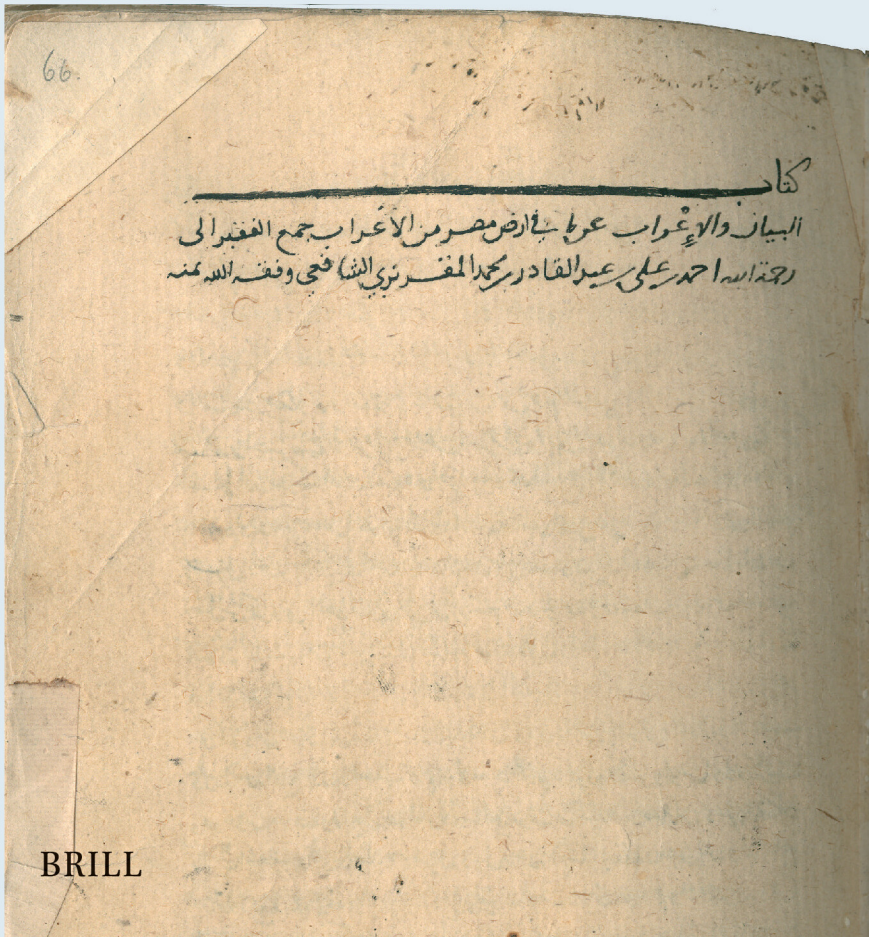


The Book of Clear Arabic
Expression Regarding
the Arab Tribes of Egypt

*An Edition, Translation and
Study of al-Maqrīzī's*
al-Bayān wa-l-i'rāb 'an mā
fī arḍ Miṣr min al-a'rāb

LAHCEN DAAÏF AND YOSSEF RAPOPORT



The Book of Clear Arabic Expression Regarding the Arab Tribes of Egypt

Bibliotheca Maqriziana

OPERA MINORA

Edited by

Frédéric Bauden (*Université de Liège*)

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wa-l-i'rāb 'an mā fī arḍ Miṣr min al-a'rāb***

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It has been a pleasure to work together on this treatise. We come from different disciplinary traditions, but hopefully we have complemented each other to produce an outcome that is better than the sum of its parts. What seemed at first sight a tedious and niche manuscript in fact offers a fascinating insight into Arab and Berber identities, medieval and modern.

London and Paris, June 2023

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Abbreviations

<i>AI</i>	<i>Annales islamologiques</i>
<i>AOB</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia Belgica</i>
<i>EB</i>	<i>Encyclopédie berbère</i> (Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 1984–2010), vols. 1–30; (Leuven: Peeters, 2010–present), vols. 30–43.
<i>EI²</i>	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition</i> , ed. C.E. Bosworth et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1960–2007), 11 vols.
<i>EI³</i>	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam—Three</i> , ed. Kate Fleet et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2007–present).
<i>MSR</i>	<i>Mamlūk Studies Review</i>
<i>REI</i>	<i>Revue des études islamiques</i>
<i>ROMM</i>	<i>Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée</i>
<i>SI</i>	<i>Studia Islamica</i>

Introduction

Al-Bayān wa-l-i'rāb 'an mā fī arḍ Miṣr min al-a'rāb brings together al-Maqrīzī's lifelong preoccupation with the history of Egypt and his parallel interest in the history of the Arabs. The work lists the Arab and Berber tribes found in the countryside of late medieval Egypt according to their locations, following a geographical rather than genealogical order, and provides historical background on most of them. The main source utilized is the tribal register of the state official al-Ḥamdānī written in the middle of the seventh/thirteenth century; al-Maqrīzī only rarely updated the register to reflect the realities of his own lifetime. Surprisingly, instead of weaving the history of the Arab tribes in Egypt into the history of Islam, al-Maqrīzī appears to create a deliberate disjuncture, stating, in the opening lines of the treatise, that the present tribes do not stem from the tribes present in Egypt at the time of the Muslim conquest.

The *Bayān* is included in Leiden Or. 560, a collection of opuscles by al-Maqrīzī copied by a scribe at al-Maqrīzī's request in 841/1438. After the scribe finished copying the collection, al-Maqrīzī revised the whole, indicating the result of his collation in the margins or in the text and appending, at the end of each opuscle, a note when he did so. Al-Maqrīzī completed his corrections of the *Bayān* in Dū l-Qa'dah 841/May–June 1438. He also added a couple of inserts in his own hand, probably at that time, or shortly after. The manuscript of the *Bayān* in Leiden Or. 560 thus represents the version of the text that al-Maqrīzī wanted to see “circulated, copied, and published.”¹

The date at which the treatise was composed remains unknown, although it must have been composed before it was copied into the manuscript at Leiden Or. 560. The only reference to any events that can be securely dated to al-Maqrīzī's lifetime is in a short section on the amirs of the Hawwārah in Upper Egypt, settled there during the reign of Sultan Barqūq (r. 784–801/1382–1399). But this section is included in one of two inserts added by al-Maqrīzī after the treatise was copied by the scribe, and therefore tells us nothing about the date of composition of the main body of the text. In addition, the *Bayān* does not refer to any other work by al-Maqrīzī and offers limited intertextual references to his wider corpus.

Al-Maqrīzī states that he compiled the treatise for his personal use, almost as if it was a collection of notes: “I composed this essay for myself and for my

1 For a short history of MS Leiden Or. 560, see Van Steenbergen (2017): 109–111.

fellow people (*abnā' ġinsī*) whom God may lead to read it" (§2). This declaration stands out as unusual, especially in comparison to other short thematic works by al-Maqrīzī, which were composed either for a royal patron or to commemorate an occasion, such as the circumcision of Sultan Barsbāy's son, Ğamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf.² Given the structure of the treatise and its ideological import, it seems likely that al-Maqrīzī wrote it with a patron in mind. One possible patron may have been the same Ğamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf, Barsbāy's son, who was also the likely dedicatee of another treatise on tribal genealogy copied by Muḥammad al-Qalqašandī, son of the famous bureaucrat.

As stated above, the most important source of the *Bayān* is the lost work by the seventh-/thirteenth-century al-Ḥamdānī (d. after 680/1280), who wrote a register of the Arab tribes in his time based on his experience as the official *mihmindār* of the early Mamlūk state. Al-Ḥamdānī's work was used extensively not only by al-Maqrīzī, but also by two other authors with administrative backgrounds: the eighth-/fourteenth-century Ibn Faql Allāh al-'Umarī (d. 749/1349), and al-Maqrīzī's contemporary al-Qalqašandī (d. 821/1418). The works of these four authors form a coherent corpus, focusing on the tribes found within the territories of the Mamlūk state, and highlighting the territorial boundaries of each group while relegating the broader genealogical tree to the background. This genealogical genre emerged in response to the dominance of Arab groups throughout the Egyptian and Syrian countryside and was a bureaucratized method of mapping relations of power in the provinces.

The *Bayān* undoubtedly belongs to this Mamlūk genealogical genre but stands out in several ways. First, it limits itself to the Arab tribes of Egypt. The other works in this genre, starting with al-Ḥamdānī, treated the tribes in both Egypt and greater Syria, and also had brief sections dealing with the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula and North Africa. Al-Maqrīzī's focus on Egypt appears to be an extension of his preoccupation with the history of Egypt, evident in his trilogy of major historical works on the Fāṭimids (*Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*), the Ayyūbids and the Mamlūks (*al-Sulūk*), and the historical topography of Egypt (*al-Ḥiṭaṭ*). The *Bayān* offers a discussion of the Arab and Berber tribes in Islamic Egypt, and thus complements al-Maqrīzī's other works on Egyptian history.

Second, the *Bayān* reflects a historian's approach, not that of a bureaucrat. The treatise is relatively rich in relation to the history of the Arab and Berber tribes of Egypt during the Umayyad, 'Abbāsīd and Fāṭimīd periods, and offers additional information on their ancestry. Al-Maqrīzī makes an effort to fill in genealogical and historical backgrounds, using the classical works of Ibn al-

² Van Steenberg (2017): 43.

Kalbī (d. 204/819 or 206/821) and al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (d. 256/870), and, for the Berber tribes, the work of Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064). By contrast, the *Bayān* very rarely updates al-Ḥamdānī's seventh-/thirteenth-century treatise, and says almost nothing about the history of the Egyptian tribes under the Mamlūk state. Most surprisingly, the *Bayān* has no information about Arab uprisings and politics during the eighth/fourteenth century, though these events feature prominently throughout al-Maqrīzī's own *al-Sulūk* chronicle. Notably, excluding a short insert added by al-Maqrīzī after the completion of the *Bayān*, the latest date mentioned in the treatise is 652 (1254–1255), the very beginning of the Mamlūk regime.

The third distinctive aspect of the *Bayān* stems from its discussion of the great Arab rebellion led by Ḥiṣn al-Dīn Ṭa'lab, which was seen as a turning point in the history of the Arab tribes of Egypt. The *Bayān* consists of a long section on the house of Mağd al-'Arab Ṭa'lab, a Ṣarifian lineage that held significant power in Upper Egypt during the Ayyūbid period; it lists the extended line of this family, culminating with Ḥiṣn al-Dīn, the leader of the revolt. This account of the house of Ibn Ṭa'lab is unique to the treatise and is not found in the earlier genealogical treatises of al-'Umarī or al-Qalqašandī. The *Bayān* depicts the rebellion as ideologically motivated, with Ḥiṣn al-Dīn declaring the superiority of his Arab lineage over the Mamlūk sultan al-Mu'izz Aybak and his elite troops of former slaves. The ideological motivation imputed to the rebellion appears to be al-Maqrīzī's retrospective projection, reflecting his ninth-/fifteenth-century understanding of the relationship between provincial Arab elites and the Mamlūk regime in Cairo.

The *Bayān* is also unique in its discussion of the Egyptian Berber tribes. The term "Berber" was invented by Arab authors of the Umayyad period in order to describe the different ethno-linguistic groups who inhabited North Africa at the time of the conquest; it was then adopted by non-Arab North African Muslims as a self-designation. The invention of a collective Berber identity was then accompanied by the invention of genealogical chains that placed the so-called Berber tribes within the framework of a Muslim universal history.³ The rise of the Fātimids brought with it North African groups that claimed Berber lineage, and by the fifth/eleventh century they had become influential in the Egyptian countryside. These groups were listed by al-Ḥamdānī in his register, but, despite their very visible presence, al-'Umarī and al-Qalqašandī treated them as marginal in their accounts of the Egyptian Arabs. The *Bayān* takes a different approach. Using Ibn Ḥaldūn and the earlier work of Ibn Ḥazm, al-Maqrīzī

3 Roughi (2019).

devotes much space to the genealogy of the Berbers, to the correct vocalization of the Berber names, and to their claims to Arab lineage. While al-Maqrīzī eventually denies the existence of a shared Arab and Berber ancestry, he does place the Berber tribes on an equal footing. Even though the term “Berber” can be seen today as pejorative, here we follow al-Maqrīzī in using it as a translation for *al-barbar*; in our view, it would be imprecise to replace the word “Berber” with modern self-descriptions such as “Amazigh” or “Imazighen,” not found in the medieval Arabic texts.

On the question of the origins of the Arab tribes found in Mamlūk Egypt, al-Maqrīzī gives his point of view in the first few lines of the treatise. “Let it be known,” he says, “that the Arabs who witnessed the conquest of Egypt have been lost in the passage of time, and their descendants are mostly unknown” (§ 3). The *Bayān* purports that the tribes who populated the Egyptian countryside of the later Middle Ages came in the centuries that followed the conquest: a couple of groups were invited by the Umayyads, many more migrated or emerged under the Fāṭimids and the Ayyūbids. It follows that the Arab and Berber rural groups of the Mamlūk era were not the heirs of the conquerors, but the servants of later dynasties. They came from Syria and from North Africa, with little direct connection to the cradle of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula. Al-Maqrīzī’s assertion was inspired by Ibn Ḥaldūn’s cyclical theory of history and his observations regarding the decline of the Arab tribes from the age of the conquest. The *Bayān* thus undermines the claims of superiority by Mamlūk-era Arab elites, and this may well have been the most important message of the *Bayān* for al-Maqrīzī’s contemporary audience.

At the time al-Maqrīzī was writing the *Bayān*, Arab and Berber clan identity had become omnipresent in the countryside of Mamlūk Egypt.⁴ The spread of Arab identities among Egyptian peasants is well-attested for the Ayyūbid and earlier Mamlūk periods, as is shown in the Fayyum tax register of al-Nābulusī from 643/1245, in the genealogical treatises of al-Ḥamdānī and al-ʿUmarī mentioned above, and in an autobiographical note by al-Qalqaṣandī, who reports that his native village in al-Qalyūbiyyah was inhabited by the Arab clan of the Banū Badr. These Ayyūbid and Mamlūk bureaucrats consistently identify Egyptian Muslim village communities with Arab or Berber clans. Accounts of several Arab rebellions that rocked the Egyptian countryside from 645/1250 to 751/1350, written by al-Maqrīzī and by others, also describe the Arab rebels as settled agriculturalists. Al-Maqrīzī’s *Bayān*, which recycles much of the material from al-Ḥamdānī and al-ʿUmarī, confirms that Arab and Berber tribesmen

4 Rapoport (2021); Rapoport (2018); Büssow-Schmitz (2016).

were found in nearly every province of Ayyūbid and Mamlūk Egypt, and that they were more likely to have been peasants than nomads.

Moreover, al-Maqrīzī's own lifetime saw Arab or Berber leading families acquiring power and authority in many provinces of the Delta and Upper Egypt; thus, they became more visible to us than in previous centuries, both in chronicles and in biographical dictionaries.⁵ These elite families were also the beneficiaries of increased amounts of *iqṭā'* grants, and acted as officials of the Mamlūk state with overall responsibility for tax collection, in some places replacing the irrigation inspectors (*kāšifs*) or governors. Their prominence was noted by European pilgrims and merchants, who described them as the "lords of the countryside." By the tenth/sixteenth century, their status was endorsed by the Ottoman conquerors, who formalized the key role of Arab and Berber ruling houses in provincial administration. The rise of the Arab provincial elites in the late eighth/fourteenth and early ninth/fifteenth centuries provides the most important historical context for the composition of the *Bayān*. Yet, the *Bayān* has little to say about this process, and in fact argues that Arab power had been in decline from the beginning of Mamlūk rule. This claim was evidently not true, and al-Maqrīzī knew this better than anyone.

The *Bayān* was known to al-Maqrīzī's fellow ninth-/fifteenth-century historians but seems to have had little impact until the modern period. The treatise was copied several times in the eleventh/seventeenth century and twelfth/eighteenth centuries, but invariably as part of collections of al-Maqrīzī's minor tracts. By the early thirteenth/nineteenth century, a stand-alone copy of the treatise belonged to the reformist Ṣayḥ al-Azhar Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭār (d. 1835), who made reading notes on the disappearance and decline of the Arab tribes mentioned by al-Maqrīzī. The first printed edition was published in Germany by F. Wüstenfeld in 1847, and it was this Orientalist edition that was then reprinted in Cairo in 1916. Inspired by the Nasserist wave of Arab nationalism, the Egyptian-Sudanese historian ʿAbd al-Mağīd ʿĀbidīn published an academic edition of the *Bayān* in 1961, as part of a wider monograph on the Arab element in the history of the Nile Valley from Pharaonic times to the Free Officer revolution of 1952. In recent years, the treatise has been utilized in apologetic writings about the Arab identity of Egypt and to substantiate status claims of individual tribes.

The present book, volume 10 of the Bibliotheca Maqriziana series, offers a full academic edition of the *Bayān* based on the version supervised and corrected by al-Maqrīzī himself, the first English translation of the treatise and

5 On the rise of Arab provincial houses, see Rapoport (2022).

the first full-scale study of the treatise in its historical context. Utilizing modern editions of the other medieval genealogical treatises, we established the correct reading of hundreds of tribal names and offer this as a unique contribution to the reading of Berber tribal names based on comparisons with the works of Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn Ḥaldūn, and on our familiarity with Berber languages. In the chapters that follow, we aim to contextualize the treatise and treat the *Bayān* not as a repository of facts but as a selective and agenda-driven narrative about the political power of provincial rural elites in late medieval Egypt.

The following study is organized as follows. The first chapter offers a discussion of the date of the treatise and its patron. We then present the content and structure of the treatise, and the types of terminology used by al-Maqrīzī to describe tribes, clans, and other kinship groups. The third chapter offers an overview and analysis of the genealogical works of al-Ḥamdānī and al-ʿUmarī. The fourth chapter examines al-Maqrīzī's adaptations, omissions, and additions to his two main sources. Here we focus on al-Maqrīzī's history of Arab migration into Egypt, and his accounts of Arab and Berber elites: the house of Ibn Ṭa'lab, the *Awlād al-Kanz* of Aswan, and the *Hawwārah* of Upper Egypt. Subsequent chapters highlight the discussion of Berber tribal groups in Egypt, compare the *Bayān* with corresponding sections in Ibn Ḥaldūn's universal history, and place the *Bayān* within al-Maqrīzī's overall approach to Arab history. The concluding section examines the later manuscripts of the work, its modern editions, and its legacy.

Date and Audience

A note in al-Maqrīzī's hand at the end of the *Bayān* indicates that he finalized the scribe's copy of the treatise in Dū l-Qa'dah 841/April–May 1438. Around the same time he corrected the other treatises, now in Leiden, and in the same month he completed his revision of the scribe's copy of *al-Dahab al-masbūk*. This is not, however, the date in which the treatise was originally written, but only serves as a *terminus ad quem*. In theory, the *Bayān* could have been written at any time during his career as a historian, which spanned three decades, and kept in the form of draft, or even as notes, until al-Maqrīzī decided to publish it in what we now refer to as the Leiden codex. The main body of the *Bayān* does not reference events during al-Maqrīzī's lifetime, and is similarly devoid of intertextual references to al-Maqrīzī's other works that covered similar topics, such as the *Ḥiṭaṭ*.

The only modern scholar to suggest a date for the composition of the *Bayān* was Jean-Claude Garcin, who placed it sometime between 804/1401 and 815/1412–1413.¹ Garcin, who correctly recognized that most of the work was derived from earlier encyclopedic sources, based his dating of the treatise on a short passage that describes the installment of the Hawwārah in Upper Egypt under Barqūq. That passage states that Muḥammad b. 'Umar of the Hawwārah was succeeded by his brother Yūsuf b. 'Umar. Garcin states that Muḥammad died in 804/1401.² He also concludes from the lack of reference to the capture of Aswan by the Hawwārah in 815/1412–1413 that the *Bayān* must have been written before that date. An examination of Leiden Or. 560, however, shows that this passage on the Hawwārah was not an integral part of the original treatise, but rather added as an insert by al-Maqrīzī after the scribe finished his copy in 841/1438. Therefore, it does not help us to pinpoint a date for the original composition.

It is likely that al-Maqrīzī wrote the *Bayān* in the 830s/1430s, shortly before the manuscript of Leiden Or. 560 was completed. Thanks to Frédéric Bauden's study of consultation notes in al-Maqrīzī's hand on manuscript copies by other authors, we know that he read and summarized a ten-volume set of

¹ Garcin (1978): 154n.

² We have not been able to confirm this date of death. The last mention of Muḥammad b. 'Umar in the chronicles is dated 807/1405 (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 6:80).

al-ʿUmarī’s *Masālik al-abṣār*, his key source for the *Bayān*, in 831/1427–1428.³ The codex of Leiden Or. 560 also contains a copy of a genealogical treatise by Abū ʿĀfar Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (d. 245/860), *Muḥtalif al-qabāʾil*, entirely copied in the distinctive handwriting of al-Maqrīzī and signed by him on Rabīʿ 11 839/November 1435.⁴ This is another indication that al-Maqrīzī was making notes on genealogical treatises throughout the 830s/1430s, and based on the material he collected from al-ʿUmarī and Ibn Ḥabīb it is reasonable to assume that the *Bayān* was written at the end of the decade. It is also noteworthy that most of the information in the *Bayān* is not found in al-Maqrīzī’s other works, and if al-Maqrīzī collected the material at an earlier date as notes for *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* or *al-Sulūk*, this process left no trace in these larger historical compositions.

The *Bayān* seems to fit with al-Maqrīzī’s late interest in the history of the Arabs, an interest that developed after he completed his major works on Egyptian history. *Al-Ḥabar ʿan al-baṣar*, his major history of the Arabs before Islam, was completed right before his death in 845/1442. The treatise on Tamīm al-Dārī and the rights of his descendants in Hebron was probably composed in 840/1437, and was then copied, alongside the *Bayān*, to the manuscript now in Leiden.⁵ By that time, his major works on Egyptian history had already been written. *Al-Sulūk* was sufficiently advanced in 833/1429, when it was given as a present to an envoy from a Timurid court.

Al-Maqrīzī tells us that “I composed this essay for myself and for my fellow people (*abnāʾ ḡinsī*) whom God may lead to read it” (§ 3). As pointed out by Jo Van Steenbergen, this is the only one of al-Maqrīzī’s short treatises to open with such a declaration, without addressing a patron or elaborating on the occasion for the composition of the treatise.⁶ Yet al-Maqrīzī must have had an audience in mind when he set down to write the *Bayān*. The works included in the Leiden manuscript were all intended for public consumption, for otherwise al-Maqrīzī would not have made the effort to give them to a scribe and carefully correct the copy. Moreover, the *Bayān* is not a collection of notes. While it is not as neatly structured as other short treatises by al-Maqrīzī, it follows a logical order, is selective in its choice of material, and imparts ideological claims about the status and the lineage of the Arab tribes of Egypt.

Who then was the audience of the *Bayān*? Other Mamlūk-era authors of genealogical works, such as al-Ḥamdānī and al-ʿUmarī, wrote for other administrators or for the benefit of the Arab elites themselves, whom they counsel

3 Bauden (2022): 202–221.

4 Leiden Or. 560, fols. 1^a–14^b.

5 Frenkel (2014): 47.

6 Van Steenbergen (2017): 43–44.

on the most effective manner of framing their genealogical claims. For example, al-ʿUmarī advised the Rabīʿah to drop their non-Arab Barmakid ancestry, and opt for an alternative lineage through a noble Ṭayyīʿ Arab called Silsilah b. ʿUnayn b. Salāmān.⁷ He also advised the Banū Ḥālid of Homs to stop claiming descent from Ḥālid b. al-Walīd, for this claim was contrary to the consensus of the scholars of genealogy that stated that Ḥālid's line had been extinguished and therefore they could not have been his descendants.⁸

The genealogical treatises of al-Qalqašandī contain dedications that allow us to pinpoint his intended patrons as members of the administration and of the Arab provincial elites. In 819/1416, al-Qalqašandī dedicated his *Qalāʿid* to Abū l-Maʿālī l-Bārīzī (d. 823/1420), head of the chancery (*Dīwān al-Inšāʿ*), whom he praises as being of the tribe of Ğuhaynah, known for their trustworthiness and their noble lineage.⁹ In 846/1442–1443, some twenty-five years later, al-Qalqašandī's son Abū l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad dedicated a copy of his father's genealogical treatise *Nihāyat al-arab* to Zayn al-Dīn Abū l-Ġūd Baqar b. Rašīd, the amir of the Arab tribes (*urbān*) in the provinces of al-Šarqīyyah and al-Ġarbiyyah. Al-Qalqašandī's son adapted the contents so as to add an entry for the Banū Baqar, and interjected the full lineage of the Baqar amirs, as far back as the creation and Adam.¹⁰ This copy offers direct evidence for the consumption of the scholarly genealogical literature by the Arab elites in the countryside. A reading note by Šams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Zaynī, a son of the dedicatee, demonstrates that the copy remained in the possession of this Arab elite family for at least another generation.

Al-Maqrīzī's *Bayān* does not contain any of these dedications or counsels, and it was not intended for a member of the administration or of the Arab elites. Instead, it is likely that al-Maqrīzī's intended reader was Sultan Barsbāy's son Ğamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf, a child sultan who assumed the throne for three months in 842/1438, and was then banished to an Alexandrian prison until his death in 868/1463.¹¹ There are several indications that in the final years of his life al-Maqrīzī pinned his hopes for patronage on this young prince. Al-Maqrīzī reports in his *Sulūk* that in Šaʿbān 837/March 1434 he wrote a treatise on the his-

7 Al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʿil al-ʿarab* 112. Al-ʿUmarī may have been copying from al-Ḥamdānī; see al-Qalqašandī, *Qalāʿid* 73–74; al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ al-ašā*, 1:324–325. On this advice to the Banū Rabīʿah, see also the discussion by Szombathy (2002).

8 Al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʿil al-ʿarab* 162–163.

9 Al-Qalqašandī, *Qalāʿid al-ġumān* 2–4.

10 Al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, BnF Ms Arabe 2049. The entry for the Banū Baqar is at fols. 64^b–65^b. On this copy of *Nihāyat al-arab* see Bauden (2013).

11 On Ğamāl al-Dīn's biography, see Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *Nuġūm*, 16:326; and the entry at <https://ihodp.ugent.be/bah/>.

tory of circumcision in Islamic societies to mark the occasion of the ten-year old Ġamāl al-Dīn's circumcision festivities.¹² Al-Maqrīzī was very much out of court politics from the fall of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Šayḥ in 824/1421, and the composition of this circumcision treatise suggests that he may have wished to be associated with Barsbāy's court; it may even indicate a personal attachment to the young heir.

A second indication of al-Maqrīzī's hopes for Ġamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf's patronage comes from his treatise on royal pilgrimages, *al-Dahab al-masbūk*. *Al-Dahab* is dedicated to an unnamed patron, who is given the lofty title of *al-maqrarr al-maḥdūm* and *al-'azm al-šarīf*, on the occasion of his pilgrimage. This may have been the seven-year-old Ġamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf, who, as Barsbāy's only male son, accompanied Barsbāy's senior wife Ġulbān on pilgrimage in 834/1431. Van Steenbergen suggests that the pilgrimage treatise was originally written in 821/1418 for Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Šayḥ who was preparing to go on a pilgrimage that did not, ultimately, materialize. But even in that case, the weight of circumstantial evidence would show that al-Maqrīzī's decision to publish *al-Dahab al-masbūk* in 841/1438 was linked to the child sultan. As Van Steenbergen points out, the preparation of the manuscript now in Leiden coincided with the terminal illness of Barsbāy in late 841/mid-1438, and his nomination of Ġamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf as heir.¹³

Ġamāl al-Dīn may have been the dedicatee of another genealogical work, in this case a copy of one of al-Qalqašandī's genealogical treatises made by his son, probably in the 840s/1440s. Al-Qalqašandī's son addresses his patron as al-Mu'izz al-Ašraf Abū l-Maḥāsīn Ġamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf, and while omitting a father's name, provides titles that indicate that the patron was a high-ranking member of the military elite. The only person of this name and rank to be mentioned in contemporary chronicles is Barsbāy's son and heir.¹⁴ Al-Qalqašandī's son also ascribes to this Ġamāl al-Dīn the illustrious tribal *nisbahs* of "al-'Uṭmānī l-Umawī l-Qurašī," and membership in the Umayyad Banū Abān. This patronymic was clearly concocted for the occasion; the copyist chose the Banū Abān as the adopted lineage of his patron Ġamāl al-Dīn because this was the very first entry in an alphabetically organized gazetteer.¹⁵

12 Van Steenbergen (2017): 44.

13 The corrections to the monetary treatise *Šuḍūr al-ḡahab* may also have been intended for the benefit of Barsbāy's successor. See Van Steenbergen (2017): 130n27, with references to Meloy (2003).

14 The dedicatee was "given the reins of the kingdom of Islam," brought security to the roads, and restored a derelict Fāṭimid palace in Alexandria and a *madrāsah* (al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-arab* 1–4).

15 Al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-arab* 32.

Put together, this evidence suggests that al-Maqrīzī had the *Bayān* copied with Ğamāl al-Dīn Yūsuf in mind, and that Ğamāl al-Dīn may have been interested in claiming an Arabian lineage for himself. Mamlūk sultans had been toying with the idea of assuming an Arab identity for themselves since al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's confinement in Karak. His son al-Nāṣir Aḥmad (r. 742–743/1342) adopted Arab dress and, for the duration of his limited reign, took Karak as his capital.¹⁶ There are also a couple of indirect references to Sultan Barqūq linking himself to an Arabian lineage through descendants of the Ğassānids who settled in Circassia; al-ʿAynī (d. 855/1453) provided the noble Circassian ancestry of Sultan al-Muʿayyad Ṣayḥ.¹⁷

Was Ğamāl al-Dīn, Barsbāy's young son, considering taking the radical step of assuming for himself an Arabian lineage, and thus changing the foundation on which the legitimacy of the regime was based? The *Bayān* demonstrates the increasing appeal of genealogical literature in the first half of the ninth/fifteenth century, and it seems highly likely that al-Maqrīzī intended the *Bayān* to be read by members of the Mamlūk military elite. The Leiden manuscript as a whole and the *Bayān* in particular could be read as part of the young heir's education prior to assuming the throne. However, as we shall see, the *Bayān* shares Ibn Ḥaldūn's ambivalence toward the Arabs of his own lifetime and does not view the Arab tribes of Egypt as destined to rule the land. In that sense, the *Bayān* could be read as a warning for the young prince against entrusting his future to a link to Arab clansmen.

16 Drory (2006).

17 See Irwin (2003b): 264; Loiseau (2023).

Structure, Contents, and Terminology

The *Bayān* proceeds in a geographical order, focusing on the Arab and Berber tribes of Egypt to the exclusion of the tribes of greater Syria. Al-Maqrīzī begins his account with tribes that occupy lands between Sinai and southern Palestine, and then continues to Damietta in the northeast coast of the Delta, followed by the Ğuḍām clans in the eastern and central Delta. The *Bayān* then turns its attention to Upper Egypt, beginning in Aswan and proceeding northward along the Nile Valley up to Giza. The concluding part of the *Bayān* loses its geographical coherence and is punctuated with historical and genealogical digressions. Nonetheless, it does contain a shorter overview of tribes in the western Delta provinces and west of Alexandria and ends with the pilgrimage route from Egypt to Mecca.

The treatise opens by stating the topic as “the groupings of Arabs in the land of Egypt,” followed by the claim that the Arabs who witnessed the conquest of Egypt can no longer be traced (§§ 2–3). The first part of the treatise is devoted to the Arab tribes who inhabit the eastern parts of Egypt, and in particular the province of al-Šarqīyyah. The first confederacy discussed is the Ṭaʿlabah of Ṭayyiʿ who inhabited southern Palestine at the Sinai border of Egypt. The account of the Ṭaʿlabah includes a list of clans and sections that belonged to them, and an account of their military commanders under the Fāṭimids and the Ayyūbids (§§ 4–6). A similar treatment is given to the Ğarm confederacy, located in the region of Gaza. The Ṭaʿlabah and some of the Ğarm migrated to Egypt under Šalāḥ al-Dīn (§§ 7–10). The Ğuḍaymah, the most important section of the Ğarm, is discussed next, together with their officers under Šalāḥ al-Dīn (§§ 11–14). The Sinbis confederacy, who also inhabited southern Palestine, were invited to settle in the western province of al-Buḥayrah by the Fāṭimid vizier al-Yazīrī. They became dominant there, until they joined the great Arab rebellion and were defeated by al-Muʿizz Ayybak (§§ 15–20).

The next part of the treatise is a discussion of Arab groups that inhabit the eastern Delta. It begins with the Banū ʿAdī b. Kaʿb, who dwelled in al-Burullus and were the ancestors of the Banū Faḍl Allāh bureaucratic dynasty (§ 21). The Ğuḍām confederacy in al-Šarqīyyah is given considerable space, with accounts of its etymology and distant ancestry, followed by detailed lists of sections and clans, and the names of their amirs in the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods (§§ 22–35). Some of the Banū ʿUqbah of Ğuḍām were located in the northern part of the Arabian Peninsula (§§ 36–37), while the ʿĀʿid were in the Sinai (§ 38). The

Banū Saʿd of Ġuḍām were located between Munyat Ġamr and Ziftā. They are identified as village headmen and protectors, and as the clan of the Fāṭimid vizier Šāwar (§§ 41–43). The Ġuḍām were mentioned in an official register of tribes in the dying days of the Fāṭimid dynasty. They are also said to have come to Egypt with the Muslim conqueror ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (§§ 45–46). During the Ayyūbid period and perhaps earlier, clans and amirs of the Ġuḍām held as *iqṭāʿ* villages in al-Šarqīyah whose names are listed in the treatise (§§ 46–53, see map 2). The final paragraph of this part of the treatise mentions sections of the Ġuḍām and Laḥm in Alexandria (§ 53).

The second part of the treatise is devoted to the Arab and Berber tribes of Upper Egypt. It begins with an overview of the location of the principal confederacies, starting with Banū Hilāl in Aswan in the far south, then moving northward along the Nile until reaching the Lawātah in al-Bahnasā and Giza and the Kilāb in the Fayyum (§ 54). The genealogy and location of the Banū Hilāl are treated first (§ 55), followed by an account of the Balī, their migration to Egypt under the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb, and their present territories in Upper Egypt (§§ 56–59). The account of the Ġuhaynah provides details on changes in tribal territories that took place as a result of Fāṭimid military intervention (§§ 60–61). The Qurayš in the region of al-Ušmūnayn receive a much longer treatment, with an account of the key sections of the Ġaʿāfirah and the Banū Ṭalḥah (§§ 62–71). The treatise then offers a detailed family tree of the Ayyūbid-era Ibn Ṭaʿlab dynasty of Ġaʿfarī amirs, leading up to Ḥiṣn al-Dīn Ṭaʿlab and his rebellion against Sultan al-Muʿizz Aybak (§§ 72–79). Other clans of Qurayš include the Banū Umayyah in Tandah, the agriculturalist Banū l-Zubayr in al-Bahnasā and the Banū Sahn, who had a share in the endowment of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Fustat (§§ 80–87).

At this point in the treatise, and after the scribe had completed the original treatise, al-Maqrīzī added a long insert on the Awlād al-Kanz of Aswan, diverging from the strict geographical order that he followed so far. This insertion includes information on the genealogy of the Awlād al-Kanz, the ʿAbbāsī-era migration of Rabīʿah tribesmen to the furthest regions of Upper Egypt, the establishment of the Kanz dynasty in the early Fāṭimid period, and their suppression under Šalāḥ al-Dīn (§§ 88–93). After this digression, the treatise continues with Upper Egyptian groups who claim lineage from the Kinānah and from the Anšār, i.e., the Prophet's early supporters (§§ 94–96). The Banū ʿAwf were located in the Fayyum and in western Egypt, while the Fazārah of Qays were in Upper Egypt and around Qalyūb in the Delta (§§ 97–98).

The section on the Berber tribes of Egypt begins with a discussion of the ancestors of the Lawātah, and is linked with a presentation of theories regarding the origins of the Berber tribes more generally (§§ 99–101). This is followed by a detailed exposition of the Berber genealogical tree (§§ 102–106). The dis-

cussion returns to the main branches of the Lawātah in Egypt, their leading families, and their territories in Upper Egypt and the Delta (§§ 107–111); it then shifts focus again to the different theories regarding the origins of the Hawwārah Berbers (§§ 112–115). In Egypt, the Hawwārah settled in al-Buḥayrah (§ 116). Al-Maqrīzī added here a second short insertion on the migration of Hawwārah families to Ġirġā in Upper Egypt in the late eighth/fourteenth century. This is the only part of the treatise that deals with events that occurred during al-Maqrīzī's own lifetime (§ 117).

Returning to its geographical sequence, the *Bayān* then gives the precise locations of Arab Laḥm sections and clans in the villages between Beba and Helwan in middle Egypt (§§ 118–120). A short paragraph is devoted to the Mazātah, Fazārah, and other groups in the central and western provinces of the Delta (§ 121). The tribes of the Sinai and the region of Tinnīs are listed next (§§ 122–123). The Banū Ḥarām of Ġuḍām are discussed here and not as part of the Ġuḍām of al-Šarqiyyah, as they were professional village headmen and administrators, and had no territory of their own (§§ 124–125). This is followed by a brief survey of motley Arab groups of the provinces of al-Daqahliyyah and al-Murtāhiyyah in the northeastern Delta (§§ 126–127).

The remainder of the treatise is mostly devoted to a historical account of the Umayyad-era migration of the Sulaym of Qays to the region of Bilbays in the eastern Delta (§§ 128–132). The current territories of the Sulaym are said to be in Barqah and Ifrīqiyyah, not in Egypt itself (§§ 133–135). Nonetheless, in the first half of the eighth/fourteenth century the amirs of al-Buḥayrah were of Sulaym (§§ 136–137). The treatise concludes with a list of Arab and Berber groups located west of Alexandria (§§ 138–139), and the Arab groups responsible for securing the stages of the pilgrimage route from Cairo to Mecca (§ 140); it then returns to the Sulaym Arabs of Barqah (§§ 141–142). Finally, al-Maqrīzī signed his name and the date in which he completed the revision of the text (§ 143).

Overall, the *Bayān* is an account of the rural Arab and Berber groups dominant or present in well-defined territories, nearly all located within the boundaries of the agricultural zones of the Nile Valley and the Delta. These localized clans and tribes were sedentary, and there are several explicit references to their agriculturalist activities. For example, the Banū Zubayr of the Qurayš in al-Bahnasā are said to draw their livelihood by agriculture, sowing their fields, and raising small and large cattle (*dū ma'āš wa-ahl filāḥah wa-zar' wa-māšiyah wa-ḍar'*).¹ The only indirect indication of the mobility of clans is in a brief mention of the Awlād 'Aġġār who acted as pilgrimage guides.

1 This is derived from the earlier works of al-'Umarī and al-Ḥamdānī. See al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'arab* 162; al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-'arab* no. 405; al-Qalqašandī, *Qalā'id al-ġumān* 150 (where the attribution is to al-Ḥamdānī).

The term “territory” (*diyār*) is repeated over a dozen times in the *Bayān*, invariably in sections known to originate from al-Ḥamdānī’s work. Words designating “to dwell” or “dwellings” (*masākin*, *yaskunu*), or “to settle in a locality” (*nazala*, *yanzilu*) also appear frequently in these sections. In the *Bayān*, the relation between tribal groups and their territories was that of possession or ownership over that space, a right that had to be negotiated with other groups and with the authorities in Cairo. The clearest example concerns the Fāṭimid-era delineation of the territories of the Qurayš, Balī, and Ğuhaynah in Upper Egypt. According to this account (§ 57, §§ 60–61), Ğuhaynah used to control the province of al-Ušmūnayn but were driven out of these localities (*amākin*) by the Fāṭimid army. The Qurayš took over the region raided by the Fāṭimid army and acquired rights over the former territory of Ğuhaynah (*malakat dār Ğuhaynah*). The Ğuhaynah then moved southward to the territories of Balī around Iḥmīm. Eventually, the three tribal confederacies settled on new boundaries for their respective abodes (*masākin*).

Occasionally, rural Arab and Berber groups held their lands as *iqṭāʿāt*, a term which in the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods meant the right of privileged groups or individuals to enjoy the fiscal revenue from agricultural land. The *Bayān* gives information on *iqṭāʿ* grants in the Delta only, with no reference to *iqṭāʿ* grants in Upper Egypt. For example, one passage lists the villages in the eastern Delta that the Ğudām held as *iqṭāʿ* under the Fāṭimids; these villages were then handed over to the Ṭaʿlabah by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (§ 46). Fāqūs was the *iqṭāʿ* of the Halbā Suwayd section of the Ğudām. There are also records of *iqṭāʿ* grants for groups in the provinces of al-Daqahliyyah and Murtāḥiyyah in the Delta. The term *qaṭīʿah* (pl. *qaṭāʿiʿ*) is used once, indicating tax privileges awarded to clans of the Mazūrah Berber confederacy (§ 109).

The terminology used in the *Bayān* to describe tribal groups mainly relates to local clans. The tribal confederacies are referred to by their well-known names, while the term *qabūlah* is rarely used. The most common terms in the *Bayān* are *baṭn*, translated here as “section,” *faḥid* (“clan”), and *ʿašīrah* (“solidarity group”). For example, the Ğudām and the Sulaym are each composed of sections, clans, and solidarity groups, while the Sinbis had clans and solidarity groups. The order of the terms in these examples suggests a clear hierarchy, with *baṭn* being the larger unit. Below the *ʿašīrah* we find the term *awlād*, used mostly for leading households or those of amirs. The *awlād* are usually named after a contemporary figure, not a pre-Islamic ancestor. The same is true for the frequently used term *ġamāʿah*, the “band” of so-and-so, which may indicate a military unit. In many cases, however, the group is not designated by any of these terms, only by the generic *banū* or the indeterminate *qawm* (“people” or “folk”), which leaves its place on the genealogical tree open to interpretation.

The Mamlūk Genealogical Genre

The majority of the *Bayān* was taken, either verbatim or with minor modifications, from the lost tribal register of al-Ḥamdānī, written in the second half of the seventh/thirteenth century. This is not immediately obvious, as al-Maqrīzī never mentions al-Ḥamdānī by name, and also because al-Ḥamdānī's treatise itself has not survived. But long sections of al-Ḥamdānī's work have reached us through extracts preserved by al-'Umarī and al-Qalqašandī, who, unlike al-Maqrīzī, acknowledged their sources. A comparison of the *Bayān* with the quotations from al-Ḥamdānī by these two other authors shows the extent of al-Maqrīzī's reliance on al-Ḥamdānī. Passages attributed to al-Ḥamdānī by al-'Umarī or al-Qalqašandī form the *Bayān*'s account of the tribes of the eastern and central Delta (Ta'labah, Ğarm, and Ğudām), of Upper Egypt (Hilāl, Balī, Qurayš, Kinānah, Lawātah, and Laḥm), and some additional sections on al-Buḥayrah and on Sinai. Al-Maqrīzī's reliance on al-Ḥamdānī may also extend to other passages that reflect the historical context of the late Ayyūbid period. Whether he had direct access to the treatise of al-Ḥamdānī, or knew al-Ḥamdānī only through quotes by al-'Umarī, cannot be determined with certainty.

Badr al-Dīn al-Ḥamdānī was a seventh-/thirteenth-century Mamlūk state official who served as *mihmindār al-'arab* ("host of the Arabs") for a long period, under several Ayyūbid and Mamlūk sultans. As *mihmindār*, al-Ḥamdānī was in charge of receiving delegations of Arab tribal leaders, of providing them with accommodation, and of presenting them to the ruler. The office of a *mihmindār* was itself an Ayyūbid innovation, possibly connected with Sultan al-'Ādil's appointment of an "Amir of the Arabs" around the beginning the seventh/thirteenth century. The position of the *mihmindār* was then adopted by the Mamlūks and is attested up to the early ninth/fifteenth century.¹ In biographical dictionaries, al-Ḥamdānī is known mainly for his lines of Bedouin poetry, as well as versified praise for al-Ẓāhir Baybars while on campaign. The biographers report that al-Ḥamdānī was born in 602/1205–1206 and died in the 680s/1280s.²

1 Al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ al-a'šā*, 3:488, 5:431; "Mihmindār," in *ET*² (A. Saleh).

2 The earliest biographies of al-Ḥamdānī are from the pen of the eighth-/fourteenth-century Syrian historians al-Šafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 29:96–97 and al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, 4:349. They

It is possible to reconstruct the main features of al-Ḥamdānī's lost work based on the passages attributed to him by al-ʿUmarī and al-Qalqašandī. One distinctive feature was his firsthand accounts of receiving delegations of Arab amirs. He claims to have first encountered an amir of the Āl Rabīʿah in the days of Sultan al-Kāmil (r. 615–635/1218–1238), and later saw a group of Rabīʿah amirs attending the courts of the first Mamlūk sultans in Cairo. He also reports spending 36,000 dinars on the entertainment of the Arab amir Farāğ b. Ḥayyah when he visited al-Muʿizz Aybak (r. 648–655/1250–1257).³ The Arab delegations came not only from within the Mamlūk domains, but also from Iraq, al-Baḥrayn, and the east.⁴

For later authors, al-Ḥamdānī's official position as *mihmindār* was a prime guarantee of the veracity of his information on Arab affairs. When discussing the Arab tribes between Gaza and Hebron, al-Qalqašandī notes that al-Ḥamdānī identified them as Ğarm Ṭayyīʾ while Ibn Ḥaldūn identified them as Quḍāʿah. Al-Qalqašandī then rejects Ibn Ḥaldūn's account in favor of al-Ḥamdānī's, who, by virtue of having been the *mihmindār*, "was the most knowledgeable about these matters," as his business was to know the Arabs arriving at the court of the sultan.⁵

The passages quoted in later sources show that al-Ḥamdānī introduced two novel features into Arabic genealogical literature. The first was the strict localization of Arab tribes and clans, manifested by the geographical organization of al-Ḥamdānī's material. According to a precis by al-ʿUmarī, al-Ḥamdānī began his treatise by listing the tribes that arrived in the wake of the Muslim conquest of Egypt. This was followed by a section on the Arabs of Upper Egypt "in his own time," starting with Aswan, and going toward Fayyum.⁶ The best example of this comes from al-Ḥamdānī's account of the territories of the Laḥm, cited verbatim by al-ʿUmarī, al-Qalqašandī, and the *Bayān* (§§ 118–120). Here, al-Ḥamdānī delineates precise locations of each section and its constituent clans. The ter-

quote the poetry that al-Ḥamdānī recited to Aṭīr al-Dīn Abū Ḥayyān (654–745/1256–1344) and Faṭḥ al-Dīn Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (671–734/1273–1334).

3 Al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʾil al-ʿarab* 139–140.

4 See the following examples: a delegation of Ḥafāğah from Iraq to Baybars (al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʾil al-ʿarab* 148, al-Qalqašandī, *Qalāʾid al-ğumān* 123); delegations of the Rabīʿah (al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-ʿarab* no. 271; al-Qalqašandī, *Qalāʾid al-ğumān* 74–75); delegations of the Ğazayah (al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-ʿarab* no. 269; al-Qalqašandī, *Qalāʾid al-ğumān* 88; for the name of the tribe, see Ibn al-Aṭīr, *al-Lubāb*, 2:380); a delegation from al-Baḥrayn, visiting Baybars (al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-ʿarab* no. 281), a delegation from the Banū Şaḥr in Karak to al-Muʿizz Aybak (al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-ʿarab* no. 1638).

5 Al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-ʿarab* no. 698; al-Qalqašandī, *Qalāʾid al-ğumān* 52.

6 Al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʾil al-ʿarab* 157.

ritories are called *diyār* or *bilād*, and are all located in geographical order along the fertile areas of the Nile Valley, from Beba in the south to Helwan in the north. There are 35 Laḥm clans listed, located along a 100-km stretch of the Nile Valley (see map 3).

The second novel feature of al-Ḥamdānī's work was its focus on the interaction between the court in Cairo and Arab tribal leaders. Al-Ḥamdānī often records the ranks and titles of individual members of the Arab and Berber elites under the Fāṭimids and the Ayyūbids, with the most common rank that of *muqaddam*, which referred to someone with command over a tribal military unit. In the extracts from al-Ḥamdānī, the rank of *muqaddam* is invariably associated with the leadership of a specific tribal group, such as the *muqaddams* of the Kinānah and the Banū 'Adī under the late Fāṭimids, the *muqaddam* of the Sinbis in al-Buḥayrah, and *muqaddams* of the Ġuḍām in al-Ḥawf. In narrative chronicle sources the term *muqaddam* appeared from the 510s/1120s, and almost always indicated the military leaders of the Arab tribes in the Egyptian countryside.⁷ Al-Maḥzūmī, who wrote immediately after the fall of the Fāṭimids, explains that each group of registered (*mudawwanūn*) Arab riders was composed of a *muqaddam* and his followers (*atbā'*). In return for an *iqṭā'* grant and other payments, each group undertook to safeguard roads and participate in royal campaigns, responsibilities guaranteed by the *muqaddam*.⁸

Al-Ḥamdānī pays particular attention to the granting of titles to tribal leaders, especially the distinctly Ayyūbid title of amir *būq wa-'alam* ("trumpet and flag") to Arab leaders in Syria and Egypt, an Ayyūbid honorary designation of Salḡūq origin subsequently abolished by the Mamlūks.⁹ Such titles were separate from the military rank of *muqaddam*, and entailed additional privileges. Ṭarīf b. Maknūn, said to be active during the late fifth/eleventh century, was a *muqaddam* of the Suwayd of the Ġuḍām, as well as a senior amir;

7 For Egypt, the first reference to an Arab *muqaddam* is in 516/1122–1123, when al-Maqrīzī reports on the role played by *muqaddam al-'urbān* of the Ġuḍām in securing the release of a member of his tribal confederacy, the future vizier Šawar of the Banū Sa'd (al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, 3:83). For references to the term *muqaddam* by the eyewitness Usāmah b. Munqid, dated 543/1149 and 549/1154, see Ibn Munqid, *I'tibār*, 1:8 and 1:24.

8 Al-Maḥzūmī, *Kitāb al-Mīnhāġ* 69.

9 The titles of *al-būq wa-l-'alam* were granted by the Ayyūbids and were of Salḡūq origin. Al-Maqrīzī reports that Šalāḥ al-Dīn reviewed his army *ṭulb* after *ṭulb*, and explains that each *ṭulb* was led by an amir with *'alam ma'qūd* and *būq maḍrūb* ("raised flag and blown trumpet"), commanding 70 to 200 horsemen (al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, 3:372; see also the comments by Dorothea Krawulsky in al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'arab* 16n2). The source for references to the *būq wa-'alam* amirs is al-Ḥamdānī; see the direct attribution to al-Ḥamdānī in al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-'arab* no. 463 (al-'Ulaymiyyūn), no. 1623 (Halbā Suwayd).

his Ayyūbid-era descendants were *umarā' būq wa-'alam* ("trumpet and flag amirs").¹⁰ Numayy of the Halbā Suwayd held the title of amir under al-Šāliḥ Ayyūb and al-Mu'izz Aybak, while his son was appointed *būq wa-'alam* amir by the Ayyūbid ruler of Damascus.¹¹ Two *muqaddams* of the Ṭa'labah also held the title of amirs of *būq wa-'alam*. Al-Ḥamdānī mentions the names of the leading lineages, where amir positions passed through inheritance, such as the amiral houses of the Balī and in Berber tribes in Upper Egypt and al-Buḥayrah. Most of this material was copied by al-Maqrizī into the *Bayān*.¹²

These rural amirs displayed stereotypical Arab generosity and courage. During the great Fāṭimid famine of 459–468/1068–1074, Ṭarīf b. Maknūn of the Ġudām fed 12,000 souls with daily portions of *ṭarīd* broth he generously transported on boats. This is an anachronistic attempt to link this Fāṭimid Egyptian Arab leader to Hāšim's feeding of the poor in pre-Islamic Arabia; we know this as *ṭarīd* was not consumed in medieval Egypt.¹³ Muhannā of the Halbā used expensive textiles as fuel when guests came by and he did not have firewood.¹⁴ The *muqaddam* of Sinbis was noble and brave, and Banū Maḥzūm had courage and strength. Al-Ḥamdānī admits that the Ṭa'labah of Syria were known for collaborating with the Crusaders, but he attests that he only witnessed them as brave raiders and warriors who inflicted heavy losses on the Franks.¹⁵ The Banū Sa'd, village headmen and protectors in the Delta, are known for their unruly behavior or corruption (*fasād*).¹⁶ But this is an exception in what was overall a rather glowing account of the tribal elites of the Egyptian countryside in the late Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods.

The surviving extracts of al-Ḥamdānī's work suggest that it was a spatially organized register of the Egyptian Arab and Berber tribes of his time; he had a limited interest in genealogical trees or historical depth. Al-Qalqašandī, who attempted to link all tribal groups into one unified genealogical tree, often complained that al-Ḥamdānī did not trace the genealogy of the groups he discussed "upwards." In many cases, al-Ḥamdānī described clans as merely allies or as *mawālī* (clients) of more important groups. For example, the confederacy of the Ġarm in Syria included "their allies, neighbors, and those who seek protec-

10 Al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'arab* 170 line 12 to 171 line 3; al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-'arab*, no. 1071.

11 Al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'arab* 171–172.

12 See examples in § 11 (Ġudaymah), § 34 (Halbā), § 76 (Zurayq), § 58 (Balī), § 109 (Maḡāḡah).

13 Al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'arab* 170 line 12 to 171 line 3. See "Hāšim b. 'Abd Manāf," in *ET*² (W. Montgomery Watt).

14 Al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'arab* 172 lines 14–17.

15 Al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'arab* 176; al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-'arab* no. 649; al-Qalqašandī, *Qalā'id al-ḡumān* 86.

16 Al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'arab* 174, lines 4–10.

tion with them.”¹⁷ Al-Ḥamdānī also listed the groupings that joined the Syrian Āl Faḍl and mixed with them (*yandāfu ilayhim wa-yadhūlu fihim*), without providing a lineage for any of them.¹⁸ The same is true for the three Arab tribes located in the Sinai—the Bayāḍah, Ṣadr, and ‘Ā’id; none of the three is traced to a larger confederacy or a higher lineage.¹⁹

It seems that al-Ḥamdānī did not conceive of a genealogical tree unifying all the various Arab clans he mentions, or perhaps he was unable to construct such a tree. Instead, his data mostly consisted of a demographic mapping of the countryside. He was interested in the reality on the ground, locating tribes in geographical space, and in relation to the court in Cairo. He looked to history or genealogy only sparingly, using them without reference to scholarly books. The methodical presentation of the data suggests an administrative source, and in some ways resembles the *Tartīb Bilād al-Fayyūm* (“Villages of the Fayyum”), al-Nābulusī’s cadastral survey of 643/1245. Al-Nābulusī’s text shows that each cereal-growing village in the Fayyum belonged to a named clan, and the clans formed contiguous territories that carved the Fayyum into well-defined spaces.²⁰ Rather than examining the area as a genealogist, al-Ḥamdānī’s view of the countryside resembles that of the tax-collector al-Nābulusī. These two seventh-/thirteenth-century state administrators were trying to map the social groups of the Egyptian countryside, each in his own way.

1 Al-‘Umarī

The *Bayān*’s second major source is the genealogical chapter of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī’s encyclopedic *Masālik al-abṣār*, the most important text on Arab tribal affairs written during the eighth/fourteenth century. Following al-Ḥamdānī, al-‘Umarī focused on the Arab tribes of his own age, and in particular on their relationship with the Mamlūk state; that is, “The Arabs found in our present time, and their locations.”²¹ This genealogical section covers Arab tribes across North Africa and east to Iraq, but the vast majority of the text is devoted

17 Al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘arab* 109.

18 Al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘arab* 115–116.

19 Al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-arab* no. 616 (Bayāḍah), no. 1136 (Ṣadr), no. 1201 (‘Ā’id).

20 According to al-Nābulusī, the clans in the Fayyum belonged to the Banū Kilāb, Banū ‘Aḡlān, and the Lawātah; see Rapoport (2018). According to al-Ḥamdānī, the clans of the Fayyum belonged to the Banū Kilāb, Banū ‘Awf, and Banū Sulaym. See al-Qalqašandī, *Qalā’id al-ḡumān* 117 (Kilāb), 126 (‘Awf), 124 (Sulaym).

21 Al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘arab* 69.

to the Arab tribes that inhabited Egypt and Syria. In his administrative manual, *al-Taʿrīf*, he also deals with the hierarchy of tribal amirs appointed by the Mamlūk state and the proper ways of corresponding with them.²²

Al-ʿUmarī acknowledges al-Ḥamdānī as his main textual source for his account of the Arab tribes, and follows him in arranging the discussion geographically rather than by lineage.²³ After a historical prologue about the three categories of Arabs—the ancient Arabs, the pure Arabs (*al-ʿāribah*, Yaman or Qahṭān) and the Arabized descendants of Ismāʿīl (*mustaʿribah*, ʿAdnān)—he moves on to an account of the Arab groupings (*ṭawāʿif*) found in his time.²⁴ He starts with the Arabs of Syria, to which he devotes the major part of the work, and follows with shorter chapters on the Arabs of Egypt and the Maghrib, mostly progressing in geographical sequence from province to province. Like al-Ḥamdānī, the tone of the account is positive toward the Arabs, who are seen as useful and loyal servants of the state and protectors of the urban population. For al-ʿUmarī, the Arabs are “the walls of the cities, the protectors of highways, and serve as guides to advance forces and as auxiliary troops. In our kingdom of Egypt and Syria they are protectors of roads, are in charge of the horses of the post, and are commonly the drivers of cattle (*siyāq*).”²⁵

Al-ʿUmarī departs from al-Ḥamdānī—or at least from the surviving extracts of al-Ḥamdānī’s text—in three major ways. First, he displays his own tribal identity openly and prominently. He deliberately opens the section on the tribes of Egypt with an account of the Banū ʿUmar, and reports that he is a descendant of Ḥalaf b. Naṣr Šams al-Dawlah Abū ʿAlī, who arrived in Egypt under Ṭalāʿī b. Ruzzīk in the middle of the sixth/twelfth century. This is “my lineage and my people,” he boasts, and adds that he devoted a separate volume to the noble qualities of his tribe, a work he entitled *Fawāḍil al-sumar fī faḍāʾil Āl ʿUmar* (Valuable late-night conversations on the virtues of Āl ʿUmar).²⁶ This work, unfortunately, has not survived.²⁷

Second, al-ʿUmarī places even more emphasis than al-Ḥamdānī on the interactions of the Arab amirs, especially the amirs of the Āl Rabīʿah of the Syrian desert, with the Mamlūk court. For al-ʿUmarī, this is the reason for dealing with Arab tribal affairs: “Rulers are always well-disposed toward their delegations,

22 Al-ʿUmarī, *al-Taʿrīf* 76–80.

23 Al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʾil al-ʿarab* 70.

24 Al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʾil al-ʿarab* 106.

25 Al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʾil al-ʿarab* 69.

26 Al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʾil al-ʿarab* 156. See also paraphrase in al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-ʿarab* no. 465; al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšā*, 1:353–354.

27 See editor’s comments in al-ʿUmarī, *Muḥtaṣar qalāʾid al-ʿiqān* 9–10.

shower them with hefty gifts and give them the most noble parts of the land as *iqṭāʿ*.²⁸ The Āl Rabīʿah are the “kings of the desert,”²⁹ who participate in military campaigns and fight each other over their herds of camels.³⁰ The account of the rather tumultuous relationship between the amirs of this confederacy and the Mamlūk sultans takes up as much as a quarter of the entire chapter on the Arabs. As al-ʿUmarī tells us, he mainly relied on interviews with the professional Rabīʿah genealogist, a certain Maḥmūd b. ʿArrām, and conversations he held with the amirs Faḍl b. ʿĪsā and Mūsá b. Muhannā during their stays in Cairo.³¹

Finally, and most importantly, al-ʿUmarī projects a stark distinction between the “true” Arabs of the desert, who herd camels and are mobile like the Āl Rabīʿah, and the sedentary Arab clans who are no longer fully Arabs. In concluding the section on the Arabs of Syria, a section that mostly deals with the Āl Rabīʿah, al-ʿUmarī writes: “In the lands of Syria there are various people of Arab stock (*min ṣalībat al-ʿarab*), who are no longer to be considered Arabs (*qad ḥaraḡū bi-hāʿan ḥukm al-ʿarab*), as they have become settled, sedentary people (*ahl ḥāḍīrah sākinah*), who occupy fixed abodes (*ʿummār diyār qāṭīnah*).”³² As this extract indicates, the majority of the Arabs in Syria and Palestine were farmers. Elsewhere al-ʿUmarī specifically describes the settled population around Gaza as tribal *ʿuṣrān* (solidarity groups).³³ The way of life of these Arab clans did not fit al-ʿUmarī’s definition of what Arabs should be, and he therefore created a narrative of sedentarization, telling us that the sedentary tribes are of Arab stock, but have lost their Arab qualities by becoming sedentary.

Al-ʿUmarī repeats the distinction between “true” nomadic Arabs and sedentary Arab communities in his account of the tribes of Egypt. The vast majority of Egyptian Arabs, he explains in his administrative manual, are settled agriculturalists, and are therefore not held in great esteem by the court:

The Arabs in Upper and Lower Egypt belong to many groups, peoples and tribes (*ḡamāʿāt, šuʿūb wa-qabāʿil*). However, despite their wealth and geo-

28 Al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʿil al-ʿarab* 69.

29 Al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʿil al-ʿarab* 112.

30 Al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʿil al-ʿarab* 118 (an anecdote relates that the amir of the Āl Mirā came to demand one thousand camels that Āl Faḍl took from his Arabs; Muhannā, leader of the Faḍl, responded that Āl Mirā are cousins, and therefore would give them 1,000 camels—whether it is their right or because they need them).

31 Al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʿil al-ʿarab* 70.

32 Al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʿil al-ʿarab* 154.

33 Amitai (2021); al-ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, 3:552.

graphical extent, they are not held in high regard by the sultan, as they are sedentary people of the sown fields (*id k̄ānū ahl ḥāḍīrah wa-zarʿ*). None of them makes seasonal travels to Naḡd or Tihāmah, Iraq or Syria (*lā yunḡid wa-lā yutham, wa-lā yuʿriq wa-lā yašam*), and they do not leave the boundaries of the fences [of their farms].³⁴

In Egypt, where the vast majority of the Arab clans were sedentary, there was a wide gap between the idealized Arab constructed by al-ʿUmārī and the reality on the ground. Here the sedentary Arab tribes of Egypt are specifically identified as agriculturalists, who lack Arab qualities and therefore are devoid of the social respect and political clout accorded to the nomadic tribes who fulfilled al-ʿUmārī's Arab ideal.

34 Al-ʿUmārī, *al-Taʿrīf* 76.

Migration and Provincial Elites in the *Bayān*

In many ways, the *Bayān* is an unacknowledged adaptation of al-Ḥamdānī's text. It should come as no surprise that al-Maqrīzī copied extensively from the work of another scholar without giving him credit. Plagiarism has been a recurrent theme in modern assessments of al-Maqrīzī, and was an accusation leveled against him even in his own lifetime. Al-Saḥāwī claimed that *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* was copied from a draft al-Maqrīzī found in the papers of his neighbor and companion al-Awḥadī.¹ More recently, Y. Frenkel demonstrated that al-Maqrīzī's legal discussion on the rights of the descendants of Tamīm al-Dārī was lifted wholesale from a treatise by his contemporary Ibn Ḥaḡar al-'Asqalānī.² Al-Maqrīzī's reliance on al-'Umarī's encyclopedic *Masālik al-abṣār* is also well-attested. As noted above, al-Maqrīzī consulted a ten-volume set of *Masālik al-abṣār* in 831/1427–1428, and made summaries in his notebook.³ The same work was also his unacknowledged source for his famous section on the Mongol Yāsā, and the source for his entire treatise on minerals.⁴

Al-Maqrīzī knew al-Ḥamdānī through al-'Umarī, but it is also likely that he had direct access to al-Ḥamdānī's original treatise. Al-Maqrīzī summarized a passage al-'Umarī wrote based on the latter's firsthand experience in the Mamlūk bureaucracy, so he undoubtedly read the section on the Arab tribes in al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-abṣār* when preparing the *Bayān*.⁵ In addition, al-Maqrīzī's introduction to the treatise repeats the title of al-'Umarī's section on the Arab tribes (“the groupings of the Arabs found in our time”).⁶ By contrast, there are at least three passages in the *Bayān* that are not found in al-'Umarī's text but likely came from al-Ḥamdānī, or at least from a seventh-/thirteenth-century source. One is a reference to Qal'at Ṣadr in the Sinai, which was deserted in approximately 648/1250 (§ 122). A second example is a reference to Arabs who occupied the province of Tinnīs, a town demolished by the Ayyūbids in 624/1227 (§ 123). The *Bayān*'s detailed genealogical tree of the Banū Ta'lab, a leading family of

1 Bauden (2010); Rabbat (2003): 5.

2 Frenkel (2014): 15.

3 Bauden (2008): 73–76; Bauden (2022): 217–221.

4 Kās (2015): 31; Bauden (forthcoming).

5 Al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'arab* 180.

6 Al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'arab* 69. Al-'Umarī is also the unique source for the *Bayān*'s account of the Arab tribes that control the sections of the pilgrimage route from Egypt to Mecca (§ 140). See al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'arab* 187–188.

the Ayyūbid period, is not cited by al-ʿUmarī or al-Qalqašandī; it too probably originated from al-Ḥamdānī, suggesting that al-Maqrīzī had direct access to the latter's treatise.

Al-Maqrīzī's handling of the material he took from al-Ḥamdānī, either directly or through al-ʿUmarī, is quite sloppy in places, and he sometimes garbles the original meaning. For example, in the passage on the clans of Ṭaʿlabah, al-Ḥamdānī explains that Ṭaʿlabah, alongside ʿUnayn and Nayl, was one of three sons of Salāmān. Al-Maqrīzī miscopied the passage, probably by skipping a line, and includes Ṭaʿlabah, ʿUnayn, and Nayl in a list of the clans of Zurayq, one of the two main sections of the Ṭaʿlabah confederacy (§ 6).⁷ Al-Maqrīzī appears to be confused when distinguishing between the Ğarm of Ṭayyiʿ and the Ğarm of Quḍāʿah, while al-Ḥamdānī clearly identified the Ğarm of Syria as the Ğarm of Ṭayyiʿ (§§ 8–9).⁸ Al-Maqrīzī also compresses a lengthy passage about four different clans in the region of al-Baramūn in the eastern Delta into one sentence that lumps these groups together (§ 48).⁹ These examples demonstrate again that al-Maqrīzī was not writing about lived experience, but passing on texts that were at least a century and a half old at the time of his writing. This also underscores the futility of modern attempts to reconstruct genealogical trees based on the *Bayān*, as al-Maqrīzī himself was uncertain—and careless—about the precise hierarchy.

While al-Maqrīzī certainly read al-ʿUmarī, he ignored or suppressed most of al-ʿUmarī's interventions. Al-Maqrīzī edited out al-ʿUmarī's autobiographical statements about his own ties to the Banū Faḍl Allāh, thereby leaving out al-ʿUmarī's display of tribal pride. Most importantly, al-Maqrīzī chose not to reproduce any of al-ʿUmarī's comments that privileged desert Arabs over sedentary ones. There are no derogatory remarks toward the settled Arab clansmen who lived in villages and subsisted on farming, and he does not praise the nomad Arabs for safeguarding the roads and protecting the borders of the kingdom. These nomadic tribes of the Syrian desert, which were the focus of al-ʿUmarī's text, had declined by the first half of the ninth/fifteenth century. Against al-ʿUmarī's idealized view of authentic and proud Arabs of the desert, al-Maqrīzī makes no value judgment regarding the mode of life and means of existence of the Arabs he describes.

Al-Maqrīzī also chose to omit some of the praise al-Ḥamdānī and al-ʿUmarī extended to Egyptian Arabs, perhaps in an effort not to be partisan. The *Bayān* skips a long account of the clans of the Banū Zurayq that ends with praise for

7 Al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʾil al-ʿarab* 177.

8 Al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʾil al-ʿarab* 107–108.

9 Al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʾil al-ʿarab* 171.

their nobility and service.¹⁰ Al-Maqrīzī also omits al-Ḥamdānī's approval of the bravery of the Ṭa'labah, so we are left only with the knowledge of their treacherous alliance with the Franks. Al-'Umarī relates that the Banū Maḥzūm were the most noble of the Qurayš in the days of the Ġāhiliyyah (or, perhaps, most noble in their adherence to *ġāhiliyyah* values; Ar. *ašrafuhum ġāhiliyyatan*), but al-Maqrīzī omits this too.¹¹ Nor does al-Maqrīzī reproduce 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib's praise of the qualities of the Kinānah.¹² Some of the praise for the generosity and good qualities of individual Arab leaders of the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods is retained, but the overall tone is less celebratory of Arab values and contributions.

1 The History of Arab Migration to Egypt

As mentioned above, al-Maqrīzī opens the *Bayān* by claiming that the Arab tribes found in Egypt in his own day are not descendants of the tribes that came to Egypt at the time of the Muslim conquest. In line with this general framework, al-Maqrīzī omitted or suppressed the claims of Egyptian Arab groups that their lineage could be traced from the Prophet and his Companions. In one example, al-Maqrīzī omits al-Ḥamdānī's reference to a Companion ancestor of the Banū Sa'd of the Ġudām.¹³ His brief mention of the Banū Maḥriyyah refers to their descent from the Companion Rifā'ah b. Zayd, but al-Maqrīzī's reference is a much shorter version of the account by al-'Umarī, where the focus is on Rifā'ah's delegation to the Prophet.¹⁴ The claim of the Banū Ṭalḥah to descent from Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Šiddīq is refuted, as Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr had no son by the name of Ṭalḥah. The lineage claims of the 'Umarīs in Egypt are disputed by summoning the authority of the Ayyūbid-era author al-Ġawwānī (d. 588/1192), *naqīb al-ašrāf* in Cairo under the Ayyūbids.¹⁵ While the 'Umarīs traced their lineage to the Successor 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb, al-Ġawwānī demonstrated to them the falsehood of their claims "in a scientific manner" (§ 83).

10 Al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'arab* 177.

11 Al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'arab* 163.

12 Al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'arab* 164.

13 Al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'arab* 174.

14 Al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'arab* 173.

15 Muḥammad b. As'ad al-Ġawwānī (d. 588/1192) was a prolific author on genealogy, born in Egypt. He was appointed as *naqīb* after the toppling of the Fāṭimids. Al-Maqrīzī provides a biography of him, citing eighteen titles, mostly on the lineage of the *ašrāf* and on Cairo (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā'*, 5:167–169, no. 1893).

Al-Maqrīzī is not entirely consistent in refuting lineage claims. Plainly contradicting his programmatic statement at the beginning of the treatise, al-Maqrīzī acknowledges that the Ġudām did come to Egypt at the time of the conquest: “The Ġudām are among the oldest of the Egyptian Arab tribes (*ʿurbān*). They came with ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ” (§ 46). This is a paraphrase of al-Ḥamdānī, who reports that “Ġudām were the first to dwell in Egypt, as they came with ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ and were awarded (*uqṭi‘ū*) lands in it. Some of these lands are in their hands to this day.”¹⁶ Even here, however, al-Maqrīzī’s paraphrase severs the link, made explicit by al-Ḥamdānī, between the Ġudām’s participation in the conquest and their late medieval prestige and location. In another example, the Banū Sahn of Qurayṣ are said to be direct descendants of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, and to have had a share in ‘Amr’s endowment in Fustat, made for the benefit of his family. Here too al-Maqrīzī is keen to undermine claims to revenue or land, as he states that the Banū Sahn have now scattered in Upper Egypt, and their buildings in Fustat have disappeared without a trace (§ 87).

As opposed to the migration of tribes at the time of the conquest, the *Bayān* contains more information about Arab migrations under the Umayyads and the ‘Abbāsids. Again relying on al-Ḥamdānī and al-‘Umarī, al-Maqrīzī notes the presence of a clan of the Banū Umayyah in Tandah in Upper Egypt, and states that they stayed there throughout the Fāṭimid period (§ 86). Rabī‘ah Arabs migrated from al-Yamāmah to Upper Egypt at the time of the ‘Abbāsid caliph al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh (§ 88). The *Bayān* also includes two versions of the Umayyad-era migration of the Sulaym to the eastern Delta; the second, longer version is also found in al-Maqrīzī’s *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, where it is attributed to the third-/ninth-century author al-Kindī.¹⁷ According to this account, the Umayyad administrator of Egypt ‘Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb invited the Sulaym of Qays to settle the sparsely populated and uncultivated region of Bilbays in 109/727–728. They were followed by many more Sulamīs, until their numbers swelled to several thousands. While the versions of the Umayyad-era migration of the Sulaym take much space in the *Bayān*, these links do not give rise to actual territorial claims. According to al-Maqrīzī, the Sulaym ultimately inhabited Barqah west of Egypt, while the region of Bilbays became the territory of the Ġudām.

Compared to the *Bayān*, al-Maqrīzī’s *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* is in fact richer in material on Arab tribal migrations during the early Islamic period. In *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, the account of the migration of the Sulaym is part of a section on the “settlement of the Arabs in the countryside (*riḥ*) of Egypt and their taking up of agriculture.”¹⁸

16 Al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 157.

17 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, 1:151–152.

18 Bouderbala (2019).

Given the relevance of this section to the subject matter of the *Bayān*, one would expect this theme to be developed further. Instead, some of the material found in *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* is not reproduced at all. For example, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ* deals with the arrival in Egypt, in the second/eighth century, of Naṣr b. Mu'āwiyah of the Hawāzin, and with the settlement of his descendants in villages in the Delta region, later known after them as Ġazīrat Banī Naṣr.¹⁹ Moreover, a note in al-Maqrīzī's hand on the margins of al-'Umarī's *Masālik al-abṣār* adds information on the settlement of Banū Naṣr in this area through the pressure of the Berber Lawātah; al-Maqrīzī even mocks al-'Umarī for his ignorance in this regard.²⁰ Ġazīrat Banī Naṣr was the only province in Mamlūk Egypt named after a tribal group, so its absence from the *Bayān* is instructive—indicating again that the purpose of the *Bayān* was to minimize, rather than bolster, the territorial claims of any of the Arab groups discussed.

It is the Arab migrations during the Fāṭimid and the Ayyūbid eras that receive the most attention in the *Bayān*. Space is given to the Fāṭimid-era migration of the Sinbis from southern Palestine toward al-Buḥayrah in the western Delta in 442/1050–1051, at the expense of the Banū Qurrah. This is a summary of a more extended account in al-Maqrīzī's chronicle *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, where the circumstances leading to the Fāṭimid fallout with the Banū Qurrah are discussed at greater length.²¹ Another example of Fāṭimid-era tribal migration concerns a group of the Kinānah, who went to Egypt during the vizierate of Ṭalā'ī' b. Ruzzīk, between 549/1154 and 559/1161. In most cases, however, the *Bayān* takes the presence of Arab tribes and Arab amirs in Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid Egypt as a given, without providing specific information on the times of their migrations. This is the case with the Ġuhaynah and Qurayš in middle Egypt, who were subject to Fāṭimid military intervention at an unspecified date. The Banū Sa'd of al-Šarqiyyah are said to be the clan of the Fāṭimid vizier Šāwar (d. 564/1169), indicating they were present in that location by the beginning of the sixth/twelfth century, but we are not told how and when they came to settle there.

The *Bayān*'s earliest systematic list of the Arab tribes of Egypt comes from the middle of the sixth/twelfth century, and is based on late Fāṭimid registers of Arab groupings. According to the passage cited by al-Maqrīzī, the list included Ṭalḥah, Ġa'far, Balī, Ġuhaynah, Laḥm, Ġudām, Šaybān, 'Uḍar, 'Uḍrah, Ṭayyi', Sinbis, Ḥanīfah, and Maḥzūm. He also adds that thousands of these Arabs were

19 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, 1:226. This is also reported in the extant segment of al-Ġawwānī's genealogical treatise, *al-Ġawhar al-maknūn* 91.

20 Bauden (2022): 226.

21 Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, 2:218–220.

on the registers of the Fāṭimid state when it was taken over by Asad al-Dīn Šīrkūh (§ 45). This statement is not quoted by al-ʿUmarī or al-Qalqašandī, but fits with other late Fāṭimid sources. Usāmah b. Munqid, present in Cairo in 549/1154, witnessed the vizier ʿAbbās summoning the *muqaddams* of the Arabs of Darmā, Zurayq, Ğudām, Sinbis, Ṭalḥah, Ğaʿfar, and the Lawātah, and forcing them to swear an oath of loyalty.²² There is much overlap between the two lists, and in both cases they indicated military units formally recognized by the Fāṭimid state.

Further migration of Arab tribes into Egypt is associated with Šalāḥ al-Dīn and Baybars. Šalāḥ al-Dīn encouraged the Ṭaʿlabah and a grouping of the Ğarm to migrate to Egypt from Palestine by granting the Ṭaʿlabah an *iqṭāʿ* in the lands of Ğudām (§ 10). Al-Maqrīzī also mentions the migration of groupings of the Hawwārah to al-Buḥayrah in the western Delta “by order of the sultan” (§ 116). The sultan is not named here, but other narrative sources tell us it was Baybars.²³ With Baybars we appear to come to the end of the history of Arab migrations into Egypt. According to the *Bayān*, the emergence of the Mamlūk regime in Egypt marks an end to Arab power in the countryside, best exemplified by the failure of the great Arab revolt led by Ḥiṣn al-Dīn Ṭaʿlab against Sultan al-Muʿizz Aybak.

2 The Arab Rebellion of the Šarīf Ḥiṣn al-Dīn Ṭaʿlab

The historical focus of the *Bayān* concerns the great Arab rebellion led by the Šarīf Ḥiṣn al-Dīn Ṭaʿlab, also known also as Ibn Ṭaʿlab, in 652/1254–1255. The conflict is briefly mentioned in the annals of Baybars al-Manšūrī (d. 725/1325), but the earliest substantial account of it comes from the pen of the Upper Egyptian bureaucrat al-Nuwayrī (d. 733–734/1333), and al-Maqrīzī provides another narrative in his *al-Sulūk*.²⁴ The *Bayān* contributes by adding much more detail on the lineage of the Šarīf and by amplifying the ideological motivation of the rebellion. The rebellion is first discussed in connection with the Sinbis of al-Buḥayrah. The *Bayān* reports that the Sinbis had joined the rebellion of Ḥiṣn al-Dīn only to be defeated near Saḥā, a defeat with fatal consequences for their hold over the western Delta (§§ 18–20). In a second and much longer passage, the *Bayān* lists the descendants of the Šarīf Mağd al-ʿArab Ṭaʿlab al-Ğaʿfarī,

22 Ibn Munqid, *al-Iʿtibār*, 1:24; copied by al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāz al-ḥunafāʾ*, 3:217.

23 Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 30:107; cited in al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 2:13.

24 Baybars al-Manšūrī, *Zubdat al-fikrah* 12; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 29:427–429; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:479–481.

including his son, the prominent Ayyūbid amir Faḥr al-Dīn Ismāʿīl (d. 613/1216–1217), up to his great-grandson Ḥiṣn al-Dīn, the leader of the rebellion. It records the deaths of Ḥiṣn al-Dīn and two of his cousins, one of whom was hanged in Bab Zawīlah in 652/1254–1255.

As we know from other sources, including al-Maqrīzī's other works, the Ibn Ṭaʿlab lineage emerged in the Ayyūbid period as an important power broker in Cairo, but their power base was the strategic town of Darwat Sarabām (modern Dayrut) in Upper Egypt.²⁵ Faḥr al-Dīn, grandfather of Ḥiṣn al-Dīn, was crucial to Ayyūbid Cairo's provisions of grains, and was wealthy enough to build a *madrasah*. His surviving tombstone in the Qarāfah cemetery describes him as Amīr al-Ḥaḡḡ.²⁶ His grandson Ḥiṣn al-Dīn, surprisingly, appears in the Ayyūbid section of the Coptic *History of the Patriarchs*, where he is described as a valiant knight who fought off a Frankish raid in the Sinai in the early 640s/1240s.²⁷ Al-Nuwayrī, our earliest source on the rebellion itself, describes Ḥiṣn al-Dīn as leading Arab forces of 12,000 riders and 60,000 infantry. His forces participated in looting in Upper Egypt despite their leader's attempts to control them. According to al-Nuwayrī, they were easily defeated near Iḥmīm by some 2,000 Mamlūk cavalry.²⁸ Al-Nuwayrī's matter-of-fact report emphasizes the unruliness of the Arabs and the determination of the Mamlūk commander to quash the rebels despite their great numbers. Al-ʿUmarī discusses the rebellion very briefly in his chapter on the Arabs of Egypt: he states that the Arabs had ambitions to rule the land, and Ḥiṣn al-Dīn allied with the Ayyūbid al-Malik al-Nāṣir against al-Muʿizz and the rule of the Turks.²⁹

At al-Maqrīzī's hands, however, Ḥiṣn al-Dīn's rebellion acquires an overtly ideological dimension as well as long-term consequences. In the *Bayān*, al-Maqrīzī explains that “the Arabs (*ʿurbān*) of Egypt disdained [al-Muʿizz Aybak's] rule over them, for he was a member of the Baḥriyyah corps of military slaves, who were stained by bondage (*massahum al-riqq*)” (§18). In *al-Sulūk*, al-Maqrīzī has Ḥiṣn al-Dīn declare “we are the masters of the land,” a statement that is not found in any earlier source, and that “we are more befitting of kingship than the Mamlūks; it is enough that we served Banū Ayyūb, who were foreigners (*ḥawāriḡ*), for these *mamlūks* are their slaves (*abīd*).”³⁰

25 Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-buldān*, 2:570–571.

