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A table of contents for *The Palestine Exploration Quarterly* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_peq_01.php

that things are not altogether as they should be. Suleiman told me his dog had howled as he approached the well, and on two occasions while camping close by he had heard the most extraordinary sounds at night, which sounds had caused his dog much fear.

(To be continued.)

OCCASIONAL PAPERS ON THE MODERN INHABITANTS OF PALESTINE.

By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A., F.S.A., and E. W. G.
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A HISTORY OF THE DOINGS OF THE FELLAHÍN DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, FROM NATIVE SOURCES.

PART III.

The Wars of Yaman and Kais in the Southern Half of Palestine.

In the end of the eighteenth century the people in the districts of Jerusalem, Hebron, and Gaza were divided into two parts—Kais and Yaman. The sheikh of Kais was the Amîr Hasan el-Wâhâidi, surnamed ed-Daimî; the Bedawîn followers of this chief were the Jabârât, Kalâzîn, Sowarâkah, and 'Amâdin, and the fellâh followers were the Kais of the plains, with their sheikh el-'Azzah and his son Muslâh, famous for his strength and generosity. The sheikh of Yaman was the Amîr Âyash el-Wâhâidi; his bedawîn followers were the Tayâha, Tarâbîn, Hawaytât, and Bili, and their centres of habitation were partly near Gaza and partly in the Sinaitic desert. The fellâh followers of Yaman in the mountains of Hebron were the family of 'Omar and the sheikh of Dûra, and a large number of fellâhîn of Hebron. Tradition ascribes the origin of this division to two brothers, each with a numerous family, between whom a great enmity arose. The brothers are supposed to have been named Kais and Yaman. The opposition between the two parties was such that a stranger coming to a village was first asked whether he were Kaisi or Yamani; on his answer depended whether he would be welcomed or put to death.

On one occasion 'Ayash collected all the bedawîn and fellâhîn who had convened with him, and attacked Ḥasan, with whom were only the small tribe of Jabârât, at Rakhameh, in the district of Gaza¹; he soon captured the tent of Ḥasan and his cattle, and all the property of the Jabârât. But when Ḥasan saw the enemy preparing to seize the wives of himself and his followers, he made a sudden rush among the enemy, breaking open their ranks, unhorsing riders, striking right and left with his sword, and breaking the lines. Thus he was victorious, and the attackers retreated, leaving their plunder. Ḥasan and his followers pursued them till sunset, and he fought so vigorously that his sword clave to his hand, and the number of the slain was reckoned to be 2,800.

After the death of Ḥasan ed-Daimi, his son Sâlim ed-Daimi succeeded him. He frequently attacked the Tayâha and Tarâbîn Arabs.

In his time Muhammad Agha abû Nabût governed the country. His centre was at Jaffa. Though severe, his rule was just; he endeavoured to suppress robbery and brigandage, and thus made matters difficult for the bedawîn, who rebelled against him. The leader of the rebellion was Sâlim, the head of the Kais. When Abû Nabût heard this, he sent secretly the sheikh 'Othmân abû Ghosh, the head of the district of Jerusalem, to make a truce. Then he summoned Sâlim with pretended kindness, and on his arrival received him with every sort of favour. For a long time Sâlim abode in friendship with Abû Nabût, but when the latter had completely gained his guest's confidence he commanded Muhammad, agha of his troops, who killed Sâlim and threw his body into the sea.

After this, Abû Nabût went with 'Othmân to Jerusalem, which he took and garrisoned. Then he proceeded against the Kais of the district of Jerusalem, whose chief was sheikh Sa'îd ibn Simhân of er-Râm. Abû Nabût went with his host to Bîreh, and with him 'Othmân. At Bîreh was a large army of soldiers and fellâhîn collected, and when Sa'îd heard of it he also proceeded to Bîreh and joined them. Bîreh, it should be said, was on the border between the territories of Sa'îd and 'Othmân. A battle lasting four days ensued, in which Abû Nabût used cannon against the Kais. On the south side of the village was a strong place called

¹ I cannot find this place marked on any available map. The natives tell me it is south of Gaza.—[R.A.S.M.]

et-Taħūnah (the mill), in which many of the Kais took refuge. The host of Abū Nabūt attempted to take it by assault three times, but were repulsed each time with loss. The defenders, however, had placed their powder on a spread cloak in order that it might be easily available for loading their guns, and a chance fire falling on it caused it to explode, whereupon the attackers rushed in and killed them all but one, who was spared ; he, however, was afterwards found to be a Christian, whereupon Abū Nabūt ordered his arms to be cut off, and he died in five days. At last the cannon of Abū Nabūt prevailed ; a violent attack was made on Bireh, involving great slaughter, and the town was captured. Abū Nabūt returned to Jerusalem, and there remained, fearing to proceed southward, as he had been obliged to leave behind many of his men at Bireh. Then he sent for Ibn Simħān and made a treaty between himself, Ibn Simħān, and Abū Ghosh. For a long time Ibn Simħān entered and left Jerusalem in perfect safety in virtue of this treaty.

