

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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Daniel Martin Varisco, Series Editor

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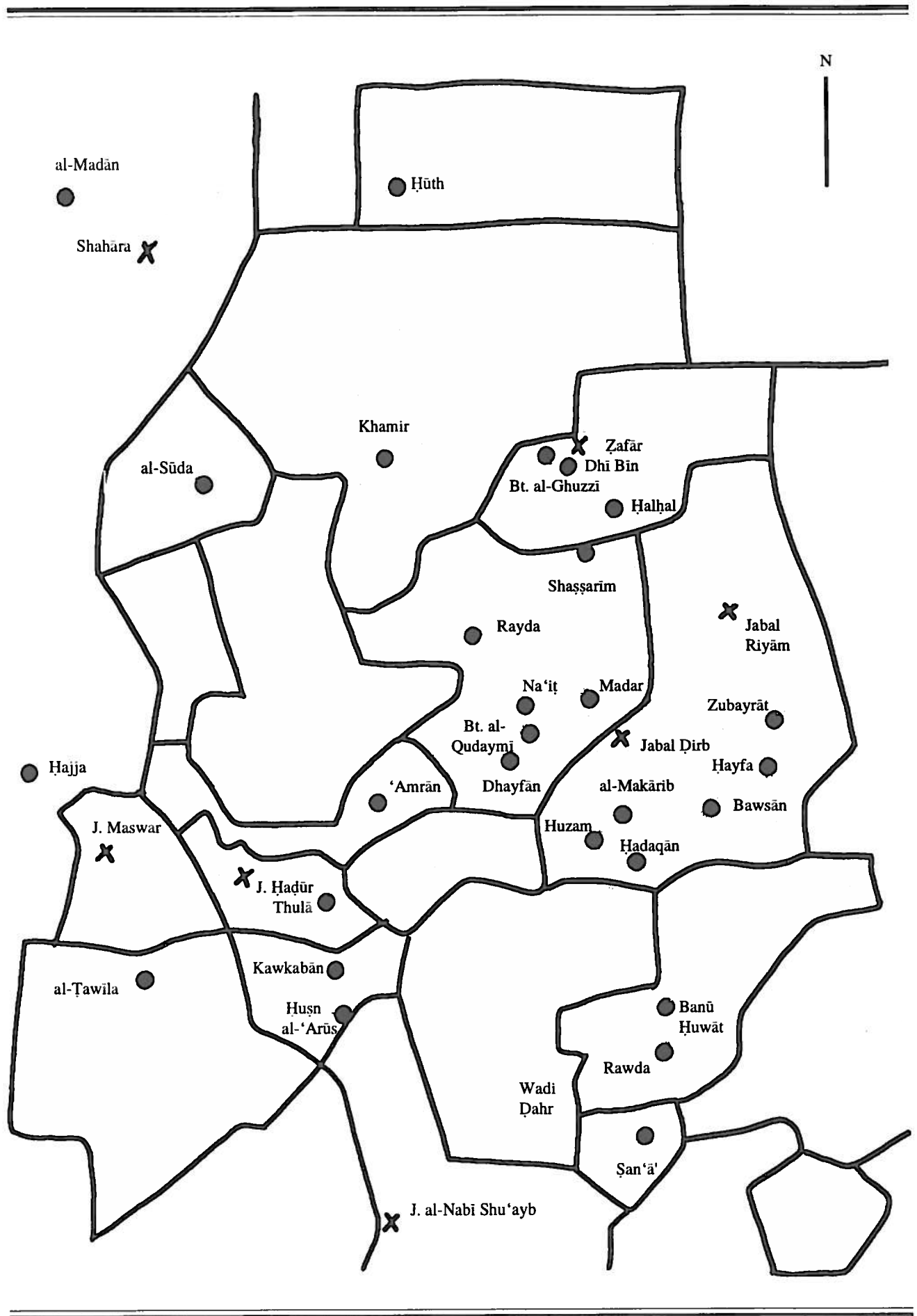
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Eduard Glaser
1855-1908



MY JOURNEY THROUGH ARḤAB AND ḤĀSHID

BY EDUARD GLASER¹

[1] After completing my first tour of Yemen, I had already intended taking a trip into the land of the Ḥāshid 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 Ḥāshid 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 Ṣan‘ā’ to begin another tour taking me to the regions of Hamdān, Shibām, Kawkabān, Thulā, al-Maṣānī, Maswar, Ḥajja, Zafīr, ‘Affār, Khawlān, ‘Amrān, the whole Bawn, and the area of the ‘Iyāl Surayḥ. Following this, in ‘Amrān I met the Ḥāshid Shaykh ‘Alī Muthannā al-Qudaymī, who had come to straighten out a blood feud with my friend, Shaykh ‘Abd Allāh Ṣār (Ṣa‘r?). Negotiations about the possibility of visiting Nā‘iṭ which lay in his region and was just as famous as Khamir resulted in his assent, which I immediately conveyed to Yzzet (‘Izzat) Pasha,² the Governor General, who however refused and invited me to return to Ṣan‘ā’ in any case. My second attempt to visit this dangerous region was thus defeated.

[2] In Ṣan‘ā’, His Excellency, probably the shrewdest observer of South Arabia, remarked that although it would be possible to visit Ḥāshid, 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 Ḥāshid and Bakīl, 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 Bakīl (Sufyān) Shaykh Thamthamī and the Ḥāshid Shaykh Zayādī in the Wadi Khaywān, which

recently led to the barbaric and unheard of defiance of tribal law when Thamthamī took two women hostage.³ The Ḥāshid as a whole arose, and about seven weeks ago perpetrated a bloodbath in the Sufyān villages of the Wadi Khaywān, as ‘Alī Muthannā al-Qudaymī, who played a prominent role in the affair, vividly described to me when in ‘Amrān. Sufyān thus turned to the other Bakīl tribes which then unanimously agreed to take revenge on the Ḥāshid. Perceiving their weakness *vis-a-vis* the united Bakīl, they appealed to the brothers of Yām⁴, 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 Ḥāshid and Bakīl Tribes.* It should be noted that according to Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ibn Ya‘qūb al-Hamdānī - generally known as Hamdānī - both Ḥāshid and Bakīl, along with Ḥārith and Zayd are sons of Jusham.⁵ The genealogy of the Ḥāshid as understood by the South Arabians today is: Ḥāshid al-Aṣghar b. Jusham b. Nawf b. Ḥāshid al-Akbar b. Jusham b. Hamdān, etc., indicating that Bakīl is a son of Ḥāshid al-Akbar. I have not met a single Bakīl or Ḥāshid who said that Ḥāshid and Bakīl were brothers. On the contrary, an enraged Ḥāshid vented his feelings for the Bakīl, saying, “Our forefather was a *samān*,⁶ but the Bakīl 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.⁷ He belongs to the *Ahl Khums*, the pariah class).⁸ In a few regions, Yām’s traditional genealogy is: Yām b. Aṣḥā’ (or Yaṣḥā) b. Ḥāshid al-Akbar b. Jusham b. Hamdān b. Zayd b. Mālik b. al-Ghūth etc., back to Ḥimyar,⁹ while two Ḥāshid and Yām shaykhs greeted each other as brothers when meeting by chance, and explained to me: “Ḥāshid ibn Yaṣḥā and Yām ibn Yaṣḥā”. The South Arabians do not distinguish the Bakīl tribes today, although they are perfectly conscious that most of them are only remotely related to Bakīl. 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.¹⁰ 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-‘Arab*, as this cannot be done in the context of the present travelogue.¹¹

[6] Ḥāshid consists of three main tribes at present: al-Khārif, Bani Ṣuraym and al-‘Uṣaymāt, each of which is sub-divided

into fractions, such as the Ḥāshid term "Third," "Ninth", etc. The al-Khārif (north of Arḥab and east of Bawn) is composed of three *thulth* (thirds): 1) Banī Jubar, 2) Kalbiyūn, 3) al-Ṣayad; Banī Ṣuraym (north of Khārif, and east of Sūda) of nine ninths: 1) The *tis'a* (ninth) Ghashm, 2) Ts. Khamir, 3) Ts. 'Iyāl Bal-Ḥusayn, 4) Ts. Sinnatayn, 5) Ts. Banī Qays, 6) Ts. Khiyār, 7) Ts. Banī Ghuthayma, 8) Ts. Banī Mālik, 9) Ts. Zāhir¹²; Al-'Uṣaymāt (north of the Ṣuraym to two days travel from Ṣa'da) of three sub-groups: 1) Dhū Al-Faḍl, 2) Dhū Jabra, 3) 'Uṣaymāt al-Watā. The present day South Arabians also assign the Bilād Hamdān (north of Ṣan'ā') and - which is quite striking in light of the previously discovered inscriptions - both genealogically and militarily, 'Amrān and Sanḥān to the Ḥāshid, and also the Banī 'Arjala bordering on the Sharaf region.

[7] The three main Ḥāshid 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*¹³ (the curved knife which South Arabians wear on belts in front of their chests).

[8]¹⁴ The Bakīl include the following tribes: Bal-Ḥārith,¹⁵ Bilād al-Bustān, Khawlān, Banī Jabr, Nihm, Arḥab, 'Iyāl Surayḥ, al-Jawf, Banī Nawf, Dhū Ḥusayn, Dhū Muḥammad (both associated with 'Iyāl Surayḥ, also called Dhū Ghaylān after the forefather), Sufyān, Murhiba, Wādī'a, Hamdān (not to be confused with the one by Ṣan'ā'), 'Iyāl Sālim, al-Wā'ilah, 'Amālisa and al-'Ammār.

