘Abd al-Mun‘im al-Ḥimyarī ". In *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lulliana: Revista d'Estudis Històrics* 57:273 -276. 2001.

Vanrell Berga, Catalina. "Unes notícies referides a Mallorca d'Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī". In *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lulliana: Revista d'Estudis Històrics* 55:347 -352. 1999.

Wehr, H. Arabic-English Dictionary. The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic. J.M Cowan (ed). New York. Snowball Publishing. 2011.

Woodhead, Christine. "Review: Les Ottomans en Égypte. Historiens et conquérants au XVIe siècle by Benjamin Lellouch". In *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 51:2:394-397. 2008.

1.9.1.1 The Encyclopaedia of Islam Volume II

EI² s.v. Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣbahān

EI² s.v. Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī

EI² s.v. Aḥmad Bābā

EI² s.v. al-Balādhurī

EI² s.v. al-Idrīsī

EI² s.v. al-Iṣṭakhrī

EI² s.v. al-Kalā'ī

EI² s.v. al-Ḳalkaṣhandī

EI² s.v. al-Ma'arrī

EI² s.v. al-Maḳḳarī

EI² s.v. al-Maḳrīzī

EI² s.v. al-Mas'ūdī

EI² s.v. al-'Udhri

EI² s.v. al-Zallāḳ

EI² s.v. Djuḡhrāfiyā

EI² s.v. Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī

EI² s.v. Ibn al-Faḳīh

EI² s.v. Ibn al-Ḳhaṭīb.

EI² s.v. Ibn Djubayr

EI² s.v. Ibn Ḥaḍjar al-'Asḳalānī

EI² s.v. Ibn Ḥayyān

EF² s.v. Ibn Ishāk
EF² s.v. Ibn Ẓutayba
EF² s.v. Ibn Rusta
EF² s.v. ‘Imād al-Dīn
EF² s.v. Istibṣār
EF² s.v. Kātib Čelebi.
EF² s.v. Tudmīr.

1.9.1.2 The Encyclopaedia of Islam Volume III

EF³ s.v. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb
EF³ s.v. al-A‘mā l-Tuṭīlī
EF³ s.v. Ibn Bashkuwāl
EF³ s.v. Ibn Farḥūn

1.9.2 Online Sources

Collins Dictionary: www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/spanish-english/comarca

2 Translations

The translations of the twelve selected entries are given here in Arabic alphabetical order; the Arabic copies of the texts used are included in the appendices. The entries translated are: Ḍamār, Zabīd, Suḥār, Suqṭrā, Šibām, aš-Šiḥr, Širwāḥ, Šana‘ā’, Zafār, ‘Adan, Ma’rib, and Naḡrān.

The translations appear in black in italics while the comments, which are interspersed throughout the translations, are unitalicised and in grey. Other sources quoted are also in italics but in the same grey as the comments.

Within the entries in his edition, ‘Abbās has included footnotes indicating other texts where the same or a similar version of al-Ḥimyarī 's text can be found. These footnotes are entered in the footnotes of this translated with the heading '‘Abbās' note'. A brief description of these authors and

their works is also provided in the relevant footnotes.

2.1 **Ḍamār**¹⁶⁹

Ḍamār is the name of a district (*miḥlāf*) and town in Yemen. It lies to the south of Ṣan‘ā’, on the road running between Ṣan‘ā’ and ‘Adan.¹⁷⁰ While Yāqūt also suggests the name can be said Ḍimār, al-Ḥimyarī provides only the Ḍamār option.¹⁷¹ Ḍamār was famous for its fertile land and because of this was 'called the Miṣr of Yaman'.¹⁷² This entry touches on this fertility and notes its many castles and mosques.

With a fatha (i.e. an 'a') on its first letter and the rā' with a kasra (i.e. an 'i'), it is an indeclinable noun. It is a town in Yemen two day's journey from Ṣana‘ā’ at a distance of 40 miles. It is a big town but it is inferior to Ṣana‘ā’ and is one of its provinces. It has a sturdily built wall and all of it is filled with castles. It has many gardens, fields under cultivation, hamlets and villages. Its prices are cheap and it has many resources. Their waters are flowing springs and wells with well ropes nearby. Thanks to Mu‘āḍ bin Ḡabal, may God be pleased with him, there are mosques and many monuments there.

Mu‘āḍ bin Ḡabal is a Companion of Muhammad. He was one of three young men given authority over Mecca after its conquest in 8AH/ 630 CE and was one of two spiritual leaders charged with teaching the Qur‘ān and religion. Later he held a position of authority in Yemen, where he and the other spiritual leader were successful in converting its population to Islam (hence the attribution of the numerous mosques in the city to him) without resorting to violence. He went on to become a governor in Yemen responsible for 'levying the *ṣadaqa* ("income" tax)' in al-Ḡanad (around 22km from Ta‘izz) and also collected the *ṣadaqa* from the governors of other areas in Yemen.¹⁷³

169 ‘Abbās' note: Footnote 2: al-Bakrī (*Mğ*):67, and compare with Yāqūt (*Ḍamār*).

For details on al-Bakrī see Section 1.5.1.2.1. The abbreviation (*Mğ*) refers to his book *Kitāb mu‘ğam mā sta‘ğam*. Yāqūt ar-Rūmī was a traveller and scholar and is the author of *Mu‘ğam al-buldān* (The dictionary of the countries), the first draft of which was completed in 621AH /1224 CE. The work comprises 'geographical and toponymic information but also literary and poetic subjects and biographical details of prominent figures originating from the toponyms presented'. EI² s.v. Yāqūt al-Rūmī. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1356>. Consulted online on 23 July 2019.

170 EI² s.v. Ḍamār. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_1812>. Consulted online on 25 July 2019.

171 Ibid.

172 EI² s.v. Ḍamār. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_1812>. Consulted online on 25 July 2019.

173 EI³ s.v. al-Ash‘arī, Abū Mūsā. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_24243>. Consulted online on 25 July 2019.

*They said:*¹⁷⁴ *When the Qurayš demolished the Ka‘ba, a stone was found in its foundation with an inscription on it:*

To whom does the kingdom of Ḍamār belong? To Ḥimyar the superior.

To whom does the kingdom of Ḍamār belong? To the most malicious Ethiopians.

To whom does the kingdom of Ḍamār belong? To the most free Persians.

To whom does the kingdom of Ḍamār belong? To the Qurayš, the merchants.

The Qurayš, the tribe to which Muhammad belonged, lived in Mecca.¹⁷⁵ The demolition of the Ka‘ba is possibly a reference to the time in 64 AH/ 683 CE when ‘Abd Allāh b. az-Zubayr in Mecca was besieged by al-Ḥuṣayn b. Numayr. Catapult attacks on Mecca followed by a fire left the Ka‘ba almost destroyed. Once the army left, the decision was made to demolish and rebuild the Ka‘ba. Az-Zubayr began clearing away the ruins alone since many people had left the town fearing punishment from God. However, once they saw he was unharmed, they joined in to help with clearing and rebuilding.¹⁷⁶

This inscription concerning the ownership of Ḍamār also appears in Ibn Ishāq,¹⁷⁷ and it appears again in this work in a longer and slightly altered form in the entry on Ḍafār (Section 2.9) where it is described as being carved into stone above the city gate. Ibn Ishāq gives a much vaguer description of the location of the inscription, simply saying it is 'on a rock' in Yemen and 'dating from olden times'. He quotes the inscription and concludes that Ḍamār here is metaphorically standing in for Yemen as a whole or for perhaps for Ṣan‘ā’.¹⁷⁸ This does seem to be the case, since these groups do represent the nations which ruled Yemen over the centuries.

*They said: It is named for Ḍamār Ibn Yaḥsub b. Dahmān b. Mālik b. Sa‘d b. ‘Adī b. Mālik b. (Rayd b.) Sadad*¹⁷⁹ *b. Zur‘a, and he is the youngest Sabaean.*

No historical figure with this name could be found, but this name could refer to one of the 'descendants' of the mythical ancestor Saba’. Saba’ was 'personified as the alleged ancestor of the

174 ‘Abbās’ note: Footnote 3: *Mu‘jam mā sta‘jam* 2: 614-615. See Section 1.5.1.2.1.

175 EI² s.v. *Quraysh*. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4533>. Consulted online 25 July 2019.

176 EI² s.v. *Ka‘ba*. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0401>. Consulted online 25 July 2019.

177 See for example Guillaume 1998:34.

178 Ibid.

179 ‘Abbās’ note: Footnote 1: Ṣ’: [so-and-so].

Sabaeans' and subsequently 'inserted into a pedigree by Arab genealogists'.¹⁸⁰

2.2 Zabīd¹⁸¹

Zabīd is a town in the Tihāma in Yemen, around 25 km from the Red Sea. It has a lot of fertile agricultural land irrigated by two major *wādīs*. Founded in 204 AH / 820 CE, its prime location along the route between Aden and Mecca, important for both commerce and pilgrimages, meant that it was able to enjoy 'substantial material and cultural wealth'. Travelling scholars who would stop there also led to it becoming 'the main centre for Sunnī religious learning in Yemen'.¹⁸²

A town in Yemen near al-Ġanad and M'ātr.¹⁸³ You pass through desert and sands until you arrive in Zabīd. After Ṣana'ā there is no bigger town than Zabīd in Yemen, nor one richer in people or with more advantages than it. Its gardens are vast; it has a lot of water, fruit, bananas and the like. From Zabīd to 'Adan on the coast is ten day's travel in open desert; there is not a building in it and no one rides through it except travellers and hunters.

There are many travellers to Zabīd, and in it there is a meeting place for the merchants from the lands of Ḥiğāz, Ethiopia, and Egypt who come up in boats from Jeddah. The people of Ethiopia bring their slaves to Zabīd and a variety of Indian spices, Chinese goods and the like are exported from there. It lies on a small river; from there to Ṣana'ā it is one hundred and thirty two miles.

¹⁸⁰ EI² s.v. Mārib. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4964>. Consulted online on 26 July 2019.

¹⁸¹ 'Abbās' note: Footnote 6: Al-Bakrī (Mğ), and part of it from *Nuzhat al-Muštāq*: 25, and compare with Yāqūt (*Zabīd*), al-Muqaddasī:84, and Ibn al-Wardī:42.

Al-Bakrī is discussed in Section 1.5.1.2.1; al Idrīsī and his *Nuzhat al-Muštāq* in Section 1.5.1.2.2. Information on Yāqūt is given in Section 2.1 on Ḍamār (Footnote 169).

Al-Muqaddasī is the Palestinian author of *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālīm*, a 4th century AH/ 10th century CE geographical work. Rather than simply providing a description of the various locations, al-Muqaddasī aimed 'to create a useful science, notably for merchants and the cultivated man (*adīb*).' EI² s.v. al-Muqaddasī. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_5451>. Consulted online on hmb 23 July 2019.

Ibn al-Wardī is a 9th AH / 15th CE century author to whom the geographical work *Ḥarīdat al-'ağā'ib wa-farīdat al-ğarā'ib*. EI³ s.v. Cartography. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_27346>. Consulted online on 23 July 2019.

¹⁸² EI² s.v. Zabīd. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1372>. Consulted online on 04 April 2020.

¹⁸³ The vocalisation and location of this place could not be determined.

'Abbās' note: Footnote 7: This word also appears in the same way in al-Bakrī.

2.3 Suḥār¹⁸⁴

Suḥār lies in a bay between Muscat and the Musandam peninsula in Oman. Although its location is not actually that good as a harbour, the coastal plain behind the city is long and fertile with good irrigation and offers access to the Persian Gulf. These attributes and extensive trade combined to make Suḥār an impressive place, something which is only touched on lightly in this entry, possibly because, as discussed in Section 1, al-Ḥimyarī had not visited it, as was the case with many of the places he included in his work. However, it was described more extensively by other Arab authors of the time. For example, al-Muqaddasī writes

*“It is a flourishing place, well-populated, beautiful and pleasant to live in. There are elegant quarters lining the shore, and the houses are tall and stately, built of brick and teak wood. You can see the beautiful minaret of the Friday mosque rising close beside the sea, and inside the miḥrāb shimmers with reflections, now yellow, now green and red. But what delighted visitors above all was the sūḵ of Suḥār, where commodities from the whole world could be found.”*¹⁸⁵

A big city in the land of Oman; it is the capital city of Oman. It lies on the sea coast, measures a parasang by a parasang, and its water comes from wells.

The parasang mentioned above is a Persian measure of distance, originally referring to the distance which could be covered on foot in an hour, but developing by Sāsānid times into a fixed measure.

Under Islam this measure was standardised as three Arab *mīl* (miles).¹⁸⁶

*It is the oldest*¹⁸⁷ *of the towns in Oman and the most abundant in wealth both old and new. Every year merchants from innumerable countries head there; all the wares of Yemen are imported there and all kinds of trades are supplied from there. The circumstances of its people are extensive (i.e. they are very wealthy). There are date palms, bananas, pomegranates, quinces, and many other delicious fruits. In ancient times Chinese boats used to travel from there but that was disrupted because the governor of the island of Kīš constructed a fleet and used it to attack the land of coastal Yemen, harming the travellers and merchants; not one (of them) was left with any property. The*

184 ‘Abbās’ note: Footnote 4: al-Bakrī: *Mğ*:67.

For details on al-Bakrī see Section 1.5.1.2.1.

185 The information on Suḥār and the quote from al-Muqaddasī are taken from EI² s.v. *Ṣuḥār*. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7135>. Consulted online on 05 April 2020.

186 EI² s.v. *Farsakh*. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_2299>. Consulted online on 20 July 2019.

187 ‘Abbās’ note: Footnote 5: *Nuzhat al-Muštāq*: 55 (OG:156), and compare with al-Muqaddasī and Yāqūt.

For *Nuzhat al-Muštāq* see Section 1.5.1.2.2; Yāqūt is discussed in Section 2.1 on *Ḍamār* (Footnote 169); al-Muqaddasī is discussed in Section 2.2 on *Zabīd* (Footnote 181).

country was weakened; travel to Oman was cut off and (trade) reverted to 'Adan.

Known in Arabic as *Ġabal Qays*, Kīš, to give it its Persian name, is an island in the Persian Gulf, 'opposite the port of Huzū.'. Writing in the 7th century AH / 13th century CE, Yāqūt reports that the ruler was highly regarded for his large fleet.¹⁸⁸ A fuller description of the situation al-Ḥimyarī is referring to here is provided by al-Idrīsī in *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, along with the information that this island is only two days' sailing from Suḥār, making Suḥār easy to reach and therefore especially vulnerable to attack.¹⁸⁹ In his French edition of *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, *La Géographie d'Édrisi*, Jaubert translates:¹⁹⁰

“Il existe au centre du golfe Persique, vis-à-vis de Mascat, une île nommée Keïch.... Dans cette île est une ville aussi nommée Keïch كيش, dont un certain gouverneur de l'Émen s'empara, Il la fortifia, la peupla et y équipa une flotte, à l'aide de laquelle il se rendit maître du littoral de l'Émen. Cet homme occasionna beaucoup de dommages aux voyageurs et aux marchands, dépouilla chacun de son bien, et affaiblit le pays tellement que le commerce se détourna de la voie d'O'man et se reporta vers A'den عدن. Avec sa flotte, il ravagea les côtes du Zendj زنج, et celles de Gamran غامران. Les habitants de l'Inde le redoutent et ne lui résistent qu'à l'aide de navires dits el-mechiat... dont quelques-uns de la longueur d'une galère, quoique d'une seule pièce de bois, sont susceptibles de porter 200 hommes. Un voyageur contemporain nous a rapporté que le gouverneur de Keïch possède cinquante de ces navires tous d'une seule pièce, sans compter beaucoup d'autres qui sont de pièces rapportées. Cet homme continue actuellement encore ses expéditions déprédatrices; il est fort riche, et nul ne peut lui résister.”

There was a community of merchants in Suḥār, and from there every town and the lands of India and China are supplied.

By the time al-Ḥimyarī was writing, Suḥār had a long and established trading history, which, as Monique Kervran notes in her EI2 entry, 'had been reinforced at the beginnings of Islam by flourishing maritime trade links with India, East Africa and China. Commercial relations with these countries were obviously close, for Suḥār was known as the “warehouse of China”'.¹⁹¹

188 EI² s.v. Qays. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4067>. Consulted online on 23 July 2019.

189 Jaubert 1975:152.

190 Ibid 152-153.

191 EI² s.v. Suḥār. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7135>. Consulted online on 05 April 2020.

2.4 Suqūṭrā or Suquṭrā ¹⁹²

As al-Ḥimyarī writes, Suqūṭrā is an island in the Indian Ocean. It lies around 300 km from the Arabian coastline and 240 km from the nearest African coastline. It also lies along the route taken by ships travelling to or from the east in the Gulf of Aden and can be seen by those ships entering and leaving the Gulf. However, it often has monsoons and has no permanent safe harbours, meaning that, despite its visibility, it is not visited that frequently.¹⁹³

A well-known island in the first Clime. (The journey) between it and the coast is two courses in a good wind. It is an island wide in diameter and great in the extent of the growth of its trees; its length is eighty parasangs. The majority of its vegetation is aloe trees; there is no aloe which is superior in quality to its aloe, like those from Ḥaḍramaut, Yemen, aš-Šiḥr, etcetera. On the north and west sides it is adjacent to Yemen, but it (Suqūṭrā) is dependant on it (Yemen) and belongs to it.

Al-iqlīm al-awwal, or the first Clime mentioned here in passing by al- Ḥimyarī is a reference to the Greek division of the known earth into seven climate zones. Arab and Persian scholars often adopted this division for use in their own works so it is commonly found in Arabic geographical works, although there are authors who rejected this system of division. The first clime refers to the equator and so covers the region where Suqūṭrā is situated.¹⁹⁴

For information on the parasang measurement see Section 2.3 on Suḥār.

The aloe, *ṣabr*, has been used extensively and for a long time. While aloe leaves could be spun to make clothes and perfume was made from its wood, its main use was as a medicine, which came from the liquid pressed from the leaves. Although there are many varieties of aloes, two of the most mentioned are *suquṭrī* and 'arabī (*ḥaḍramī*), with *suquṭrī* considered to be the best. This is believed to be 'the *Aloe Parryi Baker*, the *Aloe Socotrina*', still thriving in Suqūṭrā. Arab physicians were well versed in its uses which included use as a 'laxative, as an *amarum* or appetiser and as a choleric; externally, it was applied on badly healing wounds, ulcers and burns; it was also used against inflammations of the eye, and as a means to improve bad breath.'¹⁹⁵

192 'Abbās' note: Footnote: 7 *Nuzaḥt al-Muštāq*: 19 (49:OG) and after it al-Bakrī *Mğ*:60, its origin lies with al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūğ* 3:36

See Sections 1.5.1.2.1 and 1.5.1.2.2.

193 EI² s.v. Suquṭra. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1110>. Consulted online on 06 April 2020.

194 EI² s.v. Iqlīm. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3519>. Consulted online on 18 November 2019.

195 EI² s.v. Ṣabr. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_6380>. Consulted online on 13

*There are people from all the tribes of the Mahra there. There are many date palms on it and ambergris is found there. And then it was said of the Mahra, "Oh Socotran, he was angry."*¹⁹⁶ *It lies opposite bilād az-Zanğ.*

The Mahra are a tribe who mostly live along the south-east of the Arabian peninsula, on the Indian Ocean coastline between Ḥaḍramaut and Oman, as well as on Suqūṭrā. In his EI2 entry Müller argues that, since they speak their own language and have been very autonomous, they could be considered as 'a separate people', not simply a tribe. They are often mentioned by classical Arab authors; Müller suggests this is because of their language, Mehri, which belongs to the Modern Southern Arabian languages and which was then as now not mutually intelligible with Arabic.¹⁹⁷

The reference to Mahra, here a Socotran, being angry seems to be part of a longer quote from al-Bakrī's *Mu'ğam mā sta'ğam* and continues:

لأن السقطريون: الروم دخلوا في نسب الغمر من مهرة

Because the Socotrans (said): The Romans entered in abundance into the lineage of the Mahra.

Romans here probably refers to Byzantines or Greeks and this could be a reference to the story al-Ḥimyarī gives below of the capture of Suqūṭrā by Alexander the Great, the expulsion of its original inhabitants and their replacement with Greeks. In their EI2 entry *Suqūṭra*, Oman and Simeone-Senelle note that its population has a 'composite character that struck the travellers of Antiquity: Arabs, Indians, Somalis, and Blacks, the descendants of mixed slaves.' The first century CE text, *Periplus Maris Erythraei* mentions that Suqūṭrā's population is mixed and speaks Greek. Although some of the Arab geographers such as Yāḳūt and al-Ḥamdānī do mention Suqūṭrā, they do not give much information on the population, other than describing them as "Christian Arabs". Al-Idrīsī provides the story 'that Alexander the Great had replaced the primitive inhabitants of the island with Greek immigrants on the advice of his tutor and friend Aristotle.'¹⁹⁸ 'Abbās's footnotes show that part of the information for this entry comes from al-Idrīsī, so the information al-Ḥimyarī provides on Alexander's treatment of the islanders probably comes from al-Idrīsī's work.

Bilād az-Zanğ refers to part of the eastern coast of Africa. Used as a territorial term, *bilād az-Zanğ*

April 2020.

196 Al-Bakrī. *Al-masālik wa-l-mamālik Volume I*. Dar al-Kotob al-Ilmiyah. Beirut. 2003:283.

197 EI² s.v. Mahra. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4807>. Consulted online on 20 July 2019.

198 EI² s.v. Suqūṭra. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1110>. Consulted online on 06 April 2020.

usually refers to 'the second of al-Idrīsī's four divisions of the eastern coast of Africa.' Its name 'is cognate with the Swahili Unguja, still used in current speech for Zanzibar and for the ancient, deserted site of the former capital, Unguja Kuu.'¹⁹⁹ At 240 km from the nearest African coastline, Suqūtrā actually lies closer to Africa than to Arabia.²⁰⁰

Most of the people of this island are Christians because of Alexander (the Great). When he had defeated the king of Persia, his fleets had invaded the islands of India, and he had killed the king of India, his teacher Aristotle advised him to search for the island of aloes. That (idea) was on Alexander's mind because of his teacher's advice, so once he was free, after seizing the islands of India triumphing over them and their kings, he set out to return via the Sea of India towards the Sea of Oman until he reached the island of Suqūtrā. The goodness of its soil and moderateness of its climate pleased him, and he wrote to his teacher concerning it. He (Aristotle) answered him instructing him to move its people away and replace them with Greeks charged with the growing of the aloe trees and their care on account of its (aloe's) medical uses; indeed it is not possible to make medicines without it (aloe), this would bring benefits for of all the people in his charge because it is in itself an important medicine with many uses.

So Alexander did thus; he expelled all of Suqūtrā's people from it and transported some of the Greeks to it. He charged them with the conservation of the aloe trees; with maintaining them, growing them, and with continuing their cultivation. They did so and continued until the religion of Christ emerged and they became believers. So the people of Suqūtrā converted to the religion of Christianity, and the remainder of their descendants there still are (Christians) to this time, along with the rest of its other residents.

