American Institute for Yemeni Studies
Yemen Translation Series #1

My Journey through Arḥab and Ḥāshid

by Eduard Glaser

translated by David Warburton
introduced by Daniel Martin Varisco
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Eduard Glaser
1855-1908
BY EDUARD GLASER

[1] After completing my first tour of Yemen, I had already intended taking a trip into the land of the Hāshid Arabs from the city of Sūda, which had been occupied recently in my presence; it was a mere six hours march to their famous Himyarite city of Khamir. The army commander, an expert on the Hāshid who had won rather bloody if debatable laurels some years ago in this country, bluntly stated however that given the current situation - concerning which his information was better than mine - I would be relieved of my head after the first day. As I did not have a head to spare, I returned to Šan'ā' to begin another tour taking me to the regions of Hamdān, Shibām, Kawkabān, Thulā, al-Masānī, Maswar, Ḥajja, Zafir, Āfār, Khiwān, Āmrān, the whole Baʿm, and the area of the Ṣīlās Surayh. Following this, in Āmrān I met the Hāshid Shaykh ʿAlī Muthannā al-Qudaymi, who had come to straighten out a blood feud with my friend, Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh Ṣār (Ṣār') Ḥaddā. Negotiations about the possibility of visiting Nāʾīt which lay in his region and was just as famous as Khamir resulted in his assent, which I immediately conveyed to Yzzet (ʾIzzat) Pasha, the Governor General, who however refused and invited me to return to Šan'ā' in any case. My second attempt to visit this dangerous region was thus defeated.

[2] In Šan'ā', His Excellency, probably the shrewdest observer of South Arabia, remarked that although it would be possible to visit Hāshid, he was obliged to take political events, with which he alone was familiar, into consideration and thus bade my patience until he could summon the most prominent shaykhs from these regions to the capital, or at least inform them, so that he could arrange the whole affair under the aegis of the Turkish government after the appropriate discussions. It was of course impossible for me to quibble with such a well meaning request. The Governor General made it perfectly clear that he would not under any circumstances permit anyone else to undertake a similar trip through the most dangerous areas of South Arabia, as he was convinced that I alone understood the situation, and that I would not make any false steps, taking his aid into consideration.

[3] And in the event, his aid was worth more than gold, but this is not the place to go into that. Suffice it to say that a serious blood feud is raging between the two great tribes of Hāshid and Bakil, neither of which recognizes the Turkish government, but that they were nevertheless prepared to respect Yzzet Pasha’s judgement, an accomplishment exclusive to this Governor General. The origin of the feud lies in an old dispute between the Bakil (Sufyān) Shaykh Thamthami and the Hāshid Shaykh Zayādī in the Wadi Khaywān, which recently led to the barbaric and unheard of defiance of tribal law when Thamthami took two women hostage. The Hāshid as a whole arose, and about seven weeks ago perpetrated a bloodbath in the Sufyān villages of the Wadi Khaywān, as ‘Alī Muthannā al-Qudaymi, who played a prominent role in the affair, vividly described to me when in Āmrān. Sufyān thus turned to the other Bakil tribes which then unanimously agreed to take revenge on the Hāshid. Perceiving their weakness vis-à-vis the united Bakil, they appealed to the brothers of Yāmā, and at the moment the whole matter is in the hands of His Excellency Yzzet Pasha, who has thus achieved a degree of Turkish influence over these uncontrollable tribes that would earlier have been inconceivable.

[4] The Hāshid and Bakil Tribes. It should be noted that according to Abū Muhammad al-Ḥasan ibn Ahmad ibn Yaʿqūb al-Hamdānī - generally known as Hamdānī - both Hāshid and Bakil, along with Hārij and Zayd are sons of Jusham. The genealogy of the Hāshid as understood by the South Arabsians today is: Hāshid al-Aṣghar b. Jusham b. Nawf b. Hāshid al-Ḥakkār b. Jusham b. Hamdān, etc., indicating that Bakil is a son of Hāshid al-Ḥakkār. I have not met a single Bakil or Hāshid who said that Hāshid and Bakil were brothers. On the contrary, an enraged Hāshid vented his feelings for the Bakil, saying, “Our forefather was a samān, but the Bakil are descendants of a dawshān” (dawshān being in South Arabia a kind of clown who goes to the houses of the prosperous seeking tips in exchange for flattery, etc.). He belongs to the Aḥl Khums, the pariah class. In a few regions, Yām’s traditional genealogy is: Yām b. Aṣba’ (or Yaṣba’) b. Hāshid al-Ḥakkār b. Jusham b. Hamdān b. Zayd b. Mālik b. al-Ghūth etc., back to Ḥimyar, while two Hāshid and Yām shaykhs greeted each other as brothers when meeting by chance, and explained to me: “Hāshid ibn Yaṣba’ and Ḍām ibn Yaṣba’”. The South Arabsians do not distinguish the Bakil tribes today, although they are perfectly conscious that most of them are only remotely related to Bakil. I have collected a great deal of South Arabian genealogical material, which will be supplemented with additional material gathered during my coming trips. As however I have neither the time nor access to the necessary manuscripts to organize this chaos, this will have to be postponed, or even left for later to better qualified scholars. The inscriptions which I have hitherto collected, all from the Hamdān tribal area, shed a lot of light on genealogical problems.

[5] At the same time it should be mentioned that a later work will deal with the geography of the countries in which I have travelled, in light of the inscriptions and the manuscripts in my possession, in particular Hamdānī’s Jazīrat al-ʿArab, as this cannot be done in the context of the present travelogue.

[6] Hāshid consists of three main tribes at present: al-Khairīf, Bani Ṣūraym and al-ʿUsaymāt, each of which is sub-divided
into fractions, such as the Hāshid term "Third," "Nineth," etc. The al-Khārīf (north of Arhab and east of Bawn) is composed of three thalthe (thirds): 1) Bani Jubar, 2) Kalbijun, 3) al-Saydā; Bani Suraym (north of Khārīf, and east of Sūdā) of nine ninths: 1) The 'tis'a (ninth) Qhashm, 2) Ts. Khamir, 3) Ts. 'Iyāl-Bal-Ḥusayn, 4) Ts. Sinnatayn, 5) Ts. Bani Qays, 6) Ts. Khayār, 7) Ts. Bani Ghuthayma, 8) Ts. Bani Mālik, 9) Ts. Zāhir. 12) Al-'Uṣaymāt (north of the Suraym to two days travel from Sā'da) of three sub-groups: 1) Dhū Al-Fadl, 2) Dhū Jabra, 3) Uṣaymāt al-Watā. The present day South Arabians also assign the Bilād Hamdān (north of Sān'a') and - which is quite striking in light of the previously discovered inscriptions - both genealogically and militarily, 'Amrān and Sān'ān to the Hāshid, and also the Bani 'Arjala bordering on the Sharaf region.

7] The three main Hāshid groups alone come under discussion, since both Hamdān and Amrān are under Turkish rule. They claim to be able to put up to 22,000 men into the field, armed with matchlocks and jambiyas (the curved knife which South Arabicans wear on belts in front of their chests).

8] 14) The Bakil include the following tribes: Bal-Hārith, Bilād al-Bustān, Klhālān, Bani Jarb, Nihm, Arhab, 'Iyāl Surayh, al-Jawf, Bani Nafw, Dhū Ḥusayn, Dhū Muḥammad (both associated with 'Iyāl Surayh, also called Dhū Ghaylān after the forefather), Sufyan, Murhiba, Wādi'a, Hamdān (not to be confused with the one by Sān'a'), 'Iyāl Sālim, al-Wā'ilah, Amālisa and al-'Ammār.

9] Of these, Bal-Hārith, Bilād al-Bustān and Klhālān are in the Sān'a area, which the Qabā'il themselves previously considered to be Bakil, but are under Turkish rule, along with Surayh, wedged as they are between Arhab, Hāshid, Amrān and Hamdān. The other Bakil tribes occupy the region north of Sān'a' and east of the Hāshid areas up to the area east of the city of Sā'da, also reaching in the east into the Ma'rib area, although the city itself lies outside Bakil territory. Their furthest settlements border on the desert in the east. To the northeast they border on the land of the Yam (Najran) which extends up in the direction of the Najd. The Bakil can call up altogether about 80,000 armed men.

10] These two tribal confederations have been more or less able to maintain their independence since the earliest times, since the Himyaritic period, and even today they can be regarded as independent, with a few exceptions. They completely despise the other tribes, and especially those under Turkish rule, regarding themselves alone as the prototype of the real Arab tribe. Further information about the remotest Bakil tribes will be reserved for later, as today I want to restrict myself to the lands of the two tribes, one Hāshid and one Bakil, which I have visited.

11] The Governor General let letters from the Hāshid shaykhs suffice. 16] As I explained however that I wished to travel to the land of the Hāshid by way of Arhab, where I wanted to visit a whole series of Himyaritic sites, His Excellency summoned a number of shaykhs to Sān'a', as he seemed to have no confidence in the treacherous Arhab. All South Arabians tend to obey such a request, as they are aware that some money will always change hands. In order to protect themselves from attack, at least to some extent, it is the policy of the Turkish government to pay very modest monthly stipends (which suffice to bribe only the most needy Arabs) to virtually all of the prominent shaykhs of the tribes maintaining their independence. That each of the tribal chieftains then expresses his devoted loyalty to the great Sultan at least fifty times goes without saying, and it is equally clear that no Turkish Pasha will take this seriously, knowing full well that these good fellows will stand beside the imām Sharaf al-Dīn17 or any other foe of the Turks immediately upon returning home.

12] When the wāli explained my plans to the Arhab Shaykhs, they spoke with a single voice, "al-āl-'ayn wa-al-ra's! (by our eyes and our heads!)". Yezet Pasha was however cautious enough to request a written statement, according to which they committed themselves to vouch for my security, informing them incidentally that three battalions with the necessary artillery were standing ready, should even the slightest hint of bad news reach him. As each of the parties concerned was awaiting a favourable judgement in the coming verdict on the dispute between the Hāshid and the Bakil, His Excellency remarked significantly, "If this Effendi is happy with you and free of care, I myself shall also be so here."

13] Bilād Arhab. The greatest part of the Himyarite Empire lay around two wadis. One of these, called Khārīd, drains all the water from the area surrounding Sān'a' as far as Multaqā in the land of the Dhū Ḥusayn (also called Al-'Ish), where it joins the second large wadi, the Ghayl Hirrān, flowing into the Jawf, where it is lost in the sand. This second wadi originates near Shībām and Kawkabān, draining the following areas: part of Hāḍūr, Shībām, Ḥabāb, Thūlā and the whole eastern slope of the Maṣānā, Bawn and the mountains to the north and south and the plateaus, the major part of the streams from Hāshid - which lies in both parts of this wadi - part of Arhab, and also from Murhiba, Sufyan, etc., as far as the regions of the Dhū Ḥusayn.

14] Between these two main wadis, which often spread out into broad plains - including the Bawn and the Raḥba to mention but two - is a plateau sloping down to the wadis on each side, which I have crossed in virtually every direction with the sextant, barometer and thermometer, investigating the western parts in particular. There are many Himyaritic towers here. Interestingly enough, even today the tribesmen call this Bilād Tubba'. Although they place the western border correctly at Huṣn al-'Arūs by Kawkabān, by setting the eastern border at the village of Rajaw in Arhab, they do not do justice to the distribution of royal inscriptions naming Buta'18 (which is the same as Tubba'), as these appear far further to the East. I suspect that the Land of Tubba' originally extended further to the east, and perhaps it will be established that the whole area between the Khārīd and the Ghayl Hirrān belonged to the Land of Tālib.

15] Between these two wadis are the following areas: Bilād al-Bustān, Bilād Hamdān, 'Iyāl Surayh, 'Amrān with
the Bawn, Bal-Hārith, Arhab and the southern part of Ḥashid (the greater part of Bani Jubur and the ʿSayd), and the already enumerated areas to the east.

[16] Arhab is surrounded by the following tribes: in the south live the Bal-Hārith with the ruin Hadaqān²⁰; in the east Nihm. in the north Sufyān, Murhiba and Ḥashid (namely Bani Jubur and ʿSayd); in the west Surayh and Hamdān. However small it may be, the country is incredibly splintered, and none of the shyakhīs here enjoy cordial relations with their brothers in the neighbouring villages, or - as the qabīlī put it - the neighbouring habl (rope, meaning a subdivision of a tribe, forming a part of a laṭūn or laḥma), several of which together compose the qabīla, or the small subdivision, ʿashtīra.²⁰ Arhab is divided into two groups: Bani Zuhayr and Bani Dhaybān with Ḥisān (frequently mentioned in the inscriptions as well).

[17] Bani Zuhayr consists of five parts, each called khamīs: 1. Bani ʿAli, most important shyakh Ahmad Ḥiẕam Radmān (of the Bani Radmān residing here); 2. ʿiyāl ʿAbd Allāh, most important shyakh Ḥamūd Abū ʿGhānim; 3. Zindān, most important shyakh ʿAbd al-Wahhāb Rājīḥ Sinān (figuring in the inscriptions); 4. Khamīs al-Wāṣīṭ, under the same shyakh; Bayt Murrān and Shākīr (figuring in many inscriptions), Shaykh ʿAbd al-Wāṣīṭ and Ḥiẕam Bayt Sūʿ and Ḥasan Dahāsh the Short (al-Qaṣīr). The principal villages of this northwestern half of Arhab are the following. Bani ʿAli: Jīrāt; ʿiyāl ʿAbd Allāh: Shaṣṣarīm with the Himyaritic ruins at Zabbād, frequently mentioned in the inscriptions. In Zindān: Jīyān, Shirʿa, al-ʿIrshān. In Khamīs al-Wāṣīṭ: the famous village Madār (Medr), the ruins at ʿĪrāb, the region of the Khabbā with many sites, also Rajaw, ʿUṣām, Dharāfāt. In Bayt Murrān and Shākīr: the large village Bayt Murrān with its many habībīs, and the equally large village Shākīr, and Bawsān.


[19] Ḥisān consists of three thirds (thulūt): 1. Abī al-Thulūt with the villages Saʾdān, Salm, Bani ʿUbtān (shaykh unknown to me); 2. Ḥizam with the village of the same name and Shaykh al-Umayyāthī; 3. Shaʿb, the southernmost part of Arhab, bordering on Raḥba.

