

An Azanian Trio



MAP 1 An overview of the area referred to in the texts

An Azanian Trio

Three East African Arabic Historical Documents

Translated and edited by

James McL. Ritchie †
Sigvard von Sicard



BRILL

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Preface

The provenance of the three manuscripts presented in this volume is striking. It demonstrates the way in which the South Arabian and Islamic oral and written scholarly traditions extended beyond the narrow confines of the Arabian Peninsula. It further shows that Muslim scholars on the East African coast were familiar with and had access to these traditions.

It has been possible to trace the origins of some of the material in the manuscripts back to a poem by Bishop Quss b. Sā'ida 'l-Ijadijj of Najrān. It would seem that he was a contemporary of Muḥammad who heard the bishop reciting the odes behind the material in the manuscripts at one of the famous 'Ukāz fairs.¹ P.K. Hitti has pointed out that

the ancient poetry, has historical importance as source material for the study of the period in which it was composed. In fact it is our only quasi-contemporaneous data. It throws light on all phases of pre-Islamic life. Hence the adage, "Poetry is the public register (*dāwān*) of the Arabians".²

The title of this volume refers to the ancient Greek name of the coast in a similar manner to the way in which the *Periplus* of the Erythrean Sea was used. In view of the long history covered by the manuscripts, it seems appropriate to use the title *An Azanian Trio* with the sub-title *Three East African Arabic Historical Documents*.³ The three manuscripts present a surprisingly detailed summary of the ethnographic, political, religious and social history of southern Arabia and the northern East African coast over a period of close to two thousand years. Many

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- 1 R.A. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*. Cambridge: University Press, 1956, pp. 135 f.
 - 2 P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs from the Earliest Times to the Present*. London: Macmillan, 1961, p. 95. On p. 5 of the Introduction to *An Azanian Trio*, the story of Hassan bin Tubba (b. 420) is introduced with reference to *Qāmūs* and *Sabā'ik al-Dhahab*. This work, first published in 1823, is based on al-Qalqashandī's *Nihāyat al-arab fī ma'rifat ansāb al-'arab* composed before 1418, when al-Qalqashandī died. His source, it seems, was the work of Hassān b. Thābit, a contemporary of Muḥammad, according to A. von Kremer's *Altarabische Gedichte über die Volkssage von Jemen*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1867, and his *Die Südarabische Sage*. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1866. In his introduction to *Die Südarabische Sage* (p. 7), von Kremer refers to a poem by Bishop Quss b. Sā'ida 'l-Ijadijj of Najrān, which is pre-Islamic and seems to be the source for Hassān bin Thābit's poem. This sequence takes us back much closer to the time referred to in the *Kawkab*.
 - 3 For such usage, see H. Philby, "African Contacts with Arabia", *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 86/44 (1937): 90–102, p. 100.

of the details will still need to be substantiated through archaeology, inscriptions, and as yet undiscovered sources in a variety of languages and traditions.

Their value is borne out by such statements as,

Until now, East African coastal history has been dominated by writers who used only Swahili. Many of them were former district officers or colonial bureaucrats and amateur historians who approached their problems exclusively through this language. Although they succeeded remarkably well, and although Swahili is still indispensable, it has been overused for certain problems in coastal history. Profitable results can be obtained through the use of Persian, Ottoman Turk, Somali, Sindi, Gujerati or Arabic. Among those, Arabic has by far the deepest time base. Ignoring Arabic for East African coastal history is like trying to study medieval European history without the knowledge of Latin.⁴

B.G. Martin's comment seems an appropriate starting point for the consideration of the three manuscripts that are the main basis of this work. It is our hope that the publication of these texts will spur further research in East African coastal history.

All three manuscripts start with a brief reference to the traditions of coastal ethnic groups and their interaction with the Arabs, with a reference to the incursion of the Oromo and the establishment of trading posts along the coast by the Himyarites who in the pre-Islamic period were the dominant power in south-western Arabia. The manuscripts point to their conversion to Jewish monotheism and subsequent struggles with the Christian kingdom of Axum.⁵

4 B.G. Martin, "Arab Migration to East Africa in Medieval Times", *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 7/3 (1974): 367–390, pp. 368f. See also A.H.J. Prins, "On Swahili Historiography", *Journal of the East African Swahili Committee* 28/2 (1958): 26–40, p. 26. "Modern historians dealing with East Africa as a whole have, speaking in general, sadly neglected those primary sources that stem from Africa itself. This is partly due to ignorance; poor training in the methods of historical research; but also, and probably very largely, to the lack of systematization and accessibility of available African sources." See G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, "Swahili Literature and the History and Archeology of the East African Coast", *Journal of the East African Swahili Committee* 28/ 2 (1958): 7–25, pp. 16, 19.

5 The Jewish presence in Arabia originates in the numerous dispersions beginning with the destruction of Samaria in 722 B.C. by the Assyrians under Shalmaneser/Sargon, followed by the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 by the Babylonians under Nebuchadnessar, the occupation by Alexander the Great in 331 B.C.E., the deportations of the Jews mainly to Africa under Ptolemy Soter in 320 B.C.E. and the Roman destructions under Pompey and Titus in 63 and 70 C.E.

An intriguing part of these developments is the reference to the Banū Qays al-Ghaylān, who at some point in the early sixth century A.D. first migrated from the Himyar area and settled in the Axumite kingdom, but subsequently towards the end of that century moved into the area north of the Juba River. Their migration forced local people, such as the Pokomo and Giriama, to migrate further south.

The manuscripts go on to cover the involvement of the ‘Umanis, the Portuguese, the Turks and the English on the East African coast. The role of the al-Bū Sa‘ids, the Mazrū‘is and the Somalis is treated in greater detail, as are the issues around the slave trade and dynastic struggles.

The genesis and background of the compilation, translation, annotation and editing of the material in this work is as follows:

We never met Dr Neville Chittick, but when in Ṣan‘ā’ of the Yemen in the 1970s we received from him a request for an evaluation of the English translation of what he sent to us as being *Kitāb al-Zunūj*. A reply was sent to him, but the postal service in the Yemen Arab Republic being at that time in a rather rudimentary state, it is unlikely that the letter ever reached him. The text remained with us for over twenty years, until Dr G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville alerted us to the fact that the full text in the original was in *Somalia: Scritti Vari editi ed inediti* by Enrico Cerulli,⁶ and was in fact in two versions labeled K and L.

Prior to that, we had received from the late James Kirkman, then Warden of the Fort Jesus Museum of Mombasa, a photostat copy of an Arabic manuscript entitled *Kawkab al-durriya li-akhbār Ifrīqiya*, which we translated, with the kind help of Dr Pierre Cachia in respect of an Arabic poem which occupies the central place in that manuscript. We then left it aside for want of proper indication as to whether it might be of any material value.⁷

On comparing these two, or rather three, texts, we discovered that they cover in many respects the same subjects, though with variants in the events and anecdotes they relate, and in the comments that the authors make. It seemed worthwhile to set the three together and draw attention to their similarities and differences; for altogether they seem to present what must be a pretty widespread popular tradition of the history of the area as seen through the eyes

6 E. Cerulli, *Somalia. Scritti vari editi ed inediti*. Vol. 1. Rome: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato P.V., 1957. See also J. de V. Allen, *Swahili Origins: Swahili Culture and the Shungwaya Phenomenon*. London: J. Currey, 1993, p. 38, for a late tenth-century compilation of earlier materials, some being local historical traditions.

7 R.S. O’Fahey (comp.), *Arabic Literature of Africa*, Vol. 3: *The Writings of Muslim Peoples of Northeastern Africa*. Leiden: Brill, 2002, p. 103.

of the people of the Swahili coast. There is much that is questionable in them, but the least that can be said of them is that together they help to clarify the religious, historical and cultural picture of a very interesting part of the world. We offer them together with notes and comments, not as anything final, but as something that may, in the course of time and after further research, be “filled out” to give a more accurate view of the history of East Africa.

Acknowledgements

We would like to acknowledge the help and interest of the late Prof. G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, the late Mr. James Kirkman, Dr. F.J. Berg, Dr. Farouk Topan, Prof. Yasir Sulayman and the late Dr. MacDonald of Edinburgh University. We are likewise indebted to Prof. Abdallah al-Shmahi of Şan'ā' University, Prof. & Mrs. J. Nielsen of Copenhagen and Birmingham Universities, Dr. Ahmed Hallak, Dr. Ishmael Baya for their kind assistance in bringing this to completion. We are beholden to Mr. C. Hobbs, BFA for his meticulous attention to the presentation of the maps. We owe many thanks to Brill Publishers, especially Maurits van den Boogert, Franca de Kort and Pieter te Velde for the gracious and obliging way they have been committed towards the completion of this publication.

Edinburgh & Birmingham October 2019

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Note on Transliteration

The three manuscripts are replete with Arabic names which in some instances have a Swahili equivalent. The names have on the whole been transliterated in accordance with the system used by the Middle East Studies Association. Since, however, Swahili has certain sounds for which there is no Arabic equivalent, the manuscripts adapt some Arabic letters to cover these. The authors of the three manuscripts have not been consistent in doing so. The divergence has been noted in the footnotes.

The following is a table of the most common letters and their equivalents.

| Arabic words | Swahili words | Arabic words | Swahili words ¹ |
|--------------|---------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| ا | Ā | ش | sh |
| ب | B | ص | ṣ |
| ت | T | ض | ḍ |
| پ | P | ط | ṭ |
| ث | Th | ظ | ẓ |
| چ | ch/g | ع | ‘ |
| ج | J | غ | gh |
| ح | ḥ | ف | f |
| ڦ | V | ق | q |
| خ | kh | ك | k |
| د | D | ل | l |
| غ | g/ng | م | m |
| ذ | dh | ن | n |
| ر | R | ه | h |
| ز | Z | و | w |
| س | S | ی | y |

1 J.W.T. Allen, *Arabic Script for Students of Swahili*. Supplement to *Tanganyika Notes and Records*. November 1945. See also R.L. Pouwels, *The Shaf'i Ulama of East Africa, ca. 1830–1970: A Hagiographic Account*. Madison: University of Wisconsin African Studies Program, 1989, pp. 1ff.

The *hamza* is not indicated at the beginning of a word.

The letter *ghayn* is used for NG or NG' in Swahili words, and sometimes the modified letters of *jīm*, *bā* and *fā* are used for CH, P and V.

The letter *wāw* sometimes indicates the consonant W and at other times a long vowel ū. The *ḍamma* represents a short vowel u or o.

The letter *ʿayn* is marked as ' and *hamza* as '.

Terminology

Tribe a politically or socially coherent and autonomous group occupying or claiming a particular territory.²

Clan a group of persons of both sexes, membership of which is determined by unilineal descent, actual or putative, with *ipso facto* obligations of an exclusive kind.³

² Royal Anthropological Institute (ed.), *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971, p. 66. In a Semitic context, the term has been used to refer to the "tribes of Israel," e.g. Ex. 28:21.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 89; J. De V. Allen, *Swahili Origins*, pp. 219 ff.

Abbreviations

| | |
|--------|---------------------------------------|
| Ac. | Acts |
| ALA | Arabic Literature of Africa |
| as | <i>'alayhi salām</i> |
| Dt. | Deuteronomy |
| Ex. | Exodus |
| fb | from bottom of page |
| Gen. | Genesis |
| MS/MSS | Manuscript(s) |
| saws | <i>ṣalla Allāhu 'alayhi wa-sallam</i> |

Journal abbreviations have been arranged at the beginning of the bibliography.

Dates in the text translation are given in both the Islamic and Western systems (A.H./A.D.).

Introduction

The three MSS included in this exposition have been written off as a mass of uninformed and uncritical surmise.¹ James Kirkman, in his article in the Institute of Archaeology's *Seminar for Arabic Studies*,² seems in general to adopt this attitude, but at the same time he deals with various subjects and events recorded in them as perhaps having an element of truth. One gathers from reading his article that many theories have been put forward about the reasons and motives for writing these works. The whole question of whether Swahili culture is essentially African or Arab is raised, and seems recently to have given rise to much argument and theorizing.³ Our purpose is to give as accurate a rendering as possible, to set out the points in the language that we feel are significant, and then to set them against the background of general Arab and Islamic history in such a way that they may be able to speak more clearly for themselves. We are slow to offer theories except a general one regarding the place that such works as these hold in the general culture and religion of the East African coast. But we have sought to indicate, and in some cases stress, significant hints and references as matters that ought to be borne in mind, along with the archaeological and other evidence, in seeking to fit together the jigsaw puzzle of East African history so as to produce a clearer picture of the course of events from the earliest times up to the present.

The MS entitled *Kawkab al-durriya li-akhbār Ifriqiya* is said to have belonged to Sh. Muḥammad Qāsim al-Ma'miry (d. 1910) of Mombasa. Kirkman had a photocopy made when he was working in Mombasa. He in turn passed it on to J.M. Ritchie in the 1960s when the latter was living in Mombasa.

Ritchie, who is a fluent Arabic speaker and had a good command of Swahili, translated the MS and wrote most of the introduction. Sigvard von Sicard has, in the light of new material, not least the updating of the South Arabian inscriptions,⁴ made necessary adjustments as well as expanding notes and references relevant to the texts.

- 1 G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, "The Kenya Coast Revisited: Archeology, Archives, History", in *idem*, *The Swahili Coast, 2nd to 19th Century: Islam, Christianity and Commerce in Eastern Africa*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1988, II, "The Times of Ignorance" pp. 8–9, and V, "The Kenya Coast Revisited" p. 12.
- 2 J.S. Kirkman, "Omani Relations with East Africa before the Arrival of the Portuguese", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 12 (1982): 35–38.
- 3 K. Kresse, *Philosophising in Mombasa: Knowledge, Islam and Intellectual Practice on the Swahili Coast*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. J. de V. Allen, *Swahili Origins*.
- 4 A. Avanzini, *Corpus of South Arabian Inscriptions I–III. Qatabanic, Marginal Qatabanic*,

The material consists of:

- a) the Arabic text and English translation of Cerulli's MSS K & L of the *Kitāb al-Zunūj*⁵
- b) the Arabic text and English translation of the *Kawkab*

It is considered under the following headings:

1. authorship
2. dating
3. the place of origin of the texts
4. the language of the texts
5. the differing viewpoints of the writers
6. the purpose of the documents
7. the authors' sources
8. the authors' style and treatment of the subject
9. consideration of how far the three MSS can be considered credible

A number of maps are included to facilitate locating and understanding the texts.

A bibliography of contemporary works on East African history is provided, as well as an annotated list of the books referred to in the text of the *Kawkab*.

Whereas the MSS of *Kitāb al-Zunūj* have no stated author, the author of the *Kawkab*'s was one Fāḍil bin 'Umar al-Bawrī (d. 1913).

Place names are spelt differently in the three MSS, e.g. Malindi—Malūdi; Manda—Munda—Mundu etc. This is determined to some extent by local forms of pronunciation.

The MSS seem to attribute the foundation of a number of settlements to one of the *Tabābi'*, but there is also a tradition attributing the foundation of many of them to Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (65/685–686/705).⁶ It is likely that the later local traditions reflect a more established Islamic phase which represents a denigration of the *jāhili* traditions. However, archeological, historical and sociological research clearly indicates an Arab presence prior to Islam, including the existence of Himyari inscriptions.

Awsanite Inscriptions. Pisa: Editioni Plus, University of Pisa, 2004; E. Cerulli refers only to a few inscriptions directly relating to Mogadishu (*Somalia*, pp. 1ff).

- 5 E. Cerulli (ed. & trans.), "Kitāb al-Zunūj", in *Somalia: Scritti vari editi ed inediti*. Vol. 1. Rome: Istituto poligrafico della Stato P.V., 1957, *Il Libro degli Zengi*, pp. 229–357.
- 6 C.H. Stigand, *The Land of Zinj: Being an Account of British East Africa, Its Ancient History and Present Inhabitants*. London: Constable, 1913, p. 29 n. 4; Cerulli, *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, pp. 266 n. 4, 333; Freeman-Grenville, *Swahili Coast*, II, "The Times of Ignorance" pp. 8f.; v, "The Kenya Coast Revisited" pp. 4, 6; VI, "Islam and Christianity in East Africa" pp. 194f., 197; VII, "Some aspects of the external relations of the East African coast: before 1800" p. 73; Freeman-Grenville 1962 p. 242.

Overview

Authorship

Cerulli gives two MSS of *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, which he designates K and L. K he reports to be a MS belonging to the Qāḍī of Kisimayu in the year 1923, a copy of which he received through the Qāḍī of Mogadishu, Shaykh Abū Bakr bin Muhyi ʿl-Dīnī Mukarram at that time.¹ L is a copy of a codex made in Vitu for Prof. Alice Werner, from whom he received it via the British Embassy in Ethiopia in 1926.² There is no indication as to the authorship of these two documents. Ger vase Mathew states that *Kitāb al-Zunūj* is “clearly the work of a learned man”.³ Having produced English renderings with some difficulty and acquired a rather intimate knowledge of the Arabic text, we find this statement somewhat inaccurate. The writer(s) had a rather inaccurate knowledge of good Arabic and show(s) many signs that he (they) was (were) thinking in Swahili, which was fairly certainly his (their) native tongue.⁴

The document entitled *Kawkab al-durriya li-akhbār Ifrīqiya* was written by Shaykh Fāḍil bin ʿUmar al-Bawrī. The epithet Bawrī indicates that his family was from Pate Island and he would thus be a Bājūn Shaykh.⁵ This document

- 1 Cerulli, “Kitāb al-Zunūj”, p. 231. See also Prins, “Swahili Historiography”, pp. 35 f. He refers to the two MSS as ‘W’ for Werner and ‘C’ for Cerulli. He states that the author of ‘W’ was “a certain Fazil bin Omar Albauri from Malindi”. Cf. A. Werner, “A History of Pate”, *Journal of the African Society* 14/14–15 (1914–1915): 148–161 and 278–297.
- 2 Cerulli, “Kitāb al-Zunūj”, p. 231.
- 3 G. Mathew, “The East African Coast until the Coming of the Portuguese.”, in R. Oliver & G. Mathew (eds), *History of East Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963, vol. 1, 94–128, p. 103.
- 4 P. Lienhardt points to a similar situation in his article “The Mosque College of Lamu and Its Social Background”, *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 53 (1959): 228–242, p. 230, when he writes about Ḥabīb Ṣālih b. Ḥabīb ʿAlawī b. Ḥabīb ʿAbdullah Jamal al-Layl, who lived in Lamu from c. 1885 until his death in 1354/1935, stating: “A remote ancestor (of Ḥabīb Ṣālih’s) emigrated from the Hadhramaut and settled in Siu on the island of Pate. From Siu, another ancestor had moved to Anjouan (Johanna) in the Comoro Islands. It was there that Ḥabīb Ṣālih was born, son of an Arab father and a Comorian mother. His family like other families settled for generations in Africa, was under the influence of his country of adoption. Arabic was not spoken in the home, and to the end of his life Ḥabīb Ṣālih never used that language for conversational purposes. He laboured, therefore, under something of the same difficulties as the Swahili peoples, speaking Swahili but having to follow their scholarly pursuit in another and extremely difficult language which they had to learn.”
- 5 J.A.G. Elliott, “A Visit to the Bājūn Islands”, *Journal of the African Society* 25–26/97–100 (1925–1926): 10–22, 147–163, 245–263, 338–358, p. 150 n. 2, records him as being “An Arab living in Malindi district; said to have Pokomo blood”.

shows more signs of a scholarly hand, for the author is ready to justify his statements by reference to various standard Arabic works, which he quotes with surprising frequency and particularity.⁶ The errors in the Arabic may in his case be put down to other causes than mere ignorance. Shaykh Fāḍil bin ‘Umar al-Bawrī, or to give his name its Swahili form, Shehe Faḍil bin ‘Umar al-Bawrī was a Bājūn⁷ Swahili, was a civil servant on the Kenya coast. The Director of the British Institute of History and Archaeology in East Africa, Neville Chittick, suggested that perhaps he originated from Bawr near Sai’ūn in Hadramawt, but it is more probable that he was connected with Bawrī on Pate Island. From an unspecified date in the 1880s until the year 1895, he was first of all in the service of the Mazrū’i rulers of Takaungu, and then in that of the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC). In 1895, he transferred from the IBEAC Company’s civil service to that of the East African Protectorate. From 1905 to 1908 he was *mudīr* of Roka, and from 1908 to 1909 he was *mudīr* of Mtanganyiko, a village that no longer exists.

In 1909–1910, he was again *mudīr* of Roka, and then *mudīr* of Arabuko until the year 1913, when he retired.⁸ He was of the Buri or Bauri clan, one of the Bājūn divisions which was probably, in view of the findings of Mark Horton published in 1996,⁹ a member of one of the *WaUngwana*, who were clans in the Lamu Archipelago and elsewhere on the East African coast and who had the right to elect the sultan of the area or community—in the case of Pate the Nabhani sultan, for whom, of course, he shows a strong predilection.¹⁰

As is evident from the above comments, he composed the MS in the year of his retirement. We think there is little doubt that it is written in his own handwriting after he retired. He must have been of advanced years at the time he wrote it, as will appear later; for he died in the same year 1913.

6 Ibid.: “That some of his statements are corroborated from trustworthy sources lends a colouring of truth to the rest.”

7 On Bājūn, see A.H.J. Prins, *The Swahili-Speaking Peoples of Zanzibar and the East African Coast (Arabs, Shirazi and Swahili)*. London: International African Institute, 1967, p. 17; see also Allen, *Swahili Origins*, p. 49: “... the Bājūni are a coalition of (formerly Cushitic-speaking) pastoralists with Bantu-speakers, both group apparently once extending up the Juba”.

8 *Mudīr*—Swahili from Arabic مدير meaning “chief” or “village headman”.

9 M.C. Horton, *Shanga: The Archaeology of a Muslim Trading Community on the East African Coast*. Nairobi: British Institute in Eastern Africa, 1996, p. 32 n. 11.

10 Ibid., pp. 4, 22, 425 ff. *WaUngwana*—Free men, inhabitants of the place, people of mixed Persian, Arab and African blood. For the above particulars regarding Shehe Faḍil bin ‘Umar al-Bawrī, we are very much indebted to Dr F.J. Berg, formerly of Colgate College, USA. See Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, p. 153; Prins, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, p. 102.

The Dating of the MSS

In general, we may state the following:

- A. The earliest of the three MSS is obviously MS K of *Kitāb al-Zunūj*. This is basically the same as MS L but stops short at the reign of Khalīfa bin Saʿīd bin Sulṭān, who succeeded Barghash in 1305 (1887–1888).
- B. The second of the three, in respect of date of authorship, is MS L of *Kitāb al-Zunūj*. This is later for the following reasons:
 1. It is longer than MS K by reason of the additions made, but the additions in the latter part are so extensive that it may rightly be called a new work altogether.
 2. It carries on the account to the reign of ʿAlī bin Ḥamūd bin Saʿīd, who acceded to the rule of Zanzibar in 1320 (1902–1903) and whose position was, it asserts, purely nominal.
 3. It also gives other indications, such as stating that named officials are in office “now” or “up to now”.
 4. There is a reference to the appearance of a comet at the end of MS L, which is taken as an indication of the arrival of the *Ifranj*, or European Christians, in an area formerly the almost exclusive preserve of Islam, and therefore a great disaster. We have studied the astronomical records, and think it most probable that the comet referred to was the Great September Comet of A. D. 1882.

Both MSS K and L tend to play down the significance of the Mazrūʿi dynasty of Mombasa, but MS K is more extreme in this respect than MS L. MS L gives a fair description of the various *liwalis* of the Mazariʿa, but MS K is at pains to point out that Muḥammad bin ʿUthmān obtained the *liwali*-ship by a sort of business deal and with the consent of the Nabahīna of Pate.¹¹

- C. The latest of the three is *Kawkab al-durriya*. Shaykh Fāḍil bin ʿUmar al-Bawrī, who is known to have died in the year 1332 (1913), seems to have written this work shortly before his death, and this may account for the many errors in the language and grammar. Shaykh Fāḍil is of the family

11 Cerulli, (“Kitāb al-Zunūj”, pp. 231f.) considers that *Kitāb al-Zunūj* is a late nineteenth-century redaction. See also N. Chittick, “The Peopling of the East African Coast”, in N. Chittick & R.I. Rotberg (eds), *East Africa and the Orient: Cultural Syntheses in Pre-Colonial Times*. New York: Africana Publishing, 1975, 16–43, p. 27. Allen (*Swahili Origins*, p. 38) considers it a compilation of earlier materials some being local historical traditions. Chittick (“The *Book of the Zanj* and the Mijikenda”, *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9/1 (1976): 68–73, p. 73) states: “The *Book of the Zanj* is ... a document of unique importance, since it is particularly concerned with a group of Bantu-speaking peoples.”

who, he claims, kept the Nabhāni sultans under control, and who seem to have inspired the expulsion of the Mazari'a from Lamu.¹²

The Place of Origin of the Texts

1. The two MSS of *Kitāb al-Zunūj* came to E. Cerulli in the following manner. We use his own words:

My Edition is based on two manuscripts:

- (a) The one designated here with the letter K. This is a manuscript belonging to the *qāḍī* of Kisimayu (in 1923); a copy of which we had through the first *qāḍī* of Mogadishu at that time: The Shaykh Abā Bakr bin Muḥyi 'l-Dīn Mukarram.
- (b) The one designated here with the letter L. This is the copy of a code made in Vitu for Prof. Alice Werner, who kindly arranged for me to have a copy in 1926 through the British Legation in Ethiopia.¹³

Cerulli only presents this MS in the form of variant readings to MS K.¹⁴ We have for convenience reproduced the full text of MS L.

It will be seen from this that these two documents seem to have originated in the northern area of the East African coast, north of the Lamu Archipelago and in what is now Somalia. The Banādir, or Somali ports, appear in these MSS with great frequency.

12 Prof. Abdul Aziz Lodhi of the University of Uppsala notes that *Kitāb al-Zunūj* is mentioned in *Kawkab al-durriya fi akhbār Ifrīqiya* and listed in J.W.T. Allen's *The Swahili and Arabic Manuscripts and Tapes in the Library of the University College, Dar-es-Salaam: A Catalogue*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970, p. 48. entry no. 2512, and that the microfilm was obtained from J. Kirkman. In November, this microfilm was not found in the Africana Archives of the Library of the University of Dar-es-Salaam (personal communication 25 January 2012). The title of the MS is partly borrowed from the title of the poem *Al-Kawākib al-durriya fi madḥ Khayr al-Bariyya* (The Sparkling Stars in praise of the Best of Mankind), by the Egyptian poet Sharaf al-Dīn 'Abdallah b. M. b. Sa'īd b. Ḥamad b. Muḥsin b. Sanḥāj b. Hilāl al-Sanhaj Dilasī (al-Būširi) (608/1212–696/1296). See J. Knappert, *Four Centuries of Swahili Verse. A Literary History and Anthology*. Nairobi: Heinemann, 1979, p. 103; *idem*, *Swahili Islamic Poetry*. 3 vols. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1971, vol. 11 pp. 165ff.; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. 2nd ed. Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1972, vol. 1, p. 467.

13 Cerulli, "Kitāb al-Zunūj", p. 231.

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 293–325.

2. On the other hand, the *Kawkab al-durriya* appears to be more interested in what goes on further to the south. We know the author of it—his name and his connection with the Island of Pate. This distinction between *Kitāb al-Zunūj* and the *Kawkab* is most noticeable when they tell of Sayyid Saʿīd bin Sulṭān's operations from the time he accepted the protectorate of Lamu until his son Mājid finally conquered Pate and Siyu. But *Kitāb al-Zunūj* is also much more detailed in its description of the ousting of the Galla by the Somalis.

The Language of the Texts

The language is uniformly bad Arabic in each of the three texts. The writers very often use the third person plural of the verb in verbal sentences when the subject is plural. They often use a feminine verb with a masculine noun or vice versa. They tend to use the phrase *bi-kawnihi* where more orthodox Arabic would say *an* or *bi-an* or *li-anna*. The main clauses frequently start with *wa* (= and) tautologously. There is at times ambiguity in their sentences. They use certain words that we can recognize as colloquial in Aden and south-west Arabia, such as: *nakhidha* or *nakhudha* = a skipper;¹⁵ *sīb* or *ṣayb* = a store, depot or arsenal; *istawa* = to happen, or become. We have listed the main occurrences of these together with what we think are “Swahilisms” in the Arabic in a special section below.¹⁶

The writing in *Kawkab al-durriya* is often so disjunctive that one gets the impression that the texts are in little better than note form, intended to be improved upon at a later time when the writer had leisure to do so. We have commented further on Shaykh Fāḍil's style and language below. *Kawkab al-durriya* also has quite an extensive marginal commentary added by another hand.¹⁷

The following *Faṣl*, *Hikāya* and *Bāb* are used in all three texts. *Faṣl* seems mostly to represent a period of history. *Hikāya* is the heading for particular anecdotes, which differ in the three texts. These are short stories of events usually thought to have taken place in the period with which the *Faṣl* deals. The word *Bāb* usually means a “section” or possibly “paragraph”, dealing with a subsection of the main subject under discussion. It is, however, not easy to detect a firm system of analysis on the part of the writers that dictates its use.

15 ناخذة—*nākhodha*.

16 Appendix No. 2.

17 Appendix No. 1.

The Differing Attitudes or View-Points of the Writers

The three authors all show a distinct bias in favour of the rulers of Pate and Siyu.¹⁸ They make many references to areas now in Somalia. K and L are antipathetic to the Mazari‘a, K being perhaps more so than L. Shaykh Fāḍil bin ‘Umar is very hostile to the Mazari‘a, but this is by reason of his being connected to the Nabhāni sultans of Pate and the Bauris, who had a share in power with them. Taking all these factors into account it would be fair to say that the three documents were probably written within the Bājūn area or to the north of it.

The Purpose of the Documents

This is a question that is hard to answer. *Kitāb al-Zunūj* has apparently no named author for either of the two MSS. *Kawkab al-durriya* on the other hand has a named author, and he states at the beginning of the text why he is writing. It is because the Zanzibari government used to award subsidies, or grants, to groups who were genuinely Islamic and of Arab descent. The first part of his work is a topographical list of most, if not all, of the coastal communities, giving an indication as to the genuineness of their Arab ancestry, since many of them were claiming to be of Arab origin when they had no real connection with Arabia at all.¹⁹ He ends the first part with what we take to be a mnemonic poem detailing all the communities that were, or were considered to be, of true Arab descent.

What then is the purpose of *Kitāb al-Zunūj*? The nearest that we can get to a purpose is to be found at the end of the L MS, where there is a sort of threnody at the fact that the Sawāḥil is being filled up with Christians, which does not fit in with the outlook or expectations of the writer. Events in Mombasa in the recent past indicate that that feeling is not dead.²⁰ He records that one of the Bū Sa‘īdī sultans of Zanzibar urged patience on his subjects in the face of this “invasion”. He even quotes a three-couplet poem which indicates that the coming of the Christians is a fore-ordained trial which had been indicated by

18 N. Chittick, “A Note on Siu”, *Swahili* 38/2 (1968): 169–170; J. de V. Allen, “Siu in the 18th and 19th Centuries”, *Transafrican Journal of History* 8/1 (1979): 11–35.

19 A.H.M. el Zein, *The Sacred Meadows: A Structural Analysis of Religious Symbolism in an East African Town*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1974, pp. 51 ff.

20 Riots and violence took place by coastal people against those who had moved to Mombasa from up-country. The newcomers were considered intruders, upsetting the traditional ways and values of the coast.

the appearance of the above-mentioned comet in the night sky, an astronomical event that helps in dating the MSS. But much of the matter is identical with that of *Kawkab al-durriya* and these are the very facts that can only be evaluated, and their truth or otherwise be established, by comparison with other independent sources of information, archaeological as well as documentary.²¹

According to Freeman-Grenville, the archaeological evidence is thin and does not tell us much.²² The authors of MSS K and L do not acknowledge the sources nearly as thoroughly as Shaykh Faḍil, but they are recognizable. What then can be their purpose? The following is what Cerulli says in his own introduction:

The two MSS not only have small changes in the interpretation of the text, but also have whole episodes added in one or the other text. This kind of composition is common in East Africa, where Chronicles are generally composed of various tales, of which one is central and more highly inspired and the others are added at the beginning or later at the end as ornamental borders; and the range of tales varies in the various manuscripts following the taste and preferences of the copyist. Typical examples of this are: the so-called Short Chronicle of Ethiopia,²³ and in Arabic the Story of the Kings or Story of the Fighters of the Holy War of Harar.²⁴ In consequence not all the various reports of this type included in the text have the same documentary value, but only those written at the date nearest to the event. All these tales however have an indicative value, in the sense that they bring forward, even if in their own way, some historical problems to solve for comparison with other documents which it is hoped will come to light later on. In this way the publication, made by René Basset, of the Short Chronicle opened the historical studies on Ethiopia in the last century; and now, after the publication of the Royal Chronicle and other historical texts, we are better able to value what is genuine in the Short Chronicle and what instead is an unacceptable addition of a copyist or of an old tradition, it is still certain that we all agree in admitting that the Short Chronicle²⁵ gave the frame in which the histor-

21 For a brief summary, see Chittick, *Book of the Zenj*, pp. 69f.

22 Freeman-Grenville, *Swahili Coast*, VI, "Islam and Christianity" pp. 193–207.

23 F. Béguinot, *La Cronaca abbreviata d'Abissinia*. Rome: Tipogr. della Casa Edit. Italiana, 1901; R. Basset, *Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie*. Rome: Imprimerie nationale, 1882.

24 تریخ الملوك La "Storia dei Re" and تریخ المجاهدين "Storia dei Combattenti la Guerra sata" di Harar in E. Cerulli, *Documenti arabi per la storia dell' Etiopia*. Rome: G. Bardi, 1931, parts III & IV, pp. 926 ff.

25 R. Basset, *Études sur l'histoire d'Éthiopie*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1882.

ical research was made possible; and this may also be anticipated even if we publish all the other various issues. The Book of the Zengi has a similar historical value and therefore we expect that other issues, if any, may be edited later.²⁶

The foregoing sentences express very precisely the ground for publication of these three MSS.

Our view is that they served the same purpose as do *Qaṣīdat al-Burda*²⁷ and the *Sīrat al-Nabi* in the Islamic community of the East African coast. They express the “Arabness” and the Islam of the coastal population in a way that retained their pristine identity against the “Persian” intrusion of the ‘Abbasids, the Naṣrānī intrusion of the Portuguese and subsequent colonizing intrusions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by various European powers who came in and overrode the “Class B” imperialism of ‘Umān, which had the merit of being Islamic and Arab, with a “Class A” commercial and European “Christian” imperialism, with the UK ending up as the chief influence. In face of all this, how could the coastal “Arabs”, whom we call Swahilis, preserve their identity? We would say, (a) by the legends of the *Maulidī*²⁸ in which *Qaṣīdat al-Burda* plays an outstanding part, (b) by the development of Swahili as not only a language of daily life but also as a theological and religious language, and (c) by the production of such works as the present three texts, which are summaries of the Arab/Islamic tradition relating to the Swahili coast, which the Afro-Arab society asserts to be its roots, and which we present in this publication.

We have preserved the Arabic form of the titles rather than attempting to render them in English. The quotations from the Qur’ān are from the Egyptian edition, which is regarded as standard, followed by the verses in Flügel’s edition,²⁹ where they differ from those of the Egyptian edition. For the dating, we have used Freeman-Grenville’s *Islamic and Christian Calendars*³⁰—an excellent and extremely accurate and useful book for the conversion of Islamic dates to Christian dates and vice versa. We have included maps of the relevant areas and also some tables making clear the different dates for the Mazrū’ī *Līwalis*

26 Cerulli, “Kitāb al-Zunūj”, p. 232.

27 See Knappert 1971 vol. II pp. 165 ff.

28 See Knappert, *Swahili Islamic Poetry*, vol. III pp. 31 ff.; vol. 3, pp. 276 ff.; L. Harries, *Swahili Poetry*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962, pp. 102 ff.

29 G. Flügel, *Corani textus arabicus*. Leipzig: Carol Tauchnitz, 1834.

30 G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, *The Islamic and Christian Calendars A. D. 622–2222 (A. H. 1–1650): A Complete Guide for Converting Christian and Islamic Dates and Dates of Festivals*. Reading: Garnet, 1995.

and the 'Umāni sultans as found in the different sources.³¹ Such differences mean that someone has been inaccurate, but to highlight such inaccuracies is the first step in adjusting them.

In this connection it is necessary to say something more about the document *Kawkab al-durriya li-akhbār Ifrīqiya*.

The Sources Used by the Author of the *Kawkab*

The author's sources of information are coastal oral and scribal traditions, and one four-line poem in Swahili, one Arabic poem, which he quotes in full but is silent as to its authorship, period and circumstances of composition, certain Arab transmitters of traditions that were included in such works as the *Sīra* of Ibn Ishāq³² and the *Maghāzi* of al-Wāqidi,³³ and repeated by the other authors he consulted as listed below in the Bibliography. But the most obvious thing about this work is that it follows very closely the document *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, edited, reproduced and translated into Italian by Enrico Cerulli in *Somalia: Scritti vari editi ed inediti*, which was published in 1957 and is included in this present work.

Upon these varied sources Shaykh Fāḍil builds his historical picture (aided also apparently by information culled from Yemeni sources such as the poet and historian al-Ḥamdāni).³⁴ In matters of geography, it seems that direction is more important to him than distance. He frequently refers to M.A. al-Suwaydī's (d. 1246/1830) *Sabā'ik al-dhahab fī ma'rifat qabā'il al-'Arab*, composed in 1239/1823, and based on Shāhāb al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad bin 'Abdullah al-Qalqashandī's (d. 821/1418) *Nihāyat al-arab fī ma'rifat ansāb al-'Arab*. His source, it seems, was the work of Ḥassān b. Thābit, a contemporary of Muḥammad and recorded by A. von Kremer,³⁵ based on Ḥassān b. Thābit's poem. In his introduction (p. 7), von Kremer refers to a poem by Bishop Quss b. Sa'ida 'l-Ijadijj of Najrān, which is pre-Islamic and seems to be the source for Ḥassān

31 Appendix 7.

32 A. Guillaume, *The Life of Muḥammad: A Translation of Ibn Ishāq's Sīra Rasūl Allah*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955, pp. 6–13.

33 Abū 'Abdallah M. b. 'Umar al-Wāqidi, *Kitāb al-tarikh wa-'l-maghāzi*, ed. A. von Kremer. Calcutta, 1855–1856.

34 Abū M. al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. Yaqūb al-Ḥamdāni, (d. 374/984) *Ṣifāt Jazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. D.H. Müller. Leiden 1884. It is probable that there was a wide-spread tradition in East African Society, which, we have to remember, goes back to a time—at least—as early as the beginning of the Common Era. Cf. Himyari inscriptions.

35 Von Kremer, *Altarabische Gedichte*, and *idem*, *Die Südarabische Sage* p. 7.

bin Tubba' in the second and third centuries C.E. This sequence takes us back much closer to the time referred to in the *Kawkab*.

Freeman-Grenville's view that "the work known as *Kawkab al-Durriya li Akhbar Ifriqiyya* (was) the work of no competent Swahili scholar, but rather as a hotch-potch compiled by a Shaykh in a Koran school"³⁶ seems questionable when one considers the various sources mentioned in the three manuscripts. These reveal not only the unitary universal claim of Islam but also its particular global networks.³⁷ It is known from other sources that a number of East African writers possessed impressive libraries.³⁸ The authors of these manuscript clearly had access to a number of major Arabic sources such as Baghawī,³⁹ Damīri,⁴⁰ Fīrūzābādī,⁴¹ etc.⁴² However, their particular value is to be found in their use of local oral and written traditions. Their careful use of external sources would seem to imply that they used the same care in their use of local sources.

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- 36 Freeman-Grenville, *Swahili Coast*, v, "The Kenya Coast Revisited" p. 12.
- 37 See B.G. Martin, "Notes on Some Members of the Learned Classes of Zanzibar and East Africa in the Nineteenth Century", *African Historical Studies* 4/3 (1971): 525–546, p. 533: "a learned tradition going back to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries"; also pp. 539, 541.
- 38 R.L. Pouwels, *Horn and Crescent: Cultural Change and Traditional Islam on the East African Coast, 800–1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp. 68ff, 82ff; el Zein, *Sacred Meadows*, pp. 33ff. See also, however, Pouwels, *Horn and Crescent*, p. 87. See C.H. Becker, "Materialen zur Kenntnis des Islam in Deutsch-Ostafrika", *Der Islam* 2 (1911): 1–48; English trans. B.G. Martin, "Materials for the Understanding of Islam in German East Africa", *Tanzania Notes and Records* 68 (1968): 31–61; Martin, "Notes on Members"; J. de V. Allen, "The Collection of Swahili Literature and Its Relation to Oral Tradition and History", *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 53 (1959): 224–227, shows that there is a considerable body of MSS in private hands. We have personally come across some impressive private libraries. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 150.
- 39 Abū-Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn ibn Mas'ūd al-Farrā' al-Baghawī, (d. c. 514/1120) *Ma'ālim al-tanzīl*. Beirut: Dār al-Ma'rifa, 1407. Also his *Maṣābīḥ al-sunna* and a later adaptation called *Mishkāt al-maṣābīḥ*.
- 40 Kamāl al-Dīn M.B. Mūsa al-Damīri (d. 808/1405), *Ḥayāt al-hayawān*. Cairo, 1284/1867.
- 41 Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb Majd al-Dīn al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817/1414), *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*. Cairo: Al-Maṭba'a al-Miṣriyya, 1933.
- 42 See J.S. Kirkman, "The history of the coast of East Africa up to 1700" 1966 p. 114, who reckons that, although local histories were nineteenth-century revisions, they were "based on earlier works".

His Style and Treatment of His Subject

The author writes incorrect Arabic—in grammar, in syntax and sometimes in spelling and vocabulary. This may be due partly to his age, but partly also to the influence of South Arabian colloquial forms and words, as well as to the probability that he thought in Swahili rather than in Arabic. We have commented on these points in the notes. He is repetitive, and at times he omits syllables. This is of course a sign of age. But he also persistently uses the third person plural in verbal sentences which have a plural subject, and often, as on p. 9 after the first line of the poem, introduces main clauses with *wa* (“and”), where this is not required. Both of these features are characteristics of South Arabian speech “or of any colloquial”. We have listed the “Swahilisms” and the more important dialectic variations at the end of the English text, as with the other two MSS.⁴³

The marginal chronology is written in a different hand, probably after the author’s death. The marginal comment on p. 18 makes this very clear. It is in a better hand than that of the body of the text, and its orthography is more correct.

The author has divided his subject into two parts. First comes a sort of historico-geographical gazetteer, which ends with the mnemonic Arabic poem. Then comes a purely historical section. His outlook is dominated by the traditional Arab cosmogony, which is based on a view of Arabia as the centre of the world and the ultimate origin of all extant races and civilizations. He adopts the Arab lexicographers’ method of explaining place-names, and accepts the traditional Islamic accounts of pre-Islamic history. This leads him into many obvious inaccuracies, such as referring to the Turkish pasha of Baghdad as the *imām*, or accepting as historical fact that the Tubba’ As’ad al-Kāmil conquered and colonized Samarqand—a rather questionable tradition.⁴⁴

As the East African coast is concerned, however, some of his statements, though fitted into this rather distorted picture,⁴⁵ may have foundation in fact, as they are neither impossible nor improbable, against the background of history as laid open by modern research. For example, it is not impossible that ‘Abd al-Mālik bin Marwān’s reign (65/685–686/705) was marked by an expedition to East Africa; we do not hear of it from other sources, but this could simply be because it may not have been on the grand scale our author seems

43 Appendix 2.

44 See Kawkab p. 11. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 60.

45 N. Chittick “Discoveries in the Lamu Archipelago”, *Azania* 2 (1967): 37–67, p. 39 [The 11 versions of the Pate Chronicle] “conflict in numerous matters of detail, and certainty of the matter, notably the regnal years of the early sultans, is not credible”.

to suggest. Yet it would seem quite natural that the greatest of the Umayyads would seek to re-establish his authority over an area that had, according to the *Periplus*, been from time immemorial a dominion of the “tribe which was first in Arabia” (Section 16).

Two of our consultants who have commented on this document, on the other hand, say that they think that this tradition rather reflects ‘Abd al-Mālik’s conquest of the Persian Gulf under the generalship of the notorious Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf al-Thaqafi (d. 96/714).⁴⁶ One of these consultants was, we think, the late Dr Neville Chittick, but we only have his initials. The other we cannot identify. In the introduction to Shaykh al-Mazrū‘ī’s *History of the Mazrū‘ī Dynasty of Mombasa*, James Ritchie made what now seem rather scathing comments on this work.⁴⁷ At that time he had not seen *Kitāb al-Zunūj*. The similarity between the two documents, however, indicates that there was a pretty general tradition held throughout the East African coast region about the past history of its connection with Arabia which is perhaps nearer to the truth than at first appears.

Freeman-Grenville’s statement in regard to the history of Kilwa that the archaeological evidence is scant is still relevant.⁴⁸ Shaykh Fāḍil’s account of the earlier contact between Arabia and East Africa, that is, from the age of the Tubba’ As’ad al-Kāmil up to the early Middle Ages, may do something to fill in the gaps. Having studied the text along with the two versions of *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, all of which show such a strong affinity to ‘Adanī Arabic, there are hints and indications that seem to us to be particularly suggestive.

One distinctive mark of this author’s work is his liking for anecdotes about miracles or quasi-miracles. For example, the tale of Akhnās, whom he says lived in pre-Islamic times, and who is supposed to have been responsible for invoking the divine wrath because he bathed in goats’ and cows’ milk rather than in brackish water, so that the cattle and flocks gradually disappeared; or of the soldier who fired his musket at the ornament on the minaret of the mosque in Mambroi, which he hit and broke, and who then sickened and died the same day.

The author’s avowed purpose is to distinguish the coastal communities of Arab descent from those of African descent. Though this may be very racist and in our day quite unacceptable, it did serve a practical purpose at a time when it was accepted that Arab tribes should receive financial contributions for

46 Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 135, 207f.

47 Al-Amin bin ‘Alī al-Mazrū‘ī, *The History of the Mazrū‘ī Dynasty of Mombasa*. Trans. and annotated by J.M. Ritchie. London: Oxford University Press 1995, pp. 7 f.

48 G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, *Mediaeval History of the Coast of Tanganyika*. London: Oxford University Press, 1962, pp. 30, 31.

which other racial groups were regarded as ineligible. The question of whether he succeeds in that purpose is purely academic. In our view, while he does not succeed in any scientific way in establishing what he was consciously aiming at, what he says in the attempt helps to build up a truer picture of what really happened on the East African coast, even though that help may not be as full, accurate and valuable as we would like it to be.

The last thing we wish to avert to is at the same time in the nature of a caution. The MS, being by a Muslim and Afro-Arab, has always subconsciously in view that the basic seat of government is in Arabia, not on the coast. It thus tends to speak of people being in power at a certain period of whom nothing is known in East Africa at the time in question. The most outstanding example of this is in the case of the Nabahānī.⁴⁹ They ruled in ‘Umān for a long period before they were established as an independent, or quasi-independent, dynasty in Pate. This will be seen from the marginal comment on pp. 189–190 in Appendix 1.

The last sentence in the MS indicates that the Shaykh had in view a second part to his work. Maybe death precluded its production. If he did write it, however, it would be a further document to search for.

We have thought it best to leave further comment to footnotes to the text, and have appended a parallel table comparing the datings given by Miles, and Ibn Razīk with those of this MS. 65a (C.R. Miles 1966 p. 132; Ibn Razīk 1871 cxxv).

How Far are the Three MSS Credible?

Freeman-Grenville's comment quoted above was first made fifty years ago.⁵⁰ It was therefore necessary that archaeology should aid in shedding light upon the situation, if possible. We have been able to consult the latest report on that activity provided by Dr Mark Horton.⁵¹ This we have looked into with some attention.

Horton starts by averting to the lack of first-hand written sources and states that archaeological evidence is necessary to provide new information for a fresh understanding of those written sources. He inclines to the view that

49 The Nabahānī ruled ‘Uman between 449/1154 and 809/1406. See Salīl ibn Razīk *History of the Imāms and Seyyids of ‘Omān*. Digital version: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. ix, xx, 41ff. See also S.B. Miles, *The Countries and Tribes of the Persian Gulf*. London: Harrison and Son, 1919.

50 G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville (ed.), *The East African Coast: Select Documents from the First to the Earlier Nineteenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962, pp. 30, 31.

51 Horton, *Shanga* (1996).

Swahili society has its roots in Africa rather than in Asia and Arabia. He thinks that the accounts of the early ages contain “origin myths” rather than historical events, and remarks that archaeological work cannot only uncover stone buildings, but can go back beyond their erection to a period when the buildings were mainly of wattle-and-daub.

The site chosen for his operation was Shanga on the Island of Pate and it was possible to excavate down to the virgin soil below the earliest signs of human habitation. He found there a centre of habitation which was probably pre-Islamic African, and was able to trace a tentative history of change and development up to the fifteenth century A.D.

Unfortunately, from the point of view of our MSS, Shanga apparently only dates back to about the sixth century A.D., whereas we know that the connection of the coast of East Africa with South Arabia is many centuries older than that. Horton’s research even in the earliest period of Islam gives evidence of general tendencies, but sheds no light on specific historical events such as those referred to in our three MSS. This means that the archaeological operation can shed no further light on the relations of the Umayyad and ‘Abbāsīd caliphates with East Africa such as are related in these documents.⁵²

Kitāb al-Zunūj K and L and *Kawkab al-durriya* claim to start at a much earlier date for which Shanga can give little or no direct evidence. The earliest part of *Kitāb al-Zunūj* in both MSS and the second half of *Kawkab al-durriya* all start in what can only be called the Sabean era.⁵³ They refer to the Himyarite kings,⁵⁴ especially As‘ad al-Kāmil, and relate the events of the year of the Elephant—A.D. 570. Much of this material is taken from Arabic sources but there are added facts or events from the period of the early caliphate which apply particularly to East Africa.⁵⁵ The question is how far they can be taken as anything more than pure surmise or “myth”, built up over the years and generations in such

52 Horton, *Shanga* (1996), pp. 433 f., refers to a number of event from Portuguese sources. It seems to me that Shaykh Fāḍil’s account of the arrival of Persian cultural influences on the East African coast is probably based on well recorded actions of Caliph Harūn al-Rashīd. It seems that local leaders “fell out” with the caliph and caused him to install local leaders from an area more friendly to himself. It seems that Shaykh Fāḍil is on surer ground than Horton, but the issue calls for further research. See Chittick, “Peopling of the East African Coast”, pp. 26 ff.

53 Ninth to first century B.C.

54 Himyarite Kingdom c. 110 B.C. to A.D. 525.

55 One Arabic source referred to in the MSS is M.A. al-Suwaydī, *Sabā’ik al-dhahab fi ma’rifat qabā’il al-‘Arab*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya in 1423/2002 (first edition—Beirut: Dār al-Sa‘ab, 1863). His material may go back to sources from before the beginning of the nineteenth century.

a way as to be largely legendary. What are we to say of such remarks as that Abraha's elephant was named Maḥmūd? What is the significance of the statement that As'ad al-Kāmil founded Mogadishu along with the two rabbis? What is the meaning of As'ad's reputed conquests as far as the west African Maghrib, i.e. Morocco, let alone the statement that he founded Samarqand? Are they Arab-oriented fancies written down by people with a certain level of learning, who assumed that, Arabia being the centre of the earth (Makka is sometimes called *surrat al-ard*—the navel of the earth), it must have played a major role since the beginning of history?⁵⁶

It may be noted that the three MSS are very much in agreement about the dates of the earlier periods they speak of. It is in the period from the seventeenth century onwards that they differ so widely, and inaccurately in places, in their dating. This may simply be because they all resorted to the same Arabic sources for the early periods: but it may also be that they relied upon a body of oral tradition that is more accurate than we may at first suppose.

The most that can be said here is that there is linguistic and other evidence to indicate that these stories may be more than mere fancy or legend, and have a basis in historical fact. It is these that we wish to set out here.

- 1 It is well known that trade was established at or before the beginning of the Christian era. The centre of that trade was in the Yemen according to the *Periplus*, [Section 16] which states that the trade was in the hands of the most important of the Arabian tribes and was centred in Mousa. Mousa has been taken as Mucha south of Ḥudayda, but the map shows a village not far from Mucha named Mawza'a, which is much more probably the location of Mousa. Further, the Arabic root of the word used is *w-z-* which is used in modern Arabic in the sense of "distribute". This would make the name of the village mean "Place of Distribution"—very suggestive for a centre of commerce.
- 2 It has never been noticed, as far as we know, that the name of the town Mogadishu is always written in Arabic as Maqdishū. This is simply the Hebrew word for a holy place, *mqdsh*. This immediately makes less improbable the reference to the two rabbis (the *Ḥibrāny*) by Shaykh Faḍil in connection with As'ad al-Kāmil the Tubba' of Himyar, who is thought to have embraced Judaism.
- 3 Shaykh Fāḍil in his gazetteer refers to Chole on a small island near Mafia. He writes it as Juli but remarks concerning the meaning of the word "*wa-Turab*", that is, "also soil". In our rather patchy study of the Old South Ara-

56 For answers to some of these questions, see the relevant footnotes.

bian language usually known as Sabean and written in a proto-Amharic script known as the *musnad*, we have noted a word whose root letters are *g-w-l-(m)*.

It has been found that this word means “land” or what the Americans call “real estate”. This, we think, is the only possible source for the Shaykh’s comment, the *jīm* in Arabic being susceptible of pronunciation both hard and soft. Yet here is the word applied to a location near the southern extreme of the Swahili coast. In support of this possibility is the fact that Old South Arabian words for the monsoon winds have entered Swahili, while the word *simba* is used in poems to mean “soldiers”, corresponding to the Sabean word *asad*, which on Sabean inscriptions is often used to mean “soldiers”.⁵⁷ The only possible reason for his inclusion of this remark at this point is that it represents a connection with Sabean culture.

- 4 The three MSS have something to say about the relations between the African tribes and the Arabs who first came to make contact with them. They point out that many African tribal customs and laws were similar to those of pre-Islamic Arabia. But they also speak of a system of *muṣāḥaba*, or mutual alliance between the Arabs and the local tribes, which chimes very well with what Mark Horton has to say about “sponsorship” and the development of the *WaUngwana*.⁵⁸
- 5 The three Arabic authors make somewhat of a distinction between the roots *b-n-y* and *‘m-r*, especially Shaykh Fāḍil bin ‘Umar in *Kawkab al-durriya*, when speaking of the founding and development of towns. *‘m-r* is associated with houses of stone and lime mortar. It is difficult to find a satisfactory English rendering for this distinction; but it can be said that *‘m-r* implies a more settled and planned manner of creating a town than *b-n-y*. We find in Horton’s *Shanga* that he has established stages in the development of that centre, and that there was first a stage of what he calls building with wattle-and-daub. This was followed by a stage in which houses were built of stone or coral-rag and formed a more permanent and advanced form of urban development than that of the original primitive settlements.⁵⁹

The above points may not appear to be very startling or convincing but we think they give small glimpses of light, as referred to by Freeman-Grenville, into the

57 In Arabic, *asad* means “lion”. There are no lions in Arabia, only leopards; and the Arabic word *nimr*, basically meaning leopard, is sometimes also used for lion, which indicated familiarity with local dialect.

58 Horton, *Shanga* (1996), pp. 58 f., 425–427. Pouwels, *Horn and Crescent*, pp. 72 ff.

59 Horton, *Shanga* (1996), pp. 238 ff.; Freeman-Grenville 1988 II.

early stages of the history of East Africa, and emphasize the need for a more thorough study of all available Arabic literature that has a bearing on the matter. This appears to be a weakness in East African scholarship generally. We note one or two inaccuracies in Horton's footnotes. He refers to the fact that there are small communities of Zaydīs to this day in the Yemen. The Yemen is, in its more elevated parts solidly Zaydī, and they have provided its rulers for centuries. The Zaydīs had very strong affinities with the Mu'tazila, whose doctrines they embraced. Horton is also a little muddled in his references to the 'Abbāsids and their amirs, one of whom he names wrongly.⁶⁰

But we have to await further work on the old Sabean excavations in the Yemen proper, as well as further study of the old languages and dialects of the Mahra country between 'Umān and the Hadramawt. Further light is bound to be shed by those sources upon the East African past at such time as they may become available. Until then we can only seek to fill out the historical picture as well as can be done on the evidence available, aided by surmise.

60 Ibid., p. 423.

English Translation of the Manuscripts



Kitāb al-Zunūj (K)

In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate, and to him we call for help, this is the Book of the Zunūj and information about them on the shore of the Indian Ocean towards the West.

Praise be to God the Creator and Maker, the Loving, Possessor of Excellence, Generosity and Liberality,¹ Who made for His creatures colours, white, red and black, and gave precedence to some over others in respect of lordship, extent [of rule] and happiness, and decreed for him whose father prayed against him blackness of face both for him and his offspring, and that they should be slaves to the offspring of his two sons. And prayers and peace be upon the Chosen One, Praiseworthy,² and his family and his Companions, the people who bow and prostrate themselves.

And so we have summarized information about the Zunūj on the shore of the Indian Ocean towards the West, and the Equator, to make clear the Zanji inhabitants whom God created in it, who were on the Juba, that is, the Kushūr in the original Arabic speech and the WaNyika in the Swahili language; and information about the Arabs who came to the Zanj country and built houses in the districts and towns and villages, and dwelt in them from the time of the *jāhiliyya* by decision of Tubba' al-Himyarī the Great,³ and information about the Banū Qays Ghaylān,⁴ who came to the land of the Zunūj from the country of the Arabs according to tradition⁵ because of Abraha 'l-Ashram,⁶ Commander of the Najāshi of Ethiopia in the year of the Elephant and went down to a place called Juba; and information concerning the transfer of the Zunūj from the Juba to the place called Ghiryāma, formerly named Muwingaya,⁷ and that was because of the Banū Qays Ghaylān, from whom they fled and were thus

1 الخالق البارئ الودود ذو الفضل والكرم والجود.

2 المصطفى المحمود.

3 Guillaume, *Life of Muḥammad*, p. 20f.; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 54, 61, 62, 64. Tubba' al-Himyarī may be Tubba' Abū Karib As'ad Kāmil (c. A.D. 385–420) Tubba' is a royal title for Himyarite rulers. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 60.

4 Banū Qays Ghaylān: Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharāt ansāb al-'Arab*. Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1982, pp. 10, 244, has Banu Qays 'Aylān bin Mudar—عيلان not غيلان. See also al-Qalqashandī, *Qalā'id al-jumān fi 'l-ta'rif bi-qabā'il 'Arab al-zamān*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub, 1982, pp. 110 ff., 114, 115, 123, 128.

5 The text has بقصة—*bi-qisṣa*.

6 Abraha 'l-Ashram: see Guillaume, *Life of Muḥammad*, pp. 20f.; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 54, 62, 64.

7 Ghiryama—غرياما now written Giriama Muwingaya—موغى Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 253, transliterates this as “Mungiya” and it appears thus on the 1881 hydrographic chart. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 2, p. 284, has “Mangio”. The Arabic letter *ghayn* is the usual transliteration for

named Kushūr; and information about the dwelling [-place] of the Pokomo at a river now called Mtu Tana; and information about the Arabs who came from ‘Umān, who found respite here and dwelt in the land of Āmu; and information about the Arabs who also came from ‘Umān to Mumbāsa before the year A.H. 1086 [1675/6]; and about the war, and the departure of the Portuguese from Mumbāsa; and the period of stay of the Arab family of the Mazārī‘a, who held the governorship, and their removal from it, which was in A.H. 1254 [1838/9]; and the Mazrū‘īs, and information about Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān⁸ and their wars; and information about the Somalis and the Ghaylān who were at Juba, and their wars, and what happened to the Ghaylān, and their being sold, and other events that happened.

So I declare, and success is with God, that Ḥām was son of the Prophet of God Nūḥ, son of Lamik, on him be prayer and peace, and that he (Ḥām) was the ancestor of the Blacks (Sūdān’s sons.), and the youngest of Nūḥ’s sons. And Ḥām had four sons Misr, Kan‘ān, Kūsh and Qūṭ. And the Ethiopians are descendants of Kūsh, son of Ḥām, and the Nuba and Zanj are from the descendants of Kan‘ān,⁹ son of Ḥām; and Ḥām was a handsome man with a noble (shining) face, but God changed his colour and the colour of his descendants, because of the prayer of his father, because he prayed against him that his face should be blackened, and that the faces of his descendants should be black, and that his children should be slaves to the children of Sam¹⁰ and Yāphit. Then He increased them and made them grow, and the story of that is set out in the books of history, as is mentioned in *Sabā‘ik al-dhahab*.¹¹

When the Prophet of God divided the earth between his sons, Africa was given to Ḥām. He begot sons and his sons were the black people (the Sudan), and their hair did not fall below their ears, as we see them now. They spread over the earth and it was filled with them, and they dwelt and there came to

KiSwahili *ng*. Perhaps the name should read “Mwangia” as in *mwambani*, *mwambao*. Cf. Allen, *Swahili Origins*, map facing p. 21. On pp. 51f., Allen uses the form “Mangea”. The place is situated 18km from Jamame, 29 from Jalba and 72 from Kismayu. It is located on the coast between Mogadishu and Märka. Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, p. 149, derives the name Kismayu from *kisima* and *juu*, meaning the Upper Well.

8 The Mazrū‘īs: For some reason the author has used the adjectival form here, that is, مزروعيين.

9 Al-Suwaydī, *Sabā‘ik*, p. 30. Cf. Gen. 5:32, Dt. 32:8, Ac. 17:26. See also el Zein, *Sacred Meadows*, pp. 200f.

10 Text has سام for Shem. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 234.

11 Al-Suwaydī, *Sabā‘ik*, pp. 28, 30. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 254 n. 1, claims that it is much used in Islamic schools on the East African coast. It has been impossible to substantiate this claim.

live on the western coastlands¹² on the Equator and the Juba a people called al-Kushūr in the Arabic language with the meaning,¹³ and now WaNyika. In that quarter there is no people but them. After a distance of 12 days' travel, there is Ethiopia.¹⁴ The Kushur were people of flocks, herds and poultry, and they used to sow millet,¹⁵ beans, mangoes and musibal, and they have no fruits except the zangali.¹⁶ Their best-known country is called Shungwāya,¹⁷ and their leader is called Mzee Shāngā Wampi Mukauma.¹⁸ Shungwāya was the home of their kings and their laws are well-known.

If the Kushūr suffered famine so that they were in need, they used to put a daughter, or sister or wife in pledge for a certain amount (sum?), and if that debt was paid in a certain time the daughter etc. would be returned; but if it was not paid, the woman in pledge would be a female owned slave without ques-

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- 12 Text has البحر بناحية المغرب whereas MS L has مشرق. Viewed from Pemba or Zanzibar, it would be the west coast. This is likely to be a scribal error.
- 13 The text has بالمعنى. Does he simply mean "that is"? An unusual use of the word.
- 14 Elliott, "Visit to the Bājūn Islands", p. 151, refers to 15 days.
- 15 الذري الرومي—*al-dharī 'l-rūmī*—*zeamays*. MS L has the KiSwahili *mahindi*—maize/corn. It would seem that this is a throw back from the nineteenth century. Maize is not indigenous to the area. M.P. Miracle, "The Introduction and Spread of Maize in Africa", *Journal of African History* 6/1 (1965): 39–55, p. 39, indicates that "maize" is first recorded in the seventeenth century.
- 16 اللوبيا—*al-lūbya*—bean/cowpea; المنج—*al-manj*—millet—*panicum miliaceum*; مسيبيل—*musibal* (Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 254 omits this word in his translation); الزنجلي—*zanjali* may be a scribal error for *zanjabil*—ginger or a local form. MS L p. 295 adds البربر والقلع البربر و القلع و الموز. Cf. R. Wilding, *The Shorefolk: Aspects of the Early Development of Swahili Communities*. Mombasa: Fort Jesus Occasional Papers no. 2, 1987, pp. 44, 47; G.W.B. Huntingford, *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1980, pp. 210–214.
- 17 Shungwaya is near Bur Gao in Somalia, and was by tradition the centre of origin of the Nyika Bantu. They were driven out by the Galla at a period reckoned to be somewhere between the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the second quarter of the seventeenth, before the Galla's big invasion of Ethiopia. This is now Port Dunford. The name, which also appears in the form of Shingwaya, Singwaya etc., connotes a number of places or areas. Elliott, "Visit to the Bājūn Islands", p. 152; Allen, *Swahili Origins*, pp. 38 ff., 213 ff.; Wilding, *Shorefolk*, p. 46; T. Spear, *Traditions of Origin and Their Interpretation: The Mijikenda of Kenya*. Athens: Ohio Center for International Studies, 1981, pp. 5 and *passim*. This is now Buur Gaabu according the *Reader's Digest World Atlas*. London: Reader's Digest, 2004. Also spelt Bur Gau. See Allen, *Swahili Origins*, pp. 42, 50, 52, etc. For derivation of the name, see Y.K. Baya, "Giriama Enculturation of World Faiths in Coastal Kenya". PhD. University of Wales, 2012, p. 27.
- 18 Mzee Changa Wambi Mkauma. The text has شاغاومب. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 255 n. 1, found this to be in correct KiSwahili 'Mzee Changombe Mkauma' = the chief Kauma of Changombe. But he also noted that, according to tradition, the WaKauma were the superior of all the Nyiuka tribes, so this might mean "the chief of Kauma residing in Changombe", Changombe being a small town near Rabai.

tion. Or perhaps the daughter etc. would be sold at once if the “owner” of the daughter, or sister, or wife was in debt. A man used to marry a woman by service without a limit to the period except in the first age. Those who had nothing to give as dowry used to marry with service of seven years. These Kushūr marry by service up to the present. If one who has no dowry marries a woman, when he gets a child from his wife and she grows up and marries, then her dowry is taken by the girl’s mother’s father, or the one who paid the dowry takes the mother of the married girl by agreement, and the payment that is still owing of the dowry by which he married is first, and the service that he gave becomes a profit to the wife’s father; and when the husband dies and leaves property and wives, the husband’s brother inherits the wives and the son inherits the property by agreement. Their sternest law is upon the thief; for they kill the thief if he steals three times.

Chapter (*Faṣl*)

The Kushur are twelve tribes:¹⁹ Mdīgo 1, Mshimba 2, Mlungu 3, Msīfī 4 (these are they who fled from Shungwāya first, when they saw the Ghaylān were using them harshly in various ways; they fled from them in fear of them. Also Mgriyama 5, Mshone 6, Mkambe 7, Mrībi 8, Mjibāna 9, Mtaita 10, Mkadhyaru 11, Mdara 12. All of these used to live on the banks of the Juba River and the surrounding areas and above it from the day that God Most High created them.

When the Arabs arrived from Ṣan‘ā’ of the Yaman, namely the people of al-Tubba‘ ʿl-Ḥimyarī, in the period of the *Jāhilīya*, as Qatāda²⁰ has mentioned in his interpretation of His the Most High saying: “Then bring your Fathers if you are speaking truth. Are they better or the people of Tubba‘?”²¹ Qatāda said that it is Tubba‘ ʿl-Ḥimyarī, who had gone with armies until he had destroyed²² al-Ḥīra and he built Samarqand. He was one of the kings of Yaman. Abū Ḥā-

19 The text has صنفًا—“kinds”. This list is not identical with those in the other mss. Cerulli thinks this is Shamba, or even Shambala. Msīfī are not identified. Mshone are Mchonyi. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 2, pp. 115–121 on ethnic groups. For a comparative list by different authors, see Appendix 8. Baya, “Giriama”, pp. 31–34.

20 His full name is Abū Khattāb Qatāda b. Dī‘āma b. Qatāda b. ‘Azīz al-Sadūsī al-Baṣrī (60/680–117/735). He produced a commentary on the Qur‘ān in the second/eighth century; see Ḥātim al-Ḍāmin, *Kitāb al-nāsikh wa ʿl-mansūkh fī Kitāb Allāhi ta‘ālā ʿan Qatāda b. Dī‘āma al-Sadūsī*. Beirut: Mu‘assasat al-Risāla, 1985, pp. 18, 22. Referred to by the Shī‘ī commentator Abū Naṣr al-Ayāshī; see Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 57.

21 Qur‘ān 44: 36, 37.

22 The text has خراب—*kharaba*. See *Kawkab* footnote 71.

tim²³ reported from al-Raqāshī²⁴ that he said, “Abū Kalb As‘ad al-Ḥimyarī²⁵ was one the Tabābi‘a who believed in the Prophet (saas) and ruled fifty years as is mentioned in *Sabā‘ik al-dhahab* and it proved that Tubba‘ l-Ḥimyarī, was in the period of the Prophet Mūsa (as) by evidence of the verse before that in which is mentioned the people of Tubba‘,” and that is: “And We delivered Beni Isrā‘il from humiliating punishment, from Pharaoh; he was proud and one of those given to excess and we have chosen them in knowledge over all the worlds.”²⁶ And his saying “We have chosen them” means Musa and Beni Isrā‘il, and they built Maqdishu,²⁷ and it is the first city that they built; then Basāsa, originally Arabic. It was called Basāsa. Its inhabitants were from the Ḥijāz and were overcome by leaving their place, so they called it by a *kunya* of Makka the Honoured. As the poet said:

بساسة هي كنية ام القرى
بها اهل الحجاز مقاماً سموا

Bassasa is a *kunya* of the Mother of villages
The people of Ḥijāz named it thus (as their) dwelling-place.

- 23 His full name is Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistāni (d. 255/839). He was a lexicographer and narrator. See his *Kitāb al-mu‘ammarīn min al-‘Arab wa-ṭurāfin min akhbārihim wa-mā qālūh fi muntahā a‘mārihim* (known as *Mu‘ammarun wa-l-wāṣayā*). Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Sa‘āda, 1905.
- 24 Al-Raqāshī. Brockelmann refers to a writer of this name who referred to Abū Nuwās as a Nabatean. Brockelmann also says: “er und ar-Raqasi dichteten in Namen des Abu Yasin al-Hasib, eines typischen Dummkopfs, apokalyptische Prophezeiungen im Stile des ibn ‘Aqib al-Laiti, der später unter dessen Namen umgingen.” (*Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Supplementary vol. 1, pp. 114, 118).
- 25 Abū Kalb is a scribal error for Tubba‘ Abū Karib As‘ad (A.D. 390–420). The text has *اسعدى* but should read *اسعد* (al-Suwaydī, *Sabā‘ik*, pp. 69, 70). It is unlikely that there would have been a Tubba‘ in the days of Moses (c. 1200 B.C.) as the Himyarite Kingdom came into existence in c. A.D. 110. Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma‘ādin al-jawhar*. Beirut: al-Maktaba al-‘Aṣriyya, 1325/2005, vol. 2, p. 61, states that As‘ad ruled for 100 years, as does ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khaldūn (*Ta‘rikh ibn Khaldūn*. Riyadh & Amman: International Ideas Home, 2004, p. 356). See Hishām b. M. al-Kalbī, *Nasab Ma‘ad wa-l-Yaman al-kabīr*. Beirut: ‘Ālam al-Kutub & Maktabat al-Naḥḍa al-‘Arabiyya, 1988, vol. 1, p. 216.
- 26 Qur‘ān 44:30–32.
- 27 Maqdishu. This connection of Mogadishu with the Jews is rendered realistic when it is considered that the form of the name when written in Arabic is the Hebrew word for “holy place”—*mqdsh*. MS L does not mention this. Is it possibly connected with a tradition coming from Ethiopia? Can we say from this that this MS originates further north on the coast than MS L or *Kawkab al-durriya*? For the Jewish involvement, see *Kawkab al-durriya* p. 18.

Tubbaʿ ʿl-Ḥimyarī also built Kilwa, then Bati and Siwī and Āmu and Ngāmā, which was a city on an island between Kilifī and the Tana River and it is now called Ngomeni.²⁸ It was an island built upon, whose buildings were constructed with stone and lime, but it was destroyed by the sea which took it little by little and its inhabitants lacked water (or, lost their water-supply) and moved to Ūzī. The buildings sank and it is now called the Sea of Ngāmā.²⁹ It has a tremendous wave, and if a ship sails over it those in the ship can see the walls and dykes. Its stones are gathered by [the people of] Malindī and Mambriū³⁰ at the time of the *Azyab*³¹ I mean the north wind [i.e. the NE monsoon].

Tubbaʿ was looking for gold, and he dug and found what he found; then the Arabs spread and built houses in the areas between Maqdishū, Mumbāsa, Mārka and Barāwa. But when the Arabs arrived at Juba, the Zanj fled from them and they called them Kushūr, which means “He who flees”.³² Then the Arabs were diligent in meeting with them, and they met them after two months,

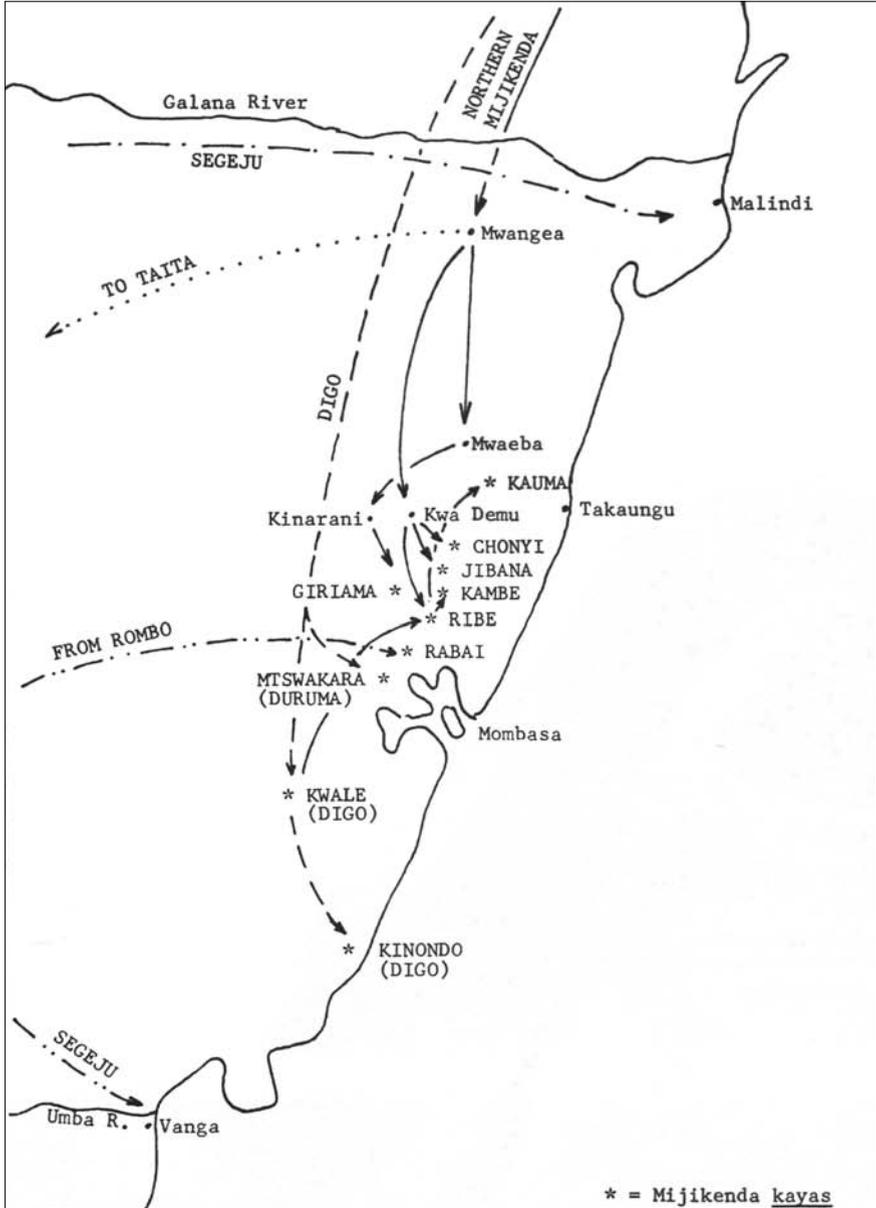
28 Ngomeni. This is mentioned by J.L. Krapf, *Reisen in Ostafrika ausgeführt in den Jahren 1837–1855*. Stuttgart: F.A. Brockhaus, 1964, vol. 1, p. 264 as “Rass Goman”; see also M. Guillain, *Documents sur l’histoire, la géographie, et le commerce de la côte orientale d’Afrique*. Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1856; J.S. Kirkman, *Men and Monuments on the East African Coast*. London: Lutterworth Press, 1964, pp. 84f., 87. Old Ngomeni was built on a sandbank on the north flank of Sheshale Point, between the sea and the salt water lagoons just north of the Sabaki estuary and Mambri. It was inundated in the thirteenth century. For Ras Ngomeni, see Prins, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, p. 35.

29 Sea of Ngama—غامما—sorrow? Because of the inundation.

30 Mambri is situated north of Malindi.

31 Text has اربب.

32 *Kushūr*. Allen, *Swahili Origins*, p. 39, transliterates كشور as “*Kashūr*”; Wilding, *Shorefolk*, pp. 5f., has “*Kishuru*”; Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 323, line 13, has “*Kushur*” = *Wanyika*. V.L. Grottanelli, “The Peopling of the Horn of Africa”, in N. Chittick & R.I. Rotberg (eds), *East Africa and the Orient: Cultural Syntheses in Pre-Colonial Times*. New York: Africana, 1975, 44–75, pp. 63f. has “*Kashur*” = *Nyika*. On the name *Kashur*, see *idem*, “A Lost African Metropolis”, in J. Lukas (ed.), *Afrikanistische Studien Diedrich Westermann*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955, 231–242, p. 232. Since they were displaced, hence “fled”, they were *Kashur* = “runaways”. Krapf (*Reisen in Ostafrika*, p. 204) wonders if words found among the Mahara and Murbat Dafar are not remnants of ancient Himyaritic. There is no certainty as to this word’s derivation. The only root in Arabic dictionaries has as its meaning “to show the teeth in grinning”. Could it be connected with the name “Cuchites”. Elliott (“Visit to the Bājūn Islands”, p. 151) noted that the Kishuru lived along the coast north-east and south-west of the Juba as well as inland from the sea, a 15-day journey from the Ethiopian border. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 259 n. 2) suggests that this word may be connected with “*Koshuru*” in the valley of the Tana River. A.H.J. Prins (*The Coastal Tribes of the North-Eastern Bantu*. London: International African Institute, 1952, p. 41) notes that the Pokomo call the Giriama “*Wakoshoro*”. See also Spear, *Traditions of Origin*, p. 162: “We (the Waata) call (the Giryama) *Koshoro*.”



MAP 3 Mijikenda
SEE SPEAR, TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN

and they clothed them and gave them various kinds of gifts and the fear left them, and they agreed that there should be love and friendship between them, and the Zunūj became familiar with the Arabs in a way that has not weakened up till now.³³ They [i.e. the Arabs] did not impose rules upon them at all because in those years the Arabs were idolaters. Then they populated Kisimāyu between the Juba and Mumbāsa. Its people are from the direction of Egypt where is a town called Bāna,³⁴ and they are the Bājūnī. Then there is Fāza and Sīwī,³⁵ and the people of Sīwī are from ‘Umān, where there is in Khūr Fakkān until now a town called Sīwī, whose people are Banū Sa‘da.³⁶ Then there is Bata,³⁷ whose people are from Syria, and Āmu³⁸ whose people come from ‘Umān and Hījāz, and Ūzī [whose people come] from ‘Irāq, meaning al-Kūfa especially. The people of Malindī are also from al-Kūfa, and Yūmbu,³⁹ but it is correct that Yumbu is Arabic because its people come from the Yaman from Yūmbu and this Yūmbu is from the one [of that name] there. Kilifi is the name of a tribe that is from the grandfather of ‘Āmir bin al-Ḥārith,⁴⁰ and al-

- 33 The custom of “brotherhood” or “kinsman” relationships for barter or trading purposes is well known. See J. Lewis, *Anthropology Made Simple*. London: W.H. Allen, 1969, p. 82; E.A. Nida, *Customs and Cultures: Anthropology for Christian Missions*. New York: Harper & Row, 1954, pp. 80 f.; J. Beattie, *Other Cultures: Aims, Methods and Achievements in Social Anthropology*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966, pp. 195 f. Cf. concept of *alter ego*. C.S. Nicholls, *The Swahili Coast. Politics, Diplomacy and Trade on the East African Littoral, 1798–1856*. London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1971, p. 72, *kushanjana—chanja*—interwoven object, e.g. screen, wicker basket. *Chanjana*—mutual incision/blood brotherhood. Ch. Sacleux, *Dictionnaire Swahili-Français*. Paris: Institut d’Ethnologie, 1939, vol. 1, p. 130, *čana*.
- 34 Bāna: Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 259 n. 3) suggests “Ballana” near Abu Simbel or a place in the Nile Delta. I have rendered “in the direction of”, which enlarges the possible area of location. The derivation of the tribal name “Bājūnī” from it appears to be pure speculation. There is however the Wadi Bana in Yaman north-east of Aden.
- 35 Fāza and Sīwī: Fāza is an island in the Lamu archipelago and Sīwī is today spelt “Siyu”—a town, or village in the middle of the island.
- 36 See C.M. Eastman & F.M. Topan, “The Siu: Notes on the People and Their Language”, *Swahili. Journal of the Institute of Swahili Research* 36/2 (1966): pp. 22–48.
- 37 Bata. That is Pate. I have written it in Arabic transliteration wherever it occurs. See Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, p. 241 ff.
- 38 Āmu. This is now Lamu. The form Āmu is, we think, Bājūnī dialect. See Sacleux, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 1, p. 61.
- 39 Yūmbu. The author fancies that Yūmbu is derived from “Yandu”, the port. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 260) note on Medina, which is not in Yaman but in Hījāz. He thinks the name may be connected with “Gumbo” in Somalia and that its name followed the Bantu who were fleeing from the Galla. Its present inhabitants are WaDigo.
- 40 From Baḥrayn. See Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 260 n. 3) on ‘Āmir bin al-Ḥārith, citing F. Wüstenfeld, *Genealogischen Tabellen der arabischen Stämme*. Göttingen: Dieterich, 1852, tab. A.

Mṭāfi⁴¹ is from the people of al-Ṭā'if. Mumbāsa is from the people of Ḥijāz, as we have already mentioned, but some of them are from 'Umān from Julandāni by relationship. It is they who are called Kilindīnī in great error, for they are of the descendants of Juland bin Kirkira,⁴² and relationship to him [is expressed as] Julandāni, a tribe in 'Umān still found today. Some of the people of Mumbāsa are from the Yaman and the Jawf.⁴³ They are the Taghma, a tribe of Mahra bin Ḥaydān,⁴⁴ and one says of anyone related to him al-Taghmāwī, which is Arabic without any question. The Jawf is that [area that lies] between 'Asīr and Ṣan'ā' of the Yaman. This is not the place of one tribe but of various tribes. Ṭīwī is basically Arabic and its people are from Ṭīwī;⁴⁵ Vanga is from Fanga⁴⁶ which is in 'Umān, and Wāsīn⁴⁷ is basically Arabic "wāsīn", I mean, "I am sad" is what it means, because the people of Fanga used to imprison people there, and when there came sickness from plague or pestilence some of the districts, villages and towns were destroyed and such calamities persist to this day.⁴⁸

The Arabs dwelt on the shore of the Indian Ocean and used to come in ships, but most of them on animals [i.e. probably donkeys]. By land they used to come, because of the war, from Suakin and Birbira, they would head south with their backs turned towards the Pole-Star behind, and they used to descend to Maqdishu and other places. The way of the Zanj in those days was that they

41 al-Mṭāfi. Mtwapa or Mtawa. P becomes F in Arabic, but W may also become F. This place is a creek north of Mombasa.

42 Juland bin Kirkira. This may be pre-Islamic in its connection, but the text refers to two grandsons who fled from Ḥajjāj's attack on 'Uman. Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. xii, 2, 3, 5, 13; See MS L note 54. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 297, 328, n. 3, has "Karkara".

43 This is the area Yaman between Ṣan'ā' and Sa'da and eastwards.

44 Mahra bin Ḥaydān. From the Mahra area in the Ḥaḍramawt. See Razīk, *History*, p. 57, n. 4. The Mahra speak primitive Arabic. The word has the same root as Ethiopic Amharic and may indicate a process of relocation from one area to another, probably from east to west, or suggest a fairly ancient association between the two areas. See Trimmingham 1979 No Trimmingham 1979 is listed in the bibliography. p. 287.

45 Ṭīwī. 15 miles south of Mombasa. The name of one of the Nyika groups. Prins, *Coastal Tribes*, pp. 36, 40.

46 Fanga—فنج There is a place of this name in the Wādi Sam'īl in 'Umān which Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 261 n. 2) says may be connected with Vanga. See also Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 116; Sacleux, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 1, p. 994.

47 Wasini island off the Kenya coast near the Tanzanian border. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 329; Allen, *Swahili Origins*, p. 194. See also H.E. Lambert, *Ki-Vumba: A Dialect of the Southern Kenya Coast*. Kampala: East African Swahili Committee, 1957, pp. 7–18.

48 These derivations of East African place-names from Arabian origins seem rather far-fetched, especially since many of them have good Bantu meanings in their own right, e.g. *tīwa*—giraffe. Imputing such origins has not only been observed in East Africa.

satisfied their needs from their companions [patrons?]. Each Zanji [probably an error for “Arab”] used to take a Zanji companion. If any of the Arabs went to the Zanji districts, he would be under the protection of his companion and his tribe, if any of the Zanj should get in their way. The imputing of such origins has been observed not just in East Africa. Arabs also used to protect the Zanj in any event of war, etc. Whenever the Arabs incurred a debt to the Kushūr and then disappeared from them, then the Zanj would take the wealth of another Arab and tell him: “So-and-so was here and travelled away from us and he was owing such-and-such an amount from our wealth, so this wealth of yours is now held in pledge: bring him therefore to us so that we may receive payment of what he owes to us, and we will be grateful to you.”⁴⁹

Chapter (*Faṣl*)

Events occurred and happened in Ṣan‘ā’ of the Yemen as follows:

Abraha al-Ashram the Ethiopian was the *amīr* of the Najāshī when he ruled the Yaman,⁵⁰ and the *amīr* saw numerous hosts in the days of the Seasons⁵¹ going to [visit] the Ka‘ba and of the month of Dhū ‘l-Ḥijja. So Abraha said to the kings of the Yaman, “I will build you a House instead of the Ka‘ba.”⁵² One of the kings of the Arabs said, “Yes, build it for us; we all agree to what you hope for from us. There is no disagreement with that.” So Abraha built a great church, and when he had finished the building, he furnished it and lit it with candles. One of the people of Makka set fire to it at night⁵³ and went away. So when morning came the general heard what had happened to the church, and he was very angry that the people of Makka should have become

49 The text has شاكرين for شاركين. The relationship of the early (pre-Islamic) Arabs with the tribes of the Sawāhili are well described and indicate that healthy trade and commerce took place over the centuries as well as a friendly intercourse, which resulted in inter-marriage giving rise to the distinctive Swahili, or Afro-Arab, racial type. There was more than inter-marriage. The custom of establishing “brotherhood” has been noted above. See n. 33.

50 This ms does not mention that Abraha revolted against Aryat who had been appointed by the Nagash. See *Kawkab al-Durriya* p. 47. Hitti 1961 p. 62.

51 Seasons. This refers to the *ḥijja*, four sacred months of *Dhū ‘l-Qa‘da*, *Dhū ‘l-Ḥijja*, *Muḥarram* and *Rajab*, when war was forbidden. Q. 9:36. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 94.

52 Guillaume, *Life of Muḥammad*, pp. 21 f., 696; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 62 f.

53 Set fire to it. ms L gives the other version of the story that a Makkan fouled the Church, to insult it and render it unclean. See *Kawkab al-durriya*, p. 47. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 62; Guillaume. *Life of Muḥammad*, p. 22.

so vexed with this house that they did what they did. “So I will destroy their house (said he) stone by stone,” and he prepared an army and with it the elephant whose name was Maḥmūd⁵⁴ and when they arrived near Makka the elephant would not go forward, and when it was mid-afternoon the Birds of Abābil came throwing stones of baked clay at them, and they made them like withered stalks of wheat.⁵⁵ They all died, but one man remained of them, and he fled to Abraha ʿl-Ashram and told him what he had seen of the birds, and before he had finished speaking the birds came and threw a stone on him and he died. The Najāshī’s *amīr* was amazed at that and the Ethiopians transferred to their own land, and the Arabs and the Banū Qays Ghaylān of Ḥimyar⁵⁶ followed them, and they were with the Ethiopians eighty years. The Arabs died at their appointed time, but their offspring⁵⁷ remained in the Ethiopian country speaking the language of Ethiopia and not uttering Arabic, because of their mingling with the Ethiopians and the small number of Arabs [compared with] the Ethiopians.

In the year 41 [661–662] in the time of the Commander of the Faithful our Lord ʿUmar bin al-Khaṭṭāb, all the Arabs became Muslims, and when the Banū Qays Ghaylān who had followed and all become Christians heard that, and remembered times past and the ancient affairs of the Arabs, and were mentioning that to the Ethiopians, the Ethiopians were indignant at what the Arabs said, and their regret over hearing that all the Arabs were Muslims. They argued over that, and left the land of Ethiopia for the land of Juba. The original home of the Kushūr was there, and there was no agreement between them but hostility and hatred. The Banū Qays Ghaylān used to kill the Kushūr every day and night. All the Kushūr who were in the neighbourhood of the River Juba fled, but those in Wāma⁵⁸ and Shungwāya remained. So when they reached the Tana River [and the word Tana is of Arabic origin and it means “The Rock” which grew up in the middle of the river, and that mountain blocked its flow, and the water ran in springs off the mountain from its base to its summit⁵⁹ (or from its

54 Maḥmūd = praised, praiseworthy. Guillaume, *Life of Muḥammad*, pp. 36 f.

55 See Qurʾān 105:3–5.

56 Qays Ghaylān. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 262 n. 1) suggests that this name may arise from the addition of the Galla (Oromo) plural to the word “*ghayl*”. The basic coastal Arab idea, however, was simply to associate the African name with the Arabian Peninsula name that seemed most similar to it. See also Cerulli, *Somalia*, p. 263 n. 3. The same seems to apply to the association of Jalundani with Kilindini in *Kawkab* p. 24 n. 254.

57 The text has مولودين—*mawlūdīn*.

58 Wāma. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 263 n. 4) indicates a place in the valley of Margherita called Desheq Wāmā or Ngawama.

59 See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 264 n. 1, for information about Tana. There is no connection

lower parts to its higher parts). It is called the River Tana but now it is called Mto Tāna in the Swahili language.]

So when they arrived at the aforesaid River Tana and saw it to be a great river, they said in their hearts, “The Banū Qays Ghaylān do not kill their prisoners because they cut off the genitals of their enemies but not of their prisoners.” They took counsel among themselves and became of one mind and the Bukūm (Pokomo) went to the Banū Qays Ghaylān and said, “We are pleased with what you are pleased with, do not treat us as your enemies but make us your servants and your clients and we will obey you. So lift from us your spears and be to us advisers.” The Banū Qays Ghaylān said to the Kushūr, that is the Bukūm, “O you who submit with obedience you are not now of those who are chattels for sale. So quieten yourselves and cheer up, and be slaves to us and our interests will be yours and upon you are obligations. Peace,” and they dwelt there.⁶⁰ The WaSifi and WaRingu⁶¹ fled towards Ṭīwī and Vanga and Ṭanga [where they are] up to the present.⁶² But there was fighting once more between the Kushūr who were left in Shungwāya and Wāma and the Banū Qays Ghaylān, and they fled to [the region] above Basāsa to the land that is called Giryāma. When the Kushūr reached the land of Giryāma they received strength from a man called Khuzān⁶³ because he taught them [how to make] arrows of iron whereas the arrows of the Kushūr were at first of wood.⁶⁴ When they arrived, they built their town there, which is called Kāya.⁶⁵ The Banū Qays Ghaylān could no longer get the better of the Kushūr, and the Kushūr grew strong and were the conquerors and up till now they have not left that town by being taken unawares⁶⁶

between the name Tana and the Arabic word for “rock”, which is صخرة. Tana = split, separate, hence referring to the rock separating the flow of the river. See Sacleux, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 1, p. 863.

- 60 Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 45) says that a similar relationship exists between the Somalis and the Negroes of the Webi valley.
- 61 WaRingu وريغ. This group is unidentified. “Ringo” is known as a clan/family name among the Chagga of Kilimanjaro.
- 62 See Lambert, *Ki-Vumba*, pp. 7–18.
- 63 Khuzān. This should be “Hunzan”. “Mhunzi” is KiSwahili for “blacksmith”. See Wilding, *Shorefolk*, pp. 13 f. “Iron and the Bantu Speakers”.
- 64 Of wood. خطيبة—*khaṭabiyyah* really means “of fire-wood”. The word should have been خشبية which means “wooden” in correct Arabic. This indicates that the writer was a coastal Afro-Arab whose knowledge of Arabic was imperfect.
- 65 Kāya. See ms L n. 58 “village”. Sacleux, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 1, p. 337: “fortified military and religious centre” of the Mijikenda. J. Middleton, *The World of the Swahili. An African Mercantile Civilization*. New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1992, p. 43. See Baya, “Giriama”.
- 66 Unawares. The Arabic word is تغافلا. This is not a correct Arabic form but the meaning is clear. The author should have written غفلة or even better غفلة على حين غفلة. See Qur’ān 28:15.

because they had defeated the Banū Qays Ghaylān in that place. They made it their homeland and had children and made friends [partners or allies?]⁶⁷ of the people of Basāsa especially. The Zanji tribes of the Kushūr swore oaths of partnership⁶⁸ with the Arab tribes in Basāsa: the Giryamāwī with the tribe of Jalandānī, those who are called the Kilindīni, and the Mushūni with the Arab tribe who are from the people of Ṭāʾif and they are now called al-Maṭāfi in relation to their village which is called the Mṭāyāfi.⁶⁹ One could talk long about that because up till now every tribe [e.g. Zanji or Bantu] is known to a certain tribe [i.e. a Swahili tribe of Mombasa], and God is witness to [the truth of] what I say. But the Mdīgo and Msīfi and Mkambe and Mlūngu proceeded to the place where they are dwelling now. That is evident and they are those whose homes were around the River Juba and shifted before⁷⁰ the people of Shungwāya. The Kushūr filled the land and the other Zunūj fled from them, such as the WaTūdī⁷¹ and others, up to the present.

The Bajūnī⁷² inhabited the coastland in the direction of Shungwāya [now comes a grammatically awkward sentence!] and the Banū Qays Ghaylān were in the hinterland and the Bajūnī made friends with them, but the understanding was not complete for a day [?] but they [The Banū Qays Ghaylān] used not to seek to cut the genitals [of the Bajūnī] unless the Bajūnī killed one of them, and they would fight them violently and then make peace.

Chapter (*Faṣl*)

In the year 75 [694–695]⁷³ the Arabs came from Syria, soldiers from the Commander of the Faithful ‘Abd al-Mālīk bin Marwān making for the Sawāḥil of

67 Text has اصحابا.

68 Oaths of partnership. The relationship between the WaNyika with the tribes of Mombasawas by no means just a matter of the WaMvita being patrons and the WaNyika being clients. It was a more two-way arrangement than Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 265) suggests.

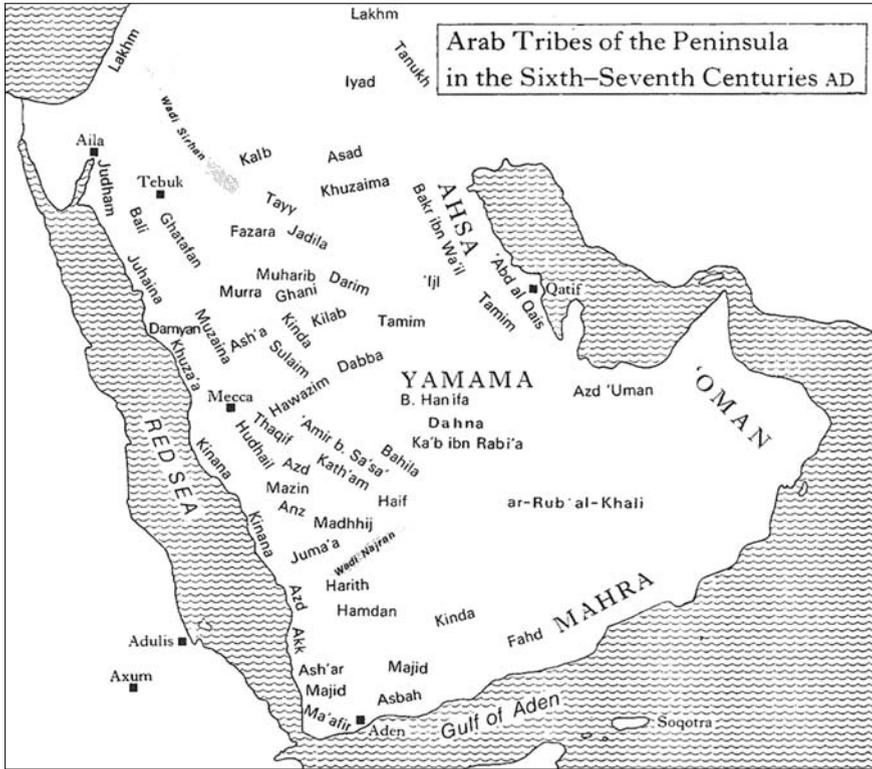
69 Mṭāyāfi. An attempt to connect Mtwapa or Mtawa with al-Ṭāʾif near Makka. See preceding n. 119 which refers to Mṭafi.

70 قبل—the sentence is very awkward but I think I have the meaning.

71 WaTūdī. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 266 n. 1), transliterates “WaTuzi” and says they are, or were, in the area of Rwanda-Burundi. See MS L note 65. See Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, p. 34: “Watui”.

72 The text reads الباحوني. Likewise in the following line.

73 ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwān reigned from 65/685 to 86/705. See C.E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967, p. 5. Cerulli, (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 266 n. 4) suggests that this was the beginning of Islamic colonization. See also Shaykh Fāḍil al-Bauri in *Kawkab al-durriya*.



MAP 4 Arab tribes

SEE J.S. TRIMINGHAM, *CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE ARABS IN PRE-ISLAMIC TIMES*. LONDON: LONGMAN, 1979, P. 269

the Indian Ocean. They reached Maqdishu and Kilwa and wanted the *kharāj* from the people of the country and they paid it to them. They had an *amīr* called Mūy (a misprint for Mūsa) bin Zubayr al-Khath‘amī.⁷⁴ He taught the people the Qur‘ān and the religion and built a fort in Kilwa, where there was a supply of arms. The people of the country were submissive to him from the first to the last of them until the government of the Banū Umayya disappeared from Syrian Damascus, and there only remained in Andalūs the name of this government.⁷⁵ The last of them was Muḥammad bin ‘Abd al-Raḥ-

74 Al-Khath‘amī. This group inhabited the land along the route from Yaman to Makka from the sixth/twelfth century (Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 266 n. 5).

75 The name of this government. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 267) adds in Italian “till A.H. 408” (A.D. 1017–1018). Bosworth (*Islamic Dynasties*, p. 13) gives the date 422/1031 as the end of the Umayyad caliphate in Spain.

mān.⁷⁶ In the year 149[766–767] a messenger came from the ‘Abbāsīd government to the sultans in Maqdishū, Mundu, which is now called Manda, Bata, Amu, Ūzī, Kalfa⁷⁷ Basāsa, Zinjibār, Kilwa and Wību,⁷⁸ and the *amīr* who was sent spoke to everyone with talk that pleased the heart of the hearer through the sweetness of the tongue of the *wazīr* whose name was Yaḥya bin ‘Umar al-‘Anazī.⁷⁹ He got what he wanted from the sultans and returned⁸⁰ to Baghdād all right [or, in good health]. He told the Commander of the Faithful Abū Ja‘far ‘Abdallah al-Manṣūr⁸¹ that the people of our land were submissive (in obedience) without doubt, and he brought out the *kharāj* he had obtained and the Commander of the Faithful Abū Ja‘far ‘Abdallah al-Manṣūr was exceedingly happy. In the year 189[804–805] the Commander of the Faithful was Abū ‘Abdallah Hārūn al-Rashīd⁸² in Baghdād, and the Zunūj were not loyal to him and did not pay him the *kharāj*, so he sent his soldiers to the country of the Zunūj and appointed *wulāt*⁸³ from the Persians (A‘ājim)⁸⁴ and they became governors of the Zunūj, one for every village and town especially in the islands such as Kiwāyu⁸⁵ and Mumbāsa and the Green Island (Pemba) and Kilwa. Then, after some years, the people of the districts⁸⁶ were disloyal in the

- 76 Muḥammad bin ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. That is Muḥammad III (r. 415/1024–416/1025). He was the penultimate Umayyad. The last was Hisham III (r. 418/1027–422/1031) (Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 534. See also Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties*, p. 11).
- 77 Kalfa (Kallafo). Capital of the Ajuran imamate (c. 1500 A.D.) on the Shebelle River near the present Somali-Ethiopian border. See Allen, *Swahili Origins*, pp. 155 f. referring to L.V. Casanelli’s PhD thesis “Benadir Past: Essays in Southern Somali History”. University of Wisconsin 1973 pp. 20–42.
- 78 Text has *ويب* with *kasra* i.e. Wibu.
- 79 *Kawkab al-Durriya* calls him Yaḥya bin Mūsa al-‘Anazī.
- 80 Text has *رجع* not *رجع*.
- 81 ‘Abdallah al-Manṣūr ruled from 136/754 to 158/775. The Chronicler of Pate does not mention him and only refers to Hārūn al-Rashīd. See Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 290 ff.; Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties*, p. 7.
- 82 Abū ‘Abdallah Hārūn al-Rashīd ruled from 171/786 to 194/809. See Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 297 ff.; Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties*, p. 7.
- 83 *Wulāt*. The Arabic term for a governor is *wālī* of which *wulāt* is the plural. In Kiswahili this has become *Liwali*, which is the term most used on the Swahili coast. There may be a connection between the *wulāt* and the term “Shirāzī”. See Horton, *Shanga* (1996), pp. 423 ff.; see also Pouwels, *Horn and Crescent*, pp. 109 ff.
- 84 Horton (*Shanga* (1996), pp. 15, 24, 25 *et passim*) points to the origin of the Persian influence in East Africa.
- 85 Kiwāyu. A long, narrow island to the north of Pate, to which water had to be taken from the mainland in barrels as recently as thirty years ago. See MS L note 75. Stigand (*Land of Zinj*, p. 149) indicates that the name is a derivation of “*kiwa*” (*kisiwa*) and “*juu*” = upper island.
- 86 District. The text has *بلدان*. The words *balad*, *bilād* and *buldān* mean roughly “town” or “district”, “area”, “country”, but they are not used consistently in this MS.

time of Abū 'l-‘Abbās ‘Abdallah al-Ma’mūn⁸⁷ in the year 209[/824–825]. Then in the year 212[/827] there appeared the doctrine of the creation of the Qur’ān and the *fitna*⁸⁸ arose in Baghdād, and al-Ma’mūn’s position grew weak in the land of the Zanj because of that; so they disobeyed and al-Ma’mūn mobilized fifty thousand soldiers and they came to Malindi and defeated⁸⁹ the inhabitants of the districts and villages and towns with that army, and they accepted the will of the *khalīfa* and paid the *kharāj* for the past years as a penalty imposed upon them from the Commander of the Faithful. The people were brought into obedience by that army without any fighting.