The leaves of the aloe trees are collected in the month of July and their saliva (gel) is extracted and cooked in copper pots and other things. It is placed into skins (i.e. as a receptacle) and is dried in the month of August because of the sun; it is sold on this island by the qinṭār and is exported to distant lands in the east and the west.

Ambergris is found on the island of Suqūtrā,²⁰¹ from Oman to the coast to Suqūtrā, and the route is from Oman to Masqaṭ on the coast, then from there to Suqūtrā. It is there that the aloe is found, to

¹⁹⁹ EF² s.v. al-Zandj. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1379>. Consulted online on 18 November 2019.

²⁰⁰ EF² s.v. Suqūtra. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1110>. Consulted online on 06 April 2020.

²⁰¹ 'Abbās' note: Footnote 1: This has already come before in this article.

which there is no equal, as we said (above).

The *qintār* is a varying weight of 100 *ratls*, for example, 44.93 kg in Egypt, 53.9 kg in Tunisia, and 256.4 kg in Syria.²⁰²

Marco Polo, among other writers, described the harpooning of whales around Suqūṭrā's coasts for ambergris and sperm oil.²⁰³

*“The inhabitants find much ambergris upon their coasts, which is voided from the entrails of whales. Being an article of merchandise in great demand, they make it a business to take these fish; and this they do by means of a barbed iron, which they strike into the whale so firmly that it cannot be drawn out. To the iron (harpoon) a long line is fastened, with a buoy at the end, for the purpose of discovering the place where the fish, when dead, is to be found. They then drag it to the shore, and proceed to extract the ambergris from its belly, whilst from its head they procure several casks of (spermaceti) oil.”*²⁰⁴

2.5 Šibām ²⁰⁵

There are several places called Šibām in Southern Arabia, all of them fortified. There is also a mountain by the same name. Accounting for the popularity of the name in this region, Robin, writing in EI2, notes that Landberg, in the *Glossaire datinois*, lists *šabama* as meaning 'to be high', and *šibām* as 'height', which he suggests is a plausible root for the origin of these names, since 'the toponyms in question are all at the foot of slopes and cliffs or refer to a peak.'

To avoid confusion, these places 'have been distinguished, from the times of Hamdānī and Yāḳūt onwards, by suffixing the name of a neighbouring settlement or the local region.' They are:

1. Šibām Ḥaḍramaut. This is the Šibām famous for its tall houses, now a UNESCO world heritage site and is in lower Ḥaḍramaut.
2. Šibām Kawkabān, a large settlement, 37 km northwest of Ṣan‘ā’.
3. Šibām al-Ġirās, 'a small village and archaeological site 24 km... northeast of Ṣan‘ā’'. It 'was the chief centre of the tribe of Yursam.'

²⁰² Wehr 2011:793. s.r. (2) قنطر

²⁰³ EI² s.v. Suqūṭra. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1110>. Consulted online on 06 April 2020.

²⁰⁴ Marco Polo 2006:310.

²⁰⁵ ‘Abbās’ note: Footnote 3: *Mu‘ğam mā sta‘ğam* 3:778. See Section 1.5.1.2.1.

4.Šibām Ḥarāz, is a mountain a peak 2,940 metres high 'in the Ḥarāz massif west-south-west of Ṣan‘ā', with a fort on its summit of the same name.'

With a kasra ('i') on its first letter and already pronounced with the (long) vowel 'a'. A mountain of the Hamdān in Yemen. Ibn al-Kalbī said: Šibām is a tribe belonging to a mountain and not to a father or a mother.

The Hamdān are a Yemen group Arab tribe with territory beginning north of Ṣan‘ā' and stretching 'eastwards to Ma‘rib' and Nağrān'.²⁰⁶ Šibām lies within their territory.

Ibn al-Kalbī (died in 146 AH /763 CE) was member of a prominent Kūfa family. He was the author of over 150 works on a wide range of subjects, although he is best known as a 'master of Arab genealogy'. In this quote he appears to be establishing the lineage of Šibām. It is not clear which of his works is referred to here, however, two possibilities could be his *Ġamharat an-Nasab*, a genealogical work, or *al-Aṣnām*, a book on 'the history of Arab paganism'.²⁰⁷

From Ma‘rib²⁰⁸ to the town of Šibām in the land of Ḥaḍramaut it is four day's travel. Šibām²⁰⁹ is a mighty stronghold with an extensive population at the peak of the mountain (also called) Šibām. It is a very inaccessible mountain, one can only ascend it with great effort. At its summit there are many thriving villages, fields under cultivation, running water, and produce.

‘Abbās' notes that al-Ḥimyarī has taken the beginning of the entry from al-Bakri's *Mu‘ğam* and this later section from al-Idrīsī but the account seems to have mixed up several of the places called Šibām, at least Šibām Ḥaḍramaut and the mountain Šibām.

When there was an earthquake in Yemen in the year 211 AH, all Šibām was destroyed except the

206 EI² s.v. Hamdān. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_2664>. Consulted online on 08 September 2019.

207 EI² s.v. al-Kalbī. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3821>. Consulted online on 23 July 2019.

208 ‘Abbās' note: Footnote 4: *Nuzhat al-Muštāq*:54. See Section 1.5.1.2.2.

209 ‘Abbās' note: Footnote 1: The account adheres to al-Idrīsī, but it seems that this geography confounds Šibām which is in Ḥaḍramaut and another Šibām which is close to Ṣana‘ā' (see Yāqūt (*Šibām*), yet there is no place with this name near Ṣana‘ā', that one is Šibām Kawkabān while this one here, which al-Idrīsī described, is Šibām Suḥaym and Šibām is strongly fortified. Returning to the article (*Bašām*) in *ar-Rawḍ*, it seems that its correction is also *Šibām*. [This seems to refer to an entry entitled *Bašām* which ‘Abbās believes should be Šibām. Unfortunately, there is not an entry with this title in the edition used for this work.]

The name Šibām Suḥaym seems to relate to the Banū Suḥaym ruled from the palace Raymān, 'probablement à Shibām^{um}'. They are first mentioned in the second century. Robin 2013: 200-201.

dwelling of Ibrāhīm bin aṣ-Ṣabāḥ. There were many alms given and it is said that it was he who received the alms.

No mention could be found of this particular earthquake, although al-Ya‘qūbī mentions an earthquake in northern Ḥiğāz around fifty years after this time, in 259 AH /873 CE AH 'which affected 'the area round Taymā' and Tabūk on the Pilgrimage route'.²¹⁰ Yemen has experienced a number of earthquakes over the millennia, some of them devastating, so the report given here is not unrealistic or unlikely.

2.6 Aṣ-Ṣiḥr ²¹¹

Aṣ-Ṣiḥr is a port town on the coast of the Indian Ocean in Southern Arabia. It lies around 330 miles to the east of ‘Adan. It is well known for fishing and as a trading centre, especially for incense.

With a kasra ('i') on its first (letter), the unpointed ḥā' is vowelless. It is the Ṣaḥr²¹² of Oman, on the coast of Yemen, and it reaches between Yemen and Oman.

The land of aṣ-Ṣiḥr is connected to the land of Ḥaḍramaut; the Mahra tribe lives there. It is the residence of the first people of ‘Ād, to whom God the almighty sent their prophet Hūd, peace be upon him. They were thirteen tribes. He was ‘Ād, son of ‘Awṣ, son of Iram, son of Shem, son of Noah, and he was the king after Noah, peace be upon him; he was strengthened among the first people of ‘Ād before the passing of the kingdoms. The Almighty spoke thus: And remember when he made you successors after the people of Noah and increased you in status extensively, so remember the favours of God. (al-A‘rāf: 69) It was said: They were in bearing tall as the date palm, and they were commensurate with that in strength and in the length of their lives.. Their remnants are in aṣ-Ṣiḥr and their dwelling places demonstrate the great size of their bodies. ‘Ād was a giant who lived a very long time; he married a thousand women, sired four thousand children, and he lived for one thousand two hundred years. It was his son Ṣadād who built Iram of the pillars; these are the second people of ‘Ād. Then the Almighty said of the first: He destroyed the first (people of) ‘Ād (an-Nağm: 50),²¹³ and He said of this second: Have you not considered how your Lord dealt with ‘Ād.

²¹⁰ EI² s.v. Zalzala. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_8106>. Consulted online 08 September 2019.

²¹¹ ‘Abbās' note: Footnote 1: *Mu‘ğam mā sta‘ğam* 3:783, and compare with Yāqūt (*aṣ-Ṣiḥr*).

For *Mu‘ğam mā sta‘ğam* see Section See Section 1.5.1.2.1; For Yāqūt see 2.1 Ḍamār (Footnote 169).

²¹² 'Littoral entre l'Oman (عمان) et l'Aden (عدن)'. Kazimirsk 1860:1197. s.r. شحر.

²¹³ وَأَنَّهُ أَهْلَكَ عَادًا الْأُولَى Arabic and English translation via <https://quran.com/53/50-60> on 21 November 2019.

With Iram – who had lofty pillars. (al-Fağr: 6,7); the land of ‘Ād is aš-Šihr, Ḥaḍramaut, and al-Aḥqāf, and when God Almighty was displeased with them (he made them)²¹⁴ (i.e. the lands) deserts, and they had been the most fertile of lands.

For information on the Mahra, see section 2.4 on Suqūtrā.

The first people of ‘Ād refers to an ancient Arab tribe who are mentioned several times in the Qur’ān. Supposedly ‘Ād was 'a mighty nation that lived immediately after the time of Noah, and became haughty on account of its great prosperity'. A prophet, Hūd, who is the first of the five 'Arab' prophets who are mentioned in the Qur’ān,²¹⁵ was sent to them but was badly treated. This led to all of the people of ‘Ād being 'swept away by a violent storm' after also suffering from a drought. The few surviving members of the tribe were the followers of Hūd.²¹⁶

It is not known what or who lies behind the stories of the first people of ‘Ād, though they have been mentioned throughout the ages and 'represent the origin of the Arabs in the distant past and exemplify their power, longevity, and pride.' In ancient Arabic poetry, ‘Ād is referred to 'as an ancient nation that had perished', leading to the term "since the time of ‘Ād". Wellhausen has suggested that, since the expression “*min al-‘ād*” exists, ‘Ād might originally have been 'a common noun ("the ancient time"; adj. *‘ādī*, "very ancient") and that the mythical nation arose from a misinterpretation of that expression'.

There are two concepts associated with the people of ‘Ād which are mentioned here. The first of these is 'Iram of the pillars', which is a phrase from the Qur’ān (*al-Fağr*: 6,7):

أَلَمْ تَرَ كَيْفَ فَعَلَ رَبُّكَ بِعَادٍ إِرَمَ ذَاتِ الْعِمَادِ

In EI², Watt explains the verses as follows: 'The passage has caused great difficulty to the commentators, both in respect of the meaning of the words and of their grammatical construction. Some read *‘ādi*, making *irama* a dependent genitive, and then took Iram to be the capital of ‘Ād. The most likely view is that *Iram* designates a tribe and is in apposition with *‘ādin*, and that *‘imād* means tentpole or tallness. *Iram* may then be a subdivision of ‘Ād [...] Later Muslim scholars preferred to take *Iram* as a town, and *dhāti ‘l-‘imād* could then mean ‘with the pillars’.²¹⁷

214 ‘Abbās' note: Footnote 2: Omission of ‘ayn.

215 EI² s.v. Hūd. 19. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_2920>. Consulted online on 24 July 2020.

216 EI³ s.v. ‘Ād. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_26300>. Consulted online on 24 July 2019.

217 EI² s.v. Iram. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3586>. Consulted online on

Arab tradition identifies Iram with Aram, but in his EI² article, Buhl considers this 'not at all likely'. Other suggestions include Loth's identification of 'Ād with the tribe of Iyād and Sprenger's theory of the 'Ād as the Oadites, who Ptolemy states lived in N.-W. Arabia. Interestingly, as Buhl writes, the 'excavation of the second-century Nabataean temple at Djabal Ramm, about twenty-five miles due east of 'Aqaba, brought to light Nabataean inscriptions giving the name of the place as 'rm; Savignac, very plausibly, connected this with Iram'.²¹⁸

The second concept associated with the people of 'Ād is *al-Aḥqāf*, which is described as being part of the territory of the 'Ād. These are taken to mean sand dunes,²¹⁹ which would fit in this context with the statement '*and when God Almighty was displeased with them (he made them) deserts*'.

Aš-Šiḥr is a big town and there is neither agriculture nor stock farming it it, although there is ambergris there. Its trees are frankincense trees whose incense is taken to distant lands, and there are a lot of lāk trees there.

These Arabs have fertile camels²²⁰ and nothing is equal to them in speed. There is a strange fact attributed to them, namely, that they understand speech and know what is wanted from them with little training; they have names so if they are called by them they respond without delay. The capital of the land of the Mahra is called aš-Šiḥr, and the language of the Mahra is very un-Arabic, one can barely understand it: it is the language of the ancient Ḥimyarites. Most of the people of the land lead a nomadic life, and the bulk of their profits come from camels and goats. Fish is caught in that sea and (the sea of) the land of Oman; they have a very small (kind of) fish which they catch and lay out in the sun to dry to feed livestock and camels with it. The Mahra people know neither wheat nor bread;²²¹ rather their food is fish and their drinks are milk products and a little water. They have got used to that (way of eating), are accustomed to it and do not deviate from it. Anyone of them who emigrates and eats wheat suffers and sometimes becomes sick. The length of the country of the Mahra is 900 miles, and all of it is flowing sands which the wind raises and scatters. From the end of the land of aš-Šiḥr to 'Adan is 300 miles.

24 July 2019.

218 EI² s.v. 'Ād. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0290>. Consulted online on 24 July 2019.

219 Ibid.

220 'Abbās' note: Footnote 1: from *Nuzhat al-muštāq*: 54 (OG:154). See Section 1.5.1.2.2.

221 'Abbās' note: Footnote 2: Ṣ'. Et cetera.

In this town there are trees of lāk and frankincense; they are trees like mulberry trees except that they do not put forth leaves but rather all of their boughs bear frankincense.

2.7 Şirwāḥ²²²

There are two pre-Islamic archaeological sites in northern Yemen with the name Şirwāḥ, both described by Robin in his EI2 entry *Şirwāḥ*.²²³

The first of these is Şirwāḥ Ḥawlān, 'an important Sabaean site 90 km/50 miles west of Mārib.' The inscriptions, the oldest of which 'seem to date from the second half of the 8th century B.C,' give the name of the ancient ruined town as *Şrwḥ*; the small modern town lies nearby. The 'monuments show that it was an important Sabaean centre.' The largest monument is a temple with an inscription style dating from the 7th-6th centuries B.C. and which was later used as a fortress. Although Şirwāḥ did not play much of a role following the arrival of Islam, 'its site became a great mythic one for Islamic historians and many authors and poets mention it.'

The second site is Şirwāḥ Arḥab, also a Sabaean site and around 45 km north of Şan'ā'. Although it is now known as Şirwāḥ, classical Arabiac geographers knew it as Madar, since the ancient town there was Mdrn.

This entry seems to be a mix of the two sites. Geographically, the location of Şirwāḥ Arḥab fits as being close to Şana'ā'. However, 'Abbās notes that much of the material for this entry was taken from al-Hamdānī; since al-Hamdānī did not know Şirwāḥ Arḥab as 'Şirwāḥ' but rather as 'Madar', any material taken from him must refer to Şirwāḥ Ḥawlān.

A town in Yemen near Şana'ā', it is a ruin. It belonged to 'Amr b. 'Āmir Muzīqiya, the owner of the dam of Ma'rib. They built it entirely of marble and those of its people who remain maintain that it was built in a single evening. It says in a statement in Ḥimyarite (i.e. Ancient Southern Arabian): We built Şirwāḥ and Marwāḥ.

222 'Abbās' note: Footnote 3: see *al-Iklīl* 8:75 and *Nuzhat al-Muštāq*:54.

Al-Iklīl (The crown) refers to an encyclopaedia by the 3rd century AH / 9th century CE Southern Arabian scholar al-Hamdānī. This work is essential to modern knowledge of South Arabian tribes; it also contains information on history and topography and a section on ancient poetry from Yemen. EI² s.v. al-Hamdānī. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_2666>. Consulted online on 20 July 2019.

Nuzhat al-Muštāq is discussed in Section 1.5.1.2.2.

223 EI² s.v. Şirwāḥ. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1092>. Consulted online on 20 July 2019.

‘Amr b. ‘Āmir Muzīqiya, also known as al-Muzayqiya’, is an important figure in the story of the fall of the dam at Ma’rib. His wife, Zārifa, was able to interpret her dreams and had visions. She warned ‘Amr of evil omens and 'sent him to the dam, where he saw how a giant rat with iron teeth and big claws, called Ḥuld, was about to trundle away boulders and to undermine the dam'. He staged a family dispute to enable him to sell up and leave Ma’rib with his family. They travelled through Arabia and settled in various locations on the Arabian peninsula. This story is related in greater detail by al-Ḥimyarī in the Ma’rib entry in Section 2.11.²²⁴

Legend has it that Solomon had commanded the *ġinn* to build fortresses for Bilqīs and her husband, Dū Tubba’, king of Hamdān, whenever they commanded it. The *ġinn* continued building for the couple until one of them realised that Solomon had died and he then journeyed through Tihāmah shouting the news to the others. They then stopped construction and carved an inscription on two large stones detailing the fortresses they had built. The quote '*We built Ṣirwāḥ and Marwāḥ*' is an excerpt from this inscription given below; this version has *Marāḥ* and not *Marwāḥ*.

*"We built Salḥīn in seventy seven years, striving steadily. And we built Ṣirwāḥ, Marāḥ, and Baynūn by the sweat of [our] hands and Hind and Hunaydah and seven cisterns in a paved court, and Talthūm in Raydah. Were it not for the one who shouted in Tihāmah, we would have left in al-Bawn a sign."*²²⁵

And it was said:²²⁶ that Solomon, peace be upon him, had commanded the jinn to build it for Bilqīs.²²⁷ The kingdom of the Ḥawlān was there.

The Ḥawlān refers to an old South Arabian tribe divided into a Northern and Southern branch. This division must have happened fairly early on, since ancient inscriptions mentioning the tribes already refers to them as two different branches associated with two different territories.²²⁸

224 EI² s.v. Mārib. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4964>. Consulted online on 26 July 2019.

225 Brinner 1991: 164.

226 ‘Abbās’ note: Footnote 4: *Mu’ġam mā sta’ġam* 3:831 and compare with Yāqūt (Ṣirwāḥ).

For *Mu’ġam mā sta’ġam* see Section See Section 1.5.1.2.1; For Yāqūt see 2.1 Ḍamār (Footnote 169)

227 ‘Abbās’ note: Footnote 7 [*sic: This is actually footnote 5*]: in two nights, ṣ: in two nights.

228 EI² s.v. *Ḥawlān* <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4246>. Consulted online on 22 July 2019.

2.8 Ṣana‘ā’ 229

Ṣana‘ā’ has long been an important city in Yemen. It lies in the northern highlands, more than 2,200m above sea level and is almost completely surrounded by mountains.

A great town in Yemen. In ancient times its name was Uzāl. When the Ethiopians arrived there, they looked upon the town and saw that it was built of stone and they said, “This is ṣana‘a,” which in their language is ‘fortified’, and thus, it was named Ṣana‘ā’.

Al-Hamdānī says that Ṣana‘ā’'s ancient name was Uzāl. None of the inscriptions found mention this name, referring instead to *ṣn‘w*, although, as G.R. Smith points out in his EI2 entry on Ṣana‘ā’, most of the texts and inscriptions so far located which mention the name date from around the third century CE, while the site itself ‘must, of course, have been settled a very good deal earlier’.²³⁰ Therefore, while it is not impossible that this was the case, there is no evidence for it so far.

As to the origins of the name Ṣana‘ā’, Smith dismisses ‘the current claim that the name of Ṣana‘ā’ is

229 ‘Abbās’ note: Footnote 3: *Ṣubḥ al-A‘šā* 5:39, and compare with al-Hamdānī: 55, *Mu‘ğam mā sta‘ğam* 3:83, Yāqūt (*Ṣana‘ā’*), Ibn al-Faqīh:34, and *Āṭār al-Bilād*: 50, Ibn Ḥawqal: 43, al-Karaḥī: 26, *Taqwīn al-Buldān*: 95, and al-Muqaddasī: 86 mentions that Ṣana‘ā’ had already deteriorated in his time.

Ṣubḥ al-A‘šā fī ṣinā‘at al-inṣā’ is a manual for chancery clerks by al-Qalqaṣandī, a secretary and legal scholar in the Mamlūk chancery and author of several books. It was completed in 814 AH/ 1412 CE and is his best known work. (See also Section 1.2.1 Footnote 12) EI² s.v. al-Ḳalkaṣhandī. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3832>. Consulted online on 20 July 2019.

Al-Hamdānī is discussed in Section 2.7 on *Ṣirwāḥ* (Footnote 223).

Mu‘ğam mā sta‘ğam is discussed in Section 1.5.1.2.1; Yāqūt in Section 2.1 on *Ḍamār* (Footnote 169).

Ibn al-Faqīh was an Iranian geographer who lived in the 3rd AH /9th CE century and the author of a work known as *Kitāb al-Buldān*, although this is possibly not its original title, since the title page has not been preserved. The work itself has only survived ‘in an abridged form’. (See also Section 1.5.1 Footnote 114) EI² s.v. Ibn al-Faqīh. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3156>. Consulted online on 15 September 2019.

Āṭār al-bilād wa-aḥbār al-‘ibād is a work by the famous Arab cosmographer and geographer al-Qazwīnī. This is the surviving (revised) version of his geographical work. EI² s.v. al-Qazwīnī. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4093>. Consulted online on 15 September 2019.

Ibn Ḥawqal is an Arab geographer from the later 4th century AH /10th century CE. His main work was ‘a description of the Islamic countries’, best known today as *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-arḍ*. His geography was based on travel and direct observation. EI² s.v. Ibn Ḥawqal. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3193>. Consulted online on 20 September 2019.

Al-Karaḥī could be al-Karaḡī, a mathematician and engineer who died some time after 410 AH /1019 CE. His *Inbāṭ al-miyāḥ al-ḥaḍīyya* discusses geography and the challenges of water supply in arid regions. EI² s.v. al-Karaḍjī. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3903>. Consulted online on 24 November 2019.

Taqwīn al-Buldān is ‘a descriptive geography supplemented by physical and mathematical data’. It was written by the ‘Syrian prince, historian, and geographer ‘Abū l-Fidā’ and completed in 721 AH/1321 CE. EI² s.v. Abu ‘l-Fidā. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0182>. Consulted online on 20 September 2019.

Al-Muqaddasī is discussed in Section 2.2 on *Zabīd* (Footnote 181).