[20] Mountains and Rivers of Arhab: The previously mentioned plateau is almost entirely volcanic in nature: rising up abruptly from the flat plain are at least 50 basalt cinder cones, scattered across the region termed Būlād Ṭubbāʾ by the present-day Arabs. I visited the largest and most important of these, the Jabal Dīn in the Būlād Hamdān with significant Himyaritic monuments and the tomb of Qudam ibn Qādīm, who is revered even today as a saint. This series of cinder cones reaches from the immediate vicinity of Ṣanʿāʾ, crosses the entire area of Hamdān, the ʿIyāl Surayh, and into the western part of Arhab and Ḥashid. In the area of the ʿIyāl Surayh, Arhab and Ḥashid a layered, yellowish-white stone which the Arabs call balāqī appears, mixed with the igneous rocks. It does not appear to be limestone. The same stone forms the mountains of Kawkābān, across the Masānīt, the mountains bordering the Bawn on the north, the plain of the Bawn itself, and the whole northern part of Ḥashid. Viewed from a distance where it appears side by side with the black igneous rocks, as e.g. near Nāʿīt, one has the impression that the sunlight shines on part of the landscape, but that cloud cover shadows the rest. As the inscriptions of this area are to be found exclusively in this stone, they are easily distinguished from the splendid stones of true Sabean origin. I will be bringing samples of all these varieties of rock to Europe. Many of these hills, which I alone have located geographically, bear real Himyaritic names, which figure in the inscriptions.

[21] Of the streams in Arhab, only the Khārīd is worthy of mention, as it collects most of the precipitation²² of the region. There are neither ghayl nor even a single well in all of Arhab, making the land relatively poor and subject to famine when the rains fail. The Khārīd takes the streams of Khawān, Ṣanḥān, Ṣanʿāʾ, Wadi Ḍahr, Wadi Sirr, etc. which merge at Bawārīk, not a quarter of an hour east of Shaʿb. From there the water flows to al-Musayyiraq and then into the Samma Plain (perhaps Plinius' Land of the Sanmians), where it joins the waters of Arhab, under the name Khārīd, which it retains until far into the Jawf. The waters in the regions of the Bani Sulaymān, ʿIyāl ʿAbd Allāh, Bani ʿAli and a few villages of Suhaym drain into the Wadi Shuwāba, but those of the Khabbā into the Bawn. It is important to note that from its very beginning, the whole Wadi Ḥirrān bears the following names: Sayl Ḥabābā, Qaʿ al-Bawn, Qaʿ Hays, Qaʿ Shams, Wadi Warwar, Wadi Shuwāba, ending as the Ghayl Ḥirrān.

[22] Fertility: Grain (burr = wheat, shaʿir = barley) is only cultivated in the lower parts, with sorghum (dharra) in the heights, but this is restricted to the channels of the saylīs, as bare stone dominates the rest of the landscape. In the higher areas, and particularly between the basalt cinder cones (called kiyāl, the plural of kawla), are beautiful plains, where I have discovered the most Himyaritic sites. These were doubtless cultivated, although today they lie barren and abandoned, the inhabitants maintaining that any attempt to cultivate them again would be doomed, due to lack of rain. It is clear that the impoverishment and desolation of these once flourishing regions can practically be felt, and that it continues. Grape vines, which embellish most of the ancient Himyaritic monuments of the land, and which provided delicious fruits even about 20 years ago, are nowhere to be seen, and the same was said to be true in Ḥashid. The inhabitants claim to have noted a similar decline in the yields of the other crops. This century - or even millennia - long progressive impoverishment of the eastern slopes of the Sarāt (as the West Arabian coastal ranges are called) has led these tribes, inclined to both
independence and prosperity, to satisfy their needs from elsewhere. It is thus that we see almost all the Bakil and Hāshid serving in the military forces of neighbouring rulers, or as conquerors in the more fertile and prosperous lands of the West Sarāt. One recalls the Yāmites in Ḥarāz, the Hāshid in the area of Jabal Bura', the Dhi Muḥammad around Ta'izz, the Dhi Husayn in the area of Ḥajja, the Arhab (Bani Radmān) in the Wadi Lā'a, in the so called Maghrīb, etc.; all of whom the advancing Turks had to expel, either gently or otherwise. Lāhj and Ḥabīn, whose clan forts I visited in Arhab, offer an example from earlier times, to avoid mentioning the familiar tribal migrations. At present, the Turkish government's expansion to the south and west has reduced both Hāshid and Bakil to mere theiving, and my very quiet suggestion - that they attack the Ḥadrāmat, where they could establish new empires while maintaining their cherished tribal homelands - met with enthusiastic applause from the naked sons of Hāshid.

[23] Qabilī Laws and Customs: The South Arabian tribes, particularly those of Himyaritic origin, have ancient customs, continuing from pre-Islamic times up to our own day. When inquiring about manuscripts or recent notes concerning these, both in Arhab and Hāshid they unanimously declared that qabilī laws were not and could not be recorded in writing, as they would stand in contradiction to the Quran. They are considered to be harām, i.e., contrary to the religious rules, but in fact they dominate every aspect of qabilī life. And precisely because of this, I tried everything to be able to get detailed information, and in fact once during my trip I was able to make peace between two conflicting parties, using these laws.

[24] Three groups make up the South Arabian tribal context: 1. the hijrā, 2. the qabilā, and 3. the Jews. Hijrā and Jews, although they figure in every one of the former Himyaritic tribes, are actually alien to the tribal way of life.

[25] Composed of the descendents of the Prophet, and the fuqahā' and 'ulamā' (i.e., scholars and students of the Quran), the hijrā would appear to be a concession to Islam, but it is not impossible that something similar existed even earlier, as the word - or at least the root - hijrā appears very often in the Himyaritic inscriptions. This will have to be resolved by students of South Arabian epigraphy.

[26] The hijrā community usually reside in one or more villages, inhabited exclusively by ashrāf (meaning the same as sādira, "nobles", "gentlemen" or descendents of the Prophet's family), scholars and qāḍa' (judges). Such a village is never taken in war, being regarded to some extent as sacrosanct. In Arhab, e.g., Ḥayfa is a hijrā. The tribe gives each member his own individual certificate confirming this. The hijrā attends to religious affairs, and those legal ones resolved according to the Quran. Some individual members of the hijrā also reside scattered among the villages of the qabā'il, as scribes for shaykhs, prayer leaders, etc. Otherwise their unofficial role in tribal life is that of intrigue and diplomacy, working at times for a shaykh, an Imam, or even the Turkish government. The members of the hijrā, especially the sādira, are greatly revered. If, e.g., at a khurb (when members of various tribes chance upon one another and exchange news) a sayyid (singular of sādir) is present, it is he, and not the shaykh who conducts business. Otherwise, however, they are without influence on tribal life.

[27] This hijrā should not be confused with two other varieties of hijrā: the inhabitants of the Jabal Din who tend the tomb of the wali (saint) Qudam ibn Qādim, all of them fuqahā', or the residents of Zāfar, lying likewise near a holy tomb forming a hijrā as well. This is however more like a monastery. A third kind of hijrā is the urban centers where tribal purity cannot be maintained, such as the seat of government (earlier, e.g., Ṣan'a', Kawkbahān, the above mentioned Zafār under 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥamza al-Mansūr bi-Allāh, etc.). Possessing no privileges in the eyes of the qabā'il, they can be and are invaded in time of war, whenever possible. In South Arabia, students of the Quran in the mosques are named muḥājirin, and not simply tullāb al-ilm, as elsewhere. All types of hijrā can acquire land.

[28] The Jews are different. According to an ancient manuscript which was once in Ṣan'a', they may have arrived as early as Solomon's day, but others indicate a later date, although still between the construction of the first and second temples. Given the references in the Bible to the excellent relations between Palestine and Sheba, this sounds probable, as even today the Jews tend to live in lands which formerly belonged to Himyar or Sheba. Today, they enjoy virtually no rights among the qabā'il, being obliged to wear special clothing and coiffures, never being permitted to bear arms anywhere I went. Before going to Hāshid, a Hāshid shaykh told me that in his land, the Jews even went to war, which was later revealed to be a pure and simple lie, which is nevertheless widespread in South Arabia. They are not allowed to ride, or to live with Muslims. Even if an Arab village is surrounded by a wall offering protection against attack, the Jews are prevented from building their houses within the walls. But they are not necessarily defenceless. Every single qabil I asked assured me that it is 'ayb (i.e., a serious crime in the tongue of the qabil) to injure a Jew. In Arhab, a law of etiquette dictates that the Jews may not bear arms or turn to any government for protection. If - despite this - a Jew or his property is injured, it is a matter of honour for his protector, the jār, to react as if he were a member of the tribe. The Jews have no influence in tribal affairs and engage in various kinds of craftsmanship. It was my general impression that they were the most pathetic creatures in all of South Arabia, and I readily understand that large numbers of them are moving to Jerusalem.

[29] The real core of the tribe is the qabīl (Arabic plural, qabā'il; "tribesmen"). Terming the chief a naqib (meaning "prominent shaykh"), they avoid the word shaykh. The position is of course hereditary, and the more honourable the genealogy, the more esteemed the person of the shaykh himself. Even today there are tribal shaykhs who claim to be able to trace their ancestry back to the earliest times, to Hāshid or even Ḥimyar, called aṣūli (from aṣ, "origin").
this point it is necessary to correct an error perpetrated by one of my predecessors, according to which the South Arabians are supposed to be ashamed of their Himyaritic ancestry. I have not met a single descendent of Himyar who did not regard it as the greatest honour to count that people among his ancestors. Genealogy is the pride of even the simplest bedouin in South Arabia, and the real Muslim legends involving fake genealogies have never found acceptance among the South Arabians. Such gossip will be heard only from individual fanatic scholars and tendentious books, mocked by every qabili. A shaykh’s honour has nothing to do with that of a true leader, as a shaykh does not have the right to give an order to any of his tribal comrades. He is merely the most respected of the tribesmen, his word and counsel having weight, but not authority. There are nevertheless shaykhs who actually do have unquestionable authoritative influence, but only because of outstanding qualities of their own, or their ancestors.  

[30] The shaykh must not only manage the whole qabyala (tribal customs and spirit), and assure its unimpaired preservation, but he is also the leader of the tribe in war. Religious matters are left to the hijra. At death, a shaykh is succeeded by his eldest son, unless a minor, when the nearest male relative provisionally takes care of tribal business. If a shaykh leaves no male heirs, the tribe selects any blameless asili, i.e., a qabili whose genealogy is known back to the earliest times. An asili is not however a European type “noble”, who can merely trace his ancestry back a couple of hundred years: such a person - even if he bore the title of Duke could never reach the position of shaykh in a Bakil or Hashid tribe. He would not be accepted as asili. If the descendant of an ancient family cannot be found, they will never simply seek out the shaykh of another related tribe, and certainly not some foreign shaykh. In such a case, they simply choose the best asili of the tribe, even if his genealogy goes back only a few centuries: there are more than enough such men in every South Arabian tribe. I have even met the families of shaykhs whose names and ancestral seats will be found in the Himyaritic inscriptions of their land.  

[31] We can now turn to the basic elements of qabili law (qabyala) or called a ‘raf al-qabil’ il, from ‘urf):  

1. The mati: guest, also called dhayf or mumata. If a qabili has a mati and the guest is injured in any way within the tribal territory, by either an Arab of that tribe or any other, the mutamata obliges the host to revenge his guest. If the latter is killed, the murderer must be killed, or at least his right hand cut off. If the host cannot do this on his own, or with a few friends, he must summon everyone, so that the entire tribe might rush to his aid. Important visitors tend to be mati with the shaykh at first, as the tribe understands this to mean that one is actually the guest of an entire tribe.  

2. The rafiq al-janb, the travelling companion (protective escort). Among the tribesmen of South Arabia it is normal to find an escort (rafiq al-janb), guaranteeing the safety of the traveller with his own life and with the revenge of the dependents of his habl, his tribe. The customs differ however from tribe to tribe. In Arhab, the rule is: kull wadhi fi ‘ashirat-hu, to each his group, i.e., a simple qabili can offer safe escort only in the immediate vicinity of his tribe, and only his village will respond if the traveller is maltreated. A shaykh can extend the escort to cover the entire area under his sway. In Arhab and Hashid, especially among the Bani Suraym and in Khairif, the offer of a protective escort must be communicated to the ‘ashira, and is only valid if these agree. Among the ‘Usaymät in Hashid every boy has the unlimited right to offer protection, without prior notification or agreement. All of ‘Usaymät will rise if a visitor in their region is maltreated, while being escorted by a member of the ‘Usaymät, regardless of whether the ‘ashira was informed or not. That the rafiq can only be had for money is self evident. The same is true in the tribal areas of the (admittedly not very numerous) Sufyan (a branch of Arhab). In the language of the tribesmen, it is said: among the ‘Usaymät or the Sufyan every child can burden the tribe with the escort (yuhammil al-rafiq). The traveller is given a written statement or at least hears before witnesses that he is in the qurn and dhimmata of the rafiq, i.e., in the horn (forehead) and responsibility of the escort. Henceforth he is and travels fi al-wajh, in the (honourable) face, meaning with the pledged honour of the rafiq, corresponding to our German Ehrenwort (“word of honour”).  

3. Al-Sulh fi al-wajh, i.e., the chapter of peace on the word of honour (also called ‘ayb wa-al-naqa). If, in a conflict between two groups of the same tribe, that party which has lost more lives promises the other party peace for a certain period, and this peace is broken before the specified term has ended, the entire tribe is obliged to rise and cut off the right hands of those who have caused the peace to be broken. If the outlaws do not desire to offer their hands, their houses are to be destroyed, and those of their dependents, and they are all to be killed. If there were however only wounded, and no deaths, when the peace was broken, the disturbers of the peace are merely obliged to pay a fine, to be determined by the ‘uqad. Should the trouble makers have no possessions, his ‘ashira is simply held responsible. In Hashid the custom of cutting hands off is not practised: a corresponding price is simply established, of either 100 or 110 Maria Theresa thalers.  

4. The fine for involuntary manslaughter is about 100 to 200 thalers, called the diya. In Hashid, the diya is 300 gold thalers, or 150 gold thalers and 150 thalers in goods. If the victim was a shaykh, four diyá (plural of diya) are demanded in Arhab, but only two in Hashid, and even this is disputed in Hashid, as one is only ready to pay one diya, even for a shaykh. Killing a sayyid must be paid for with higher diyá, even the religious diya, so that the tribesmen say simply: a sayyid is expensive!  

5. Murder can be expiated in two ways: either by the above mentioned diya, or the elimination of the murderer or the first available member of his tribe. This last is the generally preferred method, and leads to continuous trouble and fighting.  

6. Theft: if the thief is caught and killed in flagranti, his
relations have no right to revenge, receiving from the killer 10 thalers. If the thief is however only later convicted by witnesses, he is simply fined an appropriate sum. The stolen goods must be returned, and the criminal must slaughter the 'aqa‘ir, animal offerings.

7. Calumni is punishable. The slanderer is regarded as a liar, regardless of any injuries he makes. This may be the reason why one finds so few honest people among the South Arabs: lying seems to be in-born among them.

8. The zâni, the adulterer, is treated as a thief. If the woman becomes pregnant, her head is simply cut off and brought to the criminal who is likewise killed, or fined a significant sum. If the woman flees during the pregnancy, the criminal must marry her in any case, and give the relatives a good deal of money.