But Abū Nabūt once more plotted treachery, and endeavoured to make Abū Ghosh join him. For a long time the latter held back on account of his oath, but at last he agreed, and placed liers in wait at three points in the road to kill Ibn Simħān. One of the officers, however, warned Ibn Simħān of the intentions of Abū Nabūt, so he disguised himself as one of the 'ulema, and rode as though he were going to his own country. He passed the first two ambuscades and saluted them with the ordinary formula ; they did not recognise him, and let him pass. At the third ambuscade, however, Abū Ghosh himself was sitting on the wall, and he called out "Ibn Simħān, beware ! the ambush is in front of you !" This was intended not for him, but as a warning to the liers in wait, who woke up and fired on him, so that he fell dead.

To him succeeded Isma'il ibn Simħān, his brother, who was brave and fearless likewise, and he collected his men to avenge his brother's death. He seized the governorship over the Bani Ḥārith el-Kabliyah and the Bani Ḥamār. Abū Ghosh was weary of the strife, and so Isma'il was able to slay many of the Yaman. The whole country was filled with wars, murders, raids, and robberies, for the Kais considered the death of the sheikh a great disgrace, especially as he had been killed by treachery.

Before leaving this period something must be said here about the condition of the Nāblus district. This district was divided

politically into eight divisions,¹ but in guerilla warfare into but two parts, one under the Sheikhs Mûsa Bek Tûkân, Muhammed el-Jerrâr, Haj Muhammed and Şâdiq er-Rayân of the Kais faction, and the other part under Husain Bek 'Abd el-Hâdi, Kâsim el-Ahmad, Nimr Agha, and el-Jayusah of the Yaman faction. The bedawîn who lived in the same district allied themselves as follows: The 'Arab eş-Sakhr and the Masa'îd with their Amîr Rabbah and Barakat were aiding Mûsa Bek, and the Arabs Ghazzâwiyah and Mashalhab were with Husain Bek. Much fighting and bloodshed were constantly occurring between these rival factions. What increased the evil was that the Government used periodically to send a Wali to collect the taxes, and he, from inability to force his authority, used to befriend one party in return for a money payment, and then lend them his soldiers to assist in fighting and spoiling their rivals. On one occasion Mûsa Bek Tûkân thus hired horsemen and attacked Kâsim el-Ahmad at Kuriet Surra, and besieged him there. But Kâsim, when hard pressed, made a sudden sortie with all his followers, and attacked the besieging force with such effect that he scattered them, and then pursued both the Wali and Mûsa Bek all the way to Nâblus. To escape from his wrath the latter fled to Egypt. Tradition says that on this occasion Kâsim killed with his own sword 295, besides those he shot from afar with his gun. Soon after this Sulaimân Pasha,² the governor in 'Akka, was succeeded by 'Abd Allah Pasha, who made great friendship with Kâsim el-Ahmad and Husain 'Abd el-Hâdi, and gave them the chief authority in the Nâblus district. When Sheikh Yusif el-Jerrâr heard this, he and his followers rebelled against 'Abd Allah Pasha and the two before-mentioned sheikhs, his subordinates. The Pasha collected an army, and came to the help of his friends, and finally the followers of Jerrâr took refuge in the village of Sanûr, a place naturally so strong and also so well fortified that after severe fighting and much loss 'Abd Allah was unable to take it and had to raise the siege. And so Jerrâr remained in rebellion against the Pasha for seven years. At length 'Abd Allah called in the aid of the Amîr el-Beshir, the governor of Mount Lebanon, with whose assistance the fortress was taken and entirely destroyed (1830). The district remained under Kâsim and Husain Bek until the coming of Ibrahim Pasha.

¹ See foregoing list.

² The successor of the famous Jazzâr Pasha.

In 1831, while the country was in this troublous state, Ibrahim Pasha ibn Muhammad 'Ali Pasha 'Azîz, general of the Egyptian army, arrived and attacked 'Akka, which he entered after a siege of nine months. All the sheikhs were in great fear of him, and submitted to his rule without fighting. He made special favourites of Husain Bek 'Abd el-Hâdi and Kâsim el-Ahmad, the two sheikhs of the Nâblus district, and appointed the three sons of Kâsim sub-governors under himself—Yusif of Jerusalem, Muhammad of Nâblus, and 'Othmân of Jaffa. Husain and Kâsim were his associates and advisers, and he used to appropriate the taxation of the country.

