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MIKHAIL A. RODIONOV

THE WESTERN ḤADRAMAWT:
ETHNOGRAPHIC FIELD RESEARCH, 1983–91

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Preface to the Present Edition

The Russian version of this book appeared under the title *The Ethnography of the Western Ḥaḍramawt: the General and the Local in an Ethnic Culture*.¹ It was the edited text of my 1991 Doctoral Dissertation (Habilitation) based on my field research in the Ḥaḍramawt, 1983–91.

In the 1980-s South Yemen was practically inaccessible for western anthropologists, and only our ethno-linguistic team, which included the ethnographer Pavel Pogorelsky, the sociologist Sergey Serebrov, the linguist Oleg Redkin, the architects Yuri Kozhin and Leonid Tugarin, and the photographer Vladimir Terbenin, were able to carry out systematic field research in the region. Our team dealt with a traditional society subjected to the radical “surgery” of the socialist experiment. Studying the latter was not my goal at that time.² My topic was ethnographic contemporaneity or the world view shared by our informants not only on the basis of their own experience but also shaped by the tales of their elders. When projected to the past, this picture gradually loses its accuracy but becomes more colourful and expressive, turning into what I have called “the cultural past” in the second chapter of this book.

As soon as the Russian version of my book appeared, it was translated into French, Arabic, and English. Finally, however, only its Arabic version was published (*‘Adāt wa-taqālīd Ḥaḍramawt al-Gharbīyah. Al-‘Āmm wa-l-maḥallī fī al-thaqāfab al-salālīyah*. Tarjamat d. ‘Alī Ṣāliḥ al-Khallāqī. Aden 2003. 314 p.), in which the shortcomings of the Russian edition were multiplied, since the author in both cases was devoid of final proofreading. It is unnecessary to say that the author holds full responsibility for all the errors of the present edition.

Working on the English version of this book I decided to do only minor alterations keeping, as far as possible, the original text as a document of its time, a contribution to cultural memory. Some illustrations and maps have also been added. Scientific transcription of local Ḥaḍramī names and terms has been carried out; however, it can not be called strictly consistent, because the locals themselves are rather inconsistent in the usage of their vernacular, mixing *ṣād* and *sīn*, *dhāl* and *dāl* (hence *Ṣayla* and *Sayla*, *‘Adhab* and *‘Adab*), playing with the definite article as well as with short vowels not heard in standard Arabic, etc.³ Some im-

¹ Rodionov, M. A. *Etnografiya Zapadnogo Hadramauta: obshchee i lokal'noe v etnicheskoy kul'ture*. Moscow: Izdatel'skaya firma “Vostochnaya Literatura”, 1994.

² Rodionov 1993, *Mozhno li otmennit sotsial'nie straty?* For the brief history of the Russian-Yemeni Expedition see Knysh 1993.

³ This inconsistency is well demonstrated, for example, in al-Maqhafi 1422/2002.

portant bibliographical items published after 1994 are given in the 2007 footnotes and listed at the end of the bibliography.

Finally, the author wishes to express his sincere gratitude to those without whom the English version of this book would have never been published. Among them, my colleagues Werner Daum (London) and Walter Raunig (Munich) who were the first to support the project of the English translation. Stefan Leder (Head of the Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum, Halle/Saale) and Yuri Chistov (Head of the Peter-the-Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, St Petersburg, and a participant of the Russian-Yemeni expedition) gave to this project its actual shape. Yuri Kozhin (St Petersburg) created most of the photographs and other illustrative material. Maxim Vasilenko, Yuri Fedorov and Tatiana Chudinova (all from St Petersburg) took part in the technical work with the text. And – last but not least – my special thanks are due to Hanne Schönig (Halle/Saale), the editor of this book; her generous expenditure of time, expertise and effort on this project can hardly be overestimated.

Mikhail Rodionov

Introduction

This book is the fruit of ethnographic study of Western Ḥaḍramawt in Yemen by the author and his team in 1983–91.

In describing the region, I followed the scheme proposed by the Armenian scholar Yuri Mkrtumyan (1979). Mkrtumyan divides ethnic culture into four categories: 1) primary industries (traditional occupations and their methods and tools), 2) the subsistence economy or life-sustaining activities (dwellings and settlements, clothing, diet), 3) the socio-normative sphere (institutional features pertaining to the community), and 4) the personal sphere (ideological principles pertaining to the individual). It is clear that each of these categories has its own degree of ethnicity. They fall into two logical subsets: material technologies and social practices (Arutiunov, Markaryan 1983).

Obviously, no ethnographical study can ever be definitive; new data produce new interpretations, and old judgments are reconsidered and revised. Nonetheless, I shall consider my work complete if this book encourages further study of the region, thereby giving impetus to the new field of South Arabian ethnography.

The Russian expedition to Yemen, with which I was involved from its beginning in 1983, combined experts in archaeology, history, linguistics, architecture, anthropology, geography, botany, and geology. Many of their studies have already been published (Nata'ij 1984, Nata'ij 1985, Griaznevich 1985, Kozhin 1985, Bauer, G. M. 1985, Ḥaḍramawt 1987, Amirkhanov, Akopian 1988, Naumkin 1988, Chistov [et al.] 1988, Griaznevich 1989, Frantsouzoff 1990, Rodionov 1991, Bin 'Aqīl 1992, Kozhin 1992, etc.) or soon will be.¹ That circumstance allows me to take a broad overview of the subject rather than expatiate on the details of Ḥaḍramawt history and geography.

I would like to express my gratitude to those without whom this work would have never been written: to my late teachers, Nina Pigulevskaya, Dmitry Olde-rogge, Petr Griaznevich, and Robert Serjeant, and to Walter Dostal, Lothar Stein, and the members of the Russian Yemeni expedition. I am also indebted to Yemeni scholars, the late 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ṣabbān (Say'ūn), 'Alī Bukayr (Tarīm), Ja'far al-Saqqāf (Say'ūn), 'Abd al-'Azīz Bin 'Aqīl (al-Mukallā), Ilhām 'Abd al-Wahhāb and Rashīdah Ḥusayn (Aden), and 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Saqqāf (Say'ūn), the late folk poet Bū Bashr (Ghanīmat Bin 'Aqīl), the head of the al-'Aṭṭās family,

¹ Ḥaḍramawt 1995; bibliography on archaeology, numismatics, and epigraphy of ancient Ḥaḍramawt see in: Sedov 2005: 434–56; Sedov, Griaznevich (eds.) 1996.

the late ‘Alī b. Aḥmad (Ḥurayḍah), Ṭālib al-Ḥāmid al-‘Attās (al-Nu‘ayr), Ḥasan Bā Tays (Ḥurayḍah), Ḥusayn Bin al-Shaykh Bū Bakr (Khuraykhar), and Badr Bin ‘Afīf (al-Hajarayn), among many others who unhesitatingly shared their knowledge with me.

1. The Ḥaḍramawt as a Cultural Region

The term “Ḥaḍramawt” requires clarification, since it has been used in at least three different ways. First, it was the name of the South Arabian polity with its capital in Shabwah that emerged between the second and the first millennia BCE and survived until the fourth century CE, when it was absorbed by the Ḥimyarite kingdom. A land of incense and caravan trade mentioned in the Bible and in the Sabaean inscriptions and by the authors of antiquity (Bauer, G. M. 1981, Doe 1970), the Ḥaḍramawt has retained its distinctive character during Islamic times, as well (Piotrovsky 1985: 59–65).

Second, “Ḥaḍramawt” is the name of an administrative entity of a modern state, the Republic of Yemen. It was one of six provinces of the People’s Democratic Republic of South Yemen (the PDRSY), 1967–70, renamed the People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen (the PDRY) from 1970 until the unification of North and South Yemen in 1990. Until 1980, it had, like the other provinces of South Yemen, been designated numerically, that is, as the Fifth Province, since the historical names had been abolished by the Socialist government to weaken separatist tendencies. At the time of our research, the Ḥaḍramawt was the largest province of the Republic of South Yemen, both in area and in population, occupying more than a third of the country’s territory. Because the Ḥaḍramawt has never had an internationally recognized northern border, its area estimations have varied from 129,400 to 147,700 to 155,400 square kilometres (Bin Tha‘lab 1987). According to the 1988 census (during the period of our research), the population was 626,300 (Taqrīr 1989).

Geographically, the Ḥaḍramawt consists, on the one hand, of the Sāḥil, coastal region (about thirty-five percent of the population), including the city of al-Mukallā, the province’s administrative centre, the port of al-Shiḥr, and the town of Ghayl Bā Wazīr just north of the coast; and, on the other, of the Wādī (about fifty-three percent of the population), including the Central Wādī (the towns of al-Qaṭn, Shibām, Say‘ūn, and Tarīm), the flanking valleys (the towns of Ḥurayḍah in Wādī ‘Amd, and al-Khuraybah, Šīf, and al-Hajarayn in Wādī Daw‘an); and the Ṣaḥrā’, the desert regions of al-‘Abr and Thamūd, the largely uninhabited territory north of the Wādī.

The third sense of “Ḥaḍramawt” is ethnographic and refers to a specific region within a larger cultural territory; that is to say, the Ḥaḍramawt, along with Mahrah and Socotra, is a part of southwestern Arabia.

The Wādī Ḥaḍramawt is also known as Wādī al-Aḥqāf, or “Land of Split Earth” (see Chapter 2, Section 1), and as Wādī al-‘Ajal, or “Valley of Well Pullers”. The Main Wadi consists of eastern, central, and western parts. It is the last of these that was the locus of our research.

The term “Western Ḥaḍramawt” is used in this book only in regard to the Wādī. This distinction was omitted from the book’s title not merely for brevity’s sake, but also because the local inhabitants regard the west merely as the West district (called Mudīrīyat Daw‘an since 1980) that includes the southwestern tributaries of the Main Wadi and the valleys of ‘Amd, Daw‘an and al-‘Ayn and the plateau between them. Those areas (along with Wādī al-Kasr in the Ḥawrah sub-district of Mudīrīyat al-Qaṭn, the point where the three valleys meet) constitute the borders of Western Ḥaḍramawt for the purposes of this study. There are other local names for more or less the same area: ‘Alwā, or “Upper” (that is, “upstream of the flash floods”), and al-Qiblah (“Facing Mecca”).

2. Basic Ethnographic Data on the Ḥaḍramawt to 1991

2.1. Western Scholars

In 1943, Vera Krachkovskaya published a summary of European scholarship produced during the previous hundred years of Ḥaḍramawt studies (Krachkovskaya 1943). Now, more than fifty years later, we are able to contribute new material to that subject.

It is believed that the first exploration of the Main Wadi was conducted in June–September 1843 by Adolph von Wrede, a German traveller from Westphalia (Krachkovskaya 1943: 31–6, Araviya 1981, Rodionov 1988: 102–9, Rodionov 1985b). Until then knowledge of the area had mainly been obtained from the works of various oriental authors of antiquity and the Middle Ages, from the Bible (Araviya 1981), and from stories told by the inhabitants of neighbouring countries or by emigrants. The rare accounts of eyewitnesses (for example, two Portuguese Jesuits who travelled through the Ḥaḍramawt between Dhofar and Ṣan‘ā’ in the late sixteenth century; Serjeant 1950a) went largely unnoticed or were remarked only by scholars. Such was the case with the first British cartographic expedition, whose members gathered information in the 1830s on the geography and economy of the Ḥaḍramawt and spent ten hours on its coast in April 1836 (Wellstedt 1837; id. 1838). The German philologist and traveller H. von Maltzan, who published an edition of von Wrede’s travel diary (Wrede 1870), noted that some scholars had questioned the diary’s authenticity (Maltzan 1873: 20, 23; Wrede 1870: 2–3; Krachkovskaya 1943: 38); nevertheless, the data presented in the diary were subsequently confirmed by other explorers. In 1870 B. Miles verified and augmented von Wrede’s data on traditional dwellings in southwestern Ḥaḍramawt (1896, 1901, 1910), and in 1931, D. van der Meulen and

H. von Wissmann conclusively proved the accuracy of most of von Wrede's geographical descriptions, except that of Wādī 'Amd, which contained obvious errors (Meulen, Wissmann 1932: 4–5; Haines 1845: 107–24).

At the time of the publication of the von Wrede diary, ethnography/ethnology was just emerging as an independent discipline, and in keeping with the times von Maltzan highlighted the ethnographic material in the chapter headings of his edition, and used the term “ethnological” in his introduction (where he exposed the hoax of du Couret, who claimed to have visited Ḥaḍramawt in 1844) (Wrede 1870: 7).

The von Wrede diary describes the appearance, interior, and furnishings of traditional dwellings (102–04, 193). There is scattered information about the population's agricultural activities: date palm cultivation (52, 184–6) and the farming of tobacco (60, 228), sesame (61, 170, 184, 213, 232), and indigo (63, 112, 203–4, 220, 223, 228, 230, 235, 268). The diary also contains information about irrigation systems, types of wells and water collectors, and flood irrigation (88, 90, 95, 105–6, 137, 142–3, 172, and 267–8). Certain features of Bedouin social organization are also mentioned, such as the tribal council (196), rituals relating to the beginning of an intertribal conflict and its resolution (198–9), blood revenge (226–8), the marriage rituals of sedentary tribes (217–20) and those of nomads (262–3), the burial rites of sedentary people (234–5) and of the Bedouin (239–40); and the meal-time customs of the nomadic tribes (93–4). The diary also describes traditional clothing, such as Bedouin female dress (90–1, 170–1) and that of the sedentary female inhabitants of Wādī Daw'an (110–12), musical folklore (94, 119, 132, 194, 195, 217, 219), and certain ethno-psychological features (259, 261, 264). Particular attention is paid in the diary to tribal names and to the size of the population (102, 169–70, 185–6, 253–6), although some of that information was removed to a separate appendix by von Maltzan (313–23), whose own notes include an etymological commentary, usually in regard to onomastics (275–93). The map prepared by von Maltzan, became despite flaws the starting point for all subsequent Ḥaḍramawt cartography. Such, in fact, was the principal value of the von Wrede diary as an ethnographic resource: it has served as a reference point for all subsequent scholarship.

In the 1880s, the colonial administration of Dutch India became interested in South Arabian immigrants, most of them from the Ḥaḍramawt. A series of surveys was conducted among the immigrant population by L. van den Berg, who later wrote a book describing what educated Ḥaḍramīs had said about their native land (Berg 1886). In the 1890s, several articles about Ḥaḍramawt poetry (from manuscripts) and tribal customs were published by the outstanding Dutch Arabist C. Snouck Hurgronje (1891, 1905, 1906, 1912), despite the fact that he never visited the country. Nevertheless, objective and concrete information about the traditional culture could only be obtained by going there.

The first European scholar to visit the Ḥaḍramawt Main Wadi was the Berlin professor Leo Hirsch. In 1893 he got as far east as Tarīm (1897: 66, 196–205; Araviya 1981: 240–58). He used van der Berg's map, amending it as he proceeded. Among the diverse ethnological information in his book is material on the social organization of the al-ʿAwāmīr tribe (Hirsch 1897: 222), traditional female clothing (26, 128), and tattooing and body painting with indigo dye (44).

In the winter of 1893–4, immediately after Hirsch, the Main Wadi was visited by the English expedition of Theodore Bent, which included his wife, Mabel, the first woman photographer of the Ḥaḍramawt (Bent 1894; Bent and Bent 1900; Rodionov 1988a: 104–5; Araviya 1981: 343–5; Zwemer 1900: 282), although the Bent expedition got no farther east than Shibām. Their description of female clothing in southern Wādī Dawʿan (Bent and Bent 1900: 93) confirmed von Wrede's observations. The Bents in fact paid very close attention to local female clothing. Western Ḥaḍramawt peasant dress included a mask and wide-brimmed hat woven of palm leaves (94–5, 167), personal ornaments (an odd number of rings in each ear, 119), and face painting (93, 110, 119). The Bents also included information about architecture (e.g. 106, 148), flood irrigation (128), and Bedouin oral and musical folklore (128–9), as well as about individual tribes: the Nahd (101, 106), al-Kathīrī (127), and al-Jābirī (151, 165, 168–9, 173). However, their book did not, for the most part, go very far beyond the travel accounts so popular at the time and took little interest in ethnographic matters, as such.

An altogether different approach was that of the Swedish scholar Carlo Landberg, who may justly be called the first ethno-linguist to visit South Arabia and the Ḥaḍramawt in particular, although he only got as far as the coast. For careful reconstruction of the life of the interior, he relied on interviews and spared neither money nor time, employing numerous informants and collaborators and investing five years in the results, which he published at his own expense.

In his work devoted to the Ḥaḍramawt (1901), Landberg began with samples of local poetic folklore sorted by genre (1–238), then provided prose texts in the vernacular characterizing traditional occupations: merchants (241–7), saddlers (247–84), peasants (284–328), irrigation experts (329–32), brokers (*dallāls*) (332–7), carpenters (337–51), blacksmiths (351–67), camel drivers (367–77), butchers (378–93), scribes (393–4), masons (394–408), dyers (408–31), and barbers (493–501). He published a prose narrative about the tomb of the pre-Islamic prophet Hūd (431–5) and about the Barhūt Well (435–84), sites that European scholars would not see first-hand until more than three decades later. He also provided an account of the circumcision ritual (484–93), including the circumcision of girls outside the Ḥaḍramawt in al-Qārah (490–1).

All of Landberg's texts were rendered in Arabic with careful phonetic transcriptions and literal translations into French and extensive commentaries and glossaries. The commentaries included the most diverse ethno-linguistic informa-

tion: clothing and face painting (61, 79–80), domestic articles (for example, a representation of the wooden cross-lock used in the Ḥaḍramawt; see the illustration following page 84), gunpowder blends (164), camel breeds (87), local words for fingers (82), and terms relating to spatial orientation (31, note 10) and to travel times (209).

Landberg gave attention to the kinship institution of the avunculate, regarding it as an emotional link between the self and the maternal uncle (98), traditional for the ethnography of his day. But dated theoretical conclusions occupy a negligible place in his work, while the ethno-linguistic material he collected and commented on still has enormous research value; almost every one of his notes could well serve as a basis for subsequent investigation. The ethno-linguistic data systematically laid out by Landberg according to tribes (the Dathīnah and al-ʿAwāliq) and regions (the Ḥaḍramawt and part of the Mahrah and Northern Yemen; Landberg, 1920–42, Volume I) provide fine typologies for the work on South Arabian historico-ethnographic and linguistic atlases that is still needs to be done (see below, General Conclusions).

Wilhelm Hein and his wife travelled across South Arabia in 1901–2 on behalf of the Vienna Academy of Sciences, although, like Landberg, they failed to reach the interior of the Ḥaḍramawt, visiting only the coast of South Arabia (including Mahrah). Nonetheless, their trip is assured a place in the history of Arabian ethnography, since they were the first museum experts to visit the region, and acquired for the Vienna museum of Ethnography a most interesting collection of articles pertaining to traditional forms of daily life (Hein 1914; Dostal 1967: 189–90). The Ḥaḍramawt interview data they collected also contains valuable ethnographic information.

In 1918, the Englishman W. Lee-Warner, who visited Shibām and other sites in the Main Wadi, briefly characterized the economy, migration, and the relations among the traditional social strata (1931).

But the most significant results achieved by any European traveller were those of the aforementioned D. van der Meulen and H. von Wissmann, who crossed the Ḥaḍramawt in 1931. They travelled from the southwest to the east, as far as the Hūd tomb and the Barhūt Well, which was believed to be haunted by the souls of infidels; the first Europeans to do so. Van der Meulen wrote the text for the book account of their trip (1932), while von Wissmann provided the map. Their study presents some useful information on architecture (52, 61, 68, 92, 110, 137), including how buildings were painted inside and out (68, 131, 188), and on the peculiar “tunnel” structures they saw on their way back to the coast (230). They paid careful attention to the clothing and ornaments of the Bedouin women of the coastal plateau (24–5) and of the peasant women in the vicinity of al-Hajarayn (79) and on the al-Dayyin plateau (217). They also described the clothing worn

by the men of the al-Manāhīl tribe (171), whose sandals had noisy flaps of leather to frighten away snakes (228).

Van der Meulen and von Wissmann also took note of economic activity and its features: water reservoirs (52, 74), the many uses of *nibq* (*'ilb*) wood (49), date production (74), and the weaving of date palm leaves (68). They collected information on the Bedouin diet (49, 55, 58), including an alcoholic beverage made of date juice produced on the coastal plateau (226). They also touched on song folklore: *dāna-ā-ā* improvisation (54) and Bedouin travel songs (228). They claimed to have seen no trace of the mendicant poets described by Snouck Hurgronje (106). They looked in detail at the trends of Ḥaḍramawt emigration (66, 105 ff.) and at the Malay influence in the interior of the country resulting from it (204, 212 ff.). They provided interesting details about the social organization of the tribes, including information about descendants of the prophet who lived as ordinary al-Ḥumūm tribesmen (96), and about internal tribal conflicts among the Nahd (102–3).

In 1939, both scholars made another joint trip to the Ḥaḍramawt, this time along an even more complicated route starting deep inside the Aden protectorate (van der Meulen 1947, 1948). The chief fruit of that expedition was the South Arabian geographical map compiled by von Wissmann for the territory between the western town of Shuqrah and the Ḥaḍramawt's eastern border. Besides the customary designations, the map indicated the distribution of the tribes and their subdivisions. Despite some lacunae and a few inaccuracies, the 1958 von Wissmann map remains an important resource and will have to be taken into account in the making of any new historical, ethnographic, linguistic, or other South Arabian atlas (Wissmann 1957–1958, Müller 1979: 6–12).

Important contributions to the as yet uncollected stock of pictorial materials on the Ḥaḍramawt were made in 1932 and 1934 by the German journalist and photographer Hans Helfritz (Helfritz 1932, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1956), whose travel essays, however, were subjected to well-founded criticism, and in 1935 and 1938 by the British traveller Freya Stark, the second female photographer of the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt (Stark 1938). Stark's books and papers contain vivid ethnographic observations, especially in regard to the everyday life of women (Stark 1936b: 113–26, 1939: 1–17, 1940, 1957: 46–7, 58, 109, 150, 209).

The “heroic era” in Ḥaḍramawt studies, when the traveller had to have a broad command of the humanities and natural sciences, culminated in the Englishman Harold Ingrams. As the British representative in the 1930s, Ingrams signed peace treaties with hundreds of tribal chiefs and the rulers of towns, protected settlements, and fortified villages. That activity gave him unique insight into the country's highly complex social mechanics (Ingrams 1937a). In his 1966 book he provided a lucid characterization of social strata and institutions (for example, 136,

293), including an enormously detailed account of intertribal relations (for instance, 136, 293, 250–79).

Harold and Doreen Ingrams, husband and wife, were the first European explorers to travel from the Hūd tomb (see Ingrams 1970: 199–201 for a detailed description of the tomb and the pilgrimage rite) to the coast via Mahrah (205 ff.). Doreen Ingrams was the first to cross the land occupied by the al-Ṣay‘ar tribe, and she confirmed in particular that the Ḥimyarite ruins in Jidār al-Banā’ mentioned in von Wrede’s diary did in fact exist (332). Comparing the status of sedentary women to that of their Bedouin counterparts, she wrote that females were socially more active in nomadic tribes — for instance, in Wādī Rakhyah (372). She noted matrilineal features in the traditional life of the al-Manāhīl, Mahrah, some Āl Kathīr (301) and, to a lesser extent, the al-Ṣay‘ar — for example, the feminine names of wells (371). Her book contains many interesting ethnographic details: tribal taboos among the al-Ṣay‘ar, al-Ḥumūm, al-Manāhīl, and Mahrah (193–4), female transvestism among the Bā Ḥasan (236), the custom allowing any traveller to milk another’s camel in Ramlat al-Sab‘atayn (345), the distinctive long shirts of the ‘Alī Bin Kathīr Bedouin (277), the fair hair of the Brayk subgroup of the al-Ṣay‘ar tribe (316), the Zanzibar influence among the Bā Ḥasan of the al-Ḥumūm tribe (235, 337), and the vestiges of a pre-Islamic rain cult personified in the Mawlā Maṭar or Rain Lord (157).

Harold Ingrams was especially interested in the pre-Islamic roots of traditions, as seen in his notes on the ibex hunt (1937c: 12–13; cf. Beeston 1949). Of his other studies of ethnographic matters, “House Building in the Hadhramaut” (1935) and “Bee-Keeping in the Wadi Du‘an” (1937b) should be mentioned; see also 1936, 1936b, 1938, and 1945.

Somewhat after the Ingramses, the Ḥaḍramawt was visited by the English travellers Harry St. John (‘Abdallāh) Philby (1937, 1938) and Wilfred Thesiger (1949, 1959), among others (for example, Hamilton 1942a, 1942b, 1942c; Rutheven 1940). Nevertheless, the heroic epoch was drawing to a close. The time had come for deeper, more discriminating research.

The scholar who combined the broad interests of his predecessors with the specific thrust of his own investigations was the English Arabist Robert B. Serjeant. He formulated his task as “the study of Ḥaḍrami civilisation through the medium of the language” (1951a: ix). In 1947–8, he made extended trips to the Main Wadi, spending seven months in Tarīm alone, collecting ethnographic and folklore material, as well as domestic articles for the Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography. Serjeant continued Landberg’s ethno-linguistic investigations, but directly rather than at a distance.

Specimens of poetry and prose composed by the sedentary Ḥaḍramawt population, cited in Arabic without scientific transliteration but with extensive commentary, make up the first volume of the enormous work conceived by Serjeant

(1951a). A second volume in which he would present his essays on “the whole range of every-day life in Ḥaḍramawt” (x) never appeared. In the first volume Serjeant offers a classification by genre of *ḥumaynī* verse — of verse in the vernacular. He notes the informational value of “route-poetry”, with their compulsory listing of all the stages of the journey and their frequent inclusion of derogatory names for the settlements passed through (9–10), and he notes the comparable value of other “catalogue-poems” that, depending on the subject, might list kinds of dates or coastal fish, or local mosques, stars, or winds (10).

Serjeant gives particular attention to song folklore, musical instruments, and dancing (17–50), stressing the stricter differentiation of dancing by social stratum. He also mentions a distinctive genre inaccessible to the male researcher, *khay-ba‘ān*, or verses sung among themselves by women at weddings (43–4). He believed that the songs that had accompanied the drawing of water from wells or that had been sung during threshing had been lost, and he lamented that the hunting songs had not been written down (8). Even so, an oral tradition had survived in the Ḥaḍramawt. In general, the Naḥd were considered the best keepers of *zāmil* art (short call-songs on the occasions of a raid, successful hunt, or wedding or other festival) (32). In Haynin (where van der Meulen had not found any professional “poet mendicants”), there were still people who able to recite thirty or forty *qaṣīdahs* of the Bū Zayd al-Hilālī sequence (12).¹

An expert in local historiography, Serjeant frequently referred to the Ḥaḍramī written tradition (Serjeant 1950c, 1962c), and dealt in his articles with a variety of ethno-cultural matters, including the Tarīm tombs (1949b), Ḥaḍramawt architecture and architects (1949a), the special calls of different Tarīm quarters (1950b), the stellar calendar (1954b), seaports (1981c, 1982), legends about Hūd and other pre-Islamic Ḥaḍramawt prophets (1954a), social stratification (1957, 1981a), marriage customs and kinship terminologies (1962b, 1962c, 1967), local irrigation systems and farming (1964, 1981b), folk remedies (1956), and so on. The scholar also produced a monograph (1976) about the Arabian ibex hunt and its age-old rituals. (See Pearson 1983 for a list of Serjeant’s publications.)

Ethnographic data may also be found in the essays on Ḥaḍramawt economics and geography produced by the German scholar A. Leidlmaier in the early 1960s (1961: 1–47, 1962: 162–80; cf. Grohmann 1933).

The first ethno-sociological investigation in the Ḥaḍramawt was conducted from July 1962 to June 1963 by Abdalla Bujra (1967, 1970, 1971), a student of the “political anthropologist” and Arabist Ernest Gellner, who worked in Great Britain.

¹ In 1975, my colleague ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ja‘far Bin ‘Aqīl tape recorded “Sīrat Bū Zayd” in Haynin from Sālim ‘Alī b. Sa‘īd Bin Muhannā. In 2003, in the family of Shaykh Bā Ishāq I was told that the last transmitter of al-Hilālī sequence, Ṣāliḥ ‘Abdallāh Bā Ḥuwaylim, had moved from Haynin to al-Qaṭn.

To prepare for his field research, Bujra relied in particular on the unpublished doctoral dissertation of J. G. Hartley, *The Political Organisation of an Arab Tribe of the Hadramaut* (1961), defended at the University of London. In Wādī ‘Amd, Bujra studied the society of Ḥurayḍah, “an important second-rank town” (Bujra 1971: 12), concentrating on the local *sādah*, or descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad. The elders of the town are to this day critical of Bujra and his anti-*sādah* conclusions. Examining social stratification in the use of space, Bujra shows the difference between an “egalitarian” tribal settlement and a “stratified” village or town (8–9, 36–7), and finds the same stratification in the differences between quarters in the towns and among cemetery plots (17), as well as in the traditional organization of ceremonies (18). Bujra notes the dual nature of leadership in the traditional strata that is typical of the Arab world (20, note 1). He observes that families have a tendency towards endogamy and follow the strict rules of *kafā’ah* or marital suitability, according to which a man may only marry a woman belonging to his own or a lower social stratum, while a woman may only marry a man from her own or a higher stratum (93–5). Bujra’s monograph cites a variety of statistics linking social stratification, the economy, and the distribution of resources. On the whole, he provides a detailed picture of the traditional society of old Ḥurayḍah, a society that has ceased to exist in that form.

A year and a half before Bujra began his work in Ḥurayḍah, the Austrian ethnographer Walter Dostal made his first visit to the Ḥaḍramawt to begin systematic research along two interconnected lines: the ethnographic character of camel-breeding nomads and the traditional craft technology of the sedentary population.

During a season of fieldwork from October to December 1960, Dostal conducted surveys in Shibām and Tarīm and collected items for the Vienna Museum of Ethnography. In 1963 those materials, along with the data obtained by him during an expedition to Kuwait in 1956, became the basis for his doctoral dissertation *An Ethnological Investigation of the Development of Nomadism in Arabia*. Revising some of his conclusions after trips to the Ḥaḍramawt in 1964 and 1966, he produced the study, *Die Beduinen in Südarabien* (1967), dedicating it to the German Arabist W. Caskel, whose ideas he used extensively (9–20 ff.). Dostal divided the Arabian Bedouin into two ethno-cultural groups, the Shaddād and the Ḥawlānī, named after the designs of their camel saddles (13, 19–20, 139, 146 ff.). The saddle of the first group is of relatively late design (around the third century CE), is fixed over the hump, and has two pommels for lengthy trips and combat. The other saddle is fixed behind the hump with a seat or saddlebag. This second, more conservative design is common among a variety of South Arabian tribes, including those also studied by Dostal: the al-Ṣay‘ar (26, 72–4, 79–81, 112–17), the Karab (26, 74, 81, 111), the al-‘Awāmīr (28, 74–5, 81–2, 117–19), the Āl Rāshid (28–30, 75–6, 82, 119–20), and the Mahrah (34, 78, 84–5, 123–35).

Dostal discovered a sort of correlation between saddle type and the elements not only of material culture but of social organization. Summarizing almost every-

thing ever written about South Arabia by his time, he provides a succinct essay on the above tribes' material culture, examining their household articles (40–5), dwellings (45–7), weapons (50, 51), clothing (50–5), ornaments (55–61), hair styles (62), and body paint and tattoos (62–3).

Evident in every one of those spheres is a specific Ḥawlānī ethno-culture. Thus, the al-ʿAwāmīr, al-Manāhīl, and Mahrah tend to use natural shelter for sleeping and improvised canopies for protection against the sun and wind. Influenced by Shaddād custom, the al-Ṣayʿar and Karab tribes and most Āl Rāshīds use tents of uniform construction and material (a mixture of black wool and goat hair) but of different sizes and configurations. But a Ḥawlānī substratum remains. For example, the tents of the al-Ṣayʿar are never divided into male and female halves (45).

Dostal's book characterizes the traditional occupations of the various tribes (63–9), their social organization, including the stages of the life-cycle (69–85), and their tribal histories and that of the Ḥaḍramawt and Mahrah (85–137). In his conclusion (138–65) he examines the components of the “Ḥawlān cultural complex” in its “pure form” (146–7).

From August to September 1964 and February to April 1966, Dostal also studied the traditional technologies of the sedentary population of the Wadi in the town of Tarīm. Besides interviewing the Tarīm craftsmen, Dostal, using cameramen from the Göttingen Scientific Film Institute, shot twenty-six films showing the technologies used by masons, potters, carpenters, builders, blacksmiths, etc., as well as folk medicine practices and the details of certain rituals. The visual documentation was accompanied by texts published as separate pamphlets in the series *Encyclopaedia Cinematographica* (Dostal 1972b; 1972a; 1969–72, Numbers 1180–1201, 1315, 1346: 428–9). In 1972, Dostal combined that material in the book *Handwerker und Handwerkstechniken in Tarim* (1972a; cf. Bauer, W. P. 1965–1966: 489–503), where he gave particular attention to the professional terminologies and tools used by Ḥaḍramawt craftsmen.

Dostal's abiding interest in South Arabian archaeological data has permitted him to interpret that material ethnographically, providing insight into the Bedouin mode of existence (1962, 1967, 1979), burial rituals (1968), the pre-Islamic bull cult (1983b), and traditional dwellings (1981). Dostal's summary of that work, *Egalität und Klassengesellschaft in Südarabien* (1985), examines the manifold nature of social evolution on the basis of his field materials for the tribes of the Ra's al-Khaymah Emirate (the UAE), North Yemen, and Saudi Arabia, as well as for the urban populations of Ṣanʿā' and Tarīm. Dostal was the first to call on ethnographers to collaborate in the preparation of a South Arabian ethnographic atlas.

Also of value for generalization about and interpretation of the accumulated data is the three-volume culturological compendium on South Arabia, *L'Arabie du Sud: Histoire et Civilisation*, published in Paris under the general editorship of Joseph Chelhod and using some ethnographic field materials (1985, Volume 3; for

a bibliography on the Ḥaḍramawt, see 376–7). And presented in the beautifully illustrated publication *Yemen – 3000 Years of Art and Civilisation in Arabia Felix* (Daum 1987), timed for the 1987–8 Yemen retrospective in Munich, are the leading experts in South Arabian studies of the day.

2.2. Yemeni Scholars

Yemeni scholars began their own ethnographic field research in the Ḥaḍramawt only in the early 1980s. However, a great deal of ethnographic information has been preserved in local chronicles, biographies, poems, and treatises (Serjeant 1950c, 1962a). The Tarīm manuscript library, Maktabat al-Aḥqāf, headed at the time of our own research by ‘Alī Bukayr, contains numerous examples of Ḥaḍramawt literature, including monuments of its rich historiographical tradition (al-Ḥabshī 1975, Bukayr 1979).¹ The documents of the al-Kathīrī Sultanate are preserved in the archives of the Say’ūn Department of the Yemeni General Organization of Antiquities, Museums, and Manuscripts, or the GOAMM (al-Wathā’iq 1985),² while the al-Qu‘aytī Sultanate manuscripts and documents are concentrated mainly in the al-Mukallā and al-Shiḥr archives. The ethnographic collections in the Say’ūn Museum of Folk Customs and Traditions also hold great interest (al-Ṣabbān 1983a).

A variety of ethnographic topics have been touched on by local historians, including Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī of the Yāfi‘ tribe, author of the first history of the region, who published his sharply anti-*sādah* two-volume *Ta’rīkh Ḥaḍramawt al-siyāsī* [*Political History of Ḥaḍramawt*] in Cairo in 1935–6; the al-Kathīrī *sayyid* historian Muḥammad Ibn Hāshim (1948); the *sayyid* ‘Alawī al-Ḥaddād (1940); *shaykh* Sa‘īd Bā Wazīr (1961, 1983); the *sādah* Muḥammad al-Shāṭirī (1972) and Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥāmid (1968); and Muḥammad Bā Ḥannān (1961), who claimed membership in the ancient tribe of Kindah.

Muḥammad Bā Maṭraf (died in 1988 in al-Mukallā) served as a link between the scholars of the old Ḥaḍramawt and the Yemeni humanists of the period of independence (see Bā Maṭraf 1988). His studies, some of them unpublished, as well as his tape recorded lectures, are an invaluable aid to ethnographers and folklorists (Bā Maṭraf 1974, 1983a, 1983b, 1983c, 1984a, 1984b). The Say’ūn scholar ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ṣabbān [1920–99], collected data on the agrarian and nomadic

¹ Now, in 2006, the Library possesses electronic catalogue and other sophisticated techniques thanks to its Head, Ḥusayn ‘Umar al-Hādī.

² Before 1991, the Yemeni Centre for Cultural Research and Antiquities; after 2002, the GOAMM has been divided into two separate bodies, the Yemeni General Organization of Antiquities and Museums (the GOAM) and the National Centre for Documentation (the NCD).

populations (al-Ṣabbān 1983; 1978b; 1984a) and their folklore (1978a), publishing the data in his book, *‘Ādāt wa-taqālīd bi-l-aḥqāf: mudīrīyat Say’ūn* [*The Customs and Traditions of Wādī al-Aḥqāf*] (1984a). As head of the Say’ūn department of the Yemeni Centre for Cultural Research and Antiquities, he did much for the development of local area studies (see 1988).

Various aspects of ethnic culture have been addressed in publications prepared by the Say’ūn resident Ja’far al-Saqqāf ([s. a.], [s. a.]b), the al-Shiḥr scholars ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mallāhī ([s. a.], ‘Alī, al-Mallāhī 1989) and ‘Abdallāh Ḥaddād (1980), and by Aḥmad Bā Wazīr (1980), ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Bin ‘Aqīl (1987a, 1987b, 1992), Sa’īd Bā Yamīn (1984), and others from al-Mukallā. Interesting ethnographic notes have also appeared in the Aden magazine *al-Ḥikmah* and the al-Mukallā magazine *Āfāq*, as well as in a few other publications of limited circulation.

The Ministry of Culture of the People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen was assisted in the preservation of folk traditions by East German scholars. The architect Karl-Heinz Bochow took part in cataloguing monuments of traditional architecture (1980, 1984). Lothar Stein, an ethnographer and nomad expert, travelled to the regions inhabited by the Ḥaḍramawt and the Socotra Bedouin in 1982, 1985, 1989, etc. (1983, Rodionov 1985d). Collaboration between the two German scholars yielded the illustrated publication *Hadramaut* (Bochow, Stein 1986). Around the same time a Hungarian photographic album appeared (Korniss [et al.], 1985). An important step in the ethnographic study of the Ḥaḍramawt was the Yemeni-Russian effort, begun in 1983 and ended in the early 1990s, to count and provide provisional descriptions of all the towns and settlements of the People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen.

2.3. Russian Scholars

The Russian tradition of Ḥaḍramawt ethnographic studies is comparatively recent. It was begun by Vera Kratchkovskaya, who collected data from written sources and scholarly literature about Ḥaḍramawt dwellings and clothing (1944, 1947a, 1947b, 1946, 1964). First-hand impressions of the local everyday life and customs of the 1970s were recorded by Oleg Peresypkin under the pen name Gerasimov (1983: 379–417, 1987: 114–19). Although field research had been planned by the Imperial Russian Geographic Society as early as the nineteenth century, ethnographic research did not start until 1983, when the Russian-Yemeni Expedition had its first season.¹

During that first season in the field (February to April 1983), I explored the tribal territories and the geographical distribution of the traditional social strata of the southwest tributaries of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt – Wādī Daw’an and Wādī al-Kasr.

¹ See Griaznevich 1999, 6–19.

I gathered specimens of poetry and musical folklore, began a description of the occupations and everyday life of the sedentary population, and studied the ethnographic collections in the museums of Say'ūn, al-Mukallā, Tarīm, and Aden (Rodionov 1983, 1989, 1987a, 1987b).

In 1984 I processed the material gathered over the preceding season, determined the directions and methodology of further studies, consulted with ethnographers and Arabists from Austria and East Germany, and familiarized myself with the Ḥaḍramawt collections in Leipzig's Grassi Museum of Ethnography. At the same time, Pavel Pogorelsky, a member of the Russian-Yemeni Expedition's ethnographic group, studied the traditional occupations of the Wādī Daw'an population and their standards of etiquette (Pogorelsky 1988: 101–13).

During the third field season (February to April 1985), I verified and augmented the material along the lines set down in 1983–4. Particular attention was given to a description of the traditional clothing, dwellings, household articles, and occupations of the sedentary and nomadic populations of Wādī Daw'an and its tributaries (Rodionov 1985c, 1987a).

The fourth field season (April to June 1986) broadened the research area, adding the central and eastern regions of the Main Wadi, which made it possible to compare the ethnographic characteristics of the west with those of the Ḥaḍramawt as a whole. The study of crafts was accompanied by an analysis of the mechanisms of duplication and technological change. Customs relating to traditional beliefs were also investigated.

During the fifth field season (February to May 1987), thanks to fortuitous weather conditions, fundamental progress was made in obtaining information about flood irrigation practices in Western Ḥaḍramawt. I collected new data on crafts, apiculture, and the ritual ibex hunt. Family and marital relations and folklore were also studied (Rodionov 1987a, 1989).

The processing of that material was completed in 1988. I had a chance to acquaint myself with the Ḥaḍramawt ethnographic collections of the Vienna Museum of Ethnography, with the Yemeni manuscripts of the Eduard Glazer collection held in the Austrian National Library, and with the South Arabian Archives of the University of Vienna's Ethnographic Institute.

During the Russian-Yemeni Expedition's seventh and eighth field seasons (February to April 1989 and February to April 1990), I headed a specialized ethnographic group that carried out a broad ethnographic, sociological, and linguistic investigation of Ḥaḍramawt agrarian culture — in Wādī 'Amd in Western Ḥaḍramawt in 1989, and in the southwestern plateau, the eastern part of the Main Wadi, and the coast in 1990.

Over the course of the Russian-Yemeni Expedition, ethnographic collections were assembled for St Petersburg's Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology

and Ethnography. The collections numbering 6878, 6920, 6927, 6986, 7009, and 7074 were assembled by me, and that numbered 6901 was assembled by Pavel Pogorelsky.

Utilizing the experience it had amassed, the group projected a program of subsequent research, which was launched in 1990. Its primary task has been study of the ethno-cultural characteristics of and relations between the principal geographical and economic regions of the Ḥaḍramawt (the plateau, valley, and coast), along with descriptions of their historical and ethnographic sub-regions (central, eastern, and coastal). Similar work was carried out in Socotra by members of the Russian-Yemeni Expedition (Naumkin 1988), and ethnographic research is now underway in yet another historical and ethnographic area, Mahrah. The joint efforts of international scholars are laying the foundations of South Arabian ethnography.

PART I

SOCIETY AND HISTORY

Chapter 1: Social Organization

1. Traditional Strata

The lack of political unity in pre-revolutionary South Yemen was accompanied by a lack of social unity. The entire society was divided into traditional hierarchical layers or social strata.

The most privileged stratum in the Ḥaḍramawt, as everywhere else in Yemen, was the *sādah* (sing. *sayyid*: “lord”; a woman was addressed as *sharīfah* or “noble”). Its members claimed direct descent from the Prophet Muḥammad through his daughter Fāṭimah, who had two sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, by Muḥammad’s cousin ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. The Ḥaḍramī *sādah* trace their ancestry to Ḥusaynid Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Ja‘far, a great-great-grandson of the sixth Imam, Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq (Shihāb Muḥammad 1980: 67).

According to genealogical legend, Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā, along with his son ‘Abdallāh and numerous adherents, moved from Baṣrah in Iraq to the Ḥaḍramawt in the early tenth century, earning him the epithet al-Muhājir, or “he who has made a *hijrah* or resettling”. His great grandson ‘Alawī became the eponym of the local *sādah*, who received the general name Bā ‘Alawī.

Departing from the strict patrilineal principle that usually obtains in Arabian lineages, the *sādah* call themselves “the Prophet’s children”, referring to a saying (*ḥadīth*) attributed to Muḥammad himself: “Everyone born of a mother has a paternal descent, except the children of Fāṭimah, since I am their guardian and they descend from me” (al-Bakrī 1956–7, 2: 245). The *sādah*’s origin has, to be sure, been called into doubt. Tradition says that a certain ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Jadīd b. ‘Abdallāh (al-Muhājir’s great-great-grandson) appealed to the Baṣrians for evidence, and on the strength of their testimony “secured his lineage” (Shihāb Muḥammad 1980: 66–72).