[9] Of these, Bal-Ḥārith, Bilād al-Bustān and Khawlān are in the Ṣan'ā' area, which the *Qabā'il* themselves previously considered to be Bakīl, but are under Turkish rule, along with Surayḥ, wedged as they are between Arḥab, Ḥāshid, 'Amrān and Hamdān. The other Bakīl tribes occupy the region north of Ṣan'ā' and east of the Ḥāshid areas up to the area east of the city of Ṣa'da, also reaching in the east into the Ma'rib area, although the city itself lies outside Bakīl territory. Their furthest settlements border on the desert in the east. To the northeast they border on the land of the Yām (Najrān) which extends up in the direction of the Najd. The Bakīl 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 remoter Bakīl tribes will be reserved for later, as today I want to restrict myself to the lands of the two tribes, one Ḥāshid and one Bakīl, which I have visited.

[11] The Governor General let letters from the Ḥāshid shaykhs suffice.¹⁶ As I explained however that I wished to travel to the land of the Ḥāshid by way of Arḥab, where I wanted to visit a whole series of Himyaritic sites, His Excellency summoned a number of shaykhs to Ṣan'ā', as he seemed to have no confidence in the treacherous Arḥab. 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 *wālī* explained my plans to the Arḥab Shaykhs, they spoke with a single voice, "*alā al-'ayn wa-al-ra's!* (by our eyes and our heads!)" Yzzet 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 Ḥāshid and the Bakīl, His Excellency remarked significantly, "If this Effendi is happy with you and free of care, I myself shall also be so here."

[13] *Bilād Arḥab*. The greatest part of the Himyarite Empire lay around two wadis. One of these, called Khārid, drains all the water from the area surrounding Ṣan'ā' 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 Shibām and Kawkabān, draining the following areas: part of Ḥaḍūr, Shibām, Ḥabāba, Thulā and the whole eastern slope of the Maṣāni', Bawn and the mountains to the north and south and the plateaus, the major part of the streams from Ḥāshid - which lies in both parts of this wadi - part of Arḥab, and also from Murhiba, Sufyān, 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 Arḥab, 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 Khārid and the Ghayl Hirrān belonged to the Land of Ṭālib.

[15] Between these two wadis are the following areas: Bilād al-Bustān, Bilād Hamdān, 'Iyāl Surayḥ, 'Amrān with

the Bawn, Bal-Hārith, Arḥab and the southern part of Hāshid (the greater part of Banī Jubar and the Ṣayad), and the already enumerated areas to the east.

[16] Arḥab is surrounded by the following tribes: in the south live the Bal-Hārith with the ruin Ḥadaqān¹⁹; in the east Nihm; in the north Sufyān, Murhiba and Hāshid (namely Banī Jubar and Ṣayad); in the west Surayḥ and Hamdān. However small it may be, the country is incredibly splintered, and none of the shaykhs here enjoy cordial relations with their brothers in the neighbouring villages, or - as the *qabīlī* put it - the neighbouring *ḥabl* (rope, meaning a subdivision of a tribe, forming a part of a *laḥm* or *laḥma*, several of which together compose the *qabīla*, or the small subdivision, '*ashīra*').²⁰ Arḥab is divided into two groups: Banī Zuhayr and Banī Dhaybān with Ḥiṣān (frequently mentioned in the inscriptions as well).

[17] Banī Zuhayr consists of five parts, each called *khamīs*: 1. Banī 'Alī, most important shaykh Aḥmad Ḥizām Radmān (of the Banī Radmān residing here); 2. 'Iyāl 'Abd Allāh, most important shaykh Ḥamūd Abū Ghānim; 3. Zindān, most important shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb Rājiḥ Sinān (figuring in the inscriptions); 4. Khamīs al-Wāsiṭ, under the same shaykh; Bayt Mirrān and Shākīr (figuring in many inscriptions), Shaykh 'Abd al-Wāsi' and Ḥizām Bayt Sū' and Ḥasan Daḥīsh the Short (al-Qaṣīr). The principal villages of this northwestern half of Arḥab are the following. Banī 'Alī: Jirbat; 'Iyāl 'Abd Allāh: Shaṣarīm with the Himyaritic ruins at Zabbād, frequently mentioned in the inscriptions. In Zindān: Jiyān, Shir'a, al-'Irshān. In Khamīs al-Wāsiṭ: the famous village Madar (Medr), the ruins at Ṣīrwāḥ, the region of the Khabba with many sites, also Rajaw, 'Uṣām, Dharaḥāt. In Bayt Mirrān and Shākīr: the large village Bayt Mirrān with its many *ḥabls*, and the equally large village Shākīr, and Bawsān.

[18] Dhaybān has seven larger groups: under Shaykh Aḥmad Marraḥ: 1. 'Iyāl Bal-Khayr, 2. Suḥaym, 3. Ahl al-Manṣūr; under Shaykh Ḥasan Murshid al-Ḥabbārī: 4. Ḥabbār, 5. Zubayrāt; 6. Banī Ḥakam; 7. Banī Sulaymān, under al-Ṣabāhī. The more important villages in Bal-Khayr are: al-Mihāl and Banī Nuqay', Itwa and Riyām. In Suḥaym: al-Qaṣaba and Samra. In Manṣūr there are only wandering bedouins. I did not enter the area of Ḥasan Murshid, but it would appear to be the same through which Halévy travelled.

[19] Ḥiṣān consists of three thirds (*thulth*): 1. Ahl al-Thulth with the villages Sa'dān, Salm, Banī 'Utbān (shaykh unknown to me); 2. Hizam with the village of the same name and Shaykh al-Umaythali; 3. Sha'b, the southernmost part of Arḥab, bordering on Raḥba.

[20] *Mountains and Rivers of Arḥab*: 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 Bilād Tubba' by the present day Arabs. I visited the largest and most important of these, the Jabal Ḍīn in the Bilād Hamdān with significant Himyaritic monuments and the tomb of Qudam ibn Qādim, who is revered even today as a saint. This series of cinder

cones reaches from the immediate vicinity of Ṣan'a', crosses the entire area of Hamdān, the 'Iyāl Surayḥ, and into the western part of Arḥab and Hāshid. In the area of the 'Iyāl Surayḥ, Arḥab and Hāshid a layered, yellowish-white stone which the Arabs call *balaq*²¹ appears, mixed with the igneous rocks. It does not appear to be limestone. The same stone forms the mountains of Kawkabān, across the Maṣāni', the mountains bordering the Bawn on the north, the plain of the Bawn itself, and the whole northern part of Hāshid. Viewed from a distance where it appears side by side with the black igneous rocks, as e.g. near Nā'it, 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 Arḥab, only the Khārid 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 Arḥab, making the land relatively poor and subject to famine when the rains fail. The Khārid takes the streams of Khawlān, Sanḥān, Ṣan'a', Wadi Ḍahr, Wadi Sīr, etc. which merge at Bawārik, not a quarter of an hour east of Sha'b. From there the water flows to al-Muzayriqa and then into the Samna Plain (perhaps Plinius' Land of the Samnians), where it joins the waters of Arḥab, under the name Khārid, which it retains until far into the Jawf. The waters in the regions of the Banī Sulaymān, 'Iyāl 'Abd Allāh, Banī 'Alī and a few villages of Suḥaym drain into the Wadi Shuwāba, but those of the Khabba into the Bawn. It is important to note that from its very beginning, the whole Wadi Hīrrān bears the following names: Sayl Ḥabāba, Qā' al-Bawn, Qā' Ḥays, Qā' Shams, Wadi Warwar, Wadi Shuwāba, ending as the Ghayl Hīrrān.

[22] Fertility: Grain (*burr* = wheat, *sha'ir* = barley) is only cultivated in the lower parts, with sorghum (*dhurra*) in the heights, but this is restricted to the channels of the *sayls*, 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 Hāshid. 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 Ḥāshid 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 Yāmītes in Ḥarāz, the Ḥāshid in the area of Jabal Bura', the Dhū Muḥammad around Ta'izz, the Dhū Ḥusayn in the area of Ḥajja, the Arḥab (Banī Radmān) in the Wadi Lā'a, in the so called Maghrib, etc.; all of whom the advancing Turks had to expel, either gently or otherwise. Lahj and Abyān, whose clan forts I visited in Arḥab, offer an example from earlier times, to avoid mentioning the familiar tribal migrations.²³ At present, the Turkish government's expansion to the south and west has reduced both Ḥāshid and Bakil to mere thieving, and my very quiet suggestion - that they attack the Ḥadramawt, where they could establish new empires while maintaining their cherished tribal homelands - met with enthusiastic applause from the naked sons of Ḥāshid.

[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 Arḥab and Ḥāshid 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 *ḥarām*, 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 *hijra*,²⁴ 2. the *qabila*, and 3. the Jews. *Hijra* and Jews, although they figure in every one of the former Himyaritic tribes, are actually alien to the tribal way of life.

[25]²⁵ Composed of the descendents of the Prophet, and the *fuqahā'* and '*ulamā'*' (i.e., scholars and students of the Quran), the *hijra* 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 - *hijra* appears very often in the Himyaritic inscriptions. This will have to be resolved by students of South Arabian epigraphy.

[26] The *hijra* community usually reside in one or more villages, inhabited exclusively by *ashrāf* (meaning the same as *sāda*, "nobles", "gentlemen" or descendents of the Prophet's family), scholars and *quḍā'* (judges).²⁶ Such a village is never taken in war, being regarded to some extent as sacrosanct. In Arḥab, e.g., Ḥayfa is a *hijra*. The tribe gives each member his own individual certificate confirming this. The *hijra* attends to religious affairs, and those legal ones resolved according to the Quran. Some individual members of the *hijra* 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 *hijra*, especially the *sāda*,

are greatly revered. If, e.g., at a *khubr* (when members of various tribes chance upon one another and exchange news) a *sayyid* (singular of *sāda*) is present, it is he, and not the shaykh who conducts business. Otherwise, however, they are without influence on tribal life.

