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# THE IMAMS OF SANAA



THE, RISE  
OF THE  
IMAMS OF SANAA,

BY

A. S. TRITTON

ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

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## PREFACE

THIS book is a revision of a thesis presented to the University of Edinburgh in 1918 for the degree of Doctor of Letters. The first four chapters appeared in the *Journal of Indian History*.

The transliteration of foreign names can hardly be called systematic, but I believe that it is as intelligible as is possible without the use of diacritical marks. These are added in the index.

I wish to thank the University of Edinburgh for monetary help in getting a copy of a manuscript; Mr. D. Hamer for valuable help in reading the proofs; and the Oxford University Press for its watchfulness, skill and courtesy.

A. S. TRITTON.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

- A. Ahlwardt : *Verzeichnis der arabischen Handschriften*. Berlin.
- D. Defflers : *Voyage au Yemen*.
- G. Glaser : *Petermann's Mittheilungen*, 1884 and 1886.
- H. Hamdani : *Geography of Arabia*.
- J. Johannsen : *Historia Yemenae*.
- Halévy. *Voyage au Nejran*. Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris, 1873 foll.  
*Rapport*. Journal Asiatique, 1873.
- N. Niebuhr : *Description de l'Arabie*.
- K. Redhouse : *Khazreji, History of the Resuli Dynasty*.  
(Numbers refer to the notes.)
- Rut. Rutgers : *Historia Yemenae sub Hasano Pasha*.
- W. Wuestenfeld : *Das Yemen im elften Jahrhundert*.  
*Die Scherife von Mecca*.
- L.A. *Lisan ul Arab*.

## INTRODUCTION

THIS history is founded on a book of which the University of Edinburgh possesses a recent copy. The story has been controlled by several books in the British Museum: Or. 3329, 4583, and 3330. Full descriptions of these MSS. are in the catalogue.

The first book is only the second part of a work and is without author's name or title. From notes on the fly-leaf it is clear that the book was in existence in 1071 A.H. The author quotes a line of his own poetry :

3/- To him who tells of what happened in Muda' and Thula I say :  
This was not the deed of man.

Dr. 3329 quotes this line as the work of the sayyid Ahmed ibn Muhammad ibn Salâh ush Sharafi, and ascribes to him the following books :

*Commentary on the Little Smiling One.*

*Lives of Descendants of the Prophet*, in three volumes.

*Great Commentary on the Foundation*, in two fat volumes.

*Little Commentary on the Foundation.*

In his book Ahmed says very little about himself. He was clearly a devoted adherent of the imam and in a position to get first-hand information. Once he tells us that he acted as secretary and it is a fair guess that this was his usual office. In the early days of the rising he was one of some six men who accompanied the imam on his visit to the chief of Sanhân to decide on a plan of action. There is a difference between the earlier and later parts of the story. At first dates are rare and no authorities are quoted. The man is obviously writing from memory : the Arabs were hunted from place to place and there were no records. As success came records were preserved, chiefs sent in reports from all quarters, and dates and documents abound. He is always ready to confess uncertainty : if he does not know he says so, and many incidents end with 'God knows best', which is more than a pious formula. He states carefully

that the story of a battle or a conversation comes from an eye-witness. On the whole the writer is a healthy sceptic and is not ashamed of human weakness; he ought to have recorded a battle earlier in the story, but he forgot.

A strong theological odour pervades the book. The followers of the imam are soldiers of the truth, Muslims; the Turks are the armies of evil. Some of the Arabs are half-hearted in their allegiance, or altogether hostile, because they love this world and its passing delights. The discovery of a bag of powder and the sinking of a shipload of Turkish soldiers are divine blessings on the people of God. Indeed, the standpoint is that of the Book of Kings. Yet the author is an educated man: keenly interested in events in Persia and Egypt, the arrival of an English ship at Aden, letters from chiefs in Oman and El Hassa, and especially the strife between the Turks and the Sharif in Mecca. His book was a long time in writing. Several times he uses such phrases as 'at the time of writing'. These occur in 1028 and 1030, but the whole was revised later and the after-history of individuals was filled in. The book came to an end; it never received a formal finish. The latest reference is to Ismail Mutawakkil, who ruled 1055-1067.

Ahmed is first a historian of war. He gives curious glimpses of the life of the people, but as a rule, the years of peace are blank. He is an annalist rather than a historian, and it is not always easy to trace the ebb and flow of the Arabs' rise to power. He is often conventional, particularly in his summaries of character, yet there is, generally, some striking or original phrase to redeem the commonplaces.

*The Life of the Imam el Qâsim* (MS. Or. 3329). In spite of its title this book is limited practically to events which happened after Qâsim had proclaimed himself imam. It contains some stories of his wanderings during the previous seven years, but the connected history begins only with the crusade. The book contains long extracts from Ahmed, especially in the early years of the struggle, and from the *Rauh ur Râh* (see p. 3). The story is very detailed and various people are named as sources of information. The extra facts are often valuable. The author describes the pressure put on Muhammad, the future imam, by the inhabitants of Shahâra when the town was besieged by the Turks; also the imam's doubts of Sinân's sincerity in offering to

make peace. In the earlier part of the story the author has no clear idea of the sequence of events, and apparently makes bad mistakes in dates. He gives two dates for the Turkish capture of Shahâra; one seems to be correct while the other is eleven months later. He tells us that Ahmed the historian was Governor of Sharaf during the first success of the imam. In character the book closely resembles Ahmed's work. His verdict on Abdurrahîm is worth quoting. He describes a peculiarly abominable piece of cruelty and says, 'After this God took his help from him'. The book contains a list of the imam's chief followers and a collection of his letters.

*Rauh ur Rûh* (Or. 4583) is written from the Turkish standpoint and so is a valuable check on the Arab histories. Unfortunately the author is concerned with fine writing, so that much reading is necessary to get at the facts. The writer agrees remarkably with the partisans of the imam in his description of events, though naturally the Arabs do not appear to such good advantage and less is heard of Turkish brutalities. The book is especially useful for dates: it is naturally a better authority for the sequence of the Turkish governors, and where exact dates are not mentioned the narrative evidently keeps to chronological order.

*Tuhtat uz Zaman* (Or. 3330) does not need many words. The continuation with the history from the death of Qâsim to the departure of Qânsuh is a concise story that agrees closely with Ahmed. Dates are often given and usually support Ahmed, though in one place where they differ the *Tuhtat* looks as if it might be right.

One peculiarity of the Arab historians may be noted here—their excessive use of high-sounding titles. The partisans of the Turks are free from this. Something of the sort is seen in *El Khazreji* and *Ibn Batuta*, but in these books every one of any eminence is thus decorated. Star of Religion, Glory of Islam, and such like occur on every page. Two examples of this luxuriance will suffice; they might easily be multiplied. The Most Excellent Sayyid, Sword of God against His Enemies, Shade that Shelters his Friends, the Perfection of Islam, the Blessing of Mankind, Ali. The Exalted Sayyid, the Curb of Transgressors, the Sun of Heaven, the Glory of the Family Ya Sin, Ahmed.

## INTRODUCTION

## THE TURKISH PASHAS

Hasan	appointed	988
Sinân	„	II 1013
Ja'far	„	IV 1016
Ibrahim	„	1022
Muhammad	„	VIII 1025
Ahmad Fadli	„	III 1031
Haidar	„	II 1034
Aidîn	„	1037
Ahmed Qânsuh	„	IV 1039

*Note.*—Roman numerals are used to denote Muslim months.

## CHAPTER I

### THE FIRST RISING

SINCE 283 A.H. Saada had been ruled by imams of the Zaidi sect. A descendant of these, Mutahhar ibn Sharafuddîn, rose against the Turks but was compelled to submit to the foreign rulers and was recognized by them as Sanjak of Thula, 958. In 975 he rebelled, captured Sanaa, and in a few months ruled all Yemen except Zabîd. Two years later Sinân pasha forced him to submit and to retire to Saada, where he admitted a Turkish garrison and paid tribute. His nephew, Muhammad ibn Shamsuddîn, became prince of Kaukabân. In 980 Mutahhar died. In 986 the imam Hasan ibn Ali ul Muayyadi raised a rebellion in Ahnûm, where he held out for seven years against the Turks. Two years later the sons of Mutahhar took advantage of a change of governor to start another rebellion, which had a brief success. The imam Hasan and the sons of Mutahhar were sent to prison at Constantinople, Abdulla ibn Mu'âfa handed over Sûda and was recognized as governor thereof, and Abdurrahmân ibn Mutahhar became chief of Hajja.

Immediately afterwards Abdulla ibn Ali ibn Husain ibn Azzidîn Hasan, the imam, proclaimed himself imam in Sharaf. He fled to Sabya and then to Dhahbân. His mission had little success, for, though he had some reputation for learning, the doctors, in the days of the imam Hasan, had not always agreed with him.

For seven years the Turks had been suspicious of Qâsim ibn Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Rashîd,<sup>1</sup> a relative of Hasan, and had kept an army at Sanaa ready to crush the first signs of revolt. During these years Qâsim led a

<sup>1</sup> Qâsim was born 11 II 977. His full genealogy is Ali ibn Abi Tâlib—Hasan—Hasan—Ibrahim—Ismail—Umar Tabâtabâ—Ibrahim—Imam Qâsim—Hasan—Imam Hâdi ila 'l-Haqq Yahya—Imam Ahmed—Imam Yahya—Imam Yûsuf—Imam Qâsim—Imam Yûsuf—Muhammad—Yahya—Ali—Muhammad—Imam Hasan—Ahmed—Rashîd—Ali—Muhammad—Ali—Muhammad—Qâsim.

wandering life. When Sharaf grew too hot for him he went to Haima and Tais. At El Hadab, in Haima, he studied under Abdurrahmân ibn Abdulla ul Haimi ul Hasabâni, who finally sent him away to Ahbûb, where Muhammad ibn Ja'far showed him kindness, and then to Dhu Yasâr and even to Sanaa, where he stayed in the house of 'Amir ibn Muhammad udh Dhimâri. He also spent a night or two in the mosque of Daud. Once the mosque was surrounded by Turkish soldiers and the pasha's servants. They paid no attention to Qâsim, who was not dressed like the other students, so he went to the lavatory, where the attendant told him to finish his ablutions, and left him. After saying a prayer of two prostrations he went his way. A sufi helped him to escape to Shibâm. There he stayed in an empty mosque on the edge of the town. Ahmed of Kaukabân had the mosque watched by his servants. Qâsim was sitting in a corner in the Indian fashion and did not move when Ahmed entered; Ahmed said he was a *jinn* and did not trouble about him. Later he sent him a present of money, which Qâsim gave to the bearer.

The lawyers and doctors of Hajja welcomed him when he went to 'Ibâl. The pasha ordered Abdurrahîm ibn Abdurrahmân to seize him, so he sent twenty-four slaves to the mosque in Hamîma, where Qâsim then was. They led away the doctors to the emir, who had some flogged and killed his brother-in-law. Qâsim, however, dropped out of a window and hid in a ravine until he could go to Sharaf by way of the wadi Maur. In the wadi he was overtaken by his pursuers and escaped only by hiding in a tree. In Sharaf he would not stay in any house but begged to be left in the mosque. Then he went into a field where there was a palm that would hide a seated figure, and tried to sleep. He heard the noise of marching feet and supposed it was his enemies making for the mosque. Two figures came to him, said they were learned *jinn*, and begged him to teach them. He excused himself because of the great danger. Bedouin gave him food, thinking he was an Indian chief; a Jew of Wâda'a gave him money for his crusade, and a woman of Muhâbisha gave him a hundred, or, as some say, two hundred *harf*. Many tales are told of the hardships he endured, his narrow escapes, adventures with the *jinn*, and the help God gave him. During his wanderings he wrote several books.

Helped by two men whom he chanced to meet, he frightened some Turks from Tahnana and seized their arms. From a hill above the village they fired into the market, and the mere noise scared the soldiers.

Once during the pilgrimage a number of lawyers from Dhimâr, Zâhir, and Sanaa met in Saada, while Ali, a wicked man, was governor of the district. When they wished to leave, all the gates were shut except Bâb ul Mansûra and every one who went out had to give his name and his home. The excuse was that some of the governor's slaves wanted to go on pilgrimage against his will. A little farther on cavalry overtook the caravan and made a strict examination. Next day a number of men left the caravan and turned into a side valley, where they met Qâsim. He travelled with them, leading the prayers, till they came to Taif. They say that he entered Saada disguised as an Indian and then lodged in Rurâfa with some sayyids. He proposed to proclaim himself in Taif, but visions of the Prophet and the imam El Hâdi made him return to Yemen. In Dhahbân he visited Abdulla ibn Ali, the opponent of the imam Hasan, and called on him to repent, proclaim himself imam and begin the crusade. Abdulla refused.

As Abu Zaid ibn Sirâj of Sanhân<sup>1</sup> was at enmity with the Turks, Qâsim wrote to him. Then a number of chiefs asked Qâsim to take refuge with them. At the end of 1005 Qâsim with a few companions went secretly to Abu Zaid, proclaimed himself imam, and thence sent out letters calling the Arabs to rise against the Turks. This was the result of a conference of chiefs from Zabîd on the south to Saada and Abu 'Arîsh on the north. Some had advised waiting, as the power of the Turks was firmly established, but other counsels carried the day, and in I 1006 the rising began among the Banu Sanhân because of their central position. This decision was helped by the report that Hasan pasha was selling his household goods and leaving Yemen. Abdulla ibn Mas'ûd, a chief of Qâra, a man of the noblest character and a flowing beard,<sup>2</sup> was the first to

<sup>1</sup> In the Sabæan inscriptions Sanhân appears as a personal name and perhaps also as the name of a tribe.

<sup>2</sup> The mention of the beard is not mere bathos. The Yemenis are usually smooth-faced, and hair on the face is thought to be a sign of manly vigour, as among the Syrians.

acknowledge the imam. Abu Zaid changed his mind and advised Qâsim to go to Qâra. The chiefs of Qâra came to the imam, swore him fealty, and after two days' travelling he reached their home, leaving his little son Muhammad behind. Abu Zaid gave him a little help, including two old muskets <sup>1</sup> and three *rolls* of powder and shot. In those days muskets were scarce: only chiefs had them. He also presented a mare named Victory, which the imam took as a good omen. Some four hundred men gathered and another horse was given to the imam, who ordered the castle of Wasaha to be invested. The siege lasted three days; perhaps four of the garrison were killed, while the besiegers suffered no loss. The imam led the Friday prayers in Qâra and ordered all to prepare their weapons for the holy war and to spread their turbans on their backs.<sup>2</sup> News came that the Turks were gathering—from Sharaf, from Abdurrahîm at Hajja, who was the first to hear of the insurrection, and from Ahmed ibn Muhammad ibn Sharafuddîn at Kaukabân. These last were too late for the fight. Abdulla ibn Mu'âfa, the Chief of Sûda, marched from Sanaa to Ahnûm to overawe the district, which was devoted to its native rulers. Qâsim recalled his troops from Wasaha and a debate took place whether they should seize the hill beside the town that night or next morning. When morning came they found that the Turks had climbed the hill and reached the plain. The imam was defeated and was finally persuaded to retire to Audiya, whither some of his men followed him. They were cast down by failure and hope was all but lost, for the Turks were gathering from all sides, giving large monies to spies and trying in all ways to destroy Qâsim and his followers. In spite of this a local man said to Qâsim, 'Write this for me for preservation'. The imam said to his secretary, 'Write as he desires'. He replied, 'What is the good? This is no time for writing'. 'You are not equal to the occasion!' said the

<sup>1</sup> The guns used in the Yemen were matchlocks, for there are several references to the wetting of the matches. Other weapons were swords, spears, and slings. Spears and javelins are not often mentioned, though the verb *طعن* is common enough; perhaps a literary convention. A jewelled sword is given as a present. They used also what seems to have been a kind of flail *عبدان مجوزة*.

<sup>2</sup> The use of some badge by soldiers as a distinguishing mark goes back to very early times among the Arabs. In one case it was the shaving of the head before battle: Badges were given to those tribes of Faifa who joined the imam.

imam. 'I will throw off the yoke of the Turks and their friends and make them drink the cup of destiny.'

A party of students from Ahnûm who were reading under Ali ush Shahâri joined the imam. He sent them to preach the holy war, Ali conveying his orders to them. For fear of Ibn Mu'âfa they lay hid during the day and moved from house to house at night. The imam next retreated to 'Udhr, then to Sanhân and finally to Barat, where he stayed two months. By the grace of God this proved a blessing to him and the Muslims. Meantime Ibn Mu'âfa marched to Shahâra, where he was joined by troops from Mutahhar ibn ush Shuwai', the Governor of Zâhir, who himself stopped in Khamr. Some twenty officers of the imam after their flight from Qâra enlisted a thousand men of Hâshid and Bakîl,<sup>1</sup> the majority Turkish auxiliaries who deserted on the march from Khamr to Akhrâf and attacked their former masters, killing six, and seizing many weapons. The Turks took refuge in the valley of Akhrâf and were hemmed in on every side. The Arabs displayed a white cloth to make them believe the imam was present. Ali ibn Mutahhar, though he had sworn allegiance to the imam, marched to the rescue of the Turks, treacherously pretending to come to the help of the Faithful. Ibn Mu'âfa sent another relief and the troops were extricated, but nothing more was attempted. The Turks returned to their bases and the Arabs dispersed.

While the Turks marched on Qâra and Ahnûm, Yûsuf ul Himâti was sent to Haima—his own country—and the districts round, Harâz, Anis, Khaulân, and Sanhân. He hid in Shâhidhia in the house of a lawyer for fear of the Turks and then entered Haima with a party of sharîfs. After defeating forty Turks, who lost their weapons but escaped with their lives, he was joined by the tribes of the district and made his headquarters among the Banu Yûsuf. Ahmed ul Jazzâr with his Turks threw himself into 'Urr, where he was observed by Muhammad ibn Ali ul 'Ayâni. The Turks were panic-stricken; it is even said that in Sharaf they feared at nightfall lest the earth should swallow

<sup>1</sup> Hâshid, Bakîl, and Hamdân are closely connected. Hamdân at one time consisted of Hâshid and Bakîl; the genealogists make Hamdân their father. From the Sabæan inscriptions we learn that Hamdân was a clan of Hâshid and worked its way to supremacy. In this history and on the maps Hâshid and Bakîl are separate from Hamdân; they lie further to the north. There is a desert of Hâshid between Wusâb and Zûm.

them. On every hand there was only one subject of talk—the imam's crusade. When Yûsuf heard that Qâsim had retired to the east he feared lest he had given up the fight and wrote to hearten him—to say that Haima might choose some other to be imam and lead them against the Turks. Qâsim then advanced to Shâtib in the country of Asad ibn Sufyân.

Before this the rising had spread and Wâda'a had declared for the imam, so the Turks gave up their plans for Ahnûm and advanced on Wâda'a to ravage the country, cut down the vines, and pillage the houses. They marched from Ahnûm and Khamr. Ibn Mu'âfa did not dare to follow the usual road east of Hajr but went instead to the west of Ahnûm and Zulaima. It is said that fourteen thousand men gathered for this campaign; but God knows best. The emir Hasan ibn Nâsir ul Rurbâni had his headquarters in Masna'a in lower Wâda'a, and fought the Turks day and night, killing many in their camp. A band of twenty-five men, whom Qâsim sent from Shâtib, greatly encouraged the Faithful and the Turks were defeated. Though the emir Hasan was wounded by a bullet that broke his foot the Faithful were elated and their enemies frightened; so that three hundred men of Ahnûm fled from the Turks and began a revolt in their homeland. The Faithful attempted a further advance southwards but were defeated by a twofold attack from Sûda and retired on Zulaima. Meanwhile the imam advanced from Shâtib, accompanied by Ahmed ibn 'Awwâd ul Asadi, and entered Ahnûm early in III, when he spent some time in different parts of the district. The tribes of Ahnûm, Zulaima, and 'Udhr welcomed him and spent their property and lives freely in his service, besieging the Turkish garrison in Hajr, which surrendered on promise of safe-conduct to Sûda.

It is very hard to get a clear idea of what was happening at the beginning of the rising, when fighting was going on in several parts of the country at the same time. The various chiefs were waging wars of their own with little reference to the others; yet a local success or failure might have far-reaching effects. Events have to be reported more or less in chronological order. Fighting in a more southerly quarter now claims attention.

'Amir ibn Ali, the uncle of the imam, and Muhammad ibn Ali ul Qarrâ' were prisoners in Kaukabân, but God made the way

of escape easy and they fled by night from Shibâm, guided by a retainer of Yûsuf, to the Banu Nimri, where they hid in a lawyer's house, and then to El Himâti. He handed over the command to 'Amir, whose power grew, whose fame spread, who made himself beloved of his followers and inflicted grievous harm on his foes. Meantime Marjân ul Qarmâni was sent from Kaukabân with four hundred men, mostly armed with muskets, to 'Urr, where there was now an army of some thousand or more, of whom eight hundred were musketeers. El Qarrâ' was sent thither with this letter for Muhammad ul 'Ayâni: 'In the name of God, the All-Merciful. From the servant of God, Yûsuf, to the excellent lawyer, Muhammad ibn Ali.—Peace be upon you, God's mercy and his blessings. The glorious sayyid Muhammad ul Qarrâ' has come to you as commander and you are his lieutenant. Oppose him in nothing. According to God's word, "Do not disagree for you will become cowards and your strength will fail"; and the Prophet's, "Put them forward and put not yourselves forward before them"'. At the head of thirty musketeers and four hundred other soldiers El Qarrâ' seized a fort called the Little Castle at the top of the hill, and the seventy men who held it were allowed to go to the Banu Matar, taking their arms with them. After further skirmishing the Turks attacked up a steep pass. One of the Faithful shot the standard-bearer and his fall put an end to a stiff fight. Eight men had already been burnt by the explosion of some powder. The Turks fled, some to Mansûra and some to 'Urr, over ground so steep that a man could not climb it even though he had not to fight. Ahbûb and the Banu Siyâ', tribes of upper Haima, had arrived meaning to succour the Turks, but when they saw them in flight they turned on them and plundered them. They climbed to 'Urr and as the eastern gate was shut they surrounded the fugitives, killing and capturing.

Marjân hid with twelve companions in the house of a chief, who took their arms. A low fellow from Ahbûb entered and stabbed him with a lance, some say in the midst of his companions, who were allowed to depart stripped. El Jazzâr's son with two hundred men stayed three days at Mansûra, where were the chiefs and hostages of Haima; they then offered to surrender, and El Qarrâ' spared their lives but took their weapons. This battle fell on Saturday 15 (probably) III. 'Amir

and Yûsuf came to 'Urr after the Turks had abandoned it and received deputations from Haima, 'Aniz, and Thulth. Then Abdulla ur Rammâh led a thousand Turks from Sanaa to Ahbûb, but only one chief who feared for his life joined him. He joined Ibrahim the Long at Raima in the Banu Siyâ'; then they entered Mu'âziba. El Qarrâ' came to meet them and proposed that Abdulla should join the imam. He then defeated the Turks, capturing their camp with all tents, tools and camels, including ninety laden camels that were intended for Raima. Ibrahim had caught by the head one of the Faithful, who saved himself by cutting off his hair. After being wounded thrice by bullets the Turk was killed. In this fight the Turks had so many muskets that the noise was like thunder. Abdulla was given safe-conduct for himself and his soldiers on condition that they beat no drums, showed no flags and made no noise. Thus they marched away in shame and disgrace till they met reinforcements.

The Faithful advanced against Sharaf, where the opposition of the Turkish garrison of Tahnana was overcome, though the assailants were few. Under Turkish rule it was the exception for an Arab to own a musket, and even then he dared not practise with it lest it should be known that he owned one, and the strength of the people was sapped by the oppression of the Turks and of their own chiefs. One who took part in this fight said that the Turks had two thousand, four hundred muskets and the imam barely twenty. God knows! The Turks and some retainers of Abdurrahîm fled to Hajja and the Faithful entered Sharaf without further fighting. Some of the people of Hîqâr, urged on by Madûh, a sufi chief of the Banu Aslam,<sup>1</sup> joined the imam. Several of the chiefs of Sharaf fled to Hajja and thence to Sanaa, where they stayed till they lost all hope of Turkish success, when they made their peace with the imam after the capture of Shahâra, 1015, perhaps with the consent of the Turks. In the same month Zâhir ibn 'Urijâsh made a raid through Tais to 'Affâr and laid siege to Na'mân Haura. The garrison surrendered and were sent to Qâsim with their arms and equipment. A mixed force of soldiers and tribesmen attacked Hajja, laying siege to Dhunûb, Mabyan and Kaukabân Qudam. In Dhunûb

<sup>1</sup> The genealogists make Aslam the son of Hajûr.

was Abdurrahîm ibn Abdurrahmân, an important emir of the Turks and ruler of the whole district. He was an ally rather than a subject of the pasha. As will be seen later, the Faithful had no reason to love this man. He is described as treacherous, cruel and wicked, delighting in crooked ways, in the shedding of blood and in the murder of women and children. For him promises were made to be broken, yet his shifty dealings did not meet with success. Another ally of the Turks, Ahmed ibn Muhammad ibn Shamsuddîn, the chief of Kaukabân, who ruled Maswar, Lâ'a, Najra, Tais, and Shâhidhia and was supreme in his own dominions except for a yearly tribute, was driven out of Qarâda and Lâ'a.

After the conquest of Sharaf the Turks retired from Wâda'a to Khamr, followed by several Faithful chiefs, among them Ahmed ul Asadi. In their panic the enemy made deceitful proposals—they should be allowed to retire with their baggage to Baun—to which El Asadi agreed if the imam should approve. A day or two later the Turks attacked El Asadi at Naqîl 'Ajîb but the treachery failed: they lost all their equipment, ninety camels laden with money, clothing, powder and shot, as well as two culverins, and fled in disorder to 'Amrân, retiring three days later to Sanaa. Ibn Mu'âfa went back to Qarn un Nâ'i, the citadel of Sûda, and the district of Zâhir declared for the imam. Two sayyids, Hasan ibn Sharafuddîn and Sâlih ul Rurbâni, joined the imam and drove the emir Hamza ibn Ahmed, a sayyid of Dhîfân, out of Muda' and made him retire by way of 'Amrân to Sanaa. Various fugitives fled to these sayyids from Kaukabân, where they had been imprisoned because of their reputation and their influence with the tribes. Some had been released on parole, but as they had taken an oath that was not binding<sup>1</sup> they fought for the Faith.

Hasan ibn Sharafuddîn advanced on Hadûr ush Shaikh when the people of Thula invited him to their town. The castle, which stood on a lofty rock, had been blockaded for some time, and two days after his coming it was taken. The captain of the castle,

<sup>1</sup> In popular esteem oaths are of various degrees of sanctity. That taken on a closed Quran is less binding than one on the open book; while the most binding is that taken on some special passage, such as the throne verse. In Syria a man will often swear falsely in God's name, though not in the name of the local saint. Here we have casuistical treatment of an oath imposed by force.

Ali Aga, a Turk—a violent ruffian—had in the dungeons the lawyer Wajîhuddîn Abd ul-Hâdi, and, as the townsfolk feared he might be murdered, they implored Hasan to write to Ali threatening him with death if any evil happened to his prisoner. While Hasan was writing the letter the rabble of the town rushed to the outer gate of the fort and forced it open though it was made of iron. They then burst the gate above and with this success the crowd increased. The staircase was so crammed that men could not see their feet. In their attempts to force the third gate, which was plated with iron, men almost crushed each other to death. The garrison threw stones and hurled rocks upon them; they tore down the rooms above the stair, and the fort was shrouded in dust. The continued pressure forced the door and the crowd entered the castle. The garrison thought they had killed most of those on the staircase but they had only caused a few slight wounds. The captain told the imam, 'Our assailants were angels, not men; for they had no protection and we hurled many missiles at them'. The fortress was in storeys like a house and the attacking party was in difficulties on the narrow stair and knew not what to do. The garrison had lost all hope of escape so they dragged Abd ul-Hâdi, loaded with chains and fetters, out of his cell, meaning to kill him. He heard the tumult and shouting without knowing what they meant. The aga's wife begged him to protect them, so he tried to speak to his friends, but could not for the noise. The aga then heard that the besiegers had entered the fort from the other side also, and he was taken prisoner as he hurried to the spot. The castle was sacked, all the arms, provisions and furniture being carried off. Abd ul-Hâdi saved the aga's life, though in so doing all his clothes were torn off him. Hasan tried to save the corn, powder and shot, but failed. When this news reached Sûda many of the troops went over to the imam in Ahnûm and Ibn Mu'âfa shut himself up in Qarn un-Nâ'i. The Faithful entered the town and besieged him in the castle.

From Sanaa Sinân marched at the head of four thousand men to Khaulân and routed 'Amir, killing perhaps seventy of his soldiers. The next day the fight was renewed at the two mosques with great slaughter. Sinân showed the utmost savagery, ordering every prisoner to be killed, even a girl, though she begged the men of Kaukabân to save her. They say he told two men

to hold her by her feet while a servant cut her in two. But fortune turned against him, and, had not the chief of Kaukabân come to his aid, he could not have escaped, for 'Amir was close on his heels. He camped on Mt. Thuwairîn and 'Amir returned to Yûsuf at 'Urr. They agreed that Yûsuf should go to Anis and El Qarrâ' to Tais with a hundred men and seventeen muskets. Thereupon the chief of Kaukabân sent Muhammad ut Tuhami with an army drawn from Tais to invade Haima. Starting in the afternoon, El Qarrâ' surprised them at early dawn. Muhammad was surrounded, knew nothing of the number of his foe or his resources, and so hastened to beg favourable terms. He was made prisoner with most of his men and all his transport and supplies, and was sent to 'Amir. The same day El Qarrâ' entered Tais and every tribe he reached submitted to him. Abdulla ur Rawwâs had meant to succour Muhammad ut Tuhami, but when he heard of his fate he took refuge in a castle in Khaulân, where El Qarrâ' attacked him at the close of the day. Ahmed of Kaukabân sent five hundred men and the Turks four hundred to relieve Abdulla. After these two detachments had united in the plain of Sanaa, El Qarrâ' met them, having left a force to contain Er Rawwâs. The Turks were defeated and fled to Tawîla, but next day they returned in fear to their former position and routed El Qarrâ' with great loss. Five of the dead were decapitated and El Qarrâ' fled with only three followers. The tribes of Haima joined him at once, but when the troops of Kaukabân thought to attack him they broke and fled. Guided by some of the Banu Haish, he moved to that tribe which supplied seventeen muskets; and he then camped on Mt. Ahnam with outposts on the hills round. The Turks concentrated an army—over a thousand muskets—to take vengeance on the Banu Haish by plundering the country and destroying the people. The Faithful were victorious, taking a hundred prisoners, including the commander, and all equipment and transport. This opened the way to the conquest of Lâ'a, Maswar, 'Aifâr, and Hajja. Ahmed of Kaukabân was seriously frightened and evacuated Tais, where all the inhabitants—both Zaidi and Shâfe'e—who had not already done so, joined El Qarrâ'. He then sent Ali ibn Yahya ul Muhairisi to within earshot of Kaukabân, whereupon Ahmed led his army out in person and routed Ali, while El Qarrâ', surprised by the advance guard of the enemy, retired to the Banu Khayyât.

As the men of Tawîla had left the town, Ahmed sacked it without meeting any resistance, and killed seven of the old folk, among them an uncle of El Qarrâ'. When the enemy returned to Kaukabân, El Qarrâ' reoccupied Tawîla and invested the citadel, putting a garrison in Qarâni'. The siege lasted six months. 'Amir remained in 'Urr facing Sinân. Intermittent fighting went on till the Turks retired to Mt. Thuwairîn where they were surrounded. About this time El Qarrâ' decided for private reasons to pay his respects to the imam in Ahnûm. After reporting to his chief he returned by Maswar to Tais and Tawîla : at the latest in VI.

Sinân posted his army in three camps in Hadûr, but the Turks were in a bad way, with Thula captured and Kaukabân hard pressed. But Sinân was one of the most cunning of men ; he tricked 'Amir with talk of a truce while he bribed the chiefs of Haima with money and robes to agree to an armistice for three days. While the Faithful were thus off their guard the Turks retook the town of Thula, for Hasan ibn Sharafuddîn had not had time to re-provision the place after the sack. About thirty of the Faithful were killed, among them the sharîf Sha'âlim, an Indian who had studied, married and settled in the town. Hasan with a few companions threw himself into the citadel while the surrounding tribes looted the gates and woodwork. The imam at once called out the tribes for an expedition to Thula. Levies from Janab, the Banu Haish, the Banu Qatîl, and Qudam met in Hadûr, where they were joined by the Banu 'Amran. The battle took place just outside the town, and the Turkish horse routed the Faithful, who were all on foot, among them being some Turks who had settled in Shahâra and been enlisted by the imam. Here happened a signal mark of God's mercy. Powder ran short in the middle of the fight and all were at their wits' end until a soldier climbing up the rocks found a skin which proved to be full of powder. They praised God and fought with fresh confidence, though at the time their only food was locusts. The attack was renewed on the three following days. From Kaukabân came an army to take them in the rear, but it met reinforcements coming from Maswar and was driven back, though the Faithful lost their leader, who died from a bullet wound in the foot. One result was that the pressure on Thula was eased and it was possible to stock the fort with corn, powder, and shot. When Sinân was in the

plain of Haushân, Hasan ibn Sharafuddîn had collected pieces of white marble for use as bullets.

Zâhir ibn 'Urjâsh went to Mt. Nîsa and sent a detachment to Shab'ân, a ruined fort between 'Affâr and Sabra, himself advancing to Qaidân. They defeated some Turks in Sabra under Ahmed udh Dhimâri, who had been sent there by Abdurrahîm after the withdrawal from Sharaf. As a result Sabra, 'Affâr and Kuhlân Tâjuddîn submitted to the imam and acknowledged his jurisdiction. The castle of 'Affâr was besieged for a year.<sup>1</sup> The two castles, Zâhira, on Mt. Hinwam, and Mansûra, below Shahâra, then surrendered. (Mansûra was formerly called Rizwa and was renamed by the imam.) Shahâra itself then submitted, and most of the garrison settled in the imam's territory as they were married men with families. This was in IV or V.

Preceded by Ahmed ibn Ali ibn Da'îsh on a secret mission, the imam's captains had entered Maswar after the battle of Naqîl 'Ajîb and captured Bait Fâish, whereupon the whole district as far as Muda' and Mt. Nimra acknowledged him. 'Uli was captured and Ahmed ul Mihrâthi sent as governor.