The great rising of the fellâhîn against Ibrahim Pasha, which almost succeeded in ejecting him from Palestine, was undoubtedly due largely to his attempt to draft conscripts into his army by lot. This was equally distasteful to the sheikhs of the Kais and of the Yaman. The fanatical section of the Muslims also considered that he was far too considerate to the Christians whom, contrary to the customs of previous Muslim governors, he treated with justice and even favour. They darkly muttered among themselves that Ibrahim himself must be a Christian in disguise. What actually fanned into a blaze the smouldering rebellion is said to have been the following incident: In 1834 Ibrahim Pasha made an official visit to the Nâblus district, and, as is customary, the leading sheikhs came to meet him to pay their respects. The leaders of the party were Sheikh Kâsim el-Ahmad, the Sheikhs of Jerrâr and Barkawi, the heads of the family of Tûkân, Ahmad Agha Nimr and Sheikh Husain 'Abd el-Hâdi. The last mentioned, who was looked upon with special favour by Ibrahim, was riding an ambler, but the aged Sheikh Kâsim was upon a wild, unbroken horse which was careering about. To Ibrahim it looked merely ridiculous to see an old man so mounted, and turning to Sheikh Husain he remarked, nodding towards Sheikh Kâsim, "Really, your children, *ma sh'Allah*, are stronger than you in horsemanship." The venerable sheikh, because he was quick tempered and accustomed, too, all his life to respect from both his birth and his position, resented this pleasantry as the grossest of insults, and forthwith broke out into open rebellion. Returning to his mountain fastnesses in Jabal Nâblus, he roused the already discontented fellâhîn, and, it is said, also arranged a plot whereby he hoped his enemy might be destroyed. Ibrahim Pasha had by this reached Nâblus, and it was

arranged that during his visit to the famous soap works he should be suddenly cast into the great caldron of boiling oil. Husain, however, got word of this and hastily withdrew his patron to Jerusalem. Meanwhile the fellahin and bedawin rose in rebellion from end to end. The soldiers in every part were attacked and small parties massacred.

Ibrahim Pasha soon found himself besieged in Jerusalem. The walls were attacked, but the soldiers of the defenders beat them off. Then some 40 of the fellahin, led by Subh Shaukah, sheikh of the Fawâgharah of Bethlehem, entered the city through the great drain that runs down to Silwân. They suddenly appeared in the midst of the city, and after killing many and causing the rest of the soldiers there to take refuge in the citadel, they began to loot the shops. It is narrated that the Sheikh Subh while carrying on his back a sack of coffee, weighing 30 rotls, was severely wounded by a bullet in the feet, but rather than abandon his prize he got two companions to hold him on each side, and so retired with his followers. So the siege lasted, and after expending much ammunition the attacking party saw that the capture of the city was not possible; accordingly they retired a space, whereupon the defenders made a sudden and unexpected sortie, fired cannon and guns, and pursued the attackers with their horsemen. The attacking party were defeated with great loss, and the soldiers returned to the city victorious.

Sheikh Kâsim el-Ahmad, then the leader of the popular party, was greatly enraged by this defeat, and he caused the insurgents to return to Jerusalem and renew the siege. At length Ibrahim Pasha, being in great straits, and, fearing for himself and his soldiers, endeavoured to devise a plan of escape with the aid of Husain Bek, who was still in his company. The latter was, however, also in communication with Kâsim and the sheikhs, and to them professed hostility to Ibrahim, and encouraged them to fight against him.

Through Husain, and, it is said, by the distribution of bribes amongst the fellahin leaders, Ibrahim negotiated for a way to be made open for him, whereby he could escape to Jaffa and thence to Egypt. This was granted, and Ibrahim proceeded to Jaffa by way of the Wadi 'Ali (Bab el-Wad). On the road Haj Muṣṭafa abû Ghosh, the sheikh of the Yaman, opposed him and slaughtered many of his soldiers, but after a difficult march Ibrahim succeeded

in reaching Jaffa. With him were Husain Bek and the remnant of his soldiers.

At this juncture Muhammad 'Ali Pasha himself arrived from Egypt to give assistance to his son. When they met they fired so many cannon, both on land and sea, that the inhabitants thought that an earthquake had taken place. The sound of the cannon was heard at a distance of 30 miles. Husain Bek came into the presence of Muhammad 'Ali, who treated him with the greatest consideration, even saying "I have made Ibrahim Pasha your son"; and Husain, in his turn, gave him assurances that he would force the country to obey the rule of Ibrahim: whereupon Muhammad 'Ali returned to Egypt. The soldiers were left under Ibrahim, and Husain sent letters to the followers of Kāsim, ordering them to flee before the Egyptian soldiers as soon as fighting should commence; but at the same time he stirred Kāsim up to rebellion, wishing to lead to his destruction to avenge a private wrong. A battle began at a village called Deir el-Ghusūn, and the people acted according to the instructions of Husain. Kāsim, after killing some of those who had traitorously joined the Egyptians according to the orders of Husain, found that opposition was impossible, and Ibrahim, left master of the country, made Hasan governor of the whole land. At the order of Ibrahim all the rebellious sheikhs were captured and put to death. Kāsim el-Aḥmad (surnamed Kāsim Pasha by Ibrahim on account of his bravery, a surname by which he is still officially known) and his son, Yusif, took refuge with some bedawīn called Freta bani Sormein, a division of the 'Anuzeh, but they were betrayed by these bedawīn, and delivered up to Ibrahim in Damascus, where they were beheaded. Another son of Kāsim, Muhammad, was also executed, as well as the Amir, sheikh of Dūra el-Khalī, 'Ali Rabbah, 'Abd el-Jabbar, abu Šāliḥ, sheikh of Bani Zaid, Isma'īl, sheikh of the Mujelli of Kerak, Yusif Salamat, of the village of Selūḥ, and Isma'īl ibn Simhan, whom he summoned to Damascus and there put to death. Many of the sheikhs were imprisoned in 'Akka, and the two younger sons of Kāsim, who were under age, he sent to Cairo: their names were Ahmad and 'Othmān.