26 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:244 (for the year 593/1196–1197); al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭat*, 4:216. For the tombstone see <https://www.epigraphie-islamique.uliege.be> (TEI), no. 3054.

27 Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ [attributed], *Tārīḡ Miṣr* 774–776.

28 Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 29:427–429.

29 Al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʿil al-ʿarab* 161.

30 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:479.

Thus, the Šarīf Ḥiṣn al-Dīn, descendant of the Prophet, is quoted as disdain-
ing the rule of the Mamlūks as former slaves; or viewing them as foreigners,
as opposed to the Arabs, who were the masters of the land. This ideological
dimension of Ḥiṣn al-Dīn's rebellion is not attested in earlier accounts of the
rebellion and appears to be added by al-Maqrīzī in the early ninth/fifteenth
century. In al-Maqrīzī's retrospective interpretation, the rebellion was a con-
flict between two ideal forms of political legitimacy, one based on prophetic
lineage and kinship versus one of military slaves, and Ḥiṣn al-Dīn's defeat led
the way to the consolidation of Mamlūk rule. *Al-Sulūk* describes the rebellion
as a turning point in the history of Egyptian Arabs: "After that they weakened
and their numbers decreased, until they became what they are in our day."³¹
Against this background, the *Bayān*'s expansive detail regarding the Ibn Ṭa'lab
family tree underscores the symbolic importance of the rebellion and its even-
tual failure.

Al-Maqrīzī's ideological narrative about legitimacy was likely a projection
of ninth-/fifteenth-century attitudes. The terms that are used to describe the
military elite—especially the memorable "stain of bondage"—are anachro-
nistic and reflect what Jo Van Steenberghe called the "Mamlūkization" of the
sultanate in the ninth/fifteenth century.³² A similar dichotomy of Arab *nasab*
vs. Mamlūk military slavery is recorded by the merchant Emmanuel Piloti, a
resident of Alexandria, who wrote his account of Mamlūk Egypt in approxi-
mately 1420.³³ Piloti comments on the rise in Arab power, and views the Arabs
as a major force opposing the Mamlūks, with the conflict between Arab clans-
men and the Turks comparable to the conflict between the Guelphs and the
Ghibelline of late medieval Italy. Remarkably, Piloti highlights the ideologi-
cal framing of the Arab resistance to the Mamlūk regime in terms like those
used by al-Maqrīzī. According to Piloti's account, the Arabs saw the Mamlūks
as illegitimate former slaves, while they regarded themselves as the nation
of the Prophet. Piloti, a contemporary of al-Maqrīzī, understood Arab oppo-
sition to the Mamlūk regime as legitimized by claims of lineage and status.
Al-Maqrīzī retrospectively imposed this ideological dimension onto Ḥiṣn al-
Dīn's revolt, probably based on claims made by Arab rural elites in his own
lifetime.

31 Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:481.

32 Van Steenberghe et al. (2016).

33 Piloti, *L'Égypte* 11–20; see discussion in Büsow-Schmitz (2016): 1–2.

3 Arab and Berber Provincial Elites: Awlād al-Kanz and the Hawwārah

Two historical interventions, regarding the Awlād al-Kanz and the Hawwārah of Upper Egypt, were added by al-Maqrīzī as insertions after the draft of the *Bayān* had been copied by the scribe, that is after 841/1438 and before al-Maqrīzī's death in 845/1442. The first is a long insertion on the rule of the Awlād al-Kanz in Aswan up to their defeat by the Ayyūbids in 570/1174. The insertion itself has been lost, but the text survived through later copies, one of which explicitly states that this section comes from an insertion in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting. This section on the Awlād al-Kanz offers a comprehensive account of the emergence of the Kanz dynasty in Aswan and contains many details that are not found in any other published source. It is not taken from al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-abṣār*, which has very little to say about the dynasty.³⁴

The account of the Awlād al-Kanz in the *Bayān* begins with the migration of the Rabīʿah groups to the southern part of Upper Egypt in the ʿAbbāsīd period, when they acted as armed protectors against the Buḡah (Beja) tribesmen of the eastern desert. The Rabīʿah then intermarried with the Buḡah and took over the ʿAllāqī gold mines. They also had a presence in the key port of ʿAydāb, although internal conflicts forced the leading family there to return to the Hijaz, and a new leader for the Rabīʿah was sent from Bilbays in the eastern Delta. After a genealogical digression, backed by another quote from the Ayyūbid genealogist al-Ġawwānī, al-Maqrīzī tells how the Rabīʿah leader in the region of Aswan captured the anti-Fāṭimid rebel Abū Rakwah (d. 397/1007). He was given the title of Kanz al-Dawlah by the Fāṭimids, and his descendants established autonomous rule that lasted nearly two centuries, until they were defeated by the nascent Ayyūbid regime in 570/1174.

This comprehensive account of the establishment of the Awlād al-Kanz in Aswan is the basis of modern scholarship on the subject, although there are similarities with passages in al-Maqrīzī's *Ittiʿāz al-ḥunafāʾ* and *al-Sulūk*, and the account of the defeat of the Awlād al-Kanz at the hands of al-ʿĀdil is clearly taken from al-Nuwayrī.³⁵ The final segment of the account in the *Bayān* has a rather peculiar aspect, in which al-Maqrīzī states that the Awlād al-Kanz

34 Al-ʿUmarī mentions the Awlād al-Kanz briefly, in the context of the account of the kingdom of Dongola, saying that they rebelled several times (*Masālik al-abṣār*, 4:102). He also briefly reports their 570/1174 rebellion and its suppression (*Masālik al-abṣār*, 27:107).

35 "Kanz, Banu 'l," in *EI²* (P.M. Holt). Cf. al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāz al-ḥunafāʾ*, 2:316; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:157; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 28:369.

dynasty came to an end with the defeat of its leader at the hands of the new Ayyūbid regime in 570/1174. As al-Maqrīzī knew very well, this was simply not true: the Awlād al-Kanz re-emerged in the late seventh/thirteenth century as the rulers of Aswan and extended their power southward into Nubia, as reported extensively in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk*.³⁶ Significantly, this final comment about the end of the rule of the Awlād al-Kanz at the hands of the Ayyūbids fits the overall pattern established in the *Bayān*; that is, attempts by rural Arab elites to rebel against the government in Cairo are doomed to fail.

In addition to the insertion dealing with the Awlād al-Kanz, a second insertion added by al-Maqrīzī relates to the introduction of the Berber Hawwārah into Upper Egypt in the late eighth/fourteenth century. This insertion, in al-Maqrīzī's handwriting, is preserved at the end of the Leiden manuscript. Al-Maqrīzī made a marginal note indicating that the insertion should be placed following his long account of the lineage claims of the Hawwārah, and this is where we find it in later manuscripts. According to this short insertion, the Hawwārah elite, previously located in the western Delta, were installed in Upper Egypt in 782/1380–1381 by al-Zāhir Barqūq. They were given Ğirġā as *iqṭā'*, they cultivated a lot of land, and set up waterwheels and sugar presses. The passage ends with the name of the current leader of the Hawwārah, Yūsuf b. 'Umar. It is the only section in the treatise that can be securely dated to al-Maqrīzī's own lifetime.

Al-Maqrīzī's brief note focuses on the agricultural wealth of the Hawwārah and not on their political power; thus, he avoids the contemporary realities. During the 820s/1420s and 830s/1430s, the Banū 'Umar of the Hawwārah established nearly autonomous rule in Upper Egypt, and the frequent Mamlūk campaigns against them are documented in detail in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk*. Al-Maqrīzī's contemporary and companion al-Qalqašandī, writing in the 810s/1410s, was much more honest about the Hawwārah's power. In his account, the Hawwārah were forced out of al-Buḥayrah by the Zanātah (another Berber group), and then settled in Upper Egypt and spread there like locusts, with as many as thirty clans claiming lineage from them. Al-Qalqašandī says they exerted influence from al-Bahnasā to Aswan, with the rest of the Arabs (*urbān*) in Upper Egypt bowing to their will.³⁷ All this was known to al-Maqrīzī when he added the insertion on the Hawwārah to the *Bayān*, but the text gives no

36 On the Awlād al-Kanz in the Mamlūk era, see Büssow-Schmitz (2016): 50, 82, 100. Büssow-Schmitz's account is mostly based on al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk*.

37 Al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a'šā*, 4:69, 7:162; al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-arab* no. 1635.

hint of the Hawwārah's disobedience or their political clout. In the version in the *Bayān*, their migration to Upper Egypt is seen as state-sponsored, and their power is economic in nature. This was a sterilized version of the truth, possibly tailored to the taste of a young prince detached from the Mamlūks' waning power over the countryside.

The Berber Tribes

The title of the *Bayān* promises a treatment of the “Arabs of Egypt,” and the introduction presents the treatise as “a short essay on the groupings of Arabs found in the land of Egypt.” Yet four consecutive pages of the Leiden manuscript—about one-fifth of the treatise—deal with the Berber tribes inhabiting not only Egypt, but also parts of present-day North Africa. The inclusion of these long passages on the Berbers in a treatise devoted to Arab tribes, and the prominence they are given, are a result of the influence of Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn Ḥaldūn, as well as of the historical realities of the Egyptian countryside in the Mamlūk era.

The main source for the section on the Berber tribes is the *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘arab* of the fifth-/eleventh-century Andalusian scholar Ibn Ḥazm, who devoted a chapter to Berber lineages at the end of his genealogical treatise focused on the lineages found in his contemporary al-Andalus. There is a close correspondence between the *Ġamharah* of Ibn Ḥazm and the *Bayān* in presentation as well as in the spelling of the names of the major Berber tribes, such as the Lawātah, Hawwārah, Nafzāw, and Zanātah.¹ The rare exceptions might be due to different manuscript copies of the *Ġamharah*. Al-Maqrīzī only intervenes in these paragraphs to make the language more accessible to his readers, or to substitute one word for another in order to facilitate understanding and make the meaning accessible.² As in the rest of the treatise, al-Maqrīzī does not mention his sources, and despite the evident reliance on Ibn Ḥazm, he is never mentioned by name.

After consulting Ibn Ḥazm on Berber genealogy, al-Maqrīzī added sections on the Berber tribes of Egypt, clearly based on al-Ḥamdānī as he is known to us from al-‘Umarī and al-Qalqašandī.³ Beyond these sources, the title al-Maqrīzī gave to his treatise may have been a nod to Ibn ‘Idārī’s (d. after 712/1312–1313) work, *al-Bayān al-muġrib fi ḥtišār aḥbār mulūk al-Andalus wa-l-Maġrib*, which deals with the history of the kings of the Maghrib and al-Andalus, that is, the

1 See Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 495–497, in comparison to the *Bayān*’s §§ 102–105. Al-Maqrīzī’s reliance on Ibn Ḥazm had been recognized by ‘Abd al-Maġīd ‘Abidīn (al-Maqrīzī, *Bayān* [1961] 50).

2 For example, the sentence *tarakahu abūhu ḥamlan* (§ 96) is a simplified version of Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 496: *ḥalafahu abūhu ḥamlan* (“his father left him as a baby in his mother’s womb”).

3 Al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-abšār*, 4:385; al-Qalqašandī, *Qalā'id al-ġumān* 172–177.

predominantly Berber world.⁴ As discussed above, al-Maqrīzī concluded the section on the Berbers with a handwritten note on the Hawwārah of Upper Egypt at the end of the eighth/fourteenth century, a note that was added after the manuscript was completed by the copyist.

Al-Maqrīzī does not seem to rely on Ibn Ḥaldūn for the Berber material of the *Bayān*. In his universal chronicle entitled *al-Ibar*, Ibn Ḥaldūn constructed the entire history of the world around the parallel narratives of the Arabs and the Berbers, and devoted chapters to each of the great tribes, with much repetition due to the overlapping of their genealogies.⁵ Al-Maqrīzī did not reproduce the structure of Ibn Ḥaldūn, and the spellings of Berber names were derived directly from Ibn Ḥazm. Nonetheless, al-Maqrīzī was likely influenced by Ibn Ḥaldūn's promotion of Berber history as a key element of universal history, on a par with the history of the Arabs.

The structure of the *Bayān* creates a genealogical link between the sections on the Arab tribes and the first paragraphs on the Berbers, which are devoted to the Lawātah, one of the great Berber tribal confederacies. The section preceding the discussion of the Berbers deals with the Arab tribes of the Banū 'Awf and Banū Fazārah, both descended from Qays 'Aylān. Al-Maqrīzī then moves to discuss the Berber Lawātah, who also claim to be descendants of this same Qays 'Aylān ancestor. The succession of the three paragraphs in this order is a result of the affiliation of each of these three tribes to the same genealogical lineage, despite the criticisms that al-Maqrīzī later puts forward to refute the Arab ancestry of the Berbers as a whole.

Al-Maqrīzī discusses the question of the origin of the Berbers at length, specifically their link with the early ancestors of the Arabs. Al-Maqrīzī largely contented himself with presenting the various opinions of his predecessors among genealogists and historians, sometimes reporting their words verbatim without any criticism, making their conclusions his own. For example, he mentions most of the accounts relating to the origins of the Berbers, as reported in the genealogical and historical literature, without dwelling on their obvious contradictions, and without mentioning his main sources by name. Overall, and despite the considerable space given to the matter, al-Maqrīzī does not offer any original contribution to the question of the ultimate origins of the Berbers and their place in the Arab genealogical tree.

Al-Maqrīzī rejects the first opinion, which states that the Berbers descend from Ma'add b. 'Adnān; this was also mentioned by Ibn Ḥaldūn, who harshly dismissed it as unfounded. Ibn Ḥaldūn himself relied on criticisms made before

4 Ibn 'Idārī, *al-Bayān al-muḡrib*.

5 See for instance Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-Ibar* (Beirut) 6:150–152 (on Nafzāwah), 152–155 (on Lawātah).

him by Ibn Ḥazm, to whom Ibn Ḥaldūn generally deferred on genealogical questions. The second alternative version (*riwāyah*), in which the Berbers are descended from the union of Qayḍār (Qeidar) b. Ismāʿīl with an Amalekite woman in Palestine, is criticized with the same words and expressions as used by al-ʿUmarī in his *Masālik al-abṣār*. The same is true for the third version of the origin story, in which the Berbers are descended from Bīṣir (Betzer) son of Ham. The version eventually endorsed by al-Maqrīzī is that the Berbers are descended from Canaan, son of Ham—and therefore not part of the Arab genealogical tree. These reports on the origins of the Berbers also appeared in the work of al-Ḥamdānī, as pointed out by al-Qalqašandī in his *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšá*.⁶

Al-Maqrīzī is only concerned with identifying Berbers in terms of genealogy and ethnic origin. The *Bayān* does not indicate whether the Berbers of Egypt at the time of al-Maqrīzī spoke a Berber language (such as Amazigh), or an Arabic dialect. In this respect, Ibn Ḥaldūn is more forthcoming, as he discusses in his *al-Ibar* the language spoken by tribes of the Hawwārah who settled in Egypt and in many parts of the Maghrib. He notes that the Hawwārah came to speak Arabic in the places where they lived, to such an extent that they “got rid of the foreign accent (*raṭānah*) of the Berbers and replaced it with the eloquence of the Arabs, so that one cannot see the difference between them and the Arabs.”⁷ According to Ibn Ḥaldūn, the Egyptian Berbers used to speak a Berber language, or at least had a strong foreign accent in Arabic, but became proficient in Arabic, such that their speech was indistinguishable from that of Arabs. In Ibn Ḥaldūn’s view, and probably also in the view of al-Maqrīzī, the loss of their original language and its replacement by the Arabic language did not lead to the loss of Berber identity.

Our study of the Leiden manuscript of the *Bayān* allows us to assess al-Maqrīzī’s limited knowledge of Berber languages. As noted, al-Maqrīzī reread the text written by his scribe in order to ensure the correct spelling of many Arabic terms, which he amended by scratching them out and adding vowelization to be sure of their correct pronunciation. However, despite the care he took in correcting Berber terms, the result is far from the degree of accuracy he obtained in the text on Arab tribes. Indeed, the numerous erroneous readings of the Berber names of people and certain tribes show that al-Maqrīzī knew little or nothing about Berber languages, which are difficult to vocalize and transliterate in Arabic letters. Al-Maqrīzī was in contact with Maghribi histo-

6 Al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ al-aʿšá*, 1:417–418.

7 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-Ibar* (Beirut), 6:186.

rians and scholars whose names he mentions in his writings, with the most prominent being Ibn Ḥaldūn himself. Other contemporary figures from the Maghrib whom he frequented and cited as sources were Abū l-‘Abbās al-Liġā’ī l-Fāsī and Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-Sabtī.⁸ But this does not seem to have made him familiar with Berber culture. In that respect, al-Maqrīzī was no different than Leo Africanus (d. ca. 1554).⁹

Berber names are vocalized in a variety of ways, even after al-Maqrīzī’s final revision of his text. It is noticeable that anthroponyms (names of clans and tribes) whose vocalization has been corrected, are later re-corrected and vocalized differently. For instance, the name Ḍarī b. Zaġġīk is mentioned several times in an incorrect form, Ṣarī b. Waġġīk, but appears in its correct form a few sentences later (§102, §103). Similarly, the proper name Awriġ appears first as Arziġ, but is written correctly later (§102, §105). The name of Banū Warkān is first written Waṭkān, then Warkān (§107, §109). Several other examples testify to al-Maqrīzī’s hesitation in vocalizing Berber names: the proper name Warsaṭf is vocalized a few lines further on as Warsaṭif, then Warṣṭif (§103, §105). The name of the Zanātah tribe is mentioned four times, but then appears six times as Zanārah—a common error by Arab historians.¹⁰ In one place, al-Maqrīzī corrected the mistake by scratching through the word (§103). Another indication of al-Maqrīzī’s unfamiliarity with Berber languages is apparent in his adaptation of the material from Ibn Ḥazm. In writing the name of the Nafzāw tribe, Ibn Ḥazm states that the pronunciation of the letter *zāy* in this name is close to the letter *sīn*, and it lies somewhere between the two Arabic letters *zāy* and *šīn*.¹¹ In the *Bayān*, however, al-Maqrīzī abridged this passage to “is pronounced as *sīn* (*bi-l-sīn*)” (§104), which is not quite correct. This again suggests that al-Maqrīzī was not personally acquainted with Berber pronunciation, unlike Ibn Ḥazm who was Andalusian.

Nonetheless, the paragraphs devoted to the Berbers represent al-Maqrīzī’s determined attempt to present the origins of the Berbers living in Egypt in his

8 Al-Maqrīzī, *Durar al-‘uqūd al-farīdah*, 1:275–276; 3:377–379.

9 Leo Africanus, *History and Description of Africa*, 1:xcii.

10 Zanārah: §100, §106, §111 (twice), §121, §138. Zanātah: §103 (twice), §105, §112. The same mistake is found, for instance, in al-Ya‘qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān* 132.

11 See Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 476, in comparison to the *Bayān* §104. The Berber languages have two different pronunciations for the letter *zāy*: one is emphatic as in *z̄z̄*, *Izi* (fly), the other is light, as in *Izi* (bile). Ibn Ḥaldūn too was attentive to this detail, pointing out the correct pronunciation of *zāy* in the word *Nafzāw*, with a similar remark except that instead of *sīn*, mention is made of *šīn*, which is pronounced between the Arabic *zāy* and *šīn* (Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-Ibar* [Tunis], 9:196; this may be a deliberate choice by the editor of this volume).

own time. In that respect too, al-Maqrīzī clearly followed Ibn Ḥazm. In the latter's *Ġamharat ansāb al-'Arab*, which like the *Bayān* is ostensibly devoted to Arab tribes, Ibn Ḥazm took the initiative to add a short chapter entirely dedicated to the genealogy of the Berbers, which he entitled *Ġamharah min ansāb al-Barbar* (The essentials of Berber genealogy). Ibn Ḥazm, like al-Maqrīzī, does not mention the Berbers in the title or the introduction, but found a place for them in the body of his treatise, albeit as a short chapter at the end of his book. Ibn Ḥazm appears to have thought that his book on the Arab lineages in his homeland of al-Andalus would not be comprehensive if the Berber lineages were left out.

Like Ibn Ḥazm, al-Maqrīzī also felt that an epistle on the Arabs of Egypt would not be entirely complete and beneficial to readers unless the Berbers were included. This was primarily due to their presence in the Egyptian countryside and the important roles Berber tribes played in Egyptian history during the Fāṭimid, Ayyūbid, and Mamlūk eras. Al-Maqrīzī was also influenced by Ibn Ḥaldūn, who set out a vision of universal history in which Berber lineages and history stood in parallel to that of the Arabs. Even if al-Maqrīzī eventually rejected Berber claims of an Arab descent and supported the view that the Berbers were descendants of Canaan, he gave these claims of common ancestry space and value.

The *Bayān* and Ibn Ḥaldūn

The distinct message of the *Bayān* is brought into sharper relief when it is compared to Ibn Ḥaldūn's discussion of the Arabs of his own time in his universal history, *al-'Ibar*. *Al-'Ibar* is constructed around parallel narratives of the Arabs and the Berbers, each divided into distinct generations or epochs. The chapter that deals with the Arabs of late medieval Egypt, mainly during the Mamlūk period, opens a section entitled *al-Ṭabaqah al-rābi'ah min al-'arab al-musta'ḡamah ahl al-ḡil al-nāši' li-hādā l-'ahd* ("The fourth generation of the de-Arabized Arabs among the people of this contemporary age.")¹ In this section, Ibn Ḥaldūn offers a brief, contemporary account of the main Arab and Berber groups in Egypt and greater Syria, with some historical digressions going back to the Fāṭimid period. The account is part of a paradigmatic overview of the link between the Arabs of his own day and those of the previous generation, that is, the Arabs who ruled the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd empires.

Ibn Ḥaldūn introduces the Arabs of his own age by reviewing the rise and decline of the Muḏar Arabs who led the Muslim conquests in earlier generations, a narrative familiar to readers of his *Muqaddimah*. The establishment of the Islamic empire was the work of the Muḏar tribes, together with their allies from the Rabī'ah, Kahlān, and Ḥimyar tribes. Together, they conquered the nations of the world and their urban centers, reaching the apogee of their power under the Umayyads of Damascus and al-Andalus and the 'Abbāsīds of Baghdad. As a result of these conquests and their subsequent authority, the Muḏar were dispersed along the frontier areas of the Muslim empire, no longer living together in their ancestral homeland. They became sedentary, lived in towns and cities, and were no longer nomadic. They intermingled with other ethnic groups, and no longer retained the purity of their lineage. Above all, by leaving behind the simple, tough life of the desert (*badāwah*) they became accustomed to luxury. These transformations made them weak, and others took their place—the Daylamites, Salḡūqs, and Turks in the east, and the Berbers in the west.²

1 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-'Ibar* (Beirut), 6:3–27.

2 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-'Ibar* (Beirut), 6:3–4.

In Ibn Ḥaldūn's cyclical view of history, rises and falls are inevitable. The Arabs of the generation of the conquest vanished (*talāšaw*) and were obliterated (*duṭirū*), as happened to those before them and as will happen to the dynasties after them.³ Ibn Ḥaldūn gives a list of the clans and tribes who were paid by the early Muslim state, beginning with the Qurayš and Kinānah and ending with the Yamanī clans of Ḥimyar and Kahlān, and then states that they have all been dispersed in faraway lands fighting for the cause of Islam. As a result, "one does not encounter any of their clans any more, or find any of their traveling campsites, or know any of their solidarity groups" (*fa-lam yabqa min-hum ḥayy yuṭraq wa-lā ḥillah tunḡa' wa-lā 'ašīr yu'raf*).⁴ They no longer form an *'āqilah* that is collectively liable for criminal offenses, and do not offer help to members of their group who cry for help. They have spread out and become cut off from each other, intermingled with other people, and are now objects of contempt in the chattel service of the amirs from other nations, including the Berbers and specifically the Zanātah. Most of the Arabs that were the elites of the early Muslim empire have become extinct (*inqaraḍa*) and can no longer be traced (*wa-lam yabqa lahum dīkr*).⁵

Ibn Ḥaldūn's summary of the disappearance of the Arabs of the age of the Prophet may well have been the inspiration for al-Maqrīzī's framing of the historical narrative of the *Bayān*. Since al-Maqrīzī had met Ibn Ḥaldūn in Cairo and was much influenced by his work,⁶ it is likely that the formulations of *al-Ibar* inspired al-Maqrīzī to open the *Bayān* with "Let it be known that the Arabs who witnessed the conquest of Egypt have been lost in the passage of time, and their descendants are mostly unknown" (§3). But while Ibn Ḥaldūn offered a broad conceptual framework in which the Arabs of the age of the conquest gradually lost their solidarity and ethnic purity, al-Maqrīzī took only the bottom line, without explaining Ibn Ḥaldūn's process or reasoning; he simply asserted that Arabs who witnessed the conquest are no more.

Both Ibn Ḥaldūn and al-Maqrīzī then shift the discussion to the Arabs of their own time. While al-Maqrīzī focuses on late medieval Egypt with a succinct transition sentence ("There are, however, remnants of Arabs in the land of Egypt"), Ibn Ḥaldūn views contemporary Arabs as those few Arab groups who retained the nomadic life, and who came to acquire power, either as amirs in the service of other dynasties or as leaders of their own states. As the

3 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-Ibar* (Beirut), 6:5.

4 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-Ibar* (Beirut), 6:6.

5 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-Ibar* (Beirut), 6:5–6.

6 On al-Maqrīzī as a student of Ibn Ḥaldūn, see Irwin (2003a): 223–224; Broadbridge (2003): 234–240; Rabbat (2012); Van Steenberghe (2018).

Muḍar and their allies became extinct, some Arabs withdrew to deserts far from the life of luxury. These clans established themselves in the wilderness (*qifār*) and deserts (*ṣaḥārā*) of North Africa, Egypt, Syria, the Hijaz, Iraq, and Iran, living in campsites (*ḥilal*) in the same way the Rabī'ah, Muḍar, and Kahlān established themselves on the steppe during the age of the Ġāhiliyyah. In the present age some of them are employed by non-Arab rulers, who appoint them as amirs over their clans (*aḥyā'*) and give them *iqṭā'*. Some even became rulers in their own right (here Ibn Ḥaldūn seems to have in mind the Banū Hilāl in North Africa and the Āl Faḍl of the Syrian desert, as he discusses them in more detail later). It is for this reason, Ibn Ḥaldūn explains, that it is right to recount their history and connect it with the narrative of the earlier generations of Arabs.⁷

For Ibn Ḥaldūn, the Arabs of his own day are linked to the Arabs of the past because they retained the simple, tough way of life of nomads and did not succumb to luxury. The present Arabs do not appear to be direct descendants of the Muḍar, Rabī'ah, and Kahlān elites, but they are descended from the Arab genealogical tree. Nonetheless, Ibn Ḥaldūn calls them *al-ʿarab al-mustaʿḡamah* (“de-Arabized Arabs” or “Arabs who became non-Arabs”). His reasoning is linguistic: while they still speak a version of the Muḍar Arabic of the Qurʾān, the dialect of Arabic they speak lost the classical declensions (*iʿrāb*) and is influenced by other, non-Arabic languages (*uḡmah*).⁸ The phrase *al-ʿarab al-mustaʿḡamah* is not used by al-Maqrīzī, and the *Bayān* also avoids any linguistic definition of Arab identity.

Ibn Ḥaldūn's ensuing account of the Arabs of the contemporary Middle East, including those of Egypt, was based on his own independent research and interviews. Unlike al-Maqrīzī, he did not take his information from the Mamlūk administrative tradition, and there are only a few overlaps with the *Bayān*. He begins his account in Barqah to the west of Egypt, where the clans (*aḥyā'*) of the Banū Ġaʿfar dominated. Ibn Ḥaldūn specifies that in the eighth/fourteenth century the Banū Ġaʿfar leaders were a certain Abū Dīʿb and his brother; he further reports conflicting accounts of their Arab or Berber lineage. He continues with the *Awlād Sallām* and *Awlād Muqaddam* between Barqah and Alexandria. While Ibn Ḥaldūn's account of the Arab and Berber groups in these areas is much shorter than the corresponding section of the *Bayān* (§§ 133–139), he refers to interviews with local leaders and genealogists twice, updates the tribal data, and maintains a coherent chronological framework.

7 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-Ibar* (Beirut), 6:7–8.

8 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-Ibar* (Beirut), 6:8.

Ibn Ḥaldūn then devotes a few short passages to the Arabs and Berbers in the provinces of the Delta and Upper Egypt. A variety of Berber groups of Hawwārah, Lawātah, and Mazātah inhabit the province of al-Buḥayrah between Alexandria and Cairo. They cultivate its lands (*falḥ*) and winter in the western areas of al-Aqabah al-Kabīrah.⁹ In Upper Egypt, many clans of Banū Hilāl and Banū Kilāb cultivate the land and pay land taxes to the sultan. In addition, they are armed and use their weapons to fight each other; their incessant blood-feuds exceed those found among the desert Arabs.¹⁰ The Šarīfs of the Banū Ġāfar inhabit the region between Qūš and Aswan and are known as merchants. The Awlād al-Kanz live in the vicinity of Aswan, and many clans of the Ġuhaynah inhabit areas south of Aswan.¹¹ Ibn Ḥaldūn completes his tour of the Arab tribes of Egypt by identifying those groups that have responsibility for the pilgrims to Mecca, starting with the ʿĀid of central Sinai.¹² In comparison with the schematic and bureaucratic information presented in the *Bayān*, Ibn Ḥaldūn's account is far less detailed and systematic, and more akin to the observations of an outsider and a traveler.

Ibn Ḥaldūn does not mention the Arab revolt led by the Ġāfarī Šarīf Ibn Ṭa'lab, or the conflicts between the Kanz dynasty and the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk states; this absence further highlights the importance of al-Maqrīzī including these events in his *Bayān*. Al-Maqrīzī offers a narrative of decline, with the quelling of the Ibn Ṭa'lab revolt and the Ayyūbid defeat of the Kanz marking the supposed end of Arab power in the Egyptian provinces. Most of the *Bayān* is therefore concerned with the Fātimid and Ayyūbid periods, and—as we have seen—the last date mentioned in the body of the treatise is 652/1254–1255. Ibn Ḥaldūn does not share this narrative; rather, he presents the tribes of the Egyptian countryside as not posing any threat to the regime. In his *Muqaddimah* he even observes that “royal authority in Egypt is most peaceful and firmly rooted, because Egypt has few ... tribal groups.”¹³ The framework he offers has no decline, since the “Arabs of the present age” were still emerging as amirs for other dynasties. The Egyptian Arabs were not powerful enough to concern the Mamlūk sultans of his day—the final years of the eighth/fourteenth century—and therefore were not a major concern for Ibn Ḥaldūn.

A contradiction would seem to run through Ibn Ḥaldūn's account. Initially, he explains that the Arabs that remained in the present age are those who with-

9 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-ʿIbar* (Beirut), 6:10.

10 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-ʿIbar* (Beirut), 6:10.

11 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-ʿIbar* (Beirut), 6:10.

12 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-ʿIbar* (Beirut), 6:11. Cf. §§ 38, 122, 140.

13 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 1:334.

drew to the deserts and the wilderness, and thus retained the simple, tough nomadic way of life of the Arabs of the previous generations; yet the Egyptian Arabs he mentions (the Hawwārah Berbers of al-Buḥayrah or the Banū Hilāl and Banū Kilāb in Upper Egypt) were settled agriculturalists. The Šarīfs of the Banū Ġaʿfar lived off commerce around the town of Qūṣ. The same is true for the Arabs of Syria, which Ibn Ḥaldūn discusses in the following pages. The Ḥārītah were sedentary, and not desert dwellers.¹⁴ The Banū Hilāl in the region of Šarḥad made their living from agriculture.¹⁵ Even the Āl Faḍl, presented as the rulers of the Syrian steppe, confined their seasonal migrations to the borders of Syria, near villages, and rarely traveled to the desert.¹⁶ The groups Ibn Ḥaldūn describes were rural, but predominantly settled, and did not inhabit the desert or the wilderness. Following Ibn Ḥaldūn's own definition, their way of life meant they did not have the same qualities as the Arabs of the age of the conquest.

The *Bayān* was written thirty or forty years after Ibn Ḥaldūn wrote this section of the *Ibar*.¹⁷ Al-Maqrīzī's treatise avoids the idealization of nomadic life and a linguistic definition of Arab identity. Therefore, he avoids the apparent contradictions between how Arabs should, by definition, live and speak and the realities of the ninth/fifteenth century. For al-Maqrīzī, the link between contemporary Arabs and the Arab tribes of the conquest is remarkably obscure, and any reflection on the genealogical or cultural ties that may bind current Arabs to their glorious ancestors is minimized. Al-Maqrīzī merely takes from Ibn Ḥaldūn the observation that the Arabs of the conquest are no more, and then builds on the administrative and annalistic literature available to him to create his own narrative of late medieval Egyptian Arabs and Berbers. He offers a decline narrative that is retrospective and historical, and ostensibly shows little interest in the events of his own lifetime. Yet, his narrative is profoundly shaped by the rise of Arab and Berber power in the Egyptian countryside in the first decades of the ninth/fifteenth century.

14 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-Ibar* (Beirut), 6:13.

15 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-Ibar* (Beirut), 6:24.

16 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-Ibar* (Beirut), 6:12.

17 Ibn Ḥaldūn provides a chronological list of the amirs in charge of the Arabs in Syria and Iraq from the reign of the Ayyūbid al-ʿĀdil to the time he was writing, i.e., the end of 796/1394 (*al-Ibar* [Beirut], 6:18).

Al-Maqrīzī, the Arabs, and the *Bayān*

Al-Maqrīzī's fascination with the history of the Arabs is well known and is most evident in his final work, *al-Ḥabar 'an al-bašar*, completed shortly before his death in 845/1442. The *Ḥabar* is a grand history of humanity up to the coming of the Prophet, and is mostly devoted to the history of the Arabs before Islam. The absence of a full modern edition of the *Ḥabar* has meant that this preoccupation with Arab history has not been as apparent as it should be, although important sections have now been published as part of the Bibliotheca Maqriziana, including critical editions and translations of the sections on the *Lušūš al-'Arab* (Arab thieves) and the *Ašnām wa-awṭān al-'Arab* (on the Arab Idols).¹ One could add to the *Ḥabar* al-Maqrīzī's other two works that address Arab genealogy: the treatise on Tamīm al-Dārī, recently edited and translated by Y. Frenkel, and the treatise on the special privileges of house of the Prophet (*Kitāb Ma'rifat mā yaǧību li-āl al-bayt al-nabawī min al-ḥaqq 'alā man 'ādāhum*).² Moreover, as the paramount medieval chronicler of Egyptian history, al-Maqrīzī was interested in the rural Arabs as political actors, much more so than any other Mamlūk-era author.³ His narrative of the rebellions and insubordination of Egyptian Arab clansmen against the Mamlūk state is so rich and unique as to completely overshadow all other sources from the period. Until recently, writing the history of the Arab tribes in Mamlūk Egypt was essentially an exercise in the study of al-Maqrīzī and his works.

In her recent monograph on the Arab tribes of the Mamlūk empire, Sarah Büssow-Schmitz offers a range of explanations for al-Maqrīzī's special interest in Arab affairs across various periods, whether that includes their history in Mamlūk Egypt or their origins in pre-Islamic Arabia. One explanation focuses on al-Maqrīzī's self-identification as a descendant of the Fāṭimid caliphs, and through them to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. She also refers to the nostalgic element of al-Maqrīzī's writing and suggests that he may have been fascinated by the Arab clansmen as carriers of a cultural tradition that linked his society to its roots in the Arabian Peninsula. His attachment to Arab identity was also seen as a reflection of his adherence to classical political theory that held that legitimate

1 Webb (2019); Lecker and Perlman (2022).

2 Frenkel (2014).

3 Büssow-Schmitz (2016): 78.

rulers should come from the Hāšim line. It is also possible to see Ibn Ḥaldūn's cyclical view of dynasties, from tribal solidarity to urban luxury, as guiding al-Maqrīzī's interest in contemporary Arab tribes. Finally, Büssow-Schmitz highlights the space given to Arab disturbances in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Sulūk* as a means of highlighting the failure of the Mamlūk state to maintain law and order.⁴

How does the *Bayān* fit with al-Maqrīzī's broader view of Arab history? First, the *Bayān* is not a personal treatise. In his biographical dictionary *Durar al-ʿuqūd al-farīdah*, al-Maqrīzī gives his own lineage up to an ancestor called Tamīm, whom al-Saḥāwī identifies as a grandson of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Muʿizz. After al-Maqrīzī's death, his nephew traced the lineage back to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib. Nasser Rabbat suggests that al-Maqrīzī was proud of this pedigree, but that an open declaration of Fāṭimid lineage would have been risky.⁵ Be that as it may, there is no trace of this in the *Bayān*. While both al-ʿUmarī and al-Qalqašandī chose to use the topic of the tribes to draw attention to their own lineage, al-Maqrīzī does not promote his Fāṭimid ancestry at any point. If al-Qalqašandī and al-ʿUmarī were personally invested in Arab tribal identity, in the *Bayān*, at least, al-Maqrīzī remains an objective outsider.

The *Bayān* minimizes nostalgia for the Arab cultural traditions or the ways of the desert. Unlike al-ʿUmarī, who idealized the Āl Faḍl of the Syrian desert as the only Arabs to remain faithful to their true nomadic identity, al-Maqrīzī does not glorify camel-herding pastoralists, and in fact barely mentions camels at all. Tents only feature as the abode of the non-Arab Buḡah (Beja). Nor does al-Maqrīzī show much interest in the culture of the pre-Islamic Arabs. Al-Qalqašandī ended his genealogical treatise with a discourse on the lore of the pre-Islamic Arabs and their famous battle days (*ayyām al-ʿarab*). Al-Maqrīzī only occasionally refers to the stereotypical generosity and hospitality of Arab leaders of the Fāṭimid period. The same is true for his account of the pre-Islamic Arabs in *al-Ḥabar ʿan al-bašar*, where “he has little time for discussing cultural aspects of Arab-ness.”⁶

Al-Maqrīzī does not long for the Ġāhiliyyah, unlike several other Mamlūk-era authors. In the early eighth/fourteenth century we find al-Nuwayrī praising “the sterling character of our pre-Islamic forefathers” (*karam aḥlāq ābāʾinā fī l-ġāhiliyyah*), with a positive comparison between the virtue of the pagan ʿAntarah and Abū Nuwās' licentiousness.⁷ Al-Maqrīzī includes none of this. His

4 See the summary in Büssow-Schmitz (2016): 83–85.

5 Rabbat (2003): 6–10; al-Saḥāwī, *al-Ḍawʿ al-lāmiʿ*, 2:22–24.

6 Webb (2019): 74.

7 Webb (2019): 70–71.

treatment of pre-Islamic brigands in *al-Ḥabar* ‘*an al-bašar*, as Ron-Gilboa suggests, is an attempt to re-appropriate the history of the Ġāhiliyyah far from the idealizing lens of popular Arab epics that gained large audiences in Mamlūk Egypt. Of these popular epics, *Sīrat ‘Antarah b. Šaddād* had acquired the most cultural currency, developing into an alternative history of pre-Islamic Arabia.⁸ The *Bayān*, like the section on the brigands in the *Ḥabar*, avoids the themes of the popular epic or its vocabulary: there are no great fits of courage, no half-caste black slaves, no runners outpacing horses.⁹

It is also difficult to see the *Bayān* as a call for the restoration of an Arab caliphate. Admittedly, the figure of the Šarīf Ḥiṣn al-Dīn Ṭa‘lab serves as a mouthpiece for the Arab “d disdain” toward rule by manumitted foreign slaves. But it is doubtful that al-Maqrīzī equated the privileges of the descendants of the Prophet with Arab political superiority. As Jo Van Steenberg has shown with regard to the pilgrimage treatise *al-Dahab al-masbūk*, al-Maqrīzī legitimized the shift from caliph to sultan, with Baybars as a worthy successor to the political authority of the Prophet.¹⁰ In al-Maqrīzī’s eyes, as shown by Mustafa Banister, the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs of Cairo carried residual religious authority, but not the power to issue effective orders.¹¹ The *Bayān* rarely refers to any caliphs, and never to the ‘Abbāsīd caliphs of Mamlūk Cairo. The main protagonists of the *Bayān* are not Egypt’s rulers, but rather the rural Arab and Berber groups omnipresent in the Egyptian countryside.

The *Bayān* is primarily concerned with the political power of these Egyptian rural elites, and with the history of their migration into Egypt, a history that is closely linked with their claims to status in the Muslim community. We have noted that Ibn Ḥaldūn thought of Egypt as having few tribal groups, and understood that the continuous importation of military slaves allowed the Mamlūk regime to continue without need for tribal solidarity.¹² The *Bayān* perhaps intended to demonstrate that Ibn Ḥaldūn’s view was wrong; both Arab and Berber tribal groups were found throughout the Egyptian countryside. But al-Maqrīzī leads the reader to believe that the Arab threat to the regime was in the past, with the great rebellion led by Ḥiṣn al-Dīn Ṭa‘lab in the middle of the seventh/thirteenth century as the watershed moment. The failure of that rebellion led to the consolidation of the Mamlūk regime, the opposite of a clan-based state. In the *Sulūk*, al-Maqrīzī presents the defeat of Ḥiṣn al-Dīn as the

8 Hirschler (2012): 181–184; Herzog (2012).

9 Ron-Gilboa (2015); Webb (2019): 88–89.

10 Van Steenberg (2017): 95–102.

11 Banister (2021): 318.

12 Ibn Ḥaldūn, *Muqaddimah*, 1:334.

downfall of the Arab tribes as a political power in the Mamlūk countryside. The *Bayān* effectively ends its narrative in 652/1254–1255, the last date mentioned in the body of the treatise.

In the *Bayān*, in line with Ibn Ḥaldūn, the actions of contemporary Arab and Berber groups are presented as being a result of the manipulations of state authorities. Their migrations are nearly always at the behest of urban rulers: the arrival of the Sulaym to al-Šarqiyyah under the Umayyads, the Fāṭimid installation of the Sinbis in al-Buḥayrah and of the Qurayš in al-Ušmūnayn, and even the late eighth-/fourteenth-century settlement of the Hawwārah in Ġirġā are all attributed to decisions made by non-tribal actors in Cairo. These groups did not then harness tribal solidarity to overthrow the government. There is no Ḥaldūnian cycle; their limited rebellions always fail. As with al-Maqrīzī's pre-Islamic brigands, the tribes of Egypt do not carry the seeds of new *ʿaṣabiyyah*-based power.

Al-Maqrīzī's epistle on the rights of the descendants of Tamīm al-Dārī to lands near Hebron is similarly skeptical about claims of lineage. Al-Maqrīzī, copying from Ibn Ḥaḡar and consulting the *ḥadīṭ* corpus, acknowledges that the Prophet indeed promised the villages of Hebron and Bayt ʿAynūn to Tamīm al-Dārī and his descendants. But in a concluding note, al-Maqrīzī questions the continuity of the Tamīmī line to his time, given the Crusader interruption. Even if the two villages were in the hands of the Dāriyyūn from the time of the Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb, the arrival of the Franks meant that all Muslims in the region either fled or were killed; no Dārī from the pre-Frankish period remained in these lands. Here al-Maqrīzī casts doubt on whether the people claiming ownership of the two villages promised by the Prophet to Tamīm al-Dārī were indeed his direct descendants.¹³

The key message in the *Bayān* is the lack of historical continuity between the age of the Prophet and the Arab clansmen of his own time. As al-Maqrīzī states in the opening lines, they are simply not descendants of the tribes of the conquest. Many of them are Berbers, who by definition could not have been part of the conquering armies. He repeatedly denies claims by individual Arab tribes to lineage from the Companions of the Prophet. It is not that the Arabs are inescapably unruly; perhaps they even preserved some noble qualities. But there is no historical line that connects them to the prophetic age and their descent does not entitle them to lead the community or become rulers of Egypt.

The *Bayān* almost ignores the increasing power of the Arabs in the Egyptian countryside during al-Maqrīzī's lifetime. There is nothing in the *Bayān* on

13 Frenkel (2014): 246–247.

the major rebellion of al-Aḥḍab in the middle of the eighth/fourteenth century, on which al-Maqrīzī's own *al-Sulūk* reports extensively, and which is our main source for the rebellion.¹⁴ Even the name of al-Aḥḍab's tribe, the 'Arak, is never mentioned. In addition, the *Bayān* does not give any practical advice about how to deal with Arab clansmen. In his other works, al-Maqrīzī reprimands eighth-/fourteenth-century Mamlūk sultans for neglecting the affairs of the Arabs and thereby allowing them to rise in disobedience, or he criticizes excessively brutal campaigns against the Arabs because it leads to the alienation of local elites and an eventual loss of control. None of this is found in the *Bayān*, which limits itself to the past and refrains from commenting on the present. It is only the short insert on the Hawwārah of Upper Egypt, added after the completion of the treatise, that hints at the historical context of the early ninth/fifteenth century, when tribal elites such as the Hawwārah came to dominate many Egyptian provinces.

The *Bayān* was surely a commentary on the Arabs and Berbers of al-Maqrīzī's own era. It derives its authority and subsequent popularity from being a work of history, written in the cool tone of a detached scholar. The treatise is set in the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods, and intentionally avoids the history of the Egyptian countryside under the Mamlūks. Al-Maqrīzī was an expert in telling stories about the past that resonated with the concerns of his own generation and generations to come. If there is a dramatic climax in the *Bayān*, it lies in the rebellion of Ḥiṣn al-Dīn Ṭa'lab. Al-Maqrīzī attributes to Ḥiṣn al-Dīn an ideology of prophetic lineage and social status, and contrasts it with the Mamlūk elite, made up of manumitted slaves. Eventually, Ḥiṣn al-Dīn lost and the Mamlūks won. This does not seem to be al-Maqrīzī's moral judgment, just the moral of history, possibly to be learned by a young prince; the message being that the attempts of the Arab and Berber rural elites to take control over Egypt are bound to fail.

14 Rapoport (2022); Büssow-Schmitz (2016): 78–82.

Afterlife

The *Bayān* was known to al-Maqrīzī's fellow scholars. Ibn Taġrī Birdī (d. 874/1470) listed it among al-Maqrīzī's works as *Kitāb al-Bayān wa-l-i'rāb 'ammā fī arḍ Miṣr min al-a'rāb*.¹ The title is also mentioned in the biography of al-Maqrīzī by al-Saḥāwī (d. 902/1497).² Centuries later, Ḥāġġī Ḥalīfah (d. 1067/1657) knew the work as *al-Bayān wa-l-i'rāb 'ammā fī arḍ Miṣr min qabā'il al-a'rāb* and attributed it to al-Maqrīzī.³ The work was also known to the Yemeni encyclopedist Murtaḍā l-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790), who cites the *Bayān*'s account of the etymology of the Hawwārah and their migration to Upper Egypt under Sultan Barqūq.⁴ Al-Zabīdī is the first scholar known to us to have made use of the *Bayān* in his writings. For the most part, the *Bayān* appears in the context of bibliographical lists; we have not found evidence of the impact of the *Bayān* on readers before the late twelfth/eighteenth century.

The earliest dated evidence of a manuscript copy of the *Bayān* comes from the middle of the eleventh/seventeenth century, when it was included in a set of fifteen short treatises by al-Maqrīzī, produced shortly after 27 Dū l-Ḥiġġah 1041/15 July 1632 (Atif Efendi Kütüphanesi, MS 2814). Two more copies of the same set were then made in Jedda by the scribe Muḥammad al-Qaṭarī in 1085/1674 (Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, MS 4937) and in 1101/1690 (Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, MS Veliyüddin 3195). Another undated copy of the same set was probably made in the twelfth/eighteenth century (BnF, MS arabe 4657).⁵ All these copies contain the insertions introduced by al-Maqrīzī, without any indication that they were extraneous to the original treatise. The codex prepared by Muḥammad al-Qaṭarī in 1101/1690 offers a slight variation, as the set is reordered so that the *Bayān* is the sixth of the fifteen short treatises. Overall, these four codices do not accord the *Bayān* any special attention, and the treatise was copied as part of a wider interest in reproducing al-Maqrīzī's short epistles.

The *Bayān* was also included in other manuscript iterations of this "Maqrīzī codex." A copy of the *Bayān* made in Egypt in 1112/1701 (Cambridge, University

1 Ibn Taġrī Birdī, *al-Manhal al-ṣāfi*, 1:419.

2 Al-Saḥāwī, *al-Ḍaw' al-lāmi'*, 2:22.

3 Ḥāġġī Ḥalīfah, *Kaṣf al-ẓunūn*, 1:262.

4 Al-Zabīdī, *Tāġ al-'arūs*, 1:9, 14:14.

5 On this set see Van Steenberghe (2017): 123–124.

Library, MS Add. 746) is part of a set of ten short epistles by al-Maqrīzī, to which five unrelated texts were later added. Here, however, the *Bayān* is the first text in the codex, perhaps reflecting a particular interest in its contents. There are no glosses in the margin, and only corrections and additions. It does not reproduce al-Maqrīzī's colophon.

More evidence of direct engagement with the *Bayān* is found in another set of treatises by al-Maqrīzī copied in 1131/1719 (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS AF 342^a); in these the copyist highlighted, on the margins, material that he found interesting. On fol. 153^b, for example, he draws the reader's attention to the Hawwārah's origins as soldiers settled in Egypt by the Tabābi'ah Yemeni kings, a point that is quite peripheral to the text of the *Bayān* (§ 112). This may indicate his particular interest in the history of the Hawwārah, who in the early twelfth/eighteenth century were still a dominant force in Upper Egypt; we have seen above that the *Bayān*'s account of the Hawwārah was cited verbatim in al-Zabīdī's *Tāǧ al-'arūs* in the early thirteenth/late eighteenth century, in what is the earliest attested citation from the treatise. This Vienna copy of 1131/1719 could not have been made directly from the manuscript in Leiden Or. 560, which entered that collection in 1668. Nonetheless, it is notable that the scribe of this Vienna copy mentions that the material on the Awlād al-Kanz and on the Hawwārah in Upper Egypt came from two insertion slips at the hand of the author, that is, by al-Maqrīzī. This means the scribe was working from a copy made on the basis of Leiden Or. 560.

Dār al-Kutub MS 1150 *ta'rīḥ*, which was part of the extensive library of Ṣayḥ al-Azhar Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār (d. 1250/1835), is a significant stand-alone manuscript copy of the *Bayān*.⁶ The copy probably dates to the twelfth/eighteenth century and was made on European paper. Al-'Aṭṭār not only owned this stand-alone copy of the *Bayān*, but also made historical glosses on the margins of the text, including final reflections on the fate of the Arab tribes mentioned in the treatise. He comments pithily that most of the tribes mentioned by al-Maqrīzī have become part of the Egyptian peasantry, and even those that remain do not know their roots. He added a rhymed "Arab" saying that mocks the ignorance of the current tribes regarding their genealogy.⁷ Al-'Aṭṭār was a reformist figure who critiqued the narrow-mindedness of the scholarly syllabus of his time, and also made extensive glosses on his copy of Ibn Ḥaldūn's *Muqaddimah*.⁸

6 On the library of Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār and its importance, see El Shamsy (2020): 54–55, 112 (its dispersal after his death).

7 Al-'Aṭṭār's comments were reproduced by 'Abd al-Maǧīd 'Ābidīn in his 1961 edition of the *Bayān*. See al-Maqrīzī, *Bayān* (1961): 73.

8 El Shamsy (2020): 77.

His engagement with the *Bayān* should be seen in light of his wider interest in Islamic history and its implications for his own time.

There are several other stand-alone attestations of the *Bayān*, of which BnF MS arabe 1725 may be the earliest extant copy. Based on its script, this manuscript, made on oriental paper and consisting of 19 folios, is dated to the eleventh/seventeenth or twelfth/eighteenth century. Like the undated codex of fifteen treatises in BnF MS arabe 4657, it belonged to the collector Delaporte and may have been produced at the same time. Dār al-Kutub MS 1527 *taʿrīḥ Taymūr* is another stand-alone copy on European paper, probably made in the twelfth/eighteenth century. The copyist of Yale MS Landberg 492, datable to the thirteenth/nineteenth century, claims that it was made on the basis of a manuscript copied from an apograph. Three more known copies of the *Bayān* were made in Egypt in the late thirteenth/nineteenth or early fourteenth/twentieth centuries; these reflect the growing interest in the importance of the *Bayān* to Egyptian history and identity. Following this, a printed edition of the *Bayān* was published by Dār al-Maʿārif in 1916; this was in fact a reproduction of the earliest European edition made by Wüstenfeld some seventy years earlier.

1 Printed Editions

In 1847, Ferdinand Wüstenfeld published the earliest modern edition of the *Bayān* in Göttingen, alongside a German translation of the treatise. Following up on a note by Quatremère in his history of the Mamlūk sultans, Wüstenfeld set out to compare three manuscripts of the *Bayān* held in the European libraries of Leiden, Paris, and Vienna. Wüstenfeld noted that the *Bayān* is one of eighteen short treatises of al-Maqrīzī included in Leiden Or. 560, and that it was also included in the smaller Paris (BnF MS arabe 4657) and Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS AF 342^a) collections of al-Maqrīzī's treatises. Wüstenfeld was unaware that the copy of the manuscript now in Leiden Or. 560 had been supervised by al-Maqrīzī himself, but he did notice that its vocalization of names—especially the Berber names—was superior to that in the Vienna and Paris copies. He noted manuscript variants in the reading of the names in the German translation, and also made occasional references to the few geographical, genealogical, and biographical dictionaries that were available to him at the time.

In terms of the substance of the *Bayān*, Wüstenfeld considered it fragmentary and derivative of earlier sources. He believed that the main contribution of the treatise was in reconstructing the Arab genealogical tree; as an exam-

ple of the potential of the treatise, he appended to the German translation a schematic diagram of the lineage tree of the Banū Ğuṣām confederacy with some fifty names of clans and sections, based on the material in the *Bayān*. This rather inaccessible edition by Wüstenfeld was then reprinted in 1916 in Dār al-Maʿārif in Cairo, at the initiative of Ibrāhīm Ramzī (1867–1924), who published at least one other title on the history of Egypt.⁹ We have not been able to consult this Dār al-Maʿārif edition.

The next edition of the *Bayān* was prepared by the prolific historian ʿAbd al-Maġīd ʿĀbidīn in 1961 and published by ʿĀlam al-Kutub in Cairo. ʿĀbidīn (1915–1989?) was an Egyptian scholar working in the Sudan, at the time an assistant professor at the Khartoum branch of the University of Cairo. ʿĀbidīn’s aim, as he explains in the introduction to his book, was to provide a history of the Arab element in the Nile Valley, and not merely a study of the *Bayān* in the traditional sense. The edition of al-Maqrīzī’s treatise is followed by five chapters that survey the Arab presence along the Nile from premodern times up to the present, with particular focus on the penetration of Arab tribes into the Sudan.

ʿĀbidīn’s work bears the hallmarks of Arab nationalism in its heyday. He argues that the Semitic migrations to the Nile Valley in Pharaonic eras were in fact “Arab” migrations; his concluding chapter is devoted to the 1952 Free Officers revolution in Egypt. In this broad historical canvas, the Arab tribes of the Mamlūk period represent earlier revolutionary movements by the Egyptian people. Against a previous generation of Egyptian historians, ʿĀbidīn argues that Arab migrations in the Islamic period always involved mixing (*tamazzuġ*) with the indigenous Egyptian population so that they formed an integral part of Egyptian society. Moreover, while al-Maqrīzī and his contemporaries often viewed Arab political actions as harmful, “it is obvious” that Ḥiṣn al-Dīn Taʿlab, for example, led a liberation movement against Turkish rule.¹⁰ Some of the Bedouin from the desert undeniably caused destruction, but their ultimate goal was freedom and dignity.

Despite this programmatic outline, ʿĀbidīn’s edition of the *Bayān* is rigorous and informative. It was done by collating Wüstenfeld’s edition, available to him through the 1916 Dār al-Maʿārif reprint, with MS Dār al-Kutub 1150, the copy previously owned by Ṣayḥ al-Azhar Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭār. ʿĀbidīn provides a significant academic apparatus, including a careful comparison of the two sources, and abundant references to al-Qalqaṣandī’s genealogical treatise *Nihāyat al-arab* and to Muḥammad Ramzī’s Egyptian gazetteer—two works that had been

9 Ramzī (1894).

10 Al-Maqrīzī, *Bayān* (1961): 10.

published in the previous few years. ʿĀbidīn also reproduced the marginal comments from the Dār al-Kutub 1150 *tārīḥ* copy, in which al-ʿAṭṭār provided historical background on the Mamlūk period and his reflections on the fate of the Arab tribes mentioned by al-Maqrīzī.

ʿĀbidīn's useful insights into al-Maqrīzī's sources and methodology are worth highlighting. First, he points out that al-Maqrīzī's ultimate source was the lost work by al-Ḥamdānī. This was an important observation based on his reading of al-Qalqašandī, all the more impressive given that al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-abṣār* was not yet available in modern editions. Second, ʿĀbidīn comments on the jumbled structure of the treatise, pointing out that this is not a genealogical tree common in the classical genealogical literature, and that al-Maqrīzī was trying to follow a geographical order. ʿĀbidīn himself was not content with this geographical organization, which he thought resembled a notebook rather than a proper treatise (*risālah*). Finally, ʿĀbidīn made three important historical reflections about the history of the Arab tribes of Egypt from the Fāṭimids to the Mamlūks, partly based on the *Bayān*:¹¹ (1) the absence of a Qays-Yaman rivalry in this period, in contrast to the early Islamic centuries; (2) the growing attachment of Arab groups to distinct territories or provinces, so much so that the groups are often identified by the name of their province rather than by the name of their confederacy; and (3) the increasing use of the prophetic lineage at the expense of many non-prophetic lines that became extinct.

More recent editions of the *Bayān* are inferior in quality. In 1419/1998–1999, Dār al-Ḥadīth in Cairo published *Rasāʾil al-Maqrīzī*, a book consisting of fourteen short treatises by al-Maqrīzī edited by Ramaḍān al-Badrī and Aḥmad al-Ṭaḥṭāwī.¹² This edition was based on a microfilm of MS Paris that includes an edition of the *Bayān*.¹³ The edition offers the identification of tribal names based on ʿUmar Riḍā Kaḥḥālah's modern gazetteer, limited biographical and geographical information, and an explication of archaic words. The editors were not particularly interested in the content of the treatise. A one-sentence summary of the *Bayān* suggests that some of the tribes mentioned by al-Maqrīzī were still present in Egypt, and that al-Maqrīzī narrates their arrival to the Arab world (*waṭan*) from the Arabian Peninsula.

Another recent publication of the *Bayān* was produced by Cairo's al-Maktabah al-Azhariyyah li-l-Turāt (2006).¹⁴ This small booklet contains al-Maqrīzī's text, preceded by a historical introduction on the Arab tribes of

11 Al-Maqrīzī, *Bayān* (1961): 136–140.

12 Al-Maqrīzī, *Rasāʾil* 125–154.

13 Al-Maqrīzī, *Rasāʾil* 125–154.

14 Al-Maqrīzī, *Bayān* (2006).

Egypt by ‘Abd al-Na‘īm Ḍayfī ‘Uṭmān ‘Abd al-Na‘īm, who held an MA in the history of Islam in Africa from the University of Cairo. While the title of the book promises a critical edition (*taḥqīq*) of the treatise, it is only a reproduction of the text, apparently based on the 1916 publication by Ibrāhīm Ramzī (itself a reprint of the 1847 Wüstenfeld edition). It has no vocalization or academic apparatus. In his derivative historical survey, Ḍayfī lists the Arab tribes that came to Egypt after the conquest, then briefly comments on al-Maqrīzī’s statement that these tribes had mostly disappeared: Ḍayfī speculates that they migrated westward to the Maghrib, died off in internal fighting, or integrated themselves into Egyptian society.¹⁵

2 The *Bayān* in the Contemporary Arab World

Interest in al-Maqrīzī’s *Bayān* has continued unabated in the Arab Muslim world to the present day. The nineteenth-century edition by Wüstenfeld, accompanied by ‘Ābidīn’s 1961 history of the Arab presence in the Nile Valley, is now available on the Šamela website. The same platform also offers the 1419/1998–1999 edition included in *Rasā’il al-Maqrīzī*.¹⁶ The treatise is frequently referenced in academic research and in essays and publications for the general public, in the fields of history, literature, geography, and genealogy. It is particularly invoked in relation to public debates about the role of the Arab tribes in Egyptian history and their integration into Egyptian society following the Muslim conquest, and in discussions of shared Arab-Berber ancestry.¹⁷ All in all, books and articles that utilize the *Bayān* deal with apologetic themes related to Islam and Arab identity, although more recently online publications mine the *Bayān* for the promotion of more localized solidarity groups.

The *Bayān* is ubiquitous in dictionaries and encyclopedias, since it presents itself, to some extent, as an abridged “dictionary” of the major Arab lineages and tribes. As expected, it figures prominently as a major reference in several bio-

15 Al-Maqrīzī, *Bayān* (2006): 52–53.

16 <https://shamela.ws> (accessed 22/06/2023). Ferdinand Wüstenfeld’s edition has been uploaded to <https://platform.almanhal.com/Reader/Book/29623>. ‘A. ‘Ābidīn’s edition appears in [https://books.islam-db.com/books\(1-124\)](https://books.islam-db.com/books(1-124)) and in <https://almoharm.yoo7.com/t273-topic>.

17 For example, the *Bayān* is quoted to refute the Arab lineage claim of the Wardīgah tribe in the Maghrib (Morocco). See <https://www.instagram.com/p/Cr6OoOvojRD/?ref=honeysocklemag.com>.

graphical and bio-bibliographical encyclopedias, as well as in nomenclatures of Arab tribes.¹⁸ The Syrian historian ʿUmar R. Kaḥḥālah (d. 1987) cites it as a key source for his dictionary of the Arab tribes.¹⁹ The *Bayān* is also, invariably, discussed in books on Arab genealogy. For example, in Abū Zayd Bakr's *Ṭabaqāt al-nassābīn* (1987), al-Maqrīzī is listed among the genealogists of the Islamic era based on his *Bayān* and his *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*.²⁰ Ḥamzah al-ʿĀyīš used the *Bayān*'s ample information on the Ġaʿfarī lineage in his 2013 edition of *al-ʿAšr al-masāʾil* by Abū l-Baqāʾ al-Ġaʿfarī (d. 581/1185), to expand the biography of al-Ġaʿfarī.²¹ The *Bayān* was used to amplify lineage claims, as is evidenced in the encyclopedia of Arab poets compiled by K. Salmān al-Ġabūrī (2003).²²

Because the *Bayān* offers a concise and easily accessible account of the Egyptian Arabs and their main tribes, it is frequently utilized to defend the cause of the Arabs and take a stand for Islam. Ḥusayn Kāmil's measured history of Islamic Egypt (1945) used the *Bayān* to offer a narrative of the arrival and settlement of Arabs in Egypt and North Africa, highlighting their influence on culture, history, and political orientation.²³ Among the apologetic writings that utilize the *Bayān*, we should note the prolific Egyptian author Muḥammad ʿImārah (d. 2002), who referred to the *Bayān* in his history of the Muslim conquests (2016). His book refutes claims that the conquests were carried out only for the purposes of domination and enslavement, and the *Bayān* is used to prove that the Arabs arrived in Egypt to spread Islam and did not undermine the foundations of Egyptian society at the time.²⁴ A similar objective can be found in ʿA. Ḥūršīd al-Barrī's history of the Arab tribes in early Islamic Egypt (1996). Ḥūršīd al-Barrī cites al-Maqrīzī's introductory sentence that the Arab tribes who participated in the conquest can no longer be traced. Ḥūršīd al-Barrī then turns al-Maqrīzī's assessment into a *contrario* argument aimed at demonstrating that the Arabs were completely integrated into Egyptian society. According to his interpretation of al-Maqrīzī, the Arabs did not disappear, but rather instilled in Egypt the spirit of Arabism (*rūḥ al-ʿurūbah*) that inhabits it today.²⁵

18 See Ismāʿīl Bāšā, *Hadiyyat al-ʿarīfīn*, 1:127; al-Ziriklī (2002), 1:178. For a list of works that mention the *Bayān*, see Kaḥḥālah (1957), 2:11–12.

19 Kaḥḥālah (1994).

20 Bakr (1987): 153.

21 Al-Ġaʿfarī, *al-Wādiḥ al-mašhūd* 17.

22 Al-Ġabūrī (2003), 7:297.

23 Kāmil (1945): 20–23.

24 ʿImārah (2016): 24–27.

25 Ḥūršīd (1996): 69–71.

Overall, the *Bayān* has been taken as a key source for modern studies of the Arabization of Egypt, Libya, and the Sudan.²⁶ A recent online study by Ṭāriq Yūsuf, who highlights the *Bayān*'s evidence of the continuous settlement of Berber tribes in Egypt from the time of the Islamic conquest, is an exception. Such references to the Berber sections of the *Bayān* are rare.²⁷ By and large, the *Bayān* proved particularly useful for authors who wished to emphasize the unifying and pervasive Arab identity of Egypt, against regional claims of superior lineage that pit one group of Egyptians against another. An interesting example comes from the work of the conservative Maḥmūd Ġunaym (d. 1972) and his critical biography of the grammarian Ḥifnī Nāṣif (d. 1919). In a work of Arabic philology, Nāṣif argued that Egyptians of Arab descent could be distinguished by their dialect. Thus, for example, Nāṣif asserted that the people of al-Minyah were descendants of Arabs or even Qurayṣīs, because they pronounced the *qāf* in the proper classical manner, while their neighbors in the region of Banī Suwayf were of non-Arab origin, because their *qāf* is pronounced like a *kāf* (i.e., *qāla* pronounced as *gāla*, as is common in Bedouin dialects). In order to refute such divisive claims, Ġunaym utilized the text of the *Bayān* to demonstrate the presence of Arab clans in all regions of middle Egypt.²⁸

In recent years, there has been a marked increase in the use of the *Bayān* to promote the history and identity of specific tribal groups, as tribal allegiances became a primary focus of solidarity in the aftermath of the Arab Spring. Many of these publications appear online, as articles and short notices on a specific subject, usually of political and ideological significance, that quote extracts from the *Bayān*. In these publications, the *Bayān* appears to serve as a historical foundation that allows one tribe to take precedence over another, to nurture pride in belonging to a given region over another, and to establish the authority of an individual lineage.²⁹ Articles and small notes are published in collective Facebook accounts associated with a tribal group, such as the “Union of the Aṣrāf Families,” which reproduced parts of the *Bayān* in its history of the Qaḥṭānī tribes of Egypt, referring to the section on the Bayāḍah of the Banū

26 See Ḥiḡāzī (2003), chapter 14 “*al-‘arabiyyah fi l-qārrah al-ifriqiyyah*,” 275–303. See also Ṭal‘at (2013), “Ism Miṣr,” <https://www.ahewar.org/debat/show.art.asp?aid=379274>; Smiyū (2016): 420–421; Badr (2017): 9.

27 See Yūsuf (2019).

28 Ġunaym (n.d.): 155. We thank Abdelmoula Hagil for suggesting this book.

29 See an example in a post by Maḥmūd Ḥallāf on the lineage of the Banū Muḥammad and Banū ‘Alī, who are said to be Arabs belonging to the Hawwārah (<https://sohag2.ahlamontada.net/t1585-topic>). See also https://www.facebook.com/Frsan.Hmam/posts/480073928704145/?locale=ar_AR.

Ṭaʿlabah.³⁰ The *Bayān* is also used to reconstruct the history of an individual tribe, as in Aḥmad Ilyās Ḥasan's history of the Balī confederacy published in an online Sudanese newspaper.³¹ One also finds references to the *Bayān* on websites dedicated to local history. For example, a local website for the Upper Egyptian town of Tandah boasts of the Umayyad origins of the inhabitants, based on al-Maqrīzī's treatise.³² But the *Bayān* is also used as a warning from the past about the dangers of tribal politics, drawing a comparison between the political use of the Šarifian lineage in seventh/thirteenth-century Egypt and in twenty-first century Iraq.³³

The modern uses of the *Bayān* reflect the political and ideological transformations in Egypt and the wider Middle East in the post-colonial era. With the rise of Arab nationalism, the *Bayān* was used to prove the enduring Arab identity of Egypt and its surrounding region, to illustrate the seamless integration of Arabs into the fabric of Egyptian society, and to reject internal divisions between Arabs and non-Arabs. By contrast, in the past decade, the *Bayān* has been mined to bolster the claims of one Arab or Berber tribe over another, a phenomenon that is mostly visible through social media. In all these exchanges, the *Bayān* is taken at face value, without a critical evaluation of the text, its sources and its manuscripts, or a consideration of the specific historical context in which it was composed. It is our earnest hope that this edition, translation, and study of the *Bayān* will contribute to more rigorous and informed public debates on Arab identity and Egyptian history.

30 See the post on the migration of the Qaḥṭānī tribes in the Facebook account of Ittiḥād 'ā'ilāt al-ašraf on 28 September 2019 (<https://www.facebook.com/165219127538504/posts/483138929079854/>). See also <https://sqawoa.com/archives/5172> on 14 September 2021, on the Aḥārisah tribe as descended from Qaḥṭān.

31 Aḥmad Ilyās Ḥasan, "Qabīlat Balī: hal daḥalat bilād al-Baḡḡah," posted in <https://sudanile.com> on 17 June 2016.

32 https://www.khbarbladi.com/theme_vstpart-32100, accessed 11 August 2023.

33 Al-Ḥayyūn, "Miḥnat al-Zahrā' ... ma'a duwal wa-milišiyāt," published 23 July 2020: <https://www.alittihad.ae/opinion/411635/>.

Manuscript Copies of the *Bayān* (in approximate chronological order)

- a. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Or. 560, 12 fols., fols. 66^a–79^b. Datable to 840–841/1437–1438. This is the oldest manuscript that is the base manuscript referred to as the *aṣl* (أصل).

Ownership statements (*qayd al-tamalluk*) from Waysī (1014/1605–1606) (fol. 1). There is a bookplate that reads: “*Bi-rasm hizānat amīr al-umarā’ al-kirām kabīr al-kubarā’ al-faḥḥām dū l-qadr wa-l-iḥtirām al-sayyid al-šarīf al-ḥasīb al-nasīb Sayyid Muḥammad Bāšā kāfil al-diyār al-miṣriyyah adāma llāh sa’ādātahu wasiyādātahu.*” Another owner’s name is given at the bottom of the same page: “*al-ḥamdu li-llāh ‘alā ‘abdihi Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ġayṭī l-šāfi’ī sanat 947 (AH).*”

The *Bayān* is on twelve folios: 66^a–79^b. It has twenty-five lines per page, with a leaf height of 235 mm, and a leaf width of 145 mm. It was written on Oriental paper in a *nashī* style, in black ink except for the titles, and the names of the tribes that are written in bold red.

The title at the top of fol. 66^a states: “*Kitāb al-Bayān wa-l-i’rāb ‘an mā fi arḍ Miṣr min al-a’rāb*” in al-Maqrīzī’s hand, with the exception of the first word (*kitāb*), which is in the copyist’s hand. The introduction in fol. 66^b is also entirely in al-Maqrīzī’s hand.

There are several notes and many corrections in the body of the text and in the margins; these are added in al-Maqrīzī’s hand. All of the text was corrected and authenticated by him.

Al-Maqrīzī also made two additions, on loose paper, to the text of the *Bayān*. The first one was pasted between fols. 72^b and 73^a, but most of this insert has been torn; only the last sentence remains (*yantasibu Kanz al-Dawla ḥāmī Aswān*). The fragmentary insert is fol. 79 (see §§ 88–93). The second loose paper insert was pasted between fols. 74^b and 75^a, but is now at the end of the text; it is fol. 78 (§ 117).

The treatise ends with a short colophon, entirely in al-Maqrīzī’s hand, dated to Dū l-Qa’dah 841/May–June 1438.

- b. Istanbul, Atıf Efendi Kütüphanesi, MS 2814, fols. 160^a–175^b. Copied shortly after 27 Dū l-Ḥiġġah 1041/15 July 1632. This is a codex of 216 paper leaves containing a copy of fifteen of al-Maqrīzī’s shorter texts¹ (see Plates 1–2).

1 See Van Steenbergen (2017): 117–118.

The *Bayān* is preceded by *al-Maqāṣid al-saniyyah fī l-ağsām al-ma'diniyyah* and followed by *al-Ilmām bi-aḥbār man bi-arḍ al-ḥabaṣah min mulūk al-islām*. It contains only one correction in black ink in the margin (fol. 162^b). The titles are written in red ink. Al-Maqrīzī's colophon is reproduced as it appears in manuscript Leiden Or. 560. Al-Maqrīzī's additions (loose leaves no. 78 and no. 79), including the text that is no longer extant in Leiden Or. 560, are seamlessly reproduced (fols. 168^b–169^b and fols. 172^a–172^b respectively).

- c. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, MS 4937, fols. 275^a–301^b. Copied between 2 Ramaḍān/30 November and 1 Şawwāl/29 December 1674. It was copied by Abū l-Şalāḥ Muḥammad al-Ḥanafī l-Şahīr bi-l-Qaṭarī. This is a codex of 363 paper leaves, also containing a copy of fifteen of al-Maqrīzī's shorter texts, in the same order as in Atif Efendi Kütüphanesi, MS 2814² (see Plates 3–4).

It is written in a *nasta'liq* style, with twenty-five lines per page. Its margins do not show corrections or annotations, and only (seemingly) arbitrarily selected titles are written in red ink, as in the Beyazit copy below. It is preceded by a blank page, followed by the same shorter text: *al-Ilmām bi-aḥbār man bi-arḍ al-ḥabaṣah min mulūk al-islām*. Al-Maqrīzī's colophon is reproduced as it appears in manuscript Leiden Or. 560. Al-Maqrīzī's additions (loose leaves no. 78 and no. 79), including the text that is no longer extant in Leiden Or. 560, are seamlessly reproduced (fols. 290^a–291^a and fols. 296^b–297^a respectively).

- d. Istanbul, Beyazit Devlet Kütüphanesi, MS Veliyüddin 3195, fols. 86^b–100^a. Dated 29 Şa'bān 1101/7 June 1690. It was copied by Abū l-Şalāḥ Muḥammad al-Şahīr bi-l-Qaṭarī, *imām* Ğāmi' al-Wazīr wa-ḥaṭībuhu bi-Bandar Ğiddah; Jedda. This is a codex of 201 paper leaves, again containing the same set of fifteen shorter texts by al-Maqrīzī, but in a different order. Here the *Bayān* is the sixth treatise; it follows *al-Dahab al-masbūk*³ (see Plates 5–6).

The manuscript is on western paper, with twenty-five lines per page. The outer margin is double the inner margin. It is preceded by two blank folios (85^b–86^a), while fol. 86^b begins without mention of the title of the work. The text is very tight and framed by a red line. It is written in a particular *nasta'liq* style, a bit better than the writing of Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi MS 4937, in black ink

² See Van Steenberghe (2017): 118–119.

³ See Van Steenberghe (2017): 119–120.

except for heading entries written in red, some of which are repeated in red ink in the margins as well. There is little vocalization. It reproduces al-Maqrīzī's colophon as it is in Leiden Or. 560. The two insertion slips made by al-Maqrīzī on loose paper, including the text that is no longer extant in Leiden Or. 560, are reproduced (fols. 94^a–95^a for no. 79, no. 78 in 97^b). This manuscript does not incorporate many of al-Maqrīzī's marginal corrections that we have pointed out in the edition of the Arabic text.

- e. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 1725, 19 fols. (fols. 1^a–19^b). Undated; datable to the eleventh/seventeenth century⁴ (see Plates 7–8).

There are twenty-three lines per page. It has a leaf height of 230 mm, with each leaf 140 mm wide. There are no notes in the margins. It is in black ink (headings and keywords are in red), on Oriental paper. The MS once belonged to Delaporte (fol. 1^a: "Ex libris manuscripti/Delaporte") like BnF Arabe 4657 (below). It is written in a regular and clear *nashī* style. The handwriting is polished, more than that of Paris MS arabe 4657, and it has wide outer margins and very narrow inner margins. It reproduces al-Maqrīzī's colophon as it appears in Leiden Or. 560. As in Paris MS arabe 4657, the treatise is followed by the same formulation of blessing on the Prophet and his family. The two insert slips made by al-Maqrīzī on loose paper are reproduced: no. 79 (Awlād al-Kanz ...) at fols. 11^b–12^b and no. 78 (Hawwārah) at fol. 16^a.

- f. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 4657, 20 fols., fols. 200^b–219^b. Undated; datable to the end of the twelfth/eighteenth century; Egypt. A codex of 266 leaves, with a full set of the fifteen shorter texts by al-Maqrīzī. Follows the same order as Atif Efendi Kütüphanesi, MS 2814. Paper watermark and owner's stamp suggest that the copy was produced between 1749 and 1781⁵ (see Plates 9–10).

The manuscript is in clean and clear *nashī* writing style with twenty-five lines per page. There are no corrections in the margins, and very few highlighted headings. The two insertions made by al-Maqrīzī on loose paper are integrated into the text. The folio of no. 79 is indicated in the margins and integrated into fols. 211^b–212^b. Folio no. 78 is reproduced in fol. 216^a but is not indicated in the margin. It reproduces al-Maqrīzī's colophon as it appears in Leiden Or. 560.

⁴ See <https://ihodp.ugent.be/bah/>.

⁵ Van Steenberghe (2017): 121–122.

- g. Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 746, fols. 1^a–18^b (dated 6 Ramaḍān 1112/14 February 1701; copied by Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-šahīr bi-Ibn al-Wakīl al-Mallawī or al-Mīlawī; [Egypt]). It is a codex of 260 leaves, containing copies of ten short texts by al-Maqrīzī, all present in Leiden Or. 560, plus five unrelated texts that were added to the codex at a later date. The *Bayān* is the first text in the codex⁶ (see Plates 11–12).

There are twenty-five lines per page, with a leaf height of 185 mm and leaf width of 113 mm. The text is framed by a red line, with the exception of the first two pages that have a gold frame. It is written in an irregular *nashī* style, in black ink except for heading entries written in red. The *Bayān* is the first treatise in this set, as indicated on the title page. It is followed by al-Maqrīzī's *Kitāb Iğātat al-ummah bi-kašf al-ğummaḥ* and eight other titles of his works.

This copy of the *Bayān* includes many relevant corrections and some annotations in the margins, and few mistakes. There are no glosses. It does not reproduce al-Maqrīzī's colophon. Al-Maqrīzī's additions on loose leaves no. 78 and no. 79 are reproduced, without indications of this in the body of the text or in the margin, in folios 10^b–11^b and 15^a respectively.

- h. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS AF 342^a, 18 folios: 140^a–157^a. Dated 4 Dū l-Qa'dah 1131/19 September 1719; copied by 'Alī b. al-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Taytalāwī⁷ (see Plates 13–14).

There are twenty-three lines per page, with a leaf height of 185 mm and leaf width of 113 mm. The outer margin is double the inner margin. The ownership statements (*qayd al-tamalluk*) are written on the left margin on the title page (fol. 140^a): “*min ni'amihī subḥānahu 'alā 'abdihi l-faqīr Muṣṭafá al-ḥanaḥī b. al-marḥūm al-šayḥ 'Umar al-'Allāf ġafara llāh lahu, wa-li-wālidayhi, wa-li-ašyāhihi wa-l-muslimīn aḡma'in, āmīn.*” The text is written on western paper, in a regular and a clear *nashī* style, in black ink including a few corrections and annotations in the margins. Only some lines of the title and the first two words of the text *al-ḥamdu li-llāh* are written in red ink. Some names of tribes are indicated in red ink on the margins. The two slips inserted by al-Maqrīzī on loose paper are reported respectively: no. 78 on fol. 154^a–154^b is reported in the margin: “*ṭurrah bi-ḥaṭṭ al-mu'allif Hawwārat al-Ša'īd*” then in the body of the text: “*intahá ilā hunā.*” No. 79 is reported on fols. 150^a–151^a with the following note in the margin: “*min awlād al-Kanz ilā hunā intahat al-ṭurrah bi-ḥaṭṭ al-mu'allif raḥimahu llāh.*” It partially reproduces al-Maqrīzī's authorial colophon, with-

6 See Van Steenberghe (2017): 120–121.

7 See <https://ihodp.ugent.be/bah/>.

out “حرره جهد الطاقة.” This manuscript also incorporates, in the margins, many of Maqrīzī’s marginal corrections that we have pointed out in the edition of the Arabic text.

- i. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, MS 1150 *ta’rīḥ*, 34 fols. (twelfth/eighteenth century; on fol. 1^a, a note specifies that it was purchased from Qadrī Bāšā’s bequest and added to the collections in November 1889). The ownership stamp shows that it was part of the library of Šayḥ al-Azhar Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭār (see Plates 15–16).

It consists of twenty-four folios and a cover sheet. There are fifteen lines per page, a leaf height of 217 mm and a leaf width of 160 mm. It is on European paper with black ink; the headings and keywords are rubricated or overlined in red ink.

Al-Maqrīzī’s authorial colophon is not reproduced. The insertion slips on loose paper are reproduced without indication. No. 79 is on fols. 19^b–21^a, and no. 78 is on fol. 27^b.

Several marginal notes throughout the text (4^b, 10^b, 27^b) by Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭār deal with the history of the Mamlūk Sultanate and the fate of the Arab tribes mentioned by al-Maqrīzī. Al-‘Aṭṭār comments that in the year 785/1383–1384 Sultan Barqūq, the first sultan of the *Ġarākisah* (Circassian Mamlūks), led the battle (*waq’ah*) against Ibn Sallām (an Arab rebel in al-Buḥayrah); and that the traditionist scholar Sirāğ al-Dīn al-Bulqīnī (d. 805/1403) was the first to give this sultan the nickname al-Ẓāhir. A marginal note connects information in the main text about Barr, son of Qaydār b. Ismā‘īl, who went to Palestine and married a woman of the Amalekites, to an opinion held by Ġalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 909/1505). A final comment by Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭār states that the Arabs mentioned in the *Bayān* are now dispersed among the peasants of Egypt. The comments by al-‘Aṭṭār are reproduced by ‘Abd al-Mağīd ‘Ābidīn.⁸

- j. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, MS 1527 *ta’rīḥ Taymūr*, 16 fols. Undated; datable to the twelfth/eighteenth century; reproduces al-Maqrīzī’s colophon⁹ (see Plates 17–18).