When Yûsuf ul Himâti attacked Anis, 'Amir in Haima and Ahmed ul Asadi in Khaulân and Nihm cut the communications between Sanaa and Kaukabân. Civil war broke out in the neighbourhood of the capital, and the inhabitants were stricken with fear. Shots were fired at the castle from Mt. Nuqum, and any noise was held to be the beginning of the sack. Hasan pasha feared capture or death, and took counsel with the notables, both Arabs and foreigners, whether he should stay where he was or go down to Ta'iz and live there. He ordered Sinân to give up the attack on Thula and retire on Sanaa with his troops. The general refused. The pasha then wrote to the soldiers: 'Those who obey the sultan are to retreat to Sanaa with or without Sinân.' Seeing that the men would not obey him, the general collected the lighter baggage, burnt the rest of the corn and fodder with the plunder of Thula, and retired to the capital. When he heard of Hasan's desire to go down to Ta'iz he called him a weak-minded coward, and shut himself in his house to

<sup>1</sup> The surrender of 'Affâr was probably in II. 1007. When the citadel of a town has no special name it is often difficult to know whether the historian refers to the fort or to the whole town.

show his abhorrence of the pasha's baseness. This continued till Hasan promised to follow Sinân's advice. Now Sinân was crafty, bitter in his enmity, and steadfast in calamity. He gathered a number of Arabs, sharîfs and others, and asked them if Yemen had ever been in such a state as it then was. They said that this had often happened under the imams; for, if fighting were prolonged, their tribal following wearied of it, their zeal was quenched, and the cause collapsed. This report strengthened his resolve to persevere. The inhabitants of Shibâm, which was endangered by the retreat of Sinân, fled to Kaukabân. One day Ahmed ibn Shamsuddîn was found crying, for he firmly believed that disaster was near. One of his soldiers said, 'Up, my lord, and fight for your life; or abdicate.'

Meantime Yûsuf ul Himâti advanced on Dhimâr. He was learned and pious, obeyed God's laws, despised the world, and was honoured by all, especially by the inhabitants of this district. The local chiefs joined him, but from fear. The pasha had given them authority, their allegiance to the imam was not sincere, and they meditated treachery, corresponding in secret with the Turks. Two of the most important were actually sent by Sinân to betray Yûsuf: they did homage, promised to serve the Faith with wealth and life, and sent their sons and servants to the army. Muqbil ul Qâifi also joined him. The town of Dhimâr was captured, and most of the Turks were besieged in the citadel, and their vast wealth confiscated. The tribes of Hidâ followed Yûsuf and plundered the town, for there was an old feud between it and them. Yûsuf had forbidden this, and as they scorned his orders he attacked them and killed twenty. The rest fled. It is said that some went to Sanaa and asked Turkish aid. The Turks were delighted, for Hidâ held the road between Sanaa and Dhimâr and could make communication dangerous. A big army was sent south under Husain ul Wâ'iz.

This man deserves notice. He came to Sanaa in the guise of a religious, made himself a bed in a corner of the mosque, and preached to the people. If a rich man came to him he turned away to show his contempt for this world, but the poor he received gladly. The pasha and Sinân, experts in cunning, tried to find out all about him and offered him rich presents, which he would not take. Then the pasha called him to his presence, to hear him preach and profit by his learning; for the pasha

suspected that under the cloak of poverty Husain was aiming at power. On this first visit the pasha treated him above his deserts and gave him such gifts as befit a religious—a praying-mat and a coarse cloak; but no money, for Husain's scorn of it was known. Later the pasha set before him rich meats, and gave him valuable presents, in order that the desire for these things might grow in his heart. Again he called Husain, spoke long with him, showed delight in his company, and craftily led him out of religion into the world; till the man became his servant and at last emir.

When the news of Husain's advance arrived, Yûsuf held a council with the chief, who advised him to leave Dhimâr, in the hope of discouraging his soldiers and separating him from them. He was further advised to take up a strong position, but refused, possibly because he doubted the honesty of the counsellors, who had been high in favour with the Turks. He halted at Naqâ'a and was surrounded; ammunition gave out and he surrendered with three lieutenants to El Wâ'iz. Two other chiefs were captured at the head of Naqîl Sumâra: one was killed on the spot, the other was imprisoned for a few days in Dhamarmar, and then put in a sack and thrown over the cliff. Yûsuf was imprisoned in Sanaa and his death was announced soon after; the Turks had killed him. Most of his soldiers were allowed to go free. One result of this disaster, which occurred in the middle of VI, was the evacuation of Haima. While Yûsuf was in prison Masâr drove out its Turkish garrison and declared for the imam.

About the same time, while Mabyan, Kaukabân, Jâhili and Dhunûb, which were all dependencies of Hajja, were being besieged, Abdurrahîm began to treat with the imam. Negotiations lasted two months and were delicate, several missions passing between the two. The imam sent a company of sayyids, lawyers and chiefs, each party under the headship of one of their number. Finally an alliance was made. Abdurrahîm was to keep only the fortress of Mabyan, with all his property and lands; the imam would pay his soldiers and he would fight the Turks under the imam's orders. With five hundred soldiers he then visited the imam at Mt. Hinwam, where he was shown the highest marks of respect. Nevertheless, he changed his mind immediately, for he thought the imam had no chance of success so long as he observed the laws established by the Prophet to honour religion

and suppress evil. Also certain unfortunate incidents occurred: the death of Yûsuf ul Himâti and the battle of Ruhbân. The Faithful had overrun Khaulân Saada, and Haidân, and had shut the Turks up in the town of Saada and in Mt. Râzih. Then the Faithful in Saada with a crowd from Hâshid and Bakîl—altogether two thousand men—advanced to the town and camped near Ruhbân, posting some troops in the houses. When it became clear that they meant to blockade Saada the Turkish emir gathered his daredevils and rushed upon them. The Faithful fled to the hills and their leader was slain. The guard in the village capitulated, but faith was not kept and they were butchered. The sayyid Ali ul Khudairi was spared for a few days, when the emir killed him, it is said, with his own hand. The emir did not long survive and died, possibly by poison, crying out, 'Enough! sayyid Ali. Enough! sayyid Ali.' The slain numbered four hundred, mostly from Hâshid and Bakîl.

About the same time also, Ali ibn Ahmed ibn Abi-r Rijâl occupied Hazm at the request of the inhabitants, for he belonged to that village. While Yûsuf was in prison Sinân came from Sanaa with the Ismailians of Hamdân, who had a long-standing feud with Hazm. Ahmed ul Asadi brought up reinforcements and fighting went on for thirty-five days. Sinân used a cannon against the village, but the resistance of the villagers became proverbial. The Turks began to slacken, when the news of Yûsuf's death took the heart out of the defenders. The soldiers and the inhabitants retreated, the village was sacked, and all the vines and crops were destroyed—the vengeance of Hamdân!

Influenced by these events, and burning with the fires of disappointment, Abdurrahîm published his fidelity, concealed his trickery, took the money paid by Qâsim, and left for Sûda, plotting treachery. He began a correspondence with Ibn Mu'âfa in Qarn un Nâ'i and tried to trap Ahmed ul Asadi and other leaders of the Faithful, but they did not trust him. He was already treating with the Turks, so Sinân published this abroad to prevent him from changing his mind again. Sinân left Hazm for 'Amrân at the end of VIII and he was there joined by Abdurrahîm; so the Faithful withdrew from 'Ayâl Yazîd to Nurâsh, where Ibn Shamsuddîn attacked them in the rear and defeated

them. On 1. VIII the imam had moved to Habûr<sup>1</sup> to support his men who were besieging Sûda.

At this time envoys came to the imam from all parts. All save those who were too weak came, and his following grew rapidly. Every one who saw him loved him for his fine disposition, his kindly deeds and his generosity. God gave him the means to satisfy all comers with clothes, money, or food ; men knew that he found his equal only among the great imams of old, and his fame spread from Mecca to Aden. When his power was established in Saada, the sayyid Abdulla ibn Ali, who had tried to make himself imam in 993, declared for him, and went to Shahâra early in VIII. He was received with all respect, given high rank, robes of honour, and the finest horses, and made governor in Khaulân. His son Muhammad, who had quarrelled with his father, also joined the imam. As he was too fond of power, differences soon arose, and father and son fled to the Turks, who settled some villages on them.

The imam now ruled over the provinces given below (with the names of their governors), but his authority was by no means unchallenged as many of the strong places were held by the Turks.

<i>Province.</i>	<i>Governor.</i>
Ahnûm and 'Udhr.	Abdulla ibn Muhammad ul Mihrâthi.
Shazab and Zulaima. Zâhir.	Ibrahim ibn Mahdi ibn Hajjâf. <sup>2</sup> Sâlih ibn Abdulla ul Rurbâni.
Thula and its dependencies : 'Affâr, Kuhlân, Muda' and Upper Baun.	Hasan ibn Sharafuddîn ul Hamzi.
Haima and Tais.	'Amir ibn Ali.
Maswar, Qarâda, and Lâ'a.	Ahmed ibn Muhammad ul Mihrâthi.
Hajja.	Amîruddîn ibn Abdulla.
Sharaf and its dependencies : Hajûr, Mt. Aslam and Hiqâr.	Ahmed ibn Muhammad ul Qâsimi.

<sup>1</sup> According to the *Life* Abdurrahîm joined the Turks in IX. 1006 ; and afterwards Qâsim went to Habûr.

<sup>2</sup> The family of Hajjâf—the maker of leather aprons—had their home in Habûr.

*Province.*

Khaulân Saada I.  
 Khaulân Saada II.  
 Khaulân Sanaa.

*Governor.*

Muhammad ibn Salâh uz Zafâri.  
 Ali ibn Ibrahim ul Haidâni.  
 Ahmed ibn 'Awwâd ul Asadi.

The imam was served faithfully by his governors, for they gave themselves to God and led the Faithful in the right way, and spared themselves no trouble in the interests of the people in questions of taxes or rescripts. The Turkish officials had loved the things of this world and feared no human punishment, so their rule had been evil. In their ignorance the people did not know that any other was possible. The Turks had abused and ill-treated them ; the imam's governors were honourable and kind to their subjects. (This estimate of the Arab authorities is rather rose-coloured.)

While the imam was in Habûr in IX several important people joined him: the chief authority in the district on Zaidi canon law ; Ali ibn Yûsuf ul Himâti, who though young and without a beard yet showed signs of greatness and afterwards reached the highest place, honoured by friends and feared by foes, before treachery gave him a martyr's death ; and the traditionist Ahmed ibn 'Uthman, the Shâfe'i from Masûh. Qâsim showed him the highest respect, for he was one of the chief Shâfe'i doctors of the law in Yemen, and asked him about the traditions he knew. So he wrote for the imam a diploma for the Six Books, with an elegant preface recounting the exploits of the prophet's family.

Sinân went to Nurâsh after meeting Abdurrahîm at 'Amrân. Then fear possessed the Faithful, so Qâsim ordered the Turkish posts to be watched, and war to be waged in more distant parts such as Khaulân and Haima. Sinân had ordered a raid on Bait 'Ilmân, where the inhabitants slaughtered cattle and made a feast for the Turks. A foray from Maswar drove away the Turks and ate the meal prepared for them. 'Amir occupied Tawîla I. IX, and besieged the castle. An attempt by Ibn Shamsuddîn to relieve it led to many skirmishes, in one of which (4. X) the Faithful gave way to panic, but 'Amir made a bold stand till his army returned to the fight, when the battle grew hot. Rain fell and Ibn Shamsuddîn fled to his supports, where his brother was posted. That day at Taryâda thirty-four heads were cut off and much booty taken. Then Ibn Shamsuddîn returned to the attack under a screen of mules ; the surprise was at first complete but

the Faithful rallied and cut Ibn Shamsuddîn off. One of his slaves cried with a loud voice, 'Soldiers of my master!', till he was stricken with palsy and fell dead. They say that a man from Tais did not wish Ahmed to be captured or killed, and gave orders to let him escape. 'Amir stayed near Tawîla till I., 1007, skirmishing the whole time.

Sinân tried to relieve Ibn Mu'âfa in Qarn un Nâ'i. One attempt failed because rain soaked the matches of the Turks' guns. They fled and the tribesmen's swords did much execution; the booty included weapons, horses and raiment. Sinân wanted to shelter in a ruin, but his men would not suffer him, saying that it meant death or captivity. They fought bravely round him and, though most were killed, the general escaped—on the back of one of his servants, it is said. About two hundred Turks were killed; the Faithful were much heartened, and produced much poetry.

In the south near Dhimâr the tribe of Qâifa had rebelled. The late chief Ahmed had two sons: one, Husain, was a Turkish emir; the other, Muqbil, though young, was self-confident and highly esteemed by his tribe. He offered his services to Ahmed ul Asadi and was enrolled among the imam's followers. In 1004 Sinân had conquered Yâfi' and had left a garrison in Khalaqa to keep order in the land, for he had learnt a wholesome respect for the tribes while fighting them. When Muqbil joined the imam Yâfi' rebelled, so Sinân sent an army from Sanaa to relieve Khalaqa. The Arabs met the Turks at Najd us Salaf, otherwise Najd ul Hâj, near Radâ', where Abu'l Fath ud Dailami was killed in 430, and the Turks were defeated with the loss of fifteen chiefs and many common soldiers (at the end of VIII). Then the pasha sent Husain to persuade his brother Muqbil to return to his allegiance. When they met, Husain threw over the Turks, raised the tribes from 'Ans, Zabîd, and Yarîm, also the Al 'Ammâr, and attacked Ibb and Jubla. The Turks gathered their troops from lower Yemen and a battle was fought in the wâdi Hayyân at Shalâla, a day's journey from Radâ', IX. The Turks lost all their leaders and their camp. The number of the dead was never known, for they lay among the rocks, but in one place three hundred were counted. Sixty horses were captured. Hasan pasha then called Ali pasha, the emir of Abyssinia, to his aid.

During the fighting in Tais the Faithful took Muda' by a night attack, the chief success since the capture of Thula, for the town was strongly fortified. It is said that all the garrison were killed except one who hid among the women. The victors cut the ears of the women in their eagerness to take their ear-rings. This happened in XII. An attempt on Bukur near Kaukabân was a disastrous failure.

After the success in Tais, Ali ul Muhairisi<sup>1</sup> observed Kaukabân, in one skirmish inflicting a loss on the inhabitants of sixteen dead and forty wounded; after which he withdrew to a convenient point opposite the Banu Khayyât. Ahmed ibn Shamsuddîn was always trying some ruse on his opponent. They say he bribed the soldiers who had left him and joined Ali by reason of their fears for their families in Tais. In a skirmish one of these men shot Ali; his head was cut off and his followers fled to Tawîla. Another story is that Ahmed ibn Shamsuddîn nearly lost his life that day, as the Faithful had cut off his retreat. Opportune reinforcements from Ahjur arrived and fighting stopped. Ali gave his men a rest and the Turks surprised them. They made a poor fight. Ali was shot in the thigh and killed in a rush, thus winning a martyr's glory. He had given all his property to buy powder and shot for the holy war, and never looked back from opposing the wicked. His body was buried in his native place, and his head was carried to Kaukabân. His followers abandoned the greater part of Tais, but El Qarrâ' rallied them to his own troops and reoccupied Tais and Tawîla. Ibn Shamsuddîn tried to re-victual the citadel of Tawîla but was driven back with the loss of three horses. The historian Ahmed puts the death of Ali in VII, but the references to Tawîla show it must have been later. 'Isa reports it between events dated X and XII.

The sayyid Ali ibn Salâh was now made governor of Tais. He had great influence with the imam and had been the intermediary between him and Yûsuf ul Himâti. At the beginning of the crusade Abdurrahîm had imprisoned him in Mabyan. His father and kin lived at 'Ibâl, near Hajja, where his grandfather had migrated from Haraja. He made Sâqûf his head-quarters. It was the imam's intention that he should

<sup>1</sup> *المهيري* is derived from a village, the position of which is uncertain.

act with 'Amir and El Qarrâ', but they quarrelled; Ali and El Qarrâ' returned to the imam, and 'Amir went to Tais, where he was joined by tribesmen of Hâshid and Bakîl. At the head of two thousand muskets he inflicted considerable loss on Ibn Shamsuddîn.

South of Sanaa Ahmed ul Asadi was active. He defeated Hidâ and attacked the fortified village of Zarâja between Sanaa and Dhimâr. Because Sinân was near with a big army the garrison was off its guard, never dreaming of an attack. The first they knew was that their foes had broken through the walls and were among them. The spoil included three hundred *zubdi* of food. Ahmed had contrived to make peace between the tribes of Khaulân and Nihm, and gathered them into his army. By taking them on long raids he satisfied their lust for booty. The pasha sent Husain ul Wâ'iz against him. The capture of Yûsuf had raised Husain's reputation. He encamped with a large force of horse and foot, well equipped with tents and other necessaries, at Usnâf. At night Ahmed attacked his camp and at dawn drew off, intending to withdraw in search of supplies, for he had no food with him and had sought it in vain in the neighbourhood. The Turks feared a disaster, as they were far from Sanaa and the tribes were gathering, so they began to strike camp. As soon as the Faithful saw this they charged with a shout, and after an hour's struggle scattered the Turks, capturing their train, three hundred camels, seven hundred donkeys, a hundred horses, and forty-five mules. Some horses bolted without riders and Husain himself owed his escape to the fleetness of his steed. This battle was fought at the very end of X. Sinân had El Wâ'iz put to death for losing the day.

Early in the next year 1007 Ibn Mu'âfa began to treat with the imam, proposing to surrender Qarn un Nâ'i and join the Faithful, for the garrison were in sore straits, weakened with scurvy, and most of the prisoners and hostages had died of hunger. Qâsim wished for an unconditional surrender, but could not resist the entreaties of those who had relatives imprisoned in the castle, for the number of deaths among the captives had been concealed. Finally it was agreed that Ibn Mu'âfa should leave the castle, and that the imam's son Muhammad should occupy it, while the Turks and the subjects of Kaukabân should receive safe conduct. Ibn Mu'âfa joined the imam in Habâr and

was treated with all deference ; but many distrusted him, for they felt that his conversion was not sincere.

The only territory left to Ibn Shamsuddîn was Kaukabân, Bukur, and the castle of Tawîla, so he asked Sinân to join forces with him against 'Amir, pointing out that unaided he could not make head against the Faithful, and that 'Amir was the most dangerous of their enemies. So Sinân and Abdurrahîm collected all available troops and marched to Barîkat ul Khalb, near Kaukabân, early in II. 1007 ; it was a great host with three hundred horse. A council was held and Sinân showed that the success of the imam would mean the ruin of each one of them. It was essential to combine under one leader, so he proposed the chief of Kaukabân as commander. Ibn Shamsuddîn declined and all took an oath to obey Sinân. After taking steps to protect their rear, they marched on Tawîla, paying no heed to small outposts, and after a day of obstinate fighting they entered the town. Nevertheless they were almost besieged there, for the Faithful cut their communications and seized a convoy of food and munitions on its way from Kaukabân. For nine days this situation continued till Sinân bribed the men of Haima to desert 'Amir, who was then defeated and retired on Maswar to Ahmed ul Mihrâthi. A little later Sinân fell sick.

In II the imam moved from Habûr to Sûda, to support 'Amir by making the enemy uneasy about his line of communications, and also to extricate his son Muhammad from Muda', which was done successfully. In Sûda the imam had coins struck—half dirhems bearing on the obverse the legend, 'There is no God but God, Muhammad is the prophet of God', and on the reverse his name and the date.

The retreat of 'Amir caused a panic, and the town of Thula was abandoned. Sinân besieged the small garrison left in Muda' and at the same time attacked Maswar, where some of the tribes had come to an understanding with him, though they had not broken openly with the Faithful. He attacked Bait 'Udhâqa, and two days later the Banu Ali of Maswar took the Faithful in the rear. In the fight 'Amir escaped but Ahmed ul Mihrâthi was killed—a sore blow to Islam. Tongue cannot tell nor pen paint the nobility of this man, his influence, his piety, his humility, affability, and other virtues. Though young, you would have thought he had schooled himself in virtue through long years ;

all who came in contact with him loved him. He was deeply learned ; for the attainment of knowledge he had even denied himself marriage. You would say he had been born in authority as you saw him give the right commands, and be firm or gentle as occasion demanded, punishing the evil and relieving the oppressed. During the night the men of Maswar recovered his body and over his tomb they built a chapel.

Frightened by the fall of Thula and Muda', the troops in 'Affâr offered to surrender if their personal safety were guaranteed. The transfer of the fort was arranged for 17. II. This led to strife between the Banu Mauhib and Qardân. According to the terms of surrender, four of the garrison went to Sabra to buy sheep, ghee, and bullocks' feet, escorted by twelve of the Banu Shâwir. On the road they met fifty of the Banu Mauhib, who stopped them from going to the market and then robbed them. The two tribes began to fight, reinforcements came up on both sides, the blockade of 'Affâr was forgotten, and the fight became general. 'Affâr kept true to its engagement and did not use the opportunity. At last a servant threw himself between the ranks and restored quiet. The garrison of 'Affâr marched out under safe conduct with such goods as they could carry, leaving behind great store of necessaries of all kinds.

## CHAPTER II

### THE COLLAPSE OF THE ARABS

SHORTLY after the agreement with Ibn Mu'âfa trouble broke out near Saada between the governor and the soldiers. It was part of the governor's duty to provide supplies for the troops. The sayyid Muhammad ibn Abdulla ul Muayyadi, who was very popular in the district, made some request of the governor of Mt. Râzih, an old enemy, which was refused. Whereupon he called out his retainers, captured the governor and drove the Faithful from Râzih, all the while protesting his loyalty to the imam and excusing his action. The imam tried to restore concord but fighting broke out afresh and Muhammad retired to Haidân. In a second attempt to restore quiet the sayyid Abdulla ibn Muhammad ul Mihrâthi led an army to Haidân and a battle resulted at Marâzim near Wasaha (I. 1007) in which Muhammad was worsted with the loss of his horses and weapons. With a few followers he fled to Sâqîn and thence took his bedridden father to Qarâd in the country of the Al Hattâb, where he set his prisoners free. He then treated with the Turks of Saada, gave them his brother as a hostage and in the same month with their help beat off the Faithful. He exchanged humiliation for glory and went to Sanaa, where he was given the title of emir and men kissed his hand. There he remained till the surrender of the city, when he showed penitence and made his peace with Muayyad billa. He removed later to Saada, where he died (19. X. 1044).<sup>1</sup>

During these disturbances the imam issued a manifesto against this troubler of the peace. In it he said that Muhammad had written with his own hand offering to make alliance with Mansûr billa but had then favoured the Turks, alleging that they

<sup>1</sup> In these Arab histories dates giving the day of the month and of the week cannot be relied on. On the same page two dates that cannot be made to agree are sometimes given. It would seem that the beginning of the month depended on the actual sight of the moon; so it is pure chance when a date is correct.

were the true believers, whereas they were addicted to wine, sodomy, and murder. He had been minister of the imam Hasan but had forsaken him for Lutfulla ibn Mutahhar and again had proved faithless. A long quotation from the *Ahkâm* of Hâdi ila'l Haqq Yahya followed, describing the true imam. Muhammad was wanting in all these qualities; moreover, he had made friends of the Turks, those enemies of religion, so he had no right to the position of imam.

After 'Amir's retreat the only places left to the imam in Tais were the three towns of Muda', Thula, and 'Uli. The garrison of Muda' was drawn from several tribes and had had no time to bring their families into the fort. Sinân tortured their wives and children and destroyed their houses, so they made terms with him. Their commander was allowed to join 'Amir in Haura. At the end of VII. 1008 provisions in Thula were exhausted, so the commander, Hasan ibn Sharafuddîn, surrendered to Ibn Shamsuddîn after a gallant struggle—after seventy-five skirmishes they say—and was imprisoned in Kaukabân, where he remained nine years and fifty-six days. Some of the imam's children were also captives there.

Sinân entered Thula and put the defence in order. Perhaps he wanted to get Ibn Sharafuddîn into his own power for he arranged a marriage between Ahmed ibn Shamsuddîn and a daughter of Abdurrahîm and insisted on being present at the festival in Kaukabân. There were great rejoicings at their success against Mansûr billa. They muzzled a bull, tied it by a strong hide rope and called it the imam. Then they let loose a lion, the Turk. The lion sprang on the bull, seized it by the muzzle and dug its claws into it. Mad with pain, the bull tossed the lion and then trampled on it till it fell as if dead. The bull suffered no harm but the lion died a few days later; a portent of the victory of the Faithful. 'Uli remained in their possession for some time but at last the garrison, Banu Qudam, made terms with Kaukabân. Their chief was only saved from the vengeance of the Faithful by the intervention of the imam in person. At the end of 1007 Abdurrahîm occupied Kuhlân Tâjuddîn, the adopted home of Hasan ibn Sharafuddîn, and the town of 'Affâr. The Faithful still held the citadel of 'Affâr and surrendered it only when provisions were exhausted after a year's blockade (3. II. 1009).

Zafîr had promised to open its gates to the Faithful, but when Abdulla ul Mihrâthi appeared in Tais, where he thrice repulsed Abdurrahîm, they were slow to fulfil their promise. Then the imam sent his son Muhammad to 'Affâr, whence he advanced to Tais in response to an appeal from El Mihrâthi, for Muhammad ibn Abdurrahmân had been sent by his brother to attack the Faithful in the rear. The Turks gave up their plan and Zafîr invited Muhammad ibn Qâsim to save them from the wiles of the infidels, for a Turkish spy was trying to corrupt them. Muhammad and Abdulla met in Zafîr and attacked Hajja, where Ahmed ibn Abdurrahmân was deputy for his brother. (Kaukabân Qudam was fortified somewhat later by Abdurrahîm.) Abdurrahîm came in person from Sabra and in an attempt to blockade Zafîr was shot in the neck, the bullet coming out through his mouth, knocking away some teeth, and leaving a thickness in his speech. In IV. 1008 the men of Zafîr, who feared the growing power of the Turks, advised Muhammad ibn Qâsim to leave, so he went to Ahnûm. Fighting continued round the villages near Hajja, Mabyan, Kaukabân, Dhunûb, and Qibla. After the repulse of a raid from Zafîr the Faithful withdrew to Ma'dhin, which the Turks at once besieged as it was poorly found. In four days the garrison, three hundred men from Ahnûm and Wâda'a, were reduced to eating a mule belonging to Abdulla, and asked for terms. Reinforcements were hurried to Zafîr, so Abdurrahîm, fearing to be overcome by superior numbers, agreed to grant terms. He meant to break his word and posted troops on the road by which the garrison would march away, to attack them. But the Turkish officers kept faith and warned the vanquished, and, though Abdurrahîm ordered pursuit, God overturned his plans and delivered the Faithful. Then the soldiers in Masna'a feared for their own safety and were, moreover, hampered by having with them women, children and old men. So Ahmed ul Asadi with four hundred men came to Zafîr after a toilsome march, also Ahmed ush Sharafi at the head of three hundred, and together they withdrew the garrison with little loss. The task was the harder because the tribes were wanting in the fear of the Lord and much inclined to the transient joys of the flesh. Jâhili was also evacuated; the men of Ahnûm escaped but those of Jabr Hajja were cut down like cattle by Abdurrahîm, for they were his subjects. Zafîr then submitted to the Turks and several

of its chiefs were removed to Sanaa, where some of them died. Sinân too was so ill for four months that rumour said he was dead. About this time the chief, Nâsir ul Bahîli, plotted to assassinate the imam and offered to surrender his castle to him in person.<sup>1</sup> Qâsim's advisers tried to dissuade him from accepting but he would not go back on his word. As he approached the castle the chief fired three shots at him without effect.

Meantime the imam was preaching the holy war at prayers and in assemblies of the people. Often he tried to persuade carnal men who disliked the crusade and loved this world better than the eternal and feared lest they should be given an order they could not refuse to obey. Once after prayers he ran into a solitary place and, through the God-given strength that was in him, none could follow save one servant. And Sinân had been told that he had grown fat and fleshy and could no longer race!

During Sinân's illness Qâsim made a progress round Zâhir, Rurbân, Khamr, and the land of the Kalbiyûn, urging men on to the holy war. The tribes hesitated; eye and voice told their disgust with and weariness of the strife. Then he summoned Ahmed ul Asadi, who brought six hundred men from Khaulân and Nihm; they met among the 'Ayâl Yazîd and advanced towards Muda'. The allies of the Turks in Qaswa were given safe conduct because they were of the same tribe as El Asadi's men. The imam retired to Sûda, and Ahmed to the east; then Sinân advanced to Sarâra to threaten Shazab and Khamr. By bribes and promises he persuaded the Faithful to leave their posts, overran Shazab and invested Sûda. Qâsim fled from the town (II. 1008) in his shirt, with his arms and a Koran, and went to Abraç in Zulaima. Sûda surrendered soon after. Ibn Mu'âfa took refuge in Qarn un Nâ'i and two days later made his peace with Sinân, marching with him to Khamr.

The imam was in desperate straits; after the Friday prayers in Abraç he had with him only three muskets. The tribes feared the Turks and would not help him, and his soldiers had forsaken him, save a handful who never failed. Should he stop in Ahnûm or go to some other district? Ahmed ul Asadi came

<sup>1</sup> In the mountains every big house is practically a fort. Good pictures of these buildings are given in *Arabia Infelix* by W. B. Bury.

to Wâda'a, then joined Qâsim and persuaded him not to move. For many foes of the Turks had taken refuge in Ahnûm and if the imam left they would speedily fall a prey to the infidels. Further, Ahnûm knew more of the rights of the imam and the duties of his subjects ; they were famed for their fidelity to his cause—a marked contrast to other tribes—and he had a cheerful trust in God. This plan proved to be the best ; and for two years, till the siege of Shahâra, the imam stayed in Ahnûm. He had a prophecy written in the Kûfi character by the hand of Ali ibn Abi Tâlib that in the latter days one of the prophet's family would possess Shahâra and destroy the power of the Turks. Did this not happen under Qâsim, it would under his third son.<sup>1</sup>

After the death of Yûsuf ul Himâti his son Ali ibn Yûsuf visited the imam in Habûr and asked permission to continue his studies as he was not yet twenty years old. As he had already studied to some purpose and had a reputation for knowledge of law as well as for bravery and honour, the imam said the Cause was better than study, and sent him to the south to recapture the districts lost on the death of his father. He defeated the Turks in Anis and again in Alhân, and recovered the country as far as Dhimâr, Samâha, and Wusâb. The pasha sent an army to defend Dhimâr, but it was defeated and its general slain after fifteen days' skirmishing, although they had cannon with them. The victor, Nâsir ibn Râjih, maintained himself in Dhimâr till Ali Pasha returned from Khaulân.

After his conference with Qâsim in Ahnûm, Ahmed ul Asadi returned to Khaulân to find a sharîf from Sanaa corrupting the tribes by bribes. When he heard that this man had brought poison to destroy whom he could, he gathered the chiefs and just succeeded in capturing him. Then a quarrel broke out in Anis between Ali ul Himâti and Dawud ul Milâhi, which ended in open strife. Nâsir ibn Râjih helped Dawud, and Ali appealed to

<sup>1</sup> The family of Qâsim :—

By Maryam, a descendant of Dhu Sharafain : Muhammad, b. 990 ; Ali, b. 994 ; Ahmed, b. 1007 ; Fatima and Khadija.

By Taqîa bint Ali : Hasan, b. 996 ; Husain, b. 997.

By Taqîa bint Shamsuddîn ibn Hajjâf : Ismail, b. 1017 ; Yahya and Little Fatima.

By Zainab bint Ali ibn Hajjâf : Yûsuf Hamâya and Sakîna.

Also Abdulla, the son of a slave. The four wives were all descendants of the prophet.

Ahmed. He led two thousand of his own troops and three hundred under Ali ibn Falâh ul Hidâi from Dhirâ' ul Kalb, and patched up a peace by dividing the province between the two combatants.

Hasan Pasha knew that to return to Khaulân El Asadi must pass through Turkish territory, so he sent six hundred musketeers and two hundred horse, his own retainers, to A'shâr, one post to the west of Sanaa, thinking to take him at a disadvantage as he climbed the defile. Ahmed waited in perplexity for two days and on the third forced the pass, fighting from noon till sunset. Three hundred and twelve muskets were captured, and such Turks as escaped owed their lives to the cover of night. The same evening Ahmed attacked a Turkish post in Sanhân, but the tribes of Khaulân gave the garrison safe-conduct to Sanaa and the Faithful received two hundred *حرف* as compensation. He spent a month traversing Khaulân while Ali ul Himâti entered the Banu Matar. The effect of this battle was to rouse Nihm, Khaulân, most of Hidâ, Qâita, and Anis against the Turks and to make El Asadi their most redoubtable enemy. He demanded supplies from Turkish vassals and they dared not refuse; they satisfied him before their own lords. It often happened that foraging parties of the Faithful and of the Turks met in a village; the inhabitants entertained both and the Turkish emirs had to wink at such doings.

Sinân sent Majli ul 'Udhri, who had been long a prisoner, to Sarâra, a strong fort three miles east of Shahâra, whence he worked on the tribes of Ahnûm by promises and threats. Though repeatedly recalled to his duty he persisted in his faith to the devil, so at last the imam sent Hasan ul Mihrâthi against him. The Turks were not far off, the castle was believed impregnable, yet the Faithful carried it by assault. Majli had imagined he was safe as Ahnûm was too afraid of the Turks, and his own people dwelt in 'Udhr; but God disappointed his hopes.

Abdurrahîm sent the renegade Nâsir ibn Ali ul Mahbashi<sup>1</sup> to pervert the men of Sharaf as a preparation for an invasion. This was a man of wiles and devices; he made himself so useful to his masters that they made him an aga and later an emir with fifes and drums at his door. He put off all religion and followed

<sup>1</sup> Mahbashi is the *nirba* from Muhâbisha.

his own lusts, desiring a life of ease ; yet his plans did not succeed. He held the chief command for a short time only ; the Faithful often plundered his goods, drove him from place to place, destroyed his houses, and at last expelled him from the country. Thereupon he went to Sanaa with his wives and children. He held several governorships for the Turks, yet he was always writing to the imam and sending him money in the guise of vows. In 1034 he was despoiled of his property and his children imprisoned. He was in 'Amrân at its capture and made his peace with Muayyad billa as he showed contrition for the past. He built a great house in Muhâbisha—partly at the imam's expense—and was sent later to Zabîd to help in arranging the terms of surrender. He was a generous man of many fine qualities, and died in V or VI. 1045.