Story (*Ḥikāya*)

The people of Mumbāsa and its lands gathered together⁹⁰ and Mubāsa [sic]⁹¹ was full and its people suffered famine. So the people of the hinterland⁹² said, “We will go to our own lands even though we may perish.” They replied, “Wait to see if war may occur.” So, from “*ni vita hizi*”, Basāsa was named Mivita⁹³ and its original name in Swahili is Kungwiyi,⁹⁴ but in Arabic Basāsa,⁹⁵ and it was changed to Mumbāsa through the Christian name of the Portuguese who was

87 Al-Ma’mūn ruled from 198/813 to 218/833. Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties*, p. 7.

88 *Fitna* (pl. *fitan*) = sedition. The author has mistakenly used the term that refers to the civil wars that erupted after the murder of ‘Uthmān in 23/644. The text clearly refers to the theological controversy over the createdness or uncreatedness of the Qur’ān, termed the *mihna*, that arose during the reign of al-Ma’mūn (198/813–218/833). See MS L note 78; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 429f.; W.M. Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973, pp. 178f., 280ff.

89 Defeated. The text has *هزموا* Cerulli (Somalia, vol. 1, p. 267) has “put to flight”, which is possibly a better rendering in view of the fact that control was gained “without any fighting”.

90 The text has *برورها*—*bururuha* which is the plural of *بر*—*barr* = dry land, as opposed to sea. But it may also signify inland areas as opposed to the coast.

91 The text has *مباسة* instead of *مباسة*.

92 Hinterland. The word here is also *barr*, and obviously refers to the Nyika tribes.

93 “*ni vita hizi*”—it is these wars—a saying that gave Basāsa/Mombāsa the name *مبیتا*—Mivita (Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, pp. 103f.; see also Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, p. 253 n. 3).

94 The text has *كوغوي*—Kungwiyi with *kasra* hence “*Kunguwiyi*”. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 268 n. 2; see also Sacleux, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 1, p. 453: *kunguwiya*. I would have rendered this “Kunguwaya”. Kresse (*Philosophising in Mombasa*, p. 45) has “Kongowea”.

95 Basāsa. Stigand (*Land of Zinj*, pp. 9f., 45, 103f.) expounds on the origin of the name. Cerulli (Somalia, vol. 1, p. 258) has “Bosasa”. The origin of Basāsa is unknown, even if it is in fact Arabic. Kirkman (*Men and Monuments*, p. 118) suggests that the name is derived from the Arabic root *nabasa*—to utter, speak (in public), hence “congress”.

ruler in it,⁹⁶ and Mvita means the war that came from Baghdād in the year 214/[829–830]. Then the Turks⁹⁷ were in Baghdād and they forbade the *khalīfas* in Baghdād from (interfering in) the affairs of our country because they were Muslims and were obedient to the Lord of the Universe. [They said] “How can you take their wealth without paying out to their widows, paupers and orphans? You have no way of doing that without doing them wrong and stopping the payment of the *kharāj*.” That was by a plot of the Turks and not from good advice. Then the Turks came in two ships and arrived in Munda and Bata and Sīwi and bred there and returned to their country without doing anything objectionable.⁹⁸

Chapter (*Faṣl*)

In the year 906/[1500–1501]⁹⁹ the Naṣāra came with six sailing ships, and the name of their commander was Waskū Dighāma [i.e. Vasco da Gama]. He passed by Zinjibār and they were pleased with him, then he came to Basāsa and they were hostile to him, and they fought together and he fought them and one

96 The Christian name of the Portuguese who was ruler. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 239 line 18) should read “through the name of the Christian Portuguese ...” This seems unlikely as the Portuguese records call the place Maabese in 1498. See J. Strandes, *The Portuguese Period in East Africa*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1961, p. 5. It is not possible to deduce the name ‘Basāsa’ from the names of the captains appointed to Mombasa.

97 The Turks. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 268 n. 3) seems to have made a mistake here. He speaks of the Il-Khans who ruled after the collapse of the Baghdad Caliphate in the seventh/thirteenth century. He seems to have forgotten about the Seljuks, (429/1038–590/1194), who dominated the caliphate after the Buwayhids (320/932–454/1062) in the fourth/tenth to fifth/eleventh century. It seems plain that it is they who are referred to. See Freeman-Grenville, *Swahili Coast*, vol. 2, p. 9.

98 See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 268 nn. 4, 5. Cf. Strandes, *Portuguese Period*, pp. 127 f., Turkish vessels in East African waters A.D. 1542–1543; pp. 141 f. East African Muslims in touch with the Ottoman caliph in Constantinople Muḥammad II (855/1451–886/1481) and in 1508 Muslims oppressed by the Portuguese approached the ‘Abbāsīd sultan in Cairo, al-Mutawakkil III (r. 914/1508–922/1516) 145 ff. Turkish presence in A.D. 1508, 1542, 1585 mentions “two Turkish galleys” under the command of “Mirale Beque” (Amīr ‘Alī Bey). Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 141, 149, 150 for Turkish presence in A.D. 1542, 1569, 1592–1593 in Mombasa. Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, p. 16. ‘Alī Bey with two ships reached Mogadishu in 995/1586. It is possible that the memory of the visit actually refers to the period after the Portuguese arrival. Coupland, *East Africa and Its Invaders from Earliest Times to the Death of Seyyid Said in 1856*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956, pp. 58–61. See R. Oliver & G. Mathew, (eds.), *History of East Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963, pp. 136 ff.

99 See Appendix 6 for a discussion of this dating.

ship was wrecked and there remained five. He came to Malūdi and they were pleased with him, and he was glad of that. He honoured the king in Malūdi and its neighbourhood with a great deal of wealth and they became abundantly thankful to him.¹⁰⁰ Then he went on to Bata and Manda and to Maqdishū and Barāwa, but did not reach Ūzī. Then he went to the land of India for a period of two years.¹⁰¹ Then he returned to the land of the Zanj and made war on Mum-bāsa, and conquered it and entered by the power of God Most High and built the Fort (*kūt*).¹⁰² At first it was a mountain with many caves in it, but he blocked up those caves inside and outside, and they raised its roof, and he put doors in it and built it with dressed [squared] stones over a period of three years. They dwelt in it and brought long guns and chains and fetters. The sultan in the land of Basāsa was called Ḥusayn,¹⁰³ and the Christians imprisoned him and made him go to India, and he completed three years there, and he made one of the people of Malūdi, that is Malindī, governor over Basāsa, one of the Malindī Baūrīs of al-ʿAnzī. Now the Baūrīs are related to a village in Ḥaḍramawt, but it is also said Būra,¹⁰⁴ which is near Banat Saʿīd. All [the people] in those two [places]

100 Became abundantly thankful to him. The text has اجدل له شاكرا *ajdala lahu shākiran*. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 269 n. 3) says “gli invio doni in riconoscenza”. We think the Arabic has been misprinted and should read اجزل له الشكر—*ajzal lahu al-shukr*. A section of MS L has appeared in Cerulli’s Italian translation of K, but is not in the Arabic text.

101 There is uncertainty as to Vasco da Gama’s movements here. Strandes (*Portuguese Period*, pp. 30 ff.) indicates that Vasco da Gama arrived in Calicut on 20 May 1498 and left the Angedive Islands on 5 October 1498, arriving at Malindi on 7 January 1499 via Mogadishu. The reference to two years probably means the length of the whole voyage—8 July 1497 to 20 August 1499.

102 Built the fort. Francisco de Almeida (A.D. 1450–1510) took Mombasa in A.D. 1505, and found a fort already there. The Portuguese fort was built in A.D. 1593 by Afonso de Albuquerque (A.D. 1453–1515) and restored in A.D. 1635. See J. Kirkman, *Fort Jesus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974; Strandes, *Portuguese Period*, 1961, pp. 345 ff.

103 Ḥusayn. This appears to be the one who was made a Christian in Goa and given the name Don Hieronimo Chinguliwa. J. Gray (*Early Portuguese Missionaries in East Africa*. London: Macmillan, 1958, pp. 29 f.) calls him Yusuf bin Hassan/Jeronimo Chingulia. M. Gullian, *Documents sur l’histoire, la géographie et le commerce de l’Afrique orientale* vol. I pp. 614 ff. Calls him “Chaho M’Chahham ou fils de Michham”, not Ḥusayn. Mbarak Ali Hinawy (*Al-Akida and Fort Jesus, Mombasa*. London: Macmillan, 1950, p. 11) refers to Shaykh b. Msham *alias* Shaykh of Mvita’s two sons Muḥammad and Hassan and grandson Yusuf. The Chronicle of Mombasa says that the replacement of the old Shirāzī rulers by Malindi rulers was made by the Portuguese. Diogo de Couto, however, says that this was done not by Vasco da Gama but by Nuno da Cunha in A.D. 1528 but only effected in A.D. 1592 (?) and that the sultan of Malindi was helped by Couto. *Da Asia*. Lisbon 1788. T.VII, p. 90. See Strandes, *Portuguese Period*, pp. 117 ff., 161; see also Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 169 ff.

104 Būra. A place east of Shibam in Hadramawt.

are Banū ‘Anza bin Asad bin Rabī‘ bin Nazār, [so al-Baūrī is related to the afore-said village.¹⁰⁵ When the rule of the Christian Portuguese was established, a ruler was living near the fort so it was named Ḥārat al-Ghavāna,¹⁰⁶ and it has now become Minā Yalvāni.¹⁰⁷ His name was Bimbāsa, or it is said Būmbāsa, and Basāsa was changed to Mumbāsa after the name of its governor Bum Bisa,¹⁰⁸ We do not know its meaning, and God knows best. They inhabited Bata where there was at that time a kingdom, and Shīla¹⁰⁹ and Shīla was one of the Portuguese priests.¹¹⁰ They built a church there to watch the port and it was called Chela.¹¹¹ Then when the people of Manda and Tāqa and Kitā came, they built there a village which is there till now, and it was called Shīla. The affairs of the Christians continued for a long period, until, after that, came the *amūr* of *Qayd al-Ard*¹¹² who was named Sālim al-Ṣarīmī and he drove out all the Christians who were in Maqdishū and Mārka and Barāwa and Bata and Āmu and Shīla.

- 105 The author is very keen to indicate the position of the Bauris in relation to Mombasa. This seems to be because the Bauris were in competition with the Mazrū‘īs, and became hostile to them after the battle of Shela in 1227/1812. See Stigand *Land of Zinj*, p. 76; Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, p. 276.
- 106 Text has حارة عثانه. Note inconsistency in use of ع rather than ج.
- 107 Minā. مناء يلقان. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 271) has “mta” Kiswahili for “quarter”, probably correctly.
- 108 Text has بيسا.
- 109 Shīla. مملكة فيها وشيله وشيله هي كان احد. Cerulli 1957 vol. 1 p. 271 suggests a possible connection with the name of the Portuguese priest ‘Gil’. English sources have “Shela” (Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, pp. 149, 151, 1562, 156, 157 f.).
- 110 Bawadir بوادير plural of فديري. The ‘Church’ would probably have been more than a place of worship. Freeman-Grenville 1988, IV p. 140 suggests a fort or *feitoria* (*sc trading agency*).
- 111 In this case, the text has چيله not شيله with *shin*. See Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, pp. 151, 152, 156, 157 f.; Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 276 f.
- 112 Text has قيد—*Qayd* which is an error for قاءد—*Qā’id*. Cerulli’s text uses the form قيد throughout. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 271) has *Qayd al-Ard* translated simply as “capo di paese” and makes it a description of the *amūr*. It is in fact an epithet of the Imām Sayf bin Sulṭān al-Ya’rabī. J.C. Wilkinson (*The Imamate Tradition in Oman*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987 p. 220) translates the title as “Master of the Land” and gives the date of his death as 1091/1680 (p. 351 n. 33). Ibn Razīk (*History*, p. cxxvi) gives the dates of his reign as 1059/1649–1079/1688. See al-Mazrū‘ī, *History*, p. 30 n. 2, for correct translation. Our instinct tells us that the title *Qā’id al-Ardh* is in the same category as the titles given to leading sufi holy men. Some of them were designated قطب—*qutb*, a word meaning “pole” or “pillar”, because they were regarded as firm moral leaders, unchangeable in belief and action. When one reads the remarks of this writer about Sayf bin Sulṭān al-Ya’rabī, he is seen as a gently wise and thoughtful ruler who was not domineering, and had no ambition to extend his empire. His action against the Portuguese in Mombasa was purely to get rid of a moral evil for the benefit of the local population. He wished to leave Mombasa to its inhabitants to rule themselves, and only continued his action to that end by being forced

The *amīr* returned to ‘Umān in a pleasurable frame of mind and gave the Imām information concerning the Christians, and how they were doing objectionable actions, “and now the Muslims pray for you a long life. You have lifted from them humiliation and tribulation¹¹³ by an order¹¹⁴ which listens to complaint.” That time was the year 1076 [1665–1666]. The heart of the Imām was encouraged by that. Then the Imām Sayf bin Sulṭān al-Ya‘rubī had a ship¹¹⁵ called *Faṭḥ al-Islām* and it used to travel in the direction of the Sawāh and seek for information about the districts and what the Christians were doing in them and who was acting unjustly or justly. There was in the land of Mumbāsa a governor called Būmbās (he it is after whom the town was named). He committed fornication one day, and the affair was known to the people of Mumbāsa. He fornicated a second time. So since the position was that the Portuguese were committing objectionable actions upon the people of Mumbāsa, they dispatched a man¹¹⁶ to Maskat in the Imām’s ship called *Faṭḥ al-Islām* and told the Imām what had happened in the land of Mumbāsa through the actions of Bumbāsa; for he was governor there. The Imām was angry and said to the *amīr* Shaḥdād bin Shaḥdī al-Balūshī, “Have you heard what the people of Mumbāsa say?” “Yes,” replied Shaḥdād. Then the Imām said to his *amīr*, “Buy clothes and goods and bags [sheaths?] and travel with them to Mumbāsa. Put the goods ashore and rent a house. Sell little by little. Study the entrance to the village [sic] and incline the people of the village towards us, and create a friendly relationship with them such as is between father and son.” The *amīr* replied, “To hear is to obey, God first then you, O Imām.” The *amīr* Shaḥdād bin Shaḥdī al-Balūshī prepared to travel to Mumbāsa and took with him the best of wares. He arrived in Mumbāsa in the year 1086 [1675–1676] and rented the house in the middle of the town, and sold the wares he had, and none of the Christians knew, only two men of the people of Mumbāsa travelling¹¹⁷ to Maskat. The *amīr* Shaḥdād bin

to allow his troops to police the area while being paid locally by the Mazrū‘i volunteer. We would suggest that the correct rendering of the title should be “the guide of the world”, since it has no reference to any specific region.

- 113 Tribulation. The text has *bulūr*, a misprint for *bulūy*—*balwā*; “ballur” means alabaster.
- 114 By an order. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 272) has “colui che ascolta le invocazioni” = he who listens to complaints.
- 115 A ship. The text has *بغلة*—*baghla*, a transport ship of a type now obsolete. See Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, p. 139.
- 116 They dispatched a man. The text has *وسفوا رجلا*. This might be a mistake for *سافلا رجل*. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 272) renders this “questo fecero partire uno di loro”, i.e. This man caused one of them to travel. The Arabic is bad in any case, but probably Cerulli is more correct.
- 117 Travelling. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 273) has “erano andati” = had gone, but the Arabic is bad anyway.

Shahdī was selling and [using the money to buy] the old people¹¹⁸ loincloths,¹¹⁹ shirts and dates. He continued in that way until he was loved and respected by the people of Mumbāsa. They used to go into the hinterland (*barr*) and return together, until the *amīr* knew all the roads of Mumbāsa. When the season¹²⁰ came, he travelled to Maskat and told the Imām the position, and what had happened in the land of Mumbāsa through the evil deeds of their governor. The Imām said, “It is our duty to pay back wrongs, and success is with God.” So he mobilized the army and made Shahdād bin Shahdī al-Balūshī its leader and *amīr*. He travelled with the sailing ships and transports, and they had a captain from the people of Mumbāsa. When they reached Mumbāsa, the ships entered Kilindīni Creek and the Imām’s soldiers landed.¹²¹ The people of Mumbāsa reached unanimous agreement that in the event of war they would be with the soldiers of the Imām *Qayd al-arḍ*. The Imām’s ship had anchored at the entrance to Kilindīni and its guns were ready.¹²² The Christians entered the fort and locked the door of the fort. They were firing the guns in the fort but their balls¹²³ did not hit the Imām’s ship because in the Creek of Kilindīni they were lower and the fort was higher. In those days, the sailing ships of the Christians used to come from their headquarters¹²⁴ every six months or more, but not even one ship had reached them. They were seeking help but no help had come for four months. But when they saw that the soldiers of the Imām in the town [felt] secure and slept and did not stay awake, the Christians came out in a concerted effort¹²⁵ and attacked the Arabs with one assault and fought them and about 200 Arabs died. The *amīr* Shahdād had spent that night in the ship, but when the *amīr* heard the muskets he went ashore with the soldiers and they fought. Then the Christians entered the fort and locked the door. When the *amīr* Shah-

118 The old people. The text has الشيوبة. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 273) has “ai capi” = to the chiefs. The word *shayba* is not used in South Arabia as an equivalent for *shaykh*. We think Shahdād was being charitable here to further his purpose.

119 Text has وزارا (sg. وزرة). In Aden and South Arabia they are known as *fūṭa*. The Swahili call them *shuka*.

120 The season موسم i.e. the south-west monsoon—the *shamālī*. KiSwahili *kusi*.

121 Guillaïn (*Documents*, vol. 1, p. 615) says that there were two attacks upon Mombasa at this time, first by Sulṭān bin Sayf (1649–1680) and then by Sayf bin Sulṭān (A.D. 1692–1711) in 1698. Perhaps the similarity of names (they were alternatively Sayf and Sulṭān for four generations) cause the confusion.

122 Ready. Text has تيار—*tiyār* is the word used here, a very common colloquial word in South Arabia. KiSwahili has *tayari*.

123 Balls. The text has رصاصهم. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 273) has “proiettili”. The Arabic word means “lead bullets”, i.e. canon balls which would be fired from big guns (مدافع).

124 Headquarters. The text has ولايتهم—*wilayatihim*, probably in Mozambique.

125 The text has اتفاقا—*ittifāqan*.

dād saw that, he made ladders and the Arabs ascended by them upon the fort from the west side and came down upon them. The Christians were drunk and sleeping. They killed them and routed them and put them out, and they were defeated, and the *amīr* Shahdād gained possession of the fort of Mumbāsa. That was after five years in the year 1091[/1680–1681],¹²⁶ but it is also reported after nine years in the year 1095[/1683–1684].¹²⁷ and that is more correct according to what the former (chroniclers) Faraj bin Aḥmad and Muḥammad bin Aḥmad al-Ḥimyarī¹²⁸ say.

The *amīr* Shahdād bin Shahdī stayed in Mumbāsa twelve years and appointed as deputy one of his *wazīrs* named Nāṣir bin Sālīm al-ʿAmīrī. The *amīr* Shahdād went off to ʿUmān to visit the Imām Sayf bin Sulṭān, and he stayed there in ʿUmān two years. Nāṣir bin Sālīm died and the *amīr* Shahdād returned to Mumbāsa, and stayed after that seven years. The Imām Sayf bin Sulṭān al-Yaʿrubī died in the year 1116 [1704–1705] “into the mercy of God Most High”.¹²⁹ Sulṭān bin Sayf bin Sulṭān al-Yaʿrubī was made Imām after his father in the land of ʿUmān. When Sulṭān bin Sayf became Imām, he wrote a letter to the *amīr* Shahdād and to Mumbāsa as follows (*Dhakara fīhi*): “After greetings, when you have read this letter prepare to travel urgently because my father has left you¹³⁰ in the position of¹³¹ trustee for us, so we desire that you come urgently. Peace.” When the letter reached the *amīr* Shahdād, he raised a loan from the merchants of Mumbāsa and Zinjibār and left the money in the land of Mumbāsa for the soldiers’ pay and appointed as deputy a man called Ḥumayd bin Sālīm al-Ṣārimī. He was the son of the *amīr* whom we mentioned previously. When the *amīr* Shahdād arrived in Maskat and had an interview with¹³² Imām Sulṭān bin Sayf bin Sulṭān he told him how he had incurred a debt and left it in Mumbāsa because the income from Mumbāsa and all the land of the Sawāḥil

126 Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 274 n. 1) discusses these dates and refers to Guillain, *Documents*, vol. 3, p. 521 n. 3; see also R.F. Burton, *Zanzibar, City, Island and Coast*. London: Tinsley, 1872, vol. 2, p. 34; F. Warden, “Historical Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Government of Muscat”, in *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, vol. 24, New Series, Bombay 1856, p. 168.

127 These dates show that the retaking of Mombasa was really a lengthy business occupying years.

128 Faraj bin Aḥmad and Muḥammad bin Aḥmad al-Ḥimyarī. We have failed to identify these.

129 These dates are at variance with Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. cxxvi, and Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, p. 13. Both have the date 1123/1711.

130 Has left you. The text has تركك—this is a misprint for ترك.

131 In the position of. The text has وجعلك—*wajaʿalaka* = and made you.

132 Had an interview with. The text has وجه.

was inadequate. He replied, “What is the position of these lands that there is no liability for (payment of) the soldiers who are in the Sawāḥil but it (must be) from ‘Umān?” So he made it a condition on the people of Mumbāsa that they should pay the duties speedily “or we shall bring our soldiers back to ‘Umān and leave Mumbāsa in the same condition as Maqdishū, Barāwa, Mārka and Bata. They were left to their people because the Amir Sālīm al-Šārimī fought the Christians and put them out from the lands, and left them to their own people and the said *amīr* returned to ‘Umān and did not leave there one of our soldiers.”¹³³ His ministers¹³⁴ said: “How, Yā Sayyidanā, can we leave Mumbāsa when it is well-known to us for its strong fort and its high harbour. How can we leave it?” They said that because of the strength of its fort and the excellence of its harbour. So the *amīr* Shahdād bin Shahdī returned to Mumbāsa, and the people of Mumbāsa were paying their duties to the Imām’s people. Ḥumayd bin Sālīm paid the debt that was owed by the *amīr* Shahdād by another arrangement than the duties. He paid it, and the *amīr* Shahdād stayed after that for a number of years.¹³⁵

The Imām Sayf bin Sulṭān bin Sayf bin Sulṭān was an oppressive, adulterous and wine-bibbing tyrant who chewed¹³⁶ tobacco. He called his penis thunder and lightning,¹³⁷ and used to ask the homosexuals¹³⁸ for news of women with beautiful faces, and he would send officers to bring to him the afore-mentioned women famous for beauty. Then when the people of ‘Umān and the shaykhs knew, and made it known to him in a letter,¹³⁹ he denied that, and summoned the *amīr* Shahdād bin Shahdī. He was in Mumbāsa but desired to leave Mumbāsa because of the inadequacy of the income and the liability for the soldiers, and that was originally to follow the Imām Sulṭān bin Sayf bin Sulṭān.¹⁴⁰ So

133 Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 147, 275 n. 1) discusses the policy of ‘Umān in regard to the Swahili coast. In short, was it to be only strategic, or commercial and administrative as well? See Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 219 f.

134 The text has *وزراء*—*wuzarā’ihī*.

135 A number of years. The text has this meaning. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 275 n. 3) renders it “two years” as if there were an extra ‘t’ in the word. If two years is correct, then his tenure of office in Mombasa ended according to Cerulli, in 1118/1706–1707. Shaykh al-Amīn al-Mazrū‘ī says that Shahdād was succeeded by Nāsir b. ‘Abdallah in 1110/1698, a not inconsiderable discrepancy. See al-Mazrū‘ī, *History*, pp. 16, 27 ff., 168.

136 Chewed. The text has *تَمَرَنَ*, but I think it is a misprint for *أدمن* = “was addicted to”.

137 His penis. The text has *ذَكَرَهُ*. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 275) seems to take this word in its other meaning of “mentioning” or “calling to mind”. It simply means the male organ of generation. See also MS L note 124.

138 Homosexuals. The text has *مَخَانِيثَ . خَنِثِينَ*—common word of abuse in Arabic.

139 Letter. The text has *الكتاب*—The Book, i.e. The Qur’ān.

140 The text is unclear but seems to refer to Imām Sulṭān bin Sayf bin Sulṭān’s original inten-

Muḥammad said, “O *amīr*, do not take the soldiers back, for I can pay all the liability for the soldiers for the Sayyid such-and-such.” So Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān al-Mazrū‘ī “rented”¹⁴¹ Mumbāsa from the *amīr* Shahdād bin Shahdī for a certain amount. He reduced the number of soldiers, and some of their company remained and their pay, and *amīr* Shahdād made Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān al-Mazrū‘ī governor (*wālī*). The *amīr* travelled to ‘Umān and Mumbāsa was under the Mazrū‘ī by way of rent in the year 1152 [1739–1740].

Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān al-Mazrū‘ī remained *wālī* in the land of Mumbāsa for a period of 15 years and died.¹⁴² Mas‘ūd bin Nāṣir al-Mazrū‘ī was made *wālī* and remained for 25 years; then the *wālī* Muḥammad bin ‘Abdallah bin ‘Uthmān for 8 years; then the *wālī* Aḥmad bin Muḥammad ‘Uthmān for 33 years; then the *wālī* ‘Abdallah bin Aḥmad for 20 years; then the *wālī* Sulaymān bin ‘Alī for 2 years, then the *wālī* Sālim bin Aḥmad for 20 years; then the *wālī* the Khamīs bin Aḥmad bin Muḥammad for 2 years: then the *wālī* Rāshid bin Sālim for 2 years.

Chapter (*Faṣl*)

We return to the information concerning Sayf bin Sulṭān al-Ya‘rubī. When it became evident that his affairs were in a bad state, the shaykhs of ‘Umān met and removed him from office, and appointed after him the Imām Aḥmad bin Sa‘īd al-Bū Sa‘īdī.¹⁴³ He never asked for information about Zinjibār, or Mumbāsa. He was only engaged in putting right the affairs of ‘Umān and Maskat. His rule began in the year 1193 [1779–1780]. Aḥmad bin Sa‘īd died in the year 1206 [1791–1792]¹⁴⁴ and Sulṭān bin Aḥmad bin Sa‘īd al-Bū Sa‘īdī succeeded him in the land of ‘Umān and Maskat. He sent to Zinjibār his cousin named Sa‘ūd bin ‘Alī al-Bū Sa‘īdī. When Sa‘ūd bin ‘Alī arrived in Zinjibār, there was a group of

tion that the cost for rations and provisions for the soldiers stationed in Mombasa should be met locally. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 276 n. 2.

141 Rented. The text has استأجر — *istājar*.

142 There is no mention here of the assassination of Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān, the escape of ‘Alī bin ‘Uthmān, the assistance of the mysterious “Mr Cook”, or of ‘Alī bin ‘Uthmān’s liwaliship. See Mazrū‘ī, *History*, pp. 41, 42, 45. For the Mazrū‘ī chronology, see also Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 277 n. 1. According to Guillain (*Documents*, vol. 1, p. 624), the date on Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān’s tomb is 1159/1746–1747 but he died 1197. For a comparative listing of Mazrū‘ī *wālīs*, see Mazrū‘ī, *History*, Appendix 7.

143 Ibn Razik (*History*, p. 407) gives the date as A.D. 1741. Wilkinson (*Imamate Tradition*, p. 226) gives the date as 1167/1753–1754.

144 Wilkinson (*Imamate Tradition*, p. 226) has 1783.

tribes of the Arabs of former times from the period of the Imām *Qayd al-arq*¹⁴⁵ that is, Sayf bin Sulṭān bin Malik al-Yaʿrubī, and in the Island, (i.e. Pemba?) the Mazārīʿa were dwelling.¹⁴⁶

Sulṭān bin Aḥmad died, and Saʿūd bin ʿAlī succeeded him as regent for his son Saʿīd bin Sulṭān for he was young. But when Saʿīd bin Sulṭān reached [the age of] sixteen years, he [Saʿīd bin Sulṭān] killed bin Saʿūd bin ʿAlī.¹⁴⁷ Saʿīd bin Sulṭān bin Aḥmad bin al-Imām seized the kingdom in the year 1219[/1804–1805]. Then he put right the affairs of the government in ʿUmān and the Sawāhil, and sent a messenger to Mumbāsa named Hubūb al-Ghabash.¹⁴⁸ He was a man of great calmness, strong and courageous, and his awesome appearance frightened and pleased whoever saw him, because he was massive of body and tall of stature. He arrived at Mumbāsa in a small boat¹⁴⁹ and landed with about ten Arab men with their swords, and he went to the fort of Mumbāsa, and they came to the door and asked of the doorkeeper permission to enter. They entered before the return of the doorkeeper, and came to the *wālī* installed in the land of Mumbāsa. The soldiers cried out at them, but the *wālī* sent them back. The *wālī* and the *amīr* of Saʿīd bin Sulṭān, I mean Hubūb al-Ghabash, whose name was Sālīm bin Aḥmad, faced each other. Hubūb al-Ghabash said to the *wālī* above-mentioned, “Who are you, and to whom does this land belong?” The *wālī* answered in fright, scared of the awesome appearance of Hubūb al-Ghabash, “This land belongs to Sayyid Saʿīd bin Sulṭān, and I am here by his authority.” Then said Hubūb al-Ghabash, “Write it, and here is paper and ink ready.” The *wālī* Sālīm bin Aḥmad al-Mazrūʿī wrote that the fort of Mumbāsa belonged to Sayyid Saʿīd bin Sulṭān Ḥamad al-Bū Saʿīdī, and gave it to Hubūb al-Ghabash, and he folded it and went out from the fort, boarded his boat and hoisted the sail, and hurriedly made for Zinjibār.¹⁵⁰ When the news and the

145 Text has قيد—*Qayd* which is an error for قاءد—*Qāʿid*.

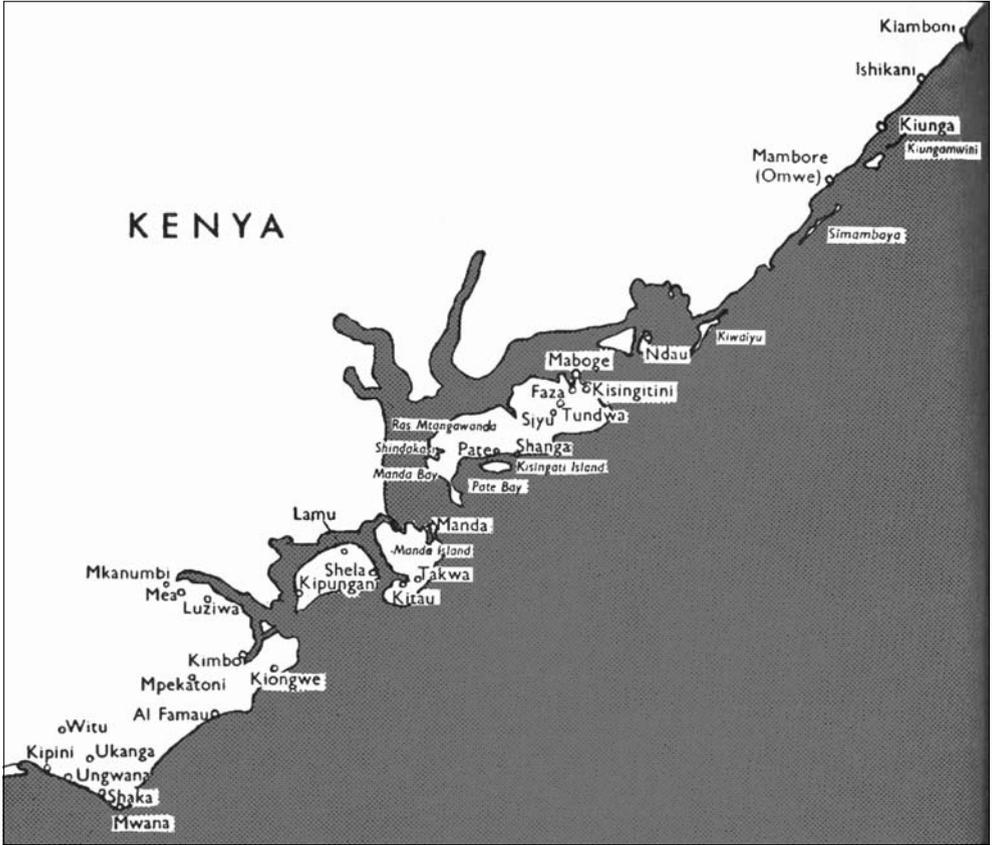
146 Text has مزارع. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 278) calls this island Zanzibar, but he does not mention the Mazrūʿīs who lived there. It was in Pemba that they lived, and Pemba was variously called “the Green Island”, or simply “the Island”.

147 Neither Ibn Razīk (*History*) nor Wilkinson (*Imamate Tradition*) mentions this.

148 Hubūb al-Ghabash was the nickname of Sālīm bin Aḥmad al-Bū Saʿīdī. As far as we can find out the name seems to mean “the Blast from the Dark”. Perhaps it was self-applied. The Arabs are good at using names such as this to cover their identity, if they have reason to do so. This man is mentioned in *Kawkab al-durriya*. TS p. 73.

149 The text has عوابة—*ʿawāsiya*. A.H.J. Prins (*Sailing from Lamu: A Study of Maritime Culture in Islamic East Africa*. Assen: van Gorcum, 1965, p. 280) describes this as a small two-masted ship of the Wasūri (ʿUmān) with perpendicular stem and stern, now obsolete.

150 Mazrūʿī (*History*) is silent about this episode but it seems evident that it was not only a weakening of the Mazrūʿī position, but was material in making the British authorities withdraw their support from the Mazrūʿī regime. MS L reports that Sayyid Saʿīd bin Sulṭān



MAP 5 Lamu archipelago
SEE KIRKMAN *MEN AND MONUMENTS*, P. 54

story spread the Mazāri‘a were united in blame and regret. When the season came round, Sayyid Sa‘īd came to Zinjibār,¹⁵¹ then the *amīr* and his army came and he made war on them, I mean he made war on the Mazāri‘a. But he could not overcome them, and the army returned to ‘Umān. The name of his *amīr* was Mas‘ūd bin Sa‘īd al-Bū Sa‘īdi.

showed the British authorities this paper when they questioned him regarding the appeal of the Mazāri‘a to have their dominion returned. See MS L note 150.

151 Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 280 n. 1) mentions here the flagship “Liverpool”, the frigate “Shah al-‘Alam”, two corvettes and minor ships. See Guillain, *Documents*, vol. 1, p. 585. He also mentions Sa‘īd Ruete as giving an account more favourable to Sayyid Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān than other accounts.

In the year 1227[1812–1813],¹⁵² war broke out between the people of Lamu and the people of Mumbāsa, I mean the Mazārī'a. At that time, the people of Lamu were at variance with the Nabāhin. The governorship¹⁵³ came to them before the above-mentioned war. So when the Mazārī'a saw the people of Lamu at variance with the Nabāhin, 'Abdallah bin Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin 'Uthmān al-Mazrū'ī went to them and said, "I wish to marry." So they replied, "We have good-will towards you. We know you that you wish to have the town, so to hear is to obey God Most High and then you." So 'Abdallah bin Aḥmad built a stronghold¹⁵⁴ in the land of Āmu and a full year went by [in which] he would land in the morning, and stay aboard¹⁵⁵ his *baghla* at night, and pass the night in it. This annoyed the people of Āmu, and they took counsel together in the assembly. One of them, who was younger than them in years, named Zāhid bin Mngūmi¹⁵⁶ al-Makhzūmī, said, "I will make things clear in the space of three days." He proceeded to buy two head of sheep, two jars of ghee,¹⁵⁷ and two baskets¹⁵⁸ of rice. He concocted a letter in the name of the sultan of Bata, [in which] he told him, "After greetings, what comes to you is such-and-such and is a present to you, so be pleased to accept that. The gift is in accordance with the ability of the giver to the one to whom it is given. I see that you are neglectful and deceived. Māna¹⁵⁹ Mkū bint Mūsa has deceived you, for we have not heard of your doings, or of your finishing off the people of Lamu. Peace." And he wrote [i.e. as signature] Shaykh bin Muḥammad al-Nabhānī. The Mazrū'ī said in his reply: "After greetings, your letter to us has arrived and we have understood it. What you have kindly given us we have accepted. You have not ceased¹⁶⁰ to be

152 The Chronicle of Pate says that the sultan of Pate Fumo Madi died in 1224/1809–1810. His son Fumo Luti Kipunga abdicated in favour of Aḥmad bin Shaykh. At this point, however, the chronology becomes hopelessly confused. See Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, p. 272.

153 Governorship. ولاية—*wilāya*. The abstract noun developed from *wālī*—governor. This means that the Nabāhina became governors of Lamu.

154 Stronghold. The text has جزيرة—*jazīra* = island. The correct word should be جزيرة—*jereza* = fort or prison, d derived from the Portuguese *igreja*. This author and the author of MS L do this fairly consistently. The word *jereza* is used for "prison" in Aden. *Gereza* is the Kiswahili for "prison".

155 Stay aboard. The text has يركب—*yarkab* = lit. "was riding".

156 The text has مغوم—*mghumi* consistently exemplifying *ghayn* being used in Kiswahili for *ng*.

157 Ghee. The text has سمن—*samn* = clarified butter.

158 Two baskets. The text has مزيجوتين—*mzigūtayn* derived from the Kiswahili *mzigo* = load, burden with an Arabic dual ending.

159 The text has مانه—*māna* for *mwana* = child. Four lines below it is correctly written as موان—*mwana*.

160 You have not ceased. The author has written زالت—*zālat* for زلت—*zilt*.

civil to us. Thank you. I am not deceived by Mwana Mkū bint Mūsa or anyone else. Hear of my deeds and my decisions when we have destroyed the Island. And as for Mad bin Shaykh ‘Umar al-Baūri and *amīr* Muḥammad bin Ḥājī and others, they will end up in the fort of Mumbāsa as food for the rats.¹⁶¹ Peace from your brother ‘Abdallah bin Ḥammad bin Muḥammad al-Mazrū‘ī.” When the letter of the Mazrū‘ī reached the people of Āmu by the hand of their messenger, who was called Mūsa the Slave of Zāhid bin Mngūmi, and Zāhid bin Mngūmi read it and saw what was in it, he took it to the leader Muḥammad bin Shaykh ‘Umar al-Baūri. When the people of Āmu saw that, they met in the morning and said to ‘Abdallah bin Ḥamad, “Read this letter of yours. This is your reply by which you have informed Shaykh bin Muḥammad al-Nabhānī. Your position and intention are clear; so get out of our land, and by the will of God you are one of the deceived.”¹⁶² The *wālī* ‘Abdallah bin Ḥamad travelled back to Mumbāsa bewildered and enraged at the failure of his plan.¹⁶³ He entered Mumbāsa Creek at night, and landed as though ill, and ordered his servants and friends who were with him that they should hide what had happened from everyone. The *wālī* ‘Abdallah proceeded to prepare for war with a big army of about 6,000 men of the slaves of the Mazāri‘a, the Bājūnī and the people of Sīwī, Bata, Vanga¹⁶⁴ and Ṭanga.¹⁶⁵ Some say 5,000 of these. The army went among the cattle and horses. There did not remain a *baghla* or a *matāfia*,¹⁶⁶ and the dhows were all ready on that day loaded with soldiers. They landed at Shīla and made war and fought violently. The Mazāri‘a were routed by the power and strength of God,¹⁶⁷ and the people of Lamu were victors.

161 As food for the rats. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 281) seems not to have noticed that the writer has written *ghayn* instead of *fa*. The word should be فيران—*fīrān* = rats, not *ghīrān*. Cerulli has “cibo per il gelosso”, taking *ghīrān* as “jealousy”. The correct Arabic word for “jealousy” is غيرة—*ghayra*.

162 Deceived. The writer has written غرر—*gharrar* = deceiving, for مغرور—*maghrūr* = deceived.

163 This account is more personal, vivid and circumstantial than that in MS L.

164 The text has فنج—*fanja* meaning Vanga, exemplifying a different transliteration of the Kiswahili *ng*, which is normally done with the *ghayn*.

165 The text has طنج—*tanja* meaning Tanga, transliterating as noted in previous footnote.

166 *Matāfia*. A type of transport that may have been in the nature of a “lighter” or what seamen in Aden used to call *abwāt* = an Arabic plural of “boat”. The normal Kiswahili word for a “lighter” is *tishali*. See Prins, *Sailing from Lamu*, pp. 224, 304.

167 By the power and strength of God. Mazrū‘ī (*History*, p. 66) mentions the belief of some that the victory of Lamu was obtained by the aid of witchcraft. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 282, quoting Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, p. 76) says that the Battle of Shela was in 1227/1812–1813. Others put it years earlier. See Mazrū‘ī, *History*, p. 67.

Then they took counsel together and Muḥammad bin Ḥājj al-Ša‘ša‘ī¹⁶⁸ travelled to Maskat and sought protection from Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān. He gave them protection and gave them 200 Arabs and Nubians,¹⁶⁹ and their officer was called ‘Uthmān al-Nūbī. This was on condition that the people of Āmu would be responsible for the soldiers’ pay, and that they should build the barracks.¹⁷⁰ They agreed to that so when Muḥammad bin Ḥājj al-Ša‘ša‘ī returned and came to Āmu, the hearts of those present swelled with pride, and they shouted and cried *Jalla Jalālahu*¹⁷¹ and *Allāhu akbar*. They landed joyfully and began to build the barracks, and to dispense the pay of the soldiers. Then when there came the *azyab*, that is the north wind, the ship arrived in which was Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān al-Bū Sa‘īdī, and the people of Lamu met him. Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān said, “Bring your account books, so that we may know the total you have paid out, and we will give it to you [refund you?].” They replied, “Thank you. We have heard you [i.e. complied with your wishes?]; so now take your soldiers and your barracks.” Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān made for Zinjibār pleased and delighted and happy.¹⁷² When time had passed, Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān embarked on the war from ‘Umān against Mumbāsa by an agreement¹⁷³ between the people of Mumbāsa and Sayyid Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān. His guide was called Mu‘allim Mwinyi Shāfi‘ al-Jalandānī, some say Kilindānī, which is a tribe from Juland bin Mas‘ūd bin Kirkira, who ruled ‘Umān before Qays.¹⁷⁴ His story is well-known in the land of ‘Umān to this day.

Then the people of Lamu, when they saw that Sayyid Sa‘īd had come to make war on the people of Mumbāsa, went together, about 60 men, some say 66 men in two dhows, that is, two wooden ships with 33 in each ship. They landed in the Creek of Muṭāpa¹⁷⁵ and asked the people of Mṭāpa, “Is there a way to

168 Muḥammad bin al-Ḥājj al-Ša‘ša‘ī. Guillain (*Documents*, vol. 3, p. 568) says that this man was ‘Abd al-Rahmān bin Nūr al-Dīn.

169 Nubians. Cerulli (Somalia, vol. 1, p. 282 n. 2) remarks that all African troops in ‘Umān were called Nubians, whatever part of Africa they came from.

170 Barracks. The text has جزيرة—*jazīra* is error for جزيرة—*jereza*. One does not “build an island”; one builds a barracks, or possibly a prison or fort.

171 *Jalla Jalālahu*. He text reads تجلّلوا—*tajallū*.

172 Happy. The text has فرحاً مسروراً محبوراً—*furuḥan masrūran maḥyūran* (*ḥuyūran* for *ḥubūran*). He seems to use the word incorrectly as an adjective. حبور—*ḥubur* is a noun meaning “joy”, but no adjectival form meaning “joyful” appears in any dictionary. These three words would be called حال—adverbs.

173 By an agreement. This must refer to the treaty between Sayyid Sa‘īd and the Mazrī‘a, which is set out in detail by Mazrū‘ī (*History*, p. 99). The expression should perhaps be rendered “on the basis of”. Sayyid Sa‘īd alleged that the Mazrū‘ī *wālī* had broken the treaty.

174 See Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. xiii, xiv, 7.

175 Mṭwāpa. The text has مطابه—a creek north of Mombasa and outwith its defences.

Lamu from here because the king has forced us as far as here, but we wish to return to our own land?" They replied, "How is it thus with you? The Mazāri'a are your enemies. This store¹⁷⁶ is before you. In it are food and provisions and all the instruments of war." When the people of Lamu heard that, all in the ship went ashore except the sailors, and made one surprise assault upon the people guarding the store. They entered upon them, and those inside fled and were driven out. The people of Lamu went and told the *amīr* Mas'ūd bin Sa'īd, and the *amīr* was glad and sent 100 of the Zinjibārī and 'Umānī soldiers, and they seized that store which was beside Ūtāngi. Mu'allim bin Mwinyi Shāfi' al-Jalandānī had entered Kilindini Creek with 200 soldiers without the knowledge of the Mazrārī'a. They ran to Makūpa¹⁷⁷ Fort,¹⁷⁸ and confused them¹⁷⁹ and the Mazāri'a came out of Makūpa fort. The Mazāri'a seized the fort, but the soldiers of Sayyid Sa'īd bin Sulṭān entered the district of Mumbāsa¹⁸⁰ and the Mazāri'a became besieged in the fort. They sued for peace and opened a door, and the soldiers of Sayyid Sa'īd bin Sulṭān entered and became the conquerors.¹⁸¹ After that the homes of the Mazāri'a were in the district,¹⁸² and in the fort were the soldiers of Sayyid Sa'īd bin Sulṭān al-Bū Sa'īdī.¹⁸³

Story (*Ḥikāya*)

A man from the people of Bata, 'Abdallah bin Nāṣir bin 'Abd al-Salām, travelled to Zinjibār and passed Mumbāsa. When he reached Zinjibār Sayyid Sa'īd bin Sulṭān asked him, "What do you think, 'Abdallah bin Nāṣir?" 'Abdallah replied: "I saw Rāshid Sālim bin Ḥamad drawing squares and circles on the ground, then rubbing them out, and I saw Khamīs bin Ḥamad striking his sword with his hand that means that they were saying that Sālim talks of building the depot¹⁸⁴

176 Store. The word سبيبة—*siba*, or *sayba*, means a place where something is deposited, a depot or storage place. The verbal form *sayyab* is used in Aden for "to leave". Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 283) translates it "trincea" = trench.

177 Makūpa. The text has مكوب.

178 Fort. Here again the text has *jazīra* for *jereza*. Guillain (*Documents*, vol. 1) refers to it as Sera-Koupa.

179 Confused them. The text has حار بهم—*hāra bihim*.

180 District of Mumbāsa. The text has البلاد ممبسة—*al-bilād Mumbāsa*.

181 Became the conquerors. This was in 1243/1827–1828. See Mazrū'ī, *History*, p. 97.

182 District. The text has بلاد—*bilād*.

183 Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 283) has rendered this sentence incorrectly.

184 Depot. Text has سيب—This word seems to have a variety of meanings, depending on the context.

for war, but Khamīs says, ‘Our swords are sufficient by the power of God Most High.’ This is what my heart and mind concluded.”

When the season came, the Sayyid returned to ‘Umān, and war broke out behind him, and the Mazāri‘a and the soldiers of the Sayyid fought, and Khamīs bin Mwinyi Ngawi¹⁸⁵ who was in Makūpa fort was killed, for the soldiers of the Sayyid were there, and they got them out by a trick. The *wāli* and others in the town of Mumbāsa were unaware of the reports of war. When Sayyid Sa‘īd saw that, he sent his son Sayyid Khālid bin Sa‘īd and the *wazīr* Sulaymān bin Aḥmad al-Bū Sa‘īd. He invited them one by one, and the first to be invited was Rāshid bin Ḥamad¹⁸⁶ and they were all imprisoned to the number of about 25 men of the Mazāri‘a. That was in the year 1224[1809–1810].¹⁸⁷

The governorship of the Mazāri‘a lasted 107 full years.¹⁸⁸ Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān was *wāli* for 25 years then Mas‘ūd bin Nāṣir for 25 years, then ‘Abdallah bin Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān for 8 years, then Ḥamad bin Muḥammad for 33 years, then ‘Abdallah bin Ḥamad bin Muḥammad for 10 years, then Sulaymān bin ‘Alī for 2 years then Sālīm bin Aḥmad for 10 years, then Khamīs bin Ḥamad for 2 years, then Rāshid bin Sālīm bin Ḥamad for 2 years. He was imprisoned and with him about 25 people. They came to Makrān and died in Makrān; and there remained two men, and they returned to the land of the Sawāḥil.¹⁸⁹ But when the Mazāri‘a were imprisoned, some of the descendants of Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān fled to Gāzi,¹⁹⁰ and some of the descendants of ‘Abdallah bin Zāhir fled also to Tāka Ūngu. Their leader was called Rāshid bin Sālīm. He said, “I will return behind” [or, stay behind], that is Takā Ūngu, which is *takā yanyūma ri*;¹⁹¹ it means in Takā Ūngu. Rāshid bin Sālīm bin Khamīs built¹⁹² it in the year

185 The text has غاو—*ghāwi*.

186 Ḥamad. This name should be Rāshid bin Ḥamad bin Sālīm.

187 This date is plainly inaccurate.

188 The lengths of the governorships of the Mazāri‘a given here are not the same as on p. 48 above.

189 According to a Swahili tradition recorded by L. Harries (“Swahili Traditions of Mombasa”, *Afrika und Übersee* 43/2 (1959): 81–105, p. 103), only one man returned and his name was Habīb bin Sālīm.

190 The text has جاسي—*Jāsi*. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 284) transliterates the name as Gāzi. Stigand (*Land of Zinj*, p. 180) has Gasi. It is just south of and Mwabila. See Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, pp. 312 f.

191 The text has تكا ينوم ري Sacleux (*Dictionnaire*, vol. 1, p. 777) indicates that *ri* in Ngazija and Nzvani = is a personal pronoun affix meaning “we”. Hence the phrase indicates “We will remain behind.”

192 Built it. The text has عمره—*amarahu*. This word implies the making of a proper residential complex, as opposed to an encampment. It might be rendered “populated it”. See Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, p. 89; Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, p. 286. See also al-Mazrū‘ī,

1247[/1831–1832].¹⁹³ He who built Takā Ūngu is the grandfather of Rāshid bin Sālīm bin Khamīs bin Sālīm.¹⁹⁴

Then Sayyid Saʿīd bin Sulṭān embarked upon war with Siwi¹⁹⁵ in the year 1259[/1843–1844]. He had an *amīr* named Ḥammād bin Sammār¹⁹⁶ when he went to Sīwī. In it was Shaykh Matāka ʿl-ʿAmāwī.¹⁹⁷ They fought strenuously, and the *amīr* died, being slain by the people of Sīwī. He wanted to carry the guns from the ship to break the surrounding walls, but was killed on the way. When his soldiers heard that the *amīr* had been killed, they fled and returned to Fāza, and the army returned and did not gain their objective. Then after that Sayyid Saʿīd bin Sulṭān came a second time and fought, but the Sayyid did not gain his objective.¹⁹⁸ Sayyid Saʿīd bin Sulṭān died in the year 1273[/1856–1857].

When Saʿīd bin Sulṭān died, Mājid bin Saʿīd was made ruler after his father. He and his brother Barghash strove together in the Shāniba,¹⁹⁹ which is in Chu.²⁰⁰ Barghash had with him men of the Ḥawārith and the Masākira,²⁰¹ while Mājid bin Saʿīd was with the soldiers and the Christian English. Barghash bin Saʿīd fought, but was defeated (I mean Barghash bin Saʿīd). Mājid bin Saʿīd was conqueror. He seized the rule, and Barghash was imprisoned in his house. He

History, pp. 119, 125, where it is clear that it was Rāshid b. Sālīm. b. ʿAbdallah who built Takaungu.

193 This date is also inaccurate as the next sentence shows.

194 The confusion of names is as obvious as that of the dates. For the relationship, see al-Mazrūʿī, *History*, p. 17.

195 The text has سوی. The next line has سيوي, exemplifying inconsistencies in the text.

196 Ḥammād bin Sammār seems to be a nickname reflecting his bold nature. The word “hammer” comes to mind. But *sammār* means one who drives in a nail. The usual word for ‘hammer’ is *maṭraqa*. It may be that the author was simply unsure of the correct Arabic.

197 See Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, pp. 302 f.

198 The Chronicle of Pate records that Mwinyi Saʿīd consulted his grandfather’s tomb before engaging in this war. See Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, p. 289.

199 The text has شانبية—*shāniba* for the Swahili *shamba*—garden or cultivated plot. A lingual and a labial may be separated in sound yet elided in speech. In this case *n* has slipped in erroneously.

200 The text has چو—Chu. It was called by Europeans the “Marseilles Close Plantation”. Mājid (1273/1856–1297/1870), Barghash (1297/1870–1306/1888). See Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, p. 94; Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 290, 293. Nicholls *Swahili Coast*, p. 267 refers to the Barghash rebellion in 1859. Does the author’s detailed treatment of Barghash indicate his “allegiance”?

201 The Ḥawārith and the Masākira are two immigrant tribal groups from ʿUmān. See J. Gray, *History of Zanzibar from the Middle Ages to 1856*. London: Oxford University Press, 1962, pp. 22, 136. The al-Ḥarthī clan arrived in East Africa in 311/924. See Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, pp. 266 ff.; J. Gray, “Zanzibar and the Coastal Belt 1840–1884”, in R. Oliver & G. Mathew (eds), *History of East Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963 vol. 1, 212–251, pp. 212 ff., 232, 234.

did not go out and no one went in to him except his servants who attended to his needs and his family.²⁰² Then Barghash wished to travel to Bombay²⁰³ to get medical treatment for himself, and he travelled with permission from Mājid bin Sa'īd.²⁰⁴ Time was good to²⁰⁵ Mājid bin Sa'īd. He hastened to make war on Sīwī, and fought them and conquered, and seized the rule and the town of Sīwī by force. Then he seized Muḥammad bin Matāka,²⁰⁶ who was Shaykh and leader of Sīwī, and he was imprisoned in the fort of Mumbāsa until he died. Time went swiftly²⁰⁷ for Mājid bin Sa'īd bin Sulṭān bin Imām and none of the sultans refused to be willing and obedient.

We relate the story in the year 1282[/1865–1866] of the Somalis and the Ghaylān.²⁰⁸ The Ghaylān were the people of herds and flocks in abundance, but the Somalis were poor. The position was that the land of Kisimāyū belonged to the Ghaylān, and they were in the neighbourhood of the people of Birbira who were in Barāwa and Mārka only. The Ghalānī were braver and greater in their own eyes and more numerous than the Somalis. When the Somalis understood that matter, they set off to go in the direction of the Ghalānī to pasture herds. The Ghalānī (sic) were glad at that, and they used to give the Somalis their cattle often for pasturing, and they made them slaves to them, and they worked at pasturing until the Somalis increased and the Ghaylān were negligent. They did not remember that the Somalis were Muslims,²⁰⁹ and not unbelievers. They [i.e. the Somalis] had taken an army of about 2,000 Somali men and made war unawares and fought, and there died of the Somalis 200 people. The shaykhs²¹⁰

202 The text has *اهل داره*—*ahl dārihi*.

203 The text has *بمبي*—*Bumbī*.

204 Cerulli (*Somālia*, vol. 1, p. 286 n. 2, quoting R.N. Lyne, *Zanzibar in Contemporary Times*. London: Hurst & Blankett, 1905, p. 57) says that Barghash was arrested by Rigby and held captivity in Bombay.

205 Time was good to. The text has *طاب الزمان على* i.e. “circumstances favoured”.

206 MS L has a more circumstantial account of the seizing of Muḥammad bin Matāka.

207 Time went swiftly. This is the best meaning one can make for *لزمانا سفي على*, unless *سفي* was written in error for *صفي* = to be clear.

208 Ghaylān—Galla. The author always calls them Banū Qays Ghaylān. This is on the assumption that they originally came from Yaman, and became renegades when Islam arose in Arabia. In fact, they are Hamiyes like the Somālis. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 286 n. 5) gives evidence from various sources of the movement of the Galla and Somālis. The process was one of early immigrants to an area being accepted as clients, and then, when they became numerous and strong enough, they dominated their hosts.

209 Were Muslims. This is an important point for the authors of both MSS K and L.

210 The text has *الشيربة* with the meaning of the “grayheads”, understood as “the old” hence “shaykhs” in both Arabic and Swahili. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 287) has *i capi*. Cf footnote 316.

came from Barāwa and made a reconciliation between them [so that they were] as they had been formerly, that every one of the Somali should take possession of his cattle and pasture them as at first. So they made conditions to that effect and both the Ghaylānī and the Somalis accepted it. Then when the Somalis saw that the Ghaylān possessed arms in fighting, and that they were brave, they wrote a letter to the leader of Birbira: “After greetings, what I have to tell you is that if you desire life without a jihad in the way of God,²¹¹ let us know. But if you wish life and a jihad, then it is your duty to send to us men in such a way that our enemies do not know, until God increases our army and we fight them unawares. God is the One to be cried to for help.²¹² Peace.” When he read the letter and the report of the Somalis about the relationship between the Somalis and the Ghaylān, and how it would be to send to the Somalis men a few at a time so as to complete a great army, the Somalis [i.e. in Birbira] said, “All right, we agree to a jihad in the way of God Most High.” At that the Ghaylān said to the Somalis: “We have forgiven you for what you have done against us, and we have made conditions between us that you should return to your work as you were at first in the pasturing of our cattle and flocks as before. Now after the conditions which have been settled between us, it is necessary that you send your women and girls to us to this place, and we will marry those of your girls who do not have husbands, that our hearts may be at rest from your evil deeds.” The Somalis said: “All right. What you expect from us we agree to; but go easy with us until we bring our girls one by one (محيثك)²¹³ and you may do what you hope for.” The Ghaylānī said: “We have no objection to that length of time.” The women arrived—three of them—from Birbira, two of them married and the other unmarried. But there was a man who desired her, and the Somalis got to work to prepare the wedding and get ready the feasts. The Somalis invited their friends, and the Ghaylānī invited some of their leading men, and champions from as far as three days’ journey away, and about 75 of the champions of the Ghaylān came for the feasts of the Somalis. They ate and drank and stayed the night. Then the Somalis rose up on the Ghaylān and killed them. There only remained one man of them and he was wounded. He fled and came to his friends and died, and the Somalis were waging war, and they fought vigorously.

211 Jihad, i.e. holy war. This is an example of what the Islamized Somalis thought of as important in their new religion and what they seem to have regarded as important ever since.

212 Qur’ān 12:18.

213 محييثك—This word is given no meaning by Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 287). He appears to pass over it without comment except to render it “*ed allora*”. It is either a misprint for another Arabic expression, or it is a word from another language. I would be inclined to ignore it too, but cannot avoid feeling that it is meant to be a proper word.

The Somalis were victors, and the Ghaylān women were sold cheaply. The Ghaylān fled from the Somalis, and resorted to the Pokomo and the WaBoni,²¹⁴ who were slaves of the Ghaylān, but they sold them, and slaves were never seen selling their masters except the Pokomo who sold the Ghaylān. It was like this²¹⁵ for the Galla. They fled to the Pokomo with a lot of women and their relatives, and brought them and asked for food and drink for them, and they ate and drank. Then the Pokomo would send one of them to Kā'a²¹⁶ and told the WaBoni to send one of them to the village nearby such as Mkū and Mkanūbi, and they called the people and told them that the Ghaylān were arriving to the number of such-and-such of men and women. They would go and kill the men and take the women prisoner, and they were kept in prison and they would sell [them] to anyone who wanted them.

But the Somalis are Arabs without any question,²¹⁷ as it says in *Sabā'ik al-dhahab*, they are descended from Burr ibn Qaydār Abī²¹⁸ Ismā'īl bin Ibrāhīm (sws). There is much said about this, and among other ideas, it is said that they are descended from Laqshān bin Ibrāhīm (as).²¹⁹

Chapter (*Faṣl*)²²⁰

We now relate a story from the time of Mājid bin Sa'īd. Abū Bakr bin Shaykh bin Mngūmi²²¹ 'l-Makhzūmī of Lamu died and he was in Kapufani²²² near Lamu,

214 The text has *بِكُومٍ وَالْبُونِ*—*bukūm wa-al-būni*. See Prins, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, pp. 16, 17, 20; Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, pp. 101, 175, 176.

215 It was like this. He text has *صورة*—*sura* = “form”. We can only translate it as shown.

216 Kā'a—*كأ* Stigand (*Land of Zinj*, p. 149) refers to “Kao” as being on the lower Tana; Lyne (*Zanzibar*, p. 134) has ‘Kau’; Nicholls (*Swahili Coast*, p. 357) has “Kao”.

217 The Somālis are Arabs without any question. The author quotes al-Suwaydī, *Sabā'ik*, but there also lies behind the remark the idea that, as they are Muslims, it is somehow inconceivable that they should not be somehow connected by blood-relationship with Arabia.

218 Burr bin Qaydār Abī. The text has *ب* with *ḍamma* i.e. *burr* for *barr*. This seems to be a misprint for *ibn*—son of. See al-Suwaydī, *Sabā'ik*, pp. 48, 49 (Ibrāhīm); pp. 53, 54 (Ismā'īl); pp. 53, 54 (Qaydār); Brinner 1987 p. 132.

219 These two men are presumably imāms or scholarly saints. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 289 n. 1) adds another tradition that the Somālis are from 'Aqil ibn Abī Ṭālib, brother of Caliph 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.

220 Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 289) does not show that the Arabic text has the heading *Faṣl*. He simply begins a new paragraph.

221 The text has *مغوم*—*mghumi* another example of *ghayn* used to represent *ng* in Swahili.

222 The text has *كپفان*—Kapufān.

a distance of three²²³ hours from Lamu. He left a large property, and many slaves and a certain amount of money.²²⁴ There went a man called Kūlu bin Fūmu Bakr Ḥajj bin Mngūmi, and claimed that he was trustee for his sons and all that belonged to him. There went also Abū Bakr Muḥammad bin Mngūmi, and claimed that he was trustee for his sons and all that belonged to him. They divided into factions—one faction for Ibn Fūmu Bakr above-mentioned and the other for Abū Bakr Muḥammad bin Mngūmi, the second-mentioned. The two factions fought together and two men among them were shot dead. None of the *liwalis*²²⁵ in the land of Āmu intervened with them, nor did the shaykhs of the town, because each one was in his faction and hoped for a share of that inheritance. They complained about one another to Zinjibār, and no one gave judgement about them except the *wazīr* Sulaymān bin Ḥamad. He took his share, and divided the two upon each one by seizing the remaining inheritance,²²⁶ and his [i.e. the testator's] children got nothing but the money and the old and infirm male and female slaves. Mājid bin Saʿīd used to ask no one except the aged Sulaymān bin Ḥamad al-Bū Saʿīdī about anything whether in Zinjibār or any other country. He was an author who loved mathematics and music. He had a *wazīr* and secretary named Sulaymān bin ʿAlī ʿl-Darmakī. A Christian was killed in Kisimāyū and the English consul said, “We want the murderer now.” Mājid bin Saʿīd said to his *wazīr* Sulaymān bin Ḥamad, “How is that matter? Where can the murderer be found?” So he said to the *wazīr* Sulaymān bin ʿAlī, “You must deal with this matter by getting the murderer and bringing him to Zinjibār.” Sulaymān bin ʿAlī ʿl-Darmakī travelled by a ship called “*Sitāra*” and anchored in Lāmū harbour. He sent soldiers to Kisimāyū and they looked for a slave and bound him and said, “This is the murderer.” The slave did not know what he was bound for. That was in the year 1285[/1868–1869] and Sulaymān bin ʿAlī brought him back to Zinjibār and that slave was killed, and the case was cut short.²²⁷ Mājid bin Saʿīd died in the year 1286[/1869–

223 Three hours. The Arabic has “three hours”, but Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 289) has rendered it “two hours”.

224 A certain amount of money. The Arabic has أموال معدودة—*amwālun maʿdūda*; *amwālun* may mean either money or wealth, while *maʿdūda* means counted or limited.

225 *Liwalis*. These are the subordinates of the Zanzibari sultan, not the more independent Mazrūʿīs.

226 This sentence is extremely unclear. Does it mean that the shaykh separated the two factions by making it their obligation each to seize what they could of the inheritance after he had taken his share?

227 The case was cut short. This is not a slander by a non-Muslim, but a report in sober earnest by a Muslim. One cannot but wonder how many similar cases were solved in this way.

1870]²²⁸ and Barghash bin Saʿīd became ruler in succession to him. He dismissed whoever was *wāli* in the time of Mājid bin Saʿīd. Sulaymān bin ʿAlī ʿl-Darmakī fled before the burial of Mājid, though some say after it.

Barghash bin Saʿīd was just and good and liked the truth and hated falsehood. He liked amusement other than adultery, and he had a *wazīr* called Muḥammad bin Sālim al-Maʿūli who embezzled the gifts that the king used to give to his subjects, and he took bribes. When he died it became evident that the gifts that Barghash bin Saʿīd used to give were with Muḥammad bin Sālim. Barghash bin Saʿīd took what was found in his house and Barghash said, “Al-Maʿūli has squandered my property and if this had become evident we would have cut off his hands²²⁹ one by one.”

Chapter (*Faṣl*)²³⁰

The story goes that Barghash bin Saʿīd travelled to Egypt and wished to fend off the English through the protection of Turkish sultan. Barghash bin Saʿīd asked him for protection and he gave it, and he returned in the warship²³¹ of the sultan and reached halfway, and the English heard of it. They followed him and found him.²³² Barghash bin Saʿīd met him, and the Englishman said to him, “You have lost your kingdom and been deceived and robbed, for you do not know the Turks’ affairs.” They blamed him strongly, and Barghash said, “What shall I do now?” He replied, “Say to them ‘Thank you, go home’, but you, sail with us in our ship, and you will have rescinded the covenant, and we will serve you, and what you desire from us you will get.” So Barghash did what they said, and they [the Turks] were regretful. Then the English came with an armoured ship in which were some Egyptians disguised in the uniform of the Turks, and they reached Mārka and Barāwa and Lāmū and wished to fight, and that is

228 According to Lyne (*Zanzibar*, p. 293), he died in October 1870, which would put Majid’s death in A.H. 1287.

229 Cut off his hands. The orthodox Islamic penalty for theft.

230 The following story is enlarged in MS L with more detail, not particularly complimentary to the British government. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 291) says this story is partly to justify the Zanzibaris’ forced acceptance of the treaty abolishing slavery. In n. 3, Cerulli suggest that this was Barghash’s last attempt to assert his dominion over the Mombasa region in face of Portuguese, German and British competition to partition what he considered were his mainland possessions among themselves.

231 The text has منور—*manowari*, Swahili for “man-of-war”.

232 In the warship. Cerulli 1957 vol. 1 p. 250 adds that Barghash was overtaken at Aden. MS L refers to this event saying that Barghash was deceived or hoodwinked.

not correct.²³³ The consul²³⁴ in Zinjibār whose name was Kirkī [sic] said, “See Barghash, the plans of the Turks are now coming to you. They will make war on you and you are no match for them, so what do you say if we lift this trouble from you? Do you agree to what I hope from you?” He replied, “Yes.” John Kirkī wrote to them, “Turn aside, and go back to your own countries, for we have overcome him, and Barghash is defeated.” That was in the year 1292[/1875–1876].²³⁵

Chapter (*Faṣl*)

Story. Barghash bin Saʿīd made for Mūmbāsa in a Greek ship. He reached Mūmbāsa but did not land. He held a Baraza²³⁶ on board ship and summoned the *wāli* Sayf bin Sulaymān, and summoned the Kushūr and the WaKambe, and gave them presents of money and clothes. He wished to be their sultan. The people of Mūmbāsa brought to him many claims for settlement. Barghash made them swear oaths, and one of the forswearers died immediately, after one hour or one night. His name was Saʿīd bin Mubārak. All that administration of justice was in the ship and the port of Mūmbāsa. In the year 1302[/1884–1885] Sālim bin Khamīs al-Mazrūʿī made war on the Kushūr, the Giryāmāwī, and the Mazrūʿīs put them to rout and killed 50 men of them. Then there occurred famine in the land of the WaNyika and the Kushūr would come down to the “countries” [i.e. the Swahili areas] and sell their daughters mostly, but if they came down to Mūmbāsa or Taka Ūngū they were seized and sold whether male or female. Sālim bin Khamīs had given order to his friends that wherever they found the Kushūr they should seize them and sell them. So when the matter became evident Jumʿa bin Rāshid al-Shukaylī complained to the Sayyid Barghash bin Saʿīd about Sālim bin Khamīs al-Mazrūʿī that he had ordered his slaves and his company to seize the Kushūr, the Giryāma and others, and Barghash summoned Sālim bin Khamīs and asked him about it, and he replied, “Yes, they made war on me and we made war on them, so when we

233 That is not correct. The text has *وليس ذلك صحيحا*—*walaysa dhālika ṣaḥīḥan*. This phrase seems to indicate that the disguised Egyptians made as though they wished to fight, but with no real intention of doing so.

234 The text has *قنصل*—*qunṣul*.

235 This incident gives the local Swahili view of British diplomacy.

236 Baraza. The author uses the Swahili form for the Arabic *yabruz*. In this case, it stands for an official audience given by a ruler—levee. In a general sense, it means a meeting, council or court of law.

find them indisputably we sell them.”²³⁷ Barghash bin Sa‘īd was very angry at that with Sālīm bin Khamīs and he imprisoned Sālīm bin Khamīs al-Mazrū‘ī for six months, and he imprisoned some of the Mazārī‘a such as ‘Azīz bin ‘Abdallah bin Ḥamad, who was the *wazīr* of Sālīm bin Khamīs, and he imprisoned Rashīd al-Shakhaṣī and Shā‘īb Sulaymān al-Shakhaṣ. ²³⁸ Sayyid Barghash made an agreement with the Kushūr and clothed them. Barghash bin Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān died in the year 1305[/1887–1888], and his brother Khalifa bin Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān succeeded him.²³⁹

237 It seems from this incident that Sālīm bin Khamīs al-Mazrū‘ī, the chief of Takaungu, was still guided by the traditional Islamic rules of law, and the new anti-slavery regulations meant nothing to him. Had he been asked why he did not observe them, he might have replied that they were made by the Naṣāra anyway and therefore did not apply to him.

238 This word should be *Shaqasi*—الشَقْصِي which is an ‘Umani tribal epithet. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 292) calls him “il capo”, but الشَّايِب simply means “an aged man”. MS L calls the latter two Rashid bin ‘Abdallah and Shā‘īb bin ‘Abdullah. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 323–355.

239 This ending indicates that the writer probably did not long survive the installation of the *khalifa*, for MS L continues the story after this point for several years. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 324 f., 355 ff.

Kitāb al-Zunūj (L)

In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate, to Whom we call for help.

This is the Book of the Zunūj and information about them on the shore of the Indian Ocean.

Praise be to God the Fashioner and the Creator, the Loving, the Possessor of excellence, generosity and liberality, Who set for His creation colours—white, red and black—and preferred some of them over others in respect of authority, extent (of rule) and good fortune. And our Lord decreed for the one who prayed against his son blackness of face, and that his descendants should be slaves to the descendants of his [other] two sons. And prayer and peace be upon the Chosen One and upon his family and his followers who bow and prostrate themselves.

And so, we have briefly set down information about Africa on the Sāḥil¹ of the sea towards the east² and the Equator to identify the Zunūj who live there in the Juba, namely the Kushūr (as they are called originally in Arabic) and WaNyika in the language of the Africans of the Sāḥil and in particular, Giryāma which is a [tract of] land the inhabitants of which are called WaGiryāma, and the land of Chone³ the inhabitants of which are called WaChone, and Riba⁴ the inhabitants of which are called WaRiba, as the people of Africa say; and information about the Arabs who came to Africa and built up⁵ the lands and towns and dwelt in them from the time of the *Jāhiliyya*,⁶ which was through the policy (opinion) of the King Tubba'⁷ the greatest Himyarite; and information concerning the Banū Qays Ghaylān,⁸ who came to Africa from the land

1 *Sāḥil*. This word means “shore” or “coast” (pl. *Sawāḥil*). We shall use the Arabic word hereafter.

2 East. MS K has “west”, looking at it from the sea.

3 The text has *چون*—Chuni, referring to the Ba-Jun.

4 Riba. This is vocalized in European spelling Ribe.

5 The text has *عمرو*—*amarū*. This word is used to indicate more than building in the material sense. It has more the idea of turning a desert place into an inhabited, or “civilized” place. See Horton, *Shanga* (1996), pp. 394–406.

6 *Jāhiliyya*. The Islamic name for the period before Muḥammad’s first revelations.

7 Tubba' is really the name of the Himyaritic royal office, not a personal name. See MS K footnote 77.

8 The term used throughout this MS is *Banū Qays Ghaylān*, which refers to the ethnic group traditionally referred to as Galla, but who refer to themselves as Oromo. Ibn Ḥazm in his *Jamāhar ansāb al-'Arab* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1982, pp. 19, 243) refers to one Qays 'Aylān b. Mudār and Banū Qays. See Hitti, *History of the Arabs*. p. 64. Banū Qays Ghaylān came to Juba from Yaman around 570 C.E. H. Baumann 1940, p. 232 states that they moved from south-east of the Webi before the sixteenth century to Sidamo. This would place them inland from

of the Arabs with the story of Abraha al-Ashram, the *amīr* of the Najāshī of Ethiopia, which was one year after the year of the Elephant⁹ and they dwelt in the Juba¹⁰ and information concerning the transfer of the Zanj¹¹ from the Juba to Mwangiya (Muwingaya)¹² because of the Banū Qays Ghaylān; and information about the Bukūmu (Pokomo), a section of the aforementioned Zunūj who lived on the Tana River,¹³ on a river which is now called Mto Tana in the Swahili Language; and information about the Arabs who came from ‘Umān because of [lit. by way of] the many wars in ‘Umān [who] found rest here and dwelt in the land of Āmu;¹⁴ and information about the war and the driving out of the Portuguese from Mumbāsa, and the period of stay of the Mazārī‘a, the Arabs who held the rule, and their removal from it in the year 1254[1838–1839]¹⁵ and information about Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān and the Mazrū‘īs¹⁶ and their wars;¹⁷ and information about the Somalis and the Ghaylānī¹⁸ who were in the Juba, and their warfare, and what happened to the Ghaylānī and their being sold, and other things that happened; and information about the Naṣāra who are called the Portuguese, and who gained possession of all the region; and information about the Arabs who fought the Portuguese from ‘Umān to Mumbāsa¹⁹ by command of the King²⁰ Sayf bin Sulṭān al-Ya‘rubī²¹ and [as a result of which] the

Mogadishu and could cover the area north-east of Juba. This would imply that they have been in this area for a thousand years. The historical plan that underlies this MS is the local Arab view that every group must somehow have stemmed from Arabia.

- 9 Year of the Elephant. This was probably the year A.D. 570, the year of Muḥammad’s birth. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 64; Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 69.
- 10 The Juba is a river that runs through the south of what is now Somalia. For river systems and names, see Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, map 3.
- 11 *Zanj* (pl. *Zunūj*). This term seems to be applied to the Bantu, as distinct from Arab, Somali and Nilotic tribes.
- 12 Muwingaya. The text has موغى. See note 7 in MS K.
- 13 The Tana River flows from below Nairobi to Malindi on the coast. At its upper course, it is known as the Athi River. In the previous line the text has تان but here تن.
- 14 Āmu. The author sometimes says Āmu and sometimes Lamu. It is the island on the north Kenyan coast, part of what may be called the Kenya Archipelago.
- 15 See Gray, *History of Zanzibar*, p. 133; al-Mazrū‘ī, *History*, pp. 121 f.
- 16 The text has مزروعيين—Mazrū‘īyyīn instead of the usual مزارع—Mazārī‘a.
- 17 Wars. The author uses an unusual form حروبات—*ḥurūbāt*. See Ibn Razīk, *History*, and Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, regarding “the many wars”.
- 18 The text has Ghaylāniyyīn and on the next line Ghaylānī.
- 19 Mombasa is sometimes written with a *waw* hence Mūmbasa and at other times without, hence Mumbasa. Perhaps in the latter case the transliteration should be Mombasa.
- 20 ملك—*malik*. For imamate terminology, see Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 11, 155 f. “local dynast”.
- 21 See MS K footnote 117.

Mazāri‘a became *liwalis*²² of Mumbāsa; and information about the King Sayyid Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān al-Bū Sa‘īdī and fighting between the Mazāri‘a and Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān; and information about the people of Lāmū and the Mazrū‘īs²³ and their war; and information about the people of Sīwī²⁴ and Sayyid Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān and their war; and information about the Somalis and the Banū Qays Ghaylān and their war and the selling of the Ghaylān: and information about their being sold by the Kushūr; and information concerning the Naṣāra who disguised themselves as Turks and came to Mārka, Barāwa, Kisimāyū and Āmu in order to frighten Barghash bin Sa‘īd.

I state, and success is with God, that Ḥām bin Nūḥ bin Lamak, who is father of the black people,²⁵ was the youngest²⁶ of the sons of Nūḥ (ass), and Ḥām had four sons—Mīsr, Kan‘ān, Kūsh and Qūṭ.²⁷ Ethiopia is one of the descendants of Kūsh bin Ḥām. The Nūba and the Zanj are descendants of Kan‘ān bin Ḥām bin Nūḥ (ass). Ḥām was of most handsome appearance, radiant of face; then God changed his colour and that of his offspring for the sake of his father’s prayer. That was because of the prayer of his father [who] had prayed against him that his face should be blackened and that the faces of his descendants should be black, and that his children should be slaves to the children of Sām and Yāfit;²⁸ so He multiplied them and made them grow, and when the prophet of God divided the earth for his sons, Africa was given to Ḥām and he begat children and his children are the Sūdān, and their hair did not grow past their ears, as we see them now. They spread upon the earth and it was filled with them, and there came to rest upon the Saḥil in the direction of the east, on the Equator

22 *Liwalis*. Al-Mazrū‘ī (*History*) prefers the Swahili term *liwali*, which is the linguistic equivalent of the Arabic والى—*wāli*. The term is so distinctive in the context of Mumbasa that we think it is better to use it without translating it.

23 The singular Mazrū‘ī is not an error for Mazāri‘a but is personal for the unpleasant individual who attempted unsuccessfully to take Lamu for the Mazāri‘a by treachery.

24 Sīwī. This is a town on Pate Island (which this author names Bata). It is usually named Siyu.

25 Black people. The author uses the term Sūdān, which has various connotations, but here it simply and obviously means people with black skins generally.

26 Youngest. In Gen. 5:32, he appears to be the middle son of the three. See also Gen. 6:10; 10:1, 6–20. Gen. 9:20–27 indicates that Noah’s curse that he and his children should be slaves etc. pertained to Ham’s son Canaan. This ties in with Ex. 20:5 about “visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation”. Note: E. Glaser (*Recent Research in Bible Lands: Its Progress and Results*, ed. H.V. Hilprecht. Philadelphia, PA: John D. Wattles, 1986, p. 141) has identified the Kham (Ḥām) of the biblical list of races with the ‘Amu (i.e. worshippers of ‘Am) of the Egyptian inscriptions.

27 Qūṭ. In Gen. 10: 6, this name is “Pūt”, otherwise the names here are identical with Genesis. It is the descendants of these four that diverge from the Genesis account.

28 The biblical Shem and Yapheth (Gen. 6:10). See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 234.

and the Juba, a people called the Zanj and the Kushūr, with an Arabic meaning, but now WaNyika. In the aforesaid place there was no nation but them, and after a march of twelve days²⁹ there is Ethiopia. The Kushūr were people of cattle, flocks and poultry like all the remaining Zunūj. They sow Roman seed, or *mhindi* in the Swahili language and *lūbiya*, and mango and *musībal*. They have no fruit except *bubur* and *qal'* and bananas.³⁰ Their largest city was called Shungwaya³¹ and their headman in it was called MZEE SHANGI WAMUPI descended from MKAUMA.³²

Chapter (*Faṣl*)

Their laws are famous. If famine occurs, the man in need will sell, or put in pledge his daughter, or sister, or wife for a certain sum, and when he repays it the daughter [or] sister will return to her brother and the wife to her husband. But if the debt is not paid, the woman becomes owned [i.e. a slave] without argument. Perhaps the daughter or sister will be sold immediately if the owner of the daughter or sister is indebted. A man will marry a woman by service without a period specified, except [that] in the first period those who had nothing used to marry by service of seven years. These Kushūr marry by service up to the present, and when he gets a daughter by his wife and she grows up, then when she is adult and is married to a man, her dowry is taken by the father of the [her] mother, or by the one who paid the first dowry as a stranger [?]. Payment is made for what is due of the dowry that he married by first, and the service by which he served becomes a profit. An example of this is as follows:³³ Sālīm bin Nāṣir marries Ḥalīma bint 'Abdallah, but Sālīm bin Nāṣir has nothing to pay to the girl's father, i.e. the said 'Abdallah. When Sālīm bin Nāṣir gets a daugh-

29 Twelve days. The author of *Kawkab al-durriya* says it is twenty-two days; see p. 28; Krapf (*Reisen in Ostafrika*, vol. 1) gives the following information: Barāwa and Marka to Kutcha via Bardera and Ganana 30 days (p. 74); Barawa to Bardera 10 days (p. 171).

30 For an explanation of some of these fruits, see MS K footnote 16. Cf. Guillaín, *Documents*, pp. 23 ff. for notes on types of trees.

31 Shungwaya. See MS K footnote 18.

32 شَاغَاوْمُوْمِبْ—Shānga wa Mūmbi. Name of the headman of Shungwaya. Sacleux, *Dictionnaire*, p. 830: "Šanga. Nom d'un village ou d'une région sablonneuse (nṭi ya mṭāngo), qu'on dit avoir été la patrie de Liōngo, près de Malindi; le village est en ruines depuis longtemps." See Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, pp. 29, 33, 38, 149, 167; Allen, *Swahili Origins*, pp. 22 ff.; Horton, *Shanga* (1980); Sackleux, *Dictionnaire*, p. 625: "'Mumbi' (Bucorax abyssinicus) grand oiseau mangeur de rats et de serpents."

33 An example of the way the rule of dowry works out in practice.

ter from his wife Ḥalīma, and she grows up and marries, her dowry goes to the father of her mother, i.e. Ḥalīma bint ‘Abdallah, or by agreement it is taken by the one who paid the dowry for the mother of the girl. When a man dies leaving property and wives, the brother of the deceased inherits the wives, and the children inherit the property.³⁴ That agrees with the laws of the Arabs in the Jāhiliyya. The Arabs used to inherit spouses without a new marriage, as God Most High said: “O you who believe, it is not lawful for you to inherit women by force.”³⁵ This was revealed when the people of Madina were in the Jāhiliyya and at the beginning of Islam. If a man died leaving a wife, his son by another wife or a relative of his own clan³⁶ would come and throw his cloak over that woman or over her tent³⁷ and then had a greater right to her than herself or anyone else, and if he wished, he would marry her with no [further] dowry but the first which the deceased had paid, or if he wished, he [could] marry her to someone else and take her dowry. This is in *Sūrat al-Nisā’*—[see] *Ma‘ālim al-tanzīl*.³⁸ Their heaviest judgement is upon the thief, for they kill the thief if he steals three times.

Chapter (*Faṣl*)

The Kushūr are of twelve kinds:³⁹ Mdīgo 1,⁴⁰ Mshimba 2, Mlūngu 3, Msīfī 4. These are the ones who fled first from Shungwāya. When they saw that the Ghaylān were oppressing them in various ways, they fled from them in fear of them. Also MKamba 5, Mrībi 6, MGiryāma 7,⁴¹ Mshūni 8, Mjibāna 9, MTaita 10,⁴² Mkadhyāru 11, Mdāra 12.⁴³ These were all living on the banks of the River Juba, around it and above it, from the day that God Most High created them.

34 See Dt. 25:5, Mt. 22:26.

35 Qur’ān 4:19/23. All Qur’ānic references are from the Egyptian edition followed by Fluegel. MS L quotes more frequently from the Qur’ān than MS K.

36 The text has عصبته — *uṣbatihī*.

37 It is of interest to compare this with the practice among the Israelites averted to in the Old Testament, Ruth 3:10.

38 *Ma‘ālim al-tanzīl*, known as *Tafsīr al-Baghawī*, by Abū M. Ḥusayn b. Mas‘ūd M. al-Baghawī (d. 516/1122). It relies heavily on *Tafsīr al-Tha‘labī*, by Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Tha‘labī (d. 427/1035), whilst placing more emphasis on Prophetic traditions (*aḥādīth*). *Tafsīr al-Tha‘labī*, is also known as *Al-tafsīr al-kabīr*—The great commentary.

39 The text has صنفاً — *ṣanfan*—kind, category, species.

40 The text has مديغ — *mdighu*.

41 The text has مغرياما — *Mghiryāmā*.

42 The text has متيت — *Mtīta*.

43 This list may be compared with those given (a) by Shaykh al-Amin bin ‘Alī al-Mazrū‘ī. in

Section (*Faṣl*)

The time when the Arabs came from Ṣan‘ā’ in the Yaman, that is the people of Tubba‘ the Himyarite, was the period of the Jāhiliyya, as the Most High said in His Book: “Bring your ancestors if you speak truth, are they better or the People of Tubba‘?”⁴⁴ That is, they are not better than them, that is, more stable, powerful and numerous than the people of Tubba‘. Qatāda⁴⁵ said: “It is Tubba‘ the Himyarite, and he had gone with the armies until he destroyed Hira and built Samarqand.”⁴⁶ He was one of the kings of Yaman, and Abū Ḥātim⁴⁷ reports from al-Raqāshī⁴⁸ that Abū Kalb al-As‘adī⁴⁹ the Himyarite was one of the Tubba‘s who believed in the Prophet (saas). It showed that Tubba‘ the Himyarite was in the age of the Prophet Mūsa (as) by proof of the verse that comes before the one in which the people of Tubba‘ are mentioned. It is: “And We delivered Beni Isrā’īl from humiliating punishment, from Pharaoh. He was a proud one of those who go to extremes and We chose them with foreknowledge in preference to creation.”⁵⁰ His statement “We have chosen” means Mūsa and Beni Isrā’īl. They first constructed the city of Maqdishū, then Basāsa spelt with *bā*, without the *mīm*, then *sīn*, *alif*, *sīn* and *hā*, and it was named Basāsa, which is the name of a title, or *kunya*⁵¹ of Makka al-Mukarrama, because the people of Basāsa were most of them from the Ḥijāz and were depressed by [having to]

his *History* and (b) by Shaykh Fāḍil bin ‘Umar al-Baūrī in *Kawkab al-durriya*. The differences may be partly explained by the problem of transliterating Bantu names into Arabic script. The enumeration is different in the two MSS K & L.

44 Qur‘ān 44:36,37.

45 Qatāda—refers to Qatāda b. Dī‘āma al-Sadūsī. What is referred to as *Tafsīr Qatāda* is his opinions, statements and comments regarding the Qur‘ānic text narrated by some of his students such as ‘Abd al-Razzāq b. Hammām al-Himyarī al-San‘ānī (126–211 A.H.) in his book *Tafsīr al-Qur‘ān* known as *Tafsīr ‘Abd al-Razzāq*. See Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Dāwūdī, *Tabaqāt al-mufasssīrīn*. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1983, vol. 2, p. 47; Muḥammad Khālīd ‘Abd al-Hādī, *al-Imām Qatāda b. Dī‘āma al-Sadūsī: Aqwāluh wa-marwīyātuh fi ‘l-tafsīr*. MA Diss. University of Mecca, 1994, pp. 59–60.

46 Samarqand. This tradition is very interesting but it appears to be highly improbable. The author quotes no source for it. See Hitti, *History of the Arabs*. p. 60. Qatāda is referred to by al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Qutayba, etc.

47 Abū Ḥātim probably refers to Abū Ḥātim al-Sijistānī (d. 94 A.H.).

48 Al-Raqāshī. Abū Ḥātim seems to refer to Yazīd b. Aban al-Raqāshī (d. between 110/1729 and 121/738). He was *ṭabī‘ī* (compos mentis) and *ḥadīth* narrator.

49 Abū Kalbī al-As‘adī. This appears to be the king whom Shaykh Fāḍil bin ‘Umar al-Baūrī calls As‘ad al-Kāmil.

50 Qur‘ān 44:30–32/29–31.

51 *Kunya* here seems to mean “nickname”. Its proper meaning is the phrase added to a man’s personal name, comprised of Abū (father of) followed by the name of the man’s eldest

leave their place, so they named it with the *kunya* of Makka al-Mukarrama. People of ‘Umān and of the Jawf, which lies between ‘Asīr and Ṣan‘ā’ of the Yaman, among whom are the WaTufāni,⁵² became mingled by marriage with the people of the Ḥijāz and the Jawf, and they had children and got intermingled and there is no difference between them; so they said, “These are intermingled”, I mean tribes mixed up, and in the Swahili language WaTafāni.⁵³ Among them, I mean the people of ‘Umān, are the Jalandānī, a word of relationship from Jaland bin Mas‘ūd bin Kirkira. And among them are the Taghmāwī, a tribe of Mahra bin Ḥaydān. As for them, the father of their tribe is Taghma and one related to him is Taghmāwī.⁵⁴ They are originally from the Ḥijāz. But now the Jalandānī are called Kilindīnī, a childish mistake, and the Taghmāwī are called Shangāmawī, which is all a big mistake.⁵⁵

The poet has said:

بساسة هي كنية ام القرى
سموا بها اهل الحجاز مقا

Basāsa is the *kunya* of the Mother of towns
The people of the Ḥijāz named it as a dwelling place.

Tubba‘ the Himyarite also built Kalfa⁵⁶ then Batī⁵⁷ and Sīwī and Āmu and Ngāma. Ngāma was a town on an island between Kilīfī and the Tana River, but

son, e.g. Abū ‘Abdullah (father of ‘Abdullah). See also MS K, footnote 15. This claim needs to be substantiated.

52 WaTufāni. Could this refer to the WaMtawa? Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1 p. 328 He refers to Guillain and Burton, but says they are not mentioned elsewhere.

53 *Tufani*—strictly speaking the word means “storm”, “hurricane”. Since such phenomena occur as a mixture of rain, wind and thunder, the term may locally have come to symbolize “mixture”. The same interpretation could be derived from the word *tafuna*—chew, masticate, as the food is mixed in the process. Could be a confusion with the Watangana. Lambert 1958 pp. 11 f.

54 Taghmāwī. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 328) seems to accept that this is Guillain’s “Tangana”. It is more probable that this is an arabicized form of Changamwe. See the following note. H.E. Lambert, *Studies in Swahili Dialect 11. Chi-Jomvu and Ki-Ngare: Sub-Dialects of the Mombasa Area*. Kampala: East African Swahili Committee, 1958, p. 12.

55 All a big mistake. The attempt to find an Arabic origin for Kilindini and Changamwe appears very curious to modern scholars, but it must be remembered that the Arabs thought of the Arabian Peninsula as the centre of the world from which everything of any significance sprang in some way or another. Cerulli seems to take this genealogy seriously however. See MS K footnote 25.

56 See MS K footnote 79.

57 Batī. The text has بتي. This is Pate Island in the Lamu Archipelago. See MS K footnote 37.

now it is called Ghamini.⁵⁸ It was a settled island with its buildings constructed of stones and lime (mortar), but it was destroyed by the sea, which took it little by little, and its people lost their water-supply and transferred to Ūzī and the buildings were inundated, and now it is called the Sea of Ngāma, which has a strong wave, and one who sails in a ship may see the walls and dykes if the ship sails over it. Its stones are taken by Malindī and Mambrūī in the season of the *azyab*,⁵⁹ I mean the north wind [monsoon]. Mārka, Barāwa and the land of the Bājūni.⁶⁰ The people of ‘Irāq built up Malindī. Originally it was called Malūdi, and in one copy Malūdhi with *dhāl mu’ajjama*, and it means in Arabic a refuge from the enemies. Malūdi and Ūzī were built by the people of Kūfa who fled from al-Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf in the year 49[669/70].⁶¹ The people of ‘Irāq also built Zinjibār, which is an island originally empty of buildings. The Zunūj used to come to it and fish. They crossed over in dhows and when they reached that island they would set fire to it in fear of the snakes, and the snakes died in the fire and that was why it was called U‘ūza,⁶² which means death. But now it is called Ungūja and the *zā’i* has been turned into *jīm*. But Zinjibār is Arabic without dispute and it means Zanj Barr. Al-Barr is well-known⁶³ and al-Zanj is a relative to al-Barr. End of exegesis. The people of Wāsīn were punished, and they called them Wāsīn, which means “I grieve” and there is much to be said about that.⁶⁴

We return to mention the affairs of Tubba‘ the Himyarite. When the Arabs came to the land that is called Juba the Kushūr fled from the Arabs, and because of that they called them Kushūr which means “the Flee-er”.⁶⁵ Then the Arabs gave diligence to meet with them, and they met with them after two months, and gave them various presents and the fear left them and they agreed to be friends with one another. The Zanj grew familiar with the Arabs in a manner which has not to this day been ended on their part. And they [i.e. the Arabs]

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- 58 The text has غميين *-ghamīni*. The text shows a *fatha* but it clearly refers to Ngomeni.
- 59 *Artab*. The text has ارتب a mistake for *azyab*. Mombasa Swahili *azayabi*—north-east monsoon.
- 60 There is an inconsistency between Cerulli’s two texts here (*Somalia*, pp. 235, 297 nn. 96, 97).
- 61 Ḥajjāj bin Yūsuf al-Thaqafi (661–714 A.H.). See Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. xiif, 2 n. 1.
- 62 The text has اعوز *—U‘ūza* a misprint for اغوز *—unghūza* Swahili in Arabic script meaning “burn”.—burn, scorch. See Sacleux, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 1, p. 957. It could only mean “death” by association. The author clearly means *Ungūja*—Zanzibar.
- 63 *Al-Barr*. This is of course the Arabic word for country, or open country as opposed to a town, or mainland as opposed to islands.
- 64 Said about that. The text has احزنوا *—ahzanū*—This seems to be derived from the Arabic root حزن *—ḥ z n* found in the Swahili *huzuni*—sorrow.
- 65 Kushūr. See Ms K footnote 33.

did not impose laws upon them at all because the Arabs in those days were idolaters, and some of the laws of the Arabs corresponded with their laws, such as inheriting wives and marrying by service for one who has no dowry to give.

Then Tubbaʿ sent the Sūdān who had come from the direction of Egypt, and built Kismāyū, near Sīwī; but the people of Sīwī are from ʿUmān. There [at] Khūr Fakkān is a town called Sīwī and its people are Banū Saʿdī [and it is] inhabited to this day.⁶⁶ Then [there is] Bati,⁶⁷ whose people are from Syria; and Āmu whose people are from ʿUmān; and the people of Uyūmbu⁶⁸ and Ghadaf⁶⁹ [are] from Yumbu of the Yaman, where there is a town called Yumbu inhabited till now; and Kalfa,⁷⁰ which is a town near Uyūmbu that was called by the name of a tribe, whose people are from the grandfather [ancestor?] of ʿĀmir bin al-Ḥārith.⁷¹ Tubbaʿ the Himyarite built that. Then, when the drought occurred, some of the districts, villages and towns were destroyed and the remaining ones were established. The Arabs used to come by land if there was an army, but some came in ships. They used to follow the Pole facing to the south and their back turned to *al-jāh* [or *iljāh*—meaning unclear]⁷² from Sawākin and Birbira,

66 See *Kawkab al-durrīya*, footnote 126.

67 Bati. See footnote 57 above.

68 Uyūmbu. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 260) has Yanbu, Yumbo, Ġumbo, Jombo. A port in Hijaz and a village near Mombasa; Krapf (*Reisen in Ostafrika*, vol. 1, p. 247) has Jumbo; J.L. Krapf, *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours, during an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa*. London: Frank Cass, 1968, p. 147 has Yumbo; Prins (*Swahili Speaking Peoples*, p. 41) refers to Yamba (Yenbu?), in Lamu tradition a town on the Red Sea Coast; *ibid.*, p. 83, refers to *wa Yumbe*, consisting of nine clans, which would seem to relate to the Jomvu, one of the Mijikenda. See T. Boteler, *Narrative of a voyage of discovery to Africa and Arabia*. London: R. Bentley, 1835, vol. 2, pp. 179, 187; also J.B. Emery 1833 pp. 280–283; Nichols 1971 p. 88 places it eight miles from Mombasa; see also Salim, *Swahili Speaking Peoples of the Kenya Coast 1895–1965*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1973, p. 27 n. 42; Lambert, *Studies in Swahili Dialect 11*, pp. 12 ff.

69 Ghadaf. Wilkinson (*Imamate Tradition*, p. 29) suggests that this is an alternative name for Jabal Yahmad in ʿUmān; on p. 78 he states that it is the main residence of the *Maʿwali Julanda*; see the map on p. 388.

70 Kalfa. The text has كلفى. Lambert, *Studies in Swahili Dialect 11*, p. 10: the Wakilifi were called Kulfa after the founder of the group. Prins (*Swahili Speaking Peoples*, p. 83) points to Kilifi as one of the Mijikenda.

71 ʿĀmir bin al-Ḥārith. Sharqīya with links to East Africa; see Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, p. 264; Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 260 n. 3) indicates a Bahrayni origin with reference to F. Wüstenfeld, *Genealogischen Tabellen*, tab. A; Hitti (*History of the Arabs*, p. 85) indicates that he was related to the Ḥimyarī Ḥasan b. Tubbaʿ through Ḥujr al-Ḥārith, the most valiant Kinda ruler (d. 529).

72 *al-jah*. See Prins, *Sailing from Lamu*, p. 287: *jaa—majira ya jaa*, a northerly course. *Al-jāhiljah*—northern star.

and make for Maqdishū. All the Zanj in those days used to fulfil their needs from the Arabs and the Arabs [likewise] from the Zanj. If an Arab set out for Zanj regions, he would be under the protection of his companion, and also the Zanj were under the protection of their companion. If an Arab incurred a debt to the Kushūr or robbed (him) and disappeared, the Kushūr would take the wealth of another Arab and tell him, “One of you named so-and-so son of so-and-so has disappeared from us and owes us such-and-such an amount, so now your wealth is put in trust. So bring him that he may pay us what he owes, and we will be very thankful to you.”

Chapter (*Faṣl*)

Matters developed in Ṣan‘ā’ of the Yaman, namely that Abraha al-Ashram al-Ḥabashy, *amīr* of the Najāshī⁷³ when he ruled the Yaman, the *amīr* saw “armies” in crowds in the days of the [pilgrimage] seasons and the month of Dhū ‘l-Ḥijja travelling to the Ka‘ba. Abraha said to the kings of the Yaman, “I will build for you a house in place of the Ka‘ba, and your days [of pilgrimage] will be this: You will enter it as you enter that house.” They said: “We agree: build. If God will,⁷⁴ we will enter it according to our custom.” So Abraha built a large church. When he had finished building it, he furnished it and set in it many great candles which he lit; but one of the people of Makka came and fouled it⁷⁵ with excrement and went away at night. When morning came, the *amīr* heard what had happened in the church and he got very angry and said in his anger, “The people of Makka have been enraged enough with this house to do this, so I will destroy their house stone by stone.” He set about getting for himself the army, and with them the elephant that was called Maḥmūd,⁷⁶ and when they came near Makka the elephant refused to proceed.⁷⁷ When mid-afternoon came, the Birds of Abā-

73 Najāshī. The emperor of Ethiopia. The story here is longer than in MS K.

74 If God will. Notice that the Arabs speak as if they were Muslims, though Islam had not at the time arisen. It may also be a pre-Islamic expression. See James 4:15; Qur‘ān 18:23 f. See G. Ryckmans, *Les religions arabes pré-islamiques*. Louvain: Bibliothèque du Museon, 1951, pp. 47 f.

75 Fouled it. This is different from the text of MS K. See *Kawkab al-durriya* footnote 31. For the possible location of this church, see Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 22. I often passed an area in the middle of Ṣan‘ā’ where there is deep excavation surrounded by a fence. The first time I saw it, some local people informed me that it was never built upon because at one time it had been a *معبد*—place of worship. This may refer to Abraha’s church.

76 Maḥmūd. See MS K note 55.

77 See Num. 22:22–35: Balaam’s ass.

bīl⁷⁸ came, as is mentioned in the Book of God: “Did you not see how God dealt with the people of the Elephant” etc.,⁷⁹ and cast upon them stones and they all died. There remained one man and he fled to the *amīr* and the *amīr* asked news from him, and he told him what he had seen concerning the birds, and what had happened. When he had finished his tale, the birds appeared and the one who fled said, “They were like this”, and they cast upon him a stone, and he died immediately. Abraha al-Ashram was astonished at that, and the Najāshī removed in confusion at what had happened to him. There followed them the Arabs who were of Abraha al-Ashram’s⁸⁰ opinion: they were a section of Banū Qays Ghaylān⁸¹ from Ṣan‘ā’ of the Yaman, and they cut the genitals and set them as dowries for their women. They dwelt with the Ethiopians 80 years. The Arabs who had come from the Arab lands died and there remained those who had been born [since] in the land of Ethiopia, speaking the language of Ethiopia, because the language of the land was stronger than the language of strangers, and now Banū Qays Ghaylān speak Ethiopian.⁸²

78 Abābil. This word is of doubtful meaning but is usually interpreted as meaning “in flocks”. The writer here seems to take the word as meaning a special kind of bird.

79 Qur’ān 105:1.

80 Abraha al-Ashram. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 330 n. 7) has “il camuso”—snub-nosed. Abraha may have suffered from yaws, which was recently very common in South Arabia. Sometimes it produces a collapse of the nasal bone. I have seen many cases of yaws and very horrific they were. Yaws is reputed to be a primitive form of syphilis. It is passed from person to person not just by sexual intercourse but by close human contact in overcrowded houses where people sleep huddled together.

81 Qays Ghaylān. The writer always refers to the Galla as Qays Ghaylān. Once again it is the influence of the Arab cosmogony that dictates this. The Galla were in fact pagans till quite recently. Now it seems that they are partly Christianized and partly Islamized. Those in north Kenya and near Somalia are Muslims and are called by the Bantu Urma or Oroma. See T. Østebø, *Localising Salafism: Religious Change among Oromo Muslims in Bale, Ethiopia*. Leiden: Brill, 2012, pp. 45 ff.; Cerrulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 330 n. 3 suggests that “those Arabs who followed Abraha’s opinion may refer to the presumed origin of the Galla,” referring back to *ibid.*, p. 262 n. 1, where this theory is dealt with in some detail; see also Trimmingham 1965 pp. 8, 187 ff. Krapf (*Reisen in Ostafrika*, pt 1, p. 102) mentions “Stamm Gelan”; Trimmingham 1965 pp. 16, 23 locates the Galān between Ankober and Enṭoṭṭo. See also ms K note 36. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 262 n. 1, 263 nn. 2, 3.