[27] This *hijra* should not be confused with two other varieties of *hijra*: the inhabitants of the Jabal Dīn who tend the tomb of the *walī* (saint) Qudam ibn Qādim, all of them *fuqahā'*, or the residents of Zafār, living likewise near a holy tomb forming a *hijra* as well. This is however more like a monastery. A third kind of *hijra* is the urban centers where tribal purity cannot be maintained, such as the seat of government (earlier, e.g., Ṣan'ā', Kawkabān, the above mentioned Zafār under 'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥamza al-Manṣūr bi-Allāh,²⁷ 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 *muhājirīn*, and not simply *ṭullāb al-'ilm*, as elsewhere. All types of *hijra* can acquire land.

[28] The Jews are different. According to an ancient manuscript which was once in Ṣan'ā', 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 Ḥimyar 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 Ḥāshid, a Ḥāshid 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 *qabilī* I asked assured me that it is '*ayb*' (i.e., a serious crime in the tongue of the *qabilī*) to injure a Jew. In Arḥab, 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 *qabilī* (Arabic plural, *qabā'il*; "tribesmen"). Terming the chief a *naqīb* (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 Ḥāshid or even Ḥimyar, called *aṣīlī* (from *aṣl*, "origin"). At

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 *qabilī*. 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 their own, or their ancestors.²⁸

[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 *aṣīlī*, i.e., a *qabilī* whose genealogy is known back to the earliest times. An *aṣīlī* 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 Bakīl or Hāshid tribe. He would not be accepted as *aṣīlī*. 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 *aṣīlī* 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 *qabilī* law (*qabyala*²⁹ or called a '*rāf al-qabā'il*', from '*urf*):

1. The *matī'*: guest, also called *dhayf* or *mumata'*. If a *qabilī* has a *matī'* 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 *matī'* 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 comrade (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 *ḥabl*, his tribe. The customs differ however

from tribe to tribe. In Arḥab, the rule is: *kull wāhid fī 'ashirat-hu*, to each his group, i.e., a simple *qabilī* 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 Arḥab and Hāshid, especially among the Banī Ṣuraym and in Khārif, the offer of a protective escort must be communicated to the '*ashira*', and is only valid if these agree. Among the 'Uṣaymāt in Hāshid every boy has the unlimited right to offer protection, without prior notification or agreement. All of 'Uṣaymāt will rise if a visitor in their region is maltreated, while being escorted by a member of the 'Uṣaymāt, 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) Sufyān (a branch of Arḥab). In the language of the tribesmen, it is said: among the 'Uṣaymāt or the Sufyān every child can burden the tribe with the escort (*yuḥammil al-rafaq*). The traveller is given a written statement or at least hears before witnesses that he is in the *qurn* and *dhimma* of the *rafiq*, i.e., in the horn (forehead) and responsibility of the escort. Henceforth he is and travels *fī al-wajh*, in the (honourable) face, meaning with the pledged honour of the *rafiq*, corresponding to our German *Ehrenwort* ("word of honour").

3. *Al-Ṣulh fī al-wajh*, i.e., the chapter of peace on the word of honour (also called *fī al-'ayb wa-al-naqā'*). 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 '*uqqāl*'. Should the trouble makers have no possessions, his '*ashira*' is simply held responsible. In Hāshid 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 Hāshid, the *diya* is 300 gold thalers, or 150 gold thalers and 150 thalers in goods. If the victim was a shaykh, four *diyāt* (plural of *diya*)³⁰ are demanded in Arḥab, but only two in Hāshid, and even this is disputed in Hāshid, as one is only ready to pay one *diya*, even for a shaykh. Killing a *sayyid* must be paid for with higher *diyāt*, 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 'aqā'ir, animal offerings.

7. Calumny 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 Arabians: lying seems to be in-born among them.

8. The *zānī*, 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 *qabīlī*, but his judges must be all the 'uqqāl and the whole 'ashīra.

10. Every *qabīlī* who can load a rifle or carry a lance, whether boy or greybeard, goes to war, without orders or force. Any *qabīlī* 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 Marrah and Murshid al-Ḥabbārī, 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 ('aqā'ir) are sent to the enemy camp. Accepting the animals establishes peace, and the fallen are counted. The 'ashīra 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 Arabians 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 *diyya*, 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 *yawm al-abyad* (a white day). The relationship between tribes is determined by the *dā'ī*, the Forefather. In the lands of the Bakīl, tribes of the Yām or Ḥāshid 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 'adāl or 'adāla. Each party then names a *ḍamān* 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 exacts - 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 *ḥalīf*, responsible for looking to the rights of his *ḥalīf*'s tribe. The *ḥalīf* is - chivalrously enough - recognized under all circumstances, even when war is raging between the two tribes. If, e.g., an Arḥabī has his donkey stolen, and his Ḥāshid *ḥalīf* had it returned to its proper owner, the latter is obliged to express his thanks by raising a white flag in the largest market in Arḥab, and give a speech to the entire group, explaining what happened, following which he shouts, "and because my *ḥalīf* so-and-so of Ḥāshid fulfilled his duties as *ḥalīf* so excellently, I am bringing him this *bayḍā*' (white flag)!"

[34] A no less agreeable *qabīlī* 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 *qabīlī*. 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 *qabīlī* says to him: "'alī" or "amant", meaning, "you are safe". The formalities are then over, and the fugitive has become *de jure* and *de facto* a member of 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 Bāb Shu'ūb, leaving the friendly city of Ṣan'a' for the third time, going forth once more to struggle for science. My breast heaved with anxiety as both Arḥab and Ḥāshid 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.³¹ And even this daring fellow did not enter Ḥāshid. And there is in all of South Arabia no tribe more notorious than Ḥāshid. All the Bakīl tribes are regarded as peaceful fellows in comparison with Ḥāshid. Heavy traffic

will be found on the trade routes crossing their lands: only Hāshid is avoided, even by their tribal brothers from Yām, who never cross Hāshid, preferring rather to go through the hostile lands of the Bakīl, both when they had Ḥarāz and today, when they intend to go to Ṣan‘ā’. 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 Rawḍa, where my mule drank from the *ghayl*, diverted here by Yzzet Pasha, who is ideally suited for the task of transforming the city into a garden once again.³²

[38] Some of the Arḥab shaykhs accompanying me remained behind, presumably in order to discuss the intrigues they were already planning against me. Only Ḥizām from Bayt Sū’ and ‘Alī Sa’id, a Dhaybānī who had been recommended to me by the *walī*, went on. Entering the open Raḥba plateau, we headed directly for the village Bani Ḥuwāt, which we passed on the left at 1.30. We kept to the bed of the Shu‘ūb, riding between the villages Bayt Rassām and Bayt al Barāḍī at 2.45. At 3 o’clock, we had crossed the area of the Bal-Ḥārith and reached the Land of Arḥab. 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 Arḥab village, al-Makārib. 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 “*salām ‘alaykum* (peace be upon you)” was countered with a warm “*marḥabā wa-mā sha’ Allāh!* (welcome! welcome!)” and an invitation to dine in the village. Shaykh Ḥizām 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 Sū’. We reached it at 5.45 and were received most respectfully by a friendly ‘Abd al-Wāsi’. Both he and Ḥizām are loyal dependents of the Turkish government. I was led to the *diwān*, the large long room in the house of every shaykh, where guests are put up.

[39] When entering, the *qabīlī* never says “*salām ‘alaykum*,” but rather “*salām taḥīya*, (greetings to all),”³³ and the man of the house responds with “*ablaght* (your greetings are acknowledged),” This is followed by stereotype greetings, *marḥabā wa-mā sha’ Allāh!*, to which the formula “*baqītū* (may God keep you in well)” is the response. To strengthen the greeting, the host says, “*alā al-‘ayn wa-al-ra’s!* (by my eye and head [is your safety assured])”, placing both hands on his head. The *madā’a*, the tall water-pipe with the giant tube, is served with *qishr*.³⁴ The furnishings of such a *diwān* 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 *qabīlī* leaves the house without a rifle or spear. Oil lamps of the most primitive type provide light, and only the better shaykhs 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 Ṣan‘ā’ - having had dysentery, a consequence of my second exploratory trip - I was sufficiently recovered in Bayt Sū’, not to have any fears about the return of this unpleasant illness. In the evening, the following shaykhs turned up: Murshid al-Ḥabbārī, Aḥmad Marraḥ, ‘Abd al-Waḥḥāb Rājīḥ, Ḥasan Daḥīsh the short (al-Qaṣīr), and Jiradi from Zubayrāt, who had likewise been recommended by the *walī*. The evening passed most cheerfully and pleasantly. ‘Abd al-Wāsi’ and Ḥizām had gone so far as to order a *muzayyin*, a barber especially from Ṣan‘ā’, 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 *qabīla* there is a *muzayyin* who normally spends his time in the house of the shaykh. A proper *muzayyin* is also *muzammīr*, meaning that while playing the *mizmār* - 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 *qaṣīdas* (Arabic plural *qaṣā’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’a*, 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 *samn*. *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 (*khubz*) is torn into small pieces and brought to table in a wooden bowl. The host then brings a really filthy little pitcher of *samn*, cooked butter, 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 *‘aṣīd* or *ḥarīsh*. *‘Aṣīd* is a simple coarse dough of *dhurra*-flour, *ḥarīsh* a dough of *burr*. A cavity is made in the middle and the *samn* poured in. If meat is served, broth, *marāq*, is substituted for *samn*. 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-rahmān al-rahīm* (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 properly brought up guest must however hinder him, saying, “*baṣṣ khayrāt* (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 tribesmen 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 *qabīlī*. They are in fact horrified at the very thought of washing or bathing. The real *qabīlī* 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 *muzayyin* 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 *kayf*. 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 *muzayyin* 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 *kīs 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 ṣalayt* (have you already prayed)?” “*Ayna ṣalayt* (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, Ṣālih 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 Ṣan‘ā’. 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 *ṣubūḥ*, or it is said that one “*yīṣtabbah* (breakfasts)”. The inevitable *qishr* and *madā‘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 *waqt 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 morning, I started with a geographic survey of the area of the village, which lies almost due north of Ṣan‘ā’. On Friday at 10.25, we rode off to explore the Khabba. All of the shaykhs mentioned and quite a few of the villagers accompanied me in what was truly a princely removal. At 11.20, we reached the village ‘Utbān, 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 shaykhs informed me that most of the inhabitants of Khabba were loyal to the *imām*, I decided to make a proclamation for them from ‘Utbān.