There were not enough of the Faithful to guard the borders of Sharaf, and, besides, they had been corrupted, for they had their families with them and knew the temper of the country. Some of their chiefs too were untrustworthy. The natives had been in correspondence with the Turks ; partly through fear and partly through enmity to the imam. Amrûr had sent hostages in secret to Hajja, Muhâbisha was led astray by the kinsmen of Nâsir who had a great place in their affection, and Hajr had promised obedience, stipulating that Abdurrahîm should not remain in their territory ; also the Banu Ka'b and the Banu Hillân. All these, save the Banu Ka'b who were too far away, could help the Turks in their advance. After these preparations, on 12. IV. 1008 Abdurrahîm and Nâsir marched on Amrûr. The army divided ; one division was led by a spy up a rough track to Sa'dân and the other moved by the pass. A few of the Faithful were posted at the top with orders to fire if they saw the enemy.. As the wind was blowing a gale their guns were not heard and the main body found itself attacked in front and rear and retired. The governor called a general levy but no one responded so he retired to Mt. Nûsân. Reinforcements from the imam came up, but as the troops of the Faithful continually melted away the governor retired further to Hajûr. Abdurrahîm occupied Nûsân and laid siege to Kuhlân (not Tâjuddîn), which shortly surrendered after Ali ush Shahâri had escaped by night from the fort. The imam sent another army into Shazab, but it was not strong enough to make head against the Turks from Sûda and so

retired. Meantime Hajûr was unoccupied and the chiefs appealed to Qâsim in the hope of realizing selfish ends of their own. In answer to this request Muhammad ibn Qâsim went to the house of Zâhir ibn 'Urjâsh in 'Ahim. Jirâd ibn 'Uthmân took this as a mark of favouritism and the two chiefs quarrelled. To promote peace Muhammad went to Jirâd's house, but notwithstanding, the bitterness increased and the chiefs threw in their lot with Abdurrahîm, who thus became master of all Sharaf and Hajûr.

After his visit to the imam in Sûda, 'Amir returned by way of Khaulân and Anis to Haima, where he was loved and obeyed. From this base he conquered the greater part of Tais, and halted among the Banu Haish with twenty servants while his six hundred soldiers went on to Radmân in Tais. Alarmed at this success, Ahmed ibn Shamsuddîn gathered his own men as well as some Turkish troops and plotted to trap 'Amir. As a blind he attacked Radmân and on the next day 'Amir himself. He took with him fifteen hundred men guided by some whose homes were in the Banu Haish, while six hundred others engaged Radmân. The surprise was complete. 'Amir hid in a wood and might have escaped as the Turks were pursuing his fugitive companions, had not a woman of the place screamed. The enemy returned and captured him, though a soldier of Kaukabân wished to let him go. Ibn Shamsuddîn then returned to Radmân and inflicted on the garrison, disheartened by the loss of their chief, a severe defeat. He took 'Amir to Sinân at Khamr. Sinân left him in prison for a fortnight and then had him flayed alive.<sup>1</sup> Those captured with him were beheaded except two lawyers, who were flayed. From earliest youth 'Amir had devoted himself to study, was well read in divinity and Arabic, and humble and gentle to his friends in spite of his pride. He obeyed the call of the imam, inflamed his soldiers against the foe, and fought manfully for the Faith. He was killed (Saturday, 15. VII. 1008). He was born in IX. 969.

About this time Sinân moved from Khamr to Sanaa with the view to attacking Khaulân. Abu Bakr the Chief of Raima, and his cousin fled from prison in Sanaa to Ali ul Himâti. At first he believed they were spies sent by the Turks though later he

<sup>1</sup> According to W., 'Amir was flayed by inches.

convinced himself of their devotion to the imam and helped them to retake their home, the wide lands of Raima and Bura', with their twelve castles. The Turkish captain, Hasan Bairaq Dar, surrendered with over a thousand men and was escorted to Zabîd as it was impossible to go to Sanaa.

In response to Hasan Pasha's appeal, Ali Pasha of Abyssinia<sup>1</sup> arrived in Yemen with two thousand soldiers. He knew the country for he had once been Governor of Saada, was rich and had formerly been known as the Khawâja. All lower Yemen went over to him, and till he reached Dhimâr, where Nâsir ibn Râjih tried to stop him, no one fired a shot or threw a stone at him. He bribed Muqbil ul Qâifi and his brother with money and promises and they lent him aid. Near Dhirâ' ul Kalb Abdulla ibn Sa'îd ut Tair helped by El Asadi tried to resist his advance, but in spite of a stubborn fight the Faithful retired to Maswar followed by Ali Pasha. Here they had better success and Ali retraced his steps to Mt. Lûz, where Sinân joined him. A native was bribed (they say he got a bowl of red gold) to lead the Turks to the top of Mt. Lûz, and immediately the tribes of Khaulân scattered, so Ahmed ul Asadi went back to Maswar with Ali at his heels. Maswar made peace, giving hostages to the Turks, who advanced to Sûq ul Hadârim, where they received the submission of Khaulân.

As Ali passed through Alhân on his way to Anis and Raima many of the local chiefs joined him and Ali ul Himâti retired before him. The pasha wrote to Bairaq Dar, who knew the country well, and ordered him to bring his treasure-chest to the camp at Mt. Zalamlam. The men of Harâz blocked the way so Bairaq Dar went through the pass of Marâs below Harâz. An ambushade was waiting at the foot and when Ali Pasha marched to the rescue they allowed the troops to pass and attacked him when he was only attended by a few servants, killed them all, and captured much booty in arms, money and mules. The pasha's troops were given safe-conduct as far as Wusâb till they reached the territory of Muhammad uz Zûm. The death of Ali Pasha fell on Sunday, 23. II. 1009. At once

<sup>1</sup> Abyssinia is the name given to the west coast of the Red Sea as far north as Suakin. Markham says the Turks captured Massowa about A.D. 1572, but Basset puts the conquest much earlier. The Turks were firmly established there in A.D. 1560.

El Himâti entered Anis, shut the Turks into the castle of Hajr Marrân, which was only an empty shell, without food or water ; so all their arms and treasure were captured. Sinân sent a fresh army and fighting lasted three months till the natives lost heart and El Himâti was driven back to 'Aniz.

At the same time that Ali Pasha entered Anis, Sinân, supported by Ibn Shamsuddîn, attacked Haima. He waited in his camp in Hadûr and did no more than destroy a few houses while Ahmed raided the Faithful. The men of Haima grew nervous, lost their enthusiasm, and gave in to the Turks, surrendering hostages. Then came the news of Ali Pasha's death, to the consternation of all. Sinân let it be supposed that he was going to take possession of Ali's treasure, posted troops in strong positions and returned by Mt. Thuwairîn to Sanaa ; Ibn Shamsuddîn likewise went back to Kaukabân.

During these events in the centre of the country the imam was busy trying to win the allegiance of Wâda'a and Rurbân, for they inclined to the Turks. After many excuses and refusals he bribed them with large sums of money to stand by him, and sent troops into the district. Rurbân, however, failed him. The emir Abdulla ibn Mutahhar attacked the Faithful in Wâda'a, and in spite of an initial success the tribes soon wearied of fighting and came to terms. Then Rurbân took sides with the imam, but only in a half-hearted fashion, and the Turks ravaged the district. Qâsim had also sent troops into Haidân but the leaders quarrelled, and Ahmed, the son of the imam Hasan, returned to Ahnûm full of complaints. When sent back to his post he made terms with the Turks, for he saw that the cause was declining and all men were submitting. Abdulla ut Tair and Ali ul Mihnaki continued to make head against the foe, killing or capturing some and spoiling others, till Abdulla left the country and joined the imam at Barat after the loss of Shahâra.

In 1009 (perhaps VIII) the Turks made a great effort to crush the imam. To this end they made Ibn Mu'âfa an emir and anyone who refused him that title was punished with a fine or in some other way. The army of the Faithful was posted in several detachments along a line south of Habûr. The enemy advanced northwards, apparently from Sûda, penetrated the imam's line and drove them back without much difficulty. In Habûr Ibn Mu'âfa destroyed the houses of all the sayyids and

plundered the country. The rest of Zulaima submitted. At the end of IX the emir began corresponding with 'Udhr and Ahnûm, and when satisfied with the promises of support—whether given through fear or goodwill—he sent Dhu'l Fiqâr past the west of Ahnûm to Hajr, which was evacuated by the Faithful. On 2. X they retired still further to the Banu Hamra. The emir Dhu'l Fiqâr deserves notice. His name, that of Ali's sword, is a popular corruption of some foreign name D-l-f Q-r. He may have been a Christian renegade or an Albanian. A few days later Ibn Mu'âfa began the investment of Shahâra by establishing camps at short intervals round the place; he fancied he had thus caught the imam. Throughout the blockade there was stubborn fighting, mostly near the Bab un Nasr, the Faithful making sorties in the night, plundering and killing as they could. One of the biggest of these was at Mahâfir, a white hill east of the town, where the Turks had built a blockhouse roofed with beams and doors collected from the countryside. The Faithful attacked them, not to stop the work, for the Turks were the stronger, but just to kill as many as they could. The fighting consisted mostly of stone-throwing, yet the Turkish commander was killed. The affair lasted from dawn to sunset, when the few Faithful left (some had gone to prayers and some to supper) captured nine tents pitched there by the Turks.

Several small parties including the imam, and his sons, Ali Hasan and Husain, escaped from the town. He left his son Muhammad in command, another son (Safiuddîn Ahmed), his wives and daughters, and many chiefs. His aim was to renew the fight and force the Turks to relax the blockade. Owing to the slackness and weakness of some tribes and the exhaustion of others he failed, and when all provisions were exhausted the town surrendered (XII. 1010 or I. 1011).<sup>1</sup> Harmony did not reign in the besieged town. Muhammad was afraid of the chiefs of Shahâra, while they feared he might attempt to escape as the imam had done; for Ibn Mu'âfa had threatened that he would give no quarter to the town if Muhammad escaped.

<sup>1</sup> The date given in the text for the capture of Shahâra by the Turks is the most probable. The *Life* is self-contradictory. It says the fall of Shahâra was ten months after the loss of Thula; but twice Qâsim is said to have escaped from Shahâra in X. 1010. In 1011 Muhammad was taken to *Kaukabân* as a prisoner.

Terms were arranged by the good offices of Ahmed ibn Shamsuddîn, by whom Muhammad, his relatives and friends were imprisoned in Kaukabân in a house named Mansûra. Sinân tried to get possession of Muhammad's person but Ahmed foiled the attempt, saying, 'Amir is disgrace enough.' The majority of the prisoners were set free in VII. 1017 when peace was made with Ja'far Pasha; the remainder were released two months later. The sayyid Mahdi ibn Ibrahim ibn Hajjâf remained in Kaukabân as chief judge and died there. His father died in captivity (Saturday, 22. II. 1011) and was buried beside the college of the imam Sharafuddîn in the tomb of the sayyid Mutahhar ibn Salâh ibn Shamsuddîn, in the right-hand corner by the west door.

Ahmed ibn Shamsuddîn died (11. X. 1013) and was succeeded by his son Muhammad who often showed spite in his treatment of his captives and afterwards expressed contrition and excused himself. He ruled for only two years, till 1. III. 1015, and his brother Ismail followed him—a weakling paralysed in the legs, who died during the peace negotiations (1. IV. 1017). There was difficulty in finding a successor for there was no capable member of the family of Shamsuddîn ibn Sharafuddîn the imam. Some proposed Muhammad ibn Qâsim, but they were a minority. Finally they agreed on Ali ibn Shamsuddîn, who was devoted to pleasure. His foot had been broken by a bullet in the days of the imam Hasan and he had to use sticks in walking. He was weak and foolish in character so he was appointed only as a lay figure while his son Abdurrabb ruled in his name. Muhammad ibn Azzuddîn ibn Sharafuddîn had hoped for the chieftainship and died of vexation at his disappointment.

Meantime the imam was wandering in the east, sometimes openly in Barat, sometimes secretly, and sometimes in lonely and desolate places, for the Turks were as much afraid of him as at the height of his success, and tried by bribery and other means to capture him, knowing that his death would mean the end of the Cause. In his travels he reached Najrân, and some of the tribes acknowledged him, but strife broke out with the Ismaïlia of Yâm, who were Bâtinia and hated the imam, so he returned to Barat, where he spent eighteen months.

About this time Nihm wrote to the imam asking for one of his chiefs to lead them against the Turks; so Ahmed ul Asadi

with seven companions was sent there. Sixty chiefs took the oath of allegiance, among them Sa'îd ibn Hâdi, whose father was an ally of the Turks. A party of Hâdi's followers, the Na'mân, waited in ambush for Ahmed and fired on him, wounding one of the party. The Faithful took refuge in a house and the whole country rose against them. Some of the tribes, the Qumaihât, came to their aid and in a day or two the whole district changed their minds and covenanted to acknowledge the imam and resist the Turk. Ahmed then camped near Madîd and served out powder and shot to the tribes. Sinân marched from Sanaa and occupied Madîd, whereupon the tribes of Nihm immediately deserted Ahmed and tried to surround him that they might bring the enemy down upon him, but he escaped by a lonely path and reached Barat under the guidance of Sa'îd ibn Hâdi.

Near Barat the imam had built a residence at Hajra for himself and his followers, poor houses and a big mosque, dug a well and surrounded the whole with a wall. A slave named Qarâjama led a raid from Saada and the men of Barat dared not resist. He destroyed Hajra, including the mosque, and the imam fled to the desert. One of the chiefs threw off his allegiance and cried his desertion aloud in the market. Qâsim cursed him and he died a day or two later. A second raid had come within half a day's march of Qâsim's hiding-place when the Turks quarrelled. The soldiers made their officers prisoners and plotted to kill the Governor of Saada. He was warned and on his guard. He won the favour of his Arab soldiers and sent Abdulla ibn Ali ul Muayyadi to the mutineers with the promise to remedy their complaints. Abdulla led them to Sanaa, where some were executed and the rest pardoned. In this way God delivered His humble servant the imam.

About X. 1010 some men of Hamdân, Ismaïlia, who had settled in Harâz, tried to capture Masâr, an important fortress and an old enemy. The garrison asked help from El Himâti, so he entered the fort with the men of Thulth, who were Zaidia and devoted to the imam. The whole country except Masâr was now subject to the Turks and the Faithful hid in the borders or lay hid among the tribes in spite of all Sinân's efforts to hunt them down. The Turks laid siege to Masâr, which resisted for over three years. Encouraged by this example, Haima summoned Ali ul

Himâti to lead them against the infidels. In a little while Ibn Shamsuddîn and Sa'dân ibn 'Ubaid ur Râshidi of Arhab marched against him. These two met near Radmân. Another army from Kaukabân marched from Shâhidhia to take the Faithful in the rear. Fearing for their families the men of Haima fled and Ali went back to Masâr. A deputation waited on the Turks and immolated an ox before them; their petition was not accepted and all the twenty-eight were butchered. The district was covered with Turkish troops. Anxious for their wives and children, the men of Haima collected them into the fort of 'Urr. This surrendered after Ibn Shamsuddîn had given promise and pledge that all within—men, women and children—should suffer no harm. After they had entered the fort Sa'dân allowed his soldiers to make prisoners the women and children, seven hundred in number, and take them to the camp. All the men had escaped. After strenuous exertions Ibn Shamsuddîn obtained their release, except forty women with their children, who were kept as hostages. This clemency disgusted the Turks, who destroyed many strong places in Haima. Two months later Sa'dân joined the besiegers of Masâr, who were disheartened at their lack of progress during the long blockade. He rebuked the men of Harâz and Kaukabân for their ill-success, and on the day after his arrival ordered a simultaneous attack from several points. The fighting was severe and Sa'dân with many of his soldiers was slain. It is said that during the siege the assailants lost nearly eight hundred men. El Himâti heard from Ahmed ul Asadi that the imam was in Barat and thought of abandoning Yemen as he had lost all hope of success there. This news determined him to surrender the castle. Sinân sent Dhu'l Fiqâr to take over the fort with Ali and all his arms and supplies (I. 1014 or perhaps V. 1013). All Harâz submitted to the Turks but in a short time the imam was back in Wâda'a.

Meantime Hasan Pasha had been recalled and Sinân appointed in his place (I. 1013).

## CHAPTER III

### THE SECOND RISING

DURING his stay in the east the imam kept in touch with those tribes that were well affected towards him and able to stand against the infidels. In III. 1014 he decided to go in person to Wâda'a to start the wheel of war, for life in Barat was dangerous as the natives were wavering through fear of the Turks. Wâda'a had given a promise of words, but they were ashamed to turn him away, so at first a few and then all joined him, although their chiefs were captives in Sanaa. About the time of his journey stars fell from heaven like rain.

Trustworthy report says that Ibn Shamsuddîn asked Qâsim to make peace with the Turks, offering him a fief where he could dwell with the rank of emir, and threatening to make his children pay the penalty should he refuse. The imam scorned the joys of this world, and promised himself to carry on the war, tricking his enemies with the craft of a fox, and springing upon them with the might of a lion. His answer shook the confidence of his enemies. Then followed his appearance in Wâda'a.

Another ally joined him for the following reasons. After the conquest of Sharaf, Abdurrahîm made his brother Muhammad his deputy there. He feared the Turks would take the province from him, for they coveted the wealth that could be drawn from it. He would not dare to refuse, for that would mean war and he was not strong enough to resist. He considered also the people's devotion to the imam, the success God had given him and the fear he inspired in his foes. By an alliance with Qâsim Abdurrahîm hoped to gain his own ends, because he cared nothing for the progress of truth, obedience to the sacred law and the imam. Yet he delayed fulfilling his promises as he thought of the power and wealth of the infidels.

The Turks had troops all round Wâda'a; a nephew of Ibn Mu'âfa in Khamr; the emir Darwîsh, an Abyssinian slave, in Khashab; and Ibrahim ibn Mu'âfa in Ahnûm. Ibn Mu'âfa himself, who was then Governor of Zâhir, Sûda, Zulaima, Ahnûm,

and 'Udhr, hurried to Khamr and drove Hasan ibn Qâsim out of Dhubîn and then returned to Wâda'a. In spite of an initial success of the Faithful Wâda'a was lukewarm, waiting for Abdurrahîm to declare himself while he was waiting for them. Finally he sent his brother Ahmed to Qarâda and Lâ'a; Mutahhar, another brother, to Ahnûm and Zulaima, and other troops to Mt. Jura' and 'Udhr with orders to give all help to the imam and use his name in the public prayers.

After Abdurrahîm had declared himself openly, the Faithful entered the district between Zâhir and Dhubîn, where some confused fighting took place. Ali ibn Mutahhar brought reinforcements from Sanaa but had to surrender under safe-conduct. Ahmed ul Asadi returned from Khaulân but the tribes would not follow him so he could do nothing. The Turkish base was Rajwa and during an attack on this place the Faithful were defeated because attacked in the rear by the emir Hamza, Chief of Darfân. This brought Qâsim to Dhubîn, where he stayed for twenty days.

At the time of the imam's entry into Wâda'a Ali ul Himâti appeared in lower Yemen. Some time before the Turks had evacuated it, except for a few fortresses, in consequence of a rising of some of the great chiefs of Hidâ and Ahmed ibn Sha'fal. Indeed, this helped Qâsim to his success. Hâdi ibn Rauthuddîn forsook Kaukabân and joined Ali. Together they entered Shâhidhia with two thousand men, put a garrison in Shamsân and occupied Tais. Ibn Shamsuddîn went to Tawîla, sent his army into Shâhidhia and drove the Faithful from Shamsân. For several months there was much confused skirmishing, Ali repeatedly retiring to Haima. In spite of paper triumphs he gained no lasting success.

Ahmed ibn Abdurrahmân captured Qarâda and the surrounding districts. Ibn Shamsuddîn sent various officers against him, but after a preliminary success the troops of Kaukabân were worsted and seven hundred men were driven like cattle into the presence of Abdurrahîm at Haura. He killed some, imprisoned others and incorporated the rest into his army. Yaqût Fâ'iq retired from Rurail, was sent to Shâhidhia and was there slain. Abdurrahîm captured Maswar and Lâ'a as far as Bait 'Udhâqa, while his brother besieged 'Uli for a year till it surrendered, after III. 1015. Abdurrahîm was puffed up by his success and

mischievous persons said the imam owed all his gains to him. He even tried to burn a messenger from Qâsim. He tied the man to an uprooted tree in the square at Haura and heaped wood round him. As they tried to light the pile the sky clouded over and rain quenched the fire.<sup>1</sup> The messenger's family were imprisoned at Mabyan.

Mutahhar ibn Abdurrahmân entered Abraç and received the submission of Zulaima, 'Udhr, and Ahnûm, whereupon Ibrahim ibn Abdulla ibn Mu'âfa retired to Shahâra and was besieged there. When provisions gave out they ate their donkeys. Messengers were sent to the imam at Dhubîn, for they preferred to surrender to him rather than to Abdurrahîm. He hastened to Shahâra, took Ibrahim prisoner, seized five hundred guns and as many swords, and let the common soldiers go. The siege was in progress in IX. 1014 and finished about the end of VIII. 1015. The imam set the administration of Ahnûm in order and visited Wâda'a before returning to Zafâr and Dhubîn. There he heard that Ibrahim had escaped from Shahâra. He had been given in charge to some of the Faithful, who were ordered to show him all respect. He bought one of the inhabitants with a heavy bribe and left the town at night by a narrow wadi. Dawn surprised them before they reached a place of safety, so they hid in a cave. A friend of the imam, one of the Banu Hakam, was asked to help in concealing them till night, and he told another Hakami, Muhammad ibn Ziyâd, who had helped the imam in his fight from Shahâra to Barat. It was agreed to give the necessary supplies to Ibrahim while the news was hurried to the imam. He arrived post-haste, and, pretending to have no precise information, searched the wadis till he found Ibrahim, who was taken back to Shahâra, where he remained till peace was made with Ja'far Pasha.

Abdurrahîm was very angry because Shahâra was surrendered to the imam, and dismissed his brother from his post as commander of the army. In the same outburst of temper he offered to throw in his lot with the Turks if they would give him Shahâra and Sharaf as a fief with the title of sanjak.

<sup>1</sup> During the late summer rain falls on the hills nearly every afternoon. The expedition to Faifa was hampered by the mist that hid the upper storeys of the houses and at times even the lower. D. describes this mist, which is called *umna* and *sukheimani*; cf. the *الجبلة* of Mt. Lebanon.

By this time supplies were exhausted in Zafâr. Darwîsh came to its relief, collected a crowd of tribesmen and made them carry provisions on their shoulders while his troops formed an escort. The town was revictualled, but, as the Turks were retiring, the Faithful attacked them and killed ninety-three, mostly carriers. This was between Zafâr and Dhubîn. After a successful skirmish at Madûd the Turks moved their camp to Sayad and the siege of Zafâr was pressed. It finally surrendered to the imam, who ordered it to be destroyed.

Mutahhar ibn Abdurrahmân entered Shazab and Rurbân, seized Sûda and besieged a son of Ibn Mu'âfa in Qarn un Nâ'i. But he quarrelled with his brother and relaxed his exertions. Ibn Mu'âfa seized his opportunity, relieved his son and retook Shazab. He was driven out of Sûda by the united troops of Abdurrahîm and the imam under Ali ush Shahâri. Other troops had entered 'Affâr and routed the Turks in the Banu Mauhib. They occupied Jura' and fortified it. Then Sinân sent Dhu'l Fiqr against them. The camps were so close that they could shoot from one to the other, but no decisive result was obtained, so Abdurrahîm came in person.

Qâsim meanwhile had conquered Zâhir and much of Khashab, namely, 'Ayâl Yazîd, Banu Ali, Dhibân, and part of Nihm. Fighting continued, mostly round Rajwa, till the Faithful quarrelled; the tribes were disgusted thereat and fresh Turkish troops arrived.

The Faithful withdraw to Zâhir and the enemy reoccupied Khashab. This was in 1016, probably VI. Then Zâhir was evacuated and Abdurrahîm proved as helpless as his officers and had to retire to Hajja, abandoning 'Affâr to the Turks, who put a garrison in Zafîr. This place had always been favourable to them as its chiefs were captives in Sanaa. At the same time Ahmed, his brother, retired from Lâ'a to Mt. Wa'lia so the Turks advanced to Rurail, and, in spite of an heroic fight, Maswar was given up.

Ismail ibn Shamsuddîn made Salâh ibn Mutahhar ibn Shara-fuddîn Governor of Tawîla. Now Salâh had hoped to succeed Muhammad as lord of Kaukabân and was discontented with his position, so he corresponded with the imam, offering to join him on suitable terms, and also with the Turks, bargaining for the rank of emir. Qâsim accepted his overtures and he gained over

many of his soldiers to swear allegiance to the commander of the Faithful. These doings became known. Turkish troops under Abdulla ibn Mutahhar were sent, ostensibly to help him, and Dhu'l Fiqâr came from 'Affâr to join them. While the latter was still on the road the Turks surrounded Salâh in a house in Tawîla. Although he had sent for help to Ali ul Himâti and Abdurrahîm, and the former was close at hand, he lost his nerve, surrendered on condition that his life was spared, and was made prisoner. Outside the town Ali was joined by a crowd of Salâh's soldiers, including thirty horsemen ; they went round the town, as they knew there was a party inside favourable to them, and then attacked, killing seventy Turks. Salâh looked from a window of his prison, and in trying to get out fell and broke his back. A soldier cut off his head and took it to Abdulla. At this point Dhu'l Fiqâr arrived. The cavalry tried in vain to stop him, and he joined Abdulla. Some of the townsmen joined Ali, who went back to Haima, and some went over to Abdurrahîm. The combined Turkish forces, four thousand strong, held the town (3. IX. 1015).

During these events Ridâ-uddîn<sup>1</sup> was in Sâqûf in Tais whither Abdurrahîm had sent him, ostensibly to help El Himâti against Kaukabân, but really to establish his own authority there. When El Himâti saw that their aims were not his he went back to Haima. Ridâ-uddîn became suspect to his chief and after a defeat at the hands of Dhu'l Fiqâr he was recalled to headquarters and put to death. Among the baggage which they captured the Turks found two letters from Abdurrahîm urging Ridâ-uddîn to betray El Himâti. They forwarded these letters to Ali. Ahmed ibn Ibrahim ibn Ali ibn Sharafuddîn took Ridâ-uddîn's place, but two days later Tais went over to Ibn Shamsuddîn, so he was sent to Bait 'Udhâqa where Dhu'l Fiqâr was attacking. This town was lost. Ahmed stayed in Maswar for a month till the people turned against him, when he went to Rurail, where Ahmed ibn Abdurrahmân joined him at Wa'îla. Under special orders from Sinân Abdulla ibn Mutahhar advanced to Zafir and raided as far as Mabyan to annoy Abdurrahîm by an action in his rear. Dhu'l Fiqâr had the worst of a fight at Wa'îla.

<sup>1</sup> His full name was sayyid Ridâ-uddîn ibn ul Mutahhar ibn Shamsuddîn.

Ali ul Himâti went to Anis, where there was much fighting. He had with him eighteen horsemen of the following of Salâh ibn Mutahhar whom Ismail ibn Shamsuddîn wished to return to Kaukabân. The imam's permission was asked, and as four had already fled to the Turks he allowed the others to go. Six joined Abdurrahîm, who had them killed. Ismail spent a large sum in arranging their return, so, as they desired it, Ali escorted them with five hundred soldiers to Kaukabân. On his way home Ali was persuaded by the chief Qâsim ul Jurami to rest at his house. After a meal they all went to prayers in a mosque close by, and then the chief invited Ali alone into the house, which was fortified and had its own water-supply. Some soldiers wished to accompany their commander, but he forbade them. Once inside, the host called his guest to a window to see a messenger just come from Kaukabân, and then this accursed chief with sixteen men of the Banu 'Amr, whom he had hidden in the house, sprang on Ali and stabbed him. The chief had wished to shoot him as he entered the house, but the gun missed fire twice. The body was taken out and thrown down the hillside. When his men saw it they besieged the house. Just then arrived Sâlih Hamrân, who had been sent at Ali's request as Governor of Haima. All the province gathered and blockaded Qâsim ul Jurami for three months without effect; then he was allowed to go to Sanaa, promising never to return to Haima (1. I. 1016). During the siege the sayyid Ali ibn Mahdi ul Anisi was robbed of the presents he was carrying from Ismail to Ali. The father of the robber happened to be in Kaukabân and was clapped into prison till the stolen property was recovered. El Himâti's kin killed the brother of El Jurami in revenge. It is curious that the house in which Ali was murdered had been built by him for his assassin to replace one destroyed by the Turks.

Ali ibn Salâh ul Akwa' was the next governor of Haima.

Sinân called Dhu'l Fiqâr and a representative of Ibn Shamsuddîn to a conference at Sanaa and they afterwards went to Rurail and drove Abdurrahîm back to Kaukabân Qudam. Then fighting stopped for a while, except under Abdulla ibn Mutahhar against Hajja. Ahmed ibn Abdurrahmân attacked Bait 'Udhâqa and had a brief success, but Darwîsh drove him back to Maswar, where he was practically blockaded for six months.

In IX. 1014 the imam had sent his son Ali to Khaulân Saada with one hundred and twenty men, of whom fifty had muskets. At Ja'âsh Ali ibn Ibrahim ul Haidâni joined him. He and his followers had been living like nomads round about Faish, where they were beyond the reach of the Turks. At Mauhira, below Haidân, a few men from Khaulân joined him, but the fear of the Turk lay heavy on the land and no one wished to see the Faithful in his neighbourhood. However, Muhammad ibn Jirâd ibn Haus invited Ali to his domain at Dhirâ' near Faish, promising him men and money. A detachment was sent near Sâqîn to cut supplies off from Saada, but the plan miscarried. The Turks under Qarâjama attacked the Faithful at Dhirâ'. The camp was without water so, fearing to be hemmed in, they retired to a hill in the west of the Banu Dhuaib. Arriving at dawn, they were surprised by the Turks and retired on Faish; but the Turks went back to Haidân as they had not won the success they hoped. The Faithful waited for two days, though their only food was flesh, and then, on the advice of a chief, they wandered among the Banu Dhuaib, although the chiefs were on the side of the Turks and the tribesmen feared reprisals.

Ali then attacked the market of Zâhir in Hiqâr with a mixed force of his own followers, the Banu Dhuaib, and fresh arrivals from Sharaf and the coast. They killed three men and gained a considerable booty. Next he attacked Mihsân in the centre of the Banu Dhuaib. The Turks had fortified it while the imam was in Barat, and the natives detested the garrison and rejoiced at the prospect of destroying it. It was proposed to surrender the fort if the lives of the occupants were spared, and the chief joined the imam. The commander however, fled, so the fort was demolished. Abundant supplies were now brought to the Faithful in 'Urr. By these successes Ali's position was so strengthened that deputations came from all parts with the fitting dues and the Turks were thoroughly alarmed; so they advanced against him through wadi Talh. As the army was climbing the pass the Faithful attacked their camp, which was held only by the general, the Governor of Haidân, and his retainers. A mist covered the advance and the surprise was complete. The Turks fled and many were shot during the flight. The survivors took refuge in a castle from which they were rescued by an expedition from Haidân. The troops that had attacked 'Urr reached

Haidân only two days later, when the fighting was over. The Banu Dhuaib, grateful for their deliverance, gave the Faithful all the food they needed. Two hundred more men, half of them with muskets, arrived from Qâsim and met Ali at Ja'âsh, and after long deliberations he advanced on Nau'a in the middle of Turkish territory in Khaulân, believing the inhabitants would rise in his favour.

The raid was a fiasco. Very few welcomed the Faithful, some hid and others joined the Turks. The new Governor of Haidân, the sharîf Yahya ibn Hâdi, surnamed 'Father of Fingers' because he had six fingers on each hand and six toes on each foot, surprised the raiders, driving them off with some loss to the Banu Sawîd, who welcomed them, as the Turkish arm did not reach so far. Ali then determined to raid Abdulla ibn Ali ul Muayyadi, who was living among the Banu Jamâ'a in high favour with the Turks. His approach was betrayed, Abdulla fled and the soldiers pillaged the place, contrary to orders, for Ali knew the plundering of their goods would prevent the tribes from joining him at that time or later. He threatened to confiscate anything that might be sold to traders. His next move was to Rurâfa and then to Bausân.

This last skirmish moved the Turks to fit out an army from Saada under the lawyer Muhammad ibn Abdulla, the previous governor of Haidân, who advanced to Rurâfa, where he was besieged for fifteen days. Relief was on the road, so Ali tried to prevent its arrival, but failed and retired on Bausân. Here he received letters from Qutâbir, from the sayyids of the Banu Yahya ibn Yahya, urging him to join them. There was a long-standing feud between Yahya and Nasr. Nasr had guided the Turks on their march from Saada, and suspected Qutâbir of sharing in the plunder of the Jamâ'a who belonged to Nasr. Ali acceded to their request, but no fighting men joined him, and all the food he got was a little corn.

Led by the Nasr along little-known paths, the Turks came on him in the morning. He wished to fight but was dissuaded by the natives and retired to the west of Qutâbir, leaving the land open to the enemy, who wasted it after a little fighting. The Faithful marched through the Banu 'Ibâd and the Banu Kurbân in Khaulân to the Banu Dhuaib, and forwarded their taxes to Shahâra. The Banu Dhuaib were faithful to Ali so long as he

remained in Khaulân. They were connected with the sharîfs of the family of Hâdi but were ignorant and inclined to sufism.

Strife broke out in Mt. Rarâ, some holding to the Turks while others declared for the imam. The latter invited Ali to help them, so he went to Qillat ul 'Awâzim, whence he sent for succour to the Banu Dhuaib. The Turks collected troops from Saada, Mt. Râzih and Khaulân, and surprised the Faithful, who fled with the loss of twenty men. Ali was too late to help so he retired among the Dhuaib, followed by the Turks. Knowing that his own followers were not strong enough to give battle, while the natives were busy securing the safety of their families and property he withdrew to the debatable land between Khaulân and the desert. When tired of wandering there he went back to Wâda'a, to his father (VII. 1016).

Early in 1016 Sinân heard that he was to be superseded by Ja'far Pasha so he tried to arrange a truce with the imam through the good offices of Ibn Mu'âfa. This came to nothing. On 19. IV the new pasha landed in Yemen, and in VI Sinân advised him to come to terms with the imam. This attempt was also fruitless. The pasha then turned to Abdurrahîm, who had written to him even before his arrival in Yemen. The pasha's envoy was murdered, so negotiations with the imam were resumed. In the meanwhile Sinân had gathered his vast treasure and taken it to Mocha, where he died (5. VIII). Ja'far seized his property, except a trifle, which was left for Muhammad ibn Sinân. In XI. 1016 there began a ten years' peace between the imam and the Turks. The imam was to hold the territory he occupied—Ahnûm, 'Udhr, Zulaima, Wâda'a, and 'Usaimât. There was to be free intercourse between the two states, and those holding property under both lords, should be free to use it without let or hindrance. All prisoners were to be released. At this time the imam's sons Muhammad and Ahmed regained their liberty.

The affairs of Haima were also settled. It was agreed to pay to the imam the dues formerly given to the Turks. A general amnesty was granted and the hostages in Sanaa were released.

Muhammad ibn Ali ul Qarrâ' wrote to Ja'far requesting him to use his influence with Ismail ibn Shamsuddîn to procure the release of his children from Kaukabân, and expressed a desire to

join the Turks. Ja'far complied and El Qarrâ' went to Sanaa, where he lived with his children till 1023.