It has twenty-one pages (not foliated), with twenty-three lines per page, a leaf height of 189 mm and a leaf width of 136 mm. It is on European paper, in *nash* script, in black with red rubrication (of text sections in the margins) and dots throughout the text.

⁸ In *Bayān* (1961): 73 and *passim*. See also <https://ihodp.ugent.be/bah/>.

⁹ See <https://ihodp.ugent.be/bah/>.

The bottom right of the title page reads: *Qāla Ibn Ḥazm fī Kitāb al-Ansāb: “inqaraḍa waladu Ḥālīd b. al-Muǧīrah ba‘da an kaṭurū ḥattā balaǧū arba‘īn raǧulan, māṭū kulluhum fī ṭā‘ūn wāḥid bi-l-šām, fa-lam yabqa minhum aḥad wa-lā ‘aqib.” kaḍā bi-ḥaṭṭi Muḥammad al-Ġayṭī*. The same name appears in an ownership stamp on Leiden Or. 560 (see above: “*al-ḥamdu li-llāh ‘alā ‘abdihi Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ġayṭī l-šāfi‘ī sanat 947 (AH)*”).

- k. New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS Landberg 492, 15 fols. Undated; datable to the thirteenth/nineteenth century. Reported as made on the basis of a manuscript copied from an apograph¹⁰ (see Plates 19–20).

It has twenty-seven lines per page, a leaf height of 330 mm and a leaf width of 230 mm. It is in modern (nineteenth century) *nashī* script. The margins contain several corrections, notes, and announcements to note important passages. It reproduces the authorial colophon.

- l. Strasbourg, Bibliothèque universitaire, MS 4259 (Spitta 29), fols. 10^a–20^a. Dated 17 Jumādā II 1295/18 June 1878. It was copied by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ismā‘īl al-Anṣārī l-Ṭaḥṭā‘ī, from an old copy in the ownership of ‘Alī Bey Fahmī from the offspring (*naǧl*) of the late Rifā‘ah Rāfi‘ al-Ṭaḥṭā‘ī [*sic* for al-Ṭaḥṭāwī]. It contains only the second part of the *Bayān*, starting at fol. 10^b:
 وكاتب الملك الناصر يوسف بن العزيز (§ 75) (see Plates 21–22).

It is written in black ink except for a few heading entries in red ink in the margins.

The copyist indicated in the colophon that “It has a break in the middle (*faḡṣ fī wasaṭihā*) and contains many mistakes and grammatical errors.” It is written in a poor *nashī* style. The loose paper insertion no. 79 is on fols. 11^b–12^b, and no. 78 is on fol. 17^a with an indication in the text body: “*intahá ilá hunā*” as in the Vienna copy. The entries indicated in red ink in the margins are similar to those of the Vienna copy.

- m. Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, MS 2139 *ta‘rīḥ*, fols. 52^b–71^b. Shortly after 27 Muḥarram 1313/20 July 1895 (see Plates 23–24).

It is written in an excellent *nashī* style. It has twenty lines per page. The outer margin is double the inner margin. It does not reproduce the author’s colophon. The *Bayān* is preceded by *Kitāb al-Ansāb* (fol. 72^a). Apart from some minor corrections and indications, three annotations in the margins pertain to the family of Ḥiṣn al-Dawlah Ṭa‘lab b. Ya‘qūb (fols. 54^b, 61^a, 61^b, 62^a).

¹⁰ See <https://ihodp.ugent.be/bah/>.

- n. Cairo, Institut français d'archéologie orientale, MS 26, fols. 25^a–54^a. Undated; datable to the fourteenth/twentieth century. Information obtained from the Library's catalogue states: Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *Fihris al-maḥṭūṭāt al-'arabiyyah fī Maktabat al-Ma'had al-'ilmī l-Faransī li-l-Āṭār al-Šarqīyah bi-l-Qāhirah*¹¹ (see Plates 25–26).

It has thirteen lines per page, a leaf height of 245 mm and a leaf width of 170 mm. There is no colophon. We find the same note regarding Barr, son of Qaydār b. Ismā'īl (fol. 44^b) as in Cairo, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, MS 1150 *ta'rīḥ*.

- o. Ḥurayḍah (Yemen), al-Maktabah al-ḥāṣṣah li-Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭās. no. 436 (in Library of King Faisal Center for Research: <https://library.kfcris.com/cgi-bin/koha/opac-detail.pl?biblionumber=1041556>), 22 fols. Apparently undated.

This was reported from an inaccessible private Yemeni collection. It may be the same as the codex of thirteen of al-Maqrīzī's shorter texts.¹²

¹¹ Sayyid, *Fihris al-Maḥṭūṭāt* (Cairo: IFAO, 1996): 56. See <https://ihodp.ugent.be/bah/>.

¹² See discussion in Van Steenberghe (2017): 123.

The Edition

Our edition of the *Bayān* treats Leiden Or. 560 as its basis (*aṣl*), as it contains the corrections made by al-Maqrīzī himself, and has the text as al-Maqrīzī wanted it to circulate.

As in other volumes of the Bibliotheca Maqriziana, and with the support of Frédéric Bauden, we indicated in the apparatus all the corrections and additions made by al-Maqrīzī to the text copied by the scribe of Leiden Or. 560. These often demonstrate al-Maqrīzī's doubts about the spelling and vocalization of names of clans and tribes.

Following the guidelines of the Bibliotheca Maqriziana, we aimed to preserve the ductus of the manuscript, including the vowels and orthoepic signs. We only standardized the orthography by restoring *hamzahs* and omitting *alif al-wiqāyah* (indicated in the apparatus).

One of the insert slips added by al-Maqrīzī after the completion of the codex has been lost (no. 79) and can only be retrieved through recourse to later manuscripts. Moreover, the text of the *Bayān* in Leiden Or. 560 is occasionally illegible. Therefore, we systematically compared Leiden Or. 560 to three early manuscript copies, all dating from the turn of the twelfth/eighteenth century but representing different manuscript traditions:

- (ب) Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, MS Veliyüddin 3195, copied 1101/1690.
 - (ك) Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 746, copied 1112/1701.
 - (ف) Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS AF 342^a, copied 1131/1719.
- The academic apparatus indicates the variants found in these three manuscripts, allowing a better understanding of the transmission of the treatise in the early modern period. Copy (ك) contains many corrections and few mistakes and can be used to complete words that are missing in the *aṣl*. The copy (ف) also indicates the insert slips added by Maqrīzī, and was useful in confirming many of the readings.

For the reading of names of clans and tribes we paid particular attention to the modern editions of al-ʿUmarī's *Masālik al-abṣār* and al-Qalqašandī's genealogical treatises, as both these works, like the *Bayān*, draw heavily on the lost work of al-Ḥamdānī. The apparatus of the Arabic edition indicates the different variants found in these Mamlūk-era genealogical treatises. The translation indicates the correspondence of the *Bayān* with al-ʿUmarī's section on Arab tribes as available in the high-quality edition prepared by Dorothea

Krawulsky. We also refer to the classical genealogical works of Ibn al-Kalbī and Ibn Ḥabīb. For the Berber names we offer a close comparison with Ibn Ḥazm's *Ġamharat ansāb al-'Arab* and Ibn Ḥaldūn's *al-'Ibar*. For the reading of place names, we referred to Yāqūt's *Muġam al-buldān*.

In preparing the edition and the translation, we accepted by default the reading of Leiden Or. 560 (the *aṣl*), unless:

- The orthography and/or vocalization in the *aṣl* diverges from the standard form found in other genealogical treatises; or
- Emendations were required in order to complete the sense of the *aṣl* and render it comprehensible.

All such cases of divergence from the *aṣl* are indicated in the apparatus.

Plates and Maps

Plates

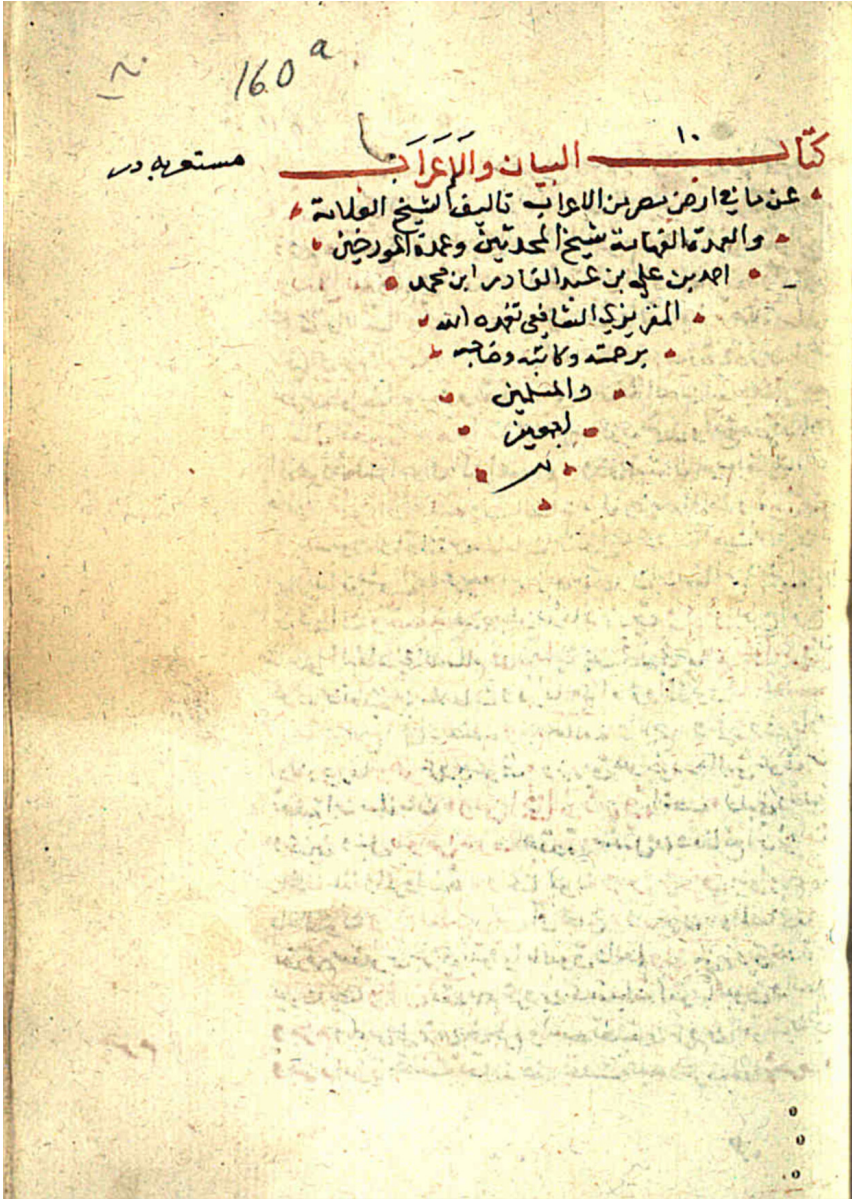


PLATE 1 Istanbul/ Atif Efendi Kütüphanesi, MS 2814, fol. 160a

٢
١٧٥٦

معا و هم ينتسبون الى السيد بن علي بن هبة ابن جعفر بن كلاب
 ابن ربيعة بن عامر و هم ثلاثة اخوة لسيد و حديد و زيد بنوا
 علي بن هبة ابن جعفر و من حديد بن حارب و **ويقال**
 ان اولاد محمد بن ربيعة بن زرار و قيل لسيد بن سليم و منهم هيب
 و راحة و فزارة و هولاء يقال انهم من غطفان والله اعلم بالصواب
قال مؤلفه حرره محمد الطائفة مؤلفه و جامع احمد بن علي
 المقرئ في الشافعية في ذي القعدة سنة اربع و اربعين و ثمان مائة
 و احدى و اربعين و صلى الله عليه و سلم و سلم الى ابنه علي بن لا بنه لوجه اللهم اغفر لي
 و لكاتبه و لصاحبه و لمن قرأ فيه و لمن نظر فيه و دعا ام بالمغفرة
 و للمسلمين اجمعين امين امين امين

PLATE 2 Istanbul/ Atuf Efendi Kütüphanesi, MS 2814, fol. 175b

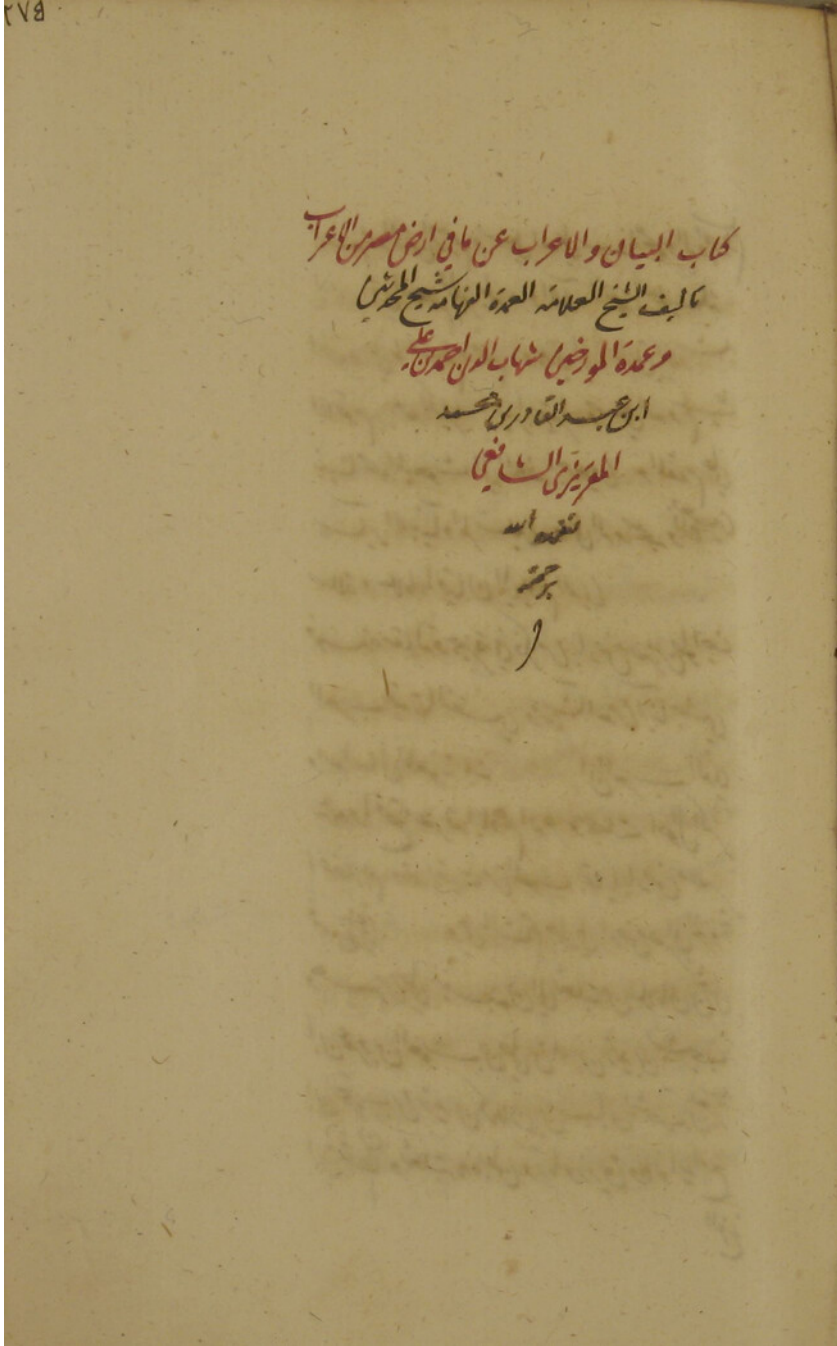


PLATE 3 Istanbul/ Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, MS 4937, fol. 275a

وتارة في قرارة والصحيح انهم من مشاة اصدي بطون
 هواره وفيما بين برقة والعقبة اولاد سلام و**طاب**
 العقبة الكبيرة والاسكندرية اولاد مقدم وهم
 بطون اولاد التركية واولاد فايد مقدم وسلام معاه
 وهم يتسبون ال لبيد بن علي بن هبة بن جعفر
 ابن كلاب بن ربيعة بن عامر وهم ثلاثة اخوة لبيد
 وحديد وزيد بنوا علي بن هبة بن جعفر ومن حديد
 محارب ويقال ان اولاد مقدم من ربيعة بن نزار
 وقيل لبيد من سليم وعنه هيب ورواحه وقرارة
 وهو لا يقال انهم من عطفان واسد كانه اعلم بالصواب
قال مولاه حمزة جبه الطاقه مولاه وجامعه احمد بن
 المقرئ في الكافي في ذي العقبة سنة اصدي
 واربعين وثمان مائة ^{والمعروف}
 وصلى الله على من لا ينبي
 بعد
 9

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وصلّى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلّم
أشهر في النعم الخزيه والار الجبه الجليله احسنه
 على ما علم وهم دوي الى الطريق الارشد الاقوم حسد الكثر
 اشهر اشهر وصلّى الله على سيدنا محمد المبعوث ال الكافه آجعين
 والمقدم على سائر الانبياء والمرسلين وعلى آله وصحبه والتابعين
 صلواته وسلامه باقيا ان يوم الدين **وجسد** فهدن متعالة وجيرة
 في ذكر من بارض مصر من طوائف العرب قدهم بالنسبي
 ومرثه السمر انا جنسي **وانس** سجانه اسال المعونه بمنه
اعلم ان العرب الذين سجدوا فتح مصر قد ابادهم الله
 وجعلت احوالهم اعقابهم **ممن** يعني **أحلبه** وهي بالسام ما على ارض
 مصر الى الخويته وهم من طي بنسبون الى ثعلبة بن سلمان
 ابن نحل بن عمرو بن الخوف بن طلي بن ادين بن زيد بن شيب بن حبيب
 ابن زيد بن كهلان بن سبأ بن يشجب بن يعرب بن قحطان
 وثعلبة بن بطن وزما ووزين وكانوا يجمع الفرخ لما طلوب البلاد
 في الاسلام **فدرا** في بن خدي في طي هم بنو عمرو بن عوف
 ابن ثعلبة بن سلمان ودرما هي ام عمرو المذكور فاعقب درما
 من اربع اخوات لصلبه وهم سلامه والاحم وعمرو ومحصه
 وآوس اولاد درما وهو عمرو بن عوف ووزين هو اخو درما
 ابني عوف بن ثعلبة بن سلمان **ومن** اخواته زريقه **استعيب**
 وابيها وثعلبة وعينين ونبل **ومن** درما البقعة وسبل
 من ولد نافع بن ثروان عوالثنا بلة **والمرادية** وانجاب بنون
ومن زريق بنوا وهم الطليحون وفي الطليحين آل حجاج
 وآل عمران **والمصالحه** وكان مقدمهم سفير بن حمير اتر
 بالبوقي والحلم وق بني زريق عن بطون ايضا وكان مقدمهم
 عمرو بن سبله اتر بالبوقي والحلم **وجهم** وهم من طي

١١١
 قاع البروة ومن الصفر الى الخفة وراثة لابن عبد الجبار ومن الجمعة
 على قدمه وما حولها الى عقبة السوي السليم ومن عقب السوي
 الى نظير الى عصفان الشريف جبار بن يحيى حسن ومن ثمة
 عصفان الى الخياط ابني جابر وهم في طائفة صاحب مكة
 ومن الخياط لصاحب مكة وبنو حسن وفي برقة لعياض بن جعفر
 وكان شيخهم ابو ذيب واخوه طاهر بن جميل وهم شيبون في
 العرب **قارده** في بني كعب بن سليم وقارده في فزاره والصحيح انهم
 من مائة احدي بطون حوارة **وقارده** بين برقة والحقبة اولاد
 سليم **وما بين** الحقبة الكبيرة والاسكنة رتبة اولاد مقدم وهم
 بلطان اولاد التركيته واولاد فايد مقدم وسلام معا **وقارده**
 ينقبون الى السيد بن علي بن هبة بن جعفر بن طالب بن ربيعة
 ابن طاهر وهم ثلاثة اخوة لسيد وحده ورتبه بنوا علي بن هبة
 ابن جعفر ومن حديد محارب **ويقال** ان اولاد مقدم من ربيعة
 ابن نزار وقيل لسيد من سليم وفيهم هيب ورواحه وفزاره
 وهؤلاء يقال انهم من عطفان واسه سحانه وتعا اهل بالصبوب
قال مولف حوره جسد الطائفة مولفد وجامعه احمد بن علي
 المتريزي انما عني في ذي القعدة سنة احدى واربعين ومائتين
 والحمد لله ومن وصل الله على النبي
 بعض وكان الفراعيم سويين
 في ظاير سخيان
 ١١٠١
 ٥

PLATE 6 Istanbul/ Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, ms Veliyüddin 3195, fol. 100a

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
الحمد لله ذي النعم الجزيلة • والالامة الجليلة •
احمد علي ما علم وفتح • وهدى الي الطريق الاشد
 الاقوم • حمد كثيرا • اثرا كثيرا • وصلى الله وسلم علي نبينا
 محمد المبعوث الي كافة اجمعين • والمقدر علي سائر
 الانبياء والمرسلين • وعلى اله وصحبه والتابعين • صلاة
 وسلاما باقيا ن الي يوم الدين • **وهو** في
 مقالة وجزية في ذكر من بارض مصر من طوايف العرب
 وقيدتها لنفسه • وعن ش الله من ابنا جتسي والله
 اسأل المعونة منه **اعلم** ان العرب الذين شهدوا
 فتح مصر قد ابادهم الدهر وجهلت احوال اثر اغفابهم
 وقد بقيت من العرب بقايا بارض مصر **فمن بني**
ثعلبة وهو بالثام مما يلي ارض مصر الي الحروبنة
 وهم من طي ينسبون الي ثعلبة بن سلامان بن علي بن
 عمرو بن العوف بن طي بن اذ بن زيد بن يشجب بن يعرب
 بن ربيعة بن زيد بن كهلان بن سبأ بن يشجب بن يعرب بن قحطان
 وثعلبة هذه بطن درما وزريق وكانوا يدا مع الفترخ
 لما ملكوا البلاد في الاسلام قدر ما في ثمن خند في طي هم بنوا
 عمرو بن عوف بن ثعلبة بن سلامان • ودرما هي امر عمرو
 المذكور فاعقب درما من اربعة انا اذ لصلبه وهم
 سلامة والاحم • وعمرو • وقصر • واوس • اولاد درما
 وهو عمرو بن عوف • وزريق هو اخو درما ابني عوف
 ابن ثعلبة بن سلامان • ومن انا اذ زريق اشعب
 وابني

السويقي الي حليص الي عسفان المشرف جستان من بني
حسن ومن تنية عسفان الي الخياط لبني جابر وهم
في طاعة صاحب مكة • ومن الخياط لصاحب مكة وبني حسن
وفي بركة احيا من بني جعفر وكان شيخهم ابو ذؤيب والغو
حامد بن كميل وهم ينسبون في العرب فلهذا في بني كعب
ابن سليم وثانق في قزاق • والصحيح انهم من مسراته
احدي بطون هوارق • وفيما بين بركة والعقبة اولاد
سلام • وما بين العقبة الكبيره وكلا سكندرية اولاد
مقدم وهم بطنان اولاد التركية واولاد فايد مقدم وسلامه
معاوم ينسبون الي لبيد بن علي بن هبة بن جعفر بن
كلاب بن ربيعة بن عامر وهم ثلاث اخوة لبيد وحديد
وزبيد بنو علي بن هبة بن جعفر ومن حديد محارب
ويقال له اولاد مقدم من ربيعة بن نزار وقيل لبيد بن
سليم وفيهم هيب ورواحه وفلرق وهو لا يقال
انهم من عطفان والله تعالى اعلم بالصواب
والله المرجع والمآب قال مؤلفه
حرصه جهدا لطافة مؤلفه وجامعه
احمد بن علي المقرئ يزي الشافعي
في ذي القعدة سنة احدى
والربعين وثمانين مائة
والهدية وحده
والصلاة على من
سلاني بقده
والله



PLATE 8 Paris/ Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 1725, fol. 19b

الى عقبة السويق لسليم ومن عقبه السويق
 الى خليف الى عسفان الشريف جبار من بني حسن
 ومن ثمة عسفان الى المخاطب لبني جابر وهم بين
 طاعة صاحب مكة ومن المخاطب لصاحب مكة
 وبني حسن ويز بركة احيامن بن جعفر وكان
 شيخهم ابو ذؤيب واخوه حامد بن كميل وهم
 ينسبون الى العرب فتارة في بني كعب بن سلمة وتارة
 في قزارة والصحيح انهم من سمراتة اخذى بطونهم
 وفيما بين بركة والعقبة اولاد سلام وما بين
 العقبة الكبيرة والاسكندرية اولاد مقدم وهم
 بطنان اولاد التركية واولاد فايد مقدم وسلام
 معا وهم ينسبون الى لبيد بن علي بن هبة بن
 جعفر بن كلاب بن ربيعة بن عامر وهم ثلاث اخوة
 لبيد وحديد وزبيد بنو علي بن هبة بن جعفر
 ومن حديد بن حارب ويقال انا اولاد مقدم من
 ربيعة بن نزار وقيل لبيد بن سليم وفيهم هبيب
 ورواحة وقزارة ومجول يقال انهم من عطفان والله
 تعالى اعلم بالصواب واليه المرجع والمآب
 قال مولفه حورج جمد الطاقة مولفه وجامعه
 احمد بن علي المقدري السافعي في ذي القعدة
 سنة احدى واربعين وثمان مائة والمجدد ذلك
 • والصلاة والسلام على •
 • من لا نبي بعده •
 • وعلى اله •
 • وصلى •
 • وسلم •

PLATE 10 Paris/ Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS arabe 4657, fol. 219b



PLATE 11 Cambridge/ University Library, MS Add. 746, fol. 1a

ليسوا المتواقل واما طريق مكة شرفها الله تعالى فان من القاهرة
 الي عقبة ابله العايد ومن العقبة الي امانا لم يبرهن عنونه
 بنى عقبة ومنه امانا الي كرى بسلي ومن كرى الي ثاوي
 اخر الوعر اذ الجيئة ومن ثاوي الي نهاية بدر على الرعا الي نهاية
 الصفا على ثقب على النبي حسن اصحاب ينسج ويبلغ من
 اقادهم من بني حسن اصحاب بدر الي مكة عالج في طرف واقع
 البرزخ ومن الصفا الي الحفة ودايع لزبيد الحجابق من
 الحفة الي قردون وما حوطها الي عقبة السويق لسلم
 ومن عقبة السويق الي خليص الي عسفان للشريف جستان
 من بني حسن ومن عقبة عسفان الي الحجابق بنو جابروم
 وطاعة صاحب مكة ومن الحجابق صاحب مكة وبني حسن
 وفرة احسان بن جعفر وكان شيخهم ابو ذؤيب واخوه جابر
 ابن كليل وهم يسيرون الي العرب فتارة في بني كعب بن سليم
 وقادة في بني فزارق والصحيح انهم من سراته احدى بطون
 هواره وفيما بين بركة والعقبة اولاد سلام وما بين العقبة
 الكبية والاسكندرية اولاد مقدم وهم بطنان اولاد
 التركية واولاد فايد مقدم وسلام معا وهم يسيرون الي
 لبند بن علي بن هبة بن جعفر بن كلاب بن ذبيبة بن عامر
 وهم ثلاث اخوة لبند جدد بن زيد بنو علي بن هبة بن
 جعفر بن جدد بن جدار بن يقال ان اولاد مقدم من ربيعة
 ابن تار وقيل لبند بن سلم وهم هيب ورواحه وقران
 وهو لا يقال انهم من عطفان والله اعلم ثم انما ابا مبارك
 له الاستسكان من شهر رمضان سنة الف وثمان مائة
 على يد جماعة الفقير بنسب بن محمد الشهر
 القليل المروي عن ابيه والحمد لله

PLATE 12 Cambridge/ University Library, MS Add. 746, fol. 18b

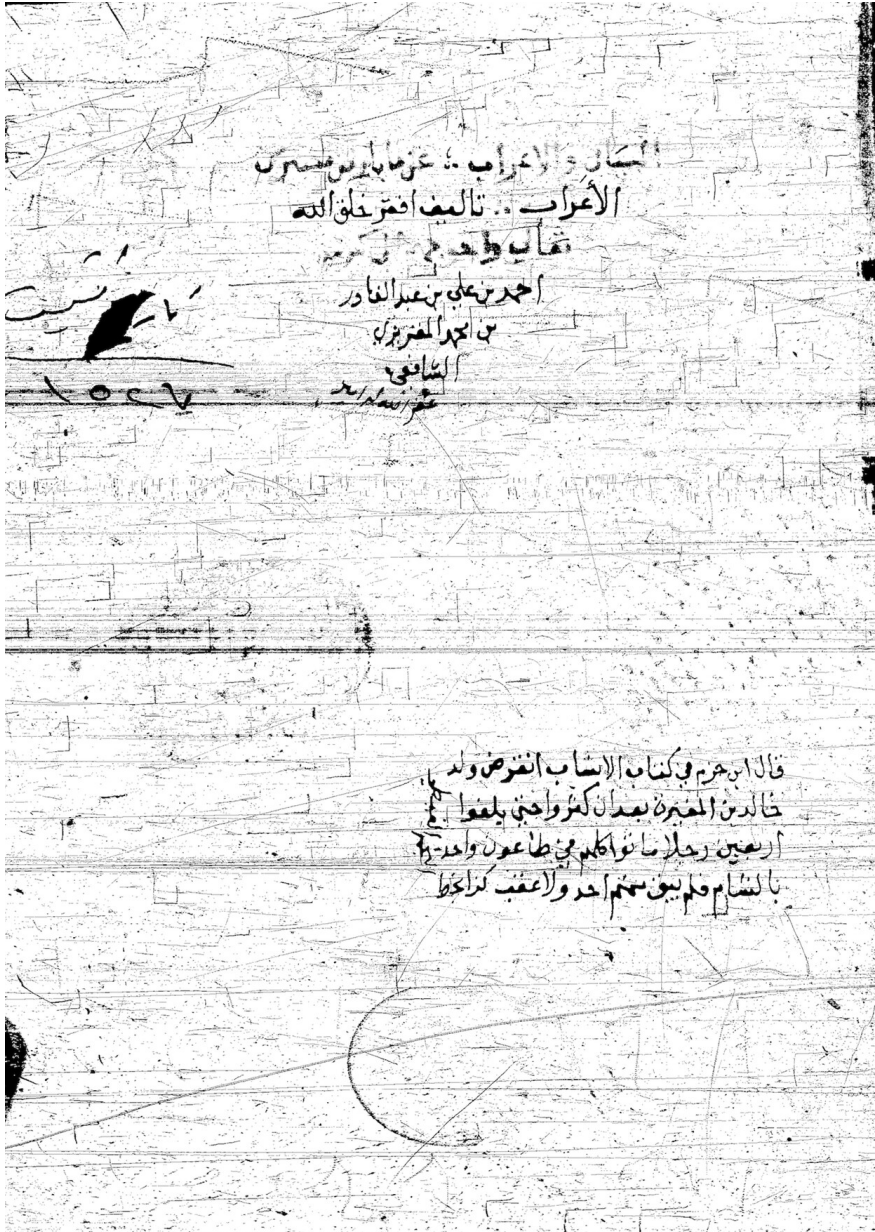


PLATE 13 Vienna/ Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS AF 342^a, fol. 140a

داما الى الكرى لبلى ومن الكرى الى تماوىم اخر الوعالت لمدينة ومن
 تما الى نهاية بدر على الفراء الى نهاية الصفرة على نقب لبلى
 حسن اصحاب ينيع ويليم من قارهم من بني حسن اصحاب
 بدر الى ملته عالم في طرف قاع البردة ومن الصفرة الى المحفة ورابع
 لزبيد الحجاز ومن المحفة على قاريد وما حولها الى عقبة الشويق
 لسليم ومن عقبة الشويق الى خيصر الى عسقان للشريف جبار من بني
 حسن ومن نية عسقان الى المحاط لبني جابروهم في طاعة صاحب
 مكة ومن المحاط لصاحب مكة وبني حسن في برقة احيا لبني
 جعفر وكان شيخهم ابو ذيب اخوه حامد بن كهيل ومم ينسبون
 في العرب فتارة في بني كعب بن سليم وتارة في قرارة والصحيح
 انهم من سمراته احدى بطون هوارة وقبما بين برقة والعقبة
 اولاد سلام وقبما بين العقبة الكبيرة والاسكندرية اولاد
 مقدم وهم بطنان اولاد التركيبة واولاد قايد مقدم وسلام
 معا ومم ينسبون الى لبيد بن علي بن هبة بن جعفر بن كلاب بن بقة
 ابن عامر وهم ثلاثة اخوة لبيد وحديد وزبيد بنو علي بن هبة
 ابن جعفر ومن جديد محارب ويقال ان اولاد مقدم من ربيعة بن زرار
 وقبيل لبيد من سليم وفيهم هيب ورواح وقرارة وهو كيتال
 انهم من غطفان والله اعلم بالصواب مؤلفه وجامع احسن على
 المقرئ محمد الشافعي في ذي القعدة سنة احدى واربعون وثمان مائة
 و الحمد لله و فرغ من تليفها رابع ذي القعدة
 لسه على يد الفقير على بن السيد محمد
 التتلاوي غفر الله له
 امين

بلغ مقابلة

بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِیْمِ
 اَللّٰهُمَّ ذِي النِّعَمِ الْبِزْيَلِيَّةِ وَالْاَسَاوِ الْجَمَّةِ الْجَلِيلَةِ اَجْمَدِهِ عَلٰى
 مَا عَلَّمَهُمْ وَفَهَّمَهُمْ وَهَدَى الْاِلْطِرَاقَ الْاِرْسَادِ الْاَقْوَمَ كَمَا هَمَدَا
 كَثِيْرًا اَثِيْرًا تَبِيْرًا وَصَوَّبَ اِلَيْهِمْ عَلٰى نَبِيْيَا الْمُبْعُوْتَا اِلَى
 الْكَلْفَةِ اِجْمَعِيْنَ وَالْمَقْدَمِ فِي الْعَمَلِ عَلٰى سَائِرِ الْاَنْبِيَاءِ وَالْمُرْسَلِيْنَ
 وَعَلٰى آلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ وَالتَّابِعِيْنَ صَلَوةً وَسَلَامًا بَاقِيًا اِلَى يَوْمِ
 الدِّينِ وَيَجْعَلُ لِي قَرْدَةً مِّمَّا تَتَوَجَّهُ فِي ذِكْرِ
 مَنْ بَارَزَ مِصْرَ مَنْ طَوَّافِ الْعَرَبِ قَبِيْلَتَا الشَّقِيقِ وَمَنْ
 سَأَلَ اِلَيْهِ مِنْ اِبْنَاءِ جَنَسِيٍّ وَاَسْأَلَ الْمَعُوْنَةَ بِمَنْ
 اَتَى اِذَا الْعَرَبُ الذِّينَ سَرَدُوْا فَاَفْتَحَ مِصْرَ اَيَادِهِمُ الدَّهْرَ


 PLATE 17 Cairo/ Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, MS 1527 *ta'riḥ Taymūr*, fol. 1a

كسبي عقبه من راما الى الكرنك ليحيى من الكرنك الي نما وفي آخر الوعرات
 كسبي بنو من نما الي بها يد على الفرعا والي بها ية الصغرا علي نقب
 علي كسبي حسن اصحاب ينجح و يليم من قارهم من بني حسن اصحاب
 بدراني زملة عاج في طرف فاع الدودة ومن الصغرا الي الخلف ورابع
 لربيد الحجاز من الحخم علي قديروا حولها الي عقبه السويقي لمسلم
 ومن عقبه السويقي الي خليف الي عسقا ن شريف جساس بن بي يس
 ومن عقبه عسقا ن الي الحماطب لبني جابر وهم في طاعة صا حبة
 من الحماطب لصاحبه مكة و بن خمس بن برفه اخيا بن شعرون
 شيخهم اوديب واخوه حاد بن كليل وهم ينتمون في العرب فنارة في
 بن كعب بن سالم بن ابي ترارة الميمية من سواة اشرى طرا
 هوارة فيما بين برفه والمقبة اولاد سلام ما بين المقبة الكبيرة
 والاكبر اولادهم هه طرا اولاد الله الكنده اولادهم
 و سلام معا وهم ينتمون الي كليل بن علي بن هبيل بن شعرون كلاب
 ابي بيبع و هه اولاد اخوة كليل و حديد و رند بنواعي بن
 هبيل بن شعرون من حديد محارب ويقال ان اولادهم من ربيع
 ابن نزار و قبا لبيد بن سالم و قهم هيب و رواج و فزار و هو لا يقال
 انهم من عسقا ن و ابيه اعلم بالصواب قال مولفة حرره حمد طائفة
 الفقهاء الحضر المعترف بالحجز والنقص
 احسن علي المقريزي الشافعي
 في ذي القعدة سنة احدى
 واربعين و ثمانم
 والصلوة
 والسلام

PLATE 18 Cairo/ Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyyah, MS 1527 ta'riḥ Taymūr, fol. 16a

ومن اكرى الى تما وهو آخر الوعران لمهينة ومن تما الى نهاية يد ر
 على القردعا والى نهاية الصغرا على ثغاب بنى حسن اصحاب ينبع
 ويلهم من اقايرهم من بنى حسن اصحاب يد الى رطلت عال في طرف
 قاع البروه ومن الصغرا الى الحفة ورايح لزبيد الحجاز ومن الحفة
 على قديد وما حولها الى عقبة السويق لسليم ومن عقبة السويق
 الى خليص الى عسفان للشريف جسر من بنى حسن ومن نديسة
 عسفان الى المحاط بنى جابر وهو في طاعة صاحب مكة ومن
 المحاط لصاحب مكة وبنى حسن وفي برفة احباب بنى جعفر وكان
 شيخهم ابو ذيب واخوه حامد بن كميل وهم بنو بنى العرب فمنازة
 في بنى كعب بن سليم وثار في فزاره والصالح انهم بنو بنى مسرة
 احدى بطون هوازة وفيما بين برفة والعقبة اولاد سلام وهاين
 العقبة الكبير والاكندرية اولاد مقدم وهم بطنان اولاد التركيب واولاد
 فايد مقدم وسلام معا وهم بنو بنى الى لبيد بن علي بن هبة بن جعفر
 ابن كلاب بن ربيعة بن عامر وهم ثلاثة اخوة لبيد وحده وزييد
 بنو علي بن هبة بن جعفر ومن حديد محارب ويقال ان اولاد مقدم
 من ربيعة بن نزار وقيل لبيد من سليم وفيهم هيب ورواحه وفراق
 وهو اولاد يقال انهم من عطفان والله اعلم بالصواب
 وقد تم نقل هذه النسخة من نسخة نقلت
 من نسخة نقلت من نسخة المؤلف
 التي جمعها وحررها احمد بن علي المقرئ
 في ذي القعدة سنة احدى واربعين
 وثمانمائة وصد الله علم من لا ينسى
 وعليه السلام وصحبه وآله

10
 وكانت الملك الناصر يوسف بن العزيز صاحب دمشق
 وجمع عربان مصر فخرجت اليه الاتراك و حاربوه
 فقبض عليه وسجن بالاسكندرية حتى شقته الظاهر
 بيبرس وقتل معه الامير جمال الدولة ابو علاء احمد
 ابن عبد الله بن اكنس بن ثعلب بن عبد الله
 ابن محمد بن سليمان بن موسى بن ابراهيم بن اسماعيل
 ابن جعفر بن ابراهيم بن اسماعيل بن جعفر بن ابراهيم
 ابن محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن جعفر ابو علاء هذا
 من بطن يقال لهم بنو داود وقيل ان بني داود
 هؤلاء ينسبون الى داود بن يوسف بن جعفر بن ابراهيم
 وقيل ينسبون الى داود بن جعفر بن ابراهيم وقيل
 الى داود بن محمد بن جعفر بن ابراهيم وهم ثلاثة
 ابناء ذلك جعفر بن سليمان بن جمال الدولة ابو علاء
 وتلك للفارس همام الدولة وتلك لزمانه وهم ينقسمون
 ايضا الى الكبير والصغير فالكبير اولاد مسلم واولاد
 محمود واولاد سلمة واولاد الفارس همام الدولة
 والصغير اولاد جعفر بن عماد الدولة وبنو كجافة
 اولاد عز الدين وولد نصير الدين قتله ابنه شهاب
 الدين علي وبنو اولاد عز العرب وبنو ادريس النعم
 وبنو صالح بن جعفر بن ابراهيم وهم احوال الشريفين

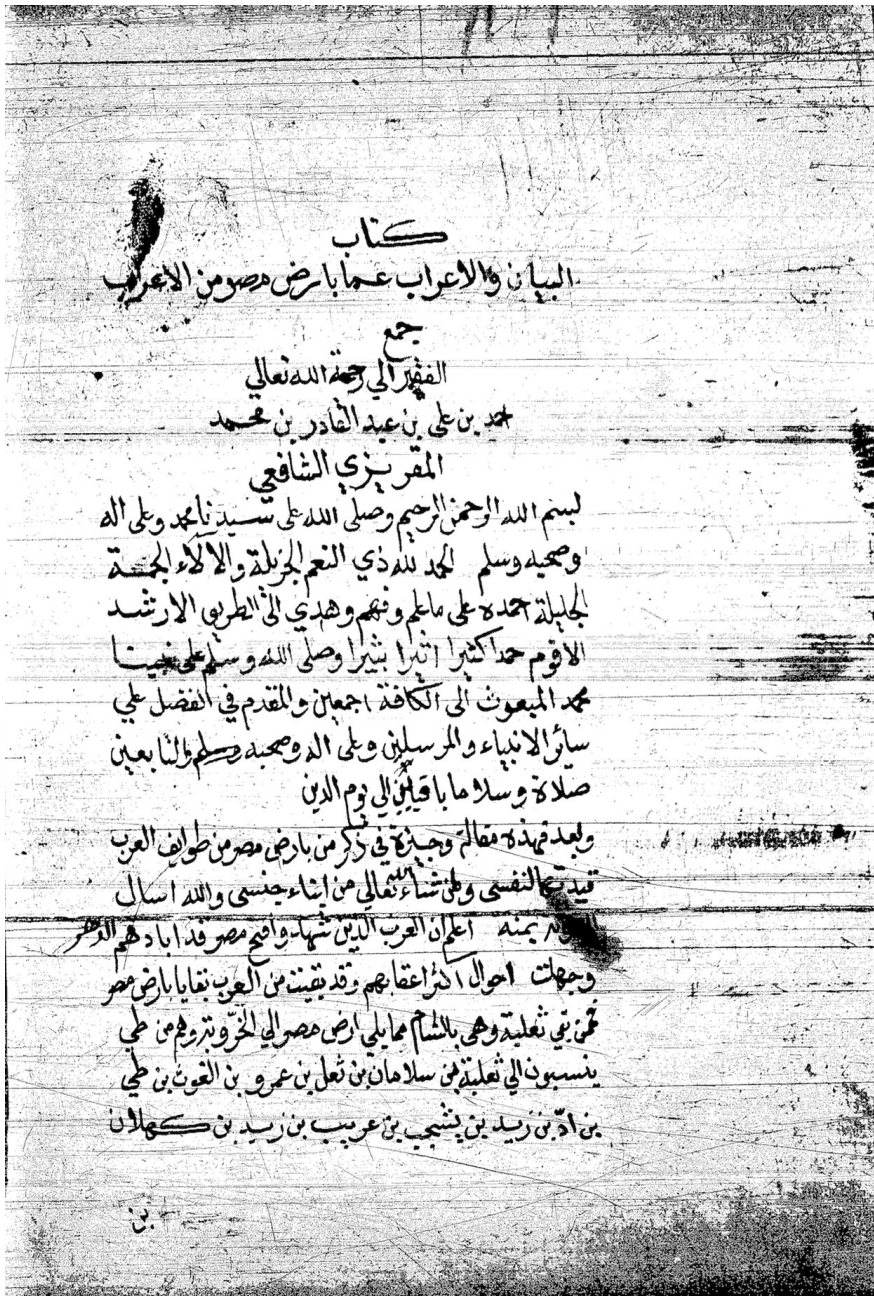
ابن محمد

اصحاب ينفع ويطهرهم من آثارهم من بن حسن اصحاب يد رالي
 وملة عالج من طرف قاع البرزة ومن الصغار الى الجفة وراين زيد
 اجماز ومن الجفة على قديد وما حولها العقبه السعاني
 لسليم ومن عقبه السويق الى خليفين العسفايا للشريف
 جبار من بن حسن ومن ثنية عسفايا الى المخاطب لغير جابر
 وهم زطاعة صاحب ملكة ومن المخاطب لصاحب ملكة ومن
 حسن وبن برقة اجاء بن جعفر وكان شيخهم ابو ذئب واخوه
 حامد بن كيل وهم بنسبون الى الوين تغارة بن كعب بن سليم
 وتارة بن فزارة والصحيح انهم من سرته احد بن بطون هوارة
 وفيها بن برقة والعقبه اولاد وفيها بن العقبه الكبيرة
 للاسكندرية اولاد مقدم وهم بطنان اولاد التركية واولاد
 فائد مقدم وسلام مفا وهم بنسبون الى لبيد بن علي بن هبة
 ابن جعفر بن كلاب بن ربيعة بن عامر وهم ثلاثة اخوة
 لبيد وحديد وزبيد بنو علي بن هبة بن جعفر بن حديد
 محارب ويقال ان اولاد مقدم من ربيعة بن نزار وقيل
 لبيد بن سليم وفيهم هيب ورواح وقرارة وهو لا يقال
 انهم من عطفان والله اعلم بالصواب

ع
 قنارة مر

تقلت هذه النسخة من نسخة عند حفص على بك في
 محل المرجوم رفاعة بك رافع وبها نقص في وسطها
 تركت له بيافضا وهي كثيرة الغلط والحق وقد كتبتها
 حكم اهلها لم اراجع فيها على من ولم اغدر فيها شيئا
 فالمرجو من اطلع عليها ان يلمس لي عذرا
 وكان تام كتابتها من السابع عشر من رمضان
 الثانية ١٤٩٥

PLATE 22 Strasbourg/ Bibliothèque universitaire, MS 4259 (Spitta 29), fol. 20a



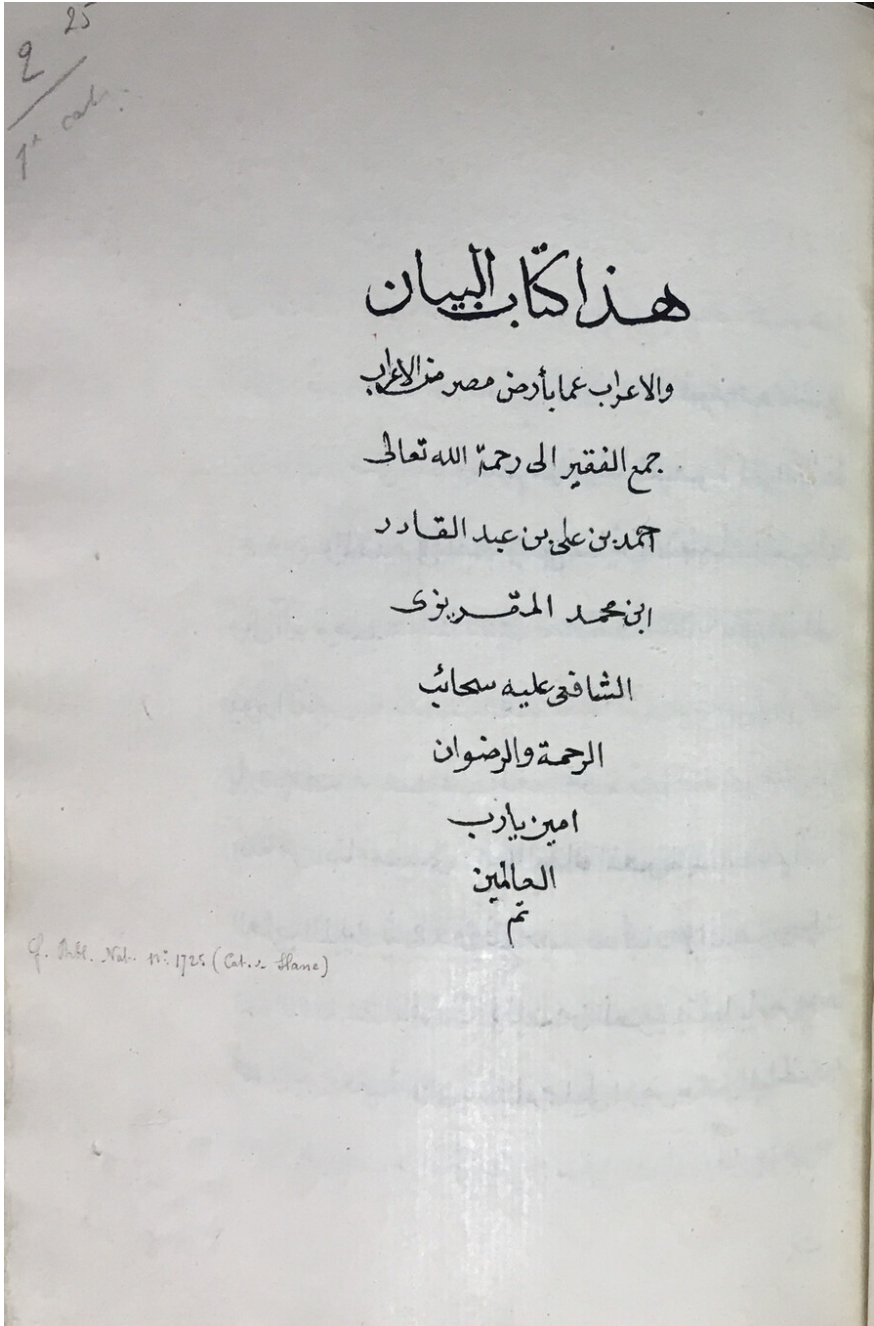
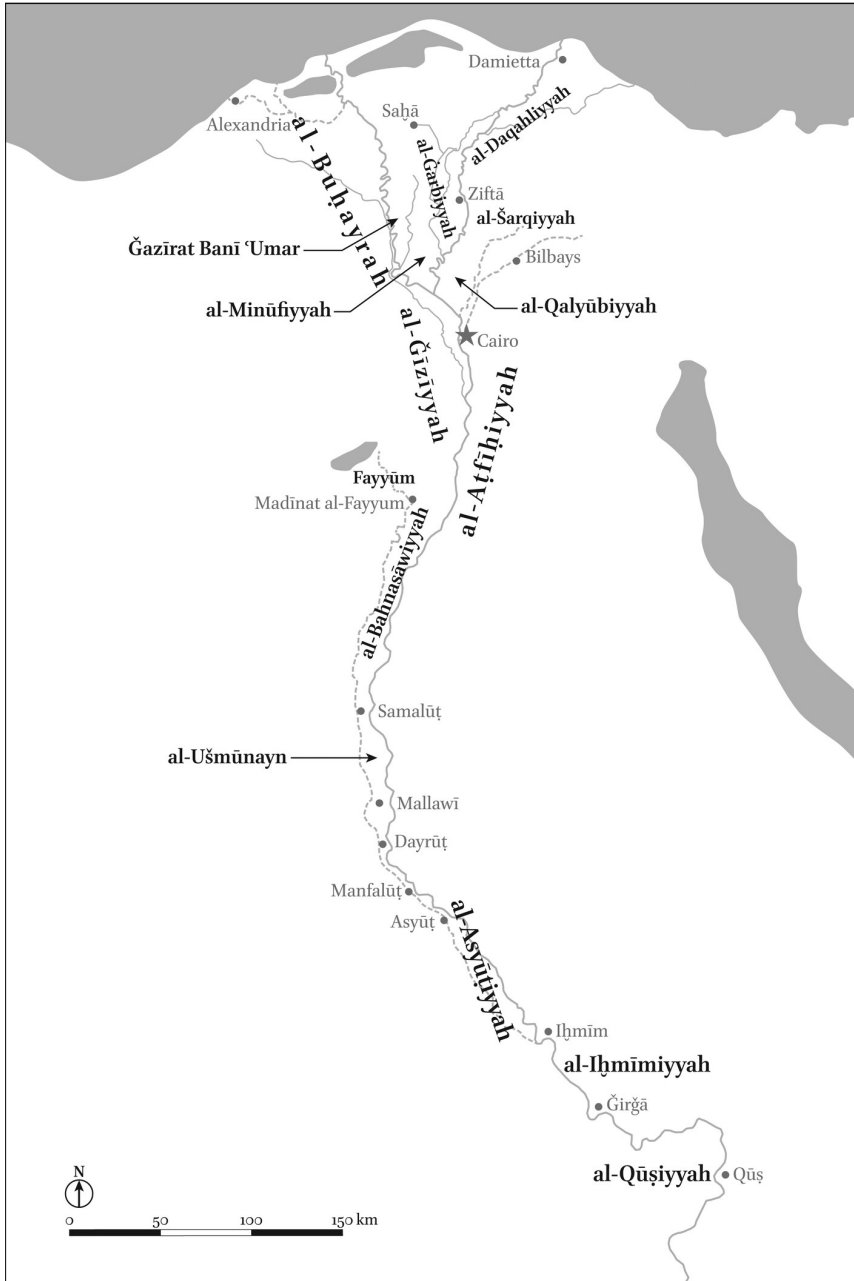


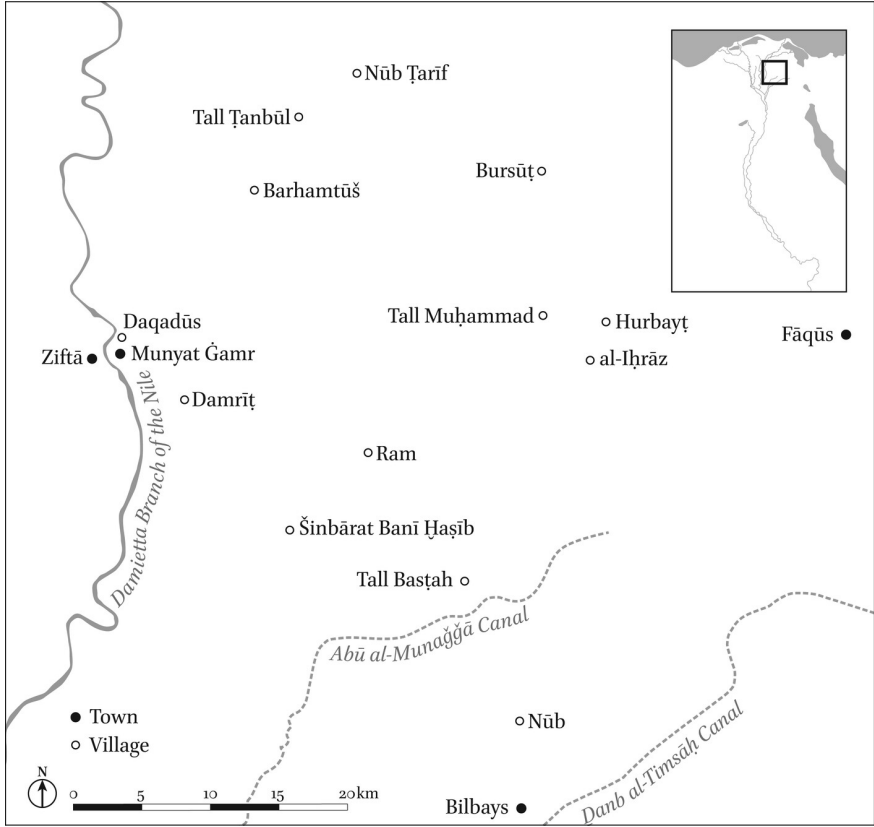
PLATE 25 Cairo/ Institut français d'archéologie orientale, MS 26, fol. 25a

٤
وما بين العقبة الكبيرة والاسكندرية اولاد مقدم وهم بطنان
اولاد التركييه واولاد فايد مقدم وسلام معا وهم ينسبون الى لييد
بن علي بن هبة بن جعفر بن كلاب بن ربيعة بن عامر وهم ثلاثة
اخوة لييد وحديد وزبيد بنو علي بن هبة بن جعفر ومن حديد
محارب ويقال ان اولاد مقدم من ربيعة بن نزار وقيل لييد من
سليم وفيهم هيب ورواحه وفزارة وهؤلاء يقال انهم من غطفان
والله اعلم بالصواب

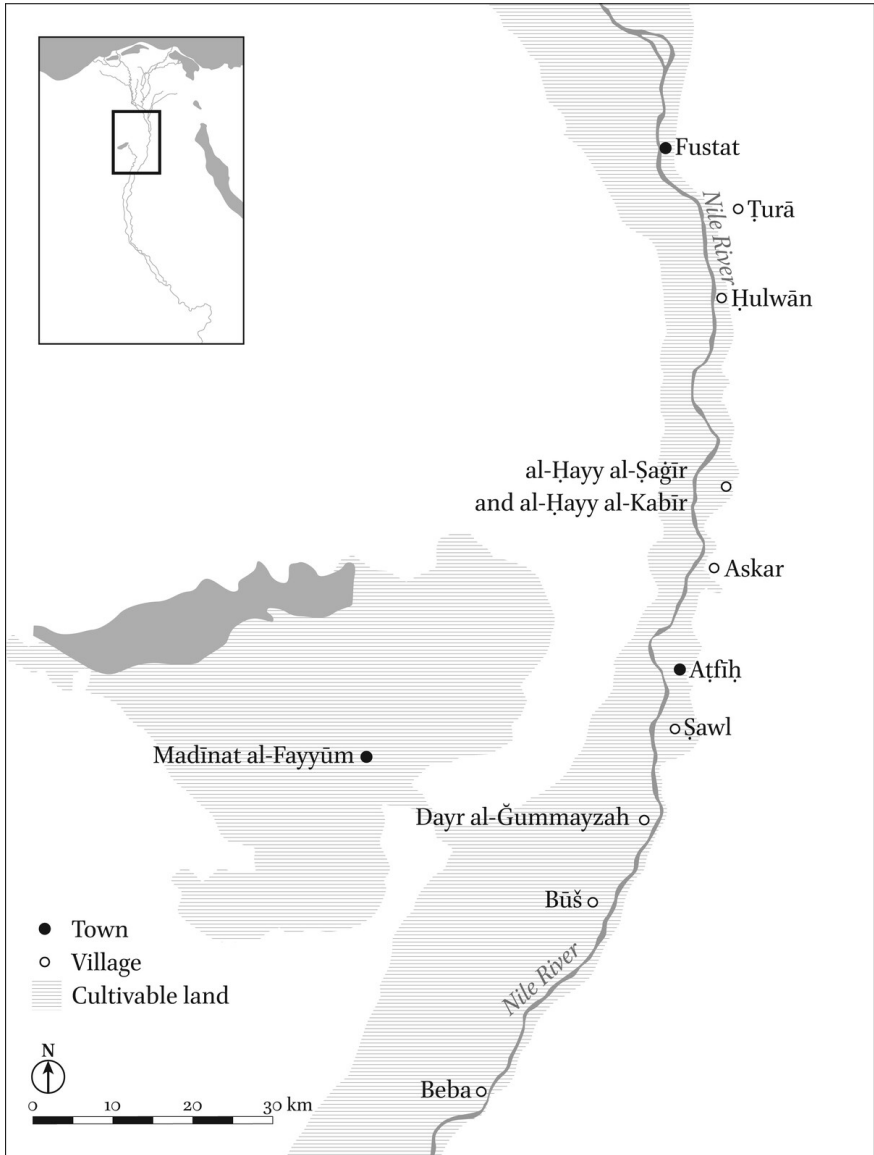
Maps



MAP 1 The Egyptian countryside ca. 648/1250



MAP 2 Villages in al-Šarqiyyah held by the Ġudām confederacy ca. 648/1250



MAP 3 Territories of the Laḥm in Upper Egypt ca. 648/1250

Abbreviations and Symbols

<...>	Interpolation (Arabic text)
{...}	Correction
[...]	Word(s) to be overlooked (Arabic text); interpolation (translation)
(...)	Blank in the MS
	Used in the Arabic text to indicate the passage to the next folio (number indicated in the left margin)
الأصل	Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Or. 560
ب	Istanbul, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, MS Veliyüddin 3195
ف	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS AF 342a
ك	Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 746

*Text and Translation
of al-Maqrīzī's*

**al-Bayān wa-l-i'rāb 'an mā
fī arḍ Miṣr min al-a'rāb**

كُتَابُ الْبَيَانِ وَالْإِعْرَابِ عَنْ مَا
فِي أَرْضِ مِصْرٍ مِنَ الْأَعْرَابِ

*The Book of Clear Arabic Expression
Regarding the Arab Tribes of Egypt*



كتاب البيان والإعراب عن ما في أرض مصر من الأعراب

جمع الفقير إلى رحمة الله أحمد بن علي بن عبد القادر بن محمد المقرئ الشافعي وفقه الله بمنه

١ عن ما: هكذا ورد العنوان في المخطوطة الأصل وفي ك وفي مخطوطة باريس 1725، في ف "عما". لم نطلع على صفحة العنوان التي ضاعت من ب. ٢ جمع: ك "تأليف الشيخ الإمام". || رحمة الله: ك + "شهاب الدين".

The Book of Clear Arabic Expression Regarding the Arab Tribes of Egypt

Compilation by the poor man in need of God's mercy,
Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Maqrīzī l-Šāfi'ī,
may God with His munificence grant him success

¹ The ... Egypt : The title is in al-Maqrīzī's hand, with the exception of the first word (*kitāb*), which is in the copyist's hand.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
 رَبِّ يَسِّرْ يَا كَرِيمِ

§1 الحمد لله ذي النعم الجزيلة والآلاء الجملة الجليلة أحمدته على ما علم وفهم وهدى إلى الطريق الأرشد الأقوم حمدا كثيرا أثيرا بتيरा وصلّى الله وسلّم على نبينا محمد المبعوث إلى الكفاة أجمعين والمقدم في الفضل على سائر الأنبياء والمرسلين وعلى آله وصحبه والتابعين صلاة وسلاما باقيا إلى يوم الدين. ٥

§2 **وبعد** فهذه مقالة وجيزة في ذكر من بأرض مصر من طوائف العرب قيدتها لنفسي ومن شاء الله من أبناء جنسي والله أسأل المعونة بمنه.

§3 اعلم أن العرب الذي شهدوا فتح مصر قد أبادهم الدهر وجهلت أحوال أكثر أعقابهم وقد بقيت من العرب بقايا بأرض مصر. ١٠

١ بِسْمِ ... الرَّحْمَنِ : البسملة ساقطة من ك؛ ف + "وصلّى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وسلّم"؛ ب + "صلّى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلّم". ٢ رب ... كريم: العبارة في الأصل فقط. ٣-٨ الحمد ... بمنه: في الأصل هذا النص بخط المقرئ. ٤ محمد: الكلمة ساقطة من ف. ٥ في الفضل: الكلمتان ساقطتان من ب ك. ٧-٨ ومن ... بمنه: في الأصل الزيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر مقلوبة. ٨ والله: ب + "والله سبحانه". ٩-١٠ وقد ... مصر: ساقط من ب.

In the Name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful
O Lord, make it easy, O Noble One!

§1 Praise be to God, source of bountiful grace and abundant, majestic favors. I praise Him [with] plentiful and unparalleled praise, praise without bounds
5 (*batīran*), for what He taught us and made us comprehend, and for guiding us to the correct, upright path. May the prayers and blessings of God remain with our Prophet Muḥammad, who was sent to every nation and who surpasses in eminence all other prophets and messengers, and with his family, Companions and Followers, until the day of judgment.

10 §2 **To proceed:** This is a short essay on the groupings of Arabs in the land of Egypt. I composed this essay for myself and for my fellow people whom God may lead to read it. I ask for God with His munificence to give me support.

§3 Let it be known that the Arabs who witnessed the conquest of Egypt have been lost in the passage of time, and their descendants are mostly unknown.
15 There are, however, remnants of Arabs in the land of Egypt.¹

3–12 Praise ... support : §§1–2 are entirely in al-Maqrīzī's hand. The copyist left blank space here to allow al-Maqrīzī to insert these introductory remarks. 11–12 and ... it : Added by al-Maqrīzī on the left margin.

1 Cf. al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'Arab* 106 line 7: "As for the groupings (*tawā'if*) of the Arabs found in our time."

§ 4 فمن بقي **ثعلبة** وهي بالشام مما يلي أرض مصر إلى الخروبة. وهم من طيء ينسبون إلى ثعلبة ابن سلامان بن ثعل^١ بن عمرو بن الغوث بن طيء بن أدد^٢ بن زيد بن يشجب بن عريب بن زيد ابن كهلان بن سبا بن يشجب بن يعرب بن قحطان؛

§ 5 وثعلبة هذه بطن درما وزريق. وكانوا يدا مع الفرنج لما ملكوا البلاد في الإسلام. فدرما في يمن نخذ في طيء هم بنو عمرو بن عوف بن ثعلبة بن سلامان. ودرما هي أم عمرو المذكور. فأعقب درما من أربع أنفاد لصلبه وهم سلامة والأجم^٥ وعمرو وقصر وأوس أولاد درما وهو عمر بن عوف.

§ 6 وزريق هو أخو درما ابني عوف بن ثعلبة بن سلامان. ومن أنفاد زريق أشعب ولبنى وثعلبة وعنين ونبيل. ومن درما البقعة وسبل^٦ من ولد نافع بن ثروان والحنايلة والمروانية والحبائون^٧. ومن

١ مما يلي: الكلمة الأولى زيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، في نهاية السطر، وكشط المقرئ كلمة أخرى كانت في بداية السطر التالي، ثم أضاف الياء وأطالها لربطها بنهاية الكلمة. || وهم: ف "هم". ٢ بن أدد: الصواب "بن أدد" كما سيرد فيما بعد في باقي الكتاب. || أدد بن: في الأصل كشط المقرئ حرفا بين الكلمتين، ثم أطال الباء في الكلمة الثانية. || يشجب: ب ف ك "يشجب". || عريب: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ع" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالعين. ٣ يشجب: ب ف ك يشجب. ٤ هذه: في الأصل كشط المقرئ حرفا أو حرفين قبل هذه الكلمة. ٥ المذكور: في الأصل كشط المقرئ حرفا قبل هذه الكلمة؛ ف "المنار". ٦ أربع: ك "أربعة". || وهو: ف "وهم". ٨ سلامان: في الأصل يبدو أن النسخ كتب "سلمان" وكشط المقرئ اللام وأضاف اللام ألف. ٩ والحبائون: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء؛ ب "الحبائون".

١ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١٥: ١١؛ ابن حبيب، مختلف القبائل ٨٦؛ ابن الكلبي، نسب معد، ١: ٢٤٦.

٢ البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف، ٩: ٣١٤؛ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب، ٣٩٧: "طي بن أدد".

٣ ابن الكلبي، نسب معد، ١: ٣٤٢.

٤ انظر النسب بكامله في ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٠٠-٤٠٣: "من نسب غوث بن طيء".

٥ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧٦ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ٣٨٦: "الأحمر".

٦ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٠٨٣: "شبل".

٧ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٣٨٣: "الحبائون".

§ 4 Among these remnants are **the Ta'labah**,² found in Syria close to its border with Egypt, as far as al-Ḥarrūbah.³ The Ta'labah are from Ṭayyi', and their lineage goes back to Ta'labah b. Salāmān b. Tu'al b. 'Amr b. al-Ġawṭ b. Ṭayyi' b. Udad b. Zayd b. Yašğub b. 'Arīb b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba' b. Yašğub b. Ya'rub b. Qaḥṭān.⁴

§ 5 Darmā and Zurayq are branches of this Ta'labah, and were in alliance with the Franks when they overtook the country during the Islamic era.⁵ Darmā is a Yamānī clan of the Ṭayyi'. They are the descendants of 'Amr b. 'Awf b. Ta'labah b. Salāmān; Darmā is the name of the mother of this 'Amr. The progeny of Darmā, that is of 'Amr b. 'Awf, by the fruit of his loins are the four clans of Awlād Darmā: Salāmāh, al-Ağamm, 'Amr, Qaşr, and Aws.⁶

§ 6 Zurayq is the brother of Darmā, and they are both sons of 'Awf b. Ta'labah b. Salāmān. The clans of Zurayq include the Aš'ab, Lubnā, Ta'labah, 'Unayn, and Nabl.⁷ The clans of Darmā include al-Buq'ah and Sibl⁸—who are descendants of Nāfi' b. Ṭarwān, the Ḥanābilah, the Marwāniyyah, and the

2 Ta'labah is a common old Arab proper name (more rarely Ta'lab) and the eponym of a number of subdivisions of the larger tribal divisions of ancient Arabia, including of the Ṭayyi' and Ġaṭafān. See "Tha'labā," in *ET*² (H.H. Bräu).

3 Al-Ḥarrūbah was a station on the postal route between Cairo and Gaza, located between al-Arish and Rafah. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 1:53.

4 Cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥtalif al-qabā'il* 86; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma'add*, 1:246, 342; al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb al-ašraf*, 9:314; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-'Arab* 400–403 (descendants of al-Ġawṭ b. Ṭayyi').

5 Cf. al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'Arab* 176 lines 6–7. Al-'Umarī balances the mention of the alliance with the Franks with a reference to the bravery of the Ta'labah in fighting the Franks. This is omitted by al-Maqrīzī. In Ayyūbid-era chronicles, the tribal groups of Darmā and Zurayq are mentioned as present in al-Šarqiyyah in the middle of the sixth/twelfth century. In 531/1139, Riḍwān b. Walḥašī assembled 'urbān in the eastern Delta from among the tribes of Darmā, Ġudām, and Zurayq. See al-'Imād al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Bustān al-ġāmī'*, 1:350–351; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, 3:159; Brett (2017): 270. In 549/1154, Usāmāh b. Munqidh witnessed the Fāṭimid vizier 'Abbās summon the *muqaddams* of the Arabs of Darmā, Zurayq, Ġudām, Sinbis, Ṭalḥa, Ġa'far, and the Lawātah, and force them to take an oath of loyalty. See Ibn Munqidh, *al-I'tibār*, 1:24; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, 3:217.

6 Al-Maqrīzī states that there were four clans, but cites five names. Cf. al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab*, 2:300; al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'Arab* 176 lines 6–10 (*wa-l-Aḥmar wa-'Amr wa-Quṣayr wa-l-Aws*).

7 Cf. al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'Arab* 177 line 1 (Ta'labah, 'Unayn, and Nayl are three brothers, sons of Salāmān). Al-Maqrīzī may have miscopied al-'Umarī's text. See also al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab*, 2:300.

8 Uncertain vocalization.

زريق بنو وهم والطلحيون وفي الطلحيين آل حجاج وآل عمران والمصاحفة وكان مقدمهم سقير بن جرجى أمر بالبوق والعلم. وفي بني زريق عدة بطون أيضا وكان مقدمهم عمرو بن عسيلة أمر بالبوق والعلم.

§7 **وَجَرَمٌ** وهم من طيء ثم من بني جرم واسمه ثعلبة بن عمرو بن الغوث بن طيء وجرم امرأة حضنت ثعلبة هذا، فغلبت عليه وعرف بها. ثم جرم هذه هي نفذ بن شَمَّجِي^١ وحيان^٢ ابني جرم. ومن جرم هذه نفر مع ثعلبة طيء الذين تقدم ذكرهم كانوا يدا مع الفرنج لما تغلبوا على البلاد.

١ سقير: في الأصل كشط المقرزي نهاية الكلمة وصحها كما هي الآن؛ في ك "ستبر". ٤ من طيء: ب "من بني طيء". ٥ وحيان: في الأصل وضع المقرزي رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٦ نفر مع: ب "تفريع". || الفرنج: ف "الإفنج".

١ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٩٨: "شمجان"؛ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٠٣: "شَمَّجِي".
٢ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٠٣.

Ḥibbāniyyūn. Other clans of Zurayq are the Banū Wahm and the Ṭalḥiyyūn. The Ṭalḥiyyūn include the Āl Ḥaġġāġ, Āl ʿImrān, and the Maṣāfiḥah. Their officer was Suqayr b. Ġirġā, who was appointed as *amīr būq wa-ʿalam* [“trumpet and flag amir”].⁹ Other sections of the Zurayq were led by the officer ʿAmr b. ʿUsaylah, also appointed as *amīr būq wa-ʿalam*.¹⁰

§ 7 As for the Ġarm who are from Ṭayyiʿ,¹¹ they are descendants of the Ġarm, whose name was Ṭaʿlabah b. ʿAmr b. al-Ġawṭ b. Ṭayyiʿ. Ġarm was the name of a woman in whose care Ṭaʿlabah was brought up; she predominated over him and he became known by her name.¹² Ġarm is the clan of Šamaġī and Ḥayyān, the sons of Ġarm.¹³ Some Ġarm tribesmen joined the aforementioned Ṭaʿlabah of Ṭayyiʿ in their alliance with the Franks who took over the country.¹⁴

9 The titles of *amīr al-būq wa-l-ʿalam* (“trumpet and flag amir”) were granted by the Ayyūbids, and were of Salġūq origin. Al-Maqrīzī reports that Šalāḥ al-Dīn reviewed his army *ṭulb* after *ṭulb*, and explains that each *ṭulb* was led by an amir with *ʿalam maʿqūd* and *būq maḍrūb* (“raised flag and blown trumpet”), commanding 70 to 200 horsemen (al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāz al-ḥunafāʿ*, 3:372; see also the comments by Dorothea Krawulsky in al-ʿUmari’s *Qabāʿil al-ʿArab* 16n2). The source for all references to the “Trumpet and Flag Amirs” is al-Ḥamdānī; see the direct attribution to al-Ḥamdānī in al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, no. 463 (al-ʿUlaymiyyūn), no. 1623 (Halbā Suwayd). Evidence for the Persian equivalent of these terms comes from Rašid al-Dīn, who in 697/1298 nominated Turcomen amirs from Syria, “to whom he gave the flag (*sanġak*) and kettle-drum (*naqqārah*)” (Peacock [2019]: 60; citing Rašid al-Dīn, *Ġāmiʿ al-tawārīḥ*, ed. Muḥammad Rawšan and Mustafā Mūsāvī [Tehran : Alburz, 1373/1994], 2:1287). The term *būq* was used to refer to variants of wind instruments, such as straight horns or the trumpet. See medieval descriptions and illustrations in Reynolds (2020): 86–89.

10 Al-Maqrīzī skips al-ʿUmari’s longer account of the clans of the Banū Zurayq, as well as praise for their nobility and service (*Qabāʿil al-ʿArab* 177 lines 5–12).

11 Ġarm or Ġurm. Both spellings are used by al-Maqrīzī. Ġarm is preferred in al-ʿUmari, *Qabāʿil al-ʿArab* 107, and *passim*; and in Kaḥḥālah (1945–1976), 1:182, 2:438, 440, and *passim*.

12 Cf. al-ʿUmari, *Qabāʿil al-ʿArab* 107 lines 5–6, who cites al-Ḥamdānī.

13 Cf. al-ʿUmari, *Qabāʿil al-ʿArab* 107 line 6 (Šamaġā, Qamrān, and Ḥayyān). See also Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab maʿadd*, 1:256; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-ʿArab* 403; and Kaḥḥālah (1945–1976), 2:608, who has a variant reading, Šamaġ.

14 Cf. al-ʿUmari, *Qabāʿil al-ʿArab* 107 line 7.

§8 وجرم هذه غير جرم قضاة فإنهم بنو جرم واسمه علاف^١ بن ربان براء مَهْمَلَةٌ وَبَاءٌ مُوَحَّدَةٌ مُشَدَّدَةٌ بن حلوان بن عمران بن إلهاف^٢ بن قضاة. ٣. وجرم قضاة ينزلون من الشام | ببلاد غزة؛ والداروم مما يلي الساحل إلى بلد الخليل عليه السلام. وفي جرم طيء من ينزل الشام أيضا.

§9 ومن جرم قضاة بنو جشم وبنو قدامة وبنو عوف وفيهم أيضا جرم بجميلة وجرم عاملة. ومن جرم طيء شمجي ويقال شمجان^٥ وقران وحيان^٦.

§10 فلها فتح السلطان صلاح الدين يوسف بن أيوب بلاد غزة وأعادها الله من أيدي الفرنج إلى المسلمين جاءت ثعلبة وطائفة من جرم إلى مصر^٧ وبقيت بقايا جرم مكانها.

١ علاف: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ع" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالعين. ٢ حلوان: ك "خلوان". || إلهاف: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء؛ ف "إسحاق". || بن قضاة: كلمتان ساقطتان من ك ب. || ببلاد: في الأصل كشط المقرئ حرفاً أو حرفين في آخر الكلمة، ثم أضاف الكلمة التالية في الهامش. || غزة: في الأصل الزيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح، ويشير إليها رمز ٢ بعد "بلاد". ٣ والداروم: ك "الداروم". || عليه السلام: في الأصل "عم". ٤ عوف: ف "عون". ٥ شمجان: ف ك "شمجان". ٦ بلاد: في الأصل كشط المقرئ حرفاً أو حرفين في آخر الكلمة، ثم أضاف الكلمة التالية في الهامش. || غزة: في الأصل الزيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح، ويشير إليها رمز ٢ بعد "بلاد".

١ ابن الكلبي، نسب معد، ٢: ٦٩٣: "علاف بن زبان"؛ ابن الكلبي، جمهرة النسب: "جرم بن ربان"؛ ابن حبيب، مختلف القبائل ٢٨: "ربان بن حلوان بن عمران".

٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٧٠٠: "علاق بن زبان بن حلوان بن عمران بن حافي"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ٣٠: "بن ربان بن حلوان بن عمران".

٣ ابن الكلبي، نسب معد، ٢: ٧٠٠: "إلهاف بن قضاة".

٤ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ٥١: "غزة من مواطن جرم إحدى بطون قضاة".

٥ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٢٢: "شمجان".

٦ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٢٢: "وجيان".

٧ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٠٧ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٥٥: "وطائفة من جرم مصر".

§8 This Ğarm is not the Ğarm of Quḏā'ah, who are the descendants of another Ğarm, whose name was 'Allāf b. Rabbān¹⁵ (with a *rā*' without a dot and a doubled *bā*' with a single dot below it) b. Ḥulwān b. 'Imrān b. Ilḥāf b. Quḏā'ah.¹⁶ The Ğarm of Quḏā'ah dwell in Syria, in a region that stretches from the coastal lands of Gaza and al-Dārūm¹⁷ to the town of Hebron.¹⁸ Some of the Ğarm of Ṭayyi' also dwell in Syria.

§9 The Ğarm of Quḏā'ah include Banū Ğuṣam, Banū Qudāmah, and Banū 'Awf. Among them there are also the Ğarm of Baḡīlah and Ğarm of 'Āmilah.¹⁹ The Ğarm of Ṭayyi' include Šamaḡī²⁰—also called Šamaḡān, Qamrān, and Ḥayyān.²¹

§10 After Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb²² conquered the lands of Gaza and God returned these lands to the Muslims from the hands of the Franks, Ṭa'labah and a grouping of Ğarm came to Egypt, while the remainder of the Ğarm stayed put.²³

15 Cf. Kaḥḥālah (1945–1976), 1181 ('Allāf b. Zabbān b. Ḥulwān b. 'Imrān b. al-Ḥāfi b. Quḏā'ah); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma'add*, 2:693 ('Ilāf b. Zabbān); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ġamharat al-nasab* 406, 407 (Ğarm b. Rabbān); Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥṭalif al-qabā'il* 27, 30 (Rabbān b. Ḥulwān b. 'Imrān).

16 Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma'add*, 2:700 (Ilḥāf b. Quḏā'ah).

17 Al-Dārūm was a town located four *farsaḥs* from Gaza (Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 2:537).

18 References to the dominance of the Ğarm in the region of Gaza begin in 661/1263 when Baybars met there the leaders of the al-'Ā'id, Ğarm and Ṭa'labah (Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir* 149; cited in Amitai [2021]). The presence of the Ğarm in the region of Gaza is then mentioned repeatedly by later Mamlūk authors, including al-'Umarī, al-Qalqašandī, al-Saḥāwī, and Muḡīr al-Dīn.

19 Cf. al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'Arab* 107 lines 2–3.

20 Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-'Arab* 403.

21 Cf. al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'Arab* 107 line 6.

22 The founder of the dynasty of the Ayyūbids and the champion of the *ḡihād* against the Crusaders (born 532/1138, died 589/1193). See "Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn," in *ET²* (D.S. Richards).

23 Cf. al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'Arab* 107 lines 7–9.

§ 11 والمشهور من جرم هذه الآن جذيمة ويقال أن لهم نسبا في قريش وزعم بعضهم أنها ترجع إلى مخزوم وزعم آخر أنها من جذيمة بن مالك بن حسل^١ بن عامر بن لؤي بن غالب بن فهر. وجذيمة هذه آل عويجة وآل أحمد وآل محمود وكلهم في إمارة شاور بن سنان ثم في بنيه. وكان لسنان أخوان فيهما سُودد وهما غانم وخضر.

٥ § 12 ومن جذيمة هؤلاء جماع الرائدین^٢ جماعة منصور بن جابر^٣ وجماعة عامر بن سلامة^٤، ومنهم بنو أسلم وأسلم هذه من جذام^٥ لا من جذيمة وإنما اختلطت مع جذيمة.

٢ حسل: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالخاء، في ك "حسن". || بن: كلمة ساقطة من ب. ٤ فيهما: في الأصل يبدو أن النسخ كتب أولا "فيهم"، ثم صحح الكلمة حالا. ٥ الرائدین: ف "الرايديسين"، ب ك "جماعة مع الزيديين".

١ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٩٤: "حنبل"؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٢٢: "حنبل"؛ العمري؛ قبائل العرب ١٠٨ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٥٥: "حسل"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٩٤: "جذيمة بن مالك بن حسل بن عامر".

٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٩٤: "الرايديون"؛ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ٨٣: "جماعة الرائدین"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٠٨ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٥٥: "الرائدين".

٣ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٩٤: "جابر"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٠٨ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٥٥: "جابر".

٤ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٩٤: "سلام".

٥ انظر عن جذام، ابن حبيب، مختلف القبائل ٣٨، ٤١، ٤٨، ٦٩، ٧٥، ٨٥.

§ 11 In our days, the best-known Ğarm is the Ğuḍaymah.²⁴ It is said that their lineage goes back to Qurayš. Some claim that the Ğuḍaymah go back to Maḥ-zūm, while others claim that they are descended from Ğuḍaymah b. Mālīk b. Ḥisl b. ‘Āmir b. Lu’ayy b. Ğālīb b. Fihr. The Ğuḍaymah include Āl ‘Awsaḡah, 5 Āl Aḥmad, and Āl Maḥmūd. Their amir was Šāwar b. Sinān, and then the position was passed on to his sons.²⁵ Sinān also had two illustrious brothers, Ğānim and Ḥiḍr.²⁶

§ 12 These Ğuḍaymah include the bands of the Rā’idiyyūn: the band of 10 Maṣṣūr b. ‘Āmir and the band of ‘Āmir b. Salāmah. They also include the Banū Aslam, who are actually from the Ğuḍām and not the Ğuḍaymah, but they had mixed with the Ğuḍaymah.²⁷

24 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 107 line 9, where the sentence is attributed to al-Ḥamdānī.

25 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 108 lines 1–3.

26 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 107 line 9 to 108 line 3.

27 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 108 lines 3–7, where the last sentence is attributed to al-Ḥamdānī.

§13 ومنهم شبل ورضيعة جرم ونيغورا والقَدَرَة جماعة عَلِيمُ بن رَمِيح والأحامدة والرفث^٢ وكور من جرم جماعة جار بن سعيد وموقع^٣. وكان كبيرهم مالك الموقعي؛ وكان مقدما عند السلطان صلاح الدين وأخيه العادل أبي بكر.

§14 ومنهم بنو غوره ويقال هم من جرم بن جرم^٦ من سُنبس. ومن هؤلاء العاجلة والصمان^٧ والعبادة وبنو تمام وبنو جميل ومن بني جميل بنو مقدم

ومن بني غوره آل نادر وبنو غوث^٩ وبنو بهي وبنو خولة وبنو هرماس وبنو عيسى وبنو سهيل، وأرضهم الداروم، وكانوا سفراء بين الملوك وجاورهم قوم من زبيد تعرف ببني فُهيد ثم اختلطوا
٣٣٢

١ ونيغور: ك "ويغور"؛ ب "يفور". ٢ الموقعي: ب "المراغي". ٤ جرم: ف "جور". || جرمز: ب "جومز". || سُنبس: كذا في ف أيضا والصواب "سُنْبِس". || والصمان: ب "الضمار"؛ ف "الضمان". ٧ فُهيد: ف "فُهيد"؛ ك "فهد". || ثم: ف "هم". ٨ بهم: في الهامش الأيمن في ب + "وأما جرم طيء فإنها تنزل من أرض مصر".

- ١ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٠٨ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٥٥: "نيغور".
- ٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب رقم ٣٩٩: "الرفثة"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٠٨ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٥٥: "الرفثة".
- ٣ ابن الكلبي، نسب معد، ١: ٢٤١.
- ٤ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٠٨ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٥٥: "الموقعي".
- ٥ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٩٢٣: "بنورغو"؛ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ٨٤: "بنورغو"؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ٤: ٢١١: "غور"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٠٨ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٥٥: "عوف".
- ٦ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٩٢٣: "جرم ابن جرم بن سنبس"؛ ابن الكلبي، نسب معد، ١: ٢٤٨: "جرم".
- ٧ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ٨٤: "الصمان"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٠٨ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٥٥: "الضمان".
- ٨ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٩٢٣: "بنورغو"، رقم ١٦١٧: "رعوض"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٠٨ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٥٥: "عوف".
- ٩ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٠٨ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٥٥: "غورث".

§13 The Ğuḏaymah also include Šibl, the Raḏī'ah of Ğarm, Nifūr, al-Qada-
 rah, the band of 'Ulaym b. Rumayḥ, al-Aḥāmīdah, al-Raft, the Kūr of Ğarm,
 the band of Ğābir b. Sa'īd, and Mawqī'.²⁸ Their leader was Mālik al-Mawqī'ī,
 5 al-'Ādil Abū Bakr.²⁹

§14 They also include Banū Ğawr, who are said to be descendants of Ğarm
 b. Ğurmuz, of the Sinbis. These [Banū Ğawr] include al-'Āġilah, al-Šamān,
 al-'Abādilah, Banū Tammām, and the Banū Ğamīl, who include the Banū
 Miqdām.³⁰

10 The Banū Ğawr also include Āl Nādir, the Banū Ğawṭ, Banū Bahī, Banū
 Ḥawlah, Banū Hirmās, Banū 'Īsá, and Banū Suhayl. Their territory is al-
 Dārūm, and they used to act as emissaries between kings. A folk of the
 Zubayd, known as Banū Fuhayd, were their neighbors and intermingled with
 them.³¹

28 Cf. al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'Arab* 108 lines 7–9. On this genealogy, see also Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma'add*, 1:241; Kaḥḥālāh (1945–1976), 2:246. Al-Mawqī'ī is also mentioned in *Subḥ al-a-šá* and in *Masālik al-abšār*, without identification or date of death—all from the same source.

29 Cf. al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'Arab* 108 lines 8–10. Sultan al-'Ādil Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ayyūb (died 615/1218), the brother of Saladin (Šalāḥ al-Dīn) and ruler of Egypt and Syria. See “al-'Ādil”, in *ET*² (H.A.R. Gibb).

30 Cf. al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'Arab* 108 lines 11–13. See also Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma'add*, 1:248.

31 Cf. al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'Arab* 108 lines 13–16 (on Banū 'Awf). A late reader added on the margins of MS Beyazit: “As for Ğarm Ṭayyi', they dwell in Egypt.”

§15 وسنبس وهم من طيء ينسبون إلى سنبس بن معوية بن جرول بن ثعل بن عمرو بن الغوث ابن طيء^٣. وفي سنبس أنفاذ وعشائر كنيبي لبيد؛ وعمرو وعدي وأبان وحزم ومحصب وقنة.

§16 فأما بنو عمرو فهم يدعون ببني عقدة وعقدة أمهم، وإنما هم بنو عمرو بن سنبس بن معوية. ومنهم الخزاعلة وأصلهم بنو قنة بن جلاد بن حيان بن حميد بن خزعل بن عائذ إحدى عشائر سنبس بن معوية بن جرول. وإلى قنة هذا ينسب معالي بن فريح مقدم سنبس كان بالبحيرة وله جوار ومروءة وفيه كرم وشجاعة قتل صبيرا في دار الراحة بالقاهرة.

§17 وكانت سنبس تنزل بفلسطين والداروم قريبا من غزة وكثروا هناك واشتدت وطأتهم على الولاة وصعب أمرهم. فبعث الوزير الناصر للدين أبو محمد الحسن بن علي بن عبد الرحمن اليازوري إليهم في سنة اثنتين وأربعين وأربعمائة يستدعيهم، وأقطعهم البحيرة من أراضي مصر، وكانت البحيرة يومئذ منازل بني قرة^٥ من بطون ضبيب بن جذام. فنجعت سنبس وعدت إلى البحيرة وأوطأهم الوزير ديار بني قرة وأقطعهم أرضهم وديارهم.

١ ثعل: ف "ثعل"؛ ب "ثكل". || الغوث: في الأصل يبدو أن المقرئ بدّل الكلمة. ٢-٧.١١٨ وفي ... وتجاورهم: ساقط من ب. ٢ وحزم: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء؛ ف "جرم". || ومحصب: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٣ معوية: ف "معاوية". ٥ بن فريح: ك "من فرع"؛ ف "فريح". ٦ دار... بالقاهرة: ك "دار القاهرة". ٧ وكانت... تنزل: في الهامش الأيسر من ك. ١٠ قرة: ف "قيرة". || فنجعت سنبس: كشط المقرئ كلمة بعد "جذام"، ثم أضاف "فنجعت" فوق السطر من الأسفل إلى الأعلى وأطال السين في بداية الكلمة الثانية.

١ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٢١: "جرول".

٢ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٢١: "ثعل".

٣ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٠٢؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ٤٥؛ "فَسْبِسُ بن معاوية بن ثعل بن عمرو بن الغوث بن طيء".

٤ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٠٦١: "زيد".

٥ ابن حبيب، مختلف القبائل ٧٥؛ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٢١ و٤٧٧.

§15 As for the Sinbis:³² they are of Ṭayyi', and their lineage goes back to Sinbis b. Mu'āwiyah b. Ġarwal b. Tu'al b. 'Amr b. al-Ġawṭ b. Ṭayyi'. The Sinbis consist of clans and solidarity groups, such as the Banū Labīd, Banū 'Amr, Banū 'Adī, Banū Abān, Banū Ḥazm, Banū Muḥṣab, and Banū Qunnah.

5 §16 As for the Banū 'Amr, they are known as the Banū 'Uqdah after their mother, but they are the descendants of 'Amr b. Sinbis b. Mu'āwiyah. They consist of the Ḥazā'ilah, who were originally the Banū Qunnah b. Ġallād b. Ḥayyān b. Ḥamīd b. Ḥaz'al b. 'Ā'id, one of the solidarity groups of Sinbis b. Mu'āwiyah b. Ġarwal. Ma'ālī b. Furayḥ, who was the officer of the Sinbis in
10 al-Buḥayrah,³³ belonged to them. He provided protection (*ǧiwār*), and was chivalrous, noble, and brave. He was killed in cold blood in prison, [when he was] jailed in Dār al-Rāḥah³⁴ in Cairo.³⁵

§17 The Sinbis used to dwell in Palestine and al-Dārūm, near Gaza. Their numbers grew there, they overpowered the governors, and were difficult to
15 handle. Then the vizier al-Nāṣir li-l-Dīn Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Yāzūrī³⁶ sent for them in the year 442 [1050–1051], and gave them al-Buḥayrah in Egypt as an *iqṭā'*.³⁷ At that time, al-Buḥayrah was the dwelling place of the Banū Qurrah, one of the clans of Ḍubayb b. Ġudām. So the Sinbis migrated and moved to al-Buḥayrah, where the vizier settled
20 them in the territory of Banū Qurrah, and transferred to them the territories and lands of the Banū Qurrah as *iqṭā'*.

32 Cf. al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'Arab* 156 line 3. Al-'Umarī locates the Sinbis in Damietta. For earlier references to the Sinbis, see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma'add*, 1:248.

33 Al-Buḥayrah or Buḥayrat al-Iskandariyyah was the western province of the Egyptian delta. See "Buḥayra," in *ET*² (G. Wiet); Yāqūt, *Muḥjam al-buldān*, 1:351.

34 We have not found any other attestation of this institution.

35 Ma'ālī b. Furayḥ or Furayḡ was imprisoned and killed during the vizierate of Šāwar (Abū Šamah, *Kitāb al-Rawḍatayn*, 2:61). For this section, cf. al-Ġawwānī, *al-Ġawhar al-maknūn* 139, and al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-'Arab*, 2:300: "The Sinbis Arabs in al-Buḥayrah are from a branch (*faḥīd*) of the Labīd called Qunnah b. Ḥallād." The reference to the incident at Dār al-Rāḥah is not found in these earlier sources.

36 Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan (or al-Ḥusayn) b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Yāzūrī, Fāṭimid vizier (r. 440–450/1050–1058). See "al-Yāzūrī," in *ET*² (Th. Bianquis).

37 Al-Maqrīzī provides a more expansive version of the migration of the Sinbis to al-Buḥayrah in *Itti'āz al-ḥunafā'*, 2:220. According to that version, al-Yāzūrī realized that placing a standing garrison in the province (*a'māl*) of al-Buḥayrah would be expensive, and so he sent for the Banū Sinbis, who were at the time in al-Dārūm in Palestine, but had been causing trouble. He told the Banū Sinbis to come to al-Buḥayrah, and gave them the territories (*diyār*) of Banū Qurrah and their *iqṭā'*. On the Banū Qurrah in the early genealogical literature, see Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥtalif al-qabā'il* 75; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-'Arab* 421, 477; Kaḥḥālāh (1945–1976), 2:663.

§18 فأتسعت أحوالهم ونفخ أمرهم وعظم في أيام الخلفاء الفاطميين شأنهم، ولم يزلوا بالبحيرة إلى أن كانت سلطنة المعز عز الدين أيك التركاني أول ملوك الترك بديار مصر وأنفت عربان مصر من تملكه عليهم لأنه مملوك من جملة المماليك {البحرية} قد مسه الرق.

§19 فاجتمعوا وأقاموا الشريف حصن الدين ثعلب بن الأمير الكبير نجم الدين علي بن الأمير الشريف نغر الدين إسماعيل بن حصن الدين مجد العرب ثعلب الجعفري في سنة إحدى وخمسين ٥

١ أحوالهم: كـ "حالهم". ٢ المعز: فـ "المقر". ٣ البحرية: في الأصل "البحيرة" وهو خطأ ظاهر والتصحيح من فـ كـ. ٤ الشريف: فـ "أكبر ابن". ٥ الجعفري: في الأصل الكلمة مطموسة بسبب بقعة.

§18 The Sinbis then expanded their power and grew in influence under the Fāṭimid caliphs. They remained in al-Buḥayrah till the reign of al-Mu‘izz ‘Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Turkumānī, the first Turkish king to rule over Egypt.³⁸ The Arabs (*urbān*) of Egypt disdained his rule over them, for he was a slave of the Baḥriyyah corps of military slaves, and was stained by bondage.³⁹

§19 The Arabs met in the year 651[1253–1254] and placed as their leader the Šarīf Hiṣn al-Dīn Ṭa‘lab,⁴⁰ son of the grand amir Nağm al-Dīn ‘Alī, son of the amir, the Šarīf Faḥr al-Dīn Ismā‘īl,⁴¹ son of Hiṣn al-Dīn Mağd al-‘Arab Ṭa‘lab

38 Al-Malik al-Mu‘izz ‘Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Turkumānī l-Šālīhī, the second Mamlūk sultan in Egypt (r. 648–655/1250–1257). See “Aybak, al-Mu‘izz ‘Izz al-Dīn,” in *EI*³ (A. Levanoni).

39 In his *al-Sulūk*, 1:479–481, al-Maqrīzī has Hiṣn al-Dīn Ibn Ṭa‘lab, leader of the rebellion, say “we are the masters of the land,” and “we are more befitting of kinship than the Mamlūks, for it is enough that we served the Banū Ayyūb, who were *ḥawāriğ* (foreigners), and these *mamlūks* are their slaves (*‘abid*).” The ideological claims attributed to Hiṣn al-Dīn are not in the account of the rebellion by al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 29:427–429.

40 Earlier sources on the rebellion led by Hiṣn al-Dīn Ṭa‘lab of the Ġa‘āfirah include al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 29:427–429; 439, 30:126; al-Šafadī, *al-Wāfi*, 2:180 (biography of Muḥammad b. Bašā‘ir al-Qūšī, who served as Hiṣn al-Dīn’s vizier); and al-‘Umarī, *Qabā‘il al-‘Arab* 161. For discussions of the revolt by modern historians, see Poliak (1934); Garcin (1978); Rapoport (2004); Büssow-Schmitz (2016). A notice in the *Coptic History of the Patriarchs* praises Hiṣn al-Dīn Ibn Ṭa‘lab’s courage when fighting against a Frankish raiding group in the Sinai in the early 640s/1240s. The note states that three Ṭa‘labī Šarīfian amirs stationed in Gaza traveled to Cairo on royal orders. En route they encountered a Crusader raiding force that attacked the customs point at Qaṭyā in northern Sinai. The three Šarīfian amirs, led by Hiṣn al-Dīn, fought them off (Ibn al-Muqaffa‘ [attributed], *Tārīḥ Miṣr* 774–776).

41 Faḥr al-Dīn Ismā‘īl (d. 613/1216) played an important role in Egyptian politics and economy at the end of the sixth/twelfth century. By the end of the sixth/twelfth century he appears to have taken control of the grain transport from Upper Egypt. During the famine of 593/1196–1197, the boats of Ibn Ṭa‘lab were the only ones able to provide Cairo with wheat, and the Ayyūbid royal household depended on him for their bread and meat provisions. In return, Faḥr al-Dīn was rewarded with a large *iqṭā‘* grant (*ḥubz*) worth 60,000 dinars per annum, and an amiral title of kettle-drum (*kūs*) and flag (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:244). The following year Ibn Ṭa‘lab was given the honor of leading the pilgrimage caravan from Cairo, and was granted the title of Amīr al-Ḥağğ (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:245, 248–249). In 612/1215–1216, he established his own *madrasah* in Cairo, with the blessing of Cairene scholars who attested to his genuine prophetic lineage. He died a year later, on 17 Rağab 613/9 November 1216 (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭat*, 4:216; Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍah al-baḥiyyah* 91–92). Faḥr al-Dīn’s surviving tombstone in Qarāfah cemetery testifies to his political eminence, and to the salience of his lineage. The epitaph accords him a series of lavish titles and honorifics connected to his service to the state, including al-Amīr al-Ağall, Imād al-Mulūk wa-l-Salāṭin, and Amīr al-Ḥağğ wa-l-Ḥaramayn. The inscription also emphasizes his prophetic origin: he is called a Šarīf and a blood relation of the caliph (*nasīb amīr al-mu‘minīn*), and described as *al-Ġa‘farīl-Zaynabī*. The inscription also traces up five generations of Faḥr al-Dīn’s ancestors (*Thesaurus d’Épigraphie Islamique*, no. 3054, no. 3055).

وسمّائة. فقاتلهم الأتراك وأمسكوا الشريف وأصحابه ثم مضوا بعد وقعة دروط إلى ناحية سخا من الغربية، وقد اجتمع بها بنو سنابس ولواتة ومن معهم فأوقعوا بهم وقعة شنيعة قتلوا فيها رجالهم وسبوا حريمهم ونهبوا أموالهم.

20 § فذلت سنابس بعد ذلك وقلت وصارت متفرقة بالغربية. وكان من حلفاء سنابس عذرة ومُدج. وتجاوزهم فرقة من كنانة بن خزيمة. كان مقدمهم في خلافة الفائز بنصر الله عيسى بن الظافر ووزارة الصالح طلائع بن رزيك لاحق بن (...).¹

21 § وتجاوزهم فرقة من بني عدي بن كعب رهط أمير المؤمنين عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه. ومقدمهم خلف² بن نصر بن منصور بن عبيد الله <بن> عدي بن محمد بن أبي بكر عبد الله بن عبيد الله

١ مضوا... وقعة: في الأصل كلمات مطموسة بسبب بقعة وكشط، والإثبات من ف ك. ٢ فأوقعوا: في الأصل الكلمة مطموسة بسبب بقعة والإثبات من ف ك. ٣ وسبوا حريمهم: ساقط من ك. ٤ وقلت: غير واضح في الأصل بسبب بقعة والإثبات من ف ك. || حلفاء: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء، ف "حلفاء". ٥ وتجاوزهم: ف "يجاورهم". || كان مقدمهم: كلمتان مطموستان في الأصل بسبب بقعة والإثبات من ب ف ك. ٦ لاحق بن...: في الأصل يمكن قراءة "لاحق بن" فيه فراغ بعد الكلمتين؛ في ك وفي مخطوطة باريس 1725 الكلمتان ساقطتان؛ ف "لاخوين" ٧ وتجاوزهم: ف ك "يجاورهم"؛ مخطوطة باريس 1725 "ويجاورهم". || بني... كعب: هذه الكلمات مطموسة في الأصل بسبب بقعة والإثبات من ب ف ك. || رضي... عنه: ف "رضي الله عنهم". ٨ خلف: ب "حلف". || نصر... منصور: ب "نصر بن لاحق بن منصور". ٨-120. ١: بن... عنه: الزيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن مقلوبة + صح، ويشير إليها رمز " بعد نصر". ٨ بن...: كلمة ساقطة من الأصل وك.

١ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ١٣٩: "وفد منهم طائفة على الفائز الفاطمي بالديار المصرية في وزارة الصالح طلائع بن رزيق في طائفة من قومهم بني عدي؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٥٦ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ٣٦١. "ومقدمهم لاحق"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٧: ٢٢٥. "طلائع بن رزيك كان واليا على الأشمونيين والبهنسا".

٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٤٦٥: "خلف".

al-Ġa‘farī. The Turks went to battle against them, and captured the Šarīf and his companions. Following the Battle of Darūt,⁴² the Turks turned toward the region of Saḥā⁴³ in al-Ġarbiyyah, where the Sinbis, the Lawātah, and their allies assembled. The Turks inflicted on them an infamous defeat, killed their
5 men, captured their women, and looted their property.

§ 20 After that, the Sinbis lost their power, decreased in numbers, and scattered across al-Ġarbiyyah.⁴⁴ The allies of the Sinbis included the ‘Uḍrah and Mudliġ. A group of the Kinānah b. Ḥuzaymah live in proximity to them. At the time of Caliph al-Fā‘iz bi-Naṣr Allāh ‘Īsā b. al-Zāfir and the vizierate of
10 al-Šālīḥ Ṭalā‘ī b. Ruzzīk, their officer was Lāḥiq b. [blank in original].⁴⁵

§ 21 A group of the Banū ‘Adī b. Ka‘b, of the family of the Commander of the Faithful ‘Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb,⁴⁶ may God be pleased with him, are also their neighbors. Their officer was Ḥalaf b. Naṣr b. Maṣṣūr b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Adī b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Abī Bakr b. ‘Ubayd

42 I.e. Dayrūt or Dayrūt al-Šarīf, an ancient town in Upper Egypt at the head of Baḥr Yūsuf. Its Coptic name was Tērot Sarabān, and in medieval Arabic sources the name of the town is spelled as Darūt Sarabām, Darwat Sarabām, Darwat Sarabām, or Darūt Sarabām. Yāqūt, writing in Aleppo in the 620s/1220s, reports that Faḥr al-Dīn Ibn Ṭa‘lab established his headquarters in this strategic village, at the confluence of the Nile and the Baḥr Yūsuf Canal. There he built a congregational mosque, residential quarters, and palaces, and the village came to be known as Darwat al-Šarīf (Yāqūt, *Muġam al-buldān*, 2:570–571). See also al-‘Umarī, *al-Ta‘rīf* 243; al-‘Umarī, *Qabā‘il al-‘Arab* 161. For the identification with modern Dayrūt, see Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/4:47.

43 In the seventh/thirteenth century, Saḥā was the capital of al-Ġarbiyyah and the seat of the local governor (Yāqūt, *Muġam al-buldān*, 3:51).

44 On this decisive defeat in al-Ġarbiyyah, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:480. In the account in *al-Sulūk*, the Sinbis were allied with the Lawātah. Al-Maqrīzī adds in *al-Sulūk* that all Arabs of Egypt declined alongside the Sinbis, for “since then they scattered (*tabad-dada*) and their spark extinguished.”

45 This is a miscopying of a difficult sentence in al-‘Umarī, *Qabā‘il al-‘Arab* 156 lines 6–7: “A group of the Kinānah b. Ḥuzaymah live in proximity to them. They came during the reign of the caliph al-Fā‘iz bi-Naṣr Allāh ‘Īsā b. al-Zāfir and the vizierate of al-Šālīḥ Ṭalā‘ī b. Ruzzīk, and their officer followed (*lāḥaqa*).” Ṭalā‘ī b. Ruzzīk was vizier in Cairo (549–559/1154–1161); he held office during the imamate of the *Fātimid* child caliph al-Fā‘iz (r. 549–555/1154–1160) and at the beginning of the imamate of al-‘Āḍid. See “Ṭalā‘ī b. Ruzzīk,” in *ET*² (Th. Bianquis).

46 The second caliph (r. 13/634–23/644). See “Umar (1) b. al-Khaṭṭāb,” in *ET*² (G. Levi Della Vida and M. Bonner).

ابن أبي بكر بن عبيد الله بن عبد الله بن عبيد الله بن عبد الله بن عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه العمري ونزلوا بالبرلس^١ وكانوا هم والكثانيون من ذوي الآثار المذكورة في نوبة دمياط. وخلف هذا هو جد بني فضل الله بن المجلي بن دعباب بن خلف بن نصر الدين ولوا كتابة السر لملوك الترك بالقاهرة ودمشق نحو مائة سنة.

٥ § 22 **وجذام** وهم بنو جذام واسمه عامر ويقال عمرو بن عدي^٢ بن الحرث^٣ بن مرة^٤ بن أدده بن زيد بن يشجب^٦ بن عريب^٧ بن زيد بن كهلان وهم إخوة لحم واسمه مالك. وإنما قيل لهما لحم وجذام من أجل أنهما تخاصما فجذم جذام بغمه أصبح لحم أخيه فقطعها والجذم القطع ونم لحم وجه أخيه جذام أي لطمه نخصر عينه فسمي لحمًا وقيل في سبب تسميتهما بذلك غير هذا.

١ عبيد ... الله: ف "عبيد الله بن عبد الله بن عبد الله". ٢ العمري: كلمة ساقطة من ب. || ونزلوا بالبرلس: مطموس في الأصل والإثبات من ف ك؛ ب "ونزلوا بالأندلس". || وخلف: في الأصل بدل المقرزي نهاية الكلمة، ثم أضاف كلمات في الهامش. راجع التعليق التالي. ٣-٤ هذا ... سنة: في الأصل الزيادة بخط المقرزي في الهامش الأيسر من الأسفل إلى الأعلى، ويشير إليها رمز ٦ بعد "خلف". ٣ بن: ١ ساقط من ك. || المجلي: ب "المجلي"؛ ف ك "المحلي". || ولوا: ف "ولوا". ٤ سنة: ك "نصر الله". ٥ الحرث: ك "الحارث". ٦ يشجب: ف ب "يشجب". || عريب: ك "يعرب"؛ ب "عرب". ٧ بغمه: في الأصل بعض الكلمة مطموسة ويبدو أن المقرزي بدل ما كتبه الناخذ. ٨ نخصر: ك "فصر". || في: في ساقط من ف.

١ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٥٦ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ٣٦١: "فتزلوا بالبرلس".
٢ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٠: "عدي"؛ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٢٠: "عمرو بن عدي بن الحارث".

٣ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٨٩: "الحارث"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ٥١: "جذام واسمه عمرو بن عدي أخو لحم".

٤ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٠: "مرة".

٥ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٠: "أدده"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ٥٠: "بنو مرة بن أدده".

٦ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٠: "يشجب".

٧ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٠: "عريب".

Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him, al-‘Umarī. They came to dwell in al-Burullus,⁴⁷ and together with the Kinānah are famed for their defense of Damietta.⁴⁸ This Ḥalaf is the ancestor of the Banū Faḍl Allāh b. al-Muğallī b. Dağğāb b. Ḥalaf b. Naṣr al-Dīn, who served as the Turkish rulers’ private secretaries in Cairo and Damascus for about a century.

§ 22 As for **the Ğudām**:⁴⁹ They are the descendants of Ğudām, whose name was ‘Āmir, and some say [he was] ‘Amr b. ‘Adī b. al-Ḥārīt b. Murrah b. Udad b. Zayd b. Yašğub b. ‘Arīb b. Zayd b. Kahlān. They are the brothers of Laḥm, whose name was Mālik.⁵⁰

The reason they were named Laḥm and Ğudām is because once they had a fight, and Ğudām mangled (*ğadama*) Laḥm’s finger with his mouth and cut it off; *ğadm* means cutting off. Laḥm then slapped (*laḥama*) his brother Ğudām on the face and gouged out (*haşr*) his eye; *laḥm* means slapping, so he was called Laḥm. But others give other reasons for them being named Laḥm and Ğudām.

47 District and lake to the north of the Delta of Egypt. See “Burullus,” in *EI*² (G. Wiet).

48 This is a paraphrase of al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 156 lines 8–10. Al-Maqrīzī omits an autobiographical note by al-‘Umarī, who boasts about his descent from Āl ‘Umar and refers his readers to a treatise (now lost) that he composed on the merits (*faḍā’il*) of Āl ‘Umar.

49 Ğudām was an Arab tribe that in Umayyad times claimed descent from Kahlān b. Saba’ of Yemen. See “Djudhām,” in *EI*² (C.E. Bosworth).

50 Laḥm was an Arab tribe, especially influential in the pre-Islamic period and associated with the Laḥmid dynasty of Iraq. See “Lakhm,” in *EI*² (H. Lammens and Irfan Shahīd).

§ 23 وقد اختلف أيضاً في نسب جذام. فقيل جذام بن عدي بن عمرو بن سبأ، وقيل جذام ونحلم ابنا عدي بن عمرو بن الحرث بن مرة وقيل إن قنص بن معد بن عدنان هو أبو نحلم، وأن أسد^١ ابن خزيمه أخوا أسد بن خزيمه بن مدركة بن إلياس بن مضر هو أبو جذام، وأن جذام لحقت بالشام فانتمت إلى سبأ ولحقوا باليمن.

§ 24 وفي جذام عدة أبطن وأنفاذ وعشائر كبنِي ضُبَيْبِ بنِ قُرْظِ بنِ حَفِيدَةَ بنِ نُبَيْحِ^٢. وفي بني ضُبَيْبِ^٣ عدة أنفاذ وهم: بنو سُؤَيْدِ وبنو زَيْدِ وبنو بَعْجَةَ وهِلْبَا سُؤَيْدِ وهِلْبَا مَالِكِ وهِلْبَا بَعْجَةَ وبردعة ورفاعة وناتل وبنو مسعود وبنو الوليد وبنو منظور وبنو قررة الذين كانوا بالبحيرة قبل سننيس وبنو رَدَادٍ وِمْحَرِيَّةٍ؛ رهط رفاعة بن زيد جد بني روح^٥ من الصحابة.

§ 25 فأما سُؤَيْدِ فإنهم بنو سُؤَيْدِ بنِ زَيْدِ بنِ مِيَّةَ بنِ الضُّبَيْبِ المذكور، وأما زيد فبنو زيد بن أمية بن الضُّبَيْبِ ومنهم سعد بنو سعد بن أبامة^٦ بن غطفان، ومنهم روح، ومنهم قُرْظِ بنِ حَفِيدَةَ بنِ نُبَيْحِ،

٢ قصص: ف "قصص". || أسد^١: ف "اشدة". ٣ أخوا: ف "أخوا؛ ك "أخوا أسد". ٥ بن حفيدته: كلمتان ساقطتان من ك. || حفيدته: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. || نبيح: ك "نبيح". ٦ وبنو: في الأصل "وبنوا" بألف الواقية. ٧ وناتل: ب ف ك "نايل". || منظور: ف "مقطور". || بالبحيرة: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٨ وِمْحَرِيَّةٍ: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء؛ ف "مجديّة". ٩ سُؤَيْدِ ... بنو: كلمات ساقطة من ب. ١٠ الضُّبَيْبِ: في الأصل كشط المقرئ نهاية الكلمة وعبارة أخرى، ثم أطل الباء. || أبامة: ف "أيامة". || قُرْظِ: ك "قرط". || بن حفيدته: كشط المقرئ عبارة أخرى قبل أن يصححها كما هي الآن. || نبيح: ب ك "نبيح".

- ١ وردت كذلك في ابن الكلبي، جمهرة النسب ٢؛ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ١١.
- ٢ ابن الكلبي، نسب معد، ١: ٢٠٤: "ضُبَيْبِ بنِ قُرْظِ بنِ حَدِيدَةَ بنِ نُبَيْحِ".
- ٣ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ٥١: "بني الضُّبَيْبِ".
- ٤ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٢١؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ٥١: "سَحْرِيَّة".
- ٥ ابن الكلبي، نسب معد، ١: ٢٠٢؛ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٢٠: "رَوْحِ بنِ زَنْبَاء".
- ٦ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٠٢٢: "سامة".

§ 23 There is also a disagreement about the lineage of Ğudām. Some say he is Ğudām b. ‘Adī b. ‘Amr b. Saba’. Others say Ğudām and Laḥm are the sons of ‘Adī b. ‘Amr b. al-Ḥārīt b. Murrah. Yet others say that Qanaṣ b. Ma‘add b. ‘Adnān is the father of Laḥm, while Asdah b. Ḥuzaymah, brother of Asad b. Ḥuzaymah b. Mudrikah b. Ilyās b. Muḍar, is the father of Ğudām, and that the Ğudām were attached to Syria. Then they came to belong to Saba’ and were attached to Yaman.⁵¹

§ 24 The Ğudām have several sections, clans, and solidarity groups, such as the Banū Ḍubayb b. Qurṣ b. Ḥafīdah b. Nubayḥ.⁵² The clans of the Banū Ḍubayb are the Banū Suwayd, Banū Zayd, Banū Ba‘ġah, Halbā Suwayd, Halbā Mālik, Halbā Ba‘ġah, Barda‘ah, Rifā‘ah, Nātil,⁵³ Banū Mas‘ūd, Banū l-Walid, Banū Manzūr, Banū Qurrah—who used to be in al-Buḥayrah before the Sinbis migrated there—the Banū Raddād, and Banū Maḥriyyah,⁵⁴ who are the family of the Companion Rifā‘ah b. Zayd,⁵⁵ the ancestor of the Banū Rawḥ.⁵⁶

§ 25 The Banū Suwayd are descendants of Suwayd b. Zayd b. Mayyah, son of the aforementioned al-Ḍubayb.⁵⁷ The Banū Zayd are descendants of Zayd b. Mayyah b. al-Ḍubayb. They include the Banū Sa‘d—who are descendants of Sa‘d b. Abāmah b. Ġaṭafān, the Banū Rawḥ, Banū Qurṣ b. Ḥafīdah b. Nubayḥ,

51 “Djūdham,” in *EI²* (C.E. Bosworth). Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma‘add* 201 (Ğudām); Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 11.

52 Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma‘add*, 1:204 (Ḍubayb b. Qurṣ b. Ḥafīdah b. Nubayḥ).

53 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 170 line 1 (Nātil); Kaḥḥālāh (1945–1976), 3:1165 (Nātal).

54 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 173 line 1; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 421.

55 Rifā‘ah b. Zayd al-Ğudāmī al-Ḍubaybī, a companion of the prophet. See al-Iṣbahānī, *Ma‘rifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 2:1080.

56 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 173 lines 1–7, where the focus is on the Companion Rifā‘ah and his delegation to the Prophet. On the Banū Rawḥ, see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma‘add*, 1:202; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 420 (Rawḥ b. Zinbā’).

57 Al-Iṣbahānī, *Ma‘rifat al-ṣaḥābah*, 3:1399 (Suwayd b. Zayd al-Ğudāmī).

ومنهم حرام وحشم^١ وغطفان ونُبَيْح بنو عبيد بن كعب وحطمة^٢ بنو عوف بن شبوة بن تديل بن حشم بن جذام.

26 § ومنهم طريف بن ثعلبة بن تعذرة بن عوف بن طابحة^٣ بن مالك من أسلم بن الهون بن أسعد ابن بكر بن تديل بن حشم بن جذام، ويقال طابحة بن الهون بن شبوة^٤ بن تديل^٥ بن حشم^٦.
 ٥ ومنهم عبيد بنو عبيد بن كعب بن علي بن سعد بن أبامة بن غطفان، منهم بنو صليح وبنو الضبيح وبنو زيد وبنو سويد وبنو رذالة، ويقال رذال بن نُبَيْح بن عبيد المذكور وهم إخوة بني حَفيدة^٧ وصليح.

١ وحشم: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء؛ ب "جشم".
 ٢ ونُبَيْح: ك "نُبَيْح".
 ٣ وحطمة: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء؛ ك "وحطمة".
 ٤-١ تديل ... حشم: ب ك "تديل بن حشم"؛ ف "تديل بن حشم".
 ٥ حشم: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٣ طريف: ف "طريف".
 ٦ طابحة: ك "طابحة" أو "طابحة"؛ ب "طابحة"؛ ف "طابحة".
 ٧ الهون: ف "الهون".
 ٨ تديل: ف "تديل"؛ ب "تديل".
 ٩ حشم: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء؛ ب "جشم"؛ ك "حشم".
 ١٠ عبيد: ب "عبيد الله".
 ١١ بنو: في الأصل "بنو" بألف الوقاية. || أبامة: ف "أبامة".
 ١٢ صليح: ب "صليح".
 ١٣ ويقال رذال: كلمتان ساقطتان من ك. || بن: ف "من". ٧ وصليح: ك "وصليح".

١ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٧٩٧: "حشم"؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣١: "حشم".
 ٢ ابن حبيب، مختلف القبائل ٨٥: "حطمة".
 ٣ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١١٤٧: "طابحة أو طابحة"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٤٨ و ١٧٢، ١٨١: "طابحة".

٤ ابن حبيب، مختلف القبائل ٤٨: "شوءة".

٥ ابن حبيب، مختلف القبائل ٤٨: "تديل".

٦ ابن الكلبي، نسب معد، ١: ٢١٠: "بديل بن حشم بن جذام".

٧ ابن الكلبي، نسب معد، ١: ٢٠٤: "بنو حديدة".

Banū Ḥarām, Banū Ḥašm, Banū Ġaṭafān, Banū Nubayḥ—who are descendants of ‘Ubayd b. Ka‘b and Banū Ḥaṭamah⁵⁸—who are descendants of ‘Awf b. Šabwah b. Tadīl b. Ḥašm b. Ġudām.⁵⁹

§ 26 Among their members was Ṭarīf b. Ṭa‘labah b. Ṭa‘dirah b. ‘Awf b. Ṭābiḥah b. Mālik b. Aslam b. al-Hawn b. As‘ad b. Bakr b. Tadīl b. Ḥašm b. Ġudām, and some say Ṭābiḥah b. al-Hawn b. Šabwah b. Tadīl b. Ḥašm.

They also include the Banū ‘Ubayd—who are descendants of ‘Ubayd b. Ka‘b b. ‘Alī b. Sa‘d b. Abāmah b. Ġaṭafān, Banū Šulay‘, Banū l-Ḍubayb, Banū Zayd, Banū Suwayd, and Banū Ruḍālah, or as some say Ruḍāl, son of Nubayḥ b. ‘Ubayd mentioned above. They are brothers of the Banū Ḥafīdah and Banū Šulay‘.

58 Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥtalif al-qabā’* 85.

59 Cf. al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 2:308–309. See also Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma‘add*, 1:201 (b. Badīl b. Ḥišm b. Ġudām).

§27 ومنهم بنو شاكر بن الضَّبِيبِ بن قُرْظٍ. ومنهم زهير ومالك وأفصى^١، ومنهم عمرو {وهو} عمرو ابن مالك بن الضَّبِيبِ بن قُرْظٍ وبنو عمرو بن سُودٍ بن بكر بن تديل بن حَشم^٢ بن جُدَامِ نَعْدِ بْنِ حُبَيْسٍ وبنو عمرو بن مطرود بن كعب بن علي بن سعد بن أبامة بن غطفان.

§28 ومنهم عائذة وصبرة وجابر، وفي صبرة هذه بنو جُدَامِ بن صَبْرَةَ بن نصرَةَ بن غم بن غطفان ابن سعد بن مالك بن حَرَامِ بن جُدَامِ^٣ نَعْدِ.

§29 وكان من بني سويد الأمير المقدم زين الدولة طريف؛ بن مكنون أحد الكرام من كبراء الأمراء الجذاميين بمصر كان في مضيئه أيام الغلاء اثنا عشر ألفاً تاكل عنده كل يوم وكان يهشم

١ قرظ: كـ "قرظ". ٢-١ ومنهم... قُرْظُ: في الهامش الأيسر في ك. ١ زهير: فـ "زيم". || وأفصى: كـ "أفعى"؛ فـ "أفصى". ٢-١ ومنهم... مالك: فـ "ومنهم عمرو وهو ابن مالك". ١ وهو: في الأصل "وبنو"؛ بـ "بن"؛ فـ "وهو"؛ كـ "بن"؛ والتصحیح من ف. ٢ قُرْظُ: كـ "قرظ". || سُودٌ... بكر: فـ "سور بن بكر". || تديل: فـ "قديل"؛ كـ "نزيل". || حَشمٌ: فـ "جشم". || جُدَامِ: كلمة مطموسة في الأصل واستدركت بالسياق ومن باقي النسخ. || نَعْدِ: كـ "من". ٣ حُبَيْسٌ: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. || عمرو... مطرود: كـ "عروس مطرود". || أبامة: فـ "أيامة". ٤ عائذة: فـ "عايدة". || نصرَةَ: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ص" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالصاد؛ كـ "نصر". ٥ حَرَامِ: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء؛ بـ "حزام"؛ فـ "خوله"؛ كـ "سعد بن جذام بن جذام". ٦ زين... طريف: كلمات مطموسة بسبب بقعة في الأصل أثبتناها من ب ف ك. || مكنون: فـ "مكنوز". ٧ الجذاميين بمصر: كلمتان غير واضحتان في الأصل بسبب بقعة أثبتناها من ب، ف، وك. ويبدو أن المقرئ كشط عبارة أخرى قبل أن يصحح الكلمة الثانية. || اثنا: ب ف ك "اثني". || اثنا عشر: كشط المقرئ عبارة أخرى قبل أن يصححها كما هي الآن.

١ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٤٧: "أفصى".

٢ ابن حبيب، مختلف القبائل ٤٨: "حشم".

٣ ابن الكلبي، نسب معد، ١: ٢٠٤.

٤ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٠٧١: "طريف".

§ 27 They also include the Banū Šākīr b. al-Ḍubayb b. Qurz, Banū Zuhayr, Banū Mālik, and the Banū Afšā. They also include the Banū ‘Amr who are descendants of ‘Amr b. Mālik b. al-Ḍubayb b. Qurz, Banū ‘Amr b. Sūd b. Bakr b. Tadīl b. Ḥašm b. Ğuḏām—who are a clan of Banū Ḥubays, and Banū ‘Amr
5 b. Maṭrūd b. Ka‘b b. ‘Alī b. Sa‘d b. Abāmah b. Ğaṭafān.

§ 28 They also include the Banū ‘Āīdah, Banū Šabrah, and Banū Ğābir. The Banū Šabrah include the clan of Banū Ğuḏām b. Nuṣrah b. Ğanm b. Ğaṭafān b. Sa‘d b. Mālik b. Ḥarām b. Ğuḏām.⁶⁰

§ 29 The amir Zayn al-Dawlah Ṭarīf b. Maknūn was an officer from the Banū
10 Suwayd. He was one of the noblest and most senior Ğuḏāmī amirs in Egypt. At the time of the [great] famine⁶¹ he hosted 12,000 souls and fed them

60 Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma‘add*, 1:204.

61 This is a reference to the *šiddah*, the severe political and economic crisis that overtook Fāṭimid Egypt from 459/1068 to 466/1074, during the reign of the caliph al-Mustanšir. See a summary of the events in Lev (1990): 43–45; Brett (2017): 201–206.

الثريد في المراكب. ومن أولاده فضل بن شمع بن كونة وإبراهيم بن غالي وأمر كل منهما بالبوق والعلم.

§ 30 ومن جذام بنو كعب بن علي بن سعيد بن أبامة، وهم نخذ {من} الضبيب عشيرة بني زيد وسويد ومية، ومن بني كعب بنو صلح بصاد مهملة وبنو مطرود ونفاثة^١ ورذالة.

٥ ومن جذام بنو كميل بن قرة بن موهوب بن عبيد بن مالك بن سويد بن زيد بن ضبيب وهم جماعة صلاح وطارق من مقدمي جذام بالحوف. ومسكن جذام بالحوف.

§ 31 وراشد وهم في يمن ويجمعهم نخذان وعشيرة في جذام من بني سويد ثم من بني عقبه. فالتى في سويد ولد راشد بن وليد بن سويد بن زيد بن مية من بني الضبيب^٢ بن قرض بن حفيدة ابن نبيح بن عبيد بن كعب بن علي بن سعد بن أبامة بن غطفان. وقيل أبامة بن عبيس بن غطفان ابن سعد بن إياس بن حرام بن جذام. ومن بني راشد هذه بنو حبة بن راشد منهم عروة بن تمام وماضي بن العريب.

١ الثريد: كلمة غير واضحة في الأصل بسبب بقعة أثبتناها من ب ف ك. || ومن أولاده: ب "أولاده". || فضل ... شمع: ف "فضل الله بن شمع". || غالي: ف "غالي". || بالبوق: كلمة واردة في الهامش الأيسري في ف. ٣ أبامة: ف "أبامة". || من: في الأصل وك "بن". ٥ كميل ... موهوب: ف "كميل بن قرة موهوب". ٦ بالحوف: في الأصل وضع المقريري رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٧ بالحوف: في الأصل وضع المقريري رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٨ بني^٢: ف + "راشد". ٩ وليد: ك "وكيد". ١٠ نبيح: ب "نبيح". || أبامة^١: ف "أبامة". || أبامة^٢: ف "أبامة". ١١ بن حرام: الكلمتان في الهامش الأيمن في ك. || حرام: في الأصل وضع المقريري رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. || هذه: ساقط من ف. || حبة: في الأصل وضع المقريري رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. || منهم: ب "ومهم". ١٢ العريب: ف "العريب".

١ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٥٣٧:٣: "نفاث إحدى بطون جذام"، ٤: ٥١: "بني نفاث".

٢ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ٥١: "بني الضبيب".

daily with *tarīd* broth⁶² he prepared on his boats. His descendants Faḍl b. Šamaḥ b. Kamūnah and Ibrāhīm b. Ġālī were appointed *amīr al-būq wa-l-‘alam* [“trumpet and flag amir”].⁶³

§ 30 The Ġuḍām also include the Banū Ka‘b b. ‘Alī b. Sa‘īd b. Abāmah. They
5 are a clan of al-Ḍubayb and are [in] the solidarity group of Banū Zayd, Banū Suwayd, and Banū Mayyah. The Banū Ka‘b include Banū Šulay‘ (with undotted *šād*), Banū Maṭrūd, Banū Nufāṭah, and Banū Ruḍālah.

Also of the Ġuḍām are the Banū Kumayl b. Qurrah b. Mawhūb b. ‘Ubayd
b. Mālik b. Suwayd b. Zayd b. Ḍubayb. They are the band of Šalāḥ and Ṭāriq,
10 who were officers of the Ġuḍām in the region of al-Ḥawf.⁶⁴

The abode of Ġuḍām is in the region of al-Ḥawf.

§ 31 As for Yamanī Rāšid, there are two clans and a solidarity group of that
name among the Ġuḍām. They belong to the Banū Suwayd and to the Banū
‘Uqbah.⁶⁵

15 The Banū Rāšid of Banū Suwayd are descendants of Rāšid b. Walīd b. Suwayd b. Zayd b. Mayyah, of the Banū l-Ḍubayb b. Qurz b. Ḥafīdah b. Nubayḥ b. ‘Ubayd b. Ka‘b b. ‘Alī b. Sa‘īd b. Abāmah b. Ġaṭafān, and some relate that the lineage was Abāmah b. ‘Ubays b. Ġaṭafān b. Sa‘īd b. Iyyās b. Ḥarām b. Ġuḍām. Among these Banū Rāšid are the Banū Ḥubbah b. Rāšid who include
20 ‘Urwah b. Tammām and Māḍī b. al-‘Urayb.

62 A dish of bread crumbled into a broth of meat and vegetables. See “Tharīd,” in *ET*², Glossary and Index of Terms; and “Hāshim b. ‘Abd Manāf,” in *ET*² (W. Montgomery Watt).

63 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 170 line 12 to 171 line 3; al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, no. 1071.

64 Al-Ḥawf was the name given by the Arab conquerors to a vast region of Lower Egypt (or the Delta), usually divided into the western Ḥawf and eastern Ḥawf. The eastern Ḥawf came to include the provinces of al-Šarqiyyah and al-Qalyūbiyyah, while the western Ḥawf included most of al-Ġarbiyyah and al-Buḥayrah. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 1:50–51. Given the association of Ġuḍām with al-Šarqiyyah, it is likely that the eastern Ḥawf is meant here.

65 Compare entries for Banū Rāšid in al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, no. 891 and no. 892; see also no. 322 (Awlād Rāšid in al-Šarqiyyah).

§32 وبنو عامر بن راشد منهم صَخْر بن عُمارة، وبنو حَلَمَة من بني مَنيع أحد بني عامر.

وأما العشيرة ففي هَلْبًا سُويد بنو راشد بن هَلْبًا بن مالك بن سُويد.

وأما التي في بني عُقْبَة فولد راشد بن عُقْبَة أحد بني مَحْرَبَة من بني مِيَّة من بني الضُّبَيْب المذكور،

منهم بنو حَمِيْدَة بن صالح بن راشد عشيرة في عُقْبَة، منهم | حُوْدَر بن حميد وله عقب.

68^b

§33 ٥ ومن بطون الحميديين البراجسة {الجواشنة}١ والكعوك وأولاد غانم.

ومن جُدَام هَلْبًا وهي هَلْبًا سُويد وهَلْبًا بعجة، فهلبا بعجة هو أبو الفوارس هلبا بن بعجة بن زيد

ابن الضُّبَيْب بن قرظ بن حفيدة بن نُبَيْح.

وهلبا سُويد هو هلبا بن مالك بن سويد بن زيد بن ضُبَيْب المذكور.

§34 فمن هلبا بعجة الذواهبة والجزازرة والنجاد والغياث وبنو منظور والعبسة وبنو نابت وبنو

١٠ قبيصة وأمراؤهم أولاد بقر بن نجم.

١ وبنو: في الأصل كتب الناسخ "وبنو" بألف الوقاية وكشطها المقريري. || صَخْر: في الأصل كشط

المقريري بداية الكلمة ثم أضاف الصاد. || حَلَمَة: في الأصل وضع المقريري رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة

إلى تلفظها بالحاء. || أحد: ف "إحدى". ٢ فني: ب ك "فهي". || بنو ... مالك: ب "وبنو راشد من هَلْبًا

مالك؛ ك "من هلبا بن مالك". ٣ بني: كلمة ساقطة من ب. || فولد ... عُقْبَة: ساقط من ك. || أحد: ف

"إحدى". || مَحْرَبَة: في الأصل وضع المقريري رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء؛ ف "مجرية".

٤ حَمِيْدَة ... صالح: ب "حميدة بن حميدة بن صالح". || حُوْدَر: في الأصل أضاف المقريري الهمزة؛ ف

"خودر". ٥ والجواشنة: في الأصل "الجواشنة" والتصويب نجده في آخر الكتاب؛ ب ك "الجواشنة"؛ ف

"الجواشنة". || والكعوك: ك "العكوك". ٦ أبو: في الأصل كشط المقريري نهاية الكلمة ثم أضاف الباء

والواو. ٧ قرظ: ك "قرط". || نُبَيْح: ب ك "نبيح". ٩-١٠ والجزازرة ... قبيصة: ساقط من ب.

١ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٣٥٤: "الجواشنة".

§ 32 Also among the Banū Rāšid are the Banū ‘Āmir b. Rāšid, who include Ṣaḥr b. ‘Umārah, and the Banū Ḥalamah of the Banū Manī‘, one of the sons of ‘Āmir.

5 As for the solidarity group of the Banū Rāšid, they are from among Halbā Suwayd, descendants of Rāšid b. Halbā b. Mālik b. Suwayd.

As for the Banū Rāšid among the Banū ‘Uqbah, they are descendants of Rāšid b. ‘Uqbah, one of the sons of Maḥriyyah, of the Banū Mayyah, of the Banū l-Ḍubayb mentioned above. They include Banū Ḥamīdah b. Ṣāliḥ b. Rāšid, who are a solidarity group of the Banū ‘Uqbah. Ḥu‘ḍar b. Ḥamīd was
10 one of them, and he has progeny.

§ 33 The sections of the Banū Ḥamīdah are al-Barāḡisah, al-Ġawāšinah, al-Ku‘ūk, and Awlād Ġānim.⁶⁶

Also of the Ġuḍām are the Halbā, who are Halbā of Suwayd and Halbā of Ba‘ḡah. Halbā of Ba‘ḡah is Abū l-Fawāris Halbā b. Ba‘ḡah b. Zayd b. al-Ḍubayb
15 b. Qurḏ b. Ḥafīdah b. Nubayḥ.⁶⁷

Halbā of Suwayd is Halbā b. Mālik b. Suwayd b. Zayd b. Ḍubayb, mentioned above.

§ 34 The Banū Halbā of Ba‘ḡah consist of al-Dawāhibah, al-Ġazāzirah, al-Niḡād, al-Ġiyāṭ, Banū Manzūr, al-‘Abasah, Banū Nābit, and Banū Qubayṣah.
20 Their amirs are from among Awlād Baqar b. Naḡm.⁶⁸

66 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 171 lines 11–14. Al-‘Umarī attributed this information to al-Ḥamdānī.

67 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 172 line 9.

68 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 172 lines 9–12 (the clans named are Halbā, Manzūr, Rad-dād, and Nātil. Their amirs were Mufriḡ b. Sālim and his son Ḥassān).

§35 ومن هلبا سُويد بنو عمرو ففهم منهم أولاد شاس، ومنهم العطويون^١ والحميدون^٢ والجاريون^٣ والفتاورة^٤ ويقال لهم أولاد طَوَّاحِ المكوس.

§36 **وبنو عَقْبَةَ** وهم من جُدَام ينسبون إلى عَقْبَةَ بن عُبَيْد بن مالك بن سُويد بن زيد بن الضُّبَيْب. وقالوا الضُّبَيْب بن قُرْظ بن حَفِيدَة بن عمرو بن صَالِح بن نُبَيْح بن عُبَيْد بن كعب بن سعد بن أبامة ابن غطفان بن سعد بن إياس بن حرام بن جُدَام.

ويعضهم يقول حَفِيدَة بن عمرو بن صَالِح بن نُبَيْح بن كعب بن سعد بن إياس بن عبيس بن حرام بن جُدَام. ومنهم مَنْ أوصل عَقْبَةَ جُدَام بإياد بن نزار وجعلهم ناقلة من نزار إلى جُدَام بن عُبَيْس بن عَبْدِ عمرو بن رُهْم بن كعب بن إياد بن نزار.

§37 وإلى هذا الفخذ يرجع كل عَقْبِي ببِلاد الشام وبحَوْفِ مِصر وما بين أَيْلَة وحَوْفِ مِصر، ولِبنِي عَقْبَةَ من عَقْبَةَ أَيْلَة^٣ إلى دَامَا قَرِيب عَيْنُونَة.

§38 **والعايذ** بياء آخر الحروف وذال معجمة هم بطن من جُدَام ينسبون إلى عايذ الله وقيل ينسبون إلى عايذة إحدى بطون جُدَام وللعايذ من القاهرة إلى عَقْبَةَ أَيْلَة.

١ فهم ... شاس : ف "وفهم العطويون أولاد شاس". || العطويون : ب "القطويون". ٢ والفتاورة : ف "العتاورة". ٣ **وبنو** : ف "وهو". ٤ حَفِيدَة : في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. || نُبَيْح : في الأصل "نبيح"؛ ب ك "نبيح". || أبامة : ف "إيامة". ٥ حَرَام : في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٧ جُدَام : ك "عقبة بن جُدَام". ٨-٧ وجعلهم ... نزار : في الهامش الأيمن في ك. ٩ وبحَوْفِ : في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. || وحَوْفِ : في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ١٠ أَيْلَة : في الأصل أضاف المقرئ الهمزة. ١١-١٢ عايذ ... إلى : في الهامش الأيمن في ك. ١٢ وللعايذ : ف "والعايذ".

١ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٤٥٢: "العطويون"؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣١: "العَطْوِيُون"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧١ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٥٥: "العطويون".

٢ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣١: "العتاورة".

٣ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ٥١.

§ 35 The Banū Halbā of Suwayd consist of the Banū ‘Amr, who include the Awlād Šās; [and also include] al-‘Aṭawīyyūn, al-Ḥamīdiyyūn, al-Ġābiriyyūn, and al-Fatāwīrah. They are called Awlād Ṭawwāḥ al-Mukūs.⁶⁹

§ 36 The lineage of the **Banū ‘Uqbah** of Ġudām goes back to ‘Uqbah b. ‘Ubayd b. Mālik b. Suwayd b. Zayd b. al-Ḍubayb, said to be al-Ḍubayb b. Qurṣ b. Ḥafīdah b. ‘Amr b. Ṣulay‘ b. Nubayḥ b. ‘Ubayd b. Ka‘b b. Sa‘d b. Abāmah b. Ġaṭafān b. Sa‘d b. Iyyās b. Ḥarām b. Ġudām.

But some trace the lineage to Ḥafīdah b. ‘Amr b. Ṣulay‘ b. Nubayḥ b. Ka‘b b. Sa‘d b. Iyyās b. ‘Ubays b. Ḥarām b. Ġudām. Yet others connect the lineage of ‘Uqbah of Ġudām to that of Iyyād b. Nizār, thus claiming that Nizār was the ancestor of the Ġudām by the line of Ġudām b. ‘Ubays b. ‘Abd ‘Amr b. Ruhm b. Ka‘b b. Iyyād b. Nizār.

§ 37 All the Banū ‘Uqbah in Syria, in the al-Ḥawf region in Egypt,⁷⁰ and in the area between Aylah⁷¹ and al-Ḥawf belong to this clan. The Banū ‘Uqbah have the area from ‘Aqabat Aylah to Dāmā, near ‘Aynūnah.⁷²

§ 38 As for **the ‘Āyid** (with *yā*—the last letter of the alphabet—and dotted *dāl*), they are a section of the Ġudām. Their lineage is traced to ‘Āyid Allāh, and some say to al-‘Āyidāh, one of the sections of the Ġudām. The ‘Āyid are found between Cairo and ‘Aqabat Aylah.⁷³

69 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 171 lines 8–9 (Ṭarrāḥ al-Mukūs). The Banū ‘Amr and Awlād Šās are not mentioned here by al-‘Umarī.

70 In the early Islamic period, there were two regions called al-Ḥawf. The eastern (*al-ḥawf al-šarqī*) was located east of the Nile branch of Damietta, roughly corresponding to the later province of al-Šarqīyyah. The western region (*al-ḥawf al-ġarbī*) was situated west of the Rosetta arm, in the area later known as al-Buḥayrah. See “al-Šarqīyya,” in *EI*² (G. Wiet and H. Halm); Yāqūt, *Muġam al-buldān*, 2:322. Here, the reference is to the eastern Ḥawf.

71 Aylah or ‘Aqabat Aylah was a seaport at the northern tip of the Gulf of Aqaba, on the Red Sea. See “Ayla,” in *EI*² (H.W. Glidden).

72 ‘Aynūnah or Wādī Ainounah is today a village in northwestern Saudi Arabia, in the Tabuk region, located about 5 km from the Red Sea coast, and 160 km south of Aqaba; see Juchniewicz (2017). It was known as a stop on the Egyptian pilgrimage route (Yāqūt, *Muġam al-buldān*, 3:765).

73 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 175 lines 11–13, citing al-Ḥamdānī. Al-‘Umarī states that the ‘Āyid are divided into three groups: the ‘Āyid of the Ġudām found in Egypt, the ‘Āyid of Rabī‘ah found in the Hijaz, and ‘Āyid Qurayš, a group that split from the Ġudām and began to claim lineage from Ṭa‘labah (also cited by al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-‘Arab*, no. 444). On the ‘Āyid amirs in Egypt and the Hijaz, see al-‘Umarī, *al-Ta’rīf* 76, 78.

§ 39 **وبنورداد** بن بَعجة بن زيد بن مَيَّة بن الضَّبَّيب بن قرظ بن حفيدة بن نُبَيْح بن عُبَيْد بن كعب ابن علي بن سعد بن أبامة بن غطفان بن سعد بن إياس بن حرام بن جذام. منهم بنو ذُوَيْب بن سنان المجرِّس وبنو ذَوَّاد بن سنان وفيهم من يسكن الشام.

§ 40 **وبنوزيد مناة** بن أفصى بن إياس بن حرام بن جذام منهم بنو كنانة وبنو رُوْح وبنو كلب.

§ 41 **وبنوسعد** من جذام، وفي جذام خمسُ سُعود: سعد بن إياس^١ بن حرام بن جذام، وسعد بن مالك بن زيد بن أفصى بن سعد بن إياس بن حرام بن جذام وإليه ينسب أكثر السعديين، وسعد ابن مالك بن حرام بن جذام وسعد بن أبامة^٢ بن غطفان. وقيل سعد بن أبامة بن عبيس^٣ بن غطفان ابن سعد ابن مالك بن حرام بن جذام،^٤ وسعد بن مالك بن أفصى^٥ ابن سعد بن إياس بن حرام بن

١ نُبَيْح: ك "نُبَيْح". ١-٢ بن ٩... سعد: ٢: ساقط من ب. ٢ أبامة: ف "إيامة". || حرام: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. || ذُوَيْب: ك "ذَيْب". || سنان: ف "مناة". ٣ المجرِّس: ب ك "المجرِّس". || ذَوَّاد: ب "دَوَّاد". ٤ بن أفصى: ف "من أفصى"؛ ك "أقصى". || حرام: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٦ أفصى: في الأصل أضاف المقرئ الألف؛ ف ك "أقصى". || حرام: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٧ حرام: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. || حرام بن: كلمتان ساقطتان من ف. || أبامة: ١: ف "إيامة". || أبامة: ٢: ف "امامة". || عبيس: ك "عنيس". ٨ أفصى: ف "أقصى". || بن حرام: كلمتان ساقطتان من ب.

١ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٢٠: "سعد بن إياس بن أفصى بن حرام بن جذام".
٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٠٢٢: "سامة"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧٤ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٧: "أبامة"؛ ابن حبيب، مختلف القبائل ٥٢: "أبامة".
٣ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧٤ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٧: "عنيس".
٤ ابن حبيب، مختلف القبائل، ٥٢.
٥ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٤٠.

§ 39 **The Banū Raddād** b. Ba‘ğah b. Zayd b. Mayyah b. Ḍubayb b. Qurḏ b. Ḥafīdah b. Nubayḥ b. ‘Ubayd b. Ka‘b b. ‘Alī b. Sa‘d b. Abāmāh b. Ġaṭafān b. Sa‘d b. Iyyās b. Ḥarām b. Ğuḏām include the Banū Du‘ayb b. Sinān al-Muğarris and Banū Ḍawwād b. Sinān. Some of them dwell in Syria.

- 5 § 40 **The Banū Zayd Manāt** b. Afšā b. Iyyās b. Ḥarām b. Ğuḏām include Banū Kinānah, Banū Rawḥ, and Banū Kalb.

§ 41 **The Banū Sa‘d** of Ğuḏām [include] five persons called Sa‘d among the Ğuḏām:⁷⁴ Sa‘d b. Iyyās b. Ḥarām b. Ğuḏām; Sa‘d b. Mālik b. Zayd b. Afšā b. Sa‘d b. Iyyās b. Ḥarām b. Ğuḏām, to whom most of the Banū Sa‘d are traced; Sa‘d b. Mālik b. Ḥarām b. Ğuḏām; Sa‘d b. Abāmāh b. Ġaṭafān, and some say Sa‘d b. Abāmāh b. ‘Ubays b. Ġaṭafān b. Sa‘d b. Mālik b. Ḥarām b. Ğuḏām; and Sa‘d b. Mālik b. Afšā b. Sa‘d b. Iyyās b. Ḥarām b. Ğuḏām.⁷⁵ These five have intermin-

74 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 174 lines 4–10.

75 On the Banū Sa‘d genealogy, see also Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥtalif al-qabā’il* 52.

جذام. وانتمسة اختلطت بمصر، وأكثرهم مشايخ البلاد وخفراؤها ولهم مزارع وفسادهم كثير
وسكنهم^١ من منية غمر إلى زفيتا.^٢

§ 42 ومنهم الوزير شاور^٣ وإليه ينسب بنو شاور كبار منية غمر. ومنهم بنو عبد الظاهر الموقعين،
ومنهم أهل برهمتوش، ومن هؤلاء بنو شاس.

§ 43 ومن سعد هذه بنو الضبيب وبنو زيد وبنو سويد وبنو مية، وفي سويد بن زيد بن مية: بنو قرة
و بنو ولد وبنو صبرة بن نصر بن غطفان بن سعد بن إياس بن حرام بن جذام. ويقال صبرة بن
نصرة بن غم بن غطفان بن مالك بن حرام بن جذام. وإلى بني صبرة درك بركة الحجاج. ومن بني
سعد بنو شاس وجوشن وعلان؛

٢ وسكنهم: ف "مسكنهم". || زفيتا: في الأصل كشط المقريري بعض الكلمة وصححها كما هي الآن؛ ب
"زفتا"؛ ف "رفيتا". ٣ شاور: ف "شاوز". || شاور: ف "شاوز". ٤ شاس: ب "شاش". ٥ مية:
ب "أمية". || بنو: في الأصل كشط المقريري كلمة أخرى قبل أن يصححها كما هي الآن. ٦ نصرة: ب
"نصر". ٦-٧ غطفان ... نصرة: ساقط من ف ٦ إياس: ب "إياس". || حرام: في الأصل وضع
المقريري رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٧ بركة الحجاج: ك "بركة الحج"؛ ف + إلى
آخرها. انظر الفقرة §124. ٨ شاس: ب "شاشز". || وعلان: ك "وعلان".

١ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧٤ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٧: "سكنهم".
٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٠٢٣: "وريفها"؛ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ٦٣: "من منية غمر بالغين
المعجمة إلى ريفها"؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٣: "إلى ريفها".
٣ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٧: ٢٢٩: "وزارة شاور"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧٤ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤:
١٩٧: "شاور الوزير العاضدي".
٤ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٧: "علاق"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧٥ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٧:
"علان".

gled in Egypt. Most of them are village headmen and protectors who engage in agriculture. Their corruption is great. Their dwellings [stretch] from Munyat Ġamr⁷⁶ to Zufaytā.⁷⁷

5 § 42 The vizier Šāwar⁷⁸ was of the Banū Sa’d, and the line of the Banū Šāwar, the notables of Munyat Ġamr, goes back to him. Also of the Banū Sa’d are the Banū ‘Abd al-Zāhir, dynasty of scribes,⁷⁹ and the people of Barhamtūš,⁸⁰ including the Banū Šās.⁸¹

10 § 43 The Banū Sa’d include the Banū l-Ḍubayb, Banū Zayd, Banū Suwayd, and Banū Mayyah. The Banū Suwayd b. Zayd b. Mayyah include the Banū Qurrah, Banū Walad, and Banū Šabrah b. Nušrah b. Ġaṭafān b. Sa’d b. Iyyās b. Ḥarām b. Ġuḏām, and some say Šabrah b. Nušrah b. Ġanm b. Ġaṭafān b. Mālik b. Ḥarām b. Ġuḏām.⁸² The Banū Šabrah are responsible for guarding Birkat al-Ḥuġġāġ.⁸³ The Banū Sa’d also include the Banū Šās, Banū Ġawšan, and Banū ‘Allān.

76 Modern Mīt Ġamr on the Damietta branch of the Nile, and the capital of a district of that name. Mentioned by al-Idrīsī and Ibn Mammātī as Munyat Ġamr. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:263.

77 Ziftā, capital of the modern Ziftā district in the Delta. An ancient city lying on the western bank of the Damietta branch of the Nile across from Munyat Ġamr. Its Coptic name was Zébété. In medieval Arabic sources it was mentioned as Munyat Ziftā or Zufaytah. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/2:57; Yāqūt, *Muġam al-buldān*, 3:144.

78 Šāwar Abū l-Šuġā’ b. Muġīr al-Sa’dī (d. 564/1169), a vizier of the last Fāṭimid caliph, al-‘Āḍid li-Dīn Allāh. He was appointed governor of Upper Egypt in 555/1160 and became vizier in 558/1162. “Šāwar” in *EI*² (D.S. Richards); Brett (2017): 287–291.

79 Several members of the Banū ‘Abd al-Zāhir served in the chancellery (*Dīwān al-Inšā’*) under the Mamluk sultans. The most famous was Muḥyī l-Dīn Abū l-Faḍl ‘Abd Allāh Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir (d. 692/1293). See “Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir,” in *EI THREE* (F. Bauden).

80 Barhamtūš is a village in the modern boundaries of al-Daqahliyyah Governorate, 15 km northeast of Mīt Ġamr. It is first mentioned in the sixth-/twelfth-century register of Ibn Mammātī, where it is listed among the villages of al-Šarqīyyah. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:170.

81 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 174 line 11 to 175 line 2. Al-Maqrīzī omits al-‘Umarī’s reference to the lineage of Šāwar that links him to a Companion. On the Banū Šās, see Kaḥḥālah (1945–1976), 5:336.

82 Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma’add*, 1:204.

83 This is modern Birkat al-Ḥāġġ, Birkat al-Ḥuġġāġ was an ancient village located on the northeastern outskirts of Cairo. It was known to al-Ya’qūbī as Ġubb ‘Umayrah, and in later sources as Birkat al-Ġubb or Birkat al-Ḥuġġāġ. It was an assembly point for Egyptian pilgrims on their way to Mecca, hence the name. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:31.

§ 44 **وَبَنُو قُرَّةَ** بن قيس في هلال بن عامر^١ وهم بنو قُرَّةَ بن عمرو بن ربيعة بن عبد مناف بن هلال ابن عامر بن صعصعة بن معوية بن بكر^٢ بن هوازن وفي نزار في إياد بنو قُرَّةَ بن عدي بن نَسْر بن رُدَّالَة بن نُبَيْح بن كعب بن سعد بن إياس بن {عبيس} بن عبد عمرو بن رُهْم بن كعب بن إياد ويقال إن هذه الفخذ انقلبت في جُدَام.

٥ § 45 ولما قدم الغزَّ صحبة أسد الدين شيركُوهُ إلى مِصْرَ كان بأرض مِصْرَ من العرب طلحة وجعفر وبلي^٣ وجهينة ونخم وجُدَام وشيبان وعُدْر وعُدْرَة وطِي وسُنْبُس وحنيفة ومخزوم وفي جرائد الدولة الفاطمية منهم أُلوف.

§ 46 وجُدَام من قدماء عربان مِصْرَ قدموا مع عمرو بن العاص. وكانت لهم عدة إقطاعات منها هُرَيْبُط وتَل بَسَطَة ونُوب ورم وغير ذلك. وكان إقطاع ثَعْلَبَة جميعه في مناشير جُدَام وإنما السلطان صلاح الدين وَسَّع ثعلبة في بلاد جُدَام. وكذلك كانت فاقوس وما حولها لهلباً سويد.

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٢ بكر: ف "بكير". ٣ نُبَيْح: ك "نبيح". || عبيس: في الأصل وفي ب ك "عنبس" وهو خطأ، والصواب ما أثبتناه من الأصل لأنه ورد فيه من قبل، ومن ب وف. || بن كعب: كلمتان ساقطتان من ب. ٤ هذه ب "هذا". ٥ الغز: ف "القر". ٦ وشيبان: ف "وشيباذ". || سُنْبُس: في الأصل وف كذا "سُنْبُس". ٧ الدولة: كلمة ساقطة من ب. ٨ العاص: ب + "رضي الله عنه". ٩ نُوب: ف "وتوب"؟ || وكان إقطاع: في الأصل كشط المقرزي نهاية الكلمة الأولى، ثم صححها كما هي الآن وأضاف الكلمة الثانية في الهامش الأيسر في آخر السطر. ١٠ جُدَام: ك "لجدام". || وَسَّع: في الأصل كشط المقرزي نهاية الكلمة و صححها كما هي الآن. || ثعلبة: ف "ثعلب". || وكذلك: ب "ولذلك".

١ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ٨: "بنو قُرَّةَ بن هلال بن عامر".

٢ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٦١.

٣ ابن حبيب، مختلف القبائل ٣٨، ٥٥، ٥٦، ٩١، ٩٦.

§ 44 **The Banū Qurrah** b. Qays of the Banū Hilāl b. ʿĀmir are the descendants of Qurrah b. ʿAmr b. Rabīʿah b. ʿAbd Manāf b. Hilāl b. ʿĀmir b. Ṣaʿsaʿah b. Muʿāwiyah b. Bakr b. Hawāzin. There is another Banū Qurrah among the Iyyād of Nizār; they are descendants of Qurrah b. ʿAdī b. Nasr b. Ruḍālah b. Nubayḥ b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Iyyās b. ʿUbays b. ʿAbd ʿAmr b. Ruhm b. Kaʿb b. Iyyād. It is said that this clan merged into (*inqalabat ilā*) the Ğudām.

§ 45 When the Ğuzz Turks arrived in Egypt in the company of Asad al-Dīn Širkūh,⁸⁴ they found in Egypt the following Arab tribes: Ṭalḥah, Ğaʿfar, Balī, Ğuhaynah, Laḥm, Ğudām, Šaybān, ʿUḍar, ʿUḍrah, Ṭayyiʿ, Sinbis, Ḥanīfah, and Maḥzūm. Thousands of these Arabs were listed in the registers of the Fāṭimid state.⁸⁵

§ 46 The Ğudām are among the oldest of the Egyptian Arab [tribes] (*ʿurbān*). They came with ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ.⁸⁶

They used to hold several *iqṭāʿ* grants, such as Hurbayṭ,⁸⁷ Tall Baṣṭah,⁸⁸ Nūb,⁸⁹ Ram,⁹⁰ and other localities. All the *iqṭāʿ* grants of the Ṭaʿlabah used to be listed under the decrees issued to the Ğudām, as Šalāḥ al-Dīn granted the Ṭaʿlabah expansive *iqṭāʿ* in the lands of the Ğudām.⁹¹ Similarly, Fāqūs⁹² and its environs used to be [the *iqṭāʿ*] of Halbā Suwayd.⁹³

84 Asad al-Dīn Širkūh (d. 564/1169) was one of Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd's generals and statesmen, and the penultimate vizier of Fāṭimid Egypt. "Širkūh," in *EI*² (D.S. Richards).

85 We have not been able to find this list reproduced in any other source. See above (§ 5, n. 8) for Usāmah b. Munqid's shorter list (Darmā, Zurayq, Ğudām, Sinbis, Ṭalḥah, Ğaʿfar, and Lawātah) dated from the 549/1154.

86 ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ conquered Egypt in 19–21/640–642. See "ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ," in *EI*² (A.J. Wensinck). Al-Maqrīzī omits al-ʿUmarī's statement that Ğudām were awarded (*uqṭiʿū*) lands, some of which are in their hands to this day (al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʾil al-ʿArab* 157 lines 1–2).

87 Modern Hurbayṭ or Harbiṭ in al-Šarqiyyah, 20 km northeast of Zagazig, was an ancient town whose Coptic name was Pharbaite. Ibn Mammātī writes its name as Hurbayṭ. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:130. For this village and other villages in al-Šarqiyyah mentioned in the treatise, see map 2.

88 This is modern Tell Bastah, a suburb of Zagazig, in the eastern Nile Delta. See Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 1:624 (Baṣṭah or Buṣṭah).

89 This is, possibly, Nūbah, south of Zagazig. Nūbah is first mentioned by Ibn Mammātī in the sixth/twelfth century. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:106.

90 I.e. Umm Ramād. Cf. al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʾil al-ʿArab* 169 line 9 (Umm Ramād). Umm Ramād, north of Zagazig, is first mentioned in the ninth/fifteenth century. See Halm (1979–1982), 2:700; Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:83.

91 Cf. al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʾil al-ʿArab* 169 lines 8–10 (attributed to al-Ḥamdānī).

92 Fāqūs in al-Šarqiyyah, was an ancient town and the capital of the district of the same name. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:116–117; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 4:232.

93 Cf. al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʾil al-ʿArab* 169 line 10.

§ 47 وَأَمْرٌ جَمَاعَةٌ مِنْهُمْ بِالْبُوقِ وَالْعِلْمِ. فَمَنْ أَمْرٌ مِنْهُمْ أَبُو رِشْدِ بْنِ حَبِشِيِّ بْنِ نَجْمِ بْنِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ مُسْلِمِ بْنِ يُوْسُفَ بْنِ وَافِدِ بْنِ غَدِيرِ بْنِ عَقِيلِ بْنِ قُرَّةِ بْنِ مُوْهَبِ بْنِ عُبَيْدِ بْنِ مَالِكِ بْنِ سُؤَيْدِ وَدِحْيَةَ وَنَابَتِ ابْنَاهَا هَانِي بْنُ حَوْطِ بْنِ نَجْمِ بْنِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ. وَلَمْ تَزَلِ الْإِمْرَةُ فِي نَجْمِ وَبَنِيهِ.

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§ 48 وَكَانَتْ الْبُرْمُونُ لِلْحِيَادِرَةِ وَوَلَدَ حَيْدِرَةَ بْنَ مَعْرُوفِ بْنِ حَبِيبِ بْنِ الْوَلِيدِ بْنِ سُؤَيْدٍ، وَهُمْ طَائِفَةٌ كَبِيرَةٌ وَلَبِنِي عِمَارَةَ بْنَ الْوَلِيدِ بْنِ سُؤَيْدٍ، وَفِيهِمْ عَدَدٌ. وَمَنْ أَمْرٌ مَعْبَدِ بْنِ مَنَازِلِ.

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§ 49 وَأَقْطَعَ نَجْمِي أَبُو خُثْعَمِ مِنْ وَلَدِ مَالِكِ بْنِ هَلْبَانَ بْنِ مَالِكِ بْنِ سُؤَيْدٍ،^١ وَأَمْرٌ وَقَتْنِي عَدَّةً مِنَ الْمَمَالِكِ الْأَتْرَاكِ وَالرُّومِ وَبَلَغَ مِنَ الْمَلِكِ الصَّالِحِ نَجْمِ الدِّينِ أَيُّوبَ مَنَزَلَةً وَارْتَفَعَ قَدْرُهُ فِي سُلْطَنَةِ الْمَعزِ أَيُّبِكَ وَقَدَّمَهُ عَلَى عَرَبِ دِيَارِ مِصْرَ.

§ 50 وَلَمْ يَزَلْ عَلَى هَذَا حَتَّى قَتَلَهُ غُلْمَانُهُ فَأَقَامَ الْمَلِكُ الْمَعزِ ابْنِيهِ سَلْمَى^٢ وَدَغَشَ عَوْضَهُ، ثُمَّ قَدَّمَ دَغَشَ دِمَشْقَ فَأَمَرَهُ الْمَلِكُ النَّاصِرُ يُوْسُفَ بَبُوقَ وَعَلَّمَ. وَأَمْرٌ الْمَلِكِ الْمَعزِ أَيُّبِكَ أَخَاهُ سَلْمَى كَذَلِكَ فَأَبَى

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١ رِشْدٌ ... حَبِشِيٌّ : ب "رِشْدُ بْنُ حَبِشِيٍّ". ٢ وَافِدٌ : ف "وَاقِدٌ". || غَدِيرٌ : ب "عَدِيرٌ". ٣ ابْنَاهَا : ب "أَوْلَادٌ". || حَوْطٌ : ب "حَوْصَا". ٤ حَيْدِرَةُ : فِي الْأَصْلِ وَضَعَ الْمُتَرْتِيزِيُّ رِمْزَ "ح" تَحْتَ الْكَلِمَةِ إِشَارَةً إِلَى تَلْفِظِهَا بِالْحَاءِ. ٥ كَبِيرَةٌ : ف "كَثِيرَةٌ". || عِمَارَةُ : فِي الْأَصْلِ كَشَطُ نَهَايَةِ الْكَلِمَةِ وَصَحَّحَهَا كَمَا هِيَ الْآنَ. ٦ نَجْمِيٌّ : ف "بِنِيٍّ". || أَبُو خُثْعَمٍ : ك "بِنِ خُثْعَمٍ"؛ ف "بِنُو خُثْعَمٍ". ٧ فِي : ب "عِنْدَ". ٨ الْمَعزِ : ف "الْمَعزِ". ٩ الْمَعزِ : ف "الْمَعزِ". || وَدَغَشَ : ف "وَدَعَشَ". || دَغَشَ : ب ف "دَعَشَ". ١٠ دِمَشْقُ : كَلِمَةٌ سَاقِطَةٌ مِنْ ب. || الْمَعزِ : ف "الْمَعزِ".

١ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٦٢٣: "ومن ولد مالك بن هلبان ابن مالك بن تميم أبو خثعم وأقطع خثعم"، رقم ١٩٨٠: "وقد أقطع يمين بن خثعم".
٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٦٢٣: "سلبا".

§ 47 Several of them were appointed as *amīr al-būq wa-l-‘alam* [“trumpet and flag amir”]. Among their amirs was Abū Rušd b. Ḥabašī b. Nağm b. Ibrāhīm b. Muslim b. Yūsuf b. Wāfid b. Ġadīr b. ‘Uqayl b. Qurrah b. Mawhūb b. ‘Ubayd b. Mālīk b. Suwayd, as well as Diḥyah and Nābit, the two sons of
 5 Hāni’ b. Ḥūṭ b. Nağm b. Ibrāhīm. The amirs continue to come from the house of Nağm.⁹⁴

§ 48 Al-Baramūn⁹⁵ used to belong to the Ḥayādirah, the descendants of Ḥaydarah b. Ma’rūf b. Ḥabīb b. al-Walīd b. Suwayd who are a large grouping; and to the Banū ‘Umārah b. al-Walīd b. Suwayd, who are numerous. Ma’bad b.
 10 Munāzil was one of their amirs.⁹⁶

§ 49 Numayy Abū Ḥaṭ‘am, a descendant of Mālīk b. Halbā b. Mālīk b. Suwayd, was given an *iqṭā‘* and appointed amir. He bought Turkish and Greek military slaves, and achieved high rank with Sultan al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Nağm al-Dīn Ayyūb.⁹⁷ His station was raised even further under al-Mu‘izz Ayybak,
 15 who elevated him over the Arabs in Egypt.⁹⁸

§ 50 He remained in this position until he was murdered by his servants. Al-Malik al-Mu‘izz appointed in his stead his sons Sulmā and Dağāš.⁹⁹ Subsequently, Dağāš arrived in Damascus and was appointed *amīr al-būq wa-l-‘alam* [“trumpet and flag amir”] by al-Malik al-Nāšir Yūsuf.¹⁰⁰ Al-Mu‘izz
 20 Ayybak offered to appoint his brother Sulmā to the same rank but

94 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 170 lines 4–8. Here al-Maqrīzī miscopied al-‘Umarī’s account, which concerns the Banū ‘Uqayl of the Halbā Mālīk, not of the Halbā Suwayd.