[46] As the Himyaritic sites of Khabba, al-Madīnatayn and Ḥuṣn Ṣanad lie near the huge cinder cone Ḍirb to the west of Bayt Sū‘ (on the frontier between ‘Iyāl Surayḥ and Arḥab), 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 shaykhs on ahead to the village Banī Khayrān (also named Birkat al-Nisā’), where we had decided to spend the night. My escort included Shaykh ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Rājiḥ, both the shaykhs of Bayt Sū‘ as well as Jirādi and ‘Alī Sa‘id, all armed with smouldering matchlocks. After finishing my archaeological work, the two shaykhs of Bayt Sū‘ bade me to let them return to their village, presumably out of fear for what awaited us in Banī Khayrān, 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 *barik* (water reservoir). We learnt that a revolt was raging in the village, the party of the *imām* 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 shaykhs 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 shaykhs) and notables of Rajaw to await us the following (Saturday) morning on Mt. Dharafāt. 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. Dharafāt. I have also informed your Shaykh ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Rājiḥ of this. This is an admonition for you! The Explorer.”

[47] And I then decided, *coute que coute*³⁵, 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 me over 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 Montenigrin revolver. The mob had already gotten into the front 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 Jirādi and 'Alī 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-Bakīl 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 Lahj and Abyan (possibly Yabyan³⁶ of the inscriptions, as the South Arabians tend to replace the *Y* at the beginning of names, especially proper names, with a simple *hamza*), arriving at the village Dharafāt at 10.35 where we actually found the '*uqqāl*' of Rajaw, and a large crowd of Arabs. We lunched 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 Rājih. He was even so attentive as to put me and my two servants in our own small *diwān* in the middle of the well defended house. A half hour later came shaykhs Ḥamūd Abū Ghānim of the 'Iyāl 'Abd Allāh and Aḥmad Ḥizām Radmān of the Banī 'Alī, the latter with his favourite son Ḥamid, hardly nine years of age, who entered my room bearing a giant spear to greet me in true *qabilī* fashion. 'Abd al-Wahhāb Rājih Sinān, who claims to be able to trace his line back to Banī Ḥilāl, is one of the most respected shaykhs of Arḥab. 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. "*Ṣalī 'alā al-nabī* (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 Bakīlī 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 *franji* (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 *walī* of Yemen would be well advised to have less confidence in this shaykh.

[50] In the evening, Daḥḥān Marraḥ (a brother of Aḥmad Marraḥ) 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 shaykhs 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 Itwa and Riyām in particular, which lay within his domains, would not be possible. I was seemingly supported in my remonstrances by a number of shaykhs, 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 Aḥmad and Daḥḥān Marraḥ left without taking leave of me. From the many secret discussions among the shaykhs 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 Ṣirwāḥ, Itwa and Riyām. However, the departure of the two Marraḥs prolonged the secret consultations of the shaykhs, 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 Ṣirwāḥ, 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 Ḥamid 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 *qabyala*." 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 Arḥab holds its discussions on important events. It is the Ḥajar Arḥab, the Stone of Arḥab.³⁷ It would appear that even today, the area of Riyām and Itwa is central to the spiritual, or at least military life of the Bakīl. Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb informed me that other notables from the furthest reaches of Bakīl, 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 shaykhs tried to keep the crowd calm, and pursued their own secret consultations.

[52] Upon finishing, I immediately inquired whether Aḥmad and Daḥḥān Marraḥ had returned, for to leave without them for Itwa 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 Dhaybān. The residents of Dhaybān had occupied Itwa and Riyām the previous day, and declared that they would greet me with a hail of bullets, indeed they asserted that they would even come to Şirwāh to get me. I immediately sent a messenger to Bayt Al-Washār, 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 Aḥmad Marraḥ 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 Banī Marraḥ, especially a certain Faqīh and Ḥājj Shari'an Marraḥ and the Shaykh Hajām, 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 Şirwāh and Bayt Sinān.

[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), Aḥmad Marraḥ 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 Dhaybānis were simply not inclined to receive me, and that they had actually moved their headquarters to Itwa, which was closer. He had merely succeeded in discouraging them from attacking me anywhere outside Itwa or Riyām. 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 Zafār 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 Dhaybān's obstinate behaviour would necessarily lead to unpleasant consequences for all of Arḥab, and that these could only be avoided if the use of arms forced the Dhaybānis to recognize the interests of the rest of Arḥab. I thus advised them to return to Bayt Sinān, in order to muster the rest of Arḥab, or at least five or six hundred men, with whom we would move on to Itwa and Riyām in two or three days. As however a South Arabian tribe maintains at least a little *qabyala* 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 Dhaybān,

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 *wālī* of Yemen, who would certainly know how to bring me into Dhaybān in two weeks. I sent Aḥmad Marraḥ and his comrades back to Dhaybān with this proclamation, and did the same - unjustly as I later realised - with the Dhaybān Shaykh Şabāḥī of the Banī Sulaymān. There was a comic moment here. Ḥusayn Marraḥ, the brother of the chief of the rebels, Shari'an, was accompanying me, having been expressly recommended by the *wālī*. When I sent off all of the Dhaybānī shaykhs with me (excepting the Ḥabbārī who had a blood feud with Aḥmad Marraḥ) to assure that both the people and the leaders of the revolt would listen to my ultimatum, I gave the same task to Ḥusayn, who turned pale at the idea. Explaining that he had absolutely no influence on his brother, and that he had already said this to *wālī*, he was certain that Shari'an would kill him upon his arrival in Dhaybān. 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]³⁸ Although the route to Zafār passes through the Wadi Ḥalḥal in the areas of the Banī Sulaymān, I let the shaykhs persuade me to make a detour, passing by Shaṣṣarīm and Jirbat Banī 'Alī, not of course suspecting that this route had further unpleasant surprises in store for me, prepared by the shaykhs themselves. Passing Şirwāh on the left, it crossed the Qā' al-Bawn, the Qā' al-Madām, and on to Shaṣṣarīm, where we arrived at 6.00 in the evening. The village lies directly to the northwest of Riyām. There we were received by Shaykh Ḥamūd Abū Ghānim. Heaving 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 Ḥamūd 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 *muzayyin*, who also gave a *qaṣīda* concerning the the villages of the Bawn, Hamdān and the 'Iyal Surayḥ, and then delighted us by parodying all the Ḥashid shaykhs.

[56] Aḥmad Marraḥ arrived that same evening, in the company of Shaykh Aḥmad al-Qabbās, the 'Iyāl Suḥaym, Shaykh Ḥusayn ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Shurayf, the 'Iyāl Abī al-Khayr from Itwa and 'Alī Qāsim Nukay' of the Abī al-Khayr. Daḥḥān Marraḥ 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'it. As Shaṣṣarīm lies at least 5 hours march from Itwa, 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 Bakīl-Arabs (Arḥab, Sufyān and Murhiba), threatening either Hāshid or the *imām* Sharaf al-Dīn, in fear of an incursion into Arḥab. As I encountered the party of the *imām* in every nook and cranny of Arḥab, I cannot possibly believe that Arḥab really has anything against the *imām*, the more plausible reason being that both Arḥab and Hāshid 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 Hāshid 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 Bakīl shaykhs. I explained to the shaykhs that Zafār was exclusively of archaeological interest to me.

[58] The present chief of the Arḥab, Shaykh Aḥmad Ḥizām Radmān, of the esteemed family of the Banī Radmān, one of the most prominent families of all of Arḥab, 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 view of the Qā' al-Shams, at 2.00 in the afternoon, we arrived at the village of Jirbat Banī 'Alī. While the others went to the *masjid*, conforming to the custom of not heading 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 Banī 'Alī (the residents and the bedouin of the Wadi Ḥalḥal as far as Zafār) being under his sway, and through whose lands we had to pass. We had already met this shaykh near Ṣirwāḥ, 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 Jirbat, the village erupted into the most extraordinary tumult. I was comforted with the untruthful tale that it was a matter concerning themselves alone (*baynāt-hum al-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 Banī 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 *wālī* to my side, and promised that if he came clean, I would be prepared to render him any service in Ṣan'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 Banī 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 Banī Radmān had more or less ruled that wadi (to the west of the Maṣāni' mountains, where it begins, and partially belonging to the present Turkish district of Ḥajl, and partially to the likewise Turkish district of Ṭawilah). When the Turks advanced, they withdrew - I do not know if there was any armed resistance - to their tribal center in Arḥab, leaving a small colony in the area, cultivating coffee. Just as I was approaching Ḥajja 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 Banī Radmān colony. On this occasion, one of the small sons of *naqīb* Aḥmad Ḥizām and two or three other members of the Banī Radmān lost their lives, according to my informant in Jirbat. Of course, the hypocritical and treacherous South Arabian does not have the faintest understanding of honesty or justice. He does not enquire whether the Banī 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 Arḥab shaykhs had brought me here in order to provide the Banī Radmān with an opportunity to vent their anger. The

situation was critical. Right away, I called the *naqib* Aḥmad Ḥizām to me, to have a word with him. I explained that I had only just learnt about the incident in Wadi Lā'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 Banī Radmān 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 Lā'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 Gallus³⁹ learnt long ago) convey the message that I would have the 15-year-old son of his dead brother, Muḥammad (who is destined like his father to become chief of all of Arḥab one day) put in the good graces of the Governor General. These offers had the desired effect. Immediately, little Muḥammad, a splendid youth, was introduced, and I turned my attentions to him. The raging mob dissolved.