230 EI² s.v. Ṣan‘ā’. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0998>. Consulted online 23 November 2019.

derived from the excellence of its trades and crafts (perhaps the feminine form of the Arabic adjective *aṣna* 'well-fortified') and confirms that it developed from the Sabaic name, since the inscriptions refer to *ṣn* 'w'. This is 'in keeping with the basic meaning in Sabaic of the root *ṣn* ' and means 'well-fortified', as al-Ḥimyarī writes above, but is from the Sabaic, rather than the Ethiopian,²³¹ although the root does have a similar meaning in Ge'ez, with *ṣanū* 'strong'.²³²

They said: That which founded Ġumdān, began its construction and was dug by his hand, is that which today is irrigation in the Friday mosque in Ṣana'ā'. Shem, son of Noah, peace be upon him, set out to look for a free country and a place where the heat and cold were moderate and he only found it in the Arabian peninsula. He contemplated the Ḥiḡāz and found it excessive in heat because of the position of the sun for two months at a similar three degrees and a fraction of its azimuth, so he set out into the first Clime until he arrived at the field of Ṣana'ā'. He found it the best in its temperateness and the healthfulness of its climate and he considered the cold of it preferable to the heat. He saw its declination as moderate and not like the declination of Aries which closely follows the path of the sun in degree of length and proximity of breadth to its half, nor was it like the declination of Gemini which is one ninth of its length. He saw that the sun faced it twice in the course of the year, at eight degrees from Taurus and twenty three from Leo. When there is sun there, it (Ṣana'ā') sees the sun in May; Ṣana'ā' is summery during the day.

Ġumdān refers to a castle in Ṣan'ā' famous for its great age and size. In *al-Iklīl*, Hamdānī says that the king Ilšaraḥ Yaḥḍīb (about 25 B.C.) built it, although legends say it was founded by Shem, son of Noah, Solomon, or az-Zabbā', one of the Arabic names given to the Queen of Tadmur / Palmyra.²³³ It is the legend of its founding by Shem that al-Ḥimyarī recounts here. Multiple southern Arabian poets refer to Ġumdān as the residence of the Ḥimyarite kings. Al-Hamdānī writes that the ruins of Ġumdān are 'opposite to the first and second doors of the chief mosque, which probably contains much material from the old castle'. Thus, the stone which was the castle could today really be the mosque, as al-Ḥimyarī writes.²³⁴

For more information on the first Clime, see Section 2.4 on Suqūṭrā.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Leslau 1991: 559 s.r. *ṣan* 'a.

²³³ EI² s.v. *al-Zabbā'*. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_8058>. Consulted online on 16 April 2020.

²³⁴ EI² s.v. *Ġumdān*. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_2519>. Consulted online on 20 September 2019.

Ṣana‘ā’²³⁵ is a town of many neighbourhoods and connected buildings. There is nowhere in the land of Yemen which is known to be older than it, is larger in area, or more populous. It lies at the heart of the first Clime and has a temperate climate and good soil; both the heat and the cold are always mild. The kings of Yemen all lived there without exception. It is the land of the Arabs, and its kings had (a large building of mighty renown there, the palace (called) Ġumdān, but it was destroyed to the point where it is like a big hill (i.e. a mound is all that remains). At this time most of its buildings are of wood; there is a house there for the working of) ²³⁶ the cloth ascribed to it (i.e. to Ṣana‘ā’). It is the capital of Yemen, and lies on a small river which flows into it from a mountain which lies to its north and passes through it, descending into the town of Dāmār and flowing out into the sea of Yemen. It is 48 miles from Ṣana‘ā’ to Dāmār.

(A specific kind of) Embroidered fabric is ascribed to Ṣana‘ā’ and certainly some of the later authors mention this, extolling it:

*He embroidered the pure gold of his prayer with its silver
the embroidery of Ṣana‘ā’ pleased Ḥassan.*

Wahb b. Munabbih died in Ṣana‘ā’ in the year 110 or year 114.

Wahb b. Munabbih was a narrator and author-transmitter from Yemen. His writings comprised ancient biblical history, pre-Islamic Yemeni history, Islamic history of the prophet, and the history of the caliphate.²³⁷ The year 110 or 114 AH would be either 728/729 CE or 731/732 CE.²³⁸

In the report of Sayf b. Dī Yazan, when he travelled to Kisrā to ask for assistance against Ethiopia which was gaining mastery over Yemen, Ibn Ishāq mentioned²³⁹ that Kisrā dispatched 800 men with him (Sayf b. Dī Yazan) and placed Wahriz at the head of them; he was the oldest among them. They left in eight ships; of those, two sank, so six ships arrived at the coast of ‘Adan. Sayf brought all

235 ‘Abbās’ note: Footnote 4: *Nuzhat al-Muštāq*:20 (53:OG). *Nuzhat al-Muštāq* is discussed in Section 1.5.1.2.2.

236 ‘Abbās’ note: Footnote 5: An addition from *Nuzhat al-Muštāq*. (See note above)

237 EI² s.v. Wahb b. Munabbih. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7818>. Consulted online on 20 September 2019.

238 Conversions via <https://www.fourmilab.ch/documents/calendar/>. Accessed on 07 September 2019.

239 ‘Abbās’ note: Footnote 1: *As-Sīra* 1:62 and that which follows it.

Sīra has the general meaning of ‘way of going, acting, or way of life, more specifically, however, it refers to accounts of Muhammad’s life. (EI² s.v. *Sīra*. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1089>. Consulted online on 07 September 2019.) One of the best known of the *sīra* is that by Muḥammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār b. Kḥiyār, ‘one of the main authorities on *al-sīra al-nabawiyya*,’ born in Medina in 85 AH /704 CE. EI² s.v. Ibn Ishāq. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3222>. Consulted online 07 September 2019.

those of his people he was able to gather to Wahriz and said to him, “My foot is with your foot (i.e. we fight together) until we die together or we are victorious together.” Wahriz said to him, “You are just.” Then Masrūq bin Abraha, king of Yemen, fought them in a rank with his whole army. Wahriz fired at him and they hit him (Masrūq) with an arrow and killed him; the Ethiopians were put to flight and they fled in every direction. Wahriz advanced to enter Ṣana‘ā until, when he came to its gate, he said, “My banner never enters lowered.” They tore down the gate and demolished it, then his banner entered it raised, (as told) in a long report.

Sayf b. Ḍī Yazan, part of whose story is related here, was a Ḥimyarite who rebelled against Ethiopian rule in Yemen and sought help from the Persians to defeat the Ethiopians.²⁴⁰ Kisrā, the man to whom he turned, is the Sāsānid ruler Chosroēs (Ḥusraw) I Anūšīrwān (531-79 CE), whose name is given part of its Arabic form here.²⁴¹ Wahriz, the man Chosroēs placed at the head of the forces he lent Sayf, was a Persian general and he is said to have died in Yemen shortly before the death of Chosroēs himself.²⁴² Masrūq bin Abraha is the son of Abraha, the Ethiopian king of Yemen who ruled for 20 or 23 years. Abraha was initially succeeded by another son, Yaksūm, and Masrūq ruled after Yaksūm.²⁴³ As described here, the joint attack on Ethiopian rule was successful; Masrūq was the last of the Ethiopian kings of Yemen and Sayf b. Ḍī Yazan became the Persians' vassal ruler in Yemen.²⁴⁴ Incidentally, Sayf is also the hero of the *Ṣīrat Sayf Ibn Ḍī Yazan*, 'an Arabic popular romance of an epico-fantastical nature'. However, this does not bear much relation to the life of the actual Sayf b. Ḍī Yazan referred to here.²⁴⁵

The cotton embroidery which is incomparable to anything made elsewhere is made in Ṣana‘ā, and from there it is taken to the towns. So the robes and the turbans of those from ‘Adan, the garments of the coastal inhabitants, and the tanned hide of those from aṭ-Ṭā‘if, the likes of these are not found in other lands. The cow hide that is polished there glows between white and yellow like the best embroidery.

240 EI² s.v. Wahriz. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7825>. Consulted online on 22 July 2019.

241 EI² s.v. Kisrā. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4407>. Consulted online on 22 July 2019.

242 EI² s.v. Wahriz. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7825>. Consulted online on 22 July 2019.

243 EI³ s.v. Abraha. 19. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_22605>. Consulted online on 17 September 2019.

244 EI² s.v. Wahriz. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7825>. Consulted online on 22 July 2019.

245 EI² s.v. Sayf Ibn Ḍī Yazan. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_6681>. Consulted online on 22 July 2019.

Aṭ-Ṭā'if is a town on the Arabian Peninsula, to the south-east of Mecca. The other locations are discussed in the course of the other entries.

Ṣana'ā' only gets rain in June, July, August, and part of September, and in most cases it only rains in the afternoon. A man may meet another man at midday when the sky is clear with not a thin cloud in it and yet he would say, "Hurry, before the heavens open!" because they know that rain is unavoidable at that time.

And when the matter of al-Aswad al-'Ansī the liar arose in Ṣana'ā',²⁴⁶ the Messenger of God, may God honour him and grant him peace, sent a man from the Azd or from the Ḥuzā'a (to deal with it). He (the emissary) entered Ṣana'ā' covertly, and went to Dāḍawayh of the Abnā' who hid him among his people; the Abnā' were complicit in (lit: provided the string for the bow) the killing of al-Aswad, and the band that set out to kill him was composed of Qays Ibn 'Abd Yağūt al-Makšūh, Fayrūz ad-Daylamī, and Dāḍawayh.

Al-Aswad al-'Ansī was a tribal leader from the Maḍḥiğ tribal group. At that time, both Persia and the newly emerging Islam vied to control parts of Yemen, with Ṣan'ā' remaining under Persian control, while Muhammad 'recognised a number of local leaders as his agents in different parts of the region, besides sending some agents from Medina.' However, al-Aswad al-'Ansī sought control of the region for himself; in (March 632 CE) he had two of Muhammad's agents expelled from Nağrān and defeated and killed the Persian occupiers of Ṣan'ā. He was said 'to be a soothsayer (*kāhin*), who claimed to speak in the name of Allāh or ar-Raḥmān and to practice 'sleight-of-hand'.²⁴⁷ Al-Aswad al-'Ansī is also mentioned in Section 2.12 in the entry on Nağrān.

Both the Azd and the Ḥuzā'a mentioned are Arab tribes. The Azd were 'two ancient Arab tribal groupings in the highlands of 'Asīr (*Azd Sarāt*) and in Oman (*Azd 'Umān*). Several accounts,

246 'Abbās' note: Footnote 1: compare with *Futūh al-Buldān*:125-127 and *Tārīḥ aṭ-Ṭabarī*: 1:1851-1868.

K. Futūh al-Buldān is a work by al-Balāḍurī, a 3rd century AH / 9th century CE Arabic historian dealing with the Arab conquests. (EI² s.v. al-Balāḍhurī. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0094>. Consulted online on 20 September 2019.

Tārīḥ aṭ-Ṭabarī refers to *Muḥtaṣar ta'rīḥ al-rusul wa-l-mulūk wa-l-ḥulafā'* by al-Ṭabarī (224-5 AH/839 CE - 310 AH/923 CE), a polymath and author also well-known for his works on the law and Qur'ān commentary. EI² s.v. al-Ṭabarī. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1133>. Consulted online on 07 September 2019.

247 EI² s.v. al-Aswad. 20. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0823>. Consulted online on 08 September 2019.

including al-Ḥimyarī's in the entry on Ma'rib, Section 2.10, state that they were originally a tribe in Yemen, but after the breach of the Ma'rib dam some of them migrated to the north (here, Syria) while others went to the east;²⁴⁸ these are legends only and Sabaic inscriptions relate how the kings of Ḥimyar always took care to repair any breaches of the dam promptly, meaning no mass exodus was ever necessary in reality. The Ḥuzā'a are also an ancient Arab tribe. Their origin is obscure but they went on to become the rulers of Mecca.²⁴⁹ The Abnā', however, are not a tribe; this is the name given to the Yemen-born descendants of the Persian immigrants who came to Yemen under Persian rule.²⁵⁰

Qays Ibn 'Abd Yağūt al-Makšūḥ, also known as Qays Ibn 'Abd Yağūt al-Makšūḥ al-Murādī was a member of the Murād, an Arab tribe who were also part of the Madḥiğ tribal group. He 'seems to have been one of the most powerful chiefs of the Murād at the time of the rise of Islam.'²⁵¹ Fayrūz ad-Daylamī, and Dādawayh were two Persians,²⁵² who seem to be best-known for their role in this story.

Al-Marzubāna, his wife, hated him as he had married her by force; she was of the noble Persians and she faithfully promised them that when they came to the appointed meeting place she would have sent in the wine until he was drunk, so he would be sleeping like the dead. Qays, Fayrūz, and the group with them went in to him, and they found him on a great bed of feathers, swallowed up in it. Fayrūz felt pity in following through with his sword, but then he struck him with it and placed his knee on the liar's chest, then he twisted his neck and turned it until he had turned his face away from his back. Fayrūz gave the order to Qays and he cut off his head and threw it to the people. God the Almighty scattered those who followed him and laid shame and depravity on them. The news of this reached the Messenger, may God honour him and grant him peace, during his illness of which he died, and he, may God honour him and grant him peace, said, mentioning al-Aswad, "The pious man, Fayrūz ad-Daylamī, and Dādawayh killed him." The matter came to Qays Ibn al-Makšūḥ; he was a tribal chief of Ṣana'a where there was a group of al-Aswad's followers. When the (news of

248 EI² s.v. Azd. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0946>. Consulted online on 07 September 2019.

249 EI² s.v. Khuzā'a. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4354>. Consulted online on 07 September 2019.

250 EI² s.v. al-Abnā'. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0008>. Consulted online on 21 September 2019.

251 EI² s.v. Murād. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_5528>. Consulted online on 21 September 2019.

252 EI² s.v. al-Aswad. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0823>. Consulted online on 08 September 2019.

the) death of the prophet, may God honour him and grant him peace, reached them, Qays, the Abnā', and the people of Ṣana'ā' stood firmly by Islam except for the followers of al-Aswad. Then Qays Ibn al-Makšūḥ returned and removed the Abnā' from Ṣana'ā' so no one remained there, only in the vicinity. The apostasy of the people of Ṣana'ā' reached the ears of Ḥālīd b. Sa'īd b. al-Āsī, may God be pleased with him, and so he set out that day until they were under his command and Qays' command, then they converted to Islam, which was celebrated at the opportune time.

Al-Aswad al-Āsī's wife, al-Marzubāna, is said to have been the widow of Šahr, the Persian occupier of Ṣana'ā' whom al-Aswad had defeated and killed;²⁵³ al-Ḥimyarī relates here that al-Aswad al-Āsī had then married her by force. Her name shows her Persian origins, as it is derived from the Arabised form of the Persian *marzpān*, which was originally used as 'the title of a military governor of a frontier province in the Sāsānid empire in the 4th or 5th centuries A.D.' but later came to be used as a proper name, with Marzubāna as the feminine form.²⁵⁴

Ḥālīd b. Sa'īd b. al-Āsī, also known as Ḥālīd b. Sa'īd b. al-Āṣ, was a wealthy member of the Umayyads and listed by 'several traditionists' as one of the close companions of Muhammad, although Ibn Ishāq places him as further removed. He died in 13 AH /635 CE.²⁵⁵

2.9 Zafār ²⁵⁶

Zafār was the capital of the kingdom of Ḥimyar in Southern Arabia and lay around 8 km south of Yarīm in the Yemeni Highlands. Today a small village stands on the ruins of the old town, which include many inscriptions, fragments, and an ancient castle. Zafār has existed for a long time; it is mentioned in Pliny's Natural History and in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, both dating from the mid 1st century CE.

A town in Yemen. It is a noun which ends indeclinably in kasra (i), as Abū 'Ubayda said. It is said that its way is the feminine way and it is not triptotically inflected. The evidence for this declaration is the statement by al-Fand az-Zamānī:

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ EI² s.v. Marzpān. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4991>. Consulted online on 21 September 2019.

²⁵⁵ EI² s.v. Ḥālīd b. Sa'īd. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4147>. Consulted online on 21 September 2019.

²⁵⁶ 'Abbās' note: Footnote 1: *Mu'ğam mā sta'ğam* 3:904.
Mu'ğam mā sta'ğam is discussed in Section 1.5.1.2.1.

*Yet Qaḥṭān is firewood in us
And Nizār is fire in the Banū Qaḥṭān
So they forced the scattered remains of an army from us and let flee
those seeking refuge, not saving you Ẓafār^(u).*

The poem is only here to illustrate the grammatical status of Ẓafār; i.e. that it is not a triptote. Abū 'Ubayda, quoted above, was an Arabic philologist from Basra who was born in the second century AH / eighth century CE.²⁵⁷

Al-Fanad az-Zamānī seems to refer to Šahil b. Šaybān bin Rabī'a bin Zamān bin Mālik bin Sa'b b'Alī b. Bakr b. Wā'il, a Yemeni pre-Islamic poet.²⁵⁸ From his full name it seems he was a member of the Šaybān tribe, a group celebrated both in the pre-Islamic era and the early Islamic period for 'the remarkable quality of its poets, its use of a very pure form of Arabic language and its fighting ardour'.²⁵⁹

Qaḥṭān is believed by Arab genealogists and in popular tradition to be the 'ancestor of all the South-Arabian peoples'. He is sometimes referred to as the father of all Yemen; for this reason Banū Qaḥṭān is used to refer to the Yemenis themselves.²⁶⁰ Nizār probably refers here to Nizār b. Ma'add b. 'Adnān who Arab genealogists place as the 'common ancestor of the greater part of the Arab tribes of the north'.²⁶¹

It is the capital city²⁶² of Yemen, and seat of the kings of Ḥimyar in ancient times; they used to reside there. Thirty seven kings of Ḥimyar ruled it. Their rule lasted three thousand one hundred and seventy years, but it was said (that it was) less than that. The last of their kings was Ma'dī Karib,

257 EI² s.v. Abū 'Ubayda. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0268>. Consulted online on 15 September 2019.

258 <https://www.aldiwan.net/poem1762.html>. Consulted online on 15 September 2019.

259 EI² s.v. Šaybān. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_6885>. Consulted online on 13 June 2020.

260 EI² s.v. Qaḥṭān. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3790>. Consulted online on 18 April 2020.

261 EI² s.v. Nizār b. Ma'add. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_5952>. Consulted online on 07 December 2019.

262 'Abbās' note: Footnote 2: Report in al-Bakrī *Mğ*: 67, 63 and what follows it; and in *Rihla* by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa: 659 – 262 *Detailed knowledge about Ẓafār*.

For al-Bakrī see Section 1.5.1.2.1.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (703 AH /1304 CE - 770 AH /1368-9 CE or 779 AH /1377 CE) was an Arab traveller from Tangier. His work *Rihla* documents his extensive travels. EI² s.v. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_3113>. Consulted online on 15 September 2019.

his rule lasted four years until his war against the Ethiopians killed him. When he was killed, Anūširwān dispatched Wahriz in (a group of) four thousand Persians to restore order in Yemen, and he ordered him not to spare even one of the remaining Ethiopians, and he did not leave (any) one from Sudan there. Wahriz remained in Ṣana‘ā’ until he had taken possession of it, then the governors of the Persian kings passed Yemen alternately between themselves until God Almighty came with Islam.

For a very brief summary of the rule of Ḥimyar, here is a quote from the Encyclopaedia of Islam:

'From beginnings in the 1st century A.D in the southern highlands, to a time towards the end of the 3rd century, a large tribal confederation, called Ḥimyar... had annexed the territories of Saba', conquered Ḥaḍramaut and driven the Abyssinian colonialists from the land. In the late 4th century, the paganism of Ḥimyar had been replaced by Judaism, and this newly-found religious fervour had carried out the notorious massacre of the Christian community of Naḍjṛān. This act brought the Christian Abyssinians back into Yemen under Abraha who, after dealing with Ḥimyar, had become the virtual king of the country.' This was in around 570 CE.²⁶³

This translation lists Ma‘dī Karib as the last king of Ḥimyar. This is actually a later date for the last King than is given in the EI2 quote above, since Ma‘dī Karib is the son of Sayf b. Dī Yazan who appealed to the Persians for help overcoming Ethiopian rule and so they were actually vassal kings for the Persians (see Section 2.8 Ṣana‘ā’ and also below, for this story).²⁶⁴ These events took place after Abraha's rule, during the rule of his son Masrūq.

Anūširwān is the other part of the Arabic name for the Persian Sāsānid ruler Chosroēs (Ḥusraw) I. The other part, Kisrā, is used to refer to him in the entry on Ṣana‘ā’ (Section 2.8) and is also used in the following paragraph telling the story of Sayf b. Dī Yazan.²⁶⁵ Wahriz is a Persian general also mentioned in Section 2.8 on Ṣana‘ā’.²⁶⁶

The people have spoken of Sayf b. Dī-Yazan's departure to Caesar, Emperor of Rome, to ask for

263 EI² s.v. al-Yaman. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1358>. Consulted online on 15 September 2019.

264 EI² s.v. Wahriz. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7825>. Consulted online on 15 September 2019.

265 EI² s.v. Kisrā. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4407>. Consulted online on 22 July 2019

266 EI² s.v. Wahriz. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7825>. Consulted online on 15 September 2019.

assistance there against the Ethiopians when they conquered Yemen and ravaged it, but he was denied (help). After that, he travelled to an-Nu'mān b. al-Mundir, and an-Nu'mān promised him that he would have an audience with Kisrā upon his arrival there. Then he met him (Kisrā) there and lodged a complaint with him in the matter of the Ethiopians, but he (Kisrā) was busy with the Roman war up until (the time when) Sayf died. His son, Ma'dī Karib bin Sayf, came to ask for the fulfilment of his (Kisrā's) promise to his father, so Kisrā prepared the armed forces (and sent them) with him to Yemen. They did battle with Masrūq bin Abraha and killed him. Their rule over Yemen is well-known and does not need to be elaborated on. However, many people believe that it was Sayf b. Dī-Yazan who destroyed the Ethiopians and ruled Yemen and not his son Ma'dī Karib. Al-Mas'ūdī stands alone in (making) this unusual report.

Here al-Ḥimyarī gives a longer and slightly different account of the story of Sayf b. Dī-Yazan to the one he gave in the entry on Ṣan'ā' (Section 2.8). However, he does concede that only al-Mas'ūdī gives this version. Al-Mas'ūdī is an Arab writer born in Baghdad 'no later than some years before 280/893'. He was the author of many works but only two survive today, *K. murūğ aḍ-ḍahab* and *K. at-tanbīh wa-l-iṣrāf*, both historical-geographical works.²⁶⁷ (See also Section 1.5.1 footnote 111 and this section footnote 269).

In this version of events, Sayf b. Dī-Yazan travels to see various world leaders before arriving at Kisrā's door. He first goes to see the Byzantine ruler, but is unsuccessful there. He then goes to see an-Nu'mān b. al-Mundir, the Laḥmid king at Ḥīra, the Laḥmid capital in modern day southern Iraq. Al-Mundir ruled from around 580 CE and was himself a vassal of the Sāsānids in Persia. His death at Persian hands in 602 CE signalled the 'virtual end' of the three hundred year Laḥmid dynasty and made him the last king of the Laḥmids.²⁶⁸ Al-Mundir promises him he will have an audience with Kisrā Anūširwān if he travels to see him. However, the Sāsānids are busy at war with Byzantium and Sayf dies having lodged a complaint but without having received aid. In this version, then, it is Sayf's son, Ma'dī Karib bin Sayf, who returns to Persia to call in the promise made to his father and accompanies Wahriz and the Persians to Southern Arabia, defeats the Ethiopians and becomes king. Although the story is slightly different, the net result – the expulsion of the Ethiopians and the establishment of Persian rule through a vassal king – remains the same.