Ibrahim then set the sons of the sheikhs in the place of their father, but changed their title to Nawaṭīr, that is watchmen or inspectors. (The name has since been changed again to Mukhatīr, the selected or chosen men.) Thus, Husain ibn Sa'īd Simhan was

appointed "Naṭūr" of the northern Bani Ḥârith, and Ibrâhîm Muḥammad, surnamed Karâḥâ, to the same office over the southern branch of the district.

These inspectors being appointed, Ibrâhîm again ordered a conscription, but without drawing lots. The inspectors seized all the young men except such as paid them bribes. Thus the inspectors became all-powerful, and owing to the loss of bread-winners there was much poverty in the country, especially (at first) among the Muslims. The Christians were not enlisted originally, but one of Ibrâhîm's favourite generals being killed at Bethlehem by, it was said, the Christians, Ibrâhîm, greatly enraged, ordered the Christians to be enlisted also.

Husain ibn Sa'îd took the opportunity which this new decree afforded to revenge some private grievances against the Christians in the towns under his jurisdiction, especially Jifna and Bir ez-Zait. Accordingly he seized many of them, and sent them to Alexandria to be soldiers and to work in the warships. On account of the injustice he showed, Naṣr Khalil, sheikh of Bir ez-Zait, and Ya'kûb Rahmah and Ibrâhîm 'Abdu, the two sheikhs of Jifna, went to Mar'ash, where Ibrâhîm was stationed, and complained. In consequence Husain Simâhan was dismissed from the inspectorship of these two villages.

Ibrâhîm ordered taxes not only on the fixed property but also on the animals (goats, sheep, &c.). Robbers were powerfully put down everywhere, but, on the other hand, the soldiers of Ibrâhîm were found to be great oppressors. As an example, it is stated that they would, when billeted in fellâḥîn villages, insist on cooking the sheep given them for food in the peasant's *samn*, after which they would wilfully throw it away. Previous to this Ibrâhîm had attacked the Turkish army at Hamah and severely defeated them, taking more than 30,000 prisoners.

For the nine years from the capture of 'Akka the country was subject to Ibrâhîm, that is from 1830 to 1840. In the latter date the English ships came and attacked 'Akka, which they captured in about an hour. Ibrâhîm fled with his host to Egypt by way of the Ghôr and the mountains of Moab, losing many of his followers on the way, as they were attacked by the people of the districts they passed through.

Ibrâhîm had put a stop to civil war in the country, as he had disarmed everyone except the inspectors. On his departure the

animosity between the Kais and the Yaman broke out again. The soldiers drafted by Ibrahim were allowed to return to their own homes on the cessation of the Egyptian domination, and a Mutessarif was sent to Jerusalem by the Turkish Government. This official established the inspectors in their places by firman—among them Husain ibn Sa'id. 'Abd el-Laṭif, son of his cousin Isma'il, moved by jealousy at this appointment, which had directed that the district (the Bani Hârith esh-Shamaliyah) be divided between them, went to war with Husain. The two fought for a full year, after which 'Abd el-Laṭif made a treaty with Haj Muṣṭafa abû Ghosh, the enemy of the Kais. This upset the old tribal division, part of the Kais siding with the Yaman.

In consequence of these changes an affair happened at this time at Ram Allah which well illustrates the state of the country and the strong enmity between the two powerful parties. Up to this Ram Allah and Bîreh, though on the frontier, as it were, were recognised as belonging to the Kais, though some part of the former village, at any rate, was always recognised as Yamanite. For certain reasons, among which was apparently the secret influence of 'Abd el-Laṭif, the people of these villages became at this time dissatisfied with the old arrangement, and sent word to Sheikh Muṣṭafa abû Ghosh stating they wished to be under his protection. This Abû Ghosh accepted, and placed them under the guardianship of Yamanites, the chief of whom was the Sheikh 'Abd el-Kâdar el-Kiswaneh, a relative of the powerful Abd el-Laṭif. After a time this man began to make a great distinction between the original and the new Yamanites, and to be very unjust to the original Kais of Ram Allah, whose leaders were Yusif Harb and 'Aisa abû Jughub. Seeing this, these men regretted their agreement, and, taking advantage in the great feeling of dissatisfaction caused by 'Abd el-Laṭif's alliance with Muṣṭafa abû Ghosh, they sent word to his great rival the Sheikh Husain of their condition. Husain hastily summoned to his assistance the Amîr er-Rabbah el-Wahâdi of Gaza (the son of the famous Sâlim ed Daimi), his powerful Kais ally. He responded at once, and on his arrival with troops of horsemen, Sheikh Husain advanced with them and his own followers from the Bani Hârith esh-Shamaliyah. They captured the village of Ishhîdim, of which Abd el-Laṭif had unlawfully taken possession, and proceeded against Ram Allah, which they reached a little before sunset. The inhabitants of this village were still outwardly of the Yaman faction, but secretly