[62] But then, towards evening, the street was again tumultuous: another enraged member of the Banī Radmān 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 Arḥab. 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 compilation of transgressions: "You (Turks) have taken our land away, destroyed our houses, you have even killed my brother in Wadi Lā'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* Aḥmad, and after lengthy expositulating, 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 Ḥāshid-Bakīl 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. Nāṣir ibn Aḥmad and his bedouin were still murmuring 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 Nāṣir ibn Aḥmad 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 Ḥalḥal and established our quarters in the village 'Iyāl Ḥusayn. To pacify these dangerous bedouin once and for all, I had a sheep slaughtered, inviting Nāṣir 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 - ruffraff that did not even own a single waterpipe or a bit of *qishr*.

[63] The following morning we wanted to get started for Zafār. 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 Zafār to the *imām*, 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 Arḥab. We went down through the Wadi Ḥalḥal to the north, turned to the northwest to cross the major Wadi Shuwāba, as Zafār 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 *dawm* trees,⁴⁰ with a delicious small fruit like our apples, which we consumed with delight. These trees grow wild like the *talḥ* trees which they resemble, and are the only source of income of the equally wild inhabitants, who bring the *dawm* fruits and the *talḥ*⁴¹ firewood to sell in the markets of Ṣan'ā' and other cities. My hope of arriving in Zafār 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 Bakīl Rutba. 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 Ḥāshid town of Dhī Bin, which the Bakīl shaykhs could for once enter, in my company.

[64] My archaeological and geographical work on the mountain finished, I went down to the Ḥāshid frontier in the company of all the Bakīlis from every tribe around. There, at the border shaykh Murshid al-Ghuzzi of Banī Jubar was waiting for me, thanks to my letter to him sent from Jirbat Banī 'Alī. I had already heard in Ṣan'ā', and also in Arḥab, that in Dhī Bin there lived a *sayyid* (*sharif*, i.e., a descendant of the family of the Prophet) of the house of Abū Munasssar who was a fanatical supporter of the *imām*, and that the residents of Nā'it, 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 Ḥāshid. And by 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 Arḥab could not possibly be any less dangerous than facing the strife in Ḥāshid, and thus I was intent on returning by way of Ḥāshid, given even the most meager encouragement from the Murshids, so as to complete my archaeological work.

[65] This descent to the Ḥāshid 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 Ḥāshid 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 Ḥāshid dogs did not deserve more than a single shot.

[66] When the Ḥāshid 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 Bakil group assumed a similar formation, while I sat down on the side, after calling out, “*Salām ‘alaykum, ‘Iyāl Ḥāshid.*” For a moment, both sides were completely quiet. Both Ḥāshid and Bakil 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, “*Quwwītu wa ‘ilmukum?* (God’s star on you, what news do you bring?)”. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Rājīḥ answered “*Allāh yusallimkum!* (may God greet you!)”. The young man, who later turned out to be the *Sayyid* Yaḥyā⁴² Abū Munaṣṣar,⁴³ said, “*Nitakhabbarkum!* (We demand the news from you!)”. Response: “*Salāmātkum min dhū furna ilā liqa’kum mā nī ‘ilm wa-intu ‘ilmankum?* (In our arrival for the encounter with you lies your welfare. I have no other news, and what is new with you?)” The *sayyid* responded, “*Salāmātkum wa-quddāmikum fī liqāqikum ḥasba amr al-dawlat al-‘aliya mā nī ‘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 Ḥāshid Shaykh Murshid and ‘Abd al-Wahhāb Rājīḥ to myself. The necessary papers were prepared, and I started inquiring about Dhī Bin and Nā‘it, and the news was disconcerting 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‘it.

[69] I immediately gave the order to march to Ḥāshid, 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* Yaḥyā, who claimed to have seen me in Ṣan‘ā’. 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 Ḥāshid, where a retreat to

Ṣan‘ā’ or ‘Amrān would necessarily lead across enemy territory, prevented any feeling of cheer, or even satisfaction. We finally headed northwest into the Wadi Dhī 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 Bakil could easily have let off a shot at me, in order to spread the slander in Ṣan‘ā’ that as it had occurred in Ḥāshid territory, it must have been a Ḥāshid 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 Dhī 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-Ghuzzī in a friendly setting, and I was lodged in the *dīwān* which was amazingly empty. And no one except the *Sayyid* Yaḥyā 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* Yaḥyā, Murshid’s son-in-law. Tongues became looser and the conversation turned in the right direction of its own accord, as *Sayyid* Yaḥyā 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 Dhī 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 Bakil a bit, without attracting attention. To simplify my position, I boldly stated that these Bakil would do anything to blacken the image of the courageous Ḥāshid in Ṣan‘ā’, and that they would stop at nothing to commit some crime against me while I was in Ḥāshid territory.

[71] “Oh! We are perfectly conscious, *Effendi-nā*, that the Bakil 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 Bakil, 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 Ḥāshidī nor Bakilī, one could be sure that I would give an unbiased appraisal. But I had to emphasize that the Bakil had taken considerable freedom in acting against my person. At this point, I nearly began a silent hymn of praise

to Yzzet 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 *kaymakān* and the major, to find out if they had any news about Nā'it, which is closer to 'Amrān, although there are no relations between the towns. The other went to 'Ariqāt in Ṣayad to Shaykh 'Alī Muthannā al-Qudaymī, whom I ordered to pick me up, as I desired to visit the site of Nā'it in his territory. Although 'Ariqāt is some seven or eight hours march from Bayt al-Ghuzzī, 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,⁴⁴ who - hitherto 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 'Alī, signalling that he would receive me on Saturday at the border. It is a South Arabian custom that shaykhs do not infringe on the sovereignty of neighbouring shaykhs, and the accompaniment and safe escort (*rafīq al-janb*) 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 Banī Jubar, 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* Ḥusayn Abū Munāṣṣar - 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 *qabīlī* 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 *ḥarīsh* with *samn*, we got off at 8.15. In Wadi Dhī 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 *aṣḥāb*, his comrades,

whom he had called up to prevent any possible attack by the Sufyān 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 Banī Jubar, these valiant Hāshidīs 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 Banī Jubar, where we halted by a watch tower. The next watch tower belonged to the Ṣayad, 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, 'Alī Muthannā al-Qudaymī was not to be seen. I began to think that Shaykh 'Alī had possibly reconsidered in light of resistance in Nā'it, and began to seek a way of getting through to 'Amrān at least. It was inconceivable that Shaykh Murshid could escort me through the Ṣayad territory, as we would all have been massacred. But Sayyid Ḥusayn 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 'Alī Muthannā's arrival the next day. At night, we would then declare that we were returning to Bayt al-Ghuzzī, but actually head for 'Amrān. By dawn we would in any case have crossed the Ṣayad territory, without anyone noticing it. We were making the necessary arrangements for this *qabīlī* plan when rifle fire was heard. "That is 'Alī Muthannā's *aṣḥāb*," was heard from every side, and we were not deceived, for a few minutes later eight men appeared from a completely unexpected direction. But 'Alī Muthannā was not to be seen among them.

[76] After the exchange of *qabīlī* greetings, one of the new arrivals introduced himself as Sha'lān, 'Alī 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 'Alī himself, explaining that he had been wandering around on the frontier since midday without finding us. As Shaykh 'Alī 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 'Alī 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 *kaymakān*, 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 Arabians, 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-Ghuzzi, 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 were heading directly in the Qā' Hays 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 Ḥāḥib and took up quarters in the very modest house of Shaykh Thābit Ḥarmal. 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 - thievery. The evening was quite animated. In contrast to Arḥab, Hāshid is thoroughly tribal, and it is thus understandable that even today there are a lot of proper poets.⁴⁵ One of them held forth with at least ten *qaṣīdas*, including a fiery one about the fighting in Wadi Khaywān, praising the heroic deeds of every single 'āqil (plural, 'uqqāl, "leader" or "chief", "shaykh"). 'Alī 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 *qaṣīdas* 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'īya* 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 Machiavellian in Ṣan'ā'. I offered the poet a *bakshish* if he would bring me a copy of the Khaywān *qaṣīda* to Ṣan'ā'.

[79] Sunday morning, (10 February), we started for Nā'it. As the poet of the *qaṣīda* informed me that for a small tip, he would show me a fantastic Himyaritic inscription on the nearby Jabal Tanlin (named Thanīn⁴⁶ in Hamdāni's *Iklil*), 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 Khālid, where the Hāshid still bring offerings ('*aqā'ir*, *ya'qaru*). Like the tombs of all the other pre-Islamic *awliyā'* (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-Ḥajar, where they waited. In al-Ḥajar, a town at the highest point of the Wadi Fuqam, belonging to Shaykh 'Alī Muthannā, around noon, we sat under a huge rock and refreshed ourselves with *qishr* 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 Arḥab, and they thought that their ruins were worth more than all the ruins of Arḥab. 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 Arḥab 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 Arḥab, which was immediately confirmed by Shaykh 'Alī in the most effective manner, as he related that he had sent out spies as soon as I set foot in Arḥab, to collect all the available information. As I calculatingly expressed my doubts, inquiring just how he could send his people into Arḥab 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 'Alī spoke simply: "May the favour of God for

the Prophet be with us! Are you not a village from the villages of Ḥāshid?", with the desired effect, and my visit was scheduled for the next morning, 11 February. We rode content to 'Ali's residence, 'Ariqāt al-Qudaymī. On the way, when passing the village of Lijām, I was greeted by the crowds in the most enthusiastic way, noting "We are not out of Dhaybān, Effendi".