95 Modern al-Barāmūn in al-Daqahliyyah, northeast of al-Mansoura, was an ancient village whose Coptic name was Baramouni. In medieval Arabic sources, starting with Ibn Mammāṭī, it is usually called al-Baramūnayn. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:213.

96 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 171 lines 4–7. Al-Maqrīzī appears to have miscopied al-‘Umarī, who lists four different groups: al-Ḥayādirah and their lineage; Banū ‘Umārah b. al-Walīd; Banū Ḥayyah; Awlād Munāzil, of whom Mu‘īd (here Ma’bad) b. Munāzil was awarded the rank of amir of “trumpet and flag.”

97 Al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Nağm al-Dīn Ayyūb (r. 637–647/1240–1249) was the last major Ayyūbid sultan of Cairo. See “al-Malik al-Šāliḥ Nadjm al-Dīn Ayyūb,” in *EI*² (D.S. Richards).

98 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 171 line 15 to 172 line 3.

99 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 172 line 4 (Sulmā wa-Dağāš).

100 Al-Nāšir Yūsuf (r. 634–658/1236–1260) was the last *Ayyūbid* ruler of Aleppo and Damascus. See “al-Nāšir,” in *EI*² (R.S. Humphreys).

حَتَّى يَوْمِ مَفْرَجِ ١ بِنِ [بِنِ] سَالِمِ بْنِ رَاضِيٍّ مِنْ ٢ هَلْبَا بِعِجَّةٍ ثُمَّ أَمْرُ مَزْرُوعِ بْنِ نَجْمٍ كَذَلِكَ فِي جَمَاعَةِ كَثِيرَةٍ مِنْ جُدَامٍ وَثَعْلَبَةٍ.

وَخَلْفَ ابْنِ سَالِمٍ عَلِيُّ إِمْرَتِهِ وَوَلَدُهُ حَسَانُ بْنُ مَفْرَجٍ. ٣

51 § وَكَانَ مَهْبِئًا بِنِ عَلْوَانَ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ زَبِيرِ بْنِ حَبِيبِ بْنِ نَاتِلٍ ٥ مِنْ هَلْبَا جَوَادًا كَرِيمًا طَرَقْتَهُ ضَيْوْفٌ فِي شِتَاءٍ وَبَلِيسٍ عِنْدَهُ حَطْبٌ يَقْدَهُ لَطْعَامَهُمُ الَّذِي أَرَادَ أَنْ يَصْنَعَهُ لَهُمْ، فَأَوْقَدَ أَحْمَالًا مِنْ بَزْكَانَتِ عِنْدَهُ. وَكَانَ لَهُ كَفْرٌ بِرَسُوطِ بَنُو أَحْيٍ مَرَصِفًا. ٦

52 § وَكَانَ لَبْنِي رُدَيْبِي بْنِ زِيَادِ بْنِ حُسَيْنِ بْنِ مَسْعُودِ بْنِ مَالِكِ بْنِ سُوَيْدِ تَلِّ مُحَمَّدٍ وَمِنْهُمْ أَوْلَادُ جِيَاشِ بْنِ عِمْرَانَ.

١ يَوْمَرُ: فِي الْأَصْلِ أَضَافَ الْمُقْرِيزِيُّ الْهَمْزَةَ. || مَفْرَجٌ: بَ كَ "مَفْرَجٌ". || بِنِ ٢: كَلِمَةٌ زَائِدَةٌ فِي الْأَصْلِ مِنْ غَيْرِ تَشْطِيبٍ. || مِنْ: كَلِمَةٌ سَاقِطَةٌ مِنْ بَ؛ كَ "بِنِ". ٢ كَثِيرَةٌ: فِي الْأَصْلِ كَشَطُ الْمُقْرِيزِيِّ نِهَآيَةَ الْكَلِمَةِ وَصَحْحَهَا كَمَا هِيَ الْآنَ. ٣ ابْنِ: فِي الْأَصْلِ أَضَافَ الْمُقْرِيزِيُّ الْأَلْفَ. || سَالِمٌ: فِي فِ كَلِمَةِ التَّعْقِيبِ "سَالِمٌ"، ثُمَّ "بِنِ مُسَلَّمٌ" فِي أَوَّلِ الصَّفْحَةِ التَّالِيَةِ. || بِنِ: كَلِمَةٌ سَاقِطَةٌ مِنْ بَ. || مَفْرَجٌ: كَ بَ "مَفْرَجٌ". ٤ نَاتِلٌ: بَ فَ كَ "نَاتِلٌ". ٥ فِي: فِي الْأَصْلِ الْحَرْفُ فَوْقَ كَلِمَةِ "ضَيْوْفٌ". || شِتَاءٌ: كَ "الشِّتَاءُ". || يَصْنَعُهُ: بَ بَ "يَصْنَعُهُ". || بَزْ: بَ "بَرٌ". ٦ بِرَسُوطِ: فِي الْأَصْلِ وَضَعُ الْمُقْرِيزِيُّ رِمَزَ "كَ" (كَذَا) فَوْقَ الْكَلِمَةِ إِشَارَةً إِلَى شَكِّهَا فِي قِرَاءَتِهَا. || مَرَصِفًا: فَ "مَرَضِعًا"; كَ بَ "مَرَصِفِي".

١ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٦٢٣: "مفرج".

٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٦٢٣: كلمتان "راضي من" ساقطتان.

٣ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٧: "حسان بن مفرج".

٤ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٥٩٢: "مهنا".

٥ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٥٩٢: "ناتل".

٦ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٥٩٢: "بسرشوط بنواحي مرصف".

Sulmá refused so that Mufriġ b. Sālim b. Rāđī of Halbā Baġġah would be appointed. Then Mazrū‘ b. Naġm was also appointed as amir, among a large group of the Ġudām and Ta‘labah.¹⁰¹

[Mufriġ] b. Sālim was replaced as amir by his son Ḥassān b. Mufriġ.¹⁰²

- 5 § 51 Muhayyā b. ‘Ulwān b. ‘Alī b. Zubayr b. Ḥabīb b. Nātil, of the Halbā, was a noble and generous man. Once, when guests came by chance over the winter, and he did not have any firewood with which to prepare the meal he wanted to offer them, he lit up loads of fine textiles he had in his possession. The hamlet of Bursūt,¹⁰³ near Marṣafā, belonged to him.¹⁰⁴
- 10 § 52 Tall Muḥammad¹⁰⁵ belonged to Banū Rudaynī b. Ziyād b. Ḥusayn b. Mas‘ūd b. Mālik b. Suwayd. Awlād Ġayyāš b. ‘Imrān are their descendants.¹⁰⁶

101 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 172 lines 3–7.

102 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 172 lines 10–11.

103 Bursūt was a village in al-Šarqiyyah mentioned by Ibn Mammātī and Ibn al-Ġī‘ān. Ramzī identifies Bursūt with the modern village of al-Ḥamārinah in the district of Mīt Ġamr, named after an Arab clan that dominated there in the Ottoman period. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:251; Halm (1979–1982), 2:614.

104 Marṣafā is a village in al-Qalyūbiyyah, in the vicinity of Banhā, mentioned by Ibn Mammātī and Yāqūt. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:26. Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 172 lines 14–17.

105 Tall Muḥammad in al-Šarqiyyah, 20 km north of Zagazig was first mentioned by Ibn Mammātī. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:157.

106 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 172 lines 17–19.

وكان للشواكرة أولاد شاكر بن راشد بن عقبة بن محربة^١ شنبارة بن خصب^٢.
وكان أدلاء الحاج في أولاد العجّار^٣ من أيام السلطان صلاح الدين يوسف بن أيوب.
وحميدة بن صالح بن أسد بن عقيب^٤ ذوو عدد يعرفون به، ومنهم فرقة بالحجاز من واصل بن عقيب.
وكان لبني خليفة وحسن من بني عبيد موضع من حقوق هربيط يعرف بالأحرار؛

٥ \$53 وكانت زهير بالشام وامتزج من كان بديار مصر منهم بولد زيد وهم بحري الحوّف إلى ما يلي أشموم.

وكانت فزارة بن سعد تل طنبول إلى نوب طريف ومنهم بدقدوس ودمريطه وضواحي القاهرة إلى أطراف الشرقية.

١ شاكر: في الأصل كشط المقرئ نهاية الكلمة وصححها كما هي الآن. || بن: ١. ف "من". || محربة: ف "محرية".
٢ العجّار: ب "العجل"، ف "التجار". ٣ ذوو: في الأصل "ذووا" بألف الوقاية. ٤ من: ٢.
في ك فوق السطر. ٥ الحوّف: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء.
٧ بن: سعد: ف + "بدقدوس من". || طنبول: ك "طنبول". || نوب طريف: ف "نوب ظريف".

١ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٠٨٠، ٤٣٠: "محرية"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧٣ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٦: "محرية"؛ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٢١.

٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٤٣٠: "ولهم شنارة بن خصب"؛ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ٦٢: "شنبارة بن خصب".

٣ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٤٣٠: "العجار"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧٣ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٦: "العجار".

٤ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٧٩٨: "بالأحرارة"، رقم ٨٥١: "بالحرار"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧٤ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٦: "بالأحرار".

٥ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٠٢٢: "تل طنبول إلى نوب طريف وتقدوس ودمياط".

Šinbārat Banī Ḥaṣīb¹⁰⁷ belonged to the Šawākīrah, who are the descendants of Šākir b. Rāšid b. ‘Uqbah b. Maḥriyyah.¹⁰⁸

The Awlād al-‘Ağġār had been pilgrimage guides from the days of the sultan Salāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb.¹⁰⁹

5 The Banū Ḥamidah b. Šāliḥ b. Asad b. ‘Uqbah are well known to be numerous. A group of them in the Hijaz are descendants of Wāsil b. ‘Uqbah.¹¹⁰

A place known as al-Iḥrāz¹¹¹ in the vicinity of Hurbayṭ belonged to the Banū Ḥalīfah and the Banū Ḥiṣn of Banū ‘Ubayd.¹¹²

§ 53 The Banū Zuhayr used to be in Syria.¹¹³ Those of them who lived in
10 Egypt intermingled with the descendants of Zayd.¹¹⁴ They are in the northern part of al-Ḥawf, up to Ušmūm.¹¹⁵

The [Banū] Fazārah of Banū Sa’d used to [have] Tall Ṭanbūl¹¹⁶ as far as Nūb Ṭarīf.¹¹⁷ Some of them reside in Daqadūs¹¹⁸ and Damrīṭ,¹¹⁹ and in the suburbs of Cairo up to the edges of al-Šarqīyyah.¹²⁰

107 This is modern Šinbārah al-Maymūnah, 10 km west of Zagazig. It is mentioned by Ibn Mammātī as Šinbārah. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:257.

108 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 173 lines 8–9 (Maḥriyyah); see also Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 421.

109 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 172 lines 9–10.

110 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 173 lines 10–11.

111 Modern al-Aḥrāz or al-Iḥrāz, 3 km south of Hurbīṭ/Hurbayṭ. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:131. The manuscript has “al-Aḥrār.”

112 A summary of a longer passage in *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 173 line 12 to 174 line 1 on the genealogical claims of the two clans.

113 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 174 lines 1–3.

114 Zayd Manāt b. Sa’d b. Afšā mentioned in paragraphs § 40, § 44. See Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 420.

115 Modern Ašmūn al-Rummān, in al-Daqahliyyah. Ibn Mammātī and Yāqūt mention it as Ašmūn or Ašmūm Ṭanāḥ. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:229; Yāqūt, *Mu’jam al-buldān*, 1:200.

116 Modern Ṭanbūl al-Kubrā, a village in al-Daqahliyyah, west of al-Sinbillāwīn. Mentioned by Ibn Mammātī and Yāqūt as Ṭanbūl. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:174.

117 Nūb Ṭarīf, a village in al-Daqahliyyah, is today a suburb of al-Sinbillāwīn. Known to Ibn Mammātī and Yāqūt as Nūb. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:196.

118 Daqados is an ancient village lying at the northern outskirts of Mīt Ġamr. Its Coptic name was Takados. Al-Idrīsī, writing in the sixth/twelfth century, describes it as a very large village with a weekly market. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:255.

119 Modern Dundīṭ or Dandīṭ in the district of Mīt Ġamr, 5 km southeast of the district capital. Mentioned by Ibn Mammātī as Dumdiṭ. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:256.

120 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 175 lines 3–6. In al-‘Umarī’s account, attributed to al-Ḥamdānī, there were four solidarity groups of the Banū Sa’d: the Banū Šās, Ġawšan, ‘Allān, and the Fazārah. Al-‘Umarī also mentions a couple of other village names, omitted by al-Maqrīzī.

وبالإسكندرية من جُذامٍ ولحمِ جماعةٍ ذُوو عددٍ وعدةٍ وشجاعةٍ وإقدامٍ ولهم أيامٌ معلومةٌ وأخبارٌ معروفةٌ ووقائعٌ مشهورةٌ.

70^a

54 § **وببلاد الصعيد** عدة قبائل من العرب. ففي بلاد أسوان وما تحتها: بنو هلال، وفي بلاد إنحيم وما تحتها: بلي، وفي بلاد منفلوط وسيوط: ١ جهينة، وفي بلاد الأشمونين: قريش، وفي معظم بلاد البهنسا: لواتة^٢ ومنهم طوائف بالجيزة وبالمنوفية وبالبحيرة، وبلاد الفيوم: بنو كلاب^٣.

55 § وأما بنو هلال فإنهم **بنو هلال** بن عامر؛ بن صعصعة بن معوية بن بكر بن هوازن بن منصور ابن عكرمة بن خَصَفَةَ بن قيس عَيْلان، ويقال قيس بن عيلان بالعين المهملة بن مضر بن نزار بن معد بن عدنان. وبنو هلال بطن من بني عامر.

١ ذُوو: في الأصل "ذووا" بألف الوقاية. ٣ وفي: ف "في". || إنحيم: ب "أحميم". ٤ وسيوط: ك "وأسيوط". || جهينة: كلمة ساقطة من ب. ٥ كلاب: ف "هلال". ٦ وأما: ك "فأما". || بكر: ف "بكر". ٧ خَصَفَةَ: ك "حفصة". || عَيْلان: ١: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالعين؛ ب ك "بن عيلان"، ف "عيلان". || ويقال ... عيلان: ٢: ساقط من ك.

١ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٥٧ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٨٧: "أسيوط".

٢ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٥٧ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٨٧: "لواتة"، ٤: ١٩٢.

٣ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٥٧ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٨٧: "بنو كلاب ولهم بلاد الفيوم".

٤ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٦٢.

٥ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٤٠: "خَصَفَةَ"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٤: "خَصَفَةَ".

In Alexandria there is a band of the Ğudām and Laḥm, who are numerous, courageous, vigilant, and brave. Their battles are well known, their accounts are celebrated, and their bouts are fabled.¹²¹

5 § 54 In Upper Egypt there are several Arab tribes. The Banū Hilāl are in the region of Aswan and the lands below it. The Balī are in the lands of Iḥmīm and the lands below it. The Ğuhaynah are in the regions of Manfalūṭ and Asyut. The Qurayš are in the region of al-Ušmūnayn.¹²² The Lawātah are in most of the lands of al-Bahnasā, and groupings of them are also in Giza, al-Minūfiyyah, and al-Buḥayrah.¹²³ The Banū Kilāb are in the Fayyum.¹²⁴

10 § 55 As for the Banū Hilāl,¹²⁵ they are the Banū Hilāl b. Āmir b. Ṣaṣa‘ah b. Mu‘āwiyah b. Bakr b. Hawāzin b. Maṣṣūr b. ‘Ikrimah b. Ḥaṣafah b. Qays ‘Aylān, and some say Qays b. ‘Aylān (with an *‘ayn*), b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Ma‘add b. Adnān. The Banū Hilāl are a section of the Banū Āmir.

121 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 175 lines 6–8.

122 A city and region of Upper Egypt, located on the west bank of the Nile, between the river and the Baḥr Yūsuf. See “al-Ushmūnayn,” in *ET*² (A.F. Sayyid).

123 Al-Qalqašandī locates the Egyptian Lawātah in al-Bahnasā, Giza, al-Minūfiyyah, al-Ġarbiyyah, and al-Buḥayrah. On the correct vocalization of the name Lawātah, see Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 496–498; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 4:367.

124 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 157 lines 2–8.

125 The earliest reference to the presence of the Banū Hilāl in Upper Egypt is from the fourth-/tenth-century author Ibn Ḥawqal, who states that the Banū Hilāl camped in the oases of the western Egyptian desert (Ibn Ḥawqal, *Šūrat al-arḍ*, 1:133, 153–156). In Upper Egypt, the Hilāl Arabs are mentioned in the 420s/1020s by al-Musabbihī (*Aḥbār Miṣr*, 21, fol. 143^a; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti‘āz al-ḥunafā’*, 2:137, 415). The passage here is copied from al-‘Umarī (*Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 157 lines 9–12).

وكانوا أهل بلاد الصعيد كلها إلى عيذاب، ويأحيم منهم بنو قرة، وبساقية قلتة منهم بنو عمرو. وفي بني هلال عدة بطون، منهم بنو رفاعة وبنو حجير وبنو عزيز^١ وبأصفون وإسنا: بنو عقبة وبنو جَميلة^٢.

56 § وأما بلي فإنها بلي بن عمرو بن إلحاف؛ بن قضاة بن مالك بن عمرو بن مرة بن زيد بن مالك ابن خمير بن سبأ بن يشجب بن يعرب بن قحطان، على ما في نسب قضاة من الخلف الذي يذكر في موضعه إن شاء الله. وبلي قبيل عظيم فيه بطون كثيرة. وكانت بلي بالشام فنأدى رجل من بلي بالشام: "يال قضاة". فبلغ ذلك عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه فكتب إلى عامل الشام أن يسير ثلث قضاة إلى مصر، فنظروا فإذا بلي ثلث قضاة فسيروا إلى مصر.

١ عيذاب: ف ك "عيذاب". || عمرو: ك "عمر". ٢ عزيز: ف "عزير"؛ ب "عزير". || وبأصفون: ك "بأصفون"؛ ف "أصفون". ٣ جَميلة: في الأصل "جميلة"، والصواب من ب ف ك. ٤ إلحاف: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٥ يشجب: في الأصل ب ف "يشجب"؛ ك "بن يشجب بن سبأ". || يذكر: كلمة ساقطة من ب. ٦ إن ... الله: ساقط من ب؛ ك + "تعالى". ٧ فنأدى: كلمة مكررة في ب من غير تشطيب. || من بلي: كلمتان ساقطتان من ك. || يال قضاة: ب ف "بال قضاة"؛ ك "بالقضاة". ٨ فكتب: كلمة في الهامش الأيمن من ك.

١ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٤١: "عزير"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٥٧ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٨٧: "عزير".

٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٧٣١: "بأسنا وصفون".

٣ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٥٧ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٨٧: "جميلة"؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٤١: "جميلة".

٤ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٠٢: "الحافي"؛ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٢٢، ٤٨٦: "الحافي"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ٢٩: "عمرو بن إلحاف (دون همزة تحت الألف)".

٥ البكري، المسالك والممالك، ٢: ٦٠٥: "أن يصير ثلث قضاة ... فنظروا".

In the past, people throughout Upper Egypt, as far as ‘Aydāb, used to belong to the Banū Hilāl. [Today] we find the Banū Qurrah of the Banū Hilāl in Iḥmīm, and the Banū ‘Amr of the Banū Hilāl in Sāqiyat Qultah.¹²⁶ Other sections of the Banū Hilāl are the Banū Rifā‘ah, Banū Ḥuḡayr, and Banū ‘Azīz.¹²⁷ The Banū ‘Uqbah and Banū Ğamīlah are in Uṣfūn¹²⁸ and Isnā.¹²⁹

§ 56 As for the Balī:¹³⁰ They are the Banū Balī b. ‘Amr b. Ilḥāf b. Quḏā‘ah b. Mālik b. ‘Amr b. Murrah b. Zayd b. Mālik b. Ḥimyar b. Saba’ b. Yaṣḡub b. Ya‘rub b. Qaḥṭān, taking into account the disputed lineage of Quḏā‘ah, which we will discuss later, God willing. The Balī is a large tribal confederacy (*qabīl*) with many sections.

The Balī used to dwell in Syria, when a man of Balī rallied them: “Oh, ye Āl Quḏā‘ah!” News of this reached ‘Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb, may God be pleased with him. So he wrote to the governor of Syria to send a third of the Quḏā‘ah to Egypt. When they examined this, the Balī were found to be third of the Quḏā‘ah, and were sent to Egypt.¹³¹

126 This is modern Saqultah. Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/4:90; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 4:158 (a village known as Sawāqī Qultah, near Iḥmīm); Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 4:387.

127 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 157 line 11, where the three clans are identified as Banū ‘Amr.

128 Modern Aṣfūn, near Isnā/Esna. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 4/2:152. Yāqūt describes it as a village in the southern parts of Upper Egypt, on the western bank of the Nile, below Isnā (*Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 1:300).

129 This is modern Esna. Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 157 line 11 to 158 line 3. Al-Maqrīzī omits a long anecdote about the vizier Naḡm al-Dīn al-Uṣfūn (d. 750/1350–1351). On the history of Isnā, see “Isnā,” in *ET*² (H. Ritter).

130 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 158 line 4.

131 On the summoning of Balī from Syria, see Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, 1:134.

§ 57 فكانت بلي متفرقة بأرض مصر ثم اتفقت هي وجهينة فصار لبلي من جسر سُوَهَايَ غَرْبًا إلى قريب قَوْلَةَ^١، و صار لها من الشرق من عَقَبَةَ فَأَوْ^٢ الخراب إلى عِيدَابِ.

§ 58 وكان ببلاد مصر هذه من بطون بلي بنو هُنَيَّ وبنو هَرَمَ وبنو سَوَادَةَ وبنو حَارِفَةَ^٣ وبنو رَائِسَ^٤ وبنو نَابِ وبنو شَادِ^٥، وكان بنو شَادِ هم الأمراء وبنو عَجِيلِ بْنِ {الذَّيْبِ} وهم العجلة، وفيهم الإمرة أيضًا. وزعم بعضهم أن بني شَادِ من بني أُمِيَّةَ^٦ وصل حين طُرِدُوا إلى القصر الخراب المعروف

٥

١ جسر: كلمة في الهامش الأيمن من ك. || سُوَهَايَ: ف "شوهاي". ٢ قريب قَوْلَةَ: ك "إلى قرب قولة"؛ ف "قريب غرب قولة". || و صار: ف "فصار". || فَأَوْ: ف "قاو". || عِيدَابِ: ب ف ك "عيداب". ٣ هذه: ب "عدة". || هُنَيَّ: في الأصل كتب النسخ أولًا "هنا"، ثم كشط الألف وأضاف الياء. وفي ابن حبيب، مختلف القبائل ٤٨، ٩٢ "هني". || حَارِفَةَ: في الأصل الكلمة مَهْمَلَةٌ والتصويب من ب "حارفة"؛ ف "خارفة"؛ ك "حارثة". || رَائِسَ: ك "رييس". ٤ شَادِ: ف "شادن". || شَادِ: ف "شادن". || وبنو: ف "وهو". || الذَّيْبِ: ب ك ف "الريب" وفي الأصل أيضًا. ثم ورد فيما بعد "بن الذيب"، انظر أسفله. ٥ بعضهم: كلمة ساقطة من ب.

١ العمري، مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٧٧: "إلى قريب قولة"

٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٠٢: "قار".

٣ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٠٢: "حارثة"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٥٨ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٨٨: "خارفة".

٤ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٠٢: "أراش".

٥ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٠٢: "شاد".

٦ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٠٢: "المريب".

٧ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٥٨ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٨٨: "بني أئمة".

§ 57 The Balī then scattered throughout Egypt. Eventually they came to an agreement with the Ġuhaynah, under which the Balī received the area to the west of the Dam of Sūhāy¹³² in the vicinity of Qamūlah,¹³³ as well as the area east of the passage of Qāw al-Ḥarāb¹³⁴ as far as ‘Aydāb.¹³⁵

- 5 § 58 The sections of the Balī in Egypt included the Banū Hunay, Banū Haram, Banū Sawādah, Banū Ḥarīfah, Banū Rāyis, Banū Nāb, Banū Šād, and Banū ‘Uğayl b. al-Dīb, also known as al-‘Uğalah.¹³⁶ The amirs used to come from the Banū Šād and Banū ‘Uğayl. Some of them claim that the Banū Šād are descendants of the Banū Umayyah, who arrived there after the Banū
10 Umayyah were chased to the deserted palace named after them. They had

132 This is modern Suhag. Sūhāy was the medieval name of modern Suhag. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 4/2:128; Yāqūt, *Muğam al-buldān*, 3:197.

133 Modern al-Awsaṭ Qamūlā, in the Qena Governorate, between Qus and Luxor. In the medieval period, it was a major village, mentioned by al-Idrīsī and Ibn Mammātī. Yāqūt describes it as a small town in southern Upper Egypt, west of the Nile, with abundant palm trees. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/4:183; Yāqūt, *Muğam al-buldān*, 4:176. It is some 160 km south of Suhag.

134 Modern Kūm Qāw al-Ḥarāb or Qāw al-Ġarb, in the Suhag Governorate, halfway between Suhag and Asyut. It was mentioned as Qāw al-Ḥarāb in ninth-/fifteenth-century cadastral surveys. See Halm (1979–1982), 1:95; Ramzī (1953–1960), 1:345. According to Yāqūt, Qāw was on the eastern bank of the Nile, at a spot where a branch of the Nile encircled an island and then rejoined the main branch near Būtiğ, modern Abū Tiğ (*Muğam al-buldān*, 4:22). The variant reading Fāw was east of the Nile, in the desert, and in the seventh/thirteenth century was also known as Ibn Šākir, after an Arab amir. It contained the monastery of Ibn Baḥūm (Yāqūt, *Muğam al-buldān*, 3:849). Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 158 line 5 (Qāw).

135 According to the variant version reported by al-Qalqašandī, the tribes agreed that Ġuhaynah would have the eastern areas, from the ruins of ‘Aqabat Qāw as far as ‘Aydāb, while Balī would have the areas between the Suhag Dam to the vicinity of Qamūlā (al-Qalqašandī, *Qalā’id al-ğumān* 44; al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, no. 602, no. 741). Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 158 lines 4–6. ‘Aydāb was a port on the Sudanese coast of the Red Sea, located 20 km north of the modern port of Ḥalayib; it was later known as Sawākin al-Qadīm. In the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods, it was the main Egyptian port on the Red Sea. See “Aydhāb,” in *ET*³ (Donald Whitcomb).

136 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 158 line 6.

بهم^١ وكان معهم رجل من ثقيف معه قوس، فسموه القوس وعرفت ذريته بالقوسية^٢ والقوسنة. ودعوتهم لبني شاد وهم بطوخ^٣.

§ 59 وكذلك يدعى لهم خالق سوى القوسنة منهم هذيل، وهم بطوخ أيضا. ومنهم بنو حماد وبنو فضالة وهم بمنفلوط، وبنو خيار وهم بفرشوط.

٥ وزعم قوم أن بني شاد من بني العجيل بن الذيب^٤، وإنما هم إخوتهم، فإن العجيل كان قد تزوج أخت إبراهيم بن شاد فولدت ابنا سمته شاديا، فتوهم من لا علم له أن بني شاد من بني العجيل، وزعم آخرون أن عجيل بن الذيب من ولد شمرة بن ذي الجوشن قاتل الحسين بن علي رحمه الله ولعن قاتله وليس كذلك.

١ ثقيف: كـ "قريش". || والقوسنة: بـ "القوسية". ٣ يدعى: في ف الكلمة في الهامش الأيسر. || القوسنة: بـ "القوسية". || هذيل: في الأصل كشط المقرزي بداية ما قبل الياء، ثم صححها كما هي الآن. || حماد: كـ "عماد". ٥-٧ بن ... الذيب: في الهامش الأيمن من ك. ٥ الذيب: فـ "الريب". ٦ شاد: كـ "شادي". || شاد: كـ "شادي". ٧ الذيب: فـ "الريب"؛ كـ "الريب" على الهامش الأيمن ثم "الذيب" داخل النص. || شمرة: فـ "شمس". ٨ رحمه الله: بـ "رضي الله عنهما". || ولعن قاتله: ساقط من ب. || وليس: في الأصل كشط المقرزي ما قبل السين وصحح الكلمة كما هي الآن.

١ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٥٨ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٨٨: "القصر الخراب المعروفة بهم".

٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٤٩١: "وربما القوسنة بإثبات الياء".

٣ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ٤٦: "وهم بطوخ الجبل"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٥٨ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤:

١٨٨: "بطوخ".

٤ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٠٦٧: "الذيب".

٥ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٥٩ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٨٨: "الشمرة".

with them a man from the tribe of ʿAqīf whom they named al-Qaws [“the bow”] because he carried a bow. His progeny is known as al-Qawsiyyah and al-Qawasah. They rally for the Banū Šād and they live in ʿṬūḥ.¹³⁷

5 § 59 Others who rally for the Banū Šād are the Banū Huḍayl who live in ʿṬūḥ, the Banū Ḥamād, the Banū Faḍālah in Manfalūṭ,¹³⁸ and the Banū Ḥiyār in Firšawṭ.¹³⁹

10 Some say that the Banū Šād are descended from the Banū l-ʿUḡayl b. al-Dīb, but they are actually their brothers. Al-ʿUḡayl had married the sister of Ibrāhīm b. Šād, and she bore him a son whom she named Šād, and for this reason the ignorant imagine that the Banū Šād descend from Banū l-ʿUḡayl. Others claim that ʿUḡayl b. al-Dīb are descendants of Šimr b. Dū l-Ġawšan who killed Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī, may God have mercy on him and curse his murderer; but that is also not true.¹⁴⁰

137 There were several Upper Egyptian villages known as ʿṬūḥ in the medieval period. The one intended here was near the modern village of Tandah, south of Mallawī. It was called ʿṬūḥ by Ibn Mammātī in the sixth/twelfth century, and ʿṬūḥ Tandah in ninth-/fifteenth-century cadastral surveys. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/4:67. It lies in the proximity of Manfalūṭ, Dayrūṭ, and the town of al-Qūsiyyah, and so would fit the context of the passage. Another ʿṬūḥ, also known as ʿṬūḥ Dimnū, is on the western bank of the Nile near Qūš. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/4:187; Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-buldān*, 3:556. Today, the town of al-Qūsiyyah is located south of Dayrūṭ, in the governorate of Asyut.

138 On medieval Manfalūṭ, see Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-buldān*, 4:269.

139 Modern Faršūṭ, an ancient town in the governorate of Qena. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/4:197–198; Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-buldān*, 3:876.

140 Cf. al-ʿUmārī, *Qabāʾil al-ʿArab* 158 line 12 to 159 line 2. On the role of Šimr b. Dū l-Ġawšan (d. 66/686) in the events leading to Ḥusayn’s death, see “al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib,” in *ET³* (Najam I. Haider).

§ 60 وأما جهينة فإنها من قبائل اليمن وهي **جهينة** بن زيد بن ليث بن سُود بن أسلم^١ بن إلخاف^٢ ابن قضاة وهي قبيلة عظيمة وفيها بطون كثيرة وهي أكثر عرب الصعيد وكانت مساكنهم في بلاد قريش، فأخرجتها قريش بمساعدة عساكر الخلفاء الفاطميين^٣ ونزلوا في بلاد إنحيم أعلاها وأسفلها.

٥ وروي أن بلي؛ وبطونها كانت بهذه الديار، وجهينة بالأشموين جيرانا بمصر كما هم بالحجاز.

§ 61 فوقع بينهم واقع أدى إلى دوام الفتنة، فلما خرج العسكر لإنجاد قريش على جهينة خافت بلي فانهمزت في أعلى الصعيد إلى أن أدلت لقريش وملكت دار جهينة، ثم حصل بينهم جميعاً الصلح على مساكنهم هذه التي تقدم ذكرها، وزالت الشحنة.

§ 62 وأما **قريش** فإنهم ولد مالك بن النضر بن كنانة بن خزيمية بن مدركة بن إلياس بن مضر بن نزار ابن معد بن عدنان. وقيل هم ولد فهر بن مالك بن النضر،^٥ وريحه الزبير بن بكار وغيره، وقيل هم

١ وهي: الزيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح، ويشير إليها رمز ٦ بعد "اليمن". || إلخاف: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٣ بلاد: كشط المقرئ كلمة في النص، ثم كتب التصحيح في الهامش الأيسر من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح، ويشير إليها رمز ٦ بعد "في". || عساكر: كلمة ساقطة من ب ك. ٧ أعلى: في الأصل "اعلا". || القريش: ب "قريش". ٨ مساكنهم: ف "مسائلهم". ١٠ بن معد: كلمتان ساقطتان من ب. || بن^٢: في الأصل كشط المقرئ كلمة قبل هذه وأطال الباء. || هم: ف + "من".

١ ابن حبيب، مختلف القبائل ٢٧؛ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٤٣ و ٤٤٤؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ٢٩؛ "بنو زيد بن ليث بن سُود بن أسلم".

٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٧٤١: "الحافي"؛ ابن حبيب، مختلف القبائل ٤٨: "الحافي".

٣ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٥٩ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٨٨: "الخلفاء المصريين".

٤ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٥٩ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٨٨: "بلياً".

٥ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٩٢؛ "وهم ولد النضر بن كنانة بن فهر... للتقرش وهو التجارة".

§ 60 As for the Ğuhaynah:¹⁴¹ They are the Yamanī tribe of Ğuhaynah b. Zayd b. Layṭ b. Sūd b. Aslum b. Ilḥāf b. Quḏā‘ah. The Ğuhaynah are very large and have many sections, [they are] the most numerous among the Arabs of Upper Egypt. They used to live in the areas now inhabited by Qurayš [in al-Ušmūnayn], but then the Qurayš drove them out with the help of the army of the Fāṭimid caliphs. The Ğuhaynah then came to dwell in the areas of the lower and upper regions of Iḥmīm.¹⁴²

It is said that these areas near Iḥmīm used to be inhabited by the Balī and its sections, when the Ğuhaynah were still in al-Ušmūnayn. The two tribes were neighbors in Egypt in the same way they are neighbors in the Hijaz.¹⁴³

§ 61 Then something happened that led to continuous fighting between them. When the [Fāṭimid] army set out in support of Qurayš against Ğuhaynah, the Balī withdrew in fear. They were defeated in the further regions of Upper Egypt, and came under the authority of the Qurayš. They [the Qurayš] took control of the former territory of Ğuhaynah. This was followed by a reconciliation between all these tribes on the basis of the territorial boundaries mentioned above, and the enmity between them ceased.¹⁴⁴

§ 62 As for the Qurayš: They are the descendants of Mālik b. al-Naḏr b. Kinānah b. Ḥuzaymah b. Mudrikah b. Ilyās b. Muḏar b. Nizār b. Ma‘add b. ‘Adnān. Some say they are the descendants of Fihri b. Mālik b. al-Naḏr, and this was the preferred opinion of al-Zubayr b. Bakkār¹⁴⁵ and others, while

141 On the genealogy of the Ğuhaynah, see “Quḏā‘a,” in *EI*² (M.J. Kister). The presence of Ğuhaynah Arabs in Upper Egypt is attested from the 410s/1020s (al-Musabbiḥī, *Aḥbār Miṣr* 21, fol. 143^a).

142 For the history of the ancient town of Iḥmīm, see “Akhmīm,” in *EI*² (G. Wiet).

143 Cf. al-Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 159 lines 3–6. Al-Maqrīzī adds the lineage of the Ğuhaynah, and the sentence that identifies them as a numerous Yamanī tribe.

144 Cf. al-Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 159 lines 6–10. Al-Maqrīzī omits anecdotes, including lines of poetry, about the Ğuhaynah.

145 Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār (d. 256/870), a descendant of al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, was the author of works that combined belles-lettres and history and belong to the oldest preserved books in the field of genealogy. See “al-Zubayr b. Bakkār,” in *EI*² (S. Leder). His treatise on the genealogy of the Qurayš has survived only partially, and the segment included in the published edition does not contain any of the sections cited by al-Maqrīzī. See al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Ġamharat nasab Qurayš*.

وُلِدَ النَّضْرُ بْنُ كَثَّانَةَ. فَعَلِيَ قَوْلَ الزَّيْبِرِ: فَهْرُ جَمَاعِ قَرِيْشٍ، وَمِنْهُ افْتَرَقَتْ بَطُونُ قَرِيْشٍ، وَإِنَّمَا قَرِيْشُ جَمَاعٍ نَسَبٌ لَيْسَ بِأَبٍ وَلَا أُمٍّ وَلَا حَاضِنٍ وَلَا حَاضِنَةٍ، وَالتَّقْرِشُ عِنْدَ الْعَرَبِ التَّجْمَعُ.

63 § فَمِنْ بَطُونِ قَرِيْشِ الْجَعْفَارَةُ: بَنُو جَعْفَرِ الطَّيَّارِ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، وَاسْمُهُ عَبْدُ مَنْفَرٍ بْنُ عَبْدِ الْمَطْلَبِ وَاسْمُهُ شَيْبَةَ الْحَمْدِ بْنِ هَاشِمٍ، وَاسْمُهُ عَمْرُو بْنُ عَبْدِ مَنْفَرٍ بْنِ قِصِيِّ بْنِ كَلَّابِ بْنِ مُرَّةَ بْنِ كَعْبِ بْنِ لُؤَيِّ بْنِ غَالِبِ بْنِ فَهْرِ بْنِ مَالِكِ بْنِ النَّضْرِ بْنِ كَثَّانَةَ بْنِ خَزِيمَةَ بْنِ مَدْرَكَةَ بْنِ إِيَّاسِ بْنِ مِضْرَ بْنِ نَزَارِ بْنِ مَعْدَانَ بْنِ عَدْنَانَ. ٥

64 § وَمِنْ الْجَعْفَارَةِ الزَّيْنَبَةُ أَوْلَادُ عَلِيِّ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ جَعْفَرِ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ، وَأُمُّهُ زَيْنَبُ بِنْتُ عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ، عَرَفَ بَنُو عَلِيٍّ هَذَا بِالزَّيْنَبَةِ لِأَنَّهُ أُمُّهُ زَيْنَبُ الْمَذْكُورَةُ، وَمِنْ الزَّيْنَبَةِ الْعَشِيرَةُ الْمَعْرُوفَةُ بِبَنِي ثَعْلَبِ الدَّائِيَّةِ الْحِجَازِيِّ، يَنْسَبُونَ إِلَى ثَعْلَبِ الْحِجَازِيِّ بْنِ دَاوُدَ بْنِ مُوسَى بْنِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ إِسْمَاعِيلَ بْنِ جَعْفَرِ بْنِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ عَلِيٍّ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ جَعْفَرِ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. ١٠

71^a

١ فَهْرُ: ف "فهم". ٣ طَالِبُ: ب "رضي الله عنه". ٤ بَنُ ... كَعْبُ: فِي ك فِي الْهَامِشِ الْأَيْسَرِ.
٥ لُؤَيُّ: فِي الْأَصْلِ أَضَافَ الْمُقْرِيزِيُّ الْهَمْزَةَ. ٧-٨ وَأُمُّهُ ... طَالِبُ: سَاقَطَ مِنْ ك. ٨ رَضِيَ ... عَنْهُ:
سَاقَطَ مِنْ ب. || لِأَنَّهُ: ب ف ك "لأن". ١١ عَنْهُ: ب "عنهم".

١ النِّسْبُ بِكَامِلِهِ فِي ابْنِ حَزْمٍ، جَمْهَرَةٌ أَنْسَابِ الْعَرَبِ ١٥٠٩.

others say they are the descendants of al-Naḍr b. Kinānah. Al-Zubayr said that Fihr is the meeting point of Qurayš, and that the sections of the Qurayš branched out from him. The Qurayš are those who come together under one lineage, and the name does not indicate a line going back to a father, a mother, a male or a female foster parent. Among the Arabs, *taqarruṣ* means to come together.

§ 63 The sections of the Qurayš include **the Ğa‘āfirah**, who are the descendants of Ğa‘far al-Ṭayyār b. Abī Ṭālib,¹⁴⁶ whose name was ‘Abd Manāf b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, whose name was Šaybat al-Ḥamd son of Hāšim, whose name was ‘Amr b. ‘Abd Manāf b. Quṣayy b. Kilāb b. Murrah b. Ka‘b b. Lu‘ayy b. Ğālib b. Fihr b. Mālīk b. al-Naḍr b. Kinānah b. Ḥuzaymah b. Mudrikah b. Ilyās b. Muḍar b. Nizār b. Ma‘add b. ‘Adnān.¹⁴⁷

§ 64 The Zayānibah are of the Ğa‘āfirah. They are the descendants of ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ğa‘far b. Abī Ṭālib, whose mother was Zaynab bt. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,¹⁴⁸ may God be pleased with him, and the Zayānibah are named after her. The solidarity group known as Banū Ṭa‘lab al-Dāwūdī l-Ḥiġāzī are of the Zayānibah. Their lineage goes back to Ṭa‘lab al-Ḥiġāzī b. Dāwūd b. Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā‘īl b. Ğa‘far b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ğa‘far b. Abī Ṭālib, may God be pleased with him.

146 Ğa‘far al-Ṭayyār is a name given to Ğa‘far b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 8/629), cousin of the Prophet and brother of ‘Alī. See “Dja‘far b. Abī Ṭālib,” in *ET*² (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

147 Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 9–15. The account of the lineage of the Zayānibah is not in al-‘Umarī’s text.

148 Al-Sayyidah Zaynab (d. 62/682), daughter of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and sister of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. See “(al-)Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,” in *ET*² (L. Veccia Vaglieri); al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, 3:66–67.

§ 65 فيهم عشيرة نزلت بجرحة مِيرَ من أعمال سيوط يعرفون بطلحة وجعفر، منهم علاّق بفتح العين المهملة وتشديد اللام، وحامد ووديعة وإبراهيم أولاد مُسَلَّم بضم الميم وفتح السين المهملة وتشديد اللام وفتحها بن عبد الله بن حسين بن ثعلب المذكور. ويقال فيمن هو في بني ثعلب: الثعلبي الجعفري الزيني.

٥ § 66 والجعافرة هؤلاء يد مع بني طلحة، وهم بنو طلحة بن عمر بن عبّيد الله بن معمر بن عثمان ابن عمرو بن كعب بن سعد بن تيم بن مرة التيمي. ١ ويقال لطلحة هذا طلحة الجود. وتزوج طلحة المذكور بفاطمة بنت القسم بن محمد بن جعفر بن أبي طالب التي أمها أم كلثوم بنت عبد الله بن جعفر، وأمها زينب بنت علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه، فولدت فاطمة بنت القسم لطلحة الجود إبراهيم بن طلحة، وولدت زينب بنت علي بن أبي طالب رضي الله عنه لعلي بن عبد الله بن جعفر أولاداً عرفوا بالزيبانية وهم بنو جعفر الذين بمصر بالصعيد، ومنهم ثعلب. ومن هنا كانت بنو طلحة المذكور يدا مع بني جعفر، فليل طلحة وجعفر.

١ بجرحة: ب "بجرحة". || مير: كلمة ساقطة من ب. ٢ ووديعة: ك "ووديعة". || بضم... السين: ساقط من ب. ٣ وتشديد اللام: في ب "بتشديد اللام". || بني: كلمة ساقطة من ب. ٤ الثعلبي: كلمة ساقطة من ف. ٦ عمرو: ب ك "عمر". || عمرو بن: في الأصل كشط المقرئ ما يلي الراء، ثم صحح العبارة كما هي الآن. ٧ ابن: في الأصل كشط المقرئ كلمة أخرى قبل أن يثبتها كما هي الآن. || جعفر... طالب: ف "جعفر بن أبي جعفر". ٧-٨ بن: ٢... جعفر: في الهامش الأيسر في ك. ٧ أم: كلمة ساقطة من ب ف ك. ٨ بن: ٢... طالب: ساقط من ب ك. ٩ الجود: ب "الجواد". || لعلي: كلمة واردة في الهامش الأيسر في ك. ١٠ بالصعيد: ك "بالصعيد بمصر"؛ ف + "الأعلى". || ومنهم: ب "وهم". ١١ المذكور يدا: ف "المذكورة يد". || فليل... وجعفر: في الهامش الأيمن في ك.

§65 They also include a solidarity group known as the Ṭalḥah and as the Ġaʿfar, who came to dwell in the thicket (*ḥarġah*) of Mīr¹⁴⁹ in the province of Asyut. They include the Banū ʿAllāq (with a *fathah* on the ʿayn and a *šaddah* over the *lām*), Banū Ḥāmid, Banū Wadīʿah, and Banū Ibrāhīm, who are
 5 descendants of Musallam (with a *ḍammah* over the *mīm*, a *fathah* over the undotted *sīn* and a *šaddah* and a *fathah* over the *lām*) b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥusayn b. Ṭaʿlab mentioned above. A person of the Banū Ṭaʿlab is called al-Ṭaʿlabī l-Ġaʿfarī l-Zaynabī.

§66 These Ġaʿfirah are in alliance with the Banū Ṭalḥah, who are the
 10 descendants of Ṭalḥah b. ʿUmar b. ʿUbayd Allāh b. Maʿmar b. ʿUṭmān b. ʿAmr b. Kaʿb b. Saʿd b. Taym b. Murrah al-Taymī.¹⁵⁰ These Banū Ṭalḥah are also called Ṭalḥat al-Ġūd.

This Ṭalḥah married Fāṭimah bt. al-Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Ġaʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib, whose mother was Umm Kulṭūm bt. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ġaʿfar, whose own
 15 mother was Zaynab bt. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, may God be pleased with him. Fāṭimah bt. al-Qāsim bore Ibrāhīm b. Ṭalḥah from Ṭalḥat al-Ġūd, while the children Zaynab bt. ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib, may God be pleased with him, bore from ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Ġaʿfar are known as the Zayānibah. These Zayānibah are the Banū Ġaʿfar found in Upper Egypt, and Ṭaʿlab is descended from
 20 them. For this reason, the descendants of the above mentioned Ṭalḥah are in alliance with Banū Ġaʿfar, and people say “Ṭalḥah and Ġaʿfar.”

149 The village Mīr is in the modern Asyut Governorate. It is located south of Dayrūt, 10 km west of the Nile, on the edge of the desert. It appears under this name in Ibn Mammātī, but Yāqūt has it as Masbar. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/4:78; Yāqūt, *Muġam al-buldān*, 4:533.

150 Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ġamharat al-nasab* 255, 258.

§67 وهم يظنون أنهم بنو طلحة من بني محمد بن أبي بكر الصديق رضي الله عنه. وليس كذلك، لأن محمد بن أبي بكر ليس في ولده طلحة، وإنما طلحة في ولد عبد الرحمن بن أبي بكر.

§68 وإخوة إبراهيم بن طلحة بن عمر بن عبيد الله بن معمر المذكور من أمه فاطمة بنت القسم المذكورة. وفاطمة هذه هي أم يحيى وأم أبي بكر ابني حمزة بن عبد الله بن الزبير بن العوام رضي الله عنه. ومن هذه الإخوة كانت بنو طلحة بن عمر بن عبيد الله بن معمر التيمي مع بني الزبير ومع الجعافرة أهل الصعيد. ٥

§69 ثم إن الجعافرة هؤلاء يجمعهم بطنان هما بنو عبد الله وبنو محمد.

وغلّب على بني محمد اسم بني إسماعيل وهو إسماعيل بن جعفر بن إبراهيم بن محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن جعفر. وفي بني محمد عدة بطون هم الخالصيون والصالحيون وبنو علي وبنو صالح وبنو قاسم وبنو إدريس وبنو شاكر وبنو عبد الله بفتح الدال على كل حال، وبنو شعران وبنو داود وأولاد بريق وبنو والي وبنو زيد وبنو إبراهيم وأولاد الشريف الأمير الكبير حصن الدولة مجد العرب ثعلب بن يعقوب بن مسلم بن يعقوب بن أبي جميل بن جعفر بن موسى بن إبراهيم بن إسماعيل بن ا 71^b جعفر بن إبراهيم بن محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن جعفر، وبنو علاق.

§70 وفي بني عبد الله الحسنات وهم أولاد أحمد بن سعد الدولة بن حسنة بن سلطان ويجمعهم بنو عبد الله غير عبد الله الأول، وبنو إبراهيم وبنو عيسى وبنو أحمد وبنو يوسف وبنو سليمان وبنو حبيب وبنو إدريس وبنو مقبل وبنو حسين. ١٥

٢ أبي بكر: ب + "رضي الله عنهم أجمعين". ٤ المذكورة: في الأصل كشط المقرئ ما يلي الواو، ثم صحح الكلمة كما هي الآن، ف "المشار". ٥ عنه: ك "عنهما". ٦ عمر: ك "عمرو". ٩ صالح: في الأصل كشط المقرئ حرفا في بداية الكلمة، ثم أضاف الصاد. ١٠ وبنو: في الأصل كتب الناسخ "وبنو" بألف الوقاية، ثم كشطت. ١١ وبنو: ف "وهو". ١١ والي: ب "وال". ١٢ ثعلب: في ف في الهامش الأيمن. ١٤ بني: في ف في الهامش الأيمن. ٢ بن: ف + "من". ١١ ويجمعهم: ب "ويجمعهم"، ف "ويجمعهم".

§ 67 The Banū Ṭalḥah reckon they are the Banū Ṭalḥah of Banū Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr al-Šiddīq, may God be pleased with him. But that is not so, for Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr had no son by the name of Ṭalḥah, rather Ṭalḥah was one of the sons of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr.

5 § 68 The brothers of Ibrāhīm b. Ṭalḥah b. ‘Umar b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ma‘mar are the sons of the above-mentioned Fāṭimah bt. al-Qāsim. This Fāṭimah is also the mother of Yaḥyá and Abū Bakr, sons of Ḥamzah b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, may God be pleased with him. This bond of brotherhood binds the Banū Ṭalḥah b. ‘Umar b. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ma‘mar al-Taymī
10 with the Banū l-Zubayr and with the Ġa‘āfirah of Upper Egypt.

§ 69 There are two sections of the Ġa‘āfirah, the Banū ‘Abd Allāh and the Banū Muḥammad.

The Banū Muḥammad are commonly called Banū Ismā‘īl, after Ismā‘īl b. Ġa‘far b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ġa‘far. The sections
15 that belong to Banū Muḥammad are al-Ḥalašiyyūn, al-Šāliḥiyyūn, Banū ‘Alī, Banū Šāliḥ, Banū Qāsim, Banū Idrīs, Banū Šākir, Banū ‘Abda Allāh (with a fixed *fathah* on the *dāl*), Banū Ša‘rān, Banū Dāwūd, Awlād Barīq, Banū Wālī, Banū Zayd, Banū Ibrāhīm, the descendants of the Šarīf, and grand amir Ḥiṣn al-Dawlah Maġd al-‘Arab Ta‘lab b. Ya‘qūb b. Musallam b. Ya‘qūb b. Abī Ġamīl
20 b. Ġa‘far b. Mūsá b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā‘īl b. Ġa‘far b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ġa‘far, and the Banū ‘Allāq.

§ 70 The Banū ‘Abda Allāh include al-Ḥasanāt, who are descendants of Aḥmad b. Sa‘d al-Dawlah b. Ḥasanah b. Sulṭān. They include the Banū ‘Abd Allāh who are not the same as the Banū ‘Abda Allāh mentioned above, Banū
25 Ibrāhīm, Banū ‘Īsá, Banū Aḥmad, Banū Yūsuf, Banū Sulaymān, Banū Ḥabīb, Banū Idrīs, Banū Muqbil, and Banū Ḥusayn.

ويتبع بني عبد الله هؤلاء من أحلافهم عَنَزَة وفزارة وبنو عثمان أحد بطون بني أمية، وبنو خالد وبنو مسلمة وبنو صباب^١ وبنو عسكر وبنوندا وقيل إن بني ندا^٢ من بني جعفر. ومن أحلاف بني محمد أولاد حسين والأنصار ومزينة.

71 § وكان لجعفر بن إبراهيم بن محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن جعفر عدة أولاد هم: إسماعيل وداود ومحمد وعبد الله وموسى وعيسى ويوسف، وكان له سبط اسمه قاسم بن يعقوب بن جعفر. فَن قاسم هذا بنو إبراهيم وهم من إبراهيم بن إسماعيل بن جعفر، وقيل هم بنو إبراهيم بن محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن جعفر. وأما بنو إبراهيم في بني محمد فإنهم يرجعون إلى إبراهيم بن محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن جعفر.

والمخلصيون هم ولد عيسى بن جعفر بن إبراهيم هذا، والصالحيون ولد صالح بن محمد بن جعفر ابن إبراهيم هذا. ١٠

72 § وأما أولاد الشريف حصن الدولة مجد العرب ثعلب بن يعقوب بن مسلم بن يعقوب بن أبي جميل بن جعفر بن موسى بن إبراهيم بن إسماعيل بن جعفر بن إبراهيم بن محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن جعفر فإنهم نقر الدين إسماعيل ونجم الدين علي وحسام الدين عبد الملك وفارس الدين عز العرب وقطب الدين حسام ونصار.

١ أحلافهم: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء؛ ف "أحلافهم".
٢ صباب: ك "ضباب". ٣ أحلاف: ف "أحلاف". || أولاد: في الأصل كشط المقرئ ما يلي الواو، ثم صحح الكلمة كما هي الآن. ٤-٥ بن... الله: في ك في الهامش الأيسر. ٦ وهم... إبراهيم: ساقط من ب ك. || بن: ف "في بني". ٩ والصالحيون: ف + "هذا". ٩-١٠ والصالحيون... هذا: في ك وارد في الهامش الأعلى. ١١ أولاد: في الأصل كشط المقرئ ما يلي الواو، ثم صحح الكلمة كما هي الآن. ١٢ بن جعفر: كبتان ساقطتان من ب.

١ ابن الأثير، اللباب، ٢: ٢٥٨: "الضباب".

٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٥٧٦: "بنو بدا".

These Banū ‘Abd Allāh are followed by their allies ‘Anazah, Fazārah, a section of the Banū Umayyah called Banū ‘Uṭmān, Banū Ḥālid, Banū Maslamah, Banū Ṣabāb, Banū ‘Askar, and Banū Nadā. Some say the Banū Nadā are of the Banū Ğa‘far.

- 5 The allies of the Banū Muḥammad are Awlād Ḥusayn, the Anṣār, and Muzaynah.

§ 71 The sons of Ğa‘far b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ğa‘far were Ismā‘il, Dāwūd, Muḥammad, ‘Abd Allāh, Mūsá, Īsá, and Yūsuf. One of his maternal grandsons was Qāsim b. Ya‘qūb b. Ğa‘far, who is the ancestor of
10 Banū Ibrāhīm, descendants of Ibrāhīm b. Ismā‘il b. Ğa‘far, and some say of Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ğa‘far. But the Banū Ibrāhīm of the Banū Muḥammad go back to Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ğa‘far.

- The Ḥalaṣiyyūn are descended from Īsá b. Ğa‘far, son of the same Ibrāhīm.
15 The Ṣāliḥiyyūn are descendants of Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad b. Ğa‘far b. Ibrāhīm.

§ 72 The Šarīf Ḥiṣn al-Dawlah Mağd al-‘Arab Ṭa‘lab b. Ya‘qūb b. Musallam b. Ya‘qūb b. Abī Ğamīl b. Ğa‘far b. Mūsá b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā‘il b. Ğa‘far b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ğa‘far bore the following sons: Faḥr al-Dīn Ismā‘il, Nağm al-Dīn ‘Alī, Ḥusām al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Malik, Fāris al-Dīn ‘Izz
20 al-‘Arab, Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥusām, and Naṣṣār.

فمن الأمير نضر الدين إسماعيل بن الأمير الشريف حصن الدولة ثعلب جمال الدين مرا ومعين الدين محمد وشهاب الدين إبراهيم والأمير نجم الدين علي وشرف الدين أبو جميل وشهاب الدين عبد الله.

73 § ومن نجم الدين علي بن حصن الدولة ثعلب عز الدين قيصر ونصير الدين قسور وتاج الشرف قيس وهمام الدين إبراهيم.

ومن حسام الدين عبد الملك بن حصن الدولة ثعلب نور الدين حامد، وشرف الدين عيسى. ومن فارس الدين عز العرب بن حصن الدولة ثعلب سابق الدين مودود وناصر الدين صلاح وعلم الدين عزيز والشجاع كليب والشهاب أحمد والجمال مرّا والشرف جزّي والفخر إسماعيل وسيف الدين سخطّة الذي سُتِنِقَ على باب | زَوَيْلَةَ فِي سَنَةِ اثْنَيْنِ وَخَمْسِينَ وَسَمَائَةَ.

72^a

74 § ومن قطب الدين حسام بن حصن الدولة ثعلب: شهاب الدين ثعلب وفلك الدين حامد وعماد الدين مُسَلِّمٌ ووزين الدين يعقوب ومعين الدين محمد ونضر الدين أحمد. وأما نصار بن حصن الدولة ثعلب فلم يكن له غير ابنة واحدة.

ومن مشاهير أولاد {جمال الدين} مرا بن نضر الدين إسماعيل بن حصن الدولة ثعلب الشريف شرف الدين عيسى.

ومن ولد معين الدين محمد بن الأمير نضر الدين إسماعيل بن حصن الدولة ثعلب الشريف تقي الدين جعفر.

١ الأمير: كلمة ساقطة من ب. || حصن الدولة: في الأصل "حصن الدين" والتصحيح من ب ف ك وفي باقي نسخة الأصل. || جمال الدين: كشط المقرئ ما يلي الميم، ثم صحح نهاية اللقب كما هو الآن. يبدو أن الناسخ كتب "جمالدين" كما يظهر فيما يلي. ٢ إبراهيم: ف "بن إبراهيم". ٤ قسور: ك "قسود". || الشرف: في الأصل كشط المقرئ ما قبل الراء، ثم صحح الكلمة كما هي الآن. ٧ مودود: ف "مورود". ٨ وعلم: ف "علما". || والشرف: ب "الشريف". || جزّي: في الأصل كتب الناسخ "جزا"، ثم كشط المقرئ الألف وأضاف الياء. ٩ اثنين: كذا في الأصل. ١٠ حسام: ف "حصام". || فلك: في الأصل كشط المقرئ ما بين الواو واللام، ثم وأضاف فاء، ف "وفكر". ١٣ جمال الدين: في الأصل "حمالدين"، ولم تصحح بجمال الدين كما في الأول؛ ف وك "جمال الدين". ١٤ شرف الدين: ب "شرف"، ف + "بن". ١٥-١٦ الشريف... ثعلب: ساقط من ك. ١٦ الدين جعفر: ف "النعجدرى بن".

Faḥr al-Dīn Ismāʿīl b. al-Šarīf Ḥiṣn al-Dawlah Ṭaʿlab bore Ğamāl al-Dīn Mirā, Muʿīn al-Dīn Muḥammad, Šihāb al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, the amir Naġm al-Dīn ʿAlī, Šaraf al-Dīn Abū Ğamīl, and Šihāb al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh.

§ 73 Naġm al-Dīn ʿAlī b. Ḥiṣn al-Dawlah Ṭaʿlab bore ʿIzz al-Dīn Qayšar, Našīr
5 al-Dīn Qaswar, Tāġ al-Šaraf Qays, and Humām al-Dīn Ibrāhīm.

Ḥusām al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ḥiṣn al-Dawlah Ṭaʿlab bore Nūr al-Dīn Ḥamid and Šaraf al-Dīn ʿĪsá.

Fāris al-Dīn ʿIzz al-ʿArab b. Ḥiṣn al-Dawlah Ṭaʿlab bore Sābiq al-Dīn Maw-
dūd, Nāšīr al-Dīn Šalāḥ, ʿAlam al-Dīn ʿAzīz, Šuġāʿ al-Dīn Kulayb, Šihāb al-Dīn
10 Aḥmad, Ğamāl al-Dīn Mirā, Šaraf al-Dīn Ğuzayy, Faḥr al-Dīn Ismāʿīl, and Sayf
al-Dīn Saḥṭah, who was hanged at the gate of Zawīlah¹⁵¹ [in Cairo] in the year
652 [/1254–1255].

§ 74 Quṭb al-Dīn Ḥusām b. Ḥiṣn al-Dawlah Ṭaʿlab bore Šihāb al-Dīn Ṭaʿlab,
Falak al-Dīn Ḥamid, ʿImād al-Dīn Musallam, Zayn al-Dīn Yaʿqūb, Muʿīn al-
15 Dīn Muḥammad, and Faḥr al-Dīn Aḥmad.

Naššār b. Ḥiṣn al-Dawlah Ṭaʿlab had no sons, only one daughter.

The well-known son of Ğamāl al-Dīn Mirā b. Faḥr al-Dīn Ismāʿīl [b. al-
Šarīf] Ḥiṣn al-Dawlah Ṭaʿlab was the Šarīf Šaraf al-Dīn ʿĪsá.

Muʿīn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Faḥr al-Dīn Ismāʿīl [b. al-Šarīf] Ḥiṣn al-
20 Dawlah Ṭaʿlab bore the Šarīf Taqī l-Dīn Ğaʿfar.

151 Zawīlah or Zuwayla was a medieval Islamic capital of Fazzān, in the southwest of modern Libya. The Fāṭimids recruited a corps of Zawīlah soldiers from this community, hence the Gate named after them in the Fāṭimid capital al-Mahdiyyah and later in Cairo. See Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-buldān* 3:159–160; “Zawīlah,” in *ET²* (K.S. Vikør).

§75 ومن أولاد الأمير الكبير نجم الدين علي بن الأمير نجر الدين إسماعيل بن حصن الدولة ثعلب: الأمير حصن الدين ثعلب أمير الجعافرة ورئيس القوم الذي أنف من سلطنة المماليك الأتراك وثار في سلطنة الملك المعز أيبك التركماني، وكاتب الملك الناصر يوسف بن العزيز صاحب دمشق وجمع عربان مصر فخرجت إليه الأتراك وحاربوه فقبض عليه وسجن بالإسكندرية حتى شنقه الظاهر بيبرس.

§76 وقتل معه الأمير جمال الدولة أبو علاق أحمد بن علم الدين عبد الله بن الحسن بن ثعلب بن عبد الله بن محمد بن سليمان بن موسى بن إبراهيم بن إسماعيل بن جعفر بن إبراهيم بن إسماعيل بن جعفر بن إبراهيم بن محمد بن علي بن عبد الله بن جعفر. وأبو علاق هذا من بطن يقال لهم بنو داود وقيل إن بني داود هؤلاء ينسبون إلى داود بن يوسف بن جعفر بن إبراهيم. وقيل بل ينسبون إلى داود بن جعفر بن إبراهيم، وقيل إلى داود بن محمد بن جعفر بن إبراهيم.

§77 وهم ثلاثة أثلاث: ثلث لجعفر بن سليمان بن جمال الدولة أبي علاق، وثلث للفارس همام الدولة، وثلث لزبالة وهم ينقسمون أيضا إلى الكبر والصغر، فالكبر أولاد مسلم وأولاد عمود وأولاد سلمة وأولاد الفارس همام الدولة، والصغر [وأولاد جعفر بن عز الدولة.

٢ الأمير... ثعلب: الزيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح، ويشير إليها رمز ٢ بعد "ثعلب"؛ وساقط من ك. || حصن الدين: ف ك "حصن الدولة"؛ ف + "بن حصن". || أنف: ف "ألقر". ٣ وثار: ف "ونار". || الملك: كلمة ساقطة من ف ك. || المعز: ف "المقر". ٤ وسجن: في الأصل كشط المقرئ ما يلي الجيم، ثم أضاف النون. ٦ الأمير: كلمة ساقطة من ك. || أبو علاق: ب ك "أبو عملاق". || علم الدين: الكلمتان ساقطتان من ف. ٧-٨ بن^٨... علاق: ساقط من ف. ٧-٩ بن^٨... داود: ساقط من ك. || بن^٨... إبراهيم: الزيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيسر، ويشير إليها رمز ٦ بعد "إبراهيم". ٨ وأبو علاق: ب ك "أبو عملاق". ٩ ينسبون: في الأصل وضع المقرئ ثلاث نقط تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالسين. || بل: كلمة ساقطة من ف. ٩-١٠ بل... إبراهيم: ساقط من ب. ١٠ إبراهيم: ك "أبي لهيم"، ثم تصحیح "إبراهيم" في الهامش الأيسر. ١١ أبي: الزيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح، ويشير إليها رمز ٢ بعد "الدولة" || أبي علاق: ب "أبو عملاق"؛ ك "أبو عملاق". ١١-١٢ للفارس... الدولة: ب "للفار بن همام الدولة". ١٢ لزبالة: في الأصل كلمة مصححة بعد محو؛ ف "لزماله". || عمود: ب ك "دعمود". ١٣؛ و: حرف زائد في الأصل. || أولاد: في الأصل الدال فوق السطر بخط الناسخ. || جعفر: ف يكرر "وأولاد جعفر".

§ 75 One of the sons of the grand amir Nağm al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Faḥr al-Dīn Ismā‘īl [b. al-Šarīf] Ḥiṣn al-Dawlah Ṭa‘lab was the amir of the Ğa‘āfirah and the leader of the people (*ra‘īs al-qawm*) Ḥiṣn al-Dīn Ṭa‘lab. He rose up in disdain against the rule of the Turkish military slaves and broke out in rebellion during the reign of al-Mu‘izz Aybak al-Turkumānī. He corresponded with the ruler of Damascus al-Nāšir Yūsuf b. al-‘Azīz, and gathered the Arabs (*‘urbān*) of Egypt. The Turks set out against him and fought him. He was captured and imprisoned in Alexandria, and eventually hanged by al-Zāhir Baybars.¹⁵²

§ 76 Also executed alongside him was the amir Ğamāl al-Dawlah Abū ‘Allāq Aḥmad b. ‘Alam al-Dīn ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. Ṭa‘lab b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Mūsá b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā‘īl b. Ğa‘far b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā‘īl b. Ğa‘far b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ğa‘far. This Abū ‘Allāq was from a section called the Banū Dāwūd. Some say that these Banū Dāwūd are descended from Dāwūd b. Yūsuf b. Ğa‘far b. Ibrāhīm, and some say Dāwūd b. Ğa‘far b. Ibrāhīm, and others say Dāwūd b. Muḥammad b. Ğa‘far b. Ibrāhīm.

§ 77 They are divided into thirds. One third is that of Ğa‘far b. Sulaymān b. Ğamāl al-Dawlah Abū ‘Allāq, one third is that of Fāris al-Dīn Humām al-Dawlah, and a third is that of Zubālah.¹⁵³ They are also divided into senior and minor branches. The senior branches are Awlād Musallam, Awlād ‘Amūd, Awlād Salamah, and Awlād Fāris al-Dīn Humām al-Dawlah. The minor branches are those of Awlād Ğa‘far b. ‘Izz al-Dawlah.

152 Baybars al-Bunduqdārī l-Šāliḥī, al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn (r. 658–676/1260–1277), the fourth Mamlūk sultan and the real founder of the Mamlūk sultanate. See “Baybars I, al-Malik al-Zāhir Rukn al-Dīn,” in *EI THREE* (P. Thorau).

153 Uncertain vocalization.

§78 وفي الجعافرة أولاد عز الدين علي وولده نصير الدين قتله ابنه شهاب الدين علي.

وفيهم أولاد عز العرب وبنو إدريس النعم وبنو صالح بن محمد بن جعفر بن إبراهيم وهم أخوال الشريف نضر الدين إسماعيل بن ثعلب، وفيهم بنو طيء وبنو زيد وأولاد يوسف بن جعفر بن إبراهيم.

§79 وكان الشريف ثعلب صاحب ذروة سربام^١ وكانت مساكن الجعافرة من بحري منفلوط إلى سملوط غربا وشرقا ولهم بلاد أخرى يسيرة وبحرجة منفلوط^٢ قوم من بني الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب عليهما السلام.

§80 وفي سيوط طائفة من أولاد إسماعيل^٣ بن جعفر الصادق بن محمد الباقر بن علي بن الحسين ابن علي عليهما السلام، يعرفون بأولاد الشريف قاسم.

§81 وكانت بلاد الأشراف التي ينزلون بها هم ومواليهم وأتباعهم وأحلافهم من الأشمونين إلى بحري أثليدم^٤، ومعظمهم بالذروة.

١ نصير الدين: ب "نصر الدين". ٢ النعم: الزيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح، ويشير إليها رمز " بعد "إدريس". ٣ وأولاد: ف "أولاد". ٤ ذروة: الأصل وك "ذروة". || سربام: الكلمة غير معجمة في الأصل ووضع المقرئ رمز "ك" فوق الكلمة إشارة إلى شكه في قراءتها؛ ب "سربام". ٥ إلى ... منفلوط: الزيادة بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل، ثم في الهامش الأسفل من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح، ويشير إليها رمز " بعد "منفلوط". || وبحرجة: ب "وبحرجة". ٦ عليهما السلام: ك "رضي الله عنه". ٧ من ... إسماعيل: الكلمات الثلاث ناقصة من ف. ٨ عليهما السلام: ك "رضوان الله تعالى عليهم". ٩ التي: ب "الذين". || هم: في الأصل كشط المقرئ حرفا كانت قبل الكلمة؛ كلمة ساقطة من ب، وفوق السطر في ك. || وأحلافهم: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء؛ ف "وأحلافهم". ١٠ أثليدم: في الأصل "المليدم" ووضع المقرئ رمز "ك" (كذا) فوقها إشارة إلى شكه في قراءتها؛ ب ف "إثليدم" والصواب أثبتناه من ك "أثليدم". || بالذروة: في الأصل كشط المقرئ ما بين الذال والواو، ثم أضاف الراء.

١ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٠ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٨٩: "ذروة سربام".

٢ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦١ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٨٩: "وبحرجة منفلوط".

٣ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦١ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٨٩: "أناس من أولاد إسماعيل".

٤ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦١ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٠: "إثليدم".

§ 78 Also among the Ġa'āfirah are Awlād 'Izz al-Dīn 'Alī and his son Naṣīr al-Dīn, who was killed by his own son, Šihāb al-Dīn 'Alī.

Other clans of the Ġa'āfirah are Awlād 'Izz al-'Arab, Banū Idrīs al-Ni'am, and Banū Šāliḥ b. Muḥammad b. Ġa'far b. Ibrāhīm, who are the uncles of the
 5 Šarīf Faḥr al-Dīn Ismā'īl b. Ta'lab on his mother's side. They also include the Banū Ṭayyi', Banū Zayd, and Awlād Yūsuf b. Ġa'far b. Ibrāhīm.¹⁵⁴

§ 79 The Šarīf Ta'lab was the ruler of Darwat Sarabām.¹⁵⁵ The dwellings of the Ġa'āfirah stretched from the areas north of Manfalūṭ to Samallūṭ¹⁵⁶ on the eastern and western banks, and in few other areas.¹⁵⁷ A folk of Banū l-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, may the peace of God be upon both of them, are
 10 in the thicket (*ḥarğah*) of Manfalūṭ.¹⁵⁸

§ 80 A grouping of Awlād Ismā'īl b. Ġa'far al-Šādiq b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, may the peace of God be upon both of them, are in Asyut. They are known as Awlād al-Šarīf Qāsim.¹⁵⁹

§ 81 The lands of the Ašrāf, where they dwelt together with their tribal clients (*mawālī*), followers, and allies, stretched from al-Ušmūnayn to the area north of Aṭlīdim.¹⁶⁰ But the majority are found in Darwat [Sarabām].¹⁶¹

154 §§ 63–81 consist of one continuous segment on the Ġa'āfirah amirs and their rebellion in the 650s/1250s. This segment is not attested in al-'Umarī or in any other extant source.

155 This is modern Dayrut.

156 This is modern Samalut. Samallūṭ is located 120 km north of Manfalūṭ. On medieval Samallūṭ, see Yāqūt, *Muğam al-buldān*, 3:130.

157 Cf. al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'Arab* 160 line 14 to 161 line 1. Al-'Umarī specifies that the Ġa'āfirah dwelled in the meadows (*mutamarri'*).

158 Cf. al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'Arab* 161 line 2.

159 Cf. al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'Arab* 161 lines 2–4.

160 This is modern Itlidim or Aṭlīdim. The modern village of Itlidim is on the western bank of the Nile, near Abū Qurqās, some 35 km north of Dayrut. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/4:59. Yāqūt located the village in the province of al-Ušmūnayn (*Muğam al-buldān*, 1:119).

161 Cf. al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'Arab* 161 lines 10–12, attributed to al-Ḥamdānī. On Darwat Sarabām, see above, § 19.

§ 82 وكان بالصعيد من قریش بنو طلحة وبنو الزبير وبنو شيبه وبنو مخزوم وبنو أمية وبنو زهرة وبنو سَهَمٍ.

فأما بنو طلحة فهم ينسبون إلى طلحة بن عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن بن أبي بكر الصديق رضي الله عنه، وهم ثلث فرق: بنو إسحق ويقال إن إسحق ليس بجده ولكنه موضع تحالفوا عنده سموه إسحق كناية، وبنو قصة وهم بطون كثيرة مشتتون في البلاد، وبنو محمد من ولد محمد بن أبي بكر رضي الله عنه، ومنازل بني طلحة هؤلاء بالبرجيين وطحاً.^٢

§ 83 وأما {العُمريون} الذين بأرض مصر فإنهم ينسبون إلى عبد الله بن عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه. وقال الشريف محمد بن أسعد الجواني النسابة: وهم يكذبون في ذلك لأن أنسابهم لا تتصل به، وقد لقيت منهم جماعة وعرفتهم كذبهم بطريق علمية.

١ بنو: في الأصل "بنوا" بألف الوقاية. || وبنوا: ف "وهو". || وبنو: ف "وهو". ٣ عبد الله: كلمتان ساقطتان من ب. ٤ عنه: ف "عنه" فوق السطر + "تعالى". ٥ كناية: كلمة ساقطة من ك. || أبي بكر: ب "أبي بكر الصديق". ٦ بالبرجيين وطحاً: ك "بالبرجيين بطحا". || وطحاً: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٧ العُمريون: في الأصل ب ف "العُمريين"، ك "العُمريون". ٨ عنه: ك "عنه". || تتصل: ف "تصل". ٩ جماعة: ك + "كثيرة". || علمية: ف "علمته".

١ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٢ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٠: "تحالفوا".

٢ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٢ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٠: "ومنازل بني طلحة بالبرجيين وسقط سكرة وطحا المدينة".

§ 82 The Quraṣī clans in Upper Egypt are the Banū Ṭalḥah, Banū l-Zubayr, Banū Ṣaybah, Banū Maḥzūm, Banū Umayyah, Banū Zahrah, and Banū Sahn.¹⁶²

5 The Banū Ṭalḥah are descendants of Ṭalḥah b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr al-Ṣiddīq, may God be pleased with him. They belong to three groups: the Banū Ishāq, and it is said that Ishāq is not the name of their ancestor but rather the name given by metonymy to the place where they swore alliance to each other; the Banū Qaşṣah, who consist of many sections scattered around the land; and the Banū Muḥammad, descendants
10 of Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, may God be pleased with him. The dwellings of these Banū Ṭalḥah are at al-Baraġīn¹⁶³ and Ṭaḥā.¹⁶⁴

§ 83 As for the ‘Umarīs found in Egypt, their lineage goes back to ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b al-Ḥaṭṭāb,¹⁶⁵ may God be pleased with him.¹⁶⁶ But the genealogist Ṣarīf Muḥammad b. As‘ad al-Ġawwānī¹⁶⁷ said that this is a lie, as their lineage
15 does not reach him. He also said that he met some of them and demonstrated to them the falsehood of their claims in a scientific manner.

162 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 161 lines 13–15. Al-‘Umarī specifies that these are non-Aṣrāf Quraṣī groups.

163 This is modern al-Burġāyah, al-Bergayah, or al-Borgayah, near al-Minyah. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/3:195.

164 Modern Ṭaḥā l-A‘midah, between al-Minyah and Samallūṭ. It was an important center for textile production in the early Islamic period, mentioned by all the major geographers. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/3:234. For the medieval town, see Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 3:516. Cf. al-‘Umarī *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 162 lines 1–8, who adds the village of Saṭṭ Sakarah.

165 A companion of the prophet and son of the second Caliph. Died in 73/693. See “‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb,” in *ET*² (L. Veccia Vaglieri).

166 Earlier in the treatise, al-Maqrīzī mentions another ‘Umarī group, in connection with the family of Banū Faḍl Allāh, inhabiting the region of Damietta in the Delta (§ 21).

167 Muḥammad b. As‘ad al-Ġawwānī (d. 588/1192) was *naqīb al-aṣrāf* in Cairo under the Ayyūbids and a prolific author on genealogy. He was born in Egypt, but his father and grandfather were known as genealogists in Iraq. He was appointed as *naqīb* after the toppling of the Fāṭimids. Al-Maqrīzī provides a biography of him, citing eighteen titles, mostly on the lineage of the *aṣrāf* and his own family, as well as on Cairo (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Muqaffā*, 5:167–169, no. 1893). Al-Qiftī met him personally and claimed that al-Ġawwānī wrote “so much on genealogy, one even suspects that he tended to lie” (al-Qiftī, *al-Šū‘arā’* 147–148). His preserved works that have been published are *Fī l-farq bayna man ismu abīhi Sallām wa-Salām* and *al-Ġawhar al-maknūn fī ma‘rifat al-qabā’il wa-l-butūn*, or *al-Muqaddimah al-fāḍilah*. The latter was copied in toto by al-Nuwayrī in his *Nihāyat al-arab*.

§ 84 وأما بنو الزبير فهم^١ من ولد عبد الله بن الزبير بن العوام رضي الله عنه، وهم بنو بدر وبنو مصلح وبنو رمضان، ومنهم بنو مصعب بن الزبير رحمه الله ويعرفون بجماعة محمد بن رواق،^٢ ومنهم بنو عروة بن الزبير رحمه الله، وهم بنو غني.^٣ وبلادهم بالبهنسا وما يليها وصار أكثرهم صاحب معاش وأهل زرع وفلاحة وماشية وضرع.

٥ § 85 وأما بنو مخزوم فيزعمون أنهم من ولد خالد بن الوليد رضي الله عنه، وقد اتفق علماء الأنساب على انقراض عقب خالد، ولعلمهم من بني مخزوم وهم أكثر قريش بقية، وفيهم بأس ونجدة وبلادهم متناحمة لمن تقدم ذكرهم. وأما بنو شيبية فينسبون إلى شيبية بن عبد الدار بن قصي ويعرفون بجماعة نهار وديارهم نواحي سَفَط.

١٠ § 86 وأما بنو أمية فمنهم ولد أبان بن عثمان بن عفان رضي الله عنه، وولد خالد بن يزيد بن معاوية ابن أبي سفين، وبنو مسلمة بن عبد الملك بن مروان، وبنو حبيب بن الوليد بن عبد الملك بن مروان

١ فهم: ف "منهم". || عنه: ب ك "عنهما". ٢ رحمه الله: ب "رضي الله عنهما؛ ك "رضي الله عنه". ٣-٢ ويعرفون... الله: ساقط من ب ك. ٤ وضرع: ب "وضرع وغيره". ٦ بأس ونجدة: ب "بأس وشدة ونجدة". ٧ تقدم: ف "يقدم". ٨ نواحي: ف "بنواحي". ١٠ يزيد: في الأصل يبدو أن الناسخ كتب "زيد" ثم أضاف الياء من غير تنقيط فوف نون "بن". ١١ مسلمة: ف "سلمة". || وبنو... مروان: ساقط من ب.

١ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٢ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٠: "فمنهم بنو عبد الله بن الزبير".
٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٤٠٥: "جماعة نجر بن راووق"، العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٢ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٠: "رواق".

٣ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٢ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٠: "بنو غني".

§ 84 As for the Banū l-Zubayr: They are the descendants of ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr b. al-‘Awwām, may God be pleased with him. They are the Banū Badr, Banū Muṣliḥ, and Banū Ramaḍān. They also include the Banū Muṣ‘ab b. al-Zubayr, may God have mercy on him, also known as the band of Muḥammad
 5 b. Rawāq, and Banū ‘Urwah b. al-Zubayr, may God have mercy on him, known as the Banū Ġanī. Their lands are in al-Bahnasā and its surroundings. Most of them work for their livelihood sowing fields, tending to the land, raising cattle, and producing milk.¹⁶⁸

§ 85 As for the Banū Maḥzūm: They claim to be descendants of Ḥālīd b. al-Walīd,¹⁶⁹ may God be pleased with him. But the masters of the science of genealogy are agreed that the line of Ḥālīd became extinct, and therefore they may be descendants of the Banū Maḥzūm. These Banū Maḥzūm are the most numerous among the surviving Qurayṣ, and they have strength and
 10 verve.¹⁷⁰ Their lands border on the lands of those mentioned above.¹⁷¹

15 As for the Banū Ṣaybah, their lineage is traced to Ṣaybah b. ‘Abd al-Dār b. Quṣayy. They are also known as the band of Nahār. Their territory is in the environs of Saḩṩ.¹⁷²

§ 86 As for the Banū Umayyah, they include the descendants of Abān b. ‘Utmān b. ‘Affān, may God be pleased with him, the descendants of Ḥālīd
 20 b. Yazīd b. Mu‘āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān, the Banū Maslamah b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, and the Banū Ḥabīb b. al-Walīd b. ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwān. Their

168 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 162 lines 9–12.

169 Ḥālīd b. al-Walīd b. al-Muġīrah al-Maḥzūmī (d. 21/642), a companion of the prophet and Arab general of the early Conquest period. See “Khālīd b. al-Walīd,” in *EI*² (P. Crone).