wished for victory for the followers of Simhân. The greater number, therefore, put no bullets in their guns. A staunch minority, however, sent urgent messages for help to the Sheikh Muṣṭafa abû Ghosh, who immediately collected all the armed forces of his district as well as his bedawîn allies of the 'Awâsât. Before, however, he could advance to aid his people the Ḳais under Simhân had obtained a great victory, many of the Yamanites who showed opposition being killed, others captured, and, it is said, few escaping. The leader of the Yamanites surrendered himself to the Amîr er-Rabbah, and was by this time under his protection. The victorious day was concluded by a great feast and the deep sleep of weariness and satiation. Into the sleeping host Muṣṭafa Abû Ghosh with, it is said, 3,000 fighting men, stole about midnight; a rain of bullets roused the Ḳais from their slumbers, and bewildered by the flashing of the guns, the victors of the previous evening were scattered in a panic-stricken retreat. Some, unable to escape, took refuge inside or on the roofs of the houses, and among these Amîr er-Rabbah with his prisoner and the Sheikh Husain had to defend themselves as best they could. A scene of the wildest confusion occurred, in which the continuous rattle of the guns was intermingled with the shrieks of the women and the howls of the children. After an interval, however, the scattered Arabs and fellâḥîn on the outskirts of the village, realising the imminent peril of their leaders, rallied again and rushed to their rescue. This first rush was checked by a rain of bullets, but at length, seeking shelter at every possible cover, they began to make headway. A chance bullet at this juncture killed Tâha abû Ghosh, Muṣṭafa's brother, and the Yamanites, seeing him fall from his horse, lost courage and commenced a retreat, which speedily became a rout, in which many were shot or speared. It is said that in this affair over a hundred men were killed. The Yamanites of Bîreh, learning of Muṣṭafa's defeat, quietly retreated home again.

After four years Husain and 'Abd el-Laṭîf made peace, and divided the land of the Bani Hârith esh-Shamaliyah between them, as ordered by the Turkish Government. This restored the ancient tribal division to its former shape.

In 1846 Muṣṭafa abû Ghosh collected his men from the Bani Malik, and from Jabal el-Kuds and the east of Jabal Nâblus, together with the Masaid bedawîn and others. His intention was to capture Tayibah, Deir Jerîr, Rummân, and Kefr Malik, which were half

Yaman, half Kais. The sheikhs of the house of Simhān were aware of this plan, and they assembled their kin and allies of the Bani Murrah and the men of Ram Allah and Bireh to fight against the Yaman. The armies met at Wastiyah, an hour west of et-Tayibah, and after two hours' fighting the Kais were victorious. The Yaman fled and took refuge in Deir Jerir. Many were slain in their flight. The next day the Yaman asked for a 10 days' armistice, which was granted; during this time the Yaman retreated to Deir Jerir, which the Kais captured. After these events there was peace between the rival tribes.

However, hostility again broke out between Husain and 'Abd el-Latīf, which again caused a rupture among the Kais. The centres of hostilities were er-Ras, the residence of Husain, and Janiyah, that of 'Abd el-Latīf. After a destructive conflict lasting three years, the sheikhs of the district met together and made peace. This, however, was followed by renewed warfare between the Kais and the Yaman, which lasted 18 months, during which none dared pass from the territory of the one tribe to that of the other. This led to an interruption of commerce, which caused great misery. At length the Amīrs and the inspectors of the two sides met and made conditions of peace, agreeing that none should interfere with the other. The security was left in the hands of Muṣṭafa Darwīsh el-Khoja, sheikh of the Yaman village of Na'lin, and Sāliḥ abū Ḥamdan and 'Ali Shamlah, the two sheikhs of the village of Beit Illu of the Kais.

This peace had an immediate effect in restoring trade, but it did not last more than six months, for then the leader of the Yaman, Muṣṭafa abū Ghosh, with his horsemen of the Awāsāt, met five Kaisites near Lydd and killed them, seizing their oil and donkeys. Of these men, three were from Beit Illu, and one each from Bir ez-Zeit and Kabar. When the Kais heard this, they collected together and rushed on the Bani Ḥamār and the district of the Khoja, and seized the village of Shabtīn, which they plundered and fortified. When the news reached Muṣṭafa abū Ghosh, he assembled his people from Bani Ḥamār to Kuriet Shuḳbah, and thence sent word to his allies in Jabal Nāblus, Muḥammad el-Jerrār and Sādiq and their followers, to make war against the children of Kasim el-Aḥmad and the family of 'Abd el-Ḥādi. The war thus blazed forth in the districts of Nāblus, Jerusalem, Bani Zaid, and Bani Ḥārith. The allies of Abū Ghosh

were victorious in Jabal Nâblus, and so entered Bani Zaid, which belongs to Jerusalem. Three days after his arrival at Shuḳbah, Abû Ghosh, strengthened by these new forces, attacked Shabtin. Four hundred men were involved in the fight, which lasted from sunrise to sunset. The attack on the village was unsuccessful, so that he proceeded to Janiyah. At this juncture a messenger from the Mutessarif of Jerusalem, Muṣṭafa Bek Sa'îd, met him with an order to stop the fight; but Abu Ghosh at once, in the presence of this officer and his soldiers, rushed on the village, and, having quickly captured it, ordered it to be plundered.