82 Speak Ethiopian. The Oromo speak Oromiffa. Those who dwell in Ethiopia use Amharic to communicate with other Ethiopians. There is a vagueness about the South-Arabian and Ethiopic languages. Amharic is connected with the present Merhri of the Hadhramaut. The common basic script is the old pre-Islamic Arabic that is engraved on stone work throughout upper Yaman. The letters have been modified to include vowel sounds. Each consonant has about five variants so the script is missyllabic.

In the year 41[661/2], when Benū Qays Ghaylān heard that the Arabs had all become Muslims, they disputed with the Ethiopians, because Benū Qays Ghaylān, who⁸³ had become Christians by living and associating with Ethiopia, while the Ethiopians were saying to Benū Qays Ghaylān, “The Arabs have left the *milla*⁸⁴ of their fathers and grandfathers for Islam. We know that you will not fulfill your covenant if you conclude one, and we cannot believe you that you have become Christians”,⁸⁵ and they argued about that, and they fought and fled from the land of Ethiopia to the River Juba and the Equator. In the language of the Kushūr, the land of the Juba is called Wāmā,⁸⁶ and there is the Equator, by general agreement.⁸⁷ For that reason Benū Qays Ghaylān became black in colour mostly. At first, they were white in colour because they were from Ṣan‘ā’ of the Yaman, but the fierceness and heat of the sun got the better of them. Then they covenanted among themselves that not even one of Benu Qays Ghaylān would become Muslim after reneguing on the Christian religion, and they became idolaters like their fathers and grandfathers. They swore together that whoever saw an Ethiopian should kill him and cut off his genitals, and set a dowry for his wife in anger at the Ethiopians, and there has subsisted great enmity between them till now, and hatred and deceit is allowed between them and they never made reconciliation. But their oaths are sound in regard to others than the Ethiopians, or in regard to one another and they swore to that also, but their practice was that if they killed the Kushūr they would cut of their gen-

83 “Who” is redundant in this sentence and appears to be ignored by Cerulli *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 330 n. 9.

84 *Milla*—religion, rite. See Qur‘ān 12:38 **مِلَّةٌ**—*milla* here meaning “religion” as in Qur‘ān 14:13, 38:2. See T.P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*. London: W.H. Allen, 1935, pp. 348f.; J. Penrice, *A Dictionary and Glossary of the Koran*. London: Curzon, 1976, p. 139: “a religion, form of worship”. The term is most commonly associated with the Ottoman classification of the religion of their subjects.

85 There are still Galla in Ethiopia but there was, and still may be to this day, friction between them and the Amharic-speaking Coptic Semitic tribes, the descendants of the Kingdom of Axum. It is reported that the Emperor Teodros II (r. A.D. 1855–1867) was in his last days to be besieged by the Galla during the campaign of General Lord Napier of Magdala in 1868. It is still evident in the twenty-first-century that Ethiopians (Amhara) doubt the true conversion of the Banū Ghaylān. There are Christian Galla/Oromo. See Østebø, *Localising Salafism*, pp. 9, 51f., 56.

86 Wāmā—**واما**. See Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 263, 264, 330, 350). Grottanelli (“Peopling of the Horn”, p. 65) refers to Carlo Conti Rossini, “Appunti e commenti” in *Rassegna di Studi Ethiopici* 2 (1942): pp. 99–101. “Wama”—lie down flat on the ground (Kimvita, Kiamu, Kigunya). Allen (*Swahili Origins*, p. 158) has *Deshek Wama* (= Shungwaya on the Juba). Krapf (*Reisen in Ostafrika*, p. 173) reports a conversation with an Oromo (Galla) of the Dado “tribe/clan” whose capital is Wāmā.

87 The text has **اِتِّفَاقًا**—*ittifāqān*.

itals in fulfillment of their oath which they swore in respect of the Ethiopians and transferred to the Kushūr. Now the custom of the Benū Qays Ghaylān is that if they kill one of any tribe they will cut off his genitals, except in respect of each other.⁸⁸

The Kushūr moved from the land of Juba to Mūngiya except the division of the Bukūmu (Pokomo) [who], when they reached the River Tana, and were left behind by their friends the Kushūr, went off to the Island of Ngāma,⁸⁹ where there was a town inhabited and luxurious with many fruits (that was before the destruction when its people moved to Ūzī) and asked protection of the king of Ngāma and he gave them good protection, and the covenant between them was that they (the Pokomo) should not be sold, or killed, or robbed, but that if the Bukūmu should give anything as a gift to the people of Ngāma there was no objection to that, and if anyone stole anything from the Bukūmu, the people of Ngāma would return it to the Bukūmu by way of covenant and firm agreement. This covenant was valid between them always, so that on account of it they were not slaves, and the Bukūmu never stole without the people of Ngāma pursuing them,⁹⁰ and this was the position from those ancient times until the arrival of the Naṣāra.⁹¹

We return to speak of the Kushūr who went to Mūngiya.⁹² The Banū Qays Ghaylān followed them and they fought, and the Kushūr fled again and they followed them to the land that is above Basāsa. Then they became strong through

88 One can accept this paragraph as a faithful description of the attitude of the Galla at the time it was written, but the manner in which that attitude arose is largely fantasy. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 331 n. 1) points out that the forced emigration of the Galla to the south took place in the sixteenth century A.D. The cutting off of the genitals of slain adversaries is referred to in the literature from other parts of Africa. It seems to have been dictated by the principle that the organs were the source of great vitality. By removing them, they symbolically emasculated the enemy.

89 Ngāma. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 259, 331: Gama/Ghumini/ Ras Ghaman; Krapf, *Reisen in Ostafrika*, pt 1, p. 173: Ras Goman.

90 Without the people of Ngāma pursuing them. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 331) renders it: "but they were clients of the people of Ngama". The Arabic is: ولم يسرق البقوم الا اتبعوا اهل غاما. Cerulli's is probably the better rendering if the word *illa* is taken in its South Arabian meaning of "but".

91 = Christian, from Nazarene/Nazareth. Here, however, it denotes the Portuguese. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 331 n. 4) points out that this relationship between the WaPokomo and the people of Ngama was in accordance with the general pattern of relationships on the East African coast between the Bantu tribes and the Arabs.

92 Mūngiya. A better transliteration of the Arabic than Cerulli's MŪNGIA, may be Muwingaya, although he does recognize that *ghayn* is used for Bantu *ng*. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 331 n. 2, 253 n. 3.

a man named Ḥatrān,⁹³ because he taught one man how to make arrows of iron, and he made [them] and taught the rest, and they fought with them and were victorious. That was in a village called Kāya, but is now called Kāya Fūngu Furbi Ribā.⁹⁴ It is a distance of four hours' walk from Kāya to Ribā.⁹⁵ The Banū Qays Ghaylān had no power over the Kushūr by reason of those arrows of iron. At first, they had arrows of wood.⁹⁶ Up till now, the Kushūr have not departed from Kāya, that is in memory of their victory over the Benū Qays Ghaylān in that place. The Kushūr dwelt there and made it their home and bred children and had companions⁹⁷ from the people of Basāsa. They swore mutual treaties [each] with a tribe of the Arabs in Basāsa, the Giryamāwī with the Jalandānī—those who are called Kilindīni, a child's error—and the MChūnī⁹⁸ with the tribe of Kilifi. One could talk a long time about that.⁹⁹ This is a well-known custom obviously, and God is witness to what I say. But the WaDīngu, the WaSifi, the WaJimba¹⁰⁰ and the Mlūngu continued in flight from the Banū Qays Ghaylān in front of the people of Shungwūya and the Giryamāwī, and they reached there on the shore of the sea Ṭīwī and Ṭanga, and there were there the Zanj known as WaTundūwī.¹⁰¹ The Bājūni settled on the shore of the sea towards Shungwāya and Kisimāyu. The Bānū Qays Ghaylān made agreement to buy and sell and at

93 Ḥatrān. ms L has حتران (*ḥatrān*) whereas ms K has خزان (*khazān*). The latter relates to the Kiswahili *mhunzi*—smith.

94 كايه فونغ قرب رباء Kāya Fūngu Furbi Rabā'i. We are not sure of the spelling of this in European letters. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 332) says Kaya Fungo is about 20km from Rabai where J.L. Krapf established his mission. In Swahili, it means “the village of fasting”; *kaya* = sacred/religious settlement/village; *fungu* = heap of sandbanks, shoals, reefs; perhaps it should be read as *fungo* =fast, secure; *furbi* = ??? or *qurbi*: Should it be read as Rabai or Ribe? Groves (1964, vol. 2, p. 288) places Ribe 16 miles north-west of Mom-basa.

95 Ribā. This seems to indicate Ribe.

96 Wood. The Arabic word is حطية which really means “firewood”. He should have written خشبية. See ms K note 65.

97 Companions. The text has ويصاحبوا اصحاباً. This seems to refer to the arrangement under the treaties of mutual protective patronage between the coastal Arabs and the Bantu.

98 MChūnī. ms L has مچون whereas ms K has مشون. The writer is not very consistent in his name-forms. He sometimes uses the singular Bantu prefix, and sometimes the plural prefix, indiscriminately.

99 One could talk a long time. For the relationship between the Swahili tribes and the Bantu tribes, see the Introduction to al-Mazrū'i, *History*, p. 13 f. See also ms K note 46.

100 WaJimba. Perhaps this should be WaShimba. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 332 n. 2) suggests either WaZimba or WaJibana.

101 WaTundūwī. ms K at this point refers to people called WaTūdī. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 266 n. 1) suggests that the name should be WaTuzi. It seems that WaTundūwi applies to the same tribal group. See Allen 1993 p. 105: “Tundwa”.

times they were friendly and at times they fought, until the Somalis came to the land of Juba and the Bānū Qays Ghaylān disappeared¹⁰² and the Bajūni were after that at rest.¹⁰³

Chapter (*Faṣl*)

In the year 75[/694–695] came the Arab *wāli* (governor) called ‘Amr bin al-‘Āṣ from Syria. He was one of the *wālis* of Mu‘āwiya bin Sufiyān,¹⁰⁴ but some say the *wāli* was Mūsa bin ‘Umar of the Banū Ḥath‘am,¹⁰⁵ who was also one of the *wālis* of ‘Abd al-Mālik bin Marwān,¹⁰⁶ making for the shore of the Indian Ocean, and he landed at Maqdishū and at Kilwa and wished [to exact] the *kharāj* from the people of the country, and they paid it to him. He taught the people to read the Qur‘ān and religion and built a strong fortress at Kilwa in which was a quantity of armaments. They were obedient from the first to the last of them until the government of the Benū Umayya disappeared from Damascus of Syria in 148[/765–766],¹⁰⁷ and only in Andalus did the name of that government remain.¹⁰⁸ The last of them was called Muḥammad bin ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.¹⁰⁹ In the year 149 [765–766] the emissary of the ‘Abbāsid government came to the sultans in Maqdishū, Mārka, Barāwa, Faza, Sīwī, Bata, Munda (that is the one whose people are from the Yaman in particular, and it is called now Manda [after a town] which is in the Yaman still inhabited), Ṭāqa¹¹⁰ (which is

102 In the 1960s, the Banū Qays Ghaylān were much in evidence in the region of of the Wapokomo under the name of “Orma” (Oromo). They caused the Wakomo great inconvenience by forming oval-shaped kraals for their cattle in the midst of agricultural land.

103 Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 332 n. 3) remarks that this is a useful piece of evidence as to the movements of the Galla and the Somālis and their relative positions in the area of the Bājūn.

104 Mu‘āwiya bin Sufiyān 41/661–660/689.

105 Mūsa bin ‘Umar of the Banū Ḥath‘am. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 266 n. 5, 333 n. 2) points out that this contradicts MS K, and suggests that it is a good example of how a local tradition will change to attribute the exploits of people of lesser importance to those of greater importance.

106 ‘Abd al-Mālik bin Marwān 65/685–686/705.

107 The dynasty came to an end in 132/750. See Abū Ja‘far M. b. Jarīr al-Ṭabari, *Annales (Tarikh al-rusul wa-l-mulūk)*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1879–1901, vol. 3, pp. 49 f.

108 Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties*, pp. 11–13.

109 Muḥammad bin ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (r. 414/1024–416/1025) may have been the last of the six members of the Umayyad family who held the caliphate 1009–1031. See Watt 1956, pp. 81 ff.; Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties*, p. 11.

110 Ṭāqa. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 333 n. 4) says that this refers to Takaungu near Kilifi. Since

Ṭaqa above Jidda near Biṣṭam, an inhabited village whose people are *sharīfs* from the line of al-Mahdī, so they are shaykhs of the ‘Amūdiyyīn),¹¹¹ Āmu, Ūzi, Malūdi, Uyūmbu (in Swahili, and its origin is Yūmbu in Arabic from Yūmbu in the Yaman, and the people of the village are Yamani), Kilifi (which is the name of a tribe), Basāsa (which is Arabic from the *kunya* of Makka al-Mukarrama as we mentioned above), Zinjibār (derived from Barr al-Zanj),¹¹² Kilwa and Waybu.¹¹³ The *amīr* who was sent spoke in language that delighted the heart of the hearer through the sweetness of the *wazīr*’s tongue. His name was Yaḥya bin ‘Umar al-‘Anazī¹¹⁴ from the people of ‘Irāq. He gained his purpose and completed his business and returned to Baghdād and reported to the Khalīfa Abū Ja‘far ‘Abdallah al-Manṣūr¹¹⁵ that the people of our country were obedient without doubt and gave him the *kharāj* he had received. ‘Abdallah al-Manṣūr was extremely happy.

In 189[766–767] *amīr al-mu‘minīn* in Baghdād was Abū ‘Abdallah Ḥarūn al-Rashīd.¹¹⁶ The Zunūj were disloyal to him and did not pay him *kharāj*. He sent his *amīr* to the country of the Zunūj with soldiers, and they removed whoever was an Arab *walī*, and installed *walīs* from the Persians¹¹⁷ in the villages and towns from Maqdishū to Kilwa. They were [or, had been] for a period in honour

Takaungu is of very recent construction, it is doubtful that this is the case, though it is still possible that the Mazārī’a kept the old name when they built the village in the nineteenth century. “Takaungu” is named in accordance with the action of the member of the Mazārī’a who “stayed behind”. It was a name intended to be a Mazari challenge to the Bū Sa‘īdīs. This is more probably Takwa on Manda Island.

111 ‘Amūdiyyīn. People of ‘Amu (Lamu).

112 Zinjibār. زنجبار. Derived from بر الزنج—“land of the Black”.

113 Waybu. ويب. May be linked to Webi—Shebelle; see Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 288 n. 1; Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, p. 65: “Wayunbili in Lamu?”; P.W. Romero, *History, Society and Family in an East African City*. Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener, 1997, p. 85: Wayumbe in Lamu.

114 *Yaḥya bin ‘Umar al-‘Anazī*. This agrees with MS K. This man comes from the same tribe as the poet Abū ‘I-‘Atāhiya; see Nicholson, *Literary History*, pp. 296–303.

115 Abū Ja‘far ‘Abdallah al-Manṣūr (r. 136/754–158/775).

116 Abū ‘Abdallah Ḥarūn al-Rashīd (r. 170/786–193/809).

117 Persians. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 334 n. 1) refers readers to U. Monneret de Villard, “Note sulle influenze asiatiche nell’ Africa Orientale”, *Revista degli Studi Orientali* 17 (1938): 303–349. See Chittick, “Peopling of the East African Coast”, p. 34. Also A.Y. Lodhi, “The Iranian Presence in East Africa.” In *Haft kongeree wa haft murraka* (Elegant Message and Eternal Beatitude) ed. by M.A. Khajeh & M. Assemi. Uppsala 2007 pp. 267–274. Horton (*Shanga: Archaeology*, pp. 423 ff.) refers to Shīrāzī Islam in relation to Portuguese sources. It could be argued that the reference here to Ḥarūn al-Rashīd’s policy of replacing local Arab rulers with Persians is sufficient evidence of their influence in the rise of Persian religious elements on the coast.

and good position. Among them were the people of Kīwī,¹¹⁸ some of the people of Ūzi and Bata, some of the people of Basāsa, all the people of the Green Island (i.e. Pemba), and some of the people of Kilwa.

They are the Persians from Shīrāz and Shīrāz is a large town. The office of *walī* was settled in favour of the Persians in the land of the Zanj for a long period, but after some years the Persians were treacherous and did not send the *kharāj* to *amīr al-mu'minīn* Ḥarūn al-Rashīd until the *amīr* died in 209 [824–825]¹¹⁹ and Abū 'l-'Abbās 'Abdallah al-Ma'mūn became *khalīfa* and remained settled in Baghdād until the year 212 [837–838].¹²⁰ (Then) appeared the doctrine from *amīr al-mu'minīn* about the creation of the Qur'ān, and rebellion arose in Baghdād¹²¹ and al-Ma'mūn's position grew weak and they [i.e. the Swahili people] disobeyed. He prepared a numerous army to the size of 50,000 soldiers, and they reached Malūdi, because they had written a manifesto to Baghdād and gave al-Ma'mūn to understand, "You allege that the Qur'ān is created, but we on that matter disobey you." When the army arrived, the people of Malūdi¹²² fled to the *zanāgil*¹²³ and remained there. When the army returned to Baghdād (but it is said that the army was from Egypt) when the army returned, they re-appeared and returned to their houses in Malūdi, and accepted the *khalīfa's* opinion and paid the *kharāj* from the past years as a penalty upon them [imposed] by *amīr al-mu'minīn*, and the population remained in obedience.

Story (*Hikāya*)

Those who were in the country above Basāsa descended on Basāsa and filled it. Its people and others suffered from famine. Then the people from the country said, "We will return to our own country even though we are to perish." So the people of Basāsa said, "Wait until war becomes obvious." *Kwa sababu ni vita hizi*¹²⁴ in the Swahili language (i.e. because this is war), and Basāsa was

118 Kīwī. The text has كويو . Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 304, 334. See also MS K note 58.

119 Note discrepancy with dates in footnote 160.

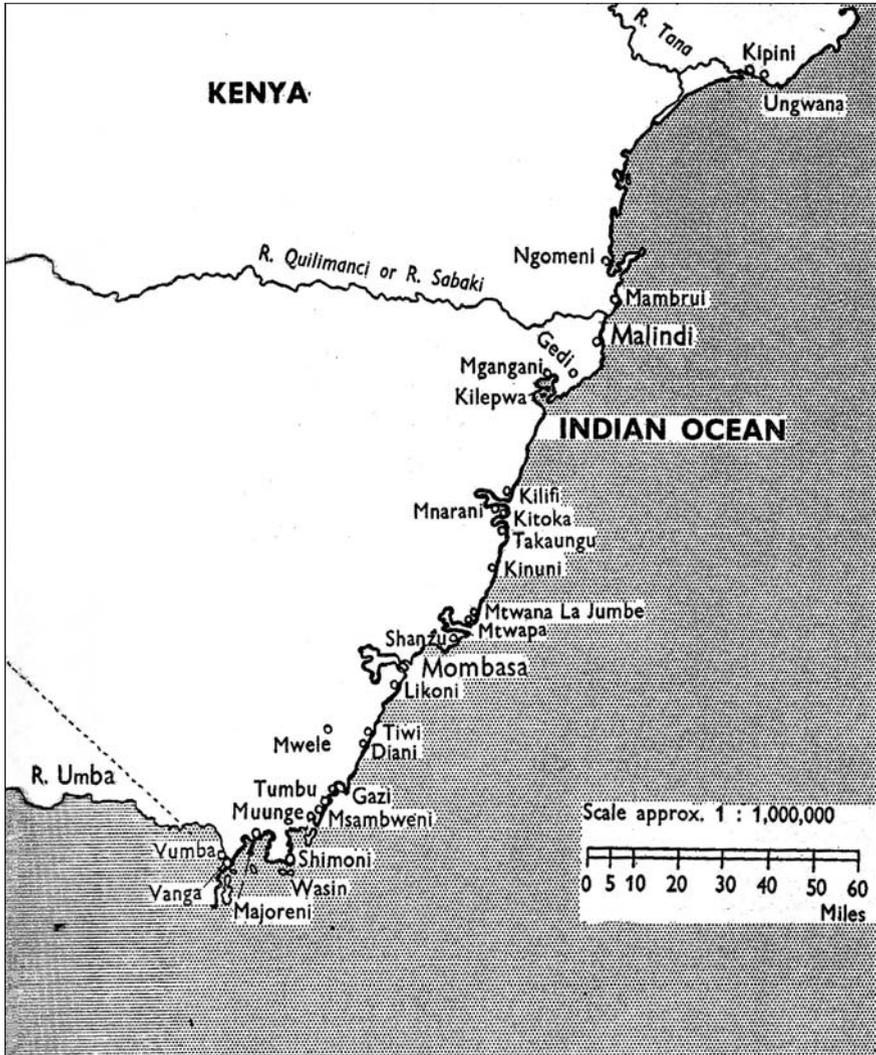
120 There is a discrepancy in the date. Al-Ma'mūn ruled from 198/813 to 218/833. See Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties*, p. 7; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 297.

121 This is the doctrine that led to the emergence of the Mu'tazila, which gave rise to the *mīḥna* in which the hero of "Sunni" resistance was Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal. (164/780–241/855).

122 Malūdi. MS K has ملندی—Malindi however the two MSS alternate between the two forms of the name, i.e. between ملود and ملندی e.g. Cerulli 1957, vol. 1, pp. 239 and 305.

123 *Zanāgil*—زناجل—jungle/*nyika* thornbush country.

124 The text has كو سبب نقيت .



MAP 7 The coast of Kenya
J.S. KIRKMAN 1966, P. 87

named Mvīta,¹²⁵ which means “war” and “fighting”. Originally it was called Kūnguwiya (and is still called so) till now.

As the poet said:

ūnguwiya cha Mngūmu¹²⁶ Mvīta Mji¹²⁷ wa Kāle¹²⁸

That was in the year 203[/818–819]. Then the Turks¹²⁹ prevented the *khalīfas* [from interfering in] the affairs of our land because they [i.e. the Swahili people] were obedient to the Lord of the Universe, “So how will you take their wealth without paying out for their widows, paupers and orphans. You have no way of doing that, so if you take [*kharāj*] you do them a great wrong, and if anyone assaults them they will not get help from you because of the distance between you.” So they stopped taking the *kharāj*. Then the Turks came in two ships and arrived in Munda, Bata and Siwī and begot children there and returned to their own country without doing anything objectionable.

Chapter (*Faṣl*)

In the year 906[/1500–1501],¹³⁰ the Naṣāra came with six sailing ships and their leader was called Waskū Dighāma. He passed Zinjibār and they accepted him, and came to Basāsa, but they resisted him and they fought a fierce war. One ship

125 Basāsa was named Mvīta. The text has *مڤيت* *mivita* with *kasra*. *Vita* does not usually have a plural in Swahili, so the *kasra* may be a scribal error or may represent a local form.

126 The text has *جمغوم* -*jamngūmu*. It seems like *ج* is a misprint for *ج*.

127 *Mji*. The text has *مڤج*—*mibih* for *مڤج*, correctly recorded in Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 307 line 4.

128 The line means “Kūnguwiya is Mngume’s, Mvita the old town.” This line is similar to a line in a poem by the Mombasa poet Muyaka b. Ḥājji al-Ghassāni (1776–1840) “Gongwa nda Mwana Mkisi, Mvita Mji wa Kale”, which means “Gongwa is Mwana Mkisi’s, Mvita the old town!” Muyaka uses “Gongwa” in this line but elsewhere in the poem he has “K’ongowaya”, which today is the famous Mombasa market. See Harries, *Swahili Poetry*, pp. 208, 212 ff. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 268 n. 2) says that the name is vocalized KUGUWI, but the Arabic can quite easily be vocalized KUNGUWIYA. Harries (*Swahili Poetry*, pp. 208 f.) uses the form “Kongowea”.

129 Turks. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 268 n. 3) seems, in his note upon the Turks, in *MS K*, to be speaking of the Ottomans. The Turks referred to here, however, are the Seljuqs (429/1038–590/1194), who occupied Baghdād in 447/1055 ousting the Buwayhids (320/932–454/1062). The latter had dominated the caliphs, who were little better than puppets in their hands. The Ottomans only came on the historical scene after the Caliphate had finally been destroyed by Hulagu in 656/1258. See also Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, *MS K* p. 268.

130 Vasco da Gama arrived at Malindi on 15 April 1498. The author leaves a gap of about six

was destroyed but there remained five. He came to Malūdi and they accepted him. When he came near to the people of Malūdi and anchored the ships, the people of Malūdi had received news of the Naṣāra and the fighting in Basāsa, so when they saw the ships they embarked in their boats,¹³¹ and came up towards the ships decked in their best garments and approached the ships. And when they got close, they raised their turbans¹³² from their heads, their hands being empty of weapons. When the Naṣāra saw the people of Malūdi in that state, they let down a ladder and beckoned to them to come up, and they entered a great ship in which was Waskū Dighāma, and he received them and welcomed them and called for drink, but only a few of them drank. Then Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān al-Baūri said to Waskū Dighāma, “We heard news of you, then we saw you arriving in our country, so we have come in our boats pleased at your arrival, and we conform to what you desire of us, except that you have your religion and we have ours.”¹³³ Waskū Dighāma replied, “Welcome to you”, and he swore that he never entered upon the subject of religion.¹³⁴ Waskū Dighāma disembarked at the village of Malūdi and saw the houses and the white [-washed?] rooms and its people in a state of cleanliness, and he was pleased at that. Then he said, “What is the name of this village?” They replied, “Malūdi.” Waskū Dighāma said,

centuries. That period, before the arrival of the Portuguese, was marked by increasing contacts with Hadhramaut, Dhufar and the influence of the Ibadhi group which in the East African setting seems to have brought in a milder and less dogmatic interpretation of Islam. Knappert (*Four Centuries of Swahili Verse*, pp. 103f.) indicates that one aspect of these development can be traced to the *Hamziya* poem of 1062/1652 by Aidarusi b. Uthayma. It was based on the Egyptian Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Abdallah b. M. b. Sa‘īd Dilasī, known as al-Būsīrī (d. A.D. 1296) See also MS K note 95.

- 131 Boats. امواش—*amwāsh*. The Arabic word only appears here in the plural. It is in fact ماشية—*māshīya*, not as Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 335) says, *mashuwa*. The correct plural would be مواشي—*mawāshī*. There has appeared an initial *alif* in the Arabic text which we think is an inadvertent error. There is a word *mashua* in Swahili given in Johnson Oxford Swahili/English Dictionary q.v. See also the reference to this word in the list of “KiSwahilisms” below. See Prins, *Sailing from Lamu*, Plate 28, pp. 74, 78, where he states that the term *jahazi* denotes a sea-going coaster whereas *mashua* refers to a smaller coastal craft. The term is of Hindustani origin and is used in the Persian Gulf, ‘Uman etc. See also S. Beckerleg, “Continuity and Adaptation by Contemporary Swahili Boat Builders in Kenya”, in *Ships and the Development of Maritime Technology in the Indian Ocean*, ed. D. Parlin & R. Barnes. London: Routledge Curzon, 2002, pp. 259–277.
- 132 Turbans. The Arabic word is *‘imāma*. This word is used in the Yaman for the Zaydis’ turbans, often very ornate. The last ruling *imām* owned about three hundred of them.
- 133 You have your religion. See Qur’ān 109:6.
- 134 Never entered upon the subject of religion. This may have been the case with Vasco da Gama himself, but we must remember that he was followed not very much later by Francis Xavier (1542) who had rather different ideas and priorities.

“I hope from you that you will accept a name, and that you will set the name of my wife, for her name is very close in form to the name of the village. That will be a joy to us and to you.” The name of his wife was Linda, and they named the village like that; but they never left out the *mīm*, so the *mīm* became the beginning of the name, and it turned out as Malindī, and to this day it is called Malindī.¹³⁵ Then he made for India.

Then he returned after a long while¹³⁶ and appeared and fought with Basāsa, and conquered and gained possession, and bound the sultan of Basāsa and sent him to India, and he took one of the leaders of Malindi and he was made *wālī* of Basāsa instead of the deposed sultan. So they are there now called WaMalindī, and their tribe is the Baūrī tribe from the Banū ‘Anaza ibn Rabī‘a bin Nizār bin Mu‘ad.¹³⁷ So the rule of the Portuguese became established and they built houses and forts in the land of Basāsa. There arose one of them in Basāsa as ruler in it called Būmbīsa, (it is also said Bumbās) and it means “a good voice”. The people of Basāsa pursued the matter (or, obeyed the order) and named it Mumbāsa up till now. *Ghavarna*¹³⁸ used to live near the fort of Būmbīsa,¹³⁹ so it was called Mitā ya Kavani, and up to now they say Kavani, and Mji wa Kale, which means the ward, which was the original part of the town, is there. So it

135 The origin of the name Malindi. This strange tale is woven around the presence of a single letter—*mīm*. The author ignores the fact that the root “*lindi*” in Swahili has the meaning “deep water” and is the same as if found in Kilindini, Mombasa. This fact would appear a more probable explanation for the name than a connection with the purported name of Vasco da Gama’s wife. Vasco da Gama married Catarina de Ataide, a cousin of Francisco de Almeida in 1501. His mother’s name was Isabel Sodré. This would support the claim that the anecdote has no historical basis. See Strandes, *Portuguese Period*, pp. 341 f.

136 A long while. MS K has two years at this point. See footnote 101. It may refer to Vasco da Gama’s second voyage in 1502, but records do not indicate that he called at Malindi at that time.

137 WaMalindī. This group have according to this author two relationships. First, they are Bauris and therefore connected with the old sultans of Pate. But second, they are among those Swahili tribal groups that came late to Mombasa, and were therefore regarded as interlopers. The WaMalindī were the one section of the nine tribes of Mombasa who were friendly with the Mazārī‘a, possibly because the Mazārī‘a were also later-comers and opposed by the nine tribes, particularly the WaKilifi. But the writer of this MS was probably a Bājūni and therefore had a fellow-feeling with the Bauris of Pate, who seem to have been connected with the Nabahina. There was definite rivalry between the Nabahina and the Mazārī‘a after the events leading to the Battle of Shela. The complexity of these intertribal relationships is quite remarkable and difficult to unravel.

138 *Ghavarna*—عُفْرَانَا—*ghavarna*. This is of course “governor”, corrupted into *Kavani* in colloquial Swahili. On the next line the text has كُفَانَا—*kavana*. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 336 n. 1) indicates that the term means “the Portuguese Quarter”; see Guillain, *Documents*, vol. 3, pp. 252, 255 f.

139 Fort Būmbīsa. Presumably this refers to the fort in Mombasa.

was called Mji wa Kale, I mean the Old Town. The Portuguese dwelt there with honour and might, and the districts were filled with soldiers from the first of them to the last of them, and they were at ease and obtained what they sought. When they were established they brought three kinds of silver currency to our country. Before the Portuguese, there were in our country currency of silver, gold and bronze, *dirham*, *dīnār* and *qarsh*. The said *qarsh* was of bronze. But when the Naṣāra came they brought their own currency with them, silver and gold without bronze. When this currency came it was called by the name of the *qarsh*¹⁴⁰ that existed before (they came), and the names for the currencies became silver *qarsh*, gold *qarsh*, half *qarsh* and quarter *qarsh*, and some of the Arabs used the term *rīyāl*.¹⁴¹ So when war occurred between the Portuguese

140 *Qarsh*. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 336) renders this “piaster”. It should read *qirsh* which is 1/100 of the Egyptian pound. See Horton 1996 p. 22 note 6 where he mentions coins issued by Jafar b. ‘Abd al-Malik son of Caliph ‘Abd al-Malik (65/685–686/705) who supposedly founded a number of settlements along the coast. See Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, p. 167; H. Brown (“The Coins”, in Horton *Shanga: Archaeology*, pp. 368 ff.) mentions silver coins from Shanga (Lamu) minted there. From late tenth century Kilwa, Zanzibar, Maia and Mogadishu minted copper coins. Locally produced silver coins from Mtambwe Mkuu, Pemba; irregularity makes it inappropriate to fit them into the *dirham* system, but they may represent 1/16th of a *dirham* (ibid., p. 372). Similarly with Sind coins. There is some Fāṭimid influence 297/567–909/1171 on Manda issue coins dated to second half of the tenth century or earlier; see Strandes, *Portuguese Period*, pp. 93 ff.; Middleton (*World of the Swahili*, pp. 38, 206 n. 26) mentions coins minted at Shanga, Kilwa, etc. as well as those that came in from other places such as China, Byzantium etc.; Freeman-Grenville (*Medieval History*) mentions coins from Somalia (pp. 176 f.); ‘Abbāsīd silver *dirham*—al-Mu‘tamīd 256/870—al-Mu‘tadīd 279/892—al-Muktafī 289/902—al-Muktadīr 295/908 (p. 189); Kilwa had copper coins similar to the Portuguese *ceptis*—4 coins = one “real” (pp. 191, 218). Original in *Documentos sobre os Portugueses em Moçambique e na África Central 1497–1840*. Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1962, vol. 1, pp. 528 f.; n. 95 Sayf b. Sultan al-Ya‘rabi (r. c. 1104/1692–1123/1711) Ibn Razīk 2010 pp. 92 f. Wilkinson, *History*, pp. 13, 220 f. It is more likely that they introduced the new coinage rather than the British East India Company possibly in connection with Shaḥdād b. Shaḥdī al-Bulūshī’s mission noted below.

141 *Riyāl*. The word “*riyal*” is the arabicized form of “*real*”, a coinage first issued by Pedro the Cruel of Castile (r. 1350–1359). It was adopted by Portugal and continued there till the twentieth century. It followed Vasco da Gama to the East African coast. It was used by Western merchants in the Ottoman Empire and in Persia because it was more stable than the local currencies. As early as 1609 A.D. it was adopted in Persia as a name for its currency and spread to the East African coast as well. But it bore no relationship to the Portuguese coinage. The name came to be applied in the Middle East and Ethiopia to the original Austrian *thaler* or dollar, and up to the present is widely used as an unofficial commercial currency. Though it occurred at first in various forms, it came to be minted always with the effigy, arms and legend of Maria Theresa and dated 1780. The writer here refers to the Portuguese *real*. See Freeman-Grenville, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 2nd Ed. Vol. 2 pp. 563, 599.

and¹⁴² they brought their *qurūsh* and half and quarter, but their *qurūsh* were less [in value] than the *qurūsh* of the Portuguese, and also the halves and quarters, and they used to say *rub' siringh*¹⁴³ and the second *rub' ya mzinga*.¹⁴⁴ The Portuguese currency disappeared and there remained the ... currency till now seen in the districts, but without the original value.

In the year 1086[1675/6], there came the *amīr* of *Qā'id al-Arḍ* named Sālim al-Ṣārimī and fought the Portuguese and drove them out of Maqdishū, Mārka, Barāwa, Bata, Manda and Āmu. Sālim al-Ṣārimī returned to 'Umān happy and pleased, and told the *imām* about the Naṣara and that they were doing ugly things, "and now the Muslims pray for you a long life because you have lifted from them humiliation and tribulation with the help of Him Who hears complaints." The *imām* Sayf bin Sulṭān al-Ya'rūbī was heart-contented, and left the districts to their people. Sayf bin Sulṭān was ascetic, learned, pious and venerable. He used to say that sovereign power was God's,¹⁴⁵ and "We hope from God justice for the subjects." Had he been desirous of the rule he would not have left the districts to their people after great trouble and loss.

The *imām* had a *baghla*¹⁴⁶ that used to travel every year to the Sawāhil and seek for information about the districts and about who was doing wrong in

142 These gaps are filled in by Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 336) with "the East India Company". He gives no further explanation as to why he has introduced it. Coupland, *East Africa and Its Invaders*, p. 53. The East India Company was not founded until 1664. It is more likely to have been between the Portuguese and the 'Umānis/Turks. According to the *Kawkab al-durriya*, the Turks appeared repeatedly from 962 to 1560 to drive out the Portuguese. See J.S. Trimmingham, "The Arab Geographers and the East African Coast", in H.N. Chittick & R.I. Rotberg (eds), *East Africa and the Orient*. New York: Africana, 1975, 115–146, Appendix 1, "Notes on Arabic Sources of Information on East Africa", 272–283, p. 282, who refers to Sidī 'Alī Re'is ('Alī b. al-Ḥusayn) Muḥiṭ from 1554, showing that the Turks were familiar with the East African coast. See also Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 149, 150, 174; F.J. Berg, "The Swahili Community of Mombasa 1500–1900", *Journal of African History* 9 (1968): 35–56. J.S. Berg, "The Coast from the Portuguese Invasion to the Rise of the Zanzibar Sultanate", in B.A. Ogot & J.A. Kieran (eds), *Zamani: A Survey of East African History*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969, 119–141. Strandes, *Portuguese Period*, pp. 146 ff.; Coupland, *East Africa and Its Invaders*, pp. 58 ff.; Allen, *Swahili Origins*, pp. 116, 137, 187, 188, 189.

143 *Rub' siringh*—ربيع سرنغ. See Sacleux, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 1, p. 779: "robo serenge = quart de piaster au taux le plus bas (31 à 25 pesa)".

144 *Rub' ya mzinga*—يامزنج. See Sacleux, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 1, p. 779: "robo mzinga = quart de piaster au taux le plus élevé (30 à 36 pesa)".

145 Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 336) quotes here Qur'an 6:73; 35:12/13; 39:4/6; and 44:1.

146 *Baghla*. A kind of cargo ship now extinct in the Indian Ocean. See Prins, *Sailing from Lamu*, p. 280; Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, p. 139: "baghlah"—"Sea Cow" (mule) + facing picture. Mazrū'i, *History*, p. 113 n. 79.

them and who was acting justly. There was in the land of Mumbāsa¹⁴⁷ a ruler called Būmbās (he who wished his name to be the name of the town, so Basāsa was named Mūmbāsa). When he fornicated one day and the matter became evident to the people of Mumbāsa, they complained of him to the skipper of the *imām* Sayf bin Sulṭān's *baghla*, which was called *Faṭḥ al-Islām*. When this word reached the *imām* he got very angry, and said to the *amīr* Shaḥdād bin Shaḥdī al-Balūshī,¹⁴⁸ "Have you heard what the people of Mumbāsa said?" Shaḥdād replied, "Yes, my Lord. I am waiting for you to give your command. To hear is to obey, first God and then you, my Lord." He ordered his *amīr* to travel to Mumbāsa on the pretext of selling and purchasing that he might study the methods of war in view of the strength of the fort that was there. The *amīr* Shaḥdād bin Shaḥdī purchased garments and rice and dates and sailed in the *baghla* named *Faṭḥ al-Islām*, and made for Mūmbāsa. When he arrived at the port of Mūmbāsa, they knew in the district that the *imām's baghla* had arrived, and they gathered and landed what he had bought, and the *amīr* landed by himself and then rented a house. He studied the matter of the complainant and landed at night so that the Naṣāra should not know the affairs of the *amīr* and the one who complained to the *imām*. The *amīr* Shaḥdād was selling his merchandise cheaply, and the town gathered to him and loved him, and he desired for them the justice of the *imām* and he was angry and loving for God's sake, and the people of Mūmbāsa told him of the things that the governor¹⁴⁹ of Mūmbāsa had done. That was in the year 1089[/1678–1679].¹⁵⁰ Then the *amīr* Shaḥdād returned to 'Umān and Muskat and told the *imām* Sayf bin Sulṭān al-Ya'rubī what had happened, and what would happen by agreement with the people of the town and their way of life[?], and the prison of the fort and its

147 Mumbāsa. MS K spells the name ممباسة whereas MS L spells it مومباسة. As a result where the texts coincide both spellings are found together.

148 See Taj Mohammad Breseeg, "Baloch Nationalism and its Origin and Development". PhD diss. University of London, 2001, pp. 79 f. n. 36.

149 Governor. The text has حاكم—*ḥākīm* to differentiate it from the Portuguese "*governador*" variously transliterated غفرنز, غفانة, and كفانة. See Kawkab *al-durriyya* footnote 387.

150 Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 337 n. 1) has made an error here, reading 1089 as 1079. He says it is caused by a confusion with the date of the expedition of Sālim al-Ṣārimī in 1076. But in fact MS K here has 1086, only three years before the date 1089 given here. It may simply be a confusion between 9(9) and 6(6). The dates 1089/1678–1679 correspond more closely with Pedro de Almeida, the Portuguese viceroy of India, who came from Goa via Mozambique to attack Pate. In January 1679, the Arabs drove the Portuguese from the area. Strandes, *Portuguese Period*, p. 231 f. also gives 1688 (p. 238); also Coupland, *East Africa and Its Invaders*, pp. 66 f. The events referred to relate to the final struggle for Mombasa from 1696.

strength. They travelled to Mūmbāsa in sailing ships and transports loaded with food and men. When they arrived near Mūmbāsa, the Portuguese thought that they were the people of the season (i.e. their own suppliers arriving with the north-east monsoon from the Arabian [Persian] Gulf). Then when the night came the ships entered Kilindini Creek and some of the soldiers disembarked and entered Mūmbāsa unawares with [the co-operation of] the people of the town, and they waged war and fought fiercely. The Naṣāra entered the fort and shut the gate, and the Naṣāra became besieged in the fort for months. Then the *amīr* Shaḥdād made ladders and awaited for Sunday night, and they made for the western side of the fort and climbed up on them, and the Naṣāra were asleep and they killed [some of] them, but they woke up from sleep and fought, and the Naṣāra fled and were ousted. The Arabs followed them, where they entered into the gardens, and killed them there and they perished. In those days, their sailing ships used to come from their province to the Sawāḥil every six months. They prayed for succour but got none for the space of four months or more. Then there arrived a ship in which were soldiers. They anchored their ship at a distance and the Naṣāra came ashore and made war and they fought for the space of five years. The Arabs gained possession of the fort (some say, for nine years). The *amīr* Shaḥdād bin Shaḥdī dwelt in Mūmbāsa, and in some years he used to make for Muskat and then return to Mūmbāsa.¹⁵¹

In the year 1116[/1704–1705],¹⁵² the Imām Sayf bin Sulṭān died. He had built the house in which to conceal his business. Sulṭān bin Sayf bin Sulṭān al-Yar‘abī became *imām* after his father in the land of ‘Umān. When Sulṭān bin Sayf became *imam*, he wrote a letter to the *amīr* Shaḥdād to leave Mūmbāsa to its people, because Mūmbāsa was an expense without profit and the wages of the soldiers were paid from Muskat. The *amīr* pressed Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān and received a guarantee of all the soldiers’ wages from him, and that from the duties, and he paid the debt that the *amīr* Shaḥdād bin Shaḥdī ‘l-Balūshī had incurred. Then after that the *amīr* Shaḥdād set out for Muskat. Mumbāsa was under Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān al-Mazrū‘ī by way of hire to pay the soldiers for a complete year and he was made *wālī* at the end of it in the year 1152[/1739–

151 This account is rather confused.

152 Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 338 n. 1) finds MSS K and L to agree on this date and deduces from this a “general local tradition” (see footnote 126). Wilkinson (*Imamate Tradition*, p. 13) gives the date of his death as 1711. See also *ibid.*, p. 118: “So enormous reshuffling of land rights accrued in the Ya‘ariba period and the Ya‘arabi Imam Sayf b. Sultan 1 is reputed to have owned a third of the land and water rights in Oman, hence his *sobriquet*, *Qa‘id al-Ardh*” (see also *ibid.*, p. 221). Ibn Razīk (*History*, p. xxviii) has “scourge of the Arabs” (also pp. xli, 149; p. 93 has 1123/1711).

1740].¹⁵³ So Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān al-Mazrū‘ī¹⁵⁴ remained as *wālī* in the land of Mumbāsa, and his governorship was established without any untoward circumstance because he followed the policy of the *imām* Sayf bin Sulṭān al-Ya‘rubī. He was a man of fair complexion, of moderate stature, manly and modest, who loved people and preferred reconciliation.¹⁵⁵ Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān al-Mazrū‘ī died in the year 1159[/1746–1747], and was succeeded as *wālī*¹⁵⁶ by Mas‘ūd bin Nāṣir al-Mazrū‘ī.¹⁵⁷ His governorship became established in Mūmbāsa, Vanga¹⁵⁸ and Ṭanga.¹⁵⁹ He was a man of manliness and reserve, short of stature and fair of complexion, modest, learned and wise, watchful of authority and generous. Mas‘ūd bin Nāṣir al-Mazrū‘ī died in the year 1178[/1764–1765] and was succeeded as *wālī* in the land of Mūmbāsa by ‘Abdallah bin Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān. His governorship was established in the main,¹⁶⁰ but he was an extortionate man, liable to anger, a glutton and wine-bibber, shameless, and would command and boast of what was hateful.¹⁶¹ ‘Abdallah bin Muḥam-

153 See the comparative chronological table with the dating of A.H. Hardinge, *Diplomatist in the East*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1928, al-Mazrū‘ī, *History*, and *Kawkab al-durriyya*. Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 100; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, p. 13, Sulṭān b. Sayf b. Sulṭān al-Ya‘rubī (1123/1711–1131/1718).

154 Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān al-Mazrū‘ī. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 343. This account of how Muḥammad bin ‘Uthman gained the governorship of Mombasa (1152/1739–1159/1746) should be compared with those of Shaykh al-Amīn al-Mazrū‘ī *History*, pp. 6, 25, 38 f. n. 17, who gives 1143/1730–1157/1744, and of Shaykh Faḍil bin ‘Umari ‘l-Bauri *Kawkab al-durriyya*, p. 22, and also with the account of MS K. p. 35 (English version).

155 This short description of Muḥammad bin ‘Uthman’s appearance and character is in the tradition and style of al-Mas‘ūdī and other Arab historians. See al-Mazrū‘ī, *History*, pp. 34 ff. See footnote 142.

156 There is no mention at all of ‘Alī bin ‘Uthmān, Muḥammad’s brother, who ruled after him, according to al-Mazrū‘ī, *History*, pp. 42 ff. This writer makes no mention of Sese Rumbi’s rebellion and the imprisonment of Nāṣir bin ‘Abdullah, nor of the five Sayfs involved in the murder of Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān, nor does he make room for ‘Alī bin ‘Uthmān’s plot with the mysterious Mr Cook, to regain control of Mombasa. Nor do they mention Nāṣir bin ‘Abdullah as the first Mazrū‘ī *wālī*. It is very difficult to believe that they were not hiding these events, for they are supported by Captain Owen and Lt. Boteler in their accounts of Mombasa; and it is even harder to believe that they were Mazrū‘ī “inventions” contrived to enhance the image of their rule.

157 Mas‘ūd bin Nāṣir al-Mazrū‘ī. In MS K he is called Sa‘ūd bin Nāṣir; see Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 277 n. 1, p. 338 n. 3. See al-Mazrū‘ī, *History*, pp. 16, 52 ff. has his dates as 1168/1754–1193/1779. See Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, p. 380.

158 Vanga. The text has فنجا—*fangā* instead of فنغ. See MS K footnote 46.

159 Ṭanga. The text has طنجا ; p. 317 line 15 has تنغ.

160 In the main. The Arabic is جلا—*jullān*. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 339) says “duro parecchio”. Perhaps “for some time” or “in general” might be a good rendering.

161 ‘Abdallah bin Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān al-Mazrū‘ī. This description is in glaring contrast

mad bin ‘Uthmān al-Mazrū‘ī died in the year 1196[1781–1782]¹⁶² (one thousand, one hundred and ninety-six) and was succeeded as governor by Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān al-Mazrū‘ī. He was a fine man, brave, patient and clever, truthful, intrepid and forceful.¹⁶³ His governorship lasted for thirty-three years. He was covetous of authority and the people were scared of him if he was present [or, if he appeared]. He was the one who was called Kudūḥu¹⁶⁴ He made war on the people of Lamū and was defeated. Aḥmad bin Muḥammad died in the year 1229[1813–1814]¹⁶⁵ (one thousand two hundred and twenty-nine) and was succeeded as *wālī* by his son ‘Abdallah bin Ḥamad bin Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān al-Mazrū‘ī.¹⁶⁶ His governorship was established and he was a man of strong arms and massive shoulders, tall and with little power of judgement.¹⁶⁷ It was he who started building the barracks¹⁶⁸ in Lāmū. He completed a year in Lāmū but his secret intentions became known to the people of Lāmū, in particular to Zāhid bin Mngūmi ‘l-Lāmi ‘l-Makhzūmī.¹⁶⁹ The form of this event was as follows: ‘Abdallah bin Aḥmad bin Muḥammad al-Mazrū‘ī was building the barracks and passing the night on his *baghla*. The people of Lāmū had honoured him with many privileges from them, and the people of the town had come to him without argument and welcomed him and been hospitable to him by giv-

to Shaykh al-Amīn al-Mazrū‘ī’s description. (*History*, p. 59) where he is described as “of good character and far from a shaykh making war”, and he only ruled for two years. He was the sixth Mazrū‘ī *wālī*, whereas this MS makes him the third.

- 162 Cerulli notes that the date on ‘Abdallah bin Muḥammad’s tomb is A.H. 1197, but as the date is 1 Muḥarram, there is a slight difficulty in reconciling these two dates. See Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, p. 380.
- 163 Forceful. The Arabic is ذو بأس قوي. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 339) says “strong-minded”. See also al-Mazrū‘ī, *History*, pp. 59ff. Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān al-Mazrū‘ī d. 1229/1814.
- 164 *Kudūḥu* The text has كدوح, which Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 339) writes as *kuduhu*, reading the letter ح for ج. The ج is pronounced hard as in Egyptian speech. *ku* in Standard Swahili is an augmentative prefix, hence *kudugu* “big brother” as he “threw his weight around”. It is more likely to come from *kuduku/kuduhu* = “good for nothing, boring”. See Sacleux, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 1, p. 445: A common expression in Kidzalamo meaning “worthless”.
- 165 This agrees with the date on his tomb See Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, p. 380.
- 166 ‘Abdallah bin Ḥamad bin Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān al-Mazrū‘ī 1229/1814–1238/1823; al-Mazrū‘ī (*History*, pp. 73) has “‘Abdallah b. Ahmad”; see also Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, p. 380.
- 167 With little power of judgement. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 339) says “di vista corte”, i.e. short-sighted, but we think the phrase means “little of opinion”.
- 168 Barracks. Text has جزيرة - *jazīrah*. See MS K footnote 164.
- 169 Zāhid bin Mngūmi ‘l-Lāmi ‘l-Makhzūmī. This story appears in all the MSS, the only differences being the result of the point of view of the various writers. The writer(s) of *Kitāb al-Zunūj* are of course hostile to the Mazārī’a, K more so than L.

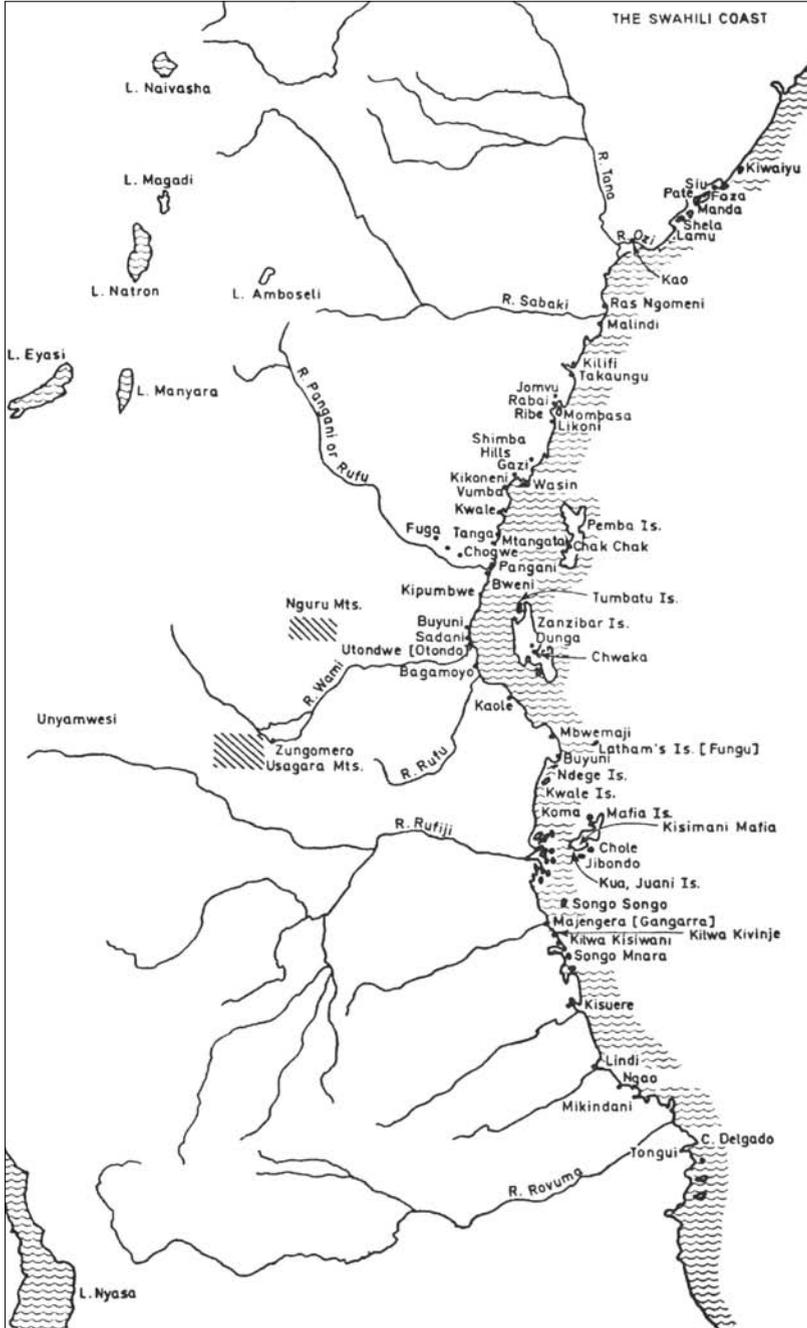
ing him a house for the dwelling of their *wālī*. He cared nothing for that, but [only cared] to return to his *baghla*. When the shaykh of the town knew that he was guided by another objective, they consulted and Zāhid bin Mngūmi said, “I will tell you all the information about him in three days.” Zāhid bin Mngūmi went to work to show up the position of ‘Abdallah bin Muḥammad. Zāhid bin Mngūmi sent him as a present two (jute) sacks of rice, two head of sheep and two jars of ghee. He gave them to Mūsa and sent [him] to him. Zāhid bin Mngūmi also wrote a letter which he forged: “From the Sulṭān of Bata to ‘Abdallah bin Aḥmad al-Mazrū‘ī. After greetings, what has reached you is such-and-such by the hand of your servant. Be pleased to accept that. But since the day you came to Lāmū I have not heard your decisions nor your commands at all. What is the matter? I think that Mwāna Mkū bint Mūsa has deceived you. Beware of the people of Lāmū.” ‘Abdallah bin Aḥmad al-Mazrū‘ī wrote an answer to the sultan of Bata: “We have understood your words and what you have been pleased to give us has arrived, and I am still showing a polite face, but as for the people of Lāmū you will hear what I say and do to them after finishing the building of the barracks.¹⁷⁰ Then so-and-so son of so-and-so son of so-and-so, their eyes [or, their chief men] will play the part of rats¹⁷¹ in the fort of Mūmbāsa. Peace.”¹⁷² He folded the letter and gave it back to the servant of Zāhid bin Mngūmi. When the servant got back and gave that letter to his master, Zāhid bin Mngūmi read it and took it to the chief man of the people of Lāmū. The position of the Mazrū‘ī was thus made clear, and they drove him out the [same?] day. ‘Abdallah bin Aḥmad set off and made for Mūmbāsa, and his father Aḥmad bin Muḥammad was *wālī* of Mūmbāsa. He mobilized an army and made war on the people of Lamu but was defeated there time and again.¹⁷³ The people of Lāmū made for Muskat and sought protection from Sayyid Sa‘īd

170 Barracks. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 240 n. 1) derives this word which in Arabic is *jereza* from the Portuguese *igreja*. Yet he translates it *nelle isola* = “in the island”, translating the word as written—*jazīra* = island, but recognizes that it is a mistake. This error occurs several times in both K and L. Stigand (*Land of Zinj*, p. 70), referring to the Lamu Chronicle, speaks of the erection of a fort.

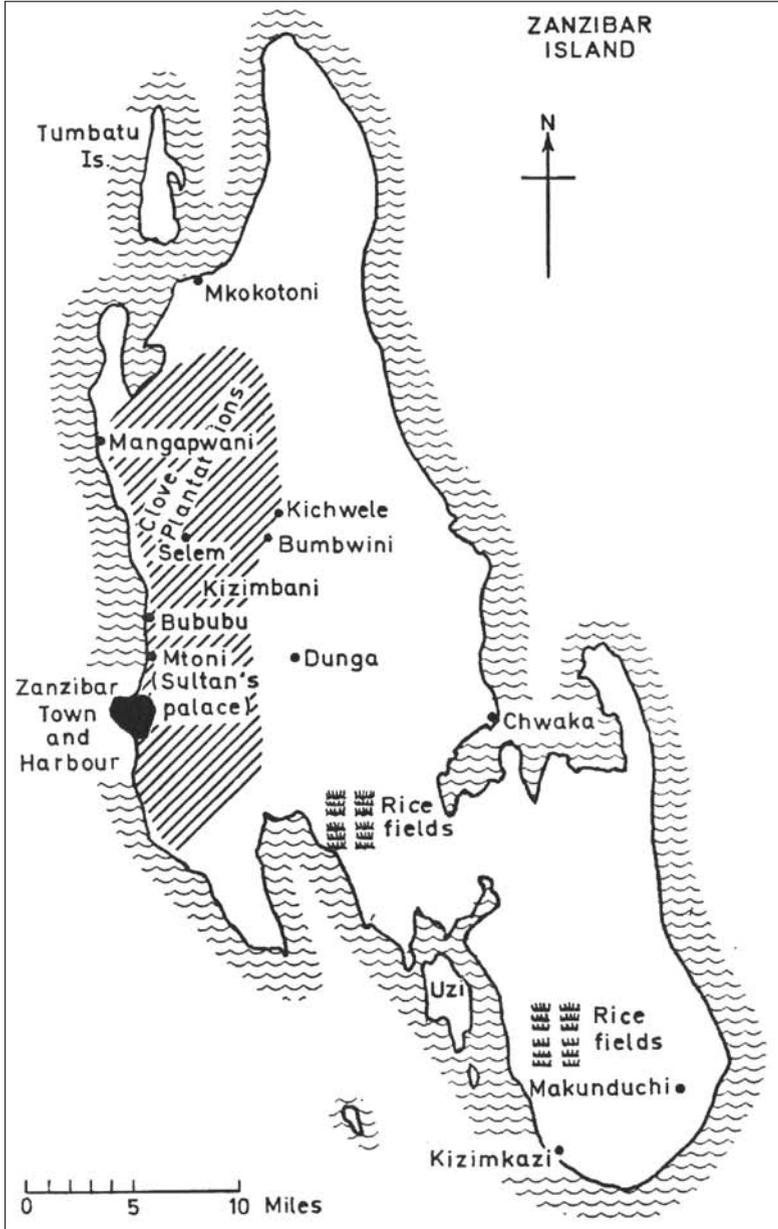
171 Play the part of rats. The Arabic is سوف يتوكلوا اعيانهم فيراناً في كوت مومباسة. This is a variation on K. I was inclined to take the verb as a variation of the word for “eat”. But *yatawakkalu* means “to be appointed a deputy”, so “to act for another”. That will make some sense of the sentence. But Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 340) still has not understood correctly that فيرانا—*fīrānan* = rats.

172 The whole exchange is written in very bad grammar and syntax.

173 Defeated there time and again. This seems to imply a series of campaigns, but Shaykh al-Amīn al-Mazrū‘ī (*History*, pp. 65 ff.) speaks of only one expedition, which ended in disaster for the Mazārī’a.



MAP 8 Tanganyika
 KIRKMAN 1964 PP. 173, 186



MAP 9 Zanzibar
KIRKMAN 1964 PP. 173, 186

bin Sulṭān al-Bū Saʿīdī. He took them under his protection and gave them two hundred Arab and Nubian soldiers and they were victorious.

ʿAbdallah bin Aḥmad bin Muḥammad died in the year 1239[/1823–1824]¹⁷⁴ (one thousand two hundred and thirty-nine). He was succeeded by Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin ʿUthmān, who was *wālī* for 33 years. Then [he was succeeded by] the *wālī* ʿAbdallah bin Aḥmad who ruled for 20 years, then the *wālī* Sulaymān bin ʿAlī ʿl-Mazrūʿī.¹⁷⁵ He was not the true successor, but what God decides will be. He was noble, generous, brave, venerable and dignified and modest. When his governorship had become firm, the news was spread and the people in the districts raised the cry as to how his governorship had come about. The Mazārīʿa criticized him a lot and he completed two years as *wālī*, and was deposed because of the degree of disagreement between them.¹⁷⁶ That was in the year 1241[/1825–1826] (one thousand two hundred and forty-one). After his deposition he was succeeded by Sālīm bin Aḥmad al-Mazrūʿī as *wālī*. He was an oppressive, extravagant tyrant.¹⁷⁷ The Mazārīʿa and his *wazīrs* went as far as to say what they liked against their subjects. He completed ten years, and that state of affairs still continues. Sālīm bin Aḥmad bin Muḥammad al-Mazrūʿī died in the year 1251[/1835–1836]¹⁷⁸ (one thousand two hundred and fifty-one) and was succeeded as *wālī* by Khamīs bin Aḥmad bin Muḥammad al-Mazrūʿī, a cunning and deceitful man. His governorship did not become established and

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- 174 This date differs from that in K and also from that on ʿAbdallah bin Aḥmad's tomb. It should also be noted that there seems to be a confusion of names in this passage, which it is hard to unravel. See the Chronological Tables, Appendix 7.
- 175 Sulaymān bin ʿAlī ʿl-Mazrūʿī. Al-Mazrūʿī, *History*, pp. 83 ff.; Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, pp. 50 f., 305.
- 176 There is no mention at this point of Captain Owen's "Protectorate" of which Shaykh al-Amīn gives a detailed account, as also do Captain Owen and Lieutenant Boteler. See al-Mazrūʿī, *History*, p. 85, which refers to W.F. Owen, *Narrative of Voyages to Explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia and Madagascar*. 2 vols. London: Richard Bentley, 1833, vol. 1, pp. 367–371, and Boteler, *Narrative*, vol. 2, pp. 2–12.
- 177 An oppressive, extravagant tyrant. This estimate of Sālīm's character should be compared with that of Shaykh al-Amīn. All things considered, Shaykh al-Amīn probably has the truest estimate of him. The Ode of Shaykh Muḥyī ʿl-Dīn on the installation of Sālīm receives no mention. Al-Mazrūʿī *History*, p. 1200 says: "He never embarked on any course of action until he had consulted with the prominent men and leaders of the country. Therefore the people loved him, and the leaders of the 'Twelve Tribes' began to reckon that they shared with him in the government."
- 178 This date agrees with Guillain's account (*Documents*, vol. 2 p. 584). Al-Mazrūʿī (*History*, pp. 90 ff.) has Sālīm b. Aḥmad al-Mazrūʿī; see also R. Reusch, *History of East Africa*. Stuttgart: Ev. Missionsverlag, 1952, pp. 278, 279. Tradition calls him M. Asman (ʿUthmān) al-Mazrūʿī.

he was deposed¹⁷⁹ after two years, and was succeeded as *wāly* by Rāshid bin Sālīm bin Aḥmad bin Muḥammad al-Mazrūʿī in the year 1253[/1837–1838].¹⁸⁰

We return to the information about Sayf bin Sulṭān bin Sayf al-Yaʿrubī. He is the son of the aforesaid *Qaʿid al-Ardʿ*.¹⁸¹ He was sultan over the Mazāriʿa from what his father did [arranged?] and his rule was over ʿUmān and the Sawāḥil. Then, when his position became clear to the shaykhs of ʿUmān and Muskat, they gathered and said, “We find our sultan to be despotic, claiming that his penis¹⁸² is lightning and thunder. He fornicates often, and when he hears that the daughter of so-and-so is a beautiful woman, he forces her and rapes her. His position worries us. So what is your opinion, honourable shaykhs?”¹⁸³ They replied, “This is not in the interest of the *wilāya*.”¹⁸⁴ When they got the better of him they deposed him, and a good man succeeded him as *imām*, Aḥmad bin Saʿīd al-Bū Saʿīdī of Banū Zayd, who is one of the sons of ʿAbdallah bin Mālīk bin Naṣr bin Azd, a Qaḥṭāni tribe without doubt.¹⁸⁵ He did not ask for information concerning Zinjibār or Mumbāsa, but was only putting right the affairs of ʿUmān and Muskat. That was in the year 1193[/1779–1780]. He is the first of the family of Bū Saʿīdī who held the government in ʿUmān and Muskat. Ḥumayd [sic] bin Saʿīd¹⁸⁶ died and was succeeded as ruler by his son Sulṭān bin Aḥmad al-Bū Saʿīdī¹⁸⁷ in ʿUmān and Muskat. Then, when his rule had become estab-

179 was deposed. There is no note of this in MS K. See al-Mazrūʿī, *History*, p. 121, for details on Khamis bin Aḥmad bin Muḥammad al-Mazrūʿī.

180 MS K has A.H. 1254.

181 *Qaʿid al-Ardʿ*. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 341) has made the common mistake of translating this “Capitano”. The Arabic is قائد الارض or قيد الارض that is, “bond of the earth, or land”, not “leader of the land”. But he is probably right in saying that the title was given to him because of his military successes. Wilkinson (*Imamate Tradition*, p. 118) has: “so, enormous reshuffling of land rights occurred in the Yaʿrabi period and the Yaʿrabi Imam Sayd b. Sulṭān I is reputed to have owned a third of the land and water rights in Oman, hence his sobriquet, *Qaʿid al-Ardh*” (also *ibid.*, p. 221). Ibn Razīk (*History*, p. xxvii) has “scourge of the Arabs” (also *ibid.*, pp. 92 f.) Sayf b. Sulṭān b. Sayf, the son of Sayf b. Sulṭān the *Qaʿid al-Ardʿ* would be Sayf II. He was only a boy in 1719, when he was proclaim *imām*. Wilkinson 1987 pp. 222, 229. There is clearly a confusion. Ibn Razīk (*History*, pp. xli, 149) mentions “defamation”.

182 Penis. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 341) has, as in K, “mention”.

183 Honourable shaykhs. The Arabic phrase ايها المشايخ الكرام cannot really be translated properly into English.

184 *Wilāya*—government.

185 This genealogy is found in Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 156 ff.

186 Ḥumayd—Ḥamid—Aḥmad for Ḥamad was Imam from 1193/1779–1206/1792. See Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. cxxvi, 201 ff.; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, p. 14: 1753/4–1783, *et passim*.

187 Sulṭān bin Aḥmad al-Bū Saʿīdī (1206/1792–1219/1804). Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. livff., 213 ff.; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 14, 227 *et passim*.

lished, he sent to Zinjibār his nephew named Sa‘ūd bin ‘Alī. There [the context requires something like this word] were a group of Arab tribes¹⁸⁸ [who had gone there] by way of purchasing slaves and setting up gardens. They bought slaves and built houses, and there were Mazāri‘a in the land of Zinjibār from the time of *Qa‘id al-Arḍ* Sayf bin Sulṭān al-Ya‘rubī. And there were Mazāri‘a in the Green Island¹⁸⁹ also.

Then Sa‘ūd bin ‘Alī¹⁹⁰ al-Bū Sa‘īdī travelled to Muskat and left in Zinjibār children and a garden and slaves and erected buildings. Sulṭān bin Aḥmad bin Sa‘īd died into the mercy of God Most High and was succeeded as ruler by Sa‘ūd bin ‘Alī al-Bū Sa‘īdī.¹⁹¹ His rule was established, and the Arabs used to praise him greatly for his manliness and venerability. When Sa‘ūd bin Sulṭān reached sixteen years of age, Sa‘ūd bin Sulṭān killed Sa‘ūd bin ‘Alī¹⁹² on the mountain track when they were returning from the war. When Sa‘ūd bin Sulṭān struck him, Sa‘ūd bin ‘Alī thought that he had struck him in accordance with the wishes of the tribes who were with him. He rode his horse and made for Muskat and died, and Sa‘ūd bin Sulṭān became ruler in the year 1219[/1804–1805], one thousand two hundred and nineteen. He was a tall man, medium-sized, fair in complexion with a profusion of hair and a bushy beard, eloquent in tongue, with powerful arms, mild, and possessed of wisdom and organizing ability.¹⁹³ For example, if his servant girl bore him a son he would have no more intercourse with her, but if she bore a daughter repeatedly, he would not leave her until she bore a son. One of his schemes was that when the Mazāri‘a refused to submit to his father Sulṭān (for the Mazāri‘a said, “We are subjects of the Ya‘rabī and recognize no other, not even the family of the Bū Sa‘īdī. Even if

188 Arab tribes. These had come after the ejection of the Portuguese. Pemba’s people are proud of their Shirāzī origin, but W.H. Ingrams (*Zanzibar, Its History and Peoples*. London: H.F. & G. Witherby, 1931, p. 474) reports an Arabic inscription on the *miḥrāb* of the mosque in Msuka dated 816[/1413–1414].

189 Green Island = Pemba.

190 Sa‘ūd bin ‘Alī. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 342 n. 3) notes that, in the ‘Umān.

Chronicle of Salil bin Razīq, this man is called Badr bin Sayf. See Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 289, 291.

191 In most cases, the text has البوسعي but in other cases it has البوسعي.

192 The tale of the murder of Sayyid Sa‘ūd’s uncle is found in various forms in the different sources and records. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 278 n. 4) thinks that the name Sa‘ūd bin ‘Alī is a substitution for Badr bin Sayf, who was killed by treachery in 1806. Ibn Razīk (*History*, pp. 290 f.) shows that Badr, Sayyid’s cousin, was killed at a coconut plantation while trying to escape from Sayyid Sa‘ūd.; *ibid.*, p. 355 f. describes how Sa‘ūd, Sayyid Sa‘ūd’s *wālī*, entered the mosque of al-Manṣūr in Rustak to take a nap and was killed by Sulṭān b. Aḥmad in 1248/1832. See Wilkinson *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 85, 227.

193 This description is again on the pattern adopted by al-Mas‘ūdī and others.

the government of the Ya'rabī has disappeared from 'Umān, here in the land of the Sawāḥil it has not disappeared. This is the answer of the Mazāri'a to Sulṭān bin Aḥmad"), he tackled this matter¹⁹⁴ and sent a man called Hubūb al-Ghabash¹⁹⁵ to Zinjibār and Mūmbāsa, and when he reached Mumbāsa he disembarked from his small craft¹⁹⁶ and made for the fort in daylight. At the gate he asked permission of the gatekeeper to enter, but when the gatekeeper went in he followed him, he and about ten men who were with him with their swords and shields girded on, and they reached the house of the *wālī* in the fort and knocked at his door and the gatekeeper was bewildered at that, but was seized so as not to tell his colleagues. The *wālī* came out angrily, that is, he came out from his house angrily, and when he saw him and met him the *wālī* was angry, but amazed at his stature and strength and frightening appearance. Then Hubūb al-Ghabash said, "Who are you?" The Mazrū'ī replied, "I am Sālim bin Ḥamad al-Mazrū'ī." Hubūb al-Ghabash said, "You will do well, if God Most High wills, if you give a satisfactory answer", and he continued, "To whom does this Fort belong?" The *wālī* Sālim bin Aḥmad replied, "To Sayyid Sa'īd bin Sulṭān. And I am his viceroy." Then he gave him ink and paper, and said to him, "Write it", and he wrote and signed it. Hubūb al-Ghabash took it and went off with it and boarded his *'awāsiya*, spread the sail and made for Zinjibār. Then he went to the officer who was in the island of Zinjibār and told him that the rule of Mūmbāsa and Zinjibār was Sayyid Sa'īd bin Sulṭān's, and showed him the paper. When the officer saw the paper, he followed what Hubūb al-Ghabash said to him¹⁹⁷ but the rest would not agree. They divided

194 The following story appears in *Kawkab al-durriya* but not in Shaykh al-Amīn al-Mazrū'ī's *History*. Here it is put in context. The Mazāri'a had accepted the suzerainty of 'Umān so long as the Ya'rabī dynasty was in power. But after the accession of the Bū Sa'īdī dynasty they rejected that suzerainty. The arrival of Hubūb al-Ghabash, whose own name according to MS K was Salim bin Aḥmad, as the first step of the Bū Sa'īdī *imām* in regaining for himself the Mazrū'ī dominion. This seems to have happened before the war between Mombasa and Lamu. The error here is that the *wālī* to whom Hubūb al-Ghabash went is here called Sālim bin Aḥmad. *Kawkab al-durriya* says it was Aḥmad bin Muḥammad bin 'Uthmān, which is more reasonable and correct. This incident occurred before the Battle of Shela. See Knappert, *Four Centuries*, p. 185. Sālim bin Aḥmad was only installed as *wālī* in the 1812 period after the Battle of Shela. The pun that Cerulli detects between Sālim, a name that means "safe", and Hubūb al-Ghabash's reply: *Fa-taslam* = "you will be safe", is thus rendered rather pointless.

195 Hubūb al-Ghabash. See Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, p. 78, where the footnote has Ghabshah = "the tempest of dawn" because he used to attack his enemies before or at dawn.

196 Small craft. The text has عواسية - *'awāsiya*. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 315 line 24) not a *jahazi* according to Prins 1965 pp. 9, 280, 287 and plates 3, 13, 28. See footnote 228.

197 The Arabic is very awkward.

into two parties, one supporting Hubūb al-Ghabash and the officer, and the other supporting the Mazāri'a. They fought and the party of Hubūb al-Ghabash defeated the others and drove them out of the Island, and Zinjibār became the domain of Sayyid Sa'īd bin Sulṭān by cunning and deception.¹⁹⁸ When the matter was clear to the Mazāri'a, they met together in criticism. Then Sayyid Sa'īd bin Sulṭān made war on the Mazāri'a many times but was not able [to defeat them], and several years passed. When war occurred in the year 1227 [1812–1813]¹⁹⁹ between the Mazāri'a and the people of Lāmū and the events which happened, and Sa'īd bin Sulṭān gave them protection, and the people of Lamū defeated the Mazāri'a, and the Mazāri'a rested from war, Sayyid Sa'īd bin Sulṭān and his army came and passed by Lāmū. When they made for Mūmbāsa to fight them, about sixty-six men of the people of Lāmū followed them in two dhows.²⁰⁰ In those days, the people of Mūmbāsa were complaining to Sa'īd bin Sulṭān about the affairs of the Mazāri'a, and their leader Mu'allim bin Mwinyi Shāfi²⁰¹ hated the Mazāri'a greatly. When the soldiers of Sayyid Sa'īd bin Sulṭān arrived with the *amīr* Mas'ūd bin Sa'īd²⁰² as their commanding officer, they anchored the ships and the *baghla*, a great number, and their anchorage was opposite Kilindini Creek as far as Mṭāpā²⁰³ Creek. When they wished to disem-

- 198 Cunning and deception. This writer is here more favourable to the Mazāri'a than the author of ms K, but seems to be less enamoured of Sayyid Sa'īd bin Sulṭān. This is fairly sure evidence that he is a Bājūni or Nabhāni from Pate. The Nabahīna preserved their independence for longer than the Mazāri'a, but in the end were treated in the same way by Sayyid Sa'īd's successor.
- 199 Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 282 n. 1; Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, p. 76. The chronology here is extremely confused and unreliable. The date of the Battle of Shela is 1227/1812. See Krapf, *Reisen in Ostafrika*, p. 287.
- 200 Dhows. The Arabic word is spelt with *dād* ضوء البحر. What we have here is an Arabic word that has passed into Swahili where the heavy letter has been transformed into a *dāl*. It has then been re-transliterated into Arabic script in its Swahili form. This can be a source of great confusion. See the list of Swahilisms, Appendix 2.
- 201 Mu'allim bin Mwinyi Shāfi. The Swahili form of the name is Mwalimu bin Mwinyi Shafi. Mu'allim bin Mwinyi Shāfi al-Jalandāni. Cerulli *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 25 f., 345 n. 2, states that he was a pilot in the service of Sa'īd bin Sulṭān. See Krapf, *Reisen in Ostafrika*, pt 2, p. 495; idem, *Travels*, Researches, pp. 536, 537: "Muallem Shafei, the Sheikh of Kilendini ..."
- 202 Mas'ūd bin Sa'īd. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 344 f.; also *ibid.*, pp. 280, 283. Is this Sa'ūd at the bottom of the page the same? See Sa'ūd bin 'Alī al-Bū Sa'īdi. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 342, and ms K, p. 278. Is this a scribal error? Neither name comes up in the literature. He is likely to have been one of his many children. See Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, p. 273.
- 203 Mṭāpā. The text has مطاپا. The correct Swahili form of this name is Mtwapa. See Allen, *Swahili Origins*, pp. 90, 205; al-Mazrū'i, *History*, p. 100; Prins, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, pp. 25, 29, 80, 99; Strandes, *Portuguese Period*, pp. 175, 253, 256, 350 f.; Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, p. 52; Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 53 (Benapa), 179 (Matuapa), 187 (Mutta Appe); A.I. Salim, *Swahili Speaking Peoples of the Kenya Coast 1895–1965*. Nairobi:

bark from their ships and land, the Mazāri‘a would prevent them by fighting, and days went by in these circumstances. When the people of Lāmū saw the position was thus, three men disembarked and made for Mṭāpā Creek at night. They arrived at Mṭāpā and asked for their leader. When the leader of the people of Mṭāpā came, they asked him the way to flee from Mṭāpā to Lāmū. That was before the development of Tāka Ūngu and Malīndī. People used always to travel by sea, because there was no way by land. When the people of Lāmū asked him, the leader of Mṭāpā was amazed and said, “What is the matter with you? The store is here in Ūtāngī.²⁰⁴ It has provisions and food but there are soldiers in it. Go down and attack them unawares and without doubt you will defeat them, if God will, and the war will turn out well for you, if you seize the area towards Kisāūni and Utangi. Otherwise you will not be able to overcome them, or even scare them. But what have you come up with, that you now wish to flee?” The people of Lāmū said, “We did not hope to flee, but we were afraid of you, and our wish is to find a way of entering for war. And now thank you very much [or, you have done us a kindness]. God give you long life. Our army will get here especially that we may make ourselves pleasant to Sayyid Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān because he protected us and gave us 200 soldiers and we defeated the Mazāri‘a,²⁰⁵ so how can we flee from the war?” Then after that, the people of Lāmū, sixty-six men, landed and attacked the store in Ūtāngī with one attack. The muskets were fired on both sides and all who were in the store fled. The people of Lāmū went and informed the *amīr* of that. The *amīr* was very pleased at that, and the Arabs landed and entered the store, and there were some Arabs who seized Kisāūni with a strong force.²⁰⁶ Then one of the people of Lāmū went to Kidūnāni and Talāqūna²⁰⁷ they made contact with the people of Mūmbāsa. They asked advice of the people of Mūmbāsa and one of them, named Mu‘allim bin Mwinyi Shāfi went out and travelled to Zinjibār and told the Sayyid that ... about 100 soldiers in a boat in which to enter Kilindini Creek without anyone knowing, since there is thick bush where no one concealed there could be seen.²⁰⁸ The Sayyid gave them soldiers who knew the Swahili

East African Publishing House, 1973, pp. 28, 126, 129; see also Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 344 n. 3. This may be an error for Makuoa.

204 The text has *وتاغي* whereas two lines below it has *اتاغي*.

205 This alludes to the account on p. 52f. above.

206 The text has *قبضا شديدا*—*qabḍan shadīdan*.

207 Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 345) has transliterated the name as Kidūtāni whereas the Arabic reads *كدونان*.

208 There seems to be a word missing here. It must be something meaning “they were in need of”. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 354) translates this sentence as if there were no lacuna. With due respect to him, I cannot see it fitting into the context without such an addition as I

language. They lowered the sail of the *ʿawāsiya*, and it entered Kilindini Creek at night, and the soldiers landed with their rations and their weapons and hid them in the bush. Then, when in the opinion of Muʿallim bin Mwinyi Shāfi ʿl-Jalandānī²⁰⁹ it was possible, he ordered the soldiers to attack the island²¹⁰ of Makūpa. They attacked it once unawares and attacked those who were in it and they fled and the soldiers of Sayyid Saʿīd bin Sulṭān entered. Then the *amīr* Saʿūd made for Mūmbāsa by land and sea and they unfurled the flag of truce²¹¹ and lowered the flag of war by the same cable at once. The *amīr* arrived and landed with his army and the Mazāriʿa came out of the fort and entered Mūmbāsa and they (the Sayyid’s army) were conquerors.²¹² The Mazāriʿa were all quiet (or, dwelt) in the town.

Story (*Hikāya*)

ʿAbdallah bin Nāṣir bin ʿAbd al-Salām travelled from Bata, passed by Mūmbāsa and then went to Zinjibār in order to meet Sayyid Saʿīd bin Sulṭān, and he asked him, “How are you, ʿAbdāllah bin Nāṣir?” ʿAbdāllah replied, “Well, my Lord.” He said again, “What do you think? Are the people of Mūmbāsa submitting [i.e. to our government]?” ʿAbdullah replied, “They are on a war footing.” He asked, “For what reason?” ʿAbdullah replied,²¹³ “I saw Rāshid Sālīm bin Ḥamad making circular lines on the ground, then he rubbed out what he had drawn and obliterated it, while his brother struck his sword with the palm of his hand, and they remained silent. That showed that Rāshid bin Sālīm thinks of war with the munitions store, while his brother says, ‘Our swords are sufficient

have suggested. He himself has to introduce a word “alcuna” where there is no corresponding word in the Arabic.

209 al-Jalandānī. The author insists on using the Arab tribal epithet, though it is plainly a local Swahili one. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 345 n. 2) notes that this man was the Mombasa pilot in the service of Sayyid Saʿīd bin Sulṭān.

210 Island. جزيرة. The author here again writes *jazīra* but the word جزيرة *jereza*, meaning a prison or barracks, seems much nearer the intended meaning in most of the references.

211 The text has علم الامان - *alam al-amān* and علم الحرب - *alam al-ḥarb*.

212 And they were conquerors. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 345) has “furono vinti” = they were defeated. But in Arabic كانوا من الغالبين means “they were conquerors”. This phrase therefore refers to Sayyid Saʿīd’s troops, not to the Mazāriʿa. The Arabic is slovenly.

213 For some reason unclear to us, Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 284 n. 1, and p. 346 n. 1), thinks of this report as a dream of ʿAbdallah bin Nāṣir bin ʿAbd al-Salām. It must be because, in MS K, ʿAbdallah bin Nāṣir says: “This is what my heart and mind concluded.” In my opinion, however, such words do not necessarily imply a dream.

without the store.”²¹⁴ Sayyid Saʿīd bin Sulṭān said to ‘Abdallah bin Nāṣir, “You have said the truth for what I am determined to do to the Mazāri’a.” When one month had elapsed, the Mazāri’a attacked the barracks of Makūpa. War fell upon it and they were defeated. When Sayyid Saʿīd bin Sulṭān heard, he thought about the affairs of the Mazāri’a and the explanation of ‘Abdallah bin Nāṣir bin ‘Abd al-Salām, then he said, “It has become necessary to transfer the Mazāri’a from Mūmbāsa to ‘Umān because they will not submit in true obedience.” Then he sent his son Khālīd and his *wazīr* Sulaymān bin Aḥmad (he was a great *wazīr*).²¹⁵ They embarked on a sailing ship named *Iskander Shāh* and disembarked on the island, and he invited Rāshid bin Aḥmad²¹⁶ and fettered him securely, then he invited them one by one, and whoever came to them he bound and he did not stop until he had caught twenty-five persons. They sent them to Makrān and they were imprisoned there for a long time, and they all died except two men who returned to the land of the Sawāḥil in the reign of Sayyid Barghash bin Saʿīd. That time, I mean the time at which the Mazāri’a were fettered, was the year 1245[/1829–1830].²¹⁷ Then the remainder of the Mazāri’a sent one of their number to Būmbay and complained there to the English president. The governor²¹⁸ showed Sayyid Saʿīd the plan of the Mazāri’a, that he had made war on them and deprived them of [taken] their rule, and imprisoned them wrongly out of hostility. “And how did that come about, Your Majesty?”²¹⁹ Sayyid Saʿīd bin Sulṭān replied, “This writing, look at it. Is it the handwriting of their leader or not?” The Englishman said to the Mazāri’a, “This is your writing as an admission from you, that is, from your leader who was *wālī* over you. So how is that? We cannot accept what you say nor your complaint.”²²⁰ The Mazāri’a returned to Mūmbāsa disappointed, and the government became established from Maqdishū, Mārka and Barāwa to Tanga, all except Sīwī.

214 Munitions store. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 346) again renders it “trincea” = trench. It may have been in the form of a trench, but the reference here is not to a form of fortification, but to the matter of food-supplies and munitions of war.

215 Sulaymān bin Aḥmad is referred to by Sir John Kirk in a letter he wrote to the Foreign Office. See al-Mazrūʿī, *History*, p. 157, app. 4; Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, p. 96; Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, p. 272 (1785–1873); Pouwels, *Horn and Crescent*, p. 105.

216 Rāshid bin Aḥmad (or Ḥamad). This should be Rāshid bin Sālīm bin Aḥmad. See al-Mazrūʿī, *History*, pp. 16, 110, 121, 125; Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, pp. 27, 28, 91; Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, p. 308; Salim, *Swahili Speaking peoples*, p. 26.

217 This is seems to be a scribal error for 1254.

218 The text has غفرنر *ghavanar*.

219 The text has يا ايها الملك *yā ayuhā ’l-malik*.

220 This is the letter extracted by Hubūb al-Ghabash to which both MS K and MS L and *Kawkab al-durriya* refer.

Then Sayyid Saʿīd bin Sulṭān set about making war on Sīwī. There was in Sīwī a sultan called Shaykh bin Mad al-Nabhānī²²¹ and a shaykh called Matāka bin al-Shaykh Mubārak al-Ngamāwī. The Sayyid could not defeat the people of Sīwī [as to meaning], Sīwī is the name of the village that is on the coast of ʿUmān.²²² That is at Khor Fakkān and is a ferry point to Makrān.²²³ There is a town or village called Sīwī, whose people are of the tribe Banū Saʿd.²²⁴ When the *amīr* of Sayyid Saʿīd bin Sulṭān, named Ḥammād bin Aḥmad al-Bū Saʿīdī²²⁵ came to Sīwī, he was a grand, just and brave man of great forcefulness. One of the instances of his forcefulness is that he was one day in Fāza in the land of the Bajūn, and the shaykhs of the Bajūni were outwardly with the *amīr* but secretly with the people of Sīwī. The *amīr* knew of their actions, so he summoned them and said, “How is it that you fight me at night and then in the daytime try to be reconciled with me?” The shaykhs said, “That is our usual practice—one time this way and another that.” The *amīr* rose with his sword and struck them with it, saying as he did so, “And I am one time like this and another like that!” He killed about six men and some of them were wounded, and the rest were duly disciplined.²²⁶ The *amīr* Ḥammād was slain in the year 1259 [1843–1844] in the land of Sīwī after a fierce battle between the Arabs and the people of Sīwī. The matter weighed on Sayyid Saʿīd in grief at his loss. Then he ordered that war should be waged on Sīwī to take vengeance for his *amīr* Ḥammad bin Aḥmad. He was called Wadd al-Samr²²⁷ but we do

221 Shaykh bin Mad al-Nabhānī. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 317 line 16; Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, pp. 84, 93 (Ngoma); Nicholls, *Somali Coast*, p. 124 n. 4 (Fumolati’s brother).

222 Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. lxxxiii–lxxxviii, 355–360. See Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, p. 164.

223 Makrān—in present-day Pakistan. Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, p. 317; Stigand (*Land of Zinj*, p. 91) has Jaalani south of Muscat. Its port is Sūr. See Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 69 n. 2, 349 (Hormuz).

224 Suwaydi, *Sabāʾik*, p. 91.

225 Ḥammād bin Aḥmad al-Bū Saʿīdī. The text has حماد. Cerulli *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 317 line 20; Nicholls, *Somali Coast*, pp. 124, 129, 297, 302 (1259/1844). This is the man whose *kunya*, according to Shaykh ʿUmar bin Fāḍil, author of *Kawkab al-durriya*, is *Walad Sammār*, which means “Son of [the] Nailer”, and would appear to indicate his very determined nature. He calls him “a brave man of strong determination. If he aimed at anything he never returned till he got it!” (p. 25). See Krapf (*Reisen in Ostafrika*, vol. 2, p. 488) who give the date 1822.

226 The incident here related is, according to Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 347 n. 1), in accordance with the tradition unfortunately maintained along the East African littoral, where he says there were just two political strategems (1) to gather the important people of a hostile tribe on the pretext of negotiation and, instead, then to attack the gathering, and (2) to lure on board a chief who was uncertain (in his loyalty) in order then to fetter him and carry him into exile.

227 Wadd al-Samr. The text has ود السممر. It seems obvious from this that the writer has not

not know what it means. It happened that before Saʿīd bin Sulṭān could gain possession of Siwī, while he was still in the war, that a warship²²⁸ arrived at Zinjibār with the English leader²²⁹ in it. He went to Sayyid Saʿīd and sought a place in the old districts that had been destroyed, and not rebuilt, namely Malindī.²³⁰ Sayyid Saʿīd said to him, I mean to the English leader, “We had decided to rebuild them before your arrival and we are unable to leave them to you because there are graves and mosques of Muslims.”²³¹ The Naṣārā returned disappointed. That was the reason for the rebuilding of Malindī. He rebuilt it and set in it as *wālī* Nāṣir bin Khamīs al-Bū Saʿīdī.²³² He ordered Saʿīd bin Rāshid bin Sālīm al-Mazrūʿī²³³ to send his slaves to help the Arabs in building the barracks²³⁴ and houses. He was *wālī* of the land of Tāka Ūngu after Khamīs bin Rāshid and their father Rāshid bin Sālīm al-Mazrūʿī. Rāshid bin Sālīm was the one who, on the day when they fettered Rāshid bin Sālīm bin Aḥmad who was in the land of Mūmbāsa and the rest of the Mazārīʿa fled this Rashīd bin Sālīm and built Takā Ūngu in the year 1258[1842].²³⁵ They lay low there in fear of Sayyid Saʿīd bin Sulṭān. He said, “I will stay (be) behind”, which means [i.e. in KiSwahili] Tāka Ūngu; for *takā* means in Arabic “We wish” and *ūngu* “behind”. The remainder of the Mazrūʿiyyīn who were children of Muḥammad bin ʿUthmān²³⁶ were of those who built Jāsi,²³⁷ which means “They watch out for Sayyid

picked up the name correctly. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 285, 318, 347 n. 3) seems to suggest that *wadd* stands for *walad* hence “son of the dark”; see al-Mazrūʿī, *History*, pp. 80 n. 24; 81 n. 25; Nicholls, *Somali Coast*, pp. 124, 129, 272, 297, 302.

- 228 Warship. The text has منور—man-of-war; Swahili *manowari*. See footnotes 231, 232 below.
- 229 English leader. The text both here and in other places has كبير الانكليزي —*kabīr al-inklīzī* which could stand for “admiral” or “consul” or other higher official.
- 230 Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 347 n. 4) says he has not found any official document a little before 1843 confirming this request. If official, it should be in the UK parliamentary papers.
- 231 The reply of Sayyid Saʿīd to the British request is an indication of his skill in diplomacy. He also knew very well whom he was dealing with.
- 232 Nāṣir bin Khamīs al-Bū Saʿīdī—Malindi. Not documented in other sources.
- 233 Al-Mazrūʿī, *History*, pp. 16, 17.
- 234 The text has سيب *-sib*.
- 235 See Stigand (*Land of Zinj*, p. 89) and Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 318 lines 12 f.) interpret *taka* = wish/want—*ungu* = cooking pot, but *ungo* = member/part, *nyuma* = behind; Krapf (*Reisen in Ostafrika*, pt 1, pp. 174 ff., 497) states it was built in the 1820s by the Mazārīʿa; see also Krapf, *Travels, Researches*, pt 1, pp. 114 ff.
- 236 Muḥammad bin ʿUthmān. See al-Mazrūʿī, *History*, pp. 6, 110.
- 237 Jāsi—جاسي where ج—*jim* can be pronounced as “g” hence Gāsi. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 348 nn. 2, 3) averts to a pun here between the name of the town and the Arabic word *jasūs*, which means “a spy”. The nearest word in Arabic to Gāsi is *ghaza*, which means “raid”. Prins, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, pp. 17, 22, 90; Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, p. 180 + map, which places the town south of Mombasa; Salim, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, pp. 26, 28, 41,

Saʿīd bin Sulṭān”. But the rebuilding of Malindī was in the year 1271[1854/5], and the people of the land used to flee to it in fear, and that was [fear] of Banū Ghaylān. They never snatched any of the Muslims without killing him, and immediately cutting off the genitals of the slain. God is witness to what I say. Sayyid Saʿīd bin Sulṭān bin Aḥmad bin Saʿīd al-Azdī ʿl-Bū Saʿīdī died in the year 1273[1856–1857].²³⁸ His death was at sea, when he was going to Zinjibār from ʿUmān. He son Barghash was with him, and tied him to the forepart of the ship. When it reached Zinjibār, Barghash bin Saʿīd wished to bury his father secretly so that his brother Mājid bin Saʿīd would not know, as a plot, that Barghash might seize Zinjibār unawares, for his brother was in Zinjibār in place of his father [i.e. as viceroy], and Barghash wished to have that place for himself, in succession to his father. But by the decree of God Most High he was not able, for the business of Barghash became known and Mājid arose and seized all the routes of Zinjibār with soldiers. They fought together and waged war and Barghash bin Saʿīd was defeated and Mājid bin Saʿīd was the conqueror. Barghash bin Saʿīd was imprisoned and Mājid bin Saʿīd succeeded as sultan after his father’s burial. He and his brother Barghash contended together and fought in the Shāniba, which is in Juu.²³⁹ Barghash bin Saʿīd had on his side men of the Ḥāriths²⁴⁰ and the Miskiris;²⁴¹ and Mājid bin Saʿīd had the

52, 53, 57 f. etc.; Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, pp. 312, 313; J. Gray (“Zanzibar and the Coastal Belt 1840–1884”, in R. Oliver & G. Mathew (eds), *History of East Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963, vol. 1, 212–251, p. 246) has ‘Gazi’; L.W. Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar under the Foreign Office 1890–1913*. London: Macmillan, 1953, p. 108; Lyne, *Zanzibar*, pp. 31, 168, 170; Krap (*Reisen in Ostafrika*, pt 2, p. 497) has “Gassi”.

238 Ibn Razik (*History*, p. 259) has 19 *Ṣafar* = 19 October 1856.

239 *Juu*. The text has شَانِبَاةُ الْيَاجُو—*shāniba allatī juu*. In Kiswahili an “n” before a “b” is pronounced as an “m”. Hence the Kiswahili word would be = arable land, plantation. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 247 line 11, 285 n. 4) has “Marseilles Grove Plantation”; Gray 1963 p. 232 has “country house known as Marseilles”. The incident is also referred to by Stigand (*Land of Zinj*, p. 84); Wilkinson (*Imamate Tradition*, pp. 67, 229); Nicholls (*Swahili Coast*, p. 267); Coupland (*East Africa and Its Invaders*, p. 554); It is marked just north of Kuani on the map on inside cover of E. Saïd-Ruete, *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess*, ed. G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville. London: East-West Publications, 1981. See MS K note 213.

240 Ḥāriths—حَوَارِث. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 247 line 13, 285; Ḥārith/Ḥarth/Ḥirch. See also Ibn Razik, *History*, pp. 9 n. 2, 331, 332: The Hawārith are located chiefly in south-eastern ʿUmān. The Arabs of Zanzibar belong partly to this group as a result of Saʿīd b. Sulṭān raising levies from among them; Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 285; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 55 f., 229, 262 ff., 358 n. 18; Martin, “Notes on Some Members”, pp. 525 ff.; Gray, *History of Zanzibar*, pp. 129, 136; Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, p. 199.

241 Miskiris—مَسَاكِرِه—*masākira/maskari/miskri*. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 247 line 13, 285; W.H. Ingrams, *Zanzibar: Its History and Peoples*. London: H.F. & G. Witherby, 1931, p. 191; Pearce 1920 pp. 167 ff.; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 229, 262 ff., 358 n. 18.

soldiers with him and the English Naṣāra were with him. Barghash bin Saʿīd fought and was defeated, I mean Barghash bin Saʿīd, and Mājīd bin Saʿīd won and seized the government and Barghash was imprisoned in his house.²⁴² No one went out or came in to him except his servant who attended to him and the members of the household. Then Barghash wished to travel to Bombay to get medical treatment for himself and he travelled under a permit from Mājīd bin Saʿīd.

Mājīd bin Saʿīd's position was settled, and he hastened to make war on Sīwī. He fought them and overcame and seized the rule and the town of Sīwī by force. Then he seized Muḥammad bin Matāka, who was a shaykh and leader of Sīwī and he was imprisoned in the fort of Mumbāsa until Muḥammad bin Matāka died.²⁴³ The way became clear for Mājīd bin Saʿīd bin Sulṭān bin al-Imām, and none of the sultans refused, but all agreed and made submission²⁴⁴ in Zinjibār and his rule was established in the land of the Sawāḥil, and Thuwaynī bin Saʿīd bin Sulṭān,²⁴⁵ after hearing of his father's death, succeeded him in the land of Muskat, and the kingdom of Saʿīd bin Sulṭān was divided in half by two of his sons.²⁴⁶ Then Mājīd set about completing all that his father had left him to do—re-building Malindī and making war on Sīwī. They fought together and he cut their communications on all sides and in all places and a serious famine fell upon Sīwī and they were defeated and they appealed for security. They went to Zinjibār after the soldiers of Mājīd bin Saʿīd had entered the Island [i.e. Pate] and when the *amīr* Muḥammad bin Matāka ʿl-Ngamāwī arrived Mājīd bin Saʿīd

242 For the account of the death of Sayyid Saʿīd and the burial of his body and the subsequent struggle between Mājīd and Barghash, see Lyne, *Zanzibar*, pp. 47–48.

243 Muḥammad bin Matāka. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 286 n. 3, 349f.; Guillain to Ministry of Marine 24 October 1847, M.O., O.I 2/10. Also Sir John Kirk, Letter of comment on Hardinge's History, 1898. Foreign Office. Confidential Print 403. p. 14; Werner & Hitchens 1933 p. 16; Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, pp. 94ff. He is presumably the same as Muḥammad b. Mataka al-Ngamawī. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 319 lines 6 & 8, 349, 350; Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 283f., 290, 291f.; Salim, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, p. 23 states that M. b. Mataka was the son of Famau Shaykh Mataka b. Mbaraka of Siu; Allen, *Swahili Origins*, pp. 109, 118f., 144; al-Mazrūʿī, *History*, pp. 9, 10. Mataka b. al-Shaykh Mubarakī al-Ngamawī—غماوي. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 317 line 17; Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, pp. 85, 88, 89, 92, 94; Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, pp. 301ff. p. 385. *Mwana Kupona* composed by the wife of Bwana Mataka after his death c. 1273/1860 see J.W.T. Allen, *Tendi*. Nairobi: Heinemann, 1971, pp. 55–75.

244 There is a fault in the text of ms K and we add what is in L without a proper connection.

245 Thuwaynī bin Saʿīd, ruled 1856–1866. Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 261; Lyne, *Zanzibar*, p. 49; Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, pp. 250, 273, 276; Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, p. 94; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, p. 14.

246 This was in accordance with Sayyid Saʿīd's will, which he had communicated to Lord Aberdeen in 1844. See Lyne, *Zanzibar*, p. 49.

treated him with deference and honoured him as much as he could and gave him a valuable gift and clothed him with Arab garments and presented him with a horse, I mean to Shaykh Muḥammad bin Matāka, the leader who was in Sīwī. So when the *amīr* returned from Zinjibār and saw the horse and the fine clothes that Sayyid Mājid bin Saʿīd had given him, he decided to visit Sayyid Mājid bin Saʿīd in Zinjibār. Muḥammad bin Matāka travelled and all the *wazīrs* who were with him, such as Shaykh al-Islām who is now in Mumbāsa and others,²⁴⁷ and Sayyid Mājid treated them with deference and honoured them to the utmost, so when they determined to return [Muḥammad bin Matāka ʿl-Ngamāwī], he gave them many presents and brought the ship to Chueni,²⁴⁸ which is the garden of Sulaymān bin Aḥmad,²⁴⁹ *wazīr* of the sultans of Zinjibār on the seashore, I mean that garden where the ship anchored to await Shaykh Muḥammad bin Matāka for him to travel, when Muḥammad bin Matāka came out to Chueni in the steam boats²⁵⁰ to the ship, and they came down to Chueni, the *wazīr* Sulaymān bin Aḥmad was there, and they ate and drank convivially, and the small boat came from the ship to take up Shaykh Muḥammad bin Matāka and those with him, Shaykh Muḥammad bin Matāka sailed to the ship with his chief *wazīr*. When the boat arrived and they embarked on the ship, there were two soldiers who put forward their hands to take from them their swords. They gave them to them and went down below in the ship, and there were other soldiers who advanced upon them, and fettered them securely. The boat returned again to the shore and brought two men like the first and brought them to the ship, and it was like the first lot, and they continued like that until they had fettered a large number of the people of Sīwī and their leader Shaykh Muḥammad bin Matāka ʿl-Ngamāwī. They were taken to Mumbāsa and imprisoned in the fort until Shaykh Muḥammad bin Matāka ʿl-Ngamāwī died, and some of those who were with him. Years passed with them and

247 This statement helps to fix the time that this ms was written. *Shaykh al-Islām*—an honorific title for the leading *ʿālim*, usually in a major Islamic centre. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 319 line 9, 349; Gray (“Zanzibar and the Coastal Belt”, p. 235) refers to this incident and dates it to 1866.

248 Chueni. The text has *چوینى*—Chuini marked just north of Bububu on the map inside the cover of Said-Ruete *Memoirs*. See Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar*, p. 226. The imprisonment, incarceration and death of M. b. Mataka is repeated in Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 247 line 19 (K) and p. 319 line 8 fb (L).

249 Sulaymān bin Aḥmad was the man who had lured away the Mazārīʿa by treachery to ʿUmān. Sir John Kirk states that he knew “old Seyyid Sulayman”. Foreign Office Confidential Print, Africa.