267 EF² s.v. al-Mas'ūdī. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0704>. Consulted online on 20 September 2019.

268 EF² s.v. al-Nu'mān (iii) b. al-Mundhir. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_5979>. Consulted online on 22 July 2019.

For information on Masrūq bin Abraha see Section 2.8 on Ṣan‘ā’.

They said:²⁶⁹ And on the gate of Ṣafār is written in the first script (i.e. in Ancient Southern Arabian Musnad script) in black stone:

On the day Ṣafār was constructed it was said, “To whom do you belong?” and it (Ṣafār) said, “To Ḥimyar the most superior.”

Then it was asked what came after that and said, “Verily, my wealth belongs to Ethiopia the most malicious.”

Then it was asked what came after that and said, “Verily, my wealth belongs to Persia the most free.”

Then it was asked what came after that and said, “Verily, my wealth belongs to the Qurayṣ, the merchants.”

Then it was asked what came after that and said, “Verily, my wealth belongs to Ḥimyar, the sorcerers”

But little will this race abide there upon its setting up, it will be brought to ruin by lions who the sea will cast there; they will kindle a fire on the heights of the wall.

This has already been mentioned under the letter dal.

This inscription has been mentioned before, as al-Ḥimyarī writes, under the letter dal in the entry on Ḍamār (Section 2.1). The story there was slightly different, since this inscription was there said to relate to Ḍamār, not Ṣafār, and was said to have been found on a foundation stone of the Ka‘ba. The inscription text given there is also shorter, ending without the last prophetic sentence.

The reference to the Ḥimyarites as sorcerers is not the only time in medieval Classical Arabic literature that Southern Arabia is associated with magic. The 7th century AH / 13th century CE author Ibn al-Muğāwir, from Ḥurāsān wrote an account of his journeys in southern and western Arabia, *Tārīḥ al-mustabṣir*. This work includes many tales and legends featuring magic and sorcerers in

269 ‘Abbās’ note: Footnote 1: *Murūğ aḍ-Ḍahab* 3:178. *K. murūğ aḍ-Ḍahab wa-ma‘ādin aḡ-ḡawhar* (Meadows of Gold and mines of gems) is a work by al-Mas‘ūdī and was written in 332 AH / 943 CE. It comprises two parts: ‘a “sacred” history up to the time of the Prophet, a survey of India, geographical data concerning seas and rivers, China, the tribes of Turkey, a list of the kings of ancient Mesopotamia, Persia, Greece, Rome, Byzantium, Egypt, and chapters on Negroes, Slavs, Gaul and Galicia. Next come the ancient history of Arabia and articles on the beliefs, the various calendars, the religious monuments of India, of Persia, of the Sabaeans, etc., and a summary of universal chronology.’ EI² s.v. al-Mas‘ūdī. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0704>. Consulted online on 20 September 2019.

Yemen, especially concerning female sorcerers.²⁷⁰ He particularly associates Suqūṭrā and the Mahra with magic, noting that the Mahra 'are called *al-Saḥarah* (sorcerers)', Ibn al-Muḡāwir states that this name is derived from *siḥr* (sorcery), but G. Rex Smith, who translated Ibn al-Muḡāwir's work, suggests that he 'has misunderstood and misheard *al-Saḥarah* for *al-Šaḥarah*, the Šḥeris, who are strictly speaking the people who speak Jibbālī.'²⁷¹

And it is now²⁷² a ruin, its buildings have fallen down and its population has grown sparse, now (only) a remnant of its people remains there.

In the words²⁷³ of one of their kings: Anyone who entered Ṣafār becomes Ḥimyarite. The reason behind this is that Dū Ḡadan al-Ḥimyarī went out travelling in the tribal communities of the Arabs and he came to (the tribe of) the Banū Tamīm; a tent (made of haircloth) was set up for him, and Zurāra b. 'Udus came to him, climbing since he was on a high hill. The king said to him, "Ṭb", which is 'sit down' in his language, and Zurāra said, "May the king know that I am an obedient listener" and he jumped (root: wṭb) to the ground and broke his limbs. The king said, "What is he doing?" and it was said to him "Could you remove the curse from yourself! 'wṭb' (i.e. jump) in his language is jump (al-qafz)" and he said "Our Arabic is not like your Arabic, let anyone who enters Ṣafār become Ḥimyarite," that is, let him speak in the language of Ḥimyar.

Dū Ḡadan al-Ḥimyarī was a Sabaeen, from Ma'rib. He was one of the *Matāmina*, the eight Southern Arabian *qayls* who rose to power after Sayf b. Dī Yazan.²⁷⁴ The Banū Tamīm are a large tribe from the North whose territory was in Naḡd around al-Yamāma, stretching to the Gulf, Baṣra, and near Kūfa during the pre-Islamic era.²⁷⁵ Zurāra b. 'Udus was possibly a chief of the Dārim of the Tamīm. All of his sons were poets; probably the most well-known is Laqīṭ b. Zurāra who was also chief of the Dārim.²⁷⁶ The point being made in the story is that Dū Ḡadan al-Ḥimyarī spoke an Ancient Southern Arabian language, while Zurāra b. 'Udus of the Banū Tamīm spoke Arabic.

²⁷⁰ Smith 1995:9-10.

²⁷¹ Ibid p.11.

²⁷² 'Abbās' note: Footnote 1: This statement is in al-Idrīsī in *Nuzhat al-Muštāq*: 54 (152:OG) and the completion of the statement is "and they have some property and goods and a few fields under cultivation and date palms in them sufficient for the people." For *Nuzhat al-Muštāq* see Section 1.5.1.2.2.

²⁷³ 'Abbās' note: Footnote 2: *Mu'ḡam mā sta'ḡam* 3:904-905.

For *Mu'ḡam mā sta'ḡam* see Section 1.5.1.2.1.

²⁷⁴ EI² s.v. al-Mathāmina. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0708>. Consulted online on 20 September 2019.

²⁷⁵ EI² s.v. Tamīm b. Murr. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1165>. Consulted online on 20 September 2019.

²⁷⁶ EI² s.v. Laqīṭ b. Zurāra. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4622>. Consulted online on 20 September 2019.

The command '*Tb*' given by Dū Ġadan al-Ĥimyarī in Ĥimyarite seems to come from the Sabaic root *WTB* (I), meaning *to sit; reside, settle, or occupy (land)*,²⁷⁷ which fits with the meaning given by al-Ĥimyarī here. However, Zurāra b. 'Udus understood him to be using the Arabic root *wṭb* meaning *to jump*. This story is used to illustrate that the two languages were not mutually intelligible.

'*Could you remove the curse from yourself!*' Or '*Puisses-tu éloigner de toi la malédiction!*' is given by A. De B. Kazimirski as a 'formule déprécatore en usage chez les anciens Arabes.'²⁷⁸

2.10 'Adan ²⁷⁹

Aden is a town and seaport on the south coast of Yemen; its peninsula is an extinct volcano. It is often referred to as 'Adan Abyan to distinguish it from other towns of the same name. Abyan, as al-Ĥimyarī writes below, was a small town about 18km away from Aden.²⁸⁰

A town in Yemen; there are twelve miles between it and Abyan. ²⁸¹ *It is a small town, but its name is renowned because it is the sea anchorage from which ships of the Sind, India, and China depart. China imports wares there like iron, swords of exquisite workmanship, hide, musk, wood, peppercorns, dārafilfil, coconut, cardamom, cinnamon, galangal, mace, myrobalan emblic, ebony, mother-of-pearl, camphor, walnuts, cloves, cubeb, elephant tusks, tin lead, cane, bamboo and more commodities. Surrounding 'Adan to its north side, a distance away, is a mountain which turns to the sea and two openings have been hollowed out of it on its two sides like two doors through which one enters and leaves; between the door (i.e. at the front) and the door at the rear of the mountain it is a journey of four days. The people of 'Adan do not have another entry or exit (i.e. into or out of the city) except through these two openings or across the sea. It is a city of trade.*

The Sind refers to the region along the lower course of the Indus river and delta area, today within the borders of Pakistan.²⁸² Some of the more exotic wares are perhaps less well-known: *dārafilfil* is

²⁷⁷ Beeston 1982:165. s.r. *WTB*.

²⁷⁸ Kazimirski 1860:7. s.r. ابى.

²⁷⁹ 'Abbās' note: Footnote 3: *Subḥ al-A 'šā* 5:10.

Subḥ al-A 'šā is by al-Qalqaṣandī and is discussed in Section 2.8 on San 'ā' (Footnote 230).

²⁸⁰ EI² s.v. Abyan. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0289>. Consulted online on 20 July 2019.

²⁸¹ 'Abbās' note: Footnote 4: *Nuzhat al-Muštāq*:20, (54:OG) and Ibn al-Wardī:44.

For *Nuzhat al-Muštāq* see Section 1.5.1.2.2; Ibn al-Wardī is discussed in Section 2.2 on Zabīd (Footnote 181).

²⁸² EI² s.v. Sind. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1083>. Consulted online on 20 July 2019.

a variety of pepper, *Piper chaba hout*,²⁸³ myrobalan emblic is the fruit of *Phyllanthus emblica* L., and is often used medicinally for treating digestive disorders,²⁸⁴ while cubeb is another type of pepper, *Piper cubeba*.²⁸⁵

‘Adan is the harbour for Ṣana‘ā and in it is the port for Chinese ships. It is named for ‘Adan, son of Saba’; he was the first to settle there, (as told) in the rhymed prose of Saṭīḥ the soothsayer in the interpretation of Rabī‘a b. Naṣr’s vision. Then following on from him is Iram Dī-Yazan, he rebelled against them (i.e. the Ethiopians) from ‘Adan and did not leave a single one of them in Yemen.

There is no evidence that ‘Adan, son of Saba’ refers to an actual historical person. As mentioned in Section 2.1 on Ḍamār, Saba’ is the name of the tribe who inhabited the area around Ma’rib but over time Saba’ was ‘personified as the alleged ancestor of the Sabaeans, and had been inserted into a pedigree by Arab genealogists’.²⁸⁶

The references to Saṭīḥ and Rabī‘a b. Naṣr come from a story told by Ibn Ishāq in his *Sīra* entitled ‘The soothsayers Shiqq and Saṭīḥ’. In this story, Rabī‘a b. Naṣr, ‘king of Yaman...of the true stock of the Tubba’ kings’ had a disturbing vision. He sent for soothsayers to interpret it but first they had to describe it to him. Both Saṭīḥ and Shiqq correctly described the vision and explained that it foretold the Ethiopian conquest of Yemen but that Yemen would one day be freed again. They also described the coming of ‘a pure prophet’ and so are said to have foretold the coming of Muḥammad. In the same story, Saṭīḥ tells Rabī‘a b. Naṣr that the Ethiopians will be driven out by Iram b. Dī-Yazan who would ‘come against them’ from ‘Adan and ‘not leave one of them in the Yemen’ i.e. would drive them out of Yemen entirely.²⁸⁷

Concerning al-Barā’ ibn ‘Āzib, may God be pleased with him, he said: We were discussing the Hour (of Resurrection), when (suddenly) the Messenger of God, may God honour him and grant him peace, was watching over us and he said, “What are you discussing?” We said, “We are discussing the Hour (of Resurrection). He, may God honour him and grant him peace, said, “Verily it will not come until ten signs have come before it: the Dağğāl, the Dābba min al-Arḍ, a landslide

283 Wehr 2011:727 s.r. فلفل.

284 Morton 1960:119-120.

285 Wehr 2011:808. s.r. كُب.

286 EI² s.v. Mārib. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4964>. Consulted online on 26 July 2019.

287 Guillaume 1998:4-6.

in the east, a landslide in the west, a landslide in the Arabian Peninsula, smoke, the sun rising in the west, Gog and Magog, the descent of Jesus, and a conflagration emerging from 'Adan.

Al-Barā' b. 'Āzib b. al-Ḥārīt al-Awsī al-Anṣārī is a Companion of the Prophet who took part in the Wars of Conquest. He fought for 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib at the Battle of the Camel.²⁸⁸

The Hour of Resurrection here means the end of the world. Of the ten signs said to precede it, most are self-explanatory, but several require some explanation. The *Dağğāl* (the imposter, cheat) is 'a malevolent creature in human form, who appears at the end of the world as the apocalyptic opponent of Jesus'. He is not mentioned in the Qur'ān but rather appears in apocalyptic literature and *ḥadīth* collections.²⁸⁹ The *Dābba min al-Arḍ* (the beast of the earth) is mentioned in the Quran and will arrive once judgement has been pronounced.²⁹⁰ Gog and Magog (*Ya 'ğūğ wa-Ma 'ğūğ*) are the names given to 'apocalyptic peoples known from biblical (Ezekiel xxxviii, xxxix, Apocalypse, xx. 7-10) and Qur'ānic eschatology'. It is not possible to give one single description of them since the traditions surrounding them vary greatly. However, Islamic tradition holds that Alexander the Great erected a barrier against them which will hold them back until the end of time when they will reappear.²⁹¹ Interestingly, given that 'Adan sits on an extinct volcano, Löfgren suggests that the traditional idea mentioned in the *sīra* of a fire in 'Adan which signals the end of the world could actually be 'some sort of reminiscence of volcanic activity.'²⁹²

2.11 Ma'rib²⁹³

Ma'rib, *mryb* and after 2 CE, *mr̥b* in the ASA inscriptions, was the Sabaeen capital. In Classical Arabic tradition, it is often referred to 'as 'Ma'rib Saba' (e.g. al-Ḥamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 26, 22) i.e. the Mārib which lies in Saba'. It lies on a plain around 1,200 metres above sea level and is around 135 km east of Ṣan'ā' on the desert fringes, meaning that agriculture is only possible through flood-based irrigation.²⁹⁴ For this reason, a dam had been constructed which turned Ma'rib into a luscious area.

288 EI² s.v. al-Barā. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_1204>. Consulted online on 22 July 2019.

289 EI³ s.v. Dajjāl. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_25826>. Consulted online on 23 July 2019.

290 EI² s.v. Dābba. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_1642>. Consulted online on 23 July 2019.

291 EI² s.v. Yādūdī wa-Mādūdī. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_1353>. Consulted online on 23 July 2019.

292 EI² s.v. 'Adan. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0014>. Consulted online on 18 April 2020.

293 'Abbās' note: Footnote 1: *Mu 'ğam mā sta 'ğam* 4:1170.

For *Mu 'ğam mā sta 'ğam* see Section 1.5.1.2.1.

294 EI² s.v. Mārib. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4964>. Consulted online on

Stories and legends telling of the spectacular breaching of the dam can be found in many texts, and are discussed in detail by al-Ḥimyarī here following on from his introduction to the town. There is, however, no evidence that these legends are true, on the contrary, the dam was carefully maintained for many years before it eventually fell into disrepair.

It is sometimes made easier to say by the conversion of the hamza into an alif; this is more frequent. A town in Yemen three days from Ṣanaʿā, and three day's journey from Ẓafār; it was said to be the sign of the king, and the home of Sabaʿ. It has a sukūn on the hamza (i.e. there is no vowel directly after the hamza).

Al-Ḥimyarī writes that in Arabic, Maʿrib often becomes Mārib for ease of pronunciation. However, in the EI² entry *Mārib*, W.W. Müller suggests the opposite, namely, that although 'the placename always appears as Maʿrib' in Arabic tradition, this 'is probably formed secondarily from Mārib.'

God Almighty said: There was for (the tribe of) Sabaʿ in their dwelling place a sign: two [fields of] gardens on the right and on the left.

This quote is from the Qurʾān, from *Sūra* 34 (*Sabaʿ*) and is part of verse 15. The verse continues as follows: *[They were told], "Eat from the provisions of your Lord and be grateful to Him. A good land [have you], and a forgiving Lord."*²⁹⁵

*And the poet said:*²⁹⁶

From Sabaʿ who dwelt in Maʿrib when

*They built dams against its torrent.*²⁹⁷

ʿAbbās' notes that in his *Muʿğam*, al-Bakrī attributes this to al-Aʿšā but comments that it is actually usually attributed to Umaiya b. Abī ṣ-Ṣalt, a pre-Islamic poet who probably had 'a close affinity' to the 'Meccan aristocracy'.²⁹⁸ Al-Ḥimyarī actually uses this quote again later on in this entry and the second time he, too, attributes it to aṣ-Ṣalt.

19 April 2020.

295 Sabaʿ (34):15. <https://quran.com.34>. Consulted online on 23 July 2019.

296 ʿAbbās' note: Footnote 2: In his *Muʿğam* al-Bakrī attributes this to al-Aʿšā, and the author will indicate in this matter its attribution to Umaiya b. Abī ṣ-Ṣalt.

297 Poetry translation via Guillaume 1998:694.

298 EI² s.v. Umayya b. Abī ʿl-Ṣalt. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7716>. Consulted online on 26 July 2019.

The dam was constructed by Saba' b. Yašğub and seventy valleys were driven into it. He died before he finished it, so the kings of Ḥimyar (who came) after him finished it. It is said that Luqmān Ibn 'Ad built it and his reward was a parasang in a parasang (i.e. he was given a square parasang of land), and thirty tribes were granted to him.

Once again here, in naming Saba' b. Yašğub, the text is referring to the personification of the tribe of Saba' as the 'ancestor of the Sabaeans'. This was discussed in more detail in Section 2.1 on Damār.²⁹⁹

Luqmān Ibn 'Ad is a quranic Sage who is quoted in the Qur'ān, in *Sūra* 31 (*Luqmān*).³⁰⁰

Details on the *parasang* unit of measure can be found in Section 2.3 on Suḥār.

The dam³⁰¹ was between two mountains; they are called the ma'zimīn (the narrow roads or place between two mountains). From there one passes through it into the place where the water of this dam was divided in pre-Islamic times into desert and sands, and it is this which is called the garden of the left side. God Almighty said: There was for (the tribe of) Saba' in their dwelling place a sign (Saba':15), and one continues on until one arrives in Ma'rib. There is a salt mine there which the Prophet, may God honour him and grant him peace, granted to Abyaḍ b. Ḥammāl al-Ma'ribī. Abyaḍ made it a charitable gift for the poor, and the Prophet, may God honour him and grant him peace, gave him a wall known as al-ğadrāt³⁰² on the gate of Ma'rib in exchange. It does not want for fruits in summer; winter, spring, or autumn because (the Prophet), may god honour him and grant him peace, invoked a blessing on it.

Abyaḍ b. Ḥammāl al-Ma'ribī was a Companion of the Prophet to whom Muhammad gave the salt mine as a fief, as he had requested it. The mine in question is the salt-mine at Ġabal Ṣāfir, three days' journey by camel from Ma'rib. Previously, the Banū 'Abīda had supplied almost the entire Yemeni highlands with this salt.³⁰³

299 EI² s.v. Mārib. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4964>. Consulted online on 19 April 2020.

300 EI³ s.v. Hūd. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_30532>. Consulted online on 26 July 2019.

301 'Abbās' note: Footnote 3: al-Bakrī (*Mğ*):67. See Section 1.5.1.2.1.

302 From *ğadr* (wall). See for example Wehr 2011: 114 s.r. جدر.

303 EI² s.v. Mārib. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4964>. Consulted online on 19 April 2020.

*Ma'rib is the city of Saba' and the throne of Bilqīs is in it. The throne was built on columns of stone and each of the columns is twenty eight *dur'ān* above the ground (i.e. 28 *dur'ān* tall); the throne was taken away and the columns alone remained. It is said that under the earth there is of those columns the same as that which is above it (i.e. the columns go down into the ground to the same depth as the height they extend above it); the thickness of each column is such that four people cannot embrace it. It has a market, a mosque, and a way station. Then one leaves it (Ma'rib), crosses the land of the valley and enters the right garden which God Almighty mentioned. There are no trees there except the tamarisk and the salvadora persica; durra is sown in it.*

Bilqīs is 'the name by which the Queen of Sheba is known in Arabic literature'. The name Bilqīs does not appear in the Qur'ān but it is the name generally used by Muslim authors. According to legend, Bilqīs was a sun worshipper who contacted King Solomon, possibly via a hoopoe, and sent gifts to him. When he failed to receive these well, she set out to visit him in person. Fears Solomon might marry her led to rumours being spread that she had 'hairy legs and the foot of an ass', so Solomon tricked her into mistaking the polished floor for a pool of water, thereby getting her to lift her skirts and uncover her (normal) legs. Some legends assert that Solomon married her while others say that 'he gave her in marriage to one of the Tubba's of the tribe of Hamdān.'. Eventually, she is said to have become a Muslim. The most detailed (and flattering) account of this legend is found in the Ethiopian *Kebra Nagast*; in this version Solomon and Makeda (Bilqīs' Ethiopian name) have a child who goes on to rule as Menelik I 'from whom the Ethiopian dynasty claims descent to the present day'.³⁰⁴

As for the throne of Bilqīs in Ma'rib, according to Müller in his EI² Ma'rib entry, this refers to the remains of the 'Bar'an temple (*mḥrmn* / *br'n*)' which had been dedicated to Ilmaqah. There are 'five pillars with capitals and a pillar stump' which 'still rise up from the débris of the construction so far unexcavated.' The same name is also used to refer to a colonnade in Širwāḥ.³⁰⁵

The measurement *dur'ān* is translated as cubits. The length seems to vary by country, but without any qualifying adjective this seems to refer to the measurement of 0.68m.³⁰⁶

The tamarisk can refer to any of the shrubs and low trees of the *Tamaricaceae*. They can be found in 'salt deserts, by seashores, in mountainous areas, and in other semiarid localities from the

304 EI² s.v. Bilqīs. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_1417>. Consulted online on 07 September 2019.

305 EI² s.v. Mārib. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4964>. Consulted online on 19 April 2020.

306 Wehr 2011:309 s.r. ذرع.

Mediterranean region to central Asia and northern China'. They have 'long, slender branches with numerous small, gray-green, scalelike leaves' and 'clusters of small pink flowers.'³⁰⁷ *Salvadora persica* is the tree also known as the toothbrush tree, since it has long been used for teeth cleaning.³⁰⁸ *Durra* is a variety of sorghum.³⁰⁹

In ancient times Ma'rib was a big, populous town, well-known in the Arab countries. In it is Širwāḥ, the palace of Solomon, peace be upon him, and nothing is left of it except crumbling ruins. The palace of Bilqīs is (also) there, as we said, and there used to be a dam named 'Arim. The majority of the people of Ma'rib were of Saba', from before the Ḥimyarite Arabs, and they had greatness, haughtiness, and pride over all the nations, which is well known, and as well as that, they did not believe in the grace of God, praise him. In this town they had a dam of magnificent construction and solid workmanship; they felt safe from harm. The water was kept behind it for approximately 20 fathoms, and the water was confined by its sides; they felt safe and placed their confidence in its workmanship. Their housing was on it, and every one of their tribes had (water to) drink, certainly they drew water from it, and they diverted it into their fields under cultivation, equitably distributed. The dam used to tower over this town like a lofty mountain. When God, praise him, wanted their state to come to an end and the dispersal of their communities, he sent a flood upon them. It reached them while they were sleeping, drove back the dam and passed through the town and the villages, animals, nations, and plants close to it (Ma'rib). It killed absolutely everything and it divided them, scattered here and there; it dispersed the Arabs and stirred up the languages, and they wandered to every corner of the world. Vestiges were left in the town; peoples from Ḥaḍramaut returned to it and they thrive there to this day.