Those who were in Shabtin, hearing the news, lost heart, and went every one to his own place, to protect his home. Muṣṭafa abû Ghosh then reassembled his host and set out for Ram Allah, which he attacked. All the inhabitants fled except one dumb old man, who was killed; the village, however, was not looted, according to the command of Muṣṭafa.¹

The Kais were in great disgrace, and fear fell on them, and they besought safety from Abû Ghosh; but Sheikh Mûsa Saḥwail, from the village of Abwain, of the Bani Zaid, petitioned the Mutessarif of Jerusalem, complaining that the allies of Abû Ghosh had seized all his district and levelled his house, and destroyed many villages. The Mutessarif accordingly ordered preparations for war to be made under the direction of Muṣṭafa Bek Sa'îd, and a small armed force, with cannons, proceeded to Jabal Nâblus to break the power of the rebels. Abû Ghosh, hearing of this, quickly withdrew himself from Ram Allah to his own town, Kuriet el-'Anab.

The Kais joined Muṣṭafa Bek by his orders at Bir ez-Zeit, and they advanced, together with the regular soldiers, to 'Atâra, where the Nâblus sheikhs were encamped. On their arrival a fierce contest took place, in which the rebels were defeated and fled precipitately. The Bek with his host abode that night in 'Atâra, but the fellâḥîn irregulars proceeded to 'Ajûl. The Bek followed, and when he arrived they fought there with the Sheikh Şâdîk and his host till evening, when the village was captured and completely looted. In the middle of the night they advanced to 'Arûra and Mezra'a, which they took before daybreak. Then they advanced to Kerâwa,

¹ The author of the Arabic account from which these chapters are paraphrased (a native of Bir ez-Zait) was in Shabtin at the time. It is evident, from Finn's *Stirring Times*, I, p. 397, that these events took place during the governorship of Hâfiẓ Pasha, about 1852-3.

which submitted without resistance, and to Kefr 'Ain, which offered a feeble resistance for but half an hour, after which it was taken by assault and plundered. After this the host entered the villages of Nâblus without opposition, and there followed a universal plunder, each man spoiling the houses of his enemies. Muṣṭafa Bek removed from Atâra to Mezra'a, and thence to Silfit, whence they proceeded northward to Murda.

The fellâḥîn allies, however, went to Jama'in and to Zaita, north of Murda. Sheikh Muḥammad Jerrâr had collected his troops from the country of Sha'rawiyeh and the Beni Sakhr, and they encountered this host, under the leadership of the sons of Kasim el-Āḥmad and Hasan Simhân. On hearing that Jerrâr was coming to their help, the inhabitants of Zaita and of Jama'in took courage and attacked the invaders. These last succeeded in capturing Zaita, but Muḥammad Jerrâr, unexpectedly coming upon them with about 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse, after a little inflicted a severe defeat upon them. The retreating force was divided into two: one half came to a road in a rocky pass, and there made an effectual stand against the enemy; the other half fled by the plain, and were pursued by the bedawîn, and many were slain and robbed. At this moment the soldiers arrived to the assistance of their discomfited allies, which saved the remnant from utter destruction; for when the followers of Jerrâr knew that the army of Muṣṭafa Bek had arrived they turned and fled precipitately. The scattered fellâḥîn rallied and joined the soldiers and followed them, and till sunset the soldiers continued to slay every Yamani that fell into their hands. The Kais allies then reassembled at Murda, where Muṣṭafa Bek was, and there saw that, as the soldiers returned, each carried a head, or an ear, or a hand, or another member, as a proof that he had killed some of the enemy; for Muṣṭafa had offered a reward of two mejidis to each man who had killed an enemy. In all, 350 heads were brought in and piled up like a heap of watermelons, with countless hands and ears. The money with which to reward the soldiers was afterwards collected from the village sheikhs. [The author of the Arabic account was with Muṣṭafa at Murda, and was an eye-witness of this scene. He left for his own village after 103 heads had been piled up.]

Then the Mutessarif sent for the sheikhs and made peace between them, and apportioned the district over which each should rule. The country then continued in peace for seven months.

After this a new governor was sent to Jerusalem (1846), named Muḥammad el-Kubrusli. When he learned the ways of the country and the disobedience and rebelliousness of the sheikhs, he sent an order to summon Husain Simḥān to his presence. The sheikh, fearing to travel by day, on account of Abū Ghosh, came by night with a bodyguard of 200 of his kinsmen. The governor received him graciously, gave him robes of honour, and then asked if he would be absolutely submissive to the government. Husain answered, "I am a slave of the slaves of the governor, and I cannot depart from my allegiance to him for ever." The governor, greatly pleased, discussed with him a plan for getting rid of all the sheikhs, seizing their land, and banishing them from the country.