250 The text has *ماشوة* plural of *ماشوة*. Prins (*Sailing from Lamu*, p. 294) describes these as “plan-built transom boat, built upon a keel”.

they were delivered from prison in the reign of Barghash bin Sa'īd, I mean the remainder of his *wazīrs* and his family.²⁵¹

In the year 1282[1865–1866]²⁵² the Somalis were pasturing the cattle of the Banū Qays Ghaylān at Kisimāyū and the surrounding districts.²⁵³ The Somalis were all at one in pasturing until one day the elder who was their leader mentioned, “The poor are enemies of the wealthy, so how is it that you are pasturing their herds and flocks like their slaves. It is better that we fight them and divide their wealth as spoil from God, and we shall be their masters by the generosity of God.”²⁵⁴ So the Somalis set about making war in the morning unawares, and they fought bitterly, and the Somālis were defeated and made reconciliation. The Banū Qays Ghaylān accepted the reconciliation.²⁵⁵ Then the Somalis wrote a letter to the leader in Birbira to urge them to come to Kisimayū and Wāmā, and the Somalis came in troops from Birbira and from Ḥāfūn, also going in ships to Kisimāyū, until the Somalis became numerous. They made war again on the Banū Qays Ghaylān and fought and the Somālis were defeated, and they made peace and the Banu Qays Ghaylān accepted the peace; and the Somālis returned to pasturing the cattle of the Banū Qays Ghaylān as at first. Then the Somālis wrote a letter that a large number of their people should come and perform the pastoral work deceitfully so that there might be gathered a great number. Then when the Somāli army had become very strong, they set about making preparations for the marriage and prepared a wedding feast, and invited about seventy of the Banū Qays Ghaylān leaders, valiant and brave. The Banū Qays Ghaylān accepted the invitation, and when the Ghaylān arrived they ate and drank and remained for the night; and the Somālis rose against the

251 Mājid bin Sa'īd followed the example of his father's treachery to the Mazāri'a in his treatment of the leaders of Siwī, now called Siyu.

252 MS K has the heading *قصة*. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 347 line 21.

253 And the surrounding districts. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 350) renders this “and Brava”. Either an extra *ra* has crept into the Arabic text, or he has misread it. The Arabic text says *بروره*, not *براوة*. The first word *burūrihi* means “its countries” or “its areas”. But the absence of the syllable *ra* makes it impossible to read “Brava”. Cerulli says that as the Somālis were about to change their position from clients to patrons or masters, the alternation between wars and accords would continue for a long period; but he points out that they asked and received help from their tribe of origin in north Somalia and that the one controlling influence was the passage by sea which depended upon the north-east monsoon.

254 It is apparent from this statement that the Somālis had become Muslims while the Banū Qays Ghaylān remained pagans. They therefore thought they had a right before God to assert themselves against the Banū Qays Ghaylān.

255 The text has both here and a few lines below *صلح*—*ṣulḥ*. See Qur'ān 4:128. In view of the ongoing tension between these groups, it may be more appropriate to translate the term as “reconciliation”.

Ghaylān and slaughtered in the night seventy men while they slept. Then the Somālis kept on fighting them and they took their women, and they were sold in the districts of Fāza, Siwī, Bata and Āmu. They spread out there and the Banū Qays Ghaylān fled and were made prisoners and the price of a girl was twenty riyals or less.

Story (*Hikāya*)

One of the Banū Qays Ghaylān fled with the Ghaylān women and others, and went to their slaves who were called WaBūni²⁵⁶ in the Swahili language, and when they arrived they consulted with one another [i.e. the WaBūni] that “You should sell them because fortune has changed against them.” One of the WaBūni said: “Take each of us one of them and maintain them.” So they each took one and welcomed them, each one to his companion. The WaBūni sent news to a village of Lāmū called ‘Arūra beside Makanūbi and above it. The news of the Ghaylān and their women spread, and the WaBūni said to the people of the village, “Will you buy the Ghaylān women?”, and they said, “Yes.” So they killed all [the men] and sold the women. Then all who heard considered, for the WaBūni were slaves of the Ghaylān, but fortune turned upon the Ghaylān, and they were humiliated to such a degree that their children and women were sold, and those who sold them were their slaves, as God Most High said, “Have they not seen that God extends the acquirement of wealth to whom He wishes and limits it? Truly in that there are signs for a believing people.”²⁵⁷

Chapter (*Faṣl*)

In the year 1283 [1866–1867] Mājid bin Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān built up Kisimāyū after the Somalis had killed the Ghaylān and sold them. The Somalis dwelt in Kisimāyū and Sayyid Mājid built the island²⁵⁸ in comfort and peace²⁵⁹ without war

256 I.M. Lewis, *Peoples of the Horn of Africa: Somali, Afar and Sako*. London: International African Institute, 1955, pp. 41, 42: from *bon* = hunter; Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, p. 101 n. 1: “a hunting tribe” in Jubaland; also pp. 175, 176, 274; Prins, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, pp. 20, 50, 68, 104, 109.

257 Qur’ān 30:37/36.

258 Island. The text has جزيرة in mistake for “barracks”, as in many places above.

259 The text has بردا وسلاما—*bardan wa-salāman*—“in comfort and peace”, quoting Qur’ān 21:69.

because he was lavish with money and made grants to the shaykhs. Mājid bin Saʿīd bin Sulṭān was fine of face, generous, learned, sincere and a lover of people, who did not hate anyone who said *mā bara ḥū bihi* ‘*ayānan*’.²⁶⁰ Mājid bin Saʿīd died in the year 1287(/1870–1871),²⁶¹ and he was succeeded by his brother Barghash bin Saʿīd bin Sulṭān, and his rule was established in the land of the Sawāḥil without war or strife. When he got the rule of Zinjibār he had been during his brother’s life in debt, but he rose and paid off the debt and sold and bought and gathered great wealth. He built up Zinjibār and built a bath²⁶² and gave a water-supply to Zinjibār and spent money on clothing for the poor and the rich and gave alms and “God loves those who give alms”.²⁶³ His position was very favourable,²⁶⁴ and it was he who created a regular army²⁶⁵ by the hand of his minister and general Māthyūth the Englishman.²⁶⁶

Chapter (*Faṣl*)

Story—*Hikāya* Barghash bin Saʿīd travelled to Egypt and sought protection from the sultan ‘Abd al-‘Azīz bin ‘Abd al-Maḥīd,²⁶⁷ the khan of Turkey. That was suitable in the view of the sultan of Egypt. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz gave him protection in the year 1292[/1875–1876].²⁶⁸ When Barghash desired to return from Egypt

260 The text has ما بر حوا به عيانا—*mā bara ḥū bihi* ‘*ayānan*—who criticizes him even publicly.

261 Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 321. MSS K has 1286 (p. 249) whereas MS L has 1287. Ibn Razīk (*History*, p. cxx) has 1870; see also Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, p. 239; Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, p. 276: “Majid ... amiable and popular in Zanzibar”.

262 Bath. The text has حماما—*jammāman*, a misprint for حمام—*ḥammām*. Cerulli (*Soalia*, vol. 1, p. 352) omits this phrase in his translation, though it appears in the Arabic text (p. 321 line 12).

263 والله يحب المتصدقين. This is a misquotation of Qur’ān 12:88. It should read والله يجزي المتصدقين (“God rewards those who give alms”). See 11 Cor. 9:7.

264 His position was favourable. Perhaps it might be rendered: “Time was propitious to him.”

265 The text has عساكر النظام—*‘asākir al-nizām* = regular army.

266 Māthyūth. This is Sir Lloyd Mathews. He was the army captain who, in conjunction with Commissioner Sir Arthur Hardinge, finally ended the last vestiges of Mazrū’ī power and influence on the East African coast. Lyne (*Zanzibar*, p. 100) mentions that he came to Zanzibar in 1875.

267 The text has عبد العزيز بن عبد الحميد. This is an error for مجيد i.e. a *ḥā* for *jīm*. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (1277/1861–1293/1876). He was, however, not the son of ‘Abd al-Majid but his brother. See Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 713.

268 At the time, Khedive Ismā’īl (r. 1863–1879) ruled Egypt. For Egyptian antipathy to Europeans, see Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 746 f. Ismā’īl however was sympathetic, but was demanding a seaport on the east coast. For tension between Barghash and the British, see J. Flint, “The Wider Background to Partition and Colonial Occupation”, in R. Oliver

to Zinjibār, the sultan's ship came and carried him to take him back to Zinjibār. When the English Naṣāra heard of it, they followed him and found him in Aden,²⁶⁹ and blamed him, and put fear into him in a horrible and shameless fashion. The Naṣāra said, "If you are in the protection of the Turks, your kingdom will go, as did the affairs of the *khalīfas* of Baghdād. Their kingdom went and it happened to them by trickery." Barghash bin Sa'ūd bin Sulṭān replied, "Now what am I to do? I have already entered into their protection." The consul²⁷⁰ said, "If you wish to escape from the Turks, leave them and enter our protection before the months²⁷¹ are out. The way to do it is this: Say now to the *bāshā* who is with you in the warship,²⁷² "Thank you. Go back to the sultan and give my greetings to him, and say to him, Barghash bin Sa'ūd says to you "Thank you."²⁷³ He has already sailed in the warship of the English returning to Zinjibār." Barghash disembarked from the warship of the Turks, and embarked in the warship of the English at once. The English were delighted at that, but the *bāshā* returned to the sultan very angry. At the end of six months, the English arrived at Mārka, Barāwa and Kisimāyū in three warships,²⁷⁴ and one warship reached Lāmū. The people of Lāmū had mobilised²⁷⁵ to fight the Turks. But when one boatload of them landed at Shela Creek, the *wālī* Sa'ūd bin Aḥmad²⁷⁶ went by the shore of Shela Creek, and two men disembarked disguised as Turks, but they were not Turks but English Naṣāra. They asked, "I see you are an army. What is the matter with you?" The *wālī* Sa'ūd bin Ḥamad replied, "As far as you are concerned we are glad at your arrival." The two of them embarked in their boat and went back to the warship without any dispute; but in Zinjibār there was a shrewd, clever, deferential and persuasive consul.²⁷⁷ When the warships reached Mārka and Barāwa and Lamū, he went to Barghash bin Sa'ūd and said,

& G. Mathew (eds), *History of East Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press 1963. vol. 1, 352–390, pp. 357, 359. There may therefore be more behind the story in this MS than has yet come to light.

- 269 Aden. Aden had become a British colony by purchase and "annexation" in 1839.
 270 The text has قنصل -*qunṣul*.
 271 The text has شهر and sometimes شهر. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 322 lines 1 & 9.
 272 Warship. The word used here is *manowari* and is simply the English word "man-of-war" adopted into KiSwahili. It provides quite a suitable—though misleading—Arabic noun.
 273 The text has احسنت—*aḥsanta*, which has been incorporated into in Swahili as *asante*—"thank you".
 274 Warships. The author has even made a very good Arabic broken plural out of this word مناوور. See the list of Swahilisms.
 275 Mobilized. The text has مجتمعين—*mujtami'in* = assembled.
 276 Sa'ūd bin Aḥmad. *Wālī* of Lamu.
 277 Dr. J. Kirk represented British interests from 1886 and became acting political agent and consul general from 1870 to 1887.

“News has reached us from your friends and subjects that Turkish ships have come in such-and-such a region of the Sawāḥil. They want your lands and your kingdom. This is what we told you, that the Turks are devious people, and they certainly desire what kingdom you possess.” Barghash replied, “You are right in what you said to us. What is your opinion now, Consul?” That consul was named John Kirkī.²⁷⁸ John Kirkī said, “If we get them off your back, are you willing to accept what we have written between you and us and to enter our protection and be safe?” Barghash bin Saʿīd said, “Yes”, and signed what they had written. Barghash was deceived, but John Kirkī, the consul in Zinjibār, was highly delighted.

There were no earners in the land of the Sawāḥil, but originally they used to buy²⁷⁹ slaves from Kilwa and Mangaū and Waybu²⁸⁰ and sell them in Zinjibār and Mumbasa and Amu. Travellers benefitted very much from those slaves. If slaves arrived, purchasers used to buy them for a stated period, and would use them for ploughing and harvesting millet, and with the returns from the agriculture they would pay the debt they owed from—I mean the service of those slaves.²⁸¹

When the English Naṣāra made a prohibition by contracting six months during which there was leave to bring them, i.e. slaves, and six months prohibition, when slaves should not be brought, as a trial for prohibition (i.e. complete),

278 Kirkī. This is Sir John Kirk who was the British Envoy in Zanzibar at the time (1870–1886). See al-Mazrūʿī, *History*, App. 4, p. 157, for a letter of his written to the Foreign Office from Seven Oaks after his retirement in 1895. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 353 n. 1) remarks that he is not aware from the official records he studied that these “ruses de Sioux” were actually used by Sir John Kirk. See Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar*, pp. 13, 21; Gray, “Zanzibar and the Coastal Belt”, p. 238; R. Coupland, *The Exploitation of East Africa 1856–1890*. London: Faber, 1939 pp. 38–61.

279 *walā* = “nor”, but we think it should rather be *awwalan* = “at first”.

280 The text has *وب* -*wabubu* and *مغاو* -*mangāū*; Cerulli, *Somalia* vol. 1, pp. 322 line 4 fb; 353, 354 line 8, 355. In the first case, the area is described as from Kilwa and Manghao. In the second case, it has Maqdishu to Mangao Mango is the word for Arabia, especially ‘Umān. See Chittick, “Peopling of the East African Coast”, p. 42; Krapf, *Reisen in Ostafrika*, pt 1, p. 448, pt 2, p. 190, footnote “die Eingeborenen heissen die Gegend von Kisueri bis Tungue ‘Mgau’”; p. 193: “Mgau scheint ein allgemeiner Ausdruck zur Bezeichnung der ganzen Küstengebiet von Kisueri oderr Kiloa an bis zum Fluss Lufuma hinab”. Krapf’s map shows “Mgau” just south of Lindi Bay and north of the Ruvuma River; Krapf, *Travels, Researches*, p. 428: “Muania”; Nicholls’s (*Swahili Coast*, p. 35 n. 1) map shows “Ngao” halfway between Lindi and Mikindani. 214, 227 footnote 3. “N” before “g” is pronounced “m”. The prefix “ma” denotes a place—hence, the area referred to by Krapf.

281 It should be remarked here that slaves were an integral part of the coastal and Zanzibari economy. The real tragedy is that nothing was properly arranged as a substitute for the slave-labour and the big estates that had been productive grew barren.

and permission was given from Kilwa to Rās Kitao²⁸² and they were prohibited up to Barāwa, that was in the reign of Mājid bin Saʿīd in the first days or years of his rule. But when Barghash bin Saʿīd ruled in the year 1290[/1873–1874],²⁸³ the Naṣāra prohibited the people of the Sawāḥil from bringing slaves and possessing them. The Sawāḥil had difficulties as a result of that, and whoever had slaves used to sell for *qurūsh* what was priced at from sixty and seventy *riyāls*; this²⁸⁴ they used to bring [them] by land secretly, but when the matter became evident to the Naṣāra that the Arabs were bringing slaves by land, they forced Barghash bin Saʿīd to order the *wālīs* of the districts that if anyone arrived by a landward route who had slaves, they should take the slaves from him as well as what money²⁸⁵ etc. he had, and he should go to prison for six months, and his servants should be divided into two parts, one for the Naṣāra and one for Sayyid Barghash bin Saʿīd. Barghash ordered all his *ʿamils* and the slave route was blocked. That was in the year 1292[/1875–1876], and people were selling aged slaves and they bought them for a high price until the year 1300[/1882–1883]. The Kushūr, that is the WaNyika were bought at a cheap price. That continued for three years without the permission of Barghash bin Saʿīd.²⁸⁶ That affair was started by Sālim bin Khamīs al-Mazrūʿī because he fought the Kushūr in the year 1301[/1883–1884] and they conquered the land of Giryāma and slew 107 people dead killed, and the war stopped. The Kushūr suffered a drought, and the rain was sparse so they came down and reconciliation was made between Sālim bin Khamīs and the Kushūr. But when the Kushūr came to the coast giving service and getting paid for their work, Sālim bin Khamīs ordered that they should overpower them and hold them and sell them wherever they found them. When the people of Mūmbāsa heard of that, Jamʿ bin Rāshid al-Shukaylī arose and went to Zinjibār and complained to Barghash bin Saʿīd about it. He summoned him and when Sālim bin Khamīs al-Mazrūʿī arrived, he was put in prison for that matter for six months in Zinjibār Island²⁸⁷—Sālim bin

282 Rās Kitao. In the Bombay government records this is entered as “The North Point of Kaghoo Island, v 1deg.57min.S”. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 353 f. n. 3; Allen, *Swahili Origins*, p. 62: “southeast corner of Manda Island ...”; Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, pp. 14, 29 n. 4, 42, 159; Stigand’s 1913 map shows a Ras Kitua halfway between the Sabaki and Ozi rivers.

283 See al-Mazrūʿī, *History*, pp. 91, 99.

284 This. The word is هذا, but we think it should have been هكذا = thus.

285 The text has مال = property.

286 Without permission. The British authorities were trying to reverse a practice that had been sanctioned over the years not only by society but also by religion. This being the case, it is no wonder that the laws were not observed.

287 Island. Or should it be “prison”?; *jazīra* might again have been written for *jereza*. This event was the last slave raid in the Zanzibari Dominions, and it was partly the result of the persistent distrust of the Mazāriʿa on the part of the BuSaʿīdis.

Khamīs, ‘Azīz bin ‘Abdallah bin Ḥumayd,²⁸⁸ Rashīd bin ‘Abdallah and Shā‘ib bin Sulaymān,²⁸⁹ all Mazrū‘īs, on the above-mentioned date 1301[1883–1884]. Would that the Naṣāra had arrived in the time of the purchase of slaves and sought cotton, as they desire to buy cotton from us in this age! But we are merchants in the growing of cotton, and God is witness to what I say.²⁹⁰ Barghash bin Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān al-BūSa‘īdī died in the month of Rajab²⁹¹ and his brother Khalīfa bin Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān in Zinjibār succeeded him after his death, and his way of life was objectionable. He was extravagant, foolish²⁹² and lewd in his actions. When he became ruler, the land was divided into three sections in all his kingdom from Maqdishu to Mangāū.²⁹³ Khalīfa bin Sa‘īd was not concerned about the interests of his subjects, but he set about making war secretly and wasted money without benefit for his subjects. That was because of the bad opinion of his *wazīrs* because they alleged that the reign of Khalīfa bin Sa‘īd would be thus and thus, but that was nothing but subterfuge and sinfulness. They did not remember the word of the Most High: “Did they not see that God enlarges the provision to whomsoever He wishes and limits it?”²⁹⁴ Teacher Yaḥya bin ‘Uqab²⁹⁵ has this poem about it:

The white sand²⁹⁶ will be opened in truth.
 So woe to the Sawāḥil and the sands.
 A great star will appear in heaven
 with a tail high in the form of a wind²⁹⁷

288 ‘Azīz bin ‘Abdallah bin Ḥumayd—حميد ; Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 323 line 3 fb, 355.

289 Shā‘ib bin Sulaymān Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 323 line 3 fb, 355.

290 The implication of this statement is that, had the British come when the cotton crops were at their best, they would have seen the sense of slave-labour and not interfered with it. This may be an indication of the identity of the author of MS L.

291 MS K supplies the date 1305[1887–1888].

292 The text has ذو حمق—*dhu ḥumq*. In Adeni Arabic, *ḥamiqa* حمق can mean “bad-tempered” or “irritable”.

293 Divided into three sections. That is, it was taken over and shared out between the Germans, the British and the Italians.

294 Qur‘ān 30:37. The writer quotes this verse several times.

295 Yaḥya bin ‘Uqab. The text introduces him as معلم—*mu‘allim*—teacher; Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 324 line 11, 355. I can find nothing about this poet.

296 The white sand. This is the Suez Canal, which was opened in 1869.

297 A great star. Cerulli passes over this reference to what was obviously a comet. On consulting G.W. Kronk: *Comets: A Descriptive Catalog*. Hillside, NJ: Enslow, 1984, we find three comets: the Great September Comet 1882 11 of 0.0 magnitude which had a tail of 20 deg + and was for part of its appearance visible in broad daylight, the Great Southern Comet 1887 1 of 1.5 magnitude with a tail which varied between 25 and 40 deg., and Halley’s Comet of 0.0 magnitude with a tail of 90 deg. These phenomena are of value in helping to date

That is the sign of the Ifranj in truth
They will fill the Sawāḥil and the summits[?]²⁹⁸

Khalīfa bin Saʿīd died in the year 1307[/1889–1890]²⁹⁹ and was succeeded by his brother ʿAlī bin Saʿīd in Zinjibār, and he was sorry about his kingdom because the land was filled with Naṣāra.³⁰⁰ He used to command his subjects to be patient and to bear the gossip. He never spent money on his subjects, but was a glutton and drunkard, and ʿAlī bin Saʿīd died in the year 1310[/1892–1893],³⁰¹ and was succeeded by his cousin Aḥmad bin Thuwaynī bin Saʿīd bin Sulṭān bin Ḥamad bin Saʿīd.³⁰² He was wasteful of the treasury funds in Zinjibār and sent I know not how many rupees to ʿUmān to Shaykh Ṣāliḥ bin ʿAlī,³⁰³ and sent his order to fight Fayṣal bin Turkī bin Saʿīd bin Sulṭān bin Aḥmad bin Saʿīd,³⁰⁴ and Fayṣal bin Turkī was betrayed by the machinations of his cousin Aḥmad bin Thuwaynī. Aḥmad died in the year 1314[/1896–1897].³⁰⁵ Then, when Aḥmad bin Thuwaynī died in Zinjibār, Khālid bin Barghash launched an attack, and seized Government House,³⁰⁶ and moved into it³⁰⁷ without the permission of the con-

this ms. Some question may arise as to whether one of the great comets of a date nearer to the year of the opening of the Suez Canal, which is plainly referred to in the first line of the poem, may not be more probable. The description of the Great September Comet of 1882 II, however, is so outstanding that we think it is the one referred to. See the list of comets in Appendix 3.

- 298 Summits. We can only take this to mean the inland areas of greater altitude than the coastal strip of the Sawāḥil.
- 299 Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 251 line 5; Khalifa b. Saʿīd b. Sultan (r. 1888–1890). See Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar*, pp. 23 f., 36; M. de K. Hemphill, “The British Sphere 1884–1894”, in R. Oliver & G. Mathew (eds), *History of East Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963, vol. 1, pp. 391–432, p. 399.
- 300 See Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar*, pp. 42 f., 51 ff.
- 301 ʿAlī bin Saʿīd (r. 1307/1890–1310/1893). Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 324 line 15, 356; Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar*, pp. 31, 32, 37, 42–44, 52–53, 77–79; Hemphill, “British Sphere”, p. 410.
- 302 Aḥmad bin Thuwaynī bin Saʿīd bin Sulṭān bin Ḥamad bin Saʿīd (r. 1893–1896). Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 324 lines 8 & 5fb, 356; Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar*, pp. 80–88, 94 f., 100, 104–106; Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, p. 102. It seems that at this point a ruler had to be provided from the ʿUmāni branch of the BūSaʿīdi family.
- 303 Ṣāliḥ bin ʿAlī (al-Ḥārithi). Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 324 line 7fb, 356; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 92, 233, 236, 238, 241, 242.
- 304 Fayṣal bin Turkī (r. 1888–1913). Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 324 line 7 fb, 356; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition* pp. 14, 241, 242, 249, 258, 264; Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar*, pp. 94 f.
- 305 See Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar*, p. 119.
- 306 The text has دار المحكمة—*dār al-maḥkama* whereas a few lines later it has دار الملك. See Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar*, p. 82.
- 307 The text has رحل فيها—*raḥal fiha*. The above translation would appear to give the intended sense. The phrase reflect a Swahili background.

sul. Māthyūth was angry at him as before on the day ‘Alī bin Sa‘īd died, because he had seized the house without receiving the homage of any of the Arabs, or of the Naṣāra but he wished to rule by himself. He was the sixth one and it is usual for the sixth on the throne³⁰⁸ to be deposed. Māthyūth³⁰⁹ went in to him and drove him out of Government House, and he became one of the uprooted ones. On the day that Aḥmad bin Thuwaynī died, the next in succession arose, Ḥamūd bin Muḥammad bin Sa‘īd,³¹⁰ because he had more right to rule. The artillery was fired at Zinjibār from the English warship, which was in Zinjibār harbour. None of Khālīd’s shells hit any English warships, except one named “Glasgow”,³¹¹ which was hit by the English artillery. Khālīd came out of Government House and has received protection from the German government up till now.³¹² Ḥamūd bin Muḥammad bin Sa‘īd succeeded, and his government was established in Zinjibār and *al-jazīra al-khudrā*.³¹³ Ḥamūd bin Muḥammad bin Sa‘īd died in the year 1320 [1902–1903],³¹⁴ and was succeeded by his son ‘Alī bin Ḥamūd.³¹⁵ By that time the position of ‘Alī was purely nominal.³¹⁶

308 The text has *في الملك*—*fī al-mulk*.

309 Mathyuth. Lyne, *Zanzibar*, p. 205. He died in 1901 in Zanzibar.

310 Ḥamūd bin Muḥammad bin Sa‘īd (1896–1902). Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 325 line 6, 357; Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar*, pp. 81, 119, 125 f., 131 f., 138, 142 f., 169, 173 f. 221.

311 The text has *غلاسكو*. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 325 line 4, 356; Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar*, pp. 121, 124.

312 This statement helps to fix the time at which this MS was written. That is, Khālīd b. Barghash was still alive at the time of writing. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 324 line 4 fb, 356; Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar*, pp. 125, 128 ff.

313 i.e. Pemba.

314 See Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar*, p. 174.

315 ‘Alī bin Ḥamūd (1902–1911). Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 325 line 7, 357; Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar*, pp. 131 f., 172 f., 175 f., 190, 198, 221.

316 Yet the sultans continued in Zanzibar until the revolution of the 1960s, when it became a Republic in 1964, later that year uniting with Tanganyika to form the Republic of Tanzania.

Kawkab al-durriya li-akhbār Ifrīqiya

The Year 1347

The Opening of Muḥarram 8

It was handed to Shaykh ‘Uthmān bin Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Sumālī

with the tribal name of al-‘Aqīlī¹

by the hand of Ḥasan Badawī.

In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate.

Praise be to God the Creator, the Loving Originator, Possessor of the Glorious Throne, Excellent, Glorious, Generous, Who does what He will, Who made for His Creation [various] colours, white and red and black, and preferred some of them over others as He said in His Glorious Reputable Book. And prayer and peace be upon the Chosen and Praiseworthy² and upon his Family and Companions, fulfillers of their covenants.

Now therefore I have set down briefly in this book information about Africa and the sea coast eastward in the region of the Equator at a place called “the Juba”, in explanation of the Zunūj³ who were created (or born) in it originally and the Arabs and non-Arabs⁴ and the Christians,⁵ all of them from first to last.

1 عقيلي—‘Aqīlī—a descendant of ‘Aqīl ibn Abī Ṭālib, a cousin of the Prophet. The recipient would belong to the Banū ‘Aqīl of Somalia. See Aḥmad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-‘Aqīlī, *Al-la‘ālī al-sunniya fi ‘l-aq‘āb al-aqīlya*. Cairo: Dār al-Manār, 2006, p. 280; Lewis, *Peoples of the Horn of Africa*, p. 15. ALA, vol. 3A, p. 103, where the MS is correctly dated 1347/1928–1929. However the ALA entry shows Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Sumālī al-‘Aqīlī as the author whereas the MS clearly indicates that the author is Fāqīl bin Shaykh ‘Umar al-Baūrī. As he died 1913, the MS may have undergone some changes before it was finalized in 1928–1929. The entry in ALA, vol. 3A, p. 103, has the date as 1347/1928–1929, which should be corrected, as 1347 only refers to the date the MS was handed over. *Kitāb al-Zunūj* refers to the *Kawkab* and is hence of a later date.

2 The text has المصطفى المحود—a praise name for Muḥammad.

3 M. Tolmacheva, “Toward a Definition of the term Zanj”, *Azania* 21 (1986): 105–113.

4 Arabic عجم. This means either “Persians”, or “all races of non-Arab origin”. Here it might mean specifically “Persians”, but more probably “non-Arabs”. The author may have had in mind the *Burda* of al-Busīrī (d. 696/1296) “Muḥammad is the Lord of the two worlds, the earth and the heaven and the animated being, spirits of men of every sort, from the Arabs to the foreigners. It is our Prophet who rules, ordering good things and denying bad ones ... by saying ‘no’ or ‘so be it.’” Knappert, *Swahili Islamic Poetry*, vol. 2, pp. 182, 183. See Qur’ān 3:104. In the Qur’ān, the epithet “Lord of the worlds” is applied exclusively to God. See Qur’ān 1:2, 2:131, 5:28, 6:45, etc.

5 Arabic نصارى. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries this meant “Europeans”.

I have entitled it “*Kawkab al-durriyya li-akhbār Ifrīqiya*” (The Lustrous Star of Information about Africa), and I pray the Merciful that He will graciously give light and pleasure to him who reads this book—truly He is the Generous One, the Liberal Giver—and that He will smooth for us and him the way to the knowledge of the thoughtful.

It is the work of one of small estimation in the eyes of his Lord who confesses his burden⁶ (of sin) Fāḍil bin Shaykh ‘Umar al-Baūrī.⁷

Since I have seen [that] the mingling of Arabs and Africans in the land of East Africa has already taken place, and because of this, there had (arisen) become more frequent among the judges⁸ questioning of those living at that time concerning their allegations. He who said in his reply readily, “I am a Swahili”, would be confirmed as an African, but he who replied, “I am an Arab”, (would likewise be confirmed as an Arab) even though he was not of Arab origin at all.⁹ This necessitated a distinction such as we make between ruby and coral, for the Arabs are nearer to the Prophet, and it is not fitting that Arabs should be related to Africans,¹⁰ or that Africans should be related to Arabs, even if they are clients,¹¹ for the clients have no genealogy¹² even though they may have status in regard to wealth and religion, as God said, “O people, we have created you of male and female and set you as peoples and tribes that you may know among yourselves that the most noble of you in God’s sight is the most pious, etc.”¹³ The meaning of “peoples” is “a great tribe”,¹⁴ and of “tribes” only those who are from one Arab father.¹⁵ It says this in the *Qāmūs*.¹⁶

6 The author has written بالوزره ... for بوزره.

7 Arabic البوري. This might be of the Buri, or of the Bauri clan. The latter is Bājūn dialect. There is a place named Bauri on Pate Island. Elliott (“Visit to the Bājūn”, p. 150) refers to one Fazil bin Omar Alburi of Malindi. See also Strandes, *Portuguese Period*, pp. 353 f.

8 The judges are those under the colonial administration.

9 These sentences are extremely awkward and badly constructed.

10 Related to Africans. ينسب may mean either “to have a pedigree ascribed to one” or “to be ascribed to” or “reckoned as”.

11 موالى *mawālī*. This word refers to those non-Arabs who, after the Arab expansion, were “adopted” into a Beduin tribe on their conversion to Islam. It is applied here to African tribes of Bantu origin who had a similar relationship to the coastal Arabs.

12 Genealogy. That is, an Arab genealogy or pedigree.

13 Qur’an 49:13. لتعارفوا—*lita‘ārifū*—that you may come to know. The reference to “piety” limits the meaning to moral behaviour, not to racial superiority.

14 قبيلة—*qabila*—in Swahili denoted a tribe understood as a political or socially coherent and autonomous group occupying or claiming a particular territory.

15 The words are شعوب = *shu‘ūb*, and قبائل = *qabā’il*. One may detect a certain “racism” in these interpretations.

16 The *Qāmūs*. This would appear to be *Al-qāmūs al-muḥīt* compiled by Abū Ṭāhir Muḥam-

Section (*Faṣl*)

We shall mention the Arabs, also we shall mention the Zanj who are in the land of Wāmā¹⁷ and the Equator, Juba.¹⁸

Ḥām the son of Nūḥ, on him be prayers and peace, had four sons, Miṣr, and Kan‘ān, and Kūsh and Qūṭ¹⁹ and the Zanj are children of Kan‘ān.²⁰ Ḥām bin Nūḥ was handsome in appearance, with a shining face, and God altered his colour, and that of his descendants because of his father’s prayer. For he prayed for him blackening of the face, and that his offspring’s faces should be black, and that his children should be slaves to the children of Sām and Yāfit. So He multiplied them and made them grow, and there settled on the shore of the sea towards the east and the Equator Juba, a people called the Kushūr²¹ in the Zanj language, and in that country there was no nation but them. They were neighbours of Ḥabasha at a distance of 26 days’ journey to the north-west. They were only herders of cattle, goats and sheep, and were of 12 kinds (tribes), Mdīgo 1, Mshimba 2, Mlūngu 3, Msegheju 4, Mghiryama 5, Mshūni 6, Mkambe 7, Mrībi 8, Mjibāna 9, Mtaīta 10, Mkadiyāru 11, Mdāra 12, list complete.²²

mad b.Ya‘qūb al-Firūzābādī (d. 817/1414), which devotes space to the roots of Yamānī place-names.

- 17 If the listing is understood as going from south to north with the Equator in the middle then “Wāmā” probably refers to the Wami, who live along the Wami River just south of Mombasa in present-day Tanzania. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 237, 263, 301, 330, 320, 350.
- 18 جب This is the Juba River, which flows into the sea almost exactly on the Equator.
- 19 Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 254; al-Suwaydī, *Sabā’ik*, p. 28, 30.
- 20 Cf. Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-ma‘ārif*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1850; Ibn Wāḍiḥ al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rikh*, ed. M.T. Houtsma. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1883, p. 217; al-Suwaydī, *Sabā’ik*, p. 30.
- 21 The word in Arabic is كَشُور and may be transliterated either Kushūr or Kashūr. They are the Bantu tribes on the coastal belt, but they are not aboriginal to the area. Cf. the Kissioi, or Cushites, of the Greeks.
- 22 These names are given in the Arabic script as follows: مَدِيغ ١ مَشِمْب ٢ مَلُوغ ٣ مَسْغِي ٤ مَغْرِيْمَا ٥ مَشُون ٦ مَكْمَب ٧ مَرِيْب ٨ مَجْبَان ٩ مَتِيْت ١٠ مَكْدِيَار ١١ مَدَار ١٢ It will be seen that transliteration between Arabic and Swāhili is extremely difficult. The author has used the nominative singular personal for “Mdīgo”—Digo, “Mshimba”—Shambala, “Mlūngu”—Lungu; “Msegheju”—Segeju; “Mgiriyama”—Giriama; “Mshūni”—Chonyi; “Mkambe”—Kamba; “Mrībi”—Ribe; “Mjibāna”—Jibana; “Mtaīta”—Taita; “Mkadiyāru”—Kadiaro; “Mdāra”—Dara. Some of these are clearly part of the Mjikenda. The *mim* may indicate a locative rather than tribal identity. See Krapf 1964 vol. 1, pp. 212 ff., vol. 2, pp. 90 ff., showing that the enumeration of the above names is from south to north. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 234 f., 256, 296; Elliott, “Visit to the Bājūn”, p. 151. See Grottanelli, “Peopling of the Horn of Africa”, p. 64, for a comparison of Cerulli’s and Elliott’s lists. For Mjikenda, see Prins,

All these were inhabiting the bank of the river Juba²³ and above it and around it from the day God created them.²⁴ The largest of their towns is called Shungwaya,²⁵ and they were cultivators and herders of cattle and sheep, without religion; for they were idolaters taking for themselves something like a calf that had a loud bellow.²⁶ If one of their chiefs dies, they pull a rope of hide which bellows. Its bellow is like a donkey's, a loud bray²⁷ that can be heard at a distance of two hours at night, and one hour in the daytime. They pray for the healing of sickness,²⁸ and utter their request at the time of prayer as if they were praying to the "Lord of the Universe".

Section (*Faṣl*)

Their laws are well-known. Among them is this:

If a famine occurs, a daughter or sister or wife is sold. Its form is that she is first pledged for a certain price. If the price is paid then the daughter or other is returned, but if it is not paid the pledged woman becomes a slave without question.²⁹

Whenever a woman is betrothed, the suitor comes to the girl's father with wine, and the girl is called to tell her that "so-and-so, son of so-and-so, has brought us this wine and is making his suit for you. What do you say?" If she is willing, she says, "Shall I drink, father?" seeking permission on her part, or else

Swahili Speaking Peoples, p. 17; Allen, *Swahili Origins*, pp. 89 ff. The names differ across the three MSS. For the origins of these groups, see Spear, *Traditions of Origin*; Strandes, *Portuguese Period*, pp. 333 (Chonyi), 334 (Gala), 360 (Wadiburi), 361 (Wagunya).

23 This river, the Juba, flows into the Indian Ocean just north of Kisimayu and should not be confused with the Juba in the Sudan.

24 From the day God created them. The Bantu traditions show this is incorrect. The Giryama tribe have traditions about the "Wabilikimo" or Dwarfs, with whom they show some signs of having intermarried. See the accounts in *Kitāb al-Zunūj* MS K p. 234. Hardinge (*Diplomatist in the East*, pp. 139, 159) refers to them as *Wasania*. See A. Werner, "A Few Notes on the Wasanye", *Man* 13/12 (1913): 199–201; for Sanye, see J.E.G. Sutton, "The Settlement of East Africa", in B.A. Ogot & J.A. Kieran (eds), *Zamani: A Survey of East African History*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969, p. 85; Chittick, *East Africa and the Orient* 1969 p. 102.

25 Text has شغواية—*Shunghwāya*. For a derivation of the name See Baya, "Giriama", p. 27; Strandes, *Portuguese Period*, p. 357.

26 See Qur'an 7:146. This would appear to be hearsay on the author's part.

27 A loud bray. نهبًا بليغا Arabic The author uses a word meaning "eloquent" as if it meant "far-sounding".

28 Lit.: They pray for the sick for healing from it, i.e. from the disease.

29 Question. The word in Arabic is منازعة which means wrangling or disputing.

the girl remains silent and then the father knows that the girl objects, because she does not want him.

The second kind of suitors is this. The suitor and the woman whose hand is sought are in play. They dance opposite one another and are pleased with each other, and make for the suitor's house and pass the night there. When morning comes, he informs the father or the brother, "The daughter of so-and-so is with me." This is her wedding (requirement)—two sheep and as much wine as possible. Then he pays the dowry, and gives it to the father or brother after bargaining.³⁰

The third (kind) is this, that the man marries without her consent, and its form is that the girl should be young, and her father in need or in debt. Then the husband takes his³¹ spouse at once like a sale without any provision of outfit [for the bride] except money, and that is a dowry.

Section (*Faṣl*)

If the husband dies and leaves wives and property, the children inherit the property, and the brothers the wives without a new marriage nor payment of dowry, and this is like the Arabs who used to inherit wives in the last period before Islam,³² and at first in Islam God, may He be exalted said: "O believers, it is not lawful for you to inherit women against their will etc."³³ Abū Qubays bin al-Aslat al-Anṣārī died and left a wife named Kubaysha bint Ka'b al-Anṣārī, and there arose another of his sons by another wife, called Huṣan, and cast his robe on her and inherited the right to marry her. Then he left her, and did not co-habit with her or provide for her livelihood, trying to injure her, so that she would be redeemed from him. Kubaysha came to the Apostle of God (saws) and said, "O Apostle of God, Abū Qubays has died, and his son has inherited my marriage, and he neither supports me, nor has intercourse with me, nor lets me go free." The Apostle of God said, "Keep in your house until the command of God comes concerning you." Then God, may he be exalted, revealed the above-mentioned verse.

30 After bargaining. This is more like the patching up of a misadventure rather than a regular marriage. From what we know of tribal marriage laws now, it is very doubtful if this would be a recognised form of marriage. The word in Arabic translated "bargaining" is كلام = talk.

31 The text has زوجها—*zawjahā*—her husband which is a mistake.

32 The last period before Islam. Called "the Age of Ignorance" by Muslims. Arabic آخر الجاهلية—*ākhir al-jāhiliyya*.

33 Qur'ān 4:19/23 ff.



MAP 10 The Kingdom of Himyar
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And a man would marry a woman by being employed, if he had no dowry, in agreement with [the practice of] the Arabs and prophets of former times, Mūsā bin 'Imrān after Ya'qūb, as God said, "And when he came to him and told him the tale, he said, 'Don't fear; you have escaped the wrong-doing people.' One of them [the daughters] said, 'O father, employ him on hire, the best one to employ is the strong and faithful man.' He said, 'I would like to marry you to one of these two daughters of mine, on condition you become my hired servant eight years, etc.'" ³⁴ Al-Farā'ī said, "I will make my wages for marrying her [to you] that you shepherd my flocks for eight years." "Years" (*ḥijāj*) are "years" (*sinūn*) and the singular is *hijja*. ³⁵ And shepherding of flocks is a service, but the Kushūr went against that because of their covetousness, for they make condition with one another for service until he, i.e. the husband, has a daughter and she becomes an adult. When he gives her in marriage, he pays the dowry to the girl's father or to the one who arranges his marriage in the same way. For example, Sālīm bin Sa'īd married the daughter of Nāṣir bin Sālīm by entering his service for a period. If he obtains a daughter by his wife, and she grows up

34 Qur'ān 28: 25–27. A reflection of Gen. 29:15 ff.

35 This is a typical piece of commentary on a Qur'ānic verse. The whole passage is a transcription of a Ḥadīth, or Prophetic tradition.

and is given in marriage, her dowry belongs to the father of the girl, that is, Nāṣir bin Sālīm, or to the one who arranges his marriage, even though she was someone else's daughter, since he has paid the money and he (that is, the husband) has married by means of it, so now his money returns to him.

The most severe law of the Kushūr is against the thief. The thief is killed if he is convicted three times.

Also if a grandfather dies his women are inherited by his son's children on condition that they are not from his father's mother.³⁶

Chapter (*Bāb*)

When Ḥassān bin Tubba' set out for the far west,³⁷ he advanced upon its kings and fought fiercely with them there. It says in *Sabā'ik al-dhahab* that it is he who is known as al-Aqran.³⁸ He died in the west country,³⁹ and his rule lasted 150 years.⁴⁰ After him his son, Ifrīqīs bin Ḥassān bin Tubba' al-Ḥimyarī became ruler in Ṣan'ā' of Yaman.⁴¹ It says in the *Qāmūs* that this name was Ifrīqīsh with *shīn*, contradicting *Sabā'ik al-dhahab*. It is he who opened up⁴² Africa in the west and killed its King Jirjir, and he built it and it was known by his name.⁴³ And King Ifrīqīs bin Ḥassān al-Ḥimyarī died in the dating of the Prophet of God Mūsā bin 'Imrān. The chronologists⁴⁴ say that it was 1,362 years from Mūsā, on who be peace.⁴⁵

36 A handwritten note adds "but from his paternal uncle's mother". Cf. R. Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*. London: Adam & C. Black 1907.

37 The author makes a common practice, based, we think, on South Arabian colloquial usage, of inserting *waw* = "and" at the beginning of clauses, where syntax does not require it. It is in fact a sound heard in South Arabian speech, but representing simply a kind of pause, rather than a word with a meaning.

38 Al-Suwaydī, *Sabā'ik*, p. 70. Prins, ("Swahili Historiography"), p. 36 gives the date for a *Sabā'ik al-dhahab* MS as 1814.

39 The west country. The text has المغرب—*Maghrib*. This is present-day Morocco.

40 Al-Suwaydī, *Sabā'ik*, p. 70.

41 Al-Suwaydī, *Sabā'ik*, p. 70.

42 Or "conquered"—but the eighth form of the verb افتح is less common than the first with this meaning.

43 Al-Suwaydī, *Sabā'ik*, p. 70.

44 Literally "the calculators"—اهل الحساب.

45 1,362 years—*Taqwīm al-Bayrūtīyya* 1331/1912. It has not been possible to track down this comparative chronology of Jewish, Common Era and Islamic dates. See G.D. Newby, *A History of the Jews of Arabia from Ancient Times to Their Eclipse under Islam*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1988; Y. Tobi, *The Jews of Yemen: Studies in Their History and Culture*. Leiden: Brill, 1999.

Section (*Faṣl*)

And after the reign of his brother Ifrīqīs there ruled Asʿad bin Ḥassān bin Tubbaʿ al-Ḥimyarī. He was called Asʿad al-Kāmil. This is what the *Sabāʾik* says: And he went among people as his ancestors had done, and had a rule wider in extent than any before him, and was given more than any king had been given in the way of troops and assistance and resources.⁴⁶ Let us mention the dates. The author of *al-Taqwīm al-Bayrūtiyya*, dated 1331 A.H., corresponding to A.D. 1913⁴⁷ and Jewish year 5673—3,870 from the Flood and 3,928 from Sayyidna Ibrāhīm al-Khalīl,⁴⁸ (prayers and peace of God be upon him) and 3,423 from Sayyidnā Mūsā, on him be God's prayer and peace, and 2,945 from King and Prophet Dāūd, on him be prayer and peace, and 2,666 from the founding of Rome and 2225 from the Seleucids or Greeks, and in the Coptic year 1629. This is the year A.D. 1913, as we said before. Whoever would argue about this mare, let him ride it!⁴⁹

This is he who is known as al-Tubbaʿ al-Ḥimyarī mentioned in the Qurʾān.⁵⁰ His reign was in the year 1363 [147 B.C.]. He built and colonised Samarqand⁵¹ first at this date. In the same way, we have taken the year 3423, which is the root of chronology from Mūsā, and the first building of Samarqand was dated to the year 1363. We looked at what was left and saw it to be 2,060 years.⁵² This was the beginning of his reign, that is the reign of Tubbaʿ al-Ḥimyarī. It was before the time of the Prophet ʿĪsā, God's peace be upon him,⁵³ by more than

46 al-Suwaydī, *Sabāʾik*, p. 71. The Arabic word *المُدَّة* can also mean “assistance”.

47 This is the year in which Shaykh Faḍīl bin ʿUmar al-Baurī died and dates this MS very definitely.

48 Al-Khalīl. Qurʾān 4:125; cf. Ex. 33:11.

49 That is, “Anyone who thinks otherwise, let him prove his case.”

50 Qurʾān 44:36/37 and 50:13/14.

51 Samarqand. On the face of it, there seems to be little foundation for the story of a pre-Islamic Yamanī (i.e. Himyarite) conquest of Central Asia. It would, however, be interesting to be able to trace how such a story arose. The connection between the two after the Islamic expansion is quite well-known and clear. It may have arisen out of the process of Islamic colonization. What is known is that the Zaydī section of the Shīʿa not only became the ruling house of the Yaman but also was able to found a community in Central Asia, which is there to this day and has produced one of the well-known Zaydī scholars whose works are much in evidence in Ṣanʿā. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 258.

52 2,060 years. That is, between the event mentioned and the year A.D. 1913. This makes it equivalent to 147 B.C., which would appear to be too early for the reign of Asʿad al-Kāmil, which was well within the Christian era.

53 This invocation is usually reserved for Muḥammad. See Qurʾān 19:30.

100 years. That is supported in the Qurʾān. God, may He be exalted, said: “We have delivered Banū Isrāʾīl from humiliating punishment, from Pharaoh. Truly he was a proud profligate. And we chose them in preference over the rest of the world, and gave them the signs in which is a clear test.⁵⁴ Truly these say, there is nothing but our first death and we are not going to be brought forth; bring back our fathers if you speak truth. Are they better or are the people of Tubbaʿ?”⁵⁵ Qutāda said he is Tubbaʿ al-Ḥimyarī. He went with the armies until he reached the neighbourhood of al-Ḥira⁵⁶ and built Samarqand⁵⁷ and he was one of the kings of Yaman, and his rule was centred at Ṣanʿāʾ.

ʿĀʾisha bint Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq used to say, “Don’t curse Tubbaʿ, for he was a righteous man.” Saʿīd bin Jubayr said, “It is he who covered the House.⁵⁸ He was called Tubbaʿ from the multitude of his followers.” He said, “and this man used to worship Fire, but became a Muslim, and summoned his people, that is Ḥimyar, to Islam; but they disbelieved him.”⁵⁹ And ʿIkrima mentioned from Ibn ʿAbbās that he said he was the last Tubbaʿ⁶⁰ and was [called] Asʿad Abū Karib ibn Malīk Yakrub.⁶¹ When he came from the East and made his way against Madīna, the author says that the “East” is the direction of

54 Qurʾān 37:106.

55 Qurʾān 44:30–37/29–36.

56 Reached the neighbourhood of: the form of the verb is strange. It seems he has written جاور instead of جاور “to be in the neighbourhood of”. Al-Ḥira: the buffer state on the Euphrates between Persia and the Ghassanids. The people of both al-Ḥira and Ghassān were Nestorian Christians at this time. Trimmingham, *Christianity among the Arabs*, pp. 165 ff., 188 ff. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 258.

57 Nicholson, *Literary History*, p. 21: “Legend makes Asʿad the hero of a brilliant expedition to Persia ...”

58 I.e. the Kaʿba. Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 7.

59 Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 7 Ibn Iṣḥāq presents the Tubbaʿ as accepting the religion of the rabbis as these events took place hundreds of years before the appearance of Muḥammad and Islam. The author of the *Kawkab* also takes this position. See below footnote 87.

60 The last Tubbaʿ. Tubbaʿ was a title of kingship, not a proper name. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 60–61. It may be fanciful, but it occurs to me that from this term comes the Arabic word تبعة = responsibility. The word has the same root as the Arabic verb “to follow”. ʿIkrima b. ʿĀmir of the Banū ʿAbd al-Dār and Ibn ʿAbbās are two very highly respected and authoritative transmitters of traditions concerning Muḥammad the Prophet. Al-Suwaydī (*Sabāʾik*, p. 71) states that the last of the Tubbaʿ was Shamar. See A.L. Prémare, “Il voulut détruire le temple: L’attaque de la Kaʿba par les rois yéménites avant l’islam”, *Journal Asiatique* 288/2 (2000): 261–367, p. 331.

61 These names are South Arabian proper names which appear on stone inscriptions written in the “Musnad” script of South Arabia. Malīk Yakrub is more correctly Malīk Karib Yuhniʿam.

Maqdishū,⁶² it was a road from Maqdishū to Birbira⁶³ and to Suez and to al-Madīna al-Munawwara,⁶⁴ a continuous road with no river because the land of the Arabs was joined to west and to East Ifrīqīya, and the road junction was before its arrival at Suez at a distance of three days' journey from al-Madīna al-Munawwara to Egypt, and to Maqdishū, and it ran from Egypt to the far Maghrib, and from Maqdishū to the headland of the south.⁶⁵ So consider, enquirer, it was before the conquest of the White Sand⁶⁶ as Yahyā bin 'Uqb [or 'Aqab?] mentioned in poetry, when the Companions of the Apostle of God, may God send prayers and peace upon him, may God be pleased with all the Companions gathered around him.

فُتِفَتْحُ رَمَلَةِ الْبَيْضَاءِ حَقًّا فَوَيْلٌ لِّلسَّوَاهِلِ وَالرَّمَالِ
فَوَيْلٌ ثُمَّ وَيْلٌ ثُمَّ وَيْلٌ لِّأَهْلِ الشَّامِ وَالْمَلِكِ الضَّلَالِ

The White Sand will certainly be conquered
So Woe to the Swahili coast and the sands!
Woe! and woe! and woe!
To the people of Shām and the king of error.

The "White Sand" is Suez, which was conquered in the year of the Hijra corresponding to A.D. 1869 [A.H. 1285–1286].⁶⁷ Consider this and the reason for this road above-mentioned. When he saw that his father and his brother had settled the far west of Ifrīqīya, he started for East Africa and settled Maqdishū first, then Basāsa,⁶⁸ then Kilwa, as the Christians have said. After that, he constructed the above-mentioned road and he had, at the time when he passed along it, left behind [i.e. at Madīna] among their leaders one of his sons, who

62 Maqdishu is really Mogadishu and is well to the south of east if not almost due south of Madīna. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, *passim*.

63 Birbira in the north part of Somalia, formerly British Somaliland. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, *passim*; Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, pp. 7, 9.

64 Al-Munawwara. That is, "the enlightened". This term refers to the city's acceptance of the Prophet and his dwelling there and making it the headquarters of his empire. The original name of Madīna was Yathrib. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 189, 191, 328.

65 The headland of the south. Arabic. رَأْسُ الْجَنُوبِ. This seems to refer to Cape Guardafui and Ra's Hafun, but it may refer to Cape Delgado. Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, pp. 9, 10, 141.

66 The White Sand. Arabic. رَمَلَةُ الْبَيْضَاءِ. The author has identified this as Suez.

67 This is the year the Suez Canal was opened.

68 Basāsa. This is Mombasa. It should not be confused with Bosaso in Puntland, Somalia. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, *passim* (Bandar Qāsim).

was treacherously murdered;⁶⁹ so he advanced towards it⁷⁰ determined on its destruction⁷¹ and the rooting out of its people.⁷² This community of the Anṣār gathered together to await him when they heard about his intentions, and went out to fight him, and they were fighting him in the daytime and recognizing him [i.e. as ruler] at night. He was amazed at them for that and said, “These people are noble indeed.”⁷³ Thereupon there came to him two rabbis whose names were Kaʿb and Asad, two of the rabbis of Banū Qurayza,⁷⁴ learned men and cousins. They had heard how he wished to destroy the city and its people, and said to him, “O King, don’t do it. For if you refuse to do anything but your own wish, an obstacle will be imposed between you and it, and we do not guarantee you against speedy retribution, for this is a place of emigration for a Prophet who will come out of this section⁷⁵ of the Quraysh whose name is Muḥammad, to be born in Makka, and this town is the house of his emigration [and your own house which you are in will be one of killing and wounds] a great commander among his companions and among their enemies.” Then Tubbaʿ said, “Who will make war on him seeing he is a Prophet?” They replied, “His people will go to him and they will be killed here.” Then he turned aside from what he had intended for Madīna Munawwara because of their words.

Then they summoned him to their religion and he complied, and followed them and treated them honourably and left Madīna.⁷⁶ He went out with them and some of the Jews, resorting to the Yaman.⁷⁷ And some of the Hudhayl came to him on the way and said, “We will show you a house which has in it treasure of pearl and emerald and silver.”⁷⁸ He replied, “Which house?” They said, “The

69 Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 7. Ibn Ishāq refers to “a Himyari”, without specifying that he was the son of the Tubbaʿ. Cf. Nicholson, *Literary History*, p. 21.

70 Advanced towards it. No town is mentioned here, but it seems that it must refer to Madīna, and the term, *anṣār*, though a complete anachronism, shows that he had Madīna in mind.

71 The text has لا يخرجها — *li-ikhrābihā* = for its destruction. See MS K footnote 24.

72 Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 7.

73 Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, pp. 7 ff., where the name Asad as one of the rabbis occurs.

74 Banū Qurayza, This positive depiction of this Jewish tribe is in stark contrast to the situation at the time of the Prophet. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 117. Cf. Nicholson, *Literary History*, pp. 21 ff.

75 Arabic حي — *ḥayy* A ward, or neighbourhood of a town.

76 Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 7.

77 Arabic عامدين الى اليمن — *āmudīn ila al-Yaman*.

78 Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 8; ʿĀtiq b. Ghayth al-Baladī, *Muʿjam maʿālim al-Ḥijāz*. Makka: Dār Makka, 2010, vol. 7, p. 1152. The place where they met was at al-Duff in the Jumdan district, between Amaj and ʿUsfan north-west of Mecca; Muḥammad b. ʿAbd

House of Makka.” For Hudhayl wished him to perish, for they knew that no one ever wished to do evil to it without perishing. He told the rabbis, but they said, “We do not know of any house (built) for God in the land except this house, so make it a mosque⁷⁹ and perform your devotion in it,⁸⁰ and sacrifice and shave your head.⁸¹ No one ever showed it hostility but perished.⁸² So honour it and perform at it what its people perform.” When they said that, he took the people of Hudhayl and cut off their hands and feet and put out their eyes and crucified them.⁸³ When he arrived in Makka, he camped at the Shu‘b,⁸⁴ Shu‘b al-Maṣāliḥ, and he covered the house with striped linen cloth.⁸⁵ He was the first to cover the house.⁸⁶ He slaughtered 6,000 victims in the Shu‘b and stayed there six days, and circumambulated it, and shaved his head, and departed. When the Tubba‘ drew near to the Yaman to enter it, Ḥimyar came between him and it and said, “Don’t enter our country [lit. upon us]. You have left our religion.”⁸⁷ Then he summoned them to his religion and said, “It is certainly a better religion than yours.” They replied, “Bring us to trial at the fire.”⁸⁸ There was in the a fire⁸⁹ at the base of a mountain where they used to seek judgement among themselves

Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makkah wa-mā jā’a fihā min al-āthār*, ed. ‘Abd al-Mālik Dhayyash. Saudi Arabia, 2003, vol. 1, p. 207.

79 Arabic مسجد *—masjidan*. See Qur’an 3:96.

80 Arabic أنسك عنده *—ansak ‘indahu*—perform the rite of “circumambulation”.

81 Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, pp. 8 f.

82 See footnote 87, and 92 below.

83 Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 9.

84 The Shu‘b—شعب a scribal error for شعبة *—shu‘ba* = division, section; hence one of the wards of Makka. This probably refers to the *shu‘ba* of Abū Ṭālib, Muḥammad’s uncle. See W. Muir, *Life of Muḥammad*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1923, p. 93. This was the area in which Muḥammad’s family were all confined during the boycott by Quraysh. Perhaps the meaning is “he put up in the Shu‘b”. It seems to be clearly a “reading back” of the Islamic veneration for that ward to the time of the Tubba‘. Al-Baladi, *Mu‘jam Ma‘ālim al-Ḥijāz*, vol. 8, p. 1611; al-Azraqī, *Akhbār Makka*, vol. 1, p. 207.

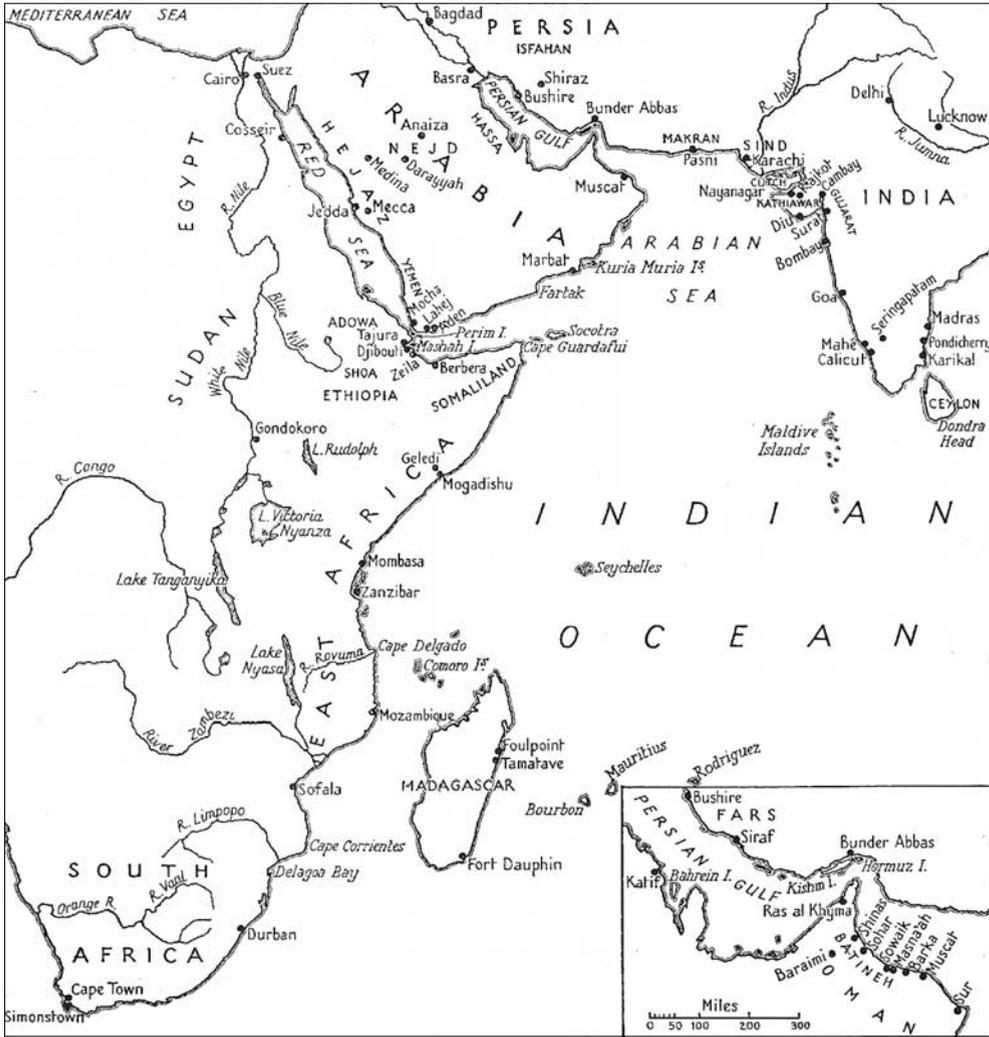
85 Arabic الوصائل. Al-Mas‘ūdī says قصب, which means among other things “brocade”. Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 9.

86 He was the first to cover the house. This refers to the *kiswa*, a covering that is placed each year over the Ka‘ba in Makka. It is Egypt that performs this task nowadays. This and other stories are to be found in the *Ikhlīl* of Hamdāni, and *The Kings of Himyar and Tribes of Yaman* by Nashwān bin Sa‘īd al-Ḥimyarī. See Hughes, *Dictionary*, pp. 36 f.

87 Our religion. The official religion of Yaman was Zoroastrianism, whenever it was dominated by Persia. But in fact, the bulk of the people probably remained animistic pagans, until Tubba‘ (if this tradition is correct) accomplished their conversion to Judaism. Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 10; Prémare, “Il voulut détruire”, p. 277.

88 See 1 Kings 18:17–40.

89 Fire at the base of a mountain There are several sites in the High Plateau of Yaman that exhibit volcanic activity to this day: gas vents, e.g. at Hayt al-Lisi and at Jabal Isbil, and



MAP 11 Western Indian Ocean
COUPLAND, EAST AFRICA AND ITS INVADERS

concerning their differences. It used to consume the wrongdoer without injuring the wronged. Tubba' said, "Give them justice." The people went out with their idols and the offerings they used to make in their religion, and the two rabbis went out with their parchments⁹⁰ on their necks, until they came upon

steam vents and hot springs, as at Damt. Actual volcanoes may well have been active 2,000 years ago.

90 Arabic *maṣāḥif*—*maṣāḥifahuma*. This is the technical word for the pages on which the

the fire at the place where it came out. Then the fire came out and went on until it covered them, and it consumed the idols and the things they offered with them and the men of Ḥimyar who carried them. But the two came out with their parchments on their necks reciting the *Tawrāt* with the sweat running from their foreheads; it [i.e. the fire] did not hurt them. And the fire turned back until it returned to the opening from which it had come out.⁹¹ Whereupon Ḥimyar agreed to accept their religion.⁹² From that time was the origin of Judaism in the Yaman.⁹³ Abū Ḥātim mentions from al-Raqāshī that Abū Karib As'ad⁹⁴ al-Ḥimyarī, one of the Tubba's subjects, believed in the Prophet, the prayers and peace of God be upon him, 700 years before he was sent.⁹⁵ And it is related from Abū Hurayra, who said, the Apostle of God, the prayers and peace of God be on him, said, "I do not know whether Tubba' was a prophet or not." End of quotation from *Ma'ālim al-tanzīl*.

Then he sent the Arabs of the desert⁹⁶ to East Africa by force. Historians have said, "When Tubba' al-Ḥimyarī reached Ifrīqiya by ship, and experimented for two months by sending people to the local inhabitants, as often as they found them they fled from them, so that they named them Kushūr, that is, those who run away—that is the meaning of Kushūr".⁹⁷ So when Tubba' saw that the

Qur'ān is written. The *Tawrāt* of the Jews was conceived to be identical in nature to the Qur'ān, and to an earlier "edition" of the same message.

91 Prémare, "Il voulut détruire", p. 277.

92 This story is referred to in al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūj al-dhahab* (see Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādīn al-jawhar*, ed. M. Sa'āda, 1958, pt 2, p. 77) and in the commentary on *Mulūk Ḥimyar wa-aqyāl al-Yaman* by Sayyid 'Alī bin Ismā'īl al-Mu'ayyad and Ismā'īl bin Aḥmad al-Jurafī, p. 146.

93 Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 10.

94 As'adī. The proper Arabic form of the name is As'ad. The author's addition of *ya* indicates his Swahili origin. All names in Swahili tend to end with a vowel. Bantu speakers continually add an *i* at the end of English words when they speak English.

95 700 years. This again puts As'ad al-Kāmil a little too early. It may be that the truer tradition as to date was dismissed on the ground that, after Christ had been sent, it was impossible for anyone to be summoned to Judaism, which was now replaced by the message of Christ, which in its turn would be replaced by that of Muḥammad. Muḥammad's reported statement in the following sentence itself betrays this doubt.

96 The Arabs of the desert. عربان—*'arbān*. This word indicates the desert Arabs—the Bedouin—as opposed to the agricultural or city-dwelling Arabs.

97 There is only one Arabic root identical with this in Arabic dictionaries and that is *k-sh-r*, which means "to grin" or "show one's teeth". This may arise from the fact that a smile revealing teeth in a black face is more distinctive and remarkable to strangers than a smile in a white face. If this is an explanation, our author's derivation of the word seems unlikely unless it is, after all, a word of Bantu origin. See also note no. 21 above. Alternatively, it might be a Sabeian word.

Kushūr were black in colour, while their hair did not pass beyond their ears,⁹⁸ he said, “I take refuge in the King of Judgment from taking [to wife] women of the Zanj and the Sūdān (that is, Blacks)”. They said, so al-Tubba‘ al-Ḥimyarī honoured them and dealt softly with them, and treated them well in various ways. Then the Kushūr said, “We did not know that. We were thinking that you eat and imprison people.⁹⁹ Now, my [sic] Lord, be quite at ease. O King, we were naked and you covered us¹⁰⁰ with clothing our eyes never saw, and we have seen that your faces are such that we never saw better than you. Therefore, in all you want of us, we are ready to obey your orders, and listen to your words.” The Tubba¹⁰¹ replied, “I wish to have help from you to build towns upon this countryside,¹⁰² except inland,¹⁰³ we have no need of it.”

Chapter (*Bāb*)

He said, “When he had built Maqdishū¹⁰⁴ and other villages, cities and towns,¹⁰⁵ they sang his praise in poetry each one uttering as he was able from first to last”:

لما اراد الله بالحدثان إحياء ارض الرملة والطان

When God desired to bring life in the beginning to the land of sand and mire¹⁰⁶

رأس المدينة مقدشو ولقد بنا اسعد فتى حسان والحبران

98 Did not pass beyond their ears. That is, it was crinkly.

99 Eat—concept of anthropophagi deeply rooted understood both physically and intellectually.

100 The author has written كسيتنا —*kasaytanā* instead of كسوتنا —*kasawtanā*.

101 The text has اتبع —*al-tab‘a*.

102 Countryside. ريف —*rīf*. This seems to refer to the coastal area.

103 Inland. البر. This word refers to the Nyika, which 2,000 years ago would have been impenetrable.

104 When he had built (or colonized) Maqdishu. If this tradition is founded on a reliable source, it might support the idea that the name means “the holy place”, equivalent to the Hebrew *maqdash*. While the root *q-d-s* does not seem to appear in ancient South Arabian, and only in modern Arabic through Hebrew influence, it must still be remembered that this Tubba‘ was the one who is supposed to have adopted Judaism. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 135 ff., 169 f., 253, 258, 259; MS K, note 25.

105 The text has بلدان —*buldān*. There are clear similarities with the developments that took place under ‘Abd al-Malik bin Marwān (685–705 C.E.) See Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, p. 29.

106 Sand and mire. This appears to refer to the mangrove swamps on the coast.

He began with the Town of Maqdishū and As‘ad son of Ḥassān and the two rabbis built it.

بلد حصين بين زنج وحبسة عشرين يوماً بعدها يومان

An impregnable town between the Zanj and Ḥabasha twenty and two days' journey

هو من تبابعة اليمن ملك الذي عن قومه مذكور في القرآن

He is one of the Tubba‘’s of Yaman, the king whose people are mentioned in the Qur‘ān.

Then the poet began his praise of Tubba‘, the Himyarite; Maqdishū was the name of the town Tubba‘ built first and we do not know the meaning of it, i.e. the meaning of “Maqdishū” at all, we just know it as the name of a town only, and the inhabitants were from Shām¹⁰⁷ or Yaman. And of the people of Shām, they are from a town called Shāsh,¹⁰⁸ a town “beyond the river”, and one of them is Idrīs bin Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān al-‘Āmirī al-Shawashī. “Al-‘Āmirī” is a tribe and “al-Shawashī” is for the town, relating it to them, and among them are the ‘Umūd who were from Yaman.¹⁰⁹

Then he built Mārka,¹¹⁰ and its people were from Shām and Yaman. Among the people of Shām as the sons of al-Ghawth ibn Ṭay’ and he was son of Adad bin Zayd bin Yashjub bin Harīb bin Zayd bin Rabī‘a bin Kahlān.¹¹¹

Ṭay’ is a tribe from Kahlān,¹¹² and relationship to them is expressed by Ṭā‘ī. In *Sabā‘ik al-dhahab*, it is said, “Their homes were in Yaman and then went out in the wake of Azd”. That is, the Azd are part of them and they sojourned

107 Shām. In South Arabia this simply means “north”, and refers in Aden more particularly to the Tihāma of Yaman. A man coming to Aden from Zabid has “come from Shām”. But for Maqdishu see note 27 in the English of MS K of *Kitāb al-Zunij*.

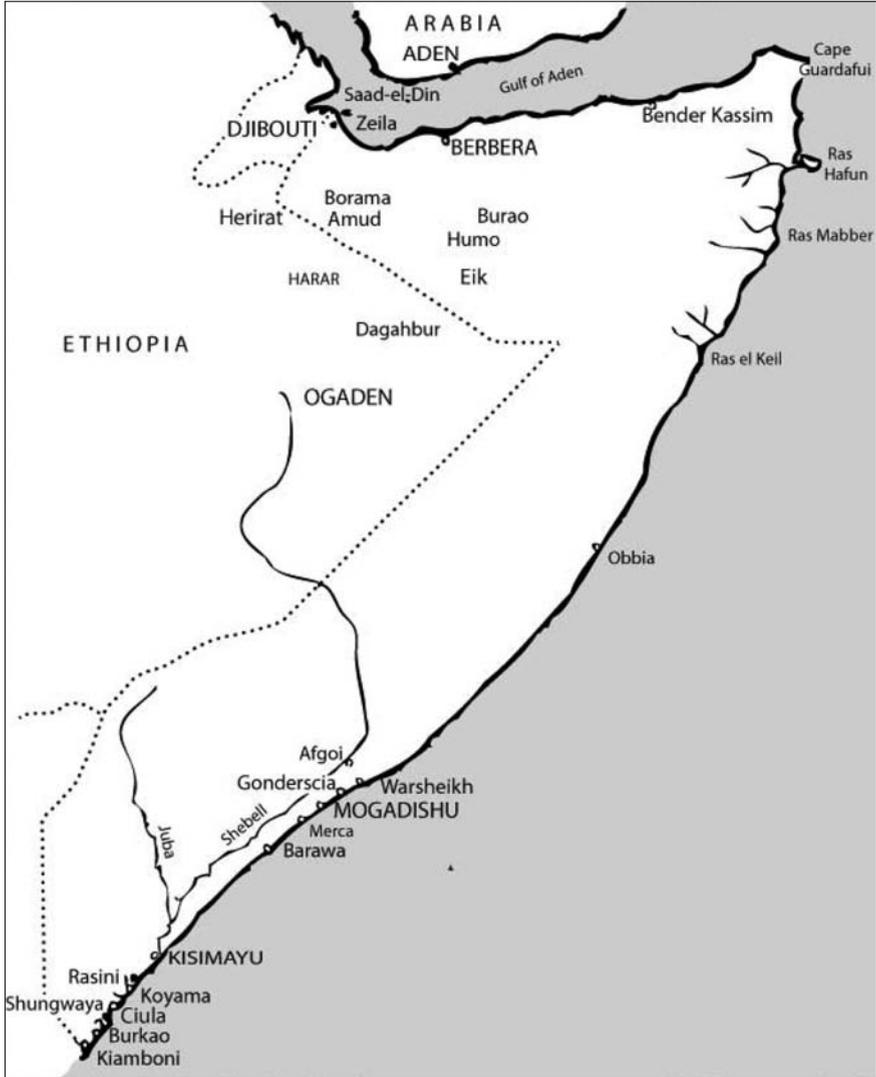
108 Shash = Tāshkand/Tashkent, according to Hitti, *History of the Arabs.*, pp. 210, 330f. Shāsh is Tashkent in what is now the Republic of Uzbekistan in Central Asia. There were of course Arabs from the Peninsula who settled as far away as Central Asia.

109 This is a typical example of deduction by Arab scholars purely on the basis of similarity of letters or sounds, and the association of the place- and tribe-names in the style of individuals.

110 See Appendix 1, *Kawkab*, marginal note 1 containing a “poem”.

111 Boxed marginal note no. 2 with comment on Barāwa. See Appendix 1 *Kawkab*, marginal note 2. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, *passim* (Brava).

112 Ṭā‘ī. Al-Suwaydī, *Sabā‘ik*, p. 125.



MAP 12 Somalia

J.S. KIRKMAN, *MEN AND MONUMENTS ON THE EAST AFRICAN COAST*.

as protected guests among the Banū Asad.¹¹³ Then they overcame them, and they are two mountains in their country known as Jabal Ṭay'. They continued

¹¹³ This is a typical example of deduction by Arab Scholars purely on the basis of similarity of letters or sounds, and the association of the place- and tribe-names in the style of individuals.

there and were dispersed in the first Islamic period in the conquests. Ibn Saʿīd¹¹⁴ said, “In their country at present there are many people filling both plain and mountain in Ḥijāz and Shām and ʿIrāq [or, Ḥijāzīs, Shāmīs and ʿIrāqīs]. They are leaders among the Arabs till now in ʿIrāq and Shām!”¹¹⁵ End of quote from the *Sabāʾik*. Al-Ghawth was son of Ṭayʿ and his mother was ʿAdiyya bint al-Imri from Mahra.¹¹⁶ Her sons are called Banū Ṭayʿ. Ḥātīm al-Ṭāʿī,¹¹⁷ famous for his generosity, is related to them. It says in *Al-ʿibar*: “One group of them is Zayd al-Khaylī al-Ṣaḥābī.¹¹⁸ He came to the Prophet, prayers and peace from God be upon him, with the delegation of Ṭayʿ and became a Muslim and he called him Zayd al-Khayr. And a second group of them are the ʿAmūdiyyīn from the Yaman. It is said that they are from the *sayyids* of Quraysh.” End of quote.

Then Barāwa.¹¹⁹ This is a noun from a verbal root, as it says in the *Qāmūs barʿa—yabraʿūhu—barwan*.¹²⁰ This is a settled village¹²¹ and the villagers among them are Ḥawātīm, as we have mentioned before in regard to Mārka.

Then Kisimāyu,¹²² and this “Kaysam” is the name of a tribe, but they have disappeared. They are the Kayāsīm as the *Qāmūs* says.

Then Yabrīn, or Ibrīn,¹²³ was a village near Fāza. The people of that village are the Famawī, and their origin is al-Aḥsāʾ¹²⁴ in Najd. They are Arabs, in con-

114 Ibn Saʿīd. See Shahāb al-Dīn Abū ʿl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad bin ʿAbdullah al-Qalqashandī, *Nihāyat al-arab fi maʿrifat ansāb al-ʿArab*, ed. ʿAlī al-Khaqānī. Baghdad: Dār al-Bayān, 1958, p. 301. See also Ibn Saʿīd al-Andalusī, *Nashwat al-ṭarab fi dhikr jāhiliyyat al-ʿArab*, ed. Naṣrat ʿAbd al-Raḥmān. Amman: Maktabat al-Aqṣa, 1982, p. 222.

115 Quoted from al-Suwaydī, *Sabāʾik*, p. 125.

116 Al-Suwaydī, *Sabāʾik*, p. 230.

117 Ḥātīm al-Ṭāʿī. This is the name of the paragon of generosity among the Arabs, who lived just prior to, or contemporary with, the Prophet Muḥammad. Cf. References to him in Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 95.

118 *Al-ʿibar*, is ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-ʿibar wa-dīwān al-mubtadaʿ wa-l-khabar fi ayām al-ʿArab wa-l-ʿajam wa-l-barbar*, Cairo: Al-Maṭbaʿa al-Azhariyya, 1284/1930.

119 See Appendix 1 *Kawkab* Marginal Notes no. 2.

120 The text has برايرأوه برأ from the root *b-r-ʿ* signifying freedom from guilt. This is a typical note by an Arab scholar of grammar, syntax and etymology, but probably has little to do with the real origin of the name.

121 Settled is عامرة—*ʿāmira* and gives in Arabic the sense of a permanent settlement rather than a temporary encampment; for it has to do with stone buildings.

122 Kisimāyu. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 259, 286; Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, pp. 29, 38, 97, 137, 149, 174.

123 Yabrīn or Ibrīn. J.S. Kirkman (*The Medieval History of the Coast of Tanganyika*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962 p. 36) suggests that this may be Iburum opposite Faza at the entrance to Wangi Creek, a place now called Tukutu, lying between Faza and Kisingatani. Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, pp. 29, 44; Strandes, *Portuguese Period*, p. 333 (Faza).

124 Modern *al-Hufūf*. See Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 445 n. 4.

tradition of those who say they are from the Christians. It says in the *Qāmūs* that among them are Birdīn bin ‘Abdallah, Abū Hind al-Dārī.¹²⁵ End of quote.

Then Sīwī,¹²⁶ a town on an island, whose people are from ‘Umān on the shore of Khūr Fakkān at the crossing of Makrān.¹²⁷ In that place is a town called Sīwī,¹²⁸ most of whom are from Banū Sa‘d. So this Sīwī is from Sīwī of ‘Umān and Khūr Fakkān. Sa‘d bin ‘Alī al-Ṣālimī said so. Then Fāza.¹²⁹ Its people are from Shām in Ḥumṣ. The *Qāmūs* says so. These are dwellers in Shām but their origin is from Yaman.¹³⁰ and they are named from Kinda.¹³¹ They are said to be from the sons of Mu‘āwiya bin Kinda and were from Shām; there is a town and a village called Fāmiya or Afāmiya.¹³² And thus the Famāwī were related to them, and they are from Kinda who are in Ḥumṣ.¹³³ In the same way will be mentioned the Mu‘āwiyyīn, four sections [one of them is] from Mu‘āwiya bin Kinda¹³⁴ who came down to Yabrīn, Fāza and Siyū.

Then Batta (Pate) [pronounced] like Ḥatta, a village behind Khawlāya, and al-Battu is a village in ‘Irāq near Rāzān¹³⁵ from which come Aḥmad bin ‘Alī al-

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- 125 Abū Hind al-Dārī. For an interesting comment on this, see W.M. Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956, p., 112. From this it is clear that Banū ‘l-Dār were in fact Christian Arabs, a section of Banū Lakhm. To our author “Christian” means “European”. If they are somehow connected with Yabrin, then the tradition that they were of Christian origin is very old and persistent.
- 126 See Appendix 1 *Kawkab*, marginal note 2.
- 127 Khūr Fakkān. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 284, 346; Lyne, *Zanzibar*, pp. 36, 37; Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 138 n. 1.
- 128 Sīwī is of course Siyu. There is a Tiwi on the Khor Fakkan coast, but much further east towards Ras al-Had, and south from Ras al-Had is Suwayh. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, *passim*. Strandes, *Portuguese Period*, p. 358.
- 129 Kirkman 1966. *History of the coast ...* points out that Faza was an important town 90 miles south-east of Shīrāz in Persia.
- 130 With regard to Shām, see n. 107 above regarding the area of Yaman around Zabid.
- 131 Kinda. Al-Suwaydi, *Sabā‘ik*, marginal note 3; Trimmingham, *Christianity among the Arabs*, pp. 39, 96, 200, 250, 312. See also Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 85; Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 85 n. 3.
- 132 See Appendix 1 *Kawkab*, marginal note 3 with comment on al-Famāwī on the right margin.
- 133 The grammar and syntactical arrangement of the note in the box (see below in Arabic text) is very awkward and incorrect, though usually this commentator writes better Arabic than the author. “Kinda” were a federation of tribes many of whom had or Yamani connections, though they migrated north. No village of Famia is known, however, before Siyu was established the Famau clan established itself in the area followed by the Katwa, i.e. pre 1498 presumably A.D., though this seems very early. Would they have called their settlement Afamia/Famia? See Allen, *Swahili Origins*, pp. 109, 118f., 143, 144, 217, 224.
- 134 Mu‘āwiya bin Kinda. Al-Suwaydi, *Sabā‘ik*, pp. 214, 221, 224. This may echo a very ancient tradition of a movement of Banū Kinda to East Africa before their migration northwards, in which case that movement would have been in the first four Christian centuries.
- 135 A village in ‘Irāq near Rāzān. Rāzān is situated in the Arbīl region.

Kātib¹³⁶ and ‘Uthmān al-Faqīh al-Baṣrī.¹³⁷ And Battu or Batta here mentioned is the one mentioned by the author of the *Qāmūs*. “It is this Batta on the continent of Africa colonized with the above-mentioned towns, Siwī and Fāza and Yabrīn”,¹³⁸ and there is no doubt that its people have many of the names of Shām from their origin, and we do not know their tribes but they are from ‘Irāq near Rāzān, and the proof of this I have from what the author of the *Qāmūs* says about its consisting of villages and districts.¹³⁹

Then Āmu (أم) with *madda* over the *alif*.¹⁴⁰ The author of the *Qāmūs* says it is a town with which are associated Indian clothes. Āmu is a village on the Island.¹⁴¹ It is this Āmu which is on the east of the continent of Africa and their origin is from Ḥīra, for the Tubba‘ al-Ḥimyarī progressed with his building of Samarqand as is mentioned in the commentary on the Qur’ān, because he went with the armies until he came to the neighbourhood of Ḥīra,¹⁴² a place near Sīstān. The physician Mawla Baḥsh Ilahi Bakhsh who is from Calcutta in the Bū Sa‘īdi quarter told me. And the people of Ḥīra are not of the Arabs.¹⁴³ That place

136 Aḥmad bin ‘Alī ‘l-Kātib. This is probably Abū Bakr Aḥmad bin ‘Alī bin Thābit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī. Khaṭīb has become Kātib under Swahili influence.

137 ‘Uthmān al-Faqīh al-Baṣrī. We have been unable to identify this man.

138 Towns, Siwī and Fāza and Yabrīn. They are called in Arabic بلدان which means “countries” but we would, we think, rather call them “city-states”.

139 The text has قری وکوار—*qurā wa-kuwār*. Apparently the author means that Battu in ‘Irāq (or Iran?) is in an area whose zones of habitation are small village-areas as on the coast of East Africa and in the islands of the archipelago. Strandes (*Portuguese Period*, pp. 339f.) seems to take this up as constituting proof that the East African villages are derived by a process of emigration from the ‘Irāqī site.

140 The observations on spelling come from the fact that Arabic writing is consonantal, the vowels not usually being inserted. The vocalization of the words as written is therefore explained as a footnote to the word itself. Āmu is usually called Lamu. It seems that all outwith the immediate neighbourhood of Arabia and East Africa is very hazy in our author’s mind. Direction is more important than distance or location.

141 A village on the Island. The “Island”—الجزيرة—*Al-Jazīra* is the general term for the land of Arabia as a whole. The correct Arabic equivalent for the English “Arabian Peninsula” is جزيرة العرب, simplified to الجزيرة. This is apparently his meaning here because of his mention further on of Ḥīra. Alternatively, it may be a continuation of the comment of the author of the *Qāmūs*, wrongly written قرية بالجزيرة—A village “on the Island” instead of قرية بجزيرة “a village on an island”, which would refer to Lamu Island.

142 It seems that all outwith the immediate neighbourhood of Arabia and East Africa is very hazy in our author’s mind. Direction is more important than distance or location. The text has Sistani.

143 Not of the Arabs. See note n. 125 above on Abū Hind al-Dāri which points to the way scholars make associations that may not be accurate. This tradition also goes back a long way. Either it would seem to be a pure fabrication, or it has persisted through historic upheavals and represents a truth. Or is it a reading Arab supremacy back into pre-Islamic times?

is the joining-point of the boundaries of Russia and Qābil and Kandahār and the land of the ‘Ajam (Persia) that is, the ‘Ajam are Ḥīra, and Tubba’ al-Ḥimyarī ruled those regions and sent its people to the Island of Āmu here, and they dwelt there a long time. After that there came to them Quraysh from Hudhayl bin Madraka bin Ilyās. It was they who said to Tubba’ al-Ḥimyarī, “We will show you a house in which is treasure of pearls and topaz and silver.” Tubba’ said, “Which house?” They replied, “A house in Makka.” Hudhayl simply wanted to destroy him as ‘Ikrima mentioned from Ibn ‘Abbās, may God be pleased with him. And Tubba’ mentioned it to the rabbis. And they said, “We know of no house of God on the earth except this house. The people only wanted you to perish.¹⁴⁴ No one has ever showed it hostility¹⁴⁵ without perishing.”

When they said that, he took the Hudhayl people and cut off their hands and feet and put out their eyes, then crucified them, and the Hudhayl leaders who remained fled to a town called Fāmiya, and he who is connected with it is called Famāwī.¹⁴⁶ When Tubba’ al-Ḥimyarī became aware of this, he sent a messenger to them, saying, “If you wish security from the king you must travel to east Ifrīqiya.” The people of Banū Hudhayl went to Ḥudābi Kikitāb,¹⁴⁷ and there had come before them to that place Banū Yarbū’ bin Mālik bin Ḥanzala bin Khuzayma bin Madraka bin Ilyās. And it is dunes of sand, as mentioned in the *Qāmūs*. Ḥudābi is like mounds in a year of scarcity [drought] and the place of Kikitābu is a place in Ḥazan of the Banū Yarbū’ above mentioned.¹⁴⁸ Those are the ones called Makhzūmī from Khuzayma bin Madraka. They are also called WaKinamti¹⁴⁹ because they went to live on an island behind Zanzibar and things became difficult for them because of what had gone before them [or, happened before they came?] and because they lost the leadership; and they went on to Ḥudābi since those who went to Ḥudābi before them were not Arabs [Bedouin?]. Since they said, “This is a place of Amt”, which means (a place of)

144 Perish. هلاك. This word is used of the death of the damned, i.e. non-Muslims (with a query in respect of Jews and Christians).

145 The text has ناواه—*nāwāha*.

146 It seems that the author means here the original Afamiya near Ḥums, after which the Famāwī were named. But see Prins, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, pp. 82, 83, for the possible origin of Famāwī or Famao.

147 Ḥudābi seems to be Hedabu on Lamu Island, but the name and meaning of Kikitābu is strange. According to standard Swahili, it may mean “a little book”. The proper spelling is *kijitabu*, but dialect may be responsible for changing the *j* to a *k*. The author has written ككتاب وحداب using *wa*, the KiSwahili word for “of”.

148 Ḥazan of the Banū Yarbū’. This clan is a subdivision of the Ḥanzala. See Watt, *Muḥammad at Medina*, p. 139.

149 WaKinamti For the Kinamti clan of Lamu, see Prins, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, p. 83.

hills and ditches of earth. God, may He be exalted, said, “You do not [will not?] see there any crooked place or Amt.”¹⁵⁰ This is the meaning of Kina Amti. They named the Indians the people of Qābil who had gone before (them) to Ḥudābi and Āmu. The Banū Hudhayl followed the Banū Yarbū‘ into the land of Āmu Island. They are brothers by origin¹⁵¹ since Yarbū‘ is son of Mālik bin Ḥanzala bin Khuzayma bin Madraka (and) Mu‘āwiya is son of Tamīm bin Khanā‘a¹⁵² bin ‘Umayra bin Hudhayl bin Madraka. The Banū Yarbū‘ had leadership since they ruled the Indians who preceded them in Āmu by force. And the Banū Yarbū‘ built houses near the hill of Ḥudābi Then the Indians said, “*Uya ubili mlima*” in the Kushūr language.¹⁵³ So they have come to be called now Wayumbili.¹⁵⁴ The former historians [chroniclers] said, “Then after that the people of ‘Umān, of the Banū Ṣa‘ṣa‘a bin Mu‘āwiya bin Bakr bin Bahla came. These are now in Āmu, among them ‘Umar bin Yūsuf, surnamed Bwāna Mubāarak. When he and Abū Bakr bin Shaykh Muḥammad bin Abī Bakr, well-known in Āmu Island, strove, Abū Bakr was taken prisoner so that he should not smite ‘Umar bin Yūsuf, but ‘Umar bin Yūsuf said, “Leave him so that he may see Ṣa‘ṣa‘a today”, and he treated him nobly and taught us a lesson by that [or, and we were aware of that]. ‘Umar bin Yūsuf was Dhū ‘l-Adirra, that is, he possessed a large testicle which he dragged upon the ground. ‘Umar bin Yūsuf¹⁵⁵ died in the land of Ngāmayni, that is, Ngomeni.”¹⁵⁶ And some of them are Banū Bakr bin Wā‘il bin ‘Umar bin Hanab bin Da‘ma bin Hudhayl bin Asad bin Rabi‘. These were prevented¹⁵⁷ from coming to East Africa and came to the Yaman and lived in a district called Yumbu.¹⁵⁸ Then Tubba‘ al-Ḥimyarī became aware of it and sent

150 The word *amt* occurs once in the Qur’ān 20:107/106, meaning “twist, difficulty, or unevenness”. “Kina Amti” is interpreted as being a Swahili sentence, either representing what the people said themselves: “There is trouble”, that is, “Kuna Amti” in standard KiSwahili, or a translation of the Qur’ānic verse *ولا ترى فيها عوجا ولا امنا* that is, “You will not see in them [i.e. the mountains] any twisted place or unevenness” (after God has levelled them), in which case the K in Kina represents the Kenda Bantu form of the negative.

151 Lit. “Their origin is brotherhood between them.”

152 The text inserts (نخاعة) after Khanā‘a.

153 This may represent an Indian usage of Swahili *hayo milima miwili* meaning “those two hills”.

154 Wayumbili. For the discussion of this clan’s background see Prins, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, p. 83 The phrase it purports to come from is some sentence in a KiSwahili or Bantu dialect, which may have been invented to account for the name after it had attached to them.

155 We have seen reference to these people and this story in a KiSwahili MS about Lamu or the north Kenya coast, but the MS has no identification.

156 Ngomeni. The author has written this in Arabic غميين the *ghayn* representing *ng*.

157 Were prevented *عن امتنعوا*—*imtan‘ū ‘an* can also mean “avoided” or “were unable to”.

158 Yumbu. Does he mean Yanbū‘? If the list proceeds southward down the coast, we should

them by force, so they are called for that reason the people of Yūmbu, and now Waungwāna wa Yūmbi from Yūmbu. And there is a village in the Island of Ḥiddāb¹⁵⁹ whose inhabitants are from Ḥijāz. Its people are Wa'Umāni.¹⁶⁰

When Tubba' al-Ḥimyarī reached Sistān¹⁶¹ and told its people to travel [emigrate], they landed at a place called Tokoto and built a village there and dwelt there. The meaning of Tokoto¹⁶² is “innumerable and uncountable like the stars”. The *Qāmūs* says so. That village was near Batta. They quarrelled about the leadership and the Sistānī¹⁶³ fled from them to the Island of Āmu and built there a village called Umma dūni. Its meaning [is explained as follows]. When they fled from them they reached a creek. That creek had little water.¹⁶⁴ If a man went out he would cross over without a ship.¹⁶⁵ There was a man with them, one of the *wālīs* of God,¹⁶⁶ and he prayed to his Lord, and said, “O God, deliver your humble servants by preventing them from crossing at this narrow place, and let there be an increase of much water”, and God increased¹⁶⁷ that river through the *wālī*'s prayer until this day. And the name of the river became Kiko cha Mkū,¹⁶⁸ that is Mkowe Mjawaku.¹⁶⁹ When the enemy arrived, they saw the great river and turned back from them, and they were saying, “*Naḥnu umma dūni*”¹⁷⁰—“We are a poor community, we have no strength or might but in God”, so the name of village became Umma dūni.

now be at a place south of Lamu. Yet the author has not done with the Lamu area. The only place with a name similar to Yūmbu, is a point on Mida Creek near its entrance on the south side called Uyombo, but this seems to be too far south from the area being dealt with. Reusch, *History of East Africa*, p. 107. See Prémare, “‘Il voulut détruire le temple’”, p. 293.

159 Island of Ḥuddāb, or, the island of sand-dunes.

160 Wa'Umāni The KiSwahili form. This indicates how far the author thinks in KiSwahili though writing in Arabic.

161 سیستان = Sijistan. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 330.

162 Tokoto. This is Magagoni—Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, p. 242 n. 1. He also gives the form Mkakafoni.

163 The Sistānī. This is singular in form but seems to refer to the whole group of Sistānīs who had settled in Lamu after fleeing from Tokoto.

164 That creek had little water This may refer to Mkanda Creek, which still cannot be navigated at low tide.

165 *Safīna* is written twice in the text (= ship).

166 *Wālīs* of God. That is, Muslim holy men, often endowed by God with the power to work miracles, known in Islamic theology as *karamāt*.

167 Increased. The author has written غرز *gharrazā* instead of غزر—*ghazzara*.

168 Kiko cha Mkū. In KiSwahili this means “the river of the Great One”, i.e. God.

169 Mjawaku. The text has مجوك which strictly speaking should be written مجوك. This should possibly be read Mjawayu.

170 *Naḥnu ummatu dūni*. This phrase is Arabic. *Dūni* means “inferior, vile” when used adjectivally.

Among them is Mundu¹⁷¹ (with *ḍamma* over the *mīm* and *dāl*), a town on an island whose inhabitants are from Mundu, which is in the land of Yaman east of Ḥudayda, up to the present inhabited in the Yaman, and its people are from Kunūd, the plural of Kinda,¹⁷² and one related to them is called Kindī, also al-ʿAbs.

And among them is Ṭāqa,¹⁷³ whose people are from Ṭāqa, which is in the Yaman above Jidda, and its tribes are ʿAmūdiyyīn, and now there are in it *sharīf*s from the Mahādhila. These two towns are on one island and the third of them is on it; we have no information about it, but it is called Kitāo¹⁷⁴ (end). And among them is Finjān,¹⁷⁵ a village of Indians who came in the Islamic period in the time of ʿAbd al-Malik bin Marwān. Historians say they were intending [to make] the Pilgrimage, and the wind took them to the west of the Island of Ḥiddāb¹⁷⁶ and they dwelt [there] till now, and some of them moved to it from Uzwa and Amawa.

The (list of the) islands is finished and we will now mention the towns on the mainland.

Uzwa¹⁷⁷ is a village on the mainland whose people are from the Maghrib. There is there a town called Zwāwa. The *Qāmūs* says so. We do not know their origin, whether it is Arab or non-Arab.

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- 171 Mundu. This seems to be Manda, the island between Lamu and Pate in the Lamu Archipelago. Strandes, *Portuguese Period*, pp. 342f.
- 172 Kinda. The author has actually written Kunda, but he probably means Kinda. Kunūd is a South Arabian plural of a tribal or local epithet. E.g. a man of Lahaj is Lahajī, plur. Luhūj. An Indian is Hindī, plural Hunūd, etc.
- 173 Ṭāqa. This is Takwa on Manda Island. The town above Jidda is unidentified, but it is in the Ḥijāz as the Jidda referred to is the port of Makka. The author once again is guided by direction rather than distance.
- 174 Kitao. This is a town on Manda Island facing Lamu. The other places, Takwa and Al-ʿAbs, must be nearby. Takwa is in fact on the Isthmus to the north of Kitao, but Al-ʿAbs is not identified. Kitao is mentioned in the Pate history. See Freeman-Grenville 1962 pp. 241ff. The word “end” indicates the end of a quotation, but the author does not say where it is from. See Reusch, *History of East Africa*, p. 185.
- 175 Finjān This is unidentified. The facts and traditions that refer back to the time of the Umayyads are very strong, and there may be something in them.
- 176 Ḥiddāb. Hedabu is on the south of Lamu towards Shela. The Arabic root indicates something convex, hence “mounds”. It may therefore have been the old name the Arabs gave to the Island of Lamu as a whole, viz. جزيرة حداب—the island of sand dunes.
- 177 Uzwa. This is Uziwa, or Luziwa on the creek of Mkunumbi. The connection with the Maghrib (i.e. Morocco) is an assumption of the author from a superficial similarity of name only, but Freeman-Grenville 1962 p. 258 note 1 connects it with the evacuation of the Moors from Spain. Strandes, *Portuguese Period*, p. 340 (Luziwa).

And Amawa¹⁷⁸ is a town (district) whose people are from Amawa in the Yaman. We do not know their tribe. A man related to them is Amaw as the *Qāmūs* says. But some say that ‘Alqama bin ‘Ubayd and Mālik bin Sabī‘ are both Amawīs, connected with a district called Amawa as we mentioned previously, and they were two villages¹⁷⁹ near each other two hours’ distance or less,¹⁸⁰ and one stage¹⁸¹ to Ūzi,¹⁸² and both were under the dominion of Ūzi soldiers and “civilians”. Their people used to worship among others the Seven Virgins,¹⁸³ whose story is famous for its miracles¹⁸⁴ up till now.

The Poet said:

وقريتا أوزي وأموة ولكلهما جند لؤزي عليهما سلطان

The villages Ūziwa and Amawa are both [inhabited by] soldiers [military?] and Ūzi has rule over them.

And among them is Ūzzi¹⁸⁵ a town on the mainland, and there was in it a sultan from ‘Anza ibn Asad bin Rabi’a,¹⁸⁶ who ruled a district from Ūzwa and Amawa up to Malūdi on the sea-shore and above it to Dīribāba, a distance of 60 miles

178 Amawa. From the location of this town as described by our author, this would appear to be Famao. See Prins, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, pp. 35, 83, where he mentions that two of the Lamu tribes are called Famao and Amawi, which may be connected with this place. The link with the Yaman is again most probably fanciful, though there is a Mawiya east-north-east of Ṭā‘izz.

179 The author has now come back from Yaman to East Africa. He is, to judge by the vicinity of Ūzi (Luziwa), referring to the two villages of al-Famao and Mwana. The latter place is that connected with the Seven Virgins. Mwana is about six miles from Kipini.

180 Distance. In Arabic it is *مسيرة*—*masīra* = “going on foot”.

181 Stage. In Arabic it is *مرحلة*—*marḥala* = “riding”. The difference is not certain but I would say that the latter means the distance covered by a donkey in one day.

182 Ūzi appears in the MS as *اوز* in the first instance and as *اوزى* the second time.

183 Used to worship among others the Seven Virgins. The meaning of the Arabic text is uncertain. It says: *وكان أهلها عابدين العبادة منهن السبع الابدكار*. It may be that the author has written *عبادة* in error for *عبدة* = “created beings” (usually *عباد*). This could then be rendered: “Their people used to worship creatures (i.e. human beings) among whom were the Seven Virgins.” Is it possible that this is related to the ancient Greek legend recorded c. 250 A.D. referred to as “the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus”, connected with the persecution of Christians under Emperor Decius (r. 249–251) referred to in Qur’ān 18:9–26?

184 Famous for its miracles. The word translated ‘miracles’ is *كرامة*—*karāma*, the word for miracles used by Sufis. The word may also refer to the generosity of the Virgins. See footnote 166.

185 The text has *اوزى*—Uzwa.

186 Sultan from ‘Anza bin Asad bin Rabi’a. This would appear to refer to the famous Liongo (see Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, p. 253). The Pate history seems to imply that

from Ngameni to Dīribāba.¹⁸⁷ And when war broke out between him and the Nabāhin, it lasted 16 years until they were reconciled,¹⁸⁸ and the rule was given to the Nabāhin and the shaykhdom to the Bauris¹⁸⁹ (end).

The poet said:

هم من كرام ربيعة فرسان
أوزة مشتق منها أوزي

They are knights from the nobles of Rabi'a.
Awaza, Uzi is [one] derived from it.

And among them is Ngāmā.¹⁹⁰ It was a large town on an island, wealthy and populous. Historians say originally it was called Mangāma, and its meaning is that there was in Andalus a big town like the island in which Mangāma was situated¹⁹¹ (the *Qāmūs* supports this; it says Mangāma is a town in Andalus). And Tubba' al-Ḥimyarī built it, and its people were from various tribes, mostly Banū 'Anza bin Asad bin Rabi'a. The town was settled and goods increased in it except that its water was bitter. And they used to bring water from Ngomeni¹⁹² in the season of spring and summer ["and summer" repeated] and from the Tana River in the winter.

Story (*Qiṣṣa*)

There was a man in it of Banū Tamīm named Akhnas, wealthy and with children. He sweated one day and disliked washing his body with brackish water,

the whole coast from just below Lamu as far as Malindi and a good way inland was called Ozi. Kirkman (*Men and Monuments*, pp. 78 ff.) suggests Kau or Ungwana.

187 Dīribāba 60 miles due north from Ngomeni brings us to the modern Garsen. Garsen would appear to be Dīribāba, otherwise not shown on maps.

188 Until they were reconciled, a long war was fought between Ūzzi and the Nabhānī sultans. See Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, p. 253, but the Pate account implies that Liongo was finally subdued.

189 Bauris. The author was a member of this tribe. Another unidentified quotation.

190 Ngama. This is Ngomeni.

191 In Andalus a big town. This appears to be pure fantasy, but see Freeman-Grenville's suggestion referred to in footnote 177 as well as 256 above.

192 Ngomeni. What the author is referring to here is hard to grasp. He has actually written نغميني—Ngamayni. Perhaps it means the inadequate wells in the district that they had to be content with. Otherwise he is implying that Ngama and Ngomeni are two different sites or localities.

and so washed in goat's milk and cow's milk and the goats and cattle which were in Ūzī¹⁹³ disappeared, and the island was consumed little by little, and the water to be found in that island disappeared, and its people moved to Ūzī from Mangāma. This is the cause of Mangāma's destruction, and that was before Islam.¹⁹⁴

And among them is Kilifi [sic]. It was an inhabited village or district¹⁹⁵ and its people were from the Banū Kalfa bin Ḥanzala. Ibn al-Faraj al-Jawzī said this in *Al-Adhkiyā'*.¹⁹⁶ When they dwelt there they called their village after their tribe. That was from the Ḥāriths of Mangāma, and also Surū¹⁹⁷ and Suruwāna and Ngomeni. All these are four villages whose people were of the Ḥāriths of Mangāma.¹⁹⁸

Kalfa is near Kilifi [sic] above-mentioned, a river¹⁹⁹ of salt water well-known, and in it is a mosque built of stone.