The reference to *Širwāḥ*, the palace of Solomon, seems to be caused by a name mix-up, since there is no palace by that name in Ma'rib. A palace which is mentioned as being in Ma'rib is *Salḥīn*, possibly previously known as *Salḥum* (*slḥm*) and dating back to 685 B.C.E. This was the royal palace at Ma'rib.³¹⁰ The confusion could arise from the fact that both *Salḥīn* and *Širwāḥ* were, according to the legend, among the palaces that Solomon had commanded the *ġinn* to build on behalf of Bilqīs and her husband, *Ḍū Tubba'*, king of *Hamdān*. Part of the inscription the *ġinn* are said to have left behind reads, "*We built Salḥīn in seventy seven years, striving steadily. And we*

307 Encyclopaedia Britannica s.v. Tamarisk. <https://www.britannica.com/plant/tamarisk>. Consulted online on 07 September 2019.

308 *Salvadora persica*. Germplasm Resources Information Network. <https://npgsweb.ars-grin.gov/gringlobal/taxonomydetail.aspx?32819>. Consulted online on 07 September 2019.

309 Wehr 2011:309 s.r. ذرو.

310 Information on *Salḥīn* taken from EI² s.v. *Mārib*. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4964>. Consulted online on 19 April 2020.

built *Ṣirwāḥ*...³¹¹ This legend is explained in Section 2.7 on *Ṣirwāḥ*.

20 fathoms are approximately 36.6 metres, with 1.83 metres per fathom.³¹²

*Al-A'ṣā Maymoun bin Qays mentioned the dam of Ma'rib in his remark from his poem to it:*³¹³

In this, for the one who seeks solace, is an example

Ma'rib was obliterated by the dam

of marble, Ḥimyar built it for them

when its pendulum (waters) came, it (the marble) did not decay

and watered the crops and its grapes

by the hour (with) that which was in them, then apportioned (it).

A large rat ran in them at night

and the hour came upon them and swept them away and razed (them) (form here VII: to do).³¹⁴

the chieftains and her (Ma'rib's) princes flew away

into deathly waterless deserts overflowing with mirages

and they travelled, scattered, they are not able

to give (water) to drink from it (the dam) to a weaned child.

And Umayya Ibn Abī aṣ-Ṣalt said in his qaṣīda to it:

From Saba' who dwelt in Ma'rib when

They built dams against its torrent.³¹⁵

Al-A'ṣā Maymoun bin Qays, usually known simply as al-A'ṣā (the nightblind), died some time after 3AH/ 625 CE. He is 'one of the most renowned ancient Arab poets' and thought to be the first to have been able to make a living from poetry. Little is known of his life, but it seems likely that he travelled throughout the Arabian Peninsula and Iraq to meet his diverse patrons. His name al-A'ṣā suggests he may have had an eye disease, but 'he might have chosen this cognomen deliberately for poetic effect'.³¹⁶

311 Brinner 1991: 164.

312 Encyclopaedia Britannica s.v. Fathom. <https://www.britannica.com/science/fathom>. Consulted online on 07 September 2019.

313 'Abbās' note: Footnote 1: *Diwān of al-A'ṣā*: 34.

For details of al-A'ṣā see the next page, main text.

314 'Abbās' note: Footnote 2: The *diwān*: فجار بهم جارف منهزم. [This is one of the variations in the *Diwān* manuscript.]

315 Poetry translation via Guillaume 1998:694.

316 EI³ s.v. al-A'ṣā. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_23467>. Consulted online

This poem appears in the book *Diwān of al-A‘šā* edited by R. Geyer (p.34) but the text differs slightly in places from the version given here. The relevant lines are provided in Arabic in the appendix together with the Arabic text for the Ma‘rib entry.

In *A Literary History of the Arabs*, Nicolson provides a more poetic (and rhyming) translation of another slightly different version of this poem, as follows:³¹⁷

*“Let this warn whoever a warning will take -
and Ma‘rib withal which the dam fortified
of marble did Ḥimyar
construct it so high
the waters recoiled when to reach it they tried.
It watered their acres and vineyards, and hour
by hour did a portion among them divide.
So lived they in fortune and plenty until
Therefrom turned away by a ravaging tide
Then wandered their princes and noblemen through
mirage shrouded deserts that baffle the guide.”*

The snippet of poetry following the longer poem is the same snippet previously quoted in this entry, but this time it is correctly attributed to Umaiya Ibn Abī aṣ-Ṣalt. A *qaṣīda* is a 'poem rhyming AA, BA, CA etc., a. o. of panegyric, ethical, religious or elegiac content.'³¹⁸

*Ibn Ishāq said:*³¹⁹ *The reason for ‘Amr b. ‘Āmir's emigration from Yemen was that he saw a rat digging in the dam of Ma‘rib which was keeping back the water for them so they (could) divert it to (the part of) their land where they wanted it. He knew then that the dam would not hold and resolved to emigrate from Yemen and outwit his people. He ordered the youngest of his sons to get up and hit him once he (the father) had spoken rudely to him and hit him. His son did as his father had ordered him and ‘Amr said: I will not remain in a country in which my youngest son hits my face, and he put up his property for sale. The nobles of Yemen said: They seized the opportunity*

on 25 July 2019.

317 Nicolson 2011:17.

318 EF³ s.v. Ḥasan Ghaznavī. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_24980>. Consulted online on 07 September 2019.

319 ‘Abbās' note: Footnote 3: *Sīra*: 1:13.

The *Sīra* is discussed in 2.8 on Ṣana‘ā' (Footnote 239).

offered by 'Amr's angry outburst and bought his property from him. 'Amr, his son, and his grandson emigrated. The Azd said: We do not differ in opinion from 'Amr b. 'Āmir, so they sold their possessions and left with him. They travelled until they came to the land of the 'Akk; traversing they explored the countries. So the 'Akk waged war against them and they fought each other with alternate success. Then they (the Azd) left them (the 'Akk) and became scattered throughout the countries: the kinsfolk of Ġafna b. 'Amr b. 'Āmir settled in Syria, the Aws and the Ḥazraġ settled in Yaṭrib, the Ḥuzā'a settled in Marr, the Azd as-Sarāt settled in as-Sarāt, and the Azd 'Umān settled in 'Umān (Oman).

'Amr b. 'Āmir, or al-Muzayqiyā's story was mentioned in Section 2.7 on Ṣirwāḥ. The story given here seems to be the main reason he is remembered. In another version it is his wife, Zārīfa, who is able to interpret her dreams, who has visions of 'a giant rat with iron teeth and big claws...about to ... undermine the dam'.³²⁰

The Azd are mentioned in Section 2.8 on Ṣana'ā'. They were 'two ancient Arab tribal groupings in the highlands of 'Asīr (Azd Sarāt) and in Oman (Azd 'Umān)'.³²¹ This legend seeks to explain their origins and provide them with a history.

The 'Akk were also an 'old Arabian tribe.' At 'the beginning of the 7th century', their territory in Yemen was in the Tihāma and 'stretched from Wādī Mawr, over Surdud, to Wādī Sahām (i.e. between modern Luḥayya and Ḥudayda)' ³²²

The Aws and Ḥazraġ went on to become the two main tribes in Medina and they were the 'helpers' (Anṣār) of Muḥammad. ³²³

The Ḥuzā'a, also mentioned in Section 2.8 on Ṣana'ā', were another ancient Arab tribe 'of obscure origin' who became the rulers of Mecca. ³²⁴ Marr could refer to *Wādī Marr* in Saudi Arabia. It is in the Mecca province, which fits with their history.

As-Sarāt, where the Azd as-Sarāt settled, is also in Saudi Arabia, in 'Asīr.

320 EI² s.v. Mārib. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4964>. Consulted online on 19 April 2020.

321 EI² s.v. Azd. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0946>. Consulted online on 07 September 2019.

322 EI² s.v. 'Akk. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0482>. Consulted online on 07 September 2019.

323 EI² s.v. al-Aws. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0885>. Consulted online on 07 September 2019.

324 EI² s.v. Khuzā'a. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4354>. Consulted online on 07 September 2019.

Then God the mighty and sublime power, sent the dam a flood and destroyed it. God the mighty and sublime power revealed the following to his messenger, may God honour him and grant him peace, concerning it: There was for (the tribe of) Saba' in their dwelling place a sign: two (fields) of garden on the right and on the left, (they were told) eat from the provisions of your Lord and be grateful to him. A good land (have you), and a forgiving Lord. But they turned away (refusing), so we sent upon them the flood of the dam. Concerning the last verse (Saba':15-16); 'arim' is the dam, and one of them (i.e. its singular) is 'arima'.

This is a longer quote from the Qur'ān, Sūra 34 (Saba'), verses 15 and part of 16. Verse sixteen continues: *and we replaced their two [fields of] gardens with gardens of bitter fruit, tamarisks and something of sparse lote trees.*³²⁵

And it was told that Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān, may God be pleased with him, said to his gatekeeper: Let a ragged person you see from within the gate enter here, so he went out and found a man with tattered rags that barely covered him and fetched him, and when he stood before him in audience he said: Peace be upon you, oh Commander of the Believers, and Mu'āwiya, may God be pleased with him, answered him and ordered him to take a seat, then he drew near to him and said: Where is the man from? He said: From Ma'rib. Mu'āwiya said: And from whom? (i.e. Of which people) He said. From Saba'. Mu'āwiya said: You are from those who exchanged the favour of God for unbelief and so God exchanged their two gardens for two gardens with bitter food and tamarisks and something of sparse lotus trees. He said: I am certainly from that place and from descendants of those people, but you, oh Mu'āwiya, are from those who said to their prophet Muhammad, may God honour him and grant him peace: O God, if this should be the truth from you, then rain down upon us stones from the sky or bring us painful punishment.³²⁶ I am of the people of the garden which God described and the throne which God made great, and verily you are the people of the search for food who God decreased and blamed for their hunger and said: For the accustomed security of the Qurayš (Qurayš:1) and he leaped up, and Mu'āwiya made him sit down and he apologised to him.

Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān is Mu'āwiya I, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty of caliphs based in Syria. He ruled as the generally acknowledged caliph from 41 AH / 661 CE to 60 AH / 680 CE. He

³²⁵ <https://quran.com/34>. Accessed 08.12.2019.

³²⁶ 'Abbās' note: *al-Anfāl*: 31. [Actually 32].

'is said to have been born 5, 7 or 13 years before Muḥammad's call to prophethood, conventionally set in 610 A.D, and to have been aged 73, 75, 78, 80 or 85 years when he died in *Radjab* 60/April-May 680.'³²⁷

Commander of the Believers (*amīr al-mu'minīn*) was originally the title adopted by 'Umar b.al-Ḥaṭṭāb on his election as caliph. After this, 'until the end of the Caliphate as an institution, *amīr al-mu'minīn* was employed exclusively as the protocollary title of a caliph'.³²⁸

When Mu'āwiya says: You are from those who exchanged the favour of God for unbelief and so God exchanged their two gardens for two gardens with bitter food and tamarisks and something of sparse lotus trees, he is quoting from the Qur'ān, from the end of *Saba*':16, as given above.

Likewise, the sentences the man from Ma'rib recites at Mu'āwiya are also quotes from the Qur'ān. The verse '*O God, if this should be the truth from you, then rain down upon us stones from the sky or bring us painful punishment*' was 'uttered by way of challenge rather than a prayer to God. What they meant was that had the message of the Prophet (peace be on him) been true, and from God, its rejection would have entailed a heavy scourge, and stones would have fallen on them from heaven. Since nothing of the sort happened, it was evident that the message was neither true nor from God.'³²⁹ '*For the accustomed security of the Qurayš*' is the first verse of the Sūra *Qurayš* and can be taken to mean that they are turning away from worshipping God and following Muhammad despite the fact that 'it is only thanks to God's goodness that 'they are reunited after their dispersion and have become accustomed to the trade journeys which have brought them their prosperity' This expresses surprise at their behaviour.³³⁰ The man from Ma'rib is making the point that the conduct of Mu'āwiya's people in the matter of faithful worship of God has not exactly been beyond reproach either; it is not only the people of Ma'rib who were found wanting.

2.12 Nağrān

Nağrān, now in Saudi Arabia but long part of Yemen, is a city which was 'a major urban centre in the Arabian Peninsula in ancient times.' Situated in a fertile *wādī*, it became an agricultural centre known for its fruit, vegetables and cereals, as well as for its leather and textiles. It was also very

327 EI² s.v. Mu'āwiya I. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_5279>. Consulted online on 07 September 2019.

328 EI² s.v. Amīr al-Mu'minīn. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0617>. Consulted online on 07 September 2019.

329 Explanation via <https://www.islamicstudies.info/tafheem.php?sura=8&verse=29>. Consulted online on 07 September 2019.

330 Explanation via <https://www.islamicstudies.info/tafheem.php?sura=106>. Consulted online on 07 September 2019.

important as a caravan city, since it sat 'at the intersection of two main caravan routes,' the one from Ḥaḍramaut over the Ḥiḡāz to the Mediterranean, 'and another that ran to the northeast through Yamāma into Mesopotamia- 'Irāk.'³³¹

Of the land of Yemen, named after Naḡrān b. Zayd b. Saba' b. Yašgub b. Ya'rub b. Qaḥṭān.

This name seems to be another extension of the personification and 'family-building' of Saba' b. Yašgub b. Ya'rub b. Qaḥṭān, the ancestor of the Sabaeans. This issue was discussed in more detail in Section 2.1 on Ḍamār.

(Of whom) It was ³³² at the time of the People of the Ditch; they were in Naḡrān. It reached Ḍū Nuwās that the people of Naḡrān belonged to the religion of Christ; he was Jewish. He dealt with them himself: He dug ditches for them, set them (the ditches) on fire and then he called on them to convert to Judaism, casting anyone who refused into the ditches. A woman was brought together with a seven month old child; she refused to turn away from her religion and she was brought close to the fire and was anxious. God Almighty caused the child to speak and he said 'Practice your religion and there will be no fire after this,' and she was thrown into the fire. God Almighty inflicted the Ethiopians on them and they conquered the land of Yemen until it was under the command of the son of Ḍī Yazan, his appeal for aid to Kisrā Anūšīrwān having been made.

The story of the People of the Ditch is told in the Qur'ān in *al-Burūğ*:4 – 7.

Ḍū Nuwās was a pre-Islamic king of Yemen said to have converted to Judaism. It is reported that he reigned for 38 years and he is most well-known for the story told here in the text. Traditional legend relates that it was these attacks on Christians which led to his being attacked by the Byzantines and Ethiopians. Faced with defeat, Ḍū Nuwās is said to have thrown 'himself into the sea.'³³³

The story of Sayf b. Ḍī Yazan and his retaking of Southern Arabia with the help of the Persian Sāsānid ruler Chosroēs (Ḥusraw) I., referred to here as Kisrā Anūšīrwān, has been told in Section 2.8 on Ṣan'ā' and Section 2.9 on Zafār.

³³¹ EI² s.v. Naḍjirān. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_5729>. Consulted online on 26 April 2020.

³³² 'Abbās' note: Footnote 2: al-Bakrī (*Mğ*):21. See Section 1.5.1.2.1.

³³³ EI² s.v. Ḍū Nuwās. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_1834>. Consulted online on 22 July 2019.

³³⁴ ‘Abd Allāh bin at-Ṭāmir of the people of the religion of Jesus, peace be upon him, lived in Naḡrān. The remainder of the people who belonged to his religion of the gospel lived there, people of grace and integrity. ‘Abd Allāh bin at-Ṭāmir was their leader; he was the root of that religion in Naḡrān. Although the Arabs were idol-worshippers, a man from the remainder of that religion called Faymiyūn arrived in their midst, took them under his wing and they gave him their allegiance. He was virtuous, diligent and ascetic in the world answering (God's) call, and he lived an itinerant life going from village to village; he would remain in a village as long as he was unknown, once recognised he would leave and go to a village where he was unknown. He would only eat what he earned with his hands; he was a builder working with clay. He attached great importance to Sunday and he did not work on it at all; he would go to a waterless desert praying there until evening fell.

He was in one of the villages of Greater Syria, and one of the men there, called Ṣāliḥ, understood his nature and loved him very much. He would follow him where ever he went but Faymiyūn did not notice him until he went out one Sunday to a waterless desert as was his wont. Ṣāliḥ followed him but he (Faymiyūn) did not know where he (Ṣāliḥ) was (i.e. that he was there). Faymiyūn stood praying and a great serpent drew near to him; when Faymiyūn saw it, he cursed it and it died. Ṣāliḥ saw it but did not know what had happened to it, so he was afraid for him (Faymiyūn), and lost his nerve and called out “Oh Faymiyūn, a *tinīn* has drawn near to you!”. He (Faymiyūn) did not turn towards him (Ṣāliḥ) but devoted himself to his prayers until he finished them. Evening fell and he left; he knew that he had been recognised and Ṣāliḥ knew that he (Faymiyūn) had seen that he had been there, so he said to him, “Oh Faymiyūn, know that I have never loved anything like I love you, and I want to become a comrade of yours and be with you wherever you are”. He said “As you wish, my work is as you see it and truly, you know if you are able to do this” and Ṣāliḥ was glad and accompanied him.

The great serpent was a *tinnīn*. Literally meaning a dragon, it is also the name for the constellation of Draco.³³⁵ Bosworth notes that the ‘*tinnīn*’ appears as a seven-headed dragon in Jewish Haggadic lore, taken over subsequently into the Islamic *qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā’* stories.³³⁶

³³⁴ ‘Abbās’ note: Footnote 3: *Sīra* 1:31 and what follows it, at-Ṭabarī 1:920.

For information on the *Sīra* see Section 2.8 on Ṣana‘ā’ (Footnote 239); for at-Ṭabarī also see Section 2.8 on Ṣana‘ā’ (Footnote 246)

³³⁵ EI² s.v. al-Tinnīn. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7561>. Consulted online on 30 November 2019.

³³⁶ Bosworth 1999:197.

When someone who had an impairment came to him, he prayed for him and he was healed; if he was called to someone who had an impairment he would not come to him. One of the men from the village had a blind son and he asked about Faymiyūn. He was told that he did not come to any one who called him and but that he was a man who worked for people, building for hire. So the man betook himself to that son of his and laid him in his room and threw some material over him, then he came to him (Faymiyūn) and said, “Oh Faymiyūn, I want to do some work in my house; hurry along there with me so you can see it, and stipulate your conditions for it,³³⁷ and he hurried with him until he entered his room then he said, “What work do you want to do in this, your house?”. He said this and that, then the man removed the material from the boy and said, “Oh Faymiyūn, that which you see has befallen one of God's servants, so pray to God for him.”. Faymiyūn prayed for him and the boy stood up without any impairment. Faymiyūn knew that he had been recognized, so he left the village and Ṣāliḥ followed him.

While they were walking in Greater Syria, they passed a mighty tree and a man called out from it and said, “Are you Faymiyūn?”. He said, “Yes”. (He said,) “I kept waiting for you and saying 'When is he coming?' until I heard your voice and I knew that you were he, do not go on your way until you have tended to me for truly, I will die now.”. And he said, “He died and he tended to him until he buried him, then he left.”

Ṣāliḥ followed him until they were walking in the land of the Arabs; a travelling group of some of the Arabs assailed them, took them by force and departed with them until they sold them in Naḡrān. At that time, the people of Naḡrān were followers of the religion of the Arabs, worshipping a tall date palm in their midst; they had an annual festival for it and during this festival they hung every beautiful piece of cloth they could find and the women's jewellery on it. Then they went out to it (the tree) and devoted themselves to it for that day. A man from among their nobles bought Faymiyūn and another bought Ṣāliḥ. One day, Faymiyūn got up in the night in the house his master had allocated to him as his living quarters and was praying when the house lit up for him with light until it became (completely) light, without a lamp. His master saw that and marvelled at what he saw of him so he asked him about his religion. Faymiyūn said to him, “Yet you are all in error, truly this date palm is not harmful but nor is it beneficial. If I prayed for it, my God who I worship would destroy it. He alone is God, he has no companion.” His master said to him, “So do it and if you do it

337 'Abbās' note: Footnote 1: فاشار عليه [advise; a variation on the verb given in the main text body].

we will join your religion and leave that which we follow.”. Faymiyūn got up, cleansed himself, and prayed two rak‘a, then he prayed to God almighty concerning it (the tree), and God sent down a force and a wind too great for it that tore it from its roots and cast it down. Thereupon the people of Nağrān followed him in his religion and he educated them in the law of the religion of ‘Isā b. Maryam, peace be upon him. Then the misfortunes befell them which befell the people of their religion in every land, and from here Christianity was in Nağrān in the land (of the Arabs).

Rak‘a refers to 'a bending of the torso from an upright position, followed by two prostrations' and forms part of the Muslim prayer ritual.³³⁸

[And they said:³³⁹ In one of the villages of Nağrān there was a sorcerer who used to instruct the people of Nağrān in sorcery and when] Faymiyūn settled there, he set up a tent between Nağrān and that village. The people of Nağrān had begun to send their youths to that sorcerer to teach them sorcery, and at-Ṭāmir sent (his son) ‘Abd Allāh bin at-Ṭāmir with the youths of the people of Nağrān. When he (the son) passed by the owner of the tent, what he saw of his prayer and his worship impressed him, and he began to sit with him and listen to him until he surrendered to God and declared God Almighty to be one (i.e. became a monotheist) and worshipped him. He began to ask him about the laws of Islam until, when he had learned, he began to ask him about the Greatest Name (i.e. God’s name). He (Faymiyūn) knew it and kept it secret it from him (‘Abd Allāh) and said to him: Oh nephew, truly, you will not bear it, I fear your weakness in this. At-Ṭāmir; ‘Abd Allāh's father, still supposed that his son was visiting the sorcerer as the youths did. When ‘Abd Allāh saw that his master was withholding it from him he took up some arrow shafts, wrote every name he had learned for God on an arrow shaft, one arrow shaft for each name, and then he counted them and set a fire for them. Then he began to throw them in, arrow shaft by arrow shaft, and then the Greatest Name passed through, thrown into the fire on its arrow shaft. The arrow shaft leaped until it got out of (the fire), nothing had damaged it. He took it, then his master came and ‘Abd Allāh informed him that he now knew the name which he had concealed. Faymiyūn said, “What is it?”. He told him it was such and such. Faymiyūn said, “How did you find it out?”. He told him what he had done and Faymiyūn said, “Oh nephew, you have got it so keep it to yourself, though I do not think that you will.”.