170 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 163 line 2. Al-‘Umarī relates that the Banū Maḥzūm were the most noble among the Qurayṣ during the Ġāhiliyyah (*ašrafahum ġāhiliyyatan*). Al-Maqrīzī omits this positive reference to the Ġāhiliyyah.

171 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 162 line 13 to 163 line 3.

172 Saḩṩ is a common prefix for place names in Middle Egypt, including Saḩṩ Maydūm, Saḩṩ Abī Ġirġah, and Saḩṩ al-‘Urfā. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/3:131, 140, 191; Yāqūt, *Mu‘ġam al-buldān*, 3:97. Given the geographical sequence, this could be the modern Saḩṩ al-Nūr, 35 km north of al-Bahnasā. Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 163 lines 4–5.

وَدِيَارِهِمْ تَنْدَةٌ وَمَا حَوْلَهَا، وَمِنْهُمْ الْمُرَوَانِيُّ^١ أَوْلَادُ مَرْوَانَ بْنِ الْحَكَمِ. وَمَرَّتِ الدَّوْلَةُ الْفَاتِمِيَّةُ وَهَمَّ بِأَمَاكِنِهِمْ لَمْ يَرَوْعَ لَهُمْ سِرْبٌ وَلَمْ يَكْدُرْ لَهُمْ شَرْبٌ.

87 § | وَأَمَّا بَنُو سَهْمٍ فَمِنْ وَلَدِ عَمْرُو بْنِ الْعَاصِ بْنِ وائِلِ بْنِ هَاشِمِ بْنِ سَعِيدِ بْنِ سَهْمِ بْنِ عَمْرُو بْنِ هُصَيْيَصِ بْنِ كَعْبِ بْنِ لُؤَيِّ بْنِ غَالِبِ بْنِ فَهْرِ بْنِ مَالِكٍ، وَكَانُوا بِفُسْطَاطِ مِصْرَ، وَفَرَّقَ مِنْهُمْ أَشْتَاتَ بِالصَّعِيدِ، وَهَلُمَّ حَصَّةٌ فِي وَقْفِ عَمْرُو بْنِ الْعَاصِ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ عَلَى أَهْلِهِ بِفُسْطَاطِ مِصْرَ، وَكَانَتْ دُورُ بَنِي سَهْمٍ | حَوْلَ جَامِعِ عَمْرُو بْنِ الْعَاصِ مِنَ الْفُسْطَاطِ إِلَى أَنْ دَثَرَتْ. وَذَكَرَ الزُّبَيْرِيُّ بْنُ بَكَارٍ أَنَّ^{73a} وَلَدَ عَطَاءَ بْنِ قَيْسِ بْنِ عَبْدِ قَيْسِ بْنِ عَدِيِّ بْنِ سَعِيدِ بْنِ سَهْمِ بِمِصْرَ.^٢

88 § | وَكَانَ بِصَعِيدِ مِصْرَ أَوْلَادُ الْكَنْزِ أَصْلُهُمْ مِنْ رِبْعِيَّةِ بْنِ نَزَارِ بْنِ مَعْدِ بْنِ عَدْنَانَ، وَكَانُوا يَنْزِلُونَ الْإِيمَامَةَ وَقَدَمُوا أَرْضَ مِصْرَ فِي خِلَافَةِ الْمُتَوَكِّلِ عَلَى اللَّهِ أَعْوَامَ بَضْعِ وَأَرْبَعِينَ وَمِائَتَيْنِ فِي عَدَدٍ كَثِيرٍ

١ ومرت: ف "موت". ٢ سِرْبٌ: ف "شرب". || يَكْدُرُ: فِي الْأَصْلِ كَشِطُ الْمُقْرِزِيِّ مَا يَلِي الدَّالَ، ثُمَّ أَضَافَ الرَّاءَ. ٣ الْعَاصِ: كُ "الْعَاصِي رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ". ٥ الْعَاصِ: كُ "الْعَاصِي". || رَضِيَ ... عَنْهُ: سَاقَطَ مِنْ كُ. ٦ الْعَاصِ: كُ "الْعَاصِي". || دَثَرَتْ: ف "وَتَرَتْ"؛ كُ "أَنْ" فَوْقَ السُّطْرِ. ٦-٧ وَذَكَرَ ... بِمِصْرَ: الزِّيَادَةُ بِخَطِّ الْمُقْرِزِيِّ فَوْقَ السُّطْرِ فِي الْهَامِشِ الْأَعْلَى مِنَ الْأَسْفَلِ إِلَى الْأَعْلَى؛ ف "بِخَطِّ الْمُؤَلَّفِ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ ... إِلَى هُنَا". ٧ بِنُ ... قَيْسِ: فِي الْهَامِشِ الْأَيْمَنِ مِنْ كُ. || عَدِيِّ: ف "عَلِي". ٨-١٠. ٢. ١٨٢٢-٢٠١٨ أَوْلَادُ ... شَدِيدَةٌ: أَضَافَ الْمُقْرِزِيُّ هَذَا النَّصَّ عَلَى بَعْضِ الطَّيَارَاتِ الَّتِي كَانَتْ مَلصِقَةً فِي الْأَصْلِ وَأَشَارَ إِلَى هَذِهِ الزِّيَادَةِ بِرَمْزِ ٢ بَعْدَ "مِصْرَ" وَخَطِّ مَنْقُطٍ، وَلَكِنْ فَقَدَتْ مَعْظَمَ هَذِهِ الطَّيَارَاتِ رِغْمَ الَّتِي تَوْجَدُ فِي آخِرِ النَّصِّ (وَرَقَّةُ ٧٩) وَهِيَ تَنْتَبِيهِ فِي آخِرِ الْفِقْرَةِ 93 §. لِحَسَنِ الْخَطِّ احْتَفِظْتَ لَنَا بِهَا الْمَخْطُوطَاتِ الْأُخْرَى وَحَقَّقْنَا النَّصَّ مِنْ ف كُ. ٨ رِبْعِيَّةٌ ... مَعْدِ: ب "رِبْعِيَّةُ بْنُ مَعْدِ".

١ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٢ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩١: "المروانة".

٢ نسب عمرو بن العاص هذا مأخوذ في غالب الظن من ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ١٦٥ و١٦٦.

territory is in Tandah¹⁷³ and its surroundings. They also include the Marwāniyyah, that is, the descendants of Marwān b. al-Ḥakam. They have stayed in one place throughout the Fāṭimid Caliphate, their water sources intact, and their flocks unperturbed.¹⁷⁴

- 5 § 87 As for **the Banū Sahm**: They are descendants of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ b. Wā’il b. Hāšim b. Su‘ayd b. Sahm b. ‘Amr b. Huṣayṣ b. Ka‘b b. Lu‘ayy b. Ġālib b. Fihr b. Mālik. They used to reside in Fustat, and groups of them scattered in Upper Egypt.¹⁷⁵ They have a share in the endowment of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, may God be pleased with him, which he established for the benefit of his family in Fustat.¹⁷⁶ The houses of the Banū Sahm were located near the Mosque of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ in Fustat until they disappeared without trace.¹⁷⁷ Al-Zubayr b. Bakkār mentioned that the descendants of ‘Aṭā’ b. Qays b. ‘Abd Qays b. ‘Adī b. Su‘ayd b. Sahm are found in Egypt.

- 15 § 88 Upper Egypt was also home of the Awlād al-Kanz.¹⁷⁸ They are descended from Rabī‘ah b. Nizār b. Ma‘add b. ‘Adnān, and had been dwelling in al-Yamāmah before arriving in large numbers in Egypt at the time of the caliph

11–13 Al-Zubayr ... Egypt : The final sentence was added by al-Maqrīzī on the margins of the text.

173 The modern village of Tandah is in the governorate of Minyah, near Mallawī. Yāqūt describes it as a large village on the western bank of the Nile in the central part of Upper Egypt (*Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 1:877). See *supra* (§ 58) for the identification of Ṭūḥ with Tandah.

174 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 163 lines 6–11.

175 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 163 line 12. Al-‘Umarī describes them as currently residing in Fustat.

176 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 164 line 1.

177 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 164 lines 2–4, citing al-Quḍāī.

178 Al-Maqrīzī added this section on Awlād al-Kanz (§§ 88–93) after completing the work, using an insert that has been now lost in the Leiden manuscript; it is only found in the later copies of the treatise. The Arab dynasty of Awlād al-Kanz or Banū l-Kanz ruled Aswan from the early fifth/eleventh century until the end of the eighth/fourteenth century. See “Kanz, Banu ‘l,” in *ET²* (P.M. Holt). Much of what we know about them comes from this section of the *Bayān*. Al-Maqrīzī also refers to Awlād al-Kanz in his other works, with the *Itti‘āz al-ḥunafā’* covering their installation in Aswan by the Fāṭimids. More information on the Awlād al-Kanz can be gleaned from al-Uḍfūwī, *al-Ṭālī’ al-sā‘id* 29–31 (summarized by al-Maqrīzī in his *al-Ḥiṭat*, 1:366–367), and from al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-‘Arab*, 28:369, 31:43; 32:238–239. Al-‘Umarī does not discuss them in his section on Arab tribes in *Qabā’il al-‘Arab*, but only in the annalistic sections. See al-‘Umarī, *Masālik al-abṣār*, 4:102 (in relation to Dongola); 27:107 (suppression of their rebellion by the Ayyūbids).

وانتشرُوا فِي النُّوَاحِي وَنَزَلَ طَائِفَةٌ مِنْهُمْ بِأَعْلَى الصَّعِيدِ وَسَكَنُوا بِيُوتَ الشَّعْرِي فِي بَرَارِيهَا الْجَنُوبِيَّةِ وَأَوْدِيَّتِهَا وَكَانَتِ الْبِجَّةُ تُشْنُ الْغَارَاتِ عَلَى الْقُرَى الشَّرْقِيَّةِ فِي كُلِّ وَقْتٍ حَتَّى أَنْحَرِبُوهَا، فَقَامَتِ رِبِيعَةٌ فِي مَنْعِهِمْ مِنْ ذَلِكَ حَتَّى كَفُّوهُمْ، ثُمَّ تَزَوَّجُوا مِنْهُمْ وَاسْتَوْلُوا عَلَى مَعْدِنِ الذَّهَبِ الْعِلَاقِي فَكَثُرَتْ أَمْوَالُهُمْ وَاتَّسَعَتْ أَحْوَالُهُمْ وَصَارَتْ لَهُمْ مِرَاقِقُ بِيَلَادِ الْبِجَّةِ وَاسْتَلَطُوا قَرْيَةَ تُعْرَفُ بِالنَّمَامِسِ وَحَفَرُوا بِهَا آبَارًا. ٥

§ 89 ورأس عليهم إسحاق بن بشر مدة ثم خالف عليه بعض أهله. وكانت عيذاب لبني يونس^١ من ربيعة ملكوها عند قدومهم من اليمامة، فجری بينهم وبين بني بشر حروب انهمزوا فيها ومضوا من عيذاب الى الحجاز ثم وقعت حروب بين بني بشر وقتل فيها إسحاق فأحضروا اليهم من بلييس الشيخ أبا عبد الله محمد بن علي بن محمد بن يوسف | المعروف بأبي يزيد بن إسحاق بن إبراهيم بن مسروق.

F 11^b

١ منهم: في ف في الهامش الأيسر + صح. || براريتها: ك + "وأرضها". ٣ منهم: في ك فوق السطر. || العِلَاقِي: ب ك "بالعِلَاقِي". ٤ بالنَّمَامِسِ: ب "بالنَّمَامِسِ". ٦ خالف عليه: ف "حالفه علي". || عيذاب: ف ك "عيذاب". ٨ عيذاب: ف ك "عيذاب". || بين: ف "من". || وقتل: ف ك "قتل". ٩ يزيد: ك "زيد".

١ البكري، المسالك والممالك، ٢: ٦١٩: "بني يونس".

- al-Mutawakkil ‘alā llāh¹⁷⁹ sometime between 240 and 250 [/854 and 864]. They spread through the provinces. A grouping of them came to dwell in the furthest regions of Upper Egypt, inhabiting tents in the southern desert areas and valleys. At the time, the Buḡah¹⁸⁰ tribes used to continuously raid the eastern villages, causing their ruin. The Rabī’ah took charge of averting these attacks and managed to stop them. Afterward they intermarried with the Buḡah and took over the gold mine at al-‘Allāqī.¹⁸¹ They became wealthy and lived lives of ease, with sources of revenue in the lands of the Buḡah. They established a village known as al-Namāmis, where they dug wells.¹⁸²
- 10 § 89 For a while, their leader was Ishāq b. Bišr. He was replaced by another member of his family. At the time, ‘Aydāb belonged to Banū Yūnus of the Rabī’ah, who held it from [the time] they arrived from al-Yamāmah.¹⁸³ Then wars broke out between them and the Banū Bišr, and they were defeated. Banū Yūnus then traveled from ‘Aydāb to the Hijaz. Then there were wars in the Banū Bišr, in which Ishāq was killed. He was replaced by the Ṣayḥ Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf, known as Abū Yazīd b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Masrūq, who was sent from Bilbays.¹⁸⁴

179 “Al-Mutawakkil ‘Alā ’llāh,” in *ET*² (H. Kennedy).

180 The Buḡah (Beja) are nomadic people that inhabited the deserts between the Nile and Red Sea, south of the Qena—Quṣayr route. On their history in the Islamic period, see “Bedja,” in *ET*² (P.M. Holt).

181 Wādī ‘Allāqī was the site of famous gold mines in the lands of the Buḡah, exploited from the ‘Abbāsīd period but abandoned towards the end of the Middle Ages. See Yāqūt, *Muḡjam al-buldān*, 3:710; “al-‘Allāqī,” in *ET*² (G. Wiet).

182 The name al-Namāmis is not otherwise attested. Cf. Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣūrat al-arḍ*, 1:132, on clans of Rabī’ah and Muḍar who married the Buḡah leaders and became politically dominant in these areas.

183 Al-Yamāmah was the eastern region of Naḡd, sometimes identified with the entire interior of the Arabian Peninsula. See “Najd until 1700,” in *EI THREE* (Ph. Pétriat); Yāqūt, *Muḡjam al-buldān*, 5:441–447.

184 Modern Bilbays. See Yāqūt, *Muḡjam al-buldān*, 1:712 (Bilbīs, pronounced Bilbays by the commoners, on the road from Fustat toward Syria).

90 § وهو ابن عم إسحاق بن بشر المقتول ويرجع نسبه إلى مسروق بن معدي كرب بن الحرث بن مسلمة بن عبيد بن ثعلبة بن يربوع بن ثعلبة بن الدول بن | حَنِيفَةَ بن نَجْمٍ بن صَعْبٍ بن علي بن بكر^{79b} ابن وائل بن قاسط بن هنب بن أفصى^٢ بن دُعْمِي بن جديلة^٣ بن أسد بن ربيعة الفرس بن زار بن معد بن عدنان، أم حنيفة صفية بنت كاهل بن أسد بن خزيمية.

91 § فولد حنيفة الدول وعدي وعامر وزيد مناة وحجر أمهم (...). بنت الحرث بن الدول بن صباح ابن عنزة بن أسد. فولد الدول بن حنيفة مرة وثعلبة وعبد الله وذهلاء؛ أمهم عبلة بنت سدوس بن شيبان. فولد ثعلبة بن الدول بن حنيفة يربوع ومعوية. فولد يربوع بن ثعلبة بن الدول ثعلبة وزيد في آخرين. فولد ثعلبة بن يربوع بن ثعلبة عبيدا. فولد عبيد بن ثعلبة بن يربوع بن ثعلبة مسلمة وزيدا والحرث.

١٠ قال الجواني: وبنو الحرث بن مسلمة بن عبيد بن ثعلبة بن يربوع بن ثعلبة بن الدول نخذ بني مسروق بن معدي كرب بن الحرث بن مسلمة المذكور وإلى مسروق هذا | ينتسب كنز الدولة^{79a} حامي أسوان.

٢ بن ٣ ... ثعلبة: في ك في الهامش الأمين. ٢-١٢ حَنِيفَةَ ... أسوان: الزيادة بخط المقرئ علي طيارة كانت ملصقة بين ورقة ٧٢ب و١٧٣أ، وهي موجودة الآن في نهاية النص وثمرتها ٧٩. ٢ نَجْمٍ: ك "لجيم". || بكر: ب ك "بكر". ٣ أفصى: ف "أفصى". || جديلة: ك "جديلة". || بن ٨ ... الفرس: ب "بن الفرس"؛ ك "ربيعة الفرس"؛ ف "القرشي". ٤ حنيفة: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. || كاهل: ف "كامل". ٥ وحجر أمهم: ف "وحجر منهم". || (...): يياض في الأصل بقدر كلمة. ٦ وثعلبة: ف "ثعلب". ٧-٨ وزيد ... ثعلبة: في الهامش الأيسر من ك. ٩ والحرث: ك شط المقرئ كلمة أخرى ("قال") قبل أن يثبتها كما هي الآن، ثم أعاد كلمة "قال" في الهامش الأيسر من الأسفل إلى الأعلى. ١٠ الجواني: ف "الجواني". || بن ثعلبة: الكلمتان ساقطتان من ف. ١١ مسلمة: وضع المقرئ ثلاث نقط تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالسین. || المذكور: كلمة ساقطة من ب.

١ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٨٩٩: "بكر".

٢ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٤٠: "وأما هنب بن أفصى فمنهم التبر ووائل ابنا قاسط بن هنب".

٣ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٧: "جديلة"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٣٩: "ابن أفصى بن دُعْمِي بن جديلة"؛ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٢٩٥، ٣٠٠، ٦٩: ٤.

٤ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٣١٠-٣١٢.

٥ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١١: "كنز الدولة وله مقامات مع الدول مذكورة".

§ 90 He [Abū Yazīd b. Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Masrūq] was the paternal cousin of Ishāq b. Bišr who was killed. His lineage goes back to Masrūq b. Ma‘dī Karib b. al-Ḥārīt b. Maslamah b. ‘Ubayd b. Ṭa‘labah b. Yarbū‘ b. Ṭa‘labah b. al-Dūl¹⁸⁵ b. Ḥanīfah b. Nuḡaym b. Ṣa‘b b. ‘Alī b. Bukayr b. Wā‘il b. Qāsiṭ b. Hinab b. Afṣá b. Du‘mī b. Ğadīlah b. Asad b. Rabī‘ah al-Faras [al-Qurašī] b. Nizār b. Ma‘add b. ‘Adnān. The mother of Ḥanīfah [b. Nuḡaym] was Ṣafīyyah bt. Kāhil b. Asad b. Ḥuzaymah.

§ 91 Ḥanīfah was the father of al-Dūl, ‘Adī, ‘Āmir, and Zayd Manāh. Their mother, Ḥaḡar, was the daughter of al-Ḥārīt b. al-Dūl b. Ṣubāh b. ‘Anazah b. Asad. Al-Dūl b. Ḥanīfah was the father of Murrah, Ṭa‘labah, ‘Abd Allāh, and Duhl.¹⁸⁶ Their mother was ‘Ablah bt. Sadūs b. Šaybān. Ṭa‘labah b. al-Dūl b. Ḥanīfah bore Yarbū‘ and Mu‘āwiyah. Yarbū‘ b. Ṭa‘labah b. al-Dūl bore Ṭa‘labah. Some others added that Ṭa‘labah b. Yarbū‘ b. Ṭa‘labah bore ‘Ubayd. ‘Ubayd b. Ṭa‘labah b. Yarbū‘ b. Ṭa‘labah bore Maslamah, Zayd, and al-Ḥārīt.

15 Al-Ġawwānī said that the Banū l-Ḥārīt b. Maslamah b. ‘Ubayd b. Ṭa‘labah b. Yarbū‘ b. Ṭa‘labah b. al-Dūl are from the clan of the aforementioned Banū Masrūq b. Ma‘dī Karib b. al-Ḥārīt b. Maslamah. This Masrūq is the ancestor of Kanz al-Dawlah,¹⁸⁷ the protector of Aswan.¹⁸⁸

185 Vocalization uncertain.

186 Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 310–312.

187 As the following paragraph (§ 92) explains, the title Kanz al-Dawlah was granted to Abū l-Makārim Hibat Allāh in 397/1007 by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim for services rendered in capturing the rebel Abū Rakwah. See “Banū ‘l-Kanz,” in *ET*² (P.M. Holt).

188 This link between Banū Maslamah and the Awlād al-Kanz also appears in the genealogical section of al-Nuwayrī’s *Nihāyat al-arab*, 2:332. Al-Ġawwānī states that there is an ‘ašīrah of al-Ḥārīt b. Maslamah in Aswan, with no mention of Banū Kanz (*al-Ġawhar al-maknūn* 110).

§ 92 فنزل إلى أسوان وأنشأ مكانه المعروف بساقية شعبان ولم يزل رئيسا على ربيعة حتى مات. فقام برئاستهم بعده ابنه أبو المكارم هبة الله بن الشيخ أبي عبد الله محمد بن علي ويعرف بالأهوج المطاع. وهو الذي ظفر بأبي الركونة الخارج على الحاكم بأمر الله وقبض عليه فأكرمه الحاكم إكراما عظيما ولقبه كنز الدولة وهو أول من لقب بذلك منهم.

5 § 93 ولم تزل الإمارة افيهم، وكلهم يعرفون بكنز الدولة حتى كان آخرهم كنز الدولة فقتله الملك العادل أبو بكر بن أيوب في سابع صفر سنة سبعين وخمسائة عندما حالف على السلطان صلاح

١ فنزل ... أسوان : ساقط من ب. || إلى : كلمة ساقطة من ك. ٢ ويعرف : ك "يعرف". ٣ الركونة : ب ف "ركونة". ٥ يعرفون : ب ك "يعرف". ٦ حالف : ب ك "خالف".

- § 92 He (Masrūq) came to dwell in Aswan, where he established a place for himself known as Sāqiyat Ša‘bān.¹⁸⁹ He remained the leader of the Rabī‘ah until his death. He was replaced by his son Abū l-Makārim Hibat Allāh b. al-Šayḥ Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, also known as al-Ahwaḡ al-Muṭā‘
- 5 [literally, “The tall man who should be obeyed”]. He is the one who secured victory over Abū l-Rakwah, the leader of the rebellion against al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh,¹⁹⁰ and captured him [Abū l-Rakwah].¹⁹¹ Al-Ḥākim bestowed on him generous honors and gave him the title “Kanz al-Dawlah,” a title that he was the first to carry.¹⁹²
- 10 § 93 The amirs continued to come from this house, and they were all known as Kanz al-Dawlah. The last of them was killed by al-Malik al-‘Ādil Abū Bakr b. Ayyūb on 7 Šafar 570 [/13 September 1174].¹⁹³ This Kanz al-Dawlah dis-

189 We haven’t found any other reference for this place name.

190 Al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh was the sixth Fāṭimid caliph. He ruled in Cairo from 386/996 until 411/1021. See “al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh,” in *EI THREE* (P.E. Walker).

191 Al-Walīd b. Hišām Abū Rakwah was a pseudo-Umayyad pretender who led a revolt against the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim. See “al-Walīd b. Hishām,” in *EI²* (H. Halm).

192 On the capture of Abū Rakwah and the granting of the title, see Van Nieuwenhuysse (2003): 258–261; Brett (2017): 141. The *Bayān* offers here the most complete account. Contemporary sources, such as al-Anṭākī, do not report this incident. For more on the Awlād al-Kanz under the Fāṭimids, see al-Maqrīzī, *Itti‘āz al-ḥunafā’*, 2:316, 3:35, 161, 255.

193 The claim that the last Kanz al-Dawlah was killed by the Ayyūbids demonstrates that this section is taken verbatim from a seventh-/thirteenth-century work. Al-Maqrīzī was well aware of the continued power of the Banū l-Kanz throughout the Mamlūk period, until the early ninth/fifteenth century.

الدين يوسف بن أيوب وجمع لحربه وقتل أخاه أبا الهيجاء السمين. ودعا الأمير داود بن العاضد. وكان قتله على مدينة طود بعد حروب شديدة.

94 § كنانة هم بنو كنانة بن نخزيمة بن مدركة بن إلياس بن مضر بن نزار بن معد بن عدنان، وهم بنو الليث وبنو ضمرة ابنا بكر بن عبد منات^١ بن كنانة وبنو فراس بن غنم بن ثعلبة بن^٢ مالك بن كنانة، ولم تمكنهم قريش من التعدي إلى بلادها عند قدومهم من بادية الحجاز إلا بمراسلة بني إبراهيم بن محمد. وكان مع كنانة جماعة من أخلاط العرب دخلت في لفيقها،^٣ وبنو الليث منهم سكان ساقية قلته وبقايم فيما يليها.

١ أخاه: ب ك "أخا". || ودعا: ك "ودعي". || الأمير: ب ك "لأمير". || العاضد: ب "العضد". ٢ وكان قتله: ب ك "محمد". || بعد ... شديدة: على هامش ف "من أولاد الكنز إلى هنا انتهت الطرة بخط المؤلف رحمه الله". ٣ هم: الزيادة بخط المقرئ. ٤ ابنا: ف + "أبو". || منات: ف "مناف"؛ ك "مناة". ٥ تمكنهم: كلمة ساقطة من ب. ٦ لفيقها: ف "في كنفها". || سكان ساقية: في الأصل كشط المقرئ كلمتين كانتا بين هاتين، ثم كشط السين في "ساقية" وأعادها بإطالة.

١ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١١٦٠: "عبد مناة"؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٥١: "عبد مناة"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٤ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩١: "عبد مناة".
٢ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٥ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٢: بن الحارث بن مالك.
٣ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٤ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩١: "لفيقها".

obeyed Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf b. Ayyūb and gathered forces to fight him, killed his brother Abū l-Hayḡā' al-Samīn [the Fat], and rallied for the amir Dāwūd b. al-Āḡid to become caliph.¹⁹⁴ He was killed in the city of Ṭawḡ¹⁹⁵ after heavy fighting.¹⁹⁶

- 5 § 94 As for **the Kinānah**,¹⁹⁷ they are the Banū Kinānah b. Ḥuzaymah b. Mudrikah b. Ilyās b. Muḡar b. Nizār b. Ma'add b. Ādnān. They are the Banū l-Layṭ and Banū Ḍamrah, who are the two sons of Bakr b. 'Abd Manāt b. Kinānah; and Banū Fīrās b. Ġanm b. Ṭa'labah b. Mālik b. Kinānah.¹⁹⁸ When they came over from the deserts of the Hijaz, the Qurayṣ only let them [the
10 Kinānah] reach their lands through the intercession of the Banū Ibrāhīm b. Muḡammad. The Kinānah were joined by a mixed group of Arabs that came into their fold. Some of the Banū l-Layṭ of Kinānah reside in Sāqiyat Qul-tah,¹⁹⁹ and the rest are in neighboring lands.²⁰⁰

194 Al-Āḡid, the last Fāṭimid caliph, died in Muḡarram 567/September 1171. See "al-Āḡid li-Dīn Allāh," in *ER*² (G. Wiet). On the attempt to revive the Fāṭimid caliphate under his son Dāwūd, see Brett (2017): 294.

195 Modern Ṭud or Ṭod, an ancient town in the Luxor Governorate. Yāqūt inaccurately claims that it was only established at the time of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn by the Kurdish amir Dirbās al-Aḡwal. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 24:162; Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-buldān*, 3:556.

196 This account of the defeat of Kanz al-Dawlah by al-Malik al-Āḡid appears to be an imprecise abridgment of accounts reported by Ibn al-Aṡṡir, *Chronicle*, 2:230 and al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 28:369. According to Ibn al-Aṡṡir, "One of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's amirs was there at his fief, namely the brother of the Amir Abū l-Hayḡā' the Fat, and he was killed by al-Kanz. His brother, one of the greatest and bravest amirs, was outraged at his killing and marched to fight al-Kanz. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn sent with him several amirs and a good many of the army. They came to the town of Ṭawḡ, which resisted them. They fought the inhabitants, overcame them and killed many of them, who were reduced to a humiliated and subdued state after wielding power. After they had finished with Ṭawḡ, the army marched toward al-Kanz, who was lost in his tyrannical course. After bringing him to battle, he and the Arabs and others with him were killed. After him the land became safe and its people lived in peace and security." According to Ibn al-Aṡṡir, the amir who was killed was the brother of Abū l-Hayḡā' the Fat, not the brother of Kanz al-Dawlah. Cf. al-Maqṡrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 1:167–168; Ibn Ḥaldūn, *al-Ibar* (Beirut), 5:338, in which Kanz al-Dawlah is said to champion the caliphate of Dāwūd b. al-Āḡid; Ṭud is mentioned as the base of Kanz al-Dawlah's main ally, a villager called 'Abbās b. Ṣādī.

197 The Banū Kinānah b. Ḥuzaymah were an Arab tribe which, in the pre-Islamic period, held territories around Mecca. See "Kināna," in *ER*² (W. Montgomery Watt).

198 Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ḡamharat ansāb al-'Arab* 465.

199 I.e. Saqultah.

200 Cf. al-Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'Arab* 164 lines 6–14. Al-Maqṡrīzī omits a quote from 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib about the special qualities of the Kinānah.

§95 وبالصعيد أيضا طائفة من الأنصار رضي الله عنهم. **والأنصار** قبيل عظيم من قبائل الأزد، وقيل لهم الأنصار من أجل أنهم نصرُوا رسولَ الله صلى الله عليه وسلم، وهم الأوس والخزرج ابنا حارثة^١ {وهو} العنقاء بن عمرو وهو مزريقاء^٢ بن عامر وهو ماء السماء بن حارثة، وهو الغطريف^٣ ابن امرئ القيس بن ثعلبة بن مازن بن الأزد،^٤ هكذا تقول الأنصار.

٥ وقال ابن الكلبي وغيره عمرو مزريقاء بن عامر بن حارثة بن ثعلبة بن امرئ القيس بن مازن بن الأزد.

§96 ومنهم بأرض مصر بنو محمد وبنو عكرمة، وديارهم بحري منفلوط. فأما بنو محمد فمن ولد حسان بن ثابت بن المنذر بن حرام بن عمرو بن زيد مناة بن عدي بن عمرو بن مالك بن التجار أبي الوليد الأنصاري رضي الله عنه.^٥ وبنو عكرمة ينسبون إلى سيد الأوس سعد بن معاذ بن النعمان ابن امرئ القيس بن زيد بن عبد الأشهل بن جشم بن الحرث بن الخزرج بن النبيت، وهو عمرو ابن مالك بن الأوس الأنصاري الأشهلي أبو عمرو رضي الله عنه.

١٠

٣ وهو: في الأصل وف "هم" والصواب أثبتناه من ك "وهو". || السماء: في ك في الهامش الأيسر.
٨ أبي: ك "بن". ٩ وبنو: ف "وهو". ١٠ عبد الأشهل: ب "عبد الأشهل بن الأشهل".

١ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥ و٤: ١١٣: "وكان لحارثة بن ثعلبة ولدان ... أوس ... خزرج.
٢ ابن حبيب، مختلف القبائل ٥٤؛ ابن الكلبي، نسب معد، ١: ٣٦٤؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣١٩:
"مُرَيْقِيَاءُ؛ البكري، المسالك والممالك، ١: ١٦٣: "عمرو بن عامر مزريقاء؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤:
٤٢: "عمرو مُرَيْقِيَاءُ بن عامر"؛ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٨٤-٤٨٥.

٣ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣١٩: "الغَطْرِيفُ".
٤ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٣٣١؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ٤٢: "الغَطْرِيفُ بن امرئ القيس البهلُولُ بن ثَعْلَبَةَ بن مازن بن الأزد".

٥ أورد ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٣٤٧، أن عقب حسان بن ثابت انقطع بعد ابنه عبد الرحمن.

§ 95 Upper Egypt also has a grouping of the Anṣār [“Supporters”], may God be pleased with them. The Anṣār are a large confederacy of the Azd tribes. They are so named because they supported the Messenger of God, may God’s peace and blessings be upon him. They are al-Aws and Ḥazrağ, the two sons
 5 of Ḥārīṭah, whose name is al-‘Anqā’, son of ‘Amr whose name is Muzayqiyā’, son of ‘Āmir whose name is Mā’ al-Samā’, son of Ḥārīṭah whose name is al-Ġīṭrīf, son of Imrū’ al-Qays b. Ṭa’labah b. Māzin b. al-Azd.²⁰¹ This is the line narrated by the Anṣār.

10 However, Ibn al-Kalbī²⁰² and others report the lineage as ‘Amr Muzayqiyā’ b. ‘Āmir b. Ḥārīṭah b. Ṭa’labah b. Imru’ al-Qays b. Māzin b. al-Azd.²⁰³

§ 96 The Anṣār found in Egypt are the Banū Muḥammad and Banū ‘Ikrimah. Their territories are north of Manfalūṭ. The Banū Muḥammad are descendants of Ḥassān b. Ṭābit b. al-Mundir b. Ḥarām b. ‘Amr b. Zayd Manāt b. ‘Adī
 15 b. ‘Amr b. Mālik b. al-Nağğār Abū l-Walīd al-Anṣārī, may God be pleased with him.²⁰⁴ The Banū ‘Ikrimah go back to the noble leader of Aws, Sa’d b. Mu‘āḍ b. al-Nu‘mān b. Imru’ al-Qays b. Zayd b. ‘Abd al-Ašhal b. Ğušam b. al-Ḥārīt b. al-Ḥazrağ b. al-Nabīt—whose name is ‘Amr b. Mālik b. al-Aws al-Anṣārī l-Ašhalī Abū ‘Amr, may God be pleased with him.²⁰⁵

201 Cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥṭalif al-qabā’il* 54; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma’add*, 1:364; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 331.

202 The famous genealogist Hišām b. Muḥammad b. al-Sā’ib Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819 or 206/821), author of *Ġamharat al-nasab*. See “al-Kalbī,” in *EI*² (W. Atallah).

203 Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 331; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma’add*, 1:363–364.

204 Ḥassān b. Ṭābit was the most prominent of several poets associated with the rise of Islam. See “Ḥassān b. Ṭābit,” in *EI*² (W. ‘Arafat). According to Ibn Ḥazm (*Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 347), the line of Ḥassān b. Ṭābit became extinct with his son ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.

205 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 164 lines 15–17. In the *Bayān* the lineage of Ḥassān and Sa’d is given in a much longer form.

§97 وبأرض مصر **عوف** بن سُلَيْمٍ بن منصور بن عكرمة بن خصفة^٢ بن قيس بن عيلان وهم بنو عوف بن بُهْثَةَ بن سُلَيْمٍ بن منصور، نَفَذَ، وبنو عوف بن بَهْزِ بن امرئ القيس بن بُهْثَةَ،^٣ نَفَذَ، وبنو عوف بن فالج بن ذكوان بن ثعلبة بن بُهْثَةَ، نَفَذَ، وعوف هؤلاء في بلاد الصعيد وفي الفيوم وفي البحيرة وفي برقة إلى بلاد المغرب منهم أمم لا تحصى كثيرة.

§98 وبأرض مصر أيضا **فزارة** قيس وهم بنو فزارة بن ذُيَّان بضم الذال المعجمة بن بغيض بن ريث بن غطفان بن سعد بن قيس عيلان، وسمي فزارة واسمه عمرو لأن سعد بن ذبيان أخاه فزر ظهره، فكانت | به فزرة فسمي فزارة.^٥ وفي فزارة هذه عدة عشائر كبنِي شَمَخٍ^٦ وظالم ومرة^{73b}

١ بنِي: فِي الْأَصْلِ يَبْدُو أَنَّ النَّاسِخَ كَتَبَ "هُوَ"، ثُمَّ كَشَطَ الْمُقْرِزِي الْمَاءَ وَصَحَّحَ الْكَلِمَةَ كَمَا هِيَ الْآنَ؛ فِ "ابْنِ"؛ كِ "عُوفٍ" فِي الْهَامِشِ الْأَيْمَنِ. || خِصْفَةَ: بِ "حِصْفَةَ"؛ كِ "خِصْفَةَ". || عَيْلَانَ: بِ "عَيْلَانَ". ٢ بَهْزِ: فِ "كِ" "بَهْرٍ". ٦ قَيْسِ عَيْلَانَ: بِ "بِنِ عَيْلَانَ"؛ كِ "قَيْسِ عَيْلَانَ"؛ فِ "بِنِ عَيْلَانَ". ٧ فَسَمِيَ فِزَارَةَ: كَلِمَتَانِ سَاقِطَتَانِ مِنْ بِ.

- ١ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٤ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٢: "فن بن سُلَيْمٍ".
- ٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٠٥٣: "حفصة"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٤: "خِصْفَةَ بِنِ قَيْسٍ".
- ٣ هكذا فِي ابْنِ حَزْمٍ، جَمْهَرَةُ أَنْسَابِ الْعَرَبِ ٤٦٨؛ الْقَلْقَشَنْدِي، نَهَايَةُ الْأَرْبِ، رَقْمُ ٦٠٦: "بُهْثَةَ"؛ ابْنِ خَلْدُونَ، الْعَبْرُ (تُونِسْ)، ٤: ١٥٥: "بُهْثَةَ".
- ٤ ابْنِ حَزْمٍ، جَمْهَرَةُ أَنْسَابِ الْعَرَبِ ٤٦٨: "ذِكْوَانَ بِنِ رِفَاعَةَ بِنِ الْحَارِثِ بِنِ بُهْثَةَ"؛ ابْنِ الْكَلْبِيِّ، جَمْهَرَةُ النِّسْبِ ٤: "ذِكْوَانَ بِنِ ثَعْلَبَةَ بِنِ الْحَارِثِ بِنِ بُهْثَةَ".
- ٥ الْبَلَاذُرِيُّ، أَنْسَابُ الْأَشْرَافِ، ١٣: ٩٧.
- ٦ ابْنِ حَبِيبٍ، مَخْتَلَفُ الْقَبَائِلِ ٦٧، ٩٠: "شَمَخِ بِنِ فِزَارَةَ"؛ ابْنِ حَزْمٍ، جَمْهَرَةُ أَنْسَابِ الْعَرَبِ ٢٥٥، ٢٥٨: "بِنُو شَمَخِ بِنِ فِزَارَةَ".

§ 97 **The Banū ‘Awf** b. Sulaym b. Maṣṣūr b. ‘Ikrimah b. Ḥaṣafah b. Qays b. ‘Aylān are also in Egypt. Their sections are the Banū ‘Awf b. Buḥṭah b. Sulaym b. Maṣṣūr; Banū ‘Awf b. Bahz b. Imru’ al-Qays b. Buḥṭah; and the Banū ‘Awf b. Fāliḡ b. Ḍakwān b. Ṭa‘labah b. Buḥṭah.²⁰⁶ These ‘Awf are present in Upper
 5 Egypt, in the Fayyum, in al-Buḥayrah, and in Barqah²⁰⁷ toward the Maghrib; they are innumerable.²⁰⁸

§ 98 **The Fazārah** of Qays are also in Egypt. They are descendants of Fazārah b. Ḍubayān (with a *ḍammah* over the dotted *ḍāl*) b. Baḡiḍ b. Rayṭ b. Ġaṭafān b. Sa‘d b. Qays ‘Aylān. His real name was ‘Amr, but he was called Fazārah
 10 because his brother Sa‘d b. Ḍubayān struck him on the back (*fazara*), so he had a hump on his back (*fuzrah*).²⁰⁹ There are several solidarity groups in the Fazārah, such as the Banū Šamḡ,²¹⁰ Banū Zālim, Banū Murrah, Banū

206 Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 468 (Ḍakwān b. Rifā‘ah b. al-Ḥāriṭ b. Buḥṭah); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ġamharat al-nasab* 94 (Ḍakwān b. Ṭa‘labah b. al-Ḥāriṭ b. Buḥṭah).

207 Barqah was the name of a town—now known as al-Marḡ—and the region that belonged to it, corresponding to Cyrenaica in modern Libya. See “Barqa,” in *EI*² (J. Despois).

208 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 164 line 18 to 165 line 2. The listing of the sections of the ‘Awf is not in al-‘Umarī’s text. Al-Qalqašandī mentions Upper Egypt, the Fayyum, and al-Buḥayrah as regions occupied by the ‘Awf, and attributes this information to al-Ḥamdānī (*Qalā’id al-ġumān* 126).

209 The same etymology is reported in al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb al-ašraf*, 13:97.

210 Cf. Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥṭalif al-qabā’il* 67, 90 (Šamḡ b. Fazārah); Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 255, 258 (Banū Šamḡ b. Fazārah).

ومازن^١ وشكّم^٢ وسعد ولوذان^٣ وغير ذلك. وفزاة هذه منها جماعة بالصعيد وجماعة بضواحي القاهرة في قليوب وما حولها، وبهم عرفت البلد المسماة بخراب فزارة.

99 § وبأرض مصر أيضا **لواتة**؛ وهم يزعمون أنهم من قيس، ثم من ولد لؤا بن بربر بن جابر بن بغيض بن ريث بن غطفان بن سعد بن قيس عيلان وقيل بر بن قيس عيلان^٥ وقيل بر بن معد ابن عدنان^٦، وزعموا أن معد ابن عدنان تزوج امرأة من بني إسرائيل فولدت له بر بن معد ثم عاد معد إلى الحجاز وترك بر عند أمه، فخرج عندما كبر إلى أبيه معد فتعلم العربية بالحجاز، وكان يعرف العبرانية لغة أمه. فلها مات أبوه معد بن عدنان ترك بر إخوته نزار بن معد وغيره ومضى نحو المغرب فتزوج هناك وأعقب، وهذا قول باطل.

١ ولوذان: ب "لودان". || بضواحي: ف "بنواحي". ٣ ثم من: في الأصل كشط المقرئ عبارة أخرى قبل أن يصححها كما هي الآن. || لؤا: ف "لواتة". || بربر: ب "بر"، ف "بريد". ٤ قيس: ف + "بن". || قيس عيلان: في الأصل كشط المقرئ عبارة أخرى قبل أن يصححها كما هي الآن. || عيلان: ب ك "غيلان". ٤-٥ وقيل ... عدنان: الزيادة بخط المقرئ في آخر السطر في الهامش الأسفل إلى الأعلى. ٤ بر: ف "بربر". || عيلان: ب ك "غيلان". || بر: ف "بربر". ٥ بر: ف "بربر". ٦ بر: ف "بربر". ٧ لغة أمه: ف "لقدامة". || بر: ف "برا".

١ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٢٥٥؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥١؛ "عدي وسعد وشمخ ومازن وظالم".

٢ البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف، ١٣: ١٥٦؛ "شكّم/شكّم بن عديل".

٣ البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف، ١٣: ١٥٦؛ "لؤذان بن تَعْلَبَة بن عَدِي بن فَزَارَة"؛ عن نسب بني فزارة راجع البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف، ١٣: ١٥٣ إلى ١٥٦؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥١؛ "لؤذان".

٤ عن النطق الصحيح لكلمة لواتة انظر ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٦ إلى ٤٩٨.

٥ البكري، المسالك والممالك، ١: ٣٢٩؛ "بربر بن قيس بن عيلان".

٦ البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف، ٧: ١؛ ذكر ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٥، بإيجاز الدعاوى التي تجعل نسل البربر ينحدر من حمير أو من بر بن قيس عيلان، ثم فند كلا النسبين.

Māzin, Banū Šakm, Banū Sa'd, Banū Lawḍān and others.²¹¹ There is a band of the Fazārah in Upper Egypt and a band in the suburbs of Cairo, around Qalyūb²¹² and its surroundings. The town known as Ḥarāb Fazārah²¹³ is named after them.²¹⁴

- 5 § 99 Also in Egypt are the **Lawātah**, who claim that they are descended from Qays, through Lawā b. Barbar b. Ġābir b. Baḡīḍ b. Rayṭ b. Ġaṭafān b. Sa'd b. Qays 'Aylān. Others say they are descendants of Barr b. Qays 'Aylān or Barr b. Ma'add b. 'Adnān.²¹⁵ They claim that Ma'add b. 'Adnān married an Israelite woman who bore him Barr b. Ma'add. Then Ma'add returned to the Hijaz
10 and left Barr with his mother. When Barr had grown, he left for his father Ma'add and learned Arabic in the Hijaz, for his mother's tongue was Hebrew. When his father Ma'add b. 'Adnān passed away, Barr left his brothers Nizār b. Ma'add and the others, and traveled toward the Maghrib, where he married and had children. This claim is false.

211 On the genealogy of Fazārah, see al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb al-ašrāf*, 13:153–156.

212 An ancient town in the Nile delta, 20 km north of Cairo. See "Qalyūb," in *EI²* (A. Richter).

213 Modern al-'Amār al-Kubrā in al-Qalyūbiyyah. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:43; Halm (1979–1982), 2:327. Ḥarāb Fazārah is mentioned in a Geniza letter of the sixth/twelfth century as a locality on the road from Maḥğ to Cairo (Goitein [1967–1988], 1:426n13).

214 Cf. al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'Arab* 165 lines 3–5. The *Bayān* is more expansive than al-'Umarī's text, as al-Maqrīzī lists the lineage of the Fazārah, the etymology of the name, and the solidarity groups among the Fazārah. Al-Qalqašandī, who claimed a Fazārah lineage for himself, also cites an informant on the Fazārah clans in Barqah (*Qalā'id al-ğumān* 113).

215 Al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb al-ašrāf*, 1:7. Ibn Ḥazm briefly mentions the claims that the Berbers are descended from Ḥimyar or from Barr b. Qays 'Aylān, and then refutes both claims (*Ğamharat ansāb al-'Arab* 495).

§100 وزعم بعضهم أن بر إنما هو من ولد قيذار بن إسماعيل وأنه كان ارتكب ذنبا فطرده أبوه قيذار وقال له "البرُّ البرُّ اذهب يا بر فما أنت بر". فأتى فلسطين فتزوج امرأة من العماليق فولدت له لواتة ومزاتة وزنارة وهوارة وزويلة ومغيلة^٢ وملطة^٣ وكامة وغمارة ونفوسة. فلما قتل جالوت على يد نبي الله داود عليه السلام دخلوا إلى بلاد المغرب. وهذا القول أيضا لا يصح.

§101 وقيل بل البربر من ولد قبط بن قنط؛ بن بيصر بن حام وأن أفريقس بن قيس^٥ بن صيفي بن زُرعة وهو حمير الأصغر بن سبأ الأصغر افتتح إفريقية فسميت به، وقيل ملكها جرجير فسميت حينئذ البرابر براير، وذلك أنه قال لهم ما أكثر بريرتكم. والذي يشبه الصواب أنهم من ولد كنعان بن حام بن نوح ثم من ولد بر، ويقال بر ابن بديان ابن كنعان المذكور.^٦

١ بر: ف "براً". || قيذار: ف "قيزار"، ك "قيدار". ٢ قيذار: ف "قيزار"، ك "قيدار". || البرُّ: كلمة ساقطة من ف. ٣ مزاتة: ف "مزانة". || ومغيلة: ب "مغيلة"، ف "مغيلة". || وغمارة: ف "وعمارة". || جالوت: ف "حالفه". ٥ من: في ك فوق السطر. || بن قنط: كلمتان ساقطتان من ب. ٦ جرجير: في الأصل كشط المقرزي نهاية الكلمة بعد الجيم الثانية، ثم صحها كما هي الآن. || فسميت: ك + "به". ٧ لهم: ف "له". ٨ نوح: ب + "عليه السلام". || بر: ب "برير".

- ١ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٣٣٥: "قيدار".
- ٢ البكري، المسالك والممالك، ٢: ٧٩٨: "مغيلة".
- ٣ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٥ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٢: "مليكة".
- ٤ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٥ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٢: "من ولد فقط بن حام"، ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٣: ٣٢: "من ولد مصر بن حام".
- ٥ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٢: "أفريقس بن قيس".
- ٦ عن دعوى انتساب البربر إلى كنعان انظر ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٥.

§ 100 Some of them claim that Barr is the son of Qayḏār (Qeidar) b. Ismāʿīl. After he committed a sin, his father Qeidar banished him, telling him: “Out, out (*al-barr, al-barr*). Go away, Barr, for you are not dutiful (*barr*).” Then Barr went to Palestine and married an Amalekite woman, who bore him Lawātah, Mazātah, Zanārah, Hawwārah, Zawīlah, Maḡīlah, Maliṭah, Kutāmah, Ġumārah,²¹⁶ and Nafūsah.²¹⁷ After Goliath was killed by the Prophet David, may the peace of God be upon him, they migrated to the lands of the Maghrib.²¹⁸ This claim is also not true.

§ 101 Some say that the Berbers are descendants of Qibṭ b. Qifṭ b. Bayṣar (Betzer) b. Ḥām, and that Afrīqīs b. Qays b. Ṣayfā b. Zurʿah, known as Ḥimyar the Younger son of Sabaʿ the Younger, was the one who conquered Ifrīqiyah,²¹⁹ and it was named after him. It is said that the name of its king was Ġarḡīr, and the Berbers were called Berbers because he said to them: “You make so much gibbering noise (*barbarah*).”

But it is most likely that the Berbers are descendants of Kanʿān (Canaan) b. Ḥām b. Nūḥ, through their ancestor Barr, who some say is the son of Badyān, son of the above mentioned Kanʿān.²²⁰

216 “Ghomâra (Ghumara, Ghmara),” in *EB*, 20:3110–3119 (G. Camps and J. Vignet-Zunz).

217 “Nefoussa (tribu)/Nafûsa (arabe)/Infusen (berbère),” in *EB*, 33:5359–5363 (Abderrahmane Khelifa).

218 For the descent of the Berbers from Goliath, see al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʾil al-ʿArab* 165 lines 7–13; al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, 1:222.

219 The eastern part of Muslim north Africa, including the area of Modern Tunisia. See “Ifrīkiya,” in *ET*² (M. Talbi).

220 On the claim that the Berbers are descended from Kanʿān, see in more detail Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-ʿArab* 495.

§102 وَأَنْ {ضَرِي} بِنِ {زَجِيك} ١ بِنِ مَادَغَسَ بِنِ بَرُولِدِ لَهُ بَرَمَادَغَسَ وَبُرُنْسَ ٢، فُولِدِ بُرُنْسَ كُتْمَاةَ وَعَجِيْسَةَ وَمَصْمُوْدَةَ ٣ وَأُوْرِيَّةَ ٤ وَوَرْدَاةَ ٥ وَأُوْرِيَّةَ ٦ فُولِدِ أُوْرِيغَ بِنِ بُرُنْسَ بِنِ {ضَرِي} {هُوَارَ} ٧ وَوَلِدِ مَادَغَسَ بِنِ {ضَرِي} {زَجِيك} فُولِدِ زَجِيكَ ٨ ضَرِي ٩ وَوَلِيَّ الْكَبِيْرَ ١٠ وَهُوَ لُوَاتَةُ، وَنَفُوْسُ وَأَدَاشُ ١١

١ ضَرِي ... زَجِيك : ب ف ك "صري بن وجيك". || ضَرِي ... مَادَغَسَ : فِي الْأَصْلِ "صري بن وجيك بن مَادَغَسَ"، وَالصَّوَابُ أَثْبَتَاهُ مِنَ الْأَصْلِ فِي بَاقِي الْكُتَابِ، وَفِي ابْنِ خَلْدُونَ، الْعَبْرُ (تُونَسَ)، ١١: ١٩٦-١٩٧: "مَادَغَسَ". || بَرَمَادَغَسَ : فِي الْأَصْلِ كَشَطُ الْمُقْرِيزِيِّ كَلِمَةٌ أُخْرَى قَبْلَ أَنْ يَصْحَحَهَا كَمَا هِيَ الْآنَ. || وَبُرُنْسَ : فِي الْأَصْلِ كَشَطُ الْمُقْرِيزِيِّ مَا قَبْلَ النَّوْنِ، ثُمَّ صَحِحَ الْكَلِمَةُ كَمَا هِيَ الْآنَ. ٢ وَمَصْمُوْدَةَ : كِ "مَصْمُوْدَ". || وَأُوْرِيَّةَ : فِي الْأَصْلِ "أُوْرِيَّةَ" ثُمَّ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ "أُوْرِيغَ"؛ فِ "وَإُوْرِيَّةَ". || ضَرِي : الْأَصْلُ ب ف كِ "صري". || هُوَارَ : فِي الْأَصْلِ كَشَطُ الْمُقْرِيزِيِّ حَرْفًا أَوْ حَرْفَيْنِ فِي نِهَآئِ الْكَلِمَةِ؛ بِ "هُوَارَةَ". ٣ ضَرِي ١: الْأَصْلُ ب ف كِ "صري". || فُولِدِ زَجِيكَ : سَاقَطَ مِنْ كِ. || زَجِيك ... ضَرِي ٢: ب "زجيك ضري"؛ فِ "رَجِيكِ صري". || وَأَدَاشُ : كَذَا فِي الْأَصْلِ وَبَاقِي الْمَخْطُوْطَاتِ.

- ١ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٦: "زَجِيك".
- ٢ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٢: "بُرُنْسَ"، ١١: ١٩٦: "بُرُنْسَ".
- ٣ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٣: "مصمودة".
- ٤ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ١٦٧: "أُوْرِيَّةَ"؛ الْبَكْرِي، الْمَسَالِكُ وَالْمَمَالِكُ، ٢: ٧٩٨: "أُوْرِيَّةَ"؛ ابْنِ خَلْدُونَ، الْعَبْرُ (تُونَسَ)، ١١: ١٩٣: "أُوْرِيَّةَ".
- ٥ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ١٦٧: "إِرْدَوَاحَةَ"؛ ابْنِ خَلْدُونَ، الْعَبْرُ (تُونَسَ)، ١١: ١٩٣: "أَزْدَاةَ".
- ٦ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٤: "أُوْرِيغَ"؛ الْقَلْقَشَنْدِي، قَلَائِدُ الْجَمَانِ ١٦٧: "أُوْرِيَّةَ"؛ ابْنِ حَزْمٍ، جَمْهَرَةُ أَنْسَابِ الْعَرَبِ ٤٩٦: "كُتْمَاةَ، صِنْهَاجَ، أَجِيْشَةَ، مَصْمُوْدَةَ، أُوْرِيَّةَ، أَزْدَاةَ وَأُوْرِيغَ".
- ٧ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٤: "وَمِنْ أُوْرِيَّةَ: هُوَارَةَ".
- ٨ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "زَجِيك" (الكَافُ بِهَذَا الشَّكْلِ تَتَطَّقُ كَالْجِيمِ الْمِصْرِيِّ الْآنَ).
- ٩ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "ضري".
- ١٠ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٦: "لُوِيَّ".
- ١١ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٦: "أَدَاشُ"؛ ابْنِ خَلْدُونَ، الْعَبْرُ (تُونَسَ)، ١١: ١٩٦: "أَدَاشُ بِنِ زَجِيك"؛ ١١: ٣٤٩: "إِدَاسَ".

§ 102 Ḍarī b. Zağğik b. Mādğis²²¹ b. Barr bore Barrmādğis and Burnus. Burnus bore Kutāmah, ‘Ağīsah, Maşmūdah,²²² Awrabah,²²³ Wardāğah, and Awrīğ.²²⁴ Awrīğ b. Burnus b. Ḍarī bore Hawwār. Mādğis b. Ḍarī bore Zağğik. Zağğik bore Ḍarī, Lawá the Elder—that is Lawātah—, Nufūs, and Addās.²²⁵ The

221 Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 496 (Zağik). It is quite probable that the correct Berber form is Zağğig which means flower. See “Madghis ou Madghès,” in *EB* 30:4482–4483 (A. Khelifa).

222 “Masmuda,” in *EB*, 30:4644–4646 (A. Khelifa).

223 The Leiden manuscript has Awriyah. For the alternative Awrabah, see al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, 1:253; “Koceila,” in *EB*, 28–29:4255–4264 (Y. Moderan).

224 The Leiden manuscript has Awrīğah. Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 496 (Kutāmah, Şinhāğah, ‘Ağīsah, Maşmūdah, Awrabah, Azdāğah, and Awrīğ).

225 The Leiden manuscript has Addāš. Correction from Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 496.

فَتَزَوَّجَ أُمَّ أَدَّاشَ هَذَا {أَوْرَيْغٌ} بِنِ بَرْنُسَ وَالِدِ هَوَّارَةَ فَدَخَلَ نَسَبَهُ فِي هَوَّارَةَ فَوَلَدَ أَدَّاشَ بْنَ زَجِيكَ
ابْنَ مَادْعَسَ وَسَفَّاتَةَ^٢ وَأَنْزَارَةَ^٣ وَهَتْرُوتَةَ^٤ وَصَنْبِرَةَ^٥ وَهَزَّاعَةَ^٦ وَأَوْطَيْطَةَ^٧ وَتَرْهَنَةَ^٨، فَصَارَتْ هَذِهِ
كُلُّهَا فِي هَوَّارَةَ^٩.

١ أَوْرَيْغٌ: فِي الْأَصْلِ "أَرْزَيْغٌ" وَالصَّوَابُ أُثْبِتْنَاهُ مِنْ ب ف ك وَفِي الْأَصْلِ أَيْضًا الَّذِي يَرِدُ فِيهِ الْاسْمُ بِصِيغَةِ
أَوْرَيْغٍ لِأَحْقَا. ٢ وَسَفَّاتَةَ: ب "وَسَفَّانَةَ"؛ ك "وَأَسْفَاتَةَ". ٣ وَهَتْرُوتَةَ: ف "وَهَتْرُوتَةَ"؛ ك "وَهَنْزُوتَةَ". ٤
وَصَنْبِرَةَ: ف "وَصَنْبِرَةَ"؛ ك "صَنْبِرَةَ" ثُمَّ "صَنْبِرَةَ" مَصْحُوحَةٌ فِي الْهَامِشِ الْأَيْسَرِ. ٥ وَهَزَّاعَةَ: ك "هَزَّاعَةَ". ٦
وَتَرْهَنَةَ: ف "تَرْهَنَةَ"؛ ك "تَرْهَنَةَ". ٧ فِي: كَلِمَةٌ سَاقِطَةٌ مِنْ ف.

١ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٦: "أم أَدَّاس تزوجها بعد زجيج أوريغ ابن عمه برنُس".

٢ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٦: "وسفارة".

٣ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٦: "وأندارة".

٤ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٦: "هنزوتة".

٥ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٦: "صنبرة".

٦ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٦: "هراغة".

٧ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٦: "أوطيطة".

٨ البكري، المسالك والممالك، ٢: ٧٩٨؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٦: "ترهنة".

٩ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٦: "وسفانة، أندارة، هتروقة... هراغة".

mother of Addās married Awrīġ b. Burnus, the father of Hawwārah, so his line mingled with that of Hawwārah. Addās b. Zaġġik b. Mādġis bore Wasfātah, Anzārah, Hatrūtah, Şanbarah, Huzāġah, Awṭīṭah, and Turhanah; all of them have come to be of Hawwārah.²²⁶

226 See “Madghis ou Madghès,” in *EB*, 30:4482–4483 (A. Khelifa).

§103 وولد ضَرِي بن زَجِيك بن مادَغَس ١ ينجي | وتمزيت، ٢ فولد ينجي بن ضَرِي بن زَجِيك زانا 74^a وهو أبو زَنَاته وسَمِجان وورسَطَف، ٣ فولد زانا أبو زَنَاته ورَسِيح والديديت وفرَينِي، فولد فرَينِي بن زانا بن يحيى بَرَمَرَتَناءُ ورجلة ومَنجَصَة ومالملة، وولد ورسيح بن زانا مَسَارَت وبني ناجرة وبني وأسِين، ٦ وولد ورسَطَف ٧ بن يحيى مكاسَة وأوكثة ٨ ووزنتاج فولد وزنتاج ٩ مكَنَسَة وبطالسة ١٠

١ ضَرِي ١: ف "صري". || بن ٢... زَجِيك ٢: في الهامش الأيسر في ك. || ينجي: في الأصل كشط المقرزي كلمة أخرى قبل أن يصححها كما هي الآن. || ضَرِي ٢: ف "صري". || بن ٤: كلمة ساقطة من ب. ٢ زَنَاته ١: في الأصل كشط المقرزي ما قبل التاء، ثم صححها كما هي الآن. || وسَمِجان: ف "وسمجان". || ورَسِيح: ف "رسيح". ٣ مَسَارَت: ف "نسارت". ٤ ورَسَطِف: ب ك "ورسطيف". || وأوكثة: ك "وأوكثة"، ف "أولثة". || فولد وزنتاج: ساقط من ب ك.

١ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٢: "ضري بن رحيك بن مادغش"، ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "ضري بن زجيج بن مادغس".

٢ هكذا في ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٦؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "تمصيت بن ضري" (يزاي على الصاد لتلفظ الحرف البربري بين الصاد والزاي)، ولكن في ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٢٢: ٢٦٦: "تمريت"، وهو تحريف.

٣ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٨: "وسمجان وورصطف".

٤ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٦: "برمرختا".

٥ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٦: "بنو مسارت، بنو تاجرة".

٦ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٦-٤٩٨.

٧ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٦: "ورسطف"، ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٨: "ورصطف".

٨ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٦: "أوكثة"، ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٨: "أوكثة".

٩ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٦: "وزنتاج"، ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٨: "وزنتاج".

١٠ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٨: "بطالسة".

§ 103 Ɖarī b. Zağğīk b. Mādğis bore Yaḥyá and Tamzīt. Yaḥyá b. Ɖarī b. Zağ-
 ğīk bore Zānā, who is the ancestor of Zanātah, Simğān, and Warsaṭṭaf.²²⁷
 Zānā, the ancestor of Zanātah, bore Warsiğ, Aldidīt, and Fariynī. Fariynī b.
 Zānā b. Yaḥyá bore Barmarnatā, Rağlah, Manğaşah, and Namālatah. Warsiğ
 5 b. Zānā bore Masārat, Banū Nāğīrah, and Banū Wāssīn. Warsaṭṭaf b. Yaḥyá
 bore Miknāsah,²²⁸ Awkaṭah, and Wazintāğ. Wazintāğ bore Miknāsah, Baṭā-

227 The Leiden manuscript has Warsaṭf. Correction from Ibn Ḥazm, *Ğamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 496.

228 “Miknaça/Miknasa (Imeknasen),” in *EB*, 32:5019–5021 (A. Khelifa).

وَكُونِبَطَّةٌ^١ وَسَرْرَجَةٌ^٢، وَوَلِدُ سِمْحَانَ^٣ بَنُ بِيحِي زَوَاعَةَ، وَزَوَاوَةٌ^٤، وَوَلِدُ تَمْرِيْتِ بْنِ ضَرِي^٦ مَطْمَاطَةٌ^٧ وَصَدْفُورَةٌ^٨ وَمَلْيَاةٌ^٩ وَمَدْعُوعَةٌ^{١٠} وَصَدِّيْنَةٌ^{١١} وَمَغْيَلَةٌ^{١٢} وَمَلْزُوزَةٌ^{١٣} وَكَشَائَةٌ^{١٤} وَدَوْنَةٌ^{١٥} وَمَدْيُونَةٌ.

١ وَكُونِبَطَّةٌ : ب " كُونِبَطَّةٌ "؛ ف " لُونِبَطَّةٌ "؛ ك " كَرْتِبَطَّةٌ " . || وَسَرْرَجَةٌ : ب ك " سَوْرَجَةٌ " . || سِمْحَانَ : ف " سِمْحَانَ " . || وَزَوَاوَةٌ : ك " وَوَزَارَةٌ " . || ضَرِي : ف " صَرِي " . ٢ وَمَلْيَاةٌ : فِي الْأَصْلِ كَشَطُ الْمُقْرِيزِيِّ مَا قَبْلَ الْمِيمِ ، ثُمَّ صَحَّحَ الْكَلِمَةَ كَمَا هِيَ الْآنَ . || وَمَدْعُوعَةٌ : ب " مَدْعُوعَةٌ " . || وَمَلْزُوزَةٌ : ك " وَمَكْرُوزَةٌ " . || وَكَشَائَةٌ : ف " كَشَائَةٌ " . || وَمَدْيُونَةٌ : ف " وَمَدُونَةٌ " .

١ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٨: "كُونِبَطَّةٌ".
٢ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٦: "بَطَّالْسَةُ، كَرْنِبَطَّةٌ وَسَدْرَارَجَةٌ"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٨: "سَدْرَجَةٌ".

٣ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٨: "سِمْحَانَ".
٤ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ٢٨٥: "زَوَاعَةَ".
٥ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٦؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٨، ٢٨٣: "زَوَاوَةٌ".
٦ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٨: "تَمَصَّيْتِ (بِرَّايِ عَلَى الصَّادِ لِتَلْفِظِ الْحَرْفِ الْبَرِّيِّ بَيْنَ الصَّادِ وَالزَّايِ) بِنِ ضَمْرِي".

٧ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ٢٧٠: "مَطْمَاطَةٌ".
٨ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "صَطْفُورَةٌ".
٩ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٨، ٣٦٦: "مَلْيَاةٌ".
١٠ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٨: "مَطْغَرَةٌ".
١١ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٨: "صَدِّيْنَةٌ".
١٢ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ٣٧٥: "مَغْيَلَةٌ".
١٣ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٨، ٣٦١: "مَلْزُوزَةٌ".
١٤ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٨، ٣٦١: "كَشَائَةٌ".

١٥ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٦: "مَطْمُوطَةٌ، صَدْفُورَةٌ، مَلْيَاةٌ، مَدْعَرَةٌ، صَدِيدَلَةٌ، مَغْيَلَةٌ، مَلْزُوزَةٌ، كَشُونَةٌ/كَشَائَةٌ، دَوْنَةٌ وَمَدْيُونَةٌ"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٨: "دَوْنَةٌ، وَمَدْيُونَةٌ"؛ ١١: ٣٦١: "مَدْيُونَةٌ، دَوْنَةٌ".

lasah, Kawnabṭah, and Sararġah.²²⁹ Simġān b. Yaḥyá bore Zawāġah²³⁰ and Zawāwah.²³¹ Tamzīt b. Ḍarī bore Maṭmāṭah, Ṣadfūrah, Lamāyah, Madġuwah, Ṣaddīnah, Maġīlah, Malazūzah, Kušātah, Dawnah, and Madyūnah.²³²

229 Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-ʿArab* 496 (Baṭālasah, Kaznīṭah, and Sadrarġah).

230 See “Kabylië: La région dans les écrits arabes,” in *EB*, 26:4016–4022 (R. Bellil), with alternative reading Zawāġah.

231 See Lanfry (1978).

232 Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-ʿArab* 496 (Maṭmāṭah, Ṣadfūrah, Lamāyah, Madġarah, Ṣadīlah, Maġīlah, Malzūzah, Kušānah/Kašānah, Dawnah, and Madyūnah).

§104 وولد لوى أبو لواتة نَفَزَاوًا بِالسِّينِ ٢ وَلِوَا الصَّغِيرِ بْنِ لَوَا ٣ الْكَبِيرِ تَرَكَهُ أَبُوهُ حَمَلًا فَوَلَدَ نَفَزَاوُ بْنُ لَوَا يَطُوفُ فَوَلَدَ يَطُوفُ؛ {الخاص} ٥ وَمَرْئِيسَةَ ٦ وَزَهِيلَةَ ٧ وَسُومَاتَةَ وَزَيْتَمَ ٨ وَوَرَجُولَ ٩ وَوَرَعْرُوسَ ١٠ وَغَسَّاسَةَ وَوَرْدِينَ ١١ وَوَسِيفَ، ١٢ وولد الخاص دَحِيَّةً وَتَبْرَغَاسَنَ، ١٣ فَوَلَدَ دَحِيَّةُ بْنُ الْخَاصِ ١٤ بِنَ

١ نَفَزَاوُ بِالسِّينِ: ب ك "نفرأ بن يالين"؛ ف "نفرأ بالسين". || ولوا: ف "ولوى". || لوا: ف "لوى". || نَفَزَاوُ: ك "نفرأ". ٢ لوا: ف "لوى"؛ ف في ك في الهامش الأيمن. || فولد ... الخاص: في ك في الهامش الأيسر. || الخاص: في الأصل "ألماضة" والصواب استدركاه من باقي النص. || وَمَرْئِيسَةَ: ف "ومرئيسة". || وَسُومَاتَةَ: في الأصل كشط المقرئ ما بين السين والألف، ثم أضاف الواو والميم؛ ب ك "وسوعاة". || وَوَرَجُولَ: ب "ووجول"؛ ف "وورجول". || وَوَرَعْرُوسَ: ف "وورعروس"؛ ك "وورعروس". ٣ وَوَسِيفَ: ب "روسيف". || دَحِيَّةُ ١: ساقط من ب. ٣-١.202 فولد ... وترير: في الهامش الأيمن من ك. ٣ الخاص ٢: ف "العاص".

- ١ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "يَطُوفُ بْنُ نَفَزَاوُ".
- ٢ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "نَفَزَاوُ (بِالسِّينِ بَيْنَ الزَّايِ وَالسِّينِ)؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٦: "نَفَزَاوُ بِالسِّينِ بَيْنَ الزَّايِ وَالسِّينِ".
- ٣ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٦: "لَوَى الْأَصْغَرَ بْنَ لَوَى الْأَكْبَرَ".
- ٤ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "يَطُوفُ"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "يَطُوفُ".
- ٥ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "الْخَاصَّةُ"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "وَلْخَاصَّةُ، وَوَلْخَاصُ".
- ٦ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "مَرْنَيْسَةَ".
- ٧ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "زَهِيلَةَ".
- ٨ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "زَاتِيمَةَ"؛ ١١: ٣٥١: "زَاتِيمَةَ".
- ٩ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "وَرَجُولَ".
- ١٠ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "وَرَعْرُوسَ".
- ١١ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "رَدِينَ".
- ١٢ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "مَرْئِيسَةَ وَزَهِيلَةَ وَبَجْرَ وَسُومَاتَةَ وَزَيْتَمَ/زَيْتَمَ وَوَرَجُولَ وَوَرَعْرُوسَ وَغَسَّاسَةَ وَوَرْدِينَ وَوَسِيفَ"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "ورسيف".
- ١٣ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "تَبْرَغَاسَنَ"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "تَبْرَغَاسَ".
- ١٤ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "الْخَاصُّ"؛ ١١: ٣٥١: "وَلْخَاصُ".

§ 104 Lawá, the ancestor of Lawātah, bore Nafzāw (with a *sīn*)²³³ and Lawā the Younger, son of Lawā the Elder, whose father left before he was born. Nafzāw b. Lawā bore Yaṭuwaft,²³⁴ and Yaṭuwaft bore Alhāṣ,²³⁵ Marnīсах, Zahīlah, Sūmātah, Zayyatm, Warġūl, Warġrūs, Ġassāsah, Wardīn, and
 5 Wasīf.²³⁶ Alhāṣ bore Diḥyah and Tayrġāsn. Diḥyah b. Alhāṣ b. Yaṭuwaft b.

233 Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-ʿArab* 497, states that the name is pronounced “with a *sīn* between *zāy* and *šīn*.”

234 See “Nefzaoua (Nafzawa): Moyen-âge,” in *EB*, 33:5389–5392 (A. Khelifa) (Itouwaft fils de Nefzaou).

235 “Nefzaoua (Nafzawa): Moyen-âge,” in *EB*, 33:5389 (A. Khelifa) (Oulhassa/Ulhāṣṣa).

236 Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-ʿArab* 497 (Alhāṣah, Marnīсах, Zahīlah, Maġar, Sūmātah, Zayyatm, Warġūl, Warġūs, Ġasāsah, Wardīn, and Wassīf).

يَطُوفُ بِنَافِزَاوِ بْنِ لَوْأَ، مَلِيْنٌ ٢ وَيَقُوْنِي ٣ وَوَرْتَدِيْنٌ ٤ وَتَرِيْرٌ ٥ وَوَرْتِيُوْتٌ ٦، فُوْلَدُ تَبْرِغَاسِنَ بْنِ الْهَاصِ ٧ وَرَجُوْمٌ ٨ فُوْلَدُ وَرَجُوْمٍ وَوَأَجْنٌ ٩ وَبُوْرَغَشٌ ١٠ وَمَا تَيْجِدَلٌ ١١ وَكُرْطِيْطٌ وَوَوَغَاوٌ ١٢ وَزَجَّالٌ وَسِيْبِيْتُ ١٣، وَوَلَدٌ

١ نَفَزَاوُ: ف "نفزاو". || لوا ملين: ب "مين"، ك "لوامين". || ويقوني: ك "ويقوين"، ف "يقوفي". || وترير: في الأصل الكلمة محوّة وأعيدت كتابتها "تر"؛ ف "وترتر"، ك "وترير". || وورتيوت: ب "ورتيون". || بن الهاص: ف "بن ابن الهاص". ٢ وما تيجدل: ف "وما تيجدن". || ووغوا: ب "ووتمو". || وسبييت: ب ف "وسبييت"، ك "وسبييت".

- ١ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "نفزاو".
- ٢ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "مليْن".
- ٣ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "ويَعُون".
- ٤ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧، ٢٥١: "وَرْتَدِيْنٌ".
- ٥ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "تريْر".
- ٦ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "وَرْتِيُوْتٌ"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "وَرْتِيُوْتٌ".
- ٧ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "تَبْرِغَاسِنَ ابْنِ الْهَاصِ"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "تَبْدَغَاسَ بْنَ وَلِھَاصٍ".
- ٨ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "وَرَجُوْمٌ".
- ٩ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "وَأَجْنٌ"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "وَأَنْجِرٌ".
- ١٠ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "بُوْرَغَشٌ".
- ١١ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "مَا تَيْجِدَلٌ"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "مَا تَيْجِدَلٌ".
- ١٢ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: تريْر.
- ١٣ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "كُرْطَا وَوَتْمُو وَزَجَّالٌ وَسِيْبِيْتُ"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "سِيْبِيْنْتُ".

Nafzāw b. Lawā bore Mlīn, Yaqūnī, Wirtidīn, Tarīr,²³⁷ and Wartyūt. Tayrgāsn b. Alhāš bore Warfġūm,²³⁸ and Warfġūm bore Wānġan, Būrġaš, Māytiġdil, Kurtīt, Waġwā, Zaġġāl, and Siyīt.²³⁹ Lawā b. Lawā bore Māšalah, Yanṭit,

237 Uncertain vocalization due to an undotted letter.

238 “Ourfedjouma,” in *EB*, 36:5980 (A. Khelifa).

239 Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-ʿArab* 497 (Wānġan, Būrġš, Māytiġdil, Kurtā/Krṭā, Wanmū, Zaġġāl, and Sbit).

لوا بن لوا ماصلة^١ وينطط وكطوف وزاير، فولد ماصل^٢ بن لوا بن لوا عنزورة^٣ وأكورة^٤؛ وولد كُريط سدرائة^٥.

§105 ويقال أن مغراوة^٦ وهو من زِنانة تزوج أم سِدْرائة^٧ وكان سدرائة أخوا أولاد مغراوة^٨ لأهم، وولد كطوف جدانة^٩ ومغاغة^{١٠} وولد أوريغ بن برُّس هَوارة ومَلد ومَقَر وفلن،^{١١} فولد مَلد بن أوريغ مَليلة وسَطط^{١٢} وروفل وأسيل ومسرّاة، ويقال لهؤلاء لهانة^{١٣} <وولد> مَقَر بن

١ وينطط: ك "وينطيط"؛ ب "ينطيط". || وكطوف: ف "ولطوف". || عنزورة: ف "عزورة". ٢ كُريط: في الأصل كشط المقرزي مايلي الرء، ثم صحح الكلمة كما هي الآن. || سدرائة: ف "سدرانه". ٣ مغراوة: ب "مغواراة"؛ ك "مغواراة". || وهو... مغراوة^٢: في الأصل الزيادة بخط المقرزي في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح، ويشير إليها رمز ٢ بعد "مغراوة". || سِدْرائة^١: ف "سِدْرانه". || سدرائة^٢: ف "سِدْرانه". || مغراوة^٢: ب ك "مغواراة". ٤ كطوف: ف "لطف". || جدانة: ب "جداتة". || ومغاغة: ب "مغاغة"؛ ف "مقاغة". || أوريغ: ف "وريغ". || ومَقَر: ك "صقر". || وفلن: ب "فلن". ٥ وروفل: ف "وروفك". || وولد: كلمة مضافة ليستقيم المعنى. ٥-١٢٠٦ وولد... فلن: ساقط من ب.

- ١ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "ماضل"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "مأصلة".
- ٢ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "ماصل".
- ٣ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "عَنْزُورَة"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "عَنْزُورَه".
- ٤ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "أَكُورَة"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "أَكُورَة".
- ٥ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "سدرائة"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٦: "سَدْرَائَة".
- ٦ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٦: "مَغْرَاوَة".
- ٧ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "سَدْرَائَة"؛ ١١: ٣٥٦: "سَدْرَائَة".
- ٨ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "فصار سدرائة أخوا أولاد مغراو لأهم"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٦: "فصار سَدْرَائَة أخوا بني مَغْرَاوَة لأهم".
- ٩ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "جدانة".
- ١٠ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "مغاغة"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ٣٥٦: "مغاغة".
- ١١ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "هوار وملك ومقر وفلن"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٤، ٣٠٦: "ومن أوريغة: هَوارة ومَلد ومَقَر وفلن".
- ١٢ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٧: "سَتَات".
- ١٣ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٤: "بنو لهان بن مَلد".

Kaṭṭūf, and Zāyir.²⁴⁰ Māṣalah b. Lawā b. Lawā bore ‘Unzūrah and Ukūrah.²⁴¹ Kurṭīṭ bore Sidrātah.²⁴²

§ 105 Some say that Maḡrāwah of Zanātah married the mother of Sidrātah, and so Sidrātah was the brother of the descendants of Maḡrāwah on their
5 mother’s side. Kaṭṭūf bore Ğidānah and Maḡāḡah. Awrīḡ b. Burnus bore Hawwārah, Mald, Maqqar, and Faldan. Mald b. Awrīḡ bore Malilah, Saṭaṭ, Rawfal, Asīl, and Misrātah, and these are called Lahānah.²⁴³ Maqqar b. Awrīḡ

240 Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 497 (Luwā b. Luwā bore Māḡal/Māḡil, Kaṭṭūf/Kaṭūf, and Zāyir).

241 Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 497 (Ġanzūrah and Akūrah).

242 Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 497 (Sadrātah).

243 Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 497 (Malk b. Awrīḡ bore Sattāt, Warfal, Asīl, and Misrātah).

أُورِيغُ مَأُوسَ وَزُمُورَ وَكَبَّاءَ وَمَسْرَايَ،^٢ وَوَلَدَ فُلْدَانَ^٣ بِنَ أُوْرِيغِ قِصَانَةَ، وَوَرَسَطِيفَ^٥ وَبِلَ وَبِيَاتَةَ،^٦ وَيُقَالُ إِنَّ صَنْهَاجَ وَلَطُ إِئْمَا هُمَا^٧ ابْنَا امْرَأَةَ يُقَالُ لَهَا تَزُّيْ^٨ لَا يَعْرِفُ لَهَا أَبٌ، تَزَوَّجَهَا أُورِيغُ فَوَلَدَتْ لَهُ هَوَّارَ فَهَمَّ إِخْوَةَ لَأَمٍ.^٩

§ 106 ولزارة بطون عظيمة كبنين برزال وبني دمر^{١٠} ومغراوة وبني صغمار،^{١١} ويقال إن سدرانة^{١٢} ومزارة ولواتة من القبط.^{١٣}

١ مَأُوسُ : كَلِمَةٌ سَاقِطَةٌ مِنْ ك. || وَمَسْرَايَ : ك. «وَبَارَ مَسْرَاتِي». || وَبِيَاتَةَ : ب. «وَسِبَاتَةَ»؛ ف. «وَبِيَاتَةَ»؛ ك. «بِيَاتَةَ». ٢ هُمَا : ك. «إِئْمَا». || لَهَا : سَاقِطٌ مِنْ ف. ٤ وَلِزَارَةَ : ب. «لِزَارَتِهِ». || بَرَزَالَ : ف. «بِرْذَالَ». || صَغَمَارُ : ب. «صَبِغَارُ»؛ ك. «صَبِغَانُ». || سِدْرَانَةَ : ف. «سِدْرَانَةَ».

١ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٤: «كَبَّاءَ».

٢ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٨: «مأوس وزمور وكبا ومسرات»؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٤: «مَسْرَايَ»، وفي ١١: ٣٠٦: «مَسْوَايَ» وهو غلط.

٣ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٨: «فُلْدَانَ».

٤ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٤: «قِصَانَةَ».

٥ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٨: «وَرَسَطِيفَ»؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٤: «وَرَسَطِيفَ».

٦ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٨؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٤، ٣٠٦: «بِيَاتَةَ، وَبِلَ».

٧ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٨: «إِئْمَا هُمَا».

٨ القلقشندي، فلائد الجمان ١٧٠؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٢: «بَصَلِي»؛ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٨: «تَزُّيْ»؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ٣٠٥، ٣٣٩: «تِصْكِي الْعَرَجَاءِ، يُقَالُ لَهَا الْعَرَجَاءُ».

٩ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٨.

١٠ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٨: «بِنِي دَمَّرَ»؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ٢٨٦: «بِنِ دَمَّرَ».

١١ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٨.

١٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٠٠٧: «سِدْرَانَةَ».

١٣ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٩٨: «وَذَكَرَ لِي أَنَّ نَسَابِي...»؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ٢٥٦: «نَسَابَةُ الْبَرَبْرِيزَعُونَ..... مِنَ الْقِبْطِ».

bore Māwas, Zamūr, Kubbā, and Masrāy.²⁴⁴ Faldan b. Awrīg bore Qamšānah, Warsaṭṭaf, Ball, and Bayātah. It is said that Ṣanhāğ and Lamṭ are the two sons of a woman called Tuzukkī, of unknown parentage. Awrīg married her and she bore him Hawwār, so they are brothers on their mother's side.²⁴⁵

- 5 §106 The Zanārah branch out into many sections, such as the Banū Birzāl,²⁴⁶ Banū Dammar, Mağrāwah,²⁴⁷ and Banū Sağmār.²⁴⁸ It is said that Sidrātah, Mazātah, and Lawātah are descendants of Copts.²⁴⁹

244 Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-ʿArab* 497 (Māwas, Zammūr, Kubbā/Kabā, and Masrāt/Misrāt).

245 Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-ʿArab* 497.

246 See “Birzāl, Banū,” in *EI*³ (Helena de Felipe).

247 “Maghraoua—Maghrāwa (Tribu),” in *EB*, 30:4686–4687 (A. Khelifa); “Maghrāwa,” in *EI*² (T. Lewicki).