Surū is near Kalfa, one of them is inland and the other²⁰⁰ on an island near Ngomeni in al-Zangal al-Baḥrī.²⁰¹ There are ruins to be seen there till now.²⁰² It is a sandy island with trees of the dry land [as opposed to mangroves] like the *ayka*.²⁰³ It is known to the people of the port.²⁰⁴

The poet said:²⁰⁵

193 It seems that the author has written Ūzī in error for Ngama.

194 Cf. Kirkman's version of this story (*Men and Monuments*, p. 84).

195 Village or district. The Arabic is قرية أو كورة. It is difficult to see the significance of these two terms, or why the distinction is made, unless it is because the Swahili word *mji* simply means an inhabited area. The traditional life in Bantu East Africa was not in well-defined villages or conurbations, but in separate dwelling-complexes scattered through an area of bush.

196 Al-Jawzī (508/1114–597/1201) His name was Abū Farāj ibn al-Jawzī.

197 See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 179, vol. 2, p. 98.

198 The Ḥāriths of Mangama. This passage is so awkwardly written that it is impossible to be certain of rendering the author's meaning correctly. The Banū Ḥārith are still a tribe in South Arabia. Al-Suwaydī, *Sabā'ik*, pp. 67 ff.

199 River. In English these inlets are called "creeks", for they have no seaward current of their own and are filled and emptied only by the tide.

200 The other, i.e. Surwana.

201 Al-Zangal al-Baḥrī. This may refer to the mangrove swamps?

202 The places in this passage can only be conjecturally identified. There seems to be great confusion of location. J.S. Kirkman ("Great Pillars of Malindi and Mambri", *Oriental Art* 4 [1958]: 55–67) suggests that Zangal al-Baḥrī is Mida Creek, south of Malindi by Gedi. Yet it says "near Mangama or Ngomeni", which is north of Malindi. If Surwana is, as Kirkman thinks, Kalepwa (Kirepwe), then Surū may be Sudi Island or Shaka.

203 *Ayka*—الايكة. This may refer to the tamarisk shrub.

204 The text has البورت—*al-būrt*. The port must be the Port Authority of Mombasa. See Prins, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, p. 35, items 18–21, 26, 27.

205 At this point, there occurs in the margin the words هي ق, an error uncorrected.

هي بلدة كانت اهلها من حارث وبمازن سخبان

It is a town whose people are from Ḥārith and connected with (?)
Māzin.

There are also Barqa and Barqāna, two villages near together, the distance between which is no more than a quarter of an hour or less [i.e. walking distance]. Barqāna is a low-lying place but Barqa is elevated.²⁰⁶ It has a large *manāra* on the top of which is a green bottle [or jar]. It is now inhabited and Ḥamad bin Saʿīd al-Bū Saʿīdī built it for habitation.

Story (*Ḥikāya*)

There was a Ḥadhrāmī soldier who had washed his *tafaqa*²⁰⁷ and he saw the bottle on the *manāra* and said, “I will see whether my musket will hit it or not.” And he pointed his musket and aimed at the bottle and hit it and broke it. It was between afternoon and sunset prayer-times, and he went to sleep and died the same day.

The poet said:

لحارث غامين ثم وبرقة ولحاتم ولمازن برقان

Ngomeni belongs to Ḥārith then also Barqa and Barqāna to Ḥātīm and
Māzin

Among them is also Malūdi with *dāl*. It is also spelt with *dhāl* i.e. Malūdhi; the *Qāmūs* says so, and that Malūdi is a village in Ūzījand.²⁰⁸ *Gharāʿif* were built up,²⁰⁹ but there was no trace of mud houses. Its people were worshippers of

206 Barqa and Barqāna. Kirkman 1961 p. 356 f. identifies Barqāna as Mambroi or Qilimani.

207 *Tafaqa*. The author must mean *tanfaqa* = musket. A typical example of his carelessness. See Kirkman, “Great Pillars of Malindi”, p. 8.

208 Uzijand. The Arabic is *كون ملود قرية باوزجند* Kirkman 1966, *Ungwana*. The last word might be two words or it might be intended to be one place-name. The only place we can find is Uzjen in *Uzbekistan*, east of Samarqand. Otherwise it may mean “Maludi is a village in Ozi, an army (i.e. a military station)”. Kirkman points out that the Portuguese and *Kitāb al-Zunūj* report the association of Tana and Sabaki towns.

209 *Gharāʿif* were built up. This seems to be a faulty plural for *ghurfā* = an upper room. In KiSwahili *ghorofa* = an upper storey. He may mean that the dwellings were made of mangrove poles on stilts, near the shore. I have left the Arabic word owing to the uncertainty as to its meaning.

the Lord of the Universe, and there were Qurʾāns²¹⁰ there. They were very good at calligraphy, and were soldiers under Ūzī and their ruler was named Muḥammad bin ʿUthmān al-Baūrī.

The poet said:

مَلُودٍ خَيْرِ قَبِيلَةٍ وَكَرَامَةٍ
هَمُّ مِنْ بَنِي أَسَدٍ إِلَى عَدْنَانَ

Malūdi has the best of tribal origins and nobility.
They are from the Banū Asad (going back) to ʿAdnān

سُئِلَ أَحَدٌ مِنْ بَنِي أَسَدٍ
هَلْ أَنْتَ النُّورِيُّ أَمْ غَيْرُهُ فَقَالَ

One of the Banū Asad was asked,
“Are you a Baūrī or someone else?” and he replied:

أَنَا الْعَنْزِيُّ مِنْ أَوْلَادِ أَسَدٍ
سَلِيلِ رَيْبَعَةِ نَجْلِ النَّزَارِ

“I am an ʿAnzī of the sons of Asad
Descendants of Rabīʿa son of ʿAdnān²¹¹

وَذَا الْبُورِيِّ مَنْسُوبٍ لِبَلَدٍ
فَصَارَ قَبِيلَةً مِنْ غَيْرِ عَارٍ

But the man of Baūrī is related to a town,
and it became a tribe without reproach²¹².

Among them also is Ghīdān.²¹³ It was a large spacious town, the largest of the towns in Africa after Kilwā. There was in it a powerful king and his rule

210 Qurʾāns. The Arabic مصاحف means literally “pages” or “sheets”, but the word is used technically by Muslims to imply the “inspired leaves” on which the Qurʾān is written. There are some fine specimens of calligraphy on the Swahili coast.

211 The text has النزار—*al-nazār*.

212 Without reproach. An Arab who could not trace his ancestry back to a noble line was ashamed of the fact. The author means that Baurī is not a tribal name, but an epithet of locality, which in the process of time has become noble and carries no stigma.

213 Ghīdān—غيدان is Gedi. In Swahili transcription, *ghayn* is usually written as *ng*. See Kirkman, *Men and Monuments*, p. 114. Ar. “clothes peg”—a spice similar to cloves.

extended from Malūdi up to the neighbourhood of the River of the Fish.²¹⁴ The people of Ghidān²¹⁵ were from the Yaman. WaṬammawiya from Ṭammiya, a name for the mountain. They have become well-known now in the language of Africa as Waṭāmu WaGhidi.²¹⁶ The *Qāmūs* says Ghidān is a place in the Yaman²¹⁷ and Ṭammiya is a mountain in the desert [*bādiya*] but we do not know that. The *bādiya* is some other place.²¹⁸

The poet said:

طعموية ازدية وقضاة
سدوا به مدخل الى غيدان

Ṭammawiyya is Azdiyya, but Quḍā'a²¹⁹
blocked with it the entrance to Ghidān.

1954 pp. xv, 75

The poet has mentioned the name of the village first, and that was on the sea-coast and the entrance to Ghidān was a creek that had a wide entrance through which a ship might enter, and when the Christians came,²²⁰ they blocked it with stones and mortar of lime [and so it remains] till now.²²¹

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- 214 River of the Fish. Fairly obviously the Sabaki River with the labial *b* read as nasalized labial *m*, thus producing *samakī* = fish. An alternative interpretation is that it means “Shimo la Tewa”—the creek at Mtwapa. The Arabic word سمك can sometimes mean “whale” and is thus equivalent to *tewa* in Bantu. Strandes, *Portuguese Period*, p. 350.
- 215 Ghidān. The word begins with *ghayn* (غيدان) which clearly represents *gh*, not *ng* here.
- 216 Waṭāmu and Gedi. Watamu is north of Mida Creek on the coast, but Kirkman 1954 pp. xv, 75 suggests that the original Ṭammiya (origin in the Yaman unidentified) was at the very mouth of the creek on the north side, where there is a ruined mosque. The ruins of Gedi are well-known. Firūzābādī (*Qāmūs*) says in Part 4 under the root *gh-d-n* “Of good voice, or a cave in the Yaman”. Strandes, *Portuguese Period*, p. 352 (Outamo).
- 217 A place in Yaman. There is a Jabal Raydān in Wadi Beihān in the Yaman, near Hārib.
- 218 Some other place. This passage is very obscure. We have rendered what we think is its meaning. See Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 29, 262, 266, 356 n. 9, which indicates a relation with East Africa; also map 1 on p. 386. Horton (*Archaeology*, p. 425) refers to them as “people of the northern coast”.
- 219 Quḍā'a. Al-Suwaydī, *Sabā'ik*, p. 60, indicates that he was a Ḥimyarī of the al-Qaḥṭāni branch. See Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 74 ff.
- 220 Came. The Arabic word used here is the South Arabian colloquial استوى = “happened”, “became”. It has this meaning here.
- 221 Till now. These ruins are still in being and a great tourist attraction.

Among them is also Yūmbu.²²² This is from Yūmbu [Yanbu‘?] in the Yaman.²²³ It was an uninhabited village after Ghidān, and Ṭammawiya was nearer.²²⁴

There was also Kilifī the great, an inhabited town or district, with buildings of stone and lime and its ruins remain till now.²²⁵ The name of this district is that of the tribe to which its people belong, namely Kalfa²²⁶ bin Ḥanzala bin Khuzayma bin Madraka.²²⁷

The poet said:

كلفي لكفة نجل حنظلة الذي
هو من خزيمة قرشهم سبحان

Kilifī belongs to Kalafa son of Ḥanzala
who is of Khuzayma from whom come Quraysh. They are brothers.

The *Qāmūs* says that Kalafa²²⁸ is the ancestor of ‘Āmir bin al-Ḥārith but in the *Sabā’ik* [it is] Kalafa bin Ḥanzala;²²⁹ there is no other Kalafa; and that he is the grandfather [ancestor?] of ‘Āmir bin al-Ḥārith also.

Among them is also the Mṭāfa.²³⁰ It is a village whose people are from Ṭā’if, as they themselves claim.²³¹ And the second was a village of Ḥarrāth of Bāssasa

222 Yumbu. Probably Uyombo at the south side of Mida Creek. The author’s derivation of this word is quite un-Arabic; for not only is the word as it stands unidentifiable in the Yaman but there is no word of indigenous Arabic origin which has *m* and *b* together unseparated by a vowel. Such words only have *n* followed by *b*. Yanbu‘ is the only place-name that meets this condition, but that is in Ḥijāz not Yaman.

223 See Prémare, “‘Il voulut détruire le temple’”, p. 293.

224 Nearer—i.e. nearer to Uyombo than Watamu is now. This supports Kirkman’s view above stated. Footnote 222.

225 Underneath between the lines there is a reference to al-Suwaydī, *Sabā’ik*, p. 30.

226 Kalfa. This linking of coastal names with Arabic eponymous tribal ancestral names is very improbable. The *ki* is most probably to be regarded as a Bantu prefix coupled with the word *-lifū* = palm-tree fibre. Malindi is a place of coconuts. Marginal note 4. referring to al-Suwaydī, *Sabā’ik*, p. 30. The author used a different edition from the Beirut 1423/2002 one.

227 Al-Suwaydī, *Sabā’ik*, pp. 73, 92, 103, indicates that Khudh’a was Khuzayma’s mother’s great-grandfather.

228 The text has **كلف**—*kalfa* here, whereas everywhere else it has **كفة**—following the *Sabā’ik*.

229 Al-Suwaydī, *Sabā’ik*, pp. 92, 103.

230 Mṭāfa. This is Mṭwapa. Arabic has no *p* and the *tw* of Bantu is modified by *m*. Marginal note has “Mṭāfa? p. 50”.

231 Claim. The word **زعموا** in Arabic means more strictly “allege”, and bears a tone of slightly less assurance than “claim”.

frequented by them for relaxation and recreation²³² and they wandered around to that village, and Mṭāfa²³³ is the name of the place, God knows. The most correct view is that they are descendants of the Ṭābiyya,²³⁴ a clan²³⁵ of the Banu Mahra bin Khuddām.²³⁶ Their dwellings are with their people in al-Balqa'.²³⁷ End of quotation from *Sabā'ik*.

There is also Bassāsa,²³⁸ which is a large town that Tubba'built after Maqdishū. Her people are from Ḥijāz and Yaman and 'Umān. And some of them are Ḥijāzīs and Yamanīs mingled by marriage, and their tribes were not exactly established, so now they are called WaTangāna.²³⁹

Among them is also the Jalandānī. It is said to be plural and its singular is Jaladī,²⁴⁰ that is²⁴¹ Jalad bin Mudhḥij bin 'Udud bin Zayd bin Yashjub bin 'Arīb²⁴² bin Zayd bin Rab'ā bin Kahlān bin Sabā.²⁴³ The people of 'Umān and others say that what is related to him is Jalandānī in the plural. When they came to Bassāsa they built in the west part of the island [adopted the west part of the island as their home?] and called their village by the name of their tribe Jalandānī, and now it is called Kilindini, by reason of the predominating influence of (بغلبت) the Swahili pronunciation.²⁴⁴ What the people of Bassāsa allege about

232 The text has يرتاضون. It has not been possible to find exactly what "Hārāth of Bassasa" refers to. The bottom page 35 contains the following note (in the right-hand margin) "it is also said they are from Kalfa bin 'Awf bin 'Amr bin 'Auf ibn Awsī—*Sabā'ik* p. 74". See al-Suwaydī, *Sabā'ik*, p. 103.

233 Mṭāfa. Mtwapa Creek is a few miles North of Mombasa. Though it is the name of one of the "nine tribes" of Mombasa, the attempt to give it an Arabic origin is very weak. Appendix 1 *Kawkab* marginal note 6. See Prins, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, p. 83.

234 Above the name Ṭābiyya there is inserted a number 8. See Appendix 1 *Kawkab* marginal note 6.

235 The text has بطن—*batn*. We can see no *ḍamma* in the Arabic text, so أبطن.

236 Appendix 1 *Kawkab* marginal note 5, referring to Kulfa and *Sabā'ik* p. 74. See al-Suwaydī, *Sabā'ik*, p. 55.

237 al-Balqa'. Al-Suwaydī, *Sabā'ik*, p. 184; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 78, 147, 269 n. 2: "southern region of the eastern Jordan district and comprised ancient Moab".

238 Bassāsa. Mombasa.

239 WaTangāna. The author here seeks an explanation of this name from *changanya* = mix, or mingle, which in the Kimvita and Kitikuu dialects is *tanganya*. A marginal note in a different hand referring to p. 50. p. 8 See Appendix 1 *Kawkab* marginal note 6.

240 Bracket with 36 inserted above وانه. Marginal note 6, referring to *Sabā'ik* pp. 8, 45, 90.

241 Above وانه is inserted the number 36.

242 'Arīb. This might be 'Urayb.

243 Al-Suwaydī, *Sabā'ik*, p. 118.

244 Jalandānī. This is the most blatantly inaccurate Arabicization of any, for the author does not even give the correct KiSwahili meaning of the noun *kilindini*. The name itself is obviously the KiSwahili word for "at the place of deep water", i.e. on the west side of Mombasa Island. The forced approximation of the name to that of the rulers of 'Umānat the begin-

being from al-Kaldi (Keledi) is imagination, and there is no justification for it, since no *nūn* enters into the word Keledī, and we have never heard its plural, only singular [or, we have never heard of its plural being like its singular], but Jaladī has the *nūn* in the plural, which is used by the people of ‘Umān, and we have witnesses [or, we call it as evidence] for that.²⁴⁵

There are also the Taghmāwī,²⁴⁶ a tribe of Mahra bin Ḥaydān bin ‘Amr bin al-Ḥāfi bin Quḍā‘a.²⁴⁷ It says in *Sabā’ik*,²⁴⁸ “And Tughmā is a tribe of Mahra bin Haydān”.²⁴⁹ The *Qāmūs* says so and we have found evidence of it.²⁵⁰ And the adjective of relation is Taghmāwī. Those are wrong who make the relative with *shīn* or *tā*, and to set the *ghayn* with *alif* and the *mīm* with *waw* are wrong. There is no doubt that that would be read thus, as they claim—*taghāmiwī*.

Among them is also Shamazī, a subdivision²⁵¹ or clan of the Arabs, as the writer of the *Qāmūs* says, but he did not mention that they are a tribe, and he mentioned two names, two men named Aḥmad bin Ibrahīm al-Shamazī and ‘Umar bin ‘Uthmān al-Shamazī.²⁵² We do not know more than this.

The poet said:

بساسة هي كنية ام القرى
سموا بها اهل الحجاز مكان

Bassāsa is a *kunya* of Umm al-Qurā²⁵³

The people of Ḥijāz named it thus as [their] locality.

ning of the Islamic period is almost laughable, since the Arabic *jīm* never becomes *k* in KiSwahili.

245 We have witnesses for that. It is a pity that the author does not quote his authorities for what is on the face of it an un-Arabic grammatical mutation. In four-letter Arabic roots, the plural is often formed by dropping the *n*, not by adding it. The statement that Tubba‘ al-Ḥimyārī built Mombasa after Maqdishu may not be so fanciful, but there is so far no solid evidence to support it.

246 Taghmāwi or Taghamāwī. Almost certainly the WaChangamwe. Kirkman “History of the Coast” 1966, p. 116 supports this view. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 297, 328, 329.

247 Al-Suw aydī, *Sabā’ik*, pp. 60, 73. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 236, 261.

248 *Sabā’ik*. But this work does not prove anything but the origin of the Arabic tribe. 23 is written above *Sabā’ik*.

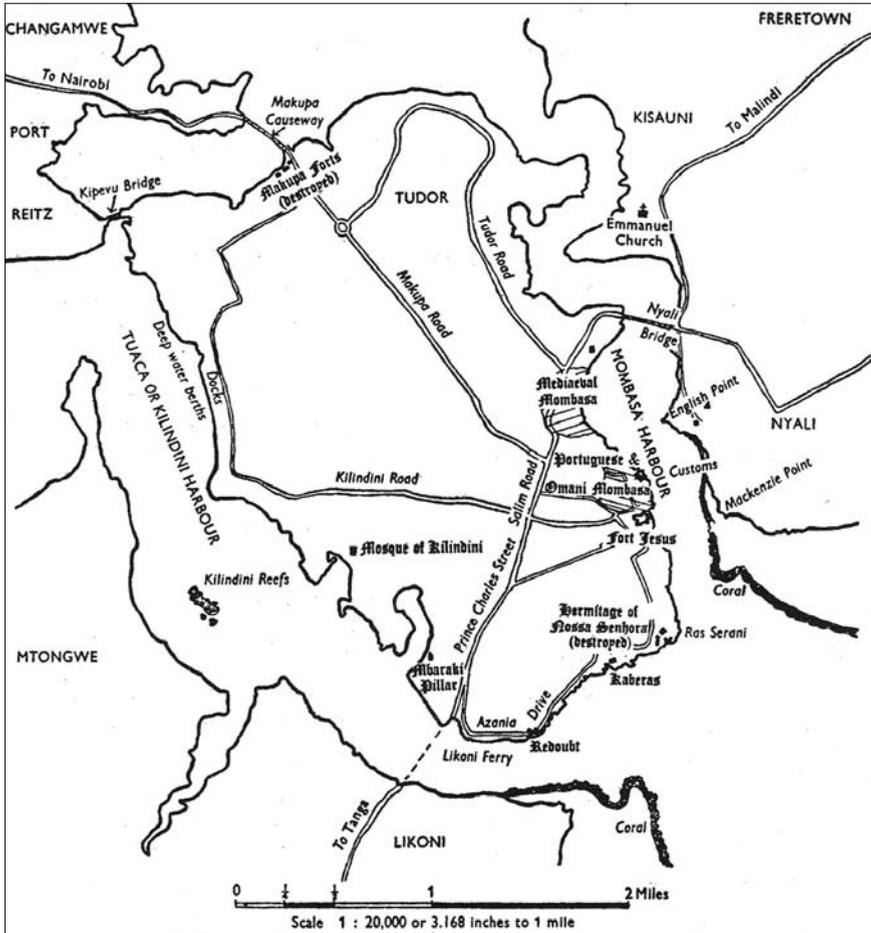
249 Al-Suwyadī, *Sabā’ik*, p. 74.

250 Again the author does not quote the authority for his evidence, but only states that the *Qāmūs* says so.

251 The text has فخذ — *fakhadh*.

252 Shamazī. It is not clear to what place or tribe this name applies, unless it may be connected with the place known as Shamzu, north of Mombasa, or unless the author sees a connection between Shamazī and Changamwe.

253 Umm al-Qurā. This is a title for Makka. But what is the evidence that the name Bassāsa was



MAP 13 Mombasa
KIRKMAN 1964 P. 126

There is also Ṭiwi. It was an inhabited district whose people are from Ṭiwi which is in ‘Umān²⁵⁴ that is remaining till now, and there is no doubt about

ever applied to Makka? This line is the only line of the mnemonic poem used by Shaykh Faḍīl bin ‘Umar that is also quoted in *Kitāb al-Zunūj* K. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 235, 258.

254 Ṭiwi which is in ‘Umān. There is a Ṭiwi on the coast of ‘Umān in the Jabal Hajar region a few miles north-west of Sūr. However, it has such an un-Arabic sound that one may perhaps ask whether the ‘Umāni Ṭiwi may not rather have been named after the East African one 13 miles south of Mombasa by (a) slaves, or (b) returning ‘Umāni colonists or emigrants,

it. But the Ṭīwī in Africa is now a ruin, which has ceased, and the Kushūr have inherited its site.

Among them also is Ṭanga,²⁵⁵ which is a village on the seashore, full of rivers which nourish their land and its people drink the water from the shore. It is inhabited up to the present, and its people were from Ṭanga which is on the seashore in the far Maghrib²⁵⁶ [i.e. Tangiers] but we do not know in which direction its people went, and I fancy they have disappeared, and there remained those who live there now, and they are a tribe [group] of the Zanj.

Among them is also Zinjibār, a great and spacious city where the Zanj used to fish. It had much vegetation and grass, because the Island of Zinjibār had much rain, and there were no buildings [settlements] there, only these who used to catch fish. They used to say they burned the grass for fear of snakes, that is, *ungūza mōto*,²⁵⁷ and that island became Ungūza, but now Ungūja by a mixing up of tongues.²⁵⁸ And so, when the Arabs moved to it and put up their buildings, they called it Zinjibār. And it is said that its meaning is derived from Barzanj,²⁵⁹ and it is said its people who dwelt [there] are the people of Zinjibār.²⁶⁰ It says in the *Qāmūs*, “Mārka was a town under Zinjibār” (end of quote). There were Sharifs in it because it was a recent town, not ancient, because the Sharifs were after the Prophet, may God send blessing and peace on him,²⁶¹ and the settle-

who nostalgically named their town after their former place of sojourn, much as one finds members of the British Colonial Service naming their houses Nairobi, Rawalpindi or Simla. Miles, *Countries and Tribes*, vol. 11 p. 528 reference? calls it Taiwee. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 256, 261, 264.

255 Ṭanga. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 256, 264, 282, 238, 346.

256 On the sea-shore in the far Maghrib. That is, Morocco. He refers to Tangiers, which is of course pure guess-work from what can only be a coincidental similarity of name. Freeman-Grenville IV p. 144 suggests a connection with the Moorish evacuation of Andalus in 1492.

257 *Unguza moto* اغوز موتو in Arabic script.

258 By a mixing of tongues, that is dialects. Eg. Bantu *modzi* = KiSwahili *moja*.

259 Barzanj. This is an abbreviation of بر الزنوج = the land of the Zanj. But Zinjibār is more like an Urdu form. Cf. *tāj mahal* with محل التاج in Arabic. Note the name of Ja'far b. Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. M. al-Hadīm b. Zayn al-'Abdīn al-Barzanjī al-Madanī (1101/1690-1179-1766) and his popular *Mawlid*. Harries, *Swahili Poetry*, p. 103.

260 Zinjibār. Our author appears to be following his old policy of linking names with a similar sound. The only possible place he can mean here would be Zanjan between Tabriz and Tehran in Iran. However D. ven der Meulen (*Aden to Hadhramaut: A Journey in South Arabia*. London: John Murray 1947 p. 20) mentions Zanjubār near Shuqra north-north-east of Aden. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 91; cf. *Kitāb al-Zunūj* MSS K and L.

261 The Sharifs trace their descent to the Prophet. The author's argument here is a very good example of a *non sequitur*. South Arabia is full of Sharifs and some of its towns are much older than the Prophet.

ment of the countries of East Africa was 700 years before the Prophet, may God send blessing and peace on him.

Among them is also Rūba or Rawba,²⁶² a village whose people were Arabs from Baghdād,²⁶³ or from Balkh, and now it is ruined. But in the time of the Portuguese Christians, it was inhabited with a big church after the mosques.²⁶⁴ We do not know their tribes except that they are from Baghdād or Balkh, as the *Qāmūs* says. In the KiSwahili language it is Kirimba.

Among them is also Kilwā, an Arab town, built by Tubba' after Maqdishū and Bassāsa.²⁶⁵ It was a great city with many people in it. Historians say there were 366 or 365 mosques in it [where] the people would pray. It is said that when the Nabhānī²⁶⁶ made a raid on it, they reached Kilwā, and it was on an island,²⁶⁷ and they passed the night on the seashore. When the morning was near, they heard the *adhān* and they reckoned them to be [indicate?] the number of the zealous²⁶⁸ and they came to 365, so they turned back in fear and awe. The common people related this. We do not know what Arab stock they are from, but there transferred to it the Banū 'Anza bin Asad of Banū Rabī'a. On that [evidence], its people were from Baghdād and the Baurīs from Kūfa (end

262 Rūba. روبا او روب The author gives this as the original Arabic name of Kirimba, now marked on the map as a Sisal estate near the coast between Vanga and Tanga. The connection with Baghdād and/or Balkh is possibly fanciful or legendary. Kirkman, *The History* 1966, p. 112 suggests, however, that it is possibly a correct tradition. The second Ruba in Arabic has *alif tawila* added.

263 See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 267, 268, 334, 352.

264 After the mosques. This may mean "in succession to" or "in addition to", or even "on the site of" or "after the style of".

265 Built by Tubba' after. There seems to be as much ground for accepting the connection of Tubba' the Himyarite with Kilwa as there is for his connection with Mogadishu and Mombasa. The *Periplus*, however, gives good ground for accepting a very ancient trading intercourse across the whole Indian Ocean in which the Arabs were important participants. See Freeman-Grenville, *Swahili Coast*, p. 11; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 56f. See, however, H.N. Chittick, "Medieval Mogadishu", *Paideuma* 28 (1982): 45–62, p. 61.

266 Nabhānī. For the probability of the Nabāhina having been in power when Kilwa was at the height of its prosperity, see Chittick, *East Africa* 1975 pp. 39 f.; Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, p. 253; Kirkman, *Men and Monuments*, pp. 57 f.

267 It was on an island. That is, Kilwa Kisiwani, as opposed to Kilwa Kivinje. This incident is referred to in Burton: *Zanzibar*, vol. 2, pp. 358 f.

268 The zealous. المجتهدين This word might imply "the people diligent in their preparations for defence", but it is usually the term for general diligence, or for the religious interpreters of Islamic law. What suggests the latter meaning is that 365 defenders is not a very great number; but 365 congregations of 40 or over per congregation would be a considerable number. The *mujtahidūn* would then be the mosque preachers who headed the congregations, and who were presumably scholars and lawyers.

of quote) and on that evidence the people of Malūdi transferred to Kilwā and they are still living there.²⁶⁹

Among them is also Jūli.²⁷⁰ It says in the *Qāmūs* that Jūlān is a mountain in Syria,²⁷¹ and “Soil”.²⁷² Perhaps the people of this village are from Syria. We do not know whether they are of Arab or non-Arab²⁷³ origin, but now the people of Malūdi have transferred there from the days of the war.²⁷⁴

Story (*Hikāyah*)

When the Ṣaqāliba (Slavs, Slaves) that is the Ṣaqāliba²⁷⁵ of Būkīni²⁷⁶ raided as far as Jūli in small ships called *lākā*,²⁷⁷ each ship carrying no more than two, that is, two men only, when they arrived they descended on Jūli with war, (i.e. they attacked it) and the people of Jūli fled and most of them crept into the cave, but some of them resorted to another place and hid themselves. When the Ṣaqāliba entered the country they did not see them and followed their tracks, and they saw the tracks of those who had entered the cave, and they cut fire-wood and blocked the cave entrance with the fire-wood very thoroughly, and kindled fire in it, and the wood burned and all who were in the cave died. The cave was very

269 The people of Malūdi ... still living there. This corresponds to the tradition that Maludi and Kilwa are both, according to Prins as depicted on his map, primary Shirazi immigration centres. Kirkman says that an immigration from Malindi to Kilwa is recorded in the KiSwahili version of the History of Kilwa See Freeman-Grenville 1965. The Shirazi connection would be strengthened by the word *مجتهدين* which is a Shi'a term. There is a quotation here but it is unident-ified. Cerulli 1957 vol. 1 pp. 260, 329.

270 Jūli. Text has *جولي*. This is Chole, the old name for Mafia Island. In Hadhramaut the high ground between wadis is known as *jūl* See Freeman-Grenville 1962 p. 215 note. Strandes 1961 p. 341.

271 Mountain in Syria. The mountain referred to is Jawlān i.e. the Golan Heights which is ancient Decapolis. But al-Shām also means in East Africa South West Arabia, especially the Tihāma and Zabīd.

272 Soil. Or, “the ground”. Could this possibly be *GWL* which is the word for ground, or property, in Ancient South Arabian? See special note in Appendix 5.

273 The text has *عجم*—‘*ajam*’.

274 Days of the war. This presumably means the war described in the next paragraph, in which the people from Madagascar invaded them. It might mean the South African War, but not the First World War, which only commenced after the author had died.

275 Saqāliba. Sakalava—a tribe of Madagascar.

276 Būkīni. The KiSwahili name for Madagascar. See Sacleux, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 1, p. 117.

277 *lākā*. Freeman-Grenville (*East African Coast*, p. 213) has *raka*. The Arabic letter *l* very easily becomes *r* or *n* and vice versa. See Sacleux, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 1, p. 466.

Among them are also countries [districts?], villages and towns such as Waybu²⁸¹ and Tanga and others. You do not know whether their people are Africans or Arabs. But Arabs or 'Ajam migrated to them like Shaljā etc., and Shalju was a village in Sīwī, which is in East Africa and its people are from the Turks. They used to call it Shangāni²⁸² in the African language. But now they have moved to Shangāni, which is the third Shalju.

End of the [description of] the districts we desired [to describe].²⁸³

This is the ode of those who praise the Tubba':²⁸⁴

When God wished again to revive a land, its sand and soil
 He began with the town of Maqdishū; those who built it
 Were As'ad son of and the *ḥibrān* [i.e. the two rabbis]
 A fortified town between Zanj, and Ethiopia 22 days' distance
 He is one of the Tubba's of Yaman, who ruled among his people men-
 tioned in the Qur'ān.
 Blessed be the people of Mārka; for by God's mercy they were protected
 from Zanzibār
 And Barāwa is righteousness whose chosen ones without doubt have
 good conscience and are well-doing
 Sīwī and Battā then Mundu and Fāza and also Yabrīn: they are Arabs.
 Does the strength of bands of soldiers know of them?
 They are of Quraysh and of the Banū Qaḥṭān.

281 Waybu. There is a Wibu in Madagascar. See Freeman-Grenville, *French at Kilwa Island*, p. 298.

282 Shangāni. For Shanga on Pate, see Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, p. 244. But the Turkish connection is not mentioned. In view of Neville Chittick's (1969 p. 116) surmise that the Nabāhina came much later to Pate—or at least took power much later—than the History of Pate seems to indicate, it may be that the conquest of Shanga was after Mirale Bey's expedition, and the Turks had settled there from among his troops (or hangers-on?). Or our author is simply assuming the connection from the similarity between the words Shalju and Saljuq. Freeman-Grenville (*Medieval History*, p. 87) discusses the possibility that this may be Songo Mnara. See also Horton, *Archaeology*, p. 23; Strandes, *Portuguese Period*, pp. 358f.

283 It will be noticed that, in the preceding catalogue of places, the author has been very vague in his dating and chronology, let alone his geography. Yet his recording of traditions may have something of value that will help to make clear the real course of events.

284 The ode. I append an edited Arabic text kindly produced for us by Dr Pierre Cachia formerly of Edinburgh University. As it stands, the metre is wrong in places, but he has made some corrections by adjusting the text, on the assumption that the scribe may have misheard. The ode is a kind of mnemonic of all the places whose inhabitants can claim an Arab ancestry, and so privileges of Arab Muslims under the administration of the Zanzibar Protectorate.

And Ḥuddāb Island has in it a village whose chiefs are from Ḥijāz and
‘Umān

Uzwa and Amawa—their Arab origin [?] is unknown

Ūzī has an army and they have over them a sultan.

From Awaza is derived Ūzī. They are the horsemen of the nobles of
Rabī‘a

It is a district whose name was Maghāma from Ḥārith and Rabī‘a two
roads [?branches]

Ḥārith dwelt in Ngomeni with Burqa and Ḥātīm and Māzin have
Burqāna

And Malūdi the best in respect of tribe and standing They are from the
Banū Asad back to ‘Adnān Ṭumūwiya of Azd and Qudhā‘a. They also
blocked up the entrance of Ghaydān.

Kilīfī belongs to Kalfa son of Ḥanzāla, which is related to Khuzayma a
scion [?]

Bassāsa is a *kunya* of Umm al-Qurā by which they called the best place
of pilgrimage.

Ṭīwī and Vānga²⁸⁵ are two villages and Ṭanga’s people are noble Arabs of
Ghassān

Tubba‘ built Kilwā and Jūlī with Waybu erected by the son of Ḥassān.
“O Lord, Thou hast established the villages we have built, also the gar-
risons and the districts [countries?]”²⁸⁶

And establish the Muslims living in them in good works and deeds and
the clear proof²⁸⁷

Give them glory and victory continually And to the rejectors²⁸⁸ the
humiliation of deprivation.²⁸⁹

285 The text has فَاغ—*Fāgha/Fānga*.

286 The text has امصار (sing. *miṣr*) = “cities”. The Arabic word has a technical meaning “gar-
rison towns”, but later meant any large city or capital of a province. So far as we know,
there were no proper *amṣār* in East Africa, but the author implies that the Tubba‘ gar-
risoned the Swahili coast. In KiSwahili, every town and its suburbs, if it had its own ruler,
was called a “country”. Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, p. 244 n. 4. This would
be *nch* in KiSwahili and بلد in the usual Arabic rendering. “District” is the best term in
English.

287 Al-Burhān بُرْهَانٌ. A name for the Qur‘ān.

288 Rejectors. These are of course the Christian Portuguese and “their Rule” is the Portuguese
Administration of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries. The tone of the poem suggests
that the poet still harboured ill feelings in regard to them, and this may put its composi-
tion not later than 1750.

289 The text has حرمان—*ḥurmān*. This should be هرمان—*hirmān*.

O Lord, make to cease their rule and their dwellings among us as well;
 may their feet both slip!
 [or, And shake their dwellings violently]²⁹⁰
 By the Chosen One,²⁹¹ O Lord, receive my prayer which I have offered to
 Thee urgently and speedily.

Chapter (*Bāb*)

[45/1] We mention²⁹² the events that happened to the people of East Africa after the founding²⁹³ of the villages, towns, “cities”²⁹⁴ and countries which Tubba‘ the Himyarite built, and the kings, sultans, prophets and caliphs that came after him (the prayers and peace of God be upon them all).

Section (*Faṣl*)

And among them was Tubba‘ bin Zayd al-Ḥimyarī.²⁹⁵ He came to the throne after As‘ad al-Kāmil.²⁹⁶ (He is As‘ad bin Ḥassān whom we mentioned before). Then Yāsir bin ‘Amr bin Tubba‘ bin Zayd.²⁹⁷ Then the rule was given after his father to Shamar bin Yāsir bin ‘Amr bin Zayd bin Tubba‘.²⁹⁸ He was the last of the Tubba‘’s and the greatest of them in rule and authority. He it was who was called Tubba‘ al-Akbar. He reigned 53 years.²⁹⁹ Then the rule of Ḥimyar

290 The text has *قدمان*—*qudmān*.

291 The text has *مصطفى*—*Mustafa*, an epithet for Muḥammad.

292 Here begins the second section of the book. It is historical.

293 Founding. The Arabic word is *استقامات*, not the usual word for founding a city. The author evidently had in mind the Kiswahili *mastakimu* = dwelling, environment.

294 “Cities”. We have put this in quotation marks because the Arabic word has the technical meaning “garrison towns,” but *miṣr* later meant any large city or capital of a province. So far as we know there were no proper *amṣār* in East Africa, but the author implies that the Tubba‘ garrisoned the Swahili coast.

295 The chronology of the South Arabian kingdoms is so uncertain that we are not in a position directly to criticise our author here, but in other books the order and dates of the kings, as well as their names in some cases, are quite different. The establishment of this chronology is still being established by archaeologists. It should be noted that Tubba‘ (طبع) is not a proper name but a title. Ibn Zayd therefore has no personal name recorded here.

296 Al-Suwaydī, *Sabā‘ik*, p. 71.

297 Al-Suwaydī, *Sabā‘ik*, p. 71. It is said he ruled 83 or 35 years.

298 Al-Suwaydī, *Sabā‘ik*, p. 71.

299 Al-Suwaydī (*Sabā‘ik*, p. 71) indicates that Tubba‘ Shamar was the last Tubba‘.

grew weak, and Ethiopia conquered it, and the Yaman did not return to Ḥimyar until the time of Sayf ibn Dhū 'l-Yazin.³⁰⁰ He delivered the kingdom from the Ethiopians in the time of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, grandfather of the Prophet (prayer and peace from God be upon him). This is stated in *Sabā'ik al-dhahab* and mentioned in detail in the histories (but God knows best). End of [quotation from] *Sabā'ik*.³⁰¹

Section (*Faṣl*)

In A.D. 561, in the time of the king named Shamar bin Yasir³⁰² in San'ā' in the Yaman, the Ethiopians defeated him and ruled him and the sovereignty did not return to the Yaman. That was in the time of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Then there happened that event by the command of God, the story of the People of the Elephant,³⁰³ as God said, "Did you not see how thy Lord acted towards the people of the Elephant?"³⁰⁴ Muḥammad bin Ishāq³⁰⁵ related it from some scholar, and from Sa'īd bin Jubayr³⁰⁶ and 'Ikrima³⁰⁷ from Ibn 'Abbās,³⁰⁸ and al-Wāqidī also related it, that the Najāshī³⁰⁹ king of Ethiopia had sent Arbāt³¹⁰ to the Yaman

300 Dhū 'l-Yazin. Dhū 'l-Yazan is given in the only list in our possession as the successor of Dhū Nuwās, who persecuted the Christians of Najrān. As his dates are given as A.D. 525–533, this may be fairly accurate, for 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib died about A.D. 576. Dhū 'l-Yazan must have ruled after the defeat of Abraha, and the Year of the Elephant, the story that is given below. Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 585.

301 Al-Suwaydī, *Sabā'ik*, p. 71.

302 Shamar bin Yāsir. In the only list available to me, the only king whose name approaches this is one called Shammār Yarush bin Yāsir Yuhanem, but he is said to have ruled from Dhufar City in A.D. 275–300. The only comment we can make is that of the Arab scholars: "God knows best", though accurate knowledge of South Arabian chronology is increasing.

303 People of the Elephant. The following story is referred to in the Qur'ān, Sura 105, and is supposed to have taken place c. A.D. 570, and to have coincided with the year of Muḥammad's birth.

304 Qur'ān 105:1.

305 Ibn Ishāq (c. 85/704–151/768) and al-Wāqidī (d. 207/822) are the two main sources for the facts and background of Muḥammad's life. See Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, pp. xiii ff.

306 Sa'īd bin Jubayr 539/1145–613/1217.

307 Ibn Ishāq quotes one 'Ikrima b. 'Āmir b. Ḥāshim b. Quṣayy one of the *ṣahāba*. Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 26.

308 Ibn 'Abbās—Muḥammad's uncle.

309 Najāshī. The emperor of Ethiopia who ruled at the time from Axum. Today he would be called "Negus". Huzayyin 1942 p. 38: "The Axumite Kingdom of the African coast was largely founded by elements of Arab origin, though it also invited a not inconsiderable number of influential Greek traders from Egypt and Syria."

310 Arbāt. The author has consistently written Arbāt rather than the correct form Aryāt using

and conquered it. Then an Ethiopian man named Abraha bin al-Ṣabbāḥ Abū Maktūm³¹¹ arose and irritated Arbāṭ in the command of Ethiopia, so that they divided in two and one party was with Arbāṭ and one with Abraha and they met in battle, and Abraha killed Arbāṭ and the Ethiopians rallied to Abraha and he conquered the Yaman, and the Najāshī confirmed him in his authority.³¹² Then Abraha saw the people preparing in the days of the [pilgrimage] season to go to Makka to perform the pilgrimage to the house of God, and he built a church in San‘ā’,³¹³ and wrote to the Najāshī that he had built him a church in San‘ā’ of the Yaman, the like of which had not been built for any king, “And I am not ceasing until I turn towards it the pilgrimage of the Arabs”, and a man of the Banū Mālik bin Kināna heard, and went out to it and entered it at night and sat down in it and smeared its *qibla* with excrement.³¹⁴ And Abraha received news of it, and said, “Who is it that took this action [of insult] against me?” He was told, “An Arab did it, one of the people of that house. He heard what you said.” Abraha thereupon swore that he would surely go to the Ka‘ba in order to destroy it. He wrote to the Najāshī, telling him about it and asked him to send him an elephant.³¹⁵ Then Abraha departed from Ethiopia and went to Makka, and the elephant went with him, and Makka heard of that, and thought it serious and saw it their duty to fight him, so one of the kings of Yaman named Dhū Anfar,³¹⁶

a *bā* instead of a *yā* as in Ibn Ishāq and other sources. See Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, pp. 18 ff. 34; Hitti (*History of the Arabs*, p. 62) has Aryāt; N.H. Haykal, *Life of Muḥammad*, trans. I.R.A. al-Fārūqī. Indianapolis, IN: North American Trust Publications, 1976, p. 12; Prémare, “Il voulut détruire le temple”, pp. 298, 300; A. Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites: Fragments of a Hitherto Unknown Syriac Work*. Lund: Gleerups, 1924, p. xlv.

- 311 Abū Maktūm. Al-Mas‘ūdī has **أبو مكسوم** and one MS has **ابن يكسوم**. The word **مكتوم** = “docked as to the nose”. Abraha’s nose had either been lost in battle, or had fallen in owing to some disease. (In modern times yaws sometimes has this effect.). Ibn Ishāq explains how Abraha came to have such a nose. See Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 20; Moberg, *Book of the Himyarites*, p. xlv. For the Arabic sources, see al-Ṭabari, *Annales*, pp. 917–930.
- 312 See Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, pp. 20 f. Prémare (“Il voulut détruire le temple”, p. 296) indicates that Abraha ruled for 20 or 23 years.
- 313 A church in San‘ā’. The site of this church is still preserved in San‘ā’. It is called at the present time **غرفة القليس**—Gharqat al-Qalis, and is never built on, though it is in the centre of the Old City surrounded by high houses on all sides. See Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 21.
- 314 Excrement. The biggest insult to a holy place possible. To this day the Shari‘a prescribes very precise rules as to how to avoid insulting God when obeying calls of nature. *Kitāb al-Zunūj* says that one of the people of Makka set fire to the church. See Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 22.
- 315 An elephant. *Kitāb al-Zunūj* actually gives this elephant a name—Maḥmūd. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 237, 262. See also Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 26; Prémare, “Il voulut détruire le temple”, p. 316.
- 316 Dhū Anfar. The MS has here **ذو انفر** but in the next sentence **ذو نفر**. Both forms are rea-

went out with those of his people who obeyed him and fought him, and Abraha routed him, and he took Dhū Anfar, but he said, “O King, don’t kill me since to leave me is better for you than to kill me.” So he let him live and bound him. Abraha was a mild person.³¹⁷ Then he went on until, when he came near to the country of Khath’am, Nufayl bin Ḥabīb went out with Khath’am³¹⁸ and those who assembled with him and some of the Yaman tribes. They fought him and he routed them and took Nufayl. And Nufayl said, “I am guide in the land of the Arabs, and these hands of mine are upon my people for hearing and obedience [i.e. I am surety for them].” So he preserved him and went out with him guiding him until, when they passed by al-Ṭā’if, Mas’ūd bin Mughhīth³¹⁹ came out to him with some of the Thaqafites, and said, “O King, we are your slaves, you have no disobedience from us. You only want the house in Makka. We will send someone with you to show you the way to it.” So they sent Abū Righāl, one of their clients.³²⁰ And he proceeded until he was in al-Mughhammas³²¹ and Abū Righāl died there. It is he whose grave is stoned.³²² Abraha sent from al-Mughhammas an Ethiopian called al-Aswad bin Maqsūd³²³ in the vanguard of his horsemen, and gave orders for a raid on the people’s cattle. Al-Aswad gathered for himself the property of the *ḥaram*. He gained two hundred camels of ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib. Then Abraha sent Ḥiyāta³²⁴ al-Ḥimiyari to the people of Makka, and told them, “I have not come to have a fight, but to destroy this house”, and he went on until he entered into Makka and met ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib bin Ḥāshim and said, “The king—look you—has sent me to you to tell you that he has not come to fight unless you fight him. We have simply come to destroy this house, then to go away and leave you.” ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib said, “We have no reason to fight him nor he us. It is decided best that we leave a clear way between him and the purpose

sonable but the first is more probable. Ibn Iṣḥāq has Dhū Nafr. See Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 23.

317 See Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 23.

318 Khath’am. This name is on no modern map. See Prémare, “‘Il voulut détruire le temple’”, pp. 329, 330.

319 Ibn Iṣḥāq has Mas’ūd b. Mu’attib b. Mālik b. Thaqīf. See Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 23.

320 See Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, pp. 23 f.; Prémare, “‘Il voulut détruire le temple’”, p. 330.

321 Al-Mughhammas—a place about three kilometres from Makka on the Ṭā’if road. See Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 24; Prémare, “‘Il voulut détruire le temple’”, pp. 334 f.

322 Compare with the *raġm* at Mina during the pilgrimage. See G.E. von Grunebaum, *Muḥammadan Festivals*. London: Curzon, 1951, p. 33.

323 Al-Aswad bin Maqsūd. One may doubt whether this is the true name for the person concerned. He was Amharic, not Arab if he was truly Ethiopian. Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 4.

324 Ibn Iṣḥāq has Ḥunāṭa. See Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, pp. 24 f.

of his coming; for this is God's holy house, and the house of His friend Ibrahīm. So if He stops him, then it is His house and His holy place. But if He leaves him free [to destroy it], then by God we would have no power against him."³²⁵ Then he departed with this news to the king until he came to the camp. Dhū Anfar was a friend of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib. He came to him and said, "O Dhū Anfar, have you any means of countering what has happened to us?" [Dhu Anfar replied]³²⁶ "Of what use is an imprisoned man who is not safe from being killed morning and evening? But I will send you to Anīs³²⁷ the elephant rider [groom]. For he is a friend of mine, so ask him to do what good he can for you with the king." He said,³²⁸ he sent word to Anīs. So he came to him, and he said to him, "This is the Sayyid of Quraysh, owner of the camels of Makka. He feeds the people of plain and mountain, and the king has taken from him 200 camels. If you can be of benefit to him with the king, then benefit him, for he is a friend of mine, and I like whatever benefit comes to him." Anīs went in before Abraha, and told him he was the Sayyid of Quraysh, as we have mentioned in describing him, and that "he asks your permission for an audience, and I want you to grant him one that he may speak with you. For he has come neither in opposition nor in defiance of you." So he gave him leave. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was a large comely man, and when Abraha saw him he praised him and honoured him, and came down on the carpet and sat upon it, then invited him and made him sit with him. The interpreter said, "What is your business?" He replied, "My business with the king is that he should return to me some cattle which he has seized from me." Abraha replied, "You had interested³²⁹ me when I saw you, and I am turning away from you." He asked, "Why?" He replied, "I came to a house which is your religion and the religion of your fathers. It is your honour and your protection—in order to destroy it. But you have not spoken to me about it but about 200 camels which I have won." He replied, "I am lord³³⁰ of the camels, but this house has a Lord Who protects it." He replied, "He cannot protect it from me." He replied, "Then

325 Parallel in Ibn Ishāq. See Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 24.

326 Added in pencil on the original typescript ms.

327 Ibn Ishāq has Unays. See Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, p. 25.

328 He said. This is an interpolation of the traditionist's editor. It means, "The transmitter of the tradition continued ..."

329 Interested. The word here is *أعجبني* Pierre Cachia would render this "pleased". In South Arabia, however, the word tends to be used in the sense of "interest", rather than wonder and pleasure. Its meaning here will depend on how far the author is giving the exact text of Ibn Ishāq or al-Wāqidi.

330 Lord of the Camels. i.e. I am owner of them. The word is *rabb* (Arabic رَبِّ) the same as Lord in the next sentence.

there it is for you!"³³¹ So he gave order, and the camels were returned to him. Then took place the incident of the birds, and the army died. Then Abraha died after his chest was split by his heart [or, from its inside].³³²

The traditionists said that after this story, the tribes who followed Abraha's opinion that they should build the church in place of the Ka'ba gathered and travelled from the Yaman in shame of the Arabs who disapproved of that [action], and proceeded to Ethiopia with their ideas and became Christians. They are Birbir, a family³³³ of Himyar, as [is mentioned] in *Sabā'ik* p. 21.³³⁴ Historians say that they lived with the Ethiopians 81 years, after the disappearance³³⁵ of those who came from the Yaman, and those remained who had been reared in the land of Ethiopia, male and female, and that they were among the Ethiopians like the black camels among the caravans,³³⁶ speaking the language of³³⁷ Ethiopia rather than Arabic, and following their religion and worship, and using their armour, and there was only left to them the tribal name and a very little Arabic.

Section (*Faṣl*)

When religion appeared in Madina³³⁸ and the *jihād* started against the Arab pagans, and the Arabs entered the religion of God in whole companies and took as booty of war both wealth and wives, and there remained no pagan among the Arabs or any unbeliever [denier], the Ethiopians said to the Arabs who had become Christians in their country, "We only know that all the Arabs have now followed the religion of Muḥammad (prayers and peace of God upon him), and

331 Then there it is for you. فأنت وذلك.

332 See Guillaume, *Life of Muhammad*, pp. 26 f.

333 Family. The word is *بطن* which may be also rendered sect, or clan or section. The town of Berbera may be connected with this tradition. It should be noted that Himyar is a similar root to the Amharic = Ethiopian, and that Mahra, a language group in Dhufar is a form from the same root as Amharic. The tradition thus enshrines the genuine fact that the Ethiopians and the Himyarites were from the same origin.

334 See al-Suwaydī, *Sabā'ik*, p. 48.

335 Disappearance. The word is *انقراض* and apparently implies the gradual reduction of the first generation by death from natural causes.

336 Caravans. This word *جمائل* is properly the plural of *جمالة* = a caravan, but it may here imply simply herds of camels.

337 Speaking the language of. The author writes *يتلفضون* wrongly, using *ض* instead of *ظ*, a very common South Arabian error, for in that region the two letters are pronounced alike.

338 Madina. In Arabic this is *المدينة المنورة* = the Enlightened City, i.e. the city that was the first to accept Muḥammad's revelation.

none of them is left who has not become a Muslim. So I guess that you will now return to your brethren, leaving this religion of yours which you have entered.” But when the children of the Arabs heard that, they were indignant and apostasized from the Christian religion and scattered and differed and strove among themselves and went to the land of Wāmā and the Equator, Juba.³³⁹ There were districts in the land of Wāmā and they built up places and gardens, and they removed there in the year A.H. 29 corresponding to A.D. 649 in the reign of Amīr al-Mu’minīn ‘Uthmān bin ‘Affān. They were from the Arab tribes who originally inhabited Khurāsān mainly.³⁴⁰ They are descendants of Qays Ghaylān. It says so in the *Qāmūs* p. 222 under the word *barr*. It says: “and another nation (*umma*) between the Ethiopians and the Zanj cut off the male organs of the men, and make them the dowries of their women. They are all descendants of Qays Ghaylān” (end of quote). They lived in the land of Wāmā with the Kushūr,³⁴¹ but they did not agree with what they did, and the Kushūr fled in three sections Mdīgo, MLungu and MSegeju unawares. This was the result of the unpleasant doings of the descendants of Qays Ghaylān. They used to fight them without declaring war³⁴² or for any reason. Then the remnant of the Kushūr fled and followed in the tracks of their brethren who had gone before, and they used to go out every day and night inland resorting to the bush.³⁴³

One day the Banū Qays Ghaylān followed the Kushūr and found them near a town called Kunubu³⁴⁴ beyond the River Dira,³⁴⁵ and took prisoner about

339 The children of the Arabs. Juba and Wāmā are the Juba River and district of southern Somalia, and the name Qays Ghaylān applies to the Galla tribes, who, being Hamitic in origin, can really have no connection with Arabs who settled in Khurāsān.

340 Who originally inhabited Khurāsān. Hitti (*History of the Arabs*, p. 280) says: “The Arabs of Khurāsān, the north-eastern province of Persia, were mainly colonists from al-Baṣrah, and were therefore mostly North Arabians”, that is Banū Qays, as opposed to Banū Kalb. But our author speaks, to judge by the ordinary meaning of his words, as if he thinks that Khurāsān was the place from which Banū Qays originated.

341 The Kushūr. The Kissioi or Kushites, whom our author regards as the Bantu East Africans, though more probably they were precursors of the Bantu. Cf. Grottanelli, “Lost African Metropolis”, p. 232.

342 Without declaring war. The Arabic words are *من غير قتال*. They may mean “without first being attacked”, but as someone must always open hostilities this cannot be the ground of objection. It must be that they did it suddenly without warning (implying guerilla warfare?). Prins: 1952 p. 80. Among them are the “three tribes” and “nine tribes” of Mombasa.

343 The bush. This seems to be the meaning of the Arabic *الزناجل* = jungle, usually termed the *nyika*.

344 Kunubu. This is Mkunumbi. It is worth noting that here, and in one or two other place-names, the form the author gives in Arabic is like the Swahili name but without the Bantu ending.

345 River Dira. Probably the Tana or Ozi River.

200 of their men and 2,000 women, and put them all in fetters, and the people of the town heard and followed after them. The people of the town of Kunubu were Baurīs³⁴⁶ and Ḥawātim.³⁴⁷ And they took them unawares, and they fought together, and the children of Qays Ghaylān turned tail in flight, and left behind their property, and the Kushūr. So the Baurīs took the Kushūr prisoners of war, and they covenanted and agreed with each other that the Baurīs were masters and the Kushūr slaves to them, but they were neither bought nor given, and lived in Kunubu above-mentioned until the present time, and the Christians rescinded their covenant. Their commander was called Rūbis³⁴⁸ in the year 1311 A.H., corresponding to A.D. 1893 and they are the Bukūmu.³⁴⁹

Section (*Faṣl*)

Then when the Bukūmu had entered the protection of the people of Ūzī,³⁵⁰ they were content, but the rest were not satisfied with living in Kunubi,³⁵¹ and went to Muwingaya.³⁵² Then the children of Qays Ghaylān followed the Kushūr to Muwingaya, and they fought them and routed them, and followed them to Kaya,³⁵³ which is near Rabai. The Kushūr were fighting with arrows of wood

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- 346 Baurīs. The author is himself of this group—al-Būrī or al-Baurī. Prins puts the Būrī or Ozi and the Ḥātimī among the “seven clans” of Pate. Freeman-Grenville 1966 p. 258.
- 347 Ḥawātim (sing. Ḥātim) refers to the Banū Ḥātim of the Ṭayyī’ clan. See Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, pp. 51; Prins, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, p. 82; G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, “The Coast 1498–1840”, in R. Oliver & G. Mathew (eds), *History of East Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963, vol. 1, 129–168, p. 144; Allen, *Swahili Origins*, pp. 218, 233.
- 348 Rubis. This seems by the date given to refer to the Marchese di Rudini. See Oliver & Mathew, *History of East Africa*, vol. 1, p. 385.
- 349 Bukūmu. They are the Pokomo. This tribe lives on both sides of the Tana River to a considerable distance inland. There were two sections of the tribe and it was only in the lower section that the master/slave relationship seems to have held. This whole process of migration took place, according to Prins, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, pp. 43–46, roughly in the period A.D. 1500–1650.
- 350 Ūzī; i.e. Ozi. Here the author uses the other name of the Būrī (Baurī) clan.
- 351 Kunubi. The author is not very consistent in his vocalization. This word, as a proper name with a vowel ending, should be undeclinable, but he uses *i* here as the final vowel, which also happens to be the KiSwahili ending of the word, instead of *u*, simply because it comes after a preposition.
- 352 Muwingaya. This is Mangea Hill, 1,705 feet high and 10 miles inland west-north-west from Mida Creek. It figures in Nyika tradition as a halting place in the Pokomo flight from the Galla. This should not be confused with Munghia between Mārka and Brava, which can also be transliterated Muwingaya.
- 353 Kaya. There is a place called Kaya Kauma near the head of Kilifi Creek. It is not many miles

[lit. fire-wood] which had no effect on the children of Qays, and they learned to make arrows of iron from Ḥinzān,³⁵⁴ and made their mark on them with it, and the children of Qays Ghaylān did not return to the land of the Kushūr. So the Kushūr became settled after much trouble. And the Kushūr have not moved from Kaya afore-mentioned up to now, owing to their success [or optimism] in being conquerors. Ḥinzān became a clever teacher. He got on well with the Kushūr. After that the Kushūr³⁵⁵ came to be above Bassāsa [at a distance of] one stage [a day's journey?].

Section (*Faṣl*)

In the year 75 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 694 came the *amīr* of 'Abd al-Mālik bin Marwān, Bishr bin Marwān,³⁵⁶ to Maqdishū, and conquered [it] without battle, and taught the people the Qur'ān and religion, and took *kharāj* from Maqdishū to Waybu. And this continued until the end of the Ummayyad government, the last of whom was Marwān bin Muḥammad. The Umayyad government came to an end in 133 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 750.³⁵⁷

Then there came the 'Abbāsīd government, but no one came to East Africa because they were occupied with West Africa and Egypt, until the time of the Commander of the Faithful Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr.³⁵⁸ He sent his *amīr* whose name was Yaḥya bin 'Umar al-'Anazī to Africa and Maqdishū in 136 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 753. (There was in Nizwa an *imām* called Julanda bin Mas'ūd al-Azdī).³⁵⁹ Then his son Muḥammad al-Mahdī succeeded him, then [there fol-

from the Rabai tribal area, but it is certainly not in the neighbourhood of the present town of Rabai. See Baya, "Giriama Enculturation"; Strandes, *Portuguese Period*, p. 335 (Kilifi).

354 Ḥinzān. The similarity of this name to the word Mhunzi in KiSwahili (? and Giriama) suggests either (a) that this is a mythical person or (b) that he was a real person whose improvement of fighting power meant so much that his name became synonymous with the work he introduced.

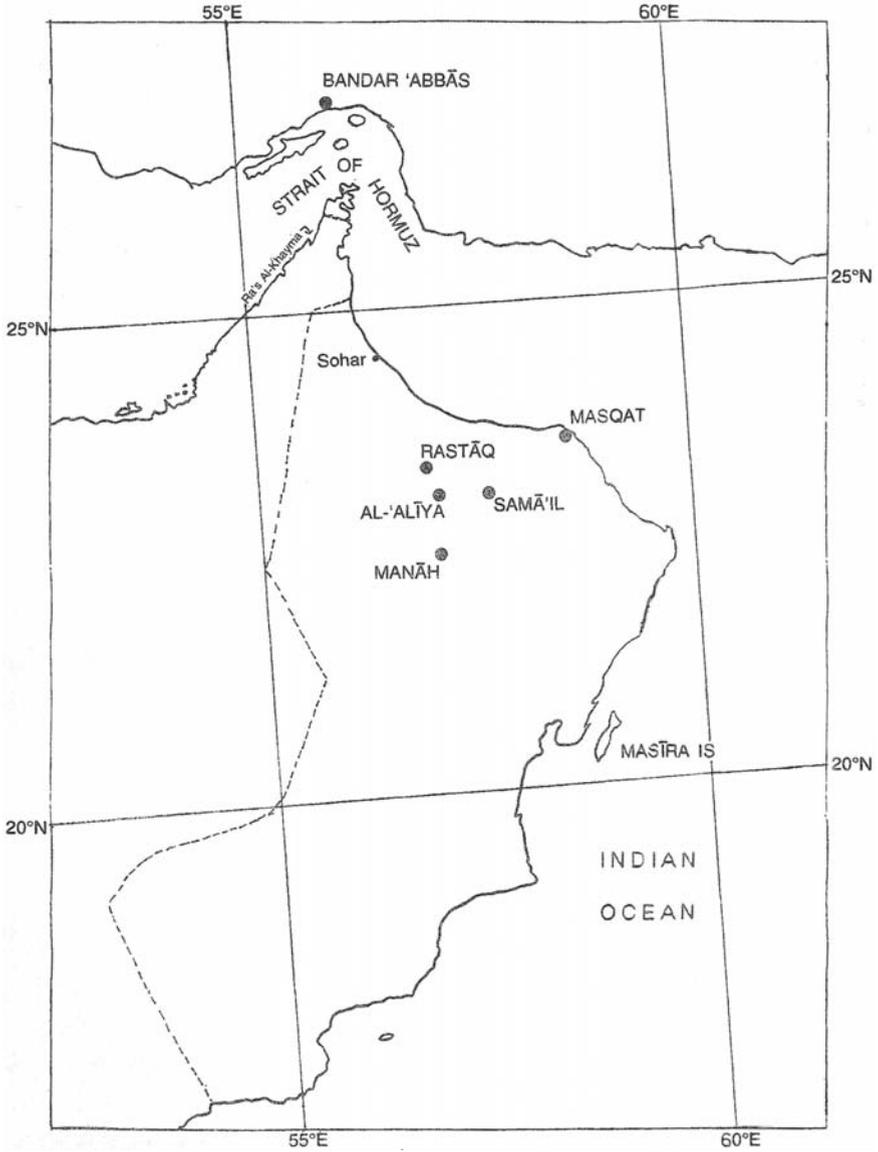
355 After that the Kushūr. But those there at present are not WaPokomo.

356 Bishr bin Marwān. This man was the *khalīfa* 'Abd al-Malik's *'amil* in 'Irāq at Kūfa (see al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, vol. 3, p. 117). He was appointed about the year 73/692. Here we have to start being cautious. When the author says Bishr "came" to Maqdishu, he cannot mean that he literally came. Bishr appears to have been too happy in 'Irāq with wine, women and song to have bothered to travel. But it does not necessarily indicate that he may not have sent a force by sea to make the *khalīfa*'s strong arm felt on the Swahili coast.

357 133 A.H. Al-Mas'ūdī says doubtful, but prefers 132 A.H. = 749 A.D.

358 Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr, 136/754–158/775.

359 Julanda bin Mas'ūd al-Azdī (c. 131/748–c. 133/750); see Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 10, 344 n. 3; Appendix 1 *Kawkab* marginal note 7.



MAP 15 'Umān

J.MCL. RITCHIE, *THE HISTORY OF THE MAZRŪ'Ī DYNASTY OF MOMBASA*.
OXFORD, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1995, APPENDIX 2, MAP 2

lowed] the caliphate of Muḥammad al-Hādī. He sent his *amīr* named Nāṣir al-Dīn to East Africa, but he turned back [when he had gone] half way owing to the caliph's death. He died before he had reached Maqdishū.³⁶⁰ Then there succeeded him his brother Hārūn al-Rashīd. That was in 170 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 786.

Then Muḥammad al-Amīn was caliph in 193 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 808. Then 'Abdallah al-Ma'mūn was caliph in 198 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 813. He sent to East Africa 50,000 soldiers, and they reached Malindi especially, because it was the people of Malūdi who reviled him for holding the doctrine of the creation of the Qur'ān.³⁶¹ So when they reached Malūdi the people of the town fled from Ma'mūn's soldiers. His *amīr*'s name was Ṭāhir bin Ḥusayn.³⁶² Then they were reconciled and returned to the town and paid (lit) double the *kharāj* twice, and the *amīr* returned to Baghdād. All the governors who were in East Africa were 'Ajam³⁶³ in the islands, and also in the mainlands in the time of the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, because the Arabs disobeyed the orders of the caliph, so the governorship was appointed to them [i.e. the 'Ajam].³⁶⁴

Story (*Ḥikāyah*)

When the army came from Baghdād to Malūdi, hearts were moved, and all were at a loss,³⁶⁵ and the people of the [main] lands of Bassāsa assembled in Bassasa, but that assembly was divided and they wished to return to their own lands. Then one of them said, "Wait until it is clear if this is a matter of war, i.e. *Ni vita hivi?*" So [lit. the name of the title of] the nickname of Mombasa was Mvita.³⁶⁶

In 213 A.H. coresponding to A.D. 828, the Turks stopped the caliphs of Baghdād from taking the *kharāj* from them³⁶⁷ since they were Muslims obeying the

360 This tradition seems too circumstantial to be pure fancy.

361 The creation of the Qur'ān. These contacts are not mentioned in any other obvious source, but the hostility of Malindi to the caliph al-Ma'mūn's doctrine is quite consistent with the Arab pedigree mentioned above. See Watt, *Formative Period*, pp. 242 ff.

362 Ṭāhir bin Ḥusayn. It is difficult to see how this general, virtually independent in east Persia, could have visited East Africa. He may be another of the same name, but this is unlikely.

363 'Ajam; i.e., Persians. An interesting hint as to the origin of some Persian elements in East Africa, e.g. the Nawruz Feast. This may be the origin of the term *Shīrāzi* applied to certain of the older local rulers of the East African coast. This seems to be the most definite statement about the Persian influence on the East African coast.

364 Appendix 1 *Kawkab* marginal note 8 refers to Ghassān bin 'Abdallah al-Azdī.

365 This is all I can make of وعدمت المنوس—*wa-'adamat al-ma'nūs*.

366 Mvita. There is another, less complimentary explanation of this name, but probably just as doubtful.

367 From them; i.e. from the Swahilis.

Lord of the Universe, and their widows and orphans had no security,³⁶⁸ so they stopped. Then the Turks³⁶⁹ set out for East Africa and reached Maqdishū and Batta and Mundu and Siwī, and they left offspring there and returned to their homeland.

Section (*Faṣl*)

When the caliphs of Baghdād desisted from East Africa, and the Turks came after that and stayed there a year or two and went back home, they were very sad at that, because the people of the Sawāḥil had neither helper,³⁷⁰ nor one to succour them, so they were asking about the Sawāḥil in ‘Umān, then they advised them.

There was the powerful government in ‘Umān called the Imamate of the Jawādil,³⁷¹ equitable rulers there,³⁷² but they were without obedience to the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs for important reasons. The first was that when the Turks prevented the ‘Abbāsīd *khalīfas* from taking the *kharāj* from East Africa, it was through the opinion of the ‘Umānis and the Shari‘a of Islam, that Baghdād was far from East Africa, and further, if there happened any accident to them or any rebel assumed power over them, the caliphs of Baghdād would not be able to keep them from injury such as war or famine, nor to clothe their orphans and widows. How could they possibly? The Turks agreed with what the *imām* and his *wazīrs*, the Ibāḍī scholars, alleged.³⁷³ And³⁷⁴ at that time

368 Had no security. The ms has the rather strange form لا تُنقوا—form VIII of the root, Al-Suwaydī, *Sabā’ik*, p. 103.

369 The Turks. James Kirkman, 1988 VII p. 83, x p. 8 cannot associate this with any historical event, but it is possible that a small group of the Turkish pretorian guard did go to East Africa for a time, and left an admixture of blood there; yet their movement might have been too small an incident to be significant or noticeable in general history.

370 Helper. The word is ناظر in Arabic. It may be a mistake for ناصر = “helper”, but it might also mean “respite”.

371 The Jawādil. These rulers have no place in either Miles’s chronology (*Countries and Tribes*) or in our author’s margin. The name does not appear in Ibn Razik, *History*, or in Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*. *Kawkab* marginal note 8, refers to ‘Azzān bin Tamīm, etc.

372 Appendix 1, *Kawkab* marginal note 11 refers to Muḥammad b. Ḥasan.

373 Alleged. These reasons all fitted in with the Khārijite Ibāḍī idea that the caliph, or successor to the Prophet should be he who was, in the opinion of the community, the most fit in every way to hold office. The caliph of Baghdād was disqualified on three counts: (a) he was hereditary, (b) he was too far off and (c) he was unable properly to defend them as he was virtually a prisoner of the Turks and had no power at all.

374 And. This is the second main reason offered by the author, but his arrangement of his points is not helped by a consistent terminology.

the caliph at Baghdād was named Abū 'l-Qāsim al-Faḍl al-Muṭṭī' li-llah,³⁷⁵ for the oath of allegiance had been taken to him, but Mu'izz al-Dawla³⁷⁶ settled for him daily 100 dinars only, and the rule in Baghdād, and the lands dependent upon it, was in the hands of the Daylamites,³⁷⁷ and the caliph had nothing but the name.³⁷⁸ In 381 A. H. corresponding to A. D. 991, there was in Baghdād a caliph named Abū Bakr 'Abd al-Karīm al-Ṭā'i' li-llah.³⁷⁹ And when al-Ṭā'i' above-mentioned became ruler, he favoured Subuktakīn³⁸⁰ the Turk and made him governor of what was beyond his door.³⁸¹ In the days of al-Ṭā'i', King 'Aḍud al-Dawla,³⁸² son of Rukn al-Dawla bin Buwayh,³⁸³ ruled over Baghdād and became its ruler and al-Ṭā'i' li-llah granted him the rank of sultan, and crowned him and decorated him and made his effigy and promised him two banners and made him ruler over all outside his household, and 'Aḍud al-Dawla took the *wazīr* Abū Ṭāhir bin Baqīh, the *wazīr* of 'Izz al-Dawla,³⁸⁴ and slew and crucified him. When 'Aḍud al-Dawla died, his son administered the kingdom after him, Bahā' al-Dawla,³⁸⁵ and al-Ṭā'i' li-llah granted him the same power as his father had. Then Bahā' al-Dawla seized al-Ṭā'i' li-llah and imprisoned him and plundered the caliph's palace. Then he brought witnesses against al-Ṭā'i' that he had abdicated from the caliphate, and he remained as one abdicated and

- 375 Al-Muṭṭī' li-llah. This caliph ruled A. D. 946–974, but was a mere puppet of the Buwayhid rulers of Baghdād. See Miles, *Countries and Tribes*, vol. II p. 108.; Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties*, pp. 7, 95.
- 376 Mu'izz al-Dawla, r. 334/945–356/967. Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties*, p. 95.
- 377 Daylamī. Derived from the name of the Persian province situated along the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, from which the Buwayhids came. Equated with "Persian". See Nicholson, *Literary History*, p. 266; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 252. Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties*, p. 9.
- 378 And the *khalīfa* had nothing but the name. It was necessary to amend the Arabic: والخليفة والخاليفه ليس له إلا الاسم الخليفة becomes ليس له إلا الاسم الخليفة. The first reading would give the opposite of the only possible meaning, viz. the *khalīfa* had not [even] the name—which of course was all he did have. The haplography is obvious.
- 379 al-Ṭā'i' li-llah was *khalīfa* 363/974–381/991. Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties*, p. 7.
- 380 Subuktakīn. This is quite another person than the famous Subuktagin (r. A. D. 974–983). Though a contemporary, the latter had no direct connection with Baghdād, having risen to power through his association with the Sāmānid rulers of north-east Persia. He was father of the famous Maḥmūd of Ghazna.
- 381 What was beyond his door. Arabic ما وراء بابه.
- 382 'Aḍud al-Dawla, r. 338/949–372/983. Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties*, pp. 94, 95.
- 383 Rukn al-Dawla bin Buwayh, r. 335/947–366/977. Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties*, p. 94.
- 384 'Izz al-Dawla, r. 356/967–367/978. Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties*, p. 95. He is Bakhtiyār, Mu'izz al-Dawla's son who succeeded him on his father's death and ruled for a short period, finally giving way in A. D. 977 to 'Aḍud al-Dawla, who united in that year all the Buwayhid states under his own rule. See Miles, *Countries and Tribes*, vol. I pp. 115 f.
- 385 Bahā' al-Dawla, r. 388/998–404/1012. Bosworth, *Islamic Dynasties*, pp. 94, 95.

imprisoned until he died on the eve of 'Īd al-Fiṭr 393 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1001.³⁸⁶ This is what the books *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*³⁸⁷ and *Sabā'ik* say. And Bahā' al-Dawla bin 'Aḍud al-Dawla the Turk³⁸⁸ was the one who prevented [forbade] them.³⁸⁹ Then the Turkish sultan³⁹⁰ followed whoever was *imām* in 'Umān and left the affairs of the Sawāḥil to whoever was *imām* or sultan in 'Umān. The people of 'Umān used to send their *amīrs* every year,³⁹¹ and they would find out how they did without any of them staying, and return to them in 'Umān with the information they could find out.³⁹²

In 540 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1145, the people of 'Umān quarrelled and none of them came.³⁹³ Then, when Ibrahīm al-Wāthiq bi-llah had been given the power of the sultan that was in 1 Muḥarram 742 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1341, the people of Batta, Ūzī and Bassāsa came to Baghdād and asked the caliph what was the position with regard to the Sawāḥil and his *wazīr* said to them:³⁹⁴ "Your affairs are now in the hands of the government of 'Umān. If one of them comes to you, then obey him." And they returned from him.³⁹⁵

386 The text has سئلته rather than numerals.

387 *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* by Kamāl al-Dīn M. b. Mūsā al-Damīrī (d. 1405).

388 'Aḍud al-Dawla the Turk. He was not Turkish at all, but Persian or Daylamite. The author seems to imply that it was Baha' al-Dawla who stopped taking the *kharāj*.

389 The origin of منع is أبقى. This lexicographical note about *mana'* seems to show that one of his sources used this word to express the stopping of the payment, and justifies it by saying that the root meaning of *mana'*, which usually has the sense of "prevent" or "forbid", is really *abā* = to refuse.

390 The Turkish sultan. This refers to Tuḡhril Beg (r. 429/1038–455/1063), the first of the Saljūq rulers, who ousted the Buwayhids. He was the first Islamic ruler to bear the official title "al-Sulṭān".

391 Used to send their *amīrs* every year. This practice of intermittent contact would undoubtedly give rise to much confusion, for the people on the East African coast would only have a very vague and imperfect idea of who those envoys represented, while at times the name of the envoy might even be confused with that of his sovereign. It is significant that both Miles's chronology (*Countries and Tribes*) and this margin have named scarcely any *imāms* for this period.

392 Appendix 1 *Kawkab* marginal note 9 refers to Rāshid bin Sa'īd al-Kindī, etc.

393 Quarrelled and none of them came. Miles (*Countries and Tribes*, vol. 1 pp. 132 f.) indicates a vast confusion in the whole area between contending Persian and Turkish dynasties. This preceded by about 40 years the rise of the Nabāhina in 'Umān.

394 His *wazīr* said to them. This would appear to be hopelessly inaccurate, unless there is another ruler called al-Wāthiq reigning in another place. The 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Wāthiq ruled 227/842–232/847. There was no caliph in Baghdād in A.D. 1341. Al-Mustaṣhīr had been killed by Hūlāgu in 656/1258 and the Baghdād caliphate had ended then, though it was continued under the patronage of the Fāṭimids of Egypt and was later transferred to Istanbul when the Ottoman Turks came to power.

395 The dating of this passage is quite inaccurate. Al-Wāthiq (r. 227/842–232/847) became

In 908 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1502, the Christians came with six sailing ships of war,³⁹⁶ and their leader's name was Waskū Dighāma 'l-Burtughīsī. He came to Zinjibār and made a treaty with its people. The Greeks³⁹⁷ had come before that, and reached Ṭanga, but the Burtighīsī drove them away because they had made an agreement with certain influential people.³⁹⁸ Then they came to Bassāsa and its people made no agreement with them but fought them, and the ships were wrecked—but some say only one ship—then they made for Malūdi, and when the people of Malūdi saw them, they went up to them [i.e. to the ships]. They made an agreement together which was never broken after. There was a man ruling in Malūdi who was called Muḥammad bin 'Uthmān al-Baurī. Then the leader of the Christians asked the name of the town and he told him, "Malūdi". Waskū Dighāma then said, "I wish you would name this town by my wife's name. She is called Linda.³⁹⁹ Do me this favour please." So they said, "Certainly, and welcome." And the name of Malūdi was changed into it,⁴⁰⁰ and they used to say Linda, but felt it heavy and it became Malindi since the Mim was not dropped. Then he [i.e. Wasku Dighama] made for India.⁴⁰¹

In the year 919 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1503, Waskū Dighāma came and made war on Bassāsa. He seized its sultan in that war. His name was 'Alī bin Ḥusayn⁴⁰² and he was sent to "the Indian" [to India?] and imprisoned there three years. And he became a Christian but not sincerely, and they brought him back to Bassāsa, and the Burtughīs put him in his first position. And he was treacherous, and the Christians made war on him again, and he was seized

caliph in A.D. 842, not A.H. 842. The author has written 742 A.H. The equivalent of 742 A.H. is indeed A.D. 1341, but by that date there was no caliphate!

- 396 Ships of war. the Arabic says *من تعليم الحرب*—*min ta'lim al-ḥarb*. It is hard to see what is implied by this. Does he mean they were training ships, or that they had manoeuvred threatening war? The word *مناور* is simply the KiSwahili *manowari*, given an Arabic plural. Another possible meaning is spy-ships.
- 397 The text has *اغريق*—*aghriq* rather than *يوناني*—*yūnānī*.
- 398 Influential people. The Arabic says *وافقوا أناساً قويا* *بكونهم البرتغيسي*. This sentence is also hard to follow. It is not clear whether the Greeks or the Portuguese had made the agreement. There does not appear to be any definite record of these "Greeks" elsewhere. It occurs to me that the expression *بكونهم*, frequently used by our author, might be a relic of Old South Arabian.
- 399 Vasco da Gama (c. 1460–1524) was married to Catarina de Ataide. There is no mention of a "Linda".
- 400 Appendix 1 *Kawkab* marginal note 10 refers to the Banū Nabhān.
- 401 Malindi. This story of Malindi's name would seem to be purely fanciful. See Strandes, *Portuguese Period*, pp. 341f.
- 402 'Alī bin Ḥusayn. Nothing of this is recorded by the Portuguese. It seems that the author is bringing in Yusuf Jeronimo Chingulia's rebellion, which happened over a century later. See Strandes 1961 p. 200; Gray, *Early Portuguese Missionaries*, pp. 29 ff., 195 f., 204 f.

and imprisoned. And the Christians wanted a man from the people of Malūdi who would do for the governorship in the land of Bassāsa; and so they gave it to a man called Shaykh bin ‘Uthmān bin Aḥmad al-Baurī ’l-Malindi from ‘Anaza bin Asad bin Rabī’a.⁴⁰³ Those who are in the land of Bassāsa up till now are their descendants, i.e. descendants of Shaykh bin ‘Uthmān. He was an effective ruler [lit. obeyed ruler] in Bassāsa until the times of the Mazārī’a.

The name of the leader of the Christians who were in the land of Bassāsa was Mūmbāsa.⁴⁰⁴ He wanted the people of Bassasa to call Bassasa by his name Mūmbāsa. And they named it so under compulsion and it became Mūmbāsa until now. Their leader used to live in the new quarter of the town. He was called Ghavarnar or Ghavāna,⁴⁰⁵ and so the name of that quarter was called Kavāni after his name.

Then he sent the Zanj from Msambiji (Mozambique) to Mumbāsa and left them in the country towards the hill in the upper parts of Mumbāsa called Rabai and their name became WaDurūmā, but we do not know the meaning of this name, but I fancy the name of the land is not from the name of their tribe, for their tribe is from WaMakūwa. He built the fort of Mūmbāsa by the service of slaves whom they sent from Msambiji.⁴⁰⁶

But the names of the town are Bassāsa in Arabic, and Mvita,⁴⁰⁷ meaning war, and Kunguwaya in the African tongue.

403 Shaykh bin ‘Uthmūn bin Aḥmad al-Baurī. The Mombasa History (A.D. 1824) deals with this in a single sentence without giving a name. The author claims that the first Malindi ruler of Mombasa was a Baurī like himself. Barbosa makes a reference to the flight of the king of Mombasa. He wrote after A.D. 1517 (Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, p. 132). The afterword to the Mombasa Chronicle calls the first three Malindi rulers Aḥmad, Muḥammad and Yusuf (Freeman-Grenville, *East Africa Coast*, p. 218).

404 Mumbāsa. The author apparently refers to Duarte Barbosa. For the origin of the name “Mombasa” see Reusch, *History of East Africa*, p. 104. There are several opinions about the derivation of the name. 1) named after Mombasa in ‘Umān: *Encyclopaedia Britannica* vol. 11, p. 684; 2) Manbasa/Molbasa: al-Idrīsī (1154), Yāqūṭ and Abulfida; 3) Manbasā— Ibn Baṭṭūṭa; 4) Manfasa/Manfasi/Manbasat: Kilwa Chronicle [*n* before *b* pronounced *m* and subsequently written with *m* not *n*] cf. *nabasa* = to speak, utter, say (this tallies with Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 335: “la bella voce”). Kresse (*Philosophising*, p. 45) derives it from battle cry *Mambo ni sasa*—hence the local pronunciation “Mambasa”; *Kitāb al-Zunūj* K, p. 239 line 18, derives it from the name of the Portuguese captain in charge of the town; p. 240 line 11, from the ruler (Portuguese?) called Bimbassa; p. 240 line 23, presumably the same. See Appendix 1 *Kawkab* marginal note 8 refers to Makhzūm bin Fallāḥ al-Nabhānī.

405 The text has *كُفَّانَة* and *غُفَّانَة*, *غُفَّرَن*.

406 Slaves whom they sent from Msambiji. Kirkman 1974 remarks that this is interesting. The murderers of Sultan Aḥmad may not have been Mosungalos, but these Mocambicos. For Mosungulos, see Strandes, *Portuguese Period*, p. 351.

407 Mvita. The Chronicle of Pate is much less complimentary. It says it comes from Mficha = One who flees and hides. Berg (“Swahili Community”, p. 42) says that it used to be called

As the poet said:

Kunguwaya cha Mvumo Mvita Mji wa kale
 Na maji yamo mumo ukayateka papale
 Katika limau ndimo tatwaa⁴⁰⁸ mji utawale
 Uvudikao na vuli uchiranao na jiwe.⁴⁰⁹

Then the Christians ruled all the region of the Sawāḥil from Maqdishū to Dalghubī⁴¹⁰ and Dalghubī was on the south headland and these Christians treated the people tyrannically.⁴¹¹

Chapter (*Bāb*)

And when the hardship of the Christian Burtughīsī increased on their subjects in the time of the *imām* ‘Abdallah bin Muḥammad al-Hināwī in Bahla and ‘Umān together in the year 962 A.H., January A.D. 1560,⁴¹² the Nabāhina who were in Battā complained to God and to the *imām* ‘Abdallah bin Muḥammad al-Hināwī⁴¹³ at Bahla, and informed the Turkish *imām*⁴¹⁴ who was in Baghdād.

Mvita, founded by Shehe Mvita. A short MS written by Mbwana bin Mbarafundi al-Baurī, a member of the Bājūn *tā’ifa* elaborates on Bwana Muyaka’s work explaining that Shehe Mvita settled in Kongowea (earlier name of Mombasa), which had belonged to Queen Mwana Mkisi by the sultan of Mtwapa. The tradition reiterated in the MS *Khabariya Ngozi* is mentioned by W. Hitchens (“Khabar al Lamu: A Chronicle of Lamu”, *Bantu Studies* 12 (1938): 1–33, p. 9, footnote); Stigand, *Land of Zinj*, pp. 45, 103. As a result of Sultan Omar of Pate’s attacks, the local people “hid”—*fitā/ficha* in the interior, hence Mvita. Reusch, *History of East Africa*, p. 104.

- 408 Tatwaa. We have surmised that the writer has written *waw* in place of *ta*, for the form with two *waws* seems to produce no recognizable Swahili word. The Arabic has **تَوَوَّج**.
- 409 See Appendix 4 for this quatrain. Appendix 1 *Kawkab* marginal note 14 refers to Barakāt b. Muḥammad.
- 410 Dalghubi. He means Delgado.
- 411 Treated the people tyrannically. This is the considered judgment of all parties in history. The Portuguese only had an eye to the wealth available, and had not realized that wealth is only available by treating persons with due respect.
- 412 962 A.H. The correct A.D. year is 1554–1555, not 1560.
- 413 ‘Abdallah bin Muḥammad al-Hināwī. This is the author’s first reference to the Hināwiya, one of the two contending groups in ‘Umān from the seventeenth century onwards, the other being the Ghāfriya. Miles (*Countries and Tribes*) does not mention him. See Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 91f., *et passim*; Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. ix, 9, 13, *et passim*; Appendix 1 *Kawkab* marginal note 8 refers to him as ‘Abdallah bin Muḥammad al-Hināwī— a scribal error.
- 414 The Turkish *imām*. As the Islamic capital had become Istanbul in the preceding century, the Turk in charge at Baghdād would be a Pasha.

And the Turk mobilized soldiers and one sailing ship—some say, two ships—and the commander of the Turks was called *Mirāl*, thus *Mirāl Biki*.⁴¹⁵ The *imām* ‘Abdallah bin Muḥammad al-Hināwī mobilized an army. His commander was called Sayf bin Sālim al-Ṣāri.⁴¹⁶ They reached Maqdishū in the year 993 A.H. corresponding to April A.D. 1585 and drove out the Christians from Maqdishū to Battā and Āmu, and took a mass of booty—gold and *dinārs* and *riyāls*, and the Arabs and Turks returned and left the country in the hands of the Nabāhina, and the Nabāhina became strong in that way.⁴¹⁷ Then the Turks came to Mum-bāsa and fought the Christians and returned from them. In the year 998 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1589, the Turks came to Rimbā (in KiSwahili Kirimba),⁴¹⁸ a district near Kilwā, which the Christians had colonized well.

In 1001 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1592, the Turks returned to Mūmbāsa and took it, but the Christians gave bribes to the Turks and they left Mūmbāsa to them.⁴¹⁹

In 1049 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1639,⁴²⁰ the country was in the hands of its own people, i.e. every sultan in his own country. That was after the Christians had gone away from [the area of] Maqdishū to Āmu. But the Christians who were in [the area] from Ūzī to Dalghubī remained. The Nabāhina made an effort, for he wished to possess Ūzī, and made war on them for 16 years. But the

415 *Mirāl Biki*. The Turkish commander *amūr* ‘Ali Beg, or *Mirāl Bey*. He sailed from Aden to attack and disrupt Portuguese operations in the Persian Gulf and ‘Umān in A.D. 1580, but after his success in Muscat, he engaged in a little freebooting on the Swahili coast in A.D. 1585 and 1589. For a fuller account see Miles, *Countries and Tribes*, pp. 179–181.

416 Sayf bin Sālim al-Ṣārimī. Miles (*Countries and Tribes*) does not mention him, because he was not primarily interested in the Swahili coast.

417 Became strong in that way. This sentence implies that the Nabāhina, who had been strong rulers in ‘Umān for a number of centuries (Miles, *Countries and Tribes*, p. 201), but who had been replaced at the beginning of the seventeenth century in ‘Umān, began to grow strong in Pate Island.

418 J. Kirkman 1966 p. 250 declares that they never reached Kirimba (Kerimba) off Cape Delgado.

419 And they left Mumbasa to them. The construction of the sentence is clearly influenced by KiSwahili. According to Miles, *Countries and Tribes* vol. 1 p. 206 and most other authorities, *Mirale Bey* only made two expeditions and was captured in that of A.D. 1589. Our author would appear to be guilty of an attempt to play down, or conceal, the true course of events, which was not very complimentary to *Mirali Bey*. He actually occupied Mombasa Island, but was caught between the Portuguese fleet at sea and the migrating Simba, who threatened him from the mainland. He eventually surrendered to the Portuguese.

420 There is a marginal note here which says: “And in ‘Umān was an *imām* called Naṣir bin Murshid al-Ya‘rābī in Rustāq in the year A.H. 1034 corresponding to A.D. 1623. 1049 was when the competition between the Portuguese, Dutch and British was at its height, and when the Ya‘ariba were struggling for power in ‘Umān, and also against the commercial nations and Persia. This left the East African coast very much to itself.”

Nabāhina did not prevail and they made peace on terms⁴²¹ that the Nabāhina should have the rule, according to the opinion of the shaykhs of the Baurīs, and if they considered any of the Nabāhina unfit to be sultan, then he should be removed according to the opinion of the Baurīs⁴²² and another of the Nabāhina should take rule. This remained the position until the end of their government.

The *imām* at that time in ‘Umān was called Nāṣir bin Murshid al-Ya‘rubī in Rustāq in the year 1034 A.H. – January A.D. 1624, and he ordered the Nabahina to wage war against the Muslims, and he replied that the Africans⁴²³ had been rebellious by land and sea, “so we have forbidden them, but it does not cease, so now war has been waged against them as you have ordered us”.⁴²⁴

Then there was the *imām* called Sulṭān bin Sayf al-Ya‘rubī⁴²⁵ in the year 1059 A.H., January A.D. 1649, and he determined certain measures in the land of ‘Umān, and acted justly and made laws. Then the *imām* Bal‘arab bin Sulṭān al-Ya‘rubī⁴²⁶ (succeeded) and he was in Yabrīn and ‘Umān in the year 1079 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1688.⁴²⁷ He had a Dhow,⁴²⁸ which came to the Sawāhīl every year seeking information, specially information about the Christians. When the people of Mūmbāsa complained to the *imām* that the leader of the Christians who was called by the name of the town⁴²⁹ was outraging the women during the hours of darkness, and when the *imām* knew of that, he

421 Appendix 1 *Kawkab* marginal note 12 refers to Nāṣir bin Murshid al-Ya‘rabī.

422 According to the opinion of the Baurīs. That is, the dynasty was Nabhāni but the individual selected was the choice of the people’s elders of Ozi. The East African local states never seem to have been able to cohere into a homogeneous centralized state. Two reasons seem to have been (a) the nature of the coast and the narrowness of the strip occupied and (b) the effect of Arab tribalism, fissiparous in its outlook, but held very much in respect by the Afro-Arabs. See Appendix 1 *Kawkab* marginal note 12, referring to Nāṣir bin Murshid al-Ya‘rabī.

423 The Africans. The Arabic أهل إفريقية here means, we think, the Swahilis, not the African tribes. Nāṣir bin Murshid was declared *imām* in a very unsettled situation in ‘Umān. There were many factions, and as the East Africans were, it appears, mainly Sunnis, they probably supported Nāṣir’s opponents in ‘Umān.

424 The Arabic in this sentence is very confused.

425 1649–1680. See Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 78–89; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 13, 46, 112, 181.

426 1680–c. 1692. See Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 90–92; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 13, 48, 336 n. 2.

427 This date should be 1079 A.H. (A.D. 1668).

428 He had a dhow. This would appear to be the ship named *Faṭḥ al-Islām* referred to in *Kitāb al-Zunūj* in both MSS K (Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 240, 271) and MSS L (Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 308, 336).

429 Who was called by the name of the town. This may refer to Kavana or Kavani, which took its name from the residence of the Portuguese governor, or specifically to Barbossa.

sent the *amīr* Shaḥdād bin Shāhid al-Balūshī⁴³⁰ to Mūmbāsa, on the pretext of trading [i.e. as a trader] and to look at the ways of entering that fort. That was in the year 1089 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1678. When the *amīr* arrived, he sold what he had and enquired about the passages and entrances from the people of the country. And they agreed, and the *amīr* Shaḥdād saw all that was useful to him, and the object of his search and returned to ‘Umān, and told the *imām* Bal‘arab bin Sulṭān al-Ya‘rubī.

And in the year 1091 A.H., January 1689,⁴³¹ the army came in ships and transports⁴³² and anchored opposite the entrance to Mūmbāsa at a distance of three miles. And when night fell, the people of Mūmbāsa came to them without the Christians knowing, but questioning one another [concerning the cause of] the arrival of the ships, for they were heedless. Some of the soldiers disembarked in Kilindīni harbour and entered Mūmbāsa and the Christians were besieged, and they made many ladders⁴³³ and mounted them at night on a day of their festival, and drove them out, and the *amīr* Shaḥdād seized the fort, and won the victory in the year 1125 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1713.⁴³⁴ And it was after the *imām* Bal‘arab bin Sulṭān al-Ya‘rubī had died, i.e. the entry into Mūmbāsa.

And when the *imām* was Sayf bin Sulṭān al-Ya‘rubī,⁴³⁵ he that was nicknamed [entitled] “Qā‘id al-Arḍ”,⁴³⁶ he ordered the *amīr* to leave Mūmbāsa in

430 Shaḥdād bin Shaḥid al-Balūshī. There is much discrepancy between this account and that of Shaykh al-Amin bin ‘Alī l-Mazrū‘ī, 1995 p. 4 who puts the attack that delivered Mombasa from the Portuguese in the year 1110/1698. But he says nothing about Shaḥdād. He only says that Nāsir bin ‘Abdallah al-Mazrū‘ī was made governor (*līwālī*) in 1698. He does refer to a first conquest but in agreement with the Taylor/Harries tradition, not in 1698, Harries 1959 p. 82.

431 1091 A.H. (A.D. 1689). One or other of these dates is wrong. They should read either 1091 A.H. (A.D. 1680) or 1099 A.H. (A.D. 1689). In either case, they do not tally with other accounts, e.g. Miles 1919 p. 206 and al-Mazrū‘ī 1995 pp. 4 ff.

432 Transports. The Arabic words here are almost synonymous *مراكب وسفائن*. We have used “transports” to indicate a distinction that the author may have had in mind.

433 Many ladders. See Kirkman, *Men and Monuments*, p. 151.

434 1125 A.H. (A.D. 1713). According to Miles 1919 p. 210 and most other accounts this was in A.D. 1698 and the Portuguese only got back into the fort again in A.D. 1728 for about a year. Our author seems very definite that this event was after the death of Bal‘arab bin Sulṭān in c. A.D. 1692. Sayf b. Sulṭān died in A.H. 1123 (4 October 1711). See Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 93.

435 Sayf bin Sulṭān. Appendix 1 *Kawkab* marginal note 13 refers to Sulṭān bin Sayf. See Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 145, which indicates that he was acknowledged by the *shuyūkh*. It should be noted here that *Kitāb al-Zunūj* K says that the *imām* whom the shaykhs deposed was Sayf bin Sulṭān. See Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 100; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 223 f. These dates of accession of the Ya‘rabī *imāms* agree in all but some details with Miles. See also Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 78 ff.; Muḥammad Ibn Sa‘ūd (d. 1765) was the Wahhābī ruler whose headquarters was in Dir‘iyya, which was destroyed by Ibrāhīm Pasha’s army in A.D. 1818.

436 See Wilkinson 1987 p. 220.

the hands of the Nabāhin who were in Batta, and he informed Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān al-Mazrū‘ī of what the *imām* had said and ordered.⁴³⁷ And Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān’s heart longed that he himself should be *wālī* in it, and that he should pay something [i.e. tribute] like the Nabāhina. Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān desired that of the *amīr* Shahdād, and of the Nabāhina, and the Mazārī‘ and the *amīr* and the Nabāhin agreed together and informed the *imām*⁴³⁸ Sulṭān bin Sayf bin Sulṭān, and the *imām* consented to it, and in the year 1138 A.H.⁴³⁹ Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān al-Mazrū‘ī was made *wālī*. His being *wālī* in the land of Mūmbāsa and its dependencies was from the year 1725 A.D.

So because of that the Mazrū‘ī got the name of *wālī* only, I mean, below the Nabāhin, for the Nabāhin got the title of sultan at the date of Muẓaffar bin Sulaymān al-Nabhānī, because he ruled ‘Umān and its dependencies, so the name of king and sultan held good.⁴⁴⁰

- 15 years⁴⁴¹ Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān was *wālī* in the land of Mūmbāsa in 1138 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1725.⁴⁴²
- 25 years Then Mas‘ūd bin Nāṣir in 1153 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1740.⁴⁴³
- 8 years Then ‘Abdallah bin Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān in 1178 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1764.⁴⁴⁴

437 What the *imām* had said and ordered. The author seems to be very biased against the Mazrū‘ī family in favour of the Nabāhina, who were of course elected by the Bauris. Shaykh al-Amīn al-Mazrū‘ī says that Muḥammad bin ‘Uthman was appointed by Sayf bin Sulṭān the Second, i.e. the grandson of the one who was called “*Qā‘id al-Arḍ*”. It may be, however, that these details give the true course of the negotiations that gave Muḥammad the office of *wālī*. In KiSwahili, the office is called *līwali*.

438 The *imām* bin Sayf bin Sultan. So it is written in our ms. It may be that the name Sulṭān has been inadvertently omitted before the first *bin*, or it may be that the first *bin* should be omitted. See Appendix 1 *Kawkab* marginal note 13.

439 1138 A.H. = A.D. 1725. This is five years before the date given for his taking office by al-Mazrū‘ī 1995 p. 39.

440 Held good. Or, were valid (lit. ran). See Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 214, 346 n. 23. For interpretation of the title, see al-Mazrū‘ī, *History*, p. 27.

441 Electronic typed copy has 5, not 15 as in the original typed copy.

442 This date differs from the dates in al-Mazrū‘ī, 1995 p. 39 who has 1143/1730; Hardinge, *Genealogy* has 1148/1735; Guillain, *Documents*, vol. I p. 132; vol. II p. 607 who has 1152/1739. See al-Mazrū‘ī 1995 pp. 38 n. 11, 39 n. 17. Likewise the periods of his *wālī*-ship differ. Al-Mazrū‘ī (*History*, p. 34) lists him as “the second *līwali*”.

443 Al-Mazrū‘ī (*History*, pp. 52 ff.) lists him as “the fourth *līwali*” and gives the date as 1168/1754 and his death in 1193/1779. For different dating, see al-Mazrū‘ī, *History*, p. 58 n. 21.

444 Al-Mazrū‘ī (*History*, pp. 58 f.) lists him as “the fifth *līwali*” and gives his date as 1193/1779 and his death at 1195/1780.

- 33 years Then Ḥamad bin Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān in 1186 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1772.⁴⁴⁵
- 10 years Then ‘Abdallah bin Ḥamad bin Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān in 1219 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1804.⁴⁴⁶
- 2 years Then Sulaymān bin ‘Alī ‘l-Mazrū‘ī in 1229 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1813.⁴⁴⁷
- 10 years Then Sālīm bin Ḥamad bin Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān in 1231 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1815.⁴⁴⁸
- 2 years Then Khamīs bin Ḥamad bin Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān in 1241 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1825.⁴⁴⁹
- 2 years Then Rāshid bin Sālīm bin Ḥamad bin Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān in 1245 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1829.⁴⁵⁰ He was the last of them and was removed.

Their *wilāya* was 107 years from the first date mentioned before above, and he was removed and imprisoned and with him 24 of the Mazārī‘a, and we shall mention them later if God will, and God knows (with certainty).⁴⁵¹ And when Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān al-Mazrū‘ī was *wālī* in the land of Mūmbāsa by consent of the Nabāhina,⁴⁵² and ruled all the countries from Mūmbāsa to Anga, he

445 Ḥamad. This is often written Ḥemed. In this work it is often used for the Arabic name Aḥmad. We have altered the vowels from *e* to *a* but not added the initial *alf*. Al-Mazrū‘ī (*History*, pp. 59 ff.) lists him as “the sixth *līwālī*” and gives his date as 1195/1780 and his death at 1229/1814.

446 Al-Mazrū‘ī (*History*, pp. 73 ff.) lists him as “the seventh *līwālī*” and gives his date as 1229/1824 and his death at 1238/1823.

447 Al-Mazrū‘ī (*History*, pp. 83 ff.) lists him as “the eighth *līwālī*” and gives his dates as 1238/1823. His *līwālī*-ship was terminated in 1241/1826.

448 Al-Mazrū‘ī (*History*, pp. 90 ff.) lists him as “the ninth *līwālī*” and gives his dates as 1241/1826 and his death at 1250/1834.

449 Al-Mazrū‘ī, *History*, p. 121.

450 These dates are very inaccurate. The author has omitted the *wālī* ‘Alī bin ‘Uthmān altogether. See al-Mazrū‘ī, *History*, pp. 42 ff.: “the third *līwālī*”. Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān’s date of accession is far too early, and the reigns and dates of the other *wālīs* are arranged to account for the years left out in respect of this reign. We know that Rāshid bin Sālīm, the last effective Masrū‘ī ruler, came to power in A.D. 1837. According to this writer, their rule lasted 107 Christian years. Al-Mazrū‘ī (*History*), however, includes the reign of Nāṣir bin ‘Abdallah. Though there are clearly differing opinions as to the actual year in which the Mazārī‘a ceased to be independent, depending on the political viewpoint of the writers, al-Mazrū‘ī says 139 years in all. Hardinge (*Diplomatist*, p. 185) says 102 years.

451 Appendix 1 *Kawkab* marginal note 15 refers to Ya‘rab bin Bal‘arab al-Ya‘rabī etc.

452 By consent of the Nabāhina. There is no clear suggestion of this elsewhere.

was faithful⁴⁵³ to the command of his *imām* Sayf bin Sulṭān al-Yaʿrubī, and obedient to him. When the said *imām* died, there was in ʿUmān an *imām* named Sulṭān bin Murshid al-Yaʿrubī in the year 1151 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1738.⁴⁵⁴ Muḥammad bin ʿUthmān died after two years, and after him was Masʿūd bin Nāṣir al-Mazrūʿī.⁴⁵⁵ He ruled the countries as Muḥammad bin ʿUthmān had done and was a good man. There was in ʿUmān in Ḥillat Rustāq an *imām* named Aḥmad bin Saʿīd al-Bū Saʿīdī;⁴⁵⁶ it was he whom the shaykhs made ruler of ʿUmān, and in this way removed Sulṭān bin Murshid, and that was in the year 1154 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1741.⁴⁵⁷

Masʿūd bin Nāṣir died in the land of Mūmbāsa; there was at that time in ʿUmān an *imām* named Saʿīd bin Aḥmad bin Saʿīd al-Bū Saʿīdī in the year 1188 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1775, and the *wālī* in the land of Mūmbāsa was ʿAbdallah bin Muḥammad bin ʿUthmān al-Mazrūʿī.⁴⁵⁸ These three were all loyal to whoever was *imām* in Rustāq. Ḥamad bin Muḥammad bin ʿUthmān⁴⁵⁹ was also loyal until when Saʿīd bin Aḥmad bin Saʿīd died in the year 1193 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1779 and Aḥmad bin Saʿīd al-Bū Saʿīdī was *imām*, and the imamate was shifted to Musqaṭ. In the year mentioned, Ḥamad bin Muḥammad bin ʿUthmān withdrew his allegiance to the Bū Saʿīdīs and became an independent *wālī*. That was with agreement of the Nabāhina who were in Batta and Kāu.