³³⁸ Wehr 2011:358 رَكَع

³³⁹ ‘Abbās' note: Footnote 1: The account continues from Ibn Ishāq's account. [i.e. from the *Sīra*]. See Section 2.8 on Ṣana‘ā (Footnote 239)

Whenever he entered Nağrān, every time he met anyone who had some impairment, ‘Abd Allāh bin at-Ṭāmir would say to him, “Oh servant of God, do you declare that God is one and enter my religion so that I will pray to God that he may cure you of your misfortune?”. (The person would) say yes, declare God to be one and become a Muslim, so he would pray for him and cure him, until there was no one left in Nağrān with any impairment who did not come to him and whom he would cause to follow his command, then pray for him and cure him until the matter reached the king of Nağrān. He sent for him and said, “You have enticed away the people of my village and contradicted my religion and the religion of my fathers, so I will punish you to make an example of you. ‘Abd Allāh said, “You do not possess the power for that.” He (the king) set about sending him to the high mountain and he was thrown off on his head, but he reached the ground unharmed. He set about sending him to the waters in Nağrān, great rivers where nothing happens except death, but he came out unharmed. When he had defeated him ‘Abd Allāh bin at-Ṭāmir said to him, “Truly, by God, you will not be able to kill me until you declare that God almighty is one and believe in that which I believe in; truly once you have done that you will have power over me and you (will be able to) kill me.” He said: So that king declared the oneness of Almighty and swore by the creed of ‘Abd Allāh bin at-Ṭāmir; then he hit him with a stick (which was) in his hand and he dealt him a mild skull fracture and killed him. The king perished where he stood, and the people of Nağrān flocked to the religion of ‘Abd Allāh bin at-Ṭāmir. Then the misfortunes befell them which befell the people of their religion.

And they report³⁴⁰ that a man from the people of Nağrān in the time of ‘Umar bin al-Ḥaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, excavated the ruined parts of Nağrān to use for his requirement and they found ‘Abd Allah bin at-Ṭāmir under the rubble of it sitting down, laying his hand to a blow on his head (and) clutching it (the blow) with his hand. When his hand was taken from it (the blow), blood sprung forth,³⁴¹ and when his hand was let fall, he returned it to (it) the blow, and the blood ceased; in his hand was a ring with 'my Lord' written on it. He wrote about it to ‘Umar, may God be pleased with him, who wrote (back) to them saying that they should leave the current condition unchanged and replace the rubble that was on (top of) him, so they did that.

‘Umar bin al-Ḥaṭṭāb was the second Caliph and ruled from 13 AH / 634 CE until 23 AH / 644 CE). He was 'a driving force behind the early conquests and the creation of the early Islamic empire' and

340 ‘Abbās' note: Footnote 1: at-Ṭabarī:1:926. See Section 2.8 on Ṣana‘ā’ (Footnote 246).

341 ‘Abbās' note: Footnote 2: at-Ṭabarī:1:انشعبت [flowed forth].

for Sunnis, he represents the epitome of the just ruler.³⁴²

Al-Aswad bin Ka'b al-'Ansī had claimed the prophethood with knowledge of the prophet, may God honour him and grant him peace, and caused (people) to follow him on that. The Banū l-Hārith b. Ka'b of the people of Nağrān, heard of him; at that time they were Muslims, but they sent to him calling him to come to them in their land. So he came to them and they followed him and renounced Islam. It is said: He entered it in a day, in (a group of) five thousand Ḥimyarites, he was claiming the prophethood and they were bearing witness to him in that. Hamdān refused; none of the Nuḥa' followed him, nor anyone of the Ġu'fī, but the people of the Banū Asad, Maḍḥiğ, 'Ans, 'Awd, and Ḥakam followed him. Al-Aswad was based in Nağrān, but then he saw that Ṣana'ā' was better for him than Nağrān and he set out for it among six hundred riders of the Banū l-Hārith and camped there. He cut off the Abnā' lest they told the truth about him and he took possession of Ṣana'ā'. He disparaged the Abnā' there, subjugated them, and tormented those connected to them on account of their denial of him, until that happened concerning him which we mentioned upon arrival in the report on Ṣana'ā', God Almighty willing.

Al-Aswad al-'Ansī claimed to be a prophet from God and sought to control parts of Southern Arabia for himself, rejecting both Persian and Islamic rule.³⁴³ The story of the assassination of al-Aswad al-'Ansī is told in Section 2.8 on Ṣana'ā', and more detailed information on him can be found there.

The Banū l-Hārith b. Ka'b who sent to al-'Ansī were often known as Balḥārith and were a tribe who lived in Nağrān. They 'were neighbours of the Hamdān.'³⁴⁴

As for those who rejected al-'Ansī, the Hamdān were a Yemen group Arab tribe whose territory began 'north of Ṣana'ā'' and stretched 'eastwards to Ma'rib' and Nağrān;³⁴⁵ the Nuḥa' seem to be another tribe from that area. The Ġu'fī are also an Arab tribe.³⁴⁶

Al-'Ansī's followers included the Banū Asad, a mainly nomadic Arab tribe whose homelands are in

342 EI² s.v. 'Umar (I) b. al-Khaṭṭāb. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_7707>. āb. Consulted online on 08 September 2019.

343 EI² s.v. al-Aswad. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0823>. Consulted online on 08 September 2019.

344 EI² s.v. banu 'l-Hārith b. Ka'b. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0269>. Consulted online on 08 September 2019.

345 EI² s.v. Hamdān. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_2664>. Consulted online on 08 September 2019.

346 EI² s.v. Numayr. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_5980>. Consulted online on 08 September 2019.

North Arabia,³⁴⁷ as well as the Maḍḥiġ, a large tribal group in the areas of Ḍamār and Radā';³⁴⁸ al-ʿAnsī came from this group. The ʿAns are another Arab tribe; the ancient castle and town of Baynūn, a famous stronghold of Yemen, was said to lie in their territory.³⁴⁹ The ʿAwd were a tribe which was part of the Maḍḥiġ group. One of their tribal leaders, al-Afwah al-Awdī, was a pre-Islamic Arab poet.³⁵⁰ The Ḥakam are also a tribe, possibly the Ḥakam b. Saʿd of the Tihāma.³⁵¹

As mentioned in Section 2.8 on Ṣanaʿā', Abnā' is the name given to the Yemen-born descendants of the Persian immigrants in Yemen.³⁵²

The matter referred to in the last sentence seems to be referencing the story of al-ʿAnsī's murder by agents of Muhammad and the Abnā', which is told in Section 2.8 on Ṣanaʿā'.

And the children of Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān departed for Afʿā in Naġrān; they are Muḍar, Iyād, Anmār, and Rabīʿa in order to judge between them in the division of their father's legacy; it is a well-known story.

Nizār b. Maʿadd b. ʿAdnān is the 'common ancestor of the greater part of the Arab tribes of the north, according to the accepted genealogical system'. His mother, Muʿāna bint Ġahla, was descended from the pre-Arab race of the Ġurhum, an ancient Arab tribe that migrated from Yemen to Mecca;³⁵³ almost nothing else is known of his heritage. However, the story of his four sons is, as Al-Ḥimyarī says, well known. It is a popular story based on the adventures the sons have on their journey as they divide 'their paternal heritage among them,' including visiting the ʿĠurhumī ḥakam al-Afʿā based in Naġrān as mentioned in the text above. There are many amazing tales of their skills that come up throughout the story, such as the fact that 'they are able to describe minutely the appearance of a camel they have never seen from the traces it has left'. This is a skill known as *qiyāfa*, 'the examination of traces on the ground', and according to Levi Della Vida, the object of

347 EI² s.v. Asad. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0755>. Consulted online on 08 September 2019.

348 EI² s.v. Maḍḥiġ. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_4730>. Consulted online on 08 September 2019.

349 EI² s.v. Baynūn. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_1324>. Consulted online on 08 September 2019.

350 EI² s.v. al-Afwah al-Awdī. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0354>. Consulted online on 08 September 2019.

351 EI² s.v. Ḥakam b. Saʿd. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_DUM_1537>. Consulted online on 08 September 2019.

352 EI² s.v. al-Abnā'. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0008>. Consulted online on 21 September 2019.

353 EI² s.v. Ḍurhum or Ḍurham. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_2126>. Consulted online on 26 April 2020.

this story was 'to make the origins of the *ḵiyāfa* go back to the most remote period.'³⁵⁴

3 Bibliography

3.1 Primary Source

Ḥimyarī, Ibn ‘Abd al-Mun‘im al-. *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi‘tār fī ḥabar al-aḳṭār: mu‘ḡam ḡuḡrāfī ma‘a fahāris šāmila*. ‘Abbās, Iḥsān. (Ed). 1984. Beirut: Maktabat Lubnān. Second Edition.

3.2 Other Printed Sources

Bakrī, Al-. *Al-masālik wa-l-mamālik Volume 1*. Beirut: Dar al-Kotob al-‘Ilmiyah. 2003.

Beeston, A.F.L. *Sabaic Dictionary (English-French-Arabic)*, Beirut: Librairie du Liban. 1982.

Brinner, William M. *The History of al-Ṭabarī Volume III The Children of Israel*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 1991.

Bosworth, C.E. *The History of al-Ṭabarī: The Sāsānids, the Byzantines, the Lakhmids, and Yemen. Volume V*. Albany: State University of New York Press. 1999.

Charles-Dominique, Paule. *Voyageurs arabes*. Paris: Gallimard. 1995.

Forrer, Ludwig. 1942. 'Südarabien nach Al-Hamdānī's "Beschreibung der arabischen Halbinsel.' DMG. Leipzig. Reprinted in: *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* Band 27. Nr. 3/1942. Nendeln: Kraus. 1966.

Geyer, R. *The Dīwān of al-A‘šā*. E J W Gibb Memorial New Series VI. London: Luzac & Co. 1928.

³⁵⁴ EF² s.v. Nizār b. Ma‘add. <http://dx-doi-org.uaccess.univie.ac.at/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_5952>. Consulted online on 25 April 2020.

Guillaume, A. *The Life of Muhammad. A Translation of Ishāq's Sīrat rasūl allāh*. Karachi: Oxford University Press. 1998.

Ibn Ḥawqal, Ibn. *Configuration de la terre. Tome I*. J. H: Kramers and G. Wiet (Translators). Paris: G P Maisonneuve & Larose. 1964.

Jaubert, P-A. *La Géographie d'Édrisi*. Amsterdam: Philo Press. 1975.

Kazimirski, A De B. *Dictionnaire Arabe Français*. Tome Premier. Beirut: Librairie du Liban. 1860.

Leslau, Wolf. *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. 1991.

Morton, J. 'The Emblic (*Phyllanthus emblica* L.)'. In *Economic Botany* 14:2:119-128. 1960.

Muqaddasi. Al-, *The Best Divisions For Knowledge of the Regions*. Basil Anthony Collins. (Translator). Reading: Garnet Publishing. 1994.

Murgotten, F.C. *The Origins of the Islamic State. Part II*. New York: Columbia University. 1924.

Nicolson, Reynold A., *A Literary History of the Arabs (IV)*, Abingdon: Routledge. 2011.

Polo, Marco. *The Travels of Marco Polo*. New York: Cosimo Classics. 2006.

Robin, Christian. 'Matériaux pour une prosopographie de l'Arabie antique: les noblesses sabéenne et ḥimyarite avant et après l'Islam.' In *Les préludes de l'Islam*, C. J. Robin et J. Schiettecatte. Paris: De Boccard. 2013: 129-271.

Smith, G. Rex. 'Magic, Jinn and the Supernatural in Medieval Yemen: Examples from Ibn al- al- Muğāwir's 7th/13th Century Guide' In *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* Vol. 13, Divination magie pouvoirs au Yémen 1995:7-18.

Wehr, H. *Arabic-English Dictionary. The Hans Wehr Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*. J.M Cowan (ed). New York. Snowball Publishing. 2011.

3.2.1 The Encyclopedia of Islam Volume II

EI² s.v. al-Abnā'

EI² s.v. Abū 'Ubayda

EI² s.v. Abyan

EI² s.v. 'Ād

EI² s.v. 'Adan

EI² s.v. 'Akk

EI² s.v. al-Afwah al-Awdī

EI² s.v. al-Aswad

EI² s.v. al-Aws

EI² s.v. al-Balādhurī

EI² s.v. al-Barā

EI² s.v. al-Hamdānī

EI² s.v. al-Kalbī

EI² s.v. al-Ḳalkaṣhandī

EI² s.v. al-Karadī

EI² s.v. al-Ḳazwīnī

EI² s.v. al-Mas'ūdī

EI² s.v. al-Mathāmina

El² s.v. al-Muḳaddasī

El² s.v. al-Nu‘man (iii) b. al-Mundhir

El² s.v. al-Ṭabarī

El² s.v. al-Tinnīn

El² s.v. al-Yaman

El² s.v. al-Zabbā’

El² s.v. al-Zandj

El² s.v. Amīr al-Mu‘minīn

El² s.v. Asad

El² s.v. Azd

El² s.v. banu ‘l-Ḥārith b. Ka‘b

El² s.v. Baynūn

El² s.v. Bilḳīs

El² s.v. Dābba

El² s.v. Dhamār

El² s.v. Dhū Nuwās

El² s.v. Djurhum or Djurham

El² s.v. Farsakh

El² s.v. Ghumdān

El² s.v. Ḥakam b. Sa‘d

El² s.v. Hamdān

El² s.v. Hūd

El² s.v. Ibn al-Faḳīh

El² s.v. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa

El² s.v. Ibn Ḥawḳal

El² s.v. Ibn Ishāḳ

El² s.v. Iḳlīm
El² s.v. Iram
El² s.v. Ka‘ba
El² s.v. Ḳaḥtān
El² s.v. Ḳays
El² s.v. Ḳhālīd b. Sa‘īd
El² s.v. Ḳhawlān
El² s.v. Ḳhuzā‘a
El² s.v. Kisrā
El² s.v. Ḳuraysh
El² s.v. Laḳīṭ b. Zurāra
El² s.v. Madhhidj
El² s.v. Mahra
El² s.v. Mārib
El² s.v. Marzpān
El² s.v. Mu‘āwiya I
El² s.v. Murād
El² s.v. Nadjrān
El² s.v. Nizār b. Ma‘add
El² s.v. Numayr
El² s.v. Ṣabr
El² s.v. Ṣan‘ā’
El² s.v. Sayf Ibn Dhī Yazan
El² s.v. Shaybān
El² s.v. Sind
El² s.v. Sīra

El² s.v. Şirwāh
El² s.v. Şuḥār
El² s.v. Suḳuṭra
El² s.v. Tamīm b. Murr
El² s.v. ‘Umar (I) b. al-Khaṭṭāb
El² s.v. Umayya b. Abi ‘l-Şalt
El² s.v. Wahb b. Munabbih
El² s.v. Wahriz
El² s.v. Yādjūdj wa-Mādjūdj
El² s.v. Yāḳūt al-Rūmī
El² s.v. Zabīd
El² s.v. Zalzala

3.2.2 The Encyclopedia of Islam Volume III

El³ s.v. ‘Ād
El³ s.v. Abraha
El³ s.v. al-Ash‘arī, Abū Mūsā
El³ s.v. Cartography
El³ s.v. Dajjāl
El³ s.v. Ḥasan Ghaznavī
El³ s.v. Hūd

3.3 Online Sources

The Noble Quran: <https://quran.com>
Calendar Converter: <https://www.fourmilab.ch/documents/calendar/>
Al- Dīwān: <https://www.aldiwan.net/poem1762.html>.
Encyclopaedia Britannica Online: <https://www.britannica.com>
Germplasm Resources Information Network:
<https://npgsweb.arsgrin.gov/gringlobal/taxonomydetail.aspx?32819>
Islamicstudies.info: <https://www.islamicstudies.info>

Appendix: Arabic Texts

Copies of the texts translated taken from *Ar-Rawḍ al-miʿtār fī ḥabar al-aqṭār: muʿğam ġuġrāfī maʿa fahāris šāmila* 2nd Edition, edited by Iḥsān ʿAbbās and published in Beirut by Maktabat Lubnān in 1984.

ذمار^(٢) : بفتح أولها مكسورة الراء اسم مبني ، مدينة باليمن على مرحلتين من صنعاء ، وهي أربعون ميلاً ، وهي مدينة كبيرة إلا أنها دون صنعاء ، وهي من أعمالها ، ولها سور. محكم البناء ، وهي كلها قصور ، وكثيرة البساتين والمزارع والقرى والدساكر ، وهي رخيصة الأسعار كثيرة الخيرات ، ومياههم عيون جارية وآبار قريبة الأرضية ، ولمعاذ بن جبل رضي الله عنه فيها مساجد وآثار كثيرة .

قالوا^(٣) : ووجد في أساس الكعبة لما هدمته قريش في الجاهلية حجر مكتوب فيه : لمن ملك ذمار ؟ لَحْمِيرُ الأخيار ، لمن ملك ذمار ؟ للحبشة الأشرار ، لمن ملك ذمار ؟ لفارس الأحرار ، لمن ملك ذمار ؟ لقريش التجار . قالوا : وسميت بدمار

١ البكري (مخ) : ٦٧ (دالان) وعند ياقوت (دلان) .

٢ البكري (مخ) : ٦٧ ، وقارن ياقوت (دمار) .

٣ معجم ما استعجم ٢ : ٦١٤ - ٦١٥ .

ابن يحصب بن دهمان بن مالك بن سعد بن عدي بن مالك بن [ريد بن] سدد^(١) بن زرعة وهو سبأ الأصغر .

١ صر ع : فلان .

زبيد^(١) : مدينة باليمن بقرب الجند ومعاثر^(٢) ، تسير في صحراء ورمال حتى تنتهي إلى زبيد ، وليس باليمن بعد صنعاء أكبر من زبيد ولا أغنى أهلاً ولا أكثر خيراً منها ، وهي واسعة البساتين كثيرة المياه والفواكه والموز وغيره ، ومن زبيد إلى عدن على الساحل عشر مراحل في برية ليس فيها عمارة ولا يركبها إلا السابلة والصيادون .

والمسافرون إلى زبيد كثير ، وبها مجتمع التجار من أرض الحجاز وأرض الحبشة وأرض مصر الصاعدون في مراكب جدة ، وأهل الحبشة يجلبون رقيقهم إلى زبيد ، وتخرج منها ضروب الأقاويه

^١ الاستبصار : ١٣٥ ، والبكري : ٧٩ (حصن ابن زيني) ، ويبدو أن المؤلف اعتبره «زبان» بالباء الموحدة حتى أورده في هذا الموضع .

^٢ الاستبصار والبكري : الفروس .

^٣ معجم ما استعجم ٢ : ٦٩٤ ، وقارن بياقوت (زباله) ، وهي حسب تحديده أقرب إلى الكوفة .

^٤ يقال فلان شديد الزبل للقربة : إذا احتملها على شدته .

^٥ نزهة المشتاق : ١٢٠ .

^٦ البكري (مخ) : ٦٧ وبعضه عن نزهة المشتاق : ٢٠ ، وقارن بياقوت (زبيد) ، والمقدسي : ٨٤ ، وابن الوردي : ٤٢ .

^٧ كذلك وردت هذه اللفظة عند البكري أيضاً .

الهندية والمتاع الصيني وغيره ، وهي على نهر صغير ، ومنها إلى صنعاء مائة ميل واثنان وثلاثون ميلاً .

صحار^(٤) : مدينة كبيرة بأرض عُمان وهي قصبة عُمان ، وهي على ساحل البحر ، مقدارها فرسخ في فرسخ ، ومياهها من الآبار .

وهي أقدم^(٥) مدن عُمان وأكثرها أموالاً قديماً وحديثاً ، ويقصدها في كل سنة من تجار البلاد ما لا يحصى عددهم ، وإليها تجلب جميع بضائع اليمن ويتجهز منها بأنواع التجارات ، وأحوال أهلها واسعة ، وبها النخيل والموز والرمان والسفرجل وكثير من الثمار الطيبة ، وكان في قديم الزمان تسافر منها مراكب الصين

^١ يعني في وقت الادريسي .

^٢ لم يردها في ديوانه المجموع .

^٣ البكري (مخ) : ٦٧ ، وانظر صفحات متفرقة في صفة جزيرة العرب ، وياقوت (صبر) .

^٤ البكري (مخ) : ٦٨ .

^٥ نزهة المشتاق : ٥٥ (OG : ١٥٦) ، وقارن بالمقدسي وياقوت .

فانقطع ذلك لأن عامل جزيرة كيش أنشأ اسطولا ، فغزا به بلاد اليمن الساحلية فأضر بالمسافرين والتجار ولم يترك لأحد مالا وأضعف البلاد وانقطع السفر عن عمان ، وعاد إلى عدن .

وكان بصحار مجتمع للتجار ، ومنها يتجهز لكل بلدة وإلى بلاد الهند والصين .

ويستبدلهم باليونانيين ويوصيهم بحفظ شجرة الصبر وحياطتها لما في ذلك من المنافع الطبية ، وانه لا تتم الايارجات إلا به ، مع انتفاع جميع الأمم بتصرفه لأنه في ذاته دواء جليل كثير المنافع ، ففعل الاسكندر ذلك فأخرج عنها جملة أهلها ونقل إليها قوماً من اليونانيين ، وأمرهم بحفظ شجرة الصبر والقيام بها وغراستها وإدامة تنميتها ، ففعلوا ذلك إلى أن ظهر دين المسيح فأمنت به ، فدخل أهل سقوطرى في دين النصرانية ، وبقياء ذراريهم بها إلى هذا الوقت مع سائر من سكنها من غيرهم ، وأوراق شجر الصبر تجمع في شهر يولييه ، ويستخرج لعابها ويطبخ في قدور النحاس وغيرها ، ويوضع في زقاق ويجفف في شهر أغشت للشمس ، ويباع منه بهذه الجزيرة قناطير فيتجهز به إلى الآفاق شرقاً وغرباً .

وقد يسقط العنبر إلى جزيرة سقوطرى^(١) ، ومن عمان إلى الساحل إلى سقوطرى ، والطريق من عمان إلى مسقط على الساحل ثم منه إلى سقوطرى ، وبها الصبر الذي لا يعدل به كما قلناه .

١ قد تقدم هذا في هذه المادة .

4. Suqutṛā

سقططرى^(٧) أو سقططرى : جزيرة معروفة من الاقليم الأول ،
وبينها وبين الساحل مجريان بالريح الطيبة ، وهي جزيرة واسعة

-
- ١ معجم ما استعجم ٣ : ٧٤٠ .
 - ٢ ص ع : وسموا .
 - ٣ نزهة المشتاق : ٣١٥ .
 - ٤ ص ع : سماوة .
 - ٥ معجم ما استعجم ٣ : ٧٤٢ ، وقارن بنزهة المشتاق : ٥١ .
 - ٦ في معجم البكري (مادة : عقيق) : تسعة عشر ميلاً ، ولكن المؤلف يتابع الادريسي .
 - ٧ نزهة المشتاق : ١٩ (OG : ٤٩) وبعضه في البكري (مخ) : ٦٠ وأصله عند المسعودي ،
مروج ٣ : ٣٦ .