9. If the criminal is a shaykh, he is treated as would be any other qabili, but his judges must be all the ‘uqqali and the whole ‘ashira.

10. Every qabili who can load a rifle or carry a lance, whether boy or greybeard, goes to war, without orders or force. Any qabili preferring to remain at home, while his tribe is fighting it out, can be certain that his tribe will abandon him at any time.

11. If conflict arises between two parts of the same tribe, as e.g., between the two shaykhs escorting me, Ahmad Marrab and Murshid al-Hasbani, the other shaykhs or other important people such as a sayyid take it upon themselves to make peace. First, they eat together in a large group with one shaykh and then the other, in order to encourage them to yield. If the two parties want peace, each party surrenders a few rifles, and from there it goes on in the process described further on. If not, war breaks out, and others can do nothing to prevent it. Any respected man can mediate in a conflict or war, whether he lives in the tribal area or comes from further abroad, e.g., the members of the hijra, any shaykh, even a foreign sayyid. I myself had the opportunity to act as arbiter.

12. If one party to a war desires peace, deputies with animal offerings ('aqa‘ir) are sent to the enemy camp. Accepting the animals establishes peace, and the fallen are counted. The ‘ashira of the side with more dead is then paid 22 thalers for the first and 5 or 7 thalers for the second year per capita. The money is then distributed to the families of the dead. If peace is not made, the war rages on, as that party which lost more lives must avenge itself at all costs. The South Arabsians are not in the habit of making peace once and for all time. As this would only then be possible if the surplus lives lost were to be paid up to the full value of the diyâ, which would usually be too much to bear. They thus tend to make truces for a month, a quarter, half a year, a year or two years, etc. Such accounts are however only made between friendly tribes, or two conflicting parts of the same tribe. Between two different tribes, no accounts are kept, and the hostilities continue. The day of battle between two different tribes is called a yawn al-abyad (a white day). The relationship between tribes is determined by the da‘i, the Forefather. In the lands of the Bakil, tribes of the Yam or Hâshid cannot be regarded as alien, but any other can be.

[32] The following is the procedure for resolving differences. The arbiter commands both sides to turn over a certain number of weapons, called the ‘addâl or ‘addala. Each party then names a damân or guarantor, who is responsible for his party’s recognition of the decision. After interrogation and examination of the witnesses, the arbiter delivers the verdict, and exactly – if he so desires – the ujra, the fee for his troubles, half of which is to be paid by each party. The arbiter charges a sum according to his own judgement. If the verdict is accepted by both parties, the weapons are returned; if not, appeals are made to any other shaykh, or to the hijra.

[33] And before closing, another strange custom must be noted, tending to mitigate the harshness of tribal law, especially where inter-tribal relations are concerned. This is that one can have a good friend in another tribe, a halif, responsible for looking to the rights of his halif’s tribe. The halif is – chivalrously enough – recognized under all circumstances, even when war is raging between the two tribes. If, e.g., an Arhab has stolen his donkey stolen, and his Hâshid halif has returned it to its proper owner, the latter is obliged to express his thanks by raising a white flag in the largest market in Arhab, and give a speech to the entire group, explaining what happened, following which he shouts, “and because my halif so-and-so of Hâshid fulfilled his duties as halif so excellently, I am bringing him this bayda‘ (white flag)”!

[34] A no less agreeable qabili custom is that they are always prepared to accept fugitive Arabs of other tribes in their own tribe, even if they have no idea of their origins. Laws of asylum in Switzerland are very hard hearted when compared with the rights of asylum offered by the qabili. The fugitive – without being asked whether he is an outlaw or a honest man – simply slaughters a sacrificial animal, such a sheep or a head of cattle, and the qabili says to him: “‘alî’ or “tamam “, meaning, “you are safe”. The formalities are then over, and the fugitive has become de jure and de facto a member of the tribe.

[35] The Journey - After this somewhat lengthy, but necessary, introduction to a very alien land, I can now invite the esteemed reader to join me in my wanderings.

[36] On Thursday, 31 January, around 11.00 am, I rode through Bâb Shu‘ib, leaving the friendly city of Şan’a‘ for the third time, going forth once more to struggle for science. My breast heaved with anxiety as both Arhab and Hâshid have never received any foreigners travelling openly, except the Turkish troops who left the area years ago after bloody but ultimately unsuccessful conflicts. I was not only travelling openly, but posing as a Turkish official. Halévy travelled disguised as a poor Jew, and such a person will not be molested, so long as he remains unrecognized, but he is likewise not permitted to conduct research with that complete freedom which alone can guarantee the reliability of the scientific results. And even this daring fellow did not enter Hâshid. And there is in all of South Arabia no tribe more notorious than Hâshid. All the Bakil tribes are regarded as peaceful fellows in comparison with Hâshid. Heavy traffic

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will be found on the trade routes crossing their lands: only Hashish is avoided, even by their tribal brothers from Yam, who never cross Hashid, preferring rather to go through the hostile lands of the Bakil, both when they had Haraz and today, when they intend to go to San’a. I had however made up my mind, and comforted myself with the conviction that under the prevailing conditions— with which I had become familiar thanks to the kindness of the General Governor— my cold bloodedness and my tongue would protect me from any threat.

[37] At 12.25 we reached Rawda, where my mule drank from the ghayl, diverted here by Yezet Pasha, who is ideally suited for the task of transforming the city into a garden once again.

[38] Some of the Arhab shyakhs accompanying me remained behind, presumably in order to discuss the intrigues they were already planning against me. Only Hizam from Bayt Sua’ and ‘Ali Sa’id, a Dhayban who had been recommended to me by the walli, went on. Entering the open Ra’ba plateau, we headed directly for the village Banji Hujawat, which we passed on the left at 1.30. We kept to the bed of the Shu’ub, riding between the villages Bayt Rassam and Bayt al Baradji at 2.45. At 3 o’clock, we had crossed the area of the Bal-Harith and reached the Land of Arhab. The terrain gradually takes on a darker hue, as we were entering the volcanic plateau, which we started to ascend. A kind of black porous lava becomes increasingly common, until it finally covers the whole surface. This desolate region does not even sport a blade of grass, and the left side in particular appears to be without human life, as we saw no settlements. Such was the path until 5.25 when we reached the first Arhab village, al-Makabir. A half kilometer in front of the village the children, naked for the most part, ran up to greet us, only to form a silent gaping escort. The village itself was in a holiday mood: everyone got up to see the ‘Turk’. I was however happily surprised when my salam ‘alaykum (peace be upon you)” was countered with a warm marhaba wa-ma-sha’ Allahu! (welcome! welcome!)” and an invitation to dine in the village. Shaykh Hizam told the good people, who are under his administration, to drop their offer, as the evening meal was already prepared in his house, in Bayt Sua’. We reached it at 5.45 and were received most respectfully by a friendly ‘Abd al-Wasi’. Both he and Hizam are loyal dependents of the Turkish government. I was led to the divan, the large long room in the house of every shyakh, where guests are put up.

[39] When entering, the qabili never says “salam ‘alaykum,” but rather “salam tahiya, (greetings to all),” and the man of the house responds with “ablaht (your greetings are acknowledged)” This is followed by stereotype greetings, marhaba wa-m-asha’ Allahu!, to which the formula “baqiit (may God keep you in well)” is the response. To strengthen the greeting, the host says, “‘ala al-‘ayn wa-al-ra’s! (by my eye and head [is your safety assured])”, placing both hands on his head. The madawa, the tall water-pipe with the giant tube, is served with qishru. The furnishings of such a divan are restricted to a few mattresses on one side of the hall and a great many small cushions, which serve as armrests. In the middle of the room are three or four water-pipes, sometimes on a large platter. Windows are represented only by small rectangular holes closed with a wooden board. Inquiring about the reason for this, I learnt that large windows were not very practical as the houses were shot at during the frequent battles. On the walls are also rows of wooden pegs on which they hang their rifles and paraphernalia, with the spear above. No gabil leaves the house without a rifle or spear. Oil lamps of the most primitive type provide light, and only the better shyakhs have a large, but very old fashioned candelabra with two candles. The houses are built of stone and are extremely sturdy, as in the rest of South Arabia.

[40] Although I was suffering when I left San’a” having had dysentry, a consequence of my second exploratory trip — I was sufficiently recovered in Bayt Sua’, not to have any fears about the return of this unpleasant illness. In the evening, the following shyakhs turned up: Murshid al-Habbari, Aishhad Marba, ‘Abd al-Wahhab Raja, Hasan Daish the short (al-Qasir), and Jiradi from Zubayrat, who had likewise been recommended by the walli. The evening passed most cheerfully and pleasantly. ‘Abd al-Wasi’ and Hizam had gone so far as to order a muzayyin, a barber especially from San’a, not merely to make sure that the guests were properly served, but also to cheer up the company with games and suchlike. In any halfway decent qabila there is a muzayyin who normally spends his time in the house of the shyakh. A proper muzayyin is also muzammar, meaning that while playing the mizmar - a small musical instrument which sounds like a bagpipe - he dances madly and performs bodily contortions. If he is unable to do that, he at least tries to be a poet, addressing every one present with some joking verse, or recites qasidas (Arabic plural qasaa’id), the epic poems of the tribe, relating their campaigns against other tribes. Around 8.00 pm, the evening repast was served. On a small low tripod, the marfa’i, they placed a large covered wooden bowl, and the muzayyin or a member of the host’s family passes around a pot or a hollow gourd with water, into which each guest puts his dirty right hand for an instant, appearing to wash it.

[41] The host then lifts the vessel’s lid and everyone crowds around it. In it are burr and sann. Burr (fine Yemeni grain, like our wheat) is ground by the women, kneaded into a cake like the Jewish passover matza, and baked. This bread (khubez) is torn into small pieces and brought to table in a wooden bowl. The host then brings a really filthy little pitches of sann, cooked butcher, which he then pours out over the bread. A couple of the guests regarded it as their obligation to thoroughly stir the contents of the bowl with their unappetizing hands, giving special attention in their unclean activity to the side into which I would be reaching. The rest of the household and the less important guests are served a bowl of aсид or harish. Aسيد is a simple coarse dough of dhurra-flour, harish a dough of burr. A cavity is made in the middle and the sann poured in. If meat is served, broth, maraq, is substituted for sann. The most important
guest is offered a gourd with maraq to drink, and I must admit
that this was always the most agreeable course. When
everything was properly mixed, the host says, "ayabismillah
(forwards in the name of God)" and each guest responds
ceremoniously, "bismillah al-rahamân al-rahim (in the name
of God, the merciful, the compassionate)", while reaching
into the bowl. The host keeps adding samn, merely to
demonstrate that he knows how to treat his guests to aristocratic
splendour. Every propery brought up guest must
however hinder him, saying, "başş khayrât (enough, there is
plenty)". As soon as the first bowl is emptied, everyone
returns to his place and the host hands out the meat. As
the tribemen have no butchers, it is usual to slaughter a sheep
when an important guest arrives. One eats the piece of meat
at one’s place, and responds to the host’s insistence that one
take another piece, saying, "God be praised and thanked. I am
full."

[42] To wash their hands after eating does not occur to a
qabili. They are in fact horrified at the very thought of
washing or bathing. The real qabil is convinced that a bath
is damaging to the body and although he conscientiously
washes himself before praying, it is for appearances only.
But they do make generous use of the dihna, butter.
Following the meal, the muzayyín goes from guest to guest, rubbing
the soles of the feet and calves with dihna. A small piece is
placed in the guest’s hand, and he washes his arms, face, neck
and hair himself. Only when butter is dripping everywhere
does he have his koyf. Of course, even at the insistence of my
host, I have never rubbed the butter in, and instead of this
honour, I have merely accepted a foot bath, which the
muzayyín has done in his own enthusiastic way. Children
normally have half a pound of samn poured over their heads.
It should also be remarked that the incense burner plays an
important role during the whole evening.

[43] The dihna is followed by the familiar water-pipe and
qishr, before bed. The whole company sleeps in one room,
without any kind of mattress, merely getting into a sack, the
kis al-nawm, supposedly protecting them from bugs, and they
sleep the sleep of the righteous until just before dawn, when
they all rush off to the masjid to pray. I myself took a bed
with me, as I was still suffering, and this served me well during
the entire journey.

[44] The first question of the morning is, "qad šalaty (have
you already prayed)?" "Ayna šalaty (where did you pray)?" The
question was often put to me as well. Playing my role as
a Turkish official, I had my two servants, Şâlih and Aḥmad
explain to the people, that I never prayed during the journey
because I was unable to perform the obligatory ablutions.
The servants added however that the Effendi was an
extremely bigoted Muslim who prayed fervently for two days
in the Grand Mosque each time he returned to Şan’a’. South
Arabians are satisfied with such an explanation, as it is well
known that the Turks do not tend to be very ardent in their
prayers. One of them remarked to my servant that he thus
understood why the Turks do not pray.

[45] After the morning prayer, the host offers every guest
a small piece of bread, which the poor womenfolk have to
make during the night. This snack is called subüh, or it is said
that one "yistabbah (breakfasts)". The inevitable qishr and
madâ'a are also at hand. Failing this breakfast, no South
Arabian will undertake any kind of work, as mealtimes are
the most important thing in their lives. When the wâqt al-
ghadda (lunchtime) approaches, he drops everything and
goes off after his lunch, and whenever planning a trip, they
always decide in advance where they will take lunch. The
Turks, who do not pay such close attention to mealtimes, are
regarded as absolute barbarians in this respect. In the morn-
ing, I started with a geographic survey of the area of the
village, which lies almost due north of Şan’a’. On Friday at
10.25, we rode off to explore the Khabba. All of the shaykh’s
mentioned and quite a few of the villagers accompanied me
in what was truly a princely removal. At 11.20, we reached
the village 'Utbân, a village to the west, after a difficult march
across barren black talus, where sheep were nevertheless
grazing. I made a real - but fruitless - effort to spy even a
single blade of grass. As some of the shaykh's informed me that
most of the inhabitants of Khabba were loyal to the imâm, I
decided to make a proclamation for them from 'Utbân.