Then after Ḥamad bin Saʿīd, there was his son Sulṭān bin Ḥamad bin Saʿīd. He ruled like his father. Sulṭān bin Ḥamad bin Saʿīd died in ʿUmān, and Ḥamad bin Muḥammad bin ʿUthmān died in the land of Mūmbāsa, a few days short of one month later. And his son Saʿīd bin Sulṭān arose after him in Musqaṭ. It was in the year 1219 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1804.⁴⁶⁰

453 Was faithful. The author uses a rather unusual word here *وَأَزَّ بِأَمْرِهِ* = “and he buzzed with the order of his *imām*”, or “whistled to his orders”.

454 See Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. xl, xlii, 145, 150; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, p. 13.

455 See al-Mazrūʿī, *History*, pp. 4 ff.

456 1753/4–1783 See Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. xlv, 154; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 14, 226 ff.

457 In the year 1154 A.H. (A.D. 1741). Al-Mazrūʿī (*History*, pp. 38 ff.) puts this event of the change of dynasty within the life-time of Muḥammad bin ʿUthmān. The date A.D. 1741, however, corresponds with that of Sir John Kirk Foreign Office 403 for the change of dynasty in ʿUmān. Al-Mazrūʿī gives the change of dynasty as the event that gave the Mazārīʿa the pretext for declaring their independence. Wilkinson (*Imamate Tradition*, p. 226) demonstrates that the Āl Būsaʿīd dynasty came to power by election in 1167/1753 in the person of Aḥmad b. Saʿīd. The author writes *البوسعيدي* whereas the correct name is *بو سعدي* al.

458 See al-Mazrūʿī, *History*, pp. 58 f.

459 See al-Mazrūʿī, *History*, pp. 59 ff.

460 In the margin is written “November 20”.

In the land of Mūmbāsa there was after Ḥamad bin Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān his oldest son ‘Abdallah bin Ḥamad bin Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān on the same date. That was 1219 A.H.⁴⁶¹ as far as we have seen it.

When Sulṭān bin Ḥamad bin Sa‘īd ruled, he sent a man called [i.e. his *kunya*] Hubūb al-Ghabash⁴⁶² to Ḥamad bin Muḥammad. Hubūb al-Ghabash arrived in Mūmbāsa in daylight and disembarked and made for the fort, and entered without the sentry’s⁴⁶³ permission, and came to the *wālī*’s house and knocked at the door. The *wālī* came out, and Hubūb al-Ghabash asked him to sit down. Then Hubūb said, that is, asked him: “To whom does the fort belong?” Ḥamad bin Muḥammad answered: “To the Sayyid”, in fear of him. Then Hubūb al-Ghabash took out ink and paper, and gave it to him and said to him: “Write it”, and the *wālī* Ḥamad bin Muḥammad wrote that the fort and Mūmbāsa belonged to whoever was sultan or *imām* in ‘Umān. And Hubūb went out, and boarded his dhow⁴⁶⁴ and made for Zanzibar.⁴⁶⁵

Then Ḥamad bin Muḥammad sent a letter to the people of Lāmu and informed them that he wished to make a marriage, and the people of Āmu knew his objective, and so said to him, “If you succeed (حصلت = lit. get) that’s all right. We are satisfied with you. So come to us, and we will obey your command.” And he sent his oldest son called ‘Abdallah bin Ḥamad bin Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān al-Mazrū‘ī.⁴⁶⁶ So when he arrived, he built the fort, which remains till now in Āmu, and its building was not completed.

The reason was that his purpose became evident to the people of Āmu. He used to build the fort by day and spend the night in his dhow for a whole year. They had welcomed him with houses and rooms,⁴⁶⁷ but the Mazrū‘ī did not agree ever to spend the night on land. So Zāhid bin Mngūmi⁴⁶⁸ forged a letter from the sultan of Battā in which he said, “The accompanying [gifts sent] to you are two head of sheep, three measures⁴⁶⁹ of rice and two jars of ghee. Please

461 This corresponds to A.D. 1804.

462 Hubūb al-Ghabash. So far as I have been able to find out, this name seems to mean “the blast of the dark” or “the blast of the dawn”. He is said elsewhere to be the son of Sulṭān bin Aḥmad.

463 The text has بواب - bawwāb.

464 Boarded his dhow. In Arabic ركب عواسيته. For this word عواسية see MSS K and L, which both record this incident. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 243 f., 278 f., 313 f., 343. The *wālī*’s name is given as Sālim bin Aḥmad al-Mazrū‘ī.

465 This seems to be a variation of Guillain’s account referred to above (Footnote 441), but adding the rather picturesque name of the messenger.

466 Al-Mazrū‘ī (*History*, p. 73) lists ‘Abdallah as the third son.

467 Rooms. Arabic—غرائف, a South Arabian word in common use is غرفة.

468 Text has مغوم—Mghūmi.

469 Measures. مزبغات is a KiSwahili word *mzigo* = basket, with an Arabic plural ending. There

accept it, and we have heard no news from you since the day you reached Āmu. I fancy you are deceived [or, infatuated?] by Mwāna Mkū bint Mūsa.⁴⁷⁰ Peace upon you.”

The Mazrūʿī said in his reply, “Your letter has arrived and that which you have favoured us with and I am still affecting friendship, but, if God Most High will, I will imprison so-and-so and such-and-such when we have finished building the fort.”⁴⁷¹ He gave the letter to Mūsa the servant of Zāhid bin Mngūmi, and Mūsa went off to Āmu and to Zāhid bin Mngūmi al-Makhzūmi.

So when Zāhid read the Mazrūʿī’s letter he went off to the leader of the people of Āmu, and told him and showed him the letter. The people of Āmu met and decided appropriately, and drove him out of Āmu the next day. When ‘Abdallah bin Ḥamad reached Mūmbāsa the Mazārī’a prepared for war, but Ḥamad bin Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān died before the battle.

‘Abdallah bin Ḥamad bin Muḥammad was *wālī* in the land of Mūmbāsa in the year 1219 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1804.

Then the *wālī* ‘Abdallah bin Ḥammad went to the land of Āmu with the army, and they fought a battle, and the Mazārī’a were routed, and a great number of them were killed. Chroniclers say that the people of Āmu did not eat fish, because if ever they found fish there would be in its stomach one or other member of the Mazrūʿīs, and this continued a whole year. That was in the year 1227 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1812.⁴⁷²

Saʿīd bin Sulṭān had begun to rule in the year 1219 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1804. Saʿīd bin Sulṭān bin Ḥamad bin Saʿīd al-Bū Saʿīdi ruled in Maskaṭ and Zanzibār by virtue of a rule of conquest. When his government was settled in Maskaṭ and Zanzibār he looked to the Mazārī’a and told them that he was their king, and that they were his subjects. The Mazārī’a denied that, so Sayyid Saʿīd bin Sulṭān made war on them in the year 1224 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1809,⁴⁷³ but he did not prevail, so *sayyid* Saʿīd bin Sulṭān left them in peace.

is, however, in the dialect of Soqotra the word *mezingua* = basket. This suggests that *mzigo* had become a general commercial term on the sea-board of the Indian Ocean.

470 Mwāna Mkū bint Mūsa. This is the woman he is supposed to have been asking for in marriage. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 311, 339.

471 Fort. The word in the MS is and would appear to be a word used both in KiSwahili and in ‘Umānī Arabic. It is in fact a Portuguese word. See note 154 above.

472 1227/1812. This date agrees with al-Mazrūʿī’s opinion (*History*, p. 67). The account of the battle as given here reflects a very contemptuous and hostile attitude to the Mazārī’a. See al-Mazrūʿī, *History*, pp. 65–68.

473 In the year 1224/1809. Al-Mazrūʿī (*History*, p. 80) gives the earliest date of a clash between *sayyid* Saʿīd and the Mazrūʿī *līwali* as 1238/1823, when he sent a fleet to protect Pate from them.

In the year 1229 A.H./1813–1814], the people of Āmu travelled to Maskāṭ to *sayyid* Saʿīd bin Sulṭān and asked him for protection against the Mazāriʿa, so he protected them and gave them 200 of his soldiers, and artillery and muskets and gunpowder and all they had need of, and the people of Āmu returned very pleased with that and built the fort, and the soldiers of *sayyid* Saʿīd bin Sulṭān entered it, and God stopped the mischief of the Mazāriʿa by it.

In the year 1230 A.H. [1814–1815] Saʿīd bin Sulṭān came and made war on the Mazāriʿa and won and put them out of the fort, but left them *wālīs* of it.⁴⁷⁴ And when it became evident that they were being treacherous to the commands of *sayyid* Saʿīd the people of Mūmbāsa started a violent rebellion⁴⁷⁵ against the orders of the Mazāriʿa. That was in the year 1231 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1815. Sālim bin Ḥamad bin Muḥammad bin ʿUthmān al-Mazrūʿī⁴⁷⁶ was *wālī* in Mūmbāsa at that time. And Sālim bin Ḥamad rebelled; and Saʿīd bin Sulṭān came with a great army and made war on them. Then when *sayyid* Saʿīd bin Sulṭān came to the land of Āmu, there came out with him 66 persons, 60 slaves, and 6 from the tribes, and they followed the *sayyid* to Mūmbāsa and the *sayyid* fought the Mazāriʿa but did not gain his objective, because the ship and the dhows were at sea and they could not land. When the people of Āmu saw that, two of their men disembarked and went to Mṭāfa Creek,⁴⁷⁷ and asked for information of the Mazāriʿa whoever would show them the way, and one of the people of Mṭāfa showed them, and told them that there were three *siyāb*⁴⁷⁸ set up [?] in the direction of Utangi,⁴⁷⁹ and in them were supplies necessary⁴⁸⁰ for all and

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- 474 Left them *wālīs* of it. Al-Mazrūʿī (*History*, p. 102) puts this event in the year 1243/1828. Our author's dates here are far too early. Al-Mazrūʿī (*History*, p. 100) says that the Mazāriʿa left the fort of their own accord but re-occupied it when the BūSaʿīdī governor broke the treaty.
- 475 Started a violent rebellion. There is no word of the siege of *sayyid* Saʿīd's garrison and the Mazrūʿī *līwalī*'s regaining of the fort, as given by al-Mazrūʿī (*History*, p. 104). Sālim did not become *līwalī* till A.D. 1826 Op. cit. p. 91. One has the feeling that this account may be tendentious.
- 476 Al-Mazrūʿī (*History*, p. 125) gives his dates as 1825–1835. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 311, 341.
- 477 The text has مطافة—Mṭāfa but refers to Mtwapa. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 236, 238, 260, 265; al-Mazrūʿī, *History*, map 4.
- 478 *Siyāb*. (Sing. *siba*). These must be munition and supply dumps. *Siba* is used in Aden to designate a store for goods. There is a South Arabian colloquial word سيب = leave. This word would have primary reference to the things stored, not to the place of storage which would be *masīb* or *masyab*.
- 479 Utangi. An anchorage south of Mtwapa Creek near Shanzu. The text has اتانغى here but وتانغى and a few lines below, revealing inconsistency in transliteration of local names. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 315, 344, 345.
- 480 Necessary. The text has الزافة—*al-zāfa* The word in the Arabic text is unknown to me. It may be an error of the writer.

food, and the people were few and were negligent, remembering nothing, and these “dumps” were their strength. And when the people of Āmu knew this they returned to the sea, to the ship and brought on shore all who were with them, only the sailors [i.e. the crew] remaining and they went to Utangi and attacked those who were in the first “dump” and smote them and got them out, and those who were in the first and second “dump” fled, and they sent to the *amīr* Mas‘ūd⁴⁸¹ and told him what had happened and soldiers came and seized the “dumps”, and the soldiers who were in the ships and dhows disembarked and went off towards⁴⁸² Kisauni.⁴⁸³

Then Mu‘allim bin Mwinyi Shāfi ‘l-Jalandānī⁴⁸⁴ went to Zanzibār, and said to *sayyid* Sa‘īd, “Give me your soldiers, that we may bring them into Mūmbāsa from such-and-such a direction.” So he gave him 200 Arabs, and gave him a letter to tell the *amīr* Mas‘ūd, “When you have read this letter of mine, be prepared, and watch for the order of Mu‘allim Mwinyi Shāfi. Whatever order he gives you, follow it, and you will be conqueror. Peace.” When the *amīr* had read Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān’s letter, he consulted Mu‘allim bin Mwinyi Shāfi, and they made an appointment for the morning. And Mu‘allim bin Mwinyi Shāfi had concealed the soldiers of *sayyid* Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān in the bush at Kilindīni with all their equipment. And when morning came, the ships “weighed anchor”⁴⁸⁵ making for Mūmbāsa and entrance.⁴⁸⁶ When the Mazārī‘a saw that, they mustered and watched from the entrance of Mūmbāsa. They heard muskets in the country, the soldiers of *sayyid* Sa‘īd bin Sulīān were entering. When the

481 The *amīr* Mas‘ūd. This is apparently *sayyid* Sa‘īd’s general. We cannot find his name elsewhere.

482 Went off towards. Arabic جازوا الى = passed over to.

483 Kisauni. This is now the point at which the ferry goes from the Island of Mombasa to the southern mainland. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 315, 344, 345.

484 Mu‘allim bin Mwinyi Shāfi ‘l-Jalandānī. See al-Mazrū‘ī, *History*, p. 32. Al-Mazrū‘ī ends his account short of this point and gives no details of the final occupation of the fort. The only detailed account is given by Guillain (*Documents* p. 614 f.). A suspicious point is the name of the traitor. The only name we can find at all like this is of one who lived a century before and is called by Guillain p. 620 as Muallim Ndao bin Mouchafi. He was in the delegation that went to ‘Umān to obtain help against the Portuguese in A.D. 1730–1731. Kirk Foreign Office 403 says that the man who decoyed Rāshid bin Sālīm into *sayyid* Sa‘īd’s clutches was named Sayyid Sulaymān, and he knew him personally. See the note below. See al-Mazrū‘ī, *History*, p. 110; Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 318, 348.

485 “Weighed anchor”. Arabic أنزغت. I can find this word in no dictionary. Our rendering is a guess. It may be a corrupt rendering of a Swahili word for “anchor”, used perhaps as a verb. Swahili has a number of words to do with anchors.

486 Entrance. The author’s grammar is very poor and sometimes he leaves out the definite article, as here, where he has put مدخل instead of المدخل. This is either an indication that he was thinking in KiSwahili, which has no article, or that he has omitted the word for harbour—entrance to the harbour—مدخل المينا.

Mazāri'a saw it, they raised the flag of truce, and confronted the *amīr* Mas'ūd and came out of the fort of Mūmbāsa into the country [i.e. open ground] and remained quiet, and the soldiers of *sayyid* Sa'īd entered and were victorious.

Story (*Ḥikāya*)

In the year 1242 A.H. in the *wālī*-ship of Khamīs bin Ḥamad bin Muḥammad bin 'Uthmān al-Mazrū'ī,⁴⁸⁷ corresponding to A.D. 1826 there was a man of the people of Batta called 'Abdallah bin Nāṣir bin 'Abd al-Salām, who went to Zanzibār and passed by Mūmbāsa. When he reached Zanzibār the *sayyid* asked him for information about Mūmbāsa, and he said, "The Mazāri'a are still at their efforts, because I saw Khamīs bin Ḥamad striking his sword with the palm of his hand, and Sālim bin Ḥamad⁴⁸⁸ drawing on the ground and then obliterating [what he drew], and they were silent. It showed that Khamīs is thinking of war without any fortification and Sālim thinks of building a fortification. This is the extent of my knowledge as far as I have decided its meaning in my mind."⁴⁸⁹ When the right season came, *sayyid* Sa'īd bin Sulṭān travelled to Maskat, and war broke out behind him [i.e. after he had left] and Khamīs and Mwinyī Wāngāū⁴⁹⁰ were killed in the barracks⁴⁹¹ of Makūpa. That was by a trick of the Mazāri'a, and these [were] Khamīs bin Ḥamad and his nephew Rāshid bin Sālim bin Ḥamad in the country, and that period was in the *wilāya* of Rāshid bin Sālim.

When *sayyid* Sa'īd knew of that, he sent his son Khālīd bin Sa'īd bin Sulṭān, and his *wazīr* Sulaymān⁴⁹² bin Ḥamad al-Bū Sa'īdi in a ship called *Skander Shāh*

487 Khamīs bin Ḥamad bin Muḥammad bin 'Uthmān al-Mazrū'ī. Again the date 1826 is too early by nine years. Hardinge, *Genealogy and History of the Mazru'ī* gives 1835 as the date of his accession. He was the last *wālī* before Rāshid who was taken by *sayyid* Sa'īd to Bandar 'Abbās.

488 Sālim bin Ḥamad. This is wrong. Sālim bin Ḥamad was Khamīs's predecessor in office. This must be 'Abdullah bin Khamīs the *wālī*'s son, as there was no other Sālim living at the time, except Sālim bin Khamīs, chief of Takaungu in 1876. It may be that he wrote Khamīs in error for Sālim at the beginning of this paragraph. See note 483 above.

489 This passage is very colloquial Arabic.

490 Khamīs and Mwinyī Wangau. It is not clear who these are. These names together with the incorrect names above render it very probable that these stories are, at the least, twisted by minds biased against the Mazāri'a, and at the most, pure inventions. Cerulli (*Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 246, 284) has غاو whereas here it reads وغاو, which could mean "master of Ngao". Sw. *ngao* = shield, hence possessor of the shield, i.e. protector. For *ngao* see Nicholls, *Swahili Coast, passim*.

491 Barracks. In Arabic this is the word *jazīra* again. It must be a mistake for *jereza*.

492 His *wazīr* Sulaymān. This must be the "old Sayyid Suleiman" who was personally known

and Rāshid was invited, then they were invited one by one and imprisoned,⁴⁹³ Rāshid bin Sālim bin Ḥamad bin Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān and others to the number of 25 of the Mazārī’a. They were sent to Makrān fettered in pairs.⁴⁹⁴ That was in 1245 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1829.⁴⁹⁵

The rest of the Mazārī’a fled; some went to Gāsī⁴⁹⁶ and it was colonized, but there were there slaves of those who fled, that is, their owners. These were descendents of Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān and his brothers, Qaḍīb bin ‘Uthman and ‘Alī bin ‘Uthmān. These were the ones who went to Gāsī. But Rāshid bin Sālim, who was a subject of Rāshid bin Sālim bin Ḥamad⁴⁹⁷ bin Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān who was imprisoned in Makrān, but his name was the same as that of his “father”⁴⁹⁸—he was Rāshid bin Sālim bin ‘Abdallah bin Zāhir al-Mazrū‘ī— he went to Tākāungu and built a village secretly without letting on, for fear of *sayyid* Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān. He defied these children of Muḥammad bin ‘Uthmān, and said “I shall stay behind.”⁴⁹⁹ That is the meaning of Tākā Ūngu. The date of the building of Tākāungu was 1247 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1831.⁵⁰⁰

In 1252 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1836 *sayyid* Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān started to make war on Sīwī. There was a powerful shaykh in Sīwī called Shaykh Matāqa bin Shaykh Mubārak al-Famāwī.⁵⁰¹ He was under the Nabāhin, but he had the

to Sir John Kirk. Khālīd, *sayyid* Sa‘īd’s second son, is mentioned by Miles as having been the commander of the expedition. Miles 1919, vol. 1 p. 340.

493 Invited one by one and imprisoned. We have used the word “invited” to render *دعى*—*da‘a* because this was an act of gross treachery on the part of *sayyid* Sa‘īd.

494 See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 246, 284, 317, 346.

495 Again this is nine years too early.

496 The text has *جاسي*—*Jāsī* This name is here spelt consistently with *jim* not *ghayn*, a sign of South Arabian influence where the *jim* is always pronounced hard like *g’* as in Egyptian Arabic. See Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 246, 284; Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, pp. 312, 313; Salim, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, *passim*.

497 A subject of Rāshid bin Sālim bin Ḥamad. That is, of the *wālī* Rāshid.

498 The same as that of his “father”. The use of *ابوه* has to be interpreted in relation to the reference to him as *رعية*—*ra‘yya*—“subject” in the previous line. The former expression implies that he was in the care and guardianship of Rāshid bin Sālim bin Ḥamad. Cf. Sir Arthur Hardinge’s account (1928 p. 15) and that of Sir John Kirk, (Letter). The Arabic text is poor and inconsistent in transliterating the name.

499 KiSwahili *nitakaa nyuma*. The text has *تاكا اوغ*—*takā ūngu* in KiMvita (the Mombasa dialect) where the personal pronoun *ni* has dropped out from *nitakaa* and *ungu* = *nyuma*. This would appear to be quite fanciful, but not impossible.

500 The other accounts indicate that this was built before the final occupation of Mombasa by *sayyid* Sa‘īd. This date would be then about right, though after the latter event according to this author.

501 Shaykh Matāqa bin Shaykh Mubārak al-Famāwī. He is called in the History of Pate Bwana Mataka, Shaykh of Siyu. The events as related therein may be seen in Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 283 ff.

command and the government. War was repeated several times, but the *sayyid* could not defeat him. Noble Arabs were killed in Sīwī without number. *sayyid* Saʿīd bin Sulṭān returned to ‘Umān defeated [i.e. without conquering].

In the year 1256 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1840, the *amīr* Ḥammād bin Ḥamad al-Bū Saʿīdī came.⁵⁰² His *kunya*⁵⁰³ was “Walad Sammār” and he was a brave man of strong determination. If he aimed at anything, he never returned till he got it. He was the commander of [i.e. appointed by] *sayyid* Saʿīd bin Sulṭān. When he came making for Sīwī, he passed Maqdishū, and disembarked unawares, and asked for their leader, but he was not to be found in Maqdishū. The *amīr* Ḥammād bin Ḥamad said, “These people of Maqdishū have no leader. Therefore they robbed those who passed by them of our goods [?].” And they told them that they were subjects of Saʿīd bin Sulṭān, “but you said to them that you do not know Saʿīd bin Sulṭān. And now we are subjects of Saʿīd bin Sulṭān. Bring the wealth you have robbed them of this moment.” But the people of Maqdishū fled, all who had appeared before the *amīr* Ḥammād bin Ḥamad. So he fought them and seized the mosque and now they called for quarter. He left soldiers in Maqdishū and took possession, and put the soldiers of *sayyid* Saʿīd bin Sulṭān in the well-known Banādir.⁵⁰⁴ Then the *amīr* made for Sīwī, and fought them, and *amīr* Ḥammād bin Ḥamad al-Bū Saʿīdī was killed in the land of Sīwī in the year 1257 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1841.⁵⁰⁵ Then *sayyid* Saʿīd bin Sulṭān prepared for war on Sīwī, and fought them and blockaded them⁵⁰⁶ on every side and place, and the people of Sīwī asked for quarter. The *sayyid*’s soldiers entered and built a prison [fort?]⁵⁰⁷ in it. That was in the year A.D. 1843 corresponding to 1259 A.H.⁵⁰⁸

The soldiers of the *sayyid* remained in Sīwī, and completed seven years. Then Shaykh Matāqa returned and put out *sayyid* Saʿīd bin Sulṭān’s soldiers. Shaykh

502 The *amīr* Ḥammād bin Ḥamad al-Bū Saʿīdī. This man is referred to in Miles (*Countries and Tribes*, vol. 1 p. 344) as Ḥammād bin Aḥmad al-Ṣammār. Miles puts the date of this campaign as 1844.

503 *kunya*—the author means “nickname”.

504 The well-known Banādir. That is, what is now the coast of southern Somalia with its ports, Mārka, Barāwa, Kisimayu and Port Durnford..

505 This should be 1844.

506 Blockaded them. Arabic: وقطع المسالك عليهم. مسالك—*masālik* = ways or passages, in particular, special military routes.

507 The text has جريزة—*jereza* = prison/fort. The word *gereza* is a Persian word used in ‘Umān and applied to a building that was both a prison and an administrative headquarters. The Portuguese *gerencia* denotes “administration”. In KiSwahili, *gereza* means simply “prison”. The word seems to be consistently confused with *jazīra* in *Kitāb al-Zunūj* but is known in South Arabian Arabic as well as in KiSwahili.

508 The author has in this case inverted the A.D. and A.H. dates.

Matāqa was on the mainland⁵⁰⁹ at the time when the soldiers entered Sīwī. And Shaykh Matāqa bin Shaykh Mbarūk al-Famāwī died in the land of Sīwī. His son Muḥammad bin Shaykh Matāqa bin Shaykh Mbarūk said it was in the year 1264 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 1847.

End of the first part of *Kawkab al-durriya li-akhbār Ifrīqiya* by Fāḍil bin ‘Umar bin Fāḍili al-Baūrī, who is from ‘Anaza and there follows it the Second Part interpreted⁵¹⁰ by Muḥammad bin Matāqa of Sīwī.⁵¹¹

509 Mainland. البرّ—*al-barr*.

510 Interpreted by. The Arabic is اَلْبَرّ. This may mean either that Muḥammad bin Matāqa actually interprets the information that will be set out; or it may mean “the first, or the beginning of it, is Muḥammad bin Matāqa”. In other words, the Second Part is to start with information about the said Muḥammad Bin Matāqa.

511 Muḥammad bin Matāqa of Sīwī. This is the man whose war with *sayyid* Majīd bin Sa‘īd is described at the end of *Kitāb al-Zunūj*, and who was treacherously captured by *sayyid* Sulaymān in the same manner as Rāshīd bin Sālīm and his relatives were captured by order of *sayyid* Sa‘īd bin Sulṭān, and who ended his life in the Mombasa fort. This reference shows that Shaykh Fāḍil bin ‘Umar, had he written the Second Part that he refers to, would have possibly attempted to bring the narrative right up to his time of writing, namely A.D. 1913. See H.E. Lambert, “Hadithi ya Pate na Siu”, *Swahili. Journal of the East African Swahili Committee* 33/2 (1963): 43–47.

Kawkab al-Durriya—Translation of the Marginal Notes¹

- Note 1: Top Left inset in text. Poem—Blessings upon Mārka. Her people have gained protection from Zanjibār, protection of al-Raḥmān (the Merciful).
- Note 2: Top Left inset in text. And Barāwa and the beneficence that was seen in her, her choice and good deeds. Sīwī, and Battā, then Mundu and Fāza as well as Jabrīn are all Arabs.
- Note 3: Right inset in text. Al-Famāwī referred to the above mentioned village that some of them Fāmiya or Afāmiya according to the commentator.
- Note 4: *Sabā'ik*, p. 30.
- Note 5: Right inset in text. It is said they are of Kalfa bin Awf bin 'Amr bin Awf ibn Awsī. *Sabā'ik*, p. 74.
- Note 6: Left inset in text. Matafa? *Sabā'ik*, 508
And al-Ṭābiyyah is a branch of the Banū Muhrā from Khuddām, which is a tribe of the Banū Ṭarif bin Suwayd. The Banū Suwayd used to live in al-Jawf, the valley in al-Sharqiyya of Egypt. He was one of the noblest of Arabs concludes *Sabā'ik*, 45. Specialists say that it was named Maṭāfa in Swahili, but its origin is al-Ṭābiyya, which is called after the name of the tribe of its people, as we have mentioned before, which are sons of al-Ṭābiyya. See p. 90.
- Note 7: Left inset. There is a long history of *imāma* in Nizwa. Julanda bin Mas'ūd al-Azdi A.H. 135 corresponding to A.D. 756.² Then *al-imām* Muḥammad bin 'Affān al-Azdi. That was at Nizwa on the two dates mentioned.³ Then *al-imām* Wārith bin Ka'b al-Yahmadi. That was at Nizwa in A.H. 185 corresponding to A.D. 801
- Note 8: Left inset. And there was in Nizwa an *imām* called Ghassān bin 'Abdallah al-Azdi in A.H. 192 corresponding to A.D. 807.⁴

1 These notes appear sometimes as marginal and at other times as footnotes at the bottom of the original typed copy of *Kawkab al-durriya*. In the electronic copy, they all appear as marginal notes.

2 Ibn Razik, *History*, pp. 7f. Footnote 3 has a reference to the historian and geographer Abū 'l-Fidā al-Ḥamāwī (1273–1331), who claimed that the name Julanda was assume by all the rulers of 'Umān in this early period. Al-Wārith bin Ka'b is listed in Ibn Razik, *History*, pp. 10ff.; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 10, 153 (c. 131/748–c. 133/750).

3 Ibn Razik, *History*, pp. 9f.; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 10, 150, 153, 157 ff. etc. (c. 177/793–179/795).

4 Ibn Razik, *History*, pp. 12–15; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 10, 153, 157 f. etc. (192/808–

Then *al-imām* ‘Abd al Malik Ḥamd al-Azdī in 208 A.H. corresponding to A.D. 824.⁵

Then *al-imām* Maḥanna bin Ja‘far al-Jaḥmādī in Nizwa in A.H. 226 corresponding to A.D. 840.⁶

Then *al-imām* Ṣalt bin Mālik al-Azdī in A.H. 237 corresponding to A.D. 851.

Then *al-imām* Rāshid bin Naṣir al-Azdī in A.H. 273 corresponding to A.D. 886.

Then *al-imām* ‘Azzān bin Tamīm in Nizwa in A.H. 227 corresponding to A.D. 890.⁷

Then there was a king in ‘Umān called Makhzūm bin Fallāḥ al-Nabhānī⁸ in the land of Bahla in the year A.H. 819 corresponding to A.D. 1056 and the Nabhānī dynasty disappeared. There arose Abū ‘l-Ḥasan⁹ as *imām* in ‘Umān in the year 839 A.H. corresponding to 1435 and he is the Azdī.

Then *al-imām* ‘Umar bin al-Khattāb al-Yaḥmadī¹⁰ in the year 855 corresponding to the year 1451.

Then *al-imām* ‘Umar bin Sharīf al-Yaḥmadī¹¹ in the year 892 A.H. corresponding to the year 1490.

The *al-imām* Aḥmad bin Muḥammad al-Yaḥmadī¹² and all of them were in Bahla in the year?

Then *al-imām* Abū ‘l-Ḥasan¹³ in Bahla.

Then *al-imām* Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl al-Yaḥmadī¹⁴ was in Zakī in the year 906 corresponding to the year 1500.¹⁵

- Note 9: On the margin. There was in ‘Umān an *imām*. He was called Rāshid bin Sa‘īd al-Kindī in A.H. 445 corresponding to A.D. 1053.¹⁶

207/823). *This material appears as numbered notes on the right and left hand side of the main Arabic text, but as footnotes in the original typed version (TS).

5 Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 15; Wilkinson (*Imamate Tradition*, pp. 10, 151, 153, etc.) has Ḥumayd (226/841–237/851).

6 Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 16–19. He adds that Muḥanna died in A.H. 237/851; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 10, 151, 153, 207, etc. (226/841–237/851).

7 Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 20–25. He has the date 277/890; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, 1987 pp. 10, 167, 209 ff. (277/890–280/893).

8 Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 42–48. Wilkinson (*Imamate Tradition*, p. 214) mentions *imām* A. ‘l-Ḥasan b. Khamīs b. Āmir 839/1436–846/1443.

9 Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 48; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, p. 214.

10 Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 48 ff.; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 214 f.

11 Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 50.

12 Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 50; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, p. 215.

13 Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 50; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 214, 215 (d. 846/1443).

14 Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 50 f. “Zakī” see footnote 2 p. 50; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 215 f.

15 TS p. 65 has ‘Ali al-Hāmish. It mentions the *imām* who was in ‘Umān Bahla; he was called ‘Abdallah b. Muḥammad al-Hinā‘ī [TS].

16 Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 35; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, p. 210.

Then *al-imām* Ḥaḥṣ bin Rāshid al-Kindī in A.H. 445, year 1053.¹⁷

Then *imām* Rāshid bin ‘Alī al-Kindī in the year 446, year 1054.¹⁸

Then *al-imām* Abū Jābir Mūsa al-Kindī in the year 549 corresponding to A.D. 1154.¹⁹

Then *al-imām* Mālik bin ‘Alī al-Kindī date year 809 corresponding to A.D. 1406.²⁰

Those mentioned were in Nizwa, all of them.²¹

- Note 10: On the margin. And we mention the sultans who were in ‘Umān from the first of them. They are Banū Nabhān. The first of them was named al-Fallāḥ bin Muḥsin al-Nabhānī. He was in Qiryāt in A.H. 539 corresponding to A.D. 1154.²² He was one of those who opposed the *imām* Abū Jābir Mūsa al-Kindī in Nizwa.²³ The affairs of ‘Umān were lost when *imām* and king disappeared and they had no rulers except shaykhs year after year.

Then arose *al-imām* Mālik bin ‘Alī al-Kindī in Nizwa and Muḥaffar bin Sulaymān in Qiryat (Qurayat),²⁴ a powerful king in the year 809 corresponding to A.D. 1406. And Muḥaffar bin Sulaymān al-Nabhānī was the one who sent his friends to Bata in that year 809 corresponding to A.D. 1406. And he ruled the land of Bata and likewise afterwards Mogadishū and Mārka and Barāwa and Āmu without war because they had been ruled by the *amīr* of the Turks. And the Nabhānī was a great king in East Africa.

- Note 11: Then *al-imām* Muḥammad bin Ḥasan al-Azdī in 284 corresponding to A.D. 897.²⁵
Then *al-imām* ‘Azzān ibn al-Khiḍr al-Yaḥmadī in A.H. 285 corresponding to A.D. 898.²⁶

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- 17 Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 35. The text becomes inconsistent leaving out A.D.; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, p. 210.
 - 18 Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 35. The inconsistency continues leaving out A.H. and A.D.; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 210 f.
 - 19 Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 36. Here the A.H. is left out.
 - 20 Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 36–40. Also here A.H. left out.
 - 21 See Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 211 f.
 - 22 Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 41.
 - 23 Clearly some confusion by backtracking to the previous dynasty.
 - 24 Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 41.; Wilkinson (*Imamate Tradition*, pp. 49, 214) mentions the Nabhānī’s involvement in East Africa. Ibn Razīk may have left it out as irrelevant to the history of ‘Umān. See Allen, *Swahili Origins*, pp. 151, 228, 244, 252; Mathew, “East African Coast”, p. 119. For assessment of the Pate Chronicle, see H.N. Chittick, “A New Look at the History of Pate”, *Journal of African History* 10/3 (1969): 375–391; Kirkman 1983 pp. 41–58; Horton, *Archaeology*, p. 4. The above chronology seems determined by the Pate Chronicle.
 - 25 The text has omitted a reference to A.H. Ibn Razīk (*History*, p. 25) has Shaykh M. b. al-Ḥasan. See Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, p. 209, indicating a split between the groups. He mentions *imām* al-Ḥawāri b. ‘Abdullah al-Ḥuddānī Yanqul at this point.
 - 26 Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 25.

- Then *al-imām* ‘Abdallah bin Muḥammad al-Yaḥmadī in A.H. 286 corresponding to A.D. 899.²⁷
- Then *al-imām* Ṣalt bin Qāsim al-Yaḥmadī in A.H. 287 corresponding to A.D. 900.²⁸
- Then *al-imām* Ḥasan bin Sa‘īd al-Yaḥmadī in A.H. 287 corresponding to A.D. 900.²⁹
- Then *al-imām* Ḥūr bin Maṭraḥ al-Yaḥmadī in A.H. 292 corresponding to A.D. 904.³⁰
- Then *al-imām* ‘Umar bin Muḥammad al-Yaḥmadī in A.H. 300 corresponding to A.D. 912.³¹
- Then *al-imām* Muḥammad bin Yazīd al-Kindī in Nizwa—³²
- Then Mallaḥ bin Baḥr al-Kindī in Nizwa.³³
- Then *al-imām* Sa‘īd bin ‘Abdallah al-Kindī in A.H. 328 corresponding to A.D. 939.³⁴
- Then *al-imām* Rāshid b. Walīd. He was in Nizwa.³⁵
- The *al-imām* al-Khalīl bin Shādhān al-Kindī in A.H. 400 corresponding to 1009.³⁶
- Note 12: In top margin. And there was in ‘Umān an *imām*. He was called Nāṣir bin Murshid al-Ya‘rabī³⁷ in Rustāq in the year 1034 corresponding to the year 1624.
 - Note 13: There was in ‘Umān an *imām* called Sultan bin Sayf al-Ya‘rabi. His place was in Hazm in the year A.H. 1123 corresponding to A.D. 1711. This was in Hazm. Then ibn Sayf bin Sultan in the year A.H. 1131 corresponding to A.D. 1718. Then Muhanna bin Sultan in the year A.H. 1131 to A.D. 1718; in the past this one was in Rustaq.
 - Note 14: On the margin. Then the *imām* Barakāt bin Muḥammad al-Yaḥmadī. He was in Nizwa in the year 936 corresponding to 1529. These knew of the entry of the Christians into the Sawāḥil land, but they were defeated and remained quiet, because the sultan of Batta used to send the *zakāt* every year from the wealth of the Sawāḥil to ‘Umān to whoever was *imām* in ‘Umān.
 - Note 15: On the margin. Then there was the *imām* called Ya‘rab bin Bal‘Arab al-Ya‘rabī³⁸ in the year 1134 corresponding to year 1721 and he was in Nizwa. Then *imām* Sayf bin Sulṭān al-Ya‘rabī.³⁹ He was in Rustaq in the year 1135 corresponding to year 1722.

27 Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 26.

28 Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 26.

29 Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 19; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 10, 79, 158, 165, 207, etc. (237/851–272/886).

30 Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 26 f. He transliterates the name as Hawāri; See Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, p. 209.

31 Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 27 f.

32 The text gives no dates. Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 28 f.

33 Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 29.

34 Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 29 f.

35 Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 30–34.

36 Ibn Razīk, *History*, p. 35.

37 Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 53–77; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 218 ff. *et passim*.

38 Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 102 ff.; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 13, 220.

39 Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 105–122; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, p. 223.

Then Muḥammad bin Nāṣir al-Jabrī⁴⁰ in ‘Umān in (the) Yabrin encampment in the year 1137 corresponding to year 1724.

Then *al-imām* Sayf bin Sulṭān al-Ya‘rabī⁴¹ was in Rustāq in the year 1140 corresponding to year A.D. 1728.

Then Sulṭān bin Murshid al-Ya‘rabī⁴² was in Rustāq in the year 1151 corresponding to 1738. This is he who the shaykhs and ‘*ulamā*’ who were in ‘Umān deposed and complained to Ibn Sa‘ūd.

40 Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 122–130; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 351f. n. 37.

41 Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 131–145; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, pp. 223f.

42 Ibn Razīk, *History*, pp. 145–155; Wilkinson, *Imamate Tradition*, p. 13.

Swahilisms in the Arabic Text and Other Peculiarities

There is a series of points in these three MSS which show that the writers were native speakers of Swahili rather than Arabic. They should be borne in mind when reading the Arabic, since they appear as faults in the language, but are in fact indications that the writers were thinking in Swahili rather than in Arabic. We give the following suggestions regarding some of them.

1. There are certain words that are pure Swahili, e.g. *manowari* = man-of-war, warship; *mzigowat* = baskets (with an Arabic plural).
2. Some nouns are written without the definite article *al-* in places where they should have it. Swahili has no definite article for nouns.
3. Sometimes, when the object of a verb is a proper name, the verb ends with the pronominal suffix *hū* = he. This is a pure Swahilism. If this is born in mind a clear meaning is at once apparent in a sentence that at first sight does not make proper sense.
4. There are several places where there is a redundant *wāw* = and, at the beginning of a clause. This seems to be a local peculiarity of South Arabian speech that has extended down the East African coast.

There are other peculiarities that should be noticed and allowed for in any translation of these MSS.

N.B. There is quite a large list of such peculiarities in these texts. They should be spotted with care and given in a list. This is one of the elements that make these MSS an important link between Arab and Swahili and their respective cultures.

Comets Listed for Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

| Year | Magnitude | Name | Comment |
|---------------------|-----------|----------|--|
| 1830 | I | 3 | Great Comet |
| 1834 | | 3.5 | |
| 1844 | II | 6.5 | Of naked eye visibility at brightest |
| 1844 | III | 0 | Great Comet Tail 10 deg—5 observers in S.Hem |
| 1845 | III | 1.5 | Great June Comet |
| 1851 | IV | 4 | Brorsen |
| 1854 | II | 2 | Great Comet |
| 1860 | III | 3 | Great Comet Visible in S.Hem |
| 1861 | II | 4.5 | Great Comet Visible in S.Hem in July |
| 1862 | II | 4.5 | Schmidt |
| 1863 | II & III | Both 5.5 | Klinkerfues & Respighi Both long-term |
| 1863 | IV | 4 | Tempel Tail 10 deg. Nov.—Feb. |
| 1865 | I | 2 | Great Southern Comet |
| 1880 | I | 3 | Jan.—May. |
| 1880 | III | 5.5 | Great Southern Comet |
| 1881 | III | 3 | |
| 1882 | II | 0 | Great Comet |
| 1887 | I | 1.5 | Great September Comet Visible in broad daylight and in the S.Hem.—Tail 20 deg.,+.the S.Hem.—Tail 20 deg.,+. |
| 1901 | | 1.5 | Great Southern Comet Tail 25–40 deg. |
| Short Period Comets | | | |
| 1910 | | 0 | Halley Tail 10 deg. |
| 1892 | | 4 | Holmes Tail 90 deg. |
| 1866 | | 3 | Temple-Tuttle |

Extracted from Gary W. Kronk, *Comets: A Descriptive Catalogue*. New York: Enslow, 1984

Quatrain: A Swahili Quatrain in Arabic Script

The following quatrain, which occurs on page 83¹ of the Arabic text, is not written consistently with the Swahili usage of Arabic script. We have done as well as we can to render it in European script. In the third line there is, it seems to me, a *wāw* written in error for *tā*. We understand from Dr Farouk Topan that such verses had a double meaning, which means that some of the words are puns. The author is not named.

كُونُغُوِيَّ جَمْفُومُ مَفِيَّتَ نَجِّ وَكَلِي
 نَمَجِيي يَمُّ مَوْمُ أُكَيْتِكَ بَبَالِي
 كَتِكَ لَمُوْنَدِمُ تَتَوَجُّجُ أُتَوَالِي
 أُفْدِكَاُ نَفُولِ أُشِيرِنَاَبُ نَجِيوِي

Kunguwaya cha mvumo mvita mji wa kale
 Na maji yamo mumo ukayateka papale
 Katika limau ndimo tatwaa mji utawale
 Uvudikao na vuli ushiranapo na jiwe.

As far as we can see, it should be rendered into English somewhat as follows:

Kongowaya of the stormy weather, Mvita—the Old Town—
 Has water in it which you may draw out from there.
 It lies among the lemon trees. You have a town you may govern
 In which you become soaked in the rainy season, when (? you trip over a
 stone).

If this rendering is anywhere near correct, it expresses the general reputation of Mombasa as a town that caused trouble to whoever managed to control it. This would be in accordance with belligerent poems such as the following, which is by Bwana Muyaka as quoted in E.W. Taylor's *African Aphorisms*, 1924 pp. 81 f.:

K'ongowea ya mvumo Maangavu maji male
 Haitoi liliomo Isingemyele

1 MS L footnote 132.

Msiotambua ndumo Na utambaji wa kale

Refrain

Mwina wa chiza-mbwi chile Mtambuzwa hatambuli

K'ongoweya is a roaring (surf) In dead calm at spring-tide

It vents not forth what is in it—Gongwa would not be quiet

Ye who know not its war-cries And its gait of old

(or, Its war-cry and its gait of old Are such as ye know not)

Refrain

The abyss of that deep gloom Even he that is caused to know it knows not.

There are four more quatrains to this poem, but it has rather a different purport from the quatrain given by Shaykh Fāḍil bin 'Umar, author of *Kawkab al-durriya*. This seems to be because the latter's purpose in quoting it is rather different.

Chole—Juli

The Periplus of the Erythrian Sea from the first century A.D. gives in remarkable detail the features of the East African coast. One of the pieces of information it provides is that trade between the Middle East and the East African coast was in the hands of the “tribe which was first in Arabia”, and it connects the trade with a centre in the Yaman which it names Mouza, and is almost certain to be Mawza‘a near Mucha. This means that the traders and the crews of the ships that plied between that centre and the East African coast would be speakers of Sabean, or Ancient South Arabian. In inscriptions found in the Yaman and written in what is known as the Musnad script there is a word with the root *g-w-l*, which means “land” or “ground”.

On the assumption that the *jīm* would be pronounced as anything between hard (*g*) and soft (*j*), it is easy to see that *gwl* could become *jul* or *chul*, with the African open syllable added at the end to make it *juli* or *chole*. To this day, the High Plateau of the Hadramawt is named the Jol.

We take this to be one of the small hints, remarked upon in several places in his works by G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, as to the persistence of traditions from the earliest times down to the present day. The fact that Shaykh ‘Umar bin Fāḍil thinks it necessary to add the word “soil” or “ground” to his interpretation of the meaning of the place-name seems to me to be a mark of the reality of the connection.

Vasco da Gama's First Visit

The dating of Vasco da Gama's presence in East Africa during his first voyage from Lisbon to India.¹

The author of *Kitāb al-Zunūj* K sets the year of Vasco da Gama's arrival on the East African coast as A.H. 906, which commenced on 28 July A.D. 1500.

The Padrone on the beach at Malindi gives the date of his first arrival at Malindi as A.D. 1498 and this is quite accepted and definite. Cerulli gives the dates in Vasco da Gama's *Roteiro da Viagem que em Descobrimto da India pelo Cabo da Boa Esperanca fez Dom Vasco da Gama* (Cerulli 1957 p. 269). He thinks it highly improbable that Vasco da Gama called at Zanzibar on his outward journey. After stopping at Kilwa, he called at Mombasa where he was opposed, and then called at Malindi. On his way back from India, he arrived at Malindi on 7 January 1499 and stayed only five days. He passed Mombasa and stopped at Mtangata (Tongoni) to dismantle and burn one of his boats. He then called at Zanzibar about the end of February and was back in Lisbon in September 1499. Cerulli's opinion is followed by Axelson (1940, p. 38) and Sir John Gray (1962).

Mombasa was not attacked and destroyed by Vasco da Gama but by Francisco Almeida, and that not until A.D. 1505. Freeman-Grenville (1988 IV p. 134) judges that the author is "telescoping" events in a manner very common to writers of local histories, and in this way he confuses chronology.

He has done the same thing with the dating of the Mazrūī *liwalis*, omitting one of them altogether, and ignoring some of the events in the early eighteenth century such as Sese Rumbé's rebellion.

¹ Strandes, *The Portuguese Period*, ch. 2, "The voyage of discovery", pp. 13–37.

Chronology—Timeline

Azanian Trio Timeline

Pharaoh Sahure (2553–2541 B.C.) conducted maritime expedition on East African coast.¹

- c. 1493/2 B.C. Pharaoh Hatsheput expedition to Punt.²
- Late 8th–early 7th centuries B.C. Minean *Mukarribs* Yath'amar and Kariba-il.³
- c. 750 B.C. Sabaeen Kingdom 1st period.⁴
- c. 700 B.C. Minaean Kingdom with centre in Jawf. Capital Qarnaw.⁵
- Pre 700 B.C. Ausan traded with E.A. Coast.⁶
- c. 610 B.C. Sabaeen Kingdom 2nd period.⁷ Capital Ma'rib.
- Pre 550 B.C. Minneans conquered by Saba.⁸
- c. 550 B.C. Arabs from Yemen cross Red Sea and settle in Habash⁹
- c. 510 B.C. Egyptian voyages to Punt.¹⁰
- c. 450 B.C. *Mālik* Kariba-il Watar.¹¹ Ḥaḍramawt Kingdom. Capital Shabwah.¹²
- c. 400 B.C. Qataban Kingdom. Capital Tamna' (Kuḥlan)¹³

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- 1 R. Hennig, *Terrae Incognitae. Eine Zusammenstellung und kritische Bewertung der wichtigsten vorcolumbischen Entdeckungsreisen an Hand der darüber vorliegenden Originalberichte*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1944, vol. 1, pp. 5–13; Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 34.
 - 2 Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 34.
 - 3 Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 52. Sabaeen period 750–115 B.C.; Minaean c. 700–200 B.C.; Qataban c. 400–50 B.C.; Ḥaḍramawt c. 450 B.C.–100 A.D. Huzayyin 1941 p. 33.
 - 4 Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 52.
 - 5 Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, pp. 52, 54f.
 - 6 Gray, *History of Zanzibar*, p. 11.
 - 7 Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 54.
 - 8 Huzayyin 1941 p. 34.
 - 9 G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology of African History*. London: Oxford University Press, 1973, p. 6.
 - 10 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 7.
 - 11 Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 54. The *Periplus* dates him to c. 100 A.D. Is it a title or another person with the same name? See L. Casson, *The Periplus Mais Erythraei*. Princeton, University Press 1989 refers Beeston who maintains that the earliest inscriptions only allow a Himyar timeline from first century A.D.
 - 12 Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 55.
 - 13 Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 55.

- 4th century A.D. Axum Palace & Steles.¹⁴
- 115 B.C.–525 A.D. Himyar¹⁵ Capital Zafar
- c. 41–54 A.D. Diogenes voyages along East African coast.¹⁶
- c. 106 A.D. *Periplus*. Kharibaël Himyari *Tubba* ruler of former Ausan kingdom.¹⁷
- 273–297 A.D. ‘Abd Kelal king of Yemen.¹⁸
- c. 320–355 A.D. Aezanas son of Ella Amida, king of Axum.¹⁹
- 333 A.D. Aezanas adopts Christian tradition.²⁰
- c. 340–378 A.D. Axumite occupation of Himyar.²¹
- c. 385–420 A.D. Abū Karib As‘ad *alias* Abū Karib As‘ad Kāmil.²²
- c. 467 A.D. Sharahbil Yakkuf Himyar ruler.²³
- c. 514–543 A.D. Caleb (Ela Atsheba) king of Axum.²⁴
- 517–525 A.D. Dhū Nuwās Ḥimyārī *Tubba‘*
- 517 A.D. Caleb sends fleet against Himyar.²⁵
- 525 A.D. Dhū Nuwās, the last Himyari *Tubba‘* died.²⁶
- Cosmas Indicopleustes.²⁷
- 525–570 A.D. Axum rules Himyar.²⁸
- 531 & c. 540 A.D. Byzantine missions to Aksum.²⁹
- 564 A.D. Julianus sent by Emperor Justinian (527–565) to Himyarite kingdom.³⁰
- c. 570 A.D. Axumite defeat at Mecca.³¹

14 Hitti (*History of the Arabs*, p. 57) dates this to the first century A.D.

15 Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 60; Huzayyin 1942. p. 34; Gen. 10:3.

16 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 19.

17 Hennig, *Terrae Incognitae*, vol. 1, pp. 412–415.; Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 20; Huntingford, *Periplus*, p. 151.

18 Hennig, *Terrae Incognitae*, vol. 2, p. 16.

19 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 25.

20 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 26.

21 Hitti 1961 p. 60.

22 Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 60.

23 Moberg, *Book of the Himyarites*, p. lx.

24 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 31.

25 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 31.

26 A.I. Katsh, *Judaism in Islam: Biblical and Talmudic Backgrounds of the Koran and Its Commentaries*. Columbia: New York University Press, 1954, p. xviii.

27 Allen, *Swahili Origins*, p. 58; Moberg, *Book of the Himyarites*, p. lxxviii; Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 31.

28 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 31; Hennig, *Terrae Incognitae*, vol. 2, p. 50.

29 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, pp. 31, 32.

30 Hennig, *Terrae Incognitae*, vol. 2, p. 52.

31 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 32.

- 572–628 A.D. Sāsānid domination of Arabia.³²
 615 A.D. Muslims seek refuge in Aksum.³³
 691 A.D. Sulaymān and Saʿīd leave ʿUmān for East Africa.³⁴
 c. 696 A.D. Syrians settlements at Pate, Lamu, etc.³⁵
 730 A.D. Arab settlement in Pemba.³⁶
 c. 740 A.D. Zaydīs settle on East African coast.³⁷
 c. 766 A.D. Caliph al-Manṣūr's expedition to East Africa.³⁸
 c. 786–809 A.D. Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd said to have established settlements on the East African coast.³⁹
 837 A.D. Caliph Abū ʿl-Abbās ʿAbdallah al-Maʿmūn sent a military expedition to Malindi.⁴⁰
 c. 850 A.D. Tuan Ch'eng-shih description of East Africa.⁴¹
 c. 887 A.D. Foundation of Mogadishu.
 c. 915 A.D. Al-Masʿūdī's description of East Africa.⁴²
- 9th–15th centuries omitted in *Kitāb al-Zunūj*.⁴³
- 1071 A.D. Zanj visit to China. Also 1081–1083.⁴⁴
 c. 1100 A.D. Several Muslim settlements on East African coast. Stone mosques.⁴⁵

32 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 32. Sāsānid dynasty 226–641.

33 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 33.

34 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 36.

35 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 37. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 238, 266, 303, 333: Caliph ʿAbd al-Mālik bin Marwān (65/685–686/705) sent a military expedition to East Africa in 75/694.

36 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 38.

37 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 38.

38 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 40. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 238, 267: Caliph Abū Jaʿfar ʿAbdallah al-Manṣūr (136/754–158/775) sent a representative to East Africa 149/766.

39 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 40. Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 239, 267, 304, 334: Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (170/786–193/809) sent military expedition to the East African coast in 189/804.

40 Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 239, 267, 304, 334: Caliph Abū ʿl-Abbās ʿAbd Allah al-Maʿmūn (198/813–218/833).

41 Allen, *Swahili Origins*, p. 26: Tuan Ch'eng-shih (d. 863); P. Wheatley, "Analecta Sino-Africana recensa", in H.N. Chittick and R.O. Rotberg (eds), *East Africa and the Orient: Cultural Syntheses in Pre-Colonial Times*. New York: Africana, 1975, 76–114, p. 82; Freeman-Grenville 1962 p. 8.

42 Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 14–17: Abū ʿl-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Masʿūdī (d. 956).

43 Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 239, 267, 269.

44 Horton, *Archaeology*, p. 21.

45 H.N. Chittick, "The 'Shirazi' Colonization of East Africa", in J.D. Fage & R.A. Oliver (eds), *Papers in African Prehistory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970, 257–276, p. 275.

- 498/1105 First dated Muslim epitaph at Barāwa.⁴⁶
- 500/1107 Kizimkazi Mosque inscription.⁴⁷
- c. 1150 Al-Idrīsī's description of East Africa.⁴⁸
- 614/1217 Earliest epitaphs at Mogadishu.⁴⁹
- 1204 Traditional founding date of Pate and Vumba. Sulṭān Yūsuf b. Alawi at Tumbatu.⁵⁰
- 1224 Yāqūt b. 'Abdallah al-Ḥamāwi al-Rūmi's description of Pemba.⁵¹
- 1225 Chao Ju-kua, *Chu-fan-chi*—Gazetteer of Foreigners.⁵²
- c. 1300 Abū 'l-Fida's description of East Africa.⁵³
- 1238 Mogadishu Friday Mosque minaret completed.⁵⁴
- c. 1250 Fakhr al-Dīn dynasty established in Mogadishu.⁵⁵
- 1265 Final date for a hoard of Chinese coins, Zanzibar.⁵⁶
- 1268 Arba'a Rukun mosque *mihṛāb*, Mogadishu completed.⁵⁷
- 1269 Fakhr al-Dīn mosque, Mogadishu completed.⁵⁸
- 1286 Ibn Sa'īd records Indian settlers in Eastern Africa.⁵⁹
- c. 1291–1339 Fumomadi the Great, Sultan of Pate.⁶⁰
- 1322 Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad, Sultan of Mogadishu issues dated coins in East Africa.⁶¹
- c. 1330 Sor Leone Vivaldi in Mogadishu.⁶² Jordanus describes East Africa as 'India tertia'.⁶³

46 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 52; Horton, *Archaeology*, p. 419.

47 Kirkman 1957 p. 23; Kirkman, *Men and Monuments*, pp. 16, 175 f.; Chittick, "Shirazi" Colonization", p. 241.

48 Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 19–20; Abū 'Abdallah Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Idrīsī (d. 1166).

49 Freeman-Grenville & Martin 1973 p. 102.

50 Gray, *History of Zanzibar*, p. 16; Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 58.

51 Gray, *History of Zanzibar*, pp. 16 ff.

52 Wheatley, "Analecta", p. 86; Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 21–22.

53 Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 23–24.

54 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 59.

55 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 60.

56 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 61. See also Freeman-Grenville, *Medieval History*, pp. 35, 175, 184, 185.

57 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 61.

58 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 61.

59 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 61.

60 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 63.

61 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 67.

62 Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, p. 167.

63 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 67.

- 1331–1332 Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's visit.⁶⁴
- 1339–1392 ʿUmar b. Muḥammad I, Sultan of Pate claims control of coast from Mogadishu to Kerimba islands.⁶⁵
- 1364 First mention of pillar tomb in East Africa.⁶⁶
- c. 1390 Nabhānī mosque built on Songo Mnara Island.⁶⁷
- c. 1415 Embassy from Malindi to China.⁶⁸
- 1417–1419 & 1421–1422 Chinese naval expeditions to East Africa.⁶⁹
- 1488–1491 Pedro da Covilhao visit to East Africa.⁷⁰
- 1498 Vasco da Gama's visit.⁷¹ Siyu founded prior to this date.⁷²
- 1499 Vasco da Gama's return from India.⁷³
- c. 1500 Galla driven out of Ogaden and Banādir.⁷⁴
- 1500 Shehe Mvita Dynasty in Mombasa. Pedro Alvares Cabral's visit to East Africa. Muzaffarid Dynasty in Mogadishu.⁷⁵
- 1502 Vasco da Gama's second visit to East Africa.⁷⁶
- 1503 Ruy Lourenço Ravasco visit to Zanzibar.⁷⁷
- 1505 Dom Francisco d'Almeida visit to East Africa.⁷⁸ The sack of Mombasa.⁷⁹
- 1506–1508 João Gomez and João Sanchez in Malindi.⁸⁰
- 1517 Duarte Barbosa's description of the East African coast.⁸¹
- 1521 Lamu pays tribute in Venetian silver currency.⁸²
- 1528 Mombasa, Mṭangata & Utondwe revolt.⁸³

64 Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 19, 41; vol. 2, p. 241; Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 27–32.

65 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 67.

66 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 69.

67 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 71.

68 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 73.

69 Wheatley, "Analecta", pp. 90 f.

70 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 79.

71 Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 50–56.

72 Allen, *Swahili Origins*, p. 119.

73 Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 57–58.

74 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 81.

75 Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 59–63; Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 81.

76 Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 66–75.

77 Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 76–79.

78 Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 80–104.

79 Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 108–111.

80 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 83.

81 Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 131–134.

82 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 87.

83 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 87.

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| 1537 | Galla enter Bali Province. ⁸⁴ |
| 1540 | Turkish raids in East Africa. ⁸⁵ |
| 1542 | Francis Xavier's visit to East Africa. ⁸⁶ |
| 1569 | Construction of Fort Jesus in Mombasa begun. Father Monclaro visits the coast. ⁸⁷ |
| c. 1580 | Fumo Liongo Sultan of Ozi. ⁸⁸ |
| c. 1585 | van Linschoten's description of Mombasa. ⁸⁹ |
| 1585 | Amir Ali Bey drives Portuguese from Mombasa. ⁹⁰ |
| 1586–1593 | Bwana Tamu Mkuu. Pate. ⁹¹ |
| 1588 | Bwana Bashir, Lamu executed by the Portuguese. Amir Ali Bey in Mombasa. Zimba hordes on East African coast. ⁹² |
| 1591 | Sir James Lancaster in East African waters. ⁹³ |
| 1593–1596 | Construction of Fort Jesus. ⁹⁴ |
| c. 1593 | Stambuli dynasty, Faza. ⁹⁵ |
| c. 1596 | Augustinians and Misericordia Brethren in Mombasa, Faza, Lamu, Zanzibar. ⁹⁶ |
| c. 1598 | Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmed, Sulṭan of Malindi & Mombasa. ⁹⁷ |
| Post 1600 | Galla invasion of the coast. ⁹⁸ |
| 1607 | Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan born. Stephen son of Philip king of Pemba sent to Goa for education. ⁹⁹ |
| 1606 | Fra Gaspar de S. Bernardino visits the coast. ¹⁰⁰ |
| Post 1612 | Pemba subject to Malindi. ¹⁰¹ |
| 1614 | Al-Ḥasan of Mombasa visits Goa. ¹⁰² |

84 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 89.

85 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 89.

86 Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 135–137.

87 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 93; Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 138–143.

88 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 95; Knappert, *Four Centuries*, pp. 66 ff.

89 Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 144 f.

90 Hinawy, *Al-Akida and Fort Jesus*, p. 10; Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 95.

91 Freeman-Grenville 1958 p. 17. Kirkman (*Men and Monuments*, p. 65) has 1586.

92 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 97; Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 146–151.

93 Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 151–154.

94 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 97.

95 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 97.

96 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, pp. 97, 99.

97 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 99.

98 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 99.

99 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 99.

100 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 99; Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 155–164.

101 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 101.

102 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 101.

- 1615 Al-Ḥasan of Mombasa murdered. Son Yūsuf sent to Goa for education.¹⁰³
- 1624 Fr Jerome Lobo at Malindi and Juba.¹⁰⁴
- c. 1627 Yūsuf b. al-Ḥasan returns to Mombasa as sultan.¹⁰⁵
- 1631 Mombasa rebellion. Pedro de Leitão, captain of Mombasa murdered by Yūsuf b. al-Hasan.¹⁰⁶
- 1632 Arrival of Portuguese fleet from Goa. Yūsuf b. al-Hasan abandons Mombasa.¹⁰⁷
- 1633 Arrival of second Portuguese fleet from Goa.¹⁰⁸
- 1634 de Rezende's description of Mombasa.¹⁰⁹
- 1635 Francisco de Seixas de Cabreira Captain of Mombasa.¹¹⁰
- 1636 Punitive expeditions and treaties imposed on Pate, Siyu, Manda, Luziwa, Faza and Lamu.¹¹¹
- 1643 Sulṭān of Faza complains of Portuguese conduct. Captain Afonso Manoel sent to Goa for trial. Tension between Faza and Pate.¹¹²
- 1644 War between Pemba and Faza.¹¹³
- 1649 Sulṭān b. Sayf of Muscat invited to intervene against Portuguese.¹¹⁴
- 1652 'Umānīs raid Portuguese in Pate and Zanzibar. Pemba ruler raids Mafia and Kwale Island. Rulers of Zanzibar, Pemba and Utondwe pay tribute to 'Umān. Composition of the *Hamziyya*.¹¹⁵
- 1653 Seixas de Cabreira reinstated as Captain of Mombasa. Reoccupation of Zanzibar. Destruction of Pemba flotilla.¹¹⁶
- 1660 'Umānī raiders at Faza and supported by Pate, Siyu, Manda, Lamu, Simio, Mwera, Jasa & Oja.¹¹⁷

103 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 101.

104 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 103.

105 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 105.

106 Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 169–174; Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 105.

107 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 105.

108 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 107.

109 J. Gray, "Rezende's Description of East Africa in 1634", *Tanganyika Notes and Records* 23 (1947): 2–29; Gray, *Early Portuguese Missionaries*, pp. 27 ff.

110 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 107.

111 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 107.

112 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 107.

113 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 109.

114 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 107.

115 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 111.

116 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 111.

117 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 111.

- 1661 'Umāni raiders capture Mombasa.¹¹⁸
- 1667 William Alley visits Mombasa.¹¹⁹
- 1670 'Umānīs raid the East African coast.¹²⁰
- 1678 Portuguese punitive expedition against Pate. Rulers of Pate, Lamu, Siyu and Manda beheaded.¹²¹
- 1679 'Umānīs compel Portuguese in Pate to withdraw to Mozambique. Pemba revolt. Ruler expelled.¹²²
- 1686 Pate rebels against the Portuguese. Ruler sent as prisoner to Goa.¹²³
- 1688 'Umānī Arabs occupy Pate.¹²⁴
- 1694 Pemba independent.¹²⁵
- 1696 Sayf b. Sulṭān of 'Umān lays siege to Fort Jesus.¹²⁶
- 1698 'Umānīs capture Fort Jesus. Mogadishu temporarily occupied by 'Umānīs. Naṣīr b. 'Abdullah b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdullah b. Kaḥlān *wālī* of Mombasa.¹²⁷
- 1699 'Umānīs seize Zanzibar. Faṭṭūma bt Yūsuf exiled to Muscat. Galla raids near Malindi.¹²⁸
- 1700 'Umāni governor installed in Zanzibar.¹²⁹
- c. 1710 Ḥasan b. 'Abdallah, Mwinyi Mkuu of Zanzibar and Bin Sulṭān of Pemba acknowledge Portuguese sovereignty.¹³⁰
- 1711 Naṣīr b. 'Abdallah al-Mazrū'ī re-instated as *wālī* of Mombasa by Sayf b. Sulṭān I (*Qā'id al-Arḍ*).¹³¹
- 1729 Portuguese driven out of the coast down to Cape Delgado.¹³²
- 1739 Muḥammnad b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallah b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdullah Kaḥlān *wālī* of Mombasa.¹³³

118 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 111.

119 Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 187–190; Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 113.

120 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 113.

121 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 115.

122 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 115.

123 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 117.

124 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 117.

125 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 119.

126 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 119.

127 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 119; al-Mazrū'ī, *History*, p. 30.

128 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, pp. 119, 121.

129 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 121.

130 Gray, *History of Zanzibar*, pp. 84, 159.

131 Al-Mazrū'ī, *History*, pp. 30, 34.

132 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 142.

133 Al-Mazrū'ī, *History*, p. 38 n. 11; Nicholls (*Swahili Coast*, p. 380) has 1730.

- 1745 'Alī b. 'Uthman b. 'Abdallah b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallah b. Kaḥlān *wālī* of Mombasa.¹³⁴
- 1754 Mas'ūd b. Nasīr b. 'Abdallah b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdallah b. Kaḥlān *wālī* of Mombasa.¹³⁵
- 1779 'Abdullah b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abdallah al-Mazrū'ī *wālī* of Mombasa.¹³⁶
- 1780 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. 'Abdullah b. Muḥammad al-Mazrū'ī *wāly* of Mombasa.¹³⁷
- c. 1790 Saada Taji li Arifina first Swahili poetess.¹³⁸
- c. 1798 Naṣīr ibn 'Abdallah ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdallah ibn Kaḥlān *wālī* of Mombasa.¹³⁹
- c. 1800 Yāqūt b. Ambar al-Habshī *wālī* of Zanzibar. (d. before 1820). Succeeded by Ambar b. Sulṭān al-Habshī (died after two years); succeeded by 'Abdalla b. Jum'a al-Barwānī (al-Ḥarthī) (dismissed by 1819). Succeeded by 'Alī b., Nasser al-Jabri (d. after 3 years). Succeeded by Khalfan b. Sulaymān al-Abri (died in prison). Succeeded by M. b. Nāṣir al-Mawlā; succeeded by Nāṣir b. Ḥamad al-Bū Sa'īdi who was in Zanzibar 1828 when Sa'īd arrived. Khālīd b. Sa'īd appointed governor.¹⁴⁰
- 1802 Sa'īd al-Bū Sa'īd first visit to Zanzibar.¹⁴¹
- 1804 P. Dallon in Zanzibar.¹⁴²
- 1808 Battle of Shela.¹⁴³
- 1811 James Prior in East Africa.¹⁴⁴
- 1814 'Abdallah b. Aḥmad al-Mazrū'ī *wali* of Mombasa.¹⁴⁵
- 1823 Ḥamad b. Aḥmad al-Bū Sa'īdi arrives with fleet.¹⁴⁶

134 Al-Mazrū'ī, *History*, p. 48 n.e 24; Nicholls (*Swahili Coast*, p. 380) has 1744.

135 Al-Mazrū'ī, *History*, p. 53 n. 3.

136 Al-Mazrū'ī, *History*, p. 58 n. 21.

137 Al-Mazrū'ī, *History*, p. 60 n. 1; Nicholls 1971 has 1782.

138 Knappert, *Four Centuries*, p. 192.

139 Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, p. 380.

140 Gray, *History of Zanzibar*, pp. 126 ff. For Yāqūt, see Smee 1811 in Burton, *Zanzibar*, vol. 2, pp. 458–493; Nicholls (*Swahili Coast*, pp. 27, 271, 288) has a different listing.

141 Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, p. 246 n. 1.

142 Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 198–201.

143 Al-Mazrū'ī, *History*, p. 67.

144 Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 202–212.

145 Al-Mazrū'ī, *History*, p. 73 n. 1.

146 Al-Mazrū'ī, *History*, p. 80 nn. 22, 24.

- 1823 Ḥamad b. Aḥmad captures Pemba.¹⁴⁷ Sulaymān b. ‘Alī b. ‘Uthmān al-Mazrū‘ī *wālī* of Mombasa. Mombasa Chronicle.¹⁴⁸
- c. 1824 J.B. Emery in Mombasa.¹⁴⁹
- 1826 Owen’s Protectorate rescinded.¹⁵⁰
- 1826 Sulaymān b. ‘Alī abdicates as *wālī* in favour of Salīm b. Ḥemed/Aḥmed.¹⁵¹
- 1828 Sayyid Sa‘īd’s visit to Mombasa.¹⁵² Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Alawi, Mwenyi Mkuu of Zanzibar.¹⁵³
- 1829 Sayyid Sa‘īd attacks Mombasa.¹⁵⁴
- 1832 Sayyid Sa‘īd settles in Zanzibar.¹⁵⁵
- 1833 Sayyid Sa‘īd attacks Mombasa.¹⁵⁶
- 1834 Kamis b. Ḥamad *wālī* of Mombasa.¹⁵⁷
- 1835 Rāshīd b. Sālīm b. Ḥamad al-Mazrū‘ī *wālī* of Mombasa.¹⁵⁸
- 1836 Shaykh Mshirazi elected leader of the “Three Tribes”.¹⁵⁹
- 1837 Sa‘īd b. Sulṭān breaks the power of the Mazrū‘ī. Deports Rashīd and leading Mazārī‘a to Bandar ‘Abbās.¹⁶⁰ R.P. Waters, first US consul in Zanzibar.¹⁶¹
- 1838 End of Mazrū‘ī rule in Mombasa.¹⁶²
- 1839 Mazrū‘ī of Gazi under Khasa binti Aḥmed, Sālīm’s sister attacks Tanga.¹⁶³
- 1841 Atkins Hamerton first British conul in Zanzibar.¹⁶⁴ Nāṣir ibn Khalaf *wālī* of Pemba.¹⁶⁵

147 Al-Mazrū‘ī, *History*, p. 6.

148 Al-Mazrū‘ī, *History*, p. 75 n. 6.

149 Freeman-Grenville, *East African Coast*, pp. 213–219; Al-Mazrū‘ī, *History*, p. 94 n. 10.

150 Coupland, *East Africa and Its Invaders*, pp. 217–294.

151 Al-Mazrū‘ī, *History*, p. 91 n. 1 (d. 1835); Nicholls (*Swahili Coast*, p. 380) has 1825.

152 Al-Mazrū‘ī, *History*, p. 97 n. 20.

153 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 151.

154 Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, pp. 306 f.

155 Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, p. 247; Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 153.

156 Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, p. 307.

157 Al-Mazrū‘ī, *History*, p. 121.

158 Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, p. 380.

159 Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, p. 310.

160 Al-Mazrū‘ī, *History*, p. 121.

161 Gray, *History of Zanzibar*, p. 200; Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, p. 327.

162 Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, p. 308.

163 Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, pp. 312 f.

164 Gray, *History of Zanzibar*, p. 205.

165 Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, p. 312.

- 1844 M. Broquant first French consul in Zanzibar.¹⁶⁶
- 1845 Ḥasan b. Aḥmad, Mwinyio Mkuu of Zanzibar died 1845. Succeeded by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-‘Alawī as Mwinyi Mkuu of Zanzibar.¹⁶⁷
- 1848 Muḥammad b. Shaykh Sulṭān of Pate deposed.¹⁶⁸
- c. 1850 Galla dominate the Tana River region.¹⁶⁹
- 1850 Mubārak b. Rashid al-Mazrū‘ī *wālī* of Gazi. Rashid b. Khamis *wālī* of Takaungu. ‘Abdallah b. Khamīs made *wālī* of Gazi.¹⁷⁰
- 1856 Mājid b. Sā‘īd sultan of Zanzibar.¹⁷¹
- 1850 Barghash b. Sā‘īd attempts coup d’ état and exiled to Bombay.¹⁷²
- 1859 Mājid b. Sā‘īd signs treaty with Hanseatic Republics of Lübeck, Bremen and Hamburg. Appointment of J. Witt as consul.¹⁷³
- c. 1860 Belezoni Canal built between the Ozi and Tana rivers.¹⁷⁴
- 1861 Siyu rebellion against Zanzibar.¹⁷⁵
- 1862 Aḥmad b. Fumolati (Nabhānī) sultan of Witu.¹⁷⁶ Simba of Witu seeks Treaty with Hanseatic States.
- 1865 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, the last Mwinyi Mkuu of Zanzibar.¹⁷⁷
- 1870 Barghāsh b. Sā‘īd sultan of Zanzibar.¹⁷⁸ ‘Alī b. Nāṣir *wālī* of Mombasa.¹⁷⁹
- 1872 Zanzibar, Pemba, Mafia hurricane. Mubārak of Gazi rebels against Zanzibar.¹⁸⁰ M. b. ‘Abdallah b. Mubārak Bakhashwayni (al-Akida) *wālī* of Mombasa.
- 1873 John Kirk British consul in Zanzibar. Bartle Frere Mission to Zanzibar. Abolition of slave-trade.¹⁸¹
- 1874 Sālim b. Khalfān Walad Sheba *wālī* of Mombasa.

166 Gray, *History of Zanzibar*, pp. 184 f.

167 Gray, *History of Zanzibar*, p. 162; Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 159.

168 Gray, “Zanzibar and the Coastal Belt”, p. 235.

169 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 161.

170 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 161.

171 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 165.

172 Reusch, *History of East Africa*, p. 286; Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 167.

173 Gray, “Zanzibar and the Coastal Belt”, pp. 234 f.

174 Salim, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, p. 64.

175 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 167.

176 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 169; Gray, “Zanzibar and the Coastal Belt”, p. 236.

177 Gray, *History of Zanzibar*, pp. 168 f. d. 1873; Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, p. 285.

178 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 173.

179 Nicholls, *Swahili Coast*, p. 309.

180 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 173.

181 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 175.

- 1875 Sālim b. Khamīs *wālī* of Takaungu. Barāwa, Kisimayu and Lamu annexed by Egypt.¹⁸²
- 1876 Mombasa riots.¹⁸³ Egyptian withdrawal from Barawa, Kismayu and Lamu.¹⁸⁴
- 1877 General Matthews trains Zanzibar regular army.¹⁸⁵
- 1880 Siti binti Saad Swahili poetess.¹⁸⁶
- 1884 G. Rohlfs first German consul-general in Zanzibar.¹⁸⁷ Severe famine on the coast.¹⁸⁸
- 1885 German treaty with Witu.¹⁸⁹
- 1886 Anglo-German agreement confirming Witu's right to the coast from Kipini to Kiwayu.¹⁹⁰
- 1888 Sayyid Khalifa bin Sā'īd sultan of Zanzibar.¹⁹¹ Al-Bushīrī rebellion.¹⁹² Imperial British East Africa Co. leases "coastal strip".¹⁹³
- 1889 Fumo Bakari sultan of Witu. German Protectorate declared for the area between Kiwayu and Kismayu.¹⁹⁴
- 1890 Sayyid 'Alī sultan of Zanzibar. British Protectorate over Zanzibar proclaimed.¹⁹⁵ German Protectorate over Witu withdrawn.¹⁹⁶
- 1893 Sayyid Ḥamīd b. Thuwaynī sultan of Zanzibar.¹⁹⁷
- 1895 Rāshid ibn Sālim al-Mazrū'ī installed at Takaungu.¹⁹⁸ Muḥammad b. 'Abdallah Ḥasan settles at Berbera propagating Ṣālihiyyah doctrines.¹⁹⁹ British Protectorate Kenya.²⁰⁰

182 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 175 (d. 1895).

183 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 175.

184 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 175.

185 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 177.

186 L. Fair, *Historia ya jamii ya Zanzibar na nyiumbo za Siti binti Saad*. Limuru: Twaweza Communications, 2013; Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 179 (d. 1950).

187 Coupland, *Exploitation of East Africa*, p. 398.

188 Salim, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, p. 53.

189 Gray 1963 pp. 371, 374; Salim, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, p. 53.

190 Salim, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, p. 59.

191 Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar*, pp. 22 ff.

192 Coupland, *Exploitation of East Africa*, pp. 482 ff.

193 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 185; Reusch (*History of East Africa*, pp. 305 ff.) has 1886.

194 Salim, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, p. 65.

195 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 187.

196 Salim, *Swahili Speaking Peoples*, p. 66.

197 Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar*, pp. 80 ff.

198 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 191.

199 Lewis, *Peoples of the Horn of Africa*, p. 142; Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 151 ff.

200 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 191.

- 1896 Sayyid Hamūd ibn Muḥammad sultan of Zanzibar.²⁰¹ British bombardment of Zanzibar.²⁰²
- 1899 Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallah Ḥasan rebellion in “Somalia”.²⁰³
- 1902 Sayyid ‘Alī Ḥamūd sultan of Zanzibar.²⁰⁴ Recognition of Italian sovereignty of the Banādir Coast.
- 1903 Saada binti Maawia al-Maawy’s *Utendi wa Kiama*.²⁰⁵
- 1905 Maji-Maji rebellion.²⁰⁶
- 1907 Roman script replaces Arabic script for Swahili.²⁰⁷
- 1911 Sayyid Khalīfa ibn Ḥarūb sultan of Zanzibar.²⁰⁸
- 1913 Zanzibar incorporated into British East African Protectorate.²⁰⁹

201 Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar*, pp. 160 ff.

202 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 191.

203 Cerulli, *Somalia*, vol. 1, pp. 153 ff.

204 Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar*, pp. 177 ff.; Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 199.

205 Allen, J.W.T. 1971 p. 430.

206 Reusch, *History of East Africa*, pp. 323 f.

207 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 201.

208 Hollingsworth, *Zanzibar*, p. 190.

209 Freeman-Grenville, *Chronology*, p. 205.

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Books Referred To in the Text of *Kawkab al-durriya*

1. The Qurʾān is of course resorted to especially in connection with the late pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods. The references we have given are first those of the Egyptian edition and second those of Fluegel. If they are the same only one reference appears.
2. *Al-qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*. The author is Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Firūzābādī (born 729/1329, died 817/3rd Jan 1415 in Zabid of the Yaman). This is an etymological dictionary in which the words are arranged in a manner that appears to us strange. On the basis of the consonantal roots, he has a *faṣl*, or chapter, in alphabetical order according to the last letter of the root; and within each *faṣl* he sets a *bāb*, or section, for each root in alphabetical order according to the first letter of the root. It will be seen from the text that Shaykh Fādīl bin ʿUmar refers to it only when referring to the meanings of words that are Arabic—or which he takes as being Arabic.
3. *Nihāyat al-arab fī maʿrifat qabāʾil al-Arab* (Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Supplementary vol. 2, pp. 165, 785). The author is Shahāb al-Dīn Abū ʿl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad bin ʿAbdallah al-Qalqashandī ʿl-Miṣrī, who live between (A.D. 1355–1418). *Sabāʾik al-dhahab*, this work re-arranged with additions by Muḥammad Amīn al-Suwaydī (died 1246/1830 in Buraida). Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-Ilmiyah, 1423/2002.
4. *Kitāb fī akhbār al-adhkiyāʾ*. (Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Supplementary vol. 3, p. 748). A historical work by ? Ibn al-Faraj al-Jawzī. This is a treatise giving examples of intelligence of different kinds, partly based on traditions. Published by al-Maktab al-Tijārī, Beirut, c. 1965
5. *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*. (In three sections—*Al-kubrā*, *Al-wuṣṭā* and *Al-ṣuḡhrā*). (Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, Supplementary vol. 2, p. 170). The author is Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad bin Mūsa al-Damīrī who lived (A.D. 1344–1405). This work has been extensively studied and worked upon by J. de Somogyi in two articles:
 - (1) An account of the contents of *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 8 pt. 1 1935, pp. 143–155
 - (2) A detailed analysis of al-Damīrī's sources for *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* in *Journal Asiatique*, Juillet-Septembre 1928, pp. 5–128.
 A copy of this work, published in Cairo in 1284/1867, is found in the Special Collections of the Library of the University of Edinburgh. The material section of the work for this MS is in the section entitled *Al-Iwazz* = The Goose, which contains an account of the Baghdad caliphate. It commences on p. 78 of Vol. 1 of the copy in question.
6. A Book by ʿAbdullah bin Ḥumayd bin Ṣallūmi ʿl-Ṣālīmī, possibly *Jawhar al-*

nizām fī ‘imay al-adyān wa-’l-aḥkām (Cairo, 1926), to which is prefixed a life of the author by Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Aṭrash. There are other writers with the tribal name al-Ṣālimi but not, so far as we can see, authors of books relevant to the East African coast or ‘Umān.

7. *Kitāb ma‘alīm al-tanzīl*. A commentary on the Qur’ān by Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn b. Mas‘ūd al-Farrā‘ī ‘l-Baghawī (d. Shawwāl 516/December 1122), based on al-Tha‘labī’s *Al-kashf wa-’l-bayān*.
8. *Al-‘Ibar*. From the one quotation given, this book seems to be *Kitāb al-‘ibar fī akhbār al-bashar mimman ‘ubar*, the author of which is Abū ‘Alī Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallah b. ‘Uthmān Qaymaz Shams al-Dīn al-Dhahab al-Turkumān al-Fāriq al-Shāfi‘ī (b. 3 Rabi‘ 11 673/7 October 1274; d. 3 Dhū ‘l-Qa‘da 748/5 February 1348).
9. *Sabā’ik al-dhahab fī ma‘rifat qabā’il al-‘Arab*, by Muḥammad Amīn al-Baghdādī, known as al-Suwaydī. Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyya, 1423/2002.

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Arabic Texts



ثلاثية من أزانيا

ثلاث مخطوطات عربية من شرق إفريقيا

ترجمة وتحرير من

جيمس م. ريتشي †
سيجارد فون سيكارد



بريل

الناشر

دار بريل للنشر في ليدن المحروسة وبوسطن

كتاب الزوج K

The numbers in the text are the points at which MS L has a text that differs from the text of this MS K.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين هذا كتاب الزوج وأخبارهم في ساحل بحر الهند نحو المغرب 1 الحمد لله الخالق البارء الودود ذو الفضل والكرم والجود الذي جعل نخلفه الواناً من بيض وحممر وسود وفضل بعضهم على بعض بالسيادة والطول والسعود وقضى 2 لمن دعى عليه والده 3 بتسويد الوجوه وذريته تكون 4 لذرية ولديه عبيداً والصلاة والسلام على المصطفى المحمود 5 وعلى آله وأصحابه اهل 6 الركع والسجود اما بعد -

فقد اختصرنا أخبار الزوج في ساحل 7 بحر الهند 8 نحو المغرب 9 وخط الاستواء تبياناً لمن خلق الله 10 فيها من الزوج الذين كانوا بالجُبت 11 وهم كشور باللغة العربية الاصلية 12 وونيكاً بلغة 13 السواحل 14 وأخبار العرب الذين جاوا الى بلاد الزوج 15 وعمروا البلدان والمدن والقرى 16 وسكنوا فيها من زمن الجاهلية وذلك برأي 17 تبع الحميري الاكبر وأخبار بني قيس غيلان الذين جاوا الى بلاد الزوج 18 من برالعرب بقصة بسبب 19 ابرهة الاشرم أمير النجاشي الحبشي في عام الفيل 20 ونزلوا الى مكان يقال له جب 21 وأخبار انتقال الزوج 22 من الجب الى الموضع الذي يقال له غرياما بعد مويحي 23 وذلك من اجل بني قيس غيلان وهربوا منهم 24 وسميوا بذلك كشور 25 وأخبار سكون 26 البكوم 27 نهر الذي يقال له الآن متُ تانا 28 وأخبار العرب الذين جاوا من عمان بسبب 29 كثرة الحرب بعمان استراحاً هنا وسكنوا بأرض أم وأخبار العرب الذين جاوا من عمان ايضاً الى ممباسة بسبب البيع وشراء حيلةً ينظروا طرق الدخول الى ممباسة قبل السنة 1086 30 وأخبار الحرب وخروج البرتغيس من ممباسة ومدّة سكون العرب اهل الولاية من المزارع وانعزالهم عنها وذلك بتاريخ 1254 أخبار سعيد بن سلطان والمزروعيين ووحروباتهم وأخبار الشماليين والغيلانيين الذين كانوا بالجب وحرهم وما جرى على الغيلان وابتياعهم وغير ذلك من الامور التي جرت 31 فأقول 32 وبالله التوفيق ان حام ابن نبي الله 33 نوح ابن ملك عليه الصلاة والسلام 34 وهو ابو السودان والاصغر 35 من اولاد نوح 36 وكان لحام اربعة اولاد مصر وكنعان وكوش وقوط فالحبشة من اولاد كوش بن حام والنوبة والزنج من اولاد كنعان بن حام 37 وكان حام احسن الصورة بهي الوجه فغير الله لونه ولون ذريته من اجل دعوة ابيه 38 دعا عليه بتسويد الوجه وسواد ذريته وان

يكون اولاده عبيداً لا اولاد سام ويافت فكثرتهم ونماهم وقصة تلك مبسوطه في كتب التواريخ كما ذكر في سبائك الذهب 39 ولما قسم نبي الله الارض لا اولاده كانت افريقية لحام وولد اولاد واولاده السودان ولم يتعدي شعورهم اذانهم كما رأيناهم الآن وانتشروا على الارض وملئت منهم وقطنوا 40 ووقعوا بساحل البحر بناحية المغرب 41 في خط الاستواء والجب قوم يقال لهم الكشور 42 بالغة العربية 43 بالمعنى والآن ونيكا وكان ذلك النحو 44 ليس فيه 45 أمة سواهم وبعد مسيراثي عشر يوم هنالك الحبشة وكان الكشور اهل بقر وغنم 46 ودجاج 47 ويزرعون الذري الرومي 48 واللوبيا والمنتج ومُسَيْلٌ وليس لهم فواكه 49 سوى الزنجلي 50 وكان أشهر بلدانهم تدعى 51 شغواية وكبيرهم 52 يقال له مُزَي شَاغَاوِبِ 53 مَكُومًا 54 وكان شغواي دار ملوكهم واحكامهم 55 مشهورة وكانوا الكشور اذا 56 وقع عليهم 57 الجوع واحتاج امرهم يرههم (يرهن؟) 58 بنته او اخته او زوجته بشي معلوم وإن وفي ذلك الدين في مدة معلومة 59 ترجع البنت وغيرها 60 وإن لم يوفى 61 تكون المرهونة أمة 62 مملوكة من غير منازعة وربما تباع البنت وغيرها 63 حالا إن كان صاحب البنت او الاخت او الزوجة 64 مديوناً ويتزوج الرجل امرأةً بالخدمة 65 من غير مدة معلومة 66 خلا في الزمن الاول كانوا يتزوجون الذين 67 ليس لهم شي من المهر 68 بخدمة سبع سنين وهؤلاء الكشور يتزوجون بالخدمة الى الآن وإن زوج امرأة من ليس له شي من المهر ومتى 69 يحصل بنت من زوجته وبلغت 70 وتزوجت 71 فمهرها ياخذ اب ام البنت 72 او ياخذ الذي سلم مهر ام البنت المتزوجة اتفاقاً 73 ويكون وفاء لما عليه من المهر الذي تزوج بها اولاً والخدمة التي استخدمه صارت فائدة لآب الزوجة 74 ومتى يموت الزوج 75 وترك ملكاً وازواجاً فيرث اخ الزوج 76 ازواجاً ويرث الولد 77 ملكاً اتفاقاً 78 واشد حكمهم على السارق فإنهم يقتلون السارق ان سرق ثلاث مرات،

فصل

واما 79 الكشور فهم اثني عشر صنفاً مديغ 1 مشمب 2 ملوغ 3 سيفي 4 هولاء الذين هربوا من شغواية اولاً لما رأوا ان الغيلان يعدّهم بانوع العذاب هربوا عنهم خوفاً منهم أيضاً مغرياً ما 5 مشوني 6 مكئب 7 مريب 8 مجبان 9 متيت 10 مكديار 11 مدار 12 وكانوا هولاء جميعاً يسكنون بساحل نهر الجب وما حوله واعلاه من يوم خلقهم الله تعالى،

فصل

فلما 81 وصل 82 العرب من صنعاء اليمن وهم قوم التبّع الحميري وذلك 83 في زمن الجاهلية كما ذكر قتادة في تفسير قوله تعالى 84 فاتوا بأبائنا إن كنتم صادقين أهم خير ام تبّع 85 قال قتادة هو تبّع الحميري وكان سار بالجيش حتى حارب الحيرة وبني سمرقند وكان من ملوك اليمن وذكر ابو حاتم من الرقاشي قال كان ابو كلب اسعدي الحميري من التبابعة امن بالنبي صعلم وكان في الملك خمسين سنة 86 كما ذكر في سبائك الذهب 87 ودلت ان تبّع الحميري كان في زمن نبي موسى عليه السلام لدليل الاية التي قبل ذكر فيه قوم تبّع وهي ولقد نجينا بني اسرائيل من العذاب المهين من فرعون انه كان عالياً من المسافرين (مسرفين؟) ولقد اخترناهم على علم على العالمين وقوله اخترناهم يعني موسى وبني اسرائل وعمروا مقدشوه 88 فهي اول مدينة التي عمروها 89 ثم بساسة 90 عريية اصلية 91 وسميت بساسة بكون سكانها 92 كانوا من الحجاز 93 مقهورين بترك مكانهم وسميها بكنية مكة المكرمة 94 كما قال 95 الشاعر:

بساسة هي كنية ام القرى * سموها اهل الحجاز مقاماً

وبنى ايضاً تبّع الحميري كلوى ثم بتي وسيوي وأم وغاما وغاما كانت مدينة في جزيرة بين كليف والنهر التانا فالآن تدعى نَمِين فكانت جزيرة عامرة ببنائها مشيدة بالحجر والنورة وخرت بالبحر وكان يأخذها قليلا قليلا وفقدوا اهلها ماء وانتقلوا الى أوزي وغرقت البنيان والآن يدعى بجرُّ غاما وله موج هائل ويرى الجدران والحيطان من في السفينة اذا جرت عليها السفينة ويلقط احجارها بملندي ومبروي وقت الارتب (الازيب؟) اعني الريح الشمالي وكان مراد تبّع الحميري ذهباً وحفر ووجد ما وجد ثم انتشروا العرب وعمروا ما بين مقدشوه ومباسة 96 مركة وبراوة 97 فلما وصل 98 العرب الى جب 99 وهربوا عنهم الزنج 100 وسموهم 101 كسور ومعناه 102 الهارب ثم اجتهدوا العرب بملاقاتهم وتلاقهم بعد شهرين وكسوهم 103 واعطاهم عطايا من انواع 104 وذهب ما فيهم من الخوف واتفقوا بالوداد بينهم والمودة 105 وتألفوا الزواج 106 العرب الفأ لم يصرم منهم الى الآن ولم يتعرضوا بالاحكام قط لأن 107 تلك السنوات 108 العرب كانوا من المشركين 109 ثم عمروا ما بين الجب ومباسة كسمايو واهلها من نحو مصر هنالك 110 بلد يقال لها بانه فهم الباجوني ثم فازة وسيوي واهل سيوي من عمان هنالك خور فكان الى الآن 111 بلد تدعى سيوي واهلها بنو

سعدى 112 ثم بنتى وهم من اهل الشام وأم من اهل 114 عمان وحجاز 115 وأوزي فهم من اهل العراق يعني الكوفة خاصة وكذلك اهل مليندي من الكوفة 116 ويومب والاصح انه يومب عربية لاجل اهلها من اليمن من يومب 117 فيومب هذا من ذلك وكلفي 118 اسم قبيلة فهي من 119 جد عامر بن الحارث 120 والمطافي من اهل الطائف ومباسة فمن اهل الحجاز كما ذكرنا سابقاً وبعض منهم من عمان من جلداني نسباً فهم الذين يدعون كلنديني خطأً عظيماً وانهم من ذرية جلد بن كركرة والمنتسب اليه الجلداني قبيلة بعمان وهم الى الآن موجودين وبعض من اهل مباسة من اليمن والجوف وهم التغمي قبيلة من مهرة بن حيدان والمنتسب اليه يقول التغماوي عربية من غير خلاف والجوف هو ما بين عسير وصنعاء اليمن ولم يختص بقبيلة واحدة الا قبائل شتى وطبوي عربية اصلية وكان اهلها من طبوي وفنج فمن فنج التي بعمان وواسين عربية اصلية واسين اعني احزن هو معناه لان اهل فنج كانوا يحبسون الناس هناك 121 فلها استوى مرض من الطاعون والوباء 122 خربت بعض البلدان والقرى والمدن وثبتت البواق الى الآن 123 وسكنوا العرب بساحل بحر الهند 124 وكانوا يجيئون 125 بالسفائن والمواشي غالبهم وبالبر كانوا يجيئون لاجل الحرب من سواكم وبريرة 126 ويتبعون 127 القطب الى الجنوب مقابلة ويكون ظهورهم مولون نجم 128 الجاه مدبرة 129 وينزلون 130 الى مقدشوه وغيره 131 وسيرة 132 الزنج تلك الايام كانوا يقضون حوائجهم من اصحابهم فكل الزنج (العرب؟) كان يصحب صاحب من الزنج 133 واذا توجه احد من العرب الى بلدان الزنج يكون في حماية صاحبه وقبيلته 134 اذا تعرض احد من الزنج وكذلك العرب كانوا يحمي الزنج من كل امر من أمور الحرب وغيره 135 ومتى استدان العرب من كسور 136 وغاب عنه 137 فالزنج 138 يتخذ من 139 مال العرب غيره ويخبره كان 140 فلان بن فلان هنا وسافر 141 وعليه كذا وكذا من مالنا 142 فمالك هذا 143 موقوف فات به علينا 144 حتى يستوفي ما عليه لنا فنكون لك 145 من الشاكرين،

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وجرى واستوى 146 امور بصنعاء اليمن وذلك كان أبرهة الاشرم الحبشي أمير النجاشي لما ملك اليمن وراى الامير جيوشاً افواجاً في ايام المواسم وشهر ذي الحجة سائر الكعبة فقال الامير 147 أبرهة لمولك اليمن سوف ابني لكم داراً بدلا للكعبة 148 فقال ملك من كلوك العرب بلى ابني لنا فقد رضينا

ما ترجو متاً جميعاً فلا من خلاف بذلك 149 وبني أبرهة 150 كنيسة عظيمة فلها فرغ من النبي 151 وفرشها وقندلها بقنادل 152 وشعلها (أتى؟) احد من اهل مكة ليلا (ودتسها؟) وسار 153 فلها اصبح سمع الامير ما كان من الكنيسة وغضب غضباً 154 ان اهل مكة 155 استغاثوا بهذا البيت 156 حتى فعلوا ما فعلوا 157 فسوف اهدم بيتهم حجراً حجراً وجهاز جيشاً 158 ومعهم الفيل يقال له محمود ولما وصلوا قرب مكة لم يقبل الفيل 159 ولما كان وقت العصر جاء طيراً أبابيل 160 ترميهم بحجارة من تيجيل فجعلهم كعصفٍ مأكول 161 وماتوا 162 جميعاً وبقي منهم 163 رجل واحد وهرب الى أبرهة الاشرم 164 وحكى له ما رأى من شان 165 الطير 166 ولم يفرغ من كلامه الا وحضر 167 الطير ورعى 168 عليه حجراً ومات 169 فتعجب أمير النجاشي 170 بذلك وانتقل الحبوش 171 إلى بلادهم 172 واتبعهم العرب من الحمير وقيس غيلان 173 وكانوا 174 مع الحبوش ثمانين سنة وماتوا العرب بانقضاء اجلهم 175 ويقوم المولودين 176 بدار الحبوش يتكلمون بلغة الحبشة ولا ينطقون بالعربية لاجل تخليط الحبشة وقلة العرب وكثرة الحبوش 177 وفي تأريخ 41 سنت هجرية في زمن أمير المؤمنين سيدنا عمر بن الخطاب فصار العرب كلهم مسلمين 178 فلما سمع بنو قيس غيلان الذين اتبعوا وقد تنصروا باجمعهم وذكروا ما مضى من الازمان وامور العرب القديمة وكانوا يذكرون ذلك عند الحبشة وغازوا الحبوش بمقالة العرب وندمانهم بما سمعوا كون العرب كلهم مسلمون وتنازعوا 179 بذلك وهاجروا 180 من أرض الحبشة الى أرض 181 الحب 182 وكانوا الكشور هنالك اصل مكنهم ولم يتوافقون بينهم إلا عداوة وبغضاء وكانوا بنو قيس غيلان يقتلون الكشور كل يوم وليلة وهربوا الكشور جميعاً الذين بمجاورة النهر الحب وبقيت الذين بوامة وشغوية فلها وصل الى نهر التّن ولفظ التّن عربية اصلية ومعناه الحجر الذي نبت بوسط النهر وسد مجراه ذلك الجبل وجرى الماء بعيون الجبل من اسفله الى اعلاه فيقال نهر التّن والآن يدعو متّ تان بلغة السواحل انتهى فلها وصلوا النهر التّن المذكور ورآوه نهراً عظيماً فقالوا في قلوبهم ان بني قيس غيلان لا يقتلون من كان لهم أسيراً لانهم يقطعون مذا كبير الاعداء ولا يقطعون مذا كبير الاسراء واستشاروا بعضهم بعضاً وافقوا برأي واحد وتوجهوا البكوم الى بني قيس غيلان فقالوا نحن قد رضينا ماترضون ولا تجعلونا من اعدائكم واجعلونا من خدامكم ومواليكم ونحن لكم طائعين فارفعوا عنا رماحكم وكونوا لنا من الناصحين فقالوا بنو قيس غيلان للكشور يعني البكوم يا ايها الذين تدعون بالطاعة لستم الآن ممن نكون (يكون؟) بضاعة فطيوا انفسكم وقرّوا عيونكم وكونوا لنا خداماً وامورنا لكم وعليكم لزاماً والسلام وسكنوا هنالك وهربوا وسفي وورينغ الى نحو طيوي وفتح وفتح الى الآن واما الكشور الباقين بشغويه واما استوى قتال بينهم وبين بني قيس غيلان ايضاً وهربوا الى اعلى بساسة الى الارض التي

يقال لها جرياما فلها وصلوا الكشور الى أرض جرياما استقوى الكشور برجل يقال له خزان لانه علمهم السهام الحديدية 183 وكانوا اولاً سهام الكشور حطبية ولما وصلوا وبنوا هنالك بلدهم تدعى كياً 184 ولم يقدرها بنو قيس غيلان على الكشور 185 واستقوى الكشور وكانوا من الغالبين الى الان لم يتركوا تلك البلدة تغاؤلاً (تفاؤلاً؟) بكونهم غالبين على بني قيس غيلان بذلك الموضوع 186 واستوطنوا وتولّدوا أولاداً ويصاحبوا اصحاباً من اهل بساسة خاصة 187 وتقاسموا قبيلة الزنج من الكشور 188 بقبيلة العرب في بساسة فالجيريماوي لقبيلة بني جلنداني 189 وهم الذين يقال لهم 190 لكنديني 191 ومثون 192 لقبيلة العرب الذين هم من اهل الطائف هم الان يقال لهم المطافي بنسبة قريتهم فهي مطايف 193 والكلام سيطول بذلك لانهم يعلمون الى الآن كل قبيلة لقبيلة معلومة 194 والله على ما أقول شهيد واما مديغ ومسفي ومكب وملوغ 195 انهم تقدموا الى موضع الذي هم فيه ساكنون الآن ولا يخفى ذلك وهؤلاء الذين كانوا مساكنهم حول نهر الجب وانتقلوا 196 قبل اهل شغوايه 197 وامتلكت الكشور في الارض وهربوا عنهم الزواج غيرهم مثل وتودي وغيرهم الى الآن 198 وسكنوا الباجوني بساحل البحر نحو شغوايه 199 وبنوا قيس غيلان فوق البر وألفهم الباجوني ولا يتم الفهم يوماً ولا يتمنوا المذاكير الا يقتل واحد من الباجوني ويقتلونهم قتالا ويصلحون ، ٢٠٠

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وفي تاريخ سنت ٧٥ جاءوا العرب 201 من شام وهم جنود من أمير المؤمنين عبد الملك بن مروان 202 قاصدين 203 الى ساحل بحر الهند ووصلوا 204 الى مقدشوه وإلى كلوى وأرادوا 205 الخراج من اهل البلاد وسلموا لهم 206 وكان لهم أمير يقال له موى (موسى؟) بن زبير الخثعمي 207 وعلم الناس قراءة القرآن والدين وبنى بكلوى حصناً 208 وفيه جملة أسلحة وكانوا اهل البلاد له 209 طائعين من اولهم إلى آخرهم إلى ان انقرضت دولة بنى أمية عن دمشق الشام 210 وبقي بأندلس اسم هذه الدولة فقط 211 وكان آخرهم 212 محمد بن عبد الرحمن وفي تاريخ سنت ١٤٩ جاء الرسول من دولة العباسية إلى السلاطين في مقدشوه 213 ومنذ 214 الذي يقال الآن 215 منذ 216 وبقي وأوزي 217 وكلفني 218 وبساسة 219 ونزنجبار 220 وكلوى وويب وقال الامير الرسول لكل واحد 221 مقالا الذي يسر قلب السامع بجلاوة لسان الامير وكان الوزير يقال له يحيى بن عمر العنزي 222 ونال من السلاطين