القطر جليلة القدر نامية الشجر ، طولها ثمانون فرسخاً ، وأكثر نباتها شجر الصبر ، ولا صبر يفوق صبرها في الطيب كالذي يتخذ بحضرموت اليمن وبالشحر وغيرها ، وتتصل من جهة الشمال والمغرب ببلاد اليمن ، بل هي محسوبة منه ومنسوبة إليه ، وبها من جميع قبائل مهرة ، وبها نخل كثير ، ويسقط إليها العنبر ، وإذا قيل لمهري : يا سقططري ، غضب ، وتقابلها بلاد الزنج ، وأكثر أهل هذه الجزيرة نصارى ، لأن الاسكندر لما غلب على ملك فارس وغزت أساطيله جزائر الهند وقتل ملك الهند ، وكان معلمه ارسطوطاليس قد أوصاه بطلب جزيرة الصبر فكان في بال الاسكندر ذلك من أجل وصية معلمه ، فعند فراغه من أخذ جزائر الهند وتغلبه عليها وعلى ملوكها أخذ راجعاً في بحر الهند إلى جهة البحر العماني إلى أن وصل إلى جزيرة سقططرى فأعجبه طيب ثراها واعتدال هوائها ، فكتب إلى معلمه بذلك ، فأجابه يأمره بأن ينقل أهلها عنها

شِبَام^(٣) : بكسر أوله وقد يفتح ، جبل لهمدان باليمن ، قال ابن الكلبي : شِباَم قبيلة ، منسوبون إلى جبل وليس بأب ولا أم .

ومن مأرب^(٤) إلى مدينة شِباَم من بلاد حضرموت أربع مراحل .

١ نسبهما القزويني لصفوان بن ادريس المرسى .

٢ انظر ياقوت (شالوس) ، وابن الفقيه : ٣٠٥ ، وابن رسته : ١٥٠ .

٣ معجم ما استعجم ٣ : ٧٧٨ .

٤ نزهة المشتاق : ٥٤ .

وشِباَم^(١) حصن. منيع جامع أهل في قنة جبل شِباَم ، وهو جبل منيع جداً لا يرتقى إلى أعلاه إلا بعد جهد ، وفي أعلاه قرى كثيرة عامرة ومزارع ومياه جارئة وغلات .

ولما وقع الزلزال باليمن سنة إحدى عشرة ومائتين ، انهدمت شِباَم جميعاً إلا دار إبراهيم بن الصباح ، وكان كثير الصدقة ، فيقال إن ذلك من قبل الصدقة .

١ النقل مستمر عن الادريسي ، ولكن يبدو أن هذا الجغرافي خلط بين شِباَم الذي بحضرموت ، وشِباَم آخر ، وهو الذي على مقربة من صنعاء (انظر ياقوت : شِباَم) وحول صنعاء غير موضع بهذا الاسم ، وهي شِباَم كوكبان ، وهذا هو الذي وصفه الادريسي ، وشِباَم سخيم ، وشِباَم حراز ، وراجع مادة (شِباَم) في الروض إذ يبدو أن صوابها « شِباَم » أيضاً .

والشجر مدينة كبيرة وليس بها زرع ولا ضرع ، ويكون بها
العنبر ، وشجرها الكندر ، ومنها يحمل إلى الآفاق ، واللاك بها
كثير .

والإبل^(١) المنتجة عند هؤلاء العرب لا يعدل بها شيء في سرعة
جريها . ومن غريب ما ينسب إليها أنها تفهم الكلام وتعلم ما يراد
منها بأقل أدب تعلمه ، ولها أسماء إذا دعيت بها أجابت بلا تأخر .
وقسبة أرض مهرة تسمى الشحر ، ولسان مهرة مستعجم جداً
لا يكاد يفهم ، وهو اللسان الحميري في القديم ، وهم أكثر أهل
الأرض رواحل ، وجلّ مكاسبهم الإبل والمعر ، والسّمك يُصاد في
ذلك البحر وبلاد عُمان ، وعندهم حوت صغير جداً يصاد
ويشمس وتعلف به الدواب والإبل . وأهل مهرة لا يعرفون
الحنطة ولا خبزها^(٢) إنما أكلهم السمك وشربهم الألبان
وقليل الماء ، قد اعتادوا ذلك وألفوه فلا يعدلون عنه ،
ومن تغرب منهم فأكل الحنطة تألم وربما مرض . وطول بلاد مهرة
تسعمائة ميل ، وهي كلها رمال سيالة والرياح تسفيها ، ومن آخر
بلاد الشحر إلى عدن ثلثمائة ميل .

وفي هذه المدينة أشجار اللاك والكندر ، وهي أشجار مثل
أشجار التوت إلا أنها لا تورق بل تحمل أغصانها كلها
الكندر .

^١ عن نزهة المشتاق : ٥٤ (DG : ١٥٤) .

^٢ صر ع : غيرها .

الشجر^(١) : بكسر أوله وإسكان الحاء المهملة ، هو شجر عمان ، وهو ساحل اليمن ، وهو ممتد بينها وبين عمان .

وأرض الشجر متصلة بأرض حضرموت ، وفيها قبائل مهرة ، وهي دار عاد الأولى ، الذين أرسل الله تعالى إليهم نبيهم هوداً عليه السلام ، وكانوا ثلاث عشرة قبيلة ، وهو عاد بن عوص بن ارم ابن سام بن نوح ، وكان الملك بعد نوح عليه السلام تأثل في عاد الأولى قبل سائر الممالك ، وذلك قوله تعالى ﴿وَإِذْ كُرُوا إِذْ جَعَلَكُمْ خُلَفَاءَ مِنْ بَعْدِ قَوْمِ نُوحٍ وَزَادَكُمْ فِي الْخَلْقِ بَسْطَةً فَاذْكُرُوا آلَاءَ اللَّهِ﴾ (الأعراف : ٦٩) ، قيل : كانوا في هيئة النخل طولاً ، وكانوا في القوة واتصال الأعمار بحسب ذلك ، وآثارهم بالشجر ومواضع مساكنهم تدل على عظم أجسامهم ، وكان عاد جباراً بعيد العمر ، وتزوج ألف امرأة ، ورأى من صلبه أربعة آلاف ولد ، وعاش ألف سنة ومائتي سنة ، وابنه شداد هو الذي بنى إرم ذات العماد ، وهذه عاد الثانية ، إذ قال تعالى في الأولى : ﴿أَهْلَكَ عَادًا الْأُولَى﴾ (النجم : ٥٠) ، وقال في هذه الثانية : ﴿أَلَمْ تَرَ كَيْفَ فَعَلَ رَبُّكَ بِعَادٍ ۖ إِرْمَ ذَاتِ الْعِمَادِ﴾ (الفجر : ٦ ، ٧) ، وبلاد عاد : الشجر وحضرموت والأحقاف ، فلما سخط الله تعالى عليهم [جعلها]^(٢) مفاوز ، وكانت أخصب البلاد .

^١ معجم ما استعجم ٣ : ٧٨٣ ، وقارن بياقوت (الشجر) .

^٢ سقطت من ٤ .

7. Širwāh

صرواح^(٣) : مدينة باليمن بقرب صنعاء ، وهي خراب ، كانت
لعمر و بن عامر مزيقيا صاحب سدّ مأرب و بناؤها كلها من رخام ،
وباقية أهلها يزعمون أنها بنيت في عشية واحدة ، وفي كلام لِحَمِير :
بنينا صرواح ومرواح .

وقيل^(٤) : إن سليمان عليه السلام كان أمر الجن أن تبنيه
لبلقيس^(٥) وفيه كانت مملكة خولان .

^٣ انظر الاكلیل ٨ : ٧٥ ، ونزهة المشتاق : ٥٤ .

^٤ معجم ما استعجم ٣ : ٨٣١ ، وقارن بياقوت (صرواح) .

^٥ ع : لليلتين ؛ ص : في ليلتين .

ولما ظهر أمر الأسود العنسي الكذاب^(١) بصنعاء ، بعث رسول الله ﷺ رجلاً من الأزدي أو من خزاعة في أمر الأسود ، فدخل صنعاء مختفياً ، فنزل على داذويه الابناني فأخفاه عنده ، وتواترت الأنباء في قتل الأسود ، فتحرك في قتله نفر منهم قيس ابن عبد يغوث المكشوح وفيروز الديلمي وداذويه ، وكانت المرزبانة زوجه قد أبغضته ، إذ كان تزوجها قسراً وكانت من عظماء فارس ، فوعدتهم موعداً أتوا لميقاته وقد سقته الخمر حتى سكر ، فسقط نائماً كالميت ، فدخل عليه قيس وفيروز ونفر معهما ، فوجدوه على فراش عظيم من ريش قد غاب فيه ، وأشفق فيروز أن يتمادى عليه السيف ان ضربه به ، فوضع ركبته على صدر الكذاب ثم قتل عنقه فحولها حتى حوّل وجهه من قبل ظهره ، وأمر فيروز قيساً فاحتر رأسه ، فرمى به إلى الناس ، ففض الله تعالى الذين اتبعوه وألقى عليهم الخزي والذلة ، وأتى الخبر بذلك إلى رسول الله ﷺ في مرضه الذي توفي فيه ، فقال ﷺ وذكر الأسود : قتله الرجل الصالح فيروز الديلمي وداذويه ، والأمر إلى قيس ابن المكشوح ، فكان أمير صنعاء ، وكان بها جماعة من أصحاب الأسود ، فلما بلغتهم وفاة النبي ﷺ ثبت قيس والأبناء وأهل صنعاء على الإسلام إلا أصحاب الأسود ، ثم ارتد قيس بن المكشوح وأخرج الأبناء من صنعاء فلم يبق بها أحد إلا في جوار ، وبلغ خالد بن سعيد بن العاصي رضي الله عنه ردة أهل صنعاء فسار يومها إلى أن كان من أمره وأمر قيس ثم إسلامه ما هو مذكور في مواضعه .

^١ قارن بفتوح البلدان : ١٢٥ - ١٢٧ ، وتاريخ الطبري ١ : ١٨٥١ - ١٨٦٨ .

^٢ ياقوت (صنعاء) : وصنعاء أيضاً قرية على باب دمشق دون المزة ... خربت ، وهي اليوم

نازلاً إلى مدينة ذمار ويصب في البحر اليمني ، ومن صنعاء إلى ذمار
ثمانية وأربعون ميلاً .

وإلى صنعاء ينسب الوشي ، ولبعض المتأخرين يذكر
مدوحاً له :

وشى نضار صلاته بلجينه
أعجب بحسن الوشي من صنعاء

وبصنعاء مات وهب بن منبه سنة عشر أو سنة أربع عشرة
ومائة .

وذكر ابن إسحاق^(١) في خبر سيف بن ذي يزن لما وفد على
كسرى يستنصره على الحبشة المتغلبين على اليمن أن كسرى وجه
معه ثمانمائة رجل واستعمل عليهم وهرز ، وكان ذا سن فيهم ،
فخرج في ثماني سفائن غرقت منها سفينتان ، ووصل إلى ساحل
عدن ست سفائن ، فجمع سيف إلى وهرز من استطاع من قومه
وقال له : رجلي مع رجلك حتى نموت جميعاً أو نظفر جميعاً ،
فقال له وهرز : أنصفت ، ثم إنهم صافوا مسروق بن أبرهة ملك
اليمن وجميع جنده ، فرماه وهرز فأصابه بنشابة فقتله ، وانهزمت
جموع الحبشة وهربوا في كل وجه ، وأقبل وهرز ليدخل صنعاء
حتى إذا أتى بابها قال : لا تدخل رايتي منكسة أبداً ، اهدموا
الباب ، فهدموه ، ثم دخلها ناصباً رايته ، في خبر طويل .

وتعمل بصنعاء الحبرات من القطن التي لا يقدر في غيرها على
اتخاذ مثلها ، ومنها تحمل إلى البلاد ، وكذلك الأردنية والعمائم
العدنية والثياب السحولية والأدم الطائفي لا يوجد في قطر من
الأقطار مثله ، والبقر الملمعة فيها تواليع بين بياض وصفرة كأحسن
الوشي .

وصنعاء لا تمطر إلا في حزيران وفي تموز وآب وبعض أيلول ،
ولا تمطر إلا بعد الزوال في أغلب الأمر ، يلقي الرجل الرجل
نصف النهار والسماء مصحبة ليس فيها طخيرة فيقول : عجل
قبل أن تصب السماء ؛ لأنهم قد علموا أنه لا بد من المطر في ذلك
الوقت .

^١ السيرة ١ : ٦٢ وما بعدها .

8. Ṣana'ā

صنعاء^(٣) : مدينة عظيمة باليمن كان اسمها في القديم أزال فلما وافتها الحبشة ونظروا إلى مدينتها فأروها مبنية بالحجارة قالوا : هذه صنعة وتفسيرها بلسانهم حصينة ، فسميت صنعا . قالوا : والذي أسس غمدان وابتدأ بنيانه واحتفر بيده الذي هو اليوم سقاية بمسجد جامع صنعاء ، سام بن نوح عليه السلام ؛ لأنه سار يطلب حرَّ البلاد وموضع اعتدال الحر والبرد فلم يجده إلا في جزيرة العرب ، فنظر الحجاز فوجده مفرط الحر لمقام الشمس شهرين في مثل ثلاث درجات وكسر على سمته ، فسار في الاقليم الأول حتى صار إلى حقل صنعاء فوجده أطيَّب باعتداله وصحة هوائه ، ورآه أرجح إلى البرد منه إلى الحر ، ورأى ميله وسطاً لا مثل ميل الحمل المتقارب تسير الشمس فيه طولاً درجة وعرضاً قريباً من نصفها ، ولا مثل ميل الجوزاء الذي هو تسع طوله ، ورأى الشمس تسامته في السنة كرتين في ثماني درجات من الثور وثلاث وعشرين من الأسد ، فإذا كانت الشمس فيها ترى الشمس في أيار صنعاء انتصاف النهار .

وصنعاء^(٤) مدينة كثيرة الخيرات متصلة العمارات ليس في بلاد اليمن أقدم منها عهداً ولا أكبر قطراً ولا أكثر ناساً ، وهي في صدر الاقليم الأول معتدلة الهواء طيبة الثرى ، والزمان بها أبداً معتدل الحر والبرد ، وكانت ملوك اليمن قاطبة تنزل بها ، وهي ديار العرب ، وكان للموكها [بها بناء كبير عظيم الذكر وهو قصر غمدان ، فهدم وصار كالتل العظيم ، وأكثر بنيانها في هذا الوقت بالخشب ، وبها دار لعمل^(٥) الثياب المنسوبة إليها ، وهي قاعدة اليمن ، وهي على نهر صغير يأتي إليها من جبل في شمالها فيمر بها

^١ نزهة المشتاق : ٥٠ ، وصوابه « ضنكان » بالضاد المعجمة ، انظر ياقوت .

^٢ نزهة المشتاق : لا يتحولون عنه إلى غيره .

^٣ صبح الأعشى ٥ : ٣٩ ، وقارن بالهمداني : ٥٥ ، ومعجم ما استعجم ٣ : ٨٤٣ ، وياقوت (صنعاء) ، وابن الفقيه : ٣٤ ، وآثار البلاد : ٥٠ ، وابن حوقل : ٤٣ ، والكرخي : ٢٦ ، وتقويم البلدان : ٩٥ ، ويذكر المقدسي : ٨٦ أنها كانت قد اختلت في زمانه .

^٤ نزهة المشتاق : ٢٠ ، (OG : ٥٣) .

^٥ زيادة من نزهة المشتاق .

من أسود يلقيهم البحر فيها
تشعل النار في أعالي الجدار

وقد تقدّم هذا في حرف الدال .

وهي الآن^(١) خراب ، قد تهدّم بناؤها وقلّ ساكنها ، وإنما بها
الآن بقايا من أهلها .

ومن كلام^(٢) بعض ملوكهم : من دخل ظفار حمّر ، وسبب

^١ هذا قول الادريسي في نزعة المشتاق : ٥٤ (OG : ١٥٢) وثمة كلامه : « ولم فضول

أموال وبضائع ولم مزارع قليلة ونخل فيه كفاية لأهله » .

^٢ معجم ما استعجم ٣ : ٩٠٤ - ٩٠٥ .

ذلك أن ذا جدن الحميري خرج يطوف في أحياء العرب ، فنزل في
بني تميم ، فضرّب له فسطاط ، فجاءه زرارة بن عدس مصعداً إليه
وكان على قارة مرتفعة ، فقال له الملك : ثب ، أي اقعد بلغته ،
فقال زرارة : ليعلمن الملك أنني سامع مطيع ، فوثب إلى الأرض
فتقطع أعضاء ، فقال الملك : ما شأنه ؟ فقيل له : أبيت اللعن ،
ان الوثب بلغته القفز ، فقال : ليس عربيتنا كعربييتكم ، من دخل
ظفار فليحمّر ، أي فليتكلم بلغة حمير .

واتيان ولده معدي كرب بن سيف يستنجز عذته لأبيه وتجهيز
كسرى الجيوش معه إلى اليمن ، وقتلهم لمسروق بن ابرهة وقتلهم
له ، وملكهم لليمن ما هو مشهور يغني عن الاطالة به . على أن
جمهور الناس على أن سيف بن ذي يزن هو الذي أباد الحبشة
وملك اليمن لا ابنه معدي كرب ، إنما انفرد بهذا القول الشاذ
المسعودي .

قالوا^(١) : وعلى باب ظفار مكتوب بالقلم الأول في حجر
أسود :

يوم شيدت ظفار قيل لمن أن
ت فقالت لجمير الأخيار

ثم سيلت ما بعد ذاك فقالت
إن ملكي للأحباش الأشرار

ثم سيلت ما بعد ذاك فقالت
إن ملكي لفارس الأحرار

ثم سيلت ما بعد ذاك فقالت
إن ملكي إلى قریش التجار

ثم سيلت ما بعد ذاك فقالت
إن ملكي لجمير سحار

وقليلاً ما يلبث القوم فيها
عند تشييدها لحافي البوار

^١ مروج الذهب ٣ : ١٧٨ .

ظفار^(١) : مدينة باليمن ، وهو اسم مبني على الكسر ، قاله أبو عبيدة ، وقيل سبيلها سبيل المؤنث لا ينصرف ، والحجة لهذا القول قول الفند الزماني :

إنما قحطان فينا حطَبُ

ونزار في بني قحطان نارُ

فارجعوا منا فلولاً واهربوا

عائدين ليس تنجيكم ظفار

وهي قصبة^(٢) اليمن وقاعدة ملوك حِمير في الزمن الأقدم ، وبها كان نزولهم ، ملكها من حِمير سبعة وثلاثون ملكاً مدتهم ثلاثة آلاف سنة ومائة وسبعون سنة ، وقيل أقل من ذلك ، وآخر ملوكهم معدي كرب ، كان ملكه إلى أن قتلت حرايته من الحبشة أربع سنين ، فلما قتل بعث انوشروان وهرز في أربعة آلاف من الفُرس لإصلاح اليمن ، وأمره أن لا يبقى على أحد من بقايا الحبشة ، فلم يترك بها أحداً من السودان ، وبقي وهرز بصنعاء إلى أن ملك ثم تداولت اليمن عمال الأكاسرة إلى أن أتى الله تعالى بالإسلام . وقد ذكر الناس من مضي سيف بن ذي يزن إلى قيصر ملك الروم ليستنصر به على الحبشة حين غلبوا على اليمن وعاثوا فيها ، وإبائته من ذلك ، ومسيره بعد ذلك إلى النعمان بن المنذر ، ووعد له أن يدخله على كسرى عند وفادته عليهم ، ثم اجتماعه به وشكايته له أمر الحبشة ، واشتغاله عنه بحرب الروم إلى أن هلك سيف ،

^١ معجم ما استعجم ٣ : ٩٠٤ .

^٢ قارن بالبكري (مخ) : ٦٧ ، ٦٣ وما بعدها وفي رحلة ابن بطوطة : ٢٥٩ - ٢٦٢ معلومات

تفصيلية عن ظفار .

عدن^(٣) : مدينة باليمن بينها وبين أبين اثنا عشر ميلاً ، وهي^(٤) مدينة صغيرة ، وإنما اشتهر اسمها لأنها مرسى [البحرين] ، ومنها تسافر مراكب السند والهند والصين ، وإليها يجلب متاع الصين مثل الحديد الفرند والكيمنت والمسك والعود والفلفل والسادارفلفل والنارجيل والقاقلة والدار الصيني والخولنجان والبسباسة والهليلجات والابنوس والذبل والكافور والجوزة والقرنفل والكبابة وأنياب الفيلة والرصاص القلعي والقنأ والخيزران وأكثر السلع ، ويحيط بـعدن من جهة شمالها على بعد منها جبل دائر إلى البحر قد نقب فيه من طرفيه نقبان كالباين يدخل منهما ويخرج عليهما ، وبين الباب والباب على ظهر الجبل مسيرة أربعة أيام . وليس لأهل عدن دخول ولا خروج إلا على هذين النقيين أو على البحر ، وهي بلد تجارة .

وعدن هي ساحل صنعاء ، وبها مرفأ مراكب الصين ، وسميت بـعدن بن سبأ ، وكان أول من نزل بها ، وفي سجوع سطيح الكاهن في تفسير رؤيا ربيعة بن نصر . ثم يليه ارم ذي يزن ، يخرج عليهم من عدن ، فلا يترك أحداً منهم باليمن . وعن البراء بن عازب رضي الله عنهما ، قال : كنا نتذاكر الساعة ، [إذ] أشرف علينا رسول الله ﷺ فقال : « ما تتذاكرون » ؟ قلنا : نتذاكر الساعة ، قال ﷺ : « انها لا تكون حتى يكون قبلها عشر آيات : الدجال ودابة الأرض وخسف بالمشرق وخسف بالمغرب وخسف بجزيرة العرب والدخان وطلوع الشمس من مغربها وأجوج ومأجوج ونزول عيسى ونار تخرج من عدن » .

^١ معجم ما استعجم ٣ : ٩٢٦ .

^٢ البيت لطرفة من معلقته وليس للناطقة .

^٣ صبح الأعشى ٥ : ١٠ .

^٤ نزهة المشتاق : ٢٠ (OG : ٥٤) ، وابن الوردي : ٤٤ .

حتى نزلوا ببلاد عك مجتازين يرتادون البلدان ، فحاربهم عك ، فكان حربهم سجالاً ، ثم ارتحلوا عنهم فتفرقوا في البلدان فنزل آل جفنة بن عمرو بن عامر الشام ، ونزلت الأوس والخزرج يثرب ، ونزلت خزاعة مرًا ، ونزلت أزد السراة السراة ، ونزلت أزد عمان عمان ، ثم أرسل الله عز وجل على السد السيل فهدمه ، ففيه أنزل الله عز وجل على رسوله ﷺ ﴿ لَقَدْ كَانَ لِسَبَإٍ فِي مَسْكَنِهِمْ آيَةٌ جَنَّتَانِ عَنْ يَمِينٍ وَشِمَالٍ كُلُّوا مِنْ رِزْقِ رَبِّكُمْ وَاشْكُرُوا لَهُ بَلْدَةٌ طَيِّبَةٌ وَرَبٌّ غَفُورٌ ۝ فَأَعْرَضُوا فَأَرْسَلْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ سَيْلَ الْعَرِمِ ﴾ إلى آخر الآية (سبأ : ١٥ - ١٦) ، والعَرِم السد ، واحدته عرمة .