Among the Ḥaḍramawt *sādah* are the al-‘Aydarūs, al-Saqqāf, al-Kāf, al-Ḥaddād, al-‘Aṭṭās, al-Ḥāmid, al-Ḥabshī, Bin al-Shaykh Bū Bakr, Balfaqīh, al-Miḥḍār, al-Mashhūr, Bin Shihāb, al-Sirrī, Junayd, Bā Fuṭaym, Mawlā Dawīlah, al-Ṣāfī, Bā ‘Aqīl, al-Baytī, Barūm, Mudayḥij, al-Ḥaddār, Muqaybil, Bin Hādūn, Muṭahhar, Ṭāhā, al-Bār, al-Hādī, al-Hinduwān, al-Ṣalīlah, Ṭāhir, Sumayṭ, Bin Yaḥyā, ‘Ay-dīd, al-Jifrī, al-Shāṭirī, al-Bīd, Khirid, etc. (Ingrams 1937a: 36–40, al-Ḥaddād 1949: 3–5). Once famous families like the al-Musāwā, al-Shillī, and Mawlā Khaylah no longer exist.

As an expression widely used in Yemen has it, the *sādah* concentrated “spiritual authority” in their hands (al-Bakrī 1956–7, 1: 77). Standing above the traditional

local tribal structure, they acted as intermediaries and arbitrators in disputes and quarrels. It was believed that the “nobility” (*sharaf*, *karāmah*) that was passed down from one generation to another within the Prophet’s house helped its members to find the right solutions, since they possessed virtue (*faḍl*) and wisdom (*ḥikmah*) by birth. The *sādah* also enjoyed the right of protection and assistance (*shafā‘ah*). Tribal leaders were frequently powerless against the *sayyid* formula “by the right of my ancestors” (*wa-ḥaqq jiddī*) (Serjeant 1957: 19).

Especially influential were the *manṣabs* or *sayyid* clan chiefs. One word uttered by a *manṣab*, the appearance of a clan banner or clan drum, or the waving of a palm bough or a cloak could stop inter-tribal warfare. On the other hand, an energetic *manṣab* could provoke hostility by inciting tribes against his personal enemies. The *sādah*, weaponless themselves, depended on warriors recruited from a variety of tribes: for the Bin al-Shaykh Bū Bakr, the Yāfi‘; for the al-Ḥabshī, the al-Kathīrī; for the al-‘Aydarūs, the Tamīm; for the al-‘Aṭṭās, the al-Ja‘dah; for the al-Haddār, the al-Dayyīn; and for the al-Ḥāmid, the al-Māḍī (al-Bakrī 1956–7, 2: 118; Naumkin 1984: 141–56).

The *manṣabs*’ principal responsibility was preserving order in sanctuaries (*ḥawṭah*, *hijrah*), where blood revenge and the other norms of tribal law (*tāghūt*) did not apply. Such holy places, the centre of which were occupied by the mud-brick mausoleums (*qubbah*) of Muslim righteous men, had since ancient times been reserved for prayer, trade, and the settlement of disputes. Given the conditions of permanent instability and the absence of centralized authority, the nomadic and sedentary people simply could not have survived without those safe havens (Serjeant 1981a: 41–58).

The *sādah*’s spiritual authority was accompanied by economic power. In order to “entertain guests”, *manṣabs* received a tithe of “their own” tribes’ income, as well as occasional contributions (*nudhūr*) from pilgrims. In the al-Kathīrī and al-Qu‘ayṭī states, *sādah* enjoyed tax discounts, and many of them were entirely free of taxation. Serjeant has noted that the *sādah* themselves ironically called those free of taxation the “three-testicle clan” in recognition of their extra power (Serjeant 1957: 17).

Prominent landowners and merchants, the *sādah* had been active outside the Ḥaḍramawt since at least the sixteenth century, and during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries they achieved important positions in the business life of India (Hayderabad, Bombay, etc.), Southeast Asia (Singapore, Java), and East Africa (Zanzibar, Somalia, Kenya, and Uganda) (al-Bakrī 1956–7, 2: 236–42, Dostal 1984: 228–32). Spending most of their lives abroad, the *sādah* diaspora, like that of the other strata, married locally, that is how Java acquired the ethnic group of *muwalladūn*, or half-breed Ḥaḍramīs (al-Bakrī 1956–7, 2: 349–50).

The *sādah* dressed in a distinctive way, wearing long white shirts (*qamīs*), white caps (*kawāfi*), and green turbans or shawls. The women were strict about ob-

servance of modesty rules, and went outdoors in black dresses and black kerchiefs, their faces concealed by black veils (*burqu*‘- *barāqi*‘). The members of the Prophet’s house who dressed Bedouin-style and carried arms were frowned upon by other *sādah*, although there were many who did so anyway. They included the clan of the Mawlā Dawīlah, who lived among the Tamīm tribesmen in Wādī Masīlah, some of the Bin al-Shaykh Bū Bakr in Wādī ‘Amd, Wādī Bin ‘Alī, and Wādī Sāh, the Ḥamūdah-clan among the al-Ḥumūm tribesmen, some of the al-‘Aṭṭās in Wādī Ḥajr, the al-Saqqāf in Ghayl Bin Yamayn, and so forth (al-Shāṭirī 1972, 2: 174–5).

The *sādah* also differed from other strata in their language (phonetics, intonation, and lexicon). Their women observed strict hypergamous endogamy in keeping with the principle of *kafā’ah* or marital suitability, pervasive in the Arab world. As already noted, it holds that a man must marry a woman equal to or below him in birth, while a woman must marry someone equal to or above her. A case bearing on this principle is discussed below (see Chapter 2, Section 3).¹

The second stratum in the local hierarchy are the *mashāyikh*, who also possess spiritual power, although less than the *sādah* did. In the Ḥaḍramawt, the term *shaykh* (pl. *mashāyikh*) denotes not a tribal chieftain or revered old man, as elsewhere in Arabia, but a member of a hereditary group deriving his origin from a righteous Muslim (*walī*) or someone well-versed in theology. The shrines of such ancestors occupy the centres of the *mashāyikh ḥawṭahs*, which enjoy the same status as those belonging to the *sādah* (for more details see Rodionov, Serebriakova 1992: 37–51).

The most influential *mashāyikh* clans also have the institution of *manāṣib* (sing. *manṣab*), for example, the Bā ‘Abbād, who are linked to the Prophet Hūd’s Tomb, the most sacred place in the country, as well as the al-‘Amūdī, Bā Wazīr, etc. Some *mashāyikh* claim an ancestor associated with the Prophet Muḥammad: for the Bā Jābir, it is ‘Aqīl, brother of ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; for the Bā Faḍl, Sa’d al-‘Ashīrah; for the ‘Abd al-Māni‘, Shu‘ayb b. ‘Amrū; for the al-Khaṭīb, ‘Abbād b. Bishr, who led a vanguard of Muslim warriors to the Ḥaḍramawt; for the al-‘Amūdī, caliph Abū Bakr (al-Ḥaddād 1949–1950: 49, Serjeant 1957: 11, Bin ‘Aqīl 1984: 29). The highest claims belong to the Bā Wazīr *mashāyikh*, who trace their pedigree back to ‘Abbās, Muḥammad’s uncle, through ‘Alī b. Ṭarrād, who served as *wazīr* for two ‘Abbāsīd caliphs, al-Mustarshid, 512/1118, and al-Muktafī, 530/1136. *Wazīr* ‘Alī married ‘Abbāsah bint Muḥammad, caliph al-Rashīd’s sister, in 529/1135. Their grandson, Ya‘qūb b. Yūsuf Bā Wazīr, settled in the Ḥaḍramawt in the twelfth century (Bā Wazīr, M. 1911: 20–1, 40–1, 67, 74).

The author of the treatise “The Shining Moon of the Unveiling of Abū Wazīr’s Lineage”, Muzāḥim Bā Wazīr, offered sixteen proofs that his family derived from

¹ See also Knysh 1997, Knysh 1999.

the ‘Abbāsids (Bā Wazīr, M. 1911: 75–8), making it almost equal to the *sādah*. Many Ḥaḍramīs, however, deny this genealogy and claim that Bā Wazīr’s forefather was a Persian from the Barmakid clan (Bin ‘Aqīl 1984: 28–9). Genealogical manipulations in search of a higher social status usually follow a similar hagiographical scheme. Thus, the biographies (*tarājim*) of the *sayyid* Aḥmad al-Muhājir and the *shaykh* Ya‘qūb Bā Wazīr share 1) a derivation from “northern” Arabs, the ‘Adnānids, through the Prophet Muḥammad’s clan by the maternal line; 2) migration to the Ḥaḍramawt as the result of a failed pilgrimage to Mecca; and 3) religious and peace-making activities among the local population, with omens and miracles (al-Ḥaddād 1949–1950: 3–5, Shihāb Muḥammad 1980: 55–9, Bā Wazīr, M. 1911: 47–9, 74).

Some *mashāyikh* families claim descent from the kings of Kindah or even from pre-Islamic priests (al-Shāṭirī 1972, 2: 172, Dostal 1984: 232). It is believed that when the *sādah* came to the Ḥaḍramawt, the *mashāyikh* were its principal land-owners, and for unknown reasons “voluntarily ceded” most of their land to the *sādah*, along with most of their religious and judicial functions. The relationship between the two strata may be characterized as collaboration and a competition.

Besides those already mentioned, well-known *mashāyikh* families in the Ḥaḍramawt include the Āl Ishāq, Bin ‘Afīf, Bā Ḥumayd, Bā Makhramah, Bā Ra’s, Bā Sahl, Bin Brayk, Bā Jimāl, Bā Sūdān, Bā ‘Āmir, Bā ‘Ashan (Ba’shan), etc. The most influential *mashāyikh* received the same gestures of respect as the *sādah*, that is, hand kissing and the use of the special appellation *ḥabīb*, “beloved” (of Allāh). The *mashāyikh* often dressed like the *sādah* but unlike the latter carried a straight dagger (*hanjar*). The principle of marital suitability allowed the marriage of *mashāyikh* brides to the tribal nobility. Traditional ties were and still are maintained by many families: the Bā ‘Abbād with the al-Ḥumūm tribe, the Bā Ra’s with the Nuwwaḥ and Saybān, the Bā Sahl with the al-Ja’dah, the Āl Ishāq with the al-Ṣay‘ar, the Bā Wazīr with the al-‘Awābithah, etc. (al-Shāṭirī 1972, 2: 171–2). Some *mashāyikh* clans carried weapons and followed a quasi-nomadic way of life.

Not only could *mashāyikh* become tribesmen, but tribesmen or even representatives of lower strata could, under certain conditions, rise to the *mashāyikh* stratum. A tribal group that has lost military strength might send its youth to learn theology, thus changing its status to that of the *mashāyikh al-‘ilm* or *mashāyikh* of knowledge, which could after a time be turned into *mashāyikh al-aṣl* or *mashāyikh* by birth. In Wādī Daw‘an, where *sādah* influence has always been weak and that of the *mashāyikh* al-‘Amūdī quite strong, a relevant saying still has currency: “Those whose men are few start claiming the *shaykh*’s virtue” (Bin ‘Aqīl 1984: 37). Another saying known at the time of Serjeant (1957: 14) is often repeated today: “A *shaykh* is a *shaykh*, but what sort of bird is a *sayyid*?” (see Chapter 6, Section 3.15: 1, 2 for the Arabic text of both proverbs).

Third in prestige among the traditional Yemeni social strata are the *qabā'il* (sing. *qabīlī*, pronounced in the Ḥaḍramawt with a voiced g: *gabīlī*) or “tribesmen”. The distinguishing feature of the *qabīlī*, whether a nomadic cattle breeder or a settled farmer, was his right to bear arms, namely, a broad curved dagger (*jam-bīyah*) and a rifle, usually a long-barreled musket (*bū fatīlah*, *al-‘arabī*). Swords, spears, and leather shields (*daraqah*) were no longer used by the first third of the twentieth century. The *qabīlī* wore a loincloth and rawhide sandals or went barefoot. The hairstyle of an adult *qabīlī* differed from that of a minor, the latter wearing a forelock (*qumzah*) to signify that he was not yet subject to tribal law.

Genealogy was just as important to the *qabā'il* as it was to the *sādah* and the *mashāyikh*. Some of the *al-Dayyin* tribesmen call themselves Ḥimyarites; the Saybān and Banī Zannah, Ḥaḍramawt autochthons; the Karab, the Khawlanites; the al-Jābir, the Khazrajits. The al-Ṣay‘ar, Bin Maḥfūz, Bin Dagghār, Bā Kathīr of Tarīs, and some al-Dayyin believe themselves to be descendants of the Kindits, while the Banī Hilāl claim descent from the Najd ‘Adnānids, in contrast to the Nahd who believe themselves to be direct descendants of Qaḥṭān, the legendary progenitor of all Yemeni tribes. The custom of expressing political affiliation as kinship led to opportunistic changes in genealogy, requiring ever newer genealogical tables, which is why in a stratified society that genre was so topical and abundant (see al-‘Aṭṭās [n.d.], for example).

The *qabā'il* submitted to the decisions of their chiefs (in theory elected but in practice often hereditary), who appealed in difficult circumstances to the *sādah* or *mashāyikh*. Customary tribal law held for both the Bedouin and the sedentary *qabā'il*. The main tribal traditions were those of the interdependence and mutual responsibility of all adult members of the tribe. The strict requirement of blood revenge (against all adult males of the offender’s tribe) united the tribe members, opposing them to outsiders.

In conditions of continual internecine strife, certain tribal customs helped to maintain contact among the various parts of South Yemen. Noteworthy among those customs was the institution of “escorting and defending” (*al-sayyārah wa-l-khifārah*), whereby tribes accepted responsibility for the safety of caravans passing through their territory or near their borders and provided escorts. Attacking a caravan accompanied by a *qabīlī* meant war against his whole tribe. Inability to defend those being escorted was considered dishonour. The tribes had allies (*ḥalīf*) and concluded treaties of protection, whether orally (using the formula *fī wjihī* or “by my face”, that is, “by my honour”) or in writing (*‘ahd mazbūr*, *wathar – wuthūr*). A guest of a tribe under attack was expected to fight alongside his hosts, at least on the first day of battle (al-Ṣabbān 1978b: 28–9). The principle of “blood for blood” was mitigated by the custom of blood fines (*arsh; diyah*). Violation of the laws of custom meant “reproach and misfortune” (*lūm wa-shūm*) for the whole tribe and “blackened its face”. The violator of custom

could be fined, sentenced to death, or temporarily or permanently exiled. Exile was considered worse than death (al-Ṣabbān 1978b: 35).

In the 1930s, there were more than 1,000 independent tribal subdivisions in the Wādī Ḥaḍramawt (Ingrams 1966: 253). Of those, the principal ones were the al-Manāhīl (in the vast territory between Thamūd in the north and the coast in the east), the al-Ḥumūm (between Wādī Masīlah and al-Shiḥr), the Saybān (between Wādī Daw‘an and the coast near al-Mukallā), the al-Ṣay‘ar (in the deserts west and north of the Central Wadi), the Nahd (mostly in Wādī al-Kasr and the lower reaches of Wādī ‘Amd), the al-Shanāfir tribal alliance (the Āl Kathīr, al-‘Awāmir, and al-Jābirī in the territory between Shibām and Tarīm), the al-Dayyin (in the north and on the plateau between Wādī ‘Amd and Wādī Daw‘an) (al-Ṣabbān 1978b: 20–2, al-Shāṭirī 1972, 2: 89–110).

The years before the Second World War saw an acceleration of the process of transferring joint tribal property to the tribal leaders. Abroad, *qabā’il* emigrants competed successfully against the representatives of the top two strata. The gradual accumulation of social and economic change was ready to explode the rigid structure of South Arabian society.

Compared to the three privileged strata (the *sādah*, *mashāyikh*, and *qabā’il*), the other traditional social layers have been less well studied and less clearly defined by scholars (Piotrovsky 1985: 45–7). Leaving aside slaves and certain isolated groups, those layers have often been identified as *du‘afā’* (“weak ones”) or as *masākīn* (“poor ones”). They had no right to bear arms and were dependent on the upper strata. The material gathered in the early days of our field work about those layers and others has been published by Sergey Serebrov (1990).

Next in the hierarchy below the three privileged strata was the stratum of *qarawīyūn* or *qirwān*, which underwent significant deformation in the last quarter century, since it included the important merchants, master builders, jewellers, and carpenters who lived in the towns and other craft and commercial centres. Despite the folk etymology from *qaryah* or “village”, the stratum’s name derives from the verb *qarra*, “to settle down” (see Chelhod [et al.], 1984–1985, 3: 30) and corresponds to the Eastern Ḥaḍramawt expression *masākīn-ḥaḍar* (*ḥaḍar*, “settled”). The members of the stratum had comparatively high personal status, as did the *ḥirthān* group (sing. *ḥarrāth*, “ploughman”), who are often said to descend from the Ḥaḍramawt’s earliest residents, the *ahl al-bilād*. Some of the *ḥirthān* (in the Eastern Ḥaḍramawt’s *baqqārah*) probably do derive from the earliest population groups (Bujra 1971: 39–40), but the rest of those who settled in lands of the *qabā’il* were subject to other tribes. The *ḥirthān* had the right to own land, unlike the other *du‘afā’*. There are instances of *ḥirthān* attempting to become *qabā’il* or *mashāyikh* and defend their property by arms against arrogation, but those actions provoked condemnation by the *sādah* and military sanctions from the tribes (Bujra 1971: 107–8).

Next came the urban layer called *masākīn-du‘afā*’ by Walter Dostal in his characterization of Tarīm society (1984: 232–3, 1972a: 13–15) and *masākīn* or *ḥawīk* by the local people (the pl. of *ḥā’ik*, “weaver”) (al-Ṣabbān 1984a: 42). Belonging to it were weavers, indigo dyers, potters, carpenters, masons, butchers, leather tanners, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, and brokers (*dallālīn*) (see Chapter 3, Section 3), water carriers, and servants. No material prosperity or change of occupation could free them from their hereditary appellation, about which the Ḥaḍramī poet Muḥammad al-Saqqāf Bā Naqīl said, “And here is the *ḥā’ik* or *miskīn*, whose task it is to serve society” (as quoted by al-Ṣabbān 1984a: 43). The *masākīn-ḥaḍar* and *masākīn-du‘afā*’ were the principal kinds of town dweller and lived together in quarter or district communes in places like Tarīm and Say’ūn.

Still lower socially were farm and other unskilled labourers, who in the Ḥaḍramawt were relegated to the “*du‘afā*’ proper” and sometimes called *akhdām* or “servants”. They could, in regard to the rules of marital suitability, be placed lower than slaves (*‘abd* – *‘abīd*). The bottom rung of the social hierarchy was occupied by the *ṣubyān* (sing. *ṣabī*, “boy”), who served at weddings, funerals, and certain other family or regular celebrations. The lowest *ṣubyān* group in the Ḥaḍramawt was the *ḥajūr*, a word possibly derived from *Wādī Ḥajr*, where they were concentrated. The *du‘afā*’ (*akhdām*), some of the *ṣubyān*, and the *‘abīd* all had physical features suggesting African origin.

The first laws banning the slave trade only appeared in the Ḥaḍramawt in 1938 (they had been observed in a limited way in the Qu‘ayṭī Sultanate and in certain tribes). At the time, there were four to five thousand slaves in the Ḥaḍramawt. Many served sultans, bore arms, and occupied high positions. The laws of tribal custom, including blood revenge, did not apply to them, so they were often used by the sultans and lesser tribal chiefs for military ends. The slaves were mostly brought from Africa, although there were cases of *qabā’il* emigrants bringing wives from India and then selling them as slaves after divorcing them.

Harold Ingrams wrote that “Some of the Bedouin tribes such as the *Se‘ar* [*al-Ṣay‘ar*] were wont to kidnap other Arabs from long distances away and sell them in the Hadhramawt. Seiyid Bubakr (al-Kāf) had remonstrated with one of them. ‘Sell them’, he said, ‘of course I sell them. If I could hold of His Eminence the Mufti of Tarim, I’d sell him’” (Ingrams 1966: 293).

Such were the basic strata of traditional Ḥaḍramawt society. The only groups not included in the description are certain specialized hereditary ones of small size: *Bin ‘Alwān* or minstrels, *Bā ‘Aṭwah* or poets, and so on (Snouck Hurgronje 1906: 18). The stratification was reflected in occupations, residential distribution, clothing, speech, marriage rules, and roles in shared rituals. Although it has been officially abolished, many of expressions of it are still found today.

The prestige hierarchy is as follows, from the top down: 1) *sādah*, 2) *mashāyikh*, 3) *qabā’il*, 4) *qirwān*, *ḥirḥān*, *masākīn-ḥaḍar*, 5) *masākīn-du‘afā*’, 6) *du‘afā*’

(*akhdām*), 7) *ṣubḡān*, and 8) ‘*abīd*. This order will inevitably be disputed by the Ḥaḍramīs, however: the terms denoting groups 4, 5, and 6 are not precise, and the personal status of some members of group 8 (slaves of a sultan or of powerful tribes) was higher than that of members of groups 7, 6, and sometimes even of group 5.

Prestige is not the only way of ranking traditional social strata. The division according to marital suitability adduced by ‘Abd-al-Qādir al-Ṣabbān (1984a: 33–4) yields a different order: 1) *sādah*, 2) sultans (until 1940 the name of the al-Kathīrī clan ruling in Say’ūn and Tarīm; after 1940 and until the 1967 revolution, they were known as emirs), 3) *qabā’il*, 4) *mashāyikh*, 5) *qirwān* (*hirthān*, *masākīn-ḥaḍar*), 6) *masākīn* (*ḥawīk*), 7) ‘*abīd*, and 8) *du‘afā’*.

For Western Ḥaḍramawt, the following scheme would appear to be the optimal one:

1) *sādah*, 2) *mashāyikh*, 3) *qabā’il*, 4) *qirwān* and *hirthān* (including village merchants and educated people outside group 2, adepts in the Qur’ān, scribes, and teachers), 5) *masākīn*, 6) *du‘afā’* (tenants, labourers, unskilled labourers, etc.), 7) *ṣubḡān*, and 8) ‘*abīd*. Members of group 7 and sometimes group 6 were also called *akhdām*.

Ḥaḍramawt social hierarchy before the formation of the South Yemen in 1967 may be represented as follows.

Table No. 1: Characteristics of the Ḥaḍramī Social Strata

Stratum Name (pl./ sing.)	Genealogical Claim	Marital Suitability	Social Functions	Property Relation/ Occupation
1. <i>Sādah/ sayyid</i> : synonymous with <i>ḥabīb</i> ; female is addressed as <i>sharīfah</i>	Descendants of Prophet Muḥammad via Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā, who moved from Iraq in the 4th century H. / 10th century CE	Women may marry only within the stratum; men may marry women from all strata	Elders controlled the sacred places, settled conflicts between tribes, dealt with religious studies and law, refused to bear arms	Landowners who leased their land, received donations for the sacred places, performed representative functions, etc.

<p>2. <i>Mashāyikh/shaykh</i>: similar to the North Yemen <i>quḍāt</i> (judges); the substratum of <i>mashāyikh</i> by knowledge is open to families belonging to Nos. 3–5</p>	<p>a) Yemeni autochthons from the Ḥimyarites or Kindits b) From the Qurayshits of the tribe of Muḥammad or his companions</p>	<p>Men may marry inside their stratum or below; women may marry men from strata 1, 3.</p>	<p>The elders “observed the prayer”, were mediators between tribes, controlled certain sacred places</p>	<p>Landowners leased their land; received a tithe from all crops, donations from pilgrims, etc.</p>
<p>3. <i>Qabā’il/qabīlī</i>: tribesmen</p>	<p>From the tribal progeny-tor through the “southern” or “northern” Arabs, up to the division eponym</p>	<p>Men may marry into strata 2 and below; women, strata 3 and above</p>	<p>Controlled tribal territory and its expansion; unlike 4–8, could bear arms.</p>	<p>Tribute for the unhindered passage of caravans and for “protection”, cattle breeding, leasing land</p>
<p>4. <i>Qarar, qirwān, qarawīyūn/qaraw</i>: permanent residents</p>	<p>a) From the Yemeni autochthons, b) from Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā’s companions</p>	<p>Men may marry inside the stratum and below, occasionally into 3, 2; women may marry 5, 4, 3 and above</p>	<p>Scribes, teachers, merchants</p>	<p>Controlled commerce, landowners</p>
<p>5. <i>Masākīn/miskīn</i>, “poor ones”, akin to the North Yemen group, <i>dawshān</i></p>	<p>Recent, usually unknown after the third to fifth generation</p>	<p>Men may marry inside the stratum or 6 and below; women may marry inside the stratum and above, sometimes into 8</p>	<p>Were protected by tribes in exchange for services: crafts, hunting, trade, etc.</p>	<p>Jewellers, brokers (<i>dallālīn</i>), carpenters, blacksmiths weavers (<i>hawīk</i>), fishermen, ploughmen, barbers, dyers, tanners</p>

6. <i>Ḍu‘afā’/ ḍa‘īf</i> , “weak ones”, synonymous to <i>ja‘alab/ ju‘ayl</i> , or working for a salary	Often emigrants from the Ḥaḍramawt central valley	Men may marry inside the stratum and below; females, inside the stratum and above, sometimes into 8	Were protected by the sultans	Had no right to own land, tenants on it, construction labourers etc.
7. <i>Ṣubyān/ ṣabī</i> , “boys”: a) <i>ṣubyān</i> or <i>akhdām</i> (“servants”), b) <i>ṣubyān al-ḥajūr</i> . Similar to the North Yemen <i>mu-zayyanah</i>	a) Of local origin, b) of African origin; residing in the Ḥajr valley and in Mayfa‘ah	Men may marry inside the stratum or 6; women, inside the stratum and above	Were subordinated to tribes, communities, or prominent families; servants used for ceremonies, warriors in tribes bear arms	Bearers, water carriers, musicians, tenants
8. <i>‘Abīd/ ‘abd</i> : “slaves”			Some of the sultan’s slaves were warriors and promoted his authority; the same in tribes; status of some was higher than that of 5–7	Slaves owned by representatives of strata 1–3 were used in agriculture and households

The table shows that social stratification in the Ḥaḍramawt, as elsewhere in the South Arabian cultural region, was based on several principles: 1) genealogical claims, 2) marital suitability based on hypergamy, with men marrying women of equal or lower status, and women of the lower strata able to marry men of higher social standing; 3) interstratal social subdivisions, and 4) differentiated property relations. It would be useful to trace the interdependency of the strata (and not merely upward) in those cases where the members’ well-being is directly connected to their effectiveness in carrying out their interstratal duties.

The level of self-sufficiency was highest in tribal stratum 3 and in the groups with the status closest to it (2, 4). This was the result of special circumstances: uniform acceptance within the group of the basic traditions of nomadic and settled society and the stability and dynamism of tribal social institutions deriving from earlier forms of social stratification and capable of evolving into a (proto) governmental authority under favourable conditions. In the second case, the tribal chiefs were called sultans.

For every population group, the possibility existed of changing social status through migration. Except for the hermetic *sādah* and the hierarchy's bottom level, the borderlines between groups were never absolute.

When studying the political culture of South Arabia and East Africa on which the British colonial administration had imposed the principles of indirect government, one can never view that culture as static. The Western Ḥaḍramawt stratification described by our group had taken shape no more than one to two hundred years ago, but it still retained features of the older system. But the stratified Ḥaḍramawt society of the sixteenth to the early twentieth century was by no means stable either. It was constantly shattered by internecine warfare and tribal conflict and broken up into a plethora of temporary fiefs and ephemeral "petty states" (*daywalah*), leading to economic stagnation and decline.

The local stratal hierarchy had serious deficiencies itself: the social functions of the *sādah* and the *mashāyikh* duplicated each other to a large extent. There was no strict way of distinguishing among the *qirwān*, *masākīn*, and *du'afā'*. The status of the slaves belonging to sultans or tribal chiefs was often higher than that of the *ṣubyān*, *du'afā'*, *masākīn*, and occasionally even *qirwān*.

After putting an end to internecine strife, banning the slave trade, and restricting tribal rights by placing the tribes under the authority of the al-Qu'ayṭī sultans, the British administration encountered a social crisis produced by the struggle of the *mashāyikh*, *qabā'il*, and *qirwān* against the "spiritual authority" of the *sādah* (the so-called Irshādī-'Alawī conflict; see Chapter 2, Section 2). The local political culture allowed questioning of the claims of a family to high social status, but when the status was denied to an entire stratum (and one at the apex of the hierarchy), fundamental change seemed inevitable.

2. Tribal and Stratal Composition

Research in the valleys of Western Ḥaḍramawt (Wādī 'Amd, Wādī Daw'an, Wādī al-'Ayn and the southwest part of Wādī al-Kasr) by our team in 1983–9 clarified the picture of the population's tribal and stratal structure.

2.1. Wādī ‘Amd (the westernmost valley of the region under study, over seventy kilometres between its upper and lower reaches; see Map 2: I)

The town of Ḥurayḍah lies in the lower part of the valley. It has been the stronghold of the al-‘Aṭṭās *sādah* since the early seventeenth century. From there they extended their influence by establishing new settlements or *hawṭah* (for example, al-Mashhad in Wādī Daw‘an) or by taking over existing ones. In the central part of Wādī ‘Amd they gained control of Nafḥūn, instituting there the valley’s only annual *ziyārah* or pilgrimage, along with a fair (see Chapter 4, Section 2). Further south in the town of ‘Amd, they shared power with the al-Ḥāmid *sādah*, who were supported by the Mādī *qabā’il*. *Sādah* also live in ‘Anaq, Khanfar (the al-Ḥabshī), and certain other settlements. Northeast of Ḥurayḍah lies ‘Andal, the Bā Jābir *mashāyikh* centre mentioned in the verse of the pre-Islamic poet Imru’ al-Qays. This is the southern tribal boundary of the Nahd (its Bashr and Fāris subdivisions), whose members claim descent from the ancient Ḥimyarites Quḍā‘.

Extending south of the village of ‘Unaybāt virtually to ‘Amd is the area belonging to the al-Ja‘dah *qabā’il*, who claim descent from the Banī Murrah ‘Adnānīs. The al-Ja‘dah settled in the wādī belong to the Slaymah b. Ḥāmid, one of the three major branches of the tribe. According to our informant in Ḥibab, the *muqaddam* Nāṣir ‘Abdallāh b. Shamlān (about sixty-five), the name *Slaymah* or *Slīmī* denotes a descendant of Sulaymān’s daughter, clear evidence in favour of a matrilineal reckoning of kinship (al-Salmah b. Sulaymān in al-Bakrī 1956–7, 2: 94, and al-Salīmah in al-Shāṭirī 1972, 2: 162).

Among the many subdivisions of the al-Ja‘dah are the Ṣaqrah (in the villages of ‘Unaybāt, al-Mughṭabakah, Sharj Āl Ḥamūsī, and Muthawwar Āl Ḥamūd), the Āl ‘Alī b. ‘Āmir (in Maghdaf, etc.), the Āl Sulaymān b. ‘Alī (in ‘Alat), the Āl Kurayshān (in Dār Āl Kurayshān and al-Jarshah), the Āl Bin Nūbān (in al-Shurayj), the Āl Sirḥān (in Thawbah), the Āl Ḥumayd (in al-Raḥm, etc.), the Āl Hallābī (in Zāhir, Nafḥūn, Masīlat Āl Hallābī, etc.), the Āl Marādīḥ (in Jidfīrah Āl Marādīḥ and Suraywāh), the Āl Balakhshar (in al-Raḥab), the Āl ‘Āmir b. ‘Alī (in Mankhūb), the Bin Shaybah (in ‘Anaq, etc.), the Āl Lajzam (in al-Nu‘ayr), and the Bin Shamlān (in Shazīyah, Ḥibab, ‘Amd, etc.). The village of Jāhiz is the stronghold of the al-‘Amūdī *mashāyikh*.

South of ‘Amd lies the area belonging to the Mādī tribe, who claim descent from the famous Banī Hilāl ‘Adnānīs. The Bin Suwaydān, Bin Duff, and Bin ‘Aqīl live in Ṭamhān; the Āl Musallam, in Bā Mahsham; the Bin Yuslim, in al-Dabbah, etc. The al-Lumayq of the al-Mar‘ī live in Ḥibrah and al-Wajr. The Bin Suwaydān in Tammul and al-Wajr regard the al-‘Amūdī *mashāyikh* (in Shu‘bah) as their patrons. Like the Bin ‘Aqīl, they believe themselves to be descendants of the Ḥimyarites. According to legend, the eponym of the al-Ḥāmid *sādah* brought the

eponym of the Mādī to the upper reaches of Wādī ‘Amd from the town of al-Buwayriqāt (Wādī al-‘Ayn).

The extreme south of the wādī is occupied by the Bā Ṣulayb (in Ḥālat Bā Ṣulayb) of the Mashājirah tribal confederation, which controls a part of the plateau between the valleys of ‘Amd and Daw‘an.

Scattered throughout the wādī are isolated tribes claiming descent from warriors of the Kathīrī sultan Badr Bū Tuwayriq, who in the sixteenth century succeeded in uniting virtually the entire Ḥaḍramawt for a time. Among them are the Āl Kathīr (the southern outskirts of Ḥurayḍah) and the Yāfi‘ (Khurbat Bā Karmān, Qarn Bā Mas‘ūd, and al-Raḥab). The *ḥirthān* of the Bā Jubayr clan claim to be descendants of a Nahd *qabā’il* subdivision defeated by Sultan Badr, whose name is also linked to the ruins of various castles (for example, in ‘Anaq).

Living in Maṭāwil are Tamīm *qabā’il*, who resettled from Qasam in the easternmost part of the Ḥaḍramawt. Residing in Sharj are the Āl Bin Sālim, a subdivision of the Saybān tribal confederation. In Zāhir there are Kindits, the Bā Qays *mashāyikh*. In Khamīlat Bā Yazīd, the southernmost settlement in the valley, are the Bā Yazīd *mashāyikh*, who believe that their eponym Muḥammad Bā Yazīd al-Bustānī came from Turkey six centuries ago (another version says that they too are Kindits). In the villages of Makhīyah and Sharqī Bā Tays are the Bā Tays *qabā’il*, who migrated there from Wādī Jirdān on the plateau east of Wādī ‘Amd (their *mashāyikh* are the al-‘Amūdī). In the settlement of al-Raḥab, spiritual power over the *qabā’il* was held by the Bā Wazīr *mashāyikh*, despite the presence of the al-Ḥāmid *sādah*.

Besides the *mashāyikh* families already mentioned, strong spiritual influence was exercised in the valley by prominent landowners from ‘Amd: the Bā ‘Ashan *mashāyikh*, whose ancestor composed the prayer used to this day in the ritual for summoning rain. However, most *mashāyikh*, especially those belonging to the category of “*shaykhs* of knowledge”, had to confirm their status continually in order to “strengthen their lineage”.

That was the situation with the Bā Ḥulaywah *mashāyikh-ḥirthān* (“ploughing *shaykhs*”) of Nafḥūn, who were judges and managers of the irrigation network; the Bā Karmān of Khurbat Bā Karmān; the Bā Ḥusayn of al-Nu‘ayr, etc. The rank of *mashāyikh* was claimed by the Bā Kūban *ḥirthān* of Ribāṭ Bā Kūban, on whose ancestor it has been conferred by the *sayyid* ‘Alī b. Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭās, relating him to the hereditary Bā Sahl *mashāyikh* of Ḥurayḍah.

Notable among the *ḥirthān* families are the Bā Sulaymān (in Sharāqī Bā Sulaymān; see Chapter 3), the Bā Rumaym, the Bā Hādī (in ‘Andal), the Bā Sālim (in Jāḥiz), etc. There are also craft families: the Bā Brayjah potters, the Bā Ṭarfī carpenters, and the Bā Ḥashwān jewellers (see Chapter 3). And there are descendants of the ‘*abīd* and *ṣbyān*, the lowest social strata.

2.2. Wādī Daw‘an (between Wādī ‘Amd and Wādī al-‘Ayn and over eighty kilometres from its headwaters to its confluence with Wādī ‘Amd, see Map 3: I)

The al-‘Aṭṭās *sādah* penetrated Wādī Daw‘an from Ḥurayḍah no farther than the lower part of the valley, where in 1747-54 (al-‘Aṭṭās and ‘A. b. Ḥasan [n.d.]: 27, 185) they established the al-Mashhad *ḥawṭah* (see Chapters 4 and 6) with its annual *ziyārah* or pilgrimage accompanied by a fair. They settled there with the assistance of the Bin ‘Afīf *mashāyikh*, who claimed descent from the Kindah king Sharahbi‘il (al-‘Aṭṭās and ‘A. b. Aḥmad 1959: 131, note 1).

Many local *mashāyikh* and *qabā’il* claim Kindah origin. Among them are the Bin Maḥfūz *qabā’il*, who live in the lower part of the valley (Khuraykhar, Naḥūlah, and Ṣayla‘) and who are usually identified as part of the al-Ṣay‘ar tribe (al-Shāṭirī 1972, 2: 150). In Wādī Ghabr, the western tributary of the valley, the village of al-Quzah is controlled by the al-Baṭāṭī Yāfi‘. There are other tribal enclaves as well: the al-Yazīdī Yāfi‘ in al-Hajarayn and al-Khuraybah, the al-Dhaybanī Yāfi‘ in al-Khuraybah and al-Sharqī, the ‘Askarī Yāfi‘ in al-Jubayl, the Ḥumayqānī Yāfi‘ in Ḥusn Bā Sa‘d, the al-Karādīs of al-‘Awābithah in Ghār al-Sūdān, the Ḥimyarite Bal‘ubayd in Qaydūn, the Banī Hilāl Bā ‘Awm in Bā Shu‘ayb, etc.

However, most of the wādī, including its multiple lateral tributaries and the two upstream wādīs, the “right” (western) Wādī Layman and the “left” (eastern) Wādī Laysar, is the tribal territory of the Saybān and Nuwwah, although the large clan of al-‘Amūdī *mashāyikh* also lives there.

The Saybān tribal confederation consists of number independent subdivisions:

1. The al-Ḥālikah: the Buqshān in Ṣubaykh, Khaylah al-Qiblīyah, and Khaylah al-Sharqīyah, the Bā Ju‘ayfir in Ḥusn Labyaḍī and Ḥusn al-Ja‘āfirah, the Bā Bulghūm in Ḥayd al-Balāghim, the Bā Nakhr in Ṣif, the Bā Balghayth in Kawkah and al-Ruwayḍāt, the Balahmar in Ḥūfah, and the al-Khanābishah in al-Jaḥī and al-Jadīdah.
2. The al-Khāmi‘ah: the Bin Sulūm, the Bā Ṣurrah, and the Bā Qadīm, al-Qatham in Qārat Bin Sulūm, Maṣna‘at Bā Ṣurrah, al-Khalīf, al-Qiblī, al-Rashīd, al-Shiqq, al-Sharqī, and al-Shuwayṭah.
3. The Marāshidah in al-Shuwayṭah and al-Khalīf.
4. The Sumūḥ in Ruḥāb, al-Khuraybah, and al-Khalīf.
5. The Bā ‘Ārimah in Nisrah, Maṣna‘at Bā Balghūm, Labah, al-Khalīf, and Khibir.
6. The Albūḥasan in Ḥusn Albūḥasan and ‘Arḍ Bā Haytham.
7. The Ṣadaf in al-Ribāṭ.

The Saybān generally regard themselves as Ḥimyarites, the Ḥaḍramawt autochthons, Qaḥṭānids by birth (al-Ḥaddād 1940: 84–5).

The Nuwwaḥ *qabā'il* also claim to be Qaḥṭānids of Ḥimyarite origin (al-ʿAṭṭās and ʿA. b. Aḥmad 1959: 135). The valley is populated by their subdivisions: the Bā Muʿas in ʿArḍ Bā Suwayd, Qarn Mājid, and al-Jadīdah, the Bā Ḥakīm in Qarn Bā Ḥakīm, the Bā Ḥamīsh in Qurḥat Bā Ḥamīsh, the Bā Ṣamm in Ḥusn Bā Ṣamm, the Bā Ṣuwayr in al-Maḥṣan, the Bā Buṭayn in Zāhir, and the Bā Jundūh in al-Jubayl.

The al-ʿAmūdī *mashāyikh* exercised enormous influence over the valley's residents and partly over those of neighbouring Wādī ʿAmd. Erected in their stronghold of Qaydūn, with its caravan routes to the coast, the central part of the Main Wādī, and Wādī ʿAmd, was the *qubbah* of Shaykh Saʿīd al-ʿAmūdī, a place of annual pilgrimage with an important fair. The al-ʿAmūdī also controlled the nearby town of Ṣīf and the settlements of Fayl, Khudaysh, Bilād al-Māʿ, Qarn Mājid, Buḍah (the residence of the al-ʿAmūdī *manṣab*), Ḥusn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad, Lijrāt, and al-Khuraybah, which became the administrative centre of the valley when the Quʿayṭī Sultans took control of it. In Wādī Laysar, the ʿAmūdī controlled Ṣubaykh, Ḍarī, Ḥūfah, Ḥayd al-Jazīl, and Khalīf Bā ʿAbbūd. (On the struggle between the al-ʿAmūdī and the al-Quʿayṭī, see Chapter 2, Section 2.).

With the exception of the al-ʿAṭṭās *sādah*, whose place of pilgrimage in al-Mashhad ranks second in importance after Qaydūn, the influence of the stratum of the Prophet's descendants is much less here than that of the al-ʿAmūdī *mashāyikh*. Al-ʿAṭṭās *sādah* also lived among the populations of Qarn Bā Ḥakīm, al-Ribāt, Ṣubaykh, and Ḥūfah. During the last half century of the al-Quʿayṭī state, the al-Miḥḍār *sādah* (a subdivision of the Bin al-Shaykh Bū Bakr family) strengthened their authority. They come from al-Quwayrah, where the house of their *manṣab* is located, and from which the annual pilgrimage to the tomb of the Prophet Ḥādūn b. Hūd takes place. It was in honour of this prophet that Wādī Layman acquired its other name, Wādī al-Nabī, or the Prophet's Valley. Known here are the Barūm *sādah* of the families of the Khirid (in Khudaysh, Bilād al-Māʿ, Buḍah, and Ḥusn ʿAbd al-Ṣamad), the al-Bār (their *manṣab* resides in al-Qurayn, and some al-Bār are in al-Khuraybah and Qarn Bā Ḥakīm), the ʿAl Muqaybil (in al-Dūfah and al-Jahī), the Bā Ṣurrah (in Ṣubaykh and Ḥūfah) (not to be confused with the Saybān tribal subdivision), the Bin Shaykhān (in Ḍarī), the al-Jifrī (in al-Khuraybah, al-Ribāt, Riḥāb, and Ḥūfah), the al-Ṣāfī and al-ʿAydārūs (in al-Khuraybah and al-Ribāt), the al-Ḥabshī (in al-Ghabrah, Riḥāb, al-Rashīd, and Bā Shuʿayb), the Bā ʿAqīl (in Ḥusn Bā Saʿd), the al-Kāf (in al-Ḥajarayn), and the al-Saqqāf (in Ḥūfah).

Except for the al-ʿAmūdī *mashāyikh*, the local composition is as follows: the *mashāyikh* Bā Raʿs in al-Khuraybah, the Bā ʿAshan in al-Khuraybah and al-Ribāt, the Bā Junayd in ʿArḍ Bā Haytham and al-ʿArsamah, the Bā Nājī in al-Rashīd, the Bā ʿAshar in Buḍah and al-Qurayn, the Bā Jābir in al-Jidfirah and al-ʿĀdiyah,

the Āl Ishāq in Khuraykhar, and the Bā Wazīr in Khibir, Khaylah al-Qiblīyah, and al-‘Arsamah. The “*mashāyikh* of knowledge” include the Balkhayr in Ghayl Balkhayr, the Bā Zur‘ah in al-Rashīd, the Bā Yūnis from the *hirthān* stratum, and the Bā Biqī from the *du‘afā’* stratum.