248 Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-ʿArab* 498 (Sağmār). We prefer this reading, as the name Asmğar/Aşmğar is still common in Morocco.

249 Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-ʿArab* 498 (Sadrātah, Mazātah, and Lawātah).

§107 وفي لواتة عدة بطون كبنى بلار وبني محدول وبني حديدي^١ وقطوفة وبركين ومالوا ومزورة. فأما بنو حديدي^٢ فإنهم مجمع أولاد قريش وأولاد زعازع^٣ وهم أشهر من في الصعيد. وأما قطوفة فإنها تجمع مغاعة وواهلة؛^٤ وأما بركين فإنها تجمع بني زيد وبني روحين^٥. وأما مزورة فإنها تجمع بين {وركان} وبني عرواس^٦.

١ وبني محدول: في الأصل وب "بنو محدول"؛ ك "مجدول". ١-٢ وقطوفة ... حديدي: ساقط من ب. ١ وبركين: ك "وركين". ٢ حديدي: ف "حديري". || زعازع: في الأصل ب "زعارع"، والصواب أثبتناه من الأصل وب فيما بعد ومن ف ك "زعازع". ٣ وواهلة: ب "رواهلة". || روحين: ب "روحين". ٣-٤ وأما ... عرواس: ساقط من ب. ٣ مزورة: ف "تزودة". ٤ وركان: في الأصل "وثكان" وهو تصحيف كما سيأتي تصحيحه فيما بعد.

١ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ١٧٣: "جديدي".

٢ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ١٧٣: "جديدي".

٣ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٣٢٣: "زعازع"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ٣١١: "ولد زعازع".

٤ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٥؛ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٦٤٨: "وواهلة"، رقم ١٤٦٦: "وقطوفة بجمع وآهله" (وهذا غلط)؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٦ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٣: "وواهلة".

٥ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٥؛ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٥٨٣: "روحين"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٦ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٣: "روحين".

٦ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٥؛ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ١٧٣: "ومزورة تجمع بني وركان وبني غرواسن"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٦ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٣: "وركان وبني عرواس".

§ 107 The Lawātah have several sections, such as the Banū Ballār, Banū Maḥ-
 dūl, Banū Ḥadidī, Qaṭūfah, Barkīn, Mālū, and Mazūrah. As for the Banū
 Ḥadidī, they are the union of Awlād Qurayš with Awlād Za‘āzi‘, and are the
 most famous [of the Lawātah] in Upper Egypt. The Qaṭūfah are the union of
 5 Maḡāḡah and Wāhilah, while the Barkīn are the union of the Banū Zayd and
 Banū Rawḥīn. The Mazūrah are the union of the Banū Warkān²⁵⁰ and Banū
 ‘Arwās.²⁵¹

250 MS: Waḡkān. Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 166 line 5.

251 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 166 lines 1–5.

§108 وأما بنو بلار ففرقتان، فرقة | {بالهنساوية} وفرقة بالجيزية، فالتى بالهنساوية بنو محمد وبنو علي وبنو نزار ونصف بني شهلان،^١ والتي بالجيزية بنو محمول^٢ وسقارة^٣ وبنو أبي كبير^٤ وبنو الجلاس^٥ ونصف بني شهلان،^٦ ويقال لهذه الفرقة التي تنزل الجيزية حدوخاص^٧ وللفرقة التي تنزل الهنساوية البلارية.

١ فرقتان: في الأصل كشط المقرزي حرفين الراء والقاف. || بالهنساوية: في الأصل "الهنسية"، وفي ك "بالهنساوية" مصححة في الهامش الأيمن. وصحنا الكلمة لأن المقرزي صححها فيما بعد. || بالجيزية: في الأصل كشط المقرزي حرفين الجيم والياء ونهاية الكلمة، ثم صححها كما هي الآن؛ ب "الجيزة"؛ في ك الكلمة مصححة. || بالهنساوية: في الأصل كشط المقرزي ما يلي الألف، ثم صحح الكلمة كما هي الآن. ٢ بالجيزية: في الأصل كشط المقرزي ما يلي الزاي، ثم صححها كما هي الآن؛ ب "الجيزة". || محمول: ف "مجدول"؛ ك "مجدول". || وسقارة: في الأصل الكلمة غير واضحة، أثبتناها من ف ك "سقارة"؛ الكلمة ساقطة من ب. || وبنو: في الأصل "وبنوا" بألف الوقاية. ٣ الجلاس: ف "الجلاس". || الجيزية: في الأصل كشط المقرزي ما يلي الجيم، ثم صححها كما هي الآن؛ ب ك "الجيزة". || حدوخاص: ب "حدر خاص". || وللفرقة: كلمة ساقطة من ك. ٤ الهنساوية: في الأصل كشط المقرزي ما يلي الألف، ثم صحح الكلمة كما هي الآن.

١ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٥: "شهران".

٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٨٣: "مجدول"؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٥: "مجدول".

٣ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٥، القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٨٣: "وسقارة".

٤ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٥؛ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٨٣: "بنو أبي كبير"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٦ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٣: "بنو أبي كبير".

٥ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٥: "الجلاس"؛ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٨٣: "الجلاس"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٦ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٣: "الجلاس".

٦ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٨٣: "شهران"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٦ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٣: "شهران".

٧ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٥؛ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٨٣: "جدوخاص"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٦ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٣: "حدو خاص".

§108 As for the Banū Ballār, there are two groups of them, one in the province of al-Bahnasā and one in the province of Giza. The group in the province of al-Bahnasā consists of the Banū Muḥammad, Banū ‘Alī, Banū Nizār, and half of Banū Ṭahlān. The group in the province of Giza consists of
 5 Banū Maḥdūl, Saqqārah, Banū Abī Kabīr, Banū l-Ġallās, and the other half of Banū Ṭahlān. The group that dwells in Giza is called Ḥadūḥāš²⁵² and the one in al-Bahnasā is called al-Ballāriyyah.²⁵³

252 The name Ḥadūḥāš may be a miscopying of the name Maḥdūl, mentioned as a clan of the Lawātah in Giza; or vice versa.

253 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 166 lines 6–10.

§109 ومنهم مغاغة ولهم سملوط إلى الساقية ولبنى بركين أقلوسنا^١ وما معها إلى بحري طنبدى^٢، ولبنى حدوخاص^٣ الكفور وسفط {أبو} جرجة؛ وإهرت، وبنو محمد وبنو علي أمراؤهم^٥ بني زعازع.

ومزورة فيهم بنو وركان وبنو عرواس^٦ وبنو جماز وبنو الحكم وبنو الوليد وبنو الحجاج وبنو المحرية^٧. ويقال إن بني الحجاج من بني حماس^٨ ولهذا كانوا يؤدون معهم القطائع.

١ طنبدى: ف "طنبدى". ٢ حدوخاص: ب "حدر خاص". || جرجة: في الأصل وباقي النسخ "وسفط وجرجة" والصواب أثبتناه من العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٦ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٣؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٥. || أمراؤهم: في الأصل "أمراء وهم"، والتصحيح من ف "أمراؤهم". ٣ زعازع: في الأصل كشط المقريري ما بين العينين، ثم صحح الكلمة كما هي الآن. ٤ عرواس: في الأصل "وغراس"؛ في ب ف "غراس". في الأصل ورد الاسمان سابقا "وئكان وبنو عرواس"، ثم لاحقا "وركان وبنو وغراس". والصواب أثبتناه من العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٧ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٣؛ "بنو عرواس". ٥ المحرية: أو "المحرتية" لكون الكلمة مهملة في الأصل؛ ف "المحرسة"؛ ك "المحرتية". || حماس: ف "الحماس".

١ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٥؛ "قلوسنا"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٦ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٣؛ "بركين أقلوسنا".

٢ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٥؛ "طنبدى"؛ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٨٣: "طنبدى".

٣ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٨٣: "جد وخاص".

٤ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٦ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٣؛ "سفط بو جرجة"؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٥؛ "وسفط أبو جرجا".

٥ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٥؛ "وأمرأؤهم"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٧ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٣؛ "وأمرأؤهم".

٦ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٥؛ "غرواسن".

٧ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٥؛ "المحرمية"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٧ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٣؛ "المحرية".

٨ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٨١٥: "حماس".

§ 109 As for the Mağāḡah, they own the area from Samallūṭ to al-Sāqiyah.²⁵⁴ The Banū Barkīn own Uqlūsanā²⁵⁵ and its dependent villages up to Ṭanbidī.²⁵⁶ The Banū Ḥadūḡḡāṣ have the hamlets Saṭṭ Abū Ğirḡah²⁵⁷ and Ihrīt.²⁵⁸ The amirs of the Banū Muḡammad and Banū ‘Alī are the Banū Za‘āzi’.²⁵⁹

- 5 The clans of Mazūrah are Banū Warkān, Banū ‘Arwās, Banū Ğammāz, Banū l-Ḥakam, Banū l-Walīd, Banū l-Ḥaḡḡāḡ, and Banū l-Maḡrabiyyah. Some say that the Banū l-Ḥaḡḡāḡ are of the Banū Ḥammās, and for this reason were given tax grants (*qaṭā’i’*) together.²⁶⁰

254 The name al-Sāqiyah could refer to a number of localities, but in the region of Samallūṭ it most likely refers to Sāqiyat Dāqūq, known in medieval sources as Sāqiyat Maḡfūz. See Halm (1979–1982), 1:178; Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/3:233. The modern town of Mağāḡah, known as Namūy or Ğazīrat al-Ḥaḡar in medieval sources, is located 35 km north of Samallūṭ. The name, attested only from the early tenth/sixteenth century onward, reflects the gradual identification of the region with the Berber Banū Mağāḡah. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/3:249.

255 Modern Qulusnah, north of Samallūṭ. See Halm (1979–1982), 1:175; Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/3:235. Yāqūt has Qalūsanā (*Muḡam al-buldān*, 4:168).

256 The village of Ṭanbidī is located just to the west of modern Mağāḡah. See Halm (1979–1982), 1:182 (Ṭambadā); Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/3:249. Yāqūt has Ṭanbaḡah (*Muḡam al-buldān*, 3:550).

257 Modern village of Saṭṭ Abū Ğirḡ or Saṭṭ Abū Girḡā is located 10 km south of Mağāḡah. See Halm (1979–1982), 1:176; Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/3:219. The village was the site of a battle between the Fāṭimids and the ‘Abbāsids in 302/914–915 (Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-buldān*, 3:97).

258 For Ihrīt in al-Bahnasāwiyyah, see Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/3:213; Halm (1979–1982), 1:161. All manuscripts read: “The hamlets Saṭṭ, Ğirḡah and Ihrīt belong to Banū Ḥadūḡḡāṣ.” The reading here follows al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 166 line 11 to 167 line 1; and al-Qalqaṣandī, *Ṣubḡ al-a‘šā*, 1:365.

259 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 166 line 10 to 167 line 2.

260 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 167 lines 3–5.

§ 110 وبنو نزار في إمارة بني زعازع وهم من بني زرية^١ ومنهم نصف بني عامر والحماسنة والضباعنة^٢ وأفرد قوم منهم لإمارة تاج الملك عزيز بن ضبعان ثم ولده، ومنهم بنو زيد وأمرأؤهم أولاد قريش ومساكنهم نويرة دلاص^٣. وكان قريش عبدا صالحا كثير الصدقة وهو والد سعد الملك.

٥ § 111 وفي المنوفية من لواتة بني يحيى والوسوة وعبدة؛ ومصلّة وبنو مختار ومعهم في البلاد أحلاف من مزاتة وزنارة وهوارة، وبني الشّعريّة في أقوام آخرين^٥.

١ إمارة: في الأصل كشط المقرزي ما بين الميم والتاء المربوطة، ثم صحح الكلمة كما هي الآن. || زعازع: في الأصل كشط المقرزي ما بين العينين، ثم صحح الكلمة كما هي الآن. || زرية: ف "ذربة". ٢ وأفرد: ف ك "وأفرد"؛ في الأصل "وأفرد". || ضبعان: ب "ضبعان". || ولده ومنهم: ب "ولد منهم". ٣ والد: ف "ولد". ٥ وبنو: ف "بني". || ومعهم: ف "ومنهم". || أحلاف: في الأصل وضع المقرزي رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٦ آخرين: في الأصل "آحين" والصواب من ف.

١ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٥: "زرية"؛ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٩٥٢: "زرية"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٧ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٣: "زرية".

٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٩٥٢: "والحمائيسية والضباعنة"، رقم ٩٨٤: "الحماسنة والضباعنة"؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٥: "الحماسنة والضباعنة"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٦٧ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٣: "الضباعنة".

٣ البكري، المسالك والممالك، ٢: ٦١٢: "وبين دلاص والفيوم ثمانية وعشرون فرسخا".

٤ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧٦ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٧: "عدة"؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٥؛ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ١٧٤: "وبالمنوفية .. بنويحيى والسوة وعبيد".

٥ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧٦ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٨: "إلى قوم آخرين".

§ 110 The Banū Za‘āzi‘ are also the amirs of Banū Nizār, who are of the Banū Zarbah. The [Banū Nizār] include half of the Banū ‘Āmir, [as well as] al-Ḥamāsīnah and al-Ḍabā‘īnah. Some of their folk were under the authority of the amir Tāğ al-Mulk ‘Azīz b. Ḍib‘ān, and then of his son. They also include
 5 the Banū Zayd, whose amirs are Awlād Qurayš, and who dwell in Nuwayrat Dalāš.²⁶¹ Qurayš was a pious man who gave much in charity; he is the father of Sa‘d al-Mulk.²⁶²

§ 111 The Lawātah in Minūfiyyah include Banū Yaḥyá, al-Waswah, ‘Abdah, Mašallah, and the Banū Muḥtār. They are joined in the countryside by allies
 10 from among the Mazātah, Zanārah, and Hawwārah. The Banū l-Ša‘riyyah are a different folk.

261 Modern Dalāš, in the Beni Suef Governorate. On medieval Dalāš, see Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 2:581.

262 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 167 lines 5–9. Al-Qalqašandī (*Qalā’id al-ġumān*, 174) completes the sense of the sentence: “He is the father of Sa‘d al-Mulk, whose progeny are still present (*al-bāqī banūhu*).”

ومن زنارة مزديش وبنو صالح وبنو مسام^١ وزمران ووردِغَة وعمران^٢ ولقان.
ومن هوارَة بنو محريش^٣ وبنو أسرات؛ وبنو قطران^٥ وبنو كبريث^٦.

§112 وهوارة يقال إنهم من هوار واسمه المثنى، فيقال هوار بن المثنى ويقال ابن أبي المثنى^٧ بن يحصب.

وقيل المثنى بن المسور بن المثنى بن خلّاع بن أيمن بن رعين بن سعد بن حمير الأصغر بن سبأ الأصغر، وإنه خرج المسور بن المثنى من مصر في طلب إبل قد فقدها فذهبت نحو المغرب وهو في أثرها، وإنه كان من أجناد مصر الذين أسكنهم التبابعة بها لما طوفوا الأرض. فلما دخل إفريقية قال لغلامه: "أين نحن؟" قال: "بإفريقية." فقال: "تهورنا"^٨ والتهور الحمق. فنزل على قوم من زناتة

١ وبنو مسام: كذا في الأصل وباقي النسخ "بنو مسام". || وعمران: كذا في الأصل وباقي النسخ "عمران".
٢ محريش: ف "محريش". || أسرات: ف ك "سرات". ٣ ابن ... المثنى: ب "ان ابن المثنى". ٤ يحصب: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء؛ ك "عخصب"؛ ف "يخصب". ٦ المسور: ك "المستور". || مصر: كلمة ساقطة من ب. || المغرب: كلمة ساقطة من ب. ٧ وإنه: ك "فإنه". ٨ لغلامه ... فقال: في الهامش الأمين من ك.

١ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٥٥٦: "مسلم؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٦: "وبني سام وزمران وأوريدة"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧٦ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٨: "مسام".
٢ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧٦ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٨؛ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٢٩٨: "عرهان"؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٦٦: "وأوريدة وعزهان".
٣ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٦٣٥: "حجرينس"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧٦ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٨: "محريش".
٤ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٣٠: "اسرات"؛ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٦٣٥: "سراة"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧٦ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٨: "أسرات".
٥ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٦٣٥: "قطرات".
٦ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٦٣٥: "كريب"؛ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧٦ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٨: "كبريث".

٧ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٣، ٣٠٥: "هوار ابن أوريج بن حبوب بن المثنى بن المسور".

٨ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ٣٠٦: "ووقع بالمغرب قال: لقد تهورنا".

The Zanārah include the Mazdīš, Banū Šāliḥ, Banū Masām, Zumrān, Wardīḡah, ‘Armān, and Laqān.²⁶³

The Hawwārah include the Banū Maḥrīš, Banū Asrāt, Banū Qiṭrān, and Banū Kibrīt.²⁶⁴

- 5 §112 Some say that the Hawwārah are descended from Hawwār, whose name was al-Muṭanná. Some say his name was Hawwār b. al-Muṭanná, or Ibn Abī l-Muṭanná b. Yaḥṣub.

10 And some say al-Muṭanná b. al-Miswar b. al-Muṭanná b. Ḥilā‘ b. Ayman b. Ru‘ayn b. Sa‘d b. Ḥimyar the Younger b. Saba’ the Younger. They also say that al-Miswar b. al-Muṭanná left Egypt looking for a camel that he had lost. It went toward the Maghrib, and he was following its traces. He was a soldier in Egypt settled there by the Tabābi‘ah kings [of Yemen]²⁶⁵ when they spread through the Earth. When he reached Ifrīqiyah he asked his servant “Where are we?” The servant replied “in Ifrīqiyah,” so he said “We have acted foolishly (*tahawwarnā*),” for *tahawwur* means foolishness. He then came upon a

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263 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā‘il al-‘Arab* 175 lines 3–4.

264 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā‘il al-‘Arab* 175 line 14 to 176 line 4.

265 A term used by Muslim writers as a dynastic title for Ḥimyarite rulers who controlled Southwest Arabia between the 3rd century and the early 6th century. See “Tubba’,” in *EI*² (A.F.L. Beeston).

فتزوج العرجاء أم صنهاج ولط ابني لمط الأكبر، وقد مات زوجها فمات عنها، وكانت جميلة. فكثرت نسله، فهم الهواريون.

113 § وقيل هواراة وكمامة وصنهاجة إخوة وهم أولاد قيس بن زرعة بن زهير بن أيمن بن هميسع ابن حمير الأكبر بن سبأ بن يشجب بن يعرب بن قحطان^١ وقيل بل هواراة وصنهاجة | وكمامة ودنهج^{٧٥} وتلكان وتزكوت وسيساج^٢ ومجيس^٣ من أولاد كاهن بن جالوت أحد بنو شكولوجيم بن مصرم ابن حام بن نوح^٤ عليه السلام.

114 § وقيل هواراة من ولد قبط بن فوط^٥ بن حام بن نوح، ويقال جالوت بن بربر بن قبط بن مصر بن فوط، وقيل إن مصر هو ابن بيصر بن حام بن نوح،^٥ وإن تزكوت هي ابنة أحد أولاد يمن، وإن بعلمها كان يعرف بكاهن بن جالوت وإنه أبو البربر، وإن من ولد تزكوت هذه إبراهيم جد علي بن يوسف بن تاشفين بن إبراهيم ملك الملثمين، ومن ولد تزكوت أيضا ملوك كزولة^٦

١ لمط^٢: في ك فوق السطر. ٤ حمير: في الأصل كشط المقريري حرفا في بداية الكلمة، ثم أضاف الحاء ووضع رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. || يشجب: ب ف "يشجب". ٥ وتلكان: ب "ملكان". || وتزكوت: ف "وتزوت". || ومجيس: ف "ومجيس". || كاهن: ب ك "كان". ٧ فوط: ف "فقط"؛ ب ك "قوت". || نوح: ب ك + "عليه السلام". ٨ مصر: ب "مضر". || فوط: في الأصل وف "فوط". || نوح: ب + "عليه السلام"، مع إعادة نفس الجملة "وقيل أن مصر بن بيصر بن حام بن نوح عليه السلام ويقال جالوت بن بربر بن قبط بن مصر بن قوط وقيل ان مصر هو ابن بيصر بن حام بن نوح عليه السلام"؛ ك + "عليه السلام". ٩-١٠ هذه ... تزكوت: في الأصل الزيادة بخط المقريري في آخر السطر في الهامش الأيسر + صح.

١ ابن الكلبي، نسب معد، ٢: ٥٣٥.

٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٢٧٠: "عجيسة"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٣: "عجيسة".

٣ البكري، المسالك والممالك، ٢: ٥٥٥، ٥٦٨، ٦١٥: "مصرم بن بيصر بن حام"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ٢٠٢: "هم من ولد بربر بن كسلوجيم بن مصرم بن حام".

٤ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٣: ٢٩، ٣١: "فوط بن حام"؛ قلائد الجنان، ٣١: "قوط بن حام".

٥ البكري، المسالك والممالك، ١: ٥١٢: "مصر بن بيصر ... وهو حام بن نوح"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٣: ٣٢: "مصر بن حام".

٦ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٤٨: "گزولة".

folk of Zanātah, and married al-‘Arġā’, the mother of Ṣanhāġ and Lamṭ, the sons of Lamṭ the Elder, a pretty woman whose husband had died. His progeny multiplied, and they are the Hawwāriyyūn.²⁶⁶

- 5 § 113 Some say that the Hawwārah, Kutāmah, and Ṣanhāġah are brothers, all sons of Qays b. Zur‘ah b. Zuhayr b. Ayman b. Hamaysa‘ b. Ḥimyar the Elder b. Saba‘ b. Yašġub b. Ya‘rub b. Qaḥṭān.²⁶⁷ Yet others say that the Hawwārah, Ṣanhāġah, Kutāmah, Dinħāġ, Tulukkān, Turukkūt, Saysāġ, and ‘Aġīs are all descendants of Kāhin b. Ġālūt (Goliath), one of the sons of Kašlūġim (Casluhim)²⁶⁸ b. Mišrayim b. Ḥām b. Nūḥ, may peace be upon him.
- 10 § 114 Others say that the Hawwārah are descendants of Qibṭ b. Qūṭ b. Ḥām b. Nūḥ, or Ġālūt b. Barbar b. Qibṭ b. Mišr b. Qūṭ, or that Mišr is the son of Bayšar b. Ḥām b. Nūḥ,²⁶⁹ and that Turukkūt is the daughter of one of the sons of Yaman, and that her husband, who is known as Kāhin b. Ġālūt, was the ancestor of the Berbers. This Turukkūt gave birth to Ibrāhīm, the ancestor of ‘Alī b. Yūsuf b. Tāšfīn b. Ibrāhīm,²⁷⁰ the king of the Mulattamūn.²⁷¹
- 15 Other descendants of Turukkūt are the rulers of Ġazūlah,²⁷² the mountain

266 Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 501 (Tuzakkā); al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, 1:223 (Tāzakkāy al-‘Arġā’).

267 Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma‘add*, 2:535; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 2:293.

268 See Genesis 10:14. Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 2:278 (Kašlūġim).

269 Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 2:289.

270 An amir of the Almoravid state who ruled from 500/1106 to 537/1143. See “Alī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn,” in *EI*² (E. Lévi-Provençal).

271 “Wearers of the veil”, i.e. the Almoravids, a dynasty of Berber origin which ruled in North Africa and then southern Spain during the second half of the 5th/11th century and the first half of the 6th/12th century. See “al-Murābiṭūn,” in *EI*² (H.T. Norris and P. Chalmeta).

272 See “Gudāla/Guezula,” *EB*, 21:3223–3224 (G. Camps). See also “Gétules,” in *EB*, 20:3063–3065 (J. Desanges). The name is supposed to derive from *Igzūla* (plural of *agzzūl*), men of short stature in Berber. See Daaf (2017): 109–110.

الجبل المعروف بجبل لُكْسَة^١ وهم يزيدون على ثلثمائة قبيلة كل قبيلة نحو ثلثين ألف نسمة، ومنهم
إِنْسِكَات ومِصَلَات وأرِنْس وبنو طريف وبنو جابر وبنو وَغْرَدَة وهَشْتُوْكَة وأرْغَتَان.

115 § وقيل إن من ولد صنهاج يَلَوْن وهم المثلثون وتزكيك ومَسُوْفَة ومَشْطُوْفَة، وهم صُنَاع دَرَق
اللمط، ومَنْتَة بنت صنهاج عرفوا بأهمهم، ومَنْبِر وجُروم وهوارة يزعمون أنهم من البربر القدم، وأن
مزاة ولواتة كانوا منهم، فانقطعوا عنهم وفارقوا ديارهم وصاروا إلى برقة وغيرها.^٢

وترزم هوارة أيضا أنها من قوم من أهل اليمن جهلوا أنسابهم. وكل هذه الأقوال لا تثبت،
والأشبه بالصواب أنهم من ولد هُوَار بن أوريغ بن برنس بن {ضري} بن {زجيك} بن مادغس
ابن برن بديان بن كنعان بن حام بن نوح كما قد تقدم.

116 § وهوارة تتناسب بطونها كما تنتسب العرب، وأصل ديارها من آخر عمل سُرْت إلى
أطرابلس، ثم قدم منهم طوائف إلى أرض مصر ونزلوا بلاد البحيرة وملكوها من قبل السلطان.

١ لُكْسَة: ك "الكنسة". ٢ إِنْسِكَات: كشط المقرزي كلمة كانت بعد هذه، ثم أطال التاء. || ومِصَلَات:
في الأصل الزيادة بخط المقرزي في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح، ويشير إليها رمز ٢ بعد
"إِنْسِكَات"؛ ف ك "ومصلات". || وأرِنْس: ب "اريس"؛ ك "وأريش". || طريف: كلمة ساقطة من
ب؛ ف "طريف". || جابر: في الأصل "حابر" والتصويب من ب ف "جابر". || وَغْرَدَة: ب "غرده"؛
ك "اغردة". || وهَشْتُوْكَة: ك "ومستوكه". ٣ من: في ك فوق السطر. || يَلَوْن: ف "يلتون"؛ ك "يلرن".
٤ ومَنْتَة: ك "وملته". || القدم: في ك في الهامش الأعلى. ٧ ضري: ف ك "صري". || ضري ...
زجيك: في الأصل ب ك "صري بن وجيك"، والصواب أثبتناه من ف "زجيك". ٨ نوح: ب ك
+ "عليه السلام". || كما ... تقدم: ب "كما تقدم". ٩ تنتسب: ف "تنسب". || سُرْت: ب ك "سوت".
١٠ أطرابلس: ب ك "طرابلس". مصر: في الأصل كشط المقرزي كلمة أخرى قبل أن يصححها كما هي
الآن.

١ لعله جبل أو جبال نِكَيْسَة: أنظر ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٤٨ و ١٥٠ والغالب على الظن أن يكون
المراد به جبل لُكْسَة HRO+ المتواجد بالجانب الشرقي للأطلس الصغير بسوس.

٢ البكري، المسالك والممالك، ٢: ٦٥٠: "حول مدينة برقة قبائل من لواتة".

٣ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٩٧: "ضري بن زجيك بن مادغس" (وهو خطأ).

also known as Ġabal Luksah.²⁷³ These [descendants] number over three hundred tribes, each tribe consisting of thirty thousand souls. Among their clans are the Insikāt, Miṣlāt, Ārnīs, Banū Ṭarīf, Banū Ġābir, Banū Wağardah, Haštūkah, and Arğttān.

5 § 115 It is said that Yallowan are the descendants of Ṣanhāğ. Those are the Mulattamūn, Tizkīk,²⁷⁴ Massūfah, and Maṣṭūfah. They are the ones who make the shields of Lamṭ. The Mantah are named after their mother, Ṣanhāğ's daughter. The Manīr, Ġurūm, and Hawwārah claim to be descendants of ancient Berbers, and that Mazātah and Lawātah were from them, but separated from them, left their territories, and went to Barqah and elsewhere.

10 The Hawwārah also claim that they are Yamanī folk who do not know their precise lineage.²⁷⁵ All these statements are unfounded. The closest to the truth is that they are the descendants of Hawwār b. Awrīğ b. Burnus b. Ḍarī b. Zağğīk b. Mādğīs b. Barr b. Badyān b. Kan'ān b. Ḥām b. Nūḥ, as indicated above.²⁷⁶

15 § 116 The Hawwārah maintain the genealogy of their sections in the same way the Arabs do. Their original territory is from the edge of the province of Sirte up to Tripoli. Then groupings of them came to Egypt and settled in al-Buḥayrah, which they took over by order of the sultan.²⁷⁷

273 Probably Ġebel Lkest, one of the highest peaks of the Anti-Atlas mountain range.

274 Uncertain vocalization.

275 Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 2:289.

276 See *supra* § 101.

277 Cf. al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, 30:107, on Sultan Baybars granting the Hawwārah and the Sulaym rights to cultivate lands in the western Delta.

78^b § 117 | **هواره** التي ببلاد الصعيد أنزلهم الظاهر برقوق بعد واقعة بدر بن سلام هناك في سنة اثنتين وثمانين وسبع مائة تخميناً. وذلك أنه أقطع إسماعيل بن مازن منهم ناحية جرجا وكانت خراباً فعمرها، وأقام بها حتى قتله علي بن غريب. فولى بعده عمر بن عبد العزيز الهواري حتى مات. فولى بعده

١ **هواره**: ب ف ك "وهواره". ١-٢.224 **هواره** ... عمر: في الأصل الزيادة بخط المقرئ في طيارة كانت ملصقة بين ورقة ٧٤ ب و٧٥ أ وأشار المقرئ إلى هذه الزيادة في النص برمز ٢ بعد "السلطان" وخط منقط. حالاً هذه الطيارة موجودة في آخر النص ورقها ٧٨. على الهامش الأيمن من ف مكتوب "طرة بخط المؤلف هواره الصعيد". وفي آخر المنقول من الطرة "انتهى إلى هنا". ١ الظاهر: كلمة ساقطة من ك. ٢ جرجا: ب "جرجة".

§ 117 **The Hawwārah** in Upper Egypt were settled there by al-Zāhir Barqūq²⁷⁸ after the rebellion of Badr b. Sallām there [in al-Buḥayrah]. This was probably around 782 [1382–1383].²⁷⁹ Barqūq gave one of them, Ismā‘īl b. Māzin, the village of Ġirġá²⁸⁰ as an *iqṭā‘*.²⁸¹ It was in ruins, and he put it to cultivation. Ismā‘īl stayed there until ‘Alī b. Ġarīb killed him.²⁸² ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Hawwārī was appointed after him, and when he died he was fol-

278 Al-Malik al-Zāhir Sayf al-Dīn Barqūq, Mamluk sultan in Egypt and Syria. Barqūq held the sultanate twice, from 784/1382 to 791/1389 and from 792/1390 until his death in 801/1399. See “Barqūq, al-Malik al-Zāhir,” in *EI THREE* (W.C. Schultz).

279 Badr b. Sallām was the leader of the *‘urbān* in the Delta province of al-Buḥayrah, leading a rebellion that lasted from 780/1378 to 789/1387. On his revolt, see al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 5:88–90; Ibn Ḥaġar, *Inbā‘ al-ġumr*, 1:176–177, 213–214, 232, 275, 303.

280 The town of Girga or Gerga, in the modern Suhag Governorate, emerged in the eighth/fourteenth century as the center of the Hawwārah elites in Upper Egypt. See “Ġirġā,” in *EI²* (P.M. Holt).

281 The *iqṭā‘* was a grant of land, or fiscal rights over land, handed out by rulers in return for military services. See “Iḳṭā‘,” in *EI²* (Cl. Cahen).

282 By the early ninth/fifteenth century, the Banū Ġarīb became the amirs of the Hawwārah in Middle Egypt (al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ al-a‘šā*, 7:162). They came into conflict with the rival Hawwārah house of ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, which established itself in Ġirġá. ‘Alī b. Ġarīb is mentioned as the amir of the Hawwārah in Upper Egypt between 797/1394–1395 and 802/1399–1400; he was arrested and then released by the Mamlūk authorities (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 5:368, 384, 435, 6:20).

{أخوه} ١ محمد {المعروف} بأبو السنون ونخم أمره وكثرت أمواله فإنه أكثر من زراعة النواحي وإقامة دواليب السكر واعتصاره حتى مات. فولي بعده أخوه يوسف بن عمر.

١١8 § | وبصعيد مصر أيضاً **نخم**،^٢ واسم نخم مالك بن عدي بن الحرث بن مرة^٣ بن أدد بن زيد^{75a} ابن يشجب بن عريب بن زيد،^٤ بن كهلان بن سبأ ابن يشجب بن يعرب بن قحطان،^٥ وفي نخم بطون كثيرة. ٥

منها بالبر الشرقي من أرض مصر بنو سماك وهم بنو مرو^٦ وبنو مليح^٧ وبنو نهبان^٨ وبنو عبس وبنو كريم وبنو بكر،^٩ وديارهم من طارف ببا^{١٠} إلى منحدر دير الجميزة في البر الشرقي.

١ أخوه: في الأصل "اخو" وكشط المقرزي ما يلي الألف، ثم صحح الكلمة كما هي الآن. ولكن في ب ف ك "ابنه"؛ والتصحيح من المقرزي، السلوك. || محمد: في الأصل كشط المقرزي ما يلي الميم الأولى، ثم صحح الكلمة كما هي الآن. || المعروف: في الأصل "المعرف" والصواب ما أثبتناه من ب ف ك. || السنون: ب "الشون"؛ ك "لواشون". || زراعة: ك "عمارة". ٤ بن... زيد: ساقط من ب ك. || يشجب: ف "يشجب". || بن... يعرب: ك "بن يعرب بن يشجب". || يشجب: ف ك "يشجب". ٦ مرو: ب "مرة"؛ ف "مر". || مليح: ب "مليح"؛ ف "مليح". || نهبان: ف "نهبان"؛ ك "نهبان". ٧ ببا: ك "ببا"؟

١ المقرزي، السلوك، ٥: ٣٥٤: "محمد بن عمر بن عبد العزيز الهواري".

٢ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٢٢.

٣ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ٥٠: "واسمه مالك بن عدي بن الحرث بن مرة".

٤ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ٤٠: "زيد بن يشجب بن عريب".

٥ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ٣٩: "كهلان بن سبأ بن يشجب بن يعرب بن قحطان".

٦ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٤: "مر"؛ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب رقم ١٠٦٠: "مر".

٧ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٠٦٠: "مليح"؛ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٢٣٨ و٢٣٩.

٨ ابن الكلبي، نسب معد، ١: ٢٥٨؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٤: "نهبان".

٩ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٠: "بكير".

١٠ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٠٦٠: "ما بين طاري مباكي منحدر ديرة الحمرة"؛ القلقشندي، قلائد

الاجمان ٧٠: "من طارف ببا إلى منحدر دير الجميزة"؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٤: "من طارف ببا

بالهنسا إلى منحدر دير الجميزة".

lowed by his son Muḥammad, known as Abū l-Sinūn.²⁸³ Abū l-Sinūn grew in influence and became wealthy. He planted crops in many villages and set waterwheels to produce sugar and to press it. When he died, his brother Yūsuf b. ‘Umar was appointed in his place.²⁸⁴

- 5 § 118 In Upper Egypt there also are **the Laḥm**. The actual name of Laḥm was Mālik b. ‘Adī b. al-Ḥarīṭ b. Murrah b. Udad b. Zayd b. Yašğub b. ‘Arīb b. Zayd b. Kahlān b. Saba’ b. Yašğub b. Ya’rub b. Qaḥṭān. There are many sections of the Laḥm.

10 On the eastern bank of Egypt there are the Banū Simāk, who consist of Banū Marw, Banū Mulayḥ, Banū Nabhān, Banū ‘Abs, Banū Karīm, and Banū Bakr. Their territory extends from the border of Babā²⁸⁵ to the slope of Dayr al-Ğummayzah²⁸⁶ on the eastern bank.

283 ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Hawwārī (d. 799/1397) was the leader of the main Hawwārah clan at the end of the eighth/fourteenth century. His descendants, the Banū ‘Umar, became the dominant Arab family in Upper Egypt, from Aswan to al-Ušmūnayn (al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ al-a‘šā*, 4:169; al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 5:368, 397, 403). He co-operated with the governor of Upper Egypt in fighting against the rival Hawwārah clan of Awlād Ġarīb (Ibn Ḥağar, *Inbā’ al-ğumr*, 1:512–513). On Muḥammad Abū l-Sinūn as the amir of the Arabs in Upper Egypt, see Ibn Ḥağar, *Inbā’ al-ğumr*, 1:526. In 804/1401–1402, Muḥammad led Hawwārah troops to attack the *kāšif* of Upper Egypt, killing him and 200 of his men (al-Maqrīzī, *al-Sulūk*, 6:80; Ibn Ḥağar, *Inbā’ al-ğumr*, 2:207).

284 This paragraph (§ 117) was added by al-Maqrīzī as an insert, after the completion of the treatise. It seems to reflect the situation of the Hawwārah in the first decade of the ninth/fifteenth century, some thirty years before al-Maqrīzī inserted this section in the *Bayān*. According to J.-C. Garcin, Muḥammad b. ‘Umar died in 804/1401 (Garcin [1978]: 154; we have not been able to find the source for this date). We have no date of death for Yūsuf b. ‘Umar, as he is not mentioned in the chronicles. In *al-Sulūk*, al-Maqrīzī reports several Mamlūk raids against the Hawwārah throughout the 820s/1420s and 830s/1430s, as well as the Hawwārah capture of Aswan in 815/1412–1413. It is surprising that al-Maqrīzī chose not to refer to these events. For parallel and longer accounts of the settlement of the Hawwārah in Upper Egypt, see al-Qalqašandī, *Šubḥ al-a‘šā*, 4:69, 7:162; al-Qalqašandī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, no. 1635.

285 Modern Biba or Beba, on the western bank of the Nile in the boundaries of the modern Beni Suef Governorate. Yāqūt has Babā (*Muğam al-buldān*, 1:286).

286 Modern Dayr al-Maymūn, 40 km north of Beba. It was known by the name Dayr al-Ğummayzah through most of the medieval period. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/3:32.

ومنهم بنو حدان^١ وهم بنو محمد وبنو علي وبنو سالم وبنو مدلج وبنو رعييس^٢ وديارهم من دِير
الجميزة إلى ترعة {صول}^٣.

§ 119 ومنهم بنو راشد، وهم بنو معمر^٤ وبنو واصل وبنو مرّا وبنو حيان^٥ وبنو معاذ^٦ وبنو النيص^٧
وبنو حجر^٨ وبنو أشتوة^٩ وديارهم من مسجد موسى إلى أسكر^{١٠} ونصف بلاد أتفيح.

١ وبنو مدلج: في الأصل "بني مدلج"، والتصحيح من القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٠: "مدلج"؛ ابن
خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٨٩: "بنو مدلج بن مرّة"؛ ك "مدلج". || رعييس: ف "دعيس". ٢ صول: في
الأصل ب ك "صون". التصويب من ف "صول". ٣ بنوا: ساقط من ف. || النيص: ف "القيص" ثم في
التالي "النيص". ٤ أشتوة: ك "شتوة"؛ ف "أشقة". || أسكر: ف "أشكر"؛ ك "أسكو".

- ١ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٨٤: "جدان"؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٤: "حدان".
- ٢ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٤: "رعييس"؛ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ٧٠: "بنو عيس"؛ القلقشندي،
نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٨٤: "رعييس".
- ٣ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٨٤: "ترعة صول"؛ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ٧٠: "ترعة صول"؛
القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٤: "صول".
- ٤ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٨٩٣: "يعمر".
- ٥ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٤: "حيان"؛ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ٧٠: "حيان".
- ٦ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٤: "معاد".
- ٧ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٨٩٣: "البيص"؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٤: "البيص"؛
القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ٧٠: "الفيض".
- ٨ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٠: "حجرة".
- ٩ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٨٩٣: "شئوة"؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٤: "شئوة"؛
القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ٧٠: "أشتوة".
- ١٠ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٨٩٣: "أسكر"؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٤: "أسكر".

Also among the [Laḥm] are the Banū Ḥaddān, who consist of the Banū Muḥammad, Banū ‘Alī, Banū Sālim, Banū Mudliġ, and Banū Ru‘ays. Their territory extends from Dayr al-Ġummayzah to the canal of Şūl.²⁸⁷

5 § 119 Among the clans [of Laḥm] are the Banū Rāšid. They consist of the Banū Ma‘mar, Banū Wāṣil, Banū Mirā, Banū Ḥayyān, Banū Mu‘āḍ, Banū l-Nayṣ,²⁸⁸ Banū Ḥaġarah, and Banū Aštawah. Their territory extends from Maşġid Mūsá to Askar,²⁸⁹ along with half of the land of Aţfih.²⁹⁰

287 Modern Şūl, on the eastern bank of the Nile in the Giza Governorate, 50 km north of Biba. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/3:33; Halm (1979–1982), 1:203. Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 167 line 12 to 168 line 3.

288 Uncertain vocalization. Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 168 line 4 (al-Biḍ).

289 Modern Askur or Uskur, 20 km north of Şūl, on the eastern bank of the Nile. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/3:25. Yāqūt has Askar, and describes it as lying two days’ journey south of Fustat, in the province of al-Aţfihīyyah (*Mu‘ġam al-buldān*, 1:253).

290 The ancient town of Aţfih, on the eastern bank of the Nile, at the southern boundaries of the modern governorate of Giza. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/3:25; “Aţfih,” in *ET*² (C.H. Becker).

75^b

ولبني النيص^١ الحي الصغير، ولبني أشتوة^٢ من ترعة شريف^٣ إلى معصرة بوش.
ومنه بنو جعد^٤ وهم بنو مسعود وبنو جرير وبنو زبير وبنو ثمال^٥ وبنو نصار^٦ وسكنهم ساحل
أتفيح.

§120 ومنهم بنو عدي وهم بنو موسى وبنو محرب ومسكنهم تلي بني جعد.
ومنه بنو بحر، وهم بنو سهل وبنو معطار وبنو فهم^٧ وبنو عشير^٨ وبنو مسند وبنو سباع ومسكنهم
الحي الكبير.

ومنه قسيس^٩ وسكنهم بلاد أسكر.
ولبني غنيم^{١١} منهم العدوية ودير الطين إلى جسر مصر.

١ أشتوة: ف "أشقوقه". || شريف: ف "الشريف". ٢ جعد: ب "سعد". || جرير: في الأصل "حرير"
أهمل حرف الحاء، والصواب "جرير" من ف "جرير"، والقلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٧١٨؛ القلقشندي،
قلائد الجمان ٧٠: "جرير"؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٥: "حُدَيْر". || وسكنهم: ف "ومسكنهم".
٤ ومسكنهم: ف "ومسكنهم". ٥ بنو بحر: ف "محروم". ٧ قسيس: هكذا في الأصل وفي ب ف
ك ولم نعرله على أثر كاسم قبيلة. || وسكنهم: ب ف "مسكنهم". || أسكر: في الأصل كتب الناسخ "أسكرا"
وكشطت الألف فيما بعد. ٨ غنيم: ف "تميم"؛ ك "غنم".

١ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٥٦: "البيض"؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٥: "البيض"؛
القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ٧٠: "الفيض".

٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١١١٢: "شوة"؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٥: "شوة".

٣ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١١١٢: "شريف".

٤ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٧١٨؛ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ٧٠: "جعدة".

٥ ابن خلدون، العبر (بيروت)، ٤: ٦٢٦: "بنو ثمال الخفاجي".

٦ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٧١٨: "نهار"؛ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٠: "نصار".

٧ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٥: "فهم".

٨ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٥: "عسير".

٩ القلقشندي، صبح الأعشى، ١: ٣٣٥: "قيس".

١٠ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ٧١: "مسكنهم".

١١ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٤٣٠: "غنم".

The Banū l-Nayṣ own al-Ḥayy al-Ṣaġīr.²⁹¹ The Banū Aštawah have the land from the canal of Šarīf to the [Sugar] Press of Būš.²⁹²

Also among [the Laḥm] are the Banū Ġa'd, who consist of the Banū Mas'ūd, Banū Ġarīr, Banū Zubayr, Banū Ṭumāl,²⁹³ and Banū Naṣṣār. They
5 dwell on the bank of [Nile near] Aṭfiḥ.²⁹⁴

§ 120 The [Laḥm] also include the Banū 'Adī, who consist of the Banū Mūsá and Banū Maḥrib. Their territory follows that of the Banū Ġa'd.

The Laḥm include also the Banū Baḥr, who consist of Banū Sahl, Banū Mi'tār, Banū Fahm, Banū 'Ašīr, Banū Musnad, and Banū Sibā', who all dwell
10 in al-Ḥayy al-Kabīr.²⁹⁵

The Qasīs of the Laḥm dwell in the lands of the Askar.

The Banū Ġunaym of the Laḥm own al-'Adawiyyah²⁹⁶ and the Dayr al-Ṭīn²⁹⁷ up to the Dike of Mišr [Cairo].

291 Al-Ḥayy al-Ṣaġīr and al-Ḥayy al-Kabīr (mentioned below) form today the modern settlement of al-Ḥayy wa-l-Manšī, a village on the eastern bank of the Nile, 10 km north of Askur. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/3:28. Yāqūt mentions al-Ḥayy al-Kabīr and al-Ḥayy al-Ṣaġīr as two villages on the bank of the Nile, 10 *farsaḥs* south of Fustat; they were also known as the *ahyā'* of Banū Ḥazraġ (*Mu'ġam al-buldān*, 1:157).

292 Būš, in the modern governorate of Beni Suef, is 20 km south of Šul and 30 km north of Beba. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/3:158; Halm (1979–1982), 1:150; Yāqūt, *Mu'ġam al-buldān*, 1:758.

293 Uncertain vocalization. Al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'Arab* 168 line 8 (Nimāl).

294 Cf. al-'Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'Arab* 168 line 3–8.

295 Al-Ḥayy al-Kabīr, together with al-Ḥayy al-Ṣaġīr mentioned above (see above n. 290).

296 An orchard village to the south of Cairo, on the eastern bank of the Nile (Yāqūt, *Mu'ġam al-buldān*, 4:90).

297 Today Dayr al-Ṭīn is in the southern suburbs of Cairo, near al-Basātīn. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/3:14. Yāqūt states that it was on the bank of the Nile, just to the south of Fustat, and adjacent to Birkat al-Ḥabaš and al-'Adawiyyah (*Mu'ġam al-buldān*, 2:676).

ولبني عمرو منهم نصف حلوان، ولبني حَجْرَةَ النصف الآخر من حلوان ونصف طرا.

§ 121 **وبالبحيرة والغريبة** طوائف من مزاتة وبقليوب طوائف من فزارة، ومنهم بنو نفاية، وفيهم أعيان ودارهم أطراف الشرقية، وبالمنوفية فرقة من لواتة ومن مزاتة ومن زنارة ومن هوارة كما تقدم.

○ § 122 **وبقطيا الأحارسة**^١ وبنو بياضة، وهم من ثعلبة. ومنهم بنو صَدْرٍ بالبدرية وهي طريق البر من الشام إلى مصر، وإليهم تنسب قلعة صَدْرٍ.

§ 123 **وفي الطينة** وهي طينة تئيس عرب كانوا يعمل تئيس يقال لهم بنو عُدْرٍ بضم العين المهملة وفتح الذال المعجمة وهو عُدْرُ بن سعد بن دافع بن مالك بن جشم بن خيران بن نوف بن همدان، وهؤلاء النفر الذين بالطينة قوم لا خلاق لهم ولا ذمام.

٢ **بالبحيرة**: ب "بالجيزة". || بنو نفاية: كذا في الأصل ب ف "بنو نفاية" وفي ك "ففاية" ولم نجد أثرا لقبيلة بهذا الاسم في الكتب التاريخية. ولعلها نفس القبيلة المذكورة سالفا تحت اسم "نفائة". انظر فقرة § 30. وهذا ما تأكدنا منه عند ابن خلدون وغيره: ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ٥١: "بنو نفاث"، العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧٥ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٧: "بنو بعاية". ٧ عُدْر: في الأصل "عُدْر" بسكون خلافا لما يثبت المقرئ في ما بعد. ٨ وفتح ... المعجمة: ف "فتح الذال". || عُدْر: في الأصل "عُدْر" بسكون خلافا لما يثبت المقرئ في ما بعد. || دافع: ف "رافع". ٩ ولا ذمام: ساقط من ب.

١ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٥٥١: "الأحارسة".

The Banū ‘Amr of the Laḥm control half of Ḥulwān.²⁹⁸ The Banū Ḥaḡarah control the other half of Ḥulwān and half of Ṭurā.²⁹⁹

§ 121 Groupings of the Mazātah are found in the provinces of al-Buḡayrah and al-Ġarbiyyah. Groupings of the Fazārah are found at Qalyūb, including the Banū Nifāyah who have some notable persons. Their territory is on the borders of al-Šarqiyyah.³⁰⁰ In al-Minūfiyyah there are groups from the Lawātah, Mazātah, Zanārah, and Hawwārah, as mentioned above.

§ 122 In Qaṭyā³⁰¹ one finds the Aḡārisah and Banū Bayāḡdah of Ṭa‘labah.

Among them are also the Banū Šadr in al-Badriyyah, which is the land route from Syria to Egypt.³⁰² Qal‘at Šadr³⁰³ is named after them.³⁰⁴

§ 123 In al-Ṭinah, namely Ṭinat Tinnīs,³⁰⁵ live Arabs who used to live in the province of Tinnīs.³⁰⁶ They are called Banū ‘Uḡar (with a *ḍammah* over undotted ‘*ayn* and a *fathah* over a dotted *ḍāl*), who is ‘Uḡar b. Sa‘d b. Dāfi‘ b. Mālik b. Ġušam b. Ḥayrān b. Nawf b. Hamdān. This group in Ṭinah are devoid of honor and morals.³⁰⁷

298 Ḥulwān, situated twenty-five km south of modern Cairo. See “Ḥulwān,” in *ET*² (J.M.B. Jones).

299 Ṭurā is located to the north of Ḥulwān. Yāqūt describes it as near Fustat (*Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 3:520). Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 168 lines 8–13.

300 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 175 lines 9–10.

301 Modern Bīr Qātyah in northern Sinai, 45 km east of al-Qanṭarah. During the Mamlūk period it was the most important station on the postal route from Cairo to Syria, and where customs taxes were collected. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 1:350–351.

302 Al-Badriyyah was the name given to the inner desert road leading from al-Qulzum (modern Suez) to ‘Aqabah. See Mouton (2001).

303 The fort of Šadr (or Qal‘at al-Guindi) was built by Šalāḡ al-Dīn in the 570s/1170s, as part of his major attempt to secure the routes between Egypt and Crusader-held Palestine. The site was abandoned by the middle of the seventh/thirteenth century. See Mouton (2010).

304 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 178 lines 1–2.

305 Yāqūt identifies Ṭinat Tinnīs as a town located between al-Faramā and Tinnīs (*Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 3:572).

306 The important port city of Tinnīs, located on an island in Lake Manzalah in the eastern part of the Nile Delta, was destroyed in 624/1227 at the orders of the Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil. See “Tinnīs,” in *ET*² (J.-M. Mouton).

307 This paragraph is not reproduced by al-Qalqašandī or al-‘Umarī. Given the desertion of Tinnīs by the end of the Ayyūbid period, it must have been copied from an Ayyūbid-era source, possibly al-Ḥamdānī.

§124 وأرض مصر **حَرَامٌ**، و**حَرَامٌ** في جُدَامٍ، وهم بنو حَرَامِ بنِ جُدَامِ بنِ عَدِيِّ وَهُوَ أَحَدُ بَطْنِي جُدَامِ، وَفِيهِمْ أَنْغَاذٌ وَعِشَائِرٌ، وَقَلِيلٌ فِي عَرَبِ مِصْرَ مِنْ يَعْرِفُهَا وَمِنْهُمْ **بَنُو صَبْرَةَ** ابْنِ نَصْرَةَ بنِ غَطْفَانَ ابْنِ سَعْدِ بنِ إِيَاسِ بنِ حَرَامِ بنِ جُدَامِ وَقِيلَ بنِ غَنَمِ بنِ غَطْفَانَ بنِ مَالِكِ بنِ حَرَامِ بنِ جُدَامِ وَإِلَى بَنِي صَبْرَةَ دَرَكٌ بَرَكَةٌ الْحِجَاجِ.

§125 وفي الخرزج ثم في سَلَمَةَ بنِ حَرَامِ بنِ كَعْبِ بنِ غَنَمِ بنِ كَعْبِ بنِ سَلَمَةَ بنِ سَعْدِ بنِ عَلِيِّ بنِ أَسَدِ بنِ شَارِدَةَ بنِ تَزِيدِ بنِ جِشْمِ بنِ الخرزج، منهم جَابِرُ بنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْأَنْصَارِيُّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ. وَيُقَالُ إِنْ حَرَامَ الْقَاطِنَةُ بِمِصْرَ مِنَ الْخَرْزِجِ وَهُمْ بَنُو حِيَةَ وَبَنُو ذُبْيَانَ وَهُمْ أَشْتَاتٌ، فِيهِمْ مَشَائِخُ بِلَادِ وَخَوْلَةٌ وَقِضَاءٌ وَفُقَهَاءٌ، وَلَيْسَتْ لَهُمْ دَارٌ خَاصَةٌ وَلَا مَكَانٌ مَعْرُوفٌ.

١ **حَرَامٌ**: فِي الْأَصْلِ وَضَعَ الْمُقْرِيزِيُّ رِمَزَ "ح" تَحْتَ الْكَلِمَةِ إِشَارَةً إِلَى تَلْفِظِهَا بِالْحَاءِ. || وَحَرَامٌ: فِي الْأَصْلِ وَضَعَ الْمُقْرِيزِيُّ رِمَزَ "ح" تَحْتَ الْكَلِمَةِ إِشَارَةً إِلَى تَلْفِظِهَا بِالْحَاءِ. ١-٢ وَهُمْ ... جُدَامٌ: فِي الْهَامِشِ الْأَيْسَرِ مِنْ ك. ١ حَرَامٌ: فِي الْأَصْلِ وَضَعَ الْمُقْرِيزِيُّ رِمَزَ "ح" تَحْتَ الْكَلِمَةِ إِشَارَةً إِلَى تَلْفِظِهَا بِالْحَاءِ. || أَحَدٌ: ف "إِحْدَى". ٢-٤ وَمِنْهُمْ ... الْحِجَاجُ: فِي الْأَصْلِ الزِّيَادَةُ بِخَطِّ النَّاسِخِ فِي الْهَامِشِ الْأَيْمَنِ مِنَ الْأَعْلَى إِلَى الْأَسْفَلِ + صَحَّ، وَيَشِيرُ إِلَيْهَا رِمَزٌ ٢ بَعْدَ "يَعْرِفُهَا". ٣ وَقِيلَ ... جُدَامٌ: سَاقَطَ مِنْ ب وَفِي الْهَامِشِ الْأَيْسَرِ مِنْ ك. || بن: ك "من". ٤ دَرَكٌ: ب "وَرَكٌ". || الْحِجَاجُ: ب ك "الْحِجَاجُ". انظُرِ الْفَقْرَةَ 43. ٦ تَزِيدٌ: ب ف ك "يَزِيدٌ". || عَنْهُ: ب ك "عَنْهُمَا". ٧ وَهُمْ: كَلِمَةٌ سَاقِطَةٌ مِنْ ف. || بَنُو حِيَةَ: ف "وَبَنُو حِيَةَ". || حِيَةَ: فِي الْأَصْلِ وَضَعَ النَّاسِخُ رِمَزَ "ح" تَحْتَ الْكَلِمَةِ إِشَارَةً إِلَى تَلْفِظِهَا بِالْحَاءِ. || أَشْتَاتٌ: ف "أَشْتَانٌ".

١ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٢٠: "ولد جُدَامٌ.... حَرَامٌ وَجِشْمٌ".

٢ ابن حبيب، مختلف القبائل ٣٩.

٣ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٣٥٨: "أَسَدُ بنِ سَارِدَةَ بنِ تَزِيدِ بنِ جِشْمٌ".

٤ البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف ١: ١٢٥، ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٢: "ومن تَزِيدِ بنِ جِشْمِ بنِ سَلَمَةَ بنِ سَعْدِ بنِ عَلِيٍّ".

§124 Also in Egypt are the **Ḥarām**. They belong to the Ğudām, and are the Banū Ḥarām b. Ğudām b. ‘Adī. They form one of the two clans of the Ğudām and have many solidarity groups and sections. They are, however, little known among the Arabs of Egypt.³⁰⁸ They include the **Banū Šabrah** b. Nušrah b. Ğaṭafān b. Sa’d b. Iyyās b. Ḥarām b. Ğudām, or as others say, b. Ğanm b. Ğaṭafān b. Mālik b. Ḥarām b. Ğudām. The Banū Šabrah are responsible for the protection of Birkat al-Ḥuġġāġ.³⁰⁹

§125 The Banū Ḥarām b. Ka’b b. Ğanm b. Ka’b b. Salimah b. Sa’d b. ‘Alī b. Asad b. Šāridah b. Tazīd b. Ğušam b. al-Ḥazraġ are part of al-Ḥazraġ and of Salimah. Ğābir b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Anšārī,³¹⁰ may God be pleased with him, came from them. Some say that all the Banū Ḥarām who live in Egypt belong to al-Ḥazraġ. They are Banū Ḥayyah and Banū Dubyān, and are scattered through the land. Among them there are village headmen, irrigation officials, judges, and jurists, but they have no territory of their own and no place by which they are known.³¹¹

308 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 178 lines 3–8. Al-‘Umarī, citing al-Ḥamdānī, states that most of Banū Ḥarām in Egypt are from the Ḥazraġ, not from the Ğudām.

309 See above, § 43.

310 A Companion of the prophet, appointed by Caliph ‘Umar I as chief (*‘arif*) of his clan. See “Djābir b. ‘Abd Allāh,” in *ET*² (M.J. Kister).

311 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 178 lines 3–8.

§126 وفي الدقهلية والمرتاحية عرب يدعون الجمارسة^١ وقوم ينسبون إلى قريش، وهم نفر من بني عذرة وهم من كنانة بن عذرة لا كنانة بن خزيمية، وهم بنو كنانة بن عذرة بن زيد اللات بن ربيعة^٢ ابن ثور بن كلب بن وبرة بن تغلب بن حلوان بن عمران بن الحاف بن قضاعة^٣، وفيهم بنو شهاب وبنو زيدة^٤؛ والرواشدة وهم غير رواشدة هلبا سويد وبنو عصا وبنو محمد وبنو سنان وبنو جمره^٥ | وبنو فراس^٦، وهم بمنية محمود ومنية عدلان، وبنو لام وبنو ليسوا بلام الحجاز، وبنو شمس والفضليون، وقرارتهم كوم الثعالب.

§127 وبها طوائف من عمرو وزهير المقدم ذكرهم، والحصنين وردالة والأحامدة ولبسوا بأحامدة هلبا والجمازية، وهم بني جماز^٧ وبعضهم أصحاب إقطاع.

وفي بني زهير هؤلاء بنو عزيز وبنو شبيب وبنو عبد الرحمن وبنو مالك وبنو عبيد غير بني عبيد المقدم ذكرهم وبنو عبد القوي وبنو شاكر وهم غير شاكر عقبه وبنو حسن وبنو شما وهم غير شما آل ربيعة^٨.

٢ عُدْرَةَ... زيد: في الأصل كشط المقريري عبارة أخرى قبل أن يصححها كما هي الآن. || ربيعة: ب "رفيد". ٣ تغلب: ف "تعلب". ٥ فراس: ف "نياس". || وهم: في الأصل يبدو أن الناسخ كتب "وهو"، ثم كشط المقريري الواو وأضاف الميم. || بمنية... ومنية: ب "بمنية محمود وبمنية". ٧ والأحامدة: الواو ساقط من ب ك. ٩ وبنو: ف "وهو".

١ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧٨ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٩: "الجمارسة".

٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٢٩٨: "رفيدة"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ٣٠: "زيد بن اللات بن ربيعة".

٣ البلاذري، أنساب الأشراف ٨: ٨٧٣؛ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٤٥٨، ٤٧٩؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ٣٠: "رفيدة بن ثور بن كلب بن وبرة بن تغلب بن حلوان بن عمران بن الحاف".

٤ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ٤٨: "ريدة".

٥ C القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ٤٨: "محمود".

٦ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٤٤١: "فراس"؛ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ٤٨: "مراس"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٨٩: "وبنو فراس بن مالك بن كنانة".

٧ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧٩ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٩: "والجمارسة—وهو بنو حمران".

٨ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧٩ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٦: "شُمَّاء".

§126 In the provinces of al-Daqahliyyah³¹² and al-Murtāḥiyyah,³¹³ there are Arabs who are called al-Ḥamārisah and folk whose lineage is traced back to Qurayš. They are a group of the Banū ‘Uḍrah, of Kinānah b. ‘Uḍrah, not of Kinānah b. Ḥuzaymah. Their lineage is Kinānah b. ‘Uḍrah b. Zayd al-
 5 Lāt b. Rufaydah b. Ṭawr b. Kalb b. Wabraḥ b. Taḡlib b. Ḥulwān b. ‘Imrān b. Ilḥāf b. Quḍā‘ah.³¹⁴ Among them are the Banū Šihāb, Banū Zaydah, the Rawāšidah—who are different from the Rawāšidah of Halbā Suwayd,—the Banū ‘Ašā, Banū Muḥammad, Banū Sinān, Banū Ğamrah, Banū Firās—who are in Munyat Maḥmūd³¹⁵ and Munyat ‘Adlān,—³¹⁶ the Banu Lām—not to
 10 be confused with the Lām in the Hijaz,—Banū Šams and the Faḍliyyūn, who reside in Kūm al-Ṭa‘ālib.³¹⁷

§127 Among the groupings of ‘Amr and Zuhayr, mentioned above, there are also found the Ḥiṣniyyūn, the Ruḍālah, the Aḥāmidah—not to be confused with the Aḥāmidah of Halbā,—and al-Ġammāziyyah who are the Banū
 15 Ġammāz. Some of them hold *iqṭā‘* grants.³¹⁸

The Banū Zuhayr include the Banū ‘Aziz, Banū Šabīb, Banū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, Banū Mālik, Banū ‘Ubayd—who are different from the aforementioned Banū ‘Ubayd—, Banū ‘Abd al-Qawī, Banū Šākir—different from Šākir ‘Uqbah—, Banū Ḥasan, and Banū Šammā—who are not the same as Šammā of Āl Rabī‘ah.³¹⁹

312 An Egyptian province in the eastern region of the Delta, created at the end of the 5th/11th century. See “Daqahliyya”, in *EI*² (G. Wiet).

313 A province of the eastern delta created by the Fāṭimids in the 5th/11th century. See “al-Sharkīyya”, in *EI*² (G. Wiet and H. Halm).

314 On the lineage of Kinānah, see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab ma‘add*, 2:538, 2:620; al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb al-ašraf*, 8:873; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 458, 479.

315 Modern Mīt Maḥmūd, in al-Daqahliyyah. Mentioned as Munyat Maḥmūd in the ninth-/fifteenth-century cadastral survey of Ibn al-Ġī‘ān. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:226.

316 Modern Mīt ‘Adlān, in al-Daqahliyyah. Mentioned as Munyat ‘Adlān in the ninth-/fifteenth-century cadastral survey of Ibn al-Ġī‘ān. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:238.

317 Kūm al-Ṭa‘ālib was the medieval name of the modern town of al-Nasīmiyyah in al-Daqahliyyah Governorate, some 20km east of Mansoura. See Ramzī (1953–1960), 2/1:217. Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 178 lines 9–14.

318 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 178 line 14 to 179 line 2.

319 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 179 lines 2–5.

§128 وبنو سليم وهم من قيس، وهم ولد سليم بن منصور بن عكرمة بن {خصفة} بن قيس عيلان، وإليه يرجع كل سُلمِي. وكان نزول سليم وعدة قبائل من قيس في أرض مصر سنة تسع ومائة، وأمير مصر إذ ذاك الوليد بن رفاعة بن خالد بن ثابت بن طاعن القهمي ولم يكن بأرض مصر أحد من قيس قبل ذلك إلا من كان من فهم وعدوان فإنهما من قيس في جديلة وهما ابنا عمرو بن قيس عيلان^٣ {أمهما} جديلة؛ بنت مر أخت تميم بن مر، وفهم هذا قتله أخوه عدوان واسمه الحرث فسمي عدوان لأنه عدا على أخيه فهم.

§129 فوفد عبید الله بن الحبحاب^٥ مولى بني سلول عامل هشام بن عبد الملك على خراج مصر على هشام، فسأله أن ينقل إليها من قيس أبياتا فأذن له هشام في إلحاق ثلاثة آلاف منهم وتحويل

١ خصفة: في الأصل خصفة وهو تصحيف لأن الكلمة وردت سابقا صحيحة في الفقرات المتقدمة من النص. انظر الفقرتين §55 و §97، ثم فيما بعد في §128-131؛ ف ك "خصفة". ٢ عيلان: ب ك "غيلان"؛ ف "بن عيلان". || نزول: في الأصل "زول" والصواب من ف. || في: ف "من". ٤ فهم: في الأصل كتب الناسخ "فهو"، فصيّر المقريري الواو ميما من غير كشط. || جديلة: ك "جديلة". || ابنا: في الأصل الزيادة بخط المقريري في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح، ويشير إليها رمز " بعد "وهما"، وكشط المقريري حرفا بعد هذه الكلمة قبل أن يضيف الحاشية في الهامش. ٥ عيلان: ك "غيلان". || أمهما: في الأصل "أسما" وكذلك في ف ب ك. والصواب أثبتناه من مخطوطة دار الكتب القومية، تاريخ، تيور، رقم ١٥٢٧، ومن ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٢٤٣: "فهم والحارث، وهو عدوان أمهما جديلة بنت مر بن أد"؛ ومن ابن عبد البر، الإنباه ٦٩: "نسبوا وبنوهم إلى جديلة أمهم"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٨: "جديلة، نسبة إلى أمهم". || جديلة: ك "جديلة". ٦ الحرث: ف "الحارث". ٧ الحبحاب: في الأصل وضع المقريري رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء؛ ف "الحبحاب".

١ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٣٦٠: "عكرمة بن خصفة بن قيس"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٤: "عكرمة بن خصفة بن قيس".

٢ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٤٨: "بنو فهم وبنو عدوان ابنا عمرو بن قيس".

٣ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ٣٩: "عدوان بن عمرو بن قيس بن عيلان".

٤ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٣٩ و ١١: ١٨: "جديلة".

٥ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ٢٦١ و ٧: ٥٩١: "عبيد الله بن الحبحاب".

§ 128 **The Banū Sulaym** who come from Qays are the descendants of Sulaym b. Maṣṣūr b. ʿIkrimah b. Ḥaṣafah b. Qays ʿAylān, and all Sulamīs go back to him. The Sulaym and several other Qays tribes arrived in Egypt in the year 109 [727–728], when al-Walīd b. Rifāʿah b. Ḥālid b. Ṭābit b. Ṭāʿin al-Fahmī was governor of Egypt.³²⁰ Before that, there were no Qays in Egypt except the Fahm and ʿAdwān, both of whom are of Qays by Ġadīlah. Both are sons of ʿAmr b. Qays ʿAylān, and their mother was Ġadīlah, the daughter of Murr and sister of Tamīm b. Murr.³²¹ This Fahm was killed by his brother ʿAdwān, whose name was al-Ḥārīt, but he was called ʿAdwān because he assaulted his brother Fahm.³²²

§ 129 ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb, a client of the Banū Salūl and the administrator appointed by Hišām b. ʿAbd al-Malik to collect Egypt’s land tax, approached Hišām and asked him to transfer some Qays families to Egypt. Hišām allowed him to gather three thousand of them and move their sti-

320 Al-Walīd b. Rifāʿah was governor of Egypt from 108/726 to 117/735. See Kennedy (1998): 74.

321 Cf. al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* 2:279.

322 On the appointment of ʿUbayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb as head of taxation in Egypt by the Caliph Hišām, see “Ubayd Allāh b. Ḥabḥāb,” in *ET*² (R.G. Khoury).

ديوانهم إلى مصر على أن لا ينزلوا بالفسطاط، ففرض لهم ابن الحبحاب وقدم بهم فأنزلهم الحوف الشرقي وفرقهم فيه.

130 § وعن الهيثم بن عدي، قال: حدثني غير واحد أن عبيد الله بن الحبحاب لما ولاه هشام مصر قال: "ما أرى لقيس فيها حظاً إلا لناس من جديلة وهم فَهَمٌ وَعَدْوَانٌ." فكتب إلى هشام أن "أمير المؤمنين أطال الله بقاءه قد شرف هذا الحي من قيس ونَعَشَهُمْ ورفع من ذكرهم وإني قدمت مصر فلم أر لهم فيها حظاً إلا آياتاً من فهم وفيها كور ليس فيها أحد، وليس يضر بأهلها نزولهم معهم ولا يكسر ذلك خراجاً وهي بلبليس^١. فإن رأى أمير المؤمنين أن ينزلها هذا الحي من قيس فليفعل." فكتب إليه هشام: "أنت ورأيك".

131 § فبعث إلى البادية فقدم عليه مائة أهل بيت من بني نصر بن معاوية بن بكر بن هوازن ومائة أهل بيت من بني عامر بن صعصعة بن معاوية بن بكر بن هوازن بن منصور بن عكرمة بن خصفة ابن قيس | عيلان بن مضر، البطن المشهورة التي منها بنو كلاب وجعدة وعُقَيْلٌ وقشِيرٌ والبَكَّاءُ 76^b وعجلان وعبد الله وربيعة وسُوَاةٌ وهلال ونمير ومائة أهل بيت من هوازن بن منصور بن عكرمة ابن {خصفة} بن قيس عيلان.

١ ابن: في الأصل أضاف المقرئ الألف. || الحبحاب: ف "الحبحاب". || بهم: كلمة ساقطة من ف. || الحوف: ف "الجوف". ٣ الحبحاب: ف "الحبحاب". ٤ حظاً: ف "حطاً". || جديلة: ك "جديلة". ٦ أر: في الأصل كتب الناسخ أولاً "أرى"، ثم كشطت الألف المقصورة. || فيها: كلمة ساقطة من ف. ٧ يكسر: ف "يكثر". ٩-١٠ نصر ... بني: ساقط من ب وفي الهامش الأيسر من ف. ١٠ عكرمة: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ع" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالعين. || خصفة: ك ب "حفصة". ١١ قيس: كلمة ساقطة من ف. || عيلان: ك ب "غيلان". ١٢ وسُوَاةٌ: ف "سواد"؛ ب ك "وسراة". ١٣ خصفة: في الأصل وك "حفصة"؛ ب "حفصة". || بن^٢ ... عيلان: ب "بن عيلان"؛ ك "غيلان".

١ البكري، المسالك والممالك، ٢: ٦٢١. "بلبليس مدينة جليلة بين الشرق والشمال من مصر وبينها وبين مصر بحيرة الأسرا".

٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٠٦٨: "سواده".

pendents (*dīwān*) to Egypt, provided that they would not dwell at Fustat. Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb arranged this for them and had them brought over. He settled them in the eastern al-Ḥawf, where he dispersed them.³²³

§ 130 It is narrated from al-Hayṭam b. ‘Adī³²⁴ that he had heard from several
 5 people that ‘Ubayd Allāh b. al-Ḥabḥāb, when Hišām³²⁵ entrusted him with
 the administration of Egypt, said: “Qays have no share in Egypt, except for
 some people from Ġadīlah, namely Fahm and ‘Adwān.” He wrote the follow-
 ing to Hišām: “The commander of the believers, may God give him a long life,
 honored this tribe of Qays and held them in great esteem; now that I have
 10 come to Egypt I see that they do not have a share there, except for a few fam-
 ilies of Fahm; but there are districts that are empty and where settling the
 Qays alongside the local population will not harm them and will not cause a
 drop in income; namely in Bilbays. If the commander of the believers agrees
 that Qays would dwell in this area (*ḥayy*), it should be done.” Hišām wrote
 15 to him: “I leave it to you.”

§ 131 He then sent for people from the desert (*bādiyah*). Those who came
 were a hundred households of the Banū Naṣr b. Mu‘āwiyah b. Bakr b. Ha-
 wāzin; a hundred households of the Banū ‘Āmir b. Ṣaṣa‘ah b. Mu‘āwiyah b.
 Bakr b. Hawāzin b. Maṣṣūr b. ‘Ikrimah b. Ḥaṣafah b. Qays ‘Aylān b. Muḍar,
 20 from the well-known section that also includes Banū Kilāb, Ġa‘dah, ‘Uqayl,
 Quṣayr, al-Bakkā’, ‘Aġlān, ‘Abd Allāh, Rabī‘ah, Suwā, Hilāl, and Numayr; and
 a hundred households of Hawāzin b. Maṣṣūr b. ‘Ikrimah b. Ḥaṣafah b. Qays
 ‘Aylān.

323 On the migration of Qaysī tribesmen to Egypt at the instigation of Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb and its importance for the Arabization of the Egyptian countryside, see Kennedy (1998): 74–75; cf. al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭat*, 4:31.

324 Historian of the early ‘Abbāsīd period, born in Kūfah 120/738 and died circa 207/822. See “al-Haytham b. ‘Adī al-Ṭā‘ī,” in *ET*² (Ch. Pellat).

325 Tenth caliph of the Umayyad dynasty, ruling from 105/724 to 125/743. See “Hishām,” in *ET*² (F. Gabrieli).

§132 فأنزلهم ببليس وأمرهم بالزرع ونظر إلى الصدقة من العشور فصرفها إليهم فاشترىوا إبلًا فكانوا يحملون الطعام إلى القلزم، فكان الرجل يصيب في الشهر العشرة دنانير وأكثر، ثم أمرهم باشتراء الخيول فجعل الذي يشتري المهر فلا يمكث إلا شهرًا حتى يُركب وليس عليهم مؤنة في إعلاف إبلهم ولا خيلهم لجودة مراعاتهم. فلما بلغ ذلك عامة قومهم تحمل إليهم خمسمائة أهل بيت من البادية فكانوا على مثل ذلك فأقاموا سنة فأتاهم نحو من خمس مائة أهل بيت وببليس ألف ٥
وخمس مائة أهل بيت من قيس حتى إذا كان في زمن مروان بن محمد وولي الحوثة بن سهيل الباهلي^١ مصر انتالت إليه قيس فأت مروان وبها ثلثة آلاف أهل بيت ثم توالدوا وقدم عليهم من البادية من قدم فأحصوا في ولاية محمد بن سعيد فوجدوا خمسة آلاف ومائتين ما بين صغير وكبير.

§133 وفي هذه القبيلة قبيلة سليم بطون وأنفاذ وعشائر كيني ذكوان وهلال وعوف والحرب ورفاعة وعصية وظفر وعميرة^٢ وبهز^٣ وغيرهم. ومساكن سليم هذه ببرقة مماليلي مصر. وكانت في ١٠

٥ سنة: في الأصل كشط المقرزي مابلي السين، ثم أضاف النون والتاء المربوطة. || من ٢: كلمة ساقطة من ب. ٦ الحوثة: ف "الحويرة". || سهيل: ب "سهل". ٧ انتالت: ك "شالت"، ف "سالت". ٨ ولاية ... سعيد: ب "في ولاية سعيد". || خمسة آلاف: ك "خمسمائة ألف" ثم تصحيح في الهامش الأيمن "خمسمة آلاف". ٩ قبيلة سليم: في الأصل الزيادة بخط المقرزي في الهامش الأيسر من الأسفل إلى الأعلى + صح، ويشير إليها رمز ٦ بعد "القبيلة". ١٠ وعميرة: ك "وعمير". || وبهز: كلمة ساقطة من ب.

١ ابن خلدون، العبر (بيروت)، ٤: ٣٨٢: "ولَّى مروان الحوثة بن سهل بن العجلان الباهلي".

٢ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ٢٦١: "بنو عميرة (ابن عصية بن خُفأ بن امرئ القيس بن بهثة)".

٣ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٦٠٩: "بهر".

§132 He settled them in Bilbays and ordered them to cultivate the land. He then examined the ten percent land taxes (‘*ushr*’) and granted it to them, so that they could buy camels. They used them to bring victuals to al-Qulzum.³²⁶ In this way, a man could earn ten dinars or more in one month.

5 He then ordered them to buy horses; as they began to buy foals, it only took a month before they could be ridden. They did not need to pay for the feed of their camels and horses, because of the excellence of their pasture. When the mass of their tribesmen heard of this, five hundred additional households came from the steppe, and lived like that for a year. Then another five

10 hundred households came over, with 1,500 of them in Bilbays. There were so many of them that during the time of Marwān b. Muḥammad, when al-Ḥawṭarah b. Suhayl al-Bāhili³²⁷ was governor of Egypt, the Qays flocked to him. At the time of Marwān’s death there were already 3,000 households. They then multiplied and others came to them from the desert. They were

15 counted when Muḥammad b. Sa’id³²⁸ was governor and found to be 5,200, young and old.³²⁹

§133 In this tribe of Sulaym there are several sections, clans, and solidarity groups, such as the Dakwān, Hilāl, ‘Awf, al-Ḥāriṭ, Rifā‘ah, ‘Uṣayyah, Zafar, ‘Amīrah, Bahz, and others.³³⁰ The abode of these Sulaym is at Barqah, near

326 The medieval Red Sea port town at the head of the modern Gulf of Suez. See “al-Qulzum,” in *ET²* (E. Honigmann and R.Y. Ebied).

327 Al-Ḥawṭarah b. Suhayl al-Bāhili was the governor of Egypt during the final years of the Umayyad caliphate, appointed by the last Umayyad caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad (Kennedy [1998]: 75–76).

328 Muḥammad b. Sa’id b. ‘Uqbah (d. 158/775) was appointed to collect the land-tax of Egypt by the ‘Abbāsīd Caliph Abū Ġa‘far al-Manṣūr (r. 136/754–158/775). See Kindī, *al-Wulāt wa-l-Quḍāt* 257; Ibn ‘Asākīr, *Ta’rīḥ Dimašq*, 53:90. The last sentence of this paragraph, where the number of Qays who settled in Egypt is said to have reached 5,200, is not in al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, 1:152.

329 This second, longer version of the account regarding the settlement of Qays by Ibn al-Ḥabḥāb (§§ 130–132), is also found in al-Maqrīzī, *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, 1:151–152, where it is attributed to al-Kindī (d. 350/961). In *al-Ḥiṭaṭ*, the migration of the Qays is seen as a key event in the gradual settlement of the Arabs in the Egyptian countryside and their taking up of agriculture. Before that, in the first century after the Muslim conquest of Egypt, the Arab tribes were prevented from settling outside the urban centers and had only pasturage rights. On the settlement of the Arabs in the early Islamic period, see Bouderbala (2019).

330 On the Banū Sulaym, see also Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 261–264.

عالية نجد بالقرب من خير، ومنها حرة {بني} سُليْم، وحرة النار^٢ بين وادي القرى وتيماء،^٣ ثم تحولوا إلى مصر وإفريقية ولم يبق لهم عدد ولا بقية في بلادهم وصار لهم بإفريقية عدد عظيم؛

134 § ففهم بها بنو الشريدة لهم صولة وشوكة وبنو زُعب بن مالك بن بهثة^٦ كانوا بين الحرمين فصاروا إلى إفريقية في جوار إخوانهم بني دباب^٧ بن مالك ثم صاروا في جوار بني كعب.^٨ ومن سُليْم بنو دباب^٩ بن مالك ينزلون ما بين قابس وبرقة، وهم ببرقة بجوار هيَّب.^{١٠}

٥

١ عالية: في الأصل كشط النسخ الحرف الأول وكتب حرف العين مكانه. || حرة: في الأصل وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. || حرة ... سُليْم: في الأصل وب "حرة بن سُليْم"، والصواب اثبتناه من ك "بني". || النار: ف "النار". ٢ بلادهم: ف "بلادهم". ٣ بها: كلمة ساقطة من ب. || الشريد: ف "السديد". || زُعب: ك "الرعب". || بهثة: ك "بهثة". ٤ دباب: ف "ذياب"؛ ك "دياب". ٥ ومن ... دباب: ف "ومن بني سليم هو ذياب". || هيَّب: ب "هيت".

١ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٨: "ومنها حرة بن سُليْم".

٢ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٨: "حرة النار".

٣ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٠٥٣: "حرة سليم وحرة النار ووادي القرى وتيماء؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٨: "حرة بن سُليْم وحرة النار بين وادي القرى وتيماء".

٤ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٨: "وبإفريقية منهم خلق عظيم".

٥ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٢٩: "الشريد"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٦: "وبنو الشريد ... ولهم شوكة وصولة".

٦ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٦: "بنو زُعب بن مالك"، ٤: ١٥٦: "كانوا بين الحرمين ثم انتقلوا إلى الغرب فسكنوا بإفريقية ... في جوار إخوانهم".

٧ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٦: "بني دباب بن مالك".

٨ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٩٥٦: "هيَّب".

٩ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٨٠: "دباب من سُليْم"، ٤: ١٥٧: "ومن بني سُليْم دباب بن مالك".

١٠ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٢: "هيَّب".

Egypt. They previously lived in the highlands of Nağd near Ḥaybar, in Ḥarrat Banī Sulaym,³³¹ and Ḥarrat al-Nār³³² between Wādī l-Qurá³³³ and Taymā'.³³⁴ Then they went to Egypt and Ifrīqiyah, so that not one of them remained in their homeland. There is now a great number of them in Ifrīqiyah.

- 5 §134 They include there [in Ifrīqiyah] the Banū l-Šarīd, who have courage and bravery, and Banū Zuğb b. Mālik b. Buḥṭah. They lived between the two holy cities [Mecca and Medina], then moved to Ifrīqiyah under the protection of their brothers, Banū Diyāb b. Mālik; then they came under the protection of the Banū Ka'b.
- 10 The Banū Sulaym also include the Banū Diyāb b. Mālik, who dwell between Gabès and Barqah and are under the protection of the Hayyib in Barqah.

331 Ḥaybar is famous oasis and of its principal settlement of the same name, located about 95 miles/150 km from Medina. See "Khaybar", in *EI*² (L. Veccia Vaglieri). The *ḥarrah* or basalt desert that was once called Ḥarrat Banī Sulaym, and is now called Ḥarrat Ruhāt, is located midway between Mecca and Medina. See "Sulaym", in *EI*² (M. Lecker).