[46] As the Himyaritic sites of Khabba, al-Madina atayn and
Husn Şanâd lie near the huge cinder cone Dirb to the west of
Bayt Sâ (on the frontier between Jyl Suryâr and Arhab),
we headed directly for them, as soon as the writ to the
denizens of Khabba had been despatched. I sent my servants
with the mules and a few shaykh's on ahead to the village Bani
Khayrán (also named Bîrkat al-Nisâ‘), where we had decided
to spend the night. My escort included Shāhīk 'Abd al-
Wâhâb Râjiû, both the shaykh's of Bayt Sâ as well as Jirâdî
and 'Alî Sâ'îd, all armed with smouldering matchlocks.
After finishing my archaeological work, the two shaykh's of
Bayt Sâ bade me to let them return to their village, presumably
out of fear for what awaited us in Bani Khayrán, but
saying that they would catch up with us the next day. We
were thus alone as we moved toward the village to the
northeast, where we rested beside the barîk (water reservoir).
We learnt that a revolt was raging in the village, the part of
the imâm declaring that the "Turk" was not to enter the village
under any circumstances, being permitted - at the most - to
spend the night in the masjid. As the other shaykh's were
already in the village and had suffered no harm, I decided that
the situation was not really very serious, and prepared another
instruction for the "uqqāl (minor shaykh) and notables of
Rajaw to await us the following (Saturday) morning on Mt.
Dharafât. I wrote: "After greeting you, I inform you that by
order of the sublime marshal, on Saturday morning you shall
come to me at Mt. Dharafât. I have also informed your
Shāhīk 'Abd al-Wâhâb Râjiû of this. This is an admonition for
you! The Explorer."

[47] And I then decided, coute que coute, to ride into the
village. To be certain of success, I spurred my mule on and
raced at a gallop towards the mountain, completely alone,
right through the amazed crowd, which dared nothing as a
result of the speed, and headed straight for the shaykh's
house, where I was welcomed. A few seconds later, a tumult of screams and clanking weapons broke out: an attempt to force them to hand over what had commenced. It was not long before, white as a sheet, the shaykh’s son rushed into the room, saying, “get ready!” Everyone got up and prepared their weapons; I reached for my Montenegrin revolver. The mob had already gotten into the house, and I commanded my people to drive them out with fire, in order to keep the house. I raced down the stairs, revolver in hand, with Jiridi and ‘Ali Sa’id, as ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, who had now arrived, came towards us, saying that the danger was over: “I have brought the beasts - who would have killed their own shaykh - to reason.” When the village settled down, I sent a messenger to the leaders commanding them to appear before me. After some long consultations, they came. My firm language, and a demonstration that they could expect nothing from the imām, rendered them docile. I even managed to demand that they demonstrate their submission to the Turkish government by turning over the tithes which they had not paid for years. They were however most impressed by my instruction concerning the Ḥāshid-Bakil conflict, which I do not want to repeat here.

[48] The following day, Saturday 2 February, at 9.00 we set out for Bayt Sinān (actually Jirān) to the east. To the left of the route we visited the ruins of Lāh and Abyān (possibly Yābān46 of the inscriptions, as the South Arabsians tend to replace the Y at the beginning of names, especially proper names, with a simple ḥamza), arriving at the village Darafat at 10.35 where we actually found the uqūd of Rajaw, and a large crowd of Arabs. We lunchted in this village, and I had the pleasure of seeing an attempt on my life foiled when an Arab aimed his rifle at me from the window of a house.

[49] We left at 1.35 pm. At 3.02 we passed by the hijra village Ḥayfa, arriving safe and sound at Bayt Sinān at 3.27, where we were most hospitably welcomed by Shaykh ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Rājiḥ. He was even so attentive as to put me and my two servants in our own small dīwān in the middle of the well defended house. A half hour later came shaykh Hamīd Abū Ghānim of the ‘Iyād ‘Abd Allāh and Ahmad Ḥizām Radmān of the Bani ‘Ali, the latter with his favourite son Hamīd, hardly nine years of age, who operated my room bearing a giant spear to greet me in true qabili fashion. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Rājiḥ Sinān, who claims to be able to trace his line back to Bani Ḥilāl, is one of the most respected shaykhds of Arhab. It is a real pleasure to see this small well nourished man with a fiery tongue and sparkling eyes step forth among the Arabs when there is something to be discussed. “Ṣallū al-lā al-nabi (may god’s blessing of the Prophet descend)!” meaning, “be reasonable and listen to me,” is usually the first thing he says, prefacing a spell-binding torrent of eloquence. He is the only Bakili who really tries to get along with the Turks, at least superficially, and regards his brothers as fools, when they use one of their books to claim and hope that the Turks will soon be gone, and that the frañji (Europeans) who replace them will in turn rule Yemen for only nine months, before the tribesmen establish their thousand-year empire. I do not however know if he sincerely means it, for the character of the South Arabian is treacherous. Events in his area and further north have shaken me sufficiently to believe that the wail of Yemen would be well advised to have less confidence in this shaykh.

[50] In the evening, Dāhūn Marrah (a brother of Ahmad Marrah) of Dhaybān arrived with about 20 of his tribesmen. His black frown and his whole physiognomy did not forebode anything good. When all of the shaykhds came to my room after dinner, he told me that my appearance in this land was causing trouble, as I was regarded as the vanguard of the Turkish troops. He believed that that my visit to Iīwa and Riyām in particular, which lay within his domains, would not be possible. I was seemingly supported in my remonstrances by a number of shaykhds, and this made an impression on him, and I was able to spend the rest of the evening profitably discussing the tribal customs and laws which are mentioned above. The next morning (Sunday 3 February), the two brothers Ahmad and Dāhūn Marrah left without taking leave of me. From the many secret discussions among the shaykhds the previous day, I had begun to suspect that something was afoot. I nevertheless declared that I wanted to spend the Sunday visiting the three sites of Sirwāh, Iīwa and Riyām. However, the departure of the two Marrahds prolonged the secret consultations of the shaykhds, so that we could only set out at 1.45 pm.

[51] Everyone in the village who had a rifle or a spear came along with me, as we headed for Sirwāh, which lay due north of Bayt Sinān, still in the domain of the ‘Abd al-Wahhābs. Although black storm clouds gathered above my head, it was encouraging - I almost want to say cozy - to have two honest fellows at my side. Little Hamīd took advantage of the opportunity to go at my side with ‘Abd al-Wahhāb’s equally daring little son ‘Abd Allāh, who barely managed to carry the heavy rifle. Jokingly I asked if they were not worried about an encounter with the Dhaybānis. “Oh Effendi, we go everywhere where our fathers go: we have qabya.” This word means “tribal spirit”, esprit de corps; in another context, also “tribal customs”. It must be distinguished from qabila, meaning merely “tribal name.” At 3.25, we arrived at the site, one of the most magnificent I have yet seen. To the south of it is a large barik, and it is between this and the temple that Arhab holds its discussions on important events. It is the Hajār Arhab, the Stone of Arhab.37 It would appear that even today, the area of Riyām and Iīwa is central to the spiritual, or at least military life of the Bakil. Shaykh ‘Abd al-Wahhāb informed me that other notables from the furthest reaches of Bakil, gathered in his house to discuss matters of mutual interest. Despite some apparent precautions, thousands of Arabs came from the region, and it was only with great difficulty that I could pursue my archaeological work, while the shaykhds tried to keep the crowd calm, and pursued their own secret consultations.

[52] Upon finishing, I immediately inquired whether Ahmad and Dāhūn Marrah had returned, for to leave without them for Iīwa and Riyām, which lay a mere 3 km to the east, would
have been insane. I then learnt, not only that they had not returned, but that very bad news had reached them from Dhaybân. The residents of Dhaybân had occupied Iltwa and Riyâm the previous day, and declared that they would greet me with a hail of bullets, indeed they asserted that they would even come to Sirwâh to get me. I immediately sent a messenger to Bayt Al-Washâr, the headquarters of the resistance, proclaiming that I had not come here to spill blood, and that I desired to talk to the leaders of the revolt, convincing them that I was the most peaceful person in the world, whom even the Imam would receive as a guest, should he visit them. I ended by informing them that if they did nevertheless attack me in my village, they would find myself and my friends prepared to let my head cost a thousand of theirs. This brought the simple message that Ahmad Marrah would come to us that evening, as he apparently did not want to completely ruin his relations with the Turkish government. It should be noted here that the actual leaders were the Bani Marrah, especially a certain Faqih and Hajj Shari'an Marrah and the Shaykh Hajam, both of whom were openly fanatical supporters of the imam. The others do what they want, just not openly. Towards evening the situation became critical, as the residents of Madar (not two km to the SSW) had also assumed a hostile attitude. We were thus obliged to decide to return, but were able to find housing for the night in Bayt Qays, a village halfway between Sirwâh and Bayt Sinân.

[53] Security conscious, I chose a high tower-like building for my loyal people, whom I believed justified in trusting. One of them was always posted on the terrace. The night passed peacefully. On Monday morning (4 February), Ahmad Marrah actually arrived, accompanied by a hoard of Arabs. His talk was intended to give me the impression that he had done the utmost possible to reduce the resistance, but that he simply had no influence on the people. It was apparent that the Dhaybânis were simply not inclined to receive me, and that they had actually moved their headquarters to Iltwa, which was closer. He had merely succeeded in discouraging them from attacking me anywhere outside Iltwa or Riyâm. Endless discussions among the shaykhs led them to the conclusion that they should go as a body to the resistance, which I accepted. After a few hours they returned with the report that it was now necessary to head for Zafar immediately. I concluded that things had gotten worse again. I remained firm however, and summoned the shaykhs to a consultation. I explained to them that Dhaybân's obstinate behaviour would necessarily lead to unpleasant consequences for all of Arhab, and that these could only be avoided if the use of arms forced the Dhaybânis to recognize the interests of the rest of Arhab. I thus advised them to return to Bayt Sinân, in order to muster the rest of Arhab, or at least five or six hundred men, with whom we would move on to Iltwa and Riyâm in two or three days. As however a South Arabian tribe maintains at least a little qabyla my suggestion, which had to remain secret, did not meet with approval.

[54] I thus decided to continue the trip, keeping up decorum by issuing an ultimatum to the residents of Dhaybân, stating that within 24 hours, they were obliged to declare whether they would oppose the official of the Turkish government in the realm of the Sultan, and that with the passing of the deadline, I was intent upon putting the matter before the wâli of Yemen, who would certainly know how to bring me into Dhaybân in two weeks. I sent Ahmad Marrah and his comrades back to Dhaybân with this proclamation, and did the same - unjustly as I later realised - with the Dhaybân Shaykh Sabâhî of the Banû Sulaymân. There was a comic moment here. Husayn Marrah, the brother of the chief of the rebels, Shari'an, was accompanying me, having been expressly recommended by the wâli. When I sent off all of the Dhaybân shaykhs with me (excepting the Habbârî who had a blood feud with Ahmad Marrah) to assure that both the people and the leaders of the revolt would listen to my ultimatum, I gave the same task to Husayn, who turned pale at the idea. Explaining that he had absolutely no influence on his brother, and that he had already said this to wâli, he was certain that Shari'an would kill him upon his arrival in Dhaybân. As the other shaykhs explained that he had been more or less expelled by the people, my heart began to melt and I permitted him to remain in my company. Thankful for this, he declared that he was prepared to shoot his brother dead. I was naturally horrified: "And even if your brother was a murderer, you are not to shoot him! God forbid that I am to approve of fratricide!"

[55] Although the route to Zafar passes through the Wadi Halâl in the areas of the Banû Sulaymân, I let the shaykhs persuade me to make a detour, passing by Shaşârim and Jirbat Bani 'Ali, not of course suspecting that this route had further unpleasant surprises in store for me, prepared by the shaykhs themselves. Passing Sirwâh on the left, it crossed the Qâ' al-Bawn, the Qâ' al-Madâm, and on to Shaşârim, where we arrived at 6:00 in the evening. The village lies directly to the northwest of Riyâm. There we received by Shaykh Hamûd Abû Ghanîm. Having a sigh of relief after the struggles behind us, I happily sipped my qishr while puffing on the water-pipe with pleasure. It was a real joy to see little Hamîd in his father's house, where he selflessly served his father's guests. As soon as he had a moment, he sat at my side, his cheerful, sincere nature making me feel quite good. I then gave him a small compass as a present, drawing the admiration of all the tribesmen. After I had taught him how to use it to identify the proper direction for prayer (qibla), he attached it to his breast immediately and promised me that he would make certain that every one of his relatives prayed facing exactly towards Mecca. In the evening, there were doggerels again from the muszayin, who also gave a qasîda concerning the the villages of the Bawn, Hamdân and the 'Iyâl Sunayr, and then delighted us by parodying all the Hashid shaykhs.

[56] Ahmad Marrah arrived that same evening, in the company of Shaykh Ahmad al-Qâbûs, the 'Iyâl Suqaym, Shaykh Husayn ibn 'Abd al-Rahmân Sharûfay, the 'Iyâl Abî al-Khayr from Iltwa and 'Ali Qasîm Nukây' of the Abî al-Khayr. Dâhîn Marrah was content to send a mere message
confirming his loyalty. These representatives of Dhaybān now stated that their land was open to me at any time, as the people had changed their mind. I responded that I would find out the truth of the matter in Dhaybān itself, as I intended to go there from Na‘īt. As Shaṣṣārīn lies at least 5 hours march from Itwā, and since the words of a South Arabian cannot be accepted without reservations, turning back was not really possible. I had to satisfy myself with the provisional success of having softened the Dhaybānis. I slept splendidly, as I was quite exhausted by the day’s excitement.

[57] On the morning of the following day (Tuesday 5 February), the shaykhs continued their secret consultations, and I myself was drawn into one of them. It concerned Zafār, where his Excellency Yzzet Pasha had installed a small garrison of Bakil-Arabs (Arhab, Suḥyān and Mūribā), threatening either Ḥūṣūd or the imām Sharaf al-Din, in fear of an incursion into Arhab. As I encountered the party of the imām in every nook and cranny of Arhab, I cannot possibly believe that Arhab really has anything against the imām, the more plausible reason being that both Arhab and Ḥūṣūd want to receive Turkish government money. I explained to the shaykhs that I did not have any instructions at all from His Excellency concerning Zafār. The esteemed reader deserves to be informed that the whole Zafār affair would appear to have been brought about because of my own humble person. Various stories and descriptions of Zafār by a Ḥūṣūd shaykh led me to suspect that it was possibly an important Himyaritic site, and led to my inquiring about it at every opportunity. This would appear to have been noticed by the imām, who decided to occupy the place before I could get there. At the same time, His Excellency, Yzzet Pasha also began to pay attention to the place, as I had kept him abreast of my intention to visit Zafār for some weeks, and decided - perhaps for other reasons - to occupy the site about five weeks ago, with a few Bakil shaykhs. I explained to the shaykhs that Zafār was exclusively of archaeological interest to me.