The valley’s major population centres (one to three thousand people) are inhabited by hereditary ploughmen, craftsmen, and merchants (*hirthān*): the Balfakhr, the Bā Shantūf, the Bā Ju‘mān, and the Bā Khuraysh in al-Hajarayn and its environs, the Bā Zuhayr and Balaswad in Qaydūn, the Bā Sa‘d and Bā Ḥumayd in Bilād al-Mā’, the Bā Ḥasan in al-‘Arsamah, the Bā Wahhāb in Buḍah, the Bā Nubaylah in Lijrāt and al-Khuraybah, the Bā ‘Ubayd and Bā Khuraybī in al-Raḥbah, the al-Ḥuraydī in al-Quwayrah, the Bā Ṭāhir and Bā Ḥuwayrath in al-Khuraybah, the Zayd and Bā Yūnis in Tawlabah, the Bā Libayd and Bā Yusr in Ḍarī, and the Bā Sālim in Ḥūfah.

Prominent merchants are affiliated either with the *qirwān* stratum (the Bā Sumbul in al-Jubayl and Khusūfar and the Bā ‘Abbūd in al-Rashīd) or with that of the *mashāyikh* (the Bā Mashmūs in al-Qurayn and the Bā Zur‘ah in al-Rashīd).

The Bā Ḥashwān jewellers work in al-Hajarayn; the al-‘Ammārī, in al-‘Arsamah; and the Bā ‘Alī, in al-Khuraybah. The al-Kathīrī carpenters work in al-Hajarayn; the Bā Ṭarfī, in al-Jubayl, al-Qurayn, al-Quwayrah, and Ṣubaykh; and the Bā Ṭuwayḥanah, in al-Qurayn. The Bakhḍar potters are in Ṣīf and ‘Arḍ Bā Haytham, and the Bā Brayjah, in al-‘Arsamah and al-Jubayl. The Bakhḍar tanners are in al-Dūfah and the al-Ḥaddād blacksmiths, in al-‘Arsamah and Raḥbah.

Descendants of the *ṣubyān* are scattered throughout the valley (suffice it to mention only the large Albufalah clan from Lijrāt, Zāhir, and Ḥarf Marāh), and the same is true of descendants of the ‘*abīd* in al-Jidfirah, Bilād al-Mā’, Qurḥat Bā Ḥamīsh, ‘Arḍ Bā Suwayd, Ḥarf Marāh, etc.

2.3. Wādī al-‘Ayn (about forty kilometres from the Wādī al-Kasr tributary in the north to the southernmost inhabited locality, see Map 3: II)

The valley is the tribal territory of the al-‘Awābithah and their *mashāyikh* of the Bā Wazīr family. It is also populated by *hirthān* and other descendants of the lower strata.

According to our interviews with the al-‘Awābithah, it is a tribal alliance whose members lack a shared genealogy (Bin ‘Aqīl 1984: 35). Some of its affiliates identify themselves as al-‘Awāliq, Nahd, etc. The al-‘Awābithah of Āl Bā Zār live throughout the valley and comprise the Bin Kardūs in Ḥusn al-Karādīs, the Bin Fāji‘ in Mankhūb and Ḥusn Bin Fāji‘, the Āl Bikir in Ḥusn Āl Bikir, etc. The al-Ṣabārīyīn reside in Mankhūb, Harīh, al-Qāhirah, and al-Marāfi, and the Bā ‘Anas, in Tiyyīs and Ghūrib. The headquarters of the *muqaddam* of the Āl al-Shīr of the

al-Ṣabārīyīn was in the village of Juraybāt, while the *muqaddam* of all the al-‘Awābithah (elected from the Bin Fāji‘ clan of the Āl Bā Zār affiliate) resided first in the village of al-Hishim and then in Ḥusn al-Karādīs.

The Bā Wazīr *mashāyikh* had two *manṣabs* in the valley: one, in the downstream area, belonged to the clan founded by Aḥmad b. Abū Bakr in the village of al-Safīl; the other, the *manṣab* for the entire valley, belonged to the clan of Muḥammad b. ‘Alī in the village of al-Bāṭinah. The clan of the ‘Alī b. ‘Abbūd lives in Bā Maq‘ayn; the clan of Bin ‘Abd al-Laṭīf, in al-Marāfī; the clan of Bā ‘Abbūd, in Ṣayqat Bā ‘Abbūd, etc. Bā Wazīr *mashāyikh* also live in ‘Adhab, Marāwiḥ, Liqlāt, Tubuqqul, Shi‘rān, Ju‘aybūrah, al-Buwayriqāt, Juraybāt, Mankhūb, Munayzāḥ, al-Jubaybah, al-Hishim, Harīḥ, al-Qāhirah, and Sharj al-Sharīf.

There have been no other claimants to spiritual authority in the valley besides the Bā Wazīr *mashāyikh*. No more than two *sādah* families live there: the Bin Khabzān of the Bin al-Shaykh Bū Bakr clan in the village of Munayzāḥ, and the al-‘Aṭṭās in ‘Adhab, recently resettled from Ḥurayḍah.

Most of the land was concentrated in the hands of the Bā Wazīr *mashāyikh* and the strongest clans of al-‘Awābithah *qabā’il*. It was farmed by a few of the *mashāyikh* and *qabā’il* but mainly by ‘*abūd* and *ṣubḡān* tenants. Slaves engaged in date and grain cultivation were owned either by the Bā Wazīr (in Liqlāt, al-Buwayriqāt, Bā Maq‘ayn, al-Marāfī, and Ghurib) or by the al-‘Awābithah (in Ḥusn al-Karādīs, Juraybāt, and Mankhūb). It is noteworthy that Bin al-Nawb *ḥirḥān* from Munayzāḥ also owned slaves, in spite of their low status, a fact that may be explained by their descent from the al-Jawhīyīn¹ subdivision of the Saybān, subjugated by the al-‘Awābithah, who settled in the valley around five centuries ago (Bin ‘Aqīl 1984: 35, 37).

The lower reaches of the valley, ‘Adhab, Marāwiḥ, Liqlāt, and al-Safīl, are called Shurūj Wādī al-‘Ayn or “the Wādī al-‘Ayn fields” for their relatively large parcels of arable land. They are inhabited by *ḥirḥān* clans: the Bū ‘Askar in ‘Adhab, the Bā Thalāth in Liqlāt and al-Safīl, and the Bā Jawad in Tubuqqul. A *ḥirḥān* clan, the Bin Silm, is scattered south of al-Safīl as far as Juraybāt, Harīḥ, and Ḥuṣūn Āl Bikir. The other local clans of the same stratum are the Bā Mayda‘ of al-Bāṭinah, the Bā Sūdān of al-Hishim, the Bā ‘Aṭīyah farmers of al-Marāfī and Ghurib, and the Bā Khal‘ah of Saymāḥ and Ṣayqah Bā ‘Abbūd, etc. In al-Ghayḍah al-‘Ulyā and in al-Ghayḍah al-Suflā, or Upper and Lower Ghayḍah, farming is done by former tenants, *ṣubḡān* of African origin called *ḥajūr* or settlers from Wādī Ḥajr.

Among the hereditary craftsmen are former blacksmiths and armourers and now the Bā Qaṭīyān and Bā ‘Alī jewellers from Sharj al-Sharīf, the Āl Kathīr carpen-

¹ The first research on this section of the Saybān has been printed recently by its native scholar, see: Bin al-Ṣa‘b al-Jawhī 2006.

ters from al-Buwayriqāt, al-Hishim, and Harīh, and the Bā Qalāqīl weavers and al-Ḥaddād blacksmiths from al-Buwayriqāt, a craft centre and the largest settlement in the valley.

Such is the population distribution according to tribe and social stratum in the three most important valleys of Western Ḥaḍramawt. We shall add to it a characterization of the western part of Wādī al-Kasr, the part of the studied region where the three valleys meet.

2.4. Wādī al-Kasr (south of the villages of al-Minba‘th and al-‘Ajlāniyah, see Map 2: II)

The most influential group in the area is the Nahd tribe, Qaḥṭānī by genealogy. Its subdivisions reside in the following population centres: the Āl Munīf, in Lakh-mās and al-Qufl; the Āl Bashr, in al-Fadaḥ; the Āl Thābit, in Baḥrān, Sharyūf, and al-Qārah; the Āl Buqrī apart from the Āl Thābit, in Diyār Āl Buqrī; and the Āl ‘Ajjāj, in Qa‘ūdah, the headquarters of their *ḥakam*, a tribal judge and arbiter to whom not only the Nahd turned but also the Wādī ‘Amd and other *qabā’il*.

The Āl Rabbā‘ *qabā’il*, who claim Kindah origin, are divided into the Bā Ṣay‘arī in Kīr‘ān and the Bin Fāris in Sadbah. The Āl Makhāshin tribe belongs to the al-Ḥumūm confederation and comprises the Āl Muḥammad b. ‘Alī in al-Qārah, the Āl ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd in al-Zāhir, the Bā Ḥanjarah and the Āl Sa‘īd in ‘Arḍ Āl Makhāshin, and the Āl ‘Amrū Bin Muḥammad in Bā Suwayd.

The Bā Wazīr *mashāyikh* reside in the village of Ḥawrah and also in al-Naq‘ah, while the Āl Ishāq live in Sadbah, and the Bā Junayd, in ‘Arḍ Āl Makhāshin. Ḥawrah is also the home of the Bā Salāmah *mashāyikh* (who are sometimes referred to as “nearly *mashāyikh*”). The al-‘Aṭṭās *sādah* live in Kīr‘ān and the now abandoned village of al-Rawḍah.

Of the *qirwān* and other descendants of low-ranking strata, we shall mention the large Bā Ya‘shūt clan from Kīr‘ān, Ḥawrah, and ‘Arḍ Āl Makhāshin, the Man-qūsh from al-Naq‘ah, the Bā Subūl from Ḥawṭat Āl Khuwaymil, the Bā Surūr from Qa‘ūdah, etc. Among the craftsmen are the Bā Ḥashwān jewellers, the Bin Duhrī carpenters and al-Ḥaddād blacksmiths (all in Ḥawrah), the Āl Kathīr carpenters in ‘Arḍ Bū Zayd, and the Bā Zarqān ex-weavers in Sadbah.

2.5. How large is the Western Ḥaḍramawt population and what can be said of its dynamics over the last century?

In 1886, L. van den Berg estimated that the population of the three valleys was 25,000 (91). In 1931, D. van der Meulen gave a figure of 29,500 for the same area (65, 82, 90). According to Harold Ingrams, in 1937 the valleys of ‘Amd, Daw‘an,

al-‘Ayn, and the western part of Wādī al-Kasr were inhabited by about 63,000 people (1937a: 11–12). At the same time, the total population of the Ḥaḍramawt grew from 150,000 in the 1880s to 260,000 in the 1930s (Ingrams 1937a: 11).

According to data provided by the Daw‘an and al-Qaṭn statistical departments and some published sources (al-Jihāz al-Markazī 1987: 16, Bin Tha‘lab 1987: 19, 20, 25), Wādī ‘Amd had about 34,000 inhabitants in the 1980s; Wādī Daw‘an, about 38,000; Wādī al-‘Ayn, over 15,000; and western Wādī al-Kasr, about 14,000. That yields a total of over 101,000, with a few thousand more residents on the adjacent plateaus. The total population of the Ḥaḍramawt in 1988 was estimated by official census at 626,300 (Taqrīr 1987–1988: 2).

It is obvious that during the first fifty years of the period, the population of Western Ḥaḍramawt, on the one hand, and population of the entire area, on the other, has increased proportionately, about two-fold in both cases. Over the next fifty years the rate was a bit lower in Western Ḥaḍramawt but sharply higher for the entire province. That was primarily due to the growth outside Western Ḥaḍramawt of towns like al-Mukallā, Say‘ūn, al-Qaṭn, etc., and possibly also to more active emigration from the area under study. It is remarkable that the major population centres of the west, Ḥurayḍah with 2,000 inhabitants, and al-Hajarayn with 2,500, have not changed in size in the last fifty years.

It is more difficult to determine the proportional distribution of the traditional social strata. A. Bujra did so for Ḥurayḍah in the 1960s: *sādah*, 30%; *mashāyikh*, 4%; *qabā’il*, 28%; *ḥirṭhān*, 10%; *akhdām* (*ḍu‘afā’*), 21%; and *ṣubyān*, 7% (Bujra 1971: 12–13). According to my own observations in the 1980s, the *sādah* share had increased a few percent, but Bujra’s figures remained largely unchanged. However, the ratio was valid only for the important *sādah ḥawṭahs* surrounded by tribal territory. The social composition of the particular population centres varied according to settlement type (see Chapter 4, Section 1). In Wādī ‘Amd, *qabā’il* predominated, on the one hand, and *ḥirṭhān*, *masākīn*, and *ḍu‘afā’*, on the other, the *sādah* and *mashāyikh* constituting an impressive group in only a few settlements. In Wādī Daw‘an, the majority were *ḥirṭhān*, *masākīn*, *ḍu‘afā’*, and *qabā’il* of various tribes, along with some Āl ‘Amūdī *mashāyikh*. In Wādī al-‘Ayn, the population was divided into three equal parts: the al-‘Awābithah *qabā’il*, the Bā Wazīr *mashāyikh*, and various *masākīn*, *ḍu‘afā’*, *ṣubyān*, and former *‘abīd*.

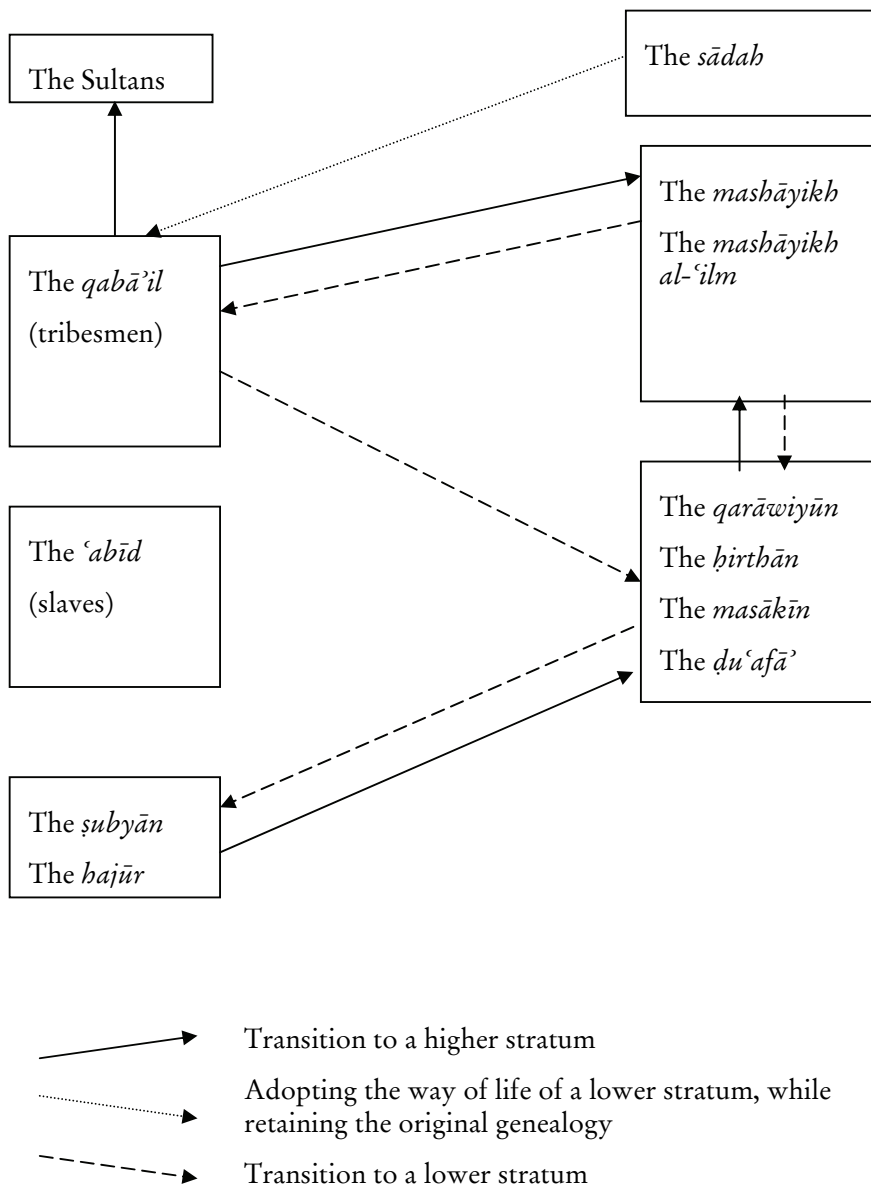
The population’s mobility was relatively high. According to our interviews, the present population structure was formed between four to eleven generations ago. By the period of our research, one to three males had worked abroad in almost every family. Moreover, in some areas, especially in Wādī Daw‘an, the ratio was much higher. By comparison with 2,600 inhabitants of Buḍah, resided there at the moment of our research, about 5,000 people, mostly males, were reported to had worked abroad; and in al-Sharqī practically all the adult men had earned money

outside the country. The success of those who left strengthened the economic situation of families and clans, while micromigration (movement to a new permanent residence within the Ḥaḍramawt) changed social status. Thus, moving to another valley or plateau could raise the status of a strong clan of *mashāyikh al-‘ilm*, *qabā’il*, *qirwān*, *masākīn*, *ḥirḥān*, or *du‘afā’*, whereas a weak clan that had lost its position in the former structure and fit poorly into the new one, lost status. *Mashāyikh* or *qabā’il* could turn into *ḥirḥān*, *masākīn*, or even *du‘afā’*. For example, the Bā Ra’s became *mashāyikh* after withdrawing from the al-‘Awāliq tribal confederation, as did the Bā Makhramah after their own withdrawal from the Saybān confederation. In contrast, the Bin Maḥfūz of noble Kindah tribal origin who moved from Wādī Daw‘an to the village of Muṣaynah Bā Maḥfūz in Wādī ‘Amd “sank” to *ḥirḥān* status after acknowledging their dependence on the local Bin Mādī *qabā’il*.

For the *‘abīd*, transfer to another social stratum was excluded, except for a few cases where slaves were emancipated. Their social standing, however, depended on whom they belonged to, whether *qirwān*, *qabā’il*, *mashāyikh*, *sādah*, and sultans. The slaves of sultans could bear arms and serve in the army and were sometimes made garrison commanders or appointed governors. At one time, the al-Qu‘ayṭī sultanate was represented in al-Ḥajarayn by a slave.

Except for the isolated *sādah* and *‘abīd*, there were no insuperable boundaries among traditional social strata in the Ḥaḍramawt, as illustrated in the following diagram.

Diagram 1. Social Mobility in a Stratified Society: The Ḥaḍramawt Case



3. Traditional Social Institutions

Which social institutions in the Ḥaḍramawt may be regarded as traditional? A simple answer to that complex question is that the traditional social institutions of the Main Wadi are those that existed before the 1930s and the direct interference of Great Britain. In the 1980s, that earlier time was still remembered by the older generation, so that it remained within the chronological framework of contemporary ethnography.

In South Arabia, as in the North African-Middle Eastern cultural region as a whole, the principles of traditional social organization are usually expressed in tribal terminology and have a tribal cast. In contrast to the elaborate terminological system developed by medieval Arab scholars, however, Ḥaḍramī tribesmen are content to identify their own tribal structures in a small number of terms. Most of the classical notions are either unknown to them or are used in a broader sense. Thus, the word *qabīlah* may, depending on the context, denote a tribal confederation, a large tribe, a tribal subdivision, a group of clans, or a clan. Furthermore, the word is not limited to the *qabā'il*: a member of the *sādah* or *ʿabīd* may refer to his own group as “our *qabīlah*”.

The terms used in the Ḥaḍramawt with regard to tribal structures are, in descending order:

1. *Ṭā'ilah* or *ziyy*: the largest tribal unit, either an alliance of several tribes (if the affiliates retain their own genealogies, as in the case of the Shanāfirah *ṭā'ilah*) or a tribal confederation (if the genealogies have been combined, as with the Saybān *ziyy*). (For the concept of “tribal entity” or *soplemennost'*, see Arutiunov and Cheboksarov 1972: 8–30, and Pershitz 1982: 167.) In Western Ḥaḍramawt, *Ṭā'ilah* and *ziyy* are regarded as eastern words and are often replaced by *ḥilf* (*ahlāf*) or “tribal alliance”.
2. *Qabīlah*: any tribal confederation or tribal component thereof.
3. *Āl*, *faṣl*, *bin*: a tribal subdivision, a family group, a clan.
4. *Bayt*, *dār*: a clan. To the same semantic sequence may be added *maktab*, a clan (usually a Yāfi' subdivision) settled in an area to control it (a garrison).
5. *ʿĀ'ilah*: a family, whether undivided or divided (see Chapter 5, Section 1).

The terms *fakhīdhah*, *ashīrah*, and *baṭn* may refer to levels 3–5.

The tribal confederation stands as a traditional social “super-institution”, a relatively stable consolidation of social groups based on declared kinship relations and economic and territorial ties. As a rule, such confederations consist of patrilineal, mostly endogamous family groups. If the membership of subdivision exceeds a certain maximum, thereby upsetting economic equilibrium, any formal pretext will suffice for a schism that usually ends in the resettlement of the smaller

faction outside its old previous area. Such conflicts might occur on any level, even within a single clan, as happened at the end of the nineteenth century to the Nahd Āl Thābit in the village of Sharyūf in Wādī al-Kasr, when a new clan, the Āl Buqrī, split off from them and created a fortified settlement in nearby Diyār al-Buqrī. The enmity between them lasted until the 1930s.

The transition from a nomadic to a sedentary way of life usually brought with it an increase in the size of the tribal group but a weakening of its unity. Most internal conflicts and clashes in Western Ḥaḍramawt occurred within the sedentary or semi-sedentary tribes of the Nahd, Saybān, and al-‘Awāliq, while the al-Ṣay‘ar, with their predominantly nomadic way of life, maintained inner cohesion by moving conflict beyond confederation boundaries.

Intratribal splits followed the practice of adopting members of other tribes and incorporating groups outside the tribe while allowing them to retain their own structures, which probably accounts for the dual social organization we find in Western Ḥaḍramawt and elsewhere in the North African and Near Eastern region. A classic Arab example of such duality is the ancient (at least since the seventh century) rivalry between the “descendants of ‘Adnān” (divided in their turn into competing tribal groups of Rabī‘ah and Muḍar) and the “descendants of Qaḥṭān” (divided into the Ḥimyar and the Kahlān). In Western Ḥaḍramawt the duality is evident in the social organization of most of the traditional strata: two tribal judges for the Nahd, two *manṣabs* for the al-‘Aṭṭās *sādah* in Ḥurayḍah, two *manṣabs* for the Bā Wazīr *mashāyikh* in Wādī al-‘Ayn, and so on.

Authority within a tribal confederation and its individual tribes was exercised through a set of social roles (see Chapter 1, Section 1; Chapter 2, Sections 1–3; and Chapter 5, Sections 1–2). The tribal chief or *muqaddam* shared authority with the tribal judge or *hakam*, who was an expert in the laws of custom (*‘urf*, *ṭāghūt*). The *hakam* dealt with issues of tribal honour (*sharaf*) and could subject people to various penalties, including exile. The power of certain *hakams* among the Nahd, for example, transcended the limits of their own tribes. Over some *muqaddams* stood an *al-muqaddam al-kabīr* or *naqīb*. The tribal power structure had the potential to grow into a state government, and when a tribe gained control of fixed territory with a sedentary population, the most senior chief took the title of sultan.

The social organization of the *sādah* and the *mashāyikh* and their roles as arbitrators has been discussed above. It should be added that in order to regulate legal and property relations, the *sādah* founded the *niqābah*, known in the Ḥaḍramawt from the fifteenth century (al-Shāṭirī 1972, 2: 76–81). The institution determined fees and labour standards for craftsmen, construction workers, and tenants. In the 1940s, using the *niqābah* model and retaining its name, the *du‘afā’* and *hirthān* created their own trade unions (al-Ṣabbān 1982a, 1982b). The *qirwān* and *hirthān* were traditionally headed by leaders called *‘aqīl* (“reasonable one”) or *abū*

(“father”), who were often the heads of the quarters (*ḥāfah*, *jūr*) where their stratum predominated. Public works connected with maintenance of the main nodes of the flood irrigation network were overseen by a *khayyil* (see Chapter 5, Section 2). Cases relating to disputes over land were and sometimes still are resolved by experts in the laws of custom. As elsewhere in the Islamic world, a *sharī‘ah* judge or *qāḍī* dealt with issues of inheritance or *waqf*, the distribution of the *ṣadaqah* (the assistance fund for the indigent, travellers, and shared rituals), and sanctioned marriages and divorces. In the al-Qu‘ayṭī and al-Kathīrī states, the *qāḍī* was assigned all cases concerning “life and death” and the *qāḍī*’s assistant kept a register (sing. *maktab al-aḥwāl*) of all births and deaths.

Despite their tribal cast, traditional social institutions in the Ḥaḍramawt were based both on the pre-Islamic traditions of the sedentary population and on Islamic practice. A number of stratal and role attributes served as symbols of power: banners, tambourines, the *qubbahs* of the *sādah* and *mashāyikh*, and other clan relics, such as the al-‘Amūdī’s cane, the Bā Wazīr’s dagger, the inherited *jambīyahs* or curved daggers of the tribal chieftains, or the inherited swords of the sultans.

4. Conclusions

Social stratification, that is, the presence of a fairly strict hierarchy of social layers, is a characteristic feature of all South Arab communities. The hierarchy rests on the principle of marital suitability with a tendency towards hypergamy, a system of declared genealogies, and a stratal distribution of social roles. The analogy with the Indian caste system is obvious but misleading, since South Arab strata have no religious sanction and their members enjoy more social mobility than their Indian counterparts.

The South Arab stratal system has some local peculiarities in the Ḥaḍramawt, where a few of its components are missing, such as the North Yemen stratum of *quḍāt* (“judges”) or a stratum of *akhdām*, since the latter corresponds in local practice to the *ṣubyān* and lowly *du‘afā’*. There is also in the Ḥaḍramawt a distinctive group of *ṣubyān* of African origin, the *ḥajūr*, which is lacking elsewhere. Moreover, a number of status symbols are unrecognized. Thus, in North Yemen, if a *jambīyah* is worn on the right side of the belt, it denotes a high stratal affiliation; if in the centre, a middle one; and if on the left, a low one. In the Ḥaḍramawt, however, such daggers are usually no more than attributes of the *qabā’il*.

As our field studies showed, Western Ḥaḍramawt tribal and stratal structure is not uniform. Each of the three valleys studied, as well as the territory where they converge, exhibited different sets of tribes and strata. The most homogenous site was the sparsely populated Wādī al-‘Ayn, the least, Wādī Daw‘an. Among the Qaḥṭānī tribes, including the most prestigious of them, the Kindah, there were

distinctive ‘Adnānī areas. A most important part of the tribal and stratal structure of Western Ḥaḍramawt were the *qabā’il* and representatives of the former lower strata. According to our informants, the picture we observed in the 1980s had taken form a century or two before. As a rule, micro-migrations changed the migrants’ social standing and sometimes their stratum affiliation, as well.

The demographic situation in Western Ḥaḍramawt has been influenced by the departure of people to earn money, a process that has been particularly intense in Wādī Daw‘an, which has experienced a constant drain on its population. Urbanization, although active on the coast and in the central regions, has had little effect in the west.

The social organization of traditional Ḥaḍramawt society was tribal. The highest, if weakest level of unity was represented by the tribal confederations, whose potestal governance could take a proto-state form. The principles of segmentation and incorporation that characterize tribal ethno-social entities produced a tendency to conflict that increased as the tribes became more sedentary. The traditional social institutions of the sedentary population were also important, however. They were manifest in quarter organization, in crafts, in trade, etc., some of them passed down from the ancient South Arab culture. *Shari‘ah* norms were affirmed and maintained by Islamic institutions. The local mechanism of social regulation was thus constructed on the basis of three elements: tribal structure, sedentary mode of life, and the traditions of Islam. Weak as that mechanism may have been, it succeeded in a land without strong centralized authority. When that authority was finally introduced, the traditional institutions were not eliminated, at least from the memory of the people.

Chapter 2: From the History of the Ḥaḍramawt

1. The Cultural Past

How is the past imagined in an ethnic culture? What historical periods are singled out? What heroes are remembered? Western Ḥaḍramīs link their most ancient past to the ‘Ād, a people often mentioned in the Qur’ān, who were destroyed by God for their lack of faith in Hūd’s prophesies (Qur’ān 11: 50–60; 46: 21–6, etc.).

Also viewed as age-old residents of the Ḥaḍramawt are the people of Thamūd, who rejected the prophet Ṣāliḥ (Qur’ān 7: 73–84; 11: 61–68), and those of al-Rass, who failed to heed the prophets too (Qur’ān 50: 12). Memory of the Thamūdians is preserved today in the name of the Ḥaḍramawt administrative district of Thamūd, and Landberg reported a local story that al-Rass was the Ḥaḍramawt town to which the surviving Thamūdians fled (Landberg 1901: 583, note 1). All those who rejected God’s truth faced inevitable punishment. The Thamūdians, “who cut out rocks in the valley” (Qur’ān 89: 9), that is, who built irrigation networks, were destroyed by a *ṭāghīyah* or “terrible storm of thunder and lightning” (Qur’ān 69: 5), while the people of ‘Ād “were destroyed by a furious wind, exceedingly violent; ... as if they had been roots of hollow palm-trees tumbled down” (Qur’ān 69: 6–7) – both natural calamities of a type characteristic of the Main Wādī. In Eastern Ḥaḍramawt lies the cenotaph (*mashhad*) of the Prophet Hūd; in Wādī Sarr (northwest of Say’ūn), that of the Prophet Ṣāliḥ; and in Western Ḥaḍramawt (Wādī Layman), that of Hādūn, a son of Hūd. A common tendency has been to attribute all ancient ruins (walls, temples, wells, tombs) to the people of ‘Ād and no one else. As a rule, the toponym al-‘Ādiyāh and its derivations mean the proximity of an ancient habitation of some kind.

In the Wādī Daw‘an villages of Khuraykhar and al-Quzah, as well as in the Wādī ‘Amd settlements of Ḥurayḍah, al-Nu‘ayr and ‘Amd, I was told of ‘Ād treasures, gold-filled chests concealed in the ruins – stories very like those transcribed by Landberg a century earlier (1901: 287, 290).

A vivid description of the legendary inhabitants of Raybūn, a site located downstream of Wādī Daw‘an and excavated since 1983 by Russian archaeologists was read to me by the *sayyid* ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-‘Aṭṭās, *manṣab* of Ḥurayḍah, who passed away in 1988 at more than eighty years of age. In his composition named “A Breath of Crushed Musk from Reports on Wādī Ḥaḍramawt” he says, “Among the feats of Ḥaḍramīs is Raybūn. It is a remnant of towers built of stone. The King of it, that is of this land, is said to have taken the virginity of a thousand virgins and to have conquered a thousand cities, although only God knows how many. It [Raybūn] was to the west of al-Mashhad. It is said of its women that

they took their sheep to graze at the top of the Wādī Ḥajr and returned the same day, and this evidence is based on the words of Abū Ḥamzah al-Yamānī. He also said that every man of theirs was seventy cubits tall, though Ibn ‘Abbās said eighty cubits, and al-Kalbī said that their height was a hundred cubits, the shortest being sixty. Wahb ibn Munabbih said that the head of each man was like a giant *qubbah*....” (al-‘Aṭṭās n.d.: f. 13).

Traditional ideas about the people of ‘Ād were also reinforced in local Qur’ānic schools. Certain sūrahs, especially “Hūd” (11), “Prophets” (21), and “al-Aḥqāf” (46) were and still are perceived as typically Ḥaḍramī ones, and al-Aḥqāf is a synonym for Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, the Land of Cracked Soil, or Emptiness, or Caves, according to Landberg (1901: 150–60). An old legend reported by the medieval traveller Ibn al-Mujāwir (1954, 2: 86, al-Ya‘qūbī 1883, 2: 281) says that a few of the people of ‘Ād escaped destruction and settled in the Dhofar mountains and on the islands of Socotra and al-Masīrah. They were distinguished by their height and peculiar language and were the ancestors of the Mahrīs (Landberg 1901: 160).

For the inhabitants of Western Ḥaḍramawt, the next cultural epoch after the ‘Ād was the appearance of the Kindah in the lower reaches of the Wādī Daw and of the Quḍā‘ in Wādī ‘Amd, once known as Wādī Quḍā‘ah. The locals are quite familiar with the Arabian genealogical tale stressing the Ḥaḍramawt derivation of the Kindah, who migrated to Central Arabia and the land of the Ma‘add tribe, the place where Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār later founded the Kindah Kingdom (al-Ya‘qūbī, 1883, 2: 246).

Al-Hamdānī wrote in the tenth century that the western part of the Ḥaḍramawt belonged to the Kindah (1953: 85), and some local scholars believed the western settlement al-Hajarayn to have been the important Kindah centre, Dammūn, which after advent of Islam became the residence of the Umayyad governor, who was later overthrown by the Ibāḍīts (al-Shāṭirī 1972, 1: 129). Historians now locate Dammūn in the east, near Tarīm (al-Ṣabbān 1983c: 31, Piotrovsky 1985: 62), although, according to al-Hamdānī, Tarīmian Dammūn belonged to the Ḥimyarites (1931: 110), and the descendants of Ḥujr Ākil al-Murār lived among the al-Ṣadaf tribe in Dammūn al-Hajarān (or al-Hajarayn) (1884–91, 1: 87).

There is in Wādī Daw‘an yet another version that places Dammūn at al-Quzah, a village in Wādī al-Ghabr, the western tributary of Daw‘an. The village is mentioned in a pre-Islamic Raybūn inscription as Qdthn (Rb XIV/89, No. 221). ‘Ayn Sharaḥbi’il, a permanent source of fresh water, had made the area attractive for settlement since the Palaeolithic era (Natā’ij 1985: 16). Human activities there during early historical times are attested by a stone found by our group on a ledge on the eastern side of the al-Quzah ravine (or the ‘Amīrah ravine, as it used to be called), bearing poorly preserved fragments of pre-Islamic inscriptions. A cave in the vicinity of the stone was probably used for burials. Upstream in Wādī al-Ghabr (*ghabr* means “spring”) in Sayqat Wārim there are also graffiti on the

rocks: drawings of hands, animals, and letters. These findings, as well as the fact that of the two main irrigation channels of al-Hajarayn, the one closer to al-Quzah still bears the name Dammūn, lead us to conclude that the Wādī al-Ghabr settlement played a definite role in the history of the area and its development by the Kindah.

The version equating Dammūn with al-Quzah was supported by ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Saqqāf, the author of *A History of Hadrami Poets*.¹ He wrote (1934–5, 1: 4–6) that the fifth to sixth century poet Ma’dikarib b. al-Hārith, a descendant of the Kindah kings, was born in al-Quzah, then called Dammūn, where he composed an elegy on the death of his brother Sharaḥbi’il. According to ‘Abdallāh al-Saqqāf (1934–5, 1: 11), Emir Imru’ al-Qays al-Khandaj (born around 532), made mention in popular verses ascribed to him of Dammūn, or al-Quzah, where he lived for half a century. The Bā Qays, Bin ‘Afif, and other Western Ḥaḍramawt *mashāyikh* families derive their pedigree from the royal clan of Kindah (Negrya 1981: 40–5). In the course of the retribalization begun in the early 1990s, some of the lower strata of the Ḥaḍramawt also began to claim descent from the Kindah.

The acceptance of Islam by the Ḥaḍramīs and the short period of the *riddah*, or apostasy, after the Prophet’s death, are not connected by the local residents with any Western Ḥaḍramawt sites, unlike Tarīm and other places east of the Central Wadi. With the advent of Islam, the cultural memory began to split along stratal lines. The *qabā’il* may have a memory of their part in Arab conquests or other campaigns and skirmishes. For the *sādah* and some *mashāyikh* with north Arabian genealogy, their family history begins with Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā al-Muhājir, whose home in al-Hajarayn is still shown to visitors. Until his settlement there, al-Muhājir is believed to have lived in the Daw‘an village of al-Jubayl.

Weakened after the defeat of the *riddah*, the Kindah ceded influence in Western and Central Ḥaḍramawt to the Tujīb, the largest affiliate of the al-Sakūn tribal alliance. In the eighth century, however, the Kindah sought revenge and led a rebellion against the Umayyad governor, along with the al-Sakūn, al-Hamdānī, and Nahd. The uprising was inspired by the slogans of the Ibādīyah, a faction within the Khārijīyah socio-religious movement.²

Fighting the Umayyad and afterward the ‘Abbāsīd forces, the Ibādīs managed to hold on to the Ḥaḍramawt. In Wādī Daw‘an they were supported by the Kindah and al-Ṣadaf; in Wādī al-Kasr, by the Tujīb; and in Wādī ‘Amd, by the al-Ṣadaf. Al-Hamdānī regarded the most important Daw‘an city (al-Khuraybah?) as the

¹ The third edition of this book (all five volumes under one binding) was published in al-Ṭā’if 1418 H.

² The summary of data concerning the Ibādīyah in Ḥaḍramawt was published recently (2006) by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ja‘far Bin ‘Aqīl in his book *Ṣafahāt min ta’rikh ibādīyah*.

residence of the Ibādī imam in the Ḥaḍramawt (1884, 1: 87). The Ibādīs effectively fought against the Ismā‘īlīs of ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī, who invaded from North Yemen in the eleventh century. The Ibādī sultans of Shibām, belonging to the Nu‘mān subdivision of the Bin Daḡghār tribe, opposed the Āl Rāshid Sunni rulers of Tarīm. Early in the twelfth century, the Āl Rashīdī conquered Shibām and put an end to the Nu‘mān dynasty. Since then there has been no evidence of Ḥaḍramawt Ibādīs (Bā Wazīr, S. ‘A. 1983: 77–8).

It was believed (by our informant ‘Umar ‘Alī Bā Khuraysh, about seventy years old, from al-Hajarayn) that the decisive blow to the Ibādīs in Western Ḥaḍramawt was dealt by the *sayyid* Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā al-Muhājir during a battle near Baḥrān in Wādī al-Kasr. There is a saying supposedly addressed to the fleeing Ibādīs: “Where did you intend to go, you exiled from Baḥrān?” (for Arabic text, see Chapter 6, Section 3: 15.3). Another version says that al-Muhājir defeated his enemies with exhortations rather than weapons—“by tongue and not by fang” (Bā Wazīr, S. ‘A. 1983: 56–7)—and that the events near Baḥrān occurred at a different time.

With the appearance in the Ḥaḍramawt of the first appanage rulers of the Nu‘mān and Āl Rāshid dynasties, tribal influence increased, both that of already well-known tribes like the Nahd and Madhḥij, as well as of newcomers like the Āl Yamānī Banī Ḍannah of Kinānī origin, and the al-Kathīrī Banī Ḥarām of Ḥimyarī Hamdānī origin (Ibn Hāshim 1948: 1). In the early fifteenth century, the first al-Kathīrī sultan, ‘Alī b. ‘Umar b. Ja‘far b. Badr al-Kathīrī, made an attempt to unify the Ḥaḍramawt, something that was achieved only by his great-great-grandson Badr b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ja‘far b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī, celebrated as Badr Bū Ṭuwayriq (1496 to the early 1570s). His name has lived on in Ḥaḍramī memory, while the other invaders trying to seize control of the country, such as the Zaydī in the ninth to eleventh and seventeenth centuries, the al-Ṣulayḥī in the eleventh to twelfth centuries, the Ayyūbī in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, the Rasūlī in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, and the Ṭāhirī in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, have left virtually no trace in the local oral tradition.

The definition of “oral” in this case is highly conventional, since the tradition has also been nourished by written records provided by genealogies, family and local chronicles, treatises, narrative poems, and verse, as well as by recent publication of the works of local historians (see the Introduction and Chapter 1, Section 1). We often encountered in our research the phenomenon of “secondary folklorization”, in which an oral tradition that had once enriched the written one re-establishes itself on the basis of the written sources (see Chapter 6, Section 1).

The characteristic Ḥaḍramī personification of the cultural past finds its most conspicuous form in the image of Sultan Badr Bū Ṭuwayriq. His epithet is usually explained by his having laid trails (the stem *ṭrq*) all over the Ḥaḍramawt, after

conquering it “from Dhamār to Ḥafār”, or from the northeast to the southwest (Bā Wazīr, S. ‘A. 1983: 113, al-Shāṭirī 1972, 2: 26, note 4).

Much has been written about Badr Bū Ṭuwayriq (for example, Ibn Hāshim 1948: 38–54, Bā Wazīr, S. ‘A. 1983: 122–6, al-Shāṭirī 1972, 2: 24–33, al-Bakrī 1956–7, 1: 96–100, and Serjeant 1963: 22–32, 155–6). In Russian, concise summaries of his rule within the context of Yemeni political history and Yemeni-Ottoman relations have been presented by Nikolai Ivanov (1984: 84–7, 92–7, 101) and Galina Udalova (1988: 47–9, 67, 76–7, 85, 90–1, 94), although the second book is not without factual errors. Our own concern is Sultan Badr’s relations with the tribes of the Ḥaḍramawt, especially those of the west.

From the very beginning of his reign, Badr Bū Ṭuwayriq refused to rely on local tribal militias for primary support but set about creating a mercenary army. It consisted of Turks arrived in al-Shiḥr in the spring of 1520, several thousand Yāfi‘ tribal warriors from outside the Ḥaḍramawt, Zaydī *qabā’il* from Northern Yemen, and African slaves (al-Bakrī 1956–7, 1: 97, Bā Wazīr, S. ‘A. 1983: 113). The Turks introduced firearms to the Ḥaḍramawt — fusil muskets called *banādiq al-‘ulūq*, “fire rifles”, or *banādiq al-Rūm*, “Turkish rifles”. The weapon at first terrified the Ḥaḍramīs, but they soon got used to it, and the fusil musket or *bū fatīlab*, “father of the fuse”, became the standard firearm, used in Western Ḥaḍramawt until the mid-twentieth century (al-Ibrīqī 1988: 43). Sultan Badr also employed cavalry detachments of some 160 horsemen, large by local reckoning (Bā Wazīr, S. ‘A. 1983: 121). Maritime routes were protected by the sultan’s warships (al-Shāṭirī 1972, 2: 28–9).

According to a Ḥaḍramī saying, he who holds al-Shiḥr holds the country’s trade by the throat (Ibn Hāshim 1948: 209). After taking control of the seaports on the coast and the market places in the Main Wadi, Badr Bū Ṭuwayriq did his best to secure the routes between them. He levied custom duties on merchants, taxed crops and crafts, and tried to establish a monetary system. In 937/ 1530–1 he started to mint coins bearing his name: silver *riyals* and half- and quarter-*riyal* pieces. In 942/ 1535–6 the copper *buqsh* was minted and until a few decades ago was still in circulation (Ibn Hāshim 1948: 38).

Sultan Badr’s economic policy was resisted by the tribes engaged in caravan trade and still in control of movement across their territories: the Mahrah and al-Ḥumūm in the east, the al-‘Awāmir and al-Shanāfir in the centre, and the Nahd, al-‘Awāliq, al-‘Amūdī, and Saybān in the west and southwest of the Main Wadi (Ibn Hāshim 1948: 46–8, Bā Wazīr, S. ‘A. 1983: 121–4).

In 1530, Sultan Badr captured Ghayl Bin Yamayn after defeating the al-Ḥumūm and seizing control of the route between al-Shiḥr and Tarīm. In 1531–2, he transferred his forces to Wādī al-Kasr to stop expansion of the Nahd led by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. Fāris and his brother, Thābit. The operations of the Sultan’s cavalry were effective, while the Nahd, for their part, surrounded al-Qurayn, an

important settlement in Wādī Layman southwest of Wādī Daw‘an, and employed a stone-hurling device (Bā Wazīr, S. ‘A. 1983: 122).

In the end the Nahd were defeated. Uprisings by the tribes of Wādī ‘Amd were also quelled. The oral tradition of Qarn Bin ‘Adwān, a village in Wādī ‘Amd, speaks of a conflict typical of Sultan Badr’s time (as transcribed by Alexander Knysh, a member of our group). The Bin Murḍāḥ, a subdivision of the al-Ja‘dah tribe, moved into the valley and purchased a grove of *‘ilb* trees heavily taxed by the Sultan at three *mikyāl* for the fruit of each tree (see Appendix 4: 2), which was too high for them. So the Bin Murḍāḥ, two hundred warriors strong, went southwest to the land of the Sultan of al-Wāḥidī. The encounter with Badr Bū Ṭuwayriq’s forces ended with an agreement: the sultan promised to enlist the al-Ja‘dah in his army, release them from taxation, and compensate them with a daily allowance of grain.