223 مراداً 224 ورجع الى بغداد بخير 225 واخبر أمير المؤمنين 226 ابو جعفر عبدالله المنصور بكون اهل بلادنا انهم في طاعة ولا ريب فيه وأخرج 227 ما حصل من الخراج وفرح ابو جعفر 228 عبدالله المنصور فرحاً بليغاً وفي تأريخ سنت 189 كان 229 أمير المؤمنين ابو عبدالله هارون الرشيد ببغداد 230 وخانوه الزنوج ولم يسلموا له خراجاً وارسل عساكره 231 الى بلاد الزنوج وولى 232 ولاية من الاعاجم وصاروا اولياء الزنوج من كل قرية ومدينة والياً خصوصاً في الجزائر مثل كوايو ومباسة وجزيرة الخضراء وكوى ثم بعد سنين وخانوا اهل البلدان في زمن ابو العباس عبدالله المأمون بتأريخ سنت 209 فلما كان بتأريخ سنت 233 212 ظهر القول 234 بخلق القرآن وقامت الفتنة ببغداد وضعف امر المأمون ببلاد الزنج بذلك 235 وخالفوا وجّه المأمون 236 خمسين الف عساكر ووصلوا الى ملندي 237 وهزموا من في البلدان والقرى والمدن بتلك الجيش 238 ورضيو ما يرضي الخليفة وسلخوا الخراج للسنوات 239 الماضيات ادباً لهم 240 من أمير المؤمنين واستوى الخلق في طاعة بتلك الجيش من غير قتال 241 ،

حكاية

واجتمعوا اهل ممباسة وبرورها 242 وملئت بممباسة 243 وشق اهلها 244 بالحوج فقالوا اهل البر نسير 245 الى بلادنا 246 ولو كنا من الهالكين فقالوا 247 اصبروا حتى يتبين الحرب لاجل هذا 248 نفيت حز 249 وسميت بساسة مفيت 250 واصل اسمها بالسواحلية 251 كوغوي وبالعربية 252 بساسة وقلبت بممباسة باسم النصارى البرتغيس الذي كان حاكماً فيها ومفيت بمعنى الحرب الذي أتى من بغداد بتأريخ سنت 214 ثم ان الاتراك كانوا ببغداد ومنعوا 253 انخلاء ببغداد بأمر بلادنا بكونهم مسلمون 254 وهم طائعين لرب العالمين فكيف تأخذون ما لهم ولا تنفقون لإرامهم وفقرائهم واليتامى فلا لكم سبيل لذلك إلا انكم 255 تجورون عليهم 256 وتوقفوا 257 بخروج الخراج 258 وذلك كان بالحيل من الاتراك ولا بالنصاحة 259 ثم ان الاتراك جاءوا بمركبين ووصلوا الى مند وبتى وسيوي وتناسلوا هنالك ورجعوا الى بلدانهم من غير مكروه،

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وفي تاريخ سنت ٩٠٦ جاء النصارى بست مراكب شرعية وأميرهم 260 يقال له وسكو دغام ومر بزنجبار ورضيوأله وأتى الى بساسة وامتنعوا عنه وتجاربوأ 261 وحاربهم 262 وانكسرت 263 مركب واحد وبقيت خمسة وأتى الى ملود ورضيوأ به 264 فرح بذلك وأعزَّ الملك بملود وحواليه بمال وافر وأجدل له شاكراً ثم مضى الى بتي ومند والى مقدشوه وبراوة ولم يصل الى أوزي 265 ثم مضى الى بر الهند 266 وذلك بمدة سنتين ثم رجع الى بلاد الزنج 267 وحارب ممباسة 268 وفتح ودخل بقوة الله تعالى وبني الكوت وأوله كان جبلا وفيه غارات كثيرة وسد تلك الغارات الداخلة والخارجة ورفعوا سمكه وبوبه وبناه بأشجار مربعة بمدة ثلاث سنين وسكنوا فيه وأتوا بالمدافع الطوال والسلاسل والاغالل وكان السلطان بارض بساسة يقال له حسين وحبسه النصارى وسيره الى الهند وتم له هناك ثلاث سنين وولى احد من اهل ملود اي ملندي على بساسة من اهل البوري الملتدي العنزي فالبوري نسبة من قرية بمحضرموت وقيل بورة التي قرب بنط سعيد وكلها فيهما بنو عزة بن اسد بن ربيع بن نزار فالبوري نسبة لقرية المذكورة فلها استقر ملك النصارى برتغيس كان حاكم يسكن قرب الكوت فسميت حارة غفانه والآن صار منآ يلفان وكان اسمه بمباسة وقيل بومييسا وقلت بساسة ممباسة باسم الحاكم فيها بوم بيسا ولا ندري معناه والله اعلم وسكنوا بتي وكان ذلك الدهر مملكة فيها وشيله وشيله هي كان احد من البوادير البرتغيس بنى كنيسة هناك لينظر البندر وكان يقال له جيله فلها جاءوا اهل مند وتاقه وكآء وبنوا هنالك قرية التي الى الآن فسميت شيلة وجرى أمر النصارى مدة طويلة حتى بعد ذلك جاء أمير قيد الارض يقال له سالم الصارمي 269 وخرج النصارى 270 الذين كانوا في 271 مقدشوه ومركة وبراوة وبتي 272 وأم وشيله جميعاً 273 ورجع الامير 274 الى عمان مسرور الحال 275 وأخبر الامام أخبار النصارى وانهم كانوا يفعلون أمور مكروهة 276 والآن المسلمون يدعون لك العمر الطويل رفعت 277 عنهم الذل والبور (بلوى؟) بأمر 278 الذي يسمع الشكوى وكان ذلك الوقت سنت ١٠٧٦ 279 وطاب قلب الامام بذلك ثم امام سيف بن سلطان اليعربي كان له 280 بغلة تقال (يقال؟) لها فتح الاسلام وكانت 281 تسافر الى جهة 282 السواحل ويبحث أخبار البلدان وما فيها من النصارى 283 والذي يجور فيها ويعدل وكان بارض ممباسة حاكم يقال له بومباس وهو الذي سمي باسمه البلد 284 وفسق 285 يوماً وبان امره عند اهل ممباسة وفسق ايضاً فلما كان أمور البرتغيسي فعل المكروه على اهل ممباسة وسفروا رجلا الى مسكت في بغلة الامام التي تقال لها فتح الاسلام وأخبر الامام ما جرى بارض ممباسة بافعال بومييسا فهو حاكم فيها وغضب

الامام 286 فقال للامير شهاد بن شهدي البلوشي "هل سمعت مقال اهل مباسة؟" فقال شهاد "نعم" 287 فقال الامام لاميره "اشترى ثياب وبضائع وجرباً وسافر بها الى مباسة وأنزل البضاعة واستأجر داراً وبع قليلاً قليلاً وانظر مدخل القرية ورغب اهل القرية فينا وارفق عليهم رفقاً الذي يجري بين الولد والوالد" فقال الامير "سمعاً وطاعاً لله تعالى ثم لك يا ايها الامام" وجهز السفر الامير شهاد بن شهدي البلوشي إلى مباسة وحمل معه حسن البضائع ووصل الى مباسة بتاريخ سنت 1086 واستأجر الدار 288 التي بوسط البلد وباع ما عنده من البضائع ولم يعلم احد من النصارى سوى رجلان من اهل مباسة الذين سائرون الى مسكت وكان الامير شهاد بن شهدي يبيع وينفق على الشيوبة وزاراً وقصاً وتمراً ولم يزل ذلك حتى كان عند اهل مباسة محبوباً مكروماً ويسرون الى البرّ معاً ويرجعون معاً حتى علم الامير سبيل مباسة جميعاً فلما استوى الموسم وسفر الى مسكت 289 وأخبر الامام سيف بن سلطان اليعربي ما كان وما جرى بأرض مباسة بأفعال حاكهم الردية فقال الامام فقد وجب علينا ان نردّ المظالم وباله التوفيق 290 فجهّز الجيش وجعل مقدمهم وأميرهم شهاد بن شهدي البلوشي 291 وسافر 292 بالمراكب الشراعية والسفن وعندهم ربّان من اهل مباسة 293 فلما وصلوا الى مباسة 294 ودخلوا السفن 295 خوركلندين ونزلوا عساكر الامام 296 ووافقوا اهل مباسة اتفاقاً كون الحرب برأي واحد يكونوا مع عساكر الامام قيد الارض ومركب الامام قد ارسى على باب كلندين والمدافع طيار 297 ودخلوا النصارى في الكوت 298 واغلقوا باب الكوت 299 وكانوا يضربون المدافع في الكوت ولم يصب على مركب الامام رصاصهم لاجل على الخور كلندين تحتيه والكوت أعلى وكانوا النصارى تلك الايام مراكبهم شرعية يبيحون من ولايتهم الى مباسة بست اشهر وزيادة ولم يصل اليهم حتى مركب واحد وكانوا يستغيثون ولم يغاثوا احد مدّة اربعة اشهر فلما رأوا عساكر الامام انهم في البلد آمنين وناموا ولم يسهروا وخرج النصارى اتفاقاً وهجموا على العرب جمّة واحدة وقتلوهم وماتوا من العرب بقدر مائتين نفر وكان الامير شهاد ذلك اليوم قد بات في المركب فلما سمع الامير بنادق ونزل مع العساكر وتقاتلوا ثمّ ان النصارى دخلوا الكوت وأغلقوا باباً فلما رأى ذلك الامير سهاد عمل سلام 300 وطلع بها العرب على الكوت من ناحية المغرب ونزلوا عليهم والنصارى سكران وهم نيام وقتلهم 301 وهزّهم وخرجهم وكانوا من المغلوبين وتملك الامير شهاد كوت مباسة وذلك بعد خمس سنين 302 بتاريخ سنت 1091 وقيل بتسع سنين في سنت 1095 وهو الاصحّ على قول المتقدمين فرج بن احمد ومحمد بن احمد الحميري ثمّ ان الامير شهاد بن شهدي أقام بمباسة اثني عشر سنة واستخلف رجلا من وزرائه يقال له ناصر بن سالم العامري وتوجّه الامير شهاد الى عمان لزيارة الامام سيف بن سلطان وقام هناك

بعمان سنتين ومات ناصر بن سالم ورجع الامير شهاد الى ممباسة وقام بعد ذلك سبعة سنين ومات الامام سيف بن سلطان اليعربي بتاريخ سنت 1116 303 الى رحمة الله تعالى 304 وتولى سلطان بن سيف بن سلطان اليعربي بعد أبيه بأرض عمان فلما تولى سلطان بن سيف كتب كتاباً الى الامير شهاد 305 والى ممباسة وذكر فيه اما بعد فإذا قرأت كتابي هذا فاعزم السفر عاجلاً لأن والدي قد تركتك (ترك؟) وجعلك وصياً لنا فالمراد وصولك إلينا عاجلاً والسلام فلما وصل الكتاب الى الامير شهاد واستدان من تجار ممباسة وزنجبار وترك المال بأرض ممباسة لاجل مشاهدة العساكر واستخلف رجلاً يقال له حميد بن سالم الصارمي وهو ابن الامير الذي ذكرناه سالفاً فلما وصل الامير الى مسكت ووجه الامام سلطان بن سيف بن ساطن وأخبره بكونه قد استدان الدين وتركها بممباسة وذلك من قلة المحصول من ممباسة وجميع أرض السواحل فقال "فكيف امر هذه البلدان لم توجد منها غرامة عساكر الذين هم بالسواحل وتكون من عمان فشرط على اهل ممباسة يسلمون العشور عاجلاً او نردوا (نرد؟) عساكرنا الى عمان وترك ممباسة كما كان امر مقدشوه وبرأوة ومركة وبتى قد ترك الى اهلها لان الامير سالم الصارمي حارب التصاري وخرجهم عن البلدان وتركهن لاهلها ورجع الامير المذكور الى عمان ولم يترك هناك احد من عساكرنا" فقالوا وزرأوه "فكيف يا سيدنا نترك ممباسة وهي معلومة عندنا بالكوت المانع والبندر العالي وكيف نتركها وذلك يقولون من قوة حصنها وحسن بندرها" ورجع الامير شهاد بن شهدي الى ممباسة وكان اهل ممباسة يسلمون عشورهم لاهل الامام والدين الذي على الامير شهاد قد وفى حميد بن سالم بتدبير غير العشور وقد وفاه فقام الامير شهاد بعد ذلك سنين وكان الامام سيف بن سلطان بن سيف بن سلطان جباراً جباراً فاسقاً خماراً تمزّن التنبك وكان يدعوا ذكره برقاً ورعداً وكان يستخبر من الخنثيين أخبار النسوة الحسان الوجوه ويرسل القوادين لتأتي إليه النسوة المذكورة المشهورة بالحسن فلما علموا اهل عمان والمشائخ وعرفوه في الكتاب وأنكر ذلك ودعى الامير شهاد بن شهدي وكان بممباسة واراد ان يترك ممباسة من قلة المحصول وغرامة العساكر وكان ذلك اصلاً لا تباع الامام سلطن بن سيف بن سلطن فقال محمد بن عثمان المزروعي يا ايها الامير لا ترد العساكر فاني اقدر ان اسلم للسيد كذا وكذا واستأجر محمد بن عثمان المزروعي من الامير شهاد بن شهدي بقدر معلوم وقصر العساكر وبقي ما بقي من جماعتهم ومشاهرتهم وولاه الامير شهاد محمد بن عثمان المزروعي وسافر

الامير الى عمان 305 (second 305 a) وكانت تحت المزروعي ممباسة 306 بسبيل الاجار 307

بتاريخ 1152 قام محمد بن

عثمان المزروعى والياً بأرض مبالسة مدة ١٥ سنة ومات 3٥8 وولى بولاية مبالسة 3٥9 مسعود بن ناصر المزروى وأقام فيها ٢٥ سنت 3١0 ثم الوالى 3١١ عبد الله بن محمد بن عثمان ٨ سنين 3١2 ثم الوالى 3١3 احمد بن محمد بن عثمان ٣٣ سنت ثم الوالى عبد الله بن احمد ٢٠ سنة ثم الوالى سليمان بن علي 3١4 سنتين ثم الوالى 3١5 سالم بن احمد 3١6 ٢٠ سنة ثم الوالى 3١7 خميس بن احمد بن محمد سنتين ثم الوالى 3١8 راشد بن سالم سنتين 3١9

فصل 32٥

فترجع الى أخبار سيف بن سلطان بن سيف اليعربى 32١ لما 322 بان كون اموره قبيحاً اجتمع مشائخ عمان 323 وعزلوه من الولاية 324 وولى بعده الامام 325 احمد بن سعيد البوسعيدى 326 ولم يستل عن أخبار زنجبار ولا مبالسة سوى انه كان يصلح امور عمان ومسكت وكان ولايته فى السنة 327 1١٩٣ ومات احمد بن سعيد 328 فى سنت ١٢٠٦ وولى بعده 329 سلطان بن احمد بن سعيد البوسعيدى بأرض عمان 33٥ ومسكت وأرسل 33١ الى زنجبار ابن عمه يقال له سعود بن علي البوسعيدى فلما وصل سعود بن علي الى زنجبار وهناك جملة 332 القبائل من العرب 333 المتقدمين من دهور الامام قائد الارض (قيد الارض؟) وهو سيف بن سلطان بن ملك اليعربى 334 وفى الجزيرة المزارع ساكنون فيها 335 وتوفى سلطان بن احمد وقام بعده سعود بن علي 336 من طرف ابنه سعيد بن سلطان لانه كان صغيراً فلما بلغ سعيد بن سلطان 337 ست عشر سنت قتل سعيد بن سلطان سعود بن علي 338 وقبض الملك سعيد بن ساطن بن احمد بن الامام بتأريخ سنت ١٢١٩ ثم انه صلح امور الدولة بعمان والسواحل وأرسل رسول الى مبالسة 339 يقال له هبوب الغبش وهو رجل ذو حام شديد شجاع وهيبته يفرح ويفرح من راه بعظم خلقه وقامته ووصل 34٥ مبالسة وهو بعواسية صغيرة ونزل 34١ ومعه من العرب بقدر عشرة رجال بسيفهم وتوجه الى كوت مبالسة ووصلوا الى الباب 342 واستأذن من البواب رخصة للدخول 343 ودخلوا قبل رخوع البواب 344 ووصلوا الى الوالى المتولى بارض مبالسة وصاحوا عليهم العساكر وردهم الوالى وتوجهوا الوالى وأمير سعيد بن سلطان اعني هبوب الغبش 345 ويقال له سالم بن احمد فقال هبوب الغبش للوالى المذكور "من انت ولمن هذا الأرض؟" وأجاب الوالى فرعاً مفرعاً من هيبة هبوب الغبش "هذا الارض للسيد سعيد بن سلطان وانا قائم من طرفه" 346 فقال هبوب الغبش "اكتب وهذه القرطاسة والمداد جاهزاً" وكتب 347 الوالى سالم بن

احمد المزروعى يكون كوت ممباسة للسيد سعيد بن سلطان بن حمد البوسعيدى واعطاه هبوب الغبش وطواه وخرج عن الكوت وطلع عواسيته 348 وأنزخ شراعةً وقصد 349 الى زنجبار عاجلا 350 فلما شاع الخبر والقصة واجتمع المزارع باللوامة والندامة 351 فلما جاء الموسم ووصل السيد سعيد الى زنجبار ثم جاء الامير وجيشه وحاربهم اعني حارب المزارع ولم يقدر عليهم ورجع الجيش الى عمان وكان اسم اميره مسعود بن سعيد البوسعيدى وفي تاريخ سنت ١٢٢٧ وقع الحرب 352 بين اهل لآموه واهل ممباسة اعني المزرع وكان تلك الايام اهل لآموه مخالفين النباهن واستوى الولايه لهم من قبل الحرب المذكور فلما رأوا المزارع كون اهل لآموه مخالفين النباهن سار اليهم عبد الله بن احمد بن محمد بن عثمان المزروعى فقال "اريد التزويج" فقالوا "رضينا لك ونحن نعرفك انك تريد البلدة فسمعاً وطاعة لله تعالى ثم لك" وبني عبد الله بن حمد جزيرة (جزيرة؟) بارض لآموه ومضيت سنة كاملة ينزل صبغاً ويركب بغلته ليلا ويبيت فيها وشق الامر على اهل لآموه بذلك واستشاروا بعضهم على بعض في الجمع فقال واحد منهم وهو اصغر عنهم سنّاً يقال له زاهد بن مغوم الخزومى "إنا سوف نينن أموره بمدة ثلاثة ايام" وشرع بشرأ رأسين غنم وخرسين سمناً ومزيجوتين رزاً وافتعل كتاباً باسم سلطان بتى وعرفه اما بعد فالواصلات اليك كذا وكذا هدية لك فتفضل بقبول ذلك ان الهدية بقدر المهدي الى المهدي اليه ايضاً انى ارى انك في غفلة وغرور قد غرتك مانه مكو بنت موسى لاجل ما سمعنا فعلك ولا قضائك على اهل لآموه والسلام وكتب شيخ بن محمد النبحاني وقال المزروعى في جوابه اما بعد فكبابك الينا قد وصل وفهمناه والذي تفضلت بها علينا قبلناه ولا زالت (زلت؟) منجملا فينا وأحسننت وانا لست بمغرور موانا مكو بنت موسى ولا غيرها فسمع افعالي واحكامي مته قوضنا (قوضونا؟) الجزيرة فاما مد بن شيخ عمر البورى وأمير محمد بن حاج وغيرهما فيصبرون في الكوت ممباسة أكلا للفيران والسلام من اخيك عبد الله بن احمد بن محمد المزروعى فلما وصل كتاب المزروعى الى اهل لآموه بيد رسولهم يقال له موسى خادم زاهد بن مغوم وقراه وراى زاهد بن مغوم ما فيه سار به الى كبير وهو محمد بن شيخ عمر البورى فلما راوا ذلك اهل لآموه اجتمعوا صبغاً وقالوا لعبد الله بن حمد اقرأ كتابك هذا جوابك الذي عرفت شيخ بن محمد النباهني قد بان أمرك وعزمك فانخرج من بلدنا وأنت إن شاء الله من الغرارين وسافر الوالى عبد الله بن حمد راجعاً الى ممباسة متحيراً ومحتدّاً بما خاب امره ودخل خور ممباس ليلا ونزل كانه مريض وأمر خدامه وأصحابه الذين كانوا معاً انهم يكتمو ما جرى بجمع وشرع الوالى عبد الله بتجهيز الحرب بجيش كبير بقدر ستة الف رجال من خدام المزارع والباجونى واهل سيوى وبتى وفتح ووطنج وقيل خمس آلاف من هؤلاء المذكورين وصار الجيش في المواشي لم تبقى بغلة ومتافية والداوات كلها حضرت ذلك اليوم وهي شحونة العساكر

ونزلوا شيلة وتحاربوا وتقاتلوا قتالا وهزموا المزارع بحول الله وقوته وكان اهل لآموه من الغالين ثم استشاروا بعضهم بعضاً وسافر محمد بن حاج الصعصي الى مسكت واحتسى من سعيد بن سلطان وحماهم واعطاهم مائتين نفر من العرب والنوبيان وعقيدهم يقال له عثمان النوبي وبشرط ان يكون مشاهرة العساكر على اهل لآموه وبنيان الجزيرة (جزيرة؟) ورضيوا بذلك فلما رجع محمد بن حاج الصعصي ووصل الى لآموه تكبروا وتجللوا قلوب الحاضرين والله اكبر ونزلوا فرحانين وشرعوا ببنيان الجزيرة (جزيرة؟) وانفاق على العساكر مشاهرتهم فلما جاء الاريب (الازيب؟) اعني الريح الشمالي وصل المركب وفيه سعيد بن سلطان البوسعيدي وتوجهه اهل لآموه فقال السيد سعيد بن سلطان احضروا دفاتيركم حتى نعلم عدد التي تصرفتم فنعطيكم فقالوا احسنت ونحن قد سمعناك فالآن قبض عساكرك وجزيرتك وتوجه سعيد بن سلطان الى زنجبار فرحاً مسروراً محبوراً فلما مضى السنوات وشرع سعيد بن سلطان بالحرب من عمان الى ممباسة باتفاق اهل ممباسة والسيد سعيد بن سلطان وكان دليله يقال له معلم موني شافي الجلنداني وقيل الكلنداني فهي قبيلة من جلند ابن مسعود بن كركرة الذي ملك عمان قبل قيس وقصته مشهورة بارض عمان الى الآن ثم اهل لآموه لما رأوا ان سيد سعيد جاء يحارب اهل ممباسة ساروا معاً بقدر ستين رجال وقيل سثة وستين رجال وذلك في داوتين 353 اي خشبتين في كل خشبة ثلاث وثلاثين نفر ونزلوا في خور مطابة 354 وسألوا اهل مطابة 355 "هل توجد طريق الى لآموه من هاهنا لان الملك قد قهرنا الى هنا ونحن مرادنا الرجوع الى بلدنا" فقالوا "كيف انتم هكذا ان المزارع اعدائكم وهذه السبية قدامكم وفيها مأكول وازواد ونجميع الآت الحرب فيها" فلما سمعوا اهل لآموه ونزلوا جميعاً من في الخسبة سوى البحرية وحملوا حملة واحدة من غير علم اهل السبية ودخلوا عليهم وهربوا من فيها وكانوا من الخارجين وسار اهل لآموه 356 وأخبروا الامير مسعود بن سعيد 357 وفرح الامير 358 وأرسل مائة نفر من عساكر زنجبار وعمان وقبضوا تلك السبية التي كانت بجانب وتأنغ وكان معلّم بن مونه شافي 359 الجلنداني قد دخل في الخور كلندين ومعه مائتين نفر من غير علم المزروعي وركضوا الى جزيرة مكوب وحاربهم وخرج المزارع عن الجزيرة مكوب وقبض الكوت المزارع ودخل عساكر السيد سعيد بن سلطان في البلاد ممباسة وصاروا المزارع محصورين في الكوت ونادوا الامان ودخلوا عساكر السيد سعيد بن سلطان وكانوا من الغالين ثم كان مساكن المزارع في البلاد وفي الكوت عساكر السيد سعيد بن سلطان البوسعيدي 360 ،

حكاية

كان رجل من اهل بتي يقال له 361 عبد الله بن ناصر بن عبد السلام 362 سافر الى زنجبار 363 ومر 364 بمباسة فلما وصل 365 زنجبار سأله السيد سعيد بن سلطان 366 فقال "وما ترى 367 يا عبد الله بن ناصر؟" 368 فقال عبد الله "رأيت راشد سالم بن حمد انه يحط على 369 الأرض مرّعة ومدورة 370 ثمّ يحيى 371 ورأيت خميس بن حمد يضرب 372 سيفه باليد 373 ومعناهما يقولان ان سالم يقول بينيان السيب للحرب وخميس يقول 374 يكفي سيفونا بحول الله 375 تعالى هذا ما جزم قلبي وعقلي فلما كان الموسم وسافر السيد الى عمان واستوى حرب من ورائه واقتتلوا المزارع وعساكر السيد وقتل خميس بن مونه غاوالدى كان في جزيرة مكُوب لان عساكر السيد كانوا هنالك لا يعلمون أخبار الحرب فلما رأى ذلك السيد سعيد ارسل ابنه 375 السيد خالد بن سعيد والوزير 376 سليمان بن احمد البوسعيدي وهو دعى واحداً واحداً واول من دعى 377 راشد بن حمد وحُبس جميعاً بقدر خمسة وعشرين رجلاً من المزارع 378 وكان 379 ذلك الوقت سنة ١٢٢٤ وكانت ولاية المزارع مدة سبع سنين ومائة سنة كاملة فمحمد بن عثمان قام بالولاية خمس وعشرين سنة ثمّ مسعود بن ناصر قام بأرض ٢٥ سنة ثمّ عبد الله بن محمد بن عثمان ٨ سنة ثمّ حمد بن محمد ٣٣ سنة ثمّ عبد الله بن حمد بن محمد ١٠ سنة ثمّ سليمان بن علي ٢ سنة ثمّ سالم بن احمد ١٠ سنة ثمّ خميس بن حمد ٢ سنة ثمّ راشد بن سالم بن حمد ٢ سنة وحُبس معه بقدر خمس وعشرين نفر ووصلوا الى مكران وماتوا بمكران ويقوا رجلاًن ورجعوا الى ارض السواحل فلما احتبسوا المزارع هربوا بعضهم الى جاسي من نسل محمد بن عثمان وهربوا ايضاً الى تاكا أغو من نسل عبد الله بن زاهر وكبيرهم يقال له راشد بن سالم وقال "إني سوف ارجع وراء اعني تاكا أغو اعني تكا نيوم اي معنى بتاك أُوغ وقد عمره راشد بن سالم بن خميس بتأريخ سنة ١٢٤٧ فهو جد راشد بن سالم بن خميس بن سالم الذي بنى تاكا أُوغ،

ثمّ السيد سعيد بن سلطان شرغ بحرب سيوي بتأريخ سنة ١٢٥٩ وكان له أمير يقال له حماد بن سمار لما سار الى سيوي وفيها شيخ متكّ العماوي واقتتلوا قتالاً ومات الامير بالقتل من اهل سيوي وكان يريد ان يحمل المدافع من المركب ليكسر السور الذي مسورة وقُتل في الطريق ولما سمعوا عساكره ان الأمير قُتل فهزموا ورجعوا الى فارة ورجع الجيش ولم نالوا مرادهم ثمّ بعد ذلك جاء السيد سعيد بن سلطان مرّة أخرى واقتتل ولم يحصل السيد مراده وتوفي السيد سعيد بن سلطان بتأريخ سنة ١٢٧٣ 38٥ فلما مات سعد بن سلطان ووليّ ماجد بن سعيد بعد أبيه وتنازحا (تنازعا؟) هو وأخوه برغش وتحاربوا في الشانبة التي بجو وكان مرغش بن سعيد معه رجال من الحوارث والمساكرة وماجد بن

سعيد انه مع الاساكر والنصارى الانكليزي كان معه وحارب برغش بن سعيد وكان من المغلوبين اعني برغش بن سعيد وكان ماجد بن سعيد غالباً وقبض الملك واحتبس برغش في داره لم يخرج ولم يدخل اليه احد سوى خادمه الذي يخدمه واهل داره ثم برغش انه اراد السفر الى بُمَيِّ ليداوي نفسه وسافر من رخصة ماجد بن سعيد وطاب الزمان على ماجد بن سعيد وسرع الى حرب سيوي وحاربهم وغلب وقبض الملك وبلد سيوي كرهماً ثم قبض محمد بن متاك فهو شيخ وكبير سيوي واحتبس في الكوت في مباسة حتى مات محمد بن متاك وسفى الزمان على ماجد بن سعيد بن سلطان بن الامام ولم ينكر احد من السلاطين الا قد رضى واطاع 381،

وفي تاريخ سنت ١٢٨٢ نذكر قصة السُّمالي 382 والغيلان 383 ان الغيلان كانوا اهل البقر والغنم جداً والسماليون فقراء وذلك كان بأرض كِسْمَايُوا للغيلاني وانهم بجاورة اهل البربرة الذين هم بيراوة ومركة فقط وكانوا الغيلاني الشجع واعظم لانفسهم وأكثر من السماليين ولما رأوا السماليون ذلك الامر شرعوا بالمسير الى نحو الغلاني ليراعي البقر وفرحوا الغلاني بذلك وكانوا الغلاني يعطوا السماليين البقر لاجل الرعي كثيراً وجعلوهم خداماً لهم وراعوا مراعاة حتى كثروا السمال والغيلان في غفلة ولم يذكروا السمال كونهم اناساً من المسلمين ولا من الكافرين وقد اتخذوا جيشاً بقدر ألفين نفر من السماليين وحاربوا على غفلة واقتتلوا قتالاً وماتوا من السمال مائتين نفرًا وجاءوا الشيوبة من براوة وتصلحوا بينهم مثل ما قد كان سابقاً وكل واحد من السمال يقبض بقرته ويراعون مثل الاول 383 فشرطوا بذلك 384 ورضيوا الغيلاني والسماليون بذلك فلها راوا السمال ان الغيلان هم اصحاب الشوكة في القتال وانهم شجعان كتبوا كتاباً الى كبير بربرة اما بعد فالذي أعرفك ان كنت تريد الحياة من غير جهاد في سبيل الله عرّفنا وان كنت تريد الحياة وجهاد قد وجب عليك ان ترسل الينا انفاراً لكي لا يعلموا اعدائنا حتى ان يكثر الله جيشنا ونحاربهم على غفلة والله المستعان والسلام ولما قرأ الكتاب وخبر السمال ما كان بين السمال والغيلان وما يكون بارسال الى السمال انفاراً انفاراً حتى يتم جيشاً عظيماً كثيراً فقالوا السمال مرحباً بك قد رضينا بالجهاد في سبيل الله تعالى وعند ذلك قال الغيلان للسمال "نحن قد سمحناكم بما تفعلون علينا وشرطنا بيننا شروطاً يرجع الى اعمالكم كما كنتم في الاول بمراعاة بقرتنا واغنامنا كالسابق والآن بعد شرطنا التي استوت بيننا ينبغي ان ترسل نسوانكم وبناتكم الى هذا الموضع وتزوج من بناتكم التي ليست لها زوج حتى تمتن (تمتن؟) قلوبنا بافعالكم القبيحة فقالوا السمال مرحباً بكم وما ترجوا منا فنحن راضيون بذلك ولكن أهملونا حتى نأتي بيناتنا واحدة واحدة محيئتكم (٩) تفعلون ما ترجون فقالوا الغيلاني فلا بأس بذلك المدة ثم حضرت النسوة من بربرة ثلاثاً اثنان منهم متزوجتا والاخرى لم تتزوج ولكن هنك رجل يريدنا وشمروا السماليون بتجهيز

العرس وأولم الولائم ودعى السمال اصحابهم ودعى الغيلاني من الاكابر والابطال بقدر سير ثلاث ايام وحضروا من ابطال الغيلان خمسة وسبعين نفرًا لاجل ولائم السمال واكلوا وشربوا 384 وباتوا ليلا فقاموا السمال على الغيلان وقتلواهم 385 ولم يبق سوى رجل منهم وهو مجروح وهرب ووصل الى اصحابه ومات والسمال قائمون بالحرب واقتتلوا قتالا وكان السمال هو الغالب وابتاعت بنات الغيلان بخسًا 386 وكان الغيلان 387 يهرب من السمال ويعتمدون الى البكوم والوبون وهم خدام الغيلان وباعوهم ولم يرى الخدام يبيعون اسيادهم الا البكوم باعوا الغيلان بصورة كان للغيلان (الغيلان؟) قد هربوا الى البكوم ومعهم نحلة النسوة وقربائهم وأتوا بهم ودعوا لهم بطعام وشراب فأكلوا وشربوا ثم البكوم يرسل احدا منهم الى كاء وأخبروا الوبون يرسلوا احدا منهم الى القرية القريبة مثل مكو ومكنوب ودعوا الناس وأخبروهم بكون الغيلان واصلين منهم كذا وكذا رجالا ونسوة فيسيرون ويقتلون الرجال وسيبون النسوة وصاروا مأسورين ويبيعون لكل من ارادهن اما السمال فهم عرب من غير خلاف كما قال في سبائك الذهب انهم من ولد بر ابن قيذار ابن اسماعيل بن ابراهيم عليهما الصلاة والسلام والاقول (الاقوال؟) كثيرة فمنهم من يقول انهم من ولد لقشان ابن ابراهيم عليه السلام 387

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ونذكر قصة 388 التي كانت من دهر ماجد بن سعيد توفى ابو بكر بن شيخ بن مغوم المخزومي الاممي وكان بأرض كُفَّان قرب لآموه مسيرة 3 ساعات من لآموه وترك ملكًا عظيمًا وخدامًا كثيرًا واموال معدودة وذهب رجل يقال له كُولُ بن فومو بكر بن حاج بن مغوم وادعى بانه وصي لاولاده ولكل ما يخصه وتفرق فرقة وكانوا ابن فوم بكر المذكور وفرقة مع ابي بكر بن محمد بن مغوم المذكور بعد الاول وتضاربا الفرقتان وقتل فيهما رجلان بالرصاص ولم يتعرض عليهم احد من الولاء الذي بأرض لآموه ولا من شيوبة البلدة بكونهم كل واحد في فرقته ويرجو قسمة من تلك التركة وتشاكيان الى زنجبار ولم يحكم عليهم احد سوى الامير سليمان بن حمد انه اخذ قسمته وفصلهما على كل واحد بقبض التركة الباقية ولم يحصل اولاده سوى المال وخدام الشيوبة والعجائز من الخدامات وكان ماجد بن سعيد لا يسأل شيئًا الا من شايب سليمان بن حمد البوسعيدي سواء بزنجبار او بلد غيره وكان مولفًا يحب الرياضة والالخان وكان له وزيرًا وكتائبًا يقال له سليمان بن علي الدرهمي

وقتل النصراني في كسمايو فقال قنصل الانكليزي نريد القاتل حالا فقال ماجد بن سعيد لوزيره سليمان بن حمد كيف ذلك الامر من أين يوجد القاتل فقال للوزير سليمان بن علي فعليك بتدبير هذا الامر حتى تحصل القاتل وتأتي به الى زنجبار وسافر سليمان بن علي الدرمني بمركب تدعى ستارة ورسا بيندرلاموه وأرسل العساكر الى كسمايو وداوروا خادماً وقيدوه فقال هذا القاتل ولا يدري الخادم ما قيد به وكان بتاريخ سنت ١٢٨٥ ورجع به سليمان بن علي الى زنجبار وقُتل ذلك الخادم وانقطع الدعوى وتوفي ماجد بن سعيد 388 بتاريخ سنت ١٢٨٦ 389 وولي بعده 390 برغش بن سعيد 391 وعزل من كان والياً بدهر ماجد بن سعيد وهرب سليمان بن علي الدرمني قبل دفن ماجد وقيل بعده وكان برغش بن سعيد عادلاً صالحاً يحب الحق ويكره الباطل وكان يحب الملاهي من غير فسق وكان له وزيراً يقال له محمد بن سالم المعولي يأكل الهدى الذي يهدي الملك الى رعيته ويأكل للرشور(الرشوة؟) ويان عند موته الهديات التي كان يهدي برغش بن سعيد عند محمد بن سالم وأخذ برغش بن سعيد ما وجد من داره وقال برغش قد ضيع ملكي المعولي ولوبان هذا لقطعنا ايديه قطعاً قطعاً،

فصل قصة

وسافر برغش بن سعيد 391 الى مصر وأراد ان يدفع الانكليز بحماية السلطان التركي واستحمى برغش بن سعيد منه 392 وحماه ورجع بمنور السلطان 393 ووصل نصف الطريق 394 وسمعوا الانكليز اتبعوه 395 ووجدوه في المنور 396 ولقاه برغش 397 بن سعيد فقال له الانكليزي قد ضيعت ملكك فصرت مغروراً منهوباً فانك ما تعلم امورا التراك ولوموه لوماً فقال برغش كيف افعل الآن؟ 397 فقال قل لهم احسبتم ارجعوا 398 فأنت اركب 399 معنا في مركبنا فتكون من الناقضين من العهد ونحن خادمين لك ما ترجو منا تحصل ففعل برغش ما قاله وصاروا من النادمين 399 ثم ان الانكليز جاؤوا بمركب مدرّعات وفيها من اهل مصر متشبهون بلبس الاتراك 400 فوصلوا الى مركب 401 وراوة ولآموه وكانوا يريدون القتال وليس ذلك صحيحاً فقال القنصل بزنجبار الذي يقال له كركي انظر يا برغش امورا التراك الآن واصلين اليك يحاربونك وانت ما تقدرهم وما تقول انه ارفعنا عنك هذا البلوى أترضي ما ارجو تنك فقال نعم وكتب اليهم جون كركي اجتنبوا واقصدوا الى اوطانكم فقد غلبناه فصار برغش مغلوباً وكان ذلك بتاريخ سنت ١٢٩٢ ،

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وتوجه برغش بن سعيد الى موباسة بمركب يوناني ووصل موباسة ولم ينزل وكان يبرز في المركب ودعى الوالي سيف بن سليمان ودعى اهل الكشور والوگب واعطاهم عطايا من المال والثياب ومراده ليكون سلطانهم وتحكموا اهل موباسة بدعاوى كثيرة وحلفهم برغش أيماناً فأت احد من الخائنين في الحال بعد ساعة او ليلة واحدة ويقال له سعيد بن مبارك وكل ذلك المحاكمة كانت في المركب وبندر موباسة وفي تاريخ سنت ١٣٠٢ حارب سالم بن خميس المزروعي الكشور الجرياموي 401 وهزمهم المزروعي وقتل منهم مائة نفر ثم استوى الجوع في البرونيكيا وكانوا الكشور ينزلون الى البلدان ويبيعون البنات غالباً فإذا انزاوا الى موباسة وتأك أوغوي قبض ويبيع ذكراً كان او انثى وكان سالم بن خميس بامر (بأمر؟) اصحابه حيث وجدوا الكشور اقبضوهم وبيعوهم فلما بان الامر شكى جمع بن راشد الشكيلي عند السيد برغش بن سعيد 402 من سالم بن خميس المزروعي بكونه قد امر خدامه وجماعته ان يقبضوا الكشور الجريام وغيرهم ودعى برغش سالم بن خميس وسئله ذلك فأجاب نعم انهم قد حاربوني وحاربناهم فمتى وجدناهم لا ريب فيه إلا ان نبيعهم وغضب برغش بن سعيد بذلك على سالم بن خميس وحبس سالم بن خميس مزروعي ست اشهر وحبس بعض من المزارع مثل عزيز بن عبدالله بن حمد الذي كان وزير سالم بن خميس وحبس رشيد والشايب سليمان الشخصيين 403 واتفق السيد برغش مع الكشور وكساهم وتوفي برغش بن سعيد بن سلطان 404 بتاريخ سنت ١٣٠٥ 405 وولي بعده 406 اخوه خليفة بن سعيد بن سلطان 407

كتاب الزوج L

الحمد لله الخالق البارئ الودود ذو الفضل والكرم والجود الذي جعل نخلقه الوانا من بيض وحمروسود وفضل بعضهم على بعض بالسيادة والطول والسعود وقضى ربنا لمن دعا علي ولده بتسويد الوجوه وذريته يكون لذرية ولديه عبيدا والصلاة والسلام على المصطفى وعلى آله واصحابه الركع والسجود أما بعد فقد اختصرنا اخبار إفريقية بساحل البحر نحو المشرق وخط الاستواء تبياناً لمن فيها من الزوج الذين كانوا في جُبِّ وهم كشور عربية اصلية وونيكاً بلغة اهل إفريقية وتفصيل جريماً هي ارض ويقال لمن يسكن فيها وجريماً وارض جون يقال لمن سكن فيها وجون وربا يقال لمن سكن فيها وربا هكذا يقولون اهل إفريقية اخبار العرب الذين جاؤا الى إفريقية وعمروا البلدان والمدن وسكنوا فيها من زمن الجاهلية وذلك برأي الملك تبع الحميري الاكبر وأخبار بنو قيس غيلان الذين جاؤا الى إفريقية من برالعرب بقصة ابرهة الاشرم امير النجاشي الحبشي وذلك بعد عام الفيل بسنت واحدة وسكنوا بالجَبِّ واخبار انتقال الزنج من الجَبِّ الى مَوْغِيٍّ وذلك من اجل بنو قيس غيلان واخبار البقوم وهم من الزوج المذكورين وسكنوا في نهر التَّنَّ الذي يقال له مَتُّ تان الآن باللغة السواحلية واخبار العرب الذين جاؤا من عمان بسبيل كثرة الحرب بعمان استراحاً هنا وسكنوا بأرض أَمِّ واخبار النصارى الذين يقال لهم برتغيس وتملكوا الارض جميعاً واخبار العرب الذين حاربوا البرتغيس من عمان الى مباسة بامر الملك سيف بن سلطان اليعربي وكانوا المزارع واخبار الملك السيد سعيد بن سلطان البوسعيدي وحروبات بين المزارع وسعيد بن سلطان واخبار اهل لآموه والمزروعي وحربهم واخبار اهل سيوي وسيد سعيد بن سلطان وحربهم واخبار السومال وبني قيس غيلان وحربهم وابتياح الغيلان واخبار ابتياح الكشور واخبار النصارى الذين تشبَّهوا بالترك ووصلوا الى مركة وبراة وكسمايو وآمو وذلك ليفزعوا برغش بن سعيد اقول وبالله التوفيق ان حام ابن نوح ابن ملك وهو ابو السودان وكان اصغر من اولاد نوح عليه الصلاة والسلام وكان لحام اربعة اولاد مصر وكنعان وكوش وقوط فالحبشة من اولاد كوش بن حام والنوبة والزنج من اولاد كنعان بن حام بن نوح عليه الصلاة والسلام وكان حام احسن الصورة بهي الوجه فغير الله لونه ولون ذريته وذلك من اجل دعوة ابيه قد دعا عليه بتسويد الوجه وسواد وجوه ذريته وان يكون اولاده عبيداً لا اولاد سام ويافت فكثرتهم وتمَّاهم ولما قسم نبي الله الارض لاولاده كانت افريقية لحام وولد اولاد واولاده السودان ولم يتعدى شعورهم اذانهم كما رأيناهم الآن

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والكشور فهم اثني عشر صنفاً مديغ ١ مشمب ٢ ملوغ ٣ مسيفي ٤ هولاء الذين هربوا من شغواية
اولا لما رأوا ان الغيلان يعدّ بهم بانواع العذاب هربوا عنهم خوفاً منهم ايضاً مكّب ٥ مريب ٦ مغرياما
٧ مشوني ٨ مجبان متيت ١٠ مكدياراً ١١ مدار ١٢ وكانوا هولاء جميعاً يسكنون بساحل نهر الجب وما
حواله واعلاه من يوم خلقهم الله تعالى،

باب

لما جاء العرب من صنعاء اليمن وهم قوم التبع الحميري وكان ذلك في زمن الجاهلية كما قال الله تعالى
في كتابه فاتوا بأبائنا ان كنتم صادقين اهم خير ام قوم تبع اعني اي ليسوا خيراً منهم يعني اقوم وأشدّ
وأكثر من قوم تبع قال قتادة هو تبع الحميري وكان سار بالجيش حتى خرب الحيرة وبني سمرقند
وكان من ملوك اليمن وذكر ابو حاتم من الرقاشي قال ابو كلب اسعدي الحميري من التبابعة آمن بالنبي
صعلم ودلت ان تبع الحميري كان في زمن نبي موسى عليه السلام لدليل الآية التي قبل ذكر فيها قوم
تبع وهي ولقد نجينا بني اسرائيل من العذاب المهيم (المهين؟) من فرعون انه كان عالياً من المسافرين
(مسرفين؟) ولقد اخترناهم على علم على العالمين وقوله اخترناهم يعني موسى وبني اسرائيل وعمرؤ اول
مدينة مقدشوه ثم بساسة بالباء غير الميم ثم السين والالف والسين وهاء وسميت بساسة فهي اسم لقب
او كنيا مكة المكرمة لأن اهل بساسة كانوا من الحجاز اكثرهم مقهورون بترك مكانهم وسميها بكنية
مكة المكرمة واهل عمان واهل جوف بين عسير وصنعاء اليمن ومنهم وتقان انهم اختلطوا بالتزويج
اهل الحجاز والجوف وتناسلوا واختلطوا فلا تباين بينهم فقالوا هولاء مخلطون اعني قبائل مختلطة وبلغة
السواحل وتقان ومنهم اعني اهل عمان الجلنداني نسبة من جلند بن مسعود بن كركرة ومنهم التغماوي
قبيلة من مهرة بن حيدان فهم تغمي ابو قبيلتهم والمنتسب اليه تغماوي وهم من الحجاز اصلهم فالان
الجلنداني يقال لهم الكنديني غلط للجهمال والتغماوي يقال لهم شغماوي فكل ذلك غلط كبير وقال
الشاعر: بساسة هي كنية ام القرى سموها بها اهل الحجاز مكاناً
وبني ايضاً تبع الحميري كلوى ثم بتي وسيوي وأم وغاما وغاما كانت مدينة بين كليف والنهر
التن فالآن تدعى غمين فكانت جزيرة عامرة بنيانها مشيدة بالحجر والنورة وخربت بالبحر وكان

يأخذها قليلا قليلا وفقدوا اهلها ماء وانتقلوا الى اى أُرَيّ وغرقت البنيان والآن يدعى بجرغاماً وله موج هائل ويرى الجدران والحيطان من في السفينة اذا جرت عليه السفينة ويلقط ابحارها بملندي ومبروي (مبروي؟) وقت الارتب أعني الريح الشمال مركة وبراوة وارض الباجوني وعمروا ايضاً اهل عراق ملندي واصله تدعى ملود وفي نسخة ملدُ بالذال المعجمة ومعناه ملاذ من الاعداء عربية وملود واوزي قد بناهما اهل كوفة الذين هربوا من الحجاج بن يوسف بتاريخ ٤٩ سنت وبنوا زنجبار اهل عراق فهي جزيرة اصلها كانت خالية عن البنيان وكان الزوج يجيئوناليها ليصيدوا السمك فيعبروا بالداوات ومتى وصلوا الى تلك الجزيرة يحرقوها خوفاً من الحيات فوت الحيلت بالنار فبذلك سميّب اوغوزَ يعني موت فالآن تدعى اُغُوخَ وقلبت زاء جيماً واما زنجبار عربية من غير خلاف ومعناه زنج برّ والبر معروف والزنج منسوب بالبرّ انتهى فلما وصلوا العرب الى الارض يقال لها جب وهربوا الكشور من العرب وسموهم بذلك كشور يعني الهارب ثم اجتهدوا العرب بملاقاتهم وتلقاهم بعد شهرين واعطاهم انواع العطايا وذهب ما فيهم من الخوف واتفقوا بالوداد بينهم وتألفوا الزنج العرب الفأ لم يصرم منهم الى الآن ولم يتعرضوا بالاحكام قط لانّ العرب تلك الايام كانوا من المشركينو قد توافق بعض احكام العرب احكامهم وذلك بتوريث الازواج والتزويج بالخدمة لمن ليس له مهر ثم ان التبع ارسل السودان الذين أتوا من نحو مصر وبنوا كساميو الى قرب سيوي لكن اهل سيوي هم من عمان هنالك خور فكان بلد تدعى سيوي واهلها بنو سعدى الى الآن عامرة ثم بتى واهلها من الشام وآم واهلها من عمان واهل ايوُمبُ وغدف من يومب اليمن هنالك بلد تدعى ايوُمبُ الى الآن عامرة فيومب هذا من ذلك وكلفي هي قرية قريب ايومب كانت تدعى باسم قبيلة اهلها من جدّ عامر بن الحارث وذلك بنى تبع الحميري فلهل استوى القحط خربت بعض البلدان والقرى والمدن وثبتت البواق وكانوا العرب يجيئون بالبرّ ان كان جيشاً وبعضهم بالسفائن كانوا يتبعون القطب الى الجنوب مقابلة ويكون ظهورهم مولون الجاه من سوا كم وبريرة ويقصدون الى مقدشوه وسائر الزنج تلك الايام كانوا يقضون حوائجهم من العرب والعرب يقضون حوائجهم من الزنج واذا توجه احد من العرب الى بلدان الزنج يكون في حماية صاحبه وكذلك الزنج كان ف حماية صاحبه ومتى استدان العرب من كشوراو نهب وغاب فالكشور يخذ مال العرب غيره ويخبره كان احد منكم يقال فلان بن فلان هنا قد غاب عنا وعليه كذا وكذا فالآ اموالك موقوف فات به حتى يستوفي ما عليه لنا ونحن لك فنكون من الشاكرين،

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وجرى امور بصنعاء اليمن وذلك كان ابرهة الاشرم الحبشي امير النجاشي لما ملك اليمن وراى الامير جيوشاً افراجاً في ايام المواسم وشهر ذي الحجة سائرين الكعبة فقال ابرهة لملوك اليمن سوف ابني لكم داراً بدلا للكعبة ويكون ايامكم هذا تدخلوها كما تدخلوا ذلك البيت فقالوا رضينا ابنا ونحن إن شاء الله ندخلوها كما عادتنا وبني ابرهة الاشرم كنيسة عظيمة فلما فرغ من بنائها وفرشها وقندلها بقنادل بكار كثيرة وشعلها وجاء احد من اهل مكة وقدر فيها ليلا وسار فلما اصبح سمع الامير ما كان من الكنيسة وغضب فقال الامير غضباً ان اهل مكة استغاطوا بهذا الدار حتى فعلوا هذا فسوف اهدم بيتهم حجراً حجراً وتشمرباجتهد الجيش ومعهم الفيل يقال له محمود ولما وصلوا قرب مكة إمتنع الفيا ولم يقبل ولما كان وقت العصر جاء طيراً ابابيل كما ذكر في كتاب الله الم تر كيف فعل ربك باصحاب الفيل ترميمهم بحجارة من سجيل فجعلهم كعصف مأكول ورموهم بحجارة وماتوا جميعاً وبقي رجل واحد جاء الى الامير واستخبر الامير منه وحكى له ما رأى من امور الطيور وما جرى ١٦٦ ولما فرغ من حكايته ظهر الطير وقال الذي هرب هو مثل هذا ورمى عليه حجراً ومات في الحال فتعجب ابرهة الاشرم بذلك وانتقل الحبوش وهو بما صار اليه واتبعهم العرب الذين كانوا في رأي ابرهة الاشرم وهم بطن من قيس غيلان من صنعاء اليمن وهم يقطعون المذاكير ويجعلون انسايمهم مهور وقد سكنوا مع الحبوش ثمانين سنة وماتوا العرب الذين أتوا من ربر العرب وبقوا الذين توالدوا بدار الحبوش يتكلمون بلغة الحبشة وذلك بسبب لغة البلد اقوى من لغة الغرباء والآن بنو قيس غيلان ستكلمون بالحبشية وفي تأريخ ٤١ سنة هجرية ان بني قيس غيلان لما سمعوا ان العرب استساموا جميعاً وتنازعوا هم والحبوش بكون بني قيس غيلان الذين قد تنصروا بمعاشرة الحبشة وكانوا الحبوش يقولون لبني قيس غيلان ان العرب قد تركوا ملّة اباؤهم واجدادهم بالاسلام وقد علمنا انكم ما تتقوا عهدكم اذا عاهدتم فلا نصدقكم انكم قد تنصرتم وتنازعوا بذلك وتقاتلوا وهربوا من ارض الحبشة الى نهر الجب وخط الاستواء وبلغت الكشور يقال واما اسم ارض الجب فهناك خط الاستواء اتفأقاً وبذلك كانوا بنو قيس غيلان سود الالوان غالباً واولهم كانوا بيض الوان لانهم من صنعاء اليمن وغلب عليهم شعار الشمس وحرارتها ثم تعاهدوا انفسهم لا يسلهون ولو احد من بني قيس غيلان بعد نقض دين النصرارى وكانوا من المشركين مثلها كان اباؤهم واجدادهم وتحالفوا انه من راي حبشي ان يقتله ويقطع ذكره ويجعل لامرته مهراً غيظا على الحبوش فكان بينهم عداوة كبيرة الى الآن ويكون الاغلال والمحال حلال بينهم وما تصالخوا فصار ايمانهم صحيحاً على غير الحبشة

ولا على بعضهم بعضاً وتحالفوا بذلك ايضاً وصاروا اذا قتلوا الكشور يقطعون مذاكيرهم تمام ايمانهم التي تحالفوا على الحبشة وانقلبوا على الكشور والآن صار عادة بني قيس غيلان ان اذا قتل احداً من كل قبيلة يقطع ذكره سوى بعضهم على بعض وانتقلوا الكشور من ارضجب الى موغبي إلا فرقة البكوم لما وصلوا الى نهر التّن ذكروا نهر الجب واستشاروا بعضهم بعضاً ان لا تفرقوا (يتفرقوا؟) من نهر التّن وتأخروا عن اصحابهم من الكشور وتوجهوا الى جزيرة غاماً وكانت فيها بلد عامرة ونعيمة فواكهة كثيرة وذلك قبل ناخراب وانتقال اهلها الى أوزي واستحموا من ملك غاماً وحمومهم بحماية والعهد بينهم ان لا تباع ولا يقتل ولينهب الا اذا اهدى شياء (شيئاً؟) الى اهل غاماً فلا بأس بذلك واذا سرق احد من البكوم شيئاً فيكون اهل غاماً يردّوها الى البكوم عهداً وميثاقاً فجرى بينهم هذا العهد دائماً فبذلك لم يكن عبيداً ولم يسرق البكوم الا اتبعوا اهل غاماً وكان هذا الامر من تلك الازمان القديمة الى وصول النصارى فترجع كلام الكشور الذين تواجهاوا الى موغبي واتبعوهم بنو قيس غيلان واقتتلوا قتالا وهربوا الكشور ماتبعوهم الى ارض التي باعلى بساسة واستقوى برجل يقال اه حتران (حزان؟) لانه علم رجلا واحداً تصنيع السهام الحديدية وفعل وعلم الباقيين وتحاربوا بها وكانوا من الغالبين وكان ذلك الامر في قرية يقال لها كاية والآن تدعى كايه فوغ قرب ربأ بمسير اربع ساعات من كايه الى ربأ ولم يقدروا بنو قيس غيلان على الكشور بتلك السهام الحديدية واول كان سهامهم حطبية والى الآن لم تفارقوا الكشور كايه وذلك ذكراً امغلبتهم على بني قيس غيلان في ذلك الموضع وسكنوا الكشور هنالك واستوطنوا وتولدوا اولاداً ويصاحبوا اصحاباً من اهل بساسة وتقاسموا قبيلة العرب في بساسة فالجيرماوي للجلنداني وهم الذين تدعى الكلنديني غاطاً للجهال ومجون لقبيلة الكليفي والكلام سيطول بذلك وهذه عادة مشهورة لاجنفي والله على ما اقول شهيد واما ودبغ ووسفى ووجمب وملوغ انهم تقدموا هرباً من بني قيس غيلان قبل اهل شغواية والجريماوي ووصلوا هناك بساحل البحرطيوي وطنجة وكان هناك الزنج يقال وتودوي وسكنوا الباجوني بساحل البحر نحو شغواية فتوافقوا بنو قيس غيلان بالبيع والشراء وألّفوا طوراً وطوراً يقبّتلوا الى ان وصل السومل الى ارض جب وانقرضوا بنو قيس غيلان واستراحوا بذلك الباجوني،

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وفي تأريخ سنة ٧٥ جاء الوالي العربي الذي يقال له عمر بن العاص من شام وهو من ولاة معاوية بن سفيان وقيل ان الوالي اسمه يقال له موسى بن عمر من بني حثعم وهو من ولاة عبد الملك بن مروان قاصد الى ساحل بحر الهند ونزل الى مقدشوه والى كلوى واراد الخراج من اهل البلاد وسلّموا له وعلم الناس قرابة القرآن والدين وبني حصناً مانعاً بكلوى وفيه جملة اسلحة وطاعوا له من اولهم الى آخرهم الى ان انقضت دولة بني امية عن دمشق الشام بتأريخ سنة ١٤٨ وبقي باندلس اسم هذه الدولة وأخبرهم يقال له محمد بن عبدالرحمن وفي سنة ١٤٩ جاء الرسول مم دولة العباسية الى السلاطين في مقدشوه ومركة وبراوة وفازة وسيوي وبتى ومند وهي التي كان اهلها من اليمن خاصة وسميت الآن مند التي باليمن عامرة الى الآن وبتى وطاق فهي من طاعة التي فوق جدّة قرب بسطام قرية عامرة واهلها شرفاء من نسل المهدي فهم من المشائخ العموديين وأمّ واوزي وملود وأيمب بالسواحلية واصله يؤمب عربية من يومب اليمن فالبلد يمني اهلا وكلف فهو اسم قبيلة وبساسة عربية فهي من كنية مكة المكرمة كما ذكرنا سابقاً وزنجبار مشتق من بر الزنج وكلوى وويب وقال الامير الرسول مقالا الذي يسر قلب السامع بحلاوة لسان الوزير وكان الوزير يقال له يحيى بن عمر العنزي من اهل العراق ونال تمام اموره ورجع الى بغداد واخبر الخليفة ابو جعفر عبدالله المنصور بكون اهل البلاد انهم في طاعة ولا ريب فيه واعطاه ما حصل من الخراج وفرح عبدالله المنصور فرحاً بليغاً وفي تأريخ سنة ١٨٩ كان ببغداد مير المؤمنين ابو عبدالله هارون الرشيد وخانوه الزوج ولم يسلموا له خراجاً وارسل اميره الى بلاد الزوج ومعه عساكر وعزلوا من كان والياً من العرب وولى ولاة من الاعاجم في القرى والمدن من مقدشوه الى كلوى وكانوا مودة في عز ومقام ومنهم اهل كيووب وبعض اهل اوزي وبتى وبعض اهل بساسة وجميع اهل الجزيرة الخضراء وبعض اهل كلوى فهم الاعاجم من شيراز وشيراز بلدة كبيرة واستقرت ولاية بارض الزنج للاعاجم مدة طويلة وبعد سنوات حانوا الاعاجم ولم ترسلوا الخراج الى امير المؤمنين هارون الرشيد الى ان مات الامير بتأريخ سنة ٢٠٩ وولى ابو العباس عبدالله المأمون واستقر ببغداد الى يارنج سنة ٢١٢ ظهر القول من امير المؤمنين بخلق القرآن وكامت الفتنة ببغداد وصعب امر المأمون وخالفوا وجهاز المأمون جيشاً كثيراً يمقدار خمسين الف عساكر ووصلوا الى ملود بكونهم قد كتبوا تعريفاً الى بغداد وعرفوا المأمون انك تدعى القرآن مخلوقاً ونحن بذلك قد خالفناك فلما وصل الجيش وهربوا اهل ملود الى الزناجل واستقروا بها فلما رجع الجيش الى بغداد

وقيل كان الجيش من مصر فلما رجع الجيش ظهروا ورجعوا الى منازلهم بملود ورضيوا ما يرضى الخليفة وسلّموا الخراج من السنوات الماضية تادباً من امير المؤمنين عليهم واستوى الخلق في الطاعة،

حكاية

ونزلوا على بساسة من كان في البر اعلى بساسة واجتمعت الخلق وملئت فيها وشق اهلها وغيرهم بالجوع فقال اهل البر نرجع الى اوطاننا ولو كُنا من الهالكين فقال اهل بساسة اصبروا حتى يتبين الحرب كوسبب نفيت حز بلغة السواحل وسُميت بساسة مفييت ومعناه حرب وقتال واصلها كانت تدعى كُوغوي الى الآن كما قال الشاعر كُوغوي جَمْعُومُ مفييت مِح وكالي الخ وكان ذلك بتاريخ سنت ٢٠٣ ثم ان الاتراك منعوا الخلفاء ببغداد بأمر بلا دنا بكونهم طائعين لرب العالمين فكيف تأخذون ما لهم ولا تنفقون لاراملهم وفقرائهم واليتامى فلا لكم سبيل بذلك وان اخذتم تجورون عليهم جوراً عظيماً وان سطى عليهم احد لم يحصلوا منكم غوثاً من اجل مساقاة بينكم وتوقفوا عن الخراج ثم ان الاتراك جاءوا بمركبين ووصلوا الى مند وبتى وسيوي وتناسلوا هنالك ورجعوا الى بلدانهم من غير مكروه،

فصل

وفي تأريخ سنت ٩٠٦ جاء النصارى بست مراكب صراعية وكبيرهم يقال له وسكو دغام ومرّ بزنجبار ورضيوا له وأتى الى بساسة وامتنعوا عنه وتحاربوا حرباً ثقيلاً وانكسر مركب واحد وبقيت خمسة واتى الى ملود ورضيوا به ولما وصلوا الى قرب الشعب ملود ورسى المراكب واهل ملود عندهم خبر نصارى والقتال في بساسة فلما راوا المراكب ركبوا امواشيهم وقبلوا الى المراكب متزينون بافضل اللبس وتقربوا الى المراكب فلما قربوا رفعوا عماداتهم من رؤوسهم وأيديهم خليات عن السلاح ولما راوا النصارى اهل ملود بذلك نزلوا سلماً وأشاروا بالطلوع وركبوا مركباً كبيراً التي فيها وسكو دغام وقربهم ورحب بهم ودعى بشراب وما شربوا منهم الا قليلاً فقال محمد بن عثمان البوري

لوسكوا دغام سمعنا اخباركم ثم رايناكم واصصلين إلينا فحينا بامواشيننا فرحاً لقد ومكم ونحن طائعين فيما ترجوا منّا سوى لكم الدين ولنا الدين فقال وسكودغام مرحباً بكم وحلف بكونه لم بدخل على امر الدين ابداً ونزل وسكودغام الى قرية ملود ونظر الديار والغرف البيضاء واهلها متطهرون وفرح بذلك فقال وما اسم هذه القرية فقالوا ملود فقال وسكو دغام ارجو منكم ان تقلبوا اسم وان تجعلوا اسم زوجي واسمها متقاربة بام القرية وذلك فرحة لنا ولكم وكان اسم زوجته لندة وسميوا القرية كذلك ولم يحدف الميم ابداً فصار الميم اول الاسم ووقع ملندي ثم توجه الى الهند ثم رجع بعد مدة طويلة وحضر وحارب بساسة وغلب وملك وقيد سلطان بساسة وسيره الى الهند واخذ رجلا من كبراء ملندوولي ببساسة بدلا عن السلطان المعزول فهم الآن هنالك يدعون وملندي وقيلتهم البوري من بني عنزة ابن ربيعة بن زارين معد ثم ان البرتغيس استقر ملكهم وبنوا الديار والحصون بارض بساسة وقام احد منهم ببساسة حاكماً فيها يقال له بومبيسا وقيل بومباس وقيل مومباس ومعناه الصوت الحسن واتبعوا الامر اهل بساسة وسموها بمباسا الى الآن وكان غفرنا يسكن قرب الكوت بومبيسا فسميت تلك مئاً يكفان والآن يقولون كفان ومج وكلي يعني حارة كانت اصل البلد هناك فسميت مج وكلي اعني البلد القديم وسكنوا البرتغيس بعز وقوة وملئت في البلدان عساكر من اولهم الى آخرهم وطابوا قلوبهم ونالوا مطالبهم فلما استقرّوا اتوا الى بلادنا بصرف ثلاثة انواع فضة وقبل البرتغيس كانت بلادنا صرفة من فضة والذهب والصفير دراهم ودينار وقرش فالقرش المذكور كان من صفير فلما وصل النصارى اتوا بصرفهم ذهباً وفضة سوى صفير فلما جاءت هذه الصرفة ودعيت باسم القرش الذي كان قبل ذلك فصارت الاسماء للصرفات قرش فضة وذهباً والنصف قرش وربع قرش وبعض العرب يدعي ريال فلما استوى الحرب بين البرتغيس و..... (عمان؟) اتوا ا..... (اهل عمان؟) بقروشهم ونصف وربع وكان قروشهم اصغر من قروش البلاتغيس وكذلك انصاف وارابع وكان يقولون ربع سرنغ والثاني ربع يانزغ وغابت تلك الصرافات البرتغيسية وبقت الصراف..... الى الآن ترى في البلدان ولكن دون القيمة الاولى وفي تأيخ ١٠٧٦ جاء امير قيد وحارب البرتغيس وخرجه عن مقدشوه ومركة وبراوة وبتى ومند وآم ورجع سالم الصارمي الى عمان فرحاً مسروراً واخبر الامام اخبار النصارى وانهم كانوا يفعلون اموراً قبيحة والآن المسلمون يدعون لك عمراً طويلاً بكونك قد رفعت عنهم الذلّ والبلور بعون الذي يسمع الشكوى وطاب قلب الامام سيف بن سلطان اليعربي وترك البلكان علا اهلها وكان سيف بن سلطان اليعربي زاهداً عالماً تقياً ورعاً وكان يقول الملك لله ونرجو من الله عدلا على الرعية ولو كان يرجو الملك لم يترك البلدان على اهلها بعد تعب كثير وغرامة وكان الامام له بغلة تسافر كل سنت الى نحو السواحل ويبحث

لخبار البلدان والذي يجور فيها ويعدل وكان بارض موباسة حاكم يقال له بومباس وهو الذي اراد اسمه يكون اسم البلد وسميت بساسة مومباسة فلما فسق يوماً وبان امره عند اهل موباسة شكوا منه الى ناخذنا البغلة للامام سيف بن سلطان التي تقال لها فتح الاسلام فلما بلغ هذا الكلام الى الامام وغضب غضباً شديداً فقال للامير شهاد بن شهدي البلوشي هل سمعت مقال اهل موباسة فقال شهاد نعم يا سيدي اني ارقب امرك الذي تأمر فسمعاً وطاعة لله ثم لك يا سيدي وأمر اميره بالمسير الى موباسة بطريق البيع والشراء حتى ينظر مسالك الحرب لاجل قوة الحصن الذي فيها واشترى الامير شهاد بن شهدي ثياباً ورزاً وتمراً وركب البغلة التي تقال لها فتح الاسلام وقصد الى موباسة فلما وصل الى بندر موباسة علموا في البلاد بكون بغلة الامام واصاة واجتمعوا وانزلوا ما شوه ونزل الامير وحده فاستأجر الدار ورس امر الشاكي ونزل ليلاً لثلاثا يعلموا النصرارى امور الامير والشاكي الى الامام وكان الامير شهاد يبيع بضاعته بحساً واجتمع اليه واحبوه ورغب فيهم عدل الامام وكونه يغضب لله ويحب لله وخبروه اهل موباسة امور التي فعل حاكم موباسة وذلك بتاريخ سنت ١٠٨٩ ثم رجع الامير شهاد الى عمان ومسكت واخبر الامام سيف بن سلطان اليعربي ما كان وما يكون باتفاق اهل الباد ومسلكها وجنس الكوت وقوتها فجهز وسافروا الى موباسة بالمرابك الشراعية والسفائن مشحونة اكلا ورجالا فلما وصلوا الى قرب موباسة ظنوا النصرارى انهم اهل الموسم فلما جاء الليل دخلت السفائن خور كلندين ونزلوا بعض العساكر ودخلوا موباسة على غفلة وذلك مع اهل البكد وحاربوا واقبيلا قتالا ودخلوا النصرارى الكوت واغلقوا بابا وصاروا النصرارى محصورون في الكوت شهوراً ثم ان الامير شهاد عمل السلام ورقب يوم الاحد ليلا وقصدوا جانب المغرب للكوت وطلعوا عليهم والنصرارى نيام وقتلوهم واتبها من النوم واقتتلوا وهربوا النصرارى ومانوا من الخارجين ماتبعوهم العرب حيث دخلوا على البساتين وقتلوهم هنالك وكانوا من الهالكين وكان تلك الايام مراكبهم شرعية يجيئون من ولايتهم الى نحو السواحل بستة اشهور وكانوا يستغيثون ولم يغاثوا مدة اربعة اشهور او زيادة ثم وصل المركب وفيه عساكر ورسوا مركبهم من بعيد ونزلوا النصرارى وتحاربوا واقتتلوا مدة خمس سنين وتملك العرب كوتاً وقيل تسع سنين وسكن الامير شهاد بن شهدي بموباسة وكان في بعض السنوات يتوجه الى مسكت ويرجع الى موباسة وفي تاريخ سنت ١١١٦ توفي الامام سيف بن سلطان وعمر الدار التي ليختفي اموره وتولى سلطان بن سيف بن سلطان اليعربي يعد ابيه بارض عمان فلما تولى سلطان بن سيف كتب كتابا الى الامير شهاد لترك موباسة على اهلها بكون موباسة تخسر من غير فائدة وتكون مشاهرة العساكر من مسكت وشق الامير على محمد بن عثمان وضمن مشاهرة جميع العساكر منه وذلك من عشور ووفالدين الذي استدان الامير

شهاد بن شهدي البلوشي ثم بعد ذلك سفر الامير شهاد الى مسكت او كانت ممباسة تحت محمد بن عثمان المزروعي بسبيل الاجارة لينفق عساكر مدة سنة كاملة وولي بعدها بتاريخ سنت ١١٥٢ وقام محمد بن عثمان المزروعي والياً بارض ممباسة واستقر ولايته مك غير مكروه لانه اتبع سلطنة الامام سيف بن سلطان اليعربي وكان رجلا ابيض اللون وقومته مردوعة ذو المروة بالحشمة يحب الناس ويفضل لمصالحه (المصالحه؟) وتوفي محمد بن عثمان المزروعي بتاريخ سنت ١١٥٩ وولي بعده مسعود بن ناصر المزروعي واستقر ولايته بارض ممباسة وفنجا وطنجا وكان رجلا ذو مروة وحياء قصير الفامة ابيض اللون حشيماً عليماً حكيماً دوحرس على الملك سخي ووفى مسعود بن ناصر المزروعي بتاريخ سنت ١١٧٨ وولي بارض مومباسة بعده عبدالله بن محمد بن عثمان واستقر ولايته جلا ولكنه كان رجلا نهاباً غضوباً اكلوا شروباً قليل الحياء يامر ويفخر المبعوض وتوفي عبدالله بن محمد بن عثمان المزروعي بتاريخ سنت ١١٩٦ ست وتسعين ومائة والالف وولي بعده اخوه احمد بن محمد بن عثمان المزروعي وكان رجلا مليحاً شجاعاً صابراً ماهراً صادقاً ذو بأس قوي واستقر ولايته ثلاث وثلاثين سنت وكان ذو الحرس للملك وكان الناس يفزعونه ان حضر وهو الذي يقال له كُدُوجُ وحارب اهل لاموه وغلّب ومات احمد بن محمد بتاريخ سنت ١٢٢٩ تسع وعشرين ومائتين والالف وولي بعده ابنه عبدالله بن حمد بن محمد بن عثمان المزروعي واستقر ولايته وكان رجلا قوي الساعدين عظيم المنكبين طويل قليل الراي وهو الذي بدأ بنيان جزيرة لاموه وتم بارض لاموه سنت كاملة وظهر اموره المكتومة عند اهل لاموه خاصة عند زاهد مغوم اللامي الخزومي وصورته كان عبدالله بن احمد بن محمد المزروعي يبني الجزيرة ويبني في البغلة ليلا وقد كرموه اهل لاموه بكرامات كثيرة منها وقد جاء اهل البلد اليه من غير منازعة وقربوه ورحبوا اليه باعطاء الدار لسكون واليهم ولم يبال بذلك الا يرجوعه في البغلة فلم ل علم شيخ البلد ان هدى له مأرب اخرى ولستشاروا فقال زاهد مغوم إني سوف نخبركم اخباره جميعاً بمدة ثلاثة ايام وعمل زاهد بن نغوم عملا لبيان امور عبدالله بن احمد واهدى زاهد بن مغوم اليه جوتين رزاً وغنماً رأسين وخرسين سمناً واعطا موسى وارسل اليه وكتب زاهد بن مغوم كتاباً وافتعل من سلطان بتي الى عبدالله بن احمد المزروعي اما بعد فالواصل راليك كذا وكذا بيد خادمك فتفضل بقبول ذلك ٣٣٣ وأنتك من يوم جئت الى لاموه ما سمعت احكامك ولا اوامرك قطعاً فكيف واطن ان موان مكو بنت موسى قد غرتك فاحذر من اهل لاموه وكتب عبيالله بن احمد المزروعي جوابا لسلطان بتي فهنا كلامك والذي تفضلت بها علينا فقد وصلت ولا زلت متجملًا ومن طرف اهل لاموه فتسمع ما افول لهم وأفعالي عليهم بعد الفراغ من بنيان الجزيرة ففلان بن فلان وفلان بن فلان سوف يتوكلوا اعيانهم فيراً في كوت مومباسة والسلام

وطوى الكتاب وردّه الى خادم زاهد بن مغوم فلما وصل الخادم واعطا سيده ذلك الكتاب واقراه زاهد بن مغوم وسار به الى كبير اهل لاموه وبان امر المزروعي بذلك وخرجه نهاراً وسافر عبدالله بن احمد وتوجه الى مومباسة وكان في مومباسة ابوه احمد بن محمد والياً فيها وجهز جيشاً وحارب اهل لاموه وغلب هنالك مرة بعد مرة اخرى وتوجهوا اهل مسكت واستحموا من السيد سعيد بن سلطان البوسعيدي وحماهم واعطاهم مائتين نفرأ من العرب والنوبان وكانوا من الغالبين وتوفي عبدالله بن احمد بن محمد بتأريخ سنة ١٢٣٩ تسعة وثلاثين والفي وولي بعده والي عبدالله بن احمد ٢٠ سنة ثم والي سليمان بن علي المزروعي وليس هو من ولي العهد ولكن ما قدر الله يكون وكان رجلاً كريماً سخياً شجاعاً ذو هبة ووقار حشيماً فلما استمكن ولايته شاع الخبر ووصاحوا من في البلدان بولايته كيف ذلك وكان المزارع يعتابونه كثيراً وتمتولايته سنتين وعزل من كثرة الفتنة بينهم وذلك بتأريخ سنة ١٢٤١ تحد واربعين ومائتين والفي وولي بعد عزله سالم بن احمد المزروعي وكان رجي جأراً مبدراً ووسع المزارع ووزرائه يفعلون على الرعية ما يشاؤون وتمت له عشر سنين ولا يزال ذلك الامر وتوفي سالم بن احمد بن محمد المزروعي بتأريخ سنة ١٢٥١ واحد وخمسين ومائتين والفي وولي بعده اخوه خميس بن احمد بن محمد المزروعي وكان زجلاً ذو مكر وخدبعة ولم يستقر ولايته وعزل بعد سنتين وولي بعده راشد بن سالم بن احمد بن محمد المزروعي بتأريخ سنة ١٢٥٣ ثلاث وخمسين ومائتين والفي،

فترجع الى اخبار سيف بن سلطان بن سيف اليعربي هي وهوا بن قيد الارض المذكور سابقاً وهو سلطان على المزارع من عمل ابيه بارض عمان والسواحل فلما بان كون امره عند مشائخ عمان ومسكت اجتمعوا وقالوا انا نراى سلطاننا جأراً يدعي ذكره برقا ورشداً رعداً ويفسق كثيراً ومتى يسمع ان بنت فلان امرأة حسناء يقهرها ويفسق بها وقد شق علينا امره وما تقولون ايها المشائخ الكرام هذا ليس مصلح بالولاية فلما استمكنوا منه عزلوه وولي بعده رجل صالح احمد بن سعيد البوسعيدي من بني زيد وهم من اولاد عبدالله بن مالك بن نصر بن أزد قبيلة قحطانية لا ريب فيه ولم يسأل عن اخبار زنجبار ولا مباسة سوى انه كان يصلح امور عمان ومسكت بتأريخ سنة ١١٩٣ وهو اول من ملك الدولة في عمان ومسكت من آل بوسعيدي وتوفي حميد بن سعيد في سنة ١٢٠٦ وولي ابنه سلطان بن احمد بن سعيد البوسعيدي بعمان ومسكت فلما استمكن ولايته ارسل الى زنجبار ابن عمه يقال له سعود بن علي وجملة القبائل من العرب بسبيل شراء العبيد وتعمير البساتين واشتروا العبيد وعمروا ادياراً وكان بر زنجبار فيها المزارع من دهر قيد الارض سيف بن سلطان اليعربي وفي الجزيرة المزارع ساكنون فيها ثم ان سعود بن علي البوسعيدي سافر الى مسكت وترك

بزنجان اولاداً وبستاناً وعبيداً وبنياً مشيوداً ومات سلطان بن احمد بن سعيد الى رحمة الله تعالى وولي بعده سعود بن علي البوسعيدي واستقر ولايته وكان العرب يمدحونه جداً من مروته وهيئته فلما بلغ سعيد بن سلطان ست عشر سنت قتل سعيد بن سلطان سعود بن علي بطريق الجبل وكانوا راجعون من الحرب فلما ضربه سعيد بن سلطان ظنّ سعود بن علي قد ضرب به رأى القبائل الذين معه وركب جواده وتوجه الى مسكت ومات وولي سعيد بن سلطان بتأريخ سنة ١٢١٩ تسع وعشر ومائتين وألف وكان رجلاً طويلاً مربوعاً ابيض اللون كثير الشعر كثير الخمية فصيح اللسان قوي الساعدين حلیم صاحب حكمة وتديبر ومنها اذا ولدت جاريته ابناً لا يقربها ايضاً وان ولدت بنتاً يقربها ايضاً واذا تقررت بنتاً فلا يتركها الا بالولد ومن تدايره لما امتنعوا المزارع عن ابيه ساطان فقالوا المزارع نحن من رعية اليعربي ولا نعلم غيره ولا من آل بوسعيدي فإن كانت الدولة لليعربي انقرضت من عمان فهنا لفي ارض السواحل ما انقرضت وهذا جواب المزارع لسلطان بن احمد وشرع بفي هذا الامر سعيد بن سلطان وارسل رجلاً يقال له هبوب الغابش وهو رجل ذو حلم شديد شجاع وهيئته يفرح ويفرح من رآه بعظم خلقه وقامته ووصل الى زنجبار ومومباسة فلما وصل الى مباسة ونزل من عواسية صغيرة وقصد الى الكوت نهراً واستأذن عند الباب بواباً فلما دخل البواباتبعه ومن معه بقدر عشرة رجال متقدمون سيوفهم والترس ووصلوا الى دار الوالي في الكوت وقرع بابه والبواب حيران بذلك ومقبوض ان لا يخبر اصحابه وخرج الوالي غضباً اي خرج الوالي من داره غضباً فلما رآه ولقاءه غضب الوالي وتعجب من عظم خلقه وقوته وهيئته فقال هبوب الغبش من انت فقال المزروعي انا سالم بن حمد المزروعي فقال هبوب الغبش فتسلم ان شاء الله تعالى ان اتيت بجزواب شافياً فقال لمن هذا الكوت فقال الوالي سالم بن حمد للسيد سعيد بن سلطان وانا من طرفه واعطاه دواة وقرطاس فقال له اكتب فكتب وصححه واخذ (هـ) هبوب الغبش وسار به وركب عواسته وانزح شراعةً وتوجه الى زنجبار فلما قصد الى العقيد الذي في جزيرة زنجبار واخبره بكون ملك مومباسة وزنجبار للسيد سعيد بن سلطان واره خطاً فلما راى العقيد الخط اتبع هبوب الغبش ما قال له وامتنعت الباقيين واقترقت فرقتين فرقة لهبوب والعقيد وفرقة للمزارع وتضاربن وغلبوا فرقة هبوب على غيرهم وخرجوهم عن الجزيرة فصار زنجبار للسيح سعيد بن سلطان بالمكر بالحديقة فلما بان الامر عند المزارع اجتمعوا المتولين ثم ان السيد سعيد بن سلطان حارب المزارع مراراً ولم يقدر ومضت بعض السنين فلما استوى حرب يتأريخ سنة ١٢٢٧ بين المزارع واهل لآموه وجرى ما جرى وحماهم السيد سعيد بن سلطان وغلب اهل لآموه المزارع وسكنوا المزارع عن الحرب وجاء السيد سعيد بن سلطان وجيشه ومروا على اهل لآموه فلما قصدوا الى مومباسة بالحرب اتبعهم اهل

لآموه بقدر ست وستين رجال في داوتين وكان تلك الايام يشكي اهل مومباسة الى سعيد بن سلطان من امور المزارع وكبيرهم معلم بن مونييه شافى يبغض المزارع جداً ولما وصلوا عساكر السيد سعيد بن سلطان وامير مسعود بن سعيد مقدمهم ورسا المراكب والبغلة جملة كثيرة وكان مرساهم مقابلة خور كلنديالى خور مطابا فإذا ارادوا النزولن سفائنهم الى البر يمينعهم المزارع بالحرب ومضت ايام على هذا الحال فلما رأوا اهل لآموه هكذا نزلوا ثلاث رجال وقصدوا خور مطابا ليلا ووصلوا الى مطابا وسألوا كبيرهم فلما حضر كبير اهل مطابا سأله الطريق ليهرب من مطابا الى لآموه وكان ذلك قبل تعمير تآك أوغ ومليندي وكان الناس يسافرون بالبحر ايدياً وذلك بفقد طريق البر فلما سأله اهل لآموه نوجب كبير مطابا فقال كيف انتم بالسيبة هنا بوتانغي وفيها الازودة والا كل وعساكم فيها انزلوا وهجموا عليهم على غفلة فلا ريب فيه تغلبون إن شاء الله فسوف يكون الحرب تماماً لكم إن قبضتم نحو كسائون وأتاغي والا فلا تقدرن عليهم واي فزع عليهم وما حتم به حتى انجم الآ ن تريدون الهرب فقال اهل لآموه نحن ما رجوا الهرب ولكنا نخافكم ومرادنا تداور سبيل الدخول للحرب والآن قد احسستم واطال الله عمركم فالآن فيصل جيشنا خاصة حتى تتدخل على السيد سعيح بن سلطان لانه حمانا واعطانا مائتين نفراً وغلينا المزارع فكيف نهرب الحرب ثم بعد ذلك نزلوا اهل لآموه ست وستين رجال وحملوا على السيبة التي في وُتاغي حملة واحدة ونقع البنادق جانين وهربوا من في السيبة جميعاً ورحلوا اهل لآموه واخبروا بذلك وفرح الامير فرحاً ونزلوا العرب ودخلوا على السيبة وكانوا هكالك بعض العرب وقبضوا كسائون قبضاً شديداً ثم اهل لآموه أقبل واحد منهم الى كدُونان وتلاقون الناهل مومباسة واستشاروا اهل مومباسة وخرج واحد منهم يقال له معلم بن مونييه شافى وسفر الى زنجبار وخبر السيد بكونه عساكر بقدر مائة نفر في خشبة ليدخلوا خور كلنديين ولو يعلم احد لان هناك زنجل لا يترى المختلفين واعطاه السيد عساكر الذين يعلمون لغة السواحل وانزل شراة عاسية ودخلت خور كلنديين ليلا ونزلوا الاسلكر مع سفرهم وصيانهم ورسوهم في الزنجل فلما استمكن راي معلم بن مونييه شافى الجلنداني امر العساكر ان يحموا على جزيرة مكوبا وحملوا عليها حملة واحدة على غفلة وقتلوا ما فيها وهربوا ودخلوا عساكر السيد سعيد بن سلطان ثم ان امير سعود قصد الى مومباسة ببر ونشروا علم الامان ونزلوا علم الحرب بجبل واحد مرة واحدة ووسل الامير ونزل مع جيشه وخرجوا المزارع عن الكوت ودخلوا مومباسة وكانوا من الغالبيين وكانوا من الغالبيين وسكنوا المزارع في البلاد بأجمعهم،

حكاية

سافر عبد الله بن ناصر بن عبد السلام من بتي ومر على بمباسة ثم قصد الى زنجبار وذلك لاجل ملاقة السيد سعيد بن سلطان وسألته كيف حالك يا عبد الله بن ناصر فقال عبد الله طيب يا مولانا فقال ايضاً فقال وما ترى اهل مومباسة انهم طائعين فقال منهم في ترتيب الحرب فقال باي سبب فقال عبد الله رأيت راشد بن سالم بن حمد انه يخطط في الارض بتدبير ثم يمسخ بخطه ويمسح واخوه يضرب سيفه بالكف وهما ساكنان فدل على راشد بن سالم كونه يتفكر الحرب بالسبية واخوه يقول من غير سبية فاخوه يقول يكفي سيوفنا من غير سبية فقال السيد سعيد بن سلطان لعبد الله بن ناصر صدق كلامك لما حزمت على المزارع فلما مضى شهر واحد ههجموا المزارع على جزيرة مكوبا ووقع الحرب فيها وكانوا مغلوبين فلما سمع السيد سعيد بن سلطان تفكر في امور المزارع وتأويل عبد الله بن ناصر بن عبد السلام فقال ان المزارع لزم عليهم النقل من مومباسة الى عمان لانهم لم يدعون بحقيقة الطاعة ثم انه ارسل ابنه خالد ووزيره سليمان بن احمد وكان هم (هو؟) وزير عظيم ودخلا في المركب شرعية يقال له اسكندر شاء ونزلا على الجزيرة ودعى راشد بن حمد الى الجزيرة وقيداه قيدياً وثيقاً ثم دعاهم واحداً واحداً وكلها وصل اليهم قيده ولم يزل ذلك الى ان تم منهم خمس وعشرين نفرًا ووصلوهم الى مكران وحبسوا هنالك دهرًا وماتوا سوى رجلين قد رجعا الى ارض السواحل في دهر السيد يرغش بن سعيد وكان ذلك الوقت اعني وقت التي قيدوا المزارع سنة ١٢٤٥ ثم ان باقي المزارع ارسلوا احدا منهم الى بومبي وشكى هنالك عند كبير الانكليزي وعرض غقرنر الى السيد سعيد دعوى المزارع بكونه قد حاربهم واخذ ملكهم وحبسهم ظلماً وعدواناً وكيف ذلك يا ايها الملك فقال السيد سعيد بن سلطان هذه القرطاسة انظرها من خط كبيرهم ام لا فقال الانكليزي للمزارع هذا خطكم اقراراً منكم اي من كبيركم الذي كان والياً عليكم فكيف ذلك فلا يسمع كلامكم ولا دعواكم ورجعوا المزارع الى مومباسة خائنين واستقرت الدولة من مقدشوه ومركة وبروة الى تنغ سوى سيوي فقط ثم سعيد بن سلطان انه شرع بحرب سيوي وكان سيوي بتاريخ سنة ١٢٥٩ سلطان يقول له شيخ بن مد النبهاني له امير يقال له حماد بن سمار لما سار الى سيوي وشيخ يقال له متاك بن شيخ مبارك الغماوي ولم يقدر السيد على اهل سيوي ومعنى سيوي اسم القرية التي بعمان بساحله وذلك بخور فكان ومعبراً الى مكران هنالك بلد او قرية تدعى سيوي واهلها من بني سعد قبيلتهم فلما وصل الى سيوي امير السيد سعيد بن سلطان يقال له حماد بن احمد البوسعيدي وكان رجلاً بهياً عادلاً شجاعاً ذو بأس شديد ومن شدة بأسه كان يوماً بفازة في ارض الباجوني

وكانوا سيوية الباجوني ظاهرهم مع الامير وباطنهم مع اهل سيوي وعلم الامير افعالهم واحضرهم الامير قال كيف اتم في الليل تحاربوي وفي النهار تصالحوني فقالوا الشيوبة هذا عادتنا مرة كذا ومرة كذا وقام الامير بالخنجر وضربهم بخنجره وهو يقول وانا مرة كذا ومرة كذا وقتل منهم بقدرت رجال وبعضهم مجروحين وتأدبوا الباقيون وقتل الامير حماد بتأريخ سنة ١٢٥٩ بارض سيوي بعد قتال شديد بين العرب واهل سيوي وشق الامر على السيد سعيد أسفاً منهم انه امر ان يحارب اهل سيوي لياخذ ثأرة اميره حماد بن احمد وكان يقال له ود السمر ولاندري معنى وكان قبل ان سعيد بن سلطان يملك سيوي وهو في الحرب ووصل المنور وفيه كبير الانكليزي وذلك يزنجبار وقصد الى السيد وطلب بوضعا من البلدان القديمة التي حربت ولم تعمر وهو ملندي فقال السيد سعيد له يعني لكبير الانكليزي قد عزمنا تعميرها من قبل وصولكم الينا ولم نقدر ان نتركها لكم لان هنالك مقابر المسلمين ومساجدهم ورخعوا النصارى خائين وكان سبب تعمير ملندي بذلك وعمرها وجعل والياً فيه ناصر بن خميس البوسعيدي وانه امر راشد بن سالم المزروعي ان يرسل خدامهم ليساعدوا العرب في بنيان السيب والديار وكان والياً بارض تاك أوغ بعد اخيه خميس بن راشد وايهما راشد بن سالم هو الذي هرب يوم قيدوا راضد بن سالم بن احمد الذي كان بارض مومباسا وباقى المزارع وهرب راشد بن سالم هذا وبني تاك أوغ بتأريخ سنة ١٢٥٨ ورسوا هنالك خوفاً من السيد سعيد بن سلطان وقال سوف اكون ورءى ومعناه تاك أوغ لان تكا معناه بالعربية نريد وأغ وراء وباقى المزروعين الذيك اولاد محمد بن عثمان هم الذين بنوا جاسي ومعناه يجسون اخباراً للسيد سعيد بن سلطان واما تعمير ملندي كان بتأريخ سنة ١٢٧١ وكانت اهل الارض يهربوا فيها خوفاً وهذا من بني غيلان لا يخطف احد من المسلمين الا وقتلوه وقطعوا مذكير (مذا كبير؟) المفتول حالا والله على ما أقول شهيد وتوفي السيد سعيد بن سلطان بن احمد بن سعيد الازدي البوسعيدي بتأريخ سنة ١٢٧٣ ، العماري واقتتلوا قتالا ومات الامير بالقتل من اهل سيوي وكان يريد ان يحمل المدافع من المركب ليكسر السور الذي مسورة وقتل في الطريق ولما سمعوا عساكره ان الامير قُتل فهزموا ورجعوا الى فارة ورجع الجيش ولم ينالوا مرادهم ثم بعد ذلك جاء السيد سعيد بن سلطان مرة اخرى واقتتل ولم يحصل السيد مراده وتوفي السيد سعيد بن سلطان بتأريخ سنة ١٢٧٣ 379 وكان وفاته في البحر قاصداً الى زنجبار من عمان وكان ابنه برغش بن سعيد معاً وربطه الى قدام المركب فلما وصل الى زنجبار اراد برغش بن سعيد ان يدفن اباه بكتمان لثلا يعلم اخاه ماجد بن سعيد حيلةً ليقبض برغش زنجبار على غفلة لان اخوه كان بزنجبار مقاماً لايه واراد برغش ذلك المقام يكون له بعد ابيه ولم يمكن بقدرة الله تعالى وبان امر برغش وقام ماجد

وقبض الممالك جميع زنجبار بعساكر وتنازعوا وتجاروا وغلب براغش بن سعيد وكان ماجد بن سعيد غالباً وحُبس برغش بن سعيد وولي ماجد بن سعيد سلطاناً بعد دفن ابيه 380 وسرع الى حرب سيوي وحاربهم وغلب وقبض الملك وبلد سيوي كلها ثم قبض محمد بن متاك فهو شيخ وكبير سيوي واحتبس في الكوت في ممباسة حتى مات محمد بن متاك وسفي الزمان على ماجد بن سعيد بن سلطان بن الامام ولم يتكر احد من السلاطين الا رضى واطاع في زنجبار واستقر ولايته بأرض السواحل وولي ثويني بن سعيد بن سلطان يعد سمع موت ابيه بارض مسكت وقسمت ملك سعيد بن سلطان نصفين بابنين له ثم شرع ماجد بكل ما ترك ابوه ليطمه تعمير ملندي وحرب سيوي وتحرروا وقطع عليهم المسالك من كل جانب ومكان ووقع بسوي جوع شديد وغلبوا بذلك ونادوا الامان وقصدوا زنجبار بعد دخول عساكر السيد ماجد بن سعيد في الجزيرة فلما وصل الوزير محمد بن متاك الغماوي وحشمه ماجد بن سعيد وعظمه تعظيماً الذي يمكن عليهم واعطاه هدية سنوية وكساه بملابس عربية واهداه فرساً يعنى للشيخ محمد بن متاكاه كبير الذي بسوي فلبل رجع الامير من زنجبار رأي ما اهدى له السيد ماجد بن سعيد من فرس وانفار اللبس وعزم ان يوجه السيد ماجد بن سعيد الى زنجبار وسافر الشيخ محمد بن متاكاه وما كان معه من وزرائه جميعاً مثل شيخ الاسلام الذي هو الآن بممباسة وغيرهم وحشمهم السيد ماجد وعظمتهم غاية التعظيم فلما عزموا الرجوع محمد بن متاكاه الغماوي واعطاهم عطايا كثيرة وقدم المركب الى جويني وهي بستان سليمان بن احمد وزير السلاطين بزنجبار ساحل البحر اعني تلك البستان التي ارسى المركب ليرقبوا الشيخ محمد بن متاكاه ليسافر فلما خرج محمد بن متاكاه الى جويني بمواشي الدخانية الى المركب ونزلوا الى جويني وكان الوزير سليمان بن احمد هنالك فأكلوا وشربوا هنياً ووصلت ماشوة صغيرة من مركب ليطلع الشيخ محمد بن متاكاه ومن معه وركب الشيخ محمد بن متاكاه الى المركب وكبير وزرائه فلما وصلت الماشوة وطلعا على المركب فاذا بعسكرين قدما لياخذان منهما سيوفهما واعطاهما ونزلا الى داخل المركب فاذا بعساكر قد اقبلوا عليهم وقيدهما قيدياً وثيقاً ورجعت الماشوة ايضاً الى الساحل وحملت رجلين مثل الاول وودتهما الى المركب وكان مثل سابقاً ولم تزل كذلك حتى قيدوا جملة من اهل سيوي وكبيرهم محمد بن متاكاه وسُيروا الى ممباسة وحبسوا في الكوت الى ان مات الشيخ محمد بن متاكاه الغماوي وبعض من كان معه ومضت عليهم الاعوام وخلصوا عن الحبس في دهر برغش بن سعيد اعني الباقيون من وزرائه وعشيرته 381 في تاريخ سنت ١٢٨٢ كانوا السوماليون يراعون بقرات بني قيس غيلا 382 والغيلان بكسمايو وبروره واجتمعوا السمال بمراعات جميعاً وذذكر يوماً الشادب الذي كان كبيرهم ان الفقراء اعداء للاغنياء فكيف اتم تراعون بقراتهم

واغنامهم مثل خدامهم فالأفضل ان تحاربهم ونقسم اموالهم غنيمة من الله ونكون اسيادهم من فضل الله وشرع الساماليون على القتال صباحاً على غفلة واقتتلوا قتالا وغلبت الساماليون وتصلحوا وقبلوا بنو قيس غيلان الصلح ثم ان السمال كتبوا كتاباً الى الكبير الذي ببررة ليحثوا بالوصول الى كساميو وواما وكان السمال يدعون من بريرة افزاجاً ومن حافون كذلك يقصدونبالسفن الى كساميو حتى كثرت الساماليون وتحاربوا ايضاً على بني قيس غيلان واقتتلوا وغلبت الساماليون وتصلحوا وقبلوا بنو قيس غيلان الصلح ورجعوا السمال مراعاة بقرة بني قيس غيلان مثل الاول ثم ان الساماليين كتبوا كتاباً لتأتي جملة من اهلهم ليدوروا المراعات حيلة ليجتمعوا كثيراً كثيراً فلما استمكن الجيش السامالي وشرعوا تجهيز العرس وأولموا وليمة الخرس ودعوا بني قيس غيلان من كبيرهم بقدر سبعين نفرًا من الابطال والشجعان وبنو قيس غيلان اجابوا فلما وصلوا الغيلان واكلوا وشربوا 384 وباتوا ليلا فقامواالسمال على الغيلان وقتلوهم ليلا وهم نائمون سبعين رجل ثم ان الساماليين لم يزل ان يقاتلوهم واخذوا نساءهم وابتاعت في البلدان فارة وسيوي وبتى وآمؤ وانتشروا هنالك وهربوا بنو قيس غيلان وسيويو وكانت قيمة الجارية بقدر عشرين ريال ودون ذلك

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هرب احد من بني قيس غيلان ومعه النسوة الغيلانية وغيرهما وقصدوا الى خدامهم الذين يقال لهم وُيون بلغة السواحل فلما وصلوا استشاروا بعضهم على بعض الن تبيعوهم (يبيعوهم؟) لان الزمان جار عليهم فقال احد من ويون خذوا كل واحد له لتنفقوا عليهم فاخذوا كل واحد واحداً ورجبوهم لكل واحد صاحبه وارسل ويون أخبارهم الى ق رية لآموه تقال لها عروره جانب مكتوب اعلاه وشاع أخبار الغيلان ونساءهم فقالوا ويون لاهل القرية هل نشنرون نساء الغيلان فقالوا نعم فقتلوا جميعاً وباعوا نساءهم فاعتبروا كل من سمع لان ويون خدام الغيلان فدار الزمان على الغيلان وذلوا (ضلوا؟) حتى تباع اولادهم ونساءهم والبائعون من خدامهم كما قال الله تعالى اولم يروا أن الله يبسط الرزق لمن يشاء ويقدر إن في ذلك لآيات اقوم يؤمنون،

فصل

وفي تأريخ سنت ١٢٨٣ ان ماجد بن سعيد بن سلطان عمر كسمايو بعد كون السمال قد قتلوا الغيلان وباعوهم وسكنوا السمال في كسمايو وبني السيد ماجد الجزيرة بردا وسلاما من غير حربلانه بذل المال واعطى الشيوبة وكان ماجد بن سعيد بن سلطان مليح الوجه كريماً عليماً سليماً يحب الناس ولا يبغض احدا يقول ما بر حوا به عياناً ومات ماجد بن سعيد بتأريخ سنت ١٢٨٧ وولي بعده اخوه برغش بن سعيد بن سلطان واستقر ولايته بأرض السواحل من غير حرب ولا منازعة وانه لما ملك بزنجبار كان في حياة أخيه مديوناً وقام برغش ووفاء ذلك الدين وبلغ وشرى وجمع مالا كثيراً وعمر زنجبار وبني جماماً وجرى على زنجبار ماء وأنفق على الفقراء والاغنياء ويتصدق والله يحب المتصدقين وصفني له الزمان وهو الذي فعل وعمل عساكر النظام بيد وزيره أميره ميثوث الانكليزي،

حكاية

سافر برغش بن سعيد الى مصر واستحى من السلطان عبد العزيز بن عبد المجيد خاك التركي وكان ذلك برأى سلطان مصر موافقاً وحماه عبدالعزيز وذلك كان بتأريخ سنت ١٢٩٢ فلما اراد برغش الرجوع من مصر الى زنجبار وجاء مركب السلطان وحمله ليوده الى زنجبار ولما سمع التصلي الانجليز اتبعوه ووجدوه بعدن ولوموه وخوفوه لوماً مكروهاً وخوفاً سفياً وقالوا النصاري ان كنت في حماية الاتراك تذهب مملكتك كما كانوا أمور خلفاء بغداد ذهبت مملكتهم فصارت لهم بحيلة فقال برغش بن سعيد بن سلطان الان كيف افعل وانا قد دخلت في حمايتهم فقال القنصل ان اردت ان تجوا من الاتراك اتركهم وادخل في حمايتنا قبل ان تمضي الشهور وصورته الآن قل للبasha الذي معك في المنور اخسنت ارجع الى السلطان وبلغ سلامي عليه وقل لبرغش بن سعيد يقمل لك احسنت وانه قد ركب منور الانكليز راجعاً الى زنجبار وتزل برغش عن منور الاتراك وركب على منور الانكليز حالاً وفرحوا الانكليز بذلك ورجع البasha الى السلطان وهو غضبان ولما مضى ست اشهر وصلوا الانكليز الى مركه وبراهو وكسمايو بثائة مناور ووصل منور واحد الى لاموه وكانوا اهل لاموه مجتمعين ليحاربوا الاتراك فلما كزلوا على خور شيله بمشوة واحدة والوالي سعود بن احمد ذهب بساحل الخور شيله

وزلا رجلاَن وهم متشبهان الا تراك ووصلوا الى مركة وليسوا من الا تراك فهم النصارى الانكليز فقالا سؤالا اراكم حيشاً وما فيكم فقال الوالي سعود بن حمد من اجلكم فرحة لوصولكم وربكا ماشوتهما وتوجهها الى المنور غير منازعة واما في زنجبار فكان هنالك قنصل علقل ماهر حضييم متكلم فلها وصلوا المناور الى مركة وبراوه وآموه اقبل الى برغش بن سعيد فقال بلغنا علم من اصحابك ورعيتك ان مراكب الا تراك قد اقبلت الى نحو السواحل كذا وكذا ومرادهم ببلدانك ومملكتك فهذا ما قلنا لك ان الا تراك اصحاب الحيل وانهم يرغبوا ما عندك من مملكتك فقال برغش صدقتم على ما قلتونا فكيف الرأي الآن يا ايها القنصل وكان ذلك القنصل يقال له جون كركي فقال جون كركي إن رفعنا هم ك اترضى ما كتبنا بيننا ووينك وتدخل بحمايتنا وانت سالم فقال بزغش بن سعيد نعم وصحح ما كتبوا وكان برغش من المغرورين وفرح جون كركي قنصل بزنجبار فرحاً عظيماً وما كان بارض السواحل من كسبوا ولا كانوا يشترتون خداماً من كلوى ومغأو وويب وبييعون بزنجبار ومومباسة وآموا وأفادوا المسافرين بتلك العبيد افادة جبدة والمشترتون كانوا اذا وصلوا العبيد يشترتون بمدة معلومة ويستخدمون حرثاً ويحصدون الذرة وبما يحصلون من الحرث يوفون الدين الذي عليهم يعني خدمة تلك العبيد فلها كان المنع من النصارى الانكليز بمكاتبة ست اشهر رخصة لياتونهم اي العبيد وست اشهر منعاً لياتوا الخدم طول المدة تمريناً للمنع وكان رخصتهم من كلوى الى رأس كجاء ومنعوا الى براوة وذلك كان في دهر ماجد بن سعيد في اول ايام ملكه او السنوات ولما كان دهر برغش بن سعيد بتاريخ سنت ١٢٩٠ منعوا النصارى اهل السواحل اتيان العبيد والاقنتاء وشق الامر على السواحل بذلك وكان من له عبيد يبيع بقروش مئتين من ستين وسبعين ريال هذا كان ياتون بطريق البر مخفية ولما بان الامر عند النصارى ان العرب ياتون العبيد من طريق البر ولزموا على برغش بن سعيد ان يأمر على ولاية البلدان ان وصل احد من طريق البر وعنده عبيد يأخذوا منهم العبيد وما عنده من المال وغيره وعليه الحبس ستة اشهر وخدامه يقسم قسمان قسمة للنصارى وقسمة للسيد برغش بن سعيد وامر برغش بن سعيد بحميم عوامله وانقطع طريق العبيد وذلك بتاريخ سنت ١٣٠٠ وابتاعوا الكشوراي ونيكا بئمن بنحس وجرى ذلك مدة ثلاث سنين واذ ذلك من غير رخصة ب وغش بن سعيد ولكن بدأ ذلك الامر سالم بن خميس المزروعي لانه خارب الكشور بتاريخ سنت ١٣٠١ وغلبوا بارض جرياما وقتلوا اصحابه سبعة ومائة نفرأ امواتاً مقتولا وانقطع الحرب واستوى غلا على الكشور وقتل المطر ونزلوا وتصلحوا سالم بن خميس والكشور فلها اتي الكشور الى الساحل يخدمون ويحصلون إجارةً من اعمالهم وامر بذلك سالم بن خميس ان يقهروهم ويكفتوهم كفتاً ويبيعوهم حيث وجدوهم فلها سمع اهل مومباسة بذلك قام جمع بن راشد الشكيلي وتوجه الى زنجبار

وشكى بذلك عند يرغش بن سعيد ودعاه فلما وصل سالم بن خميس المزروعى حبس بذلك الامر ست اشهر في جزيرة زنجبار سالم بن خميس وعزيز بن عبدالله بن حميد ورشيد بن عبدالله وشائب بن سليمان المزروعيون بتاريخ المذكور سابقاً وهو سنة ١٣٠١ يا ليت وصول النصارى يكون من دهر شراء العبيد وطلبوا قطناً كما اردوا منّا شراء قطناً هذا الدهر ولكنّا تجاراً بزراعة القطن والملايه على ما أقول شهيداً وتوفي يرغش بن سعيد بن سلطان البوسعيدي بتاريخ سنة ١٣٠٥ في شهر رجب وولي بعد وفاته اخوه خليفة بن سعيد بن سلطان بزنجبار وكان له سيرة مكروهة وهو مبذراً ذوحق وشبق بالفعل وانه لما ولي كان الارض بقسومة ثلاثة اقسام بجميع مملكته من مقدشوالى مغاؤ ولم يعنى خليفة بن سعيد بمصالح الرعية الا انه شرع بامر الحرب كتماناً وبدر المال من غير مصالح الرعية وذلك من سوء رأي وزرائه لزعمهم ان دهر خليفة بن سعيد سيكون كذا وكذا وليس ذلك إلا لفا ومرأماً (كلمة غير واضحة) ولم يذكروا قوله تعالى أولم يروا أن الله يبسط الرزق لمن يشاء ويقدر، قال المعلم يحيى بن عقب شعراً منها

وتفتح الرملة البيضاء حقاً * فويل للسواحل والرمال
ويظهر في السماء عظيم نجم * له ذنب كشكل الريح العال
وتلك دلائل الافرنج حقاً * ستملا للسواحل والقال

وتوفي خليفة بن سعيد بتاريخ سنة ١٣٠٧ وولي بعده اخوه علي بن سعيد بزنجبار وكان ذواسف على مملكته بكون الارض ملئت النصارى وكان يامر الرعية بالصبر الجميل واستحمال القال والقييل ولم ينفق على الرعية ابداً الا انه كان أكولا وشروباً وتوفي علي بن سعيد بتاريخ سنة ١٣١٠ وولي بعده ابن عمه احمد بن ثويني بن سعيد بن سلطان بن حمد بن سعيد وكان مبذر البيت المال بزنجبار وانه ارسل كم وكم ربية الى عمان الى شيخ صالح بن علي ورمى امره ليحارب فيصل بن تركي بن سعيد بن سلطان وحاربه بمسكت وسلم فيصل بن تركي من كيد ابن عمه احمد بن ثويني وتوفي احمد بتاريخ سنة ١٣١٤ فلما مات احمد بن ثويني بزنجبار اخم خالد بن يرغش وقبض دار المحكمة ورحل فيها من غير رأى القنصل وحنق عليه ماثيوث كالسابق يوم مات علي بن سعيد الا انه قبض الدار من غير مبايعه احد من العرب ولا من النصارى واراد الملك يذاته فصلر هو من سادس وعادة من كان سادس في الملك يخلع ودخل عليه ماثيوث وخرجه من دار الملك وصر من المقلوعين ويوم توفي احمد بن ثويني مقام ولي العهد حمود بن محمد بن سعيد لانهن احق بتلك الولاية ونقع المدافع بزنجبار من المنور الانكليزي وهو

في البنجر بنجبار ولم يصب مناوور الانكليز من رصاص خالد سوى مركب اسمه غلاسكوا ضرب
بمدافع الانكليز وخرج خالد من دار الملك واحتمى الى الدولة الالمانية الى الآن وولي حمود بن محمد
بن سعيد واستقر ولايته بنجبار والجزيرة الخضراء وتوفي حمود بن محمد بن سعيد بتاريخ سنت ١٣٢٠
وولي بعده ابنه علي بن حمود وكان ذلك الدهر ليس مقام علياً سوى مجرد الاسماء،

كوكب الدرية لاخبار افريقية

سنة ١٣٤٧

افتتاح المحرم ٨

انتقل الى شيخ عثمان بن شيخ محمد عبيد السمالي بنسبة العقيلي
في يد حسن بدوي
باسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الخالق البارئ الودود ذو العرش المجيد والفضل والكرم والجود فعال ما يريد الذي جعل خلقة الوائاً من بيض وحمرة وسود وفضل بعدهم على بعد كما قال في كتابه العزيز الحميد والصلاة والسلام على المصطفى المحمود وعلى آله واسبابه الموفون بالعهود أما بعد فقد اختصرت هذا الكتاب بأخبار افريقية وبساحل البحر نحو المشرق وخط الاستواء بموضع الذي يقال له جُـبَ وذلك تبياناً لمن خلقت فيها من الزوج اصليتاً وما اتوا اليها من العرب والعجم والنصارى جميعاً من اولهم وآخرهم وسميته كوكب الدرية لاخبار افريقية وأدعو الرحمان ان يجعل نوراً وسروراً للمطالع هذا الكتاب من فضله إنه كريم وهاب وان يسهل لنا وله طرائق معرفته أولى الالباب وهو تأليف الحقيير الى ربه المعترف بالوزري فاضل بن شيخ عمر البوري، لما رأيت اختلاط العرب والزنج بأرض إفريقية المشرق قد آن واشتدّ بذلك من كثرة السؤال الحكام الذين كانوا في ذلك الزمن يزعمهم من قال في جوابه ورضي كونه من اهل السواحل فيثبت عنده زنجياً ومن قال في جوابه عرب فذاك وان لم يكن اصله من العرب فوجب بذلك تفصيلاً كما نفصل بين ياقوت والمرجان لان العرب اقرب الى النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فلا يجوز ان ينسب العرب زنجياً وزنجياً عربياً ولو كان من الموالي فإن الموالي ليس لهم النسب ولو كان لهم حسابا في المال او الدين كما قال الله تعالى يا ايها الناس انا خلقناكم من ذكر وأنثى وخلقناكم شعوباً وقبائل لتعارفوا ان اكرمكم عند الله اتقاكم الآية معنا شعوب وقبيلة عظيمة وقبائل من اب من العرب لاغير قاله ذلك ايضا في القاموس،

فصل

سيأتي ذكر العرب نذكر الزنج الذين هم بأرض وأما وخط الاستواء جَب، انّ حام بن نوح عليه السلاة والسلام كان له اربعة اولاد مصر وكنعان وكوش وقوط وذلك فالحبشة من ولد كوش ونوبة والزنج من ولد كنعان وكان حام بن نوح حسن الصورة بهي الوحه فغير الله لونه والوان ذريته من اجل دعوة أبيه لانه دعا عليه بتسويد الوجه وسواد وجوه ذريته وان يكون اولاداً عبيداً لإولاد سام ويافت وكثرهم وتمامهم فوقع بساحل البحر ناحية الشرق وخط الاستواء جَب قوم يقال لهم الكشور زنجية وكان ذلك النحوليس أمة سواهم تجاور الحبشة بمسير ست وعشرين يوماً الى ما بين الشمال والمغرب وهم اهل البقر والغنم والضأن فقط وهم اثنا عشرة سنفا مديغ ١ مِشْمَب ٢ ملوغ ٣ مسغي ٤ مغير ٥ مشون ٦ مكمب ٧ مريب ٨ مجبان ٩ متيت ١٠ مكديار ١١ مدارا ١٢ تمت، وكانوا هولاء كلهم ساكنون بساحل النهر الحب واعلاه وما حواليه من يوم خلقهم الله تعالى واكبر بلدهم يقال شغواية وانهم كانوا اهل الحرث والرعيان البقر والغنم وليس لهم الدين فانهم مشركون يتخذون شيئاً مثل العجل له خوار اذا مات احد منهم من كبراء يجرون حبل الجلد يخور خوره مثل الحمير نهقاً بليغاً يُسمع مقدر ساعتين ان كان ليلاً وساعة واحدة ان كان نهاراً ويدعون للمرضى لاجل شفاء منه وينطقون وقت الدعوى بالمطلوب كأنهم يدعوا رب العالمين،

فصل

واحكامهم مشهورة منها اذا وقع الجوع تباع البنت او الاخت او الزوجة وصورتها ترهن اولاً بشئ إن وفي ترجع البنت او غيرها وإن لم يوفى تكن المرهونة مملوكة من غير منازعة، ومتى يُخطب امرأة ييجى الخاطب إلى اب البنت بانخر وتدعى البنت تخبيراً بكون فلان ابن فلان أتى الينا بانخر هذه وهو خاطب لك فما تقولين، إن رضيت تقول اشرب يا أبتى استئذناً منها وإلا تسكت البنت فيعرف الاب اعتراض البنت لانها رضيت عنه والثاني من اجناس الخاطبين يكون الخاطب والمخطوبة في اللعب ويلعبان مقابلةً في الرقص ويرضيان كلا منهما ويتوجهان الى دار الخاطب ويبيطان فإذا اصبح يخبر الاب او الاخ ان بنت فلان هي عندي وهذا عرسها ساتان ونحر ما أمكن ثم يسلم المهر ويعطى الاب او الاخ بعد كلام والثالث يتزوج الرجل من غير رضاها وصورته بان يكون

البتت صغيرةً وابوها محتاجاً او مديوناً فيقبض الزوج زوجها حالا كالبيع من غير تجهي الامال وهو مهر،

فصل

اذا مات الزوج وترك ازواجاً وملكاً فيرث الاولاد ملكاً والاخوة ازواجاً من غير نكاح جديد ولا تسليم المهر، فهذا قد وافق العرب كان يرثون ازواجاً آخر الجاهلية واوّل في الإسلام قال الله تعالى ياءئها الذين آمنوا لا يحلّ لكم ان ترث النساء كرهاً الاية تُوفّي ابو قبيس ابن الاسلت الانصاري وترك امرأةً تقال لها كبيشة بنت كعب الانصاري فقام ابن له من غيرها يقال له حصن فطرح ثوبه عليها فورث نكاحها ثم تركها ولم يقربها ولا ينفق عليها يضارها لتفتدي منه، فأتت كبيشة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فقالت يا رسول الله ان ابا كبيس توفي وورث نكاحي ابنه فلا هو ينفق عليّ ولا هو يدخل بي ولا يخليّ سبيلي فقال رسول الله اتعدي في دارك حتى يأتي فيك امر الله تعالى فأنزل الله تعالى هذه الآية المذكورة، ويتزوج الرجل امرأةً بالاستخدام من ليس له مهراً موافقاً للعرب والانبياء المتقدمين موسى بن عمران بعد يعقوب عليهما الصلاة والسلام كما قال الله تعالى فلما جاءه وقص عليه القصص قال لا تخف (نجوت) من القوم الظالمين قالت احدهما يا ابت استأجره ان خير من استأجرت القوي الامين قال اني اريد ان انكحك احدي ابنتي هتين على ان تأجرني ثماني حجج الآية قال الفرائ اجعل ثوابي من تزويجها ان ترعى غنمي ثماني حجج والحج السنون واحدتها حجة ومراعاة الاغنام هي خدمة، ولكن الكشور انهم خالفوا ذلك لاجل الطمع لانهم يتشارطون الخدمة الى ان تجدد البنت وتكبر، متى تزوج عليها فيسلم المهر لآب البنت او لمن زوجته مثال ذلك، فسالم بن سعيد قد تزوج بنت ناصر بن سالم بالاستخدام بمدة اذا حصل البنت من زوجة وكبرت وتزوجت فمهرها لآب البنت وهو ناصر بن سالم او للذي زوجته ولو كانت بنت غيره لانه قد سلم المال وتزوج به فألان يرجع ماله، واشد حكم الكشور على السارق يقتل السارق ان تم ثلاث مرّات، وكذا اذا مات الجدّ فيرث نسائه اولاد ابنه بشرط ان لا يكون من أم أبيه،

باب

لما قصد حسان بن تبع الى نحو المغرب الاقصى وأقبل إلى ملوكها واقتتل هنالك قتالاً شديداً قال في سبائك الذهب وهو الذي يُعرف بالاقرن وتوفى بأرض المغرب وكان ملكه أنه عاش في ملكه مائة وخمسين سنة ووُلِّي بعده ابنه بصنعاء اليمن إفريقيس بن حسان بن تبع الحميري، قال في القاموس كان اسمه إفريقيش بالشين المثلثة خلافاً للسبائك الذهب وهو الذي افتتح افريقية بالمغرب وقتل ملكها جرجيراً، وبنها فنُسبت الى اسمه ومات الملك إفريقيس بن حسان الحميري بتاريخ نبي الله موسى بن عمران قالوا اهل الحساب كان بتاريخ ١٣٦٢ سنة اثنين وستين وثلاثمائة والف سنة لموسى عليه السلام،

باب

ووُلِّي الملك بعد اخيه إفريقيس اسعد بن حسان بن تبع الحميري ويقال له اسعد الكامل قاله السبائك وسار في الناس بسيرة اجداده وكان من ملك البلاد ما لا يملكه احد قبله وأُعطي من العدد والمدد ما لم يُعطَ ملك، نذكر التواريخ

قال صاحب التقييم البيروية لتاريخ سنة ١٣٣١ هجرية موافقا لتاريخ سنة ١٩١٣ مسيحية وهو توافق سنة ٥٦٧٣ لليهود وسنة ٣٨٧٠ للطوفان وسنة ٣٩٢٨ لسيدنا ابراهيم الخليل صلوات الله وسلامه عليه وسنة ٣٤٢٣ لسيدنا موسى عليه الصلاة والسلام و ٢٩٤٥ للهك والني داود عليه الصلاة والسلام ولتأسيس الرومية ٢٦٦٦ وللسلوقيين او اليونان سنة ٢٢٢٥ وللقبطية ١٦٢٩ وهذه سنة ١٩١٣ التسيحية كما ذكرنا سابقاً والذي يحتج هذا الفرس فليركبه!!!