[58] The present chief of the Arhab, Shaykh Aḥmad Ḥizām Radmān, of the esteemed family of the Bani Radmān, one of the most prominent families of all of Arhab, went off two or three hours ahead of us. At 11.30 we rode off, but were unpleasantly surprised that the naqīb Ḥamūd (tribesmen never refer to prominent Arabs as shaykh, using naqīb always) would only meet us the next day, pleading an indisposition. After enjoying the marvelous views of the Qī‘ al-Shams, at 2.00 in the afternoon, we arrived at the village of Jibrat Bani ‘Ali. While the others went to the masjid, Rumanah, which is the custom of not waiting straight for the host’s house, naqīb Aḥmad Ḥizām accompanied me in the direction of his house. The other shaykhs followed in a matter of minutes, having apparently had another consultation in the meantime. I failed to notice one of the most important of them, Shaykh Nāṣir ibn Aḥmad, a large part of the Bani ‘Ali (the residents and the bedouin of the Wadi Haḥbal as far as Zafar) being under his sway, and through whose lands we had to pass. We had already met this shaykh near Sīrwāh, on his way to a Dhaybān village to get a rifle. Commanded by ‘Abd al-Wahhāb to come with us, he swore a sacred oath not to let me get to Zafār, as my servants - who served as my spies everywhere - told me. But this one-eyed man, who was not otherwise appealing to look at, let himself be turned about, presumably hoping for a pecuniary advantage.

[59] Not a half hour after our arrival in Jibrat, the village erupted into the most extraordinary tumult. I was comforted with the untruthful tale that it was a matter concerning themselves alone (baynāt humal-bayn). I immediately signed to my servants to look into it, and they produced the most dreadful news. The whole village was filled with armed men, including some far-off aṣḥāb, i.e., partners of Shaykh Nāṣir ibn Aḥmad, all demanding that I be handed over. At the forefront of the whole movement were the members of the family of my host, the Bani Radmān. As I was in the house of leader of the rebellion, the treachery was as clear as the danger. A cool calculating manner was called for. I called one of those recommended by the wali to my side, and promised that if he came clean, I would be prepared to render him any service in ʻSan’a‘. He then explained that a rumour had spread among the populace that the shaykhs had sold Zafār to the Turkish government for 7000 thalers, or 25,000 according to others. But the Bani Radmān were stirred up against the Turkish government because a few of their houses in Wadi Lā‘a had been destroyed by artillery. And there was still the matter of financial dispersals. The first and third points did not disturb me overmuch, as the first was a mere pretext, and the last concerned Nāṣir ibn Aḥmad, who could in fact be pacified with a few thalers if necessary.

[60] The matter of Wadi Lā‘a was however quite different. Earlier, the Bani Radmān had more or less ruled that wadi (to the west of the Mašānī mountains, where it begins, and partially belonging to the present Turkish district of Haţj, and partially to the likewise Turkish district of Tawilah). When the Turks advanced, they withdrew - I do not know if there was any armed resistance - to their tribal center in Arhab, leaving a small colony in the area, cultivating coffee. Just as I was approaching Hajja on my second exploratory journey, the kaymakān (civil leader of the district) and a major had just gone into the Wadi Lā‘a, in order to make peace between two feuding tribes. I did not think about the matter any further, not even knowing who the two tribes were. I now discovered to my horror that the tribe against which the Turkish military force had been obliged to proceed was precisely this Bani Radmān colony. On this occasion, one of the small sons of naqīb Aḥmad Ḥizām and two or three other members of the Bani Radmān lost their lives, according to my informant in Jibrat. Of course, the hypocritical and treacherous South Arabian does not have the faintest understanding of honesty or justice. He does not enquire whether the Bani Radmān or the Turkish government were acting justly, but is simply anxious for revenge. “Blood demands blood” is his principle, and now they had a real live Turk in their hands.

[61] I immediately understood that the majority of the Arhab shaykhs had brought me here in order to provide the Bani Radmān with an opportunity to vent their anger. The
situation was critical. Right away, I called the naqib Ahmad Hizaim to me, to have a word with him. I explained that I had only just learnt about the incident in Wadi Lâ’a here in his house and that I had not had the slightest idea about it before. I boldly stated that I was quite happy, and that it was perhaps a stroke of luck for the Bani Radmân that I was now in their midst, as they could expect no more than justice from the government, and that I was just the man who could help them to get it. They need only justify their complaints and expectations to me, or appear with me before His Excellency Yzzet Pasha, who, once he was informed of the facts would be the very personification of justice. If this suggestion displeased them, then they could easily relieve me of my head, but it would not be of the slightest use to them. They would be found, not only in Wadi Lâ’a, but also here. And then, a few moments later, I had a confidant (insofar as such a thing exists in South Arabia, as Aelius Gallus learned long ago) convey the message that I would have the 15-year-old son of his dead brother, Muhammad (who is destined like his father to become chief of all of Arhab one day) put in the good graces of the Governor General. These offers had the desired effect. Immediately, little Muhammad, a splendid youth, was introduced, and I turned my attention to him. The raging mob dissolved.

[62] But then, towards evening, the street was again tumultuous: another enraged member of the Bani Radmân moved of his own accord. Again, I did everything to get him to appear before me, which he did in the evening. I explained that he was a qabili, and that I had known tribesmen to be men from my journeys, and that I could attest to this particularly for Arhab. It is not seemly for a single man to agitate behind the back of his enemy: a qabili approaches his enemy from the front, first with words, and then with the jambiya or rifle. I thus commanded him to express himself honestly and openly. In the most excited manner he then listed his complicity of transgressions: "You (Turks) have taken our land away, destroyed our houses, you have even killed my brother in Wadi Lâ’a, etc. etc." Not a soul in the whole hall moved to speak a word in defense. I gave him the same answer that I had earlier given the naqib Ahmad, and after lengthy epossulating, I managed to calm him down. As the air did not seem sufficiently clear to me, I pushed the discussion in the direction of the Hâshid-Bakil affair, which had always gotten me out of difficulties before. And once again, my insinuations had the right effect, and around midnight, I could finally take a well deserved rest. The next morning (Wednesday 6 February) brought new difficulties. Nâsir ibn Ahmad and his bedouin were still murmurings and refused passage through their lands. Renewed negotiations, which were only terminated at 2.35 in the afternoon, finally led to the desired results. All of the rebel leaders, including Nâsir ibn Ahmad appeared before me and declared that they did not want to lay any other obstacles in my path. We thus descended into the nearby Wadi Halhal and established our quarters in the village 'Ilâl Husayn. To pacify these dangerous bedouin once and for all, I had a sheep slaughtered, inviting Nâsir and all the other bedouin notables to dine with me. One need only imagine six to eight virtually naked brown figures with wild eyes and even wilder hair, and one will have an idea of the company with which I dined - riffraft that did not even own a single waterpipe or a bit of qishr.

[63] The following morning we wanted to get started for Zafar. But the character of the South Arabian remains constant. One day, seemingly sincere and submissive, the next they will become rebellious and treacherous. I was practically in despair as there were negotiations once again, my servants informing me that it concerned the return of Zafar to the imâm, which I, of course, could not prevent. Hours of consultations seem to have led them to believe that my visiting this site would not prevent them from carrying out their treacherous plan, and thus that very same day (Thursday 7 February), we proceeded on to the last place that I wanted to reach in Arhab. We went down through the Wadi Halhal to the north, turned to the northwest to cross the major Wadi Shuwaib, as Zafar is situated on its northern side, on a mountain, where the whitewashed mosque tomb of a saint sparkled in the distance. On the way, we passed numerous dawn trees, with a delicious small fruit like our apples, which we consumed with delight. These trees grow wild like the talh trees which they resemble, and are the only source of income of the equally wild inhabitants, who bring the dawn fruits and the talh firewood to sell in the markets of San'a' and other cities. My hope of arriving in Zafar before midday was not realised, and I was thus obliged to take the astronomical measure of the latitude in the valley, and only afterwards climbed the mountain, where we did in fact find the Bakil Ruha. As there was neither board nor lodging on the mountain, we decided to spend the night in one of the bedouin encampments, or even in the Hâshid town of Dhi Bin, which the Bakil shaykhs could for once enter, in my company.

[64] My archaeological and geographical work on the mountain finished, I went down to the Hâshid frontier in the company of all the Bakilis from every tribe around. There, at the border shaykh Murshid al-Ghuzzi of Bani Jubar was waiting for me, thanks to my letter to him sent from Jribat Bani 'Ali. I had already heard in San'a', and also in Arhab, that in Dhi Bin there lived a sayyid (sharif, i.e., a descendant of the family of the Prophet) of the house of Abu Munassar who was a fanatical supporter of the imâm, and that the residents of Nâ'lit, the Himyaritic site that interested me the most, intended to deny me entry into their village under any circumstances. I was thus not in the best of moods, especially in light of what we otherwise know of the Hâshid. And then the whole thing had become a bit too interesting for my two servants, who were only prevented from running away by the promise of a larger bakshish. Briefly, I made my reasoning clear that returning to Arhab could not possibly be any less dangerous than facing the strife in Hâshid, and thus I was intent on returning by way of Hâshid, given even the most meager encouragement from the Murshids, so as to complete my archaeological work.

[65] This descent to the Hâshid frontier was probably the
most memorable act that I have ever accomplished in my life. Aside from the reservations which practically overwhelmed me personally, I was to be a witness of the meeting of the hostile brethren. From about 3:00 in the afternoon, rifle fire was audible from the valley below, a sign that Hāshid was already in place on the frontier and desired that we quicken our pace. When we were about a kilometer away, a shot was fired from our side, with the remark that the Hāshid dogs did not deserve more than a single shot.

[66] When the Hāshid Arabs (of whom there seemed to be about 30) were within sight, I noticed that they were lined up with the shaykh and sayyids in the middle, but not in front of the line. When we were about 10 paces away, the Bakl group assumed a similar formation, while I sat down on the side, after calling out, “Salām ‘alaykum, ‘Iyāl Hāshid.” For a moment, both sides were completely quiet. Both Hāshid and Bakl were conscious of the import of the moment, and found it difficult to conceal their feelings of hatred. Since the events in the Wadi Khaywān, they do not meet peacefully on the border.

[67] Finally, a relatively young thin man separated himself from the ranks and said with a quaking voice, “Quwwit wa ‘ilmukum? (God’s star on you, what news do you bring)’? ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Rājīḥ answered “Allāh yusallīkum! (may God greet you)!”. The young man, who later turned out to be the Sayyid Yahyā,2 Abū Munaṣṣar,32 said, “Nīakhbārarkum! (We demand the news from you)!”. Response: “Salāmātkum min dhā fumalālās’mā ‘alaykum hasba amr al-dawlat al-‘aliya mā ni ‘ilm sharr! (Your peace, and we stand before you for this meeting, by reason of an order of the sublime government, otherwise there is no bad news!)”, and the qabili ceremony was finished. The same will be heard whenever two tribesmen or tribes greet each other.

[68] I personally then stood up for my rights. As it was important to me that the two hostile parties not exchange many words with each other, I ordered the Hāshid Shaykh Murshid and ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Rājīḥ to myself. The necessary papers were prepared, and I started inquiring about Dhi Bin and Nā’īt, and the news was disappointing about the former, as the feared sayyid had chosen to fly to the imām before my arrival. Shaykh Murshid had nothing to say about Nā’īt.

[69] I immediately gave the order to march to Hāshid, before another superfluous word could be exchanged between the two tribes. We went up the valley in silence, as I still did not know just how I would be treated in this new land. The apparently sincere but scruffy fellows around me did not inspire confidence. Encouraging were only the friendly remarks of Sayyid Yahyā, who claimed to have seen me in Šan’a. I must confess that I was profoundly moved: memories of the experiences in Arḥab, the prospect of a dark future, the horrifying poverty of the surroundings, and the thought that I was on the eastern frontier of Hāshid, where a retreat to Şan’a or ‘Amrān would necessarily lead across enemy territory, prevented any feeling of cheer, or even satisfaction. We finally headed northwest into the Wadi Dhi Bin, where Murshid bade me mount my mule. He explained that he had hitherto opposed this, because he preferred to see me among his people, not high up on a horse for the perfidious and unscrupulous criminals of the Bakl could easily have let off a shot at me, in order to spread the slander in Šan’a that as it had occurred in Hāshid territory, it must have been a Hāshid Arab. This simple explanation made me feel much better than the most humble declarations of submission. The shaykh’s village is up in the valley behind the city of Dhi Bin which one usually bypasses. Murshid explained that he did not fear the city (which is no longer worthy of the name), but that the city was full of fuqahā (scholars) devoted to the imām, and thus that it was better to avoid it. Going around the city, shortly after sun set we arrived at the house of Murshid al-Ghuuzzi in a friendly setting, and I was lodged in the dwān which was amazingly empty. And no one except the Sayyid Yahyā came in, so that I was totally relieved of anxiety.

[70] At supper, Shaykh Murshid and his three virtually naked sons joined us: there was not much said, as even Murshid, a very slight fellow with a open look, did not yet seem to be clear about my person in his mind. After the meal came Sayyid Yahyā, Murshid’s son-in-law. Tongues became looser and the conversation turned in the right direction of its own accord, as Sayyid Yahyā explained that four Sufyān Arabs, who had wanted to take my life, had been captured. After being disarmed immediately, my desire that they be taken back across the border without being harmed in the slightest saved them from certain - and perhaps undeserved - death. The captives told me personally that they had merely intended to make some purchases in Dhi Bin. I let this pass, although there is absolutely no contact between the two tribes at present, except for war on the frontier. The affair suited me, as it permitted me to inveigh against the Bakl a bit, without attracting attention. To simplify my position, I boldly stated that these Bakl would do anything to blacken the image of the courageous Hāshid in Šan’a, and that they would stop at nothing to commit some crime against me while I was in Hāshid territory.

[71] "Oh! We are perfectly conscious, Effendi-nā, that the Bakl intend to persuade the marshal to join them in an assault on us. In Wadi Khaywān, we hit them soundly on the head, and now, instead of revenging themselves in the traditional qabili fashion, they are intriguing with the Turks. Our character is not so deceitful as the Bakl, and thus we cannot constantly hang around the marshal giving him ideas." I let it suffice to respond that although I had a completely different job, I would not doubt in the least that the marshal would ask me all about the character and loyalty of the two tribes, as I was the only one to venture into these lands for years. As I was neither Hāshidi nor Bakl, one could be sure that I would give an unbiased appraisal. But I had to emphasize that the Bakl had taken considerable freedom in acting against my person. At this point, I nearly began a silent hymn of praise.
to Yuzzet Pasha, who has been extraordinarily successful in driving a broad wedge between the formerly unified foes of the Turkish Empire, with both now even begging his help. I must confess that in all my travels in the Orient, I have never seen such a diplomatic masterpiece.

[72] In the evening, we received the news that Bakil Arabs had blown up a _samsara_ (hostel) with gunpowder in Hūth, a Hāshid city. The whole group, myself included, was horrified at this new crime. That night, I sent off two messengers. One went to ‘Amrān, to my friend[s] there, the _kaymakan_ and the major, to find out if they had any news about Nā’īt, which is closer to ‘Amrān, although there are no relations between the towns. The other went to ‘Ariqāt in Ṣayād to Shaykh ‘Ali Muthannā al-Qudaymi, whom I ordered to pick me up, as I desired to visit the site of Nā’īt in his territory. Although ‘Ariqāt is some seven or eight hours march from Bayt al-GhuZZi, I told the messenger to be back by midday the following day (Friday 8 February), and promised that compliance would result in a large tip. I then passed the water-pipe to my new found friend Murshid with a hearty “_Jabba!_ (your turn!)”, who responded as is usual among South Arabian tribesmen, with an even heartier “_Akrimmah_ (it is an honour to accept)” and took his pleasure. We puffed away, passing the time with biblical and genealogical conversation. Strangely enough, the discussion somehow came to the subject of monkeys, who - lighthero unbeknownst to me - live on the eastern slopes of Sarāt.