It was now the turn of Abdurrahîm. Six thousand men from Sanaa and Kaukabân concentrated in Maswar and drove Ahmed ibn Abdurrahmân to Wa'îla and then to Haura, where Ahmed ibn Ibrahim ibn Sharafuddîn was slain (1. IV. 1017). They then besieged Ahmed in Mabyan and Abdurrahîm fled to Sharaf. Mabyan surrendered with all its treasures, including many valuable books, and Ahmed was sent to Sanaa. Nâsir ul Mahbashi and Muhammad ibn Abdurrahmân played the traitor for a price, and in IV. 1018 Abdurrahîm surrendered the castle of Kuhlân in Sharaf and was sent captive to Constantinople (VIII. 1020), where he died a prisoner. Probably the imam was glad to see the last of a dangerous foe and a shifty friend. At least he kept strictly to his treaty with the Turks.

During the truce, which was kept honourably by both parties, the imam's influence grew steadily. Travellers carried the tale of his justice and generosity in all directions, and envoys came to him from all parts.

It was at this time that Abdulla Chelebi conquered Raima, which had been independent of the Turks for eleven years, since the death of Ali Pasha, and that the governor of Saada, Muhammad the Turk, tried to make himself independent. He intrigued with the Sharîf of Mecca, and also appealed to the imam for help, as well as to Ahmed, the son of the imam Hasan.<sup>1</sup> Qâsim refused to break his word to the Turks. Ja'far advanced against Saada, and Muhammad fled to Najrân and then to Mecca, as his soldiers abandoned him. Ahmed took sides with the imam. As Muhammad had been a slave of Murad, the Pasha of Egypt, his former master was angry and had a new pasha appointed in Yemen.

In III. 1022 Ja'far left Sanaa and Qâsim prepared for war, for several reasons. The truce was a personal arrangement with Ja'far. The new pasha Ibrahim would know nothing of the office of imam and his chief concern would be the extension of his dominions. It would discourage the Arabs if they waited to be attacked. The Turkish officers in the districts bordering on

<sup>1</sup> Ahmed, the son of the imam Hasan, had deserted to the Turks in 1009 and was at one time their Governor in Sharaf.

the imam's lands gave him an excuse for war by their hostile acts. They feared the new pasha would renew the truce and hoped to profit at Qâsim's expense. Their hopes were disappointed.

Qâsim made his son Hasan commander-in-chief. The first move was against Jura' in 'Affâr, whose chiefs had promised to surrender it to the Faithful. The army sent was too small and it had to retire with the loss of some of its equipment. Misunderstandings between Qâsim and his son also contributed to the failure. Shazab was next attacked. The soldiers advanced to Mausim, where the inhabitants united with them and they were reinforced by the troops returned from 'Affâr. Advancing into the Banu Hajjâj, they overran Sûda and besieged the partisans of Ibn Mu'âfa in the citadel. Others entered the Banu Haish, who opposed them, breaking their promise to declare for the imam on the arrival of his troops. The Faithful retired, yet the Banu Haish submitted after they were threatened with the wrath of God and of the imam.

The turn of Sharaf came next. Qâsim sent his son Ali through Hajûr, another son Husain by way of Nûsân, and supported them with Ahmed ibn Hasan. Ali entered the Banu 'Uthmân, half expecting their chief Jirâd ibn Sirâh to fulfil his promise and join him, although he knew the man's worldly mind. Jirâd excused himself on the ground that his promise was conditional; but in the fight that followed he was killed. Some say Ali fired the fatal shot. That night as he lay dying Jirâd acknowledged the imam and confessed his sins. His tribe joined the Faithful (Sat. 16. III. 1022). The same night Husain reached Hamîmat us-Sa'dâ and sent a detachment to Qufi Madûm, which they captured. Ali received the submission of the Banu Ka'b and reached Tahnana, where Husain joined him with the men of Nûsân. United with Ahmed ibn Hasan they besieged Kuhlân. Nominally the Governor of Sharaf was a Turkish aga at Wa'lia but the real power was in the hands of Nâsir ibn Ali ul Mahbashi. These saw they could make no stand against the imam, so they retired in haste to Muhâbisha hotly pursued by the Faithful. Ali stayed two months in Sharaf, besieging Qâhira, and gained much spoil—a hundred muskets, and as many swords, besides carpets and copper.

Qâsim's cousins, Muhammad ibn 'Amir and his brother Abdulla, with the help of Ahmed ul Asadi and others, overran

Zâhir and besieged the governor, Salâh ibn Ahmed, ul Muayyadi. Then they advanced into 'Ayâl Yazîd and Muhammad occupied Dhubîn, while Rurbân declared for the imam.

Qâsim's sons attacked Hajja. Husain with Sâlih ibn Nâsir marched by Amrûr to Wadra, where they won a victory. Then Sâlih was besieged in Dâm to the east of Wadra and was reduced to great straits, for it was summer and he had neither food nor water. In their eagerness the Turks suffered heavily, for they pressed close to the house and every shot told. Husain hurried from Amrûr and others from Sharâ'ib, much to the surprise of the foe, who believed the tribes were slack and insubordinate. Their only hope was flight, no two together. Some died in the simoom<sup>1</sup> and the survivors took refuge in Hajja and Haura after losing great store of arms. Had the besieged known earlier of the arrival of help the Turkish loss had been greater. 'Abs<sup>2</sup> and the Banu 'Akkâb joined the Faithful and Husain went on to Shamsân.

The next day another Turkish detachment under a slave named Sâlim came from 'Affâr and were defeated outside Haura by Ahmed ibn Hasan. The commander with twenty men sought refuge in a house, was captured and sent to Shahâra. Another party besieged near Haura was allowed safe-conduct. Thus the whole district was won for the imam, except the fortresses. On the invitation of the inhabitants, who, though worldly-minded and inclined to favour the Turks, were yet of a calculating disposition, Husain advanced to Ma'dhin and laid siege to Mabyan, Dhunûb, and Kaukabân. The Faithful entered Qarâda, Lâ'a, and Maswar, and garrisoned Bait 'Udhâqa; then Ahmed ibn Hasan followed to arrange the government and supplies for the troops.

During the events just described Ali sent Muhammad ibn Ahmed ul Muayyadi with some of his relatives to 'Affâr. From Qaidân he wrote to Hasan ibn Qâsim for help and Nâsir ibn Muhammad—nicknamed Es Sabh—was sent to his aid. The

<sup>1</sup> In the *Cradle of Mankind* (Wigram) is a description of the simoom in Northern Syria. One man out of a party may be struck down, the direct cause of death being apparently apoplexy.

<sup>2</sup> The text in *Ahmed* has 'Anas, but other references to this district are always 'Abs. The 'Akkâb, whose name is sometimes written 'Akkân, lived near Hajja and Shamsân. They are not to be confused with the Ka'b of Sharaf.

Faithful defeated the Turks at Sabra, killing seventeen and wounding thirty. After some changes of fortune Darwîsh withdrew to 'Amrân, leaving an outpost in Darb ul Jadîd. The Faithful entered Sabra and invested Kuhlân, taking it after a month. When they heard that Ahmed ul Akhram was advancing from Sanaa with seven hundred men they took the opportunity and cleared Darb ul Jadîd before he could arrive ; thus Kuhlân, Ashmûr, the Banu A'shab, and the Banu Qatîl became subject to the Faith. Meantime Ali and Ahmed, the sons of Hasan ibn Sharafuddîn, entered 'Affâr. Then the imam compelled their father Hasan to become Governor of Kuhlân, his own country ; notwithstanding his great age and bodily infirmities he was not allowed to refuse. He ordered the siege of Ashmûr and sent Es Sabh to meet Ahmed ul Akhram. After the fall of Ashmûr, when the garrison were allowed to go free, the Faithful gathered near Muda' and routed El Akhram. Ibn Shamsuddîn tried to make a diversion by attacking Bait 'Udhâqa but on the arrival of a relieving force he retired. Then Ahmed ibn Hasan went to lower Lâ'a to provide for the needs of the troops, leaving Zâhir ibn 'Urjâsh in 'Udhâqa. Some of the inhabitants of Dhunûb plotted to hand over the town to the imam. Husain led his troops through the mountains and introduced them into the town, where they shut the Turks up in a house that was too strong to be carried by assault. He therefore allowed them to depart unharmed to Mabyan. None of the Faithful would stay in Dhunûb so it remained without a garrison.

A party in Zafîr had treated with Husain but the majority called in the Turks, whereupon those in Mabyan reoccupied Dhunûb ; disaffection spread among the Faithful, due in part to the treachery of Ali ibn Muhammad ush Shahâri. He was ambitious, saw the imam had nothing to offer him, so he began to bargain with Darwîsh from his station in 'Ayâl Yazîd, meaning to scatter his followers, lay bare the frontier and join the Turks. Darwîsh promptly entered 'Ayâl Yazîd, the gateway to the west, especially Shazab, Banu Haish, and Zâhir. Panic laid hold of the Faithful : most of them fled to Sharaf or Tais ; only Hasan ibn Sharafuddîn and Muhammad ibn Sâlih ul Rurbâni stayed among the Banu Haish. All the newly conquered territory lay open to the Turks, who advanced to Darb ul Jadîd. Only five men followed Ali in his desertion.

Immediately the imam hurried his son Ali and Ahmed ibn Hasan back to 'Affâr with three hundred men. In Qaidân they were joined by Nâsir ibn Muhammad and were then attacked by Darwîsh with fifteen hundred soldiers drawn in part from Sabra. The fight lasted all Friday and the Turks retired. Sabra was then attacked. Sâlih ibn Nâsir was sent to occupy a fort midway between 'Affâr and Sabra, one of those dismantled by Sinân. He had neither food nor water, and after a brave resistance was captured with fifty of his men and taken to Sanaa. This was a blow to Husain, who had made desperate efforts to relieve him. Darwîsh and Ali ush-Shahâri then attacked Husain in Banu Haish, but with the help of his brother Ali he drove them off. Ali then moved forward to Thula and Hadûr ush-Sheikh.

Hasan, the Commander-in-Chief, asked his father's permission to go to Rurbân, whence he could lend aid to Zâhir. It was given on condition that he made Rurbân his base and did not stop permanently in Zâhir. He advanced as far as Khamr and the Kalbiyûn but was hampered by strife among his soldiers. A little to the south the Turks attacked the Banu Qatîl and Hasan ibn Sharafuddîn was forced to leave Ashmûr because the natives declared they were not strong enough to resist the Turks.

During the events just described Ja'far pasha was at Zabîd, where he quarrelled with his successor Ibrahim, only making peace by the gift of a large sum of money. Ibrahim started for Sanaa, sending on ahead Abdulla Chelebi, who had been a trusted servant of his predecessor and now attached himself to the new power. A day's march beyond Dhimâr Ibrahim died (28. V) and his body was taken back to the town and buried there. Ja'far stopped preparing for his journey to Europe and started for the capital. Abdulla Chelebi, however, feared the anger of the master he had deserted, so he claimed to be the representative of Ibrahim and made the Turks in Sanaa take the oath of obedience to him. He recalled Darwîsh with his army, leaving only garrisons in the forts. He also tried to persuade the imam to refrain from hostilities while he sent his troops to meet Ja'far. The Faithful at once occupied the undefended districts from 'Ayâl Yazîd to Maswar. Even the castles were captured—Mabyan, Dhunûb, Jâhili, Kaukabân, Hajja, and Kuhlân. This last was dismantled. In Tais Abdurrabb ibn Ali ibn Shamsuddîn

resisted the Faithful, who had only eleven muskets among them, but was defeated with the loss of a hundred muskets and many stores. Thus the imam's domain reached to Khaulân Sanaa. Meantime the two Turkish armies met between Sanaa and Dhimâr. Ja'far used Haidar, one of his officers, as an intermediary and easily won over the half-hearted soldiery from their obedience to Chelebi by the promise of increased pay. A number of Chelebi's officers were executed, among them Alî ush Shahâri, who thus lost this world and the next. Ja'far advanced to Sanaa, Abdulla surrendered and was put to death with his chief supporters.

In Haima also the Arabs responded to the call of the imam and expelled the Turk. Ahmed ul Asadi and Abdulla ibn Sa'îd ut Tair came to their aid and advanced, one into Tais and one to Hadâr towards Sanaa, where the Banu Matar joined up. Two of the imam's officers in Tais quarrelled about the command; Ali ibn Mahdi returned to Haima, while Abdulla ibn Hâdi went towards Hajja but was treacherously murdered by Ibn Ahdal the sufi.

Muhammad ibn Ahmed ul Muayyadi asked Qâsim's permission to raise the holy war in Khaulân Saada, for that was his own country and the sphere of his influence. He asked no help save powder and shot, undertaking to pay the soldiers himself. Qâsim was unwilling because he was already busy with war in various parts of the country and Muhammad would be beyond the reach of help. He also feared the Turks might crush him, a disaster of which the effect would be more than local. Muhammad persisted and the imam gave way, sending with him Ahmed ibn Ali ibn Da'îsh to receive the taxes and free-will offerings. The Banu Jamâ'a declared for the imam and Muhammad sent his nephew Ahmed ibn Mahdi on ahead to meet him in Khaulân; then he himself advanced to the borders of Haidân, which had promised to join him. The natives attacked the Turks at Tûl, but as they had neither discipline nor leaders they fled shamefully to their homes and Muhammad retired to the edge of the desert. The Governor of Saada ordered the garrison in Tûl to retire on Sâqîn. As soon as they heard of this retreat the tribes rose as one man and Muhammad hastened to join them in harrying the foe. The two Ahmeds came on the scene and cut the road to Sâqîn. The Turks took refuge in a ruin and were

all captured; the Arabs were set free and the Turks killed. Ahmed ibn Ali ibn Kibâs joined the Faithful with his tribe of Sihâr, and Sâqîn surrendered; the commander and some of the arms were sent to Shahâra.

Then Ahmed ibn Ali ibn Kibâs and another chief who had escaped from a Turkish prison marched on Saada accompanied by the sharîfs of Jauf from Mt. Dawud. The Turks thought the tribes would never stand against soldiers, especially cavalry, but they learnt their mistake. A townsman of Saada made a breach in the wall near the Suwaidân Gate and then told the Faithful. Four hundred men entered by this breach and the inhabitants joined them. The Turks fled, losing heavily as they ran, to two fortalices, the house of Mutahhar, and Mansûra, where they were surrounded. The city gates were opened and the army entered. The only houses sacked belonged to the soldiers.

The same man who had broken the wall suggested tunnelling into the building where the hostages were confined. Sinân had built this and it was terrible to look on. It held one thousand people—women and children. Those born within it were astonished at the number and variety of creatures and things without. Its only door led into Mansûra and none were allowed in by night. Men who wished to visit their relatives were admitted by day and came out at night. It was named El 'Ajmâ. The tunnel was dug and the hostages set free.

Then the attack on the castles began with vigour and ferocity. Now no one feared for his hostages; no one suspected any of favouring the enemy. The garrison soon lost heart and surrendered on condition that they might go to Sanaa with the honours of war; the only things to be left behind were the grain, powder, and five culverins. The tribes from all round had crowded into the town and the imam's officers grew anxious. The Turks secured a promise of safe-conduct from the tribes through whose territory their route lay, and began their journey accompanied by the chiefs who had guaranteed their safety. Only a short way from Saada the tribes fell on them, slaying and plundering. The emir escaped only because he and the few who protected him were mounted; they succeeded in reaching the protection of the town and army. More than this the army could not do, for they were no more than a drop in a rainstorm. Muhammad ibn Ahmed could only rebuke the tribes, report to the

imam on their want of obedience, and ask him to send one of his sons whom the tribes would respect and fear. So Husain ibn Qâsim was sent and disorder ceased. Muhammad ibn Ahmed tried to restore to the emir what had been stolen from him, but only partially succeeded. Then he sent him to Abu 'Arîsh and by way of the Tihama to Sanaa.

Other successes were the capture of Mt. Râzih and Umm Laila. The garrison of the former were allowed to leave with their private property, but they were robbed and many were slain before reaching Abu 'Arîsh. Umm Laila was one of the strongest, best-fortified, and most inaccessible castles in Yemen ; it was destroyed by order of the imam. Thus all Saada was brought under the Faith, also all Zâhir except Zafâr. Elsewhere, only 'Affâr, 'Uli and Qarn un Nâ'i still held out.

When Ali went to 'Affâr he left an officer as his deputy in Sharaf, but the imam deemed it wise to send his son Muhammad thither (V. 1022) to keep order, besiege Kuhlân, and send regular supplies to his brother. He made a visit of six weeks to Zafâr, which was suspect by reason of its dealings with the Turks, and where Ahmed ibn Hasan had caused trouble by his severity in collecting the taxes, and returned to Sharaf (VII), remaining there till the Turkish invasion (X).

The successes of these months were more apparent than real. The Turks were surprised and at the same time distracted by internal strife. The real fight was now to begin.

## CHAPTER IV

### END OF THE FIRST TRUCE (1026)

WHEN Ja'far returned to Sanaa he confiscated the property of Ibrahim pasha. Abdulla Chelebi and the other officers he had executed, and prepared for war. In IX he appointed Haidar an emir and sent him to 'Amrân with an army between nine and ten thousand strong apart from the contingent from Kaukabân. Hasan ibn Qâsim was then at 'Ilmân in Maswar, and on the news of the enemy's advance he went by Ashmûr to 'Amran and saw the foe covering the whole plain. As he had only two hundred men with him he returned to Zâfin in Masâni', where he was attacked by Turks from Muda'. He proposed to occupy Nurâsh in 'Ayâl Yazîd, but the Turks were there first, so he returned to 'Urta. He tried to plant an outpost at Zâfin but failed, and another among the Banu Qatîl but Darwîsh was before him. Then Haidar, rather against his will, for 'Urta was easily accessible from the west, surrounded him with lines of troops. All the imam's officers tried to relieve Hasan: Ali from Hadûr ush Sheikh, Ahmed ul Asadi with Hâshid and Bakîl, Ahmed ibn Hasan from Hajja, and others from Sharaf and Ahnûm: they fought bravely but unsuccessfully. It is said that a man from Jabr Hajja, the standard-bearer of Ahmed ibn Hasan, gave the signal for retreat; his own followers fled and then the others. Then Hasan, fearing to provoke worse things by a prolonged resistance, surrendered after seven days and was taken captive to Sanaa (IX). Seven of his men hid in a house and were killed when discovered. The Faithful were much cast down by this reverse. Ali retreated slowly to the Banu Hajjâj, where many fugitives joined him, and Ahmed ibn Hasan to Sharaf. Haidar advanced to Sarâra in 'Ayâl Yazîd.

Husain sent troops from Saada with cavalry from Jauf. They stopped in Khamr till the townsfolk joined the advancing Turks. Ali was pursued into the Banu Hajjâj, where many of his troops deserted, so he retired to Mudâ'ir in Zulaima after an ineffectual attempt to prevent the relief of Qarn un Nâ'i.

The main body of the Turks, after overawing Zâhir and receiving the submission of Hajja, 'Affâr, and the Banu Haish, attacked Sharaf. Ali ibn Muhammad, the Chief of Hajar, acted as guide, so the Faithful plundered some of his villages. Ali ibn Nâsir, a chief of Muhâbisha, tricked Muhammad ibn Qâsim, making preparations to join him in Wa'lia and then finding excuses for delay, to gain time till the Turks should arrive, when he provided them with food, fodder, mutton and ghee.<sup>1</sup> Muhammad was advised to retreat as the tribes were corresponding with the enemy, but he refused to do so till he was almost surrounded. A party from Hajar climbed a hill near the town, to gain credit from the Turks for their zeal, and then lighted a fire that Muhammad might take warning and escape. Guided by Hâdi ibn Dhiâb ur Ra'âfi, Chief of Jabar, he took the road for Tahnana. Just outside the town there was a skirmish, so Muhammad and Ahmed ibn Hasan took the eastern road through the vineyards, and reached Hajar after losing one slave. Some Turks plundered Tahnana, but this delay allowed Muhammad to escape to Sharâ'ib, where Hâdi left him, and to continue his road to Ahnûm (15. X). The Turks entered Sharaf and Hajja nearly at the same time.

Then they marched by Khamr on Wâda'a. The Faithful drove them off with the help of the tribes; but, after considering the strength of the enemy and the timidity of the natives, the soldiers and chiefs with their families retreated to the imam, so the Turks occupied the district and then went back to Khamr. Fear took hold of 'Udhr and Ahnûm so they opened negotiations. Then the imam left his sons Ali and Muhammad in Shahâra and went to Hajûr (1. XII).

Trusting to the promises of the inhabitants, Turk'ish columns entered 'Udhr from Rurbân, Wâda'a, Sûda and Zâhir. Then Qâsim left Hajûr and started for Saada (8. XII.). He was at Maur on the road at the feast of sacrifice. His followers had quite lost heart but he was confident. Ali ibn Muhammad udh Dhimâri surprised him in a ravine, praying with many tears and supplications, and was convinced that such prayers must be heard, that God would send help. On his arrival in Saada he

<sup>1</sup> Ghee is fat used for cooking. In India it is made from buffalo milk; in Syria, and presumably in Yemen, it is made by boiling down goat's-milk butter. When properly prepared it will keep for a year.

was welcomed with great enthusiasm, for men had feared he would not come to their country. The Turks seized 'Udhr, Zulaima and Ahnûm, but instead of besieging Shahâra they prepared to attack Saada.

Some of the chiefs of Wâda'a came to Saada and proposed an attack on the Turks in their own country, to which the imam agreed. Ahmed, the son of the imam Hasan, advanced to Bitna, but captured so much spoil in horses, camels and sheep that he returned to Hûth. Qâsim entered Wâda'a but was not welcomed as he expected; besides, many of the soldiers from the north feared to follow him and returned to Hûth, so he was left with a small following. Ahmed, too, was in no hurry: he wanted to see how fortune was going to turn. Haidar marched in person to meet the imam. Ali ibn Qâsim wished to attack him, but the men of Wâda'a damped the matches so that he could not shoot; and he followed his father to Hûth. Near that place they saw an army approaching and believed it was the Turks, who had turned their flank by skirting the Sarât. It proved, however, to be Ahmed ibn Hasan. The Turks ravaged Wâda'a and cut down the vines. Qâsim went back to Saada and made a pilgrimage to the tomb of his ancestor Hâdi. Then he went to Sâqîn and Haidân, leading a wandering life during the first three months of 1023.

After making Ibn Mu'âfa Governor of 'Udhr and Ahnûm, Haidar marched for Saada, 'a desert before him, destruction preceding him and pride his captain'. He entered the town unopposed, Husain ibn Qâsim retiring before him. For a month he tried to win the tribes over with money and gifts, but they sent his letters to the imam. He, on his side, was in communication with all parts of Yemen and was not disheartened by his want of success. His friends pointed out that the tribes were unreliable and void of religion, but he did not lose hope. The first promise of success came when a former Governor of Saada, who knew the country well, was sent on an expedition to Abu 'Arîsh and thence to Mt. Râzih. Husain ibn Qâsim and Ahmed ibn Mahdi ul Muayyadi attacked him to the west of the hill, and captured his camp with its tents, copper, carpets, treasure, clothes and cattle. The commander fled to the coast. The booty, except the cattle, was sent to the imam, and the general's tent was pitched for him among the Banu Dhuaib.

Haidar sent four hundred of his bravest soldiers to attack Ali ibn Qâsim at 'Aru in the centre of Khaulân. The Faithful posted themselves on the Wadi Sabr, in the highlands of Saada (Wed. 4. III. 1023) near Bîr Ali. A scout was sent forward and the army began the morning prayers. They were alarmed by a shot—for the enemy was too near for the scout to return—and prepared for battle. The Turks were in the west and could not see to aim, as the sun was in their eyes, while every shot of the Faithful found its mark. Another plan of Haidar's miscarried. He sent Ahmed ul Akhram to attack Ahmed ibn Hasan at Hadâ'ir, but Ahmed evaded him and arrived in time to help Ali. They surrounded the Turks, killed all but two or three and captured all their weapons. Then they turned on El Akhram and besieged him in Hadâ'ir till Friday, when help came from Haidar. This defeat shook the confidence of the enemy's allies.

A day or two later Haidar joined El Akhram, and the Faithful were terror-stricken at the size of his army and the excellence of its equipment. Many deserted, though they returned when he gave battle. In the hand-to-hand combat thirteen hundred Turks were slain, much booty captured and Haidar wounded. Recriminations followed between him and El Akhram, who fled, fearing for his life. He fell into the hands of the Faithful, who killed him and sent his head and his horse to Ali. Ali sent the head to his father, who passed it on to Shahâra, to Muhammad, who sent it secretly to Ibn Mu'âfa—the first news of El Akhram's fate.

Then Ali heard that Darwîsh was coming to the rescue of his friends, and marched to meet him. As the report proved false he went to Rurbân. Meantime the Banu Sihâr had gathered at Talummus, where they were discomfited by the Turks. Ali joined in and the battle raged till nightfall. There was much skirmishing and some sharîfs from Jauf arrived under Ahmed ibn Muhammad ul Akhram. The leaders met to discuss the situation, and the enemy seized their chance. Husain and the sharîfs were surprised near Ruhbân, yet, though few in number, they routed a hundred and fifty horsemen. At the same time Ali was engaged in a stiff fight at Talummus. Night alone separated the combatants.

Prompted by these successes, Muhammad ibn Qâsim sallied out from Shahâra and attacked Husain ibn Abdulla ibn Mu'âfa at Sîrân. The unbelievers were routed, and Husain would not

have escaped with his life had not one of his soldiers carried him off on his shoulders, while some men from Zulaima connived at his escape ; thus preparing for a change of fortune (Wed. III. 1023).

Before the events just related Ja'far made an offer of peace on the same terms as before, through Nâsir ibn Ali ul Mahbashi, but after a long delay the imam refused on the ground that he could not abandon the men of Saada who had stood by him so manfully.

Then Hâdi ibn Abdulla ibn Abi-r Rijâl entered Dhubîn from Haima and was joined by all whom he met. The fame of his coming spread abroad and the Turks took refuge in the martyr's chapel at Dhubîn where Hâdi besieged them. The emir Ali ibn Mutahhar and Yahya ibn Hâdi ul Muayyadi—the Father of Fingers—marched from Khamr to their rescue. Hâdi left his post unobserved, defeated the relieving force and resumed the siege, till the garrison surrendered and were escorted through the Kalbiyûn to Khamr. About this time the Faithful attacked Wâda'a from Murhiba. One of the Turkish leaders was Muhammad ibn Abdulla ul Muayyadi who had gone over to them a little before and for this once fought against the imam. Haidar joined in the fray and the natives took fright, some joining the enemy, others remaining neutral ; so the Faithful retired to Murhiba except Ahmed ul Asadi and Muhammad ibn 'Amir who stayed in lower Wâda'a. Thus the road to 'Udhr and Ahnûm remained open to the Turks and Haidar could march to relieve Hajar.

Towards the end of III Qâsim had started for Ahnûm, and wrote to 'Udhr and the 'Usaimât to meet him at Maur. On the road he had a dream and saw one who said to him : ' Anxious one, care is banished. God drives it away. I foretell success.' He passed close by Qarn ul Wa'ar and sent men to seize Haidar's supplies—tents and corn ; and then on to Mt. Dhura whence he sent outposts to Wâda'a and marched to Sîrân. Finally he came to Shahâra and greeted his son Muhammad. Ibn Mu'âfa was alarmed and fortified Hajar. Near Mt. Dhura Muhammad captured a hundred Turks and Arabs in spite of Ibn Mu'âfa's attempt to save them.

Then he moved to Hinwam and was advised to occupy Mudân for the double purpose of silencing the disaffected and

preventing the enemy's advance. He was only in Mudân one night when Ibn Mu'âfa took the opportunity of throwing himself in Hajar with a thousand men but small supplies. There Muhammad blockaded him.

Ja'far sent all the troops he could collect in Sanaa to Wâda'a where the tribes were divided in their allegiance. After a number of fights the balance was in favour of the imam. Part of Rurbân declared for him, asking, however, help in money. Darwîsh came from Haidân, through Wâda'a to Nurâsh and the rising collapsed. The imam sent Wâsil with money, four hundred **حرف** in addition to fifty ounces<sup>1</sup> of silver from his own family to win them over to his side. Wâsil began his business but Haidar appeared and overawed the district completely so the agent saw his task was impossible and went back to Qâsim with most of the money. Husain was sent to Wâda'a and as Haidar arrived the same night, he hastily retired to Abraç in Zulaima.

In the same month (III) Qâsim sent Abdulla ibn Hâdi, the Chief of Haidân, to Hajûr. After capturing some Turks in the house of Zâhir ibn 'Urjâsh in 'Ahim he entered Sharaf, the governor of which fled to 'Affâr, and the troops gathered in Kuhlân and were besieged there. In V Ahmed ibn Qâsim was sent there as governor but as he was still young Ahmed ibn Ali ibn Da'îsh was the real authority. After setting the province in order he pushed the siege of Kuhlân which capitulated (VII. 1024). It had been a cave of devils and a stronghold of rascals! Then he invested the castles of Hajja. It is necessary to go back a little.

Muhammad was pressing the siege of Hajar with all possible vigour and much success. Supplies in the town were so reduced that the food had to be weighed out for the soldiers. Then they ate their camels and horses; each man receiving twelve ounces a day. Men deserted daily. When the siege had lasted seventy days they asked for terms. The imam insisted on the surrender of their arms. They refused and wrote to Ja'far, Haidar, and other emirs beseeching their help, while continuing negotiations with the imam as a blind. Haidar replied by coming to Wâda'a.

<sup>1</sup> **حرف** is the word used; a trifle over an ounce. Two paragraphs below the amount is eight **حرف**

He fought an all-day battle with the Faithful which was decided in his favour by the cowardice of the natives, and, forcing the road to 'Udhr, opened the way to Hajar.

After writing to 'Udhr to prepare the way he sent Darwîsh to Hajar with a thousand tried soldiers who were confident of victory; 'they thought they had only to meet a lion to master it'. Hasan ibn Ali ibn Wahnâb, who had deserted the imam and given his wife as a hostage, went with them. He was a young man who cared nothing for the consequence of his deeds and had been a most gallant upholder of the truth. Ibn Mu'âfa came out to join them, allowing his troops to expect his return. There was a difference of opinion between the two leaders, for Darwîsh wished to fall back on Haidar while Ibn Mu'âfa wanted to attack the Faithful. On the arrival of the Turks Muhammad advanced to meet them and the fight soon spread from the cemetery on the north round three sides of the town (Sun. 13. VI). Then the besiegers forced their way into the town and plundered all the Turkish property. The townsfolk were spared as their chief was on the side of the imam and came to the rescue of his people. Muhammad camped for the night on a low hill beside the water-course below the graveyard. Next day, leaving their wounded and one tent, the Turks retreated, the cavalry covering their rear. The Faithful pursued, attacking continuously as far as Rârîb Ithla near Qarn ul Wa'ar where Husain met them. He had been summoned from Abraç by letter and brought a levy from Zulaima, 'Udhr, and Ahnûm, and had built a blockade across the road. The Turks camped here for the night and this was their undoing, for the fear of the imam was on the tribes and all apostates returned to their duty. When the enemy saw they were surrounded they lost heart and after a hand-to-hand fight in which even stones were used—they only fired their muskets once—they fled to a narrow ravine and only a few, whose time was not yet come, reached Qarn ul Wa'ar.

The loss of the enemy at Rârîb Ithla was eight hundred including Darwîsh and Ibn Mu'âfa, whose heads were sent to Shahâra. The spoil was proportionately great. Muhammad at once attacked Qarn ul Wa'ar which soon surrendered. The prisoners were driven like sheep to the imam who rid the earth of some scoundrels by executing them, and the others were scattered in Ahnûm, Shahâra, Sharaf, and Khaulân. At Qarn ul

Wa'ar one thousand prisoners were taken. Of these four hundred from Yâfi' were given into the charge of sheikh Muhammad ibn Salâh who massacred them all. The officers were kept in Shahâra till the peace of 1028. On receiving the news of this reverse Haidar at once abandoned Wâda'a and retreated hastily to Khamr. A good authority says that the imam swore a mighty oath that the house of Mu'âfa should fall into poverty and shame, searching the streets for scraps, and that their home, Qarn un Nâ'i, should be destroyed. Another story is that the imam grieved for his death, for Ibn Mu'âfa had once frustrated the plans of an assassin who had been bribed to murder the imam.

As a result of the battle many Turkish posts deserted their stations, hotly pursued by the Faithful who spread over the country to Zâhir as far as the outskirts of Khashab, to the western districts of Sanaa and Anis. Sûda and 'Affâr were besieged and though the Turks still held Khamr and 'Ayâl Yazîd, fighting there was constant. Another result was the assault on Saada. Ali was on Mt. Talummus and Ahmed ibn Hasan at Bir 'Ari. They united for the attack and cut off all supplies from the town. Ali was always in the forefront of the battle till (Sat. 19. VI) the Turks surprised him. He and his soldiers, who were mostly allied tribesmen, fought valiantly but the whole two hundred were slain. They flayed his body and sent the head to Sanaa where it remained two years, till it was taken to Shahâra and buried beside the tomb of Ali ibn Salâh ul 'Ibâhi.

There is some uncertainty about the date of Ali's death. The *Life* gives no date but suggests that it happened shortly after the battle of Rârib Ithla while the *Rauh* puts it in II. 1024, some eight months later. The death of Ali was a sore blow, for he was a pillar of the faith and a sword of God, of pure piety and true nobility, devoted to the exercises of religion and delighting in the holy war. The imam removed Ahmed ibn Hasan from his command, ordered him to live in his own house or where he might choose, and replaced him by Abdulla ibn Muhammad ul Mihrâthi. Ahmed was disgusted and went over to the Turks who made him governor of Khaulân. However, he soon repented and returned to his duty towards the imam who sent him to Khaulân where he besieged Saada for ten months, dying in his camp at Hadâ'ir. The Turks wished to kill him,

but in the dark the assassin made a mistake and stabbed Muhammad ibn Ahmed ul Muayyadi.

Then Ahmed ibn Mahdi ibn Azzuddin governed well in Khaulân till Ahmed ibn Qâsim received the post.

The imam sent his son Husain to Zafir as governor of Hajja, Lâ'a, and Maswar to collect the taxes, and Abdulla ibn Hâdi to Tais. In Bait 'Ilman of Masâni' was a troop of Ibn Shamsuddin's men who were driven out by Abdurrahman ibn Muntazar with the loss of their arms; Muda' was evacuated by the enemy and thirty-five Turks were killed and decapitated in Zâfin. Ashmûr was also occupied as a support to Bait 'Ilman. In Tais the commanders quarrelled, and Ibn Shamsuddin drove them to Shâhidhia. Abdulla ibn Hâdi then went to Lâ'a to the Banu Mu'âwia to the home of Ibn Ahdal the sufi. It was far from the scene of war and none expected any violence, especially in the home of the honoured sufi; yet the chief of the Banu Mu'âwia murdered Abdulla as he sat in his tent and sent his arms, horse, and insignia to Kaukabân.