In Shu‘bah, a large settlement in Wādī ‘Amd, people tell stories of how the *shaykh* ‘Umar b. Aḥmad al-‘Amūdī and his son Muḥammad fought Bā Qays, a retainer of Sultan Badr, “with weapons and exhortations” (as reported by a local resident, ‘Abdallāh b. Aḥmad al-‘Amūdī, forty years old). Still living in the nearby village of al-Raḍḥayn are descendants of ‘Awaḍ b. Sālim b. Maṣṣūr from Qa‘ūdah, a village in Wādī al-Kasr, who was defeated by the Sultan near Mukhaynīq.

Two centres of resistance to Badr Bū Ṭuwayriq in Wādī Daw‘an were Qaydūn and Buḍah, strongholds of the al-‘Amūdī *mashāyikh*. Their *manṣab*, *shaykh* ‘Umar’s brother, ‘Uthmān b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, was the sultan’s most stubborn adversary in Western Ḥaḍramawt.

Shaykh ‘Uthmān al-‘Amūdī condemned the pro-Ottoman policies of Sultan Badr, who relied on the Turks in regard to Ḥaḍramawt unification and the resistance to external expansion. In the winter of 1523, the Portuguese sacked al-Shiḥr despite its defenders’ resistance (Serjeant 1963). The tenth to thirteenth days of the month of Rabī‘ al-awwal are celebrated each year in memory of the Seven Martyrs, the leaders of the resistance to the foreigners (Bā Maṭraf 1974). Thirteen years later, after the Portuguese had anchored in the same harbour, Sultan Badr delivered a devastating blow to their fleet. The entire country participated in the campaign. In Haynin in Wādī al-Kasr, people still remember the time when their little town was Sultan Badr’s capital and they sent as many as six hundred horsemen to al-Shiḥr. Istanbul appreciated the al-Kathīrī sultan’s gifts: a large diamond, five hundred *mithqals* (2.34 kg) of ambergris, and thirty-five Portuguese prisoners (Ibn Hāshim 1948: 44, Bā Wazīr, S. ‘A. 1983: 120).

On its way to India, the Ottoman armada stopped at al-Shiḥr, where on Rabī‘ al-awwal 24, 944 (August 31, 1537) the Ottoman ruler Süleyman the Magnificent was for the first time mentioned in a Friday sermon or *khutbah* (Ibn Hāshim 1948: 44–5, Ivanov 1984: 92). In that way did Sultan Badr Bū Ṭuwayriq officially

acknowledge himself a vassal of the Porte. On their way back from the Indian campaign, the Ottoman authorities promised the sultan a *firmān* or mandate for the area from the Gulf of Aden gateway Bāb al-Mandab to the Dhofar border, along with the rank of *sanjak-bey*. The ruler of the Ḥaḍramawt was required to pay Istanbul an annual tax and accept a Turkish garrison and Turkish officials (Ibn Hāshim 1948: 44–5, Bā Wazīr, S. ‘A. 1983: 20, al-Shāṭirī 1972, 2: 27).

With impressive Ottoman support in men and arms, Badr Bū Ṭuwayriq undertook a punitive expedition in Western Ḥaḍramawt where the Nahd chiefs had allied themselves with *shaykh* ‘Uthmān al-‘Amūdī and were preparing to move against the al-Kathīrī sultan. On Ramaḍān 9, 948 (December 27, 1541), his forces captured Qaydūn, a sacred place for the al-‘Amūdī and most Western Ḥaḍramīs. However, Buḍah, the al-‘Amūdī secular headquarters, survived the attack, despite a siege that lasted from late 1542 until early 1543. Sultan Badr’s army attacked the towns and villages of Wādī Daw‘an with cannon, destroyed irrigation channels, wells, and reservoirs, cut down palm trees, and resettled the residents of the captured towns. In 951/ 1544–5, *shaykh* ‘Uthmān was compelled to sign a treaty with Sultan Badr recognizing his sovereignty, but by 1548 the al-‘Amūdī *mashāyikh* had begun a new war against the al-Kathīrī sultan.

This time, the sultan was opposed by the local *qabā’il*, the Zaydī tribes of North Yemen, and the al-Kathīrī nobility, who were displeased with the increase in Badr’s personal power. In the autumn of 1548, the sultan’s forces, headed by Yūsuf the Turk and Emir ‘Alī b. ‘Umar al-Kathīrī, approached Buḍah but again failed to take it. The response of the al-‘Amūdī and their allies was decisive. After capturing Haynin, the sultan’s headquarters, they laid siege to Shabwah and threatened the ports. In 1549, a treaty was signed, limiting al-Kathīrī influence in Western Ḥaḍramawt (Ibn Hāshim 1948: 46–9, Bā Wazīr, S. ‘A. 1983: 144–6). Taking advantage of the truce in the west, Sultan Badr re-established control of Central and Eastern Ḥaḍramawt in 1551, imprisoning the rebellious al-Kathīrī emirs in the Maryamah castle, east of Say‘ūn.

Sultan Badr persecuted the adherents of the old traditions: the tribal chiefs, the al-Kathīrī nobility, and the *sādah* and *mashāyikh*, who were unhappy with the loss of their clan privileges. Local historians have provided information about executions, imprisonment, and exile (Ibn Hāshim 1948: 57). For example, the sultan exiled the famous *shaykh* ‘Umar b. ‘Abdallāh Bā Makhramah, the most important Sufi poet of the Ḥaḍramawt middle ages, although the *shaykh*’s son was the sultan’s secretary and an influential *faqīh* or jurist. The punishment was for the *shaykh*’s defence of the independence of his native village of al-Hajarayn in Wādī Daw‘an (Bā Wazīr, S. ‘A. 1983: 129, al-Shāṭirī 1972, 2: 30).

Badr Bū Ṭuwayriq was deposed in 1568 by the al-Kathīrī nobility and died in prison a year and a half later. Without him, the sultans, drawn into interdynastic rivalry, began to lose control of the Ḥaḍramawt.

The struggle between the al-‘Amūdī and al-Kathīrī for dominion over Western Ḥaḍramawt, a conflict that had largely determined its tribal and stratal composition, was renewed in 1605 and continued for many decades with varying intensity. During the struggle, both sides sought assistance from the Ṣan‘ā’ Zaydīs. Bū Ṭuwayriq’s grandson, Sultan Badr b. ‘Umar al-Kathīrī, recognized the authority of the Zaydī imam, Muḥammad al-Mu‘ayyad (ruled in 1620–44). Accusing Sultan Badr b. ‘Umar of having rejected Sunni Islam in favour of the Zaydī Shī‘ah branch, another Badr, the old sultan’s nephew Badr b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar, founder of the Āl ‘Abdallāh al-Kathīrī line, challenged the legitimacy of the grandson’s title.

In 1656, *shaykh* ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Amūdī swore an oath of allegiance to the new Zaydī imam Ismā‘īl al-Mutawakkil (1644–76). By then, the imam had already augmented his territory with the South Yemen district of Lahj and the tribal lands of the Yāfi‘, al-‘Awāliq, and al-Wāḥidī. In July 1660, he sent Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Ṣafī to conquer the Ḥaḍramawt. After successful passage from Ma‘rib to Wādī Ḥajr, the Zaydī forces got stuck in almost impassable terrain (al-Bakrī 1956–7, 1: 104). In the Bā Masdūs gorge, Badr b. ‘Abdallāh’s warriors attacked them but were driven back to the lower reaches of the Wādī Daw‘an all the way to al-Hajarayn. Aḥmad al-Ṣafī’s Zaydī forces were joined by the local Nuwwaḥ tribe, while the al-‘Amūdī *mashāyikh* provided them with food and pack animals. Sultan Badr b. ‘Abdallāh received assistance from the al-Maḥfūz and Nahd. Thanks to its superiority in weapons and training, the imam’s army defeated the Wādī Daw‘an tribes and seized control of the western and central regions of the Main Wadi, including the city of Shibām (al-Bakrī 1956–7, 1: 105).

An eyewitness of those devastating and bloody events, the *sayyid* ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Aṭṭās, called Aḥmad al-Ṣafī’s campaign “a night flood” (*sayl al-layl*; Ibn Hāshim 1948: 82). The expression has been used in Western Ḥaḍramawt ever since in regard to any social or natural calamity.

Sultan Badr b. ‘Abdallāh surrendered to the imam and was sent under captivity to Ṣan‘ā’, although he was afterward permitted to return to the Ḥaḍramawt as the Zaydī viceroy, replacing Aḥmad al-Ṣafī’s brother al-Ḥusayn, who had been unable to control the country.

In all subsequent Ḥaḍramawt strife the most active roles were played by the Zaydī tribes and their implacable enemies, the Yāfi‘. The first Yāfi‘ garrisons had been distributed throughout the Ḥaḍramawt by Badr Bū Ṭuwayriq. The al-Baṭāī Yāfi‘ settled in al-Shiḥr and the Wādī Daw‘an village of al-Quzah; the al-Yazīd, in al-Hajarayn; the al-Naqīb, in the Wādī ‘Amd village of Qarn Bā Mas‘ūd; the Lab‘ūs, in al-Raḥab; the Banī Bakr, in Wādī Baḥrān and Sadbah; the al-Mawsaṭah,

in Shibām; the al-Dubbī, in Say‘ūn; and the Lab‘ūs, in Tarīm. Those Yāfi‘ are called “old” or *tilid* (“native”), in contrast to the “new” Yāfi‘ or *ghurbah* (“strangers”), who appeared in the Ḥaḍramawt at the beginning of the eighteenth century during the reign of Sultan Badr b. Muḥammad al-Kathīrī and the start of the war between the sultan’s party and the adherents of Imam Muḥammad al-Mahdī. The sultan’s anti-Zaydī policy was supported by the local *sādah*. The *sayyid* ‘Alī b. Aḥmad Bin al-Shaykh Bū Bakr provided funds to hire a few thousand Yāfi‘īs, who expelled the Zaydīs from the Ḥaḍramawt in 1705 (Ibn Hāshim 1948: 101–3). Remaining in the Ḥaḍramawt, the “new” Yāfi‘, often alongside the “old”, began fighting the al-Kathīrī still loyal to Ṣan‘ā’.

The weakening the al-Kathīrī sultanate allowed the al-‘Amūdī to broaden their influence in Western Ḥaḍramawt. In 1704, they reconquered al-Quzah, and in 1711, together with the Saybān, they captured al-Ḥajarayn (Bā Wazīr, S. ‘A. 1983: 148–9). In 1716, the Nahd, now allies of the al-‘Amūdī, destroyed a Zaydī detachment in Wādī al-‘Ayn that had been sent to help Sultan ‘Umar b. Ja‘far al-Kathīrī (al-Bakrī 1956–7, 1: 110). Sultan ‘Umar b. Ja‘far later avenged his father’s defeat and regained control of his ancestral domain, al-Shiḥr. But after his death the al-Kathīrī succeeded in holding on to only one small valley, Wādī Tāribah. Local historians consider this period the end of the first al-Kathīrī sultanate (Ibn Hāshim 1948: 111).

Western Ḥaḍramawt was then ruled by the local *mashāyikh* and *qabā’il* aristocracy. The major centres of the Main Wadi and the coast were held by subdivisions of the Yāfi‘: the al-Mawsaṭah in Shibām; the al-Dubbī in Say‘ūn, the al-Gharāmah in Tarīm (where they shared power with the local *sādah*), the Brayk in al-Shiḥr, the al-Duraybī in Tarīs, and the al-Kasādī in al-Mukallā (al-Bakrī 1956–7, 1: 119–20, Bā Wazīr, S. ‘A. 1983: 163). However, the al-Kathīrī did not give up hope of restoring the sultanate. The political history of the Ḥaḍramawt in essence turned into a struggle between two tribal groups, the Yāfi‘ and al-Kathīrī, a struggle that helped to shape the region’s ethnic dynamic.

2. The al-Qu‘ayṭī-al-Kathīrī Rivalry from the Nineteenth Century to 1918

The history of the Ḥaḍramawt is inseparable from that of all South Arabia, where during the period in question there existed three competing religious-political movements, each aspiring at different times to unify the region: the Ibādīs of Oman, the Zaydīs of Yemen, and the Wahhābīs of Najd.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, the Ibādī movement in south-eastern and eastern Arabia was undergoing a crisis that in 1792 led to the creation of two political entities, the Masqat sultanate and the Omani imamate. Internecine strife and the Wahhābī threat obliged the Ibādīs to give up their expansionist plans. That impulse had also noticeably weakened in Yemen, since by

the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth the Zaydī imams, who had once ruled the entire north, were left only with Ṣan‘ā’ and the surrounding area. The rest of North Yemen, ‘Asīr, Hujarīyah, al-Radā‘, Ṣa‘dah, and the lands belonging to the Hāshid and Bakīl tribal alliances, was effectively independent. In South Yemen, the Yāfi‘ chiefs, perpetual enemies of the Zaydīs, were consolidating their influence.

The greatest threat to the local dynasties of South Arabia was Wahhābism. The Wahhābī emir ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (ruled 1765–1803) had at the end of the eighteenth century conquered the north coast of Oman. Emir Sa‘ūd b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (1803–14) united the Arab territories from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf, thus increasing the military pressure on Yemen, the Ḥaḍramawt, Dhofar, and Masqat (al-‘Amrī 1985: 49–53).

The Wahhābīs invaded the Ḥaḍramawt several times. In 1809, they destroyed the tombs of Tarīm, sacred sites for the Ḥaḍramīs, and a few years later they did the same in al-Shiḥr. The historian Muḥammad Ibn Hāshim has called the Wahhābīs the Tatars of Arabia (1948: 122). The residents of al-Shiḥr say that the Wahhābīs failed to get away with their booty. A storm sank their vessels, and the wooden sarcophagi (sg. *tābūt*) floated safely back home (cf. Bā Wazīr, S. ‘A. 1983: 176).

The family tradition of the al-Ḥāmid *sādab* in ‘Amd (according to our informant Ḥusayn b. Muḥsin b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥāmid, about seventy) tells of a Wahhābī campaign led by Bin Qumlah, named Hudhud (“Hoopoe”), who advanced westwards from Tarīm in 1226/1811. “There were a great many of them, Bedouin from Najd and Ḥijāz. They hated the *sādab* and all Qurayshīs and destroyed *qubbabs* and burned *tabuts* and manuscripts. The al-Ḥāmid family *manṣab*, the *sayyid* ‘Aydarūs b. Ṣāliḥ, raised an army in Wādī ‘Amd and went to meet them. He routed Hudhud’s forces near Ḥurayḍah, by Mount Ghumdān. The Nahd and al-Ṣay‘ar finished them off and only a handful escaped with their lives.”

The stories told by the residents of Wādī ‘Amd convince us that the Ibādīs and Wahhābīs had merged in the popular mind and been personified in the sinister figure of Hudhud b. Qumlah.

The instability in South Arabia was exploited by two outside powers, the Ottoman Empire and Great Britain.

To neutralize the Wahhābīs, the Ottomans acted through their titular vassal, the Egyptian ruler Muḥammad ‘Alī. In 1819, Egyptian troops landed on the coast of Yemen and in the twenties and thirties subjugated Tihāmah and Ta‘izz. Ṣan‘ā’ began to pay taxes to Cairo and acknowledged its dependence on the Porte.

‘Alī b. ‘Umar al-Saqqāf and the other Ḥaḍramī *sādab* sent a delegation to Muḥammad ‘Alī, hoping that he would support an al-Kathīrī restoration. In 1803 after returning from Indonesia, Ja‘far b. ‘Alī b. ‘Umar b. Ja‘far al-Kathīrī issued a written appeal to the al-Shanāfir tribal alliance (which included the al-Kathīrī

tribe) and to the Nahd and the *sādah* urging them to revive the sultanate (Ibn Hāshim 1948: 120). In 1805-07, Sultan Ja‘far conquered Shibām, Say‘ūn, and Tarīm. After his death in 1808, however, his son ‘Umar was able to retain only Shibām, half of which was bought in 1833 by the Yāfi‘ (Ibn Hāshim 1948: 125). Failing to consolidate its power, the al-Kathīrī mini-state or *duwaylah* (*daywalah* in local pronunciation) quickly fell apart. It was very likely for that reason that Muḥammad ‘Alī did nothing to assist the pro-al-Kathīrī party and made the Tamīmī chief ‘Alī b. ‘Umar b. Qarmūs temporary ruler in the Ḥaḍramawt (Bā Maṭraf 1983: 131–2). In 1840, the Egyptian troops left Yemen, and the local groups struggling for power began to look for another source of outside support.

That support came from Hyderabad. In the sixteenth century, the Indian city was the capital of what in the opinion of Europeans was a fabulously rich state, the legendary Golconda. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Hyderabad principality had become a vassal of the British, whose entry into South Arabia began in India.

Turkish and Persian influence had weakened in the area. The Arab tribes had driven Great Britain’s most dangerous rival, the Dutch, out of the Persian Gulf. In 1800, the seat of the permanent British Resident was in Muscat. In 1802, it was moved southwest to Lahj (Bodyansky 1986: 16–22). After smashing the Wahnābī fleet near Ra’s al-Khaymah in 1819, Great Britain proceeded to secure its influence by means of agreements and treaties with the minor states of East and South Arabia. The series of colonial conquests of the Victorian era began in 1839 with Aden. By the 1840s, Great Britain ruled the sea routes from the Persian Gulf to the southern gateway of the Red Sea.

The internationalization of the history of the Ḥaḍramawt broadened the scope of local historical myth. Adolph von Wrede’s travel diary mentions fantastic stories told to him in Western Ḥaḍramawt in 1842 about the outside world: after converting the British queen to Islam, the Ottoman sultan put her in his harem where she bore him seven sons, while the Russian tsar was an enormous giant with a guard of seven thousand one-eyed cannibals (Wrede 1870: 71; cf. Bidwell 1994: 180).

A local legend about three warrior heroes who served the Nizām of Hyderabad and determined the fate of the Ḥaḍramawt is based on reality. ‘Umar b. ‘Awaḍ al-Qu‘ayṭī (who died in 1865), Ghālib b. Muḥsin al-Kathīrī (1808–70), and ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī al-‘Awlaqī (who died in 1867) did in fact play noteworthy roles in the history of the country. Achieving relatively high rank in the Nizām’s army, all three acquired significant fortunes and increased them through their business dealings and favourable marriages (Bā Maṭraf 1983c: 15, Bā Wazīr, S. ‘A. 1983: 180–1, 203–4, al-Shāṭirī 1972, 2: 191–4, al-Bakrī 1956–7, 1: 123–5).¹ Each contemplated the creation of his own state or *dawlah*. With that goal in mind, ‘Umar b.

¹ On the issue of the Hyderabad-Ḥaḍramawt 19th century relations, see Hartwig 2000.

‘Awaḍ (born in Laḥrūm, Wādī ‘Amd) purchased in 1839 the village of al-Ḥawṭah, also called al-Rayḍah, near al-Qaṭn, from the al-‘Aydarūs *sādab*. In 1845 Ghālib b. Muḥsin purchased al-Ghuraf near Tarīm from the Tamīmī. And finally in 1863 ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī bought the village of al-Ḥazm, east of Ghayl Bā Wazīr, from the al-Brayk clan of Yāfi‘, and built near it his castle Ḥuṣn al-Ṣidā‘ (‘Akkāshah 1985: 59, 142).

Sultan Ghālib al-Kathīrī and his Āl ‘Abdallāh clan expanded their domain in the Ḥaḍramawt with money, force, and intrigue. Soon after the purchase of al-Ghuraf, the Yāfi‘ chief ‘Abd al-Qawī al-Gharāmah ceded half of Tarīm to the sultan and his clan. A year later, the al-Kathīrī captured Say‘ūn and Tarīs. In Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, the Yāfi‘ retained only al-Qaṭn and half of Shibām. The other half was owned by Manṣūr b. ‘Umar al-Kathīrī of the Āl ‘Īsā clan (‘Akkāshah 1985: 55).

The late 1840s to 1876 saw continual struggle between the al-Kathīrī and the Yāfi‘. The latter were headed by the family of ‘Umar b. ‘Awaḍ al-Qu‘ayṭī, who managed to recruit hundreds of warriors outside the country and bring them through al-Mukallā from Hayderabad. At first, the al-Kathīrī held the initiative. Their sultan, Ghālib b. Muḥsin, after forming an army of African slaves and local *qabā’il*, attempted to drive the Yāfi‘ out of the Ḥaḍramawt. In 1850, the al-Kathīrī attacked al-Shiḥr but failed to capture it, since their Turkish allies were unable to land their troops because of unfavourable autumn winds and resistance by the al-Kasādī Yāfi‘, who held al-Mukallā, and the al-Brayk, who controlled al-Shiḥr (Bā Wazīr, S. ‘A. 1983: 177–8).

In the fall of 1866, three thousand al-Kathīrī warriors attacked al-Shiḥr from three directions. The advance units were commanded by Sultan Ghālib’s maternal uncle ‘Abbūd b. Sālīm, by his paternal uncle ‘Alī b. Aḥmad, and by his brother ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥsin (Bā Wazīr, S. ‘A. 1983: 179, 186). The fall of al-Shiḥr brought about the end of the al-Brayk dynasty. Its last representative, ‘Alī Nājī, fled to Aden, where he failed to obtain the support of the British, despite the trade agreement he had signed with them three years earlier. The al-Kathīrī attempted an immediate raid against al-Mukallā, but thanks to reinforcements, the Yāfi‘ drove them back to al-Shiḥr, thus exhausting the sultan’s offensive capacities.

Led by the al-Qu‘ayṭī clan, the Yāfi‘ then took the initiative. In the late 1850s, they expanded their territory in the Main Wadi, deposing Manṣūr b. ‘Umar al-Kathīrī in 1858 and assuming control of all of Shibām. A year later they bought Ḥawrah, northwest of al-Qaṭn, from the al-Kathīrī clan of Āl ‘Umar b. Ja‘far b. ‘Īsā (al-Bakrī 1956–7, 1: 132). The primary al-Qu‘ayṭī objective was al-Shiḥr.

The operation was prepared quickly but with great thoroughness. A treaty was concluded with the al-Kasādī for the use of al-Mukallā and the route to the Main Wadi. Weapons were purchased in Aden and Bombay. At the request of the Ni-zām of Hayderabad, the British administration in Bombay did not hinder the massive exodus of men hired by the al-Qu‘ayṭī. At the end of January 1867,

‘Awaḍ b. ‘Umar al-Qu‘ayṭī, the most vigorous of the five surviving sons of ‘Umar b. ‘Awaḍ after his death in 1865, arrived in al-Mukallā with steamships armed with cannon and sailing vessels and carrying two hundred Yāfi‘īs and five hundred Afghan mercenaries from the Niẓām’s army (‘Akkāshah 1985: 81). The Yāfi‘ tribal militia numbered another two thousand warriors, who were joined by the Tamīmīs, enemies of the al-Kathīrīs. In April 1867, al-Shiḥr was taken by the al-Qu‘ayṭī, and despite every effort to retake it, it remained a part of the al-Qu‘ayṭī sultanate for as long as the latter existed.

The al-Qu‘ayṭī attempt in the winter of 1868 to smash the al-Kathīrī at Say‘ūn and Tarīm was unsuccessful. The African slaves, Afghans, “old” and “new” Yāfi‘, and Nahd and al-Tamīm *qabā’il* were poorly organized and difficult to lead. The *naqīb* or head of the military dynasty that ruled al-Mukallā, Burūm, and part of Wādī Daw‘an, Ṣalāḥ b. Muḥammad al-Kasādī, refused an active part in the al-Qu‘ayṭī expedition. Its failure saved the al-Kathīrī sultanate and ended the alliance between the al-Qu‘ayṭī and al-Kasādī.

In the 1870s, new characters appeared on the Ḥaḍramawt political stage. In 1869 ‘Awaḍ b. ‘Umar al-Qu‘ayṭī returned to Hayderabad, transferring control of al-Shiḥr to his brother ‘Abdallāh. In 1870, Sultan Ghālib b. Muḥsin al-Kathīrī died and his title was passed to his son, Maṣṣūr. In 1873, after his father’s death, ‘Umar b. Ṣalāḥ al-Kasādī became the *naqīb*. The new *naqīb* was immediately faced with a rebellion in Western Ḥaḍramawt, where the al-‘Amūdī *mashāyikh* were fighting the garrison of Majḥam b. ‘Alī al-Kasādī in Wādī Layman, the western draw of Wādī Daw‘an (Bā Wazīr, S. ‘A. 1983: 149–50, 156). Encouraging the rebels, ‘Awaḍ b. ‘Umar al-Qu‘ayṭī demanded that *Naqīb* ‘Umar repay an enormous debt and agreed to accept as compensation instead al-Mukallā and Burūm, entirely or in part. Negotiations about the matter had taken place in 1867 under *Naqīb* Ṣalāḥ (for the text of the documents, see ‘Akkāshah 1985: 268–72).

In the autumn of 1873 the matter erupted in a military conflict between the former allies that did not end in the al-Qu‘ayṭīs’ favour. The *naqīb* and other enemies of the al-Qu‘ayṭī formed a triple al-Kasādī-al-Kathīrī-al-‘Awlaqī alliance and seized Ghayl Bā Wazīr and al-Riyān and were preparing a campaign against al-Shiḥr. The same year, the al-Qu‘ayṭī, without waiting to be attacked, made a pre-emptive strike against al-Miṣhrāf. Failing to take Shibām two years later in 1875, the al-Kathīrī gave part of Tarīm to the local tribes and ceded Ghayl Bā Wazīr to the al-Qu‘ayṭī. *Naqīb* ‘Umar al-Kasādī gave up al-Riyān to the men of ‘Awaḍ b. ‘Umar without a fight. In 1876 the al-‘Awlaqī evacuated al-Ḥazm and al-Ṣidā‘, leaving the Ḥaḍramawt for good. The triple alliance had fallen apart.

After the Turks’ conquest of Yemen in 1872, Great Britain hastened to secure the sea routes between India and Aden. They were betting on members of the al-Qu‘ayṭī family, who for the sake of annexing al-Mukallā were considering an alliance

with Turkey too (negotiations took place in Ṣan‘ā’ in January 1874; ‘Akkāshah 1985: 150).

Naqīb ‘Umar al-Kasādī had fortified al-Mukallā on the land side, so the al-Qu-‘ayṭī conceived an attack by sea and bought weapons and steamships in Java (the *Phlox*), India (the *Pablavan*), and Italy (the *Jawad*). Informed by the al-Kasādī, the British administration intercepted the ships in Aden and disarmed them, insisting that the dispute could only be settled with its involvement. Aid in peace-making was also offered by the Ottoman authorities and the *sharīf* of Mecca (al-Bakrī 1956–7, 1: 131–2).

Hoping to isolate the al-Kasādī, the British forced the al-Kathīrī to sign a ten-year treaty of peace and cooperation with the al-Qu‘ayṭī. The al-Kathīrī promised to give no aid to *Naqīb* ‘Umar without al-Qu‘ayṭī consent. In exchange they obtained the right to use al-Shiḥr harbour for peaceful ends. The al-Kathīrī also concluded an armistice with the al-Tamīm and al-Manāhīl *qabā’il*, putting an end to years of unrest in Tarīm (see ‘Akkāshah 1985: 276–8 for the texts of the treaties). On British initiative, the rulers of al-Shiḥr and al-Mukallā agreed to a two-year armistice, although that measure did not prevent a decisive battle between the al-Qu‘ayṭī and al-Kasādī.

Naqīb ‘Umar received several proposals for the future of al-Shiḥr and Burūm but accepted none of them. Struggling to save his *dawlah*, he unsuccessfully sought British protection and negotiated with the Turkish authorities and the Sultan of Masqat. Aided by the British, the al-Qu‘ayṭī prepared a military campaign to seize the two ports. At the end of October 1881, the British Navy imposed a blockade on Burūm and al-Mukallā and the al-Qu‘ayṭī infantry besieged the city. On November 6, al-Qu‘ayṭī and British troops entered al-Mukallā. *Naqīb* ‘Umar surrendered and was exiled to Zanzibar with his family and a few hundred retainers (Bā Wazīr, S. ‘A. 1983: 169–70).

Under the terms of the treaty of friendship concluded between the British Government and the al-Qu‘ayṭī brothers, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar and ‘Awaḍ b. ‘Umar, on May 29, 1882, the brothers and their heirs obtained the rights to everything owned by *Naqīb* ‘Umar b. Ṣalāḥ al-Kasādī, to whom they were to pay 100,000 *riyals*. As long as the brothers observed the treaty, Great Britain would pay them an annual salary of 360 *riyals*. A main condition of the treaty forbade the al-Qu-‘ayṭī to sell, mortgage, or dispose in any other way their possessions al-Shiḥr, al-Mukallā, Burūm, and the adjacent lands to any private person or foreign state, excepting the government of Great Britain. This condition was intended to prevent the formation in the Ḥaḍramawt of another *dawlah* through the purchase of a populated area. Another condition provided for total control by Great Britain of any relations between the al-Qu‘ayṭī and neighbouring rulers and foreign states. The al-Qu‘ayṭī-British treaty of 1888 formulated the last terms still more definitely (see ‘Akkāshah 1985: 279–83 for the texts).

Claiming the entire al-Kasādī legacy, the al-Qu‘ayṭī rulers extended their influence over Wādī Daw‘an, which had been abandoned by the *naqīb*’s troops as early as 1873. Meddling in the inter-tribal conflicts, ‘Awaḍ b. ‘Umar al-Qu‘ayṭī first backed *shaykh* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Karīm al-‘Amūdī of the Āl Muṭahhar clan but soon replaced him. The local al-Dayyin and al-Qasam tribes rose up in defence of *shaykh* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān with 1,500 warriors. The forces of ‘Awaḍ al-Qu‘ayṭī headed by his slave Almās were joined in the uplands of Wādī Daw‘an by troops brought from al-Qaṭn by Ṣalāḥ b. Muḥammad al-Qu‘ayṭī. In 1899, after several battles, Wādī Layman, that is, the entire western branch of Wādī Daw‘an, fell under al-Qu‘ayṭī control. The *‘amīd* or chief of the al-Khāmi‘ah Saybān, ‘Umar b. Aḥmad Bā Ṣurrah, became the Qu‘ayṭī governor of the area (al-‘Aṭṭās 1959: 133, al-Bakrī 1956–7, 2: 13–19).

Wādī Laysar, the eastern branch of Wādī Daw‘an, was annexed by the al-Qu‘ayṭī sultanate at the beginning of the twentieth century. In 1902, a quarrel flared up between the chief of the Balaḥmar tribe and the al-Khanābishah *qabā’il*, both sides being former supporters of Bā Ṣurrah. In 1907–10, Wādī Laysar became a battlefield. Al-Qu‘ayṭī troops stormed the rebellious centres, taking Qarn Bā Ḥakīm in 1908. Through the mediation of the al-‘Aṭṭās *sādah*, a truce was concluded, although it failed to bring peace to Western Ḥaḍramawt.

Cut off from the coast, the al-Kathīrī sultans did not abandon their plans to seize al-Shiḥr and the caravan routes linking the Main Wadi and the ports. As early as 1883, ‘Abdallāh b. Sālīm al-Kathīrī had enquired about the possible British reaction to such a development. The reply he received from the colonial administration in the spring of 1884 was unambiguous: any attempt by the al-Kathīrī at revenge would be crushed by force (‘Akkāshah 1985: 216–7).

The stability of the al-Qu‘ayṭī state was also threatened by a dynastic dispute over the legacy left by ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar, who died in 1888. His sons, Ḥusayn and Munaṣṣar, wanted to divide it between themselves, but ‘Awaḍ, brother of the deceased, intervened and gave Ghayl Bā Wazīr to Munaṣṣar and set aside al-Shiḥr for Ḥusayn and his own son. Ḥusayn refused to recognize his co-ruler, and from 1896 the Yāfi‘ split into those, headed by the Āl Mawsaṭah clan, who supported the sons of ‘Abdallāh, and those, headed by the Āl Dubbī, who favoured ‘Awaḍ. Neither a court proceeding in Bombay nor another conducted by the *sayyid* Aḥmad b. Sālīm b. Saqqāf, the *manṣab* of ‘Īnāt, was able to resolve the conflict. The British sided with ‘Awaḍ b. ‘Umar. In 1902, he received the title of Sultan of al-Shiḥr and al-Mukallā and the right to a nine-salvo cannon salute. Until then he had held merely the rank of *jam‘adār* in the army of the Nizām of Hyderabad (‘Akkāshah 1985: 221–3). The seat of the al-Qu‘ayṭī sultanate was transferred from al-Shiḥr to al-Mukallā only after Sultan ‘Awaḍ b. ‘Umar’s death in 1910.

Overcoming internal strife, the al-Qu‘ayṭī continued to build their state. In 1904, they attempted to purchase from the sultan of al-Wāḥidī a stretch of arable land

on the coast near Mayfa‘ah, west of al-Mukallā and the villages of Bīr ‘Alī and Balḥāf, weapon smuggling centres. The British imposed a partial limitation on the transaction, however, and the al-Wāhidī retained Bīr ‘Alī and half of Balḥāf. At the same time, the al-Qu‘ayṭī sultanate was encouraged to expand at the expense of tribal territories leading to the Main Waid. Thus, after a long economic blockade, the bellicose Nuwwaḥ tribe submitted to the al-Qu‘ayṭī in 1914, thanks to arbitration by two al-‘Aṭṭās *manṣabs*, Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad of ‘Amd and Aḥmad b. Ḥasan of Ḥurayḍah (al-‘Aṭṭās ‘A. b. Aḥmad 1959: 141–76). The al-Qu‘ayṭī also took control of Wādī Sāh, southeast of Say‘ūn. The Sāh inhabitants had complained about the arbitrariness of the al-Jābir *qabā’il* and asked for help from the al-Qu‘ayṭī, who were granted the territory in a court decision in Aden over the protests of the al-Kathīrī authorities (al-Bakrī 1956–7, 2: 29).

The al-Qu‘ayṭī sultanate’s relationship with the tribes was a difficult one. If the 1918 treaty with the al-Tamīm tribal confederation alleviated the situation somewhat, contact with the al-Ḥumūm, who controlled the caravan route from al-Shiḥr to Eastern Ḥaḍramawt, was marked by constant tension (‘Alī, al-Mallāhī 1989). The al-Ḥumūm properly saw the sultans as political and economic rivals intent on usurping the “natural” privileges of the tribes.

The First World War brought into play the ties between Turkey and the al-Kathīrī sultanate. Documents held in the Say‘ūn archive contain valuable information in that regard. In 1916, the *sharīf* of Ma‘rib, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥusayn, a Turkish subject, sent Sultan Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī the gifts of a stallion and a cannon with fifty rounds (the Say‘ūn archive, Section I, document No. 50). In return, Sultan Maṣṣūr presented the Turkish authorities a *shaydhar*, or loincloth, woven in Tarīm, two tins of dates, a gun, and other items, adding that he had received the horse but that the cannon had been waylaid in Qa‘ūḍah, Wādī al-Kasr, by the Nahd *ḥakam* Umbārak Bin ‘Ajjāj (the Say‘ūn archive, Section I, No. 51). After occupying Lahj, the Turkish commander ‘Alī Sa‘īd Pasha called on the al-Kathīrī, the *sādah*, and the “best men of the Ḥaḍramawt” to break away from “England and her al-Qu‘ayṭī minions” (the Say‘ūn archive, Section I, Nos. 52, 58, 63–4, 68–9, 71). A Document (Section I, No. 49), dated 1334/1915, provides evidence that the Turkish propaganda had an effect. It is an “Oath to the Supreme Ottoman State sworn by the *sādah* of the Ḥaḍramawt and its rulers that they are subjects of the Supreme State, and that they reject the patronage of the English State”. However, it was only a draft proposed by the Turks and never signed by the al-Kathīrī sultan, who after some wavering had decided that a war was not in the country’s best interests (the Say‘ūn archive, Section I, No. 56).¹

¹ Eight years later some of these and other documents from the Say‘ūn archives have been used by Linda Boxberger in *On the Edge of Empire*. See also Freitag 2003. Together with Dr. Hanne Schönig (Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum, Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Germany) at the end of 2008 the results of a research project on *Traditions and customs in Ḥaḍramawt according to unpublished documents*, funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) are planned to be published.

The al-Qu‘ayṭī sultan and British authorities reacted to these verbal demarches with an economic embargo that denied the al-Kathīrī access to the seaports. When their internal resources were depleted and the hoped-for Turkish assistance had failed to materialize, the al-Kathīrī agreed to participate in talks with the British and al-Qu‘ayṭī in Aden (the Say‘ūn archive, Section I, No. 75). On June 8, 1918, in the final months of the First World War, the historic al-Kathīrī-al-Qu‘ayṭī treaty was signed (see ‘Akkāshah 1985: 284–7 for the text in Arabic).

The treaty stated (Article 5) that the al-Kathīrī side fully endorsed the al-Qu‘ayṭī-British treaty of 1888. The borders of the al-Kathīrī sultanate were defined as Say‘ūn, Tarīm, Tarīs, al-Ghuraf, Maryamah, Ghayl Bin Yamayn, and the al-Shanāfir tribal territories (Article 4). All disputes between the parties were to be forgotten (Article 6). Within its borders, the Āl ‘Abdallāh Kathīr clan was completely autonomous (Article 3), but in accordance with the 1888 treaty, all their external relations were to pass through al-Mukallā and Aden. Absolute freedom of trade was proclaimed (Article 8). All disputes between the parties to the treaty were to be resolved by Great Britain (Article 11).

The chief condition was formulated in Article 1: “Sultan al-Qu‘ayṭī, sovereign of al-Shiḥr and al-Mukallā, and Sultan Āl ‘Abdallāh Kathīr agree that the province (*iqlīm*) of the Ḥaḍramawt is a single province, and that that province is a British protectorate through the Sultan of al-Shiḥr and Mukallā”.

3. Towards a Unified State, 1918–1967

The political history of the region during the period in question has been examined in detail by Russian scholars (Val’kova 1968, Naumkin 1980, *Noveishaia istoriia* 1984), so I shall limit myself only to those factors that had a fundamental affect on the Ḥaḍramī sense of identity and in particular on its ethnic component.

Impetus was given to that social identity abroad and then at home by what might have seemed an insignificant pretext, a violation of the principle of marital suitability. In 1905, a *sharīfah*, or woman belonging to the *sādah* stratum, married a non-*sayyid*, who furthermore was not an Arab. The repercussions of the event reached far beyond the Ḥaḍramī community of “Dutch India”, which numbered about thirty thousand at the time (al-Bakrī 1956–7, 2: 241).¹

In response to an inquiry as to whether such a marriage was legitimate, the *sayyid* ‘Umar b. Sālīm al-‘Aṭṭās issued an authoritative opinion or *fatwah*, declaring the illegitimacy of marriage between women of the House of the Prophet and non-‘Alawīs (those not descended from the *sayyid* Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā) and basing his argument on the Qur‘ān, the sayings of the Prophet, and Islamic practice (al-

¹ The following account of the consequences of the event is based for the most part on the work of Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī (1956–7) and documents from the Say‘ūn archives.

Bakrī 1956–7, 2: 244–7). The *fatwah* identified four stages of marital suitability: 1) no non-Arab is a match for an Arab, 2) no other Arab is a match for a Qurayshī (a member of the Prophet’s tribe), 3) no other Qurayshī is a match for a Hāshimī (a member of the Prophet’s clan), and 4) no other Hāshimī is a match for the descendants of Fāṭimah and ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib through their sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. The elite status of the ‘Alawīs was defended with the sayings of the Prophet that “Whosoever offends the members of my household, offends me, and whosoever offends me, offends God”, and that “Whomsoever I command, ‘Alī commands as well”. Accordingly, as al-‘Aṭṭās glossed the second *ḥadīth*, a lady of the ‘Alawī clan could not marry her slave.

A *fatwah* with diametrically opposed conclusions was then issued by Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā’, a follower of the Grand Mufti of Egypt, the reformer Muḥammad ‘Abduh. As publisher of the Egyptian magazine *al-Manār*, Muḥammad Riḍā’ printed the main documents pertaining to the initial period of discussion (16 Rabi‘ al-awwal, 1322/ 21 May, 1905, No. 8: 6). His own *fatwah* argued that all Muslims are equal, regardless of origin and skin colour, and that the *sharī‘ah* should protect freedom and equality and not promote schism and elitism. According to Muḥammad Riḍā’, some of the sayings adduced by Aḥmad al-‘Aṭṭās were interpreted arbitrarily, while others were of dubious authenticity, having a “weak *isnād*” (a defective sequence of transmission). Particular indignation was provoked by the *sayyid*’s interpretation of the saying that “‘Alī commands all Moslems”, which the ‘Alawīs took as proof of the superiority of the Prophet’s House over all other people. Other people are by no means the ‘Alawīs’ slaves, Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā’ emphasized. (ibid., 248). A similar *fatwah* was issued by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sūrkatī, a Sudanese scholar teaching in Java.

In 1914, the Ḥaḍramī supporters of the latter two *fatwahs* organized the Society for Reform and Guidance (*Jam‘iyat al-Iṣlāḥ wa-l-Irshād*) in Batavia, Java. Many of them were members of the Arabian Charitable Organization (*Jam‘iyat al-Ḥaqq* or the “Society of Truth”) established in the same city in 1903. The participants in the new movement were called Irshādīs. In 1915, an Irshād school was set up with Sudanese instructors. For the first time, Ḥaḍramī boys and girls began to study together.

Paragraph 2 of the Society’s charter read: “The purpose of the Society is to collect money and use it for the following needs: 1) the implementation of cultural and economic reforms and the development of the Muslim community in general and the Arab community in particular through the spread of the Muslim religion and the inculcation of enlightenment and morality, together with the promotion of science and the Arabic language; 2) the establishment of charitable enterprises, such as schools, shelters for orphans, widows, and the aged, and hospitals, as well as of editorial and publishing enterprises intended to draw public attention to those goals” (ibid., 248).

Membership was open to any Muslim. The Society's leadership was elected, accountable, and replaceable, although according to Paragraph 5, no 'Alawī could hold any leadership or deputy position. Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī, himself an Irshādī, explains that the rule was introduced to demonstrate to the 'Alawīs that successful organizational activity was possible without their leadership (*ibid.*, 260, note 1). Even so, the founders and active members of the Society included several *sādab*, for example, 'Abdallāh b. Abū Bakr al-Ḥabshī, the first leader of the Irshād school committee, and 'Abdallāh b. 'Alawī al-'Aṭṭās, a main sponsor of the Society. The principal role in the Society, however, was played by al-'Amūdī, Ibn Isḥāq, and other *mashāyikh*, and by Yāfi', al-Tamīm, and Āl Kathīr *qabā'il*.

Opposing the stratal segregation of traditional society, the Irshādīs tried to secularize the term *sayyid*, employing it, as in the northern Arab World, merely as a polite form of address, something that met with sharp protest from the *sādab* (the Say'ūn archive, Section I, No. 193, Section III, No. 180). A wide range of educational, social, and economic ideas were disseminated and defended by the Society's newspaper, *Irshād*.

The *sādab*'s adherents launched a strident campaign against the Irshādīs, accusing them of covert subversive plans that far exceeded the legal charter of their organization. In a letter to the British Foreign Office, the Irshādīs described the polemical manoeuvres of their adversaries this way: "They tell the Turkish Consul, 'The Irshādī teachers and founders are all British spies and political agents'. They tell their countrymen, 'These schools have been set up with Catholic money to convert Muslim children'. They tell British officials that the society has links either with the Turkish movement for Unity and Progress or with the Bolsheviks, its purpose being a series of revolutions in the countries of the East against the British and their protégés... Or they say, 'Their teacher, Grand *Shaykh* Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Sūrkatī, is a son of the sister of the Sudanese Mahdī, an impostor, and is planning a Mahdī revolution against the Dutch authorities'" (al-Bakrī 1956–7, 2: 315).

The Irshādīs' enemies connected the reform movement to any external force capable of disturbing the colonial administrations of the Dutch in Indonesia and the British in Singapore, India, and South Arabia. They also applied religious pressure. In 1918, the 'Alawīs tried to persuade the *sharif* of Mecca to forbid Irshādī pilgrimage. The *sādab* preached in their mosques that the Irshādīs had been paid off by Bolshevik Russia to promote "ideas of Communism, rebellion against all authority, and moral licentiousness" (*ibid.*, 287, 284).