[73] The next day (Friday 8 February), I measured the time and longitude, spending the rest of my time in conversations about the inhabitants of the land, the fertility of the land, tribal laws, etc. At 3:00 pm, the messenger from ‘Ariqāt arrived, having nearly run himself to death. He handed over a letter from Shaykh ‘Ali, signalling that he would receive me on Saturday at the border. It is a South Arabian custom that sheikhs do not infringe on the sovereignty of neighbouring shaykhs, and the accompaniment and safe escort (_rafiq al-janub_) is a right of sovereignty that can never be extended beyond the frontiers of one’s own territory. Merely to be certain that nothing unpleasant could happen to me in his territory, Shaykh Murshid had letters sent out to all the areas of the Bani Ḫus–r, which brought a stream of about 150 Arabs to greet me in the evening. I must confess that I did not feel comfortable in this society of naked individuals, and it was only that the _Sayyid_ Husayn Abā Munassar—a _sayyid_ on good terms with the government and an instinctive diplomat, who plays the tribesmen like marionettes - came to pay me his respects, so I left him to entertain the _qabili_ throng. When they finally withdrew, without having offered them anything at all, I slept until the next morning with a clear conscience.

[74] After breakfasting on _harish_ with _samm_, we got off at 8.15. In Wadi Dhi Bin, some 20 armed men formed our escort. When we got near the large wadi into which the aforementioned opens, shots were heard and we noticed groups of Arabs in every nook and cranny and on every hill of the extraordinarily broad wadi. Shaykh Murshid remarked with a certain pride that these were his _ašāb_, his comrades, whom he had called up to prevent any possible attack by the Sufyan and Murhiba who might creep through the black basalt talus and piles of debris which cover the whole wadi as far as the Bawn. They call such an uninhabited area _faysh_. From here, as far as the frontier of the Bani Ḫubair, these valiant Ḥāshids served as a patrol. As the area cannot be called safe, they occupied the heights and the ravines before I arrived. It was both touching and a delight for the eyes to behold these brave sons of the wilderness climbing up the steepest slopes like cats. That they would be extremely dangerous foes was clear right away. After an hour and three quarters march through the _faysh_, we reached the frontier of the Bani Ḫubair, where we halted by a watch tower. The next watch tower belonged to the Ṣayād, and the area between served as a battlefield whenever there was strife. It was neutral and was not to be crossed, even in battle.

[75] Despite the rifle fire, ‘Ali Muthannā al-Qudaymi was not to be seen. I began to think that Shaykh ‘Ali had possibly reconsidered in light of resistance in Nā’īt, and began to seek a way of getting through to ‘Amrān at least. It was inconceivable that Shaykh Murshid could escort me through the Ṣayād territory, as we would all have been massacred. But Sayyid Husayn and Shaykh Murshid are never at a loss. They called me to the side, and made a suggestion. We would send everyone back, except for ten reliable men, and proceed with them into the next Jubar village, with the declared intention of waiting for ‘Ali Muthannā’s arrival the next day. At night, we would then declare that we were returning to Bayt al-GhuZZi, but actually head for ‘Amrān. By dawn we would in any case have crossed the Ṣayād territory, without anyone noticing it. We were making the necessary arrangements for this _qabili_ plan when rifle fire was heard. “That is ‘Ali Muthannā’s _ašāb_,” was heard from every side, and we were not deceived, for a few minutes later eight men appeared from a completely unexpected direction. But ‘Ali Muthannā was not to be seen among them.

[76] After the exchange of _qabili_ greetings, one of the new arrivals introduced himself as Sha’lān, ‘Ali Muthannā’s son, and presented Shaykh Thābit Ḥarmal, through whose territory we now had to pass. Sha’lān allayed my doubts about the absence of Shaykh ‘Ali himself, explaining that he had been wandering around on the frontier since midday without finding us. As Shaykh ‘Ali suffers from severe rheumatism in his legs, and cannot even ride his mule without pain, he had stopped a kilometer away, sending Sha’lān and Thābit on. At 3.50 we rode off, after having bid farewell in the most agreeable fashion to Murshid and his companions. And in fact we soon met up with ‘Ali Muthannā in a truly pathetic state. As his physical appearance and his even wilder clothing make a singular impression, I believed that I was facing a real live _jinn_ as he limped with his cane a few paces in my direction to greet me.

[77] And just as in ‘Amrān, where he did not want to hear anything about the _wālī_ or the _kaymakan_, he was forthright and I might say simple, with the difference that the marshal in particular and the _dawlat al-‘aliya_ (the sublime govern-
ment) are now honoured by him. He even honoured me with the title Pasha. To round off the sketch of his outer appearance, it should be mentioned that his hand was riddled with bullets, like many other South Arabian heroes which can easily be accounted for given their endless fighting.

[78] On the way to Nā`it, which lies more or less due south, we also met up with the messenger sent to Amrān from Bayt al-Ghuzz, who gave me a letter from my two previously mentioned friends, according to which, in Amrān, they did not have the faintest idea of what was going on in Hāshid. We had already left the Bāb al-Manqadha and the Qā` al-Shams behind us, and we were heading directly in the Qā` Hāys where I was able to look at a wonderful ancient cistern and a Himyaritic cemetery. We then climbed slowly up the right side of the Qā`, always heading in the direction of Nā`it. At 6.20 we reached the village of Ibn Ḥājib and took up quarters in the very modest house of Shaykh Thābit Harmal. In this village lying due east of Raydah, we had a view of the Qā` al-Bawn. When the children of Israel beheld the Promised Land for the first time, they cannot possibly have felt more exaltation and pleasure that I did, for the Qā` al-Bawn is a land of law, and even the Hāshid Arabs honour it with the name Bilād al-Amān, Land of Security. Our host Thābit, a robust fellow about 45 years of age, whose face is graced with a short full beard giving the most favourable impression: a natural warrior who appears to know no wrong. It must be admitted that during my entire stay in Hāshid I had the impression that these were good-natured, completely uncivilized, but completely honest people, knowing only their domestic lives, their farming, but above all war, and - at the present time - thievry. The evening was quite animated. In contrast to Arḥāb, Hāshid is thoroughly tribal, and it is thus understandable that even today there are a lot of proper poets. One of them held forth with at least ten qaṣidas, including a fiery one about the fighting in Wadi Khaywān, praising the heroic deeds of every single ‘āqil (plural, ‘uqqal, “leader” or “chief”, “shaykh”), ‘Ali Muthannā glowed with joy and his countenance was radiant when his name and deeds were sung. These poetic masterpieces made a good impression on me, and could easily be set beside the famous qaṣidas of a Nashwān, a Qudam or a Sa’d, even if composed by a simple naked qabili. At the time, I was moved, and almost felt sympathy for these primitive creatures, who cannot imagine that that bloody day in Khaywān which they recounted with such pride had undermined their independence, and that they would soon sense the oppression of the ra’iya of the Turkish government, like so many other Arab tribes. They have never heard of the Latin expression divide et impera, the creed of the Machiaveliani in Ṣan‘ā’. I offered the poet a bakshish if he would bring me a copy of the Khaywān qaṣida to Ṣan‘ā’.

[79] Sunday morning, (10 February), we started for Nā`it. As the poet of the qaṣida informed me that for a small tip, he would show me a fantastic Himyaritic inscription on the nearby Jabal Tālīn (named Thanīn⁶ in Ḥamdān’s Iklīl), I climbed the mountain. In the middle of the slope, there was in fact a large boulder, with a polished surface covered with the largest inscription I had ever found. In 96 completely intact words, without a damaged edge, was a complete Himyaritic discourse! After having copied a few other small inscriptions in the vicinity, I climbed the northern summit of the mountain to visit the tomb of the saint Khalīd, where the Hāshid still bring offerings (‘aqā’ir, ya’qarū). Like the tombs of all the other pre-Islamic awlīyā’ (saints) in the mountains of Yemen, the tomb turned out to be an ancient large Himyaritic mausoleum, and I was lucky enough to be able to copy some more inscriptions. In another article, I will perhaps have the opportunity to report in detail the archaeological results of this journey through the lands of two real Himyaritic tribes. Today, I will merely go on with an account of the journey itself.

[80] The band accompanying me, with the exception of Thābit and few Arabs, had already gone on to the nearby village al-Hajār, where they waited. In al-Hajār, a town at the highest point of the Wadi Fuqam, belonging to Shaykh ‘Ali Muthannā, around noon, we sat under a huge rock and refreshed ourselves with qisr and the water-pipe. Given the repeated reports of the stubborn opposition of the residents of Nā`it, we then sent off a letter to the three most prominent villagers, who have assumed the role of ‘āqil, as they lack a shaykh, advising them to come to us. They did not obey, the messengers even claiming that a rumour was spreading in Nā`it that I had distributed 600 thalers in Arḥāb, and they thought that their ruins were worth more than all the ruins of Arḥāb. In the meantime, large numbers of Arabs from the area had gathered, and I deemed it a suitable occasion for a speech. I explained that the story of 600 thalers had apparently been spread from Arḥāb to Nā`it in a deceitful fashion, as the Arḥabis had every reason to desire that I be prevented from going to at least one point in Hāshid territory, or to commit some crime against me. I went on to tell the people how these unfaithful Bakilis had acted against me in Arḥāb, which was immediately confirmed by Shaykh ‘Ali in the most effective manner, as he related that he had sent out spies as soon as I set foot in Arḥāb, to collect all the available information. As I calculatedly expressed my doubts, inquiring just how he could send his people into Arḥāb without their getting killed, he regarded it as a pointe d’honneur to explain everything conscientiously so that there was nothing for me to do except be silent. This scene had the most indescribable effect on the crowd. “These Bakil liars and dogs want to send us to perdition! Effendi, you are in Hāshid and no man in Hāshid may hinder you in your work. We will all stand for you!” I then requested the most respected of them to go as a body to Nā`it and to make the situation clear to the villagers, as I reasoned that all Hāshid would be responsible for what happened in Nā`it.

[81] To simplify the negotiations, and demonstrate to Hāshid that it was important to me personally to deliver a positive report about them, I said that I was ready to slaughter three sheep for the evening meal, and offer them to the villagers. After about three hours, four or five notables turned up. Shaykh ‘Ali spoke simply: “May the favour of God for
the Prophet be with us! Are you not a village from the villages of Hashid?", with the desired effect, and my visit was scheduled for the next morning, 11 February. We rode content to 'Ali's residence, Ariaqat al-Qudaymi. On the way, when passing the village of Lijam, I was greeted by the crowds in the most enthusiastic way, noting "We are not out of Dhaybân. Effendi!"

[82] Early Monday morning a messenger from Nait arrived reporting that the resistance was not yet broken, and that it was thus advisable to delay the departure until the arrival of a second messenger. And this one arrived at 10.00 in the morning. Accompanied by Shaykh 'Ali, Sha'lan, Thabit and about 30 armed men from Ariaqat (in fact there are not any more armed men than that there), we headed off for Nait. Not far from the village, two or three notables came expressing their submissiveness, and we rode straight on into the village, where we had a look at a Himyaric cistern. I copied some inscriptions there. The whole village crowded around us. From the cistern, we turned to the "Ujiya, "staff", consisting of two colossal columns which are still upright today. While I copied a stone, the crowd began to assume a menacing aspect, seemingly encouraged by a few opponents of the notables, and they wanted to kill me on the spot. In a moment however, Shaykh 'Ali's ashâb gathered round me, and it was their turn to fight with the villagers. I finished copying the stone, as no shots had been fired. It should be noted here that South Arabian inscriptions of the same tribe, and particularly Hashi, start a conflict with words, and then they throw stones, and only reach for their rifles and jambyias as a last resort. Against foreigners, they immediately reach for their weapons. I had hardly finished with the stone before Shaykh 'Ali's brother took me by the arm, saying, "In the name of God, you have to get out of here, we are too weak, and they are already using jambyias, they are already fit hâl al-qatl (in the condition of killing)". We thus withdrew a bit, leaving it to Shaykh 'Ali and Thabit to calm down the people at least for a moment, while I stood protected by 25 tough characters, as protected within a military formation. They were calmed down, and in hardly a quarter of an hour, we went on to visit the masjid, where I again copied inscriptions. But the tumult started all over again, and began to assume incredible proportions, so that even the notables found it better to withdraw. Discussion was of course impossible. Even Shaykh 'Ali explained that now we were all lost, and urgently despatched messengers to Lijam and the other villages, to gather up the whole male population. He suggested that we force our way into the mosque and hold that until reinforcements arrived - which could take half an hour. Or we could flee. As the mosque was much too small to be able to hold, I chose the second option. When the Arabs remarked that I had fled, hostilities stopped. There were a few jambyias scars, but no fatalities.

[83] About 800 metres from the village, we stopped. A crowd of Arabs pursued us, but their mood was peaceful, so we dared to negotiate again. When neither negotiations nor references to their tribal spirit were of any avail, I became quite angry, got up and addressed the crowd: "Oh villagers of Nait! What you have done is sacrilegious, and is going to cost you and all Hashid a great deal. This is the land of the Sultan, and I did not come in order to beg the right to enter your village; I have come with orders, and you know that the wâli is in San'a'. I leave you 24 hours to reconsider. If all of you do not come to Ariaqat after this period in order to get me, I will visit you in two weeks. I will then study both ancient and modern ruins!" This language amazed them, but I still felt it advisable to concentrate my headquarters a further 100 paces away, where the reinforcements were already arriving. I was safe there. Shaykh 'Ali explained that he would not follow, and that he would not leave Nait until the villagers recognized the error of their ways and let me finish my work, even if this cost him his life. He returned to the village, taking the rabble with him. A half hour later, he sent a messenger to let me know that everything was in order, and that I could return.

[84] Taking about 50 armed men with me, I instructed the rest to storm the village as soon as they heard the news. Shaykh 'Ali was in front of the village, with the whole rabble. He told me that the villagers had decided to stay outside the village until I was finished. I immediately accepted, and praised the people, remarking, "As soon as the Bakil learn of your correct behavior, they are going to burst with anger!" I then proceeded to complete my archaeological and geographical research in the village and returned to Ariaqat towards evening, my Arabs singing merrily. On the way, I complimented Shaykh 'Ali for his energetic intervention and explained that I would not forget to mention his behavior in higher places, which I faithfully did. The next day, 12 February, in the company of Shaykh 'Ali I crossed Dhayfân ('Yâl Surayh) and Darawân (Handân) returning to San'a', where we arrived about noon on Wednesday 13 February. I had to give up the trip to Khamir, as the shaykh of Khamir had gone to San'a' because of the Hashid-Bakil affair. I preferred not to return by way of Arhab, as I not only wanted His Excellency's opinion, but also because I had learnt while in Hashid, that the Bakil-Arabs had left Zafar and started negotiations with the Imam.