وهذا هو الذي يُقال له التبّع الحميري المذكور في القرآن وكان بتاريخ ١٣٦٣ ملكه وعمّر السمرقند اولا بهذا التاريخ، مثال ذلك اخذنا سنة ٣٤٢٣ وهي اصل التاريخ لموسى واول بنيان السمرقند كان بتاريخ سنة ١٣٦٣ ونظرناها ما بقت ورأيناها الفين وستين سنة وكان اول ملكه اي ملك تبّع الحميري وذلك كان قبل نبي الله عيسى صلوات الله عليه وسلامه باكثر من مائة سنة وأيده ذلك في القرآن، قال الله تعالى لقد نجينا بني إسرائيل من العذاب المهين من فرعون أنه كان عالياً من المُسرفين ولقد اخترناهم على العالمين وآتيناهم من الآيات ما فيه بلاء مبين إن هؤلاء ليقولون إن هي الاّ مومتنا

الاولى وما نحن بمنشرين فاتوا بأبائنا إن كنتم صادقين اهم خيرام قوم تبع قال قتادة هو تبع الحميري وكان سار بالجيوش حتى جبر الحيرة وبنى سمرقند وكان من ملوك اليمن ودار ملكه بصنعاء، وكان عائشة بنت ابي بكر الصديق رضي الله عنهما تقول "لا تسبوا تبعاً فإنه كان رجلاً صالحاً" وقال سعيد بن جبير "هو الذي كسى البيت سمي تبعاً لكثرة أتباعه" فال وكان هذا يعبد النار فأسلم ودعى قومه الى الإسلام وهم حمير فكذبوه وذكر عكرمة عن ابن عباس قال كان تبع الآخر وهو أسعد ابو كرب ابن مليك يكرب حين أقبل من المشرق وجعل طريقةً على المدينة قال المنصف المشرق هو نحو مقدشو كان طريقاً من مقدشو إلى بربرة وإلى سويس وإلى المدينة المنورة طريقاً متصلًا من غير النهر لأن برعرب كان متصلًا إلى إفريقية المغرب والمشرق وكان مفرق الطريق قبل وصول سويس بثلاثة ايام من مدينة المنورة إلى مصر وإلى المقدشو ومن مصر إلى المغرب الاقصى ومن مقدشو إلى رأس الجنوب فاعتبر أيها الناظر كان قبل استفتاح رملة البيضاء كما ذكر يحيى بن عقب قال نظرًا لما اجتمع عليه اصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ورضي الله عن كل اصحابه اجمعين :

وفتح رملة البيضاء حقًا فويلٌ للسواحل والرمال
ثم ويلٌ ثم ويلٌ ثم ويلٌ لاهل الشام والملك الضلال،

فرملة البيضاء هو سويس قد فتح فيه بتاريخ سنة هجرية موافقة سنة ١٨٦٩ مسيحية، اعتبر به وسبب الطريقة المذكورة انه لما رأى ان أباه وأخاه عمرا إفريقية المغرب الاقصى شرع إلى نحو إفريقية المشرق وعمر مقدشو أولاً ثم بساسة ثم كلوى كما قال النصرارى وبعد ذلك جعل الطريقة المذكورة وقد كان حين مرّ بها خلف بين أظهرهم ابناً له فقتل غيلةً فقدمها وهو يجمع لإخراها واستأصال اهلها فجمع له هذا الحي من الانصار حين سمعوا ذلك من امره نفرجوا لقتاله وكان الانصار يقاتلونه بالنهار ويقرونه بالليل فأعجبه بذلك وقال ان هولاء لكرام اذ جائه حبران اسمهما كعب وأسد من احبار بني قريظة عالمان وكانا ابني عم، حين سمعا ما يريد من إهلاك المدينة وأهلها فقالا له أيها الملك لا تفعل فإنك ان أبيت إلا ما تريد حيل بينك وبينها ولم نأمن عليك عاجل العقوبة فإنها مهاجرني يخرج من هذا الحي من القريش اسمه محمد مولده مكة وهذه دار هجرته ومنزلك الذي أنت به يكون من

[1] الايشر مقابل السطر التاسع شعر طوبى لمركبة اهلها قد احتموا من زنجبار حماية الرحمان

القتل والجراح أمير كبير في أصحابه وفي عدوهم قال التبع من يقاتله وهو نبيّ قالوا يسير اليه قومه فيقتلون هاهنا فتناهى لقولهما عمّا كان يريد بالمدينة المنورة، ثمّ انهما دعوا الى دينهما فأجابهما واتبعهما واكرمهما وانصرف من المدينة وخرج بهما ونفر من اليهود عامدين الى اليمن فأثاه في الطريق نفر من هذيل وقال انا ندلك على بيت فيه كنز من لؤلؤ وزبرجد وفضّة قال اي بيت قالوا بيت مكة وإنما يريد هذيل هلاكه لأنهم عرفوا انه لم يرده احد قط بسوء إلا هلك فذكر ذلك لأخبار فقالوا لا نعلم لله في الارض بيتا غير هذا البيت فاتخذة مسجداً وانسك عنده وانحر واحلق رأسك وما اراد القوم إلا هلاكك ما ناواه احد قط إلا هلك فاكرمه واصنع عنده ما يصنع اهله فلما قالوا ذلك اخذ النفر من هذيل فقطع ايديهم وأرجلهم وسمل أعينهم ثمّ صلّبهم فلما قدم مكة نزل الشعب شعب المصالح وكسا البيت الوصائل وهو اول من كسا البيت وانحر بالشعب ستّت آلاف بدنة وأقام به ستّت أيام فطاف به وحلق وانصرف، فلما دنى التبع من اليمن ليدخلها حالت حمير بين ذلك وبينه وقالوا لا تدخل علينا وقد فارقت ديننا فدعاهم الى دينه وقال انه دين خير من دينكم قالوا فحاكنا الى النار وكانت باليمن نار في اسفل جبل يتحاكون اليها فيما يختلفون فيه فتأكل الظالم ولا يضرّ المظلوم قال تبع أنصفهم فخرج القوم بأوثانهم وما يتقربون به في دينهم وخرج الخبران بمصاحفهما في أعناقهما حتى تعدوا للنار عند مخرجها التي تخرج منه فخرجت النار فأقبلت حتى غشيتهم فأكلت الاوثان وما قربوا معها ومن حمل ذلك من رجال حمير وخرج الخبران بمصاحفهما في اعناقهما يتلوان التوراة ويعرق أجباهما لم تضرهما ونكصت النار حتى رجعت مخرجها التي خرجت منه وأصفت اي اجتمعت عند ذلك حمير على دينهما فن هنالك كان أصل اليهودية باليمن وذكر ابو حاتم عن الرقاشي قال كان ابو كرب أسعدي الحميري من التباة آمن بالنبي صلى الله عليه وسلّم قبل ان يبعث بسبعائة سنة ومن ابي هريرة قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلّم ما أدري تبع كان نبياً او غير نبي انتهى معالم التنزيل،

ثمّ انه ارسل العربان الى افريقية المشرق كرهاً قال اهل الاخبار لما وصل تبع الحميري بسفينة الى افريقية وامتحن شهرين بارسال الناس الى اهل البرّ كلّما وجدوهم حاربوا عنهم حتى سميوهم كسور اي الهارب هو الكسور معناه فلما رأى تبع الكسور سود الا لوان وشعورهم لم تتعدى آذانهم قال أعوذ بالملك الديان من اتخاذ النسوان الزنجية والسودان قال وأكرمهم التبع الحميري ونعمهم وأحسن عليهم بأنواع الحسان (إحسان؟) فقالوا الكسور ما علنا ذلك وكنا نظنّ انكم تأكلون الناس وتحبون فالان يا سيدي فطب نفساً وقرّ عيناً ايها الملك كفا عريانا وكسيتنا بكسوة لم ترى عيوننا ورآينا

وجوهكم لم نرى احسن منكم فكلّمّا تريد منّا نحن طائعين لامرك سامعين لقولك فقال التبع
أريد منكم مساعدة لتعمير البلدان على الريف سوى البرّ ما لنا حاجة فيه،

باب

قال لما عمّر مقدشو وغيرها من القرى والمدن والبلدان مدحوا بالنظم ونطق كل واحد بما
يقدر من اول وأخرى

لما اراد الله بالحدثان احياء ارض الرملة والطان
رأس المدينة مقدشو ولقد بنا اسعد فتى حسان والحبران
بلد حصين بين زنج وحبشة عشرون يوماً بعدها يومان
هو من تبابعة اليمن ملك الذي عن قومه مذكور في القرآن

لما شرع الناظم بمدح تبج الحميري ومقدشوا البلد التي عمّرها تبج اولاً ولا ندرى معناه اي
معنى المقدشو ابدأً وانه علمنا كونه اسم بلد فقط وساكنين كانوا من الشام واليمن فمن اهل
الشام انهم من بلد تقال لها شاش بلد وراء النهر ومنهم
إدريس بن محمد بن عثمان العامري الشوشي فالعامري
قبيلة والشوشي للبلد نسبة لهم ومنهم العمود كان من اليمن،
ثم عمّر مركة وكان اهلها من الشام واليمن فمن اهل الشام اولاد العوّث ابن طيء وكان بن ادد
بن زيد بن يشجب بن هريب بن زيد بن ربيعة بن كهلان فطيء قبيلة من كهلان والنسبة
اليهم طائي قال في سبائك الذهب وكان منازلهم باليمن نخرجوا على اثر خروج أزد أي
الازد منه ونزلوا في جوار بني أسد ثم غلبوهم وهما جبلان
في بلادهم يعرفان بجبل طيء فاستمرّوا بهما واقترقوا في
اول الاسلام في الفتوحات، قال ابن سعيد في بلادهم
الان أمم كثيرة تملأ السهل والجبل حجازاً وشاماً وعراقاً وهم اهل الرياسة في العرب الى
الآن في العراق والشام انتهى السبائك، والعوّث هو ابن طيء وأمة عديّة بنت الأمري من

[2] وبرواة واحسان الذي لأمت فيه خيارها وجدان
، سيوي وبني ثم مند وفازة وكذلك يبرين فهم عربان

[3] اي نسبت الفماوي بقرية المذكورة احدا منهما
وهما فامية او أفامية انتهى الشارح

مهرى ويقال لبنها بنوا طىء واليهم ينسب حاتم الطائي المشهور بالكرم، قال في العبر ومنهم زيد الخليل الصحابي وفد على النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم في وفد طىء فأسلم فسماه زيد الخير والثاني منهم العموديين من اليمن ويقال انهم من سادة قريش انتهى، ثم براوة هذا اسم مصدرية كما قال في القاموس برأ يبرأوه برؤاً وهذه قرية عامرة والقاري منهم الحواتم كما ذكرنا سابقاً في مركة، ثم كِسْمَاية وكيسم هذا اسم قبيلة لكنهم قد انقرضوا وهم الكيسم قاله القاموس انتهى، ثم يبرين او ابرين كان قرية قرب فزة اهل تلك القرية هم الفماوي وأصلهم الاحساء بنجد وانهم من العرب خلافاً لمن قال انهم من النصارى قال في القاموس، منهم بردين بن عبدالله ابو هند الداري انتهى،

ثم سيوي بلد بجزيرة واهلها من عمان بساحل خورفكان بمعبر مكران هنالك بلد يقال له سيوي واكثرهم من بني سعد فسيوي هذا من سيوي عمان وخورفكان قال سعيد بن علي الصالمي، ثم فزة اهلها من الشام بمحس قاله القاموس، وهؤلاء الساكنين بالشام واصلهم من اليمن، ويقال لهم من اولاد معاوية بن كندة وكانوا من الشام هناك بلد وقرية تقال لهما فامية او افامية فبذلك نسبت الفماوي بهما وانهم من كندة الذين بمحس مثال ذلك سيأتي ذكر المعاويين اربع فرقة إحدى منهم هذا من معاوية بن كندة الذين نزلوا الى يبرين وفزة وسيوي، ثم بتي كحتي قرية وراء خولايأ والبت قرية بالعراق قرب رازان منها أحمد بن علي الكاتب وعثمان الفقيه البصري وبت او بتي هذه المذكورة التي ذكرها صاحب القاموس هي بتي هذا بجزيرة إفريقية المعمورة ببلدان المذكورة سيوي وفزة ويبرين ولا رايب فإن اهلها يكثر اسماء الشام من اصلهم ولا ندري قبائلهم لكنهم من العراق قرب رازان والدليل أخذت بما ذكر صاحب القاموس كونها قرى وكوار، ثم أم بالمد على الالف قال صاحب القاموس بلد تنسب اليه الثياب هندية وأم قرية بالجزيرة هي أم هذا الذي بجزيرة إفريقية المشرق واصلهم من حيرة لأن تبع الحميري تقدم بتعمير السمرقند كما ذكر في تفسير القرآن لأنه سار بالجيش حتى جبر الحيرة والحيرة موضع قرب سيستان أخبرني الحكيم الماهر مولى بنخش الهي بنخش هو من كلكتا بحارة البوسعيدي واهل الحيرة ليس من العرب وذلك الموضع مجمع حدود الروس وقابل وكندهار وبر العجم اي العجم هي الحيرة وقد ملك تبع الحميري تلك الحدود وأرسل اهلها الى جزيرة أم هذا وسكنوا مدةً طويلاً ثم بعد ذلك جاء اليهم قريش من هذيل بن مدركة بن إلياس فهم الذين قالوا للتبع الحميري انا ندلك على بيت فيه كنز من لؤلؤ وزبرجد وفضة قال تبع اي بيت قالوا بيت بمكة وانما يريد هذيل هلاكه كما ذكر عكرمة عن ابن عباس رضي الله عنهما وذكر التبع ذلك للاخبار فقالوا ما نعلم الله في الارض بيتاً غير هذا البيت وما اراد القوم إلا هلاكك ما نواه احد قط

إلا هلك فلما قالوا ذلك اخذ النفر من هذيل فقطع ايديهم وأرجلهم وسمل أعينهم ثم صلهم وهربوا الرؤساء هذيل الباقيين الى قرية تقال لها فامية والمنتسب اليها فهاوي فلما بان عند التبع الحميري ارسل اليهم رسولا وقال لهم ان اردتم من الملك أماناً فعليكم بالرحيل الى إفريقية المشرق فقدموا قوم بني هذيل الى حداب كِكَّابُ وكان قد سبق بنوا يربوع بن مالك بن حنظلة بن خزيمية بن مدركة بن إلياس ذلك الموضع وهو حداب الرمل كما ذكر في قاموس حداب كقطام السنة المجذبة وموضع وككتاب موضع بحزن (؟) بني يربوع المذكور فهم الذين يقال لهم الخزومي من خزيمية ابن مدركة ويقال وكِئَمَتِ لانهم نزلوا الى جزيرة وراء الزنجبار فشق الامر عليهم بما سبق قبلهم ويفقدان الرئاسة وقدموا الى حداب بكون السابقين الى حداب رجال غير عربان فلما قالوا هذا مكان أمت ومعناه حفيرة وتلال تاربة قال الله تعالى لا ترى فيها عوجاً ولا أمتاً هذا معنى كِنَ أمتٍ قد سميهم (ها؟) الهند اهل قابل الذين تقدموا الى حداب وأمّ وقد لحق بنوا هذيل بني يربوع بأرض جزيرة أمّ واصلهما أخوة بينهم بكون يربوع بن مالك بن حنظلة بن خزيمية بن مدركة بن معاوية بن تميم بن خناعة (خزاعة؟) بن عمرو بن هذيل بن مدركة وكان الرئاسة لبني يربوع بكونهم ملكوا الهنود الذين تقدموا بأمّ كرهاً وبنا بنو يربوع الديار قرب التل حداب فقالوا الهنود أيا وُئِلي مليم بلغة الكشور فسميوا بذلك الآن وُؤُمِيلي قالوا اهل الاخبار المتقدمين، ثم بعد ذلك اتوا اهل عمان من بني صعصعة بن معاوية بن بكر بن بهلة وهؤلاء الذين بارض أمّ الآن منهم عمر بن يوسف الملقب بؤان مبارك لما تنازعا هو وابو بكر بن شيخ محمد بن ابي بكر المشهور بجزيرة أمّ وقبض ابو بكران لا يضرب ابو بكر (عمر؟) بن يوسف وقال عمر بن يوسف اتركوه حتى ينظر صعصعة اليوم واعتز به وعلنا بذلك وكان عمر بن يوسف ذو الادرة اي كان له خصية عظيمة يسحب في الارض خصية ومات عمر بن يوسف بارض غامين اي غميين، ومنهم بنوا بكر بن وائل بن عمر بن هنب بن دعمي بن هذيل بن أسد بن ربيع وهؤلاء امتنعوا عن قدوم الى إفريقية المشرق وقدموا الى اليمن وسكنوا ببلاد يقال له يَوْمُبُ ثم بان عند التبع الحميري وأرسلهم كرهاً فسميوا بذلك اهل يَوْمُبُ والآن وُؤُغَوَانُ وَيَوْمُبُ من يَوْمُبُ انتهى وجزيرة الحداب فيها قرية هم من حجاز اهلها وعمان،

لما وصل تبع الحميري الى سيستان وأمر اهلها بالرحيل ونزلوا بموضع يقال له تُكُّتُ وبنا هنالك قرية وسكنوا ومعنى تُكُّتُ لا يُعَدُّ ولا يُحصى تشبهاً بالنجوم قاله القاموس وكان تلك القرية قرب بئى وتنازعا بالرئاسة وهربوا عنهم السيستاني الى جزيرة أمّ وبنا هنالك قرية تقال لها أمتُ دُونِ ومعناه لما هربوا عنهم ووصلوا الى خور وكان ذلك الخور قليل الماء اذا خرج يعبر الرجل من غير سفينة (سفينة ٢ مکتوب بيد آخر)

وكان عندهم رجلا ولياً من أولياء الله ودعى ربه وقال اللهم أنجي عبدك الذليل حتى ان تمنعهم من هذا المعبر الصغير يكون زيادة البحر الكثير وعزز الله ذلك النهر بدعاء الولي الى الآن فصار اسم النهر كيمكُ جَا مَكُوو اِي مَكُوو مَجَّوَكْ فَلَمَّا وصلوا الاعداء رأوا النهر العظيم ورجعوا عنهم وكانوا يقولون نحن أمةٌ دُونِ لا لنا قوةٌ ولا بأساً الا بالله فصار اسم القرية أُمَّةٌ دُونِ ، ومنها مُندُ بَضْمِ الميم والذال بلد بجزيرة كان اهلها من مُندُ الذي بارض اليمن من شرق حُدَيْدَةَ الى الآن عامرة باليمن واهلها من كُنُودِ جمع كِنْدَةَ والمنتسب اليه الكندي وكذا العَبْسُ ومنها طاقَة اهلها من طاقَة التي باليمن فوق جدًّا وقبائلها العمودييين والآن فيها الأشراف من المهاذلة فهذان بلدان بجزيرة واحدة والثالث منها فيها ولكن لم نعلم خبرها وكان تُسَمَّى كِتَّأَوَاتِي، ومنها فنجان قرية الهنود الذين جاؤ في الاسلام زمن عبد الملك من مروان قالوا اهل الاخبار وكانوا قاصدين الى الحج ولقتهم الريح الى غرب جزيرة حُدَابِ وسكنوا الى الآن وبعض منهم ان تنتقوا (انتقلوا؟) اليها من أَرْوَى (أوزي؟) وأموة انتهى الجزائرات ونذكر الآن بلدان البر،

أَرْوَى هي قرية برية واهلها من المغرب هناك بلد اسمها زَوَاوَة قاله القاموس ولا ندري اصلهم من العرب او من العجم، وأموة بلد اهلها من أموة الذي بأرض اليمن ولا ندري قبيلتهم والمنتسب اليه أمويّ قال في القاموس وأما قول بعضهم علقمة بن عبيد ومالك بن سبيع الأمويان نسبة الى بلد يقال له أموة كما ذكرنا سابقاً وكانتا قريتان متقاربتان دون مسيرة ساعتين او دون ذلك ومرحلة واحدة الى أَوْزِ وكلهما كانتا تحت ملك أوزي جنوداً ورعيةً وكان اهلها عابدين العبادة منهم السبع أبحاراً وقصصهن مشهورة بالكرامة الى الآن، قال الناظم:

وقريتا أَرْوَى وأموة كلهم * جند لَوْزِ عليهما سلطان

ومنها أَرْوَى بلد بري كان فيه سلطان من عنزة ابن اسد بن ربيعة وقد ملك إقليمًا من أَرْوَى وأموة الى ملود بساحل البحر واعلاه الى ديربابة مسير ستين ميلا من غامين الى ديربابة فلما استوى الحرب بينه وبين النباهن وتم ستّ عشر سنة وتصالحا كان الملك للنباهن وللبوريين المشيخة انتهى قال الناظم:

هم من كرام ربيعة الفرسان * أزوة مشتق منها أوزي

ومنها غاما كان بلد كبير بجزيرة وكثير المال وعيال ورجال كما قال اهل الاخبار اصله كان يدعى مغامة ومعناه كان باندلس بلد كبير يشابه جزيرة التي كانت فيها مغامة او اهلها من اندلس وأيد القاموس بذلك قال فيه مغامة بلد باندلس وقد بناه تبع الحميري واهلها من قبائل شتى اكثرهم من بني عنزة بن اسد بن ربيعة واستقر البلد وزاد الخيرات فيه سوى مائه كان مرّاً وأنهم كانوا يأتون الماء من غمّيني في فصلين الربيع والصيف ومن نهر التن ان كان شتاءً،

قصة

كان رجلاً فيه من بني تميم يقال له أخنس وهو ذو مال وعيال وعرق يوماً وكره بغسل جسده بماء الملح واعتشل بألبان الماعز والبقر وعدم الماعز والبقر التي كانت بمغامة واستأكلت الجزيرة قليلاً قليلاً وانتقلوا اهلها الى أوزني من مغامة فهذا سبب خراب مغامة وكان ذلك قبل الاسلام، ومنها كلفي كانت قرية او كورة عامرة واهلها من بني كلفي بن حنظلة قال ابن فرج الجوزي في الأذكياء لما سكنوا هنالك وسمّوا قريتهم بقبيلتهم وذلك كان من حراث مغامة وكذا سرور وسروانة وغمّيني كل هذه اربع قرى من اهل مغامة حراثهم وكلفي هي قرب كليف المذكور نهر مملحة معروفة وفيها مسجد حجرية وسروهي كانت قرب كلفي احدا منهما في البر وأخرى في جزيرة قرب غمّيني في الزنجل البحري وفيها أثر (آثار؟) الى الآن ترى فيها وهي جزيرة رملية وأشجار برية مثل الأيكة ولا يخفى عند اهل البورت قال الناظم:

هي بلدة كانت اهلها * من حارث وبمازن سبحان

ومنها برقة وبرقانة قريتان متفارتان لا فرق بينهما إلا قدر ثلاث ساعة او دون وبرقانة بموضع حفص وبرقة بمكان مرتفع وفيها منارة كبيرة واعلاها كوزة اخضر والآن معمورة قد عمرها حمد بن سعيد البوسعيدي،

حكاية

كان رجلاً جُنْدِيًّا من الحضارم وكان قد غسل تفقهه ورآى الكوز أعلا المنارة وقال سأُنظر تفقي يصيب ام لا ومد تفقهه ونقع الى الكوز وأصابها وكسرها وكان بين العصر والمغرب ونام ومات ذلك اليوم، قال الناظم:

ولحارث غمّين ثم وبرقة * ولحاتم ولمازن برقان

ومنها ملود بالذال والنسخة بالذال المعجمة اى ملود قال القاموس كون ملود قرية بأزجند وكان غرائب مشيدة ولا أثر الديار الطين وكان اهلها عابدين رب العالمين وكان يوجد المصاحف اكثر وحسن الكتابة وانهم كانوا تحت اوزي جنوداً لهم وكان حاكمهم يقال له محمد عثمان البوري، قال الناظم:

لملود خير قبيلة وكرامة * هم من بني أسد الى عدنان
سئل احد من بني أسد * هل أنت البوري أم غيره فقال
انا العنزي من اولاد أسد * سليل ربيعة نجل النزار
وذا البوري منسوب لبلد * فصار قبيلة من عير عار

ومنها غيدان كان بلد كبير واسع وأكبر من بلدان التي كانت بإفريقية بعد كلوى وكان فيه ملك قويا ومُلُكه من ملود قريبا الى نهر الحوت وكان أهل غيدان من اليمن وطموية من طمية اسماً للجبل واشتهر الآن وطام وغد بلغة إفريقية قال القاموس غيدان موضع باليمن وطمية جبل بالبادية ولا ندري ذلك بادية غير هذا المكان قال الناظم:

طموية أزدية وقضاة * سدوا به مدخل الى غيدان

وقد ذكر الناظم اسم القرية أولاً وذلك كانت في ساحل البحر ومدخل الى غيدان
كان خورٌ له باباً واسعاً يدخل المركب فلما استوى النصارى سدّوا بالحجر والنورة الى
الآن،

ومنها يُومبٌ وهذا من ييب الذي في اليمن كانت قرية عامرة بعد غيدان وطموية كانت
اقرب،

ومنها كلفي الكبير بلد او كورة عامرة بنيانها كانت بالحجر والنورة وآثارها الى الآن باقية
واسم الكورة هذه اسم قبيلة

اهلها وهي كلفة ابن حنظلة بن خزيمة بن مدركة قال [4] مكتوب بين السطرين صفحة ٣٠ سبائك
الناظم:

كلفي لكلفة نجل حنظلة الذي * هو من خزيمة قرشهم سخبان

قال القاموس كلف هو جدّ عامر بن حارث وفي السبائك كلفة بن حنظلة لا كلفة غيره
وكونه جدّ عامر بن حارث فذاك،

ومنها المطافة هي قرية كانت اهلها من طائف كما زعموا [5] الامين: وقيل هم من كلفة بن عوف بن عمر بن
اهلها والثاني كانت قرية لحراث بساسة يرتاضون عوف ابن اوسي انتهى - سبائك ٧٤ صفحة

اليها ويظفون الى ذلك القرية والمطافة اسم مكان والله اعلم ولاصحّ انهم من اولاد الطابية
بطن من بني مهري من خدام منازلهم مع قومهم بالبلقاء انتهى سبائك،

ومنها بساسة هي بلدة كبيرة وقد بناها تبع بعد مقدشوا [6] مطافة ؟ ٥٠ سبائك ٨ والطابية هو بطن من
واهلها من الحجاز واليمن وعمان ومنهم اي الحجازيين بني مهري من خدام هو قبيلة من بني طريف بن
واليمانين اختلطوا بالتزويج ولم ينضب قبائلهم فالآن يدعون سويد ومساكن بني سويد هؤلاء كان بالجوف من
وتغّان ومنهم الجنداني قال هي جمع ومفرده الجدي الشرقية من البلاد المصرية وكان من اكرم العرب
[٣٦] مكتوب فوق الكلمة وأنه) انتهى سبائك ٤٥ قال اهل هذا الفن انما سميت مطافة
بالسواحلية لكنها اصلها الطابية باسم قبيلة اهلها كما

وأنه جلد بن مُدحج بن أدد بن زيد بن يشجب بن عريب ذكرنا سابقاً وهم اولاد الطابية فليتأمل صفحة ٩٠

بن زيد بن ربيع بن كهلان بن سبأ قالوا اهل عمان وغيرهم المنتسب اليه الجنداني بالجمع
فلما أتوا بساسة وبنا بغرب الجزيرة وسميت قريتهم باسم قبيلتهم جنداني فالآن تدعى
كلندين بغلبة لفظ السواحلية وما زعم اهل بساسة أنهم من الكلدي فوهم ولا لهم سبيل

بذلك يكون الكلدی لم يدخل النون فيه ولم نسمع جمعه أبداً سوى مفرداً والجلدي قد دخل فيه النون بالجمع الذي جمعهم الآن عند اهل عمان واستشهدنا بذلك،

ومنها التَّغْمَاوي قبيلة من مهرة بن حيدان بن عمرو بن الحافي بن قضاة قال في سبائك ٢٣ وكون تُغْمَى قبيلة من مهرة بن حيدان قاله القاموس واستشهدنا به والمنسب اليه التغماويّ وغلط من انتسب بالشين او التاء ونصب الغين بالالف والميم مع الواو هو غلط فلا ريب ذلك يُقرأ كما زعموا هكذا تَغْمُوي،

ومنها الشمزي هو نخذ او حي من العرب قاله صاحب القاموس لكن لم يذكر أنه قبيلة وذكر اسمين رجلين يقال لهما احمد بن ابراهيم الشمزي وعمر بن عثمان الشمزي ولا نعلم غير هذا قال الناظم:

بساسة هي كنية ام القرى * سموها اهل الحجاز مكاناً

ومنها طيوي كانت كورة عامرة اهلها من طيوي الذي بعمان اي الى الآن باقية ولا ريب فيه واما طيوي الذي كانت بإفريقية فخرّب انتهى وقد ورث موضعهم الكشور،

ومنها طنجة هي قرية بساحل البحر نهرية عالتة أرضها ويشربو الماء اهلها من ساحلها والى الآن عامرة واهلها كانوا من طنجة التي بساحل البحر ناحية مغرب الاقصى ولا ندري اهلها الآن اين توجهوا وأظنّ أنهم انقرضوا وبقي الذين سكنوا الآن وهم طائفة من الزنج،

ومنها زنجبار بلد كبير واسع وكان الزنج يصطادون هنالك السمك وكانت كبيرة النبات والحشيش لأن جزيرة زنجبار كثرت المطر ولا بنيان فيها الا هؤلا الذين يصيدون السمك وكانوا يقولون حرقوا الحشيش خوفاً من أفاعي اي أغوز موت فصار تلك الجزيرة أغوز فالآن أغوز بتخليط الالسن فلما انتقل العرب اليها وبنا بنيانهم سموها زنجباراً ويقال معناها نسبت إلى برزنج وقيل اهلها الذين سكنوا اهل زنجبار قال في القاموس مركبة كانت تحت زنجبار انتهى وكانوا فيها الشرفاء لإته كانت حديثة ليس بقديمة لأن الاشراف كانوا بعد النبي صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وتعمير البلدان إفريقية المشرق كان قبل النبي صَلَّى اللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ بسبعمئة سنة،

ومنها روبا او روب قرية اهلها عربية من بغداد او من بلخ والآن خراب وكانوا زمن النصارى البرتغيس عامرة وكنيسة كبيرة بعد المساجد ولا ندري قبائلهم إلا انهم من بغداد او بلخ قاله القاموس وبالسواحلية كَرْمَب ،

ومنها كلوى بلد عربي قد بناه تبع بعد مقدشوا وبساسة وكان بلد عظيم كثير الخلق فيه قال اهل الاخبار كان فيه مساجد ثلاث مائة وستة وستين او خمسة وستين يصلون فيها محذوف) وقيل لما غزا اليها النهباني وصلوا الى كلوى وهي كانت بجزيرة وباتوا بساحل البحر فلما قرب الصبح سمعوا آذاناً وعدوهم عدداً المجتهدين وتم خمسة وستين وثلاثمائة ورجعوا منهم خوفاً وردداً هذا قال الجمهور ولا ندرى اصل عربانهم ولكن قد انتقلوا اليه بنوا عنزة بن أسد من بني ربيع وبذلك كان اهلها من بغداد والبوريون من الكوفة انتهى وبذلك قد انتقل الى كلوى اهل ملود وهم الى الآن ساكنين فيها،

ومنها جولي قال في القاموس جولان جبل بالشام والتراب ولعل اهل هذه القرية انهم من شام ولا ندرى انهم من عرب او عجم لكن الآن انتقلوا اليها اهل ملود من ايام الحرب،

حكاية

لما غزا الصقالبة اي الصقالبة اهل بوكين بسفائن صغارات تقال لها لاك وكمل سفينة لم تحمل غير اثنين اي غير رجلين فقط فلما وصلوا ونزلوا الى جولي بالحرب وهربوا اهل جولي ودسوا الى الغار اكثر منهم وبعض منهم عمدوا الى مكان آخر ودسوا نفوسهم فلما دخلوا الصقالبة البلاد ما رأوهم واتبعوا آثارهم ورآوا آثار الذين دخلوا في الغار واحتطبوا وسدوا مدخل الغار بالخطب سدّاً شديداً وأوقدوا عليها ناراً واحترق الخطب وماتوا في الغار جميعاً وكان الغار بعيد لكن ماتوا بحرارة النار بسبب ذلك كان قرية جولي ديارهم متباعدة وجزيرتهم خالية توجد الزنجل وورث من لم يستحق الارث بفقدان ولم يبنوا اهلها سوى غير اهلها من الغرباء،

ومنها بلدان وقرى ومدن مثل ويب وتنع وغير ولم تُدرى اهلها زنجية او عربية ولكن قد انتقلوا اليها العرب او العجم مثل شلج وغيرها وشلج كانت قرية بسيوي الذي بإفريقية المشرق واهلها من الاتراك وكانوا يسمونها شاغان وهي شلج الثالثة، انتهى البلدان ما قد رماها

هذه قصيدة المادحين التبع

لما اراد الله بالحدثان * احياء ارض رمالها والطان
 رأس المدينة مقدسوا ولقد * بنا اسعد فتى حسان والحبران
 بلداً كبيراً بين زنج وحبشة * عشرين يوماً بعدها يومان
 هو من تبابعة اليمن ملك الذي * من قومه مذكور في القرآن
 طوبى لماركة اهلها قد احتموا * من زنجبار حماية الرحمان
 وبرأوة بر واحسان الذي * لا ريب فيه خيارها وجدان
 سيوى وبتي ثم مند وفازة * وكذلك يبرين فهم عربان
 هل تاقاة الاوزاع تعرف منهموا * هم من قريش ومن بني حقطان
 وجزيرة الحداب فيها قرية * هم من حجاز كثيرهم وعمان
 أزوة وأموة عربهم مجهولة * جند لأوز عليهما سلطان
 أورة مشتق منها أوزي * هم من كرام ربيعة الفرسان
 هي كورة كانت مغامة اسمها * من حارث وربيعة سبحان
 سكنوا غميني حارث مع برقة * ولحاتم ولمازن برقان
 وملود خير قبيلة وكرامة * هم من بني أسد الى عدنان
 طموية أزدية وقضاعة * سدوا بذلك مدخل الغيدان
 كلفي لكلفة نجل حنظلة * الذي هو من خزيمه نسبة سبحان
 بساسة هو كنية أم القرى * سموها اهل الحجاز مكان
 طيوي وفاغ قريتان وطنغة * عرباً كراماً اهلها غسان
 ولقد بنى كلوى وجولي تبع * مع وئب بنياناً فتى حسان
 يارب ثبت ما بنينا من قرى * وكذلك الامصار والبلدان
 والمسلمين ساكنين بصالح * الاعمال والافعال والبرهان
 واجعل لهم عزاً ونصراً دائماً * ومجاهدين مذلة الحرمان
 يارب زول ملكهم عنا كذا * وديارهم زلزل لهم قدمان
 بالمصطفى يارب اقبل دعوتي * ما قد دعوتك عاجلا سرعان

باب

نذكر وقائع التي وقع على اهل إفريقية المشرق بعد استقامات القرى والمدن والامصار والبلدان التي عمرها تبع الحميري والذين أتوا بعده من الملوك والسلاطين والانبياء والخلفاء صلوات الله وسلامه عليهم أجمعين،

فصل

ومنهم تبع بن زيد الحميري انه ولي الملك بعد أسعد الكامل وهو أسعد بن حسان الذي ذكرنا سابقاً ثم ياسر بن عمرو بن تبع بن زيد ثم ولي الملك بعد أبيه شمر بن ياسر بن عمرو بن زيد بن تبع وهو آخر التبابعة واعظمهم ملكاً وسلطاناً وهو الذي يقال له تبع الاكبر وكان ملكه ثلاثة وخمسين سنة ثم ضعف ملك حمير وغلبوا عليه الحبشة ولم يرجع اليمن الى حمير الى زمن سيف ابن ذي اليزن فإنه استخلص الملك من الحبشة وذلك في زمن عبد المطلب جد النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قال في السبائك الذهب وتفصيل ذلك في التواريخ والله اعلم انتهى السبائك،

فصل

وفي تاريخ سنة ٥٦١ المسيحية واحد وستين وخمسمائة وكان في زمن الملك تبع يقال له شمر بن ياسر بصنعاء اليمن وزاد عليه الحبشة وملكوه ولم يرجع الملك الى اليمن وكان ذلك في زمن عبد المطلب ووقع ما وقع بأمر الله تعالى قصة اصحاب الفيل كما قال الله سبحانه وتعالى ألم تر كيف فعل ربك بأصحاب الفيل قال محمد بن اسحاق عن بعض اهل العلم عن سعيد بن جبير وعكرمة عن ابن عباس وذكره الواقدي ان النجاشي ملك الحبشة كان قد بعث ارباطاً الى اليمن فغلب عليها فقام رجل من الحبشة يقال له ابرهة بن الصباح ابو مكنوم فساحط ارباط في امر الحبشة حتى ان صدغوا صدغين وكانت طائفة مع ارباط وطائفة مع ابرهة فتزاحفا (تنازعا؟) فقتل ابرهة ارباطاً واجتمعت الحبشة لأبرهة وغلب على اليمن وأقره النجاشي على عمله ثم ان ابرهة رأى الناس يتجهزون ايام الموسم

الى مكة يحج بيت الله تعالى وبني كنيصة بصنعاء وكتب الى النجاشي بكونه قد بنى له كنيصة بصنعاء
اليمن لم يبني لملك مثلها "ولست منتهياً حتى أصرف إليها حج العرب" فسمع رجل من بني مالك بن
كثانة نفرج إليها فدخلها ليلاً فقعده فيها فلطخ بالعدرة قبلتها فبلغ ذلك ابرهة فقال "من الذي اجري
عليّ" فقيل صنع ذلك رجل من العرب من اهل ذلك البيت سمع بالذي قلت فحلف ابرهة عند ذلك
ليسرّن الى الكعبة حتى يهدمها وكتب الى النجاشي يخبره بذلك وسئله ان يبعث اليه بفيل نفرج ابرهة
من الحبشة (الين؟) سائر الى مكة نفرج معه بالفيل (الفيل؟) فسمعت (سمعوا؟) بذلك فأعظموه
ورأوا جهاده حقاً عليهم نفرج ملك من ملوك اليمن يقال له ذوانفر مع من اطاعه من قومه فقاتله
فهزّمه ابرهة وأخذ ذوانفر فقال ايها الملك لا تقتلني فإن إبقاءي خير لك من قتلي فاستحياه وأوثقه
وكان ابرهة رجلاً حليماً ثم سار حتى اذا دنا من بلا د خثعم خرج نفيّل بن حبيب الخثعمي في
خثعم ومن اجتمع اليه ومن قبائل اليمن فقاتلوه فهزّمهم فأخذ النفيّل فقال نفيّل "أني دليل بأرض
العرب وهاتان يديّ على قومي بالسّمع والطاعة" فاستبقاه وخرج معه يدلّه حتى اذا مرّ بالطائف خرج
اليه مسعود بن مغيث في رجال من ثقيف فقال "أيها الملك نحن عبيدك ليس لك عندنا خلاف انما
تريد البيت الذي بمكة نحن نبعث معك من يدلّك عليه" فبعثوا ابا رغال مولى لهم نفرج حتى اذا
كان بالمغمّس مات ابا رغال وهو الذي يُرجم قبره وبعث ابرهة من المغمّس رجلاً من الحبشة
يقال له الاسود بن مقصود على مقدّمة خيله وامر بلغارة على نعم الناس فجمع الاسود اليه اموال
الحرم فاصاب لعبد المطلب مائتي بعير ثم ان ابرهة بعث حياطة الحميري الى اهل مكة وأخبرهم "إني
لم آت لقتال انما جئت لإهدم هذا البيت" فانطلق حتى دخل مكة فلقني عبد المطلب بن خاشم
فقال "إن الملك ارسلني اليك لإخبرك إنه لم يأت لقتال إلا ان تقتلوه انما جاء لهدم هذا البيت ثم
الانصراف عنكم" فقال عبد المطلب "ما له عندنا قتال ولا لنا به يدان ان نستغلي بينه وبين ما جاء
له فإنّ هذا بيت الله الحرام وبيت خليله ابراهيم عليه السلام فإن يمنعه فهو بيته وحرمة وإن يخل بينه
وبين ذلك فوالله ما كفا به قوة" فانطلق به الى الملك حتى قدم المعسكر وكان ذوانفر صديقاً لعبد
المطلب فأتاه فقال "يا ذانفر هل عندك من غناء فيما نزل بنا" (محذوف من النصّ— فقال ذوانفر)
"ما غنار رجل أسير لا يأمن ان يُقتل بكرةً وعشيّاً ولكن سأبعث لك الى أنيس سأس الفيل فإنه
لي صديق فأسئله ان يصنع لك عند الملك ما استطاع من خير" قال فأرسل الى أنيس فأتاه فقال
له "إنّ هذا سيد قريش صاحب بعير مكة يطعم الناس في السهل والجبل وقد أصاب له الملك مائتي
بعير فإن استطعت ان تتفعه عنده فانفعه فإنه صديق لي احبّ ما وصل اليه من الخير" فدخل
أنيس على ابرهة وأخبره بكون سيد قريش على ما ذكرنا من أوصافه وانه يستأذن إليك واحبّ ان

تأذن له فيكلمك وقد جاء غير ناصب لك ولا مخالف عليك فاذن له، وكان عبد المطّلب رجلاً جسيماً وسمياً فلما رآه ابرهة عظّمه وأكرمه وهبط على البساط فجلس عليه ثم دعاه فأجلسه معه فقال الترجمان "ما حاجتك" قال "حاختي الى الملك ان يرّد اليّ مأتي بعير أصابها لي" فقال ابرهة "قد كنت أعجبتني حين رأيتك ولقد زهدتُ فيك" قال "لم" قال "جئت الى بيت هو دينك ودين آبائك وهو شرفكم وعصمتكم لأهدّمه لم تكلمني فيه وتكلمني في مأتي بعير أصبتها" قال "انا ربّ الإبل ولهذا البيت ربّ يمنع" قال "ما كان يمنعني" قال "فأنت وذلك" فأمر لإبله فردّت عليه وجرى ما جرى من امور الطير وماتوا الجيش ثمّ هلك ابرهة بعدما انصدع صدره من قلبه،

قال اهل الحديث ثمّ بعد هذه القصّة اجتمع القبائل الذين اتّبوا رأى ابرهة لبنيان الكنيسة بدلا من الكعبة ورحلوا من اليمن نجلا من العرب الذين أنكروا ذلك وقدموا الى الحبشة بسؤرايهم وتنصّروا وهم بربربطن من حمير كما في سبائك صحيفة واحد وعشرين قال اهل الاخبار أنّهم سكنوا مع الحبشة واحد وثمانين سنة بعد انقراض الذين أتوا من اليمن وبقوا الذين المنتشرون بديار الحبشة ذكورهم وأنوثهم وأنهم كانوا بين الحبشة كالجمال الاسود بين الجمائل ويتلفضون بالحبشة دون العربية واتّبوا ملتهم وعبادتهم ويتسلّحون بأسلحتهم ولم يبق لهم سوى القبيلة واقلّ اللغة العربية،

فصل

لما ظهر الدين بمدينة المنورة وقام الجهاد على المشركين من العرب ودخلوا العرب في دين الله افراجاً افراجاً واغتنموا اموالاً وأزواجاً ولم يبق من العرب مشركاً ولا

[7] وكان تأريخ تولية امام بنزوى جلند بن مسعود الأزدي سنة ١٣٥ هجرية توافق ٧٥٦ مسيحية ، ثمّ الامام محمد بن عفّان الازدي وذلك كان بنزوى بتأريع المذكورتين ، ثمّ الإمام الوارث بن كعب اليعمدي كان بنزوى بتأريخ سنة ١٨٥ توافق سنة ٨٠١ مسيحية

بحوداً قالوا الحبشة للعرب الذين تنصّروا عندهم أنّما علمنا أنّ العرب كلهم قد اتّبوا ملّة محمد صلى الله عليه وسلّم ولم يبق احد منهم إلا قد اسلم وأظنّ أنّكم الآن ترجعون الى اخوانكم تاركين دينكم هذا الذي دخلتم فيه فلها سمعوا اولاد العرب غاظوا وارتدّوا عن دين النصارى وتفرّقوا واختلفوا وتنازعوا وقدموا الى ارض وأما وخط الاستواء

جَبَّ وكان بأرض واما بلداناً وعمراناً وستاناً وانتقلوا اليها بتاريخ سنة ٢٩ تسعة وعشرين هجرية توافق ٦٤٩ سنة تسعة واربعين ستمائة مسيحية وكان في زمن أمير المؤمنين عثمان بن عفان وكانوا في قبائل العرب الذين اصلهم سكنوا بخراسان اكثر وهم من ولد قيس

غيلان قال في القاموس صفحة ٢٢٢ في كلمة البر قال وامة أخرى بين الحبشة والزنج يقطعون مذاكير الرجال ويجعلونها مهور نسائهم وكلهم من ولد قيس غيلان انتهى وانهم سكنوا بارض واما مع الكشور ولم يتفقون بأفعالهم وهربوا الكشور ثلاث فرق مديغ وملوغ ومسيغ على غفلة وذلك من افعال ولد قيس غيلان القبيحة وكانوا يقاتلونهم من غير قتال ولا سبب ثم هربوا البواق من الكشور واتبعوا آثار اخوانهم الذين تقدموا وكان كل يوم وليلة يخرجون الى البر عامدين الى الزناجل ولما كان يوم من الايام اتبعوا اولاد قيس غيلان الكشور ولقوهم بقرب بلد يقال كُنْبُ وراء النهر دير وأسروا الكشور بقدر مأتين رجال والفين نساء وأوثقوهم جميعاً وسمعوا اهل البلد واتبعوا آثارهم وكان اهل البلد كُنْبُ منهم البوريين ومنهم الحواتم ولقوهم على غفلة واقتتلوا وولوا اولاد قيس غيلان الادبار وتركوا ما كان عندهم والكشور وأخذوا البوريون الكشور سبياً وتعاهدوا وتعاهدوا بكون البوريون هم أسياد الكشور عباد لهم لكن لم يباع ولا يوهب وسكنوا بِكُنْبُ المذكور الى هذا زمان ونقض عهدهم النصارى وكان أميرهم يُقال له رُوْحِس بتاريخ سنة ١٣١١ هجرية توافق سنة ١٨٩٣ مسيحية وهم البُكُومُ،

[8] وكان بنزوى إمام يقال له غسان بن عبدالله الازدي بتاريخ سنة ١٩٢ هجرية توافق سنة ٨٠٧ مسيحية ثم الإمام عبدالملك بن حمد الازدي بتاريخ سنة ٢٠٨ هجرية توافق سنة ٨٢٤ مسيحية ثم الإمام محمّد بن جعفر اليمحدي بنزوى بتاريخ سنة ٢٢٦ هجرية توافق سنة ٨٤٠ ثم الإمام صلت بن مالك الأزدي بتاريخ سنة ٢٣٧ توافق سنة ٢٣٧ ثم الإمام راشد بن ناصر الأزدي سنة ٢٧٣ موافق سنة ٨٨٦ ثم الامام عزان بن تميم بنزوى بتاريخ سنة ٢٨٨ توافق سنة ٨٩٠ مسيحية ثم كان ملك بعمان يقال له مخزوم بن فلاح النهاني بارض بهلة بتاريخ سنة ٨١٩ هجرية توافق سنة ١٠٥٦ مسيحية وانقرض الدولة النهاني وقام ابو الحسن إماماً بعمان بتاريخ سنة ٨٣٩ توافق سنة ١٤٣٥ وهذا هو الازدي ثم الإمام عمر بن الخطاب اليمحدي بتاريخ سنة ٨٥٥ الموافق سنة ١٤٥١ ثم لإمام عمر بن شريف اليمحدي تاريخ سنة ٨٩٢ هجرية توافق سنة ١٤٩٠ ثم الإمام احمد بن محمد اليمحدي وذلك كلهم بمهلة تاريخ سنة ؟ ثم الإمام أبو الحسن بهلة ثم الإمام محمد بن إسماعيل اليمحدي كان بزكي بتاريخ سنة ٩٠٦ موافق سنة ١٥٠٠ مسيحية

[9] وكان بعمان إماماً يقال له راشد بن سعيد الكندي بتاريخ سنة ٤٤٥ توافق سنة ١٠٥٣ مسيحية ثم الإمام حفص بن راشد الكندي سنة ٤٤٥ هجرية سنة ١٠٥٣ ثم امام راشد بن علي الكندي بتاريخ سنة ٤٤٦ سنة ١٠٥٤ ثم الإمام ابو جابر موسى الكندي سنة ٥٤٩ توافق سنة ١١٥٤ مسيحية ثم الإمام مالك بن علي الكندي بتاريخ سنة ٨٠٩ توافق سنة ١٤٠٦ مسيحية وهؤلاء المذمورين كانوا بنزوى كلهم ،

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فلما كان البُكُومُ قد دخلوا بحمىة اهل أُوزي طابوا نفوسهم ولم يرضون الباقين بسكون بكنوبٍ وساروا الى موعِيٍّ ثم اتبعوا اولاد قيس غيلان الكشور الى موعِيٍّ

واققتلوا فهزمهم واتبعوهم الى كاية التي بقرب رباءٍ وكان الكشور يقاتلون بسهام الحطب لم تؤثر اولاد قيس غيلان وتعلموا صنعة سهام الحديد من حزانٍ وأثروهم به ولم يعد اولاد قيس غيلان الى ارض الكشور واستقروا الكشور بعد تعبٍ شديدٍ ولم ينتقل الكشور من كاية المذكورة الى الآن تفاؤلاً بكونهم من الغالبيين وصار حزانٌ معلباً ماهراً وكان له حظاً عند الكشور وبعد ذلك صاروا الكشور فوق بساسة بمرحلة واحدة،

[10] فنذكر السلاطين الذين كانوا بعمان بأولهم فهم بنوا نهبان أولهم يقال له الفلاح بن محسن النهاني كان بقریات بتأريخ سنة ٥٤٩ هجرية توافق سنة ١١٥٤ مسيحية وهذا ضداً من اضداد الإمام ابو جابر بن موسى الكندي بنزوى وضيعت امور عمان بفقد الإمام والملك وكان لراعي لهم سوى المشأخ سنين بعد سنين ثم قام الإمام مالك بن علي الكندي بنزوى وقام مظفر بن سليمان بقریات ملك قوي بتأريخ سنة ٧٠٩ يوافق سنة ١٤٠٦ مسيحية فمظفر بن سليمان النهاني هو الذي ارسل اصحابه الى بتي بتأريخ هذا سنة ٧٠٩ موافق سنة ١٤٠٦ فملك ارض بتي وذلك بعد مقدشوا ومركة وبراة وآم من غير حرب لأنهم قد أمروا من امير التركي وكان النهاني ملك عظيم في إفريقية الشرقية ،

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وفي تأريخ سنة ٧٥ هجرية توافق سنة ٦٩٤ مسيحية جاء أمير عبد الملك بن مروان وهو بشر بن مروان الى مقدشو وفتح من غير قتال وعلم الناس القرآن والدين وأخذ الخراج من مقدشوا الى ويبٍ ولم يزل كذلك الى آخر الدولة الاموية ٥٤٩ وكان آخرهم مروان بن محمد وانقضت دولة بني أمية بتأريخ سنة ١٣٣ هجرية توافق سنة ٧٥٠ مسيحية،

ثمّ كان الدولة العبّاسيّة ولم يصل احد الى إفريقية المشرق لأنهم اشتغلوا اولاً بإفريقية المغرب ومصر حتى زمن امير المؤمنين أبو جعفر المنصور وأرسل أميره يقال له يحيى بن

عمر العنزي الى إفريقية ومقدشو بتأريخ سنة ١٣٦ هجرية توافق سنة ٧٥٣ مسيحية (وكان بنزوى إماماً يقال له جلند بن مسعود الأزدي) ،

ثمّ قام بالأمر بعده ابنه محمد المهدي ثمّ خلافة محمد الهادي إنه ارسل أميره يقال له ناصر الدين الى إفريقية المشرق ورجع من نصف الطريق لإجل موت الخليفة كان وفاته قبل وصول مقدشو ثمّ قام بعده اخوه هارون الرشيد وذلك بتأريخ سنة ١٧٠ هجرية توافق سنة ٧٨٦ مسيحية ثمّ محمد الأمين كان خلافته بتأريخ سنة ١٩٣ هجرية توافق سنة ٨٠٨ مسيحية ثمّ عبدالله المأمون كان خلافته بتأريخ سنة ١٩٨ هجرية توافق سنة ٨١٣ مسيحية وإنه ارسل الى إفريقية المشرق عساكر خمسين الف ووصلوا بملندي خاصّةً لأنّ اهل ملود هم الذين شتموه بأسباب قوله بخلق القرآن فلها وصلوا الى ملود هزموا اهل البلد من عساكر المأمون وكان أميره يقال

له طاهر بن الحسين ثمّ تصالحوا ورجعوا في البلد وسلهوا من الخلاج ضعف ما كان مرتين الرشيد رجع

وكان الولاء الذين بإفريقية المشرق عجم في الجزائر اجمع وكذا في البرور من خلية هارون

الرشيد

لأنّ العرب خالفوا أمر الخليفة وجعل الولاية لهم،

[ii] ثمّ الأمام عزّان بن تميم بنزوى بتأريخ سنة ٢٧٧ يوافق سنة ٨٩٠ مسيحية ثمّ الإمام محمد بن حسن الأزدي سنة ٢٨٤ يوافق سنة ٨٩٧ مسيحية ثمّ الإمام عزّان ابن الخضر اليعمدي سنة ٢٨٥ هجرية يوافق سنة ٨٩٨ مسيحية ثمّ الإمام عبدالله بن محمد اليعمدي بتأريخ سنة ٢٨٦ يوافق سنة ٨٩٩ مسيحية ثمّ الإمام صلت بن قاسم اليعمدي بتأريخ سنة ٢٨٧ توافق سنة ٩٠٠ ثمّ الإمام حسن بن سعيد اليعمدي سنة ٢٨٧ توافق سنة ٩٠٠ ثمّ الإمام حور بن مطرف اليعمدي سنة ٢٩٢ موافق سنة ٩٠٤ ثمّ الإمام عمر بن محمد اليعمدي سنة ٣٠٠ هجرية يوافق سنة ٩١٢ مسيحية ثمّ الإمام محمد بن يزيد الكندي بنزوى - ثمّ ملاح بن بحر الكندي بنزوى ثمّ الإمام سعيد بن عبدالله الكندي بتأريخ سنة ٣٢٨ هجرية توافق سنة ٩٣٩ مسيحية ثمّ الإمام راشد بن وليد كان بنزوى ثمّ الإمام الخليل بن شاذان الكندي بتأريخ سنة ٤٠٠ توافق ١٠٠٩

حكاية

لما وصل الجيش من بغداد الى ملُود تحركت النفوس وهدمت المآنوس واجتمعوا اهل
برور بساسة في بساسة وشق ذلك الاجتماع وارادوا ان يرجعوا الى بلدانهم فقال احد منهم
اصبروا حتى يتبين هذا امر الحرب اي نيفيت حِفِ وكان اسم لقب بساسة مُفيت ، وفي
تأريخ سنة ٢١٣ هجرية يوافق سنة ٨٢٨ مسيحية منعوا الاتراك خلفاء بغداد ان يأخذوا الخراج
لإجل انهم مسلمون طائعين رب العالمين ولا تثقوا اراملهم وأيتامهم وتوقفوا ثم توجهوا
الاتراك الى إفريقية المشرق ووصلوا الى مقدسوا وبتي ومند وسيوي وتاسلوا هناك ورجعوا
الى وطنهم

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لما توقف الخلفاء ببغداد الى (؟) إفريقية المشرق وجاءوا الاتراك بعد ذلك وأقاموا مدّة
سنة او سنتين ورجعوا الى وطنهم كانوا محزونين بذلك بكون اهل السواحل لا لهم
ناظر ولا مساعد وكانوا يستخبرون بعمان أخبار السواحل [12] وكان بعمان إماماً يقال له ناصر بن مرشد
ثم وصاهم وكان بعمان الدولة القوية باسم الإمامة العربي برستلقة بتأريخ سنة ١٠٣٤ موافق سنة
الجوالد المنتصفين بها وكانوا من غير طاعة خلفاء ، ١٦٢٤ ،
العباسيين وذلك بأسباب كثيرة وأول ذلك ان الاتراك لما منعوا خلفاء العباسية ان
يأخذوا الخراج من إفريقية المشرق كان رأي اهل عمان وشريعة الاسلام بكون بغداد بعيد
عن إفريقية المشرق وكذا ان طراً عليهم شئ او بغي عليهم باغ لم يقدروا خلفاء بغداد ان
تدفع عليهم ضرراً مثل الحرب والجوع ولم يكسوا أيتامهم وأراملهم فكيف ذلك ووافقهم
الاتراك بما زعموا الإمام ووزراء العلماء الآباضية، وكان ببغداد حينئذ خليفة يقال له ابو
القاسم الفاضل المطيع لله لأنه بويع بالخلافة وقرره معز الدولة كل يوم مائة دينار فقط وصار
الملك في البغداد وما يتبعها من البلاد للديلم والخليفة ليس له الاسم (ليس له إلا الاسم)

وفي التاريخ سنة ٣٨١ هجرية يوافق سنة ٩٩١ مسيحية كان ببغداد خليفة يقال له ابو بكر عبد الكريم الطائع لله ولما ولي الطائع المذكور خلع على سبكتكين التركي وولاه ما وراء بابه

وفي أيام الطائع استولى الملك عضد الدولة ابن ركن الدولة بن بويه على بغداد وملكها فخلع عليه الطائع لله الخلع السلطانية وتوجه وطوقه وسوره وعقد له لوائن وولاه ما وراء بابه وتسلم عضد الدولة الوزير ابا طاهر بن بقيه وزير عز الدولة فقتله وصلبه ولما مات عضد الدولة قام بتدبير المملكة بعده ولده بهاء الدولة فخلع عليه الطائع لله وقلده

[13] وكان بعمان الإمام يقال له سلطان بن سيف اليعربي كان بالحزم مكانه بالتاريخ سنة ١١٢٣ موافق سنة ١٧١١ مسيحية هذا كان بالحزم، ثم ابن سيف بن سلطان بالتاريخ سنة ١١٣١ موافق سنة ١٧١٨ ثم محن بن سلطان بتاريخ سنة ١١٣١ موافق سنة ١٧١٨ في زمن واحد هذا كان برستاقه

ما كان بيد أبيه ثم ان بها الدولة أمسك الطابع لله واعتقله ونهب دار الخلافة ثم أشهد على الطائع بخلع نفسه من الخلافة وأقام مخلعاً معتقلاً الى ان توفي في ليلة عيد الفتر سنة ٣٩٣ هجرية توافق سنة ١٠٠١ مسيحية هذا ما في حياة الحيوان وسبائك، فبهاء الدولة ابن عضد الدولة التركي هو الذي منعهم وأصل المنع من أبيه ثم ان سلطان الاتراك اتبع من كان إماماً بعمان وترك امور السواحل لمن كلن إماماً او سلطاناً بعمان وكان اهل عمان يرسلون أمراءهم كل سنة ويستخبروا من غير قيام احد منهم ويرجعون اليهم الى عمان بقدر استخباراً، وفي تاريخ سنة ٥٤٠ توافق سنة ١١٤١ مسيحية اختلف اهل عمان ولم يصل احد منهم فلما كان ابراهيم الواثق بالله قد ولي بقوة السلطان وذلك بتاريخ اول محرم سنة ٧٤٢ توافق سنة ١٣٤١ مسيحية سافروا اهل بتي واوزي وبساسة ووصلوا الى بغداد واستخبر الخليفة أمر السواحل فقال لهم وزيره ان أمركم الآن بيد ولاية عمان اذا جاء اليكم احد منهم فأطيعوه ورجعوا عنه فلما كان بتاريخ سنة ٩٠٨ هجرية توافق سنة ١٥٠٢ جآوا النصارى بست مراكب مناورة شرعية من تعليم الحرب وكبيرهم يقال له وسكو دغام البرتغيسي ووصل الى زنجبار وتوافق اهلها وكان قبل هؤلاء جآوا الاغريق ووصلوا الى طنجة وبعدهم البرتغيسي بكونهم وافقوا اناساً قويين، ثم جآوا الى بساسة ولم يوافقوا اهلها وحاربوهم وانكسرت المراكب وقيل مركب واحد ثم توجهوا الى ملود فلما رأوهم اهل ملود طلوعوا اليهم اي الى المراكب وتوافقوا بينهم وفاقاً لم يصرم بعده وكان بملود رجلا يقال له محمد بن عثمان البوري حاكماً فيه ثم ان كبير النصارى سأل اسم البلد فقال له "ملود" فقال وسكو دغام "اريد منكم ان تسميو هذا البلد باسم زوجتي وهي تدعى لئدة فتنصلوا عليّ بذلك" فقالوا مرحباً بك وقلبت اسم ملود به وكانوا يقولون لئدة وراو ثقلا وصار ملندي

بكون الميم يُحذف، وفي تاريخ سنة ٩١٩ توافق سنة ١٥٠٣ جآؤا وَسْكَو ديفكام وحارب
بساسة وقبض سلطانها بذلك الحرب وكان يُقال له علي بن حسين وأُرسل الى الهندي
وحبس هنالك ثلاث سنين وتنصر من غير حقيقة وردّوه الى بساسة وأقره البرتغيس بمكانه
الاول ثم وخان وحاربه النصرارى ايضاً وقبض وحبس وأراد النصرارى رجلا من
اهل ملود الذي سوف يصلح الولاية بارض بساسة فأعطاه رجلا يقال له شيخ بن عثمان
بن أحمد البوري المَلْنَدِي من عنزة بن أسد بن ربيعة فهؤلاء الذين بأرض بساسة الى الآن
من ذريتهم اى ذرية شيخ بن عثمان وكان بأرض بساسة حاكماً مطاعاً الى اوقات المزارع
وكان اسم كبير النصرارى الذين هم بارض بساسة يقال له مومباسة وأراد من اهل بساسة
ان يدعون بساسة ممباسة باسمه فدعوها كرهاً فصار مومباسة الى الآن وكان بحارة
البلدة الجديدة كبيرهم يدعى غفرنر او غفانة فكانت اسم تلك الحارة كفنة من اجل
اسمه ثم إنه أرسل الزنج من مسمبيج الى مومباسة وتركوهم في البرنحو التل الذي بأعلى
مومباسة يقال له رباء وصار اسمهم وَدُرُومًا وما ندرى معنى هذا الإسم وأظن اسم الأرض
من غير اسم قبيلتهم وبناه الكوت مومباسة بخدمة الخدام الذين أرسلوهم من مسمبيج
وأما اسماء البلدة هي بسلسة عربية ومفيت بمعنى الحرب وكوغوي بلغة إفريقية كما قال
الشاعر:

كُوغُوي جَمُّومُ مَفِيَتَ نَجْ وَكَالِي نَمَجِي يَمُ مُمُ أ كَيْتِكَ بَبَالِي
كَتِكَ لِمُؤْ نَدِمُ تُوومَجِ أَتُوِيلِي إِفْدِكَا
وُنْفُولِ إِشْرِنَاكِ نَجِيوي،

[14] ثم الإمام بركات بن محمد اليمحمدي كان
بنزوى بتاريخ سنة ٩٣٦ موافق سنة ١٥٢٩ كان
بنزوى وهؤلاء انهم يعلون دخول النصرارى بأرض
السواحل ولكنهم مغلوبين ساكتين لأن سلطان بتي
كان يرسل اليهم كل سنة زكاة اموال السواحل الى
عمان الى إمام من كان بعمان ،

ثم النصرارى ملك جميع إقليم السواحل من
مقدشوا الى دَلْغُوي وكان دلغوب برأس
على الناس هؤلاء الجنوب وتمردوا
النصارى،

باب

فلما اشتدّ عذاب النصارى البرُتغيسية على الرعية وذلك كان بزمان الإمام عبدالله بن محمد الهنوي ببهلة وعمان كلها بتاريخ سنة ٩٦٢ هجرية يناثر سنة ١٥٦٠ شكوا النباهن

الذين هم في بتي الى الله تعالى وإلى الإمام عبدالله بن محمد الهناوي الى بهلة وعرف الإمام التركي الذي ببغداد وجهاز التركي عساكر ومركب واحد وقيل مركبين شرعية وكان أمير الاتراك يُقال ميرال هكذا ميرال بيك وجهاز الإمام عبدالله بن محمد النهاني جيشاً وكان أميره يُقال سيف بن سالم الصارمي ووصلوا الى مقدشوا بتاريخ سنة ٩٩٣ الموافق أبريل سنة ١٥٧٥ مسيحية وخرجوا النصارى من مقدشوا الى بتي وآم واغتموا غنيمة كم وكم ذهباً وديناراً وريالاً ورجعوا العرب والاتراج وتركوا البلدان بيد النبهان واستقوى النباهن بذلك ثم جاء الاتراك

[15] ثم كان الإمام يقال له يعرب بن بلعرب اليعربي بتاريخ سنة ١١٣٤ الموافق سنة ١٧٢١ وهو كان بنزوى ، قم الإمام سيف بن سلطمن اليعربي كان برستاقه بتاريخ سنة ١١٣٥ الموافق سنة ١٧٢٢ ثم كان محمد بن ناصر الجبري بعمان بحلة يبرين بتاريخ سنة ١١٣٧ الموافق سنة ١٧٢٤ ثم الإمام سيف بن سلطان اليعربي كان برستاقه بتاريخ سنة ١١٤٠ الموافق سنة ١٧٢٨ مسيحية ثم سلطان بن بؤشد اليعربي كان برستاقه بتاريخ سنة ١١٥١ الموافق سنة ١٧٣٨ ، هذا هو الذي عزله المشائخ والعلماء الذين بعمان وشكى إلى بن سعود ،

الى مومباسة وحارب النصارى ورجعوا منهم وفي التاريخ سنة ٩٩٨ الموافق سنة ١٥٨٩ وصلوا الاتراك ريمب وبالسواحية كرمب هو بلد نحو كلوى كان النصارى عمروا جيداً وفي تاريخ سنة ١٠٠١ توافق سنة ١٥٩٢ رجعوا الى مومباسة الاتراك وقبض ولكن النصارى اعطاهم الاتراك رشوة وخلّوا لهم مومباسة، وفي تاريخ سنة ١٠٤٩ هجرية توافق سنة ١٦٣٩ مسيحية كان البلدان في إملاك اهلها وكل سلطان في بلاده وذلك بعد خروج النصارى من مقدشوا الى آم وبقوا النصارى الذين بأزي الى دلغوي فهم النهاني فأراد ملك أوزي يكون له وحاربهم مدة ست عشر سنة ولم يقدر النهاني وتصالحا بكون الملك للنباهن برأي مشايخ البوريون وإن رأوا احداً من النباهن لا يصلح أن يكون سلطاناً فيعزل برأي البوريون وتولي غيره من النباهن فصارة هكذا الى آخر الدولة وكان الإمام حينئذ بعمان يقال له ناصر بن مرشد اليعربي في رستاقه بتاريخ سنة ١٠٣٤ يوافق سنة ١٦٢٤، وعرفه النهاني برفع الحرب على المسلمين وجاوبه بكون اهل إفريقيا أنهم قد طغوا في البر والبحر فبذلك قد نهوناهم ولم ينتهي فالآن قد رفعت عليه الحرب عليهم كما عرفتنا ثم كان الإمام يقال له سلطان بن سيف اليعربي بتاريخ سنة ١٠٥٩ هجرية يوافق سنة ١٦٤٩ وعزم ما عزم

بارض عمان وعدل ونصر ثم الإمام بلعرب بن سلطان العربي وهو كان يبسين وعمان بتأريخ سنة ١٠٧٩ هجرية يوافق سنة ١٦٨٨ وكان له بغلة تجيء الى السواحل في كل سنة تبعث الاخبار خاصة اخبار النصارى فلما شكوا اهل مومباسة الى الإمام بكون كبير النصارى الذي يدعى باسم البلد يقهر النساء بالفسق فلما علم ذلك الإمام أرسل أمير شهاد بن شاهدي البلوشي الى مومباسة وذلك بسبيل البيع والشراء لينظر المسالك الى ذلك الكوت وكان بتأريخ سنة ١٠٨٩ يوافق سنة ١٦٧٨ فلما وصل الأمير باع ما عنده واستخبر اهل البلاد المسالك والمداخل واتفقوا ورأى الأمير شهاد كل ما ينفعه ومطلوبه ورجع الى عمان وأخبر الإمام بلعرب بن سلطان العربي وفي تأريخ سنة ١٠٩١ يناثر سنة ١٦٨٩ مسيحية جاء الحرب بمراكب وسفائن ورسوا مقابلة باب مومباسة من بعيد بقدر ثلاث ميلا فلما جن الليل أقبلوا اليهم اهل مومباسة والنصارى لا يعلمون وكانوا يستلون بعضهم على بعض وصول المراكب وانهم غفلان ونزلوا بعض العساكر بخور كلندين ودخلوا مومباسة وصاروا النصارى محصورين وعملوا سلماً كثيراً وطلعوا عليهم ليلا يوم عيدهم وخرجواهم وقبض أمير شهاد الكوت وكان من الغالبيين بتأريخ سنة ١١٢٥ موافق سنة ١٧١٣ وكان بعد الإمام بلعرب بن سلطان قد توفي أي دخول مومباسة فلما كان الإمام سيف بن سلطان العربي هو الذي لقب بقميد الارض وأمر الامير ان يترك مومباسة بيد النباهن الذين هم ببتي وعلم ذلك محمد بن عثمان المزروعي ما حكى الإمام وأمر وحن قلب محمد بن عثمان ان يكون هو والياً فيها وأنه سوف يسلم شيئاً مثل النباهن وأراد محمد بن عثمان ذلك من أمير شهاد ومن النباهن وتوافقوا المزارع والامير والنباهن وعرفوا الإمام سيف بن سلطان ورضي به الإمام وفي التأريخ سنة ١١٣٨ هجرية ولي محمد بن عثمان المزروعي كونه والياً بأرض مومباسة وتعلقاتها من تأريخ سنة ١٧٢٥ مسيحية فسبب ذلك قام للمزروعي اسم الوالي فقط اعني تحت النباهن لأن للنباهن قام اسم السلطان بتأريخ مظفر بن سليمان التبهاني لأنه ملك عمان وتعلقاتها فسرى اسم الملك والسلطان،

١٥ سنة وكان محمد بن عثمان والياً بأرض مومباسة خمس وعشر سنة

سنة ١١٣٨ موافق سنة ١٧٢٥ مسيحية

٢٥ سنة ثم مسعود بن ناصر تأريخ سنة ١١٥٣ موافق ١٧٤٠ مسيحية

٨ سنة ثم عبد الله بن محمد بن عثمان سنة ١١٧٨ موافق سنة

١٧٦٤ سيحية

| | |
|----|---|
| ٣٣ | سنة ثم حمد بن محمد بن عثمان سنة ١١٨٦ موافق سنة ١٧٧٢ |
| ١٠ | سنة ثم عبد الله بن حمد بن محمد بن عثمان سنة ١٢١٩ موافق سنة ١٨٠٤ |
| ٢ | سنة ثم سليمان بن علي المزروعى سنة ١٢٢٩ موافق سنة ١٨١٣ |
| ١٠ | سنة ثم سالم بن حمد بن محمد بن عثمان سنة ١٢٣١ موافق سنة ١٨١٥ |
| ٢ | سنة ثم خميس بن حمد بن محمد بن عثمان سنة ١٢٤١ موافق سنة ١٨٢٥ |
| ٢ | سنة ثم راشد بن سالم بن حمد بن محمد بن عثمان سنة ١٢٤٥ موافق سنة ١٨٢٩ |

وراشد بن سالم هو آخرهم عزل، كان ولايتهم سبع ومائة سنين بأول تأريخ الذي ذكرناه سابقاً اعلاه وإنه عزل وحبس ومعه اربعة وعشرون نفر من المزارع سيأتي ذكره إن شاء الله تعالى والله يعلم،

ولما كان محمد بن عثمان المزروعى والياً بارض مومباسة برأى النباهن وملك البلدان من مومباسة الى طنجة كلها وأز بأمر إمامه سيف بن سلطان اليعربى ناصحاً وطائعاً به،

فلما مات الإمام المذكور وكان بعمان إماماً يقال له سلطان بن مرشد اليعربى بتأريخ سنة ١١٥١ يوافق التأريخ سنة ١٧٣٨ ومات محمد بن عثمان المزروعى بعد سنتين وكان بعده مسعود بن ناصر المزروعى وملك البلدان مثل محمد بن عثمان وإنه كان رجلاً صالحاً وكان بعمان إماماً بحلة رستاقه يقال له أحمد بن سعيد البوسعيدى فهو الذي ولّاه المشائخ وعزل به سلطان بن مرشد وكان بتأريخ سنة ١١٥٤ يوافق سنة ١٧٤١ مسيحية،

فلما مات مسعود بن ناصر بأرض مومباسة وكان بعمان حينئذ إماماً يقال له سعيد بن أحمد بن سعيد البوسعيدى بتأريخ سنة ١١٨٨ موافق سنة ١٧٧٥ وكان بارض مومباسة الوالى عبد الله بن محمد بن عثمان المزروعى وكان هولاء الثلاثة فى الطاعة لكل من يكون اماماً برستاقه وكذا حمد بن محمد بن عثمان كان فى الطاعة حتى اذا توفى سعيد بن احمد بن سعيد بتأريخ سنة ١١٩٣ عن سنة ١٧٧٩ وكان إماماً احمد بن سعيد البوسعيدى وانتقل الإمامة الى مسقط بتأريخ المذكور وخرج حمد بن محمد بن عثمان عن طاعة البوسعيدى وكان والياً بذاته وذلك برأى النباهن الذين هم بيتى وكأء،

ثم بعد حمد بن سعيد كان ابنه سلطان بن حمد بن سعيد وملك مثل أبيه ومات سلطان بن حمد بن سعيد فى عمان ومات حمد بن محمد بن عثمان بارض مومباسة بأيام قلائل اختلافاهما دون شهر

واحد وقام بعدها ابنه سعيد بن سلطان في مسكت وكان بتاريخ سنة ١٢١٩ موافق تأريخ سنة ١٨٠٤ ، وكان بأرض مومباسة بعد حمد بن محمد ابنه الكبير عبدالله بن حمد بن محمد بن عثمان بتاريخ واحد وهو ١٢١٩ كما رأينا،

ولما ملك سلطان بن حمد بن سعيد أرسل رجلاً يقال له اي كُنَيْتَه هبوب الغبش الى حمد بن محمد ووصل هبوب الغبش مومباسة نهاراً ونزل وتوجه الى الكوت ودخل من غير إذن البواب ووصل الى دار الوالي وقرع الباب وخرج الوالي وأجلسه هبوب الغبش فقال هبوب اي سئله "لمن هذا الكوت" وأجاب حمد بن محمد "للسيد" خوفاً منه وخرج هبوب الغبش دواة والقرطاسة وأعطاه وقال له "اكتب" وكتب الوالي حمد بن محمد كون الكوت ومومباسة لمن كان ساطاناً او إماماً بعمان وخرج هبوب الغبش وركب عواسيته وتوجه الى زنجبار ثم حمد بن محمد بن عثمان أرسل كتاباً الى اهل لآمو وعرفهم بكونه يريد التزويج وعلما اهل أم مطلوبه فقالوا له إن حصلت فلا بأس بذلك قد رضينا بك فاتي الينا ونحن من الطائعين امرك وأرسل ابنه الكبير يقال له عبدالله بن حمد بن محمد بن عثمان المزروعي فلما وصل وبنا الحصن الذي باقي الى الآن بأم ولم يتم بنيانه وذلك لما بان أمره عند أهل أم وذلك انه كان يبني الحصن نهاراً ويبيت ليلا في بخلته مدة سنة كاملة وكان قد قربوه بالدور وغرائف لم يقبل المزروعي بكون مبيته في البلاد أبداً وافعل زاهد بن مغوم كتاباً من سلطان بتي وذكر فيه فالواصلات اليك رأسين غنماً وثلاث مزيغوات رزاً وخرمين سمناً فتفضل بقبول ذلك وأنت من يوم وصلت الى أم لم نسمع شيئاً من أخبارك وأظن انك مغوراً بموان مكو بنت موسى والسلام، وقال المزروعي في جوابه كتابك قد وصل والذي تفضلت بها علينا ولا زلت متجملاً وإني إن شاء الله تعالى سوف أحبس فلاناً وفلاناً متى فرغنا بنيان الجزيرة وأعطاء موسى خادم زاهد بن مغوم وتوجه موسى الى أم والى زاهد بن مغوم المخزومي فلما قرأ زاهد كتاب المزروعي توجه الى كبير اهل أم وأخبره وراواه (أراه؟) كتاباً، واجتمعوا اهل أم بالرأي الشديد وخرجوه من أم نهاراً فلما وصل عبدالله بن حمد الى مومباسة وتشمروا المزارع بالحرب وتوفي حمد بن محمد بن عثمان المزروعي قبل القتال وكان بأرض مومباسة عبدالله بن حمد بن محمد بن عثمان والياً بتاريخ سنة ١٢١٩ هجرية يوافق سنة ١٨٠٤ مسيحية،

ثم الوالي عبدالله بن حمد انه توجه الى ارض أم بالحرب واقتتلوا قتالا وهزموا المزارع وقتلوا منهم كم وكما قالوا اهل الاخبار كان اهل أم لا يأكلون السمك لاجل اذا وجد السمك يكون في بطنه عضواً من أعضاء المزروعيين فصار كذلك مدة سنة كاملة وكان ذلك الحرب بتاريخ سنة ١٢٢٧ يوافق سنة ١٨١٢ مسيحية،

وكان بعمان قد ملك سعيد بن سلطان بتأريخ سنة ١٢١٩ يوافق سنة ١٨٠٤ وملك سعيد بن سلطان بن حمد بن سعيد البوسعيدي مسكت وزنجبار من فضل الملك القهار فلما استقر ولايته بمسكت وزنجبار نظر الى المزارع وخطابهم بكونه ملك عليهم وانهم من رعيته فأنكروا المزارع بذلك وحاربهم سيّد سعيد بن سلطان بتأريخ سنة ١٢٢٤ توافق سنة ١٨٠٩ ولم يقدر عليهم وسكت منهم السيّد سعيد بن سلطان، وفي تأريخ سنة ١٢٢٩ سافروا اهل أمّ الى مسكت والى السيّد سعيد بن سلطان واستحموا منه لإجل المزارع وحماهم واعطاهم مائتين نفر من عساكره ومدافع وبنادق وباروت (بارود؟) وكلّ ما يحتاج اليهم (يحتاجون اليه؟) ورجعوا اهل أمّ فرحاناً بذلك وبنوا الحصن ودخلوا عساكر السيّد سعيد بن سلطان وكفّ الله شرّ المآزاع به وفي تأريخ سنة ١٢٣٠ جاء سيّد سعيد بن سلطان وحارب المزارع وغلب وخرّجهم عن الكوت وتركهم ولاه فلما بان كون انهم من الخائنين بأمر السيّد سعيد شرع اهل مومباسة بفتنة شديدة على أمور المزارع وكان ذلك بتأريخ سنة ١٢٣١ موافق سنة ١٨١٥ وكان والياً بمومباسة حينئذٍ سالم بن حمد بن محمد بن عثمان المزروعى وخالف سالم بن حمد وجاء سعيد بن سلطان وجيش عظيم وحاربهم فلما وصل السيّد سعيد بن سلطان الى أرض أمّ خرج معه ست وستين (٦٦) نفر ستين من خدام وست من القبائل وتبعوا السيّد الى مومباسة وحارب السيّد المزارع ولم ينقضي حاجة لأنّ المركب والبغالة في البحر لم يقدروا النزول فلما رأوا اهل أمّ نزل نفرين منهم وتوجّها الى خور مطافة فاستخبروا اخبار المزارع من يدلّهم الطريق فدلّهم احد من اهل مطافة وأخبرهما بكون ثلاث السيب مبناء (؟) بنحو أتاغي وفيها متاع الزافة الجميع والا كل واقلّ الناس وانهم غفلان لا يذكرون شيئاً فهذا السيب هي قوتهم فلما علموا ذلك اهل أمّ ورجعوا الى البحر في السفينة ونزلوا من كان معهم جميعاً وبقوا الذين بحار اي بحرية وتوجّها الى وتأنغي وحملوا على من كانوا في السبية الاوّل وضربوهم وخرّجهم وهربوا من في السبية الاوّل والثانية وأرسلوا الى امير مسعود وأخبروا كون ما كان وجاء عساكر وقبضوا السيب (فوق هذه الكلمة وقعت علامات غير واضحة) ونزلوا العساكر من في المراكب والبغلات وجازوا نحو كساؤن، ثمّ المعلّم بن مويبي شافي الجلنداني انه توجه الى زنجبار وقال للسيّد سعيد اعطني عساكر حتى ندخلهم مومباسة بوجه كذا وكذا فأعطاه مائتين نفر من العرب واعطاه كتاباً ليخبر امير مسعود بكون "اذا قرأت كتابي هذا فكن متمسراً وارقب أمر معلّم بن مويبي شافي اذا امرك أمراً فاتبعه تكن من الغالبيين والسلام" فلما قرأ الامير كتاب سعيد بن سلطان واستشار الامير من معلّم بن مويبي شا في وتواعدا صبحاً وكان معلّم بن مويبي شافي قد دسّ عساكر السيّد سعيد بن سلطان بكلنديين في الزنجل مع كل حوائجهم فلما اصبح انزغت (كلمة مجهولة يمكنها من لغوة محلية) السفائن قاصدين الى

مومباسة والى مدخل فلماً رأوا المزارع ذلك الامر اجتمعوا يرقبون من مدخل مومباسة وسمعوا بنادق في البلاد داخلين عساكر السيد سعيد بن سلطان فلماً رأوا المزارع نشروا علم الامان ووجهوا الامير مسعود وخرجوا من كوت مومباسة الى البلاد وسكنوا ودخلوا عساكر السيد وكانوا من الغالبين،

حكاية

وفي تأريخ سنة ١٢٤٢ في ولاية خميس بن حمد بن محمد بن عثمان المزروعى توافق سنة ١٨٢٦ مسيحية كان رخلا من اهل بتي يقال له عبد الله بن ناصر بن عبد السلام توجه الى زنجبار ومر بمومباسة فلماً وصل الى زنجبار سأله السيد اخبار مومباسة فقال ان المزارع لم يزل جهودهم لإني رأيت خميس بن حمد يصرب سيفه بالكف وسالم بن حمد يخط في الارض ثم يمسح وهما ساكنان فدلّت ان خميس يتفكر بالحرب من غير البومة وسالم يتفكر ببنيان البومة هذه علامتي ما جزمت بعقلي، فلماً كان وقت الموسم سافر السيد سعيد بن سلطان الى مسكت فقام الحرب من ورائه وقتل خميس ومويني وعأو في جزيرة مكوب وذلك بحيلة المزارع وهؤلاء خميس بن حمد وابن اخيه راشد بن سالم بن حمد في البلاد وكان ذلك الوقت في ولاية راشد بن سالم فلماً علم ذلك السيد سعيد ارسل ابنه خالد بن سعيد بن سلطان ووزيره سليمان بن حمد البوسعيدي بمركب يقال لها سكندر شاء ودعى راشد وحبس ثم ودعى واحداً واحداً وحبسوا راشد بن سالم بن حمد بن محمد بن عثمان وغيرهم من المزارع بقدر خمسة وعشرين نفر من المزارع ورسلوا (ارسلوا؟) الى مكران في الاصفاد مقرنين وكان ذلك بتأريخ سنة ١٢٤٥ توافق سنة ١٨٢٩ مسيحية،

وهربوا المزارع الباقين فمنهم من توجه الى جاسي وكان معمورة لكنها كان فيها خداماً من الهاربين اسيادهم فهولاء من ذرية محمد بن عثمان واخوته قضيب بن عثمان وعلي بن عثمان فهولاء الذين توجهوا الى جاسي وأما راشد بن سالم الذي هو من رعية راشد بن سالم بن حمد بن محمد بن عثمان المحبوس بمكران ولكن وافق اسمه واسم ابوه فهو راشد بن سالم بن عبد الله بن زاهر المزروعى انه توجه الى تآكؤغ و بنا قرية سراً من غير جهراً خوفاً من سيد سعيد بن سلطان وانه خالف هولاء اولاد محمد بن عثمان وقال سوف اكون ورا هو (هنا؟) معنى تاكا اوغ وكان بتأريخ بنيان تاكاؤغ سنة ١٢٤٧ توافق سنة ١٨٣١،

وفي تأريخ سنة ١٢٥٢ موافق سنة ١٨٣٦ شرع السيد سعيد بن سلطان ان يحارب سيوي وكان بسيوي شيخاً كبيراً يقال له شيخ متآفة بن شيخ مبارك الفماوي وانه تحت النباهن لكن له الامر والدولة له وتكرّر الحرب مراراً ولم يغلب عليه السيد وقتل بسيوي عرباً كراماً لا يحصى عدداً ورجع السيد بن سلطان الى عمان وهو مغلوب

وفي تأريخ ١٢٥٦ موافق سنة ١٨٤٠ مسيحية جاء امير حمّاد بن حمد البوسعيدي وكان كنيته يقال له ولد سمّار وهو (كان؟) رجلاً شجاعاً قوي المهيم اذا قصد شيئاً لم يرجع حتى يناله وكان امير السيد سعيد بن سلطان فلما جاء قاصداً الى سيوي ومرّ بمقدشو ونزل على غفلة وسئل كبيرهم ولم يوجد عند المقدشوا وقال امير حمّاد بن حمد ان اهل مقدشو ما عندهم كبير ولاجل ذلك نهوا رباعتنا الذين مروا بهم عليهم واخبروهم انهم من رعية السيد سعيد بن سلطان وقتلهم إنكم ما تعرفوا سعيد بن سلطان فالآن نحن من رعية سعيد بن سلطان هاتوا المال الذي نهبت منهم هذه الساعة وهربوا اهل مقدشو كل من حضر عند الامير حمّاد بن حمد وحاربهم وقبض المسجد ونادوا الأمان الآن وترك عساكر السيد سعيد بن سلطان في البنادر المعروف ثم توجه الامير الى سيوي وحاربهم وقتل امير حمّاد بن حمد البوسعيدي بأرض سيوي بتاريخ سنة ١٢٥٧ موافق سنة ١٨٤١ ،

ثم تشمّر السيد سعيد بن سلطان بحرب سيوي وحاربهم وقطع المسالك عليهم من كل جانب ومكان ونادوا الامان اهل سيوي ودخل عساكر السيد وبني جريزة فيه وكان ذلك بتاريخ سنة ١٨٤٣ مسيحية موافق سنة ١٢٥٩ ،

وسكنوا عساكر السيد في سيوي وتمّ لهم سبع سنين ثم رجع شيخ متآفة وخرج العساكر من عساكر السيد سعيد بن سلطان وكان شيخ متآفة في البر حين دخول عساكر الى سيوي وتوفي شيخ متآفة بن شيخ مبارك الفماوي بارض سيوي قال ابنه محمد بن شيخ متآفة بن شيخ مبارك بتاريخ سنة ١٢٦٤ موافق سنة ١٨٤٧ مسيحية،

تمت الجزء الاول من كوكب الدرية لاجبار افريقية لفاضل بن عمر بن فاضل البوري الذي هو من عنزة ويليهِ الجزء الثاني، اوله محمد بن متآفة وسيوي،