In IX Haidar advanced against Ashmûr and was fighting till the end of X without making any progress. Then the town thought it a good opportunity to ask for terms. Haidar broke his word and killed or imprisoned most of them. Qâsim's troops retired to the Banu A'shab and continued to offer successful resistance.

Muhammad ul Qarrâ' was then sent to Tais. After the battle of Rârib Ithla Ja'far had sent him to Khamr with reinforcements for Haidar, but on the road he had deserted back to the imam. His first care was to raid the Banu Mu'âwia, where he captured four hundred cattle, thirty camels, and many asses, and to destroy the house of Ibn Ahdal. In Tais he was joined by Yahya ibn Ahmed ul Mikhlâfi with troops from Haima and together they drove Ibn Shamsuddin back to Tawîla. However, they soon separated, El Qarrâ' going by Lâ'a to Zafir. From there he was sent to Masâr and Harâz.

Early in XII Hâdi ibn Hasan ibn Sharafuddin led his Turks forward and made his way into Kuhlân in the morning after the watch was relieved and began shooting. The Faithful who were fronting Haidar heard the noise and retired on 'Affâr. At Bait 'Ilmân Abdurrahman ibn Muntazar was driving the enemy before him when the news of this retreat made him retire past

Rurail to Wa'ila. Then the enemy advanced in two divisions and plundered the Banu Dawud and Salaba while the tribes declared themselves free of the imam.

The chiefs of 'Affâr turned traitor but Ali ibn Hasan ibn Sharafuddîn escaped their agent, the chief of A'shab, and escaped to Zafîr whence he was sent to Haura. Scarcity of food led to a removal of the inhabitants and the soldiers soon went back to Zafîr. Husain wished to hold this place as it was a strong fortress so his father made him governor of Sharaf that he might draw his supplies thence. He brought his wife the sharîfa from Habûr and stayed at this post till the peace. In I. 1024 a great assault on Haura was planned but failed in spite of troops sent by Ahmed from Sharaf; rather the enemy made some progress.<sup>1</sup> Hajja was attacked (IV) but this too was a failure through the defection of the Banu Jabar, due to cowardice or treachery, for they hated the family of the prophet.

After these successes Haidar returned to 'Ayâl Yazîd and attacked Sûd where Muhammad ibn Sâlih was governor for the imam. He had only a few troops, for the country was difficult, the tribes powerful, and friendly to religion. However, some of them proved faithless and allowed the enemy to get to his rear, so he went to Shazab. The Banu 'Abd were next attacked and a company of them was surrounded in a house. Before their powder failed they killed a hundred Turks, and then they were cut down with twenty women and children.

All this time Ibrahim ibn Abdulla ibn Mu'âfa was shut up in Qarn un Nâ'i by the Faithful who held the villages round as well as the town of Sûda. The Turks advanced to relieve him (I. VII. 1024), and one after another the divisions of the blockading army retreated to Rurbân, the Banu Mauhib, and elsewhere. During the retreat they killed two men in the rear of the enemy laden with powder and shot, and made off with their burden. From Sûda the enemy advanced through Shazab against the Banu Mauhib. The Faithful fought bravely at Darb ul Fâishi although one of their generals was very ill, and by the help of reinforcements from the imam at Abraç, from Rurbân and other places, they gained the day. Ibrahim ibn Mu'âfa nearly lost his

<sup>1</sup> Ahmed gives the dates as I and IV. 1023, but it is clear that the next year is meant. In one place he says that Qâsim died in 1039, ten years too late, though elsewhere he gives the date correctly. He nods sometimes.

life through the houghing of his mule, Sun. 21. VII. Seventy-three heads were sent to Abraq and there hung on trees. Then the Faithful reappeared before Sûda.

At this period Abdulla ibn Sa'îd ut Tair was skirmishing with Kaukabân in the districts of Hadûr, the Banu Shihâb, and the Banu Matar, of which he was governor. The sayyid Ahmed ibn Ali, a descendant of the imam Yahya, who was known as Esh Shâmi because he belonged to the Yahya ibn Yahya of Saada, appeared to the east of Sanaa and won a following for the Faith. After a time he crossed to Haima where he was appointed governor. He was zealous in enforcing the sacred law, in teaching the prayers to the ignorant, and in maintaining order.

After the fight at Fâishi an army from Sharaf and Hajûr attacked Hajja, but as they had no leader and no discipline they accomplished nothing. About the same time the Governor of Bait ul Faqîh attacked Abu Zaid ibn Sirâj but was defeated, losing heavily in men and material. On 1. II. 1025 Haidar raided Rurbân. The Faithful had recovered from their fear of the Turks and grown careless; they kept no fit guard at points that were defended by nature. So Haidar was able to surprise and surround Ahmed ibn Muhammad ul Haidâni with his company of thirty men. However, Ahmed ul Asadi was near and attacked the invader's camp. When the Turks on the hill-top saw this they broke and fled, so Haidar lost heavily and retired to Khamr. El Asadi was wounded in the side. A good authority states that Nâsir us Sabh, who afterwards claimed to be Mahdi, and his brother accepted money from the Turks to spread disaffection among the Faithful. By chance the brother was killed in this fight and the incriminating letters came into the imam's hands.

The Governor of Abu 'Arîsh raided Mt. Râzih, but Ahmed ibn Mahdi ul Muayyadi had expected some such move so was ready and the enemy suffered a shameful defeat. Among the slain were some sharîfs from Sabya, allies of the Turks.

Ja'far Pasha heard that he was to be superseded. He kept the news secret until he had proposed peace. It was agreed to on condition that each should hold the ground he then possessed and the prisoners should not be sent away from Sanaa, for Qâsim feared lest his son Hasan should be sent to Europe. The truce was to begin on 1. VII. 1025, and to last a year.

Ja'far, who had gathered a great fortune in cash from the

estates of Turks who had died during his term of office, left Sanaa, possibly met his successor in Ta'iz, and then performed the pilgrimage. Muhammad the new pasha stayed for a long time in Ta'iz, alleging that he expected his son with troops from the north, though it is believed he was busy extorting money, for he was poor. He ratified the truce.

Early in 1024 the imam had sent El Qarrâ' to Anis. He was called in shortly after to help the chief of 'Arrâs, for the Turks were trying to rouse the Ismailians of 'Aniz, Haima, and Hasabân against the imam and thus isolate him completely. Their emissary traversed Tais, Hufâsh, and Li'sân, where his endeavours prospered, and then strife began; trees were cut down, fields wasted, and cattle killed. Then El Qarrâ' was called in. As he had only a few followers and the chiefs were jealous of each other this move came to nothing and he was glad to get safe-conduct to Hasabân. At the head of a thousand men the Turk attacked the Banu 'Arrâf, and the chief of 'Arrâs, despairing of help from the imam, turned to the Ismailians; he did not know that God decides, not armies. The Turk was driven to leave the district but the tribes of Masâr shut him up in Zafâr and besieged him for two months. Fearing the vengeance of Sanaa, chiefs and people decided to appeal to the imam; so El Qarrâ' again entered the district and the Turks evacuated it. The Shâfe'ites and others joined El Qarrâ' who crossed Mt. Hutab and occupied Masâr (I. V. 1024). There he was joined by his family from Sanaa.

The pasha's absence from Sanaa was bad for the discipline of the army, especially in districts bordering on the imam's domains. Pay fell in arrears and in some places the men robbed their officers. In Khaulân the Banu Sihâr rebelled and stormed Saada by means of ladders, shutting the governor in Mansûra and Dâr Mutahhar. Seeing himself cornered, he wrote both to the imam, asking him to quiet the disturbance, and to Sanaa. The imam sent Ahmed ibn Ali ibn Da'îsh, who contrived an arrangement between the Turks and the tribes. The Turks were to stay on in their castles and to receive every day from the market as much food as was necessary but no more. In II. 1026 some of the tribes who had been the most eager supporters of the Turks, broke the peace and plundered Mansûra. Then the Turks were allowed to go under safe-conduct, and finally they

reached Sanaa by way of the Tihama and Tais. With them went Yahya ibn Hâdi, Father of Fingers.

On Thurs. 14. IV. 1026 Hâdi ibn Abdulla ibn Abi-r Rijâl went to the 'Usaimât to punish the people of Mt. Ramîd for highway robbery, but the news of his coming had gone before him and his prey escaped. He could only seize a few lambs and oddments. Above Hûth on his return, he was kept in talk by the townsfolk till his followers had gone on, when some 'Usaimât fell on him from an ambush and murdered him. He had great influence among Hâshid and Bakîl, and was of noble and generous character.

## CHAPTER V

FROM 1026 TO 1036

MUHAMMAD PASHA tried to extend the truce ; but as he required the session of Hadûr of the Banu Shihâb, which was unpleasantly near Sanaa, the imam would not agree and the negotiations failed. The emir Masîh ibn Mutahhar ul Hamzi came over to the imam and was sent to be Governor of Zâhir. In plain cowardice his troops fled from the enemy ; and he went to Dhubîn, where he collected the taxes including the sacred tithe, and spent part on himself and his friends. As soon as the truce was over Ahmed ul Asadi went to Nihm, Khaulân, and as far as Dhamarmar, calling on the tribes to help the Faith. He captured much booty but in Khaulân the tribes made excuses as they had been corrupted by Turkish money. In their fear of El Asadi the Turks had to increase their gifts.

It was Ja'far who began the practice of paying his Arab levies at the same rate as the Turkish soldiers. The imam too was in difficulties about money ; for we read that three merchants who refused to lend him money, ran away to escape unpleasant consequences, and went blind on the road. The historian disclaims responsibility for the story.

Qâsim had made all his preparations and on 1. VII. 1026 his troops moved, entering Qudam, the Banu Haish, and Janab from several directions at once, and occupied these districts except the fort of A'râm (which was garrisoned from 'Ayâl Yazîd), and Said, where Hâdi ibn Hasan was in command. The Turks made Sarâra in 'Ayâl Yazîd their base, because it commanded the road to Sanaa, and from it and from 'Affâr they attacked the Faithful. In one village it came to street fighting, Tu. 13. VIII, and the best troops of the Turkish army fled ; at which reverse the others lost heart. Then Hâdi surrendered Said. Sinân<sup>1</sup> had destroyed this place but a son of Hasan Pasha had rebuilt it in part. Qâsim put a garrison in it and provisioned it. To provide for the troops in Janab and

<sup>1</sup> The Sinân referred to is probably the earlier pasha of that name who afterwards became wazir in Constantinople.

the Banu Haish the imam arranged that Khaulân should send supplies to these two districts alternately for periods of two months.

Before the imam raided Janab, the Turks had attacked Hadûr and so overawed the tribes that some submitted to them in spite of their devotion to the Faith. Abdulla ibn Sa'îd ut Tair withdrew to strong positions among the Banu Matar and the enemy could neither advance nor retreat. Their artillery allowed them to make a little progress but in bombarding Qadhaf the cannon burst, and though they forced their way into the streets they were driven out again, Th. 27. IX, and pursued to their camps. Here the Chief of Qadhaf, a valiant soldier of the Faith, was slain. The enemy tried bribery but their agent had to flee in disgrace, and then five hundred men of Anis left them notwithstanding their firm hatred of the imam.

On 4. X, Qadhaf was again attacked without success; yet Abdulla ut Tair was killed by a bullet. He had been a sword in God's hand, a tower of strength to his friends, steadfast amid alarms, keen to fight the foe, cool before terrible odds, persevering in the holy war, chaste and noble. His relative Ahmed ul Asadi had trained him. His followers acclaimed his son as his successor and Qâsim set him in his father's place. His fame was already known to friends and foes.

Late in IX, several corps of the Faithful entered Hajja. One attacked Shamsân but was repulsed at the gate by a raid from Jâhili. From Darwân another kept Qudam in check, Th. 29. IX. Abdurrahîm had destroyed this fort in 1008, so the Faithful threw up earthworks and blocked the roads. From Haura the Turks made several raids, but at the end of X they were shut in on all sides by the occupation of Wa'îla. The men of Kaukabân who guarded it retired to Rurail.

On Tu. 24. X, Ma'dhin and two other forts capitulated to Husain, those of the garrisons who favoured the Turks going to Mabyan and Kaukabân Qudam. This cleared a considerable district of the enemy and was of great advantage to the Faithful. After the defeat and death of Abdulla ut Tair a great effort was made to relieve Haura. From cowardice the Faithful abandoned Wa'îla and the relief succeeded. On 6. XI, the Turks raided Zafr of 'Abs and were severely handled. In his report to his father Husain said that fifty heads were cut off.

The effect in the neighbourhood was good. On Tu. 21. XI, the Faithful invaded Qarâda and Lâ'a and without much difficulty defeated the Turks and their allies from Kaukabân. During XII, fighting went on in 'Ashma the district of the Shafe'i lawyers.

Nâsir ibn Hamza us Sayyâd, chief of Dhîfân, quarrelled with the Turks and came over to the imam. Qâsim treated him with the greatest respect and set free a kinsman of his who had been captured at Rârib Ithla. The Turks promptly raided his domain so Nâsir retired to Sayad where help from the imam, money and munitions, met him. A big expedition was prepared from Saada and Sharaf against 'Ayyân; on 3. X, the imam left Shahâra on this errand, travelling by 'Udhr to Sufyân where he was met by the Banu Sihâr and ninety horse from Jauf. 'Ayyân shortly surrendered and was destroyed.

Then Qâsim proposed to attack Khamr and with this end in view made a tour through Zâhir, Khaiwân, and Wâda'a, where he kept the great feast. Then he made a pilgrimage to Zafâr to the tombs of the imams Mansûr billa Abdulla and Mahdi lidînulla Ahmed, to encourage the tribes. At this time he was corresponding with the pasha about a truce, which did not come off, as he insisted on an exchange of prisoners. At the end of 1026 Ahmed ibn Dawud ul Anisi wrote that nearly all his tribe, who had forsaken the Turks, were ready to join the imam. Next month Husain ul Qâifi and his brother Muqbil wrote to the same effect. Hidâ then attacked these new allies but suffered a signal defeat. About the same time Mutahhar ibn Abdurrahmân cleared Lâ'a as far as Tais of the soldiers of Kaukabân. He showed himself an excellent governor in his management of the troops, the collection of imposts and in contenting the people. Ahmed us Salafi entered Maswar but Ibn Shamsuddîn drove him from Bait 'Udhâqa to Rurail and then to Lâ'a.

At the end of 1026 the Faithful from Haima entered Tais and mastered Shâhidhia though Ibn Shamsuddîn opposed them manfully. Meanwhile the imam was in Wâda'a urging the men of Saada to join the fight.<sup>1</sup> The sharîfs were lukewarm, for

<sup>1</sup> Saada had long been the capital of the imams and the sharîfs fancied themselves the heirs of their power. They looked down on Qâsim and his sons as sprung from a younger branch of the family and gave them half hearted allegiance. This is another example of Arab ideas cropping out in Islam; the collective ownership of the clan.

many were absurd enough to fancy that Saada belonged to them by right of inheritance. The Turks seized their opportunity and attacked. The sharîfs were compelled to recognize their own weakness and return to their allegiance to the imam. Their leader was put in prison in Ahnûm but soon escaped. These men always opposed the imam and obeyed Satan, as the saying goes, more submissively than his shoe.

On the arrival of the troops from Saada the imam marched on Khamr and took up his position in the wadi Dammâj. Panic seized some of the army and they bolted. The remainder, though attacked by the whole of the enemy, made good their retreat with trifling loss. Nâsir ibn Ahmed udh Dhîfâni joined the Turks but was no great loss to the Faith. This battle made those Arabs under Turkish rule hesitate to join the imam, for their motive was selfish interest and delight in strife rather than love of religion.

The Turks sent Qâsim ul Jurami to Haima to win over the tribes to their side. He had some success in his mission and contrived that Ahmed Shâmi who distrusted him should be recalled and another made governor in his stead. He wished to make his own the fort of Yanâ' which belonged to the Banu Siyâ'. Wishing to protect their own territory these appealed direct to the Turks who were welcomed even by some whom the imam had trusted and honoured. One chief took with him the banner and drum presented by Qâsim. He was received with all honour but in a short time he was stripped of all he possessed, bound in prison and five years later executed. The imam had cursed him. The Faithful naturally abandoned Tais, as their base of supplies was Haima.

When the pressure on Tais was eased, Ibn Shamsuddîn concentrated against Mutahhar ibn Abdurrahmân who was besieging 'Uli. A little before Mutahhar had offended his men by his severity in executing a man for some small offence and many had deserted; so some of the troops abandoned their posts and Mutahhar, who refused to retreat, was captured with most of his command except Abdulla ul Anisi, a religious, who refused to surrender and died a martyr after killing four of the enemy, IV. 1027. This defeat destroyed all discipline and the Faithful fled to Zafir. Ahmed ibn Muhammad us Salafi rallied some of the troops and retreated leaving garrisons in Mt. 'Amr, Dâr, and Ma'dhin.

Seven days later one hundred and fifty men of Jabr Hajja went over to the foe—a disgraceful act quite in accord with their traditional character, due to their excessive timidity. A general move back to Zaffr followed. The Turks then entered Janab, 22. V, and as the natives were busy caring for the safety of their families, the Faithful put up a stout fight before retreating. Qudam was next occupied, the troops going to the Banu Hârith and the Banu Ali. The massed forces of the enemy then attacked the Banu Ali and shut up some of the Faithful in a fort. The imam made strenuous efforts to relieve them. After one failure his son Muhammad inflicted such loss on the enemy that the beleaguered garrison escaped while they were busy with their wounded, in VI. Nevertheless, the Banu Ali were ravaged.

In Haima the Turks were defeated, and then the whole country remembered its agelong devotion to the imam and rose in his cause. There was much fighting mostly in his favour. On Tu. 18. XI, the Turks from 'Urr raided Ahbûb but were defeated and surrounded. In the fight Ali ul Muqri, an Ismaili from Harâz, was killed; he had more influence than any of his sect. The enemy offered to surrender everything if their lives were spared. This offer was not accepted. An attempt was made from Sanaa and Kaukabân to relieve them, 12. XII; but it was defeated and two hundred men were killed. Again they tried to make terms and again met with refusal. Another attempted relief, Wed. 13. II. 1028, also failed. The standard bearer was killed and the flag worth sixty حرف was taken. Then 'Urr surrendered. The garrison were allowed to keep their arms on condition that Yanâ' was handed over; these terms were thought highly advantageous to the imam.

In XII. 1027 two comets appeared and were visible for the space of two months. These were followed in VIII, IX, and X. 1028 by drought and famine especially in Sanaa, Wâda'a, Jauf, Barat, Saada, and the north. Many left their homes to wander in other districts; crowds came to the imam and were fed by him. Sickness followed and many perished. Another serious famine lasted from VIII to XI. 1029.

In VII. 1027, Ahmad ibn Qâsim had gone to Saada as governor. The tribes had grown rich in weapons and refused

to obey Ahmed ibn Mahdi any longer. The prestige of the imam's son flattered their vanity and he soon restored order and made the roads safe from the brigands of the Al 'Ammâr who had not spared Saada itself.

Nevertheless, caravans between Shahâra and Saada had to be protected by soldiers. This state of things continued under the rule of Muayyad billa.

In the south a chief of Ma'âfir rebelled against the Turks and cut communications between Ta'iz and Aden, Mocha, and Mauza. It took several years of fighting to compel him to sue for peace, so the pasha was the more ready to conclude a truce with the imam. The result was that in V. 1028 peace was made for a period of ten years, the contracting parties to hold the territory they actually possessed. The imam's lands lay roughly in four groups. In the north Saada ; in the centre Sharaf, Wâda'a, and Shahâra ; in the south Haima, 'Aniz, and Harâz (here the population was mixed, partly Shâfe'i and partly Zaidi), and in the east Sayad, Zâhir, and Khashab. Khamr and the Kalbiyûn belonged to the Turks. Two hundred prisoners were released by the Turks and three hundred by the imam after he had given them presents.

He then went to Uqr and in 20. V entered Shahâra in state. Though mounted, he could hardly make his way through the crowd to the mosque. As it was a time of distress, he commanded to feed the poor and helpless. They say that one night eight hundred women and children received food, apart from those who ate at his table. This lasted all IX. Shahâra was dry and barren, but on that day rain fell and continued afterwards. On 9. VIII, there was a bad earthquake, three shocks ; many people were killed in 'Udhr, and in Saada the Dâr Mutahhar split.

At the end of the year Nâsir ibn Muhammad us Sabh proclaimed himself the Mahdi and opposed the imam in Haima and its neighbourhood. Qâsim made it known publicly that the sign to which the pretender appealed was a natural discoloration of his hair. He had no success, was imprisoned in 'Urr, but escaped by the help of the natives. At first the Turks were alarmed as they thought this was only a trick of the imam to break the truce. They soon learnt the real facts and captured Nâsir's base with its troops and supplies ; although he had called the

tribes to his aid and had slaughtered cattle for their leaders. This was in VI. 1029 after the death of the imam.

On 4. III. 1029, died the imam Mansûr billa Qâsim. The sayyids, lawyers, judges and the party met and decided that an imam was necessary and that Muhammad ibn Qâsim was the man. They told him of their decision as he was laying out his father's corpse. He bade them choose the best man of the prophet's house; he would be the first to support him and would hand over to him the public monies in his care. The judges testified in the sight of God that Muhammad must accept the post. He then gave in and they, and after them, all in Shahâra, did him homage. He gave orders about his father's burial and wrote to the pasha that personally he desired to continue the peace. The pasha expressed his sympathy and welcomed the maintenance of the truce. The family of Mutahhar also wrote from Saada to assure him of their fidelity.

Muhammad was tall and handsome; kind to all who approached him. Orphans, children, and the poor came to him gladly and he did them justice in his council; often remaining all day in the audience hall, rising only for prayer. He was a good judge of character, never forgetting a face he had seen, willing to show kindness, and patient in bearing injury. He was brave and generous, giving to the treasury a third of what belonged to him. He took the title of Muayyad billa.

In XI. 1029, Dawud ibn Muhammad, a lieutenant of Ahmed ibn Qâsim, raided the disaffected near the lands of Abu Zaid ibn Sirâj. The raid was successful though on their return they were attacked by bedouin, and Dawud barely escaped with his life. Next month the Banu Bahr of Saada rebelled under Mahdi ibn Hâdi who had written to Ahmed sometime before giving a hint of what was in his mind.<sup>1</sup> The tribe soon returned to their allegiance.

In IV. 1031, Muhammad Pasha left Sanaa to make way for Ahmed Fadli and died at Mecca on his way to Constantinople. His son was in charge of his treasure and had reached Yanbu' where his soldiers murdered him. The sharîfs had his property brought back to Mecca and provided an annuity for his widow

<sup>1</sup> In his letter Mahdi ibn Hâdi referred to one Isa ibn Hattâb, who was stirring up strife and sedition, and protested that this was against his will.

who decided to live there. Idrîs was then Sharîf. Ahmed Fadli arrived in Sanaa 11. VIII.<sup>1</sup>

The Turks had always refused to exchange Hasan ibn Qâsim and guarded him strictly. He prepared to escape. His first move was to buy a slave girl and his guards left him at night in his room on the third floor. He was allowed a saw to repair some furniture and made holes in the three floors and in the house wall. His goods and family—five women, a boy of two years and an infant girl who died on the road—left the town on camels. This was easy as the beasts were wont to fetch fodder from the royal domain on the Khârid. He bought a horse, ostensibly as a present for Ahmed Fadli, who was then at Ta'iz, and a servant exercised it every day outside the town. When all was ready ropes were smuggled in to him and on Tu. 7. VI. 1031 he left the house and prepared to cross the rampart. A cat was prowling at the point they had to mount and a sentry threw stones at it from time to time. They had to wait till the guard was changed and the new sentinel fell asleep. The cat was providential as it showed them that the guard was awake. The horse was waiting beyond the wall and Hasan made his way first to 'Ayâl Abdulla where he was joined by many from Zâhir and elsewhere and then to Hajar in Ahnûm where he met the imam. His entry into Shahâra was a triumph, for a great concourse from the whole countryside gathered with presents to do him honour.

When the pasha reached Sanaa he wrote to the imam proposing to uphold the truce and said he had intended to release Hasan. All that had been left behind in Sanaa, also the price he had paid for his house there was restored to him. However, Ahmed had the guard who should have watched Hasan strangled and impaled.

On the feast of Bairam, Ahmed went outside Saada at the head of his troops in full war panoply to repeat the festal prayers. After the service a quarrel broke out between the Banu Sihâr and troops from the south, because the latter had been specially favoured in a largesse. The chiefs were dining with Ahmed and the men of Khaulân, who had nothing to do with the quarrel, plundered a few houses near his residence.

<sup>1</sup> W. and the *Tuhfat* call this pasha Fadl-ulla.

The town however was saved. Tranquillity was restored and it was agreed that the casualties of one party should be counted against those of the other while for any excess the treasury should pay the blood wit. There was another quarrel about this time between Wâda'a and the south ; eight were killed. The result was that the tribes refused to obey Ahmed and to pay him the taxes and talked of going over to the Turks. So in III. 1032 Hasan was sent to Haidân with a thousand foot and thirty horse. He promised the mutineers pardon and safety. As some refused his terms, he attacked them at the pass of Hai, destroyed the houses of the ringleaders and captured much booty. The fighting lasted from 24 to 26 of the month. By this time Ahmed had come from Saada to Sâqîn and the whole district was pacified. The two brothers met at Wasaha in Hai 13. IV. The mutiny was the more easily suppressed because Qâsim, chief of Hai, broke his leg and was carried by his friends to the Banu Bahr. Much of this information is taken from a report by Yahya ibn Lutfulbâri.

In IV Ahmed Pasha went to Ta'iz on his way to Mocha, giving out that he would attack the European ships, but he merely laid hands on a large sum of money and went back to Sanaa. In VII Nâsir us Sabh left Anis secretly and went to Shâtib and Hûth and there summoned the tribes to follow him as the Mahdi, promising to show them the hidden treasures of the earth. Husain appeared in Zâhir and Nâsir's mission came to nothing ; so he remained in hiding. Then he showed himself among the 'Usaimât where he met with some recognition. In XII the imam entered Wâda'a with a big army, raised the tribes of Zâhir and Khaiwân and advanced on the 'Usaimât. These acknowledged him and drove out Nâsir ; yet the Turks were able to occupy one or two forts they had not held before.

In IV. 1033, Ahmed Pasha made a progress through Dhimâr Ta'iz and the Tihama, and died in Abu 'Arîsh 23. VIII. By his extortions he had accumulated a vast fortune and they say that complaint was made to the sultan about him. The soldiers in charge of his money had a difference of opinion and one officer took some of the property to Sabya where he was killed in a quarrel. Ahmed's deputy sent Muhammad ibn Sinân to bring the treasure back. After some diplomacy he brought the men

and money to Ta'iz where the new pasha put him to death together with several officials and chiefs. <sup>1</sup>

On 7. IX came the news of the appointment of his successor Haidar, who had been an emir under Ja'far Pasha and now returned to Yemen. He arrived in II. 1034 <sup>2</sup> and desired to observe the peace. The imam consented as he knew well the disaffection of the tribes and their impatience of his even-handed justice.

When Khaulân had quieted down Hasan remained in Saada, and, after consultation with the imam, he invaded Faifa, 15. IV. 1035, with Yahya ibn Lutfubâri, Ali ibn Hasan—Khidr—and Muhammad ibn Ahmed as his lieutenants. He advanced through the Banu Bahr to Bausân and sent Ali and Yahya to the Banu Mâlik in Faifa, many of whose chiefs joined them. They occupied 'Ashsha the key to the higher ground and defeated the natives. After a stay of two days food ran short and as they received neither supplies nor orders the soldiers decided to plunder Sarbân, the inhabitants of which were strangers from Hali. The raid was not at once successful for some auxiliaries of the Al Ali found that the villagers claimed to be of their tribe and therefore deserted. The Al Ali took advantage of Yahya's absence to attack 'Ashsha, without success; they then made peace.

Yahya then joined Muhammad ibn Ahmed among the Banu Khâlîd; only just in time, for two thousand six hundred men attacked them under cover of a mist. The assailants had no muskets and though they fought well with javelins and slings they were beaten off. The Faithful ravaged Faifa gathering much booty, cattle, sheep, corn and plenishings. Then for a fortnight rain fell and broke down the roofs of the houses and even the floors. The tribes surrendered, asked what duties they owed the imam and begged that the soldiers might be scattered through the country to collect the taxes. Muhammad agreed, though he was warned to keep his men together till the fidelity

<sup>1</sup> W. says that Muhammad ibn Sinân was plotting to make himself pasha.

<sup>2</sup> The date given by W., 1033, refers to the appointment of Haidar. The statement is quite definite that he arrived in 1034. In other cases a set of dates is given, the date of appointment, of arrival at Mocha, and then at Ta'iz, and finally at Sanaa.

of the new subjects was assured. He sent out three parties of eighty men apiece, Th. 29. V.

Yahya visited the Aitâm and Al Harb and allowed them to come singly or in pairs to bring their dues, though, as he feared treachery, he was on his guard and kept the chiefs by him. They wished him to camp in a deep ravine but he refused and stationed his men in fortified hamlets, in Kadra and on Mt. Hijr. At night they were attacked. The assailants fired the defences and the houses. Here the Faithful cut loopholes in the walls and fired by the glare of the conflagration; there they had to leave a blazing house and fight their way through the enemy; there again the foe climbed on the roof and fired down on the defenders. When morning came the Faithful had lost eight men and their opponents forty-one. Yahya himself was not attacked because he kept the chiefs as hostages. With daylight the Faithful took the offensive, scattered the enemy, and then returned to 'Ashsha, Sat. 1. VII.

The men of Faifa had wished to attack the town but their chief had dissuaded them by threatening to join Hasan. Raids were then organized against the rebels in which some of the men of Faifa received badges to mark them off from the insurgents. One of these raids reached the Tihama.

Ahmed ibn Mahdi ul Muayyadi the governor of Râzih arrived and captured three thousand head of cattle from Wâda'a. The chief of Sabya claimed the cattle as his. With difficulty a fight was avoided and it was decided that a thousand animals should be ransomed at a *حرف* a head. The Faithful obtained provisions by raiding Mt. Hijr for it was a time of scarcity in Khaulân. On 17. VII Hasan withdrew his troops to Bausân in the Banu Jamâ'a, gave presents to the chiefs of Faifa and took securities from them.

The Banu Mâlik and Faifa belong to no sect of Islam and are like cattle, though they know it not.<sup>1</sup> They neither pray, nor fast, nor give alms, nor go on pilgrimage, nor study

<sup>1</sup> Many tribes in Faifa are named. A list follows:—

كثير. سلمه. على. سعيد. خالد. أبو الحكم. التوبخ. مشنية. عبد (عبد الله).  
حياة. المعالمة. عمر. حسن. هراجل. معاصر. ظلمة. على ابن عمر.

Also *الايام*. *حرب*. *مدر*—.

Ahmed doubts whether Mâlik is part of Faifa or not.

the Quran ; in fact they are heathen though they call themselves Muslims. They know not the sacred law for they have no teacher. They have no marriage rite. If a man is enamoured of a woman he follows her wherever she goes and commends himself to her till she loves him. Then he approaches her family, and if they are agreeable, he lives with her till she is with child, when the marriage price is fixed. This is their marriage. Should a guest come among them they show him great honour and provide a woman to share his couch ; it is immaterial to them whether she be a virgin or married. There was a sorcerer in Faifa who undertook to make men proof against bullets. The tribes believed him and suffered heavily from the fire of this Faithful.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE CAPTURE OF SANAA

By the end of 1035 the imam had decided to break with the Turks. Many letters passed between him and Haidar pasha and it is clear that he sought only to find an excuse for breaking the truce. In 15. XII the chiefs of Hidâ and Khaulân asked his protection against the Turks who were planning their ruin. He talked about the sanctity of treaties but only as a blind. To Haima he sent his brother Husain with a big army well equipped with all supplies. His road lay between Hufâsh and Tais where the 'Turks courteously gave him passage. In Harâz and Masâr he was joined by the tribes who clearly understood that war was intended, though he insisted that his was merely a peaceful visit of inspection. He reached Haima Sat. 19. I. 1036. On 18 Haidar had left Saana to strike at Hidâ and this gave the imam his chance. On 19 Ahmed ibn Qâsim left for Zâhir and entered Khamr on the Monday where all the neighbouring tribes gathered round him. He observed 'Amrân and entered Hadûr, 19. II, while Abdulla ibn 'Amir occupied Ashmûr. The men of Sûda asked help as they feared the family of Mu'âfa; so the Faithful occupied the town, when several members of the ruling family joined the imam though Abdulmu'min held Qarn un Nâ'i. Then 'Affâr declared for the Faith under Hâdi ibn Hasan ibn Sharafuddîn who had been a servant of the Turks but now turned to God and His imam. He was made governor of Kuhlân Tâjuddîn, 'Affâr, Janab, and the Banu Haish, and received a horse, two muskets, and a jewelled sword as presents. Ali ibn Abdulla ul Qâsimi and Wajîhuddîn entered Hajja. Dhunûb opened its gates and the Turks took refuge in the other fortresses, Mabyan, Jâhili, and Kaukabân. In face of a concentration of the Faithful the Turks in Wa'îla felt the land too narrow for them and retreated, abandoning Maswar as far as the wadi Lâ'a.

Hasan ibn Ali ibn Hajjâf was made governor of Hajja and

his men occupied Ziyâda within gunshot of Jâhili and began to entrench themselves. The Turks made a fruitless attack from all these fortresses and twenty men from Jâhili deserted, keeping their arms to use in the imam's service. It is said that two broke faith. About this time the troops of Ibn Shamsuddîn were severely defeated, the survivors escaping to 'Uli. From Haima El Qarrâ' drove the enemy out of Hufâsh and Milhân capturing their officers and freeing the hostages.

The tribes of Khaulân assembled at Hadârim, attacked Maswar and captured the Turkish commander, a lieutenant of Husain ibn Nâsir ul Hamzi, called Ibn ul Qâifia.<sup>1</sup> He was released but his horse was given to the chief of Hidâ, Umar ibn Ali ibn Falâh, to replace one killed at 'Arûs. A week later Khaulân and Hidâ advanced on Lûz capturing four thousand sheep, fifty camels, and two hundred cattle. The district acknowledged the imam. On learning this a section of Hidâ who were fighting under Ibn ul Qâifia deserted and raided Dhirâ' ul Kalb. At Husain's orders a combined attack was made from Haima on Hadûr, the Banu Matar, Raima, and Anis. Raima tendered its submission as did some tribes from near Dhimâr. Most of the fighting was at Nimâra which the foe evacuated and at Lûz where Ibn ul Qâifia was defeated.