At the time there was great disturbance in Jabal Khalil, and much slaughter and robbery; moreover, the sheikhs were appropriating all the taxes to themselves. So after Husain had spent a month with the governor, he accompanied the latter on an expedition to Hebron. When they reached the city they found that the inhabitants had fortified themselves within it; but after a six hours' siege, the cannon made a breach in the walls, and the soldiers entered the city, which was given over for some hours to murder and rapine. This lasted till the governor put an end to it, and promised safety to the remainder of the inhabitants. The governor remained among the people 20 days, till they had all settled again quietly in their homes.

After this he marched to Gaza, which submitted without opposition, and there made arrangements for future protection of the inhabitants from the oppressions of the bedawīn.

Then the governor proceeded to Ramleh and there encamped. He spent a few days in rest, and then summoned the sheikhs of the country to him. These, in great fear, obeyed; but he gave them all costly presents, robes,¹ horses, and weapons. To Muṣṭafa abū Ghosh he gave a high-bred mare, a richly jewelled sword, and good revolvers. He and the other sheikhs, receiving so much attention, were quite deceived as to his real purpose. Husain Simḥān, meanwhile, took nothing from the governor, for he was in the plot, which, indeed, was his devising.²

After ten days, the governor again summoned Muṣṭafa abū Ghosh; Muṣliḥ el-‘Azzah, sheikh of the Kaisiyah el-Tahtah, and Abd

¹ "Coats of honour."

² A motive for his enmity appears in Finn's *Stirring Times*, I, p. 232.

er-Rahman el-'Omar, sheikh of the Kaisiyah et-Fôkah, and when they arrived, he again showed them great favour, entertaining each in a special tent. After supper, he surrounded the tents with soldiers. When all was ready, in the third hour of the night, a trumpet was blown, the soldiers rushed in, seized and bound the sheikhs. They were then mounted on common beasts, and conveyed to Jaffa, whence a ship carried them to Constantinople.

The remainder of the sheikhs hearing of this lost no time, but at once handsomely bribed Ḥusain, and were consequently not delivered up. The governor after this made Lydd the centre of administration over the country, and placed Ḥusain in authority. He was absolute master, employing and dismissing whom he chose. Three years afterwards, the governor was dismissed, and succeeded by Edhem Pasha, who confirmed Ḥusain in his rule over Lydd.

After four years, Ḥusain had occasion to visit his own district, the Bani Ḥârith esh-Shamaliyah. On the way he met with Muhammad, son of Muṣṭafa abû Ghosh, who was lying in wait for him with a band of horsemen near the village of Haditha. A skirmish took place, in which the two enemies came face to face, and Muṣṭafa wounded the horse of Ḥusain. He fled without pause all the way to Lydd, so that on arrival his horse fell dead.

This event renewed the struggle between Kais and Yaman. Ḥusain was dismissed in consequence,¹ and returned to his village, er-Râs. Soon enmity once more broke out between him and his cousin 'Abd el-Laṭṭif, and in consequence the Kais themselves became divided. Muhammad abû Ghosh and his adherents followed 'Abd el-Laṭṭif, and Ḥusain, alarmed by the increasing number of his enemies, asked help of Amîr Ḥasan el-Wâhâidi. The Amîr came with 500 horse, and after a little fighting the whole country submitted to him, with the exception of the villages of Janiyah, Beit Illu, Deir 'Ammâr, Jemâlah, Beitin, and half the village of Bireh. These villages, taking courage from their nearness to the Yaman district, would not submit. El-Wâhâidi and Ḥusain accordingly prepared to fight these villages, and turned their attention first to the half village of Bireh. The inhabitants fled to Beitin and there fortified themselves. The allies spent a whole day attacking this village, but were unable to take it; only the bedawîn carried off the cattle, which there had not been time to gather inside the

¹ He was evidently dismissed before 1853. See Finn's *Stirring Times*, I, p. 339.

walls before the first onslaught. After sunset the besiegers retired on account of the intense cold. Next day snow fell.¹ After ten days, the attacking party retired without subduing the rebellious towns.

The relations of the Ḳais and Yaman continued undisturbed after this abortive conflict, and for four years 'Abd el-Laṭif proved himself a formidable rival to Ḥusain. But after that time it chanced that a certain merchant of Jerusalem, named Haj 'Abd Allah en-Neshashibah, son-in-law of Ḥusain and a very popular man in Jerusalem, went to Beit Illu to collect certain debts there due to him. While there he was waylaid at night just outside the house he occupied, and was killed. Next day the body was carried to Jerusalem, and buried with great manifestations of public grief. The family made an outcry and demanded an enquiry, accusing 'Abd el-Laṭif as the murderer. The governor summoned him to Jerusalem—a summons that he promptly obeyed, for by this time the fear of the central government had fallen on the sheikhs. When he reached the city, the relatives of the dead man, who were lying in wait for him, fell on him on the road to the government house and beat him so unmercifully that, though rescued by the soldiers, he died in a few minutes. With him was a relative who was also beaten and severely injured. The government provided medical assistance, and he recovered; but, in order to break the power of the sheikhs finally, he was shut up in prison, along with Maḥmūd ibn Isma'il, the brother of 'Abd el-Laṭif. Ḥusain was then put in command of the entire district of the Bani Ḥārith.