The campaign against the Irshād bore fruit. In a joint decree of 1337/ 1918, the sultans of al-Qu'ayṭī and al-Kathīrī appealed to all Ḥaḍramī emigrants, but especially those belonging to the Prophet's House, to drive the "spies and schismatics" from their ranks, and threatened to expose all Irshādīs by name (*ibid.*, 285–6). In an official proclamation of Rajab 22, 1338/April 12, 1920, outlawing the Irshād

Society within the al-Qu‘ayṭī sultanate, Sultan Ghālib b. ‘Awaḍ wrote in rhymed prose that the Irshād Society was spreading intrigue and depravity, calling it “irregular Bolshevism” (*al-bulshifikīyah ghayr munazzamah*) (ibid., 305–6). The British authorities frequently denied passports to Irshādīs going to Singapore or returning home.

Much later, in the 1930s, the Irshādī-‘Alawī conflict had still not lost any of its edge. Sultan al-Kathīrī, receiving the Dutch diplomat Daniel van der Meulen during his private visit to Ḥaḍramawt, asked for his help in deporting from East India all the Ḥaḍramīs involved in plotting against his dynasty, and the Tarīm *sādab* competed to impart to the Dutch visitor with the most favourable image of al-‘Alawī activity in Java (Meulen, Wissmann 1932: 121–2).

Despite the continual accusations of political radicalism, the Irshādīs belonged on the whole to a moderate reform movement reflecting the nationalistic temper of the Ḥaḍramī mercantile middle class, especially those circles unhappy with the economic and spiritual hegemony of the *sādab*. Also evident in the conflict was the historical contest between the *sādab* and *mashāyikh*. In a complaint lodged with the British Foreign Office the Irshādīs explicitly identified themselves with the latter stratum: “The Ḥaḍramī community, either at home or abroad, consists of two major groups. The first group, called by our custom the *mashāyikh*, comprises the indigenous population of the country, and we send this letter to you on their behalf. The other group is called the *‘alawīs*, and it is they we are complaining about, entreating you to rid us of the harm caused by their intrigues and schemes. They, that is, the *‘alawīs*, are a people alien to us who came to our country a few centuries ago and who claim their descent from ‘Alī, the son of Abū Ṭālib, and from the Muslim prophet Muḥammad, may God bless him and have mercy on him, through his daughter” (al-Bakrī 1956–7, 2: 307).

The *sādab* responded to the activities of the Irshād Society by establishing in Batavia and other Javan towns an organization of their own, the ‘Alawī League, or *al-Rābiṭah al-‘Alawīyah*. The League published a magazine with the same name and a newspaper, *The Ḥaḍramawt*.

Both movements competed to set up new Arabic schools and publish periodicals, endeavouring to attract Ḥaḍramī emigrants. A number of attempts were made to reconcile the opposing sides, one “committee of reconciliation” replacing another, and one respected Muslim after another assuming the role of intercessor. Among them was the head of the Cairo Islamic university al-Azhar and even Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā’ himself, the inadvertent forerunner of the Irshād movement and a *sayyid* by origin. The most successful effort, however, was that of Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Amūdī, who in 1929 combined all the main Ḥaḍramī emigrant organizations in Surabaya (except the ‘Alawī League) in the Arab Unity Block, which survived until 1932 (ibid., 348–9). In Say’ūn, the *sayyid* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Ubaydillāh al-Saqqāf appealed to the people of the Ḥaḍramawt to

join together the basis of shared *shāfiʿī* law (*madhhab*), although his initiative provided the al-Tamīmī (the Sayʿūn archive, Section I, No. 191) and Āl Kathīrī (the Sayʿūn archive, Section I, No. 192) chiefs an opportunity to align themselves with the *sādah*.¹

By the late 1920s, the majority of even the most conservative Ḥaḍramī emigrant organizations believed that their country, politically and economically fragmented, torn by bloody internecine strife, ignorant and backward, needed modernization. Despite the tension between al-Mukallā and Sayʿūn, the Quʿayṭī and the al-Kathīrī sultans had since 1922 also been trying to develop shared policies in regard to the regulation of the daily life of the country (the Sayʿūn archive, Section I, Nos. 105, 113, 119). On the initiative of Muḥammad al-Ṭayyib al-Sāsī, a Javan reformer, and Ṣāliḥ b. Ghālib al-Quʿayṭī, who was representing his uncle, Sultan ʿUmar b. ʿAwaḍ while the latter was in India, two congresses were held. The first one began in al-Mukallā and was then moved to al-Shiḥr (Rabīʿ al-thānī, 1346/September–October 1927). The second took place in Singapore from April 17 to May 12, 1928. Its pro-ʿAlawī participants presented both sultans with a series of demands. The main ones were these:

To regulate the customs service of both sultanates in the Ḥaḍramawt, introducing fixed duties and banning arbitrary levies;

To found a Ḥaḍramawt joint-stock trading company with participation by both governments to be limited at no more than five percent of the total capitalization;

To create a network of charitable and medical institutions;

To unify academic programs;

To bring about judicial reform with independent judges on fixed monthly salaries, equality of witnesses before the law, and the establishment of barristers and court offices;

To discuss all laws in draft form before they are passed;

To guarantee the right of Ḥaḍramī emigrants to participate in the affairs of their homeland;

To request that Ṣāliḥ b. Ghālib al-Quʿayṭī examine the Irshādī – ʿAlawī dispute and arbitrate the conflicting claims, since reform must be preceded by reconciliation;

To force the tribes to end their internecine warfare for a period of no less than five years;

¹ Since 1994 at least two important books have been published in Brill, Leiden, covering the Indian Ocean migration and state formation in the 19th century Ḥaḍramawt: Freitag / Clarence-Smith (eds.) 1997, and Freitag 2003.

To abolish the collective responsibility of tribesmen for actions taken by any one of their members, and at the same time to oblige the tribes to cooperate with their governments in punishing the guilty (al-Bakrī 1956–7, 2: 66–75).

The Ḥaḍramī reformers also decided to send a special delegation home to clarify their position. Nonetheless, their plans were rejected by Sultan ‘Umar b. ‘Awaḍ al-Qu‘ayṭī after his return from India. If the Irshādīs had often been reproached with the fact that one of their leaders, Aḥmad al-Sūrkatī, was a foreigner, the participants in the Singapore congress were portrayed by Sultan ‘Umar b. ‘Awaḍ as creatures of the foreigner *shaykh* Muḥammad al-Sāsī, who had no proper knowledge of the Ḥaḍramawt and who owned there neither he-camel, nor she-camel (ibid., 81–4), which meant that *shaykh* al-Sāsī was excluded from participation.

Sultan ‘Umar b. ‘Awaḍ promised gradual reforms in due time (Section III, No. 112). On a visit to the Main Wadi in 1934, which he began from Wādī Daw‘an (Section I, Nos. 210, 214, 215), the sultan meant to raise the issue, but the area’s inhabitants were reluctant to discuss its (the Say‘ūn archive, Section III, Nos. 298, 299), and the al-‘Aṭṭās *sādah* expressed their disagreement with the views of Sultan ‘Umar’s expressed in a letter to Sultan ‘Alī b. Maṣṣūr al-Kathīrī (the Say‘ūn archive, Section III, No. 297).

When ‘Umar b. ‘Awaḍ al-Qu‘ayṭī died in early 1936, the new sultan, Šālīḥ b. Ghālīb, promised a few changes in his inaugural address: the encouragement of modern agricultural techniques, limited legal reform, the establishment of an advisory council, highway safety, and trade privileges (the Say‘ūn archive, Section III, No. 416).

The new situation in the Ḥaḍramawt attracted the attention of the Saudi king, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, who sent an unofficial envoy, ‘Abdallāh Philby, to Western Ḥaḍramawt in 1936. Philby came from Najrān with twenty men in two vehicles (the Say‘ūn archive, Section III, Nos. 438, 439) and spoke with Sultan ‘Alī b. Šalāḥ al-Qu‘ayṭī, the representative of the al-Qu‘ayṭī *dawlah* in Shibām and al-Qaṭn, asking about the Ḥaḍramawt tribes, the al-Qu‘ayṭī sultanate’s western frontier, and whether Shabwah belonged to the sultanate. He said that King ‘Abd al-‘Azīz wanted to open a route to Ḥijāz via the Ḥaḍramawt and Mecca (the Say‘ūn archive, Section III, No. 443). Philby also conveyed a letter from the Saudi king to Sultan ‘Alī b. Maṣṣūr al-Kathīrī, to which Sultan ‘Alī replied that he was eager to cooperate, and that the details of his position would be articulated by Philby verbally (the Say‘ūn archive, Section I, No. 258). Although official letters of the al-Kathīrī beyond the sultanate were supposed to be sent unsealed via the al-Qu‘ayṭī authorities (the Say‘ūn archive, Section II, No. 43), the al-Kathīrī had been in direct correspondence with the rulers of al-‘Awlaqī (the Say‘ūn archive, Section I, Nos. 205–6, 289–92, 303), al-Wāḥidī (the Say‘ūn archive, Section I, No. 304, Section III, No. 316, etc.), and Yemen, as well as with numerous Ḥaḍramawt communities abroad.

Philby's arrival in the Inner Ḥaḍramawt stirred up the country's leaders. The *sayyid* 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jifrī, in a letter to Sultan 'Alī b. Maṣṣūr al-Kathīrī (Section III, No. 458), urged the sultan to conceal from Philby his link to the al-Kathīrī Society in Batavia, an Irshādī organization with strong ties to the Saudi king (the Say'ūn archive, Section III, No. 464).

The British authorities were also concerned about the situation in the Ḥaḍramawt. The local reformers' ideas were reflected in the terms of the "Ingrams' Peace" (1937), which Harold Ingrams had achieved with the support of the al-Qu'ayṭī sultan in al-Mukallā and the al-Kāf *sādah* in Tarīm, who persuaded the Ḥaḍramawt tribes to sign the peace treaty.

The treaty had been preceded by a preparatory trip by Ingrams to the Ḥaḍramawt in 1934–5. During nine weeks in the al-Qu'ayṭī and al-Kathīrī sultanates, he prepared a report on the situation in the country from Wādī Jirdān to Sayḥūt and from the coast to al-'Abr, the al-Ṣay'ar tribal land (Ingrams 1937a: 7). He ascertained that in many settlements and tribal areas, the sultanic authorities were unable to collect taxes or exert any governmental control, although all Ḥaḍramīs were formally subjects of a sultan and left the country with either an al-Qu'ayṭī or an al-Kathīrī passport, introduced in 1910–19 (*ibid.*, 10).

The Qu'ayṭī sultanate was divided into several districts, al-Mukallā, Ghayl Bā Wazīr, Shuḥayr, al-Shiḥr, al-Dīs, al-Ḥāmi', Mayfa'ah, Fuwwah and Burūm, part of Balḥāf, Ḥabbān, and 'Ayn Bā Ma'bad, Quṣay'ar, Ḥajr; Daw'an, Ḥawrah and Haynin, Shibām, 'Īnāt, and Sāh, and was populated by slightly more than 200,000 sedentary and semi-nomadic people. The al-Kathīrī Sultanate retained the borders determined in the 1918 treaty (see Chapter 2, Section 2) and had over 50,000 inhabitants (*ibid.*, 11–12).

Beyond the control of either sultanate were the territories of Sayḥūt and Qasam and the tribal lands of the al-Ḥumūm, al-Tamīm, al-'Awāmir, al-Jābir, al-Manāhīl, al-Ṣay'ar, al-Ma'arraḥ, al-'Awābithah, Nahd, al-Dayyin, Saybān, Nuwwah, al-Ja'dah, Mādī, al-Mashājirah, etc., that is, the territories of Western Ḥaḍramawt: Wādī al-'Ayn, a significant part of Wādī al-Kasr, and Wādī 'Amd, except for Ḥurayḍah. There were also independent enclaves in Wādī Daw'an, the best known of them the village of al-Quzah at the mouth of the al-Ghabr tributary. Inhabited by the warlike al-Baṭāṭī, a subdivision of the Yāfi', the village successfully defended itself against the al-Maḥfūz *qabā'il* from neighbouring Khuraykhar and Ṣayla', which had recognized al-Qu'ayṭī authority.

As one native of al-Quzah, Sa'īd Muḥammad al-Baṭāṭī (over eighty years old), recalled, "A redistribution of the land in Wādī al-Ghabr was desired by the Bin Maḥfūz, the ones who lived in the village of Khuraykhar, which were the Bin Shaybah, the Bin 'Ujrān, the Bin Ra'īs, and the Marāshidah, as well as by the Bin Ṭayrān, who lived in Naḥūlah, and the Bin Yamānī, who lived in Ṣaylah. They shelled the fortified houses of al-Quzah built on the mountain slope with a can-

non brought from Java, but at night the al-Baṭāṭī rebuilt everything that had been destroyed. When there was an attack, everyone in al-Quzah got a gun, even some of the women. The al-Qu‘ayṭīs sided with the Āl Maḥfūz, but afterwards the dispute was settled. The border followed the al-Jarshah boundary stones.”

The first evidence of attempts by the al-Kathīrī authorities to resolve the al-Baṭāṭī-Bin Maḥfūz conflict dates from 1879 (the Say‘ūn archive, Section I, No. 18).

The Wādī Sāh conflict of 1913–4, the skirmishes between the al-Dayyin and the al-Qu‘ayṭī governor in 1923, and other internecine strife were skilfully settled by the *sayyid* Ḥusayn al-Miḥḍār (died, 1927), a Qu‘ayṭī *wazīr* born in the Daw‘an village of al-Quwayrah. His name is now part of local poetic lore (see Chapter 6, Section 3.8: 25). A poet himself with a gift for improvisation, he made good use of his talent, which helped him to persuade the tribes. His position was inherited by his son, Abū Bakr al-Miḥḍār, who in the opinion of Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī (1956–7, 2: 76–7) was more interested in commerce than in affairs of state.

By Ingrams’ arrival, several written agreements had been struck with the tribes. He divided the agreements into Type A, specifying unconditional loyalty to the sultan, and Type B, providing for mutual friendship and cooperation. Among the tribes signing Type A agreements were such loyal al-Qu‘ayṭī allies as the al-Tamīm (who with slaves and Yāfi‘ tribesmen formed the nucleus of the sultan’s army) and the Bā Ṣurrah Saybān, but also included were the autonomous al-Manāhīl and al-‘Awābithah and various subdivisions of the Saybān and the recently pacified Nuwwaḥ. Type B agreements were signed by the al-Ḥumūm, al-Shanāfir, Āl Kathīr, al-Ṣay‘ar, Mahrah, al-Ja‘dah, al-Dayyin, al-‘Awāmir, Banī Hilāl, al-‘Awāliq, al-‘Amūdī *mashāyikh*, and others (Ingrams 1937a: 92).

While violation of the agreements between the tribes and the sultanic authorities was frequent enough, it was common among the tribes: the Saybān were on hostile terms with the al-Ḥumūm, the al-Manāhīl were in permanent conflict with the Mahrah; the al-Ṣay‘ar were the enemies of everyone. Many tribes experienced internal conflicts too. The constant internecine strife in Wādī ‘Amd devastated the valley’s economy. Many palm groves were burned and houses destroyed and irrigation works damaged. The war zone extended throughout Western Ḥaḍramawt (Meulen, Wissmann 1932: 199, 205). The al-‘Aṭṭās *sādah* of Ḥurayḍah and ‘Amd were slow to submit to the al-Qu‘ayṭī sultanate, for which Ingrams reproached them with a lack of political wit (Ingrams 1966: 248).

During his second trip to the Ḥaḍramawt in 1936, Ingrams pursued his main goal of concluding a comprehensive armistice. “In some cases”, Ingrams wrote in an oft-quoted passage, “one chief’s signature was enough to bind several thousand armed men: there was at least one case where a signature bound only a dozen, but it was thought necessary to obtain it. Thus we had upwards of 1,400 separate tribal governments in the two states. There were also several hundred autonomous towns of unarmed men (whose head had perhaps armed slaves and retainers

for security and made agreements with neighbouring tribes for protection) and *ḥawṭabs* or sanctuary towns whose inviolability was accepted by ancient custom or convention. Altogether I calculated there were about 2,000 separate ‘governments’ in the Hadhramaut, of which only two were recognized by the British” (Ingrams 1966: 25).

The general armistice went into effect in Dhū-l-Ḥijjah 1355/February 1937 and lasted three years. In 1940, it was extended another five years, and afterwards five more, and in 1950, the “civil peace” became a permanent one, if often violated.

To maintain peace, a special reconciliation council was established. A regular army was formed with the help of British experts, as were municipal police forces in the cities and a gendarmerie to preserve order in the rural areas (the Say’ūn archive, Section II, Nos. 276, 348). Following the Jordanian model, a Bedouin legion was formed to secure the borders and adjacent territories.

Political control of the Ḥaḍramawt was concentrated in Aden, which in 1937 had been placed under direct rule by the British Colonial Office, with all South Arabian states dependent upon Great Britain divided into eastern and western protectorates of Aden (Little 1968: 15–16). The same year, Ingrams became the first British Resident Adviser to Sultan al-Qu‘ayṭī in al-Mukallā in all matters but religion and traditions, and in 1939, his authority was extended to the al-Kathīrī sultanate in Say’ūn (al-Shāṭirī 1972, 2: 204). In 1940, the King of England granted the al-Kathīrī Sultan Ja‘far b. Maṣṣūr the right to be greeted with nine cannon salvos (the Say’ūn archive, Section II, No. 295), an honour the al-Qu‘ayṭīs had obtained as early as 1902.

Tribes that disregarded the 1937 treaty were required to pay fines (cattle and silver coins) and turn over their weapons and hostages. A fine imposed on the al-Ḥumūm in 1938, for example, consisted of a hundred good camels and a hundred rifles in working order, and the tribe also had to return the money and goods it had captured in a caravan raid, and hand over perpetrators and hostages from each of the tribe’s clans (the Say’ūn archive, Section II, No. 171). Any who refused could expect an attack by land troops and an air raid by the Royal Air Force with forty-eight hours notice before the start of operations. Airfields had been built in Western Ḥaḍramawt near ‘Unaybāt in Wādī ‘Amd and Baḥrān in Wādī al-Kasr.

The Bin Yamānī *qabā’il* of the al-Jābir tribe were among the first to be bombed from the air. At the end of 1936 they blocked the new Abū Bakr al-Kāf highway linking al-Shiḥr with Tarīm (Section II, Nos. 82–3, 85). This eastern road, as would the western road between al-Mukallā and Wādī Daw‘an, threatened the monopoly of the tribes engaged in caravan trade: the al-Jābir, al-Manāhīl, al-Ḥumūm, and Tha‘īn in the east, and the Nuwwaḥ, Saybān, and al-‘Awābithah in the west. Wishing to placate the tribes, the government promised to allow vehicular transportation only for passengers and bulky or perishable cargo; everything else would be transported by camel. The promise was broken, however, and new in-

cidents took place on the highways. In 1954, the Royal Air Force bombed the Saybān in Western Ḥaḍramawt in retaliation for their attacks on lorries. In 1961, the same fate befell the al-‘Awābithah and the Saybān (al-Khāmi‘ah and Ḥayq) for refusing to turn over their weapons to the sultan’s authorities (Ingrams 1966: 43). A few years later, the camel-breeding *qabā’il* learned to drive and concentrated motor transport in their own hands.

The influence of the tribes supplying the southern and central Arabia markets with slaves was considerably weakened after the British banned the slave trade, beginning with agreements with the al-Kasādī in 1863 and the al-Qu‘ayṭī in 1873 (for the texts, see al-‘Akkāshah 1985: 264–5), and ending with a ban on the importation of African slaves in 1936 (the Say‘ūn archive, Section II, Nos. 68, 69) and an agreement in 1938 formally outlawing the owning of slaves (Ingrams 1966: 293).

In 1939, mail service was introduced in the Ḥaḍramawt, with the first al-Kathīrī stamps appearing in 1941 (the Say‘ūn archive, Section II, No. 361). Mail service facilitated communication between emigrant circles and social organizations promoting ideas of enlightenment, equality, and unity. The first of those organizations did not last very long. For example, the Association for Mutual Assistance founded in 1917 in Say‘ūn was soon shut down by the sultan’s authorities. The Association for Brotherhood and Mutual Assistance had been operating in the Ḥaḍramawt since 1928, when it was established by Muḥammad and ‘Abdallāh al-Shāṭirī, Muḥammad al-Sirrī, Miḥḍār al-Kāf, ‘Alī Balfaqīh and other well-known persons who supported the unification of the country and the creation of a single market (al-Ṣabbān 1982b: 8). It was intolerable that Ḥaḍramīs were more familiar with volcanoes in Java than with localities a few hours walking distance from their native homes, and that a resident of Shibām had no idea what Say‘ūn, Tarīm, or al-Hajarayn looked like (Meulen, Wissmann 1932: 117–18, 125).

The emigrants who returned home brought new ideas with them. The Ḥaḍramawt Congress was active in the Main Wādī from 1930; the Society for Reconciliation, from 1931; the Scientific Society, from 1936; and the Youth Club, from 1937 (al-Ṣabbān 1982b: 10–13). The idea for the first co-operative organizations of artisans and peasants arose in the Association of Justice founded in 1931 in Say‘ūn by Muḥammad al-Jifrī, Muḥammad al-Saqqāf, and Aḥmad al-Ṣabbān.

Irshādī ideas, dear to many educators, found a response among the rich merchant families of Western Ḥaḍramawt (Wādī Daw‘an and Wādī ‘Amd) making their fortunes abroad (Balaḥmar, Bin Mādī, etc.). For many Ḥaḍramīs, Irshādism was symbolized by the members of the Bin ‘Abdāt family of the Āl Kathīrī tribe, who, despite the resistance of the sultan’s and British administrations, in 1924–44 introduced reforms in al-Ghurfaḥ, an important trading town in central Ḥaḍramawt.

The Bin ‘Abdāt rebellion, finally subdued by the sultan’s ground troops and the Royal Air Force, is extremely well documented in the Say‘ūn archives (e.g. Section I, Nos. 122, 127, 131, 183, 189; Section II, Nos. 375, 376; Section III, Nos.

12, 21–2, 37, 50, 52, 54–7, 66, 73, 104, 107, 111, 122–4, 131–2, 137–9, 141, 147, 149, 165–6, 172–3, 185, 194, 196–7, 199–200, 206, 208, 211, 220, 221–2, 225, 243, 264, 271, 274–5). Some of that evidence has been used by Muḥammad Sa‘īd Dā‘ūd (1989: 1–66). Collective Ḥaḍramī memory has preserved poems and oral accounts of the Bin ‘Abdāt epic.¹

A main hero of that epic is Sultan ‘Alī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Qu‘ayṭī (1898–1948), a poet,² scholar, and politician. Born in Khuraykhar (Wādī Daw‘an), the native village of his mother of Bin Maḥfūz descent, he inherited his father’s position as governor of Shibām and al-Qaṭn. The peak of his career came in 1937 when he acted as the deputy of the ruling sultan, Ṣāliḥ al-Qu‘ayṭī, during the latter’s visit to India. An energetic man of independent mind, ‘Alī b. Ṣalāḥ had close ties with the pro-Ir-shādī historians Sa‘īd Bā Wazīr and Ṣalāḥ al-Bakrī, as well as with the Bin ‘Abdāt. He enjoyed considerable influence among the Western Ḥaḍramī Nahd, al-Ja‘dah, and Saybān, and among the al-‘Amūdī, Bā Wazīr, and Bin Ishāq *mashāyikh*. It is no wonder that he undermined the relationship with the British Adviser and lost his official position. After the fall of the Bin ‘Abdāt family, ‘Alī b. Ṣalāḥ was hounded and exiled to al-Qaṭn. His palace there and the house in Khuraykhar where he was born are still shown to visitors.

The Second World War severed all Ḥaḍramawt external economic ties. The property in Java and Singapore was confiscated by the Japanese. Food imports ended and the emigrant cash flow was cut off. Those causes along with crop failure in 1943 produced a famine that cost the country more than 20,000 lives (the Say‘ūn archive, Section II, No. 365). Departing from tradition, the al-Kathīrī authorities demanded repayment of farm subsidies before the harvest. The spontaneous protests of small landholders and tenant farmers were led by Ḥamūd Bā Ḍāwī (1880–1966).

Born in Būr to a poor family of the *hirthān* stratum, Bā Ḍāwī spent fifteen years as a soldier in Kenya, “the Java of the poor”, as it and East Africa were known, thanks to the relatively low expense of getting there. He then returned to farming and soon became a recognized peasant leader supported by the Say‘ūn patriotic group, Voice of the Motherland. In 1944, during the first strike and political demonstration in the Ḥaḍramawt, Bā Ḍāwī called on the peasants to forget the contemptible slur *ḍa‘īf* or “weakling”, and to stop fearing the authorities: “Your strength exceeds theirs. Their soldiers will not scare you. If each of you takes a palm branch stripped of its leaves, they will flee from you. They call you ‘weaklings’. Only he who lacks faith is weak. We are not weak. If anyone calls out to you, ‘Hey, weakling!’ make him pay the full price” (al-Ṣabbān 1982b: 28–9).

¹ Some of the Bin ‘Abdāt documents can be found in al-Qaddāl / al-Quayṭī 2001.

² For love *qasīdah* composed by his father (Arabic original, Russian translations and comments) see: Rodionov 1992, Liubovnaia qasida.

A march to Say'ūn by demonstrators with palm whips forced the authorities to retreat. Later in 1945, when the sultanate increased agricultural taxes, Bā Ḍāwī and his comrades-in-arms Badr Brayk and Maḥmūd and Sa'īd Bā Fuṭaym, among others, organized a general peasant strike, which was supported by some of the city's artisans. The years 1944–6 are known in the Ḥaḍramawt as those of the “Ḥamūd Bā Ḍāwī revolution” (al-Ṣabbān 1982a: 10–13, 31–2).

In 1948, Bā Ḍāwī founded the Society of Farmers, which was banned by the al-Kathīrī sultanate. In 1959, the Society resumed its work in both sultanates. At the start of 1964, the Supreme Committee of Workers and Peasants Societies was formed with Bā Ḍāwī's participation. It included members of many organizations, more than five hundred people in all. In 1965, the League of the Ḥaḍramī Workers began to operate legally and for the first time May Day was celebrated in Say'ūn (al-Ṣabbān 1982b: 30–45).

Both sultans tried adapt to the changing conditions in the country. The financial and tax services were reorganized and a fixed annual budget was instituted (see the Say'ūn archive, Section II, No. 320, which presents the Say'ūn budget for 1359/1940). The property of the sultans was separated from that of the sultanate. A State Council with advisory functions was set up as a link between the al-Qu'ayṭī sultan and his administration. The government was headed by a Secretary of State. In 1949, a law was passed establishing town and village councils as the local authorities. In 1950, a new legal code was devised based on the *sharī'ah* and *fiqh*. All matters of law were in charge of a supreme *sharī'ah* judge. In 1952 municipal courts attached to the local institutions of authority were organized to decide minor property disputes. All those measures, however, were regarded by radicalized Ḥaḍramawt society as clearly inadequate (Bā Wazīr, S. 'A. 1983: 241–3, al-Shāṭirī 1972, 2: 228–9, 331, Maktari 1983).

Events in the country and beyond its border had ever great impact on the Ḥaḍramī sense of identity. Traditionally, it consisted of four levels:

- 1) Birth and social stratum (for the *qabā'il*, consanguinity and tribal affiliation);
- 2) Birthplace (natives of one of the valleys – Ḥaḍramīs);
- 3) Language (speakers of one dialect – speakers of Arabic, that is, Arabs);
- 4) Religion (*sunni's-shāfi'īs* – Muslims).¹

For a long time the inhabitants of the Ḥaḍramawt used the word *Yemeni* chiefly in regard to the mountain people of the northwest. The term *Arab* meant an adult enjoying full rights and using normal language. For broad dissemination and assimilation of the ideas of Arab nationalism, a whole complex of external poli-

¹ With the unification of Yemen, the traditional four-part Ḥaḍramī identity started to give way to a new three-leveled one: Ḥaḍramī-Yemeni-Arab. That process is still under way.

tical events was required. The most important may have been the 1952 revolution against the Egyptian monarchy, which strengthened anti-feudal rhetoric in South Arabia. The overthrow of the Imam in North Yemen in 1962 raised the question of armed struggle in the South. The issue of a united Yemen motherland was hotly discussed not merely in Ṣan‘ā’ and Aden, but also in the Ḥaḍramawt coastal towns and in the hinterland, including Western Ḥaḍramawt on the periphery.

Members of The League of Ḥaḍramī Workers, which had been founded with the participation of Bā Ḍāwī and his comrades-in-arms, took an active part in rallies against the British colonial administration and local lords. They welcomed the beginning of armed conflict in western South Yemen on October 14, 1964, and some of them supported the National Front and later became part of it. The National Front’s anti-sultan politics and hope for a unified and independent South Yemen state also met with tribal support. The separatist tendencies of locality and tribe did not come into play. The incipient social destratification attracted radical youth of all strata, especially those of the top and the bottom. The last al-Qu‘aytī sultan, Ghālīb b. ‘Awaḍ, was overthrown on September 16, 1967, while the British were still in Aden. Sultan Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Kathīrī was deposed on October 2.

The new leaders assumed power under the watchwords of anticolonialism, nationalism, and socialism. They were sure that with the help of radical social surgery, they could soon create a new monolithic society that would not be rent by stratal, tribal, or local prejudices. With that purpose, they outlawed strata. The economic privileges and social functions of certain groups, from the *sādah* to the tribal chiefs, were eliminated.

The *sādah* and *mashāyikh maṣṣabs* lost much of their religious and social significance. Pilgrimages to *qubbabs* were abolished or restricted, along with other “reactionary” practices and customs (see Chapter 5, Sections 1.3–1.4.2), and religious schools (*ribāṭ, zāwiyab*) were closed. Even the names of the lower strata were forbidden, the *‘abīd* (slaves) becoming “workers”, giving the popular Marxist call “workers of the world, unite!” an ambiguous meaning.

All those social and political measures did not, however, lead to the elimination of the strata system, as such. Even as they appropriated the estates of the higher strata, the new elite preserved the principles of marital suitability and genealogy (see Chapter 1). The members of the ruling elite retained their old stratum affiliations and continued to share some of the moral standards of the groups they belonged to. We can say that the attempt to abolish traditional social strata failed. It could not have succeeded without social fragmentation and a rupturing of all traditional ties, including those of family and kin, an outcome that seems undesirable today.¹ Since the unification of Yemen in 1991, we have seen the resto-

¹ See Rodionov 1993, *Mozhno li otmenit sotsial'nie straty?*, Rodionov 2006, *Social Restratisation*.

ration of traditional social institutions in the Ḥaḍramawt, as well as the return of expropriated property.

4. Conclusions

The conception that the inhabitants of the Ḥaḍramawt—the bearers of a specific ethnic culture—have of their past (i.e. cultural past) has characteristically involved the personification of history in legendary and real images and their amalgamation. It is no accident that the most typical works of Ḥaḍramawt historiography are the biography (*tarjamah*) and the biographical anthology. That phenomenon is closely tied to the stratification of the cultural past, whereby a unitary historical process is broken into a series of independent lines that are correlated with one social stratum or another. The consolidation and propagation of those cultural conceptions has been carried out by means of mutually sustaining oral and written traditions (see Chapter 6, Section 1).

The Ḥaḍramawt's unique geography, with its coastal strip, plateaus, and network of valleys between the Arabian Sea and the desert, has had a significant effect on its history, leading to a distinctive blend of integrating and differentiating factors, to a tendency to fragmentation, along with an impulse towards unity.

It would be easy to present the history of the Ḥaḍramawt as an endless series of external invasions, internal strife, and mutinies. However, all the social forces in conflict in the region were striving for control of harbours, caravan routes, markets, and arable land, and when that goal proved unattainable; the struggle went on for separate pieces of territory, down to and including ravines, springs, wells, and groves. This was especially true of Western Ḥaḍramawt, a peripheral area sustained by western caravan routes, a land in which, after the Ibādīs, who are now forgotten by local tradition, only the al-ʿAmūdī attempted to create a local state (*dawlah*). And in its time the al-Quʿayṭī sultanate also failed to annex the area entirely. There are analogies with Eastern Ḥaḍramawt, although Western Ḥaḍramawt is more densely populated and richer and has deeper and broader ties with the Arab Far East and the traditional destinations of Ḥaḍramī emigration.

The independent socialist state of South Yemen had deprived the sultans and tribal chiefs of their authority and abolished stratal divisions. Forbidden were the derogatory terms *ʿabd*, *ḍaʿīf*, and *miskīn*, which were replaced by *ʿāmil*, or “worker”, and *fallāḥ*. Social de-stratification, or more precisely re-stratification, had begun many decades before the achievement of independence. The Irshādī-ʿAlawī conflict of the first third of the twentieth century undermined the spiritual monopoly of the *sādah*. In Ḥaḍramī business circles abroad, stratal ties had become se-

condary. The centralizing tendencies of the sultans and the British administration deprived the tribal leadership and ordinary *qabā'il* of their traditional roles, intensifying opposition. Enlightenment in the Ḥaḍramawt, as elsewhere in South Arabia, proved inseparable from Arab nationalism and the dissemination of radical political doctrines. All of which laid the ground for the demise of the old regime.

Recent times have brought victory to the integrating processes. Restratification of the society has quickened pace, altering the nature of communal identity. The process of ethnic consolidation of the population of South Yemen, and now of the Republic of Yemen as a whole, has spread to the Ḥaḍramawt too.

That consolidation has been eased by the population's monoethnicity (for all the local differences) and by the country's relative linguistic and religious homogeneity. It has been retarded by the society's residual stratification and by the presence (despite the society's basically sedentary character) of an essentially tribal mentality.

PART II

THE TRADITIONAL ECONOMY AND SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Chapter 3: Traditional Occupations

1. Agriculture

The Ḥaḍramawt belongs to one of the most important regions in the world for the development of cultivated plants. In the system of Nikolai Vavilov, it is part of the Southwest Asian region, with overlapping influence from the Near Eastern, Ethiopian, and Northwest Indian regions (Vavilov 1986: 17). Contemporary geobotanical classification, while noting the relation of its flora to that of the Northern Mediterranean, Canary Islands, and Southwest African areas, assigns the Ḥaḍramawt, and North and South Yemen in general, to the Eritreo-Arabian domain (Hubaishi 1984: 15-21).

1.1. Irrigation

Without water, agriculture in the Ḥaḍramawt would obviously be impossible. It is no coincidence that Islamic law stresses the inseparability of the concepts of “land use” and “water use” (Ziadeh 1979: 9, 100, Wilkinson 1977: 258–65, Varisco 1982: 242, Maktari 1971: 27–9).

Five kinds of irrigation are used in the Ḥaḍramawt: 1) flooding, 2) wells, 3) springs, 4) rain, and 5) tunnelling.

Irrigation by tunnelling (*qanāt*, *falaj* in neighbouring Oman and *kārez* in Iran and Central Asia), using underground drains and conduits, has found limited application in Ghayl Bā Wazīr in tobacco farming. The other kinds of irrigation mentioned here are widespread in Western Ḥaḍramawt, with flooding the most common.

Runoff flooding, or a *sayl*, occurs whenever precipitation that has accumulated on a plateau rushes into the flat valleys of the Ḥaḍramawt in shallow, short-lived streams. Flood irrigation involves diverting the flow to cultivated fields by means of barriers placed in front of the streams (figs. 1 and 2).

Irrigation techniques and terminologies have changed little since pre-Islamic times. This has been demonstrated by the observations of our expedition member Alexander Sedov at the Raybūn archaeological site (Sedov 1989), and by a rock inscription in the Dawʿan (Wādī Laysar) village of Tawlabah, in which a certain Dabrum Dhū ʿAblim reports:

1. Dabrum Dhū ʿAblim cut in and set
2. up his channel (*ghayl*) Tawlabah in bedrock in order to
3. water his fields and plant vegetables and
4. cereals. (Read by Mikhail Piotrovsky, fig. 97).

In her book on the Himyaritic language, Anna Belova (1996: 56, 69) cites the rhymed proverb, “He is no *qayl* (nobleman) who has not built a *ghayl* (irrigation channel)”.

The land around al-Hajarayn (figs. 1 and 81) exemplifies the technique. To the south near the village of Ghār al-Sūdān are irrigation works belonging to a number of settlements: Ghār al-Sūdān, Ṣaylaʿ, Khuraykhar, al-Ḥudaybah, Naḥūlah, al-Jidfirah, Diyār al-Ḥāmid, Sharj Bin Ḥatrash, al-Hajarayn, and al-Munayzarah. This part of the Dawʿan valley is usually called Wādī al-Hajarayn.

The first water barrier (*damīr* – *dumūr*) (figs. 3 and 4) is an earthen deflector dam faced with stones held in place by clay mortar. Together with a stone trough (*raṣʿab* – *rawāṣi*), it slows the stream and deflects it, reducing some of its intensity. Further on the flood water enters a main or “mother” channel (*sāqiyat al-umm* – *sawāqī*), where it is split by another *damīr* into two more channels, the Dammūn and Khaydūn. These two, in their turn, ramify into three more channels each: the Dammūn into the Bā Ḥaddād, Mijfah and ʿAybah, and the Khaydūn into the al-Tifil, al-Sifil, and Ḥumaysh. It is around the last channels that the economic activity of the al-Hajarayn farmers is concentrated: the town’s western part, al-Sayr al-Qibli, around the Dammūn water system, and the eastern part, al-Sayr al-Sharqī, around the Khaydūn irrigation network.¹

The diagram of the irrigation system of the village of Khuraykhar made by Pavel Pogorelsky, and that of the town of ʿAmd studied by Mamaykhan Aglarov, both members of our group, may be described in the same way. A main or “mother” channel supplies water to an entire expanse of cultivated land (*ḥijl* – *ḥujūl*). The only parcels not part of the system are those near the escarpment, which are fed directly by the runoff from the plateau. Those parcels (*sharj* – *shurūj*) are considered less valuable than the *ḥijl*. Branches of the main channel (*budd* – *budd*) bring water to the land (*maṭraḥ* – *maṭāriḥ*) of a “quarter” or tribal subdivision, where they ramify into secondary and tertiary channels for the irrigation of individual parcels (*jarb* – *jurūb*) and plots (*qiṭʿab* – *maqāṭi*). In its final distribution, the water passes through a sluice in the earthen bunds (*sawm* – *aswām*) surrounding each field (figs. 3 and 4b). Any excess is carried off by drainage gutters connected to conduits that maintain the system’s equilibrium (figs. 3, 4c, and d).

In order to combat erosion, the gravest threat to Ḥaḍramī farmers, the water deflecting structure is faced with stone, and where necessary the channel bottom (*salqat al-budd*) and the apron in front of the *damīr* are too.

As elsewhere in South Arabia, the agricultural year in the Ḥaḍramawt is based on the special star calendar described by Serjeant (1954b). Tradition holds that some of the stars are particularly auspicious for flooding (see Appendix 1).

¹ On irrigation in al-Hajarayn, see Shāwūsh 1425/2004.

Another technique widespread in the lower reaches of the valleys and in the Main Wadi is well irrigation. The water is raised by means of a *gharb*, a lifting mechanism variously known in the Arabian Peninsula as a *na'ūrah*, *murakkab*, *suwān*, etc., and in Syria and Mesopotamia as a *nasbah*. The design is remarkably simple (fig. 7). A grooved wheel or sheave (*ajalah* or “wheel”) is fixed securely over the well opening with a leather strap thrown across it. One end of the strap is tied to the crossbar of a large leather bucket and the other to the saddle of a camel or bull. So the water can be poured from the bucket, the *gharb* has a second, smaller cylindrical sheave affixed to the well rim. Placed over it is a thin palm-fiber rope with one end tied to the saddle of the animal and the other to the unstitched opening of the bucket. Moving upon an inclined surface, the animal lifts the filled bucket. When the bucket is raised above the well, its narrow opening is lowered over a basin by the rope and the water pours out. This type of irrigation was first described by C. Landberg (1901: 321).

It would take more than a year to dig a well forty to fifty *qāmab* (sixty-four to eighty meters, see Appendix 4.3.7) deep. Clearly, only someone of means could permit himself a well. A class of private landowners took shape in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s around al-Qaṭn, a centre of well irrigation. According to data provided by the al-Qaṭn culture department (headed in the 1980s by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ‘Ammār), there were several kinds of land ownership on the eve of the 1967 revolution:

- a) Land belonging to the sultan (*mulkīyat al-dawlah*) in the vicinity of al-‘Aqqād and leased to major proprietors (Bā Maṭraf, Balrubaydān, and Bā Hirmiz) at twelve shillings per feddan (1,000 feddans was the equivalent of 130,000 well-irrigated and 1,000 flood-irrigated *maṭīrah*s).
- b) *Waqf* land: around two hundred feddans.
- c) Private land: 14,379 well-irrigated and 1,649 flood-irrigated feddans. Tribal property quickly became private: 202 large property holders (with 20 to 563 feddans each) owned 11,794 feddans of land, 173 medium holders (from fifteen to twenty feddans each) owned 2,088 feddans, and 192 minor owners owned 614 feddans.

One well irrigated approximately thirty-five feddans of land. Twenty-five percent of the owners had private or jointly owned tractors. Crop rotation was practiced, as were new agricultural procedures.

At the same time, neighbouring communities with traditions of mutual dependence and assistance survived in the valleys where flood irrigation predominated. The collective nature of flood, rain (fig. 5), and spring (fig. 6) irrigation required assisting the infirm and aged in ridding the canals of sediments left behind during the flooding, or of mineral salts deposited in the open ditches (*‘atm – ‘utūm*) that led from the springs. However, if a peasant failed to go out to his parcel during

flooding, his neighbours might release water onto his land or might make use of his water rights without compensation.

Many wells in the Ḥaḍramawt have gone dry in recent decades. The residents say the underground water “has departed”. In that regard, they look askance at the activity of artesian well drillers and experts in land reclamation, and at electric pumps that draw on the water of an entire geological substratum: won’t the water be taken to the detriment of other wells in violation of the custom of equally shared water use?

A few words about irrigation norms. Along with the right of water use (*shurb*), Yemeni tradition also recognizes the concept of the water share or allowance (*shirb*) (Varisco 1982: 226). In flood irrigation, that share is largely a matter of convention, since it is entirely dependent on the intensity and/or the duration of the flooding. The same is true of rain irrigation. In those two cases, irrigation adequacy is frequently determined “by sight” according to the level of water in the field (ankle or knee deep).

With well, spring, and tunnel irrigation, the *shirb* is reckoned more strictly with a measuring rod (a *fār* or palm branch stripped of its leaves), a sun clock (the change in the shadow of a man or a stone), or a clepsydra (the speed with which water flows from a large container is recorded with marks on its side or by the descent of a cylindrical wooden vessel, a *muṣrah*, floating on the water’s surface). Today, those traditional methods have all been replaced by the wrist watch.

All these forms of irrigation follow a cycle or *wa’d*, usually a multiple of seven. For example, in the village of al-Quzah on the western tributary of Wādī Daw’an, it is seven days, while in the mountain region of al-Aḥjūr in North Yemen it is fourteen (Varisco 1982: 284). This is related to the fact that the most common seed crop, sorghum (*durrah*), has to be watered every two weeks. The same is true of wheat (*burr*), while the tomatoes grown on the communal farms of al-Mashhad and Bayḥān need to be watered once every week, and so on.

1.2. Date Palm Cultivation

The cultivation of date palms in the North African-Near Eastern zone was a decisive factor in the formation of the economic and cultural type of the sedentary farmer of the oases, valleys, and foothills. Palms provide not only food, construction materials, and material for crafts and household items, but also shade for the cereal, vegetable and melon, and industrial crops that are planted around them (Zhukovsky 140: 598).

Date palms are capable of producing fruit for two or three years without flood irrigation, which makes them less dependent on the elements than cereals. For

Ḥaḍramīs, owning date palms is, along with possession of a house and a good wife, one of the three conditions for a happy life (Pogorelsky 1988: 102).

Ḥaḍramīs animate and anthropomorphize the date palm: it can live a hundred years (in reality, around sixty); it experiences love and jealousy. The nineteenth-century poet ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Bin Shihāb, the author of a *qaṣīdah* on Ḥaḍramawt palm trees listing over seventy varieties of local date, wrote, “There are many kinds of palm tree: yellow, red, black. They are in this like the descendents of Adam’s son, and a male palm tree is like an ardent husband” (quoted from al-Ṣabbān 1984b: 34).