[82] Early Monday morning a messenger from Nā'it 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 'Alī, Sha'lān, Thābit and about 30 armed men from 'Ariqāt (in fact there are not any more armed men than that there), we headed off for Nā'it. 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 Himyaritic cistern. I copied some inscriptions there. The whole village crowded around us. From the cistern, we turned to the 'Uṣiyā, "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 *aṣḥāb* 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 Arabians of the same tribe, and particularly Ḥāshidī, start a conflict with words, and then they throw stones, and only reach for their rifles and *jambiyas* 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 *jambiyas*, they are already *fī ḥāl al-qatl* (in the condition of killing)". We thus withdrew a bit, leaving it to Shaykh 'Ali and Thābit 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 Lijām 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 *jambiya* 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 Nā'it! What you have done is sacrilegious, and is going to cost you and all Ḥāshid 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 *wālī* is in Ṣan'a'. I leave you 24 hours to reconsider. If all of you do not come to 'Ariqāt 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 Nā'it 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 anything. 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 'Ariqāt 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 Dhayfān ('Iyāl Surayh) and Ḍarawān (Hamdān) returning to Ṣan'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 Ṣan'a' because of the Ḥāshid-Bakil affair. I preferred not to return by way of Arḥab, as I not only wanted His Excellency's opinion, but also because I had learnt while in Ḥāshid, that the Bakil-Arabs had left Ṣafār 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 Himyaritic 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 Yzzet 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.

Şan'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, Muḥammad 'Izzat Pāshā, also known as Ismā'il Ḥāfiẓ Pāshā, ruled in Yemen for only three years. He died in office and was buried in Şan'ā' (al-Wāsi'i 1982:264). Zabāra (n.d.:17) said he was the best Turkish ruler up to that time in Yemen. An anonymous history (al-Ḥibshī 1991:318) notes that he received his just deserts for destroying the town of Zafir.
- 3 See the discussion about this by Dostal (1990:66).
- 4 Paul Dresch assumes that the Yāin in Glaser's text should be read Yām.
- 5 See al-Hamdāni (1990:37). The articles by Schleiffer on Arḥab, Ḥāshid and Bakīl in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* are based primarily on information from Glaser.
- 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 *samn* or clarified butter.
- 7 The *dawshān* functions as a public crier and praisesinger in Yemen.
- 8 These are also known as the Banī 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 continually 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 Banī Khums." For more information on this term, see Adra (1982:42-50) and Landberg (1920:644-647).
- 9 Al-Hamdāni (1990:7-89) records the genealogy as: Yām b. Aṣba' b. Dāfi' b. Mālik b. Jusham b. Ḥāshid. Yām is considered a brother of Ḥārith.
- 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-Hamdāni (1985:217) renders this as Bal-Ḥārith; Glaser transliterated this as "Bel-Ḥārith".
- 16 Zabāra (n.d.:17-18) noted that the Turkish ruler depended on the help of the chief shaykh of Ḥāshid, 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad al-Ḍula'i.
- 17 This was the *imām* al-Ḥādī Sharaf al-Dīn ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, who ruled from 1297/1880 to 1308/1890.
- 18 Nashwān ibn Sa'id (N.D.:1:132) described the Himyarite king Dhū Buta', whose son married the famous Queen Bilqīs.
- 19 Glaser reads this as Hadaqar, but this should be Ḥadaqān, one of the fortresses mentioned by al-Hamdāni (1939:52).
- 20 For more information on Glaser's description of tribal segments, see Glaser (1913:133-136). These terms are also discussed by Rathjens (1951:175) and Rossi (1948:32). For anthropological analysis of the terms, see Abū Ghānim (1985), Adra (1982:104-138), Dresch (1987), Varisco (1982:164-173) and Varisco and Adra (1984).
- 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 *suyūl*) and *ghayl* (plural, *ghuyūl*), the *sayl* being a riverbed with flowing water only after rainfall, and thus corresponding to the German

- Giessbach* [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 Arḥab. The reference is to ruins by the same name in Arḥab.
- 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 Zafār Dhī 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 613/1217.
- 28 For the role of Yemeni shaykhs, 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 (1990:175-223). The tribal law of Hāshid and Bakil is discussed by Abū Ghānim (1985:251-282).
- 30 Glaser's text reads *diyās*, but this is no doubt a printing error for the correct plural of *diyāt*.
- 31 The reference is to Joseph Halévy, who visited Ma'rib in 1869. See Halévy (1872).
- 32 For a discussion of the *ghayl* streams in and around Ṣan'ā', 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 Yāqūt (al-Akwa' 1988:16).
- 37 Dostal (1990:93) observes that at this point Glaser confused the Arabic term *ḥajar* (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 *Dawn* refers here to the fruit of *Ziziphus spina-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 Ichje of the German text here is the same as the Yihye (Yahyā) 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 *Taneyn* (sic). Al-Hamdānī (1938:30) noted that this was the mountain on which Na'īṭ 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 Arḥab. The reference is to the tribal descendants of the Dhū Abyan tribe, which settled in several areas in Yemen (al-Maḥḥafī 1985:8).
- 'Affār 1**
There are several places by this name in Yemen. The most famous is a mountain in Kuḥlān, but the reference here is probably to the village in the upper Bawn (al-Maḥḥafī 1985:189-190).
- Ahl al-Manṣūr 18**
Tribal division of Dhaybān of Arḥab (al-Maḥḥafī 1985:18; 412-413).
- Ahl al-Thulth 19**
Tribal division of Dhaybān of Arḥab (al-Maḥḥafī 1985:18).
- al-'Amālisa 8**
A Bakīl tribe, related to Duhna ibn Shākīr near Ṣa'da (al-Maḥḥafī 1985:296).
- al-'Ammār 8**
One of the Bakīl tribes.
- 'Amrān 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 Ṣan'a', see al-Maḥḥafī (1985:297); al-Sayāghī (1980:62-64); al-Waysī (1960:81-83).
- 'Ariqāt al-Qudaymī 72, 73, 81, 82, 84**
Village in al-Ṣayad.
- Arḥab 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**
Arḥab is a major tribe of the Bakīl confederation. The account given by Schleiffer in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* is based primarily on Glaser. See al-Sayāghī (1980:57-62); al-Waysī (1960:73-74); Yāqūt (al-Akwa' 1988:22).
- Bāb al-Manqadha 7**
Area near Nā'it, according to Glaser. There are several places named Manqadha in Yemen (al-Maḥḥafī 1985:414).
- Bāb Shu'ūb/Shā'ūb 36**
Northern part of Ṣan'a'.
- Bakīl 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 22, 30, 36, 47, 49, 51, 57, 62, 63, 64, 66, 69, 70, 71, 72, 80, 84**
One of the major tribal confederations in Yemen. See al-Maḥḥafī (1985:56); Yāqūt (al-Akwa' 1988:46-47).
- Bal-Ḥārith 8, 9, 15, 16, 38**
Also known as Banū Ḥārith. This tribe was located directly north of Ṣan'a', including al-Rawḍa. See al-Maḥḥafī (1985:101); al-Sayāghī (1980:25-27); al-Waysī (1960:74).
- Banī 'Alī 17, 21, 49, 58**
This is tribal division of the Banī Zuhayr and includes Ahl Shuwāba. See al-Maḥḥafī (1985:295); al-Sayāghī (1980:59).
- Banī 'Arjala 6**
Tribe of Ḥāshid (al-Maḥḥafī 1985:272).
- Banī Ghuthayma 6**
Tribe of Ḥāshid (al-Maḥḥafī 1985:103).
- Banī Ḥakam 18**
Tribal division of Dhaybān. See al-Maḥḥafī (1985:126).
- Banī Ḥuwāt 38**
Village of Banī al-Ḥārith north of Ṣan'a' (al-Maḥḥafī 1985:132).
- Banī Ḥilāl 49**
The reference is to the famous Arabian tribe at the time of the Prophet.
- Banī Jubar 6, 8, 15, 16, 64, 73, 74, 75**
Ḥāshid area northeast of 'Amrān near Dhī Bin (al-Maḥḥafī 1985:79). This area is famous for its grapes.
- Banī Khayrān 46**
Glaser noted this village was also called Birkat al-Nisā'. Khayrān is the name of a mountain chain north of Hūth and Bayt Khayrān is a village of Banī al-Ḥārith (al-Maḥḥafī 1985:150).
- Banī Mālik 6**
Tribal division of Bani Ṣuraym of Ḥāshid (al-Maḥḥafī 1985:359-360).
- Banī Marraḥ 52**
Tribal family in Arḥab. This should not be confused with Bayt Mirrān, a tribal division of Arḥab.
- Banī Nawf 8**
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Tribe of Bakil confederation (al-Maqḥafī 1985:440).

Banī Nuḡay‘ 18
Village of ‘Iyāl Abī al-Khayr.

Banī Qays 6, 61
Tribal division of the Banī Ṣuraym of Ḥāshid (al-Maqḥafī 1985:339).

Banī Radmān 17, 22, 58, 59, 60, 62
Tribal division of Arḥab (al-Maqḥafī 1985:176).

Banī Sulaymān 18, 21, 54
Tribal division of Dhaybān of Arḥab (al-Maqḥafī 1985:18; al-Sayāghī 1980:61).

Banī Ṣuraym 6, 31
Tribal division of Arḥab (al-Maqḥafī 1985:18).

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

Banī 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 *barik* (cistern).

Bawn/al-Bawn 1, 6, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 55, 74, 78
Plain north of Ṣan‘ā’; this includes the town of ‘Amrān. See al-Maqḥafī (1985:125) and Yāqūt (al-Akwa‘ 1988:48).

Bawsān 17
Village in Arḥab (al-Maqḥafī 1985:58).