Hasan ibn Qâsim left his son Muhammad as his deputy at Saada and went to Dhubîn with three thousand foot and a hundred horse—among them some sharîfs of Jauf—and after a delay of five days in Hâshid and Bakîl, advanced to Nihm where he was well received. Mt. Lûz surrendered and Ibn ul Qâifia fled. Good news came from all sides. Haidar pasha was defeated outside Sanaa; eight hundred men were campaigning in Raima; in Anis the fugitive Turks were closely besieged in Nimâra; the Banu Matar expelled the foreigners and held the country as far as Wa'lân. Hidâ reported success from Dhimâr, and asked for reinforcements from Hasan. Sanhân was occupied, thus cutting Dhimâr and Anis off from Sanaa. A thousand Turks from Wusâb and neighbourhood were trapped in the desert and scattered. The reduction of the enemy strongholds went on gradually; the emir Sunbul was defeated

<sup>1</sup> The son of the woman of Qâifa. A fuller form of the name is Husain ibn Muhammad ibn Nâsir ul Hamzi. He was a sharif from Jauf. A Muhammad ibn Nâsir ul Hamzi is mentioned by Rut.

near Dhirâ' ul Kalb and besieged there. The Turks wished to send two caravans; one from Sanaa to Yemen and the second to the capital. Ahmed ul Asadî and Hidâ tried to capture them. The first arrived safely though it had to fight: the other, one hundred and fifty loaded camels and two hundred laden cattle, was taken near Dhimâr by Umar ibn Ali of Hidâ.

Ahmed fought successfully at 'Amrân though Hâshid and Bakîl laid complaint against him before the imam while protesting their own loyalty and emphasizing their services. Husain ibn Ali ibn Hajjâf captured and destroyed Zafr near Hajja, but harmed neither woman nor child. The town of Thula surrendered but as the citadel still held out the garrison could harm the townsfolk by shooting into the streets. The chiefs of Tais called in the Faithful who with the Banu Dhuwâd advanced from Maswar to the Banu Haish and Sâqûf, 30. II, whereupon several Turkish officers deserted to them.

Alarmed by these successes Lûz, so long an eyesore to the Faith, surrendered. It was a strong fortress, the key to the lands beyond, well stored with provisions—wheat and barley, raisins, ghee and oil, also powder and shot to last the Faithful many months.

War was raging all over the centre and south. As far as possible we will consider the districts separately.

*The Tihama.* Muhammad ibn Ahmed us Salafi entered Bura', and the land as far as Bait ul Faqîh welcomed the imam. As the Turks were on their way south after abandoning the forts of Raima they were waylaid by the Mu'âziba and the survivors took refuge in Zalamlam, II and III.

Et Taqi ibn Ibrahim un Na'mi was sent into the Tihama. He led troops from Sharaf and was joined by Hasan ibn Abi Zaid with the men of Sanhân. United they entered Maur whence the Turks fled, then Bait ul Faqîh uz Zaidia, after being joined by the neighbouring tribes, the Banu Safîl, Najjâr and 'Atâ. As the governor of Loheya fled to Kamarân, twenty men were sent to the town to maintain order. There were no tribesmen there, only the coastfolk and merchants who follow trade as birds alight on scattered corn. The governor of Hodeida fled. His house was sacked and Salîf and Duha were captured. The Turks from Kamarân attacked Loheya, 13. IV, but were destroyed

almost to the last man. By the irony of chance an officer from Dahlak came to ask their help against the *الغالة*.<sup>1</sup>

Et Taqi routed the enemy at Murâwi'a where many officers of high rank were taken. The booty was so great that it sold for ridiculous prices. The Faithful were helped by volunteers from Jerâbih and 'Abûs, and by Zaidis. The tribes descended on the fugitives like birds of prey and Bait ul Faqîh would have been plundered and its garrison massacred if they had not stolen away secretly; for the tribes lusted for their blood. Et Taqi entered the town, saved the Turks and Indian traders and set free the hostages.

Early in VI, the general roused the tribes of Zabîd and attacked the town. He tried to storm it by means of ladders. The defenders put a cannon on the walls but it tumbled off before it could be fired. Two of the assailants were killed by falling from the wall. Then Hâshim ibn Hâzim who, at Et Taqi's request, had been made governor of part of the Tihama, arrived and took part in a second general assault at night. In the dark the camels with the ladders went astray and though four men climbed the wall the attack failed. The Turks were afraid to venture outside the walls though they numbered two hundred horse and three hundred foot. A ship from Mocha laden with powder and shot for Zabîd foundered with all hands save one. The family of Shâdhili wrote from Mocha that the town was ready to surrender and Mauza' sent the same message. Early in VII the Turks marched out from Zabîd and by a pretence of flight defeated the Faithful who scattered in all directions from Wusâb to Li'sân; because they thought the tribes of the Tihama had joined the Turks. This was a mistake. They rallied at Duha and advanced to Bait ul Faqîh where they received reinforcements, mostly from Sabya.

On Sun. 15. IV Salâh ibn Ahmed ul Muayyadi entered Abu 'Arîsh and the commandant shut himself in the castle. At the same time Sabya submitted to the imam and its chiefs and citizens joined his troops at Abu 'Arîsh. A week later, they attacked the castle. Close under the walls they were safe from bullets while their marksmen kept the ramparts clear of

<sup>1</sup> This word remains a mystery. Probably it does not mean the Abyssinians as they were too busy with their own quarrels to attack the Turks. It might perhaps mean the Portuguese.

defenders. The wall was soon breached and the Turks asked for terms which were granted ; for Salâh feared lest the stores should be plundered. The garrison acknowledged the imam and the booty was rich—thirty thousand **درهم** in money, eighty muskets, twenty-six horses, twenty-four camels, two culverins, and store of powder and shot.

*In the centre.* Qarn un Nâ'i surrendered and a month later was destroyed, except two houses which the family of Mu'âfa had stipulated should be spared for their use. The army in Tais helped by the Banu Khayyât stormed Tawîla and drove Abdurrabb into the citadel. 'Arrawand was surrendered by its commandant on condition that he received from the imam the same emoluments as Ibn Shamsuddîn had given him. A party of twenty foot with three horsemen lay in ambush to capture cattle as they were driven to Sanaa. They did not know they were close to Raima ibn Hamîd and were surprised by a much stronger force, yet they fought so stoutly that they chased their assailants to the gate of Raima. Another foray seized twenty oxen at the very gate of the capital.

On 28. III the Kalbiyûn and men of Sayad drove the Turks from Dhifân and took hostages from them. They were helped by quarrels among the Turkish leaders. Two forts near 'Affâr were captured and destroyed, I. IV. On this day, after being strongly reinforced from Sanaa, Abdurrabb attacked the town of Tawîla. It is said that he sacrificed a mare to ask the help of Ali, chief of Hamdân. The fight was stern and long. Help came to the Faithful from Haima and Sâqûf and the Turks were repulsed ; yet it was found necessary to evacuate the town, for it was commanded by the castle, and retire to Sâqûf. The Turks suffered a minor reverse at Dha'wân on the road from 'Amrân to Sanaa. In an attempt to provision Dhamarmar they suffered some loss in the wadi Sirr, though they achieved their main purpose. One of their captains, Husain ibn Muhammad ul Hamzi, was stationed near Sanaa with three hundred infantry and twelve horse. After a meeting with two of the imam's officers in Sanhân he deserted and went to Shahâra followed by most of his men. Two officers did not follow him because their wives were in Sanaa.

The chiefs of Raima asked the imam for a governor as their land was one of the gates of Yemen and would cut off all

approach to Sanaa from the west. 'Affâr capitulated and was given in charge to the people of Murhiba. On Sun. 29. IV. Ahmed ibn Muhammad ibn Luqmân attacked Birâsh near Tawîla and stopped six loads of ammunition from Sanaa and six from Kaukabân intended for Tawîla. Abdurrabb tried to relieve the village but failed, then he tried the effect of a raid on Haima, which came to nothing, and then Birâsh surrendered; the garrison were allowed to join their friends. The Banu Jauhar also submitted.

In the middle of V the Faithful suffered a reverse at Tawîla. The town was hard pressed and Haidar with the help of Ja'far ibn Ali, chief of Hamdân, came to the rescue; so certain villages were evacuated, Birâsh among them. This might have held out but the soldiers lost their heads and ran away. A raid towards Sanaa destroyed a few houses at Waraqa.

On 26. V a Turkish raid in Baun was driven off with loss as help came from Thula and Hadûr. A foraging party from 'Amrân was cut up. The same day, a big army composed of Turks and the soldiers of Kaukabân attacked the camps of the Faithful round Tawîla. They were driven off after causing a few casualties, among them a woman, a descendant of the prophet, who was shot while indoors. The pasha's cattle even were lifted from Sanaa. A raid on Nihm was repulsed though Haidar was there in person; but Mabyan withstood an attack. On Mon. 13. VI Haidar sent six hundred men to Thula where his men still held the citadel, so the Faithful abandoned the town, though outside they offered some resistance. A fortnight later 'Uli surrendered and the garrison carried their weapons to Abdurrabb in Tawîla.

*Events in the south.* The Turks wished to send treasure to Zarâja but the road was cut by the Faithful, so they had to return, while Sunbul, who had come to meet them, fled back to Dhirâ' ul Kalb. Then they bribed Muqbil ul Qâifi to attack Hidâ. He tried to reach Zarâja but the opposition was too strong, so he returned to his own place.

After a raid to the east of Sanaa when a few horses were taken, Hasan marched on Dhirâ' ul Kalb and besieged the fort. It was invested on all sides and cavalry was told off to observe Zarâja to prevent help being sent. These two forts were side by side, one supporting the other. The roads were held in

force so that the two places were isolated. A rich caravan from Zarâja was captured ; a hundred of the escort were killed and thirty were taken prisoners, because the Faithful were weary of slaughter. Only five horsemen escaped to Dhimâr and three to Zarâja. A smaller caravan was stopped on its way to Dhimâr. Sunbul went to Dhimâr but could do nothing. Wishing to relieve him, the pasha gathered a big army, two thousand five hundred foot and a hundred and ten horse, promising a big reward if they should break through to Dhimâr. Though surprised, the Faithful managed to turn the Turks ; who still promised Sunbul to relieve him on the last day of III. Hasan heard of this and laid his plans accordingly. Hidâ faced south to prevent a sortie ; Ali ibn Abdulla ut Tair faced north to meet the army from Sanaa, and Hasan was in command of the reserves. Success crowned his efforts. He sent an expedition to Wusâb which occupied 'Utuma. The commander reported that the natives knew nothing but the confession, and only needed to be taught their duty to the imam to make valiant defenders of the Faith.

Husain proposed to move further north so as to be ready to strike at Tais or in the south. While he was making his preparations at Dhu Yasâm, the troops in Dhirâ' ul Kalb and Qubbatân sallied out. Sunbul was short of powder and this was an attempt to replenish his supply. It failed, in spite of hot fighting round Zaila Yakla where all the dead were decapitated, 14. IV. On 17 a convoy from Zarâja was captured in the pass of Suwâd. The Faithful were mostly mounted and could not follow the enemy who took to the hills and caused some loss by their gunfire. The bedouin came to their aid and took twenty-five heads and three horses, though most escaped. On 22. IV a convoy from Dhimâr was held up, so next day they tried to send provisions on pack horses. This attempt also failed, for the blockade was so close that not even a messenger could get through. This is a patriotic imagination of the historian.

On Sun. 29. IV the Turks took twenty-five horses laden with the soldiers' pay into Dhirâ' ul Kalb, and on the Tuesday detachments marched from there and from Zarâja to meet troops from Qubbatân. The Faithful encountered them at Zaila Yakla and killed forty. Some fled towards Qubbatân but were surrounded at Harmân, for Abdulla ul Akwa' came up from the east and Ali ut Tair from the west. They say a hundred and

fifty muskets were captured. This fight equalled in importance Rârib Ithla. Then Ali ibn Abdulla ul Manâma, one of the greatest chiefs of Haima, deserted the Turks, among whom he had held an important position, and joined Hasan. He forced Bait Baus to surrender ; though Haidar pasha came to its relief, and was forced to look on as the Faithful entered the town, Tues. 8. V. This place was important as it commanded the road to Qubbatân.

Hidâ captured a convoy of a hundred camels near Dhimâr. All the chiefs of Qâifa joined the imam, except Muqbil ; and it was hoped that he would soon come in, of his own free will or otherwise. Ali ibn Muhammad ul Himâti was sent to Zûm near Wusâb where he defeated the Turks. Their commander fled past Jubla to Ibb. As the ruffians of Hidâ refused to obey Ali, Ahmed ibn Salâh ul Qutâbari was sent to take command.

Husain ibn Muhammad ul Hamzi was attacked near Munqadha ; yet he routed his assailants, captured the village and several others also ; and received four hostages from the fort on Mt. Kibrît. The greatest success of all was that Muqbil ul Qâifi joined the Faithful with five hundred musketeers. He was perhaps the most powerful chief in Yemen ; his followers were bedouin and the Turks had no authority over them. Having reached the limits of endurance and despairing of relief, Sunbul abandoned Dhirâ' ul Kalb, Zarâja, and Qubbatân, and escaped to Dhimâr. The Faithful were not quick enough and only captured some stores and a few sick and wounded, whom they massacred. Muhammad ibn Hasan was sent to Zûm to observe Dhimâr till Muqbil should arrive to begin the siege. The Turks brought Zaid ibn Ahmed of Hidâ out of prison hoping he would persuade his tribe to join them ; instead he fled to Ahmed ul Asadi. At Yarîm a Turkish army was defeated and besieged. A band of fugitives took refuge in Jubla and was there invested. Samâha and 'Utuma surrendered and Nâsir ibn Ahmed ur Rammâh joined the imam. The Turks withdrew from Mt. Habb to Ibb.

The emir Et Tâhir joined at Zabîd and 'Amir ibn Ahmed ul Jamâ'i declared for the imam. He had a great following in the neighbourhood of Ta'iz and in VII these tribes attacked the town which with Jubla and Ibb was the only stronghold left to the Turks. Sunbul ordered the troops in Yarîm to attack Khau in Ru'ain. Husain ibn Muhammad hurried up and the Turks

were defeated with the loss of several officers, their flag and drum, Th. 8. VII. Husain then attacked Yarîm and suffered heavy loss, many of his kin being killed; for the riff-raff of Khaulân, who formed part of his army, ran away.

At the end of VI Hidâ attacked Jubla and killed a hundred of the enemy, capturing as many muskets. Hasan prepared for an expedition, ostensibly against Dhimâr, and then attacked Raima ibn Hamîd, taking considerable spoil and levelling the outpost. The survivors took refuge in the castle.

Husain and Hasan met in Hadûr for an attack on Abdurrabb. Hasan threatened Sanhân and Sanaa where Ahmed ul Asadi was already fighting. Then he rejoined his brother and they marched to Shamât and at dawn, Sat. 17. VII, they attacked Abdurrabb who fled with Muzâhim and Qâsim, two Turkish officers, to Bukur. The whole camp was captured and several villages declared for the Faith. The troops came so close to Kaukabân that they were fired at from the walls. On Sunday the brothers of the imam approached Bukur, when Abdurrabb capitulated on condition that the lives of his officers including the two Turks were spared. Kaukabân surrendered 20. VII and Abdurrabb sent his son Nâsir to Shahâra to arrange their affairs. They remained in possession of their lands and villages<sup>1</sup> but the imam appointed the governors. Ali ibn Muhammad ul Jamîlî was the first judge. Two officers and a hundred men who had been sent to help Haidar fled to the imam when they heard of the surrender of Kaukabân.

Abdulla ibn Muhammad ush Sharafi and Ahmed ibn Muhammad ul Haidâni arrived too late for the fight and were sent at once to Thula. After a few days' fighting, during which they were joined by Muhammad ul Akwa', they took the town, and the citadel surrendered unconditionally, 25. VII. The prisoners were allowed to live under restraint in different parts of the country. On 30. VII Mabyan and Kaukabân surrendered to the governor of Hajja, Husain ibn Hajjâf, and the hostages and prisoners were released. Some had been in captivity so long that their family was not known.

Ahmed ibn Qâsim attacked 'Amrân, repelling several sorties.

<sup>1</sup> The word translated 'villages' may be a proper name. There was a place أهجر near Kaukabân.

Then he advanced on Dha'wân, receiving the submission of Hazm, Dhîfân, and the Suraih. In a raid on Sanaa an outpost was established opposite the gate Sabha. On 5. VIII Hasan and Husain again raided Sanaa with Abdurrabb and many of his kin, who were enthusiastic in their devotion to the imam. They penetrated to Jirâf and a skirmish ensued though the Turks retired before Hasan's cavalry could come up.

After some bargaining the six hundred men in Yarîm capitulated. Alarmed by the fall of Kaukabân, Sunbul began negotiations through Muhammad, the brother of Abdurrabb; he surrendered Dhimâr and became a loyal soldier of the Faith, swearing to obey the imam in all things. Mt. Kibrît and Radâ' also gave in and set free their hostages. Sumâra gave in to a show of force and Husain ibn Muhammad occupied the castle, as it was a strong position at the head of the pass. He sent his son Tâlib to Damt, Qa'taba, and Ibb, with a thousand musketeers and a hundred and twenty horses.

In IX Abdulqâdir, the chief of Khanfar, occupied Ra'ârî' in the wadi of Lahej and posted his son in the town with the eastern tribes. He stayed there a fortnight and then sent the tribes home, for he feared disturbance if they were present at the capture of Aden. Hasan sent troops to support him with instructions only to join him if they had heard one of two items of good news; the capture of Aden or of Sanaa. Before they arrived Aden was taken except the island of Sîra, by the help of the Yâfi' tribes. Abdulqâdir was devoted to the Faith and continued to help Hasan with men and munitions.

On Tu. 12. IX Husain ibn Muhammad reported the surrender of Jubla and Ibb, though each was held by four hundred men. The generous treatment offered to Yarîm had had its effect, also the declaration that the imam would treat all men, Arabs and foreigners, alike, in contrast to the severity of Haidar pasha. Mahmûd aga, the governor of Yarîm, used his influence and the towns were glad to come to terms. Next followed Na'mân and Zahr in Wusâb.

Hâdi ush Shâmi had collected certain base fellows from Hidâ and Kaukabân and plundered lower Yemen. The inhabitants complained to Husain ibn Muhammad, who clapped Hâdi in prison for a time and dispersed his following, over whom he had had no control. In X there was skirmishing with varied

results near 'Amrân and on Tu. 21. XI the town surrendered with five hundred Turks. The commander was sent to Shahâra and kept there in honourable captivity. At the end of the month 'Arûs on Mt. Sabir surrendered and Ta'iz was besieged.

The fighting round Sanaa was continuous and not always to the advantage of the Faithful. Some of their new allies proved treacherous and fled to the Turks. Muhammad the son of the imam Hasan, was stationed in Rauda; Mt. Nuqum was occupied at a heavy cost, for Ali ibn Abdulla ut Tair was killed and the imam's brothers were in great danger, deserted by their followers. They performed prodigies of valour and though Husain was wounded, Hasan slew Dhu 'l Fiqâr and captured his horse. Again and again the Turks attacked Rauda; several times bringing cannon against it. Once the artillery was put out of action because water was thrown on the matches. The blockade was drawn closer; Hasan and Husain, Abdurrabb and Sunbul taking part. Hâdi ibn Mutahhar ibn Shuwai' was in Bait Luhaida, Ahmed ibn Muhammad udh Dhimâri in Dâr Sâlim and Mutahhar ibn Nûruddîn in Qulfân of Sanhân. Prices rose; a Sanaa قدح of corn cost three حرف. Rations were issued, six thousand loaves; first wheat, then barley, later maize, and at last chaff.<sup>1</sup> One wet night sixty men deserted. A messenger to Zabîd was captured and his letters found which confirmed the reports about the scarcity in the town. Supplies came from Hamdân alone and then but twice or thrice a month and an armed guard had to meet the caravan. Wheat cost five حرف the قدح, maize three and a half, and barley three. The infantry daily received four loaves worth ten كميير, the cavalry loaves worth forty, and the officers loaves worth sixty.

A letter from Loheya reported that Haidar's agent had collected a thousand of the lowest class of Egyptians to serve in Yemen. Brought to Suez, it was decreed that the strongest should march by land and the others travel by sea; but they objected as they wished not to be separated. They mutinied and three hundred were killed. A shipload started but strife broke out and many perished. They returned to Suez and plundered the Governor's house. Further news came, I. 37; the Sultan had ordered Ahmed the pasha of Egypt to lead to Yemen

<sup>1</sup> حنطة The lexx. give حنطة as rice straw, maize straw, and chaff.

all the troops in Egypt. The men mutinied and killed the pasha and the general. The Sharîf of Mecca heard that Sanaa had surrendered and confiscated Haidar's treasures in Mecca and Jidda.

There was trouble because Hamdân sent provisions—grain, cattle and ghee—into Sanaa. The imam's brothers tried to stop this traffic. Then Wâda'a, a sub-tribe of Hamdân, revolted at Jâhilia and were followed by the whole country. To separate Hamdân from Sanaa the Faithful made great efforts to hold Jirâf where Turkish attacks were repelled, 25. XII. Ahmed gathered an army from the Banu Suraih, Hajjâj and Suraim and carried the war into Hamdân. The rebels speedily asked pardon. Then, 1. I. 37, the Turks—sixty horse and six hundred foot—abandoned Jâhilia, whereupon the Faithful burned the village and laid waste the fields. Ahmed had promised the townsfolk their lives but the Banu Hârith met a party carrying their bedding and killed eighteen of them. On 18. I Dhamarmar was taken with all its stores. On 18. VIII the Turks made a determined attack on Hashîsha putting troops in ambush near it and Rauda. One trap succeeded but not the other and after an initial success they were driven off in disorder.

Meantime things were going badly in the south. Hâdi ush Shâmi was defeated in Sahbân and though Hidâ raided Ta'iz and captured two hundred cattle and five hundred sheep, the emir Husain had to abandon Jubla. He tried to hold the line of fortresses, Dhu Sifâl, Ta'kur, and Jubla, but the soldiers ran without fighting. He could only retreat, leaving all his stores behind him, and then seventy men of Yâfi', Hâshid, and Bakîl turned traitor, killed fifty of his soldiers and fled to the enemy. The emir sent a despairing letter to Hasan asking for five hundred musketeers to march night and day to his rescue. Hasan left Ahmed to take his place in Rauda and reached Dhimâr, 5. III. He was at Yarîm Sat. 11. III and sent Yahya ibn Lutfulbâri to Hubaish and the troops to Mt. Ba'dân. The Turks were driven to Jubla, Ibb, and Mt. Habb, while the Faithful occupied Najd ul Ahmar to cut them off from Ta'iz. The inhabitants everywhere were overjoyed at the Faithful's return. Qâifa and the eastern tribes, the chiefs of Zabîd and 'Abs joined in; then Sûq uth Thulûth on Mt. Ba'dân was captured, a few of the garrison escaping to Mt. Habb. Qâifa invested Ibb.

The Turks from Jubla tried to raise the siege of Hubaish. When the relieving army was signalled the Faithful made so violent an attack that the fort was taken, the garrison exterminated and such booty obtained that Hasan was able to refit his army 23. III. The garrison of Ibb surrendered on their lives being assured to them, and the troops from Jubla fled, while Ahmed aga, the 'Infant' of Zûm, arranged the surrender of the town that it might escape pillage. The Faithful then marched on Ta'iz, the only town in the hills left in Turkish hands. On 4. IV Hasan took up a strong position near Najd ul Ahmar overlooking the town. Here he was joined by Ali ibn Haidara us Salami and Abdulqâhir ibn Murallas with the tribes of Hijria. Sunbul occupied 'Udain and Abdurrabb Qâ'ida while Abdulqâdir advanced on Mocha. Then a quarrel broke out between the emir Husain and 'Amir ul Jamâ'i, the governor of Ibb. Husain made an attack, sacked the governor's house and part of the town. The inhabitants sacrificed five oxen in front of Husain's tent and besought his mercy which was graciously granted. 'Amir escaped and complained to Hasan who summoned Husain to his presence; and reported to the imam that this disturbance would have had very serious consequences, had it occurred before the adhesion of Hijria.

Yaf'ân, a strong fortress in Raima, had been closely besieged. Part of the town had fallen and ladders were ready for the final storm when the garrison appealed to Sunbul to arrange terms, 3. V. They enlisted in the imam's army and Ahmed ibn Abi-r Rijâl was appointed governor. From Aden Abdulqâdir sent a present to Hasan; four bronze and two iron culverins, eighteen iron guns, four horses and a thousand dirhems.

Hasan occupied Mt. Sabir, which is to the south what the head is to the body. He sent Yahya ibn Lutfulbâri against Ta'iz and the battle began on a small scale, extending as one after another the leaders joined in; first Hâdi ush Shâmi, then Abdurrabb, and at last Hasan himself. The Turks fled and the victors, without waiting to cut off the heads of the fallen, pressed on to the town and would have entered it, had not the guards shut the gate in the faces of their comrades, who were cut down outside the walls, Mon. 1. VI. As the chief of 'Udain showed signs of restlessness Abdulmu'min was sent against him. He took the town though the chief fled and later surrendered with

another ringleader. They were sent to Hasan who put them in prison. Hâdi ush Shâmi came to the town and received the submission of the whole district, and of Hais whose garrison fled to Zabîd and Shar'ab. He had to enter Hijria but they soon quieted down.

The blockade of Sanaa continued. The Turks made sorties, mostly toward Jirâf, which sometimes had some success but the situation grew steadily worse. Wheat rose to be ten **حرف** the **حرف** and barley eight; they ate the horses that were killed in battle. One small convoy of food was stopped before it reached the town and once eighty sheep were captured near the mosque of Wahn.<sup>1</sup> The owners had left them while they bargained with the Turks. The sheep were divided between the soldiers and the natives. On 3. IV the imam wrote to Haidar suggesting an armistice with release of prisoners; and the correspondence continued till a truce was called for Ramadân.<sup>2</sup>

Haidar wished to send two officials to Zabîd to arrange the pilgrimage, so Husain escorted them with two officers to Sunbul who was blockading that town. He gave them another officer as safeguard. In the town a riot broke out and the three Faithful were killed. Some even wished to kill the pasha's deputies but the commanders managed to save them. After this atrocity the imam sent an indignant note to Haidar, who was not responsible: 'No one, be he Muslim or infidel, would kill an ambassador.'

The truce was extended for three months and then to the end of II. 1038, for the imam saw that his troops needed rest. Hostages were released and the famine in the capital ceased. Men had not been deterred by fear of punishment or death from taking food there, but now no more profit was to be had there than anywhere else. Still no help came from Europe and all the jewels were turned into money and the cannon into **دوارس**. The pasha of Egypt sent a thousand men—weaklings, peasants, and strangers—under Rajab aga; but they killed an officer from Mocha and finally, to the number of two hundred and fifty with their leader, joined the imam.

Envoys were sent to Ta'iz with the news of the truce. At first Hasan would not let them enter the town for he hoped to

<sup>1</sup> This mosque is not mentioned elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> About this time the negotiations for the surrender of Sanaa began. Curiously, the historian does not mention them.

reduce it by force, but mediators persuaded him to obey the imam; although the endurance of the garrison had nearly reached its limit, and the besiegers were so close they could hear the slightest sound on the walls. The hostages were released, though only thirty out of seventy were alive and some were too weak to walk, XI. 1037. Hasan took his troops to Janad lest they should be corrupted by the Turks. There disease broke out and eight hundred perished, as they say.

Early in XI. 1037 a fresh pasha named Aidîn<sup>1</sup> arrived with a thousand soldiers. As he passed Jâzân he wrote to the chief and sharîfs of Sabya summoning them to the sultan's flag and offering the chief the governorship of Yemen. He passed the letter to the imam. Aidîn meantime landed at Mocha. Hasan raided the Zarârîr two days' journey from Janad who were excited by Aidîn's arrival, and brought back much spoil in camels and sheep, 15. XII.

Ali ibn Haidara showed signs of restlessness so Hasan summoned him to a meeting at Yafris. Ali took refuge with his family and followers at the far end of his dominions and sent his brother Fadl to Hasan. He was received with due honour and it was made manifest that Hasan's intentions were peaceful. Ali refused to obey orders and begged Turkish aid; so at the end of the year Hasan marched against him leaving a general in Umm Faras. He won an easy victory, took a hundred heads and much booty, arms, silk, cloth, money, camels, sheep, and cattle. The slaughter would have been greater had not the soldiers been tired of killing.

All Hijria was pacified and Hasan returned to Dimna whence he marched to meet Aidîn who had answered Salami's appeal for help. They met at Najd Qâsim. Out of a thousand foot and forty horse the Turks lost a hundred killed and two hundred prisoners, including two agas. The horse scattered in flight to Ta'iz. All the baggage, arms, and treasure were captured, I. 1038.

Abdurrabb died on 26. I in Janad, his brother Muhammad on 13. VI and was buried beside him, and Husain ibn Muhammad on 10. II.

<sup>1</sup> W. calls this man 'Abidîn and makes him a lieutenant of Qâsuh. Aidîn does not look like a corruption of 'Abidîn. The *Tuhfat* agrees with *Ahmed* in the form of the name.

After Najd Qâsim, Hasan marched on Mocha and camped three miles from it in a palm grove. In an attack he penetrated the streets by the gate Wattâq; but as the soldiers did not know the town they were badly beaten. The Turks mounted light guns on the houses, and ships in the harbour fired on the Faithful. At last Hasan was left with only twelve followers in the street of Shaikh Shâdhili. During the retreat they were hampered by the soft sand. Over sixty were killed, 7. III.

Haidar tried to arrange a truce between the imam and Aidîn as he wished to get some of his property from Mocha. Finally the imam agreed to a five months' truce to end with Ramadân, but Haidar's money must be kept in Jidda or some other place till the evacuation of Sanaa was complete. This truce only concerned Mocha and Zabîd and was of great benefit to the imam as his troops were exhausted by exposure to rain and storm and harassed by the doubtful loyalty of the tribes. One item in the treaty was that Aidîn should pay twelve thousand dirhems to Hasan.

Haidar asked that the imam's son Ali might be sent to Sanaa to guarantee his safety. The young man left Uqr, 11. VI, and travelled by Hâshif, Sûda, and 'Amrân.

In IV Husain went to Haima to keep order and levy the taxes. As the end of the truce drew near he went to Hadda (end of VI). Yahya ul Mikhlâfi had complained that he had crossed his domain without asking permission. So before his return he had informed Yahya of his intention. The chief called out the tribe and surrounded Husain but was persuaded by his kinsmen not to attack. Husain and his troops waited for an hour, but there was no provision for them as the baggage had gone another road. Yahya forbade them the direct road so they had to retrace their steps and go by the pass of Mikhlâf to Suq ul Khamîs. Though it was still his domain Yahya would not provide food. The local chief wished Husain to be his guest, but as he had already entertained them on the outward journey Husain refused and went on to Shaqq Bani Shihâb.

On 12. VI Husain attacked Yanâ', Yahya's home. The fight lasted into the afternoon when Husain retired to Raima leaving outposts in Jid'ân. Yahya was defeated in a sortie and then fled with eight retainers to Khaulân. Next day Yanâ' was found to be deserted and was pillaged and destroyed. The tribes were

treated generously and the country pacified. Haidar took this opportunity to attack Hadda, Th. 4. VI. He had no profit from his breach of the truce.

On Fri. 14. VII Haidar summoned Ali ibn Muhammad from Rauda.<sup>1</sup> They met in the gardens and Haidar handed over the keys of Sanaa. He was allowed to leave some property in the town under the care of a servant; strict orders being given that he should be subject to no annoyance. Two hundred and fifty camels had been collected to transport the pasha's goods, and large presents of food were waiting for him. Ali and Haidar travelled slowly to the coast. At Ahjur the tribes carried off a slave. Punishment was swift. Husain himself appeared, had the slave restored and fined the marauders heavily. The journey was toilsome; many of the camels died and the loads had to be carried on men's heads; food was scarce and rain continuous. When the Tihama was reached Ali entrusted the pasha to Ahmed ul Haidâni and Muhammad ut Tuhami, and returned to his father who made him governor of Sanaa. The parting was affecting; one Turk declared; 'He who draws sword against the imam is not a Muslim.' At Bait ul Faqîh Hâshim ibn Hâzim met the pasha and at Zabîd the whole town welcomed him, 22. VIII.

<sup>1</sup> The *Tuhfat* puts the surrender on the first of the month.

## CHAPTER VII

### QÂNSUH AND ZABÎD

AFTER the surrender of Sanaa several of the Muayyad family did homage to the imam, among them Muhammad ibn Abdulla, who sold his property in the capital and went to dwell in Saada where he died, I. 1044 ; so did some who had received pensions from the Turks, also Ali ibn Mutahhar ibn Shuwai', who had been made emir, along with sharîfs from Jauf and Arabs.

On 5. VIII. 1038 Hasan posted his army outside Ta'iz where he was joined by Fadl us Salami with a thousand men. They made a hundred ladders each fifteen ells long for an assault by storm. It failed, though with little loss to the besiegers. Numbers of poor who had no means of subsistence were driven out of the town.<sup>1</sup> Both the imam and Haidar called on the town to surrender according to the terms of peace, but they refused and claimed Aidîn as their chief. He asked that the truce with Mocha might be extended to Ta'iz. This the imam refused because time and again Ta'iz had broken the truce arranged by Haidar, who now wrote from Zaidia announcing his coming to Zabîd and his intention of sending the emir Khidr to Mocha to ask if Aidîn were appointed by the sultan, in which case he must pay all the troops ; or by the pasha of Egypt, when Haidar would keep his own command.

On Mo. 12. X the garrison of Qâhira, the citadel of Ta'iz, surrendered, and were enrolled in Hasan's army. Husain ibn Abdurrabb'and Yahya ibn Lutfulbâri occupied the fort ; then the town capitulated and was treated magnanimously. On Fr. 16. X Mt. Habb surrendered to Sâlih ibn Muhammad ibn Abi-r Rijâl. In I. 1039 the imam sent envoys to Haidar to enquire into his future plans. The soldiers grew suspicious and informed Aidîn. He ordered them to appoint one of their number general, another governor of the town, and to make Haidar a prisoner. After two or three days he was sent to Kamarân.

<sup>1</sup> Ahmed has three hundred thousand in words—an impossible number.

In answer to many calls from Mocha the pasha of Egypt sent Ahmed Qânsuh to Yemen. He travelled overland, reaching Mecca 4. I. 1039 and then Sabya, where the chief met him humbly because he was not strong enough to fight, though he warned the imam. Ahmed ibn Luqmân withdrew from Itwad to Zahr ul Hamal not far from Abu 'Arîsh where he was joined by Yahya ibn Muhammad whom his father sent in hot haste with three hundred soldiers. The chief of Sabya wished to make a stand at Birk, a town with old ruins and strong buildings; but the imam would not permit this as it was too far off for effective support and could be turned by sea. On 2. IV Qânsuh left Sabya with an army reported to number six hundred cavalry and two thousand musketeers, while three thousand travelled by sea. Previously a Turkish ship and eight galleys had appeared off Loheya when the guard, frightened by a rumour of the army's approach, fled to Maur and then to Zaidia.