Destroying a palm tree is tantamount to murder. In the time of internecine strife, a *kazzāz*, or palm tree killer who would pour kerosene, *kāz*, on the roots, was considered the worst of murderers. The first *kazzāzs* are alleged to have appeared in Wādī Daw‘an in the mid-1920s (Serjeant 1981a: 307).

It is said that there are more than three hundred varieties of dates grown in the Ḥaḍramawt, but even the date growers themselves will rarely name more than a dozen. Among them the sweetest is the *sahl*; the tenderest, the *buṭayṭ*; the tastiest, the *mayda*‘; the best for storage, the *zujāj*; and the best for healing, the *thurāyyah* and the *ḥamrā*’.

The period from germination to mature fruit is nine months, as with human beings, and is divided in Western Ḥaḍramawt into the following stages (cf. al-Ṣabbān 1983a: 42):

- 1) *Fukḥṭab*: pollination. In January-February, the flowering female panicles are artificially pollinated by shaking cut-off male blossoms over them.
- 2) *Taṣrīf*: pruning. In mid-April, superfluous branches and sharp spines on the trunk are removed.
- 3) *Tawḍī*‘: arrangement. In April-May, the clusters of dates are secured to keep them from collapsing under their own increasing weight.
- 4) *Takḥbīr*: protection. In June-July, the clusters of green dates (*busr – bisār*) are covered with double-doored baskets (*khubrah*; see Chapter 3, Section 7: Basketry, below). This is a time for guarding the crop from birds, monkeys, and people.
- 5) *Qatī*‘: cutting. Early in September, the crop is harvested. Women take part in the work, too. They shake the dates from peduncles cut down by the men and sort them. After that, the dates are dried in the sun for a few days, washed, pressed on round platforms, and stored in large jars (sing. *zīr*, see Chapter 3, Section 4: Pottery, below). The great majority of Western Ḥaḍramawt dates are of the *zujāj* (*izzāz*) variety, the most suitable for storage. For domestic use, the tender and tasty *ṣufrī* variety is preferred.

The anthropomorphizing of the date palm is reflected in the traditional terminology. Some varieties of palm, regardless of the actual sex of the tree, are called *abū*

or father (the *madīnī*, for example), while others are referred to as *umm* or mother (the *hamrā'*, for example). A palm sapling is known as a *walad* or child, and a palm tree with a double trunk is called a *qarīn* or married couple.

Other terms connected to palm breeding recorded by Landberg and Serjeant (Landberg 1901: 307–11; Serjeant 1981b: 317, note 72, 319–21) have been confirmed by our field work in Western Ḥaḍramawt. A young palm (four years and older) already bearing fruit is called *kbal'ah* (pl. *kbiḷā'ah*) or *maqla'* (pl. *maqāli'*). A tall palm tree standing by itself is a *manqar* (pl. *manāqir*). And three or more trunks growing from one root are referred to as *dawwārah*.

The date palm “anatomy” shown in fig. 8 corresponds to the following:

1. *Libbah* (pl. *libab*): an apical bud, called heart of palm, from which the leaf develops. Used as material for basketry.
2. *Jism* (pl. *ajsām*) or *jidr* (pl. *judūr*): the body or trunk. Used as fuel or construction material.
3. *Maṭī* (pl. *maṭāyā*): the central peduncle. Fuel or material for basketry.
4. *Qurrāfab* (pl. *qarārīf*): the spathe.
5. *Khīl* (pl. *khiyāl*, *khawl*): a cluster from the *maṭī*.
6. *Shumrakh* (pl. *shamārikh*), an offshoot from the *maṭī*.
7. Dates: *busr* – green and unripe, *faḍah* – ripening, *qar'* – half-ripe, *mahīl* – ripe (black, red, yellow), *maftūl* – dried, *khaṭī'* – rotten.
8. *Shawk* (pl. *ashwāk*) or *sullāt* (pl. *sullab*): the sharp spike at the base of a stem.
9. *Sa'fab* (pl. *sa'āf*) or *jarīdah* (pl. *jarīdāt*): a leaf branch. The stem of the *sa'fab* is used as construction material, as a measuring unit or *fār* (see Appendix 4), and as a broom for removing cobwebs.
10. *Karbah* (pl. *karab*): the base of the stem.
11. *Līf* (pl. *alyāf*): *karbah* fiber. Used for making rope.
12. *Jizm* (pl. *juzūm*): the thicker half of the stem. Used as material for the shutters that are still common in Western Ḥaḍramawt, in spite of Serjeant's misgivings (1981a: 320).
13. *Khūṣah* (pl. *khūṣ*): leaf lobe. Material for basket weaving. Also used as kindling.

Tending date palms is time-consuming and often dangerous work, since each tree must be climbed five to seven times a season (January to September). This is done with a *marqad* (pl. *marāqid*), or rope spliced together from rawhide thongs and fitted with a broad loop woven from palm fiber. Putting the loop around his waist like a belt and flinging the rope around the tree, the worker is nearly able to run up the tree. For artificial pollination, the male blossoms (see the sketch in

Naumkin 1988: 143) are cut after the *qurrāfab* opens in January-February and then shaken over the flowering female panicles. The blossoms are placed in a plaited bag hanging from the climber's neck (see fig. 50). To arrange the clusters, a long pole is used with a piece of twig on the end that acts like a hook. The spines are removed with a curved pruning knife or *mal'ab* (see fig. 10d).

Usually, date palms are propagated by planting root suckers rather than seeds. A “child”, that is, a seedling lacking leaves, is replanted in a deep hole shaded with rags and a circular enclosure made of split palm trunks (or now often of empty powered milk or lard tins smeared with clay). The seedling is generously watered for several days, and then every other day, until an apical bud or *libbah* forms. To protect against harmful insects, the roots and afterward the central peduncle are coated with vegetable oil (*jār*) (see Chapter 6, Section 3.12, No. 36b).

Ḥaḍramīs like to recall the saying of the Prophet Muḥammad that the person closest to the flood waters makes use of them before the next one does and irrigates his date palms until the water is ankle deep (*ḥijl – abjāl, ḥujūl*; cf. the name for a parcel of land). We were told this by ‘Abdallāh Sālim Bā Jābir (over seventy), an irrigation expert from ‘Andal in Wādī ‘Amd. It is also mentioned by A. Maktari in his book (1971: 29). In practice, however, watering is considered adequate if the tree is about a meter deep in water at least once every year or so. The surface area of date palm plantings (*maṭīrah*) called a depression or *ḥawḍ* (pl. *ḥiyāḍ*) is lower than that of cereal plots.

Date-palm yield depends on the irrigation method. With well irrigation, a tree may produce over one hundred *raṭls* (forty-five kilograms) of dates; with flood irrigation, barely more than thirty-three *raṭls* (less than fifteen kilograms) in an average year (see Appendix 4). According to our informants, date palms in Wādī Daw‘an produced about twenty-two *raṭls* (almost ten kilograms) per tree. One *tanakah* (a tin weighing about thirty kilograms) cost, in 1989 prices, 10–15 dinars, depending on the variety. It is still only a slight exaggeration to repeat what Ingrams said over fifty years ago—that dates in the Ḥaḍramawt are almost never stored away for future use, the entire local crop being consumed fresh over a two-month period, in June and July (Ingrams 1937a: 55). At the time, a date palm's value was 32 to 80 pounds sterling (calculated at 1 pound sterling to 12.5 talers), or about the price of a slave. In the early 1960s, the price dropped to 7–25 pounds sterling (Ingrams 1937a: 55, Stark 1957: 249, Bujra 1971: 60–1). In the mid-1980s, the value ranged from 2.5 dinars for a sapling (*maqlah, gharsah*) of a *ḥamrā’, hā-shidī* or *‘umānī* date palm, to 50 dinars or more for an adult tree. *Izzāz, madīnī,* and *thurāyyah* saplings cost 15–20 dinars, and an adult tree, 150 dinars or more.

For all the attempts in the 1970s to collectivize the land in Wādī ‘Amd and Wādī al-‘Ayn, date-palm ownership remained private, with from five to one hundred trees or more per parcel. In all three lateral valleys of the region, date-palm plantations were particularly numerous in the upper reaches and near the lower ones. Remaining in the fields were palm huts (*‘arīsh – ‘urūsh*), adobe houses (*dār*), and

watchtowers (*kūt*) for guarding the groves (for security or *shirāḥab*, see Chapter 5; for examples of folklore relating to date-palm cultivation, see Chapter 6).

In 1922, the total number of the date palms in the Ḥaḍramawt was estimated at 200,000 (Serjeant 1981b: 307). That figure seems low if we compare it to the palm-tree statistics for the ‘Amd sub-district, received in 1989 from Sālim ‘Alī Bin Shamlān, a clerk in the ‘Amd sub-district office.

Table No. 2. Date Palms in the ‘Amd Sub-district (1989)

Location	Population	Number of Trees (in thousands)	Irrigated Areas (in thousand <i>maṭirabs</i>)
Qarn al-Māl	550	3	21
Khanfar	900	5	22
al-Raḥab	780	4	35
Mankhūb	400	6	10
‘Anaq	1,000	5	27
al-Nu‘ayr	850	3	42
Khurūbah	150	1	12
Shazīyah	100	4	5
‘Amd	1,650	7.3	40
Jāḥiz	600	6	13
Ḥābrah	300	3	15
Ṭamḥān	700	2	18
Khurbat Bā Karmān, al-Wajr, etc.	1,430	6	45
Makhīyah, Sharqī Bā Ṭays, etc.	900	3	13
al-Ribāṭ, Ḥālat Bā Ṣulayb, Khamīlat Bā Yazīd, Tammul	2,350	7.5	22
Shu‘bah, al-Sharāqī, al-Jubūb	1,700	7	25
Zāhir, al-Raḍḥayn	750	2	6
Total	15,110	74.8	371

According to our information, the population of the ‘Amd sub-district was at least 28,200. This means that there were nearly three palm trees (2.7) and around thirteen *maṭīrah*s of irrigable land per person.

Conflicting data obtained from the Daw‘an *mudīrīyah* statistical bureau (in the ‘Amd sub-district, 130,000 palm trees; in the Ḥurayḍah, 50,000; in the Ṣīf, 143,000; and in the Wādī al-‘Ayn, 30,000) failed to reflect the loss of at least forty per cent of the Wādī ‘Amd date palms from drought. However, Western Ḥaḍramawt, with another 42,000 trees in Wādī Daw‘an, Ḥawrah, and al-Qaṭn, has over 300,000 date palms. In many locations, for example, between Khuraykhar and al-Hajarayn in Wādī Daw‘an, there are numerous abandoned parcels with remnants of date-palm cultivation.

Here are a few more figures characterizing the Western Ḥaḍramawt “collective brigade” technique employed in the 1980s. Of 218,735 farmed *maṭīrah*s in Ḥurayḍah, 7,435 were worked by fifty-five brigades of five to six men each, for an average of 135.2 *maṭīrah*s per brigade (*ḥayy ‘Ummāl*). In Qarn Bin ‘Adwān and Wādī Tibrā’ (*ḥayy Radfān*), the total was 54,000 *maṭīrah*s for fifty brigades, or a ratio of 1,080 *maṭīrah*s per brigade; in Nafḥūn and Zāhir (*ḥayy* June 22), it was 58,300 *maṭīrah*s for 47 brigades, or 1,240.4 *maṭīrah*s per brigade; and in ‘Andal (*ḥayy* May 14), it was 69,030 *maṭīrah*s for 46 brigades, or 1,500.7 *maṭīrah*s per brigade – a total of 1,093 agricultural workers. 15,000 *maṭīrah*s were owned by mosques as *waqf* land, 16,000 were controlled by an irrigation research project, and another 16,000 were held in reserve (the Daw‘an statistical bureau, 1989).

There were 1,440 brigade workers in the sub-district of ‘Amd and 720, in Wādī al-‘Ayn. Ḥurayḍah had 742 brigade workers, versus 2,000 private farmers, the latter mostly in al-Hajarayn and the lower reaches of Wādī Daw‘an. There were also 3,000 private farmers in the Ṣīf centre of Ḥawrah, and the al-Qaṭn had 841 private farmers.

In all, the agricultural workers of Western Ḥaḍramawt in early 1989 numbered around 10,000 people, approximately 6,000 of whom were employed on private farms. With the unification of Yemen, the picture changed dramatically.

1.3. Other Crops

The most common in Western Ḥaḍramawt are *durrah* (*Sorghum durra*, or durra), *dujr* (*Vigna sinensis*, or cowpea), *jujul* (*Sesamum indicum*, or sesame), and, to a lesser extent, *musaybalī* (*Pennisetum spicatum*, or Ethiopian bultuc), *burr* (*Triticum vulgare*, or wheat), and *dukhn* (*Holcus dochna*, or small millet).

Durra is especially important, yielding a harvest in seventy days. Two varieties are distinguished: short-stalk winter durra, which is sown in mid-July, and summer durra, which reaches a height of 2.5 meters and is planted the first ten

days of March. Durra produces a high yield and is undemanding, growing in any soil, even a salty one. It is usually sown with *dujr* (cowpea) and *juljul* (sesame) in a 6: 2: 2 ratio, with a single part of *ḥanḍal* (gourd) sometimes added. In the “cold season”, that is, during the autumn and winter rains, wheat is sown.

It is possible to identify areas in Western Ḥaḍramawt that are especially favourable to agriculture. In Wādī ‘Amd, it is the territory from Khamīlat Bā Yazīd to Shaḏīyah, and from al-Raḍḥayn to ‘Anaq, Nafḥūn, Ḥurayḍah, and ‘Andal. In Wādī Daw‘an, it is the area of Wādī Laysar and Layman, with permanent springs in Wādī Marāh and Wādī Ḥamūdah near the population centres of al-Ribāt, Qurḥat Bā Ḥamīsh, al-Khuraybah, Ṣubaykh, al-‘Arsamah, Tawlabah, etc., as well as in the lowlands around al-Hajarayn and in Wādī al-Ghabr near al-Quzah. In Wādī al-‘Ayn it is the upper reaches near Ḥuṣūn al-Bikir, Sharj al-Sharīf, and Ghūrib, as well as the area called Shurūj Wādī al-‘Ayn in the lower part of the valley and in the Baḥrān fields in Wādī al-Kasr. There in centres of spring and well irrigation, but above all in Wādī Daw‘an, Baḥrān, and Wādī al-‘Ayn, a wide variety of produce is grown. The truck crops include onions, lettuce, garlic, radishes, aubergines, cucumbers, tomatoes, okra (*bāmiyā*), lubiya (*lūbiyā*), mint, and caraway. The orchard crops are limes (*līm*), pomegranates, and bananas. The melon and gourd crops are watermelons and several varieties of squash, with the bottle gourd or calabash (*faqqūz*) the most widespread. And the main fodder crop is alfalfa (*qaḍab*). Isolated mango and papaya trees are also encountered.¹ But the chief Western Ḥaḍramawt crops are dates, durra, cowpea (*dujr*), sesame (*juljul*), and to a lesser degree wheat (*burr*).

What is the sequence of agricultural work, and what are the traditional implements?

The draft ploughing implement commonly used in the Western Ḥaḍramawt is the angled single-tooth wooden plough the locals call a *ḥalī* (pl. *ḥilī*). Typologically, it resembles the Central Asian *omach*, the evolutionary link between the Russian *sokba* and Ukrainian single-tooth *ralo* (Krasnov 1975: 32).

Researchers have described the wooden ploughing implements of many Arabian areas. There are sketches for Lahj in South Yemen (Maktari 1971: 55, Dostal 1981: 33), for the province of Ṣa‘dah in North Yemen (Gingrich, Heiss 1986: 62–4), for Central Yemen (Dostal 1985: Tables 8–9), and for ‘Asīr in Saudi Arabia (Dostal 1983a: 39–40).

Two kinds of *ḥalī* are known in Western Ḥaḍramawt: a) a large heavy one, about forty kilograms, drawn by a pair of bulls, and b) a small light one, about four kilograms, drawn by a pair of donkeys or a camel. Both versions have the same construction (figs. 9, 34). The base *a* of the two-part plough beam (*sunūm*) is

¹ In 2006 there are plenty of papaya crops and much more mango.

made of a split tree trunk with the stump of a thick branch extending from it. Part *b* (the shaft or *‘arb*) is affixed to part *a* with two or three wooden cotters (*kbasī*) and bound with a leather strap (*ṣayr*), although the strap is more and more frequently replaced with rope or adhesive tape. The plough is connected to the yoke (*hambalah – hanābil*) by a spherical nodule at the end of the shaft (fig. 9c). The skid (*ma‘rabah*) on which the metal ploughshare (*sinnah*) is mounted is attached to the plough beam by two iron screws or wooden pegs, and also by an inset stanchion (*yad*) provided with a handle (*uṣba*). Old men recall that for sowing a hollow wooden tube (*qaṣbah*) was used, attached either to the base of the *ḥalī* or to a rope behind it.

Like all local ploughing implements made of wood, the *ḥalī* is manufactured to order by professional carpenters, the large plough in a day and the small one in several hours. They are made of *mushṭ* (*Grewia erithraea*), a water-resistant wood. Part *b* of the beam is usually made of *‘ilb* or Arabian jujube (*Ziziphus spina-christi*) or of *ithl* or Nile tamarisk (*Tamarix nilotica*). The last is also used for making seed tubes (see Chapter 3, Section 3, below).

The first ploughing (*jasn*), half a cubit deep, is done with a large plough or by hand with a hoe having a narrow sharpened blade (*mizḥā – mazāḥī*). Another version (*qadūm – qudum*, fig. 11) is used to bank and loosen the soil, while a spade-hoe with a wide blade (*maghrāfah – maghārif*, fig. 41) is used for moving large quantities of soil. Over the last decades, the large plough has almost everywhere been replaced by the tractor. The first one was imported in 1905 by the Say‘ūn landowner Hūd b. Aḥmad al-Saqqāf, along with a mechanical pump that ran on petrol, a generator, and an old Ford car. To look after this machinery and train local mechanics, he engaged a Japanese expert named Hariyama, who converted to Islam and took a wife in Say‘ūn (al-Saqqāf, n.d.: 10).

After the first ploughing, the ground is levelled (*tajhīz*) with hoes and a special wooden spade (*ḥarīr – ḥurur*) used to make an earthen berm (*sawm – aswām*) around the perimeter of the parcel. Dung is used for fertilizing, originally cow and camel, but now only camel dung. It is measured by the *jibl* (pl. *jubūl*), a large pack basket 1.5 m long and 1 m wide. One *maṭīrah* takes two baskets of manure. Round two-handled work baskets (*marbashah – marābish*) are also used to carry dirt. Formerly plaited, they are today more and more frequently made of cut-up tire treads.

After the ground is ploughed with the large plough, it was harrowed with a large harrow (*mikhrim – makhārim*) with sixteen flat iron teeth (*kalb – kilāb*; see fig. 10A). When the ground is ploughed with a small plough, a small harrow with twelve teeth is used. These operations, like the routine repair of the irrigation network, are conducted in preparation for the next flooding.

Immediately after flooding, the field is ploughed wet with the small plough, sown, and leveled with another animal-drawn implement, a board covered with

iron (*madfan* – *madāfin*, *mukhfah* – *makhāfi*; see fig. 10B). A mixture of seeds is planted: *durrah*, *dujr*, *juljul*, and *ḥandal*. Around seventy *maṭīrah*s a day could be ploughed with a camel, and around thirty with a pair of donkeys.

Ṣāliḥ Bū Bakr Bā Sahl (about sixty years), a member of the ancient clan of Ḥurayḍah *mashāyikh* whose own family keeps to the Wādī ‘Amd agricultural traditions, told us that in the past all peasants used a sowing tube. It isn’t used anymore because they want the work to go faster. With a sowing tube, it took ten to fifteen days to plant 400–500 *maṭīrah*s; now the work takes no more than one day. They cast with both hands from a basket, with twice as many seeds sown as before with a tube. A *maṭīrah* requires one *muṣrah* of seeds, with a yield formerly of one *mikyāl* (ten “small” *muṣrah*s) at harvest, that is, a tenfold increase. Today, when dung has grown scarce, one hundred *maṭīrah*s yield thirty to thirty-five *mikyāls*, that is, a threefold increase; although in the al-Qaṭn region the *durrah* yields may be a great deal higher. In spring, *durrah* is mostly interplanted with *dujr* in a 1: 4 ratio. In summer it is interplanted with *juljul*, since it is too hot for *dujr*. After harvesting, the field remains fallow for a year.

The first and second ploughing are mostly done by men, although women may take part in the planting. Then comes such women’s work as the first weeding (*tibdā’*) fifteen days after planting, and the second weeding (*makhūshah*), a month after. If new flooding occurs during that time, the men carry out a second harrowing (*kbazm*) to promote better absorption of the moisture and prevent hardening of the topsoil. *Dujr* is harvested by women with knives (*shafrah* – *shifār*), and *durrah* by both men and women with sickles (*sharīm* – *shuram*; see fig. 10 C). Threshing (*mishbāt*) is done with wooden flails (*‘ūd* – *‘idān*), and the grain is winnowed through large sieves (*tabaq* – *aṭbāq*) of plaited palm leaves (see Section 3, below). Then a final ploughing takes place, ending the agricultural cycle until the next flooding.

2. Livestock

Unlike agriculture, animal husbandry plays a secondary role in the Ḥaḍramawt. It is now experiencing a severe crisis. The traditional economy could obviously not have functioned without camels and donkeys as draft and transport animals. An important draft role was played by bulls of a local humped breed, common to this day in Mahrah and the Socotra archipelago (Naumkin 1988: 97–101). They are small animals (see fig. 31) no more than a meter at the withers and weighing around 200 kilograms. Researchers have characterized them as a dwarf breed (Gwynne 1967: 39). According to our informants, humped cows produce a bit over two kilograms of milk a day, which made for an average annual yield (based on 280 days of lactation per year) of around 600 kilograms, half of which was used for human consumption (see Chapter 4, Section 3, below).

Bulls and cows had already disappeared from the memory of the older generation in the Ḥaḍramawt from a lack of fodder, since clover (*birsīm*) and alfalfa (*qadab*) need constant irrigation. In the past the irrigation had been provided by wells, but in recent decades with the appearance of diesel and electric pumps and artesian wells, the water table has fallen, drying up many springs and wells. A dearth of fodder and competition from the tractors now used everywhere for the first ploughing have resulted in significantly fewer head of cattle in the western valleys. Some old farmers hold that without cow manure, the harvest of cereal crops in our time has fallen by a third, and that the heavy tractors used in ploughing have damaged the soil structure.

The number of camels has also sharply declined. According to their chief, Nāṣir ‘Abdallāh Bin Shamlān (about sixty-five), the two hundred and fifty Bin Shamlān *qabā’il* from Ḥibab in Wādī ‘Amd once had one hundred and fifty camels but now have only one fifth as many, or thirty. The same ratio very likely obtains for the whole of Western Ḥaḍramawt, where camels over the last four decades have been replaced by trucks as the basic mode of caravan transport. In the 1930s, the camel population in the Qu‘ayṭī Sultanate was estimated at 20,000 (Ingrams 1937: 55).

Polling by our group in 1986–9 produced the following data for the livestock population of Western Ḥaḍramawt.

Table No. 3. Livestock in Western Ḥaḍramawt (1986–1989)

Wādī	Cows	Camels	Donkeys	Goats and Sheep
‘Amd	–	350	over 3,000	18,500
Daw‘an	6	150	2,300	9,500
al-‘Ayn	6	200	300	8,000
Total	12	700	over 5,600	36,000

These data are incomplete, however. Neither the Ḥawrah nor the plateaus overlooking the main western valleys have been accounted for. That there are numerous livestock on the tablelands is attested by a 1989 poll conducted in Sawṭ Bā Tays in the al-Ḍalī‘ah, where the village’s three hundred and sixty inhabitants owned around one hundred and fifty camels, dozens of donkeys, and close to a thousand sheep and goats. The donkey count is unreliable: the very idea that they could be counted brought smiles to Ḥaḍramī faces. The real figure for Wādī al-‘Ayn may be much higher.

The breeds of local dromedary are distinguished by colour. The most common are *ṣafra*' (sand-yellow), *'arqā*' (reddish-yellow), and *ḥamrā*' (reddish-brown) (Dostal 1967: 64). Camel husbandry is usually the occupation of semi-nomadic *qabā'il*. In dry seasons, the camels are pastured in the valleys, where they can forage on the leaves and slender twigs of trees and shrubs like the *sumr* or umbrella thorn (*Acacia spirocarpa*), *qird* (cf. Piamenta 1990, 1991: 392b), *'ilb*, *musht*, *rākh*, *khawayrah* or senna (*Cassia obovata*), etc. During flooding, camels, like the sheep and goats, are driven up to the tablelands.

Durrah and *burr* hay is stored for camel and donkey fodder. Tender greens and green pulp (*kalf*) for small horned livestock are stored in underground chambers (see Chapter 4, Section 1, below). Tradition holds that camel pasturing and milking are done by men, but with the departure of the men for seasonal work the situation has changed radically: with the men gone, the women have to do the "men's work". The experience of a Saybānī Bedouin family of the al-Ḥālikah section camped in the 1980s near Raybūn bears that out. Whenever her husband, Mabḥūth b. 'Abdallāh Sa'rī, was off working as a lorry driver, the old woman Barakah headed the family and looked after the tents and livestock with the assistance of her two grown daughters and daughter-in-law (see Chapter 5, Section 1, below).

Camel milk is consumed fresh. Sour milk is drunk mixed with water (*shinīn*). Camels also supply meat. They are usually slaughtered just before Ramaḍān.

As for small horned livestock in Western Ḥaḍramawt, the majority (about two thirds) consists of goats (*Capra mengesi Noack.*), in contrast to the al-Ṣay'ar, Karab, and al-Rashīd regions, as well as the Socotra archipelago, where sheep predominate (Dostal 1967: 65, Naumkin 1988: 104). Dostal's hypothesis that the autochthonous population raised goats (1967: 65) is supported by the local lexical stock: *shāt* means not "sheep" but "goat", while *ghanam* may refer to both. *Tays* (billy goat), unlike *dān* (a ram of one to two years), is occasionally encountered in local tribal names (for example, the Bā Tays). A tassel cut from the tail of a goat is sewn onto bridal dresses as a promise of multiple offspring. Goat meat is regarded as tastier and more wholesome than mutton. An average nanny weighs 25 kilograms and yields 300 kilograms of milk per year. The milk is mostly given to children and the sick. Goat meat is eaten on holidays and festive occasions (see Chapter 4, Section 3, below). Butter is churned in skins (*shakwah* – *shkāw*), while curds are extracted in stone vessels (*burmah* – *buram*; see fig. 36). Local short-tail sheep (weighing twenty kilograms on average) produce about 50 kilograms of milk during lactation. They are chiefly bred for meat and their hides are widely used in making leather (see Section 3.5, below). Sheepskin was also used to make peasant outer wear for work during the rainy season (see Chapter 4, Section 2, below). In some places, sheep are shorn with knives rather than shears (Dostal 1967: 69).

Sheep are quite sensitive to wet and fluctuations in temperature. A traditional medication is henna. The marks drawn with it on the animal's face (simple combinations of straight lines or curves) are also marks of ownership, since small horned livestock are generally private property. In goats and sheep, lactation is stimulated by feeding them with crushed date pits (*radīkh*). There is practically no management of breeding. Sometimes primitive mechanical contraception is used with billy goats and rams. There is no exact mating time, but the main birthing season occurs at the beginning of summer.

Ḥaḍramīs also raise a small number of poor quality chickens, but those used for food are usually imported. (For bee-keeping see Section 4.1, below).

To a certain extent, livestock still have the function of a monetary equivalent. The prices are known to everybody. In the late 1980s, a goat or a sheep cost around 30 dinars. According to Āl Ishāq *mashāyikh*, the *sahāqīyah* camels common in Western Ḥaḍramawt were priced as follows: a one- or two-year-old animal (*qa-ūd*), 150–200 dinars; a three- or four-year-old male, 250–350 dinars; a mature female, 500 dinars; and a female with a calf or producing milk, 750 dinars. Almost every sedentary household has fifteen to twenty head or small horned livestock (*mawāshī*) and one or two donkeys. A semi-nomadic family will have three to five camels and no less than 60–80 sheep and goats per household.

3. Crafts

3.1. Woodworking

A master woodworker (*najjār*) is someone able to fill the most diverse orders, from rough carpentry to the skilled carvings on front doors or grave makers. Our group polled craftsmen of various degrees of traditionalism. Some of them worked as did their ancestors only on order at the customer's house, using his materials and a traditional set of tools. Such were 'Umar Sālim Sa'īd Bā Ṭarfī (seventy-one, from the Ḥurayḍah *masākīn*, and the last craftsman in his family), and 'Awwaḍ Sa'īd Barhūm (fifty-five and from the 'Amd *akhdām*).

Other craftsmen have special work places and manufacture their products both on order and for eventual sale (at *ziyārah*s), occasionally making use of imported lumber and tools. Among them was Šāliḥ Yuslim Barhūm (fifty-three and from the Jāḥiz *akhdām*).

The most modern craftsmen use stationary electric wood-working machines and employ assistants in what are in fact small mechanized workshops. Among them were Šāliḥ Bū Bakr Bā Sahl (about sixty and from the Ḥurayḍah *mashāyikh*) and Šāliḥ Sa'īd Bā Shumayil (sixty and from the al-Nu'ayr *du'afā'*).

For the sake of comparison, we also interviewed woodworkers outside Western Ḥaḍramawt in al-Qaṭn (Šāliḥ Sālim Bin Duhrī, fifty-five and from the *du'afā'*)

and Shibām (‘Ashūr Ṣāliḥ Zubayr, seventy and from the *du‘afā’*) and at the crafts market in Say‘ūn. A typical set of carpentry tools is shown in fig. 11 (cf. Dostal 1972a: 64–5).

1. Cutting Tools

Adzes (*qadūm – quḍum*) of two kinds: local (a blade length of 11.5 cm, working edge of 3.4 cm, maximum blade width of 4.1 cm, eye diameter of 2.5 cm, and handle length of 33.5 cm) and larger imported ones (a blade length of 15.5 cm, with a sharpened working edge, maximum blade width of 7.2 cm, eye diameter of 3.7 cm, and handle length of 34.8 cm).

Axes (*fās – fu‘ūs*): local of various sizes (for example, a blade length of 8.5 cm, working edge of 11 cm, eye diameter of 2.0 cm, and handle length of 57.5 cm).

Long two-handed ripsaws (*minshār – manāshir*): in rectangular frames 140 cm long and 71 cm high and imported blades 122 cm long and 5.5 cm wide.

Hacksaws (*maqṭa‘a – maqāṭi*): with imported blades 12 to 32 cm long and handles about 8 cm wide and 11 cm long.

Chisels (*manqab – manāqib*): local and imported of various sizes with the metal part 6–15 cm long and the handle 12 cm long with a diameter of about 3 cm.

Various augers (*makhḍar – makhādir*), local and imported, of sizes close to those of the chisels and the metal part usually made of nails. Even today, the local bow drill (*makhḍar wa-qaws*) remains in use. The bow is made of *mushṭ* wood, the string, of a single or double twisted strip of camel hide. Such drills come in various sizes (for example, with a bow 46 cm long and 2 cm thick).

Single and double planes (*fārah – fārāt*), local and imported, and scrapers (*khāsir – khūsūr*) of different sizes.

Imported files for rough and fine wood-working.

2. Supplemental Tools

Mallets (*mūfilah – mawāfil*), round and made of the heartwood of thick timber (32 cm long, 6.5 cm in diameter, and with the handles about 8 cm. long and 4 cm thick), or massive of rough-hewn logs (a total length of 42 cm, a maximum width of 10 cm, and a minimum width of 4 cm).

Imported hammers (*maṭraqah – maṭāriq; ftik*) with a nail claw; round pliers (*kalbah – kalbāt*).

Sawhorse: two logs (about 120 cm long and 13 cm in diameter) are placed flat on the ground and bound together at a 45 degree angle with a third log of about the same size tied across them just below the apex of the angle, the log to be sawed

with a two-handed rip saw then being inserted upright in the resulting triangle (see fig. 12).

3. Measuring and Marking Tools

European dividers (*birkār*), local and imported squares (*zāwiyah* – *zawāyā*), local marking templates (*bakrah* – *bakarāt*). Many measurements are still taken in traditional cubits and fingers (see Appendix 4.). The carpentry set, except for the largest tools, fits into a woven basket.

Carpenters especially value local wood. They make extensive use of young *‘ilb*, and an old one (over 30–40 years), called a *himr* for its reddish colour, for outside doors decorated with carved ornaments and for carved window-frames (*lahj* – *luhūj*). Wooden agricultural tools are usually made of water-resistant *musht* wood. More delicate items are made of *sumr*. Wood is imported from East Africa, India, Sri Lanka, Russia, and other areas in standard boards or beams.

Wood-worker production may be divided into four categories.

A. Construction Units and House Parts (see Chapter 4, Section 1, figs. 35, 62–3, 67–8, 72):

Supporting posts (*ṣārīyah* – *ṣawārī*) and capitals (*kabsh* – *kibāsh*); beams and joists fixed on the upper parts of the posts as lattices (*maghsaj* – *maghāsij*) used as storage areas (*mash‘abah* – *mashā‘ib*) for bedding.

Roof beams (*qāsīm* – *qawāsīm*) and cross beams (*maksar* – *makāsir*).

Outside doors (*siddah* – *sidad*) and inside doors (*bāb* – *abwāb*), lintels (*‘atabah* – *‘atāb*), door posts (*qawām* – *qawāmāt*), thresholds (*mardam* – *marādīm*), cross locks with keys (*khayshamah* – *khayāsīm*, *qālūdah* – *qawālīd*).

Staircases (*ruqād*) shutters (*lahj* – *luhūj*), built-in closets (*‘ammārī*) and shelves (*raff* – *rufūf*).

B. Miscellaneous Implements

Agricultural: large and small ploughing tools, including *hīlīs*, sowing tubes, large and small harrows, levelling boards and spades, yokes for animals (see Chapter 3, Section 1.3; figs. 9–10); wooden hooks for date growers, handles for sickles, gardening knives, spades, hoes, etc., pulleys and stands for wells (*tashrū‘ah*).

Construction: forms (*maftal* – *mafātil*) for mud bricks of various sizes (see Chapter 4, Section 1), barrows (*ra‘ah* – *ra‘īn*), pulleys (*‘ajalah* – *‘ajalāt*), etc.

Carting: pack saddles for donkeys (*wukfah* – *wukaf*) with symmetrical side “wings” (*shijīb* – *shujūb*) for bags and other large cargo, pack saddles (*qatab* – *qutbān*) and riding saddles (*shadd* – *shudūd*) for camels (fig. 36).

C. Household Articles

Dishes (*jifna* – *jifān*), bowls (*qadah* – *qidhān*), large and small mortars (*minhāz* – *manāhiz*) with wooden (*qawṣarah* – *qawāṣir*) or stone (*manṣal*) pestles, mortar stands (*matkā* – *matākī*), ladles (*maqdah* – *maqādiḥ*), stirring blades (*miṣād* – *maʿāsid*), chopping boards (*mawqafah* – *mawāqif*) (see figs. 39, 40); cradles (*hiddah* – *hiddāt*), wooden chests for brides (*kawtaʿ* – *kawātiʿ*), etc.

D. Ritual Objects

Various grave structures and cenotaph-sarcophagi (*tābūt* – *tawābīt*), vertical board markers with inscriptions (*shāhid* – *shawāhid*), offering boxes, sand boxes (*ḥawḍ* – *ḥiyād*), benches for washing the dead (*sarīr* – *sarāyir*), burial litters (*naʿsh* – *nuʿūsh*); mosque pulpits (*mimbar* – *manābir*); Mecca-oriented niches (*mihṛāb* – *maḥārib*); stands for the Qurʿān and stands for lamps (*kursī* – *karāsī*), etc.

By the late 1980s, the variety of wooden wares was considerably reduced. Orders for ritual items had become rare, and the subtleties of craft of such famous old Ḥaḍramawt carvers as Bā Ṭarfī, Bā Ḥashwān, Bā Kathīr, and Bin Duhrī have not always been familiar to their descendents. Wooden household goods, except for such primitive articles as chopping boards, stands, and stirring blades, have been replaced by imported items made of metal, glass, or plastic. The sets of working tools have been preserved, but metal has gradually taken the place of wood. Well pulleys are made from motorcycle wheels, and the “wings” of donkey pack saddles, from metal pipes (with four cross bars instead of six wooden ones, see fig. 70). Even traditional *ḥalīs* are sometimes made with metal parts.

There has been a steady demand for wooden construction units and prefabricated dwelling components. One should mention here the construction boom for which the Ḥaḍramawt is indebted to the diaspora. However, key bits are presently made of nail pieces, outside doors are often put together from crimped metal sheets on wooden frames or made entirely of metal, and metal beams have appeared. Metal dwelling components are often preferred by former Bedouin, who still tend to move around. Once its metal doors and beams have been removed, the adobe box of a temporary structure can be abandoned and a new house built many kilometres from the old one.

Craftsmen now seldom work at the customer’s house. Most of them have special sites (*waṣar* – *awṣār*) behind a clay wall with space for their tools, raw materials, and finished products. Some have managed to acquire an “Italian machine” (worth about 400 dinars in the 1980s) combining a circular saw, a motorized planer with fixed blades, and a drill.

In a ten-hour work day (from 7:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. with half an hour for lunch), a craftsman earned 10–15 dinars. As has already been mentioned, making a small *ḥalī* took around four to five hours with a price of 5 to 7.5 dinars. An old-style outside door with decorative carving took 15–20 days, while a new-style door

took 3–4 days. An inner door or a double-sided carved shutter required 2–3 days. It is difficult for the individual craftsmen to compete with cooperative workshops producing simplified models made of imported wood. Here are a few prices in dinars at the Say'ūn craft market asked in 1989 by cooperative workers and (in parentheses) by private craftsmen: a four-part shutter – 36.4 (50), a double-sided shutter – 20.65 (25), a door – 59.7 (65).

3.2. Blacksmithing

Blacksmiths and carpenters have long worked together. The former manufactured iron blades (*sinnah* – *sunūn*) for wooden *hīlī*, sheathed levelling boards and wooden spades with iron, forged flat teeth for harrows and blades for hoes, spades, sickles, and knives, produced decorative nails with wide heads (*qurṣah* – *aqrāṣ*) for inner and outside doors, etc. (figs. 34, 41–2). According to local elders, every major Western Ḥaḍramawt village had its own blacksmith. It was not so long ago that the last hereditary blacksmith died in Khuraykhar in Wādī Daw'an. The influx of imported goods, metal tools, and standard household articles inflicted an irreparable blow on local blacksmithing.

Most Ḥaḍramī blacksmiths bear a professional nickname that has been turned into a family name: (al-)Ḥaddād (*ḥaddād*, “blacksmith”). Blacksmiths have survived in al-ʿArsamah in Wādī Daw'an, and their decorative nails are known well beyond the valley's borders. There are also blacksmiths in al-Buwayriqāt, a craft centre in Wādī al-ʿAyn, and in Ḥawrah in Wādī al-Kasr and in other Western Ḥaḍramawt settlements. Most of those blacksmiths do simple tasks having mainly to do with making tin goods and repairing metal tools.

The residents of Western Ḥaḍramawt also place orders outside the area, in al-Qaṭn, according to an interview with the hereditary blacksmith Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh Bin Yathrib al-Ḥaddād, sixty-two years old, or in al-Mukallā, according to another with ʿAwaḍ Muḥammad Majrūs, forty-eight years old, and ʿAbdallāh ʿUmar al-Miqdād, sixty years old.

Muḥammad Bin Yathrib generally works on orders outside. He uses a light portable forge with the maximum diameter of 28 cm called a *majmarah* (pl. *majmīr*; see fig. 14). Charcoal (*ṣakhr*) from *ʿilb*, *sumr*, or *qarad* lumber is fanned to a high heat with a bellows made of lambskin with a metal tube inserted in the neck and two sticks attached to the rear to pump the air. The blades of old hoes and spades serve as the raw material.

The blacksmith manufactures metal parts for agricultural implements and knife and axe blades. The tools of his trade are simple: an anvil (*zibrah* – *zubarr*; 14 cm high with an upper cross section of 10 by 10 cm and a lower one of 8 by 8 cm), a large hammer (*maṭraqah*), several smaller hammers (*ftīk*), tongs and pincers (sing. *kalbah*), rasps (*mabrad* – *mabārid*), chisels (*maksar* – *makāsir*), punches (*makh-*

raz – makhbāriz), flat-nose pliers (sing. *zaradīyah*), round-nose pliers (*zarad – zardab*), tin snips (*maqasṣ – muqṣāṣ*), and so on. All the tools, except the forge, tongs, and punches, are imported. Muḥammad Bin Yathrib also has a workshop with an unused stationary furnace in which he stores fuel, raw materials, and finished products.

The al-Mukallā blacksmiths work under a canopy, occupying a space approximately 20 by 20 metres containing nine stationary cylindrical clay furnaces (*kīr – akṣyār*), and bellows, anvils, and boxes for keeping their tools and finished products. They buy charcoal from the Bedouin, a large bag costing about 4–4.5 dinars.

The al-Mukallā blacksmiths belong mainly to the Jambayn, Bā ‘Āmir, Majrūs, Bā Ya‘shūt, al-Miqdād, Yūban, and Bā Ḥuwayrath clans. Each considers himself an independent craftsman and has one or two assistants, but they all acknowledge a chief (*‘aqīl – ‘uqqāl*), ‘Abdallāh Aḥmad Jambayn (about eighty years old). Many problems are solved collectively. Besides the implements listed above, the al-Mukallā blacksmiths use heavy sledge hammers (*makhlah*), locally made hot-metal chisels (*maqasab – maqasāt*) and cold-metal ones (*farṣab – farāṣī*), large anvils (*ṣīn*), and special supports for punches to make large diameter holes (*taflīṣab*).

They serve the large area between Mahrah and Shabwah, including the Main Wadi, and work both on special order and inventory. A working day lasts five to six hours (7:30 a.m. to 12:30–1:30 p.m.). A blacksmith earns about 5–6 dinars per day. One hoe (*qadūm*) requires 2.5 to 3 hours and costs 6 dinars.

Their products are quite diverse: decorative nails and those with small heads, carpentry tools, metal parts for agricultural implements, blacksmith tools, and such equipment for fishermen and sailors as large and small swivelling harpoons (*manzak – manāzīk*), anchors (*brūnṣī – barāwṣā*), rowlocks (*nakhīṣab – nakhā-‘īs*), and caulking chisels (*qalfatab*).

Ḥaḍramī blacksmiths traditionally occupied almost the lowest rung in the hierarchy of professions and accordingly belonged to the lowest social strata. Our field data did not contradict that conclusion, although Dostal mentioned a Tarīm blacksmith who belonged to the Nahd *qabā’il* (Dostal 1972a: 98), and we too found blacksmiths and silversmiths among the Bā Qaṭiyān *qabā’il* of the Raydat al-Dayyin plateau, which we studied in 1990.

3.3. Jewellery Making¹

In contrast to that of blacksmiths, the social status of jewellers (*ṣawwāgh – ṣawwāghīn*) is probably the highest of all Ḥaḍramī craftsmen. This occupation is

¹ For more details and illustrations on local blacksmithing and jewellery making, see Rodionov 1997, Silversmiths.

popular, since the demand for jewellery is stable and craftsmen work both on special order and for inventory. We have interviewed hereditary jewellers in the area: in Wādī Daw‘an it was seventy-year-old ‘Umar Sālim Bā Ḥashwān and his forty-seven-year old son Aḥmad (al-Hajarayn), as well as forty-three-year-old Sa‘īd Muḥammad Bā Sulaymān (Qaydūn); in Wādī ‘Amd, it was fifty-four-year-old Aḥmad ‘Umar Bā Dāwūd (Ḥurayḍah) and sixty-seven-year-old Aḥmad ‘Umar Bā Ibrāhīm (Khanfar). Outside the area we talked in al-Qaṭn with forty-year-old ‘Alī Muḥammad Bā Ḥashwān, and in Shibām with seventy-year-old Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh Hassān. Although the local jewellers are, like all Ḥaḍramīs, Sunnis of the *shāfi‘ī madhhab*, some of them half seriously claimed descent from the noble stock of Ibrāhīm, Dāwūd, and Sulaymān.