332 Ḥarrat al-Nār was identified as the pre-Islamic abode of the Banū Sulaym, in the highlands of Nağd. It was also called Umm Šabbār (Yāqūt, *Muğam al-buldān*, 2:248–249, 252).

333 A region in northern Hijaz north of Medina, important in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic eras. See "Wādī 'l-Qurā", in *EI*² (M. Lecker).

334 An ancient oasis settlement of northwestern Arabia. "Taymā'", in *EI*² (F. Buhl and C.E. Bosworth). Cf. al-Qalqašandī, *Qalā'id al-ğumān* 124, who attributes this statement to Ibn Ḥaldūn.

ومنهم بنو سليمان بن دباب^١ في جهة فزان^٢ وودان.
ورؤساء دباب^٣ الآن ما بين طرابلس وقابس، وبيتهم^٤ بنو صابر والمحامد بنواحي فاس^٥ وبيتهم
في بني رحاب بن محمود.

١ دباب: في الأصل "دباب" وفي ب ف "ذياب"، ك "ذباب". || فزان: ب ف "قران"، ك "جبهة وزان".
٢ دباب: في الأصل "دباب"، ف "ذياب"، ك "ذباب". || وبيتهم^١: ب "بينهم"، ف "بنهم". || فاس: ف
"فاس". || وبيتهم^٢: ب "بينهم"، ف "بنهم". ٣ في: كلمة ساقطة من ب.

١ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٧: "سليمان بن ذباب".
٢ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٨٥: "فزان وودان".
٣ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٧: "ذباب".
٤ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٧: "بيتهم".
٥ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ٨٦١: "ويجاورهم في هذه الأرض الجوارى والمحاميد"، القلقشندي،
نهاية الأرب، رقم ٣٥٦: "الجوارى"، ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٨١، ١٨٢، ١٨٤: "الجوارى
والمحاميد".

٦ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٨٤، ٤: ١٥٧: "قابس".

The Banū Sulaymān b. Dīyāb are also from among them. They are located in the region of Fazzān³³⁵ and Waddān.³³⁶

The leaders of Dīyāb are currently between Tripoli and Gabès, and they belong to the Banū Šābir. The Maḥāmid are in the region of Fes; their leaders
5 are the Banū Riḥāb b. Maḥmūd.³³⁷

335 Yāqūt defines it as the desert regions between the Fayyum and Tripoli (*Muḥam al-buldān*, 3:890). On the history of Fazzān, see “Fazzān,” in *ET*² (J. Despois).

336 An oasis town in the depression of Ġufrah in the Libyan desert. See “al-Djufra,” in *ET*² (J. Despois). See also Yāqūt, *Muḥam al-buldān*, 4:911.

337 For a different account of the Dīyāb (or Dūbāb) group inhabiting the area between Gabès and Tripoli, Cf. al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʾil al-ʿArab* 182 lines 2–8.

§135 ومن سُليْمَ بنِ عوفِ بنِ بهيْثَةَ ما بينَ قابِسٍ وبلدِ العنابِ،^١ وهم {مرداس} وعلاق^٢ وبنو هيب^٣ بن بهيْثَةَ أخوه عوفٌ؛ بن بهيْثَةَ ما بينَ السدرةِ من بركةِ إلى حدودِ سَكَنْدَرِيَّةِ.^٥
وَبَنُو أَحْمَدَ مِنْهُمْ بِأَجْدَابِيَّةِ^٦ لَهُمْ عَدَدٌ وَيَرْجِعُونَ إِلَى شِمَاخِ^٧ وَلَهَا الْعِزِّيُّ | هَيْبٌ،^٨ وَمِنْ هَيْبٍ سَمَالٌ^٩ ٧٧^ا
وَمِحَارِبٌ وَرِئَاسَتُهُمَا فِي بَنِي عِزَّازٍ.^{١٠}

١ بنو ك: "بن". ٢-١ ما... بهيْثَةَ: في الهامش الأيمن من ك. ١ العناب: ف "العناب". || مرداس: في الأصل وف "مرواس"، والصواب اثبتناه من ب ك "مرداس". ٢ بركة: في الأصل كشط المقرئ كملة أو كلمتين قبل أن يثبتها كما هي الآن. || سَكَنْدَرِيَّةِ: ب ف "اسكندرية". ٣ بأجدابية: ب "احدابية". || ويرجعون: حرف الواو ساقط من ب ك. || شِمَاخِ: ف "شماخ". || سَمَالٌ: في الأصل الكلمة مهملة "سالم"، وسنجدها فيما بعد واضحة؛ وفي ف "سبال"؛ ب ك "سيال".

١ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٤١٠: "العناب"؛ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٣٩٧: "العياد"؛ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ١٢٦: "العناب"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٧: "ومن بني سليم... وبلد العناب".

٢ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٧: "وَجَدْنَا مِنْهُمْ مِرْدَاسٌ وَعَلَّاقٌ"، ١١: ١٥٥؛ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٣٩٧؛ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ١٢٦: "مرداس وعلاف".

٣ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٧: "هَيْبَ بْنَ بَهَيْثَةَ".

٤ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٧: "بَنُو هَيْبَ بْنَ بَهَيْثَةَ إِخْوَةُ بَنِي عَوْفِ بْنِ بَهَيْثَةَ".

٥ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ١٢٨؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٧: "وهم ما بين السدرة من بركة إلى العُدوة الكبيرة ثم الصغيرة من حدود الإسكندرية".

٦ البكري، المسالك والممالك، ٢: ٦٥٠-٦٥١: "أجدابية"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٧: "بنو أحمد، لهم أجدابية وجهاتها".

٧ ابن حزم، جمهرة أنساب العرب ١٨٨: "السَّمَاخُ مِنْ بَنِي عَوْفِ بْنِ الْحَارِثِ بْنِ عَبْدِ مَنَاةَ"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٧، ١١: ١٥٤: "يَرْجِعُونَ إِلَى شِمَاخِ".

٨ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٧: "ولها العزفي هيب"، ١١: ٩: "في العزة".

٩ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب. رقم ١٠٥٨: "سمالك"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٧: "سالم ومحارب"، وفي ١١: ١٥٤: "شمال ومحارب".

١٠ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٥٣١: "قزاز"؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٨: "بني عزاز" وهو خطأ، وفي ١١: ١٥٤: "والرئاسة في هاتين القبيلتين لبني عزاز، وهم المعروفون بالعزة".

§135 The Sulaym also include the Banū ‘Awf b. Buḥṭah, found between Gabès and Balad al-‘Annāb,³³⁸ namely Mirdās and ‘Allāq. The Banū Hayyib b. Buḥṭah, brother of ‘Awf b. Buḥṭah, live in the area of al-Sidrah near Barqah and up to Alexandria.

- 5 The Banū Aḥmad, of whom a great number live in Aġdābiyyah,³³⁹ go back to Šammāḥ³⁴⁰ and enjoy power among the Hayyib. The Hayyib include Samāl³⁴¹ and Muḥārib, who are under the leadership of the Banū ‘Azzāz.

338 The present town of Bône, on the Algerian coast, east of Algiers. See “al-‘Annāba,” in *ET*² (G. Marçais).

339 A town in modern Libya, on the road from Alexandria to Tripoli. See “Aġdābiya,” in *ET*² (H.H. Abdul Wahab).

340 Cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘Arab* 188 (al-Šammāḥ b. Āmir b. ‘Awf b. al-Ḥāriṭ).

341 Reading and vocalization uncertain.

ولهيب^١ في سليم {عزة} لاستيلائها على إقليم طويل خربت مدنه وصارت ولايته لأشياخهم
وتحت أيديهم خلق من البربر وفيهم الأبطال الأنجاد.^٢

136 § والإمرة فيهم في أولاد عزاز^٣ بن مقدم، وكان مزيد بن عزاز جليل القدر معظمًا في
الدولة وبنو زايد وحمدان وزيان؛ كلهم كرام أماجد، أبو خالد عطاء الله بن عمر بن عزاز كان
كرميًا مطاعًا في قومه وبنوه معز وعمر. ومنهم علوي بن إبراهيم بن عزاز وسلطان بن زيان بن عزاز
وعمر بن مشعل بن عزاز وجماعة ابن مليح المنصوري أصحاب غازي بن نجم وعليان بن عريف
وبليوش. وكان قد هرب من السلطان الملك الظاهر بيبرس فأُنهذ جيشًا وراءه فقاتلوه وأخذوه
أسيرًا فاعتقله مدة ثم أفرج عنه وهو والد زيد بن بليوش.

١ ولهيب: ف "وتهيب". || سليم: ب "في بني سليم". || عزة: في الأصل "غزة" وهو تصحيف والمراد "عزة"
والتصحیح من ف. ٢ الأنجاد: ك "والأنجاد". ٣ الإمرة: ب "الأمر". || أولاد: في الأصل الزيادة
بخط المقرئ في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح، ويشير إليها رمز "ب" بعد "في". || عزاز: في
الأصل كشط المقرئ ما قبل الزاي الأولى، ثم أضاف العين. ٤ أبو: في الأصل الزيادة بخط المقرئ في
الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح، ويشير إليها رمز "ب" بعد "أماجد"، وقبل ذلك كشط المقرئ
كلمة في النص. || خالد: في الأصل كشط المقرئ كلمة "بن" بعد هذه الكلمة. || بن: ١: كلمة ساقطة من
ب. || عمر: ب "عمرو". || عزاز: في الأصل كشط المقرئ ما يلي العين، ثم صحح الكلمة كما هي الآن.
٦ ابن: في الأصل أضاف المقرئ الألف؛ ب "من ابن مليح". || المنصوري: ب "المنصوي". || عريف:
ب ك "عوف". ٧ فأُنهذ: ك "فأُنهض".

- ١ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٨: "وهيب".
- ٢ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٨: "وتحت أيديهم خلق من البرابرة واليهود زُرَّاعًا ونُجَّارًا"، ١١: ١٥٤.
- ٣ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ١٥٨: "والرياسة في هذين القَبِيلَيْن لبني عَرَّارٍ (وهو خطأ) وهيب"، ١١: ١٥٤: "...لبني عَرَّاز".
- ٤ العمري، قبائل العرب ١٧٩ = مسالك الأبصار، ٤: ١٩٩: "حميد وريان".

The Hayyib are held in high esteem among the Sulaym because they took over a wide area whose cities are in ruin, and which is now ruled by their leaders.³⁴² A number of Berbers obey them, and they have valiant and bold men.

- 5 §136 The amirs among them come from the descendants of ‘Azzāz b. Miq-
dām; Mazyad b. ‘Azzāz was a powerful man of high standing in the state. The
Banū Zāyid, Ḥamdān, and Zayyān are all people of nobility and virtue. As for
Abū Ḥālid ‘Aṭā’ Allāh b. ‘Umar b. ‘Azzāz, he was a respected man obeyed by
10 b. ‘Azzāz, Sulṭān b. Zayyān b. ‘Azzāz, ‘Umar b. Maš‘al b. ‘Azzāz, and the band
of Ibn Mulayḥ al-Manṣūrī who the followers of Ġāzī b. Naġm, ‘Alyān b. ‘Arīf,
and Balyūš. The latter [Balyūš] fled from Sultan al-Malik al-Ẓāhir Baybars
who sent troops after him, fought him, and took him prisoner. Baybars kept
him in custody for some time, then released him. He [Balyūš] is the father
15 of Zayd b. Balyūš.³⁴³

342 Cf. al-Qalqašandī, *Qalā'id al-ġumān* 124, who attributes this statement to Ibn Ḥaldūn.

343 Cf. al-‘Umarī, *Qabā'il al-'Arab* 179 line 8 to 180 line 1.

137 § ومنهم جماعة سعيد بن العريب بن الأحمر وجماعة محمد الهواري، وكانت الإمرة على عربان البحيرة في الأيام الناصرية محمد بن قلاون فيهم، وهي لفائد بن مقدم وخالد بن أبي سليمان، وكانا أميرين سيدين ذوي كرم وأمن وشجاعة.

138 § وفيما بين الإسكندرية والعقبة الكبرى جماعة فائد وزنارة^١ ومزاتة وخفاجة وهوارة وسمال^٢ ولبيد جماعة سلام وفزارة ومحارب وقطاب والزعافنة وبشر والجواشنة والبعاجنة والقبائص وأولاد سلّمان والقصاص والعلاونة ومنازلهم من العقبة الكبيرة إلى سُوسَة.

139 § ثم جماعة جعفر بن عمر وهم المثنائية^٣ والياسة وعرعرة والعظمة والعكمة والمزايل والمعزة ومن المعزة الجعافرة جماعة جعفر بن عمر، ومنهم البداري أيضا، ومنهم السهاونة والجلدة وأولاد أحمد ومنازلهم من سُوسَة إلى بئر السدرة، وهي آخر حدود ديار مصر ومسافتها من الإسكندرية نحو شهر بسير القوافل. ١٠

١ محمد: كلمة ساقطة من ب. || علي: ب "في". ٢ قلاون: ب ف ك "قلاوون". || لفائد: ب ك "لقائد". || وخالد: في الأصل كشط المقريري كلمة ("ين"؟) قبل أن يضيف الواو. ٥ وسمال: ك "سمالك". || وبشر: ف "ولين". ٦ والقبائص: ب "والقبائص"؛ ف "والتبايص". || سلّمان: ب "سليمان". ٧ عمر: ب "عمرو". || المثنائية: ب "المثنائية". || والعكمة: ك "والعكة". || والمزايل: في الأصل الزيادة بخط المقريري في الهامش الأيمن من الأعلى إلى الأسفل + صح، ويشير إليها رمز ٢ بعد "والعكمة". ٨ جعفر: كلمة ساقطة من ف. ٩ السدرة: في الأصل كشطت حرف بين الدال والراء. || حدود: في الأصل كشط المقريري ما كان بين الحاء والواو، ثم أضاف الدال. || ديار: ب كلمة ساقطة من ب.

١ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ١٧٤: زَنَارَة؛ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ٣٦٠: "زَنَارَة ضواحي إسكندرية بالبحيرة".

٢ القلقشندي، نهاية الأرب، رقم ١٠٥٨: "سمالك"؛ القلقشندي، قلائد الجمان ١٢٥: "ومن جماعة فايد زنارة ومزاتة وخفاجة وهوارة وسمال".

٣ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٨٥، ١٨٧: "المثنائية".

§137 They also include the band of Saʿīd b. al-ʿArīb b. al-Aḥmar and the band of Muḥammad al-Hawwārī.³⁴⁴ The amirs of the Arabs (*ʿurbān*) of Buḥayrah during the reign of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn³⁴⁵ were of them: [these included] Fāʿid b. Muqaddam and Ḥālīd b. Abī Sulaymān, who
5 were two generous, strong, and valiant amirs and tribal leaders (*sayyid*).³⁴⁶

§138 In the area between Alexandria and al-ʿAqabah al-Kubrā³⁴⁷ live the band of Fāʿid, Zanārah, Mazātah, Ḥafāḡah, Hawwārah, Samāl, Labīd [who are] the band of Sallām, Fazārah, Muḥārib, Qitāb, al-Zaʿāfinah, Bišr, al-Ġawāšinah, al-Baʿāḡinah, al-Qabāʿiṣ, Awlād Salmān, al-Quṣāṣ, and al-ʿAlāwinah,
10 the abode (of all these) stretches from al-ʿAqabah al-Kabīrah to Sousse.³⁴⁸

§139 The band of Ġaʿfar b. ʿUmar include al-Maṭāniyah, al-Yāsah, ʿArʿarah, al-ʿAzamah, al-Akamah, al-Mazāʿil, and al-Maʿazah. The Maʿazah include the Ġaʿāfirah—that is the band of Ġaʿfar b. ʿUmar—, al-Badārī, al-Sahāwinah, al-Ġaladah, and Awlād Aḥmad. Their abode extends from Sousse to Biʿr al-
15 Sidrah, which forms the outermost border of Egypt and, as the caravans travel, is about a month from Alexandria.³⁴⁹

344 Cf. al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʿil al-ʿArab* 180 lines 1–2. As this was taken from al-ʿUmarī’s text, written in the 740s/1340s, this note relates to the Hawwārah in al-Buḥayrah, before their migration to Upper Egypt in the 1380s.

345 The Mamluk Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Qalāwūn had three reigns: 693/1293–1294, 698/1299–708/1309, and 709/1310–741/1341. See “al-Nāṣir”, in *ET*² (P.M. Holt).

346 Cf. al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʿil al-ʿArab* 180 lines 3–6, where al-ʿUmarī reports in the first person. Al-Maqrīzī dates the report to the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (third reign, 709–741/1310–1341), while omitting al-ʿUmarī’s name.

347 On al-ʿAqabah al-Kabīrah as the westernmost border of Egypt, located east of Barqah, see Ibn Saʿīd, *Kitāb al-Ġuġrāfiyā*, 147.

348 Cf. al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʿil al-ʿArab* 180 line 10 to 181 line 3. In al-ʿUmarī’s text, this paragraph is the beginning of a chapter entitled “The tribes of the *ʿurbān* from Egypt to the furthest Maghrib.” Al-ʿUmarī’s text makes it clear that the Labīd clans occupy the lands between al-ʿAqabah and Sousse. On Sousse, see “Sūsa,” in *ET*² (Mohamed Jedidi).

349 Cf. al-ʿUmarī, *Qabāʿil al-ʿArab* 181 lines 4–9. Al-ʿUmarī continues to list the tribes further west of Sidrah, but this is omitted by al-Maqrīzī. Biʿr al-Sidrah is mentioned by Ibn Saʿīd as a place near Barqah (Ibn Saʿīd, *Kitāb al-Ġuġrāfiyā* 146).

§140 وأما طريق مكة شرفها الله فإن من القاهرة إلى عقبة أيلة للعائد،^١ ومن العقبة إلى دأما بالقرب من عينونة لبني عُقْبَة، ومن دأما إلى أُكْرَى لبلي، ومن أُكْرَى إلى تَمَا وهي آخر الوعرات للجهينة، ومن تَمَا إلى نهاية بدر على الفرعاً وإلى نهاية الصفراء على نقب علي لبني حسن أصحاب ينبع، ويليه من أقاربهم من بني حسن أصحاب بدر إلى رملة عاجل في طرف قاع البزوة ومن الصَّفراء إلى الجُحْفَة ورابع لزُييد الحجاز، ومن الجُحْفَة على قديد وما حولها إلى عَقْبَة السَّوَيْقِ لِسُلَيْم، ومن عَقْبَة السَّوَيْقِ إلى خُلَيْص إلى عَسْفَان | للشريف جَسَار من بني حسن، ومن ثنية عَسْفَان إلى المَحَاطِبِ 77^b لبني جابر وهم في طاعة صاحب مكة ومن المحاطب لصاحب مكة وبني حسن.

١ الله: ب ف ك + "تعالى". || للعائد: ب ف ك "العائد". ٣ علي: كلمة ساقطة من ف. ٤ طرف: ب "طرق". || البزوة: ف "البزدة". ٥ الجُحْفَة: وضع المقرئ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء. ٦ المَحَاطِبِ: وضع الناسخ رمز "ح" تحت الكلمة إشارة إلى تلفظها بالحاء.

١ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ٤: ٥١: "بني عائد".

§ 140 As for the road to Mecca: the route from Cairo to ‘Aqabat Aylah is the responsibility of the tribe of al-‘Ā’id. The route from al-‘Aqabah to Dāmā near ‘Aynūnah is the responsibility of the Banū ‘Uqbah. The route from Dāmā to Akrá is the responsibility of Balī. The route from Akrá to Tamā,³⁵⁰ which is the last steep climb, is the responsibility of Ğuhaynah. The route from Tamā to the edge of Badr³⁵¹ at al-Far‘ā³⁵² and to the edge of al-Şafra’³⁵³ at Naqab ‘Alī,³⁵⁴ is the responsibility of Banū Ḥasan, lords of Yanbu’.³⁵⁵ Next are their relatives from among the Banū Ḥasan, the lords of Badr up to the sands of ‘Āliġ,³⁵⁶ on the side of Qā’ al-Bazwā’.³⁵⁷ The route from al-Şafra’ to al-Ğuhfah³⁵⁸ and Rābiġ³⁵⁹ belongs to the Zubayd of the Hijaz. The route from al-Ğuhfah at Qudayd³⁶⁰ and the surrounding area to ‘Aqabat al-Sawīq³⁶¹ belongs to the Sulaym. The route from ‘Aqabat al-Sawīq to Ḥulays³⁶² and ‘Uşfān³⁶³ belongs to the Şarīf Ğassār, from the Banū Ḥasan. The route from the hill of ‘Uşfān to al-Maḥātib³⁶⁴ belongs to the Banū Ğābir, who are under the authority of the lord of Mecca. The route from al-Maḥātib is in the possession of the lord of Mecca and the Banū Ḥasan.³⁶⁵

350 Yāqūt has Tamā (*Muġam al-buldān*, 1:933).

351 Badr in modern Saudi Arabia, southeast of the port of Yanbu’ and southwest of Medina; the site of the famous battle. See “Badr,” in *ET²* (W. Montgomery Watt).

352 Probably modern al-Fārī‘ah, overlooking Badr.

353 The village of al-Şafra’ was a station on the pilgrimage route, one stage after Badr (al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, 1:350; Yāqūt, *Muġam al-buldān*, 3:399).

354 We have not been able to identify this place.

355 Yanbu’ is a port on the Red Sea coast of Hijaz. See “Yanbu’,” in *ET²* (E. van Donzel).

356 Sands between Fayd and al-Qurayyāt, on the route to Mecca (Yāqūt, *Muġam al-buldān*, 3:591).

357 MS: Bazwa; al-Bawzā’ was a town on the pilgrimage route, near Ğuhfah (Yāqūt, *Muġam al-buldān*, 1:606).

358 Ğuhfah is modern al-Ğehfah, near Rābiġ. Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, 1:142; Yāqūt, *Muġam al-buldān*, 2:35.

359 Rābiġ is on the Red Sea coast, 160 km south of Yanbu’. See Yāqūt, *Muġam al-buldān*, 2:727.

360 Modern Qudaid. Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, 1:142, 346.

361 On ‘Aqabat al-Sawīq as a stop en route to Ḥulays, see Ayyub Şabrī Bāşā, *Mirāt al-ḥaramayn*, 5:174.

362 Modern Ḥulays. See Yāqūt, *Muġam al-buldān*, 2:467.

363 Modern ‘Asfān. Al-Idrīsī, *Nuzhat al-muštāq*, 1:142; Yāqūt, *Muġam al-buldān*, 3:673.

364 We have not been able to identify this place.

365 This section was copied, with very slight modifications, from al-‘Umarī, *Qabā’il al-‘Arab* 187 line 8 to 188 line 3. Al-‘Umarī intended to list the caravan routes to Mecca from all directions, but only provided the “route of the Egyptian convoy,” which is the section copied here by al-Maqrīzī into the *Bayān*. For the route of the Syrian convoy, al-‘Umarī provides only the heading and leaves the itinerary blank. Al-‘Umarī explains that along the routes there are ‘urbān who own it (*mullāki-hā*) and control the pilgrims when they pass in their lands.

§141 وفي برقة أحياء بني جعفر وكان شيخهم أبو ذئب وأخوه حامد بن كميل^١ وهم ينتسبون في العرب، فتارة في بني كعب بن سليم وتارة في فزارة^٢، والصحيح أنهم من مسرّاة إحدى بطون هوارة.

§142 وفيما بين برقة والعقبة أولاد سلام^٣ وما بين العقبة الكبيرة والإسكندرية أولاد مقدم، وهم بطنان: أولاد التُّرْكِيَّةِ وأولاد فائد؛ مقدم وسلام معا وهم ينتسبون إلى لبيد بن علي بن هبة ابن جعفر بن كلاب بن ربيعة بن عامر^٤، وهم ثلاثة إخوة: لبيد وحديد وزبيد، بنو علي بن هبة بن جعفر ومن حديد محارب. ويقال إن أولاد مقدم من ربيعة بن نزار^٥، وقيل لبيد من سليم وفيهم هيب^٦ ورواحه وفزارة وهؤلاء يقال إنهم من غطفان. والله أعلم بالصواب^٧. تم.

§143 حرره جهد الطاقة مؤلفه وجامعه أحمد بن علي المقرئ الشافعي في ذي القعدة سنة إحدى وأربعين وثمانين مائة والحمد لله وحده.

١ بني: ب ك "من بني"؛ ف "لبنى". || ذئب: ك "ذويب". || كميل: ب "جميل"؛ ف "كهيل". || ينتسبون: ف ك "ينتسبون". ٢ فزارة: ك "بني فزارة". ٣ سلام: ب "سليم". || وما: ف "وفيما". ٤ ينتسبون: ف ك "ينتسبون". ٥ من: ك "بن". ٦ ورواحه: ف "ورواح". ٧ والله: ب + "سبحانه وتعالى". || بالصواب: كلمة ساقطة من ك. || تم: كلمة ساقطة من ب. ١٠-١١ حرره... وحده: هذه الكلمات بخط المقرئ في نهاية النص.

- ١ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ٩: "حامد بن كميل".
- ٢ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ٩: "فتارة في العزة، ويزعمون أنهم من بني كعب... وتارة في هيب... وتارة في فزارة".
- ٣ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ٩: "بين برقة والعقبة الكبيرة أولاد سلام".
- ٤ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٧٥، ٩: ١١: "أولاد فائد".
- ٥ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ٩: "ومقدم وسلام معا ينتسبون إلى لبيد".
- ٦ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ٩: "لبيد بن هبية ابن جعفر بن كلاب بن ربيعة بن عامر".
- ٧ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٠: "وذكر لي سلام شيخ أولاد التُّرْكِيَّةِ أن أولاد مقدم... بن نزار".
- ٨ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١١: ١٠: "ومن غطفان في برقة: هيب، ورواحه، وفزارة".
- ٩ ابن خلدون، العبر (تونس)، ١٠: ١١: "والله أعلم بصحة ذلك".

§141 **In Barqah** there are some people of the Banū Ğa‘far. Their leader is Abū Dī‘b, his brother is Ḥāmid b. Kamīl. They trace their lineage to the Arabs, sometimes to the Banū Ka‘b b. Sulaym, sometimes to the Fazārah; but the truth is that they are descended from Misrātah, a section of the Hawwārah.

- 5 §142 Between Barqah and al-‘Aqabah there are descendants of Sallām, and between al-‘Aqabah al-Kabīrah and Alexandria there are descendants of Muqaddam who form two sections: Awlād al-Turkiyyah and Awlād Fā‘id, both Muqaddam and Sallām. They trace their lineage to Labīd b. ‘Alī b. Hibah b. Ğa‘far b. Kilāb b. Rabī‘ah b. ‘Āmir. Labīd, Ḥadīd, and Zabīd were three
10 brothers, sons of ‘Alī b. Hibah b. Ğa‘far, and Ḥadīd bore Muḥārib. According to others, Awlād Muqaddam are descended from Rabī‘ah b. Nizār, and Labīd are descended from Sulaym. Among them live Hayyib, Rawāḥah, and Fazārah and these are said to be descendants of Ğaṭafān.

God knows the truth. [The treatise is] complete.

- 15 §143 Corrected to the best of his ability by its author and compiler Aḥmad b. ‘Alī l-Maqrīzī l-Šāfi‘ī in Dū l-Qa‘dah of the year eight hundred forty-one [May–June 1438]. Praise be to God alone.

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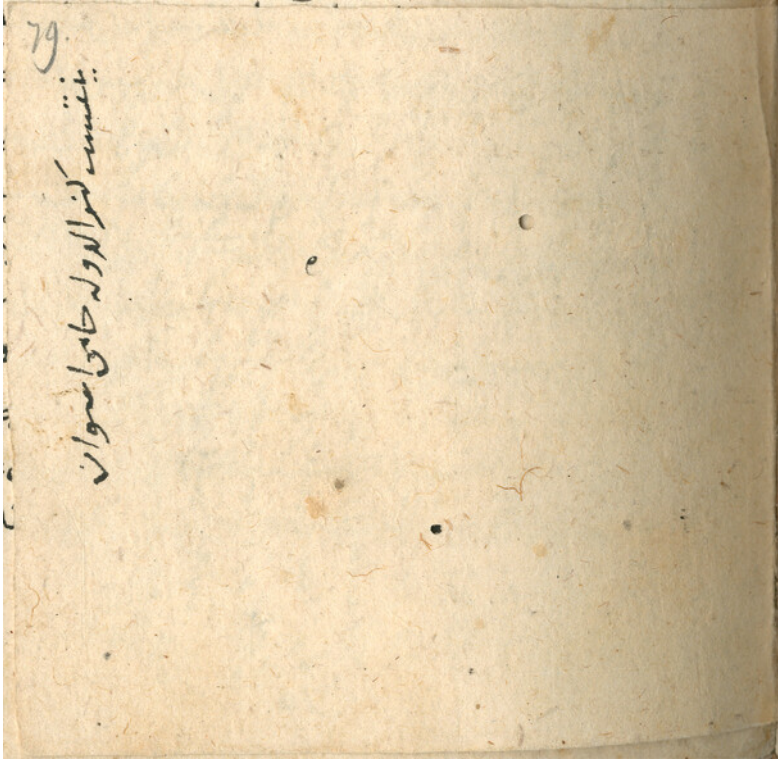
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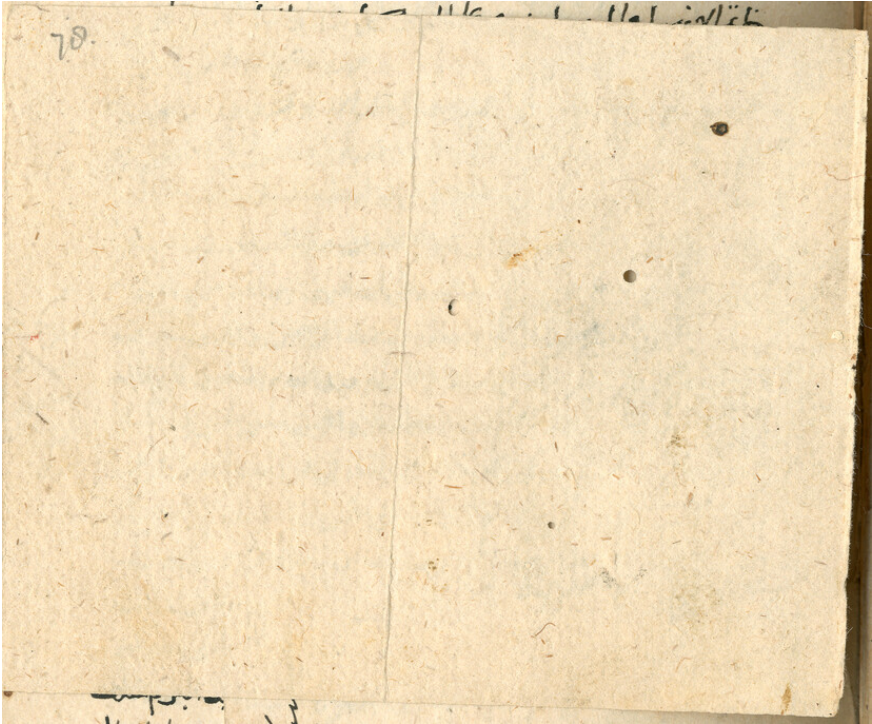
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حقيقته من كثير من عقوبات على من يظن ان
 قاسمها هيب بل في حق من يظن ان
 امره ربيع الفرس نزار سعد عذبان حقيقه
 صفيه نصف كاهل من اسير خزمه قوله حقيقه الاول
 وعلمه وتمامه ورواياته وجوامعها
 الاول من صلاح من عنونه اسير قوله الاول حقيقه
 سورة وتعلمه وعبد الله واولادهم حقيقه بقية
 الخشيان قوله علمه من الاول حقيقه سيره
 ومعونه قوله ربيع بعلمه الاول تعلمه وزاد
 حزمه من اول تعلمه ربيع بعلمه عبيد افول
 عبيد بعلمه ربيع بعلمه سلمه وزاد اول
 اجوانه ونوا كثر من سلمه بعلمه من
 يربوع من تعلمه الاول حزمه ربيع بعلمه
 كرمه كثر من سلمه الفصول اسير وفول



و جوارحه الى بلاد الصعيد انزلوا الكاهن فرثوق
 بعد واقعة ابي اسلم هكاهن سنة اثنسبع مائة
 وسمع كاهن تخمنا وكان له انقطع اسمعيل بن ابيهم
 ابيهم جرجا وكان شيخا باعمرها واداهما حتى منلتها
 على ابن عمه موهي بعد عمر عسما عمر الهوا ارجي
 كنت مولى عمه اسحق بن العرو او السوسون ورج
 امره وكنى ابو اله فانه الكبر اراعه النواحي واداه
 ذوالبالمسك واعتقاره حتى كان مورا عمه اذوه
 وسند عك



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للشرف جبار من بني حسن ومن ثنيه عسفان الى المحاطب لبني جابر وهم
 في طاعة صاحب مكة ومن المحاطب لصاحب مكة وبني حسن
وفي بركة احمأبني جعفر **و** كان شيخهم ابو ذيب **و** اخوه حامد بن كميل **و** هم
 ينتسبون في العرب فتار في بني كعب بن سلمة **و** تار في نزار **و** الصمغ انهم من
 سكراتة احدى بطون هواة **و** فيما بين سمرقند والعقبة اولاد بسلام **و** ما بين
 العقبة الكبيره والاسكندرية اولاد مقدم **و** هم بطنان اولاد الزكية **و** اولاد فايد
 مقدم **و** سلام معا **و** هم ينتسبون الى لييد بن علي بن هبة بن جعفر بن كلاب بن زرع
 ابن عامر **و** هم ثلثة اخوة لييد **و** حديد **و** زييد بنو علي بن هبة بن جعفر **و** من حديد
 محارب **و** يقال ان اولاد مقدم من ربيعة بن نزار **و** قبله لييد بن سليم **و** فيهم هيب
و رواحه **و** نزار **و** هؤلاء يقال انهم من غطفان والله اعلم بالصواب
 حرره محمد الطاهر مولفه **و** جامعته **و** المفقير **و** ان يعف **و** زيا
 الفقيه **و** سنة **و** ارجو **و** عا **و** لاية **و** الحمد لله وحده

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هَيْبٌ وَمِنْ هَيْبٍ سَمَاءٌ وَمِحَارِبٌ وَرِيَّاسَتُهُمَا فِي بَنِي عَزَّازٍ وَهَيْبٌ فِي سَلِيمٍ
 عَزَّازٌ لِأَسْتِنِيَا لَهَا عَلَى أَقْلَمٍ لَهْوِيلٍ خَرِبَتْ مَدَنُهُ وَصَارَتْ وَلا يَتَمَّ لَأَشْيَانِهِمْ وَتَحْتَ
 أَيْدِيهِمْ خَلَقَ مِنَ الْبُرْبُرِ وَفِيهِمُ الْإِبْطَالُ الْإِبْجَادُ وَالْأَسْرُ فِيهِمْ كَيْ تَحْسَبُ زَيْنَ مَقْدَامٍ
 وَكَانَ مَرْيَدٌ مِنْ عَزَّازٍ حَلِيلُ الْقَدْرِ عَظْمَانِي الدَّوْلَةُ وَتَبَوَّأَ أَيْدٍ وَجِدَانُ وَزِيَانُ كُلُّهُمْ
 كَرَامٌ أَمَّا جَدُّ خَالِدٍ عَطَا اللَّهُ مِنْ عَمْرٍ مِنْ عَزَّازٍ كَانَ كَرِيمًا مَطَاعًا فِي قَوْمِهِ وَبَسُوهُ
 مَعْرُوفٌ وَعَمْرٌ وَمِنْهُمْ عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَرَاهِيمَ مِنْ عَزَّازٍ وَسُلْطَانُ بْنُ زِيَانٍ مِنْ عَزَّازٍ وَعَمْرٌ مَشْعَلُ
 ابْنُ عَزَّازٍ وَجَمَاعَةٌ بَنِي سَلِيمٍ الْمَنْصُورِيُّ أَصْحَابُ عَازِي بْنِ نَجْمٍ وَعَلِيَانُ بْنُ عَرِيفٍ وَبَلِيُوشُ
 وَكَانَ قَدْ هَرَبَ مِنَ السُّلْطَانِ الْمَلِكِ الطَّاهِرِيِّ سِيسَ فَاثْبَدَ حَيْثُ شَاوَرًا فَقَالُوا
 وَأَخَذُوا سَبِيْرًا فَاعْتَقَلَهُ مَرَّةً ثُمَّ أَعْرَجَ عَنْهُ وَهُوَ وَالِدُ زَيْنِ بْنِ بَلِيُوشُ وَمِنْهُمْ جَمَاعَةٌ
 سَعِيدُ بْنُ الْعَرَبِيِّ مِنَ الْأَحْمَرِ وَجَمَاعَةٌ مِمَّنْ هَوَارِيُّ وَكَانَتْ الْأَسْرُ عَلَى عِرْبَانَ الْبَيْتِ
 فِي الْأَيَّامِ الْمَنَاصِرِ مِمَّنْ قَلَادُونَ فِيهِمْ وَهِيَ لِفَائِدِ بْنِ مَقْدَمٍ وَخَالِدِ بْنِ أَبِي سَلِيمَانَ
 وَكَانَا أَمِيرَيْنِ سَيِّدَيْنِ ذِي كَرَمٍ وَاسْتَجَاعَهُ وَفِيهِمَا بَنِي الْأَسْكَدَرِيِّ وَالْعَقْبَةُ الْكُبْرَى
 جَمَاعَةٌ فَايِدُ وَزِيَانُ وَمِزَانَةُ وَنَحَايَةُ وَهَوَارُ وَسَمَالُ وَبَلِيْدُ جَمَاعَةٌ سَلَامٌ وَفَزَارُ
 وَمِحَارِبُ وَقَطَابُ وَالزَّعَافِرُ وَبَشْرُ وَالْجَوَاشِدُ وَالْبَعَايِجُ وَالْقَبَائِصُ وَأَوْلَادُ
 سَلْمَانَ وَالْقَصَاصُ وَالْعَلَالُونَةُ وَمَنَارُطُ مِنَ الْعَقْبَةِ الْكُبْرَى إِلَى سُوْسَةَ ثُمَّ جَمَاعَةٌ
 جَعْفَرُ بْنُ عَمْرٍو مِنَ الثَّمَانِيَّةِ وَالْبِيَّاسَةُ وَعَمْرُ بْنُ الْعَظْمَةِ وَالْعَلَمَةُ وَالْمَعْرَةُ وَمِنْ
 الْعَزَّازِ الْجَعْفَرِيُّ جَمَاعَةٌ جَعْفَرُ بْنُ عَمْرٍو وَمِنْ الْبَدْرِيِّ أَيْضًا وَمِنْ السَّهَوَانِ
 وَالْجَلَّةِ وَأَوْلَادُ أَحْمَدُ وَمَنَارُطُ مِنْ سُوْسَةَ إِلَى بَرِّ السُّدُرِ وَهِيَ أَخْرَجَهُ وَدِيَارُ
 وَسَاقِيَهُمَا مِنَ الْأَسْكَدَرِيِّ كَوْشَهْرُ بَيْسِيرِ الْقَوَاطِلِ وَأَمَّا طَرِيقُ مَكَّةَ شَرَفِيهَا
 إِسْهَاقُ بْنُ الْقَاهِرِ إِلَى عَقْبَةِ أَيْلٍ لِلْعَابِدِ وَمِنْ الْعَقْبَةِ إِلَى دَامَا بِالْقَرْبِ مِنْ
 عَمِينُونَةَ لِبَنِي عَقْبَةَ وَمِنْ دَامَا إِلَى الْكُرَيْمِيِّ لِبَنِي وَمِنْ الْكُرَيْمِيِّ إِلَى نَاوِهِ أَخْرَجُوا عَمْرَاتُ
 كَبِيْبَتُهُ وَمِنْ نَاوِهِ إِلَى نَهْيَاةِ بَدْرٍ عَلَى الْقَرْعَاوِ إِلَى نَهْيَاةِ الصَّفْرَا عَلَى نَقِيبِ عَلَى لِبَنِي حَسَنٍ
 أَصْحَابُ بَيْتِ بَلِيْمٍ مِنْ أَقْدَامِهِمْ مِنْ بَنِي حَسَنٍ أَصْحَابُ بَدْرٍ إِلَى رَمْلَةَ عَلَى فِي طَرَفِ
 قَنَاقِ الْبَزْوَرِ وَمِنْ الصَّفْرَا إِلَى الْمُجَفِّهِ وَرَابِعُ لِبَنِي الْحِجَازِ وَمِنْ الْحِجَازِ عَلَى قَدِيدِ
 وَمَا حَرَجَهَا إِلَى عَقْبَةِ السُّوَيْقِ لِسَلِيمٍ وَمِنْ عَقْبَةِ السُّوَيْقِ إِلَى خَلِيْفِ بْنِ عَسْفَانَ

الكرام

والسرايير

عيلان بن مضر البظن المشهور التي منها بنو كلاب وجعلهم بمقتل وقشير
 والنجار وعجلان وعبداه وربوعة وسواء وهلال وميثر وساية اهل بيت من
 هوازن بن مضر بن عكرمة بن خفصة بن قيس عيلان فانهم يلبسوا المرمع
 بالذرع ويطروا الصدقة من العشور فصرها اليهم فاشتروا ابلا وكانوا يحملون
 الطعام الى القرزم فكان الرجل يصيب في الشهر العشرة دنانير واكثر ثم امرهم
 باشترا الخيول فجعل الذي يشتري المهر فلا يملكه الا شهرا حتى يركب وليس
 عليهم بونه في اعلاف الهم ولا خيلهم لجوده مرعاهم فلما بلغ ذلك عامة قومهم
 حمل الهم خصمايه اهل بيت من البادية فكانوا على مثل ذلك فاقاموا سنة
 فاتهم خوفا من خصم اليه اهل بيت وبليديس الف وحسرت به اهل بيت من قيس
 حتى اذا كان في زمن مروان بن محمد وولي الخوارج من سهيل الباهلي بصرا شالت
 اليه قيس فأت مروان وبها ليلة الاف اهل بيت ثم توالت وادقم عليهم في البادية
 من قدم فاحصروا في ولاية محمد بن سعيه فوجدوا خمسة الاف ومائتين مائة صغير
 وكبير وفي هذه القبيلة بطون والنخار وعشائر كني ذكوان وهلال وعود
 والحوث ورفاعة وعصية وظفر وعيين وبهر وغيرهم وسكان سلم هذه بركة
 مما لم يصر وكانت في عمالية تجده بالقرب من خيبر وسهاجرة بن سليمان وخرق
 النارين وادي العرمة وتيمام تحولوا الى مصر واخر يقية ولم يبق لهم عدد ولا
 يقية في بلادهم وصار لهم باخر يقية عدد عظيم فمهم بهابوا الشريه لهم صولة
 وشوكه ونور جب من مالكة بن بهثة كانوا من البحرين فصاروا الى اخر يقية
 في جوار اخوانهم بني دباب بن مالك م صاروا في جوار بني كعب ومن سليمان بن
 دباب بن مالك نزلون مابين قابس وبرقة وهم يبرقون بجوار هيب ومن بنو
 سليمان بن دباب في جهة قزان وودان وروسا دباب الان مابين طرابلس
 وقابس وبيتهم بنو صابر والمحمد بنواحي قابس وبيتهم في بني رباب بن محمود بن
 سليمان بن عوف بن بهثة مابين قابس وبلاد العناب وهم مرواس وعلاق وبنو هيب
 ابن بهثة اخوه عوف بن بهثة مابين السدل من مرقمة الى حدود
 سكتندرية وبنو احمد منهم باجد ابينة لهم عدد ويرجعون الى شيوخ ولها العزيمية

مائة
 مائة

هيب

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وسوزن اس وهن عليه محمود ومثبه عدلان وسولام ولبسوسلام الحجاز وسبو
 شمس والفضيلون ونزارتهم كوم الثعالب وبهاطوا ايضا عمرو وزهير المقدم
 ذكرهم والحسينين ورد الله الاحامد وليسوا باحادثة هلبا والحجازيه وهيم
 بنى جاز وبعض اصحاب اذطاع وفي بن زهير هو لا بنو عز بن بنو شبيب وبنو
 عبيد الرحمن وبنو مالك وبنو عبيد غير بنى عبيد المقدم ذكرهم وبنو عبد القوي
 وبنو شاكر وهم غير شاكر عقبه وبنو حسان وبنو شمام وهم غير شمام ال ربيعه
وسوسليم وهم من قيس وهم ولد سليم بن منصور بن عكرمه بن خصفه بن قيس
 عيلان واليه يرجع كل سلمى وكان نزول سلمى وعده تمايل من قيس في ارض مصر
 سنه تسع ومائه وامير مصر اذ ذاك الوليد بن رفاعه بن خالد بن ثابت بن
 طاعن النهي ولم يكن بارض مصر احد من قيس قبل ذلك الا من كان من قيس
 وعدوان فانما من قيس في جديله وهما عمرو بن قيس عيلان اسما جديله
 بنه مراخت نعيم بن مسر وهم هذا اقبله اخوه عدوان واسمه الحرف فسمي عدوان
 لانه عد على اخيه فم فوفد عبيد الله بن الحجاب مولى بنى سلول عامل هشام
 ابن عبد الملك على خراج مصر على هشام فسأله ان ينقل اليها من قيس ابائنا
 فاذن له هشام في الحاق ثلثه الاف منهم وتحويل ديوانهم الى مصر على ان لا
 ينزلوا بالفسطاط نفرض لهم من الحجاب وقدم بهم فانزلهم الحوف الشرقي وقرتهم
 فيه وعن الهيثم بن عدى قال حدثني غير واحد ان عبيد الله بن الحجاب
 لما دلاه هشام مصر قال ما ارى لقيس فيها حظا الا الناس من جديله وهم
 قيس وعدوان فكتب الى هشام ان امير المؤمنين اطال الله بقاءه قد شرف هذا
 الحى من قيس وتعتشهم ورفع من ذكرهم وانى قدمت مصر فلم ار لهم بها حظا
 الا اباينا من قيس وفيها كور ليس فيها احد وليس يضر اهلها من ولع معهم
 ولا يكسر ذلك خراجا وهي بليس فان راى امير المؤمنين ان ينزلها هذا الحى من
 قيس فليعمل نكبت اليه هشام انت ورايك تبعثه الى البادية فقدم عليه ثايه
 اهل بيته من بنى نصر بن معاوية بن بكر بن هوازن ومائة اهل بيته من بنى عامر
 ابن صعصعه بن معاوية بن بكر بن هوازن بن منصور بن عكرمه بن خصفه بن قيس

ثمة

باليهنساويه وقرقه بالجيسينيه فالتى باليهنساويه بنو محمد وبنو علي وبنو سزار
 ونصف بني شمالان والتى بالجيزيه بنو محمد وله وسفان وبنو ابي كبير وبنو
 الجلاس ونصف بني شمالان وبساله هذه القرقة التى تنزل الجيزيه حد وخاص
 وللقرقة التى تنزل اليهنساويه البيلارويه ومنهم مفاعه وطم سملوط الى المساقية
 ولبنى بركين اقلوسنا ويا معها الى بحر طنديك ولبنى حد وخاص الككور وسفط
 وجرجه واهرت وبنو محمد وبنو علي امرادع بنى زعازع ومنزول فيهم بنو وركان
 وبنو غراس وبنو حجان وبنو الحكم وبنو الوليد وبنو الحجاج وبنو المجرية
 ويقال ان بنى الحجاج من بنى حماس ولهذا كانوا يودون معهم القطاع وبنو سزار
 فى اماره بنى زعازع وهم من بنى زريه ومنهم نصف بنى عامر والعماسنه والضاغنه
 وانز ودم من اماره تاج الملك عز زرين ضبعان ثم ولدن ومنهم بنو زيد وامل ودم
 اولاد قرقيش ومساكلهم بنو بوح دلاص وكان قرقيش عبدا صالحا كثير الصدقه
 وهو والد سعد الملك وفى المتوفيه من لوانته بنى يحيى والهوسوه وعبدك ومصله
 وبنو مختار ومعهم فى البلاد اجلا ف من مزانه وزنان وهوار وبنى الشعريه
 فى اقوام اخرن ومن زنان مزديش وبنو صالح وبنو مسام وزمران ووردويه
 وعرمان ولقان ومن هوار بنو محمد بنى وسواسرته وبنو قطران وبنو كيريت
وهوار يعال انهم من هوار واسمه المثنى يقال هوار بن المثنى ويقال له **السن**
ابى المثنى بن يحيى **وصل** المثنى بن المسور بن المثنى بن حلاج بن ابي بن
 رعيين بن سعد بن حمير الاصغر بن سبا الاصغر وابنه خرج المسور بن المثنى
 من مصر فى طلب ابل قد فقدها وذهبت نحو المعرب وهو فى اشرها وابنه كان
 من اجناد مصر الذين اسكنهم المتابعه بها لما طوفوا الارض فلما دخل افريقيه
 قال لعالمه ابن سخن قال ما فريقيه فقال نهورتنا والنهور الحق فنزل على قوم
 من زياته بمنزوع العرجام منهاج وطم ابى لطم الاكبر وقد ماتت زوجتها
 ماتت عنها وكانت حمله فكنر نسله فمهم الهواريون وقيل هوار وكاتبه
 ومنهاجه اخوه وهم اولاد قيس بن زرعه بن زهير بن ابي بن هليسيه بن
 حمير الاكبر بن سبا بن يسجب بن يعرب بن قحطان وقيل بل هوار ومنهاجه

وطام

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القبائل العربية
التي كانت في
البلاد العربية
من قبائل
القبائل العربية
التي كانت في
البلاد العربية

حول جامع عمرو بن العاص من القسطنطينية وكان بصعيد
مصر كنانة وهم كنانة من خزمية من مدركه من الناس من مضر بن نزار
 ابن معد بن عدنان وهم بنو الليث وبنو ضمرة ابنا بكر بن عبد مناة بن كنانة
 وبنو فراس بن غنم بن ثعلبة بن مالك بن كنانة ولم تكن قريش من النخدية
 الى بلادها عند قدمهم من ابادية الحجار الا بمراسله بنى ابراهيم بن محمد وكان
 مع كنانة جماعة من اخلاط العرب دخلت في لقبها وبنو الليث منهم سكان
 ساقية قلته وياقثهم بنما يليها ويا لصعيد انصاطا يفهم من الانصار
 رضي الله عنهم **والانصار** قبيل عظيم من قبائل الازد وقبيلهم الانصار من
 اجل انهم نصر وارسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وهم الاوس والخزرج ابنا حارثة
 وهم العقبان عمرو وهرمز يقيان عامر وهو ما السمان حارثة وهو
 الغطريف بن امرئ القيس بن ثعلبة بن مازن ابن الازد هكذا بقوله الانصار
 وقال ابن الكلبي وهرمز عمرو بن يقيان عامر بن حارثة بن ثعلبة بن امرئ القيس
 ابن مازن بن الازد ومنهم بارض مصر بنو محمد وبنو عكرمة وديارهم حمى بنفوط
 فاما بنو محمد فمن ولد حسان بن ثابت بن المنذر بن حرام بن عمرو بن زيد مناة
 ابن عدي بن عمرو بن مالك بن الجاراجي الوليد الانصاري رضي الله عنه وبنو
 عكرمة يتسبون الى سيد الاوس سعد بن معاذ بن النعمان بن امرئ القيس
 ابن زيد بن عبد الاشهل بن جشم بن الحرث بن الخزرج بن النبيذ وهو عمرو بن
 مالك بن الاوس الانصاري الاشهل ابو عمرو رضي الله عنه وبارض مصر
عوف بنى سليمان بن منصور بن عكرمة بن خصفة بن قيس بن عيلان وهم بنو
 عوف بن بهثة بن سليمان بن منصور بن عكرمة وبنو عوف بن بهثة بن امرئ القيس
 ابن بهثة بن عوف بن فالح بن ذكوان بن ثعلبة بن بهثة بن عوف
 هؤلاء في بلاد الصعيد وفي اليوم وفي البحرين وفي بركة الى بلاد المغرب
 منهم اسم لا تحصى كثرة وبارض مصر ايضا **فزان** قيس وهم بنو فزان بن
 ذبيان بنهم الزبال العجمي بن بغيس بن ريث بن عطفان بن سعد بن قيس
 عيلان وسمى فزان واسمه عمرو لان سعد بن ذبيان اخاه قرر ظهره فكانت

الى بكرى الميديم ومعلمهم بالذريق وكان بالصعيد من قريش بنو طلحة وبنو
 المزير وبنو شيبية وبنو مخزوم وبنو امية وبنو زهرة وبنو سهم فاما بنو طلحة
 فهم ينسبون الى طلحة بن عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن بن ابي بكر الصديق رضي الله
 عنه وهم ثلث فرق بنو اسحق ويقال ان اسحق ليس بجده ولكنه موضع تخالفوا
 صدره سموا اسحق كناية وبنو قنصة وهم بطون كثيرة مشتقون في البلاد وبنو
 ميمر من ولد ميمر بن ابي بكر رضي الله عنه ومنازل بني طلحة هو ابان البرجيين
 وطحا واما **العربيين** الذين بارض مصر فانهم ينسبون الى عبد الله بن
 عمر بن الخطاب رضي الله عنه وقاله الشريف ميمر بن اسعد الجوان النسابة
 وهم يكذبون في ذلك لان انسابهم لا تصل به وقد لعيت منهم جماعة وعرفتم كرمهم
 بطريق عليهما واما بنو المزير فهم من ولد عبد الله بن الزبير بن العوام رضي الله
 عنه وهم بنو بدر وبنو صلح وبنو رمضان ومنهم بنو مصعب بن الزبير رحمه الله
 ويعرفون بجماعة ميمر بن رواق ومنهم بنو عروة بن الزبير رحمه الله وهم بنو عتيق
 وابلادهم بالهنتسا ويايلها وحصار اكثرهم صاحب معاش واهل زرع وفلاحة
 وماشية وضرع واما بنو مخزوم فيزعمون انهم من ولد خالد بن الوليد رضي الله
 عنه وقد اتفق علماء الانساب على انقراض عقب خالد ولعلمهم من بني مخزوم وهم
 اكثر قريش بقبيلة وبيهم باس ونجد وابلادهم متاخمة لمن تقدم ذكرهم واما بنو
 شيبية فينسبون الى شيبية بن عبد الدار بن قصى ويعرفون بجماعة نهاروديارهم
 لواحى سقط واما بنو امية فمنهم ولد ابان بن عثمان بن عفان رضي الله عنه وولد
 خالد بن زيد بن معاوية بن ابي سفيان وبنو سلمة بن عبد الملك بن مروان بن حنيفة
 ابن الزبير بن عبد الملك بن مروان وديارهم تنده وما حولها ومنهم المرزانية
 اولاد مروان بن الحكم ومرت الدولة الفاطمية وهم بالماكنهم لم يروع لهم شرب
 ولم يكدر لهم شرب واما **نوسهم** فمن ولد عمرو بن العاص بن ابي سفيان هاشم
 ابن سعيد بن سهم بن عمرو بن هصيص بن كعب بن لؤي بن غالب بن فهر بن
 مالك وكانوا بفسطاط مصر وقرق منهم اشتاقه بالصعيد ولهم حصه في وقف
 عمرو بن العاص رضي الله عنه على اهله بفسطاط مصر وكانت دور بني سهم

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ابن عبد الله بن جعفر بن ابي طالب رضي الله عنه فيهم عشيق بن ابي جعفر بن
 من اعمال سبط يعقوب بن طلحة وجعفر بن معلق بن قبيص العيني المهملة وشريد
 الالام وحامد ووديعه وابراهيم اولاد مسلم بن ابي وقح السنين المهملة وشريد
 الالام وفتحها بن عبد الله بن حسين بن ثعلب المذكور ويقال فممن هو في بني
 ثعلب الثعلبي الجعفي الزبيبي والمخاض هو لا يدع بني طلحة وهم بنو
 طلحة بن عمر بن عبيد الله بن معمر بن عثمان بن عمرو بن كعب بن سعد بن تميم بن
 اليثبي ويقال لطلحة هذا طلحة الجود وتزوج طلحة المذكور فاطمة بنت القيس
 ابن محمد بن جعفر بن ابي طالب التي امة ايام كلثوم بنت عبد الله بن
 جعفر وامة زيب بنت علي بن ابي طالب رضي الله عنه فولدت فاطمة بنت
 القيس لطلحة الجود ابراهيم بن طلحة فولدت زيب بنت علي بن ابي طالب رضي
 الله عنه لعلي بن عبد الله بن جعفر اولاد اعرفوا بالزبانية وهم بنو جعفر الذين
 بمصر بالصعيد ومنهم ثعلب ومن هناك كانت بنو طلحة المذكور يدع بنو جعفر
 ثعلب طلحة وجعفر وهم يطؤون ارض بنو طلحة من بني محمد بن ابي بكر الصديق
 رضي الله عنه وليس كذلك لان محمد بن ابي بكر ليس في ولده طلحة وانما طلحة
 في ولد عبد الرحمن بن ابي بكر واخوه ابراهيم بن طلحة بن عمر بن عبيد الله بن معمر
 المذكور من امة فاطمة بنت القيس المذكورة فاطمة هذه هي ام يحيى وام ابي بكر
 ابي حمزة بن عبد الله بن الزبير بن العوام رضي الله عنه ومن هذه الاخرة كانت
 بنو طلحة بن عمر بن عبيد الله بن معمر اليثبي ومع بني الزبير ومع المخاض اهل
 الصعيد ثم ان المخاض هو لا يجمعهم بطانها بنو عبد الله بنو محمد وثلث
 علي بن محمد اسم بنو اسمعيل وهو اسمعيل بن جعفر بن ابراهيم بن محمد بن علي
 ابن عبد الله بن جعفر وفي بني محمد عدة بطون هم الخالصيون والهاجرون وبنو
 علي وبنو صالح وبنو قاسم وبنو ادريس وبنو شاكر وبنو عبد الله بن قيس بن ابي
 كل حال وبنو شعران وبنو داود واولاد تريف وبنو الوالي وبنو زيد وبنو ابراهيم
 واولاد الشريف الامير المير حسن الاول له مجد العرب ثعلب بن يعقوب بن
 مسلم بن يعقوب بن ابي جميل بن جعفر بن موسى بن ابراهيم بن اسمعيل بن

قوم ان بنى شاد من بنى العجيل بن الذيب وانما هم اخوتهم فان العجيل كان
 قد تزوج اخت ابراهيم بن شاد فولدت اسما سمته شاد يافتوهم من لا علم له
 ان بنى شاد من بنى العجيل وزعموا انه ان عجيل بن الذيب من ولد شمر
 ابن ذى الجوشن قاتل الحسين بن علي رحمه الله ولعن قاتله وليس لذلك واسم
 جهينه فانها من قبائل اليمن **جهينه** بن زيد بن لبت بن سواد بن اسلم
 ان الحجاز بن قضاة وهي قبيلة عظيمه وفيها بطون كثيره وهي اكثر عرب
 الصعيد وكانت مساكنهم في اتريش فاخرجها قرش لمساعدة عساكر
 الخلفاء العاطميين ونزلوا في بلاد اخرج اعلاها واسفلها وروى ان بنى ذى
 ويطونها كانت هذه الديار وجهينه بالاشمونيين حيرانا مصر كما هم بالحجاز
 فوقع بينهم واتفق ادي الى دوام الفتنة فلما خرج العسكر لاجاد قرش على جهينه
 خافت بنى قضاة في اعلا الصعيد الى ان ادبوا لقرش وملكوا دار جهينه
 ثم حصل بينهم جميعا الصلح على مساكنهم هذه التي تقدم ذكرها وزالت الشجنا
 واما **قرش** فانهم ولد مالك بن النضر بن كنانة بن خزيمه بن مدركة بن اليباس
 ابن مصزون بن زار بن معد بن عدنان وقيل هم ولد قهر بن مالك بن النضر
 ورحبه الزبير بن كارة وغيره وقيل هم ولد النضر ابن كنانة فعلى قول الزبير
 جمع قرش ومنه افتقرت بطون قرش وانما قرش جمع نسب ليس باب
 ولا ام ولا حاضر ولا حاضنة والتقرش عند العرب التجمع من بطون قرش
الجعافره بنو جعفر الطيار بن ابي طالب واسمه عبد مناف بن عبد المطلب
 واسمه شيبه الحمد بن هاشم واسمه عمرو بن عبد مناف بن قصي بن كلاب بن مرة
 ابن كعب بن لؤي بن غالب بن فهر بن مالك بن النضر بن كنانة بن خزيمه
 ابن مدركة بن اليباس بن مصزون بن زار بن معد بن عدنان ومن الجعافره الزبانية
 اولاد علي بن عبد الله بن جعفر بن ابي طالب واهله زبانية بنت علي بن ابي طالب
 رضي الله عنه عرف بنو علي هذا بالزبانية لانه امه زبنة المذكورة ومن الزبانية
 العشيرة المعروفة بنى ثعلب الداودي الحجازي ينسبون الى ثعلب الحجازي
 ابن داود بن موسى بن ابراهيم بن اسمعيل بن جعفر بن ابراهيم بن محمد بن علي

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مشهور **ويبلاد الصعيد** عن قبائل من العرب قتي بلاد اسوان وما
تحتها **بنو هلال** وقي بلاد اخميم وما تحبها بلقي وقي بلاد منفلوط وسبوط
جيبته وقي بلاد الاثموبين قريش وقي معظم بلاد ابيهنسا لوانه ومنهم طوايف
بالبحرين وبالمنوفية وبالبحرين وبلاد الفيوم بنو كلاب واما بنو هلال فانهم
بنو هلال بن عاصم صمصعة بن معوية بن بكر بن هوازن بن منصور
عكرمة بن خصفة بن قيس عيلان ويقال قيس بن عيلان بالعين المهملة
ان منصور بن زار بن معد بن عدنان وبنو هلال بن من بن عاصم وكانوا
اهل بلاد الصعيد كلها الي عذاب ويا حميم منهم **بنو قح** و**بنو ساقه** قلتة
منهم **بنو عمرو** وقي بنو هلال **بنو علق** **بنو** منهم **بنو رفاعه** و**بنو حجير** و**بنو**
عزير و**بنو صوان** و**اسنا** **بنو عقبة** و**بنو حبيله** واما الي فانها
بلي بن عمرو بن الحان بن قضاة بن مالك بن عمرو بن ثعلب بن زيد بن مالك
ان حجير بن سبان بن شحوب بن يعرب بن لوطان على ما في نسب قضاة من
الخلافة التي يدكر في موضعها ان شاء الله ويلي قبيل عظيم فيه **بنو كليل**
وكانت بلي بالشام فتادى رجل من بلي بالشام يالك قضاة فبلغ ذلك عمر
ان الخطاب رضي الله عنه وكتب الي عامل الشام ان يسير تلك قضاة الي
مصر فنظروا فاذا الي ثلث قضاة فسيروا الي مصر فكانت بلي متفرقة بارض
مصر ثم انفتحت هي وجيبته فصار لبلي من جسر شوهاي غربا الي قرب
قولة وصار لها من الشرق من عقبة فاو الخراب الي عذاب وكان **بلاد**
مصر هذه من بطون بلي **بنو هني** و**بنو هرم** و**بنو سواده** و**بنو حاروه** و**بنو راس**
و**بنو ناب** و**بنو سنان** وكان **بنو شاذ** هم الامراء و**بنو عجيل** بن الرب وهم
العجلة وفيهم الامرة ايضا وسمع بعضهم ان **بنو شاذ** من بني امية وصل حين
طردوا الي القصر الحراب المعروف بهم وكان معهم رجل من ثقيف معه
قوس تسموه القوس وعرفت ذريته بالقوسية والقوسية ودعوتهم لبني
شاذ وهم بطوخ وكرتلك يدعي لهم خلق سوي القوسية منهم **هزيل** وهم بطوخ
ايضا ومنهم **بنو حماد** و**بنو فضاله** وهم بمنفلوط و**بنو خيار** وهم بقرشوط و**رم**

ابن ابراهيم ولم تترك الامرة في نجم وبنيه وكانت البريون للميادنة
 ولد جديده بن معروف بن جيب بن الوليد بن سويد وهم طائفة كبيرين
 ولبنى عمرا بن الوليد بن سويد ومنهم عدد ممن امر معاوية بن ابي سفيان
 واقطع عن ابوخثعم من ولد مالك بن هذيل بن مالك بن سويد وامر
 واقتي عن من الممالكة الاتراك والروم وبلغ من الملك الصالح نجم
 الدين ايوب منزلة وارتفع قدره في سلطنه المعز ايوب وقدمه علي
 عرب ديار مصر ولم ينزل على هذا حتى قتله غلامه فاقام الملك المعز ابيه
 سلمي ودغش عومنه سم قدم دغش دمشق فامر الملك الناصر يوسف
 بيوق وعلم وامر الملك المعز ايوب اخاه سلمي كذلك فاجى حتى يومئذ
 مغرور بن بن سالم بن راضي من هذيل بعجه سر امر مزروع بن نجم كذلك
 في جماعة كثيرة من جذام وتعلبة وخلفه اس سالم على امرته وله حسان
 ابن مغرور وكان مهيا بن علوان بن علي بن زبير بن جيب بن نائل بن
 هذيل جوادا كريما لقرته ضيوف شتاء وليس عنده خطب يقهر الطعام
 الذي اراد ان يصنعه لهم فاقامه لاسن بن بركات عنده وكان له كفر
 برسوط بنواحي مصر صفا وكان لبني رديني بن زياد بن حسين بن مسعود
 ابن مالك بن سويد نسل محمد ومنهم اولاد جياش بن عمران وكان للشواكن
 اولاد شاكس بن راشد بن عقبة بن محريه شنيان بن خصيب وكان
 ادلا الحجاج في اولاد الحجار من ايام السلطان صلاح الدين يوسف بن
 ايوب وحيد بن صالح بن اسد بن عوفه دوو اعدهم يرفون به ومنهم
 فرقة بالحجار بن واصل بن عقبة وكان لبني خليفة وحصن من بني عبدة
 موضع من حقوق هربيط يعرف بالاحرار وكانت زهير بالشام واقترح
 وكان بديار مصر منهم بولد زيد وهم تحري الحوف الى مايلي اسموم وكانت
 قزاة بن سعد نسل طنبوك الى نوبطريف ومنهم بد قروس ودمرط
 وضواحي القاهر الى اطراف الشرقية وبالاكسندرية من جذام وكن جماعه
 ذوو اعداء وعدة وشجاعة واقلام وهم ايام معاوية واخبار معروفه ووقايح

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وسعد بن مالك بن حزام بن سعد بن ايامة بن غطفان وقيل سعد
ابن ايامة بن علس بن غطفان بن سعد بن مالك بن حزام بن سعد
ابن مالك بن اقص بن سعد بن اياس بن حزام والمحمسة اختلطت
بمصر واكرم مشايخ البلاد ونخس اولها ولهم مزارع ونسارهم كثير وسكنهم
من منية عمر الى ربيعة او منهم الوزير شاور واليه يفتب بنو شاور كبار
منه عمرو بن بنو عبد الظاهر الموقعين ومنهم اهل برهتوش ومن هولاء
بنو شاس ومن سعد هذيل بنو الصيبي بنو زيد بنو سويد بنو قيس
وقيل سويد بن زيد بن مية بنو قيس بنو سويد بنو قيس بن
غطفان بن سعد بن اياس بن حزام ويقال صبره بن نصر بن
غتم بن غطفان بن مالك بن حزام والى بنى صبره ذكره تركه الحجاج
ومن بنى سعد بنو شاس وبنو شاس وعلان **بنو قيس بن قيس**
في هلال بن عاصم بنو قيس بن عمرو بن ربيعة بن عبد مناة بن هلال
ابن عامر بن صعصعة بن معوية بن بكر بن هواز بن وقيل نزار بن اباد بنو
قره بن عدك بن نسر بن ردة بن تميم بن كعب بن سعد بن اياس بن
عديس بن عبد عمرو بن رهم بن كعب بن اباد ويقال ان هذه النخلة انقلبت
في جذام ولما اوتيت الخزرجية اسد الدين شيركوه الى مصر كان بارض
بمصر من العرب طلحة وجعفر وبله وجهينة ونجم وجذام وتبسيق وعذرة
وعذرة وطى وسدس وخيصة ومخزوم وفي جرايد الدولة الفاطمية منهم
الوف وجذام من قدام عربان بمصر قد نوازع عمرو بن العاص وكانت لهم
عن اقطاعات منها هريظ وتل بسطة وتوب ورم وغير ذلك وكان لهم
تعلية جميعه في مناشير جذام وانا السلطان صلاح الدين وسع لتعلية
في بلاد جذام ولذلك كانت قافوس وما حولها هلبا سويد والترجماعة
منهم بالبوق والعلم فمنهم ابراهيم ابورشد بن جشي بن نجم بن ابراهيم
ابن مسلم بن يوسف بن واند بن عديس بن عقيل بن قره بن موهوب بن
عبيد بن مالك بن سويد وديحة وابنته ابناها في بنو حوط بن نجم

حُوْدَر بن حَبِيْد وله عقب **ومن بطون الحميديين البراحسنة والجواسنة**
 والكعوك واولاد غانم **ومن جذام هلبيا وهي هلبيا سويد وهلبيا بجة**
 فهلبيا بجة هو ابو القوارس هلبان بجة بن زيد بن الصيب بن فرط
 ابن حفيد بن بليح وهلبيا سويد هو هلبان مالك بن سويد بن زيد بن صيب
المذكور بن هلبيا بجة الذواهدية والجزازة والتمجاد والغيث بنو منظور
 والعيسنة بنو نابت بنو قبيصة واسراهم اولاد بقر بن حنم ومن هلبيا سويد بنو
 عمرو وهم اولاد شاس ومنهم العطوبون والحميدون والجابرون والغناون
 ورجال لهم اولاد طواح المكوس **وبنو عقبة** وهم من جذام ينسبون الى عقبه
 ابن عبيد بن مالك بن سويد بن زيد بن الصيب وقالوا الصيب بن فرط بن
 حفيد بن عمرو بن صليح بن بليح بن عبيد بن كعب بن سعد بن امامة بن علفان
 ابن سعد بن اياس بن حرام بن جذام وبعضهم يقول حفيد بن عمرو بن صليح
 ابن بليح بن كعب بن سعد بن اياس بن عبيد بن حرام بن جذام ومنهم من
 اوصل عقبه جذام باياون نزار وجعلهم ناقلة من نزار الى جذام بن عبيد
 ابن عبد عمرو بن زهم بن كعب بن ايا بن نزار والى هذا العهد يرجع كل عبي
 بيلاذ الشام ويخوف مصر وما بين ابله وجوف مصر والى عقبه من عقبه
 ايلة الى اناقرب عيونته **والعايد** بنو اخرا الحروف وذا اليعجمه هم
 بنو من جذام ينسبون الى عايد الله وقيل ينسبون الى عايد احدى بطون
 جذام وللعايد من القاهرين الى عقبه ايله **وبنو رداد**
 ابن بجة بن زيد بن مية بن الصيب بن فرط بن حفيد بن بليح بن عبيد
 ابن كعب بن علي بن سعد بن امامة بن علفان بن سعد بن اياس بن حرام
 ابن جذام منهم بنو ذويب بن سنان الجرس وبنو واد بن سنان
 وفيهم من يسكن الشام **وبنو زيد مناها** بن اقصى بن اياس بن حرام بن
 جذام منهم بنو كنانة وبنو روح وبنو كلب **وبنو سعد** من جذام وفي
 جذام خمس شعور سعد بن اياس بن حرام بن جذام وسعد بن مالك بن
 زيد بن اقصى بن سعد بن اياس بن حرام بن جذام واليه ينسب اكثر السعد

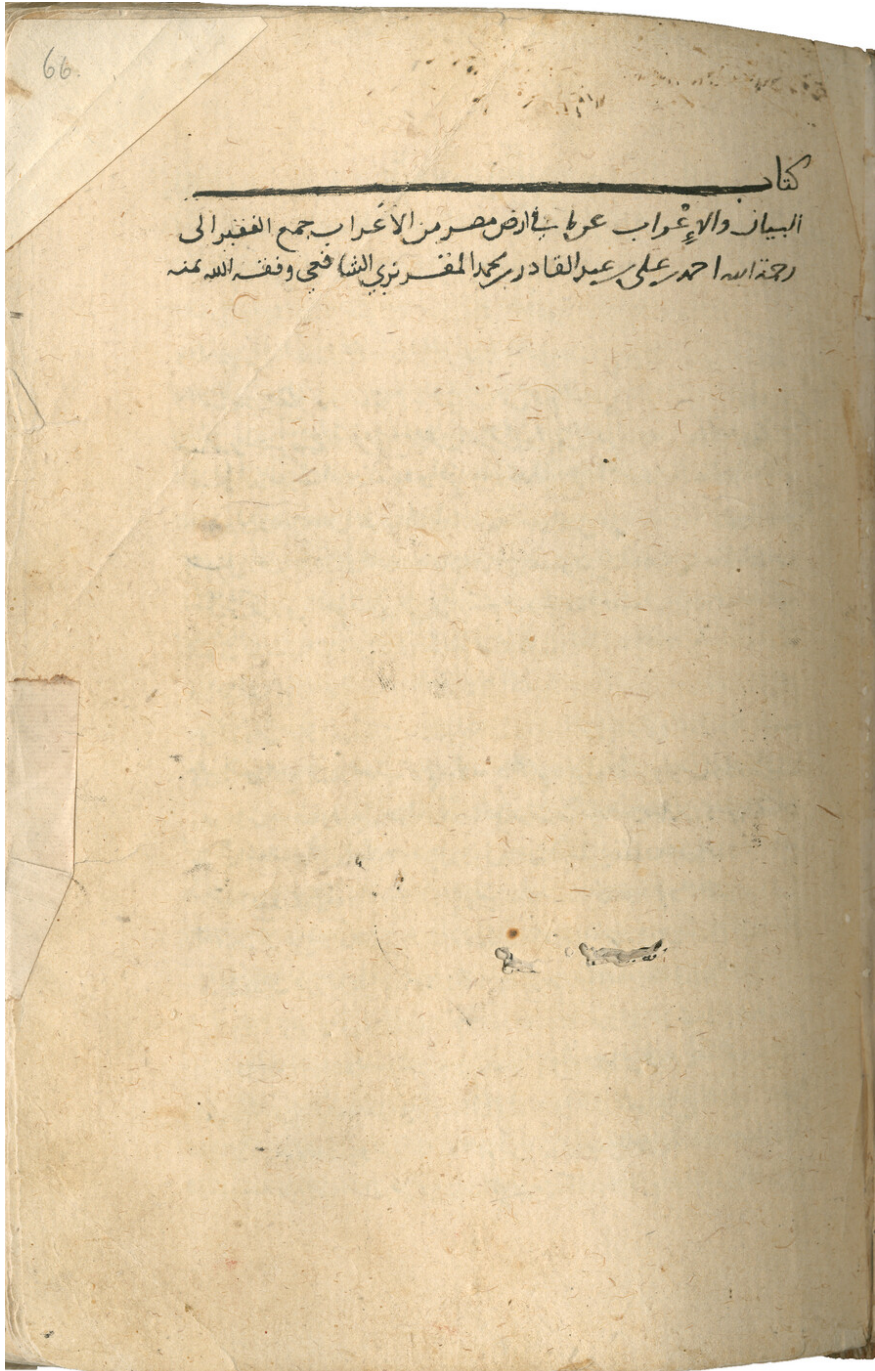
دلود

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بلاد ^{البلاد} والداروم مما يلي الساحل الى بلد الخليل عليه السلام وفي جرم طي من ينزل الشام
 ايضا ومن جرم قضاة بنو جشم وبنو قدامة وبنو عوف وفيهم ايضا جرم بحيلة وجرم عابدة
 ومن جرم طي شجره ويقال شجران وقران وحيان والمفتح السلطان صلاح الدين يوسف بن ايوب
 بلاد ^{البلاد} واعادها الله من ادي الفريخ الى المسلمين جات تلبية وطايفة من جرم الى مصر وتبيت
 بقايا جرم كانها والمشتهور من جرم هذه الان جذيمة ويقال ان لهم نسبا في قرش وزعم
 بعضهم انها من جرم الخزوم وزعم اخرا ايضا من جذيمة من مالك بن حنبل بن عامر بن لوكن بن
 غالب بن فهر وجذيمة هذه آل عويجة وآل احمد وآل محمود وكلهم في ايام تشاور بن سنان ثم
 في بيته وكان لسان اخوان فيها سودد وهما غام وخضرو ومن جذيمة هؤلاء جميع المراد بين
 جماعة منصور بن جابر وجماعة عامر بن سلامة ومنهم بنو اسلم بن من جذام لان جذيمة
 ولما اختلفت مع جذيمة ومنهم شبل ورضيعه جرم ويقور والقدح جماعة عليهم من ربيع
 والاحامد والرشق وكور من جرم جماعة جابر بن سعيد وموقع كان كبيرهم مالك المومني
 وكان مقدما عند السلطان صلاح الدين واجبه العادل ابي بكر ومنهم بنو عثور ويقال لهم
 من جرم بن جروز بن سنبس ومن هؤلاء العاجله والقمان والعبادله وبنو تمام وبنو حليل
 وبنو حليل بنو مقدم وبنو عثور الزنادق وبنو غوث وبنو يحيى وبنو خوله وبنو هرياس
 وبنو عيسى وبنو سهيل وارضهم الداروم وكانوا سفراء بين الملوك وجاورهم قوم من زبيد
 تعرفت في عديم اختلفوا بهم ^{البلاد} جرم طي فانها تنزل من ارض مصر
 وسنبس وهم طي يلبسون الى سنبس بن معوية بن جبرول بن قحط بن عمرو بن القحوت
 ابن طي وفي سنبس الخاد وعشائر كني لبيد وعمرو وعدى وابان وخنم ومجصب وقتة
 فاما بنو عمرو بن يعقوب بن يعقوب وعقد ما هم وانما هم بنو عمرو بن سنبس بن معوية ومنهم
 الخوايلة واصلم بنو قحط بن جلال بن حيان ابن حميد بن حزن بن عابد اخو عشائر
 سنبس بن معوية بن جبرول والى قحطه هذا ينسب معاليه من قحط مقدم سنبس كان
 بالبحرين وله جوار وسورة وفيه كرم وشجاعة قتل صبرا في دار الراجحة بالقاهرة وكانت
 سنبس تنزل ببلد طين والداروم قريسا من قحط وكثيرا هناك واشتدت وطانم علي
 الولاد وصعب ارضهم بعث الوزير الناصر لدين ابو محمد الحسن بن علي بن عبد الرحمن
 البازوري اليهم في سنة اربعين واربعين واطعمهم البعير من ارض مصر

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ ، رَبِّ سُبْرًا كَيْدِيمٌ ،
 الحمد لله الذي انعم بحضرة والى الآخرة الجليله احمده على نعمته
 ما علم وفهم وهدى الى الطريق الا وشهد الاقوم حمدات تشيوا شيوا
 بتيروا وصالحا وسلم على منينا محمد المبعوث الى الكفاة اجمع
 والمقدم في الفضل على سائر الانبياء والمرسلين وعلى اله وصحبه
 والتابعين صلواته وسلامه باقيا الى يوم الدين **وبعد** فهذه
 مقاله وجيزه مع ذكر وبارض مصر وطوايف العرب قيدها المنع
 اعلم ان العرب الذي شهدوا فتح مصر قد ابادهم الدهر وجهلت احوال اكثر
 اعقابهم وقد غلبت من العرب بقايا بارض مصر فمن بقي **تعلبه** وهي بالشام
 على ارض مصر الى المغرب وهم من طي تنسبون الى تعلبه من سلالة من
 تغلب بن عمرو بن العوث بن طي بن ابي زيد بن ليث بن عريب بن زيد بن
 كهلان بن سبأ بن يعرب بن قحطان وتعلبه هذه بطن **درما** و**زر**
و كانوا يدافع الفرنج لما ملكوا البلاد في الاسلام قد رما في عين فحوى طيهم
 بنوعروس عوف بن تعلبه من سلالة من **درما** هي ام عمرو المذكور فاعقب
درما من اربع احماد اصلبه وهم سلامة والاحم وعرو وقصر واوس ارلا درسا
 وهو عمرو بن عوف و**زر** بن هواخو **درما** بن عوف بن تعلبه من سلالة من **درما** اتحاد
 و**زر** بن اشعب ولبني **تعلبه** وعين **وسيل** ومن **درما** البقعه وسيل من ولد نافع
 ابن ثوران والحنا بله والمرابيه والحجابيون ومن **زر** بن بنو وهم والطليحون وفي
 الخليجيين آل حجاج والعمران والمصالحه وكان مقدمهم عمرو بن عيسى امير البوق والعلم
 وفي بني **زر** بن عوف ايضا وكان مقدمهم عمرو بن عيسى امير البوق والعلم
وجرم وهم من طي من بني جرم واسمه **تعلبه** بن عمرو بن العوث بن طي وجرم
 امراء حصنت تعلبه هذا غلبت عليه وعرفه عام جرم هذه هي نخوس **شعير** وجان
 بن جرم ومن جرم هذه نضرم **تعلبه** بن طي بن ادم ذكرهم كانوا يدافع الفرنج لما غلبوا
 على البلاد وجرم هذه غير جرم قضاة فانهم بنو جرم واسمه **علاء** بن زيان بن امله وسأ
 موطنه مشد له من حلوان بن عمران بن الحاف بن قضاعة وجرم قضاة بنو زون من الشام

سلا



Al-Bayān wa-l-i'rāb 'an mā fi arḍ Miṣr min al-a'rāb is an influential treatise on the Arab and Berber groups that inhabited the Egyptian countryside in the late medieval period. The work brings together al-Maqrīzī's life-long preoccupation with the history of Egypt and his parallel interest in the history of the Arabs, pitting the lineage-based ideology of Arab rebels against the Mamluk elite of manumitted slaves. Over the past century, the *Bayān* has been repeatedly deployed in public debates about the Arab identity of Egypt. This book offers a critical study of the treatise in its fifteenth century context, an academic edition, and a first translation into English.

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