After nine months, a petition on behalf of Sheikh Maḥmūd was presented to the government. He was in consequence released, but prevented from holding any office in the country.

About this time a serious quarrel broke out between the two halves of the village of Bireh. The leaders were respectively 'Ali Fauz and Amīr esh-Shammār, both of them sheikhs of half a quarter of the district of Jerusalem. (This district is divided into four quarters, each under a sheikh, and sometimes the quarters were further sub-divided into half quarters, with a sheikh over them.) About 43 men were killed in the riot, and an officer was

¹ This probably fixes the date of these events in 1854. Just before this (1853) much fighting took place S.W. of Jerusalem between 'Abd er-Rahmān abū Ghōsh and 'Othmān el-Lahhām (*Finn's Stirring Times*, I, pp. 266, 305, 371, 398).

promptly sent with soldiers to suppress the disturbance. After five months, however, it broke out again, and 65 men were killed; whereupon the government sent soldiers, who seized the sheikhs and 30 of their relatives, and sent them to 'Akka to serve at forced labour. There most of them died. This took place about 1857.

Husain, having now no rival, became more and more oppressive, showing no compassion to the poor or weak. From Bir ez-Zait, as from other villages, he demanded extortionate taxes; the village named refused to pay, and in order to avert violence, Mûsa Naşr went to Jerusalem and petitioned (with the consent of certain sheikhs of our¹ district) that Sheikh Mahmûd Isma'il should be given part of the territory. This was granted by the government, and Mahmûd was given part of Bani Hârith, including Bir ez-Zait.

After this, civil war broke out among the Kais, led by Sâlih 'Abd el-Jabbâr and Mûsa Saâwail, the two sheikhs of Bani Zaid. After 20 days of disturbance, Mûsa Saâwail was turned out of the district, and Sâlih became sheikh in his place. Mûsa Saâwail complained to Therayah Pasha, Mutessarif of Jerusalem, who summoned Sâlih to an investigation. The inhabitants of Bani Zaid testified to the injustice of Mûsa Saâwail, and confirmed it by the evidence of Mahmûd Kasim el-âhmad, whereupon Mûsa Saâwail was banished from Jerusalem, and was obliged to take refuge with Muâṣṭafa abû Ghosh, who had by this time escaped from the castle of Widdin, where he had been imprisoned thirteen years, and was now in hiding from the government.

But at that time the Wahâdi and 'Othmân el-Lâbham, sheikh of 'Akûb, raided the village of Eshû'a, which belonged to Abû Ghosh. They captured the village and massacred all they laid hands on. When Abû Ghosh heard this, he collected his followers and rushed on the Kais gathered together to the west of the village, and after fighting from daybreak till midday they recaptured the village. There was great slaughter on both sides.

Now peace was restored between Husain and Mahmûd, and they agreed to unite in oppressing their district, and to collect large sums of money from it. Again they demanded a heavy tax from Bir ez-Zait, and again the inhabitants refused to pay. The sheikhs then collected against them the Bani Hârith, and they fought for five days. At the end of that time, after some loss on both sides, the people of Bir ez-Zait succeeded in beating them off.

¹ That is, of the district of Bir ez-Zait, the village of the Arabic writer.

Then another violent conflict broke out in the district of Bani Murrah, between Sheikh Mahmud abu Mubarak of Silwad and 'Abd el-'Aziz el-Ansawiyah of el-Mazra'a. Husain and Mahmud came to the help of the former, Salah 'Abd el-Jabbâr to assist the latter. The seat of the conflict was at Silwad and Yebrûd. The fighting lasted two months, and many were killed on both sides. But after this a new governor came to Jerusalem, who ordered the fighting to cease, and commanded the destruction of all strongholds and fortifications. He also commanded each of the sheikhs to be confined to his own district.

Shortly afterwards, command from the Sultan 'Abd el-'Aziz came to the effect that the sheikhs should all be dismissed, and Turkish officials put in their place, and that the taxes should be paid directly to the central government. Thus the country at last obtained rest from the oppression and quarrelsomeness of the sheikhs.

NOTE ADDED IN THE PRESS.

The following list of governors, with dates, is compiled with the help of Finn's *Stirring Times*.

'Ali Pasha, 1845.

Muhammad Pasha el-Kubrusli, 1846—(?).

Muhammad Hâfiz, 1852—17 Dec., 1853.

Yâkûb Pasha, March, 1854—20 Oct., 1854.

Mehmet Kiamil Pasha, 15 Feb., 1855—(?).

It is impossible to be sure of the exact order of the events above recorded, as there is evidence that they are not detailed systematically in the MSS. which we have used.

THE ACRA.

BY SIR CHARLES WATSON, K.C.M.G., C.B., R.E., M.A.

ONE of the questions respecting the topography of ancient Jerusalem which has been frequently discussed in the Palestine Fund *Quarterly Statement* is that concerning the position of the fortress known as the "Acra" of the Maccabees and Josephus, and the views as regards the place it occupied are as divergent as those concerning the site of the Temple or of the Holy Sepulchre. For