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

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

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

Bayt Qays 52
Village between Ṣirwah and Bayt Sinān, according to Glaser. The Banī Qays are also a tribal division of Ṣurayn in Ḥāshid (al-Maqḥafī 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 Ḍirb, 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 Banī 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 Banī Maṭar, located west of Ṣan‘ā’ (al-Maqḥafī 1985:52). This area is famous for its coffee (al-Waysī 1960:76).

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

Bura’ (mountain) 22
Coastal mountain area near Wadi Sihām. This is located about 60 km east of Hodeidah (al-Maqḥafī 1985:50). The entrance to Bura’ along Wadi Lijām 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-Qalam* (al-Sayāghī 1980:28-29). There is a description of this wadi in Yāqūt (al-Akwa‘ 1988:259).

Ḍahr (wadi) 21
Famous agricultural wadi near Ṣan‘ā’. See al-Sayāghī (1980:30); Yāqūt (al-Akwa‘ 1988:260-261).

Dharafāt 17, 46, 48
Village of Khamīs al-Wāsiṭ of the Banī 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 Ḥūth (al-Maqḥafī 1985:169).

Dhayfān 84
Village near Rayda (al-Maqḥafī 1985:170).

Dhī Bin 63, 64, 68, 69, 70, 74
Town located about 94 kilometers northwest of Ṣan‘ā’ (al-Maqḥafī 1985:169). Located to the south of the fortress of Zafār (al-Sayāghī 1980:66). See al-Hamdānī (1983:159) and al-Waysī (1960:82).

Dhū al-Faḍl 6

- Part of al-'Uṣaymāt division of Ḥāshid, according to Glaser.
- Dhū Ghaylān 8
Alternative name for Dhū Muḥammad and Dhū Husayn (al-Maqḥafī 1985:56).
- Dhū Husayn 8, 13, 22
Major Bakil tribe of the Jawf and Baraṭ (al-Maqḥafī 1985:49).
- Dhū Jabra 6
Part of 'Uṣaymāt division of Ḥāshid (al-Maqḥafī 1985:80).
- Dhū Muḥammad 8, 22
Major Bakil tribe (al-Maqḥafī 1985:49).
- Dīn (mountain) 20, 27
Al-Hamdānī (1938:48, 72) said this was a holy mountain with a mosque located here for Qudam ibn Qādim (al-Waysi 1960:81). This mountain was mentioned in a *ḥadīth* attributed to the Prophet (al-Sayāghī 1980:29). Today there is a television tower here.
- Ḍirb 46
Mountain near al-Madīnatayn (al-Sayāghī 1980:58).
- Fuqam (wadi) 80
This wadi includes the village of al-Ḥajar, visited by Glaser. Ḥamām al-Fuqam is in the Sufyān tribal area.
- Ghashm 6
Tribal division of the Banī Ṣuraym of Ḥāshid (al-Maqḥafī 1985:308).
- Ḥabāba 13, 21
Town near Thulā, northwest of Ṣan'ā'. See al-Maqḥafī (1985:105); al-Sayāghī (1980:73).
- Ḥabbār 18
Tribal division of Dhaybān of Ḥāshid (al-Maqḥafī 1985:105).
- Ḥadaqān 16
This was a famous pre-Islamic fortress in the area of Bal-Ḥārith or Banī Ḥārith. See al-Hamdānī (1938:52-53); al-Sayāghī (1980:26).
- Ḥadramawt 22
Famous wadi in southern Yemen. See al-Maqḥafī (1985:122-123); Yāqūt (al-Akwa' 1988:97-100).
- Ḥaḍūr 13
The reference is to Ḥaḍūr al-Shaykh, a major mountain area north west of Ṣan'ā' between Thulā and 'Amrān (al-Maqḥafī 1985:123).
- al-Ḥajar 80
This is a famous place-name in Yemen (al-Maqḥafī 1985:108-109). The reference here is to a village in the Wadi Fuqm of the Ḥāshid area.
- Ḥajar Arḥab 51
See note in the text.
- Ḥajja 1, 9, 22, 60
Well-known town in the northern highlands. See al-Maqḥafī (1985:110).
- Ḥajl 60
Term used for part of Wadi Lā'a, according to Glaser.
- Ḥalḥal (wadi) 55, 58, 62, 63
Village of Banī Ṣuraym of Ḥāshid (al-Maqḥafī 1985:127).
- Hamdān 8, 15, 16, 20, 55, 84
Most famous tribe in Yemen, mostly located north of Ṣan'ā'. See al-Maqḥafī (1985:450-453); al-Sayāghī (1980:28-31); al-Waysi (1960:75-76).
- Ḥarāz 22, 36
Well-known area west of Ṣan'ā' in the Sarāt mountain range. See al-Maqḥafī (1985:114-115); al-Sayāghī (1980:77).
- 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
Important tribal confederation in Yemen. See al-Maqḥafī (1985:102-103).
- Ḥayfa 26, 49
Town about 40 kilometers northeast of Ṣan'ā' (al-Waysi 1960:73). This is in the land of Zindān (al-Sayāghī 1980:61). There is a large pre-Islamic cistern here (al-Maqḥafī 1985:136).
- Ḥays (plain) 21, 78
Part of Wadi Hīrrān near Nā'it, 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.
- Hīrrān (wadi) 13, 14, 21
The reference here is to Hīrrān Shawābi' in the area of Nihm (al-Maqḥafī 1985:447).
- Ḥiṣān 16, 19
Part of Dhaybān in Arḥab, according to Glaser. The term is literally the plural for *ḥuṣn*, used for a fortified town.
- Ḥuṣn al-'Arūs 14
Fortress near Kawkabān, west of Ṣan'ā' (al-Maqḥafī 1985:285).
- Ḥuṣn Ṣanad 46
Village near Jabal Ḍirb in Arḥab, according to Glaser. The reading here is tentative.
- Ḥūth 72
Town located about 120 miles northwest of Ṣan'ā' (al-Waysi

Tribe of Bakil confederation (al-Maqḥafī 1985:440).

Banī Nuqay' 18
Village of 'Iyāl Abī al-Khayr.

Banī Qays 6, 61
Tribal division of the Banī Ṣuraym of Ḥāshid (al-Maqḥafī 1985:339).

Banī Radmān 17, 22, 58, 59, 60, 62
Tribal division of Arḥab (al-Maqḥafī 1985:176).

Banī Sulaymān 18, 21, 54
Tribal division of Dhaybān of Arḥab (al-Maqḥafī 1985:18; al-Sayāghī 1980:61).

Banī Ṣuraym 6, 31
Tribal division of Arḥab (al-Maqḥafī 1985:18).

Banī 'Utḅān 19
Village of Ḥiṣān, according to Glaser. This reading here is tentative. Al-Hamdānī (1983:173) mentions a wadi 'Utba, but this is not the reference here.

Banī 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 *barik* (cistern).

Bawn/al-Bawn 1, 6, 13, 14, 15, 20, 21, 55, 74, 78
Plain north of Ṣan'a'; this includes the town of 'Amrān. See al-Maqḥafī (1985:125) and Yāqūt (al-Akwa' 1988:48).

Bawsān 17
Village in Arḥab (al-Maqḥafī 1985:58).

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

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

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

Bayt Qays 52
Village between Sirwāh and Bayt Sinān, according to Glaser. The Banī Qays are also a tribal division of Ṣurayn in Ḥāshid (al-Maqḥafī 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 Ḍirb, 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 Banī 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 Banī Maṭar, located west of Ṣan'a' (al-Maqḥafī 1985:52). This area is famous for its coffee (al-Waysī 1960:76).

Bilād Tubba' 14, 20
Alternate name for the area of Arḥab, north of Ṣan'a', according to Glaser.

Bura' (mountain) 22
Coastal mountain area near Wadi Sihām. This is located about 60 km east of Hodeidah (al-Maqḥafī 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 Yāqūt (al-Akwa' 1988:259).

Ḍahr (wadi) 21
Famous agricultural wadi near Ṣan'a'. See al-Sayāghī (1980:30); Yāqūt (al-Akwa' 1988:260-261).

Dharafāt 17, 46, 48
Village of Khamīs al-Wāsiṭ of the Banī 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 Ḥūth (al-Maqḥafī 1985:169).

Dhayfān 84
Village near Rayda (al-Maqḥafī 1985:170).

Dhī Bin 63, 64, 68, 69, 70, 74
Town located about 94 kilometers northwest of Ṣan'a' (al-Maqḥafī 1985:169). Located to the south of the fortress of Zafār (al-Sayāghī 1980:66). See al-Hamdānī (1983:159) and al-Waysī (1960:82).