وروي أن معاوية بن أبي سفيان رضي الله عنه قال لحاجبه : أدخل أرث من الباب تراه ، فخرج فوجد رجلاً ذا أطمار لا تكاد تواريه فقدمه ، فلما مثل بين يديه قال : السلام عليك يا أمير المؤمنين ، فردّ عليه معاوية رضي الله عنه وأمره بالعود ، ثم أقبل عليه فقال : من أين الرجل ؟ قال : من مأرب ، قال : ومن ؟ قال : من سبأ ؛ قال : أنت من الذين بدلوا نعمة الله كفراً فأبدلهم الله بجنّتهم جنتين ذواتي أكل خمط وأثل وشيء من سدر قليل ، قال : اني لمن تلك البلدة ومن نسل اولئك القوم ، ولكنك يا معاوية من الذين قالوا لنبيهم محمد ﷺ ﴿ اَللّٰهُمَّ اِنْ كَانَ هٰذَا هُوَ الْحَقُّ مِنْ عِنْدِكَ فَاَمْطِرْ عَلَيْنَا حَجَارَةً مِنَ السَّمَاءِ اَوْ اِثْنًا بِعَذَابٍ اَلِيمٍ ﴾ (الأنفال : ٣١) وانا لأهل الجنة التي وصفها الله والعرش الذي عظمه الله ، وإنكم أهل النجعة التي صغرها الله وضمها لجوعها فقال ﴿ لِأَيَّلَافٍ قُرَيْشٍ ﴾ (قريش : ١) ووثب ، فأجلسه معاوية واعتذر إليه .

وقد ذكر الأعشى ميمون بن قيس سد مأرب في قوله من
شعر له^(١) :

وفي ذاك للمؤتسي أسوة
ومأرب عفى عليها العرم
رخام بنته لهم حمير
إذا جاء مواره لم يرم
فأروى الزروع وأغابها
على سعة ما بهم إذ قسم
سعى جرد فيهم ليلة
فحان بهم جرفهم فأنهدم^(٢)
وطار القبول وقيلاتها
بيهماء فيها سرب يطم
فصاروا أيادي ما يقدرون
منه على شرب طفل فطم

وقال أمية بن أبي الصلت في قصيدة له :

من سبأ الحاضرين مأرب إذ
ينون من دون سيله العرما

وقد تقدّم .

قال ابن إسحاق^(٣) : وكان سبب خروج عمرو بن عامر من
اليمن أنه رأى جرذاً يحفر في سد مأرب الذي كان يحبس عليهم
الماء فيصرفونه حيث شاءوا من أرضهم ، فعلم أنه لا بقاء للسد على
ذلك ، فاعتزم على النقلة من اليمن فكاد قومه ، فأمر أصغر بنيه
إذا أغلظ له ولطمه أن يقوم إليه فيلطمه ، ففعل ابنه ما أمره به
أبوه ، فقال عمرو : لا أقيم ببلد لطم وجهي [فيه] أصغر ولدي ،
وعرض أمواله ، فقال أشراف اليمن : اغتنموا غضبة عمرو ،
فاشتروا منه أمواله ، وانتقل هو وولده وولد ولده ، فقالت الأزد :
لا نتخلف عن عمرو بن عامر ، فباعوا أموالهم وخرجوا معه ، فساروا

^١ ديوان الأعشى : ٣٤ .

^٢ الديوان : فجاء بهم جارف منزم .

^٣ السيرة ١ : ١٣ .

وكان العرش مبنياً على أساطين حجارة وكل اسطوانة منها فوق الأرض ثمان وعشرون ذراعاً ، فاحتمل العرش وبقيت الأساطين على حالها ، ويقال إن تحت الأرض من تلك الأساطين مثل ما فوقها ، وغلظ كل أسطوانة لا يحتضنه أربعة نفر ، وفيها سوق ومسجد والمنزل بها ، ثم يخرج منها ويقطع عرض الوادي فيدخل جنة اليمنى التي ذكرها الله تعالى ، وليس فيها من الأشجار الا الاثل والأراك ، وتبذر فيها الذرة .

وكانت مأرب في القديم مدينة كبيرة عامرة بالخلق مشهورة في بلاد العرب ، وبها صرواح قصر سليمان عليه السلام ، ولم يبق منه إلا طلل دارس ، وبها قصر بلقيس كما قلناه ، وبها كان السدّ المسمى بالعزم ، وكان أكثر أهل مأرب سبأ من قبل العرب الحميرية ، وكان لهم من الكبر والته والعجب على سائر الأمم ما هو مشهور ، وكانوا مع ذلك يكفرون بأنعم الله سبحانه ، وكان لهم بهذه المدينة سدّ عظيم البناء وثيق الصنعة قد أمنوا من خلله ، وكان الماء يرتدع خلفه نحواً من عشرين قامة ، فكان الماء محصوراً من جوانبه قد أمنوه وأوثقوا صناعته ، وكانت مساكنهم عليه ، ولكل قبيلة منهم شرب معلوم يسقون منه ويصرفونه في مزارعهم قسمة عدل ، وكان السدّ يعلو هذه المدينة كالجبل المنيف ، فلما أراد الله سبحانه انقطاع دولتهم وتشتيت جماعاتهم أرسل عليهم السيل ، فجاءهم وهم نائمون ، فدفع السدّ ومرت بالمدينة وما جاورها من القرى والبهاثم والأمم والنبات ، وقتل الكل بالكل وفرقهم شذر مذر ، وتفرقت العرب وتبلبلت الألسن ، وساروا في المشارق والمغارب ، وبقي بالمدينة آثار تراجع إليها أقوام من حضرموت فهم يعمرونها إلى الآن ،

مأرب^(١) : وقد تخفف وهو الأكثر ، مدينة باليمن على ثلاثة أيام من صنعاء ، وعلى ثلاثة مراحل من ظفار ، قيل هي سمة للملك ، وقيل هو مسكن سبأ ، وهو بسكون الهمزة ، قال الله تعالى ﴿لَقَدْ كَانَ لِسَبَإٍ فِي مَسْكَنِهِمْ آيَةٌ جَنَّتَانِ عَنْ يَمِينٍ وَشِمَالٍ﴾ (سبأ : ١٥) ، وقال الشاعر^(٢) :

من سبأ الحاضرين مأرب إذ
يبنون من دون سيله العرما

وكان السد من بناء سبأ بن يشجب ، وكان ساق إليها سبعين وادياً ومات قبل أن يستتمه ، فأتمته ملوك حمير بعده ، وقيل بناه لقمان ابن عاد وجعله فرسخاً في فرسخ ، وجعل له ثلاثين شعباً .

والسد^(٣) بين جبلين وهما يسميان المأزمين وتمر منه بموضع كان يقسم عليه ماء هذا السد في الجاهلية في صحراء ورمال ، وهي التي تسمى جنة اليسرى ، قال الله تعالى ﴿لَقَدْ كَانَ لِسَبَإٍ فِي مَسْكَنِهِمْ﴾ الآية (سبأ : ١٥) فيمر حتى ينتهي إلى مأرب وفيه معدن الملح الذي أقطعه النبي ﷺ أبيض بن حمال المأربي فجعله أبيض صدقة للمساكين ، وعوضه النبي ﷺ حائطاً يعرف بالجدرات على باب مأرب ، فلا يخلو من ثمر صيفاً وشتاءً وربيعاً وخريفاً لأن ﷺ دعا له بالبركة . ومأرب مدينة سبأ ، وبها عرش بلقيس ،

^١ معجم ما استعجم ٤ : ١١٧٠ .

^٢ نسبة البكري في معجمه للأعشى وسيدكره المؤلف في هذه المادة منسوباً لأمية بن أبي الصلت

^٣ البكري (مخ) : ٦٧ .

- ٦٧ فَفِي ذَاكَ لِلْمُؤْتِيِ إِسْوَةٌ وَمَأْرِبٌ قَقَّى عَلَيْهَا الْعَرِمُ
٦٨ رُخَامٌ بَنَتْهُ لَهُمْ حِمِيرٌ إِذَا جَاءَهُ مَاءُهُمْ لَمْ يَـرْمِ
٦٩ فَأَرَوَى [الزُّرُوعَ وَأَعْنَابَهَا عَلَى سَعَةِ مَاءُهُمْ إِذْ قُسِمَ]
٧٠ فَعَاشُوا بِذَلِكَ فِي غَبْطَةٍ فَجَارَ بِهِمْ جَارٌ [فُتْنُوهُمْ]
٧١ فَطَارَ الْقَوْلُ وَقِيلَ لَهَا بَيْنَهُمَا فِيهَا سَرَابٌ [يَطْمِ]
٧٢ فَطَارُوا سِرَاعًا وَمَا يَقْدِرُونَ مِنْهُ لَشَرِبِ صَبِيٍّ فُطِمَ

وأثمار وربعة ليحكم بينهم في قسمة ميراث أبيهم ، وهي قصة مشهورة .

على ذلك ، فجعل يرسل به إلى الجبل الطويل فيُطرح على رأسه فيقع إلى الأرض ليس به بأس ، وجعل يبعث به إلى مياه بنجران ، بحور لا يقع فيها شيء إلا هلك ، فيخرج ليس به بأس ، فلما غلبه قال له عبد الله بن الثامر : انك والله لا تقدر على قتلي حتى توحّد الله تعالى فتؤمن بما آمنت به ، فانك إن فعلت ذلك سلطت علي فقتلني ، قال : فوحّد الله تعالى ذلك الملك وشهد بشهادة عبد الله بن الثامر ثم ضربه بعصا في يده فشجه شجرة غير كبيرة فقتله ، وهلك الملك مكانه ، واستجمع أهل نجران على دين عبد الله بن الثامر ، ثم أصابهم ما أصاب أهل دينهم من الأحداث .

وحدّثوا^(١) أن رجلاً من أهل نجران في زمن عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه ، حفر خربة من خرب نجران لبعض حاجته ، فوجدوا عبد الله بن الثامر تحت دفن منها قاعداً واضعاً يده على ضربة في رأسه ممسكاً عليها بيده ، فإذا أخرت يده عنها تنبعث^(٢) دماً ، وإذا أرسلت يده ردّها عليها ، فامسك دمها ، وفي يده خاتم مكتوب فيه : ربي ، فكتب فيه إلى عمر رضي الله عنه فكتب إليهم عمر رضي الله عنه : أن أقرّوه على حاله وردّوا عليه الدفن الذي كان عليه ، ففعلوا .

وكان الأسود بن كعب العنسي قد ادعى النبوة في عهد النبي ﷺ واتبع على ذلك ، وسمعت به بنو الحارث بن كعب من أهل نجران ، وهم يومئذ مسلمون ، فأرسلوا إليه يدعونه أن يأتيهم في بلادهم ، فجاءهم فاتبعوه وارتدّوا عن الإسلام ، ويقال : دخلها يوم دخلها في خمسة آلاف من حِمير يدّعي النبوة ويشهدون له بها ، فنزل همدان فلم يتبعه من النخع ولا من جعفي أحد ، وتبعه ناس من بني أسدٍ ومذحج وعنس واود وحكم ، وأقام الأسود بنجران ، ثم رأى أن صنعاء خير له من نجران فسار إليها في ستمائة راكب من بني الحارث فنزلها ، فأبّت الأبناء أن يصدقوه ، فغلب على صنعاء واستذل الأبناء بها وقهرهم وأساء جوارهم لتكذيبهم إياه ، إلى أن كان من أمره ما نذكره عند الوصول إلى ذكر صنعاء إن شاء الله تعالى .

وإلى أفعى نجران مضى أولاد معد بن عدنان وهم مضر وإباد

^١ الطبري ١ : ٩٢٦ .

^٢ الطبري : انتعبت .

دعوت عليها إلهي الذي أعبد أهلكتها ، وهو الله وحده لا شريك له ، فقال له سيده : فافعل فانك إن فعلت دخلنا في دينك وتركنا ما نحن عليه ، فقام فيميون فتطهر وصلى ركعتين ، ثم دعا الله تعالى عليها ، فأرسل الله عز وجلّ عليها ريحاً فجعلتها من أصلها فألقتها ، فاتبعه عند ذلك أهل نجران على دينه ، فحملهم على الشريعة من دين عيسى بن مريم عليه السلام ، ثم دخلت عليهم الأحداث التي دخلت على أهل دينهم بكل أرض ، فمن هناك كانت النصرانية بنجران في أرض [العرب] .

[قالوا^(١)] : وكان في قرية من قرى نجران ساحر يعلم أهل نجران السحر ، فلما نزلها [فيميون ابنتى خيمة بين نجران وبين تلك القرية ، فجعل أهل نجران يرسلون غلمانهم إلى ذلك الساحر يعلمهم السحر ، فبعث الثامر [ابنه] عبد الله بن الثامر مع غلمان أهل نجران ، فكان إذا مرّ بصاحب الخيمة أعجبه ما يرى من صلاته وعبادته ، فجعل يجلس إليه ويسمع منه حتى أسلم فوحد الله تعالى وعبدّه ، وجعل يسأله عن شرائع الإسلام ، حتى إذا تعلم جعل يسأله عن الاسم الأعظم ، وكان يعلمه ، فكنتمه إياه وقال له : يا ابن أخي انك لن تحمله ، أخشى ضعفك عنه ، والثامر أبو عبد الله لا يظن إلا أن ابنه يختلف إلى الساحر كما يختلف الغلمان ، فلما رأى عبد الله أن صاحبه قد ضنّ به عنه عمد إلى قداح . ثم لم يبق لله اسماً يعلمه إلا كتبه في قدح ، لكل اسم قدح ، حتى إذا أحصاها أوقد لها ناراً ثم جعل يقذفها فيها قدحاً قدحاً حتى إذا مرّ بالاسم الأعظم قذف فيها بقدحه ، فوثب القدح حتى خرج منها لم تضره شيئاً ، فأخذه ثم أتى صاحبه فأخبره أنه قد علم الاسم الذي كنتمه ، فقال : وما هو ؟ قال له : كذا ، قال : وكيف علمته ؟ فأخبره بما صنع ، قال : أي ابن أخي قد أصبته فأمسك على نفسك ، وما أظن أن تفعل ، فجعل عبد الله بن الثامر إذا دخل نجران لم يلق أحداً به ضر إلا قال له : يا عبد الله أتوجد الله وتدخل في ديني وأدعو الله فيعافيك مما أنت [فيه] من البلاء ؟ فيقول : نعم ، فيوحد الله ويسلم ويدعو له فيشفى ، حتى لم يسق بنجران أحد به ضر إلا أتاه فاتبعه على أمره ودعا له فعوفي ، حتى رفع شأنه إلى ملك نجران ، فدعاه فقال له : أفسدت علي أهل قريتي وخالفت ديني ودين آبائي ، لأمثلن بك ، قال : لا تقدر

^١ النقل مستمر من رواية ابن إسحاق .

أحد إلى فلاة من الأرض كما كان يصنع ، فاتبعه صالح وهو لا يدري بمكانه ، وقام فيميون يصلي فأقبل نحوه التين ، الحية ذات الرؤوس السبعة ، فلما رآها فيميون دعا عليها فأتت ، فرآها صالح ولم يدر ما أصابها ، فخافها عليه ، فعيل صبره فصرخ : يا فيميون ، التين قد أقبل نحوك ، فلم يلتفت إليه وأقبل على صلاته حتى فرغ منها وأمسى وانصرف ، وعرف أنه قد عرف ، وعرف صالح أنه قد رأى مكانه فقال له : يا فيميون ، اعلم أني ما أحببت شيئاً قط حبك ، وقد أردت صحبتك والكينونة معك حيث كنت ، قال : إما شئت ، أمري كما ترى ، فإن علمت أنك تقوى عليه فنعم ، فلزمه صالح . وكان إذا جاءه أحد به الضر دعا له فشفي ، وإذا دعي إلى أحد به ضر لم يأت ، وكان لرجل من أهل القرية ابن ضريب ، فسأل عن شأن فيميون ، فقيل له إنه لا يأتي أحداً دعاه ولكنه رجل يعمل للناس البنيان بالأجرة ، فعمد الرجل إلى ابنه ذلك فوضعه في حجرته وألقى عليه ثوباً ، ثم جاءه فقال : يا فيميون اني أردت أن أعمل في بيتي عملاً فانطلق معي إليه حتى تنظر إليه ، فأشارتك عليه^(١) ، فانطلق معه حتى دخل حجرته ثم قال : ما تريد أن تعمل في بيتك هذا ؟ قال كذا وكذا ، ثم أزال الرجل الثوب عن الصبي وقال : يا فيميون عبد من عباد الله أصابه ما ترى فادع الله له ، فدعا له فيميون فقام الصبي ليس به بأس ، وعرف فيميون أنه قد عرف ، فخرج من القرية واتبعه صالح ، فبينما هو يمشي في بعض الشام إذ مرَّ بشجرة عظيمة ، فناداه منها رجل فقال : أفيميون ؟ قال : نعم ؛ [قال] : ما زلت انتظرك وأقول : متى هو جاء ، حتى سمعت صوتك فعرفت أنك هو ، لا تبرح حتى تقوم علي فأني ميت الآن ، قال : فأت وقام عليه حتى وراه ثم انصرف ، وتبعه صالح حتى وطئا بعض أرض العرب ، فعدوا عليهما فاختمتهما سيارة من بعض العرب فخرجوا بهما حتى باعوهما بنجران ، وأهل نجران يومئذ على دين العرب يعبدون نخلة طويلة بين أظهرهم لها عيد في كل سنة ، فإذا كان ذلك العيد علقوا عليها كل ثوب حسن وجدوه وحلي النساء ، ثم خرجوا إليها وعكفوا عليها يوماً ، فابتاع فيميون رجل من أشrafهم ، وابتاع صالحاً آخر ، فكان فيميون إذا قام الليل في بيت له أسكنه إياه سيده يصلي استسرج له البيت نوراً حتى يصبح ، من غير مصباح ، فرأى ذلك سيده فأعجبه ما يرى منه ، فسأله عن دينه فأخبره به ، وقال له فيميون : إنما أنتم في باطل ، ان هذه النخلة لا تنضر ولا تنفع ولو

^١ ص ع : فأشار عليه .

12. Naḡrān

نجران : من بلاد اليمن ، سميت بنجران بن زيد بن سبأ بن يشجب بن يعرب بن قحطان .

ومن كان^(١) في الفترة أصحاب الاخدود ، وكانوا بنجران ، وبلغ ذا نواس أن قوماً بنجران على دين المسيح ، وكان هو يهودياً ، فنهض إليهم بنفسه ، وحفر لهم أخاديد وأضرهمها ناراً ثم دعاهم إلى اليهودية فمن أبى قذفه في الأخاديد ، فأتي بامرأة معها طفل ابن سبعة أشهر فأبت أن توجع عن دينها ، فأدنت من النار فجزعت ، فأنطق الله تعالى الطفل فقال : امضي على دينك فلا نار بعدها فألقيت في النار ، فسلب الله تعالى عليهم الحبشة وغلّبهم على أرض اليمن إلى أن كان من أمر ابن ذي يزن واستجارته بكسرى أنوشروان ما كان .

وبنجران^(٢) كان عبد الله بن الثامر من أهل دين عيسى عليه السلام ، وكان بها بقايا من أهل دينه على الإنجيل أهل فضل واستقامة ، وعبد الله بن الثامر رأس لهم ، وكان أصل ذلك الدين بنجران ، مع أن العرب كانوا أصحاب أوثان ، أن رجلاً من بقايا ذلك الدين يقال له فيميون وقع بين أظهرهم فحملهم عليه فدانوا به ، وكان صالحاً مجتهداً زاهداً في الدنيا مجاب الدعوة ، وكان سائحاً ينزل القرى ، ولا يعرف في قرية إلا خرج منها إلى قرية لا يعرف بها ، وكان لا يأكل إلا من كسب يده ، وكان بناء يعمل الطين ، وكان يعظم الأحد فلا يعمل فيه شيئاً ، فخرج إلى فلاة من الأرض يصلي بها حتى يمسي ، وكان في قرية من قرى الشام ، ففطن لشأنه رجل من أهلها يقال له صالح ، فأحبه حباً شديداً ، وكان يتبعه حيث ذهب فلا يفطن له فيميون ، حتى خرج في يوم

^١ ع : النجاعة ، وكذلك هي في أصول نزعة المشتاق ، الادريسي (د) : ٢٤ (OG : ٤٣)

^٢ البكري (منخ) : ٢١ .

^٣ السيرة ١ : ٣١ وما بعدها ، والطبري ١ : ٩٢٠ .

Abstract in English

This Master's thesis presents annotated translations of a selection of entries on Southern Arabian locations in the 13th century CE Arabic geographical dictionary *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fī ḥabar al-aqtār* by al-Ḥimyarī. The entries translated are Ḍamār, Zabīd, Suḥār, Suquṭrā, Šibām, aš-Šiḥr, Širwāḥ, Šana'ā', Zafār, 'Adan, Ma'rib, and Nağrān; notes throughout the translations explain references to historical figures and dates, quotes of religious significance, and legends mentioned as well as providing additional geographical or botanical information where necessary.

The first chapter gives an overview of the book and its contents, then addresses the identity of the author and the possibility of multiple authors, summarising the state of research in this area to date. Since the book has not been translated in its entirety, this first chapter also lists the entries so far translated.

Abstract in Deutsch

Diese Masterarbeit beinhaltet die kommentierten Übersetzungen einer Auswahl an Einträgen über Südarabien aus dem Wörterbuch *Kitāb ar-rawḍ al-mi'ṭār fī ḥabar al-aqtār* von al-Ḥimyarī aus dem 13. JH u.Z. Die übersetzten Einträge umfassen Ḍamār, Zabīd, Suḥār, Suquṭrā, Šibām, aš-Šiḥr, Širwāḥ, Šana'ā', Zafār, 'Adan, Ma'rib, und Nağrān; Erläuterungen zu den Übersetzungen erklären die im Text erwähnten historischen Personen und Ereignisse, wesentliche religiöse Zitate sowie angeführte Legenden. Wenn nötig werden ergänzend weiterführende geographische und botanische Informationen angegeben.

Zusätzlich zu den Übersetzungen verschafft das erste Kapitel dem Leser einen Überblick über al-Ḥimyarīs Werk und seinen Inhalt. Auch die Frage nach der Identität des Autors und ob es eventuell mehreren Autoren gibt wird an dieser Stelle diskutiert. Abschließend werden alle bisherigen Recherchen in diesem Feld zusammengefasst und da das Werk noch nicht vollständig übersetzt wurde, eine Liste der bislang bereits erschienenen Übersetzungen aufgelistet.