The traditional material is silver. The *qirsh farānshī*, or “French piaster” as it is called in the Ḥaḍramawt, serves as raw material, as a decoration, and as a weight measure. It is a Maria Theresa taler minted in accordance with the standards of the Austro-Bavarian Monetary Convention of 1753, in which a coin weighing 23.386 g must contain 21.0474 g of pure silver. Minting took place until recently, although the obverse retained the year of the Austrian empress’s death: 1780. Old coins were especially valued in the Near East, having a clear legend on the edge, the letters S.F. under Maria Theresa’s image, and clearly distinguishable “pearls”—seven in the crown and nine on the right-shoulder clasp. A taler was worth about five dinars in the mid-1980s. Jewellers also use other silver coins and scrap (*‘ashīr*).

Soon after the Second World War, Saudi Arabia and the other oil-producing Arab nations started a fashion for gold adornments in the Arab World. They are sold today in Western Ḥaḍramawt and occasionally also produced there by local jewellers, although the latter have all stressed in conversation that gold is not in keeping with the country’s customs.

Part of the jeweller’s tool kit is the same as that used by blacksmiths: a portable forge (*majmarah – majāmir*), hammers, pliers, files, and tongs (fig. 13). Silver is melted over a fire (with charcoal bought from the Bedouin) in earthenware crucibles (*kūwaj – kawwāj*) and then poured into ingots (*mifragh – mafāriḡh*), which produce long bars or rods (*sabīkah – sabā‘ik*). Wire of various diameters is made by pulling the rods through gauges (*mijrah*) using wire pulling reels originally made of wood but now of a standard European pattern. Thin silver disks are made with clay presses (*muftāḥ – mafāṭiḥ*): the molten metal is poured into the lower part (sing. *ghatā*) and pressed with a heavy upper plate (*qā‘ah*; fig. 13/6). Soldering is done with a “Japanese gun” or modern gas torch, but practically all the interviewed silversmiths have kerosene soldering lamps (*sirāj – surūj haqq kāz*; see fig. 13/5). Despite their ancient appearance, the lamps only date from the 1920s. Before that, jewellers used vegetable oil lamps for soldering. Finished products are weighed with a balance having a central pivot, a beam, and two pans.

Western Ḥaḍramawt jewellery comes in a rather broad selection, since as elsewhere in the region they are believed to protect the person from evil and to bring luck. First are the adornments that are bought for the bride by the groom's family and that constitute the basis of a woman's personal property: a ceremonial head-dress shaped as a crown and forehead pendants (*iklīl*; *ʿaṣābah* – *ʿaṣābāt*), now little used but still stocked by a few jewellers and displayed at the Museum of Popular Customs and Traditions in Say'ūn.

The most popular items of Western Ḥaḍramawt jewellery are bracelets: twisted bracelets (*maftūl*) for women and wrist and forearm bracelets (*ʿiḍād*) for men; braided (*mushabbak*) bracelets with stamped ornamentation and sometimes with bells (*sumūʿ* – *samāmīʿ* or *qunqunah* – *qanāqin*); solid (*ṣabʿ*) bracelets, and hollow (*fāḍī*) arm bands (*zand* – *zunūd*).

There are two kinds of ankle bracelets for women that are used in dance: a solid cast and hammered (*matlab*) piece (*ḥijl* – *ḥujūl*) with bells which jingle when dancing, and a flat hinged one (*ḥijālah*), consisting of plates (*fulūs*) also with bells. The *rissī* (pl. *risas*) child's ankle bracelet with bells is peculiar to Wādī Daw'an. One may also mention a popular slim wrist bracelet (*banjar* – *banājir*) with cross-hatch ornamentation, as well as a wide forearm bracelet (*tifī*), a wrist bracelet with a pendant charm (*shumaylah muqabqabah*), and a solid ankle bracelet (*ṣumt* – *ṣumūt*), etc.

Earrings include pendants (*qurt* – *qirāt*) with chains and so called "mute" bells (*aʿjam*) and sometimes with red glass; a double pair of pendant earrings, etc.

Nose-rings (*lāzim* – *lawāzim*), or little studs, are used by women of the *ḥajūr* group and in tribes.

Finger rings are worn by men and women, either simple bands (*ḥalqah*) or more complicated ones (*khātīm*) set with red glass or paste. Stones are rare in the jewellery of Western Ḥaḍramawt. Sometimes they are inlaid with reddish or reddish-brown cornelian, red coral, or brownish amber, but more often with ordinary red or green glass or paste.

Women's silver waist belts (*ḥizām* – *ḥizmah*) are fastened with a pair of dome shaped *qabqabs*, they may have bells, ornamented side bundles (*ḥibs*), etc. A plain belt woven of very fine silver wires designed as a snake is called a *ḥunayshah* or "little viper". Huge silver belts of Wādī al-ʿAyn and Wādī ʿAmd contrast with the slim *ḥaqī* belts of Wādī Daw'an decorated with rectangular *ṣafīḥah* plates, until recently made of silver but now of gold. The jewellers of Ḥurayḍah still keep female shoulder-and-breast cross belts (*nisʿah ḥaqq al-ṣadr*).

Necklaces (sing. *qilādah*) are also important items of female jewellery, including the *libbah* necklace with hundreds of oblong pieces or needles (similar to Syrian *ṣanawbar* or a pine-tree item); different kinds of chains (*musalsalah*); chain sets

such as *hibs*, *askūl*, and *mrīyah – marāyā* with a crescent-shaped small charm called a *haykal*, etc.

A variety of silver scabbards for *jambīyah* daggers as well as hilts (*kurd al-rā's*) was produced in Western Ḥaḍramawt (for example, in al-Hajarayn) until recently (for illustrations see Rodionov 1988a: photos 22–6).

Local inlaid decorations comprise a diamond-shape pattern with a square in the centre (*shumsī*, “sun-like”), pearl-drops (*nujūm*, “stars”), a crescent (*hilāl*), etc.

In spite of reach tradition, decline of local silversmithing is evident. Our informants maintained that a large amount of the Ḥaḍramawt old jewellery has been recently lost in the melting pots outside the country. Some of them have now abandoned their craft.¹

Modern golden jewellery is represented by variety of gold rings, earrings, pendants with miniature replicas of coins, the Sacred Book of the Qur’ān, Islamic formulae, crescents, etc.

3.4. Pottery Making

We interviewed hereditary potters (*kbazzāf – kbazzāfīn*) in Western Ḥaḍramawt. In Wādī ‘Amd it was the seventy-year-old Sālīm ‘Ubayd Bā Brayjī (town of ‘Amd); in Wādī Daw‘an, Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh Bakḥḍar, about eighty years old (Ṣīf). Outside the area we talked with Subayt Maḥfūz Da‘kīk, twenty-five years old (al-Qaṭn); Jum‘ān Rabī Bassuwīd, forty years old (al-Ḥazm near Shibām); and Faraj ‘Īsā al-Bānī, over fifty years old (Tarīm). They all are descendants of well-known craft clans (of the *du‘afā’* stratum). The Tarīm al-Bānī are famous for their animal figurines connected with the Qabr Hūd pilgrimage: ibexes, camels, horses (see e.g. Dostal 1972a: 41). The Bā Brayjī have given their name to an entire quarter in ‘Amd.

The potter’s work space is usually near his home. Part of it is reserved for the preparation of the clay mixture. The best clay is considered to be the milky white clay taken from the bottom of a two-metre palm tree pit. Highly valued as well is the layered “mountain” clay (*nughrab*) brought from the slopes. The raw material is delivered on donkeys’ backs in pack baskets, watered in earthenware vessels (about forty litres at a time), carefully mixed, and spread over level ground. The composition of the clay mixture depends on greasiness of the clay. In Ṣīf and ‘Amd, it contains a fifth by volume of pulverized dried donkey dung. In al-Qaṭn and al-Ḥazm, a basketful of red clay is mixed with an equal measure of dung, along with a bit of *nughrab* and some sheep wool for “dryness”. The mixture is

¹ Cf. with Ransom 2005.

kneaded by foot until it is completely homogenized and then it is kneaded again by hand, after which it is left to dry overnight.

Under an awning (*‘arīsh*) the stock is readied: rolled clay rods (*tār – aṭūr*) and disks for the bottoms of portable ovens, the disks made with a primitive potter’s wheel (*dawwārah – dawwarāt*). In Ṣīf, the wheel (fig. 15a) consists of a clay tray (a) on a clay turntable, 40 cm in diameter and 4 cm thick (b), itself resting on a wooden platform (c) having with a conical recess in which a stationary wooden spindle is inserted (d). As the potter shapes an article, his assistant (in Ṣīf, it was a woman) turns the wheel by hand. In ‘Amd (fig. 15b), the wheel has a metal spindle attached to a thinner wooden platform (c) with a round stone base (d) that allows the wheel to be turned by hand and foot. The wheel is used only for small articles or their components. Large cylindrical objects are built up by hand with coils of clay, just as they are everywhere else in the Ḥaḍramawt.

The finished products are left to dry in the sun and then fired in a dome-shaped double-chambered kiln (*mīfā – mayāfī*)—a rectangular single-burner hearth-furnace with a vertical flame. The burner has a side opening; the heat passes to the firing chamber through a canal and several apertures in the chamber’s floor.

The kilns are mostly built on a mound or slopes and are fuelled with dry palm trunks. Firing lasts four hours in ‘Amd and eight hours in Ṣīf. The products are put into the firing chamber in layers. A load may contain fifty cups, twenty jugs, and fifty to sixty bee hives. Since the temperature is not uniform, 15–20% of the items are ultimately discarded.

All the members of a potter’s family participate in the manufacturing from an early age. They bring water (six times a day, two skins at a time) or raw clay by donkey. In the late 1980s, an ‘Amd potters earned about 100 dinars per month, mainly by selling their wares at the market. The prices were the following: big jugs with cone-shaped bottoms (*zīr – ziyār*), 2.5–3 dinars; portable kitchen ovens (*tinnār – tanānīr*), 3 dinars; bee hives (*jubūh – jibūh*), 1 dinar (figs. 57–8), with their cylindrical sections (*wuṣlah – wuṣal*) costing 0.35 dinars each and the entrance part (*maghār – mughur*), 0.5 dinars (see fig. 17); a dozen cups (*finjān – fanājīn*), 0.6 dinars; a bowl for cooling water (*khazbah – khizab*), 0.5 dinars (fig. 45); and a hookah bowl (*būrī – bawārī*), 0.5 dinars (see also figs. 44, 65, 66).

The Ṣīf and ‘Amd wares are similar, but the former are more highly valued. Generally, Ḥaḍramawt potters follow a single tradition, although imported items of metal, glass, plastic, and ceramics have gradually taken over their market. However, that market still exists, thanks to the stable demand for large jugs, bee hives, and portable ovens. It is worth mentioning that the ovens are lined with crushed stone dishware (*burmah – burim*) made from mountain rock with a high mica

content (fig. 46). Potters buy the old-fashioned dishware by weight and if its reuse continues at the same rate, it may become quite scarce.¹

3.5. Tanning and Leather Work

This topic was discussed in ‘Amd with the seventy-year-old hereditary tanner (*dabbāgh* – *dabbāghab*, *dabbāghīn*) Sa‘īd Bā Khumays, and his information was then compared with that of the sixty-year-old ‘Ashūr ‘Awaḍ Makram of al-Ḥazm and the fifty-eight-year-old Hādī ‘Alī Bā Jurayb of al-Qaṭn. The social prestige of professional leather tanning is traditionally very low; most hereditary tanners belong to the *akhdām* stratum.

Sa‘īd Bā Khumays is a tanner in the strict sense of the word: he skins animals and makes leather (*dīm* – *dīmān*). He buys sheep and goats from the Bedouin and the livestock are then slaughtered by his relative Maḥfūz Bā Khumays (*dhabbāḥ* / *musharrik*), who gets one out of every five carcasses for his work. In the 1980s, a pound of meat cost 1 dinar.

The skins, removed in one piece like a “stocking” (*a‘jam* – *‘ujām*), are briefly soaked in a saline solution and then placed in an earthenware vessel (*mirkin* – *marākīn*), 30 cm high with a neck 33 cm in diameter, and soaked in water containing crushed *‘ushr* (*‘ishr*) leaves. After that, the skins are placed into another vessel and kept for four to five days in water infused with *qaraḍ* leaves, which contain tannic acid. After the tanning, the craftsman smears the skins with vegetable, palm, or sesame oil (*salīt*) (in al-Ḥazm melted sheep fat or *shahm* is used) and scrapes them. A tanned skin costs 1–1.5 dinars, and a waterskin sewn from it, 2–3 dinars. In ‘Amd, leather goods are sewn by non-specialist men and women at home.

Leather articles are made by professional leather workers (*mukhazzim* – *mukhazzimīn*) in al-Ḥazm and al-Qaṭn. Their tools include knives, awls (*mikhrāz* – *makhārīz*), shears, needles, and thread. They make large and small water skins (*qirbah* – *qirab*) and skins for making butter (*shakwah* – *shkāw*), large buckets (*gharb* – *gharīb*) and small ones (*dalū* – *dallī*, fig. 51), Bedouin bags with attached straps (*jirāb* – *jurbān*), belts (*nis‘ah* – *nisā‘*), bandoliers (*misbāt* – *masābīt*), cart-ridge bags (*mahfazah* – *mahāfīz*), flasks for butter (*baṭṭah* – *buṭaṭ*), containers for storing food or incense (*ṣimār* – *ṣimrah*) and sheaths, harnesses, sandals (figs. 52–5).

The al-Qaṭn master Bā Jubayr no longer tans skins but buys his material, including leather substitutes, from a factory in Aden instead. The artificial material has pushed leather into the background. Most of the items listed here are not produced anymore, although the craftsmen still know how to. There remains a

¹ Sarah Posey’s survey *Yemeni Pottery* on Mark Littlewood collection of 181 pieces of South Arabian pottery was published after my book had been written; for Olga Tufnell’s researches on the crafts at the Ḥaḍramawt littoral, see *ibid.*, 22–3.

stable demand only for water skins. Sheaths, belts, footwear, buckets are presently manufactured of plastic or other artificial material.

3.6. Basketry

The largest centres of basketry (*shatf*) in the Ḥaḍramawt lay outside our research area. The most important of them was Madūdah, a settlement near Say'ūn. In 1986, I interviewed hereditary craftsmen (*ashāb al-khūṣ*) there, Sa'īd Hādī Bā Maṭraf (over seventy; died in 1987) and 'Awaḍ Sālim 'Abbād (about seventy). Besides those families, there were also well-known Madūdah basket makers from the Bakhḍar, Bā Ḥārithah, Dūbal, Farārah, and Shalghūf families. The data obtained at that time were supplemented during 1990 field season.

There are professional basket makers in al-Ḥazm, al-Qaṭn, but in most Western Ḥaḍramawt settlements, with the exception of al-Buwayriqāt, it is by no means a typical occupation. If it is practiced there, it is mostly done at home—for example, in 'Amd by the Bin Mazāḥim of the *akhdām* stratum.

Both men and women make baskets. The raw material is palm leaves (*sa'fah – sa'f*) or their blades (*khūṣah – khūṣ*). Most basket makers use local raw material. In Madūdah, they get it either from Wādī al-Ṣay'ar or from Wādī Sa'f in Mahrah (the very name of the latter valley attests to its specialty). The palm leaves used may be short (shorter than a cubit), average (around a cubit), and long (longer than a cubit).

The most popular article is a double-folded basket (*khubrah – khubar*) for ripening dates (see Section 1.2, above). To make it, the raw material is soaked in large jugs for a day. Next, it is dried and the blades of each leaf are separated (the process of *taqṣīm*). Then ten to fourteen leaves are joined together (*mujāwazah*) and plaited. Several bundles (*bābah*) obtained in this way are shaped into a fold (*jināḥ – ajniḥah* or “wing”). Two folds are tied together (the process of *rabṭ*) with *khūṣ*, the knots of which the craftsmen pulls tight with his teeth (the operation of *qatl*). He then ties down the knots at the apex of every triangle on the edges of the basket (the process of *uṭūr*) and the basket is done. Every basket is made a bit smaller than the preceding one so they can be nested, twenty pieces at a time. Two “twenties” are combined in the “forty” (*qarn – qurūn*) by which *khubrabs* are counted and sold.

In ten hours, Bā Maṭraf of Madūdah could make ten baskets, his wife made the same number, and his daughter a few less, with a total output of twenty-six to twenty-seven *khubrabs*. In Western Ḥaḍramawt, the production rate was about the same, about one *khubrah* per hour. The Wādī Daw'an basket making technique was studied in detail in 1984 and 1990 by Pavel Pogorelsky, a member of our research group.

The process of making a *khubrah* is correlated with the human life cycle: preparation for the wedding (*taqsīm* means also the parting of the bride's hair), the wedding itself (*mujāwazah*), etc., up to (violent) death (*qatl*) and burial (*utūr* or "incense" being an essential part of the bathing of a dead body). Considering the age-old Arab tradition of anthropomorphizing the palm tree, this basketry analogy is clearly no accident.

There is a constant demand for donkey pack baskets (*jibl – jubūl*). A *jibl* 1.5 metres long and 1 metre deep sewn of several long woven strips can be made by a craftsman in two days. Widely known are various trays made of plaits laid spirally. Their variants include round ones (*tiflah – tifāl*) 90 cm in diameter used to serve meals, medium trays of about 40 cm (*masrafah – masārif*), and mini-trays of only 15–20 cm (*ghitā – ghitān*). There are also various containers with covers, flag-fans (*marwahah – marāwih*), wide-brimmed hats (*mizallah – mazallāt*), and a variety of sieves (figs. 35, 47, 50, 86). However, mats (*salqah – silaq*) are more and more often woven of synthetic fibre, and large working baskets (*marbashah – marābish*) are cut from automobile tires, while elegant oval and round vanity boxes (*qartilah – qarātil, quffah – qifaf, maḥmalah – maḥāmil*) for jewellery, documents, cosmetics, incense, medicines, and food are no longer produced in the area (figs. 48, 49).

Basketry articles are cheap. In the late 1980s a *jibl* cost 1 dinar; a hat, 1 to 1.5 dinars; and a small tray, 0.3 dinars; while fans were 1.5 dinars for a bundle of six.

Some basketry items (hats, dishes, trays, fans) are decorated with simple geometric designs or with strips coloured blue, lilac, or cherry red with indigo. Artificial dyes are used in our day.

3.7. Weaving

Families of hereditary weavers (*hā'ik – ḥawīk*) still work in the coastal town of al-Shiḥr, and weavers practice their craft in the Main Wadi (for example, in al-Ḥazm, where I interviewed the sixty-six-year-old Sa'īd Maḥfūz Ghalqān), but in Western Ḥaḍramawt this pursuit disappeared before our eyes. In 1985, we managed to interview the seventy-year-old hereditary weaver 'Awaḍ 'Umar Bā Qalāqīl in al-Buwayriqāt, Wādī al-'Ayn. He was the last craftsman in the town and died before the Russian version of this book was finished.

In mediaeval Ḥaḍramawt, the word *ḥawīk* or "weaver" became a general term for any low position in the social hierarchy, and so the children of weavers have usually tried to shift to other occupations. In Sadbah (Wādī al-Kasr) a descendant of the Bā Zarqān weavers became a watchmaker. In 'Amd (Wādī 'Amd) a youth of the Bā Sulūm clan is going to be a teacher. No less important are the economic reasons, since domestic fabrics cannot compete with the mass-produced cloth

imported from India and Southeast Asia, especially the cheap sarongs manufactured in Indonesia by Ḥaḍramī emigrants.

‘Awaḍ Bā Qalāqil inherited his loom (*mihwāk – maḥāwik*) from his father. There was a time when woollen yarn was used, but ‘Awaḍ has always worked with cotton. Buying the cotton yarn in either Say’ūn or al-Mukallā, he combed it with a straw comb (*mūjab*), spun two strands together on a special bobbin (*qubbab – qubab*) and on the drums of the weft (*dūlab – dawālib*) and the warp (*durrāj – darārij*) in order to wind the thread onto a spool (*qaṣbah – qaṣab*). Then, on a special horizontal weft frame 6.5 m long he would make woven fabric about 90 cm wide. The warp threads (*bustab*) were raised with a treadle (*ḥidbyah – ḥidhī*) attached to two wooden levers (*nīs*), and through the opening created thereby a shuttle (*dhammār*) was passed, forming the weft. The ready fabric was wound onto wooden shafts (*madraj – madārij*) (fig. 16).

During a ten-hour working day, the craftsman could make up to 6.5 m of fabric. Of late, Bā Qalāqil has made nothing but open-work kerchiefs for women (*nuqbah – nuqab*), which he himself dyed dark blue with indigo (*nīl* of the *ḥawīr* plant) on a special flat stone (*qalbadah – qalbadāt*). A kerchief cost 2.5 dinars. The al-Ḥazm craftsmen also make simple male loin cloths of the Bedouin type, but real clothing of this kind is made mostly in al-Shiḥr.

In parts of Western Ḥaḍramawt, for example in Wādī al-‘Ayn, the tradition of making woven woollen straps (*bisāt – busuṭ*) with weaving frames still survives, as does the making of ground mats (*shuqqah – shuqaq*) in Raydat al-Dayyin and elsewhere on the plateau.

3.8. Sesame Oil Pressing

Camel-driven oil presses have always attracted the attention of European travelers (Stark 1936a: 38). In the town of ‘Amd, ‘Alī Muḥammad Ḥaddād (about forty years old) has a press of that kind. A huge tub made of *‘ilb* wood is set into the floor and fitted with a heavy inserted core and a counterweight attached to a camel (see fig. 56). Cleaned sesame seeds are subjected a pressure of 300 lbs (135 kg) to form a homogeneous mixture, at which point ‘Alī Ḥaddād adds water and continues the process until foam appears. The oilcake (*tukh*) is removed from the walls of the tub, and the material left under the press is fed to the camel (see Chapter 6, section 3.15).

In a ten-hour working day, two loads (of thirty-five lbs of seeds each) are pressed, yielding about twelve to fourteen pounds of oil, of which the craftsman keeps four. The demand for sesame oil is constant, although since the ‘Amd press depends on deliveries from Sudan, it is often left without raw materials, receiving only thirty-five to forty bags of sesame seeds a year, while the owner needs at least sixty.

See the Conclusions at the end of this chapter for general observations about the crafts traditional to Western Ḥaḍramawt. For the work of builders, see Chapter 4, section 1; for that of tailors, see Chapter 4, Section 2.

4. Ancillary Occupations

4.1. Apiculture

The material on beekeeping was collected by Pavel Pogorelsky in 1984 and 1990, and by the author in 1983, 1985–7, 1989, and 1990 (Pogorelsky, Rodionov 1995: 397–402).

After Harold Ingrams's report on beekeeping in Wādī Daw'an was published just before the Second World War (Ingrams 1937b), the impression might have been created that the valley was the only centre of that occupation. In fact, beekeeping has long been practiced everywhere in the Ḥaḍramawt. In the west, according to our estimates, there were over twelve thousand hives: about five thousand in Wādī Daw'an, three and half thousand in Wādī 'Amd, probably the same number in Wādī al-'Ayn, and no fewer than a thousand in the sub-district of Ḥawrah.

Local beekeepers identify two high seasons in accordance with the periods when the main nectar-bearing plants are in bloom. The first season is that of the *sumr* tree. According to *shaykh* 'Umar al-Ḥabshī (about sixty years old and a resident of al-Ghabrah near al-Quzah, Wādī Daw'an), the season lasts fifty-two days, beginning with the rise of the Jabhah star (February 22) and continuing until the last days of the 'Awwah star (April 14). The other season takes place in October–December when the *'ilb* tree blossoms. The honey produced during the second season is valued more highly: 20–5 dinars per pound against 3–5 dinars for honey of the *sumr* season. The latter honey is called *marīyah* or *ṣayfī*. In rainy years there occurs a third season, the *marbā'i*, based on grasses. If there are no rains, the bees are fed in July with sugar syrup and honey and the harvest is left to them.

There are two kinds of bees in Ḥaḍramawt: the local heat-tolerant *aṣfar* (yellow) or *aḥmar* (red) bee, and the *aswad* (black) bee, imported from Africa (mainly from Eritrea). The hive design and beekeeping techniques are the same for both kinds.

Although beekeeping has a long history in the Ḥaḍramawt (Strabon 1964: 711), its methods have always remained primitive. That is attested above all by the design of the frameless horizontal hives (Shavrov 1907: 24). The most widespread variety is the bottle-shaped hive (fig. 17). Sometimes the space (*maghār – mighā-rab*) is smoothed out and the hive ends in a truncated cone (marked with a dotted line in fig. 17).

Judging from photographs taken in the 1930s (Stark 1936a: 133, Ingrams 1937b: 329), hives were at that time shaped like hollow cylinders, a shape widely encountered in the Near East and patterned on the hollowed tree trunks (*khalīyah –*

khalāyā) that are still used as hives today, for example, in ‘Asīr, Saudi Arabia (Gingrich 1983: 63, 72).

Formerly, the hives were mounted in rows inside an outer wall of the house. That placement assured their safety and protected the bees from temperature fluctuations, increasing their productivity. All around Wādī ‘Amd, for example, in the village of al-Sharjah or on the Bā Tays plateau, the hives are placed in the old manner even today, but in Wādī Daw‘an the insecticide sprays widely used against flies and mosquitoes have put an end to built-in hives.

Today the hives are placed on the flat roof of the house (directly or on a low trestle), in the yard, in a field, or on a mountain slope near nectar-bearing plants (figs. 57–8). Occasionally, they are transported by truck to neighbouring valleys. Low fences of thorny branches, a serious obstacle for people and animals, are used to protect the hives against unwelcome visitors.

First, a bee colony is put into a hive sealed at the back with a cover woven of palm leaves and resembling a plate with a high rim. The cover is usually wrapped in a piece of cloth so it will fit snugly. From the walls to the centre the bees construct wax honeycombs in the shape of disks (*qurṣ – aqrās*), the cells of which the worker bees fill with honey and in which the queen (*mālik* [king] or *mālikah* [queen], or *ab* [father]) lays the eggs of the new generation. As the colony grows and the hive is filled, the beekeeper enlarges the space with additional sections (*waṣīlah – wuṣal*), sealing the joints with clay (fig. 17a: *maghār*: the entrance diameter is 3 cm, and the rim diameter is 7 cm; 17b: *waṣīlah*: the diameter is 19.5 cm, the length is 35 cm, and the walls are 1 cm thick). An average hive consists of two or three sections and may have eight to twelve honeycombs (fig. 17b).

To extract the honey, the owner opens the back cover and cuts away two to four honeycombs with a knife until he reaches one with larvae, whereupon the cover is replaced. In six or seven years, the honeycombs left permanently on the other side of the disk with the larvae begin to blacken, and then the *maghār* is removed to accommodate an entrance (*ma‘lim – ma‘ālim*) at the other end, and the blackened honey combs are cut away.

The beekeeper inspects and cleans the hive twice a year, checking to see how his bees are performing and how the queen is laying her eggs. If the reproduction rate is low, a larvae-containing disk from a strong fertile hive is removed and transferred to the weak hive. The transfer is done with a special wooden vessel (*hash-‘ab – ḥishā*) having the same shape as the hive.

When a colony (*rīsh*) splits, it is important not to let the separated swarm (*farq*) escape. When the bees start humming inside a hive, which happens just before a swarming, the beekeeper suspends from a tree near the hive a wicker tray of the sort present in every home and waits for the queen surrounded by worker bees to settle on it. Then the queen is caught and put in a special cage (*kibl – kubūl*) made

of two circular pieces of leather, 5–6 cm in diameter, with perforations around the perimeter into which straws 14–15 cm long are inserted (fig. 17c). Then the tray's edges are folded and the swarm is taken away. In bad years colonies do not split, as a rule. If necessary, the swarming is done artificially. For that, a section is detached from the hive and taken to a nearby village, where the bees produce a new queen.

The primitiveness of beekeeping in Western Ḥaḍramawt is also revealed in the almost total lack of specialized tools. They consist here of an ordinary knife, a piece of cotton cloth which is set on fire to smoke the bees, a home-made bee veil, a sieve for rendering the honey, a wooden device for transporting the bees, and the cage for the queen described above. The bees are protected against heat with ordinary matting, and against rain until recently with a piece of leather, but now with polyethylene film. Similar tools are also used in the extreme southwest provinces of the Ḥaḍramawt—for example, in the district of Yib'as in Wādī Ḥajr (Bā Makhramah 1984: 41–2).

Receiving no help from experts, Ḥaḍramī beekeepers solve many of their problems on a common-sense basis. Thus, sixty-one-year-old Ḥusayn 'Abdallāh Bin Shaykh Bū Bakr from Khuraykhar (fig. 29) opens the back lids a bit during the hottest season to cool the hive. That should never be done in daytime, since it makes the bees uneasy. Rotting larvae, familiar to beekeepers around the world, are explained by our informant as a sickness of a queen infected by lice (*wan-shah*): “the sick queen starts to fidget and pushes the eggs away from the cell's centre, as a result of which the grubs turn over and die”. Ḥusayn performed an experiment: he removed the sick queen, and the bees produced another, a healthy one, and the larvae stopped rotting. Bee colonies infected with lice are usually treated with salt, although it is of little help.

Drones are never destroyed. According to the observations of local beekeepers, the bees drive away the drones themselves as soon as the *sumr* season is over and the intervening period of scarcity begins.

Ḥaḍramīs believe that bees can cover considerable distances while gathering nectar and are in flight around six hours a day. When the *shibram* blooms around the village of al-Quzah, the bees fly there from as far as Wādī al-'Ayn, which is a distance of about twenty kilometres. According to *shaykh* 'Umar al-Ḥabshī, bees commonly travel from the settlement of Qaydūn to al-Quzah, a two-way trip of about thirty kilometres.

In the judgment of Ḥusayn Bin al-Shaykh Bū Bakr, a good colony will produce from twelve to thirteen honeycomb disks a year, each disk containing an average of 1.5 lbs of honey, or a total of about 7.5 kg. According to Harold Ingrams's data, one bee colony produced 30–40 lbs of honey each season, that is, 12–16 kg (Ingrams 1937b: 32). The discrepancy may be explained by the fact that the droughts of 1984–6 during the period of the bulk of our research were extremely in-

auspicious for beekeeping in the Ḥaḍramawt, in contrast to the 1930s. (For the dietary role of honey, see Chapter 4, Section 4).

Traditional Western Ḥaḍramawt beekeeping is to a significant degree oriented toward the outside market, although the main demand for local honey comes from Ḥaḍramī emigrants working in the oil-rich countries of the Arabian peninsula. Attempts were made as early as the 1930s to export Ḥaḍramawt honey to the international market, although London experts considered the product uncompetitive because of its chemical composition (Ingrams 1937a: 53–4).

Many Ḥaḍramī beekeepers know by heart the verse from the Qurʾānic *sūrah* known as “The Bee” (Qurʾān 16: 68–9): “And thy Lord inspired the bee, saying: Choose thou habitations in the hills and in the trees and in that which they thatch; then eat of all fruits, and follow the ways of the Lord with humbleness. There cometh forth from their bellies a drink diverse of colours, wherein is healing for mankind”. The quotation bespeaks the high status of beekeeping, the ancient roots of which have been sustained by highly developed principles of custom.

The occupation is performed by males only, as in other Arab countries. The ownership of bees and hives is inherited, which can lead to a situation where several brothers own one apiary. The owner’s name is usually inscribed on the hive, especially when it is far from his home. Property disputes concerning swarms (the ownership of the separated part) are often decided according to custom: if a one-pound stone (about 450 g) cannot be thrown from the hive to the place where the swarm has settled, the former owner may not claim the bees. There are special “bee judges” in the Ḥaḍramawt who adjudicate conflicts between beekeepers. In the lower reaches of Wādī Dawʿan, the most authoritative of them is Mubārak Bin Shamlān, more than sixty years old and a resident of Wādī ʿAmd.

Most of the interviewed experts in beekeeping belonged to the social stratum of the *qabāʾil* or, more rarely, that of the *sādah*.

4.2. Ibex Hunting

In his book on hunting in the Ḥaḍramawt, R. Serjeant expressed hope that the activity still existed (Serjeant 1976: 4). In fact, ibex (*waʿl – wuʿūl*) are still hunted today as of old in many places in the Ḥaḍramawt but generally outside Western Ḥaḍramawt. In 1987 in Madūdah near Sayʿūn, I managed to interview one of Serjeant’s informants, the sixty-year-old *shaykh* Aḥmad Saʿīd Bakhḍar (Serjeant 1976: 43), who had been a young man in 1930s but was now the quarter’s headman and chief hunter (*muqaddam al-qanīṣ*).

During the winter of 1986–7 only one ibex was killed in Madūdah, as opposed to eighteen animals in al-Tāribah (including nine “large ones”) and four animals in Dammūn (Tārīm). An ibex is considered large if it has no less than twenty rings

(*ijrah* – *ijar*) on each horn. Hunting in Madūdah and Dammūn is done with nets (fig. 18), but in al-Tāribah only with beaters. According to the al-Tāribah *muqaddam* ʿĪd ʿAwaḍ Ballayl (about seventy years old and a *qabīlī* of the al-ʿAwāmir tribe), in the western part of the region (ʿAlwā) there was no real hunting, the ibex having been frightened away by hyenas and monkeys. However, in March 1988 some hunters of the village of Qaʿūdah in the Ḥawrah sub-district killed a sixty-four ring female ibex between the Manwab and Qaʿūdah ravines. “It was the first one in twenty years”, admitted *muqaddam* Aḥmad b. Madraʿ (about sixty years old and a *qabīlī* of the Nahd). The event was noted by the Aden press (14 Uktūbar 1988: 31.03).

The main hunting centre in the Inner Ḥaḍramawt from east to west are ʿĪnāt (where centuries ago dogs were bred to pursue ibex), Tarīm Dammūn, Būr, al-Tāribah, Madūdah, and al-Ghurfaḥ. In Western Ḥaḍramawt, they are Qaʿūdah in Wādī al-Kasr and Buḍah in Wādī Dawʿan. Each settlement has a strictly delimited hunting area. In Būr and its vicinity, as established by Alexander Knysh during our field research, the hunting grounds are protected by local holy ancestors (*awlīyāʾ*) buried in the village, and their descendants receive part of the carcass of every killed animal. The mountain Zabaq is the territory of the al-ʿAydarūs *sādah*; the mountain Bā Najjār, that of the al-Zubaydī *mashāyikh* from Ḥawṭat al-Sulṭānah; the mountain Bin Ḥamdān, that of the Bin Muḥammad *mashāyikh* of Mawlā Khaylah and the ʿAlawī b. ʿUbayd *sādah* of Mawlā Sumaḥ; and the mountain Yakhbūr, that of the keepers of the grave of ʿUbaydullāh, a son of the first *sayyid*, Aḥmad b. ʿĪsa al-Muhājir.

Hunters are divided into groups (*khibrah* – *khibar*) of five to ten men consisting of *qabāʾil*, *masākīn*, *mashāyikh*, and even *sādah*, although the last condemn hunting. *Sādah* hunters are to this day mockingly called *ḥabāʾib* (Serjeant 1976: 18). When the hunting is done by net, the hunters are divided into the following groups: 1) beaters (*shann* – *shannānah*), 2) shooters (*rāmī* – *rumyān*), 3) slaughterers (*mukbin* – *mukbinīn*), and 4) “net men”, who set the net (*shabakah*), usually at the foot of the mountain, since the ibex are driven downhill (Serjeant 1976: 27–8).

Formerly the nets were woven of goat hair and sometimes dyed with indigo, but now they are made of twisted string similar to that used to make volleyball nets. The size of the net is 1.6 by 9 m. The poles, 2.5 to 3 m tall, were at one time made of palm trunks but now shorter planed rods are used.

If the hunt is unsuccessful, the hunters return separately. They are mocked and teased. A spell (*dhaym* – *dhuyūm*) is considered to have been placed on them as a result of cheating, stealing, avoiding prayer, failing to resolve a quarrel, or violating some dietary taboo (see the story by the informant, below). If the hunters are successful, a festive procession (*zaff* – *zufūf*) is arranged providing the ibex is a “mature”. The horns on the animal’s severed head are then painted black. Hunting songs (*banī mighbrā*) are sung, guns are discharged into the air, and dagger

dances are performed. Today in Madūdah they fire Chinese firework “blanks” inserted in the barrels of fake guns.

In al-Tāribah in 1987, the winter hunt lasted eight days and involved one hundred and twenty shooters and one hundred and forty assistants or “water-carriers”. The subsequent hunting festival (*ḥaflat al-qanīṣ*) lasted two days. There is a strict order for all the village quarters in festival processions. The quarry is divided according to strict rules. Success in the ibex hunt is associated with success in agriculture, that is, with rains and floods, as Serjeant has convincingly shown (Serjeant 1976: 9–13, 76). It should be noted that an “ibex king” sanctuary existed in the eastern Mediterranean (in Ebla) in the eighteenth century BCE. Images of ibex standing beside date palms are known from at least the sixteenth to the fourteenth century BCE. In Ugarit, bronze arrowheads bearing their owners’ marks have been known since the twelfth century BCE (a custom that was later transferred to hunting bullets) (Maktari 1971; Weiss 1985: 241, 281, 275).

Ibex hunting is linked to the *mashāyikh*. The *sādah* oppose it, as was pointed out to me more than once by the Ḥuraydah junior *manṣab*, ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-‘Aṭṭās, who reported that in their town the last festival with songs and dances celebrating a successful ibex hunt had taken place twenty years before, that is, in the 1960s. Under pressure from the *sādah*, Sultan Muḥsin al-Kathīrī (1878–1924/ 25) condemned ibex hunting, after which the ancient hunting culture gradually disappeared in Tarīm and the surrounding area, except for Dammūn (Serjeant 1976: 93, 97). Today, the custom is to film hunting rituals with video cameras. I have watched quite a few *ḥaflat al-qanīṣ* recordings in Madūdah and al-Tāribah. They clearly show elements of the ancient rituals of the festival of the successful hunt as a wedding festival (or as the funeral of a bachelor, which traditionally includes elements of a wedding). These motifs, evident to earlier observers as well (Serjeant 1976: 55), are also seen in the amusing performances gladly staged for guests, including our group, to commemorate past hunting success.

The *qubbah* or tomb in the village of al-Quzah, the burial site of Aḥmad b. Sālim, an ancestor of the Bin Shaykh Bū Bakr *sādah* of today, is decorated with ibex horns and is referred to as *al-qubbah al-marba‘īyah*, since the horns all have four rings (Serjeant 1976: 30, 101, note 184). Ḥusayn ‘Abdallāh Bin Shaykh Bū Bakr, a descendant of the *sayyid* Aḥmad, told the following story about hunting in Wādī Daw‘an:

“The al-‘Amūdī *mashāyikh* of Buḍah are famous hunters and rich people who have business in Saudi Arabia. The chief hunter gathers thirty to forty men with rifles, musical instruments, drums, *mizmār* double pipes (see Chapter 6, Section 2) and food, that is, rams. They go up into the mountains, transporting their cargo by donkey or camel. They track an ibex, surround the area in which it is located, and hide behind rocks to keep from shooting each other. Then one of them drives

the ibex down the slope with shouting or noise making. The chief hunter shoots first. Even if it has been hit, the ibex doesn't fall down at once, which is why all the others shoot without waiting for a result. The ibex goes down, and the shooters all indicate where they were aiming. The one who was right about where the animal was hit is regarded as having slain it, and he gets the horns and head. The horns and head together are called *al-qash'ab*, the same way a brave child is addressed: *yā, al-qash'ab* ("Oh, here's a brave one"). The slayer also receives a haunch, with the other parts of the carcass distributed among the hunters (cf. Serjeant 1976: 30). At night, the hunters in the mountains sing and recite poems, celebrating the end of the hunt, whether or not it has been successful. If it has, they return home with a song (*zāmil*; see Chapter 6, Sections 2 and 3.12); if it has not, they return in silence. If nothing has been brought back, the people of the other tribes say, "Gnaw on bones, gnaw! Your chief has fallen in a sprawl".¹

5. Conclusions

A survey of the traditional occupations of the population of Western Ḥaḍramawt indicates that water supply is the key to such important matters as the annual agricultural cycle, the particulars of land and water use, irrigation techniques, and the bases of social (quarter) and power organization. Flood irrigation was organized on a communal basis and had a self-regulating mechanism that did not require a strong central authority, unlike well irrigation in the Main Wadi, which fostered relationships based on private property (see Chapter 5, Section 2).

Reflecting ancient traditions of local water use, irrigation terminology in Western Ḥaḍramawt closely resembles that of Lahj and Northern Yemen, but is radically different from that of Oman (Serjeant 1964: 72–3, Wilkinson 1977). To understand the degree of its uniqueness, we need further field research in Eastern Ḥaḍramawt and Mahrah.

Of special interest for the ethnographer is date palm cultivation and its cultural status as it is fixed in the local oral and written traditions (see Chapter 6, Section 1). Descriptions of date palm cultivation in Socotra (Naumkin 1988: 145–6) suggest that its techniques were borrowed from the Ḥaḍramawt.

The traditional agricultural implements of the area under discussion are well adapted to local climate conditions. Any improvement or modernization of the economic culture must be undertaken with caution so that the already unstable ecological balance is not completely destroyed. Thus, appearance of tractors put an end to the keeping of bulls in Western Ḥaḍramawt.

¹ For the ibex hunt in the Main Wadi, see Rodionov 1992 (reprint 1994), The Ibex Hunt Ceremony; 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ja'far Bin 'Aqīl 1425/2004 with my photos on 29–34. For hunting in al-Hajarayn, see Shāwūsh 2004: 89–93.

Livestock husbandry is merely a supplement to agriculture in the western valleys. The crisis in camel husbandry as a result of the appearance of trucks has increased the significance of other occupations, especially those involving seasonal work. The hypothesis that the ancient basis of small horned livestock in the Ḥaḍramawt was the goat is supported by the ethnographical data, including the respect given to the ibex, the “progenitor of the domesticated goat”. The ethnographic research on the plateau areas begun by our expedition during the 1990 season will provide a deeper understanding of livestock husbandry among the Bedouin.¹

Comparing the material on local crafts with the information obtained in Tarīm by Walter Dostal (Dostal 1972) reveals the nearly complete identity of the sets of tools (both in composition and terminology), the basic methods, and most of the wares in Western and Eastern Ḥaḍramawt.

The common “standards” were formed under conditions of political separation and inter-tribal clashes. The traditional technologies have been handed down from father to son, from uncle to nephew. In all crafts, wares are manufactured to order and for inventory mostly by men, although women play a secondary role in basket making or are occupied in “home” manufacturing. Found throughout the Ḥaḍramawt are woodworkers of the Bā Ṭarfī, al-Kathīrī, and Bā Ḥashwān, blacksmiths of the Bin Yathrib al-Ḥaddād, jewellers of the Bā Ḥashwān, Ḥassān, Bā Dā’ūd, Bā Ibrāhīm, and Bin Sulaymān, potters of the Da’kīk and Bā Brayjī, tanners of the Bā Jubayr, and so on. Some families, like the Bā Maṭraf, Bā Sumbul, and others, deal in trade and a variety of crafts.

Well-to-do artisans are proud of their origins, maintaining that they arrived in the Ḥaḍramawt with *sayyid* Aḥmad al-Muhājir, while the Bā Ṭarfī woodworkers claim Kindah derivation.

The standardization of craft production is linked to the *ziyārah*s or pilgrimages to the tombs of righteous ancestors and their accompanying fairs. During the *ziyārah*s, custom duties were reduced or suspended and a relative security was assured, which gave them an important place in the formation of a unified market in the Ḥaḍramawt. At *ziyārah*s fairs craftsmen not only sold their products but also exchanged professional secrets with each other.

The standardization was obviously not absolute. It concerned mostly tools, pottery, basketmaking, and a good part of jewellery production. Except for shared principles of design, it did not extend to women’s clothing, which has several local variants. That can partly be explained by the fact that dressmakers had not

¹ After the Russian version of this book was written, the author published articles on the Bā Tays tribe of the Sawṭ Bā Tays plateau, and on Kawr Saybān, see Rodionov 1993, The Plateau-and-Valley Complex, Rodionov 1997, Mawlā Maṭar.

formed hereditary professional clans. A matrilineal mechanism of stable support for the tradition was not apparent (see Chapter 4, Section 2, below).