Dhū al-Faḍl 6

Part of al-'Uṣaymāt division of Ḥāshid, according to Glaser.	Ḥajar Arḥab 51 See note in the text.
Dhū Ghaylān 8 Alternative name for Dhū Muḥammad and Dhū Husayn (al-Maqḥafī 1985:56).	Ḥajja 1, 9, 22, 60 Well-known town in the northern highlands. See al-Maqḥafī (1985:110).
Dhū Ḥusayn 8, 13, 22 Major Bakil tribe of the Jawf and Baraṭ (al-Maqḥafī 1985:49).	Ḥajl 60 Term used for part of Wadi Lā'a, according to Glaser.
Dhū Jabra 6 Part of 'Uṣaymāt division of Ḥāshid (al-Maqḥafī 1985:80).	Ḥalḥal (wadi) 55, 58, 62, 63 Village of Banī Ṣuraym of Ḥāshid (al-Maqḥafī 1985:127).
Dhū Muḥammad 8, 22 Major Bakil tribe (al-Maqḥafī 1985:49).	Hamdān 8, 15, 16, 20, 55, 84 Most famous tribe in Yemen, mostly located north of Ṣan'a'. See al-Maqḥafī (1985:450-453); al-Sayāghī (1980:28-31); al-Waysī (1960:75-76).
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-Waysī 1960:81). This mountain was mentioned in a <i>ḥadīth</i> attributed to the Prophet (al-Sayāghī 1980:29). Today there is a television tower here.	Ḥarāz 22, 36 Well-known area west of Ṣan'a' in the Sarāt mountain range. See al-Maqḥafī (1985:114-115); al-Sayāghī (1980:77).
Ḍīrb 46 Mountain near al-Madīnatayn (al-Sayāghī 1980:58).	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 Important tribal confederation in Yemen. See al-Maqḥafī (1985:102-103).
Fuqam (wadi) 80 This wadi includes the village of al-Ḥajar, visited by Glaser. Ḥamām al-Fuqam is in the Sufyān tribal area.	Ḥayfa 26, 49 Town about 40 kilometers northeast of Ṣan'a' (al-Waysī 1960:73). This is in the land of Zindān (al-Sayāghī 1980:61). There is a large pre-Islamic cistern here (al-Maqḥafī 1985:136).
Ghashm 6 Tribal division of the Banī Ṣuraym of Ḥāshid (al-Maqḥafī 1985:308).	Ḥays (plain) 21, 78 Part of Wadi Hīrrān near Nā'it, according to Glaser. The reading here is tentative.
Ḥabāba 13, 21 Town near Thulā, northwest of Ṣan'a'. See al-Maqḥafī (1985:105); al-Sayāghī (1980:73).	Ḥimyar 28, 29 Famous pre-Islamic tribe. This term tends to be used for almost anybody in Yemen before the coming of Islam.
Ḥabbār 18 Tribal division of Dhaybān of Ḥāshid (al-Maqḥafī 1985:105).	Hīrrān (wadi) 13, 14, 21 The reference here is to Hīrrān Shawābi' in the area of Nihm (al-Maqḥafī 1985:447).
Ḥadaqān 16 This was a famous pre-Islamic fortress in the area of Bal-Ḥārith or Banī Ḥārith. See al-Hamdānī (1938:52-53); al-Sayāghī (1980:26).	Ḥiṣān 16, 19 Part of Dhaybān in Arḥab, according to Glaser. The term is literally the plural for <i>ḥuṣn</i> , used for a fortified town.
Ḥaḍramawt 22 Famous wadi in southern Yemen. See al-Maqḥafī (1985:122-123); Yāqūt (al-Akwa' 1988:97-100).	Ḥuṣn al-'Arūs 14 Fortress near Kawkabān, west of Ṣan'a' (al-Maqḥafī 1985:285).
Ḥaḍūr 13 The reference is to Ḥaḍūr al-Shaykh, a major mountain area north west of Ṣan'a' between Thulā and 'Amrān (al-Maqḥafī 1985:123).	Ḥuṣn Ṣanad 46 Village near Jabal Ḍīrb in Arḥab, according to Glaser. The reading here is tentative.
al-Ḥajar 80 This is a common place-name in Yemen (al-Maqḥafī 1985:108-109). The reference here is to a village in the Wadi Fuqm of the Ḥāshid area.	Ḥūth 72 Town located about 120 miles northwest of Ṣan'a' (al-Waysī

Glaser lists this as one of the villages of Ḥiṣān of the Dhaybān division of Arḥab. This is also the name of a fortified town in al-Ahnūm (al-Sayāghī 1980:69). There are several places by this name in Yemen (al-Maqḥafī 1985:206).

Salm 19

Glaser lists this as one of the villages of Ḥiṣān of the Dhaybān division of Arḥab. The reading is tentative.

Samna (plain) 21

One of the plains through which the Wadi Khārid flows, according to Glaser.

Samra 18

Village of the 'Iyāl Suḥaym of Arḥab, according to Glaser. The reading is tentative.

Ṣan'ā' 1, 6, 9, 11, 13, 20, 21, 27, 28, 36, 40, 44, 45, 59, 63, 64, 69, 70, 78, 83, 84

Capital of the highlands. See al-Maqḥafī (1985:252-253); Yāqūt (al-Akwa' 1988:176-183).

Sanḥān 6, 21

Area southeast of Ṣan'ā'. See al-Maqḥafī (1985:213-214); al-Sayāghī (1980:39); Yāqūt (al-Akwa' 1988:156).

Sarāt 22, 72

Mountain range extending north-south in the western part of Yemen (Yāqūt in al-Akwa' 1988:146-147).

al-Ṣayad 6, 15, 16, 72, 74, 75

Tribal division of the al-Kharif of Ḥāshid.

Sha'b 19, 21

The reference here is to a tribal division of Dhaybān of Arḥab (al-Maqḥafī 1985:18). This term is also used both for a wadi in Arḥab, including Bi'r al-Qāḍi and al-Jannāt (al-Sayāghī 1980:60; al-Waysī 1960:73), and a village (al-Maqḥafī 1985:234).

Shākīr 17

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

Shams (plain) 21, 58, 78

Plain through which the Wadi Khārid flows, according to Glaser.

Sharaf 6

Area near Banī 'Arjala, according to Glaser. This is a common placename in Yemen (al-Maqḥafī 1985:230).

Shaṣṣarīm 17, 55, 56

Village of the northwestern part of Arḥab, about 60 km north of Ṣan'ā'. The reading is based on von Wissmann (1964).

Shuwāba (wadi) 21, 63

Wadi near Dhi Bin and next to Wadi Ḍarawān (al-Maqḥafī 1985:239; Yāqūt in al-Akwa' 1988:170). The Ahl Shuwāba are part of the Banī 'Alī (al-Sayāghī 1980:59).

Sheba 28

Ancient South Arabian kingdom, centering on the eastern town of Ma'rib.

Shibām 1, 13

This is Shibām Aqyān, situated below the famous mountain fortress of Kawkabān. See al-Sayāghī (1980:73-74); al-Maqḥafī (1985:224).

Shir'a 17

Village of Zindān of Arḥab, located east of Rayda (al-Maqḥafī 1985:230).

Sinnatayn 6

Village near Khamir (al-Maqḥafī 1985:213).

Sirr (wadi) 21

Wadi located about 23 kilometers northeast of Ṣan'ā' (al-Maqḥafī 1985:203).

Ṣirwāḥ 17, 51, 52, 55, 58

This is the name for a pre-Islamic site in Arḥab (al-Maqḥafī 1985:17; al-Waysī 1960:81). 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-Sayāghī 1980:48-49).

Sūda 1, 6

Town located some 44 kilometers northwest of 'Amrān (al-Maqḥafī 1985:216). This includes Wadi Akhlaf and Wadi 'Uqmān (al-Waysī 1960:81).

Sufyān 3, 8, 13, 16, 31, 57, 70, 74

Tribe of Bakil. Their area north of Ṣan'ā' is called Ḥarf Sufyān (al-Maqḥafī 1985:208).

Switzerland 34

Ta'izz 22

Famous town in the southern highlands. See al-Maqḥafī (1985:69-70).

Tālib (land of) 14

General term for area between Wadi Khārid and Wadi Hirrān, according to Glaser.

Tanlin ? (mountain) 79

See Thanīn.

al-Ṭawīla 60

Town some 77 kilometers northwest of Ṣan'ā' (al-Maqḥafī 1985:265).

Thanīn/Thanayn (mountain) 79

This is the mountain on which Nā'itī is located (al-Hamdānī 1938:30).

Thulā 1, 13

Important fortified town some 40 kilometers northwest of Ṣan'ā'. See al-Maqḥafī (1985:74-75); al-Sayāghī (1980:72-

73).

al-'Uṣaymāt 6

Tribal division of Ḥāshid, located north of 'Iyāl Ṣuraym. This term is used for three divisions of 'Udhar (al-Marwanī 1990:59).

'Usām 17

Area in Arḥab east of Nā'it (al-Maqḥafī 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).

Wādī'a 8

One of the primary Bakil tribes (see al-Maqḥafī 1985:457). The main mountain here is Jabal al-Kharāz (al-Sayāghī 1980:68).

al-Wā'ila 8

Tribe of Bakil (al-Maqḥafī 1985:56).

Warwar (wadi) 21

Wadi in Sufyān of the Ḥāshid area (al-Maqḥafī 1985:463). See al-Hamdānī (1983:159); Yāqūt (al-Akwa' 1988:298-299).

Yabyan 48

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

Yām 3, 9, 22, 36

Major tribe of Ḥāshid, located in the Jawf (al-Maqḥafī 1985:469).

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 Dāwūd (al-Sayāghī 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 Ṣan'ā' (al-Maqḥafī 1985:270). There was a famous *hijra* located here. Glaser did not visit this area. This town was attacked and damaged by Yzzet Pasha (Zabāra n.d.:20).

al-Zāhir 6

Tribal division of of the Banī Ṣuraym of Arḥab (al-Maqḥafī 1985:). Note that Glaser's original article has 'Idhār (sic!).

Zindān 17

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

Zubayrāt 18, 40

Tribal division of Dhaybān of Arḥab (al-Maqḥafī 1985:18).

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'Abd Allāh Ṣār (Ṣa'r ?) (shaykh) 1

'Abd Allāh ibn Ḥamza al-Manṣūr bi-Allāh (*imām*) 27

'Abd al-Wahhāb Rājih Sinān (shaykh of Khamīs al-Wāsīt and head shaykh of Arḥab) 17, 40, 46, 47, 49, 50, 51, 58, 68

'Abd al-Wāsi' (shaykh of Bayt Mirrān and Shākīr) 17, 38

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Aḥmad Marrāḥ (shaykh of 'Iyāl 'Abd Allāh) 18, 31, 40, 50, 52, 54, 56

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'Alī Muthannā al-Qudaymī (shaykh of Khamīs al-Qudaymī of al-Khārif) 1, 72, 75, 76, 80, 82, 83, 84

'Alī Qāsim Nukay' 56

'Alī Sa'id 38, 46, 47

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al-Hamdānī, Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan (historian) 4, 5, 79

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