[85] This journey of scientific exploration, to be followed by further trips into all the lands of the former Himyaric kingdom, has produced extremely satisfying results for the archaeology and geology of Yemen, like my others. It proved however that the traveller in these territories will encounter quite extraordinary difficulties, and that he must be thoroughly familiar with the situation, if he does not want to become a victim of his ambitions on the very first day. I regarded it as an obligation to describe all the events simply and honestly. But this journey must be regarded as a triumph for Turkish policy, as represented by the current Governor General and Marshal Yezet Pasha, the ablest and shrewdest whom I have met in my travels. It is thus a special pleasure, and certainly not merely my own, but in the name of science, to be able to warmly thank not only the sublime Turkish government, but also their representative for the generous
and complete support which was extended to me. European scholarship can also be certain that I will not be prevented from continuing with the archaeological exploration of all of South Arabia, calculating with a cool head, and always taking advantage of the complicated and rapidly changing situation. As the interests of science and those of the sublime Turkish government are the same in South Arabia, it will be a very special pleasure to be able to contribute as far as I can to the development of more favourable conditions. I hope that the present report conveys a correct idea of the nature of the South Arabian tribes, and further elucidations rounding out the picture should be forthcoming in the near future, as far as time allows (as I am constantly occupied, preparing for further journeys, and finding the money through trade). Today I must beg your indulgence if this article is not as particularly polished as might be desired, and if quite a bit of scientific information such as measurements of latitude and longitude, and elevations, aside from genealogies, etc., is actually lacking. I have not yet had the opportunity to study this.
San‘ā’, February 20, 1884.

Notes

1 Petermanns Mitteilungen 34 (1884): 170-183; 204-213. For this translation, the transliteration system is that of the International Journal of Middle East Studies. In some cases it was not possible to verify the Arabic place name. Dr. Paul Dresch has been kind enough to read the text very carefully, enabling typographical errors (in both the translation and the original) and internal inconsistencies in Glaser's transliterations to be silently corrected. This cannot possibly be construed as criticism of Glaser, as this translation has required at least the twice as much time as the week in which Glaser originally wrote the article!

2 The Turkish governor, Muhammad 'Izzat Pāshā, also known as Isma‘īl Ḥaftiz Pāshā, ruled in Yemen for only three years. He died in office and was buried in San‘ā’ (al-Wāṣi‘i 1982:264). Zābārā (n.d.:17) said he was the best Turkish ruler up to that time in Yemen. An anonymous history (al-Ḥibshi 1991:318) notes that he received his just deserts for destroying the town of Zafrīr.

3 See the discussion about this by Dystal (1990:66).

4 Paul Dresch assumes that the Ya‘īn in Glaser's text should be read Ya‘m.


6 Glaser does not define the meaning of this term in the local dialect. Apparently the reference is to someone who is fortunate and wealthy, i.e. has plenty of samīr or clarified butter.

7 The da‘wshān functions as a public crier and praise singer in Yemen.

8 These are also known as the Bani Khums. In his article in Das Ausland, Glaser (1885:204-205), also quoted in Grohmann (1930:100), described the origin of the term as follows: "The king, As‘ad al-Kāmil, was once in a land where it was continuously dark. When he conquered this land, some of the people picked up and stuck on themselves rocks which they believed were precious stones. Only a few of them did not do this. When they came to a land where there was both day and night, they realized that these rocks were indeed precious stones. Those who had not picked up stones now wanted some, and fighting broke out between those who had the precious stones and those who did not have them. In order to stop the fighting, the king confiscated all of the stones. He then distributed one-fifth of the stones among those who had not picked them up and divided the rest among the others. Descendants of those who received a fifth are called Bani Khums." For more information on this term, see Adra (1982:42-50) and Landberg (1920:644-647).


10 One such scholar is Christian Robin (1981).

11 Glaser is referring to his Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens, published in 1889.

12 Glaser reads this as 'Idhar (sic).

13 Glaser writes in the text that janābi is the plural of janbiya. English convention dictates that Arabic words be rendered in the plural by adding an "s" to the singular, German convention uses both "anglicised" plurals and Arabic plurals. The author's use of Arabic plurals has occasionally been altered in the text, without notes.

14 Glaser does not start a new paragraph here.

15 Al-Hamdānī (1885:217) renders this as Bāl-Ḥārith; Glaser transliterated this as "Bel-Ḥārith"

16 Zābārā (n.d.:17-18) noted that the Turkish ruler depended on the help of the chief shaykh of Ḥāshid, 'Abd Allāh Ḥāmid al-Dūla‘i.

17 This was the imām al-Ḥadī Sharaf al-Dīn ibn Muhammad al-Husaynī, who ruled from 1297/1880 to 1308/1890.

18 Nashwān ibn Sa‘īd (N.D.:1:132) described the Himyarite king Dhū Būta‘, whose son married the famous Queen Būqilis.

19 Glaser reads this as Hadaqar, but this should be Hadaqān, one of the fortresses mentioned by al-Hamdānī (1939:52).


21 Rossi (1939:171) defines this as a bright yellow limestone used in building and for inscriptions.

22 Glaser provided the following note: In South Arabia, they consistently distinguish between sayl (plural saylī) and ghuayl (plural, ghuyāl), the sayl being a riverbed with flowing water only after rainfall, and thus corresponding to the German
Glissbach [for mountain torrent], while ghayl signifies constantly flowing water, whether a spring, creek or stream. (For more information on the usage of these two terms, see Varisco 1982).

23 Obviously, Glaser did not visit the two important southern sites in Arhab. The reference is to ruins by the same name in Arhab.

24 This important institution refers to a sanctuary or protected group in southern Arabia. For more information, see Abū Ghānim (1985:271-282); Adra (1982:37-38); Gerholm (1977); and, Serjeant (1982 in 1991:25-28). Puin (1983) translated a hijra document from a 1910 document for Zafar Dhi Bin. Although the term originally meant a city, it was later applied to something which is inviolable and protected (Rossi 1948:3).

25 Glaser does not start a new paragraph here.

26 In Yemen this term refers to a learned class of tribal background rather than the specific function of "judges".

27 This earlier imām died in 619/1221.

28 For the role of Yemeni sharīḥs, see Dresch (1984).

29 A detailed analysis of this Yemeni term is provided by Adra (1982, 1985). For further details on Glaser’s understanding of tribal law, see Dostal (1990:75-223). The tribal law of Hashid and Bakil is discussed by Abū Ghānim (1985:251-282).

30 Glaser’s text reads diyyās, but this is no doubt a printing error for the correct plural of diyyāt.

31 The reference is to Joseph Halevy, who visited Ma’rib in 1869. See Halevy (1872).

32 For a discussion of the ghayl streams in and around Ṣanʿā’, see Serjeant et al. (1983:19-31).

33 This greeting is discussed in detail by Caton (1986).

34 This is a Yemeni drink made by boiling the husk (qishr) of coffee in water, often with ginger and cinnamon.

35 "At any cost".

36 See the discussion in Yaqūt (al-Akwa’ 1988:16).

37 Dostal (1990:93) observes that at this point Glaser confused the Arabic term hajar (stone) with the Yemeni term hajar in the sense of a town, related to the usage of hijra.

38 This paragraph begins the second part of the article in Petermanns Mitteilungen 34 (1884): 204-213.

39 He was the Roman prefect of Egypt. In 24 B.C. he attempted unsuccessfully to invade Yemen and reach Ma’rib.

40 Dawm refers here to the fruit of Ziziphus spinus-christi. The fruit is small and sweet, generally harvested at the end of March (Grohmann 1930:108).

41 This is the generic term for acacia in Yemen.

42 It is assumed that the Ichne of the German text here is the same as the Yihye (Yahya) appearing later.

43 Glaser reads Munassa (sic) at this point, an obvious printing error.

44 These are in fact baboons (Papio hamadryas).

45 For an excellent discussion of tribal poetry in Yemen, see Caton (1990).

46 Glaser reads this as Taney (sic). Al-Hamdani (1938:30) noted that this was the mountain on which Na’il was located. Glaser’s pronunciation has not been authenticated elsewhere.

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INDICES

Arabic Place Names and Tribes

Abyan 22, 48
Although Abyan usually refers to an area in South Yemen, Glaser states that a village by this name is also found in the area of Arhab. The reference is to the tribal descendants of the Dhû Abyan tribe, which settled in several areas in Yemen (al-Maqâhîf 1985:8).

'affâr 1
There are several places by this name in Yemen. The most famous is a mountain in Kühân, but the reference here is probably to the village in the upper Bawn (al-Maqâhîf 1985:189-190).

Ahîl al-Manṣūr 18

Ahîl al-Thulth 19

al-'Amâlîsâh 8
A Bakîl tribe, related to Duhna ibn Shâkir near Şa'da (al-Maqâhîf 1985:296).

al-'Ammâr 8
One of the Bakîl tribes.

'Amrân 1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 15, 69, 72, 75, 77, 78
For information on the area around this large town about 48 kilometers north of Şan'â', see al-Maqâhîf (1985:297); al-Sayîghî (1980:62-64); al-Wayṣî (1960:81-83).

'Ariqât al-Qudaymi 72, 73, 81, 82, 84
Village in al-Şayâd.

Arhab 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 58, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, 28, 31, 33, 36, 38, 46, 49, 53, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 69, 78, 80, 84

Bâb al-Manâqîdha 7
Area near Nä't, according to Glaser. There are several places named Manâqîdha in Yemen (al-Maqâhîf 1985:414).

Bâb Shû'ûb/Sha'ûb 36
Northern part of Şan'â'.

Bakîl 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 22, 30, 36, 47, 49, 51, 57, 62, 63, 64, 66, 69, 70, 71, 72, 80, 84

Bal-Hârîth 8, 9, 15, 16, 38
Also known as Banî Hârîth. This tribe was located directly north of Şan'â', including al-Rawda. See al-Maqâhîf (1985:101); al-Sayîghî (1980:25-27); al-Wayṣî (1960:74).

Banî 'Ali 17, 21, 49, 58
This is tribal division of the Banî Zuhayr and includes Ahîl Shuwâba. See al-Maqâhîf (1985:295); al-Sayîghî (1980:59).

Banî 'Arjala 6

Banî Ghuthayma 6

Banî Hâkam 18

Banî Hûwât 38

Banî Hîlîl 49
The reference is to the famous Arabian tribe at the time of the Prophet.

Banî Jubar 6, 8, 15, 16, 64, 73, 74, 75
Hâshid area northeast of 'Amrân near Dhi Bin (al-Maqâhîf 1985:79). This area is famous for its grapes.

Banî Khayrân 46
Glaser noted this village was also called Bîrkat al-Nisâ'. Khayrân is the name of a mountain chain north of Hûth and Bayt Khayrân is a village of Banî al-Ḥarîth (al-Maqâhîf 1985:150).

Banî Mâlîk 6

Banî Marrah 52
Tribal family in Arhab. This should not be confused with Bayt Mîrâq, a tribal division of Arhab.

Banî Nâwî 8

Bani Nuṣayr 18

Bani Qays 6, 61

Bani Radmān 17, 22, 58, 59, 60, 62
Tribal division of Arhab (al-Maqaﬁ 1985:176).

Bani Sulaymān 18, 21, 54

Bani Şuraym 6, 31
Tribal division of Arhab (al-Maqaﬁ 1985:18).

Bani ‘Utba 19
Village of Hisān, according to Glaser. This reading here is tentative. Al-Hamādānī (1983:173) mentions a wadi ‘Utba, but this is not the reference here.

Bani Zuhayr 16, 17
Division of Arhab that settled in Madar (al-Sayāghi 1980:58).

Bawārīk 21
Area at the southern border of Arhab, near Sha‘b. This was mentioned by al-Hamādānī (1983:216). The term is literally the plural for barīk (cistern).

Bawn/al-Bawn 1, 6, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 55, 74, 78

Bawṣān 17

Bayt al-Barādī 38
Village in Arhab, according to Glaser. This reading here is based on Dostal (1990:78).

Bayt al-Ghuzuzi 72, 75, 78
Village in Arhab near Zafar, according to Glaser. This is also the name of a tribal division in Arhab (al-Maqaﬁ 1985:307).

Bayt Mirrān 17
Area and tribal division of Arhab (al-Maqaﬁ 1985:376).

Bayt Qays 52
Village between Sirwah and Bayt Sinān, according to Glaser. The Bani Qays are also a tribal division of Surayn in Hāshid (al-Maqaﬁ 1985:339).

Bayt Rassām 38
Village near al-Rawda.

Bayt Sinān 48, 49, 50, 52, 53
Village near Ḥayfa.

Bayt Sū‘ 38, 40, 46
Village east of Jabal Dirb, according to Glaser.

Bayt al-Washār (?) 52
Village in Dhaybān, according to Glaser. The reading here is tentative.

Birkat al-Nisā‘ 46
Alternate name for the village of Bani Klayūn. This literally means “Cistern of the Women”.

Bilād al-Amān 78
Term used for the plain of al-Bawn, because of the relative security (amān) there.

Bilād al-Bustān 8, 9, 15
This is the ancient name for Bani Maṭar, located west of San‘ā‘ (al-Maqaﬁ 1985:52). This area is famous for its coffee (al-Waysi 1960:76).

Bilād Tubba‘ 14, 20
Alternate name for the area of Arhab, north of San‘ā‘, according to Glaser.

Bura‘ (mountain) 22
Coastal mountain area near Wadi Sīhām. This is located about 60 km east of Hodeidah (al-Maqaﬁ 1985:50). The entrance to Bura‘ along Wadi Lījām is one of the last remnants of tropical forest in Yemen.

Ḍarawān 84
Area in Hamdān. This is said by some to be the site of a garden mentioned in the Quran, sūrat al-Qalām (al-Sayāghi 1980:28-29). There is a description of this wadi in Yaqūt (al-Akwa‘ 1988:259).

Ḍahr (wadi) 21

Dharaﬀāt 17, 46, 48
Village of Khamis al-Waṣīf of the Bani Zuhayr, according to Glaser.

Dhaybān 16, 18, 50, 52, 53, 54, 56, 58, 81
Tribal division of Arhab. This is also the name for a village near Hūth (al-Maqaﬁ 1985:169).

Dhayfān 84

Dhi Bīn 63, 64, 68, 69, 70, 74

Dhū al-Fadlī 6
Part of al-‘Uṣayrīyat division of Ḥāshid, according to Glaser.