In Abu 'Arîsh the soldiers of Yahya suffered from the strange water and very few escaped illness. Some of the Khawâji—sharîfs of Sabya—with their tribal allies joined them and they occupied Jâzân in force. As the post was not big enough to hold them they left Hâdi un Na'mi there with fifty men and returned to Abu 'Arîsh. Hardly had they gone when some Turks attacked the town and were driven off, the sailors said with a loss of fifty men. They remained outside the roadstead for a day and then sailed to the bay opposite Farasân. On Fr. 5. V three Turkish ships arrived; they wished to enter the service of the imam but Hâdi mismanaged matters so they sailed away and were wrecked. Some perished and some escaped to the Tihama.

Qânsuh marched through Maur, Zaidia, after Et Taqi had vacated it, and Bait ul Faqîh. He ordered the chief to supply five hundred camel loads of food. As the Arabs had fled to the desert it was impossible to provide this quantity, so the chief was crucified, and his brother was dragged through the town tied to the tail of a camel. Many houses were plundered. The natives fled to Raima and infested the roads killing all the Turks they found. At the end of IV Qânsuh reached Zabîd and camped outside the Shabâriq gate. He had Aidîn brought from Mocha, imprisoned, and killed (VII), some say by poison. In spite of a pestilence from which many died, he ordered the

castle to be fortified and a wall to be built round it. Hasan, Sunbul, and Hâshim were in Raima, observing the enemy and ready to support each other. The emir Mûsa was sent to occupy Hais where he died, Wed. 17. V. Some say he was a bedouin from Egypt, others that he belonged to Hamdân and his grandfather had emigrated.

On 27. V a ship attacked Jâzân but, in spite of its guns, was driven off. The garrison had some culverins but no proper equipment, so a bullock was harnessed to one which was loaded with hard stones that served their deadly purpose. On 23. VI two ships and two corvettes appeared off the town. Impressed by the show of force Hâdi retired and the enemy captured his guns and carried them on board. Yahya sent reinforcements and reoccupied the town, so the ships sailed away. On Thur. 8. VII Ahmed ibn Luqmân died at Mt. Râzih from a disease contracted in the Tihama. He left all his property to the imam to divide as he thought fit between his children and the service of the holy war.

The imam heard that the chief of Maur wished to break with the Turks so he ordered Yahya to send some of his troops from Amrûkh to join him. Yahya declined, as the tribes showed no signs of friendliness because the fear of the Turk lay heavy on the land; but the imam insisted. The chief of Maur summoned Turkish help from Zaidia and engaged the Faithful. Their camp was surprised by the Wâ'izât and, as they were overcome by the heat and a long stay in the Tihama, they lost a hundred and twenty-four killed, including one officer, and forty prisoners who were afterwards released.

In VIII 'Amir uz Zubyâni revolted with the Safâlid, the Rabî'atân and the Hubaishia and attacked Hâdi ush Shâmi in Damt. The assault was beaten off and Muqbil and Hidâ hurried to join in the fight and ravaged the Hubaishia. Perhaps the Turks stirred up this trouble to make an opportunity for attacking Hasan.

While it was in progress Qânsuh sent a detachment from Hais to Shaikh 'Isa, 1. IX. Hasan and his brother went to Zawâqir to oppose them and Sunbul to Najd ul Mukhaibar. After waiting some days the fight began, 11. IX, and lasted two days. The detachment was all but destroyed and its supplies captured. Hasan was now behind the main army of the Turks and his

brother in front of them ; he did not wish to wait lest his supplies should run out, his men lose heart, and seditious rumours spread. Also the enemy's position was suited to the movements of cavalry. By a trick he persuaded the Turks that some of their allies were inclined to play traitor, so they moved into the hills and the battle began in Raida, 28. IX. All the Arab commanders were fighting independently, for the whole battle was very confused and no one knew exactly what he was doing. The enemy appeared and disappeared mysteriously.

Exhausted by fighting and watching in the rain and mud men slept in the middle of the fight, and the enemy's general was able to escape with four or five hundred foot and two hundred horse. Yet the Turks fell like the leaves of the forest and Yemen was filled with the spoil. None knew for certain, for every camp was full of captives and booty, yet there must have been three thousand slain and the same number of prisoners. Probably as many escaped, for about ten thousand muskets were taken.

At the end of X Hasan returned to Yafris and a year's truce was arranged with Qânsuh. A bloodfeud between the Khawâji of Sabya and the Hawâzima of Salhaba was referred to the imam for settlement ; the judge of Sabya died in Shahâra whither he had gone to take part in these negotiations.

On 1. III. 1040 the emir of Zabîd perished with most of his household through the fall of his house,] due to the heavy rain. It was not till the next day that his body was dug out of the ruins. Shortly after Husain ibn Abdurrabb died in Ta'iz and was buried beside his father in Janad.

Hasan captured letters between Qânsuh and Ahmed ibn Sha'fal which showed that the chief was preparing a revolt in the east. Fearing for Aden, which the Turks would easily reach by sea and land, he told Abdulqâdir that Yâfi', who formed part of the garrison, were in league with the rebel, an old enemy of Khanfar. Hasan went in person to Qa'taba III and sent Hâdi ush Shâmî with Qâifa against the Rabî'atân who abandoned their homes and property. Qâifa destroyed the houses and looted the cattle. Ali ibn Shamsân and Sunbul prepared to attack the Safâlid from two sides, and the tribe returned to its obedience. At the end of III Ahmed ibn Sha'fal fled with his chattels to Yâfi' and his tribe made peace. His brother Ja'far was installed in his stead with all customary rights and privileges. Then began

the pursuit of the rebel. Hasan returned to Ibb after sending Hâdi ush Shâmi to support Ja'far and follow Ahmed. There were negotiations but they came to nothing. In the fight that followed Hâdi was distinctly worsted as the tribes deserted. He retreated and asked for help. When it arrived, Ahmed was hunted out of his refuge, but all Yâfi' gathered round him, VI, and Hâdi was helpless; even his camp with its guard was captured. In VII two sons of Ahmed and a brother returned to their allegiance.

In VI a mutiny broke out in Zabîd and the gates were shut in the face of the officer whom Qânsuh sent from Mocha to restore order. Then he went to Bait ul Faqîh and began intrigues with the mutineers till they called him to Zabîd where he executed the ringleaders and then went back to Mocha in VII. One result was that Hasan made Ta'iz his headquarters, for he feared the Turks might seize the town. Though it was the capital of lower Yemen Hasan did not live there because of the heat.

A strange thing happened 14. VII; a great noise like the firing of many guns was heard at Yafris. 'The enemy are upon us' was the cry, and Ta'iz was empty of troops. The army was hurried to Sûq ur Rubû' in Zarârîr; and it was a false alarm. The noise was heard all over the province. Yahya, the imam's son, had been ill for some time. He had asked repeatedly to be allowed to return to the hills but his presence was considered necessary for the peace of the Tihama. After the truce with Qânsuh he had hoped to leave the plains but was hindered by one obstacle after another till he died, 4. V.

In IX was a great gathering of the chiefs in Shahâra. The war had been long, they yearned after their friends and desired to see the imam and be refreshed by his virtues. It was a great and festal day; there were gifts from the imam and his brethren for each according to his rank, whether prince or camel driver. The festivities were disturbed by one accident. A hill in Hâshif seventy ells high overhanging a cave, suddenly fell, burying fourteen men, a woman, and much cattle. The imam sent help to dig them out but three of the men were dead and nearly all the animals. Hasan returned to lower Yemen and on his road married a daughter of Abdurrabb in Kaukabân, from whom he begot a son. In Daurân he built a house and laid out gardens with coffee, bananas, and other fruits.

After the feast of sacrifice the soldiers in Mocha demanded a gratuity so the captain gave them two thousand gold **حرف** ; Qânsuh was indignant at such treachery (as he called it) and slew the officer with his own hand. The soldiers attacked the pasha. He only saved himself by handing over three of his friends, who were slain over the fresh grave, while four others were taken to Kamarân as hostages. Then at the end of VII. 1041 many of his soldiers plotted together and fled from the Tihama, from Bait ul Faqih Zaidia, Maur, Loheya and Mauza'. Two hundred and fifty cavalry went by land and a thousand infantry by sea. The governor of Jâzân chanced to be absent when the ships arrived so they sacked the town ; the horse did no harm beyond seizing some corn, for the road had been deserted before them. Hâdi un Na'mi joined the chief of Sabya near Abu 'Arîsh and wished to attack the mutineers. However the chief had promised them his protection ; it is said that he warned them of a possible attack. Qânsuh was furious at this desertion for the only soldiers left him were Arabs, and they were unruly and untrustworthy.

In V a terrible fire in Sabya destroyed three thousand six hundred houses and much property. In this year some of the imam's kin went on pilgrimage at the head of a great company of near ten thousand men ; the greatest pilgrimage for years. Some went by the eastern road, others by the mountain trail, where they had to fight their way, and all returned by the coast or by sea.

In 1043 Qânsuh planned an attack on Aden. He called on Yâfi' to gather at Lahej in II, and they agreed on condition that he sent troops. Several chiefs of Yâfi' were in Aden when Abdulqâdir seized a letter from the pasha for them. He treated them with all honour and sent Ma'ûda ibn 'Affif to raise the tribes, who responded with zeal. A ship and three corvettes sent by Qânsuh stayed three weeks off Aden without accomplishing anything. When they went the danger passed.

In III a force from Kamarân attacked Jâzân while Hâdi un Na'mi was absent at Shahâra. His lieutenant was not strong enough to fight so the inhabitants carried their goods inland. The Turks held the town for three days, carried off a little food and burnt many houses. Then they sailed before the imam could gather troops to punish them.

The towns in the Tihama that suffered under Turkish rule and tribes like Mu'âziba and Fakhri turned to the imam for help. All the soldiers on the register were summoned from Saada and all quarters, and in VII. 1043 Hâshim ibn Hâzim entered the Tihama supported by Et Taqi ibn Ibrahim from Amrûkh while Hasan left his brother Husain as his deputy in Daurân and marched on Zaidia, hoping to surprise the garrison. They were warned and escaped. He wanted to pursue but feared the town might be pillaged in his absence so occupied it, 15. VII. Jerâbih and Fakhri had joined him earlier and now all the tribes flocked to him. Et Taqi entered Maur, 16. VII, and shortly after a detachment of Hasan's troops arrived.

The fugitives from Zaidia entered Bait ul Faqîh and caused such dismay that the troops there fled with them to Zabîd, Thu. 18. VII. Sunbul who chanced to be nearest occupied the town and pacified the district by proclaiming peace and security for all. The people of Tihama showed more zeal for the Faith than ever before. Qânsuh sent an army gathered from Mocha, Zabîd, and Hais, against Ali ibn Shamsân who was outside the last-named town. After a hard fight he drove off the enemy and when they evacuated Hais he entered it, doing no harm to the inhabitants. The enemy also suffered from scarcity of food. Hasan and Hâshim joined Sunbul in Bait ul Faqîh and marched on Zabîd, camping to the north and east within a mile or two of the walls. Hasan pitched his camp at Hima where he commanded the approaches and could see what was happening in the town, 18. IX. There were said to be four hundred and twenty horsemen and fifteen hundred infantry in Zabîd, fifty horse and a thousand foot in Mocha, and in Mauza' a hundred and fifty or two hundred horse.<sup>1</sup> Immediately after the arrival of the Faithful there was a fight. The Turks were driven back into the town and a few of the assailants were shot down from the walls.

Troops from Kaukabân under Shamsuddîn ibn Yahya and others under Hâdi ibn Mutahhar were attacked at Mauza' by the garrisons of that place and of Mocha, 30. IX or 1. X. One division of the enemy began the battle while another made a circuit and attacked from the rear. Three onsets were beaten off and then

<sup>1</sup> The number of infantry at Mauza' is not given; perhaps by an oversight.

the line broke. Shamsuddîn was killed and Hâdi retired and, as he had no supplies, he continued his retreat to Yafris. This defeat had a very bad effect, so Hasan summoned Husain from Daurân where he had hoped to spend his time in study, and the imam sent Ahmed to Dhimâr. Before these reinforcements arrived the garrison of Zabîd marched out to fight. They had intended to attack Hasan but changed their minds and fought Sunbul. The chief of a village near was to play the traitor for their benefit, but Hasan discovered the mischief, cut off the man's head and threw it into the town. In his house they found five  $\text{دراهم}$  of food, bread, and dough ready for the Turks. Hasan marched to the aid of his fellow commander and the enemy was routed; the city wall alone saved them, Mon. 4. X. This success quieted the disaffected. The enemy are said to have lost a hundred men and the tails of twenty horses were presented to the general. Perhaps the enemy's losses were exaggerated.

After a skirmish in I. 1044 an attempt was made to bring fresh supplies into Zabîd in II. Mustapha aga waited in the neighbourhood for a ship with provisions and ammunition. He met it at Buq'a, loaded the stores on three hundred camels and began the journey with an escort of four hundred cavalry. Hasan had come to meet him and caught him at Nakhl in the dark.<sup>1</sup> The Turks were scattered and the whole convoy captured. Some of their allies raised the imam's warcry, turned on their late friends and made off before dawn. The spoil included two cannons, three hundred tents, and twenty loads of corn. Perhaps the losses of the Turks were exaggerated for in the dark many scattered and escaped; but Mustapha fled with only twenty-five companions. This raid lasted three days and four nights.

A truce was arranged to begin in VI and last three months. Then an epidemic broke out and numbers of the Faithful died; though Hasan and Husain escaped after slight attacks. In VII Qânsuh entered Zabîd hoping to draw profit from the sickness. During the truce there was a fire in Hasan's camp of tents and huts; one half was burnt but all the animals were saved and no

<sup>1</sup> The *Tuhfat* puts the affair of the convoy at Nakhl in I. 1045, immediately before the escape of Qânsuh. This is inherently probable. Hasan returned with two bags of heads.

soldiers perished though many were sick. At this time there died three sons of the imam's brother Ali.

In VIII a chief of Raima raised a rebellion in Wusâb and besieged the governor for two days, when the rest of the province rose and drove away the rebels, capturing the leader. This revolt had cut the besiegers of Zabîd from all communications for eight days; no food or other necessaries could be brought to them. The end of the trouble was a great relief to all. Another worry was the sudden disappearance of Hâshim ibn Hâzim. Though he commanded a thousand men he left his post and went north alone, leaving everything behind him—horses, arms, and money. He explained to the imam that his duty to God forced him to this action. At Sabya he changed his mind, went to Shahâra, excused himself to the imam, who accepted his explanations and sent him back to his post. He was a pious and learned man. At Mecca he had studied under Lutfulla ibn Raith and came to Yemen to study the foundations of religion according to the tenets of the prophet's family. He also read law and the traditions. Perhaps he saw something in the camps that did not agree with the faithful following of religion. On his return the troops gave him a very hearty welcome.

The truce was extended to the end of IX; but the Turks broke it and attacked Sunbul unexpectedly, surprising him in his house. At first Hasan thought this was a feint but when he saw his error he hastened to join in the fray. The enemy were driven back after losing two hundred killed. This more than equalled another skirmish, where the Faithful had lost ninety killed and near two hundred wounded.

At last, I. II. 1045, peace was concluded for Zabîd was at its last gasp. The imam overruled Hasan and insisted on terms being granted. Qânsuh fled to Hasan who overwhelmed him with gifts, as did the imam, and he was allowed to go north with a hundred Turks escorted as far as Itwad by Et Taqi ibn Ibrahim. Those left in Zabîd were mostly Zaidi mutineers from Hâshid and Bakîl. They made Mustapha their commander. He went to Mocha in V, ostensibly to get funds to pay the soldiers, really because he was afraid of them. Then they agreed to surrender Mocha and Zabîd on condition that those who so wished might leave the country, and Hasan would provide the

necessary supplies. The Faithful entered Mocha 15. VIII, and Zabîd three days later. Kamarân was occupied 9. IX, and thus Yemen was freed from the Turks. For the first time since its foundation the call to prayer, 'Come to the best of work', was heard in the mosque of Zabîd.

The chiefs who had fought for freedom died soon after it was won; Ahmed ibn 'Awwâd ul Asadi Mon. 21. IV. 1046; Hasan 2. X. 1048, and Husain 24. IV. 1050.

It was too much to expect that Yemen would remain peaceful. A young firebrand Ahmed ibn Hasan ibn Qâsim caused two disturbances. In VIII. 1049 he refused to obey Husain's orders and, wishing to obtain his father's province as his inheritance, began a revolt in Wusâb. Husain in person marched against him and his evil counsellors were killed though he himself was treated generously. Then in IV. 1051 he provoked a rising in Khaulân and marched on Dhimâr whither Ismail ibn Qâsim followed him from Daurân. Night and heavy rain stopped them from fighting and Ahmed went to Radâ'. He lost heart and sent his women to Mus'ab ul Qâifi for safe keeping. Long negotiations followed and at last Ismail attacked. The rebel fled towards Qa'taba but Ismail was before him so he fled to Mt. Khiyar after losing all his stores.

In III. 1052 Ali ibn Nâsir ibn Râjih rebelled; previously he had had something to do with Ahmed's rising in Wusâb. He was an important chief in Anis, had been offended by Hasan, who had deprived him of the castle of Hurma that had belonged to his father, and he lost his head because the imam showed him extraordinary consideration. He seized Hurma and called on the tribes to rise; and some of the lower class joined him. The Faithful gathered from Daurân and Dhimâr, scattered his followers, and captured the castle and his goods. The castle was dismantled and he fled, no one knows whither.

## CHAPTER VIII

### MECCA

THE sharîf Husain ibn Ahmed, lord of Sabya, sent to the imam information based on a letter from Jidda <sup>1</sup> of the date 19. II. 1037. The historian draws his facts from other correspondents also.

Ahmed Pasha <sup>2</sup> started for Yemen and his ship was already close to Jidda when it struck a reef, loosened several planks and sank. The pasha, bareheaded, and perhaps forty others were hurried into a boat that was near, though the crew, some merchants, and three hundred soldiers were drowned. All the cargo was lost including fifteen hundred muskets, as many swords, and all the treasure. The officers of the sharîf gave the pasha an honourable reception. The sharîf sent him clothes, furniture, and money from Mecca, for he had nothing. The sharîf also sent his son to escort the visitor to Mecca, according to the custom of former pashas, but he refused to enter the city without his soldiers and waited for them. Et Taqi reported that a ship that had been waiting in Kamarân sailed for Yanbu' and sank with many troops on board. The pasha busied himself in finding divers to recover the arms and coin and the sharîf gathered them from various ports. They could do nothing because the sharks were so fierce. It was hinted to the pasha that this pleased the sharîf, as he was only waiting for Ahmed's departure to salve the wreck to his own profit. Ahmed then insisted on waiting, even if he had to bring divers from Egypt, and refused the supplies of food sent from Mecca.

He sent his agent, who called himself a sharîf, with letters to the sufis in all the ports. They replied that the land lay open to him and the tribes were waiting for him. They answered in this

<sup>1</sup> With one exception all the places mentioned in this chapter are marked on any good map. Qauz, the exception, means sandhill.

<sup>2</sup> This officer is rather mysterious. W. says he was shipwrecked on his way to Yemen and mentions a rumour of his death, which proved false. The dates do not allow him to be identified with Ahmed Qânsuh. There is no mention of his recall so the easiest way to account for his disappearance is by his death.

way in hope of what they would get. The agent met the pasha in Jidda and reported that the propagandist (the imam) had conquered the country as a result of Haidar's behaviour ; but if Ahmed would come or even write to him, demanding the usual homage, he would surrender the sultan's dominions and be content with his own. (This agent was drowned but his body was washed ashore.)

Ahmed ordered Muhsin, the sharîf of Mecca, to lend him fifty thousand **حرف**, also swords and muskets ; threatening to kill Râjih, governor of Jidda, if these demands were not satisfied. On the advice of his brethren he sent the arms and borrowed twenty thousand **حرف** from merchants and sent them to Jidda ; but Râjih had been already put to death because the answer was delayed. The arms and money were taken back to Mecca. Ahmed proclaimed the deposition of the sharîf, and the traders promptly removed their wares from the bazar. Ahmed was told that he could only carry through his plan by appointing one of the family of Hasan. Ahmed ibn Abdulmuttalib was in Jidda, so the pasha sent for him and asked : 'Where is Mas'ûd ibn Idrîs?' 'He is far away—two months' journey—and you cannot bring him hither for Muhsin will kill him.' Then the pasha said : 'You are suited to this task.' 'Yes ; I am Ahmed ibn Abdulmuttalib ibn Hasan and he is Mas'ûd ibn Idrîs ibn Hasan. Our grandfather was a sufi and a sunni while Muhsin and his fellows are Râfidis and Zaidis ; but for the watchfulness of my brother they would have slain me.' The pasha was pleased and at once the herald proclaimed that the land belonged to God, the sultan Murad and the sharîf Ahmed. With the property of Muhsin the pasha furnished for him the biggest house in Jidda, proclaimed his name from the pulpit and sent the news to Medina and Yanbu'. To Muhsin he wrote that his treason was manifest in many ways ; he had robbed the soldiers, fugitives from Yemen ; he had seized a government ship ; he had taken the sultan's gifts to the sharîfs and shared them with the poor ; he had corresponded with the imam, was secretly in sympathy with him, and had sent Hâshim ibn Hâzim to fight against the sultan ; and in many other ways. Therefore by the authority intrusted to him he deposed Muhsin and appointed Ahmed ibn Abdulmuttalib. Ahmed wrote to his brother Nâmi to hold Mecca in the event of Muhsin's leaving.

After the death of the pasha the soldiers chose the Kikhia<sup>1</sup> as his successor and swore allegiance to him. Ahmed was angry and persuaded the troops to murder their new leader. Muhsin had sent one of his officers towards Jidda. He was waiting till all his troops were collected, but when he heard of the strife in the town he advanced. Many Turks came over to Muhsin and implored his forgiveness; he however sent them back to Jidda to betray their comrades. He then surrounded the town. Mas'ûd ibn Idrîs, who had fled for his life and now, by the good offices of friends, had been reconciled to the sharîf, was in the camp anxious to prove his pretended loyalty. The Turks threw up a rampart round the town but it was no higher than a man. Ahmed appointed as his minister Abu 'l Qâsim ul Murîsi who had been disgraced by Muhsin for his wickedness and extortion. He robbed the Muslims in Jidda under pretexts of forced loans and fines, for the troops had to be paid and he had to find the money. It came to a battle outside the town and Muhsin was defeated, perhaps by the treachery of some sharîfs, and retreated. His governor in Qunfuda seized a ship coming from Mocha with cannon and treasure and held it for his master. Another which Ahmed sent to Yemen foundered in a storm with all hands including two agas.

On 21. X came more news from the north. Ahmed advanced on Mecca where Muhsin opposed him a parasang from the town.<sup>2</sup> There was little fighting, for Mas'ûd had won over the sharîfs and the mountaineers<sup>3</sup> were frightened by the cannon. They did not gain by their cowardice, for the Turks proclaimed that any one might slay them at sight. In answer to an appeal for help the imam sent Ahmed ibn Muhammad ibn Luqmân from Saada by way of Sabya. He took with him five hundred musketeers, including some of the men who came from Egypt with Rajab aga.

He reached Qunfuda from Hali ibn Ya'qûb on 8. I. 38, accompanied by the governor of Hali among others. He next moved to Dauqa where he heard that Ahmed ibn Abdulmuttalib was in Laith. He informed Zaid ibn Muhsin, who joined him with

<sup>1</sup> Kikhia is a title given to the chief commander of the 'Turkish forces in Yemen.

<sup>2</sup> Ahmed ibn Abdulmuttalib entered Mecca 17. IX. 1037; W.

<sup>3</sup> Hurgronje translates 'mercenaries'.

a hundred and fifty horse. These made such a brave show that he believed in their professions of zeal. They advanced to Laith, camped overnight and on the morning of 20. IV began the battle. The horse however stood stockstill and the Egyptians, who had all along protested their loyalty to the imam, to the number of thirty went over to the enemy, first killing those who stood near them. The end was disaster. The cavalry galloped off; Ahmed ibn Muhammad knew no place to make a stand, so returned to Dauqa. In the fight his horse had been killed under him. The Faithful lost all trust in the soldiers of the Tihama and retired to Qunfuda where Muhsin joined them with a hundred horse. The Turks pursued and Ahmed tried to make a stand. The natives were full of courage and asked for the post of honour in the van. Then they made a barricade of beds and couches and bolted at the first shot. Neither they nor the sharîfs gave any heed to Ahmed's exhortations, though he would have charged the enemy alone had not his friends held him. He embarked all his ammunition and stores to send to Jâzân but the natives betrayed the ship to the Turks. Even the chief of Qunfuda was in communication with the enemy.

As the Turks entered the town Ahmed retired to Hali, Shaqîq, and Itwad. On 4. VII Muhsin met the imam at Uqr after a terrible journey. He had left all his property in Mecca and his friends did not let him enter the town after his defeat. Most of his camels died and food ran short, till they were reduced to roasting the hooves of cattle. Twenty-five sharîfs followed him and two hundred slaves and women; the rest had been left in Itwad. He blamed the imam for his calamities and said openly he should have sided with the Turks. Notwithstanding, the imam showed him all honour and sent him a present of eighteen camel loads of maize, two of wheaten flour, four of maize flour, one load each of husked rice, raisins, dates, *qishr*, ghee, honey, bananas, sugar and wax besides sheep. Shortly after, Muhsin's brother Zain ul 'Abidîn died in Maur on his way to Itwad. The imam sent Muhsin a present for his children in Itwad; twenty-six coats of satin, twenty-six of muslin, five hundred Egyptian dirhems, and a thousand dirhems of Sanaa. Muhsin was disgusted: 'I would have given this to a slave!' He decided to remove to Sanaa but died on the road Sun. 6. IX, and according to his wish was buried in Sanaa in the mausoleum by the gate of Sabha.

The sharîf Mu'âmis held Bîsha as a fief from Muhsin. There dwelt the son of a former governor, Nâsir ibn Dakhîlulla who wished to make Bîsha subject to Ahmed ibn Abdulmuttalib. The inhabitants listened to his proposals because Mu'âmis was tyrannical and his son Husain even worse.

Ahmed summoned Mu'âmis to acknowledge the Turks. He refused, so Nâsir was summoned to Mecca whence he returned with an army V. 1038. Mu'âmis gathered his tribe with his soldiers and slaves and also wrote to the Thaqîf, Hudhail, and Banu Sa'd, who promised to join him by a given date. Without waiting for this date the Turks defeated him, which they could not have done if his allies had joined. He lost all his stores and saved only his flocks and herds. He fled to Bîsha and Husain took the cattle into the desert where raiding and counter-raiding went on. Mu'âmis then sent to Shahâra to ask the imam's support (middle of X). The relieving force, consisting mostly of Turks with some sharîfs from Jauf, united with the Banu Hajir, to whom Husain had intrusted his cattle, and entered Bîsha unresisted Sun. 12. XII to find Mu'âmis dead. Nâsir and his Turks departed and most of the bedouin joined Husain. Peace was made with Nâsir which disgusted the Hasâfila; yet after a well-contested fight they were beaten, their land ravaged and peace established.

On 20. IX Mas'ûd ibn Idrîs arrived from Egypt at Yanbu', and was proclaimed governor under Qânsuh, there and at Medina.<sup>1</sup> Ahmed at Mecca was horrified at this turn of affairs and the Turkish soldiers forced him to give them a certificate that all that they had done had been by his orders. On his arrival in Mecca 4. I. 39<sup>2</sup> Qânsuh laid hands on Ahmed and two other sharîfs and sent them in chains to Kamarân.<sup>3</sup> He executed fifteen Turks because they had plundered the goods of Muslims. Mas'ûd was made sharîf but a Turkish aga was made governor of Jidda; the sharîf to receive one-third of the revenue.

On 14. VII Zaid ibn Muhsin entered Qunfuda and was welcomed by the populace. Fifty Turks who had killed their aga

<sup>1</sup> According to W. Mas'ûd had not gone further than Yanbu'.

<sup>2</sup> W. makes Qânsuh arrive in Mecca XII. 1037. Perhaps his authority confused Qânsuh with the other Ahmed.

<sup>3</sup> Ahmed was killed X. 1038, W.; II. 1039, Hurgronje.

entered his service. He defeated the army sent against him by Mas'ûd and established his position. In VIII a great storm burst over Mecca, flooding the town, drowning four hundred people and knocking down the north and west walls of the Kaaba. On 17. XI Mas'ûd's troops attacked Zaid near Dauqa; the losses on both sides were nearly equal—about fifty—but the advantage rested with the sharîf.

On Tu. 5. V. 1040 Mas'ûd died <sup>1</sup> and his uncle Abdulla ibn Hasan succeeded him, by the help of the governor of Jidda. Zaid then went to Qunfuda by agreement with the chief whom Mas'ûd had appointed and in VI he entered Mecca; for the sharîfs summoned him as they did not accept Abdulla. Finally the Turkish governor of the holy places agreed with them to recognize Zaid as sharîf if he were content with one-third of the revenues.<sup>2</sup> In IX he announced his success to the imam who congratulated him—the only thing to do.

On their way north the fugitive mutineers<sup>3</sup> reached Mecca. The sharîf tried to stop them at Qauz, Wed. 26. VII. 1041, but the sharîfs ran away because he had insulted one of them. Perhaps Nâmi ibn Abdulmuttalib was in correspondence with the fugitives and had corrupted Hudhail, Thaqîf, and the sharîfs. The Turks entered the town driving Zaid before them and though he performed prodigies of valour he had to retire to wadi Fatima. The total casualties were about fifteen hundred including the governor of the holy places and Husain ibn Mu'âmis. The governor of Jidda then made terms with the mutineers. In VII. 1042 the sultan sent troops to assist Zaid, and the mutineers were either killed in battle or captured and executed. Zaid's authority was then firmly established.

<sup>1</sup> W. and Hurgronje agree in the date of Mas'ûd's death.

<sup>2</sup> W. says Zaid became sharîf 1. II. 1041. The sharîf Abdulla abdicated and Zaid ruled jointly with his nephew. This underlies the statement about the revenue. There were three parts; one for each sharîf, and one for the Turkish governor of the holy places.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 106.

## CHAPTER IX

### RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE

THE historians refer incidentally to the different classes of people inhabiting Yemen and their remarks are fairly clear though the language is not precise. In the eastern fringe of the country are bedouin, like the tribes of Qâifa, over whom the Turks had little or no power. The tribes of the hills are altogether different from those of the Tihama and are quite out of their element in the coast plain; they cannot stand the heat. The central tribes are *qabîli* and in contrast to them the other inhabitants are Arabs. Landberg says that in Hadramaut the townfolk are 'Arab; and that seems to be the use of the word in Yemen. The hill tribes are called 'Arab when contrasted with the family of the prophet. The coast tribes took part in the fighting only during the expedition against Mecca and they made a poor show. It was something out of the ordinary when traders were killed in the fighting round Zabîd. To-day the Jews—except in a few places—do not carry arms and it is beneath the dignity of a tribesman to kill one. *Ahmed* has only one reference to Jews, which is not surprising in a record of war; but the *Life* says that Jews who were armed with slings fought for the imam. During the famine in 1028 Jews were allowed to share in the charity of the imam at Shahâra. There are apparently a few references to Banians—Indian merchants—but the name is badly written without diacritics. The story of Sha'âlim shows that Indians were present in Yemen.

The armies consisted of soldiers and tribesmen. Each chief kept a standing army formed, apparently, of slaves and mercenaries. The tribes were more of a militia and sometimes the imam's officers had no control over them. The imam was always supported by some religious enthusiasts while the tribes in general followed him as his star was in the ascendant.

The Turkish armies were composed of soldiers from Europe with native auxiliaries and allies. Freedmen are mentioned

several times as commanders of their forces. It is convenient to speak of the Turkish armies though most of them were in no way different from the imam's soldiers.

Over against the tribes stands the family of the prophet; collectively called sharîfs. The title for an individual is usually sayyid though at times sharîf is used; on what principle is not quite clear. Sayyid is never used in the feminine and seldom in the plural. Sharîf is never used of the family of the imams in Yemen; but the descendants of the prophet in Mecca, Bîsha and Sabya are always called sharîf. The Hamzi family are usually sharîf though sometimes sayyid. Roughly, we may say that sayyid is used in Yemen and sharîf outside it. A woman of the family is always sharîfa. Round Aden to-day a male descendant of the prophet is a sayyid; a female is a sharîfa.

Saada, Sabya, and Jauf were centres of the sharîfs; others were called after the tribes among whom they lived and with whom their interests were identified; e.g., Yahya ibn Yahya. A sayyid is never called shaikh; he is always lord (رئيس or صاحب) of his town or district. A sharîf Jilâni is mentioned; this may be a reference to the pretended descent of Abdulqâdir from the prophet.

The sharîfs live largely on their religious influence. In many parts of the country they do not carry arms and their persons and goods are inviolable.

Famines were a frequent scourge. From VIII to XI. 1029 there was a severe famine in the east—Sanaa, Kaukabân, and Nihm—and people moved to the west, to Haima, Tais, Lâ'a and Hajja where the scarcity was not so bad. Whole villages lay empty in Nihm, Jauf and Saada. Ladies of rank who had been carefully secluded wandered unveiled, knocking at doors to beg a scanty alms and gathering grains of corn in the streets and lanes. Valuable arms and jewels were sold for an old song. The very desert was abandoned by wild animals; and sheep and, especially in Khaulân, the vines died. In Sanaa many corpses were carried to the grave on one bier. Most had been found in the streets whither they had crawled in search of food. In addition to hunger the cause of death was a continuous fever, commonly called the sweating sickness.<sup>1</sup> Death came in three

<sup>1</sup> The text has الم السابع; probably read السابع

or at the most twelve days. In IX. 1045, a famine began in the west and reached its climax from I to IV. 1046 when a *Sanaa qadah* of wheat cost two *harf* or more.<sup>1</sup> In the east there was food which was carried to the west and sold at exorbitant prices. Many sheep and cattle died of hunger and thirst; and whole villages in the Tihama were deserted. In 1034 there was a bad plague of locusts which laid their eggs in the earth and ate up everything, vines, wheat and barley; but not the maize, for there were only a few of them when it was planted. In Saada they made their way into the houses and shops unless doors and windows were kept shut. Near that town a sick man was smothered and eaten by them and a girl suffered the same fate.<sup>2</sup>

During the life of Qâsim coffee was first planted in the east in Nihm. From mines near Barat lead was obtained. One-fifth of the produce was given to God and the imam bought the rest. The soldiers were addicted to tobacco so the imam forbade its use. Some in Yafris paid no heed to this prohibition. One wished to buy a pipe bowl; another wanted the same and the bidding was fast and reckless. At last one of the two drew his sword and the bystanders interfered to prevent bloodshed. Then Hasan ibn Qâsim had all tobacco burnt in the streets and issued an edict: 'Whoso sells or uses tobacco, does so at his own risk.'