Dhū Ghaylān 8
Alternative name for Dhū Muḥammad and Dhū Huṣayn (al-Maqqafī 1985:56).

Dhū Ḥuṣayn 8, 13, 22

Dhū Jabra 6

Dhū Muḥammad 8, 22

Dīn (mountain) 20, 27
Al-Hamīdānī (1938:48, 72) said this was a holy mountain with a mosque located here for Qudam ibn Qādīm (al-Waysi 1960:81). This mountain was mentioned in a ḥadīth attributed to the Prophet (al-Sayyāḥī 1980:29). Today there is a television tower here.

Dirb 46

Fuqām (wadi) 80
This wadi includes the village of al-Hajar, visited by Glaser. Ḥamām al-Fuqām is in the Sufyān tribal area.

Ghashm 6

Habāba 13, 21

Habbār 18

Hadaqān 16
This was a famous pre-Islamic fortress in the area of Bal-Ḥārith or Bani Ḥārith. See al-Hamīdānī (1938:52-53); al-Sayyāḥī (1980:26).

Hadramawt 22

Ḥaḍrār 13
The reference is to Ḥadūr al-Shaykh, a major mountain area north west of Ṣan‘ā’ between Thulā and ‘Amrān (al-Maqqafī 1985:123).

al-Ḥajar 80
This is a common place-name in Yemen (al-Maqqafī 1985:108-109). The reference here is to a village in the Wadi Fuqām of the Ḥāshid area.

Hajar Arḥāb 51
See note in the text.

Ḥajja 1, 9, 22, 60

Ḥajl 60
Term used for part of Wadi Lā‘a, according to Glaser.

Halḥal (wadi) 55, 58, 62, 63

Hamdān 8, 15, 16, 20, 55, 84

Harāz 22, 36

Ḥāshid 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 55, 11, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84

Hayfa 26, 49
Town about 40 kilometers northeast of Ṣan‘ā’ (al-Waysi 1960:73). This is in the land of Zindān (al-Sayyāḥī 1980:61). There is a large pre-Islamic cistern here (al-Maqqafī 1985:136).

Ḥays (plain) 21, 78
Part of Wadi Hirrān near Nā‘īj, according to Glaser. The reading here is tentative.

Ḥimyar 28, 29
Famous pre-Islamic tribe. This term tends to be used for almost anybody in Yemen before the coming of Islam.

Ḥirrān (wadi) 13, 14, 21
The reference here is to Hirrān Shawābī in the area of NHM (al-Maqqafī 1985:447).

Ḥiṣān 16, 19
Part of Dhaybān in Arḥab, according to Glaser. The term is literally the plural for ḫūṣa, used for a fortified town.

Ḥuṣn al-‘Arūs 14
Fortress near Kawkabān, west of Ṣan‘ā’ (al-Maqqafī 1985:285).

Ḥuṣn Ṣana‘ī 46
Village near Jabal Dirb in Arḥab, according to Glaser. The reading here is tentative.

Ḥūth 72
Town located about 120 miles northwest of Ṣan‘ā’ (al-Waysi

Bani Nuqay' 18
Village of ‘Iyāl Abi al-Khayr.

Bani Qays 6, 61

Bani Radmān 17, 22, 58, 59, 60, 62

Bani Sulaymān 18, 21, 54

Bani Şuraym 6, 31

Bani ‘Utbān 19
Village of Hišān, according to Glaser. This reading here is tentative. Al-Hamdānī (1983:173) mentions a wadi ‘Utbā, but this is not the reference here.

Bani Zuhayr 16, 17
Division of Arḥab that settled in Madar (al-Sayāghī 1980:58).

Bawārik 21
Area at the southern border of Arḥab, near Sha‘b. This was mentioned by al-Hamdānī (1983:216). The term is literally the plural for barīk (cistern).

Bawn/al-Bawn 1, 6, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 55, 74, 78

Bawṣān 17

Bayt al-Barāḍī 38
Village in Arḥab, according to Glaser. This reading here is based on Dostal (1990:78).

Bayt al-Ghuzzī 72, 75, 78
Village in Arḥab near Zafār, according to Glaser. This is also the name of a tribal division in Arḥab (al-Maqhaﬁ 1985:307).

Bayt Mirrān 17

Bayt Qays 52
Village between Sirwāh and Bayt Sinān, according to Glaser. The Bani Qays are also a tribal division of Şurayn in Ḥashid (al-Maqhaﬁ 1985:339).

Bayt Rassām 38
Village near al-Rawda.

Bayt Sinān 48, 49, 50, 52, 53
Village near Ḥayfa.

Bayt Sū‘ 38, 40, 46
Village east of Jabal Dirb, according to Glaser.

Bayt al-Washār (?) 52
Village in Dhaybān, according to Glaser. The reading here is tentative.

Birkat al-Nisā‘ 46
Alternate name for the village of Bani Khayrān. This literally means “Cistern of the Women”.

Bilād al-Amān 78
Term used for the plain of al-Bawn, because of the relative security (amān) there.

Bilād al-Bustān 8, 9, 15
This is the ancient name for Bani Matar, located west of Şan‘ā‘ (al-Maqhaﬁ 1985:52). This area is famous for its coffee (al-Waisi 1960:76).

Bilād Tubba‘ 14, 20
Alternate name for the area of Arḥab, north of Şan‘ā‘, according to Glaser.

Bura‘ (mountain) 22
Coastal mountain area near Wadi Sīhām. This is located about 60 km east of Hodeidah (al-Maqhaﬁ 1985:50). The entrance to Bura‘ along Wadi Lijām is one of the last remnants of tropical forest in Yemen.

Darawān 84
Area in Hamdān. This is said by some to be the site of a garden mentioned in the Quran, sūrat al-Qalam (al-Sayāghī 1980:28-29). There is a description of this wadi in Yaqūt (al-Akwa‘ 1988:259).

Ḍahr (wadi) 21

Dharafāt 17, 46, 48
Village of Khamīṣ al-Wāṣīt of the Bani Zuhayr, according to Glaser.

Dhaybān 16, 18, 50, 52, 53, 54, 56, 58, 81
Tribal division of Arḥab. This is also the name for a village near Hūth (al-Maqhaﬁ 1985:169).

Dhayfān 84

Dhi Bin 63, 64, 68, 69, 70, 74

Dhū al-Fadl 6
Part of al-'Uşaymat division of Ḥāshid, according to Glaser.

Dhū Ghaylān 8
Alternative name for Dhū Muḥammad and Dhū Ḥusayn (al-Maqaḥfi 1985:56).

Dhū Ḥusayn 8, 13, 22
Major Bakil tribe of the Jawf and Baraż (al-Maqaḥfi 1985:49).

Dhū Jabra 6

Dhū Muḥammad 8, 22

Ḍīn (mountain) 20, 27
Al-Hamdānī (1938:48, 72) said this was a holy mountain with a mosque located here for Qudam ibn Qādīm (al-Waysi 1960:81). This mountain was mentioned in a hadith attributed to the Prophet (al-Sayāghi 1980:29). Today there is a television tower here.

Ḍīr 46

Ḍuqam (wadi) 80
This wadi includes the village of al-Ḥajār, visited by Glaser. Ḥamām al-Ḍuqam is in the Sufyān tribal area.

Ghashm 6
Tribal division of the Bani Ṣuṣaym of Ḥāshid (al-Maqaḥfi 1985:308).

Ḥabbaa 13, 21

Ḥabbār 18

Ḥadqaqān 16
This was a famous pre-Islamic fortress in the area of Bal-Hārith or Baṭi Ḥārith, See al-Hamdānī (1938:52-53); al-Sayāghi (1980:26).

Ḍaḍramawt 22

Ḥadūr 13
The reference is to Ḥadūr al-Shaykh, a major mountain area north west of Ṣan‘ā’ between Thulā and ‘Amrān (al-Maqaḥfi 1985:123).

al-Ḥajar 80
This is a common place-name in Yemen (al-Maqaḥfi 1985:108-109). The reference here is to a village in the Wadi Fuqm of the Ḥāshid area.

Hajar Arḥab 51
See note in the text.

Ḥaja 1, 9, 22, 60

Ḥajj 60
Term used for part of Wadi Lā‘a’, according to Glaser.

Ḥalḥal (wadi) 55, 58, 62, 63

Ḥamdān 8, 15, 16, 20, 55, 84

Ḥarāz 22, 36

Ḥāṣid 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 55, 11, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84

Ḥayfa 26, 49
Town about 40 kilometers northeast of Ṣan‘ā’ (al-Waysi 1960:73). This is in the land of Zindān (al-Sayāghi 1980:61). There is a large pre-Islamic cistern here (al-Maqaḥfi 1985:136).

Ḥays (plain) 21, 78
Part of Wadi Hirrān near Na‘īt, according to Glaser. The reading here is tentative.

Ḥimyar 28, 29
Famous pre-Islamic tribe. This term tends to be used for almost anybody in Yemen before the coming of Islam.

Ḥirrān (wadi) 13, 14, 21
The reference here is to Hirrān Shawābi’ in the area of Nihm (al-Maqaḥfi 1985:447).

Ḥiṣān 16, 19
Part of Dhaybān in Arḥab, according to Glaser. The term is literally the plural for huṣn, used for a fortified town.

Ḥuṣn al-‘Aris 14
Fortress near Kawkabān, west of Ṣan‘ā’ (al-Maqaḥfi 1985:285).

Ḥuṣn Ṣanad 46
Village near Jabal Dirb in Arḥab, according to Glaser. The reading here is tentative.

Ḥūth 72
Town located about 120 miles northwest of Ṣan‘ā’ (al-Waysi
Glaser lists this as one of the villages of Hisan of the Dhayban division of Arhab. This is also the name of a fortified town in al-Ahnim (al-Sayagh 1980:69). There are several places by this name in Yemen (al-Maqhaifi 1985:206).

Salm 19
Glaser lists this as one of the villages of Hisan of the Dhayban division of Arhab. The reading is tentative.

Samra (plain) 21
One of the plains through which the Wadi Khadir flows, according to Glaser.

Samra 18
Village of the ‘iyal Suhaym of Arhab, according to Glaser. The reading is tentative.

Šan’a 1, 6, 9, 11, 13, 20, 21, 27, 28, 36, 40, 44, 45, 59, 63, 64, 69, 70, 78, 83, 84

Sanhan 6, 21

Sabat 22, 72
Mountain range extending north-south in the western part of Yemen (Yaqût in al-Akwa 1988:146-147).

al-Šayad 6, 15, 16, 72, 74, 75
Tribal division of the al-Kharif of Ḥashid.

Sha’b 19, 21
The reference here is to a tribal division of Dhayban of Arhab (al-Maqhai 1985:18). This term is also used both for a wadi in Arhab, including Bī‘r al-Qadī and al-Jannat (al-Sayaghi 1980:60); al-Waysi 1960:73), and a village (al-Maqhaifi 1985:234).

Shākir 17
Tribal division of Arhab (al-Maqhaifi 1985:17).

Shams (plain) 21, 58, 78
Plain through which the Wadi Khadir flows, according to Glaser.

Sharaf 6
Area near Bani ‘Arjal, according to Glaser. This is a common place-name in Yemen (al-Maqhaifi 1985:230).

Shaṣṣarim 17, 55, 56
Village of the northwestern part of Arhab, about 60 km north of Šan’a. The reading is based on von Wissmann (1964).

Shuwaqa (wadi) 21, 63

Sheba 28
Ancient South Arabian kingdom, centering on the eastern town of Ma’rib.

Shibam 1, 13
This is Shibam Aqyan, situated below the famous mountain fortress of Kawkaban. See al-Sayaghi (1980:73-74); al-Maqhaifi (1985:224).

Shir’a 17

Sinnatayn 6

Sīr (wadi) 21
Wadi located about 23 kilometers northeast of Šan’a (al-Maqhaifi 1985:203).

Širwān 17, 51, 52, 55, 58
This is the name for a pre-Islamic site in Arhab (al-Maqhaifi 1985:17). For further details about Glaser’s description, see Dostal (1990:89-90). It should not be confused with the famous site by the same name in the Jawf (al-Sayaghi 1980:48-49).

Sūdā 1, 6

Sufyan 3, 8, 13, 16, 31, 57, 70, 74
Tribe of Bakil. Their area north of Šan’a is called Ḥarf Sufyan (al-Maqhaifi 1985:208).

Switzerland 34

Ta‘izz 22

Tālib (land of) 14
General term for area between Wadi Khadir and Wadi Hirran, according to Glaser.

Tanlin 7 (mountain) 79
See Thanin.

al-Ṭawila 60
Town some 77 kilometers southwest of Šan’a (al-Maqhaifi 1985:265).

Thanin/Thanayn (mountain) 79
This is the mountain on which Na‘īt is located (al-Hamdani 1938:30).

Thulā 1, 13
Important fortified town some 40 kilometers northwest of Šan’a. See al-Maqhaifi (1985:74-75); al-Sayaghi (1980:72-
al-‘Uṣaymāt 6
Tribal division of Hāshid, located north of ‘Iyāl Şuraym. This term is used for three divisions of ‘Udhar (al-Marwani 1990:59).

‘Usām 17
Area in Arḥab east of Nā‘īt (al-Maqṣāfī 1985:288).

‘Uṣaymāt al-Watā 6, 31
Division of the ‘Uṣaymāt tribal division, according to Glaser.

‘Utbān 45
Village west of Bayt Sū’, visited by Glaser. The reading is based on Dostal (1990:79).

Wādi’a 8
One of the primary Barkil tribes (see al-Maqṣāfī 1985:457). The main mountain here is Jabal al-Khārīz (al-Sayyāghi 1980:68).

al-Wā‘ila 8
Tribal of Barkil (al-Maqṣāfī 1985:56).

Warwar (wadi) 21

Yabīyan 48
Glaser noted that this South Arabic place name may be linked to the village of Abyan he visited in Hāshid.

Yām 3, 9, 22, 36

Zabbād 17
Pre-Islamic ruins at Shaṣṣarīm, according to Glaser.

Zafār 27, 53, 55, 57, 58, 59, 63, 84
This is a famous pre-Islamic site known as Zafār Dāwād (al-Sayyāghi 1980:66). It contains six villages, including a hijra town. See al-Hamdānī (1938:22ff) and Yāqūt (al-Akwa‘ 1988:192-193).

Zafīr 1
The reference here is to the mountain and town north of Şan‘ā‘ (al-Maqṣāfī 1985:270). There was a famous hijra located here. Glaser did not visit this area. This town was attacked and damaged by Yezet Pasha (Zabārā n.d.:20).

al-Zāhir 6
Tribal division of the Bani Şuraym of Arḥab (al-Maqṣāfī 1985:). Note that Glaser’s original article has ‘Idhār (sic!).

Zindān 17
Tribal division of Arḥab (al-Maqṣāfī 1985:17).

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