Many shipwrecks in the Red Sea are recorded. Off Shihr a hurricane sank thirty ships, big and little, trading to India and also destroyed two houses in the town. In this calamity the historian sees the hand of providence, for the ships would have returned to Mocha and enriched the Turks. In 1038, an English ship of twelve guns came to Aden.<sup>3</sup> It had been one of a fleet of four but they had been scattered by storms and the others were believed to have perished. Out of a crew of fifty only ten were alive and they had lost their teeth from scurvy. They ascribed their sickness to bad drinking water taken from a well in foreign parts.

Of purely charitable institutions the only one named is the

<sup>1</sup> During a famine in Mecca the *qadah* of wheat cost one and a half *harf* (W.).

<sup>2</sup> Aaronsohn in his book, *The Turks in Palestine*, tells of locusts eating half the face of a baby.

<sup>3</sup> In A.D. 1628, 1038 A.H., Captain Moreton was in Aden. Hakluyt Ser. II, vol. xxxv, p. 22. n.

college built by Sharafuddîn at Kaukabân. Beside it was a cemetery with the chapel of the sayyid Mutahhar ibn Salâh ibn Shamsuddîn. At Sanaa was a mosque of Wahb, that of Hâdi was at Saada; a mosque of Ayyûb is also mentioned. All over the country were tomb-chapels; by no means all in honour of martyrs. At Shahâra was that of Dhu Sharafain, the emir Ja'far ibn Qâsim (fl. c. 400 A.H.). One of an imam Qâsim at 'Ayyân, of Ahmed ibn Musa at Saada, and others at Dhubîn and 'Affâr. In upper Sharaf was the cell (مروعة) of the Banu Asad, though the tribe dwelt in lower Sharaf. The cemetery of Hasan un Nahawi in Sanaa was a favoured burial ground.<sup>1</sup> There are numerous references to the translation of the remains of godly men.

Near Zabîd was the garden (حديقة) of Wais ul Qarni with many mosques and four tomb-chapels and close by, apparently in Hima, was the garden of Mûsa ul Ash'ari (probably read Abu Mûsa) with a mosque, tomb-chapel, and dwellings. Perhaps this is the mosque of the Ash'ari tribe, mentioned by Redhouse, and the templum Alaschairi of J. Under this head may come the buildings of the imam Muhammad. The old mosque at Uqr would only hold twenty people, so he pulled it down and rebuilt it on a big scale with colonnades and a conduit on the east side. He also erected many buildings in the upper market. He dug a well sufficient to supply the whole of the town and gardens and fitted it with the needful machinery. He built the road from Uqr to the Nahr gate of Shahâra. It is not clear whether this was a highway or was actually provided with steps on the hill side. Previously there had been no direct road for camels and horses but now men turned out of their way to go by the new track because it was so smooth and easy. He also built the road to Shahârat ul Faish and the whole of the lower market at Uqr, except the caravanserai built by his brother Husain. Their father Qâsim had built a mosque in Shahâra on the ground used for drying raisins; also a mosque and a caravanserai in Hajr.

A sayyid removed the body of one of his ancestors from 'Affâr to the Tihama, built a dome over it, endowed the chapel, and with the help of the tribes built a Friday mosque. At the tomb of Ali ul Himâti pilgrims could always have water and

<sup>1</sup> Hasan un Nahawi, author of *مجموعته* d. 751. Brockelmann, *Geschichte* II. 186.

coffee. Qâsim was buried at the east side of the mosque in Shahâra. A great dome was built over his tomb and his son put there a beautiful cenotaph, carved and adorned with silver; there was none finer save that of Ali ibn Mûsa ur Rida. Qâsim had ordered that his tomb should not be made a chapel; perhaps out of humility. The graves of several men who died about this time became places of pilgrimage; among them Ahmed ibn Mûsa ibn Muqbil ul 'Adnâni ul Birâri us Saadi. He had been devoted to the family of the prophet, spent himself in their service and journeyed to obscure villages to secure them their rights. The Banu Hâshim came to him as a bird flies to its nest. If he saw two men quarrelling he thrust himself between them to make peace. He did homage to the imams Hasan and Qâsim, becoming qâdi of Saada under the latter. He stayed at his post even under Turkish rule and put his trust in God when friends tried to frighten him from his station.

When Sunbul entered the service of the imam a qâdi was attached to his staff to instruct him in the principles of true religion. This man turned many to the true faith. Muayyad billa commissioned a lawyer to travel through the land teaching the canonical prayers to women and ignorant persons. He also had extraordinary judicial authority.

Qâsim heard that a harlot was travelling round Ahnûm with some ruffians of that part. For a large sum of money one of them turned king's evidence and the woman was captured. First she was beaten with a hundred stripes and then she confessed that she had been an honest woman. A pit was then dug; to the sound of trumpets she was dragged thither before all the people and the imam commanded to stone her, himself throwing the first stone. Most of the stones missed her so the imam ordered a servant to kill her.

It is a well known custom for a suppliant to sacrifice an animal before the man from whom he hopes to receive relief. It occurs several times during this history. Thrice in great need a mare is thus immolated. Abdurrabb did so when asking help from Hamdân just before his submission to the imam, and also Yahya ul Mikhlâfi in Khaulân Sanaa.

After the conquest of Raima, usury and the oppression of women, orphans, and the poor, were stopped in that country. Now this oppression was because they agreed that a woman

could not inherit, but receive only one-tenth of the value of the heritage. This they call *عشر*.<sup>1</sup> They were only acquainted with the widow's eighth. They agreed that the *mahr* returned to the woman's relatives, father, brother, paternal uncle or his son; the husband had no share in it. They allowed the relatives to sell the property of one of the family though he was alive and his whereabouts known. Their lawyers allowed that if a man showed a document recording a debt and his claim was disputed, he could take an oath and the debt. They praised God when canon law was taught them. In Zafir penalties were decided by canon law but not questions of inheritance.

The people of Sharaf were wont to offer sacrifices in VII. The imam forbade this as it was unlawful; it resembled too closely the sacrifices offered in the same month in the time of ignorance. These sacrifices were still called *عتيرة*.<sup>2</sup> Not far from Maur was a tree formed by several trees of different sorts growing into one. The bedouin made pilgrimages to it and sacrificed to it. They say that a voice was heard speaking from it. The imam had it cut down—it took three days to do this—and burnt. Among the booty captured from the Turks was an astrolabe; the imam had it broken to pieces. Everyone believed in spirits and miracles. One man trod on a *jinn* and killed it so he was carried off by the king of the *jinn*. Ahmed ul Asadi was fleeing from the Turks one dark night and he and his companions owed their escape to a light that flamed from his spear-head. Stories like these could easily be multiplied. Ignorant and learned alike attached great importance to dreams. Three days after the death of Qâsim, a lawyer dreamed that he saw a short white snake that crawled in and out of a hole, muttering like a man. After some talk, the point of which is not clear, the man adjured the snake by a mighty oath in the name of

الظلم إنما كان بسبب أطباهم على أنه لا ميراث للنساء وإنما يصير الدين  
عشر ثمن ما تباع و يسمنونه العشر

Compare Halévy's remarks. The canon law is only observed in the big towns, not among the tribes, each of which has its own laws, known to, and in case of need altered by, the chiefs. Arhab was famed for its justice. There is also an inter-tribal law that can be changed by mutual consent. Halévy was witness of such a change. It had been the rule that a murderer should have three days of grace in which to arrange payment of the bloodmoney. This period was lengthened to eight days.

<sup>2</sup> See Wellhausen, *Reste*, p. 118.

majesty and it spoke : ' Spirits and men have spoken of the rule of Muayyad billa.' A poem written shortly before Hasan's escape from captivity was regarded as an omen of his deliverance.

After the disturbances in Saada, X. 1031, the imam ordered his brother Ahmed to lead the public mourning for the dead of both factions ; reminding him that a better than he had done this for worse men than those. He referred to Ali who led the prayers over those slain in the battle of the Camel.

In religious matters the population was mixed. In Yâm of Najrân and in Hamdân there were many Ismaïlians and a body had emigrated from Yâm to Harâz where Bait ul 'Attâr belonged to them. D. saw this castle which he calls Attare, or rather its ruins, for the Turks destroyed it in 1872. To the time of its demolition it had belonged to the strangers from the east. Members of the Shâfe'i sect were widely spread ; in Tais, Masâr, Da'fân, Alhân, Raima and Wusâb. 'Ashma was a centre for them, and at Masûh, Ahmed ibn Uthmân was visited by many scholars. He was one of the chief Shâfe'i doctors and traditionists in Yemen. He wrote the imam a diploma for the Six Books and prefixed to it an elegant preface in praise of the prophet's house, making mention of its virtues. The tribes of Faifa were Shâfe'i in theory.

Zaidis are specially mentioned in Tais, Thulth of Harâz, Hasabân, the Banu Matar, Raima and Hâshid and Bakîl. There is scarcely a sign that the imam looked to them for support more than to the other sects. Early in 1008 the Faithful fought in Harâz against Zaidis, Shâfe'is, Bâtinis, and foreigners. The description of the Turkish auxiliaries in Zabîd-Zaidi rebels from Hâshid and Bakîl—betrays the author's disapproval of these renegades. Indeed except for the insistence on the office of imam the ruling family seems to have been Zaidi in little more than name.

Though this name is not uncommon it is never given to the imam and his followers who are always Muslims. It may be an attempt to gloss over the fact that they differed in some particulars of the faith from other Muslims. It may, of course, be due to proper pride in their faith though, at any rate, the Zaidis are not regarded as the only true believers.

They share with the rest of Islam in the veneration given to

the prophet who is made almost into a demi-god. The following phrases witness to this exaltation: 'May God deliver his servants from the wiles of the devil and the snares of sedition by the honour of his chosen prophet'; 'May God make it a way of access to him and his prophet and give him the goods of this world and the next, through the intercession of Muhammad'; and with extension to the family, 'Guard us from the pains of hell by the right of Muhammad and his children, the good, the pure.' These are parallel to the hope of the Turkish pasha that the sultan would conquer Baghdad by the help of God and the blessing of the prophet.

Less general is the reverence for the family of the prophet. The benediction that follows any mention of him always includes his descendants and is sometimes longer: 'God's blessing and his peace be on him, his family and his comrades.' The family are the leaders in the path of peace; according to tradition they are like Noah's ark—whoso embarks in it is saved, and whoso forsakes it, is drowned. Other traditions are quoted: 'My children are wiser than other men small or great; learn of them and teach them not; set them in front, go not before them.' 'Whoso hears the people of the prophet's house and loves them not, God will throw him on his face in hell fire.' 'That one of my children who orders what is right and forbids what is wrong, is the representative on earth of God, the book and the prophet.' Muhammad said, 'Gabriel came to me and said, "Whoso reaches Ramadân and is not forgiven; God curse him! Say amen"; and I said amen. "Whoso meets a just imam and is not forgiven; God curse him! Say amen"; and I said amen. "Whoso meets his parents and is not forgiven, God curse him! Say amen"; and I said amen.' The imam adds: 'Two of these sayings are passed and one remains.' The benediction 'on him be peace' follows each mention of an imam. Similar veneration for the prophet's family is found in Morocco. For an account of it see *The Story of my Life* by the Sharîfa of Wazzan edited by Bensusan.

In the middle of his history Ahmed inserts a long account of the five prayers. The call to prayer is: 'God is most great, I testify there is no god but God, I testify that Muhammad is the prophet of God, come to prayer, come to safety, come to the best of work, God is most great'; each phrase being repeated twice and the whole closing with 'There is no god but God.'

The constitution of prayer contains in addition, 'Prayer has begun, has begun; God is most great, God is most great, there is no god but God.'

The order of the ablutions is normal though the washing of the private parts is counted one of them, accompanied by the prayer: 'O God, guard my private parts, hide my nakedness, let not my enemies oppose me.' The prayer for the cleansing of the nose is: 'O God, accept my plea and mulct me not of the scent of paradise.' The wiping of the head is joined to two sentences: 'O God, cover me with thy mercy for I fear thy punishment'; and, 'O God, make not our foreheads to touch our feet.' At the washing of the neck he shall say: 'O God, save me from the flames and fetters of hell.' There are minor differences in the other prayers. Although the call includes the shiite addition, 'Come to the best of work'; yet the feet are to be washed as in sunnite custom and not merely wiped. The word *شيعة* is used to describe the followers of the imam and the fifth form of the verb denotes adherence to these tenets.

White is the Zaidi colour; a white umbrella is the mark of the imam's presence and white badges are given to his allies.

The Ismailians of Yâm were bitterly opposed to the imam; presumably because they held the Zaidis to be very lax in their idea of the office. In Zaidi belief any descendant of the prophet who was a just man might become imam; it was taken for granted he would be a believer. They refused Turkish rule (so they said) because the foreigners were evildoers; yet in writing to Turkish pashas the imam praises God for the victories by which the sultan upheld and glorified Islam (at the expense of Persia). There is no reason to think him hypocritical; it was admitted that there might be two imams if geography demanded it.

The imam must be the best man, and we saw Muayyad billa offering to stand aside in favour of one more worthy. The suggestion comes naturally that here we have the old Arab idea of the chief who was chosen from the ruling family according to his capability. The inhabitants of Kaukabân were quite ready to depose their chief when he showed his incompetence.

Authorities say the Zaidis recognized three states in the hereafter. There is no trace of such a belief in these books; though there is no occasion to refer to it. As can be clearly

seen in the history, there was an enthusiastic strain in this faith ; on all hands the mahdi was expected. This appeared in the history ; and a cyclone that devastated Tebriz was held to be a sign of his coming. Halévy says that to-day Ed Dajjâl and the Messiah of the Jews are one person. The belief seems to be that the mahdi will come first, then Ed Dajjâl, then 'Isa, and finally Muhammad and the judgment.

In the letter from Loheya proposing to surrender to the imam is the incredible statement that they only possessed two chapters of the Quran ; the sixth and thirty-sixth.

Except in one place, taxes are only mentioned incidentally so it is impossible to give a precise account of the administration. In a letter to his brother, Muayyad billa divides taxes into two kinds ; the religious tax, ten per cent of the produce of the ground, and two and a half per cent on merchandise ; and beyond this the demands of the government, varying according to circumstances, i. e., requisitions. Free-will gifts are often mentioned. The requisitions were largely to meet the needs of the troops. Foraging parties of the Faithful and the Turks met in a village and the Faithful were served first. Yet the populace rebelled if the exactions were too severe. Requisitions were used on the spot while the taxes were sent to Shahâra or wherever the imam chanced to be. Gifts were sent by one who was nominally in the Turkish service.

Arrangements varied. The offices of governor and commander were sometimes separated but the governor had to keep the troops supplied. The imam's son was in command at Zafir and was made governor of part of Sharaf to be able to victual his troops. As a rule the collection of imposts was not left to the chiefs ; a special official was appointed and at most the chief assisted him. A controller of the stores of food is mentioned, and some persons received pensions from the market dues at Hajr ; which dues were collected by one appointed for the purpose. Both pay and rations were given to one garrison, so probably to all. The duties of a governor are said to be the collection of money and the upkeep of the army. In spite of the historian's protestations it is clear that some governors made big fortunes and felt aggrieved when they were restricted to 'holding the cow's horns'.

Many men in high places proved to be turncoats. The imam's

leniency towards them was not entirely due to their being too powerful to be punished, as this story shows. A poet, Rafîr by name, was a client of 'Amir ibn Ali, and acted as his secretary. As his sympathies were with the Turks he went over to them and spread scurrilous stories about the imam, who vowed vengeance. Rafîr kept close under the protection of his new masters. During the siege of Sanaa he went to Rauda and sought refuge with Husain and Ahmed, who received him graciously. There he composed many poems in honour of the imam and others; one of which contained a list of most of the battles in the holy war.

A visitor from Fez on his way to Mecca, the sayyid Tâhir ibn Abdulla, of the family of Shakrulla, descendants of the imam Idrîs,<sup>1</sup> visited Yemen especially to meet Hâshim ibn Hâzim. From an account of this visit written by Muayyad billa it appears that Tâhir was a man of considerable learning whose faith was like that of former imams in Yemen. He was greatly interested in Zaidi literature and was given copies of several books—*Sections*, with its marginal notes, *Fruits*, *Foundation* and commentary, *Judgments*, *Roots of Judgments* and some *Letters*. The aga Rajab also showed great zeal for Zaidi literature and studied the commentary on the book of *Epigrams* and others. Mention is also made of the *Tadhkirat* of Hasan un Nahawi, the *Tajrîd* of Muayyad billa and the *Traditions* of Hâdi. Dawud ibn Hâd ibn Ahmed (who is possibly Dawud ibn Ahmed of Ahlwardt; 4910) wrote a commentary on *Foundation*, another on the *Canon* of the imam Mahdi and the *Pure Commentary*. The كتاب الجفر was a work on eschatology, telling of those who should rule till the coming of Jesus. It is claimed to have belonged to Muhammad ibn ul Hanafiya and to have been an heirloom in the prophet's family. Some of these books may be identified—

*Judgments* الاحكام by El Hâdi ilal Haqq Yahya.

*Foundation* الاساس by Mansûr billa Qâsim.

*Sections* الفصول اللولوية by Ibrahim ibn Muhammad ibn Abdulla ul Hadawi. ob. 914.

*Fruits* كتاب الأثمار by Yahya ibn Shamsuddîn ibn Ahmed ibn Murtada. ob. 965.

<sup>1</sup> In 169 Idrîs fled to Morocco and founded an independent state. Among the Zaidis he counts as an imam.

*Tajrid* التجريد by Muayyad billa Ahmed ibn Husain ibn Hârûn. ob. 411.

*Epigrams* نكت الفوائد فى معرفة الملك الواحد by Ahmed ibn Yahya ibn Murtada. ob. 840.

*Canon* المعيار by the author of *Epigrams*.

Studies were not confined to Zaidi literature. Abdul Hâdi ibn Ahmed of Thula was an authority on the Mu'tazila,<sup>1</sup> without impairing the sincerity of his convictions. He was judge in Sanaa under Muayyad billa. In striking contrast to those people many chiefs in Haima could neither read nor write.

The imam Qâsim like his predecessors was an industrious writer. In addition to poetry<sup>2</sup> and letters, he composed several books on law, most of which have survived. Beside the *Foundation* mentioned above, he wrote *Guidance for the Servants of God in the absence of a Director, Warning against Schism*, and one or two volumes of answers to questions.

<sup>1</sup> In early times the Zaidis were closely connected with the Mu'tazila.

<sup>2</sup> The Arabs were industrious poetasters. Even to-day in South Arabia that man is looked down on who cannot produce verse on any subject at a moment's notice. However their verse does not need much comment. All the poems quoted are long *qasidas* with one rhyme. There is one exception, a long *rejez* of which each quatrain has its own rhyme. Strangely *s* rhymes with *sh*. They were rather lax in the niceties of rhyme. The commonest metre is *tawîl* and the next *basîl*; the authors are content with classical licenses. Some versifiers hardly deserve the name, their ideas on metre were so vague. They usually quote their own compositions. As poetry it is not of a high order; the best that can be said is that the poet gets to business at once. In the numerous elegies we hear that death is certain and God supreme. One versifier shows considerable perseverance and perhaps ingenuity in fitting the names of the battles for freedom into his lines.

## APPENDIX

### I. LANGUAGE

IN general Ahmed and Mutahhar, the authors of the *Life*, write good if pedestrian Arabic. They indulge in few similes, which are usually conventional; e.g., men rejoice in the coolness of justice; and a cloud that brings no rain is a failure. Ahmed betrays himself in his vocabulary for his grammar is generally good. In his use of the imperfect he is much more correct than the text edited by Rutgers. One letter he quotes verbatim though some solecisms offend his taste. Among these are the dependence of two constructs on one genitive صدق وصالح النية, the confusion of cases زمن أولاً, and the phrase من انطوت أحشاؤه لنا على ما انطوت عليه ضمائرنا. For this idiom may be compared a phrase from L. A. طوى فلان كشيء على عدارة 'some one concealed his hostility.' In the phrase from the letter we should naturally expect عما and not لنا and the VIII form of وحش is not given in the dictionaries.

To come to the historians themselves. There are mistakes in orthography.

Confusion of Alif and Ya. الى for الى, and مسمى for مسمى, conversely, لِقِن and لِقْلًا and ادعا, are perfects. In infinitives Alif Maqsûra appears in place of Mamdûda انتهى; امتدى, امتسقى, and اقتدى. With these may be put the phrase لا حولي ولا قوة الا بالله.

A final *h* is replaced by *y* in the plural of اموى ماء. In the *Life* the two forms بارود and باروت appear. ط, ط, and ط are often confused. The text reads انتشم (ط) غيباني (ط) مواضبة (ط), وطرة and وطرة. The place name appears as قرامة and قرط. The text reads قرامة for which Rut has قرطاة; the text has برط W. has برغى and N. Bârrâdh.

### ACCIDENCE

اولئنا is a most irregular feminine dual while عيداني is equally strange in the sense of 'festal.'

There are several irregular broken plurals. جماليل from جملولى the adjective of جملول the name of a village; عرراش from عررش (Landberg gives a form عررش) and ازبود apparently from زبدي.

The verb بذلون can only be the 3rd plu. perf., but probably it is a scribal error like رادوة. The imperfect is occasionally shortened before a suffix يخبرونا. Of doubled verbs purely colloquial forms occur as حطينا and حطينا. In the phrase يحثهم حث it looks as if حوث were an infinitive of حث with a mistaken article. From a hollow verb comes an infinitive روعان cf. Löhr, *Vulgar Arabic of Jerusalem*, § 39.

The prepositions show several unusual forms 'in front of'; قدمى H. قبلى H.; cf. شرقي and شامى cf. غربى H. The printed text makes this word the adverbial accusative of the nisba. A diminutive قبيل occurs; عقبى means 'after', though dictionaries only give the meaning 'in consequence of'. Compounds are common, used of time (Wright notes only the local use) and من قبيل الاستسقى.

## SYNTAX

The dual is losing its force: دارين اثنين. The cases are often confused; Nom. for Acc. كانت له نوراً و بهان; بعد ان قتلوا من; رجوع الغزو الى بلاد فيفا اول بعد; اعدائهم كثير ولما; ان The object is put in the accusative after ان; عرف... ان اصحاب الامام منتصرين

A masculine adjective is attached to a feminine noun; محطه. This often happens in Aden to-day as in the phrase: — الست الكبير.

يوم has been reduced in meaning practically to 'after'; ثانى يوم 'they knew on the following day'; علموا ثانى ذلك اليوم; ثانى وصوله (من ثانى وصولهم) فى ثانى طلوع اصحاب ابن المعافا (Rut.).

With inchoative verbs there are violent changes of person; لم ياتوا من بعد ان كانوا عن رفع; يشتد عافوا; هرعوا تقطع الاعباب (Isaiah xlvi. 1).

We find a pregnant use of a preposition; بعد ان كانوا عن رفع 'after they were delivered from the deeds of violence'.

Irregularities in the use of negatives; لم ينج for لما نجى. ما تملن is a strange way of expressing a command, even by way of suggestion. انما is probably a contraction of ان ما

‘ that it was not possible to rescue.’

One letter that is quoted makes a very modern impression by the simplicity of its construction, its neglect of rules, and certain words used. It is the speech of to-day. عاد adv. ‘again’; احنا ‘we’ (cf. Spitta’s grammar); الذي قد ‘as’ or redundant قد. (One would expect وهو مثلنا .) باطنا وظاهر ; هو مثلنا وصلوا , كان نعهد , (.) باطنا وظاهرا مكانية with the predicate in the plural contrary to rule and another form in place of مكاتيب احد . مكاتيب deserves a place here.

## VOCABULARY

Only peculiar words or those not given in the lexicons are noticed.

اكله جمل حتى هلك . ‘To bite.’ اكل .

وهو مريض فبقي فى فيه يوم الاربعاء . بقى . It seems to mean ‘he died.’ In Egypt بقى is ‘mouth’. One can only suggest that it is a reference to the drink given to a dying Muslim to make the escape of his soul easy ; but no use of the verb fits this meaning.

بندق . A participle مبنندق is formed, meaning ‘armed with a musket’.

بورى ‘Bowl of a pipe’. G. In Syria ‘a horn’.

نافة حثيرة Lexx. Hence نافة عيب تافة ‘for an old song’.

ثغر III ‘To defend the frontiers’ ; then with ربط III and جهد

III ‘To devote oneself to God and the holy war’.

علة الجدلاى . An unrecognized disease.

جلبة . plu. جلاب . A ship of some sort.

جلبة الكمل . Convoy (?).

حق . ‘Belonging to’, like the Egyptian بتاع . المطاهير حق الجامع .

حل . الحل والعقد . the summary of a ruler’s power ; an interesting parallel to the New Testament phrase.

حول عيسى و جلافته . حول . ‘In spite of’ ‘Isa and his severity’ . This is only a guess, but what other meaning is open ?

حيث اهله . ‘On account of’ . After the statement of terms of peace the historian continues وتم حيث بينهم على ذلك .

التى يرمى بها . خزافة . obviously ‘cannon’, as in Rut., where it is parallel to زبرطان (see below). It also has the ordinary meaning of ‘treasure’.

عرض لاحمد عفاف وزال عقله . ‘Mental weakness’ . عفاف .

مدّرج. There is no means of deciding whether this means 'provided with steps' or 'highway'. Considering the nature of the country it is probably the former.

حبسة و ادخل المدفن. 'Prison, dungeon'. مدفن.

دوارس. دوارس according to the statement of a native; the text says they were made of bronze.

دوبل. An adj. applied to the pasha; apparently agent of the دولة.

مرجام. 'A throwing'. وقع لية مرجام بحجر.

رشب. L. A. 'to stopper the mouth of a jar with clay'; in the text 'to be clogged'.

الموضع الذى وقع فيه القتال قاع الرمل ترشب فيه الاقدام.

مرفع. 'Trumpet'; not in the lexx. لا ينقرؤا فى مرفع.

روح. روح comes in *Rauh ur Rûh* in the sense of 'go'.

أرياح. 'To blow the trumpets'. امر بحمل السلاح و ضرب الريح.

من جهة الريح. 'From windward, apparently from the west'.

رثه. و ثب عليه كما يثب الهر على الرثة (?) 'Rat, mouse, lizard'.

زبرطان plu. زبارط or زبرطانات. 'Blowpipe' and later 'a cannon'.

زرطان (Rut) The word is still used. (Egypt) is 'airgun, peashooter'; it is said to be of Persian origin and the source of the French 'sarbacane'.

زجة. 'Beginning' (from the idea of a point?)

وفد الينا سلخ شهر رمضان الكريم فى زجة العيد.

سعد. III c. acc. pers. 'to agree to'.

صابون. صابون apparently 'fullers, bleachers'.

الحما المطبقة. 'Continuous fever' (both typhoid and typhus).

For حمى.

عران. Both forms occur. In Yemen both *عر* and *عران* mean a 'fort'; cf. Sabæan. عر.

عران must have the same meaning if it is not just a mistake.

عرى. VIII (Qâmûs). الادعاء والشعار فى الحرب. 'To raise the warcry on joining in a fight to help an ally'.

عشر. II 'To fire a salute, shoot guns' (Landberg).

معازب plu. معازب 'A shelter for a bird-scarer in a field'.

(Jacob, *Perfumes of Araby*, p. 85.) This occurs frequently in place names, none of which are marked on the maps. A connection with the tribal name معازبة is probable, so this reading is to be preferred to Glaser's مغاربة.

عدنى. Rut. translates 'cemetery', presumably as place of quiet.

قبر شامى الجامع الكبير ثم نقله الامام الى عدنى مسجد قرية الاشرف بشهارة.

It is most natural to translate 'in the direction of Aden', *i.e.*, south, *cf.* غربي و هرقى. In the Yemen *شام* and its derivatives do not mean Syria, as J. translates, but the north of Yemen. A sharif of يحيى ابن يحيى was named الشامى.

عزل. Meaning unknown. It occurs in a list of provisions.

عنب. In the plural 'vineyards' as in Sabæan.

كانوا فى منزل اسفل ولم يكن معهم علو (?) 'Upper storey'.

الذين عادوا فى اجناد الحق. I, 'To play the traitor'.

فراسلة. A measure equal to one *estûl* (not in the *lexx*) and one *estûl* equals seven *rotl*. Explanation given by a native.

فضل. Explained as طاعون. Whole crews perished from this disease and the derelicts drifted about the north end of the Red Sea.

قرايرع. The part of the leg between the ankle and the knee. Explanation given by a native.

قشر. Husks of the coffee bean and then the drink made from them; a commoner beverage than coffee.

قشام. 'Market gardener'; really 'pariah' (G). *cf.* عبيثة الناس.

قوبة. A small measure made of wood (from a native, see *Weights, below*).

كربل. 'Scurvy'. LA. كربلة 'Weakness of the feet'. Rutger's text gives the cause of the disease من عدم اللحوم والخضراوات.

غرقت السفينة وهى سفينة مكاوش من اللحية ? مكاوش

قوبة. 'Drum'. 'Tower (Landberg)'.

هشاب, from a hadith . . . واياكم وهشاب الاسواق. It is not in النهاية.

*cf.* منشوها ومستوحشا عن الناس . . . Unsettled, perplexed ' منشوش.

دهن منشوش مرتب بالطيب

وارسا افراس للاهراف. ورس. Two servants whose business it was to dye the manes and tails of the horses.

As a part of the language some remarks on the *nisba* may be allowed. The *nisba* is very common; it is derived from tribes—Sufyâni, Bahlûli, Shaddâdi; from districts—Maswari, Khaulâni, Sharafi; from towns—Dhimâri, Jamlûli, Saadi; from families, Na'mi, Hamzi; while others may refer to tribes or districts—Arhabi, Hamdâni.

The meanings of some are doubtful; Mihrâthi, Washali, Amîri. Mikhlâfi is derived not from the common noun but from the special use of it to denote a district in Haima round Yanâ'. Mihnaki may be compared with . . . الحنكتان (H. p. 112) and the

Sabæan אהדנכך. In one place the *nisba* takes the place of the *kunya*; Hajjâfi equals ibn Hajjâf.

Sometimes three are given to one man though two are much more common. Usually one refers to his tribe and one to his family or dwelling; as ul Qutâbari ul Yahyawi; ur Râshidi ul Arhabi; un Na'mi ul Washali. In the group Hâdi ur Ra'âfi ul Jabari ush Sharafi the two latter seem contradictory; perhaps the man had migrated. A strange combination is Muhammad ul Rurbâni ul Qâsimi ul Amîri.

Qâsimi is given to sixteen men of whom all but one are certainly sayyids. Two are without the title but as they belong to the Hajjâf family the omission is an oversight. In Khazreji's history three have this *nisba* and two are certainly sayyids. In Ahmed's history five who bear this name are also Rurbâni and five belong to the Hajjâf family. In Rutgers' *Historia Yemenae* Hasani occurs several times and seems to denote an adherent of the imam Hasan. Probably Qâsimi means an adherent of the imam Qasim.

Hamzi is the family name of the sayyids of Jauf. Although it is often carelessly written there is no good reason for taking it to be Hamri, 'red', an Ismailian' *cf.* R. 469. A plural Hamzât occurs.

## II. MONEY, MEASURES, AND PRICES

Several words are used for money and coins:— درهم, دراهم (W. بتجة), بقشة, حرف احمر, حرف, قرش, قفلة, ذهب, كبير, بقشة كوكباني is the plural of درهم and also money. Dirhems both of Egypt and Sanaa occur: الف حرف دراهم صنعانية و خمسمائة حرف دراهم مصرية. As these phrases occur in the enumeration of a gift it is clear that two different coins are intended. In the story of the bidding for a pipe-bowl a sequence of values is given. Four *buqsha* are less than a *qursh* which is less than a red *hart*. Apparently twenty *buqsha* equal four *qifla* or rather more; . . . عشرين بقشة من الفضة تاتي اربع قفال او تزيد. In Yemen a *qifla* is a dirhem (H. and L.A.).

As a rule prices are only mentioned when they are out of the ordinary, as in times of famine or during a siege. During the siege of Shahâra an اوقية of salt cost three كبير; during the siege of Sanaa a قدح of wheat rose from three *hart* to five and finally to ten; maize rose from three and a half to eight, and barley was

at one time three. During the famine of 1047 the قدح of wheat cost a hundred *buqsha* of Kaukabân, while barley and maize cost two *harf*, while at Mecca the *qantâr* of wheat cost thirty *qursh*.

Cattle were ransomed at a *harf* the head and the safety of a Turkish garrison was bought for two hundred *harf*. The following quotations will show the use of these words.—

النقد ثلاثون الف حرف , الف حرف دراهم , الف حرف ذهباً اربعين خمسمائة اربعين حرف ذهباً W. does not try to evaluate the *harf*.

According to Niebuhr: 1 *écu* = 32 كمبر = 160 حرف = 80 بقشة The *buqsha* is an ideal unit; like the piastre in Syria a few years ago. The *écu* presumably is worth five or six francs. The *Taler* (nowadays *rial*) is called *qursh*.

W. makes the بقجة equal to two عثمانى. Dozy says the *qursh* is equal to one hundred and twenty عثمانى. If these reckonings belong to the same system we get the following sequence.

*Écu* (possibly حرف احرر) = 160 حرف. *Taler* قرش = 120 حرف. حرف = 10 درهم or a little less. Landberg gives بقيش as meaning money and suggests an Indian origin; a connection with بقشة is more probable.

The imam Qâsim, during his stay in Sûda in 1007, struck coins of the value of half a dirhem. On the obverse was the legend لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله. On the reverse was his name and the date.

Of measures the قوبة is about half صاع. The Syrian مكوك is six Sanaa ازبود. Is this word a plural of زبدى which is given by Kazimirski? According to L. A. the مكوك equals one صاع and a half; which makes a قوبة equal two زبدى.

The Egyptian قدح is about sixty litres (Spiro). A camel's load is sixty قدح (Freitag) or thirty (W). This suggests that the Arabian قدح is double the Egyptian.

According to Niebuhr the رطل is either 1·125 *livre* or 1·05 and the فراسلة is 30 *livres* or 20·35. At the present time the فراسلة is said to be 28 رطل. The رطل is fifteen اوقية.

In Mecca the *qantâr* was 90 رطل.

Mutahhar in his life of Qâsim says that the tribute drawn by the Turks from Yemen was two hundred thousand حرف yearly, apart from gifts.

It is worthy of note that several of the words for money are, apparently, no longer used in Yemen but are used in Hadramaut.

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