Taken note of everywhere in the description of traditional occupations were their cultural status and the stratal affiliation of the workers (see Chapter 2, Section 1). The prestige of trades connected with local pre-Islamic traditions was quite high.

The ancient traditions of agriculture, livestock husbandry, crafts, and trades started to undergo deformation throughout the Ḥaḍramawt in the 1930s, that is, when the region entered the period of ethnographic contemporaneity. The crisis in those traditions has been especially acute in Western Ḥaḍramawt, where some of them (weaving skills, for example) had largely disappeared by the late 1980s. Ethnographers must not delay their study of what still remains.

Chapter 4: Subsistence Complexes

1. Dwellings and Settlements

This topic was studied by C. Landberg, who published a text in the Ḥaḍramī dialect about the work of builders, accompanying it with a translation and a scrupulous ethno-linguistic commentary (Landberg 1901: 394-408). Local builders have been described by H. Ingrams and R. Serjeant, the latter (along with B. Doe) recording the plan and interiors of a tower dwelling in Wādī Jirdān (not far from the Main Wadi), and Muḥammad Bā Faqīh and J. Chelhod wrote a paper on the Shibām multi-storeyed house (Ingrams 1970, Serjeant 1949, Doe and Serjeant 1975, Bāfaqīh and Chelhod 1980). The architect Yury Kozhin, a member the Russian-Yemeni Expedition, published a summary (Kozhin 1985) and prepared a study of the Ḥaḍramawt traditional dwelling in which he made good use of W. Dostal's work on the architecture of the entire South Arabian region (Dostal 1981, Kozhin 1992).¹

In the course of our own fieldwork, we interviewed the Ḥurayḍah construction foremen (*mu'allim al-binā'*) Šālīḥ 'Abbūd Bā Muhayr (fifty-five years old) and Sālīm 'Umar Bā Hādī of 'Amd (about sixty years old) and construction workers in al-Quzah, al-Jidfirah, al-Hajarayn, and Ḥawrah. Their information was then collated with that obtained outside Western Ḥaḍramawt from the foremen Šālīḥ Faray' Jawf (sixty years old, al-Qaṭn) and Sālīm 'Awaḍ Jamīl (fifty-eight years old, Tarīm), the lime (*nūrah*) maker Aḥmad 'Ubayd La'waj (fifty-five years old, al-Qaṭn), and Tarīm stone-masons belonging to the Bā Khuraysh and Bā Sumbul families.

When characterizing Ḥaḍramawt housing and settlements, scholars have seldom paid any attention to cave dwellings, temporary shelters, and the campsites of livestock herders. In those cases, the most primitive archaic construction methods are used, typologically standard for the entire Ḥaḍramawt and Socotra (cf. Naumkin 1988: figs. 51-2, 64-5) and probably also for Mahrah. However, even walls made of dry unworked stone (the same technique used in irrigation structures) have wooden beams (fig. 59) of the kind common to Ḥaḍramawt adobe architecture.

The clay dwelling of the Ḥaḍramawt valleys, like the stone structure of the Yemen mountains, derives from an ancient fortified dwelling, the tower-house (a prototype has been preserved in Wādī Duhr), with its strict vertical organization (Doe and Serjeant 1975: 5, Kozhin 1985: 73) (see below fig. 60).

¹ See also Damluji 1992.

The ground floor is the working area. If the building stands on a slope, the working area may include an underground space (*ghār – ghiwār*) cut from the rock for livestock and fodder and a granary with a cellar (*sirrah – sirīn*) for storing fodder and grain, and a recess (*kars – kurūs*) for perishable greens. Other work spaces include a shed (*zarb – zurūb*), larders (*bayt, muhar, maysamah – mayāsīm*), a kitchen (*makhdam – makhādīm*), and a hearth. One floor above is the living area (*fādilah – fawādīl*). The roof has a terrace (*rīm – ruyūm*) and a flat roof itself serves as a recreation area.

The dwelling is usually inhabited by a single family: husband, wife, children, and sometimes very young or very old relatives. Adult sons try to build separate houses for their families. Strict segregation of the sexes extends to the wives of brothers, which makes the everyday life of an extended family residing in one house extremely difficult. However, the dwelling is laid out so that a woman may avoid an unwanted encounter: there are corners and balconies on the staircase landings and there is a back door leading to the inner courtyard (*waṣar – awṣār*) (figs. 61, 63).

The different versions of the tower-house reflected the main requirement of the Ḥaḍramawt dwelling until the second half of the 1930s—security. Approaches to the dwelling could be watched and placed under fire from the turret (*ghulb – ghulūb*) on the roof (fig. 61). The space extending over the front door (*taqdūmah – taqādīm*) allowed an enemy to be identified and struck from above through openings in the wooden posts laid down in place of a floor (*mardā – marādī*). A considered system of embrasures (*mishwāf – mashāwif*) allowed both frontal and flanking fire. Entering the house was difficult: the front door was made lower than human height and placed high above the ground (fig. 60). In later versions the doors had locks which could be controlled by rope from the top floor without the necessity of going downstairs. If an enemy penetrated the ground, working floor, he had to fight in semi-darkness: there were almost no windows to give light. Security was also provided by the self-sufficiency of the household: livestock, fodder, provisions, water (in *zīr* jars, water collectors called *jābiyahs*, and sometimes wells), and even beehives were located within thick walls of the dwelling (fig. 84).

The striving for security required a degree of inconvenience. The dwelling was located on a hill or a steep slope and the rooms could be called anything but spacious. However, even the defensive tower-houses were well adapted to the hard climate of the Ḥaḍramawt. Adobe is a good insulator and the small area of the roof protects it from overheating and damage by the infrequent but destructive rainfall. Two or three walls of every room have windows: large ones (*khalfah – khilaf, futhah – futah*) just above the floor, and small ones (*kawwah – kawwāt*) near the ceiling, which allows for constant circulation of air. Even before showers became available, washing wasn't a difficulty, nor was bathing with water from a

zīr or a clay basin (*maṣabb* – *maṣabāt*; see fig. 44), or washing the floor, since the water was carried outside the building by gutters (*mir‘ād* – *marā‘id*; see fig. 61).

Despite internecine warfare, in addition to tower houses, religious structures were built: mosques with minarets of a characteristic shape (fig. 71) and domed *qubbah* tombs over *awliyā’* graves in *ḥawṭabs* (see the al-Mashhad *ḥawṭab* and ‘Alī b. Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭās’ *qubbah* in figs. 73–4). Offerings (*ṣadaqah*) and *waqf* income furnished mosques with buildings of a completely different kind (fig. 72) for the reception of pilgrims and the training of children in the reading of the Qur’ān. Tower evolution proceeded in two directions. On the one hand, the tower retained its military value, developing into a fortified castle or group of castles (fig. 84); on the other, a type of wealthy house appeared with numerous rooms and work spaces, passageways, balconies, terraces, courtyards, etc., in which convenience took precedence over security (fig. 63). Such houses preserved only the original traditional vertical organization and self-sufficiency, turning the dwelling and service rooms into a single unit.

During the last quarter of the twentieth century, there have appeared houses with a simplified design, having spacious rooms with high ceilings on the ground floor too, with the work spaces all moved outside the building. The old architectural tradition has not been totally forgotten, although there exists a real danger of standardization of the local architecture and the loss of ancient structures, since abandoned adobe buildings quickly deteriorate (Kozhin 1985: 76).

Let us look at one of the “new houses” belonging to Ḥusayn ‘Abdallāh Bin al-Shaykh Bū Bakr, a resident of the village of Khuraykhar in Wādī Daw‘an (fig. 64). The house rests on a stone foundation and is made of adobe. The beams (*qusam wa-makāsir*), doors, and window shutters are all wooden (see Chapter 3, Section 3.1). The wooden pillars in the rooms (*sahm* – *subūm*) and the adobe supporting structure in the stairwell (‘*arūs* – ‘*arsān al-ruqād*) are covered with plaster.

Left of the ground-floor entrance (fig. 64.1) are three storage areas: one for live-stock fodder and another for tools and household items (and both called *mahar*), and a third (*maysamah* – *mayāsīm*) for food stores. A rack (*mīlāq*) made of three poles in the form of a triangle and suspended from the ceiling keeps meat and other perishable food out of the reach of cats and mice. In the same location are a stone grain mill (*marbā wa-‘āliy*) for turning *durrah* into flour (‘*ajīn*; fig. 19), a pan for roasting coffee beans (*mihmās*), and other kitchen implements. Going up a short stairway, we enter a room where clothes, bed linen, and tools are hung from rods affixed to a stone pillar or kept in a chest. Further on are a shower and a “two-pillar” living room (see below).

A stairway leads to the second floor (fig. 64, II) and a large living room that is also used for receiving guests (*fādilah* – *fawādīl*). It has two supporting pillars (*umm sahimayn*) with wooden capitals (*kabsh* – *kibāsh*). Above the entrance, as in all living spaces, there are lateral wooden beams for bed linen and mattresses

(*maghsaj – maghāsij firāsh*). On the right are recessed shelves (*raff – rufūf*), the upper one containing a coffee-pot (*dallah – dalal*) brought from Ṣan‘ā’, along with cups on a tray and a mirror. On the left are a chest of drawers (older houses have built-in wardrobes or ‘*ammārī*’) and a television and videocassette recorder on a low table. Suspended from the ceiling is an electric fan. Next to the room on the east wall are a shower stall, a drinking-water skin, and, farther on, a toilet (*tabārah*) that drains outside (see fig. 72, below on the right). Located in the west corner of the south wall is a small room (with no supporting pillars) for the wife and children. Across from the *fāḍilah* is a terrace (*rīm – ruyūm*), the lower part of which is occupied by a kitchen equipped with a portable stove for baking bread (*tinnār – tanānīr*).

The building of a house began and still begins with the selection by the customer of a respected foreman (*mu‘allim al-binā’*). They agree on the house cost, size, and number of floors. Bids are asked from other builders, and it may happen that one of them will construct the same house for a smaller sum.

The foundation is marked on the ground with string and a pit is dug about half a human height deep. The foundation is laid with stones. In Tarīm they are always bought in finished form from stone-masons, while in Western Ḥaḍramawt, carefully selected rocks are often used.

Adobe bricks (*madrah*, pl. *madar*, or *libn*) are then prepared. One measure of straw cuttings (*tibn* or *tibl*) is added to nine measures of a clay mixture. The slurry is then “turned” into double wooden moulds (the process giving its name to the mould: *maftal – mafātil*). In seven to ten hours, one man can produce 100–20 bricks. The bricks are left in a special area to dry for a week (figs. 20, 69–70). Below is a table showing the brick sizes (I–IV) in various Ḥaḍramawt towns.

Table No. 4. Mud Brick Dimensions in Centimetres

	I	II	III	IV	Thickness
Khuraykhar	–	44 x 30	36 x 30	–	6–8
‘Amd	–	44 x 28	36 x 28	19 x 11	4–6
Ḥurayḍah	48 x 28	–	–	–	5–6
al-Qaṭn	56 x 28	44 x 22	–	–	6–7
Tarīm	53 x 50	45 x 30	40 x 25	–	5–6

In ‘Amd, No. II bricks are called ‘*abbādī*; No. III bricks, *muḥammas*; and No. IV bricks, *libn ḥaqq khaysb*. The last are used for decorative purposes to make the little tower or *ghulb* at the top of a house and the parapet or *khaysb* around the flat roof. Standard brick thickness is one *sumk* (two fingers or about 5 cm), although in fact, as is seen from the above data, it may vary between 4 and 8 cm. Wall height is measured in *mūfirs* (*mūfir* – *mawāfir*), that is, the thickness of five bricks and the mortar between them or about 44 cm. Larger bricks are used for the ground floor, smaller ones for the upper ones. As a result, the house is narrower at the top and seems taller. For solidity and durability, experienced craftsmen place on each *mūfir* of bricks a layer of *ya’būr* twigs. An advocate of this technique was the famed ‘Awaḍ Sulaymān ‘Afīf, who built the fifty-metre high al-Miḥḍār minaret in Tarīm.

Today the masonry is checked with a plumb line (*mīzān*) and the walls are not narrowed. The mortar (*ghuraq*) is a 15: 1 mixture of clay and straw cuttings. The exterior plaster (*qashṭ*) is made of a clay-straw mixture in a 5: 1 ratio. There are round stone pillars (*rukḥab* – *rukab*), wooden ones (*sahm* – *subūm*), and clay ones (*sarī* – *sawārī*), but most people today make no distinction among the three names. The same is true of floor names. In Tarīm, the first floor (after the ground one) is called *murabba’ah* – *murabba’āt*, then comes the second, or *ghaylah* – *ghayl*, the third or *mirwāḥ* – *marāwīḥ*, the fourth or *ghulb* – *ghulūb* (in Say’ūn, the *fāliq*), followed by the first *ghulb*, the second *ghulb*, etc., because nobody builds higher than that in Tarīm. The word *ghulb*, like many other Arabic terms, has several meanings, including “roof tower” (Landberg 1901: 399) and “fifth-floor rooms” (Serjeant 1949a: 284). The ground floor with its three rooms, kitchen, and courtyard requires up to 23, 000 adobe bricks.

As already indicated, areas are measured in “pillars”: a one-pillar room equals 8 x 8 cubits (12.39 sq. m); a two-pillar room, 12 x 8 cubits (18.6 sq. m); and a four-pillar room, 12 x 12 cubits (27.9 sq. m). Fifty years ago, a four-pillar room cost 800 talers.

To make adobe bricks water resistant and for decorative reasons as well, the roof and sometimes the walls are coated with white lime (*nūrah*). The limestone is quarried in Tarīm/Dammūn, Mushaṭṭah, Wādī ‘Aydīd, and elsewhere. It is heated in huge kilns (figs. 94–5, similar to those used to bake pottery) for one and a half to two days (such kilns can be seen near al-Qaṭn). The finished product is obtained by breaking up the resulting lime with wooden cudgels. In Wādī ‘Amd (the villages of Khurbat Bā Karmān and al-Nu‘ayr), the lime mixture was made with a heavy stone wheel (in the first village it had a diameter of 85 cm and was 25 cm thick, while the diameter of the platform was 4.85 m) pulled by camels around a circular groove. Aḥmad Sulaymān Bā Karmān (about fifty years old), whose uncle Ṣāliḥ had ordered the construction of the device, told us that the wheel had been used to prepare the facing of the ‘Ubād mosque thirty to forty years before. The wheel in al-Nu‘ayr was used about twenty years ago, it made

the facing for a mosque constructed with the money donated by Fayṣal al-‘Attās, the former governor of the Fifth Province.

A day’s work with a cudgel will produce three to four large bags of *nūrah*. Grinding lime with mechanical devices is ten times faster. The best *nūrah* is the Tarīm variety, which costs 2.15 dinars per barrel (25–30 kg or 5 *qabwalabs*; see Appendix 4.). A barrel of Shibām *nūrah* costs 1 dinar. The *nūrah* produced in al-Qaṭn is inferior and cheaper, due to an admixture of sand.

The foreman, having been paid by the customer, buys everything himself. He also hires ten to thirty workers. About ten years ago, that is, in the 1970s, a foreman received 17.5 dinars a day and worker, 6 dinars. Now the foreman makes 12.5 dinars plus twenty *muṣrahs* of grain, and a worker, 5 dinars and twenty *muṣrahs*. Before, the foreman fed the workers at his own expense, two days with meat and two days with fish. They also received coffee and tea. That is no longer the case. The construction business has been experiencing a boom, with people spending money earned in emigration and pushing the cost down. On the other hand, housing prices have jumped. A simple two-story house costs at least 12,000 dinars.

Other building craftsmen come with the customer for final approval of the work and they judge severely. When the house is ready, a goat or two is slaughtered on the threshold of the front door and the meat goes to the workers.

The settlements in the valleys of Western Ḥaḍramawt are arranged with a view to irrigation and security. The settlements are situated on “islands” in the middle of a valley or on a slope or a hill (figs. 78–9, 80–1). With flood irrigation, the settlements tend to have a linear deployment along the main channels (figs. 82–3). With spring or well irrigation, they are placed closer together, sometimes in a circle. Most commonly, the settlements stand near the entrances to lateral ravines with additional possibilities for irrigation.

A quarter structure or its remnant is retained in most Western Ḥaḍramawt settlements. Let us look at several of them.

1.1. Al-Quzah: a tribal village or *qaryah* (figs. 78–9)

This small picturesque village has about eighty dwellings, with many of its residents living abroad. Irrigation agriculture is secured by a permanent spring, ‘Ayn Sharaḥbi’il, in the ‘Amīrah or Dammūn ravine (see Chapter 2, Section 1). A small lake (*qalt*) called al-Raḥmah bears the name, according to the villagers, of a female slave belonging to the *sādah* Bin al-Shaykh Bū Bakr, who drowned in it half a century before.

The most active members of the village’s population are the Yāfi‘ al-Baṭāṭī *qabā’il*, the descendants of Shaykhān, who split into five branches: the Muḥammad (Āl

Zinjibīl), Qāsim, Sālim b. Yahyā, Jibrān, and Saʿīd ʿUmar (Āl Ṭālib). There were several attempts by the al-Quʿayṭī sultans to annex al-Quzah, which led to protracted battles between the al-Baṭāṭī and the al-Maḥfūz *qabāʿil* residing in the village of Khuraykhar. The “war” is illuminated in considerable detail in the local oral tradition.

Besides the al-Baṭāṭī (over one hundred men) and the Bin Shaykh Bū Bakr *sādah* (about ten men), also living there are the Bā Qādir, ex-*qabāʿil* of the Tamīm tribe who have been reduced to *duʿafāʾ* status; the Bā Dāwī (*duʿafāʾ*), who resettled from al-Ghurfaḥ; and the Barkāt and al-Saywid (about seventy people), who are descendants of slaves.

The village is divided into four quarters (see fig. 78), each with its own mosque:

1. Al-Shikk al-Hābiṭī (or Shikk al-Sādah), situated below. It is the first quarter on the road from Wādī Dawʿan, named after a faction of the *sayyid* clan of Bin al-Shaykh Bū Bakr, who make up the majority of the quarter’s population even today. It adjoins a cemetery (fig. 78, No. 5), occupying “barren land” (*fartuwān*) and not divided into “adult” and “child” halves, as in other villages (a fact which the al-Quzah residents explain by the scarcity of barren land surrounded by the good soil (fig. 78, No. 6) used for growing palms and vegetables). The cemetery’s *qubbah* was erected in honour of Aḥmad b. Sālim Bin al-Shaykh Bū Bakr (see Chapter 3, Section 4.2).
2. Al-Jawl. This quarter is situated above. It has the oldest mosque in the village, constructed about 150–200 years ago. The locals report that it was built by ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī b. Qāsim al-Baṭāṭī. It is here that the “oldest house” also stands.
3. Al-Qufl (see Chapter 6, Section 3.4).
4. Al-Khalūf. This quarter is beyond the ravine.

The overall area devoted to cereals is over five hundred *maṭīrah*s. The date palm plantations have about 10,000 trees. Also cultivated are leeks, pumpkins, aubergines, radishes, onions, garlic, ginger, and peppers. There are plots for limes (*līm*) and *ḥillbah* grass.

There are about twenty beehives, three hundred head of goats and sheep, fifteen camels, and thirty donkeys. Study of the al-Quzah irrigation showed a clear-cut water distribution and usage system by quarter that has now largely fallen into disuse (thus the al-Shikk al-Hābiṭī quarter no longer uses its old *jābiyah* reservoir).

1.2. ʿAmd: a *baldah* settlement with a mixed population (figs. 82–3)

The population of ʿAmd and the neighbouring villages of Ḥibab and Shaziyah is 2,300 people. It is an ancient town surrounded by farms (40,000 *maṭīrah*, over

10,000 palms) and a network of channels (fig. 82). It has clear-cut quarters (*jūr – ajwār*).

The Safīḥ and Maṣna‘ah quarters are occupied by the Bin Shamlān *qabā’il* and the Bā Rumaym *ḥirḥān* (fig. 82, Nos. 1–2); the al-‘Aṭṭās quarter (fig. 82, No. 3), by the al-‘Aṭṭās *sādah*; the al-Sādah quarter (fig. 82, Nos. 4–10), by the al-Ḥāmid *sādah* and their *akbdāms*; the Āl Bā Hādī quarter (fig. 82, No. 11), by the *ḥirḥāns*; the Āl Bā Brayjah quarter (fig. 82, No. 12), by craftsmen; the Asfal al-Bilād quarter or “lower part of the settlement” (fig. 82, No. 14), by the Bā Mu-sāwā *sādah* of al-Kāf.

The *qabā’il* quarters are always near the settlement’s strategically important positions on its edges or on the heights controlling it. That is confirmed by a listing of the ‘Amd quarters and their salient architectural features (fig. 82):

1) the fortress (*maṣna‘ah*) of the Bin Shamlān *naqīb*, 2) Jūr al-Safīḥ, 3) the *qubbah* of *sayyid* Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Aṭṭās and the Dulayj cemetery (named after the mountain) and al-Qiblī wanderers’ shelter (*maqṣad*) with the al-Faraj mosque (see fig. 72), 4) the house of *sayyid* Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥāmid (of the Bin Sālim clan), 5) the Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥāmid and ‘Aydārūs b. Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥāmid *qubbahs* and that of *shaykh* Laḥmadī, known as al-Mu‘allim, and the mosque of Ḥabīb Sālim, 6) the house of *sayyid* Ṣāliḥ b. Aḥmad al-Ḥāmid, also known as al-Bakrī, 7) the house of *sayyid* ‘Abdallāh al-Ḥāmid and the Dār al-Sa-‘ādah conference house, 8) the mosque of *sayyid* Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāmid, 9) the house of *sayyid* Muḥsin ‘Aydārūs al-Ḥāmid, 10) the *qubbah* of *sayyid* Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Ḥāmid, 11) the house of ‘Ubayd Yuslim Bā Sulūm, 12) the Bā Brayjī craftsmen’s quarter, 13) the ‘Amd upper water storage tank (*khazzān*), 14) the eight-year grade school, 15) the area of the Āl Muḥammad Bin Shamlān, 16) the area of the Āl Sulaymān Bin Shamlān and the Ḥammāl fortress ruins, 17) the town’s oldest al-Ribāṭ mosque, 18) the Jum‘ah mosque, and 19) the former pilgrim shelter, *Bayt al-sadaqah*.

Figure 84 presents the *naqīb* Bin Shamlān citadel in ‘Amd. In 1989, the Russian-Yemeni Expedition participants Leonid Tugarin and Oleg Redkin, members of my group, managed to make a detailed plan of the citadel from which the Bin Shamlān *qabā’il* (of the large al-Ja‘dah tribe) effectively controlled the town and its surroundings.

‘Ā’id Faraj Bin Shamlān (thirty-five years old, from ‘Amd) told us that the fortress had been built no more than fifty to sixty years before by Bin Shamlān slaves. Two wells had been drilled 80 and 90 *qāmahs* (128 and 144 m) deep in the rock and went dry only a few years ago. The citadel population had never been great; presently it is inhabited by forty-five people.

Fig. 84–1: 1. An ‘Amd craftsman built this castle (*ḥuṣn – ḥuṣūn*) for Sulaymān b. Ṣāliḥ al-Naqīb and his brother’s son. It is currently a dwelling. 2. The house (*dār*) of

Sālim ‘Alī, where his father lived and his children live now. 3. The house was built twelve years ago for Sālim’s brother, Mabruk. 4. A store room built about forty years ago as a dwelling by Aḥmad Bā Qurayn for ‘Abdallāh Sālim. 5. A building under construction for ‘Abdallāh Sālim. Built by ‘Umar Sālim Bin Shamlān of Ḥibab. 6. A store room for fodder. 7. A barn (*waṣar – awṣār*) for durra spikes and a platform for winnowing the grain. 8. Goat stalls (*zarb – zurūb*). 9. Donkeys stalls (*wuṣar*). 10. Above, goat stalls (*wuṣar*), and below, a store house for fodder. 11. A store room for fresh greens. 12. A kitchen (*makhdam*). 13. A kitchen. 14. Goat stalls. 15. An open-air courtyard (*waṣar*) and a cellar (*ghār – għiwār*) cut from the rock with an entrance outside the citadel.

1.3. Al-Hajarayn: a *baldah* settlement with a mixed population (figs. 1, 80, 81)

The settlement has about 2,000 inhabitants. Of over 500 houses, 425 are occupied (see Chapter 1, Section 2.2 and Chapter 3, Section 1.1).¹ The quarter division (*jūr – ajwār*) is as follows (fig. 80):

the al Shaykh quarter (to the east of the eastern spur of the al-Jawl in the old town) is populated by the Bin ‘Afīf *mashāyikh*; the Sirā quarter (in the western part of the old town), by the Bā Salāmah, Bā Daḥmān, and Āl Rāshid *ḥirḥān*; the Jawl Yazīd quarter, by the Yāfi‘ al-Yazīd tribesmen; the al-Mawsaṭah quarter, by the al-Kāf *sādah*; the Sarḥat al-Baraḥ quarter, by the Bin ‘Afīf and Bā Daḥmān; the al-Nādirah quarter, by the al-Kāf *sādah* and Bā Zaqāmah *akhdam*; and the al-Shu‘aybah quarter (in the northwest part of the old town), by the Bā Ḥalū and Bā Ghuzah *ḥirḥān*.

Formerly, the biggest landowners in the town were the al-Yazīd tribesmen, who owned about 1,000 *maṭīrah*s. The cultivated land (*jurūb*) included Khamās west of the town (irrigated by the Dammūn channel and its branches), and al-Sufūlah to the east (the Khaydūn channel with its network) (fig. 1).

In the 1950s and 1960s, there was an occasional town council consisting of five to six members: a Bin ‘Afīf, a Bā Salāmah, a Bā Makhramah (of al-Munayzarah), and a Bin Maḥfūz.

1.4. Al-Mashhad (*ḥawṭah*)²

A special type of settlement is the holy enclave or *ḥawṭah* (see Chapter 1, Sections 1 and 3), designed to receive pilgrims. The one in al-Mashhad contains *qubbah* of the righteous (*awliyā’*), the destinations of the pilgrimages (fig. 75); huge

¹ Shāwūsh gives 360 houses with 10,000 (sic!) inhabitants (Shāwūsh 2004: 15).

² See also Rodionov 1997, Mawlā Maṭar; Rodionov 2001, Towards Typology of Visited Shrines; Rodionov 2004, Mashhad ‘Alī revisited.

water collectors or *jābiyahs* for the sanctification of water at the beginning of a *ziyārah* (fig. 73); collectors of drinking water (*siqāyahs*) that are capable of providing water for a dozen persons at a time (fig. 74); wells; store houses for the fairs conducted during *ziyārahs*; and dwellings for the guards and houses in which the descendants of ‘Alī b. Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭās may stay on a permanent or short-term basis. Quenching the thirst of a man or beast has always been considered a pious act. That was the reason for erecting multiple *siqāyahs* along Western Ḥaḍramawt roads (fig. 33) and animal watering places near wells (figs. 31, 32).

In Western Ḥaḍramawt, architecture follows the general Ḥaḍramawt tradition, albeit with local variations. Dwellings in Wādī Daw‘an and Wādī al-‘Ayn are more spacious and colourful than those in Wādī ‘Amd (except in Ḥurayḍah). Most buildings in Wādī ‘Amd still retain their defensive function, just as they do in certain Wādī al-Kasr localities, for example, in Diyār al-Buqrī. The typical ‘Amd dwelling is a double tower. On the upper reaches of Wādī ‘Amd, the houses are usually left unpainted with an occasional coating of white plaster (*nūrah*) on the upper parapets, tower “crowns” and tower roofs (sometimes with a combination of green or blue).

2. Clothing

2.1. Female Clothing and Local Variants

Clothing, especially female clothing, has always attracted the attention of travellers in the Ḥaḍramawt. Von Wrede mentioned the brown dresses worn by Saybānī shepherdesses in Wādī Daw‘an: the hems just barely covered their knees in front, while behind they got down to their heels. In the upper reaches of the valley, he saw light blue dresses with green trimming around the collar and wrists (Wrede 1870: 90–1, 111). In its lower reaches, Mabel Virginia Bent met women wearing dresses that displayed their yellow-painted legs above the knees but were low behind. The dresses were sewn of dark blue cotton fabric, decorated with skilful embroidery and yellow and red overlaid designs. That was standard dress for women in the Ḥaḍramawt, she remarked. To it were added a wide-brimmed straw hat and a face covering (Bent 1900: 95). Doreen Ingrams mentioned the blue and green dresses of Tarīm women, the shapeless white dresses of *sādab* women, and the orange and green cloaks worn for prayers (Ingrams: 1970: 19, 50, 59). Freya Stark was amazed by the yellow, orange, and green clothing in Tarīm, the blue clothing in Shibām, and the black clothing with silver trimming and notched hems in al-Hajarayn (Stark 1957a: 190, 213). If we add the description of Haynin women’s clothing provided by Pedro Paes in the late sixteenth century (white dresses with black nun-like veils) (Serjeant 1950a: 200), it will be seen that classifying Ḥaḍramawt clothing is no easy task.

An attempt has nevertheless been made by Vera Krachkovskaya. In her articles on Ḥaḍramī women's clothing (Krachkovskaya 1946, 1964), she reviewed the widest range of literary sources on Arab female dress, tracing its evolution in the northern Arab world and then turning directly to the Ḥaḍramawt. Besides written sources, Krachkovskaya made extensive use of pictorial material: the sketches and photos of F. Stark, H. Helfritz, and others. However, that second-hand reconstruction could not avoid certain lacunae and inaccuracies.

Many of our informants spoke of outmoded social (stratal) distinctions in Western Ḥaḍramawt clothing. Before addressing that topic, let us look at the female, male, and children's clothing worn in the area today. Our data are based on dozens of interviews, measurements, sketches, and photographs (see fig. 21–5, 52–3, 55, 85–92, and also Rodionov 1988a, photographs 6, 9–10, 12, 15–21, 28, 30–1). In the collection of the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in St. Petersburg (MAE) are two sets of men's clothing and eleven women's festive and everyday dresses collected by me in 1983–91 (MAE collection Nos. 6878, 6920, 6927, 6986, 7099, and 7074).

In Western Ḥaḍramawt, I identified three local variants of female clothing: al-Hajarayn, Upper ʿAmd, and coastal.

1) The al-Hajarayn variant (Rodionov 1985d: 101–14) is typical of the lower reaches of Wādī Dawʿan and ʿAmd, Wādī al-ʿAyn, and al-Kasr. In the east, it is found as far as the village of al-ʿAjlanīyah (Wādī al-Kasr); in the south, as far as the villages of al-ʿĀdiyāh in Wādī Dawʿan and Nafḥūn in Wādī ʿAmd. Its northern border in Wādī al-ʿAyn has not yet been defined.

This variant is based on strict exterior dress (*thawb* – *thiyāb*) (figs. 21, 86) with a notch in the hem, 10–30 cm long. The locals call this clothing “tailed” (*dhayl* – *adhyāl*) or “black” *thawb*. In recent decades, it has been made of imported thin black velvet. However, in the 1930s black *thawbs* were made of cotton fabric woven locally and dyed dark blue (see above, Chapter 3, Section 3.7). An old *thawb* is preserved in the Peter the Great Museum (MAE collection Nos. 6927–19).

The cut of the al-Hajarayn dresses is typical for Arabia and identical to the Upper ʿAmd variant—that is, a rectangular piece about 1.5 m by 1 m with in-sewn triangular sleeves (fig. 21), similar to the classic Arab cloak or *ʿabā* (Krachkovskaya 1964: 135) worn by the Bedouin in the northern part of South Arabia. An everyday black *thawb* has modest decoration around the neck, the wrists, and sometimes the hem (formerly with sewn-on pieces of fabric embroidered in silver, but now with coloured Lurex thread).

The dress is worn with a dark bluish-black kerchief of openwork cotton fabric (*nuqbah* – *nuqab*), 2 x 4 lesser cubits (70 x 140 cm) in size, and a face covering (*burquʿ* – *barāqi*) of black velvet of the simplest possible design, with the nose marked with stitching (figs. 81, 86) and red or white edging around the eye slits.

The face covering is tied over the kerchief and fixed with two white cotton ribbons (formerly, leather straps; see MAE collection Nos. 6927–18) (figs. 22, 23, 91). The dress is worn with a thin belt with overlaid silver plates (or, more recently, golden ones), and when long exposure to the sun is anticipated, with a wide-brimmed hat (*mizallah* – *mizallāt*) woven of palm leaf strips and having a cone-like crown (figs. 23, 86). East of the al-Hajarayn near al-Qaṭn, the crown is different (Rodionov 1988a, photographs 9–10), as are some other features of the clothing. In the places where al-Hajarayn dresses are worn, the locals believe that the more severe the women’s clothing, the better it corresponds to sedentary culture (*ḥaḍārah*), whereas elaborations are a “Bedouin” feature (fig. 92).

Richly decorated women’s dresses (Rodionov 1988a, photos 16–19) are permitted by al-Hajarayn custom only for festive occasions unattended by strange men. The festive dresses (*thawb muṭarraz*), red, crimson, green, or striped, differ in their decoration. The most expensive ones, of red or striped raw silk, are embroidered in silver thread (*taktīb*). Since Islam prohibits wearing silk, the dresses have cotton linings to keep the silk from touching the skin. Such dresses are carefully stored, and when the fabric is finally worn out, the embroidered parts cut out and used in new clothing. Next come dresses with diverse appliqué. Geometric ornaments are combined with wavy or curved “serpents” and carefully sewn onto the fabric are cowry shells (*busbus*), coral, silver disks, sequins (*ra‘ashah*), and even buttons. Artificial materials have begun to replace natural ones.

In Western Ḥaḍramawt, festive women’s clothing has always been more richly decorated behind than in front. The ornamentation has obviously retained a talismanic function. Decorated with special care are the neck slot (*tall*), shoulders, and arm holes of the bridal dress. Tiny silk bags (*‘uks* – *‘ukūs*) filled with cardamom, frankincense, and the nectar producing *ḥarmal* plant, as well as hair from a goat’s tail, are supposed to assure fertility, while tiny silver bells drive away evil spirits. Protection from the evil eye is provided by a design on the back representing a four-point star (*ghutraḥ* – *ghutar*), embroidered in silver thread or made of sewn-on cowry shells or an appliqué (fig. 88 and Rodionov 1988a, photograph 1 on the inside of the cover). The *ghutraḥ* has a counterpart on the front of a dress, an eight-point star (*nuqṭah* – *nuqat*) of sequins, appliqué, or embroidery.

2) Next is Upper ‘Amd women’s clothing. From the northern border of Wādī ‘Amd to Nafḥūn, the al-Hajarayn variant is practiced. However, there are also local differences: richer decoration around the neck, ribbons sewn on the dress back, huge silver belts, etc.

South of Nafḥūn, the clothing changes (figs. 89–90). The back and sleeves of the black *thawbs* display geometric ornaments (*farkhab*) and combinations of four-point stars (*amqāṣ*) embroidered in silver thread or overlaid in Lurex. In ‘Amd, the *farkhab* is the most sophisticated, consisting of thirty-four eight-point stars and provided with an ornament known as a “big bird” (*al-ṭayr al-kabīr*) (figs. 89–90).

Fragments of this design can be seen on festive dresses belonging to the al-Hajarayn variant, but as everyday items they are worn in the Wādī Daw‘an only by Saybān shepherdesses.

The Upper ‘Amd variant reflects differences in age. Girls from ten years old until their weddings wear black dresses with minimal decoration (an ‘Amd dressmaker compared the dresses worn in Ḥurayḍah and al-Hajarayn to those of unmarried ‘Amd girls). They are forbidden to apply henna and *kubl* or to use perfume. From the age of twelve to fourteen they wear undecorated face coverings. The most richly decorated dresses are those worn by mothers during their child-bearing years, but when a woman turns fifty-five or sixty, she is required to wear undecorated clothes again. That is a conspicuous manifestation of the procreative significance of ornamentation.

This variant of clothing (with minor local peculiarities) is typical throughout the southern part of Wādī ‘Amd to Jāḥiz, where mixed clothing appears that combines the Upper ‘Amd dress with yellow kerchiefs in Jāḥiz and red ones in al-Wajr.

3) Last is the coastal variant. Starting in Ḥībrah and Tarammul (Wādī ‘Amd), women do not wear face coverings or veils. As in the coastal area, clothing of a casual cut predominates in those villages.

The favourite colour combination is a green dress decorated with large embroidered flowers and a pink kerchief, or a red dress accompanied by a yellow kerchief. In the al-Hajarayn and Upper ‘Amd areas, women only wear such dresses (usually of a single green, red, or yellow colour) indoors.

During cold seasons, Ḥaḍramī women wear wool shirts under their outdoor dresses. Their underwear also includes short or long pants (*sirwāl*), trousers reaching from the navel to the shins (*fūṭah*), and shirts tailored as rectangular pieces with a neck opening (*ma‘rakah*). About thirty years ago (Tāhir 1987: 45), loose undershirts reaching to the knees (*shalḥah*) were still in use, and sedentary women wore tight short bodices around the breasts (*kartah*). Recently, the latter have been totally replaced by bras (*sityān*, from French *soutien-gorge*) while *shalḥah* denotes an ordinary woman’s slip.

2.2. Male Clothing and Social Differentiation

Male Ḥaḍramī clothing has received much less attention from travellers. The tersest response is that of the above-mentioned Pedro Paes, who wrote that the local males were “badly” dressed (Serjeant 1950a: 200). The Spanish Jesuit could hardly have approved of men dressed in skirts on half-naked torsos and draped with weapons.

The starting point of the South Arabian men's clothes is the wrap, a rectangular piece of cloth wound around the head, torso, or hips. The essential interchangeability of those items of dress is reflected in their names. Thus, a *khulfah* is man's head kerchief or a loincloth; a *nuqbah*, a woman's body wrapping or kerchief; a *shaydhar*, a woman's outdoor dress or a men's loincloth; etc.

The loincloth, the most common male dress in South Arabia, gradually changed from a Bedouin woollen wrap to an undyed cotton *maqtab* (4 x 2 cubits), and the *tān* (6 x 2.5 cubits) was replaced first by fringed *sba'iyah* (5 x 2.5 cubits), then by a multicoloured woven *shaydhar* (7 x 3 cubits) with fringes (*dhubāl*) and gold thread (*ḥaḍwah*), and finally by a sewn sarong imported from Southeast Asia along with its name: *sarūm*. The word *fūṭah* now applied to men's clothing is regarded as an Adenese borrowing in the Ḥaḍramawt (fig. 34–8, 60, 85).

The Bedouin wore their wraps about knee-high, and occasionally higher. Sedentary inhabitants covered their knees by about two fingers. Today, this difference has been largely erased with the "sedentary" variant prevailing. When going to the mountains, however, any Ḥaḍramī will wrap his *shaydhar* more casually in the Bedouin manner.

The torso-covering cotton (formerly woollen) rectangular piece (*malḥafah*) and the short shirt (*masdarah*) were abandoned two or three decades ago. Presently, imported shirts are worn (fig. 85). Sometimes, the kerchief is folded several times over and hung from shoulder (or across the shoulder). Belts for sitting (*ḥabwah* – *ḥabawāt*), also carried over the shoulder and fixed around the waist as one is seated with his knees against his chest, are popular with western and northern neighbours but remain a rarity in the Ḥaḍramawt. In cold weather, men wrap themselves in woollen shawls. Under the wrap short pants (*naks*) of undyed cotton were worn. The undershirt (*qarmah* – *qiram*) was also made of cotton. Presently, both underpants and undershirts are imported.

Formerly, there existed several kinds of men's head kerchiefs and many ways to wrap turbans (*imāmah*). Widespread are square (4 x 4 cubits) head kerchiefs known as *ghutrah* – *ghutar* (cf. the name of the woman's dress ornament), *askūl* – *asākīl*, etc. During the 1960s, South Yemen adopted a fashion for Palestinian men's head kerchiefs decorated locally with fringes and tassels. They are imported from Saudi Arabia, Syria, Indonesia, Japan, Great Britain, and other countries.

The wide leather belts with pockets for cartridges and money (*sabtab* – *sabat*, *mīsbāt* – *masābit*) have been replaced with green canvas belts with pockets, zippers, and rivets (*kamr*) (fig. 53). Footwear is manufactured in Aden: sandals of layered rubber (*shabshab*) and shoes of plastic or artificial leather (*zarb*). However, certain shoemakers still produce traditional leather sandals, for example, *abū juhaysh* with two overlapping pieces of leather that rustle to frighten away snakes and scorpions (fig. 52). Everyday footwear is not divided into men's and

women's, but on festive occasion, women may wear sandals decorated with stamped and inlaid designs or "European" patent-leather shoes.

Men's clothing has almost completely lost age differentiation. Until two to three years of age ("before he begins to understand words"), a boy wears a shirt without pants, with nothing but a rope (*brayrah*) around his waist. After that, he is dressed in cheap imported stuff (often Taiwanese or South Korean imitations of military uniforms).

Boys of seven to ten ("when the teeth change") gradually switch over to regular adult clothing. There are no differences in haircut either, although not more than fifty years ago there still existed a custom according to which the heads of Bedouin youths under sixteen were shaved except for a forelock or *qurza'ah* left to show that he had not yet reached the age of blood revenge (Landberg 1901: 706). Today's haircuts are short and a moustache is usually worn. Old men often have beards, sometimes pointed, as do some young people, especially religiously active ones. Men with long hair can be seen among the Bedouin, and many Bedouin women still wear their hair in numerous plaits.

Social differentiation is unusually weakly expressed today in Ḥaḍramī male and female clothing. A young dandy may wear a head cover (*mashaddah*) and a *shaydhar* hand-woven in al-Shihr at a cost 20 to 22 dinars, compared to 5 dinars for an imported *sarūm*. The outdoor clothing worn by Western Ḥaḍramawt females also says little about their social standing.

In the past, however, social stratification was clearly manifest in what the people wore (see Chapter 1, Section 1). The folk poet Mubārak Sālim Bin 'Aqīl, known as Bū Bashr (Ghanīmat b. 'Aqīl of Wādī al-Kasr, died in 1989 at the age of eighty-four), told me that *sādah* could be recognized by their long white garments (*qamiṣ* – *qimṣān*), waistcoats without buttons (*ṣudayrīyah*), and green turbans or white head kerchiefs. The women of that stratum wore red silk dresses, and outside they wore a black *thawb*, a face covering, and a head cover. The *mashayikh* had remarkable straight daggers and dressed either like the *sādah* or the *qabā'il*. The latter wore short *shaydhars*, *malḥafahs*, kerchiefs or just a leather strap around their heads, and carried the invariable curved *jambīyah* dagger (still carried in Western Ḥaḍramawt today only by old *qabā'il*). The *qirwān* wore *sarūms*, short shirts, belts, head kerchiefs, and another over the shoulder. They might not have a dagger, just a knife. Their women wore red dresses under outdoor white *qamiṣes* and special head covers called *ghashwah*. Poor peasants and tenants had plain wraps (*tān*, or *tāghah*) with thin leather belts fashioned with lead buckles. Their women wore black *thawbs* and head scarves without face coverings.

The *'abīd* and the *ṣubyān* wore *tān* as well, and their women never covered their faces. Presently, the face covering (*burqu'*) is typical of all Western Ḥaḍramawt strata, with some exceptions on the coast, and is considered prestigious by many.

2.3. Dressmaking

Western Ḥaḍramawt seamstresses (*khayāṭah* – *khayāṭāt*) were interviewed either via intermediaries (we were greatly assisted in that by Rashīdah Aḥmad Ḥusayn, at the time an employee of the Yemeni Centre for Cultural Research, Antiquities, and Museums) or via correspondence with questions and answers transmitted in writing. None of the seamstresses (from al-Ḥajarayn and Ghār al-Sūdān in Wādī Daw‘an, and ‘Amd in Wādī ‘Amd) wanted us to mention their names, since their occupations were carried out within their families and needed no publicity.

Both in the al-Ḥajarayn and the Upper ‘Amd areas (we have excluded coastal dress since it lies outside Western Ḥaḍramawt), dressmakers use the same tools and materials: sewing machines, scissors, needles; red, yellow, and black thread, bands of satin fabric, (green, red, yellow), and motley red, yellow, and pink bands of “Egyptian” fabric, black cotton fabric, black velvet, braids embroidered with silver thread (*tall*, called also “white gold”), silver thread, and factory-made lace (*shalash*, *abū randah*). They use a regular machine seam with black thread, sometimes employing hand stitching, including decorative stitches with four white, yellow, or red threads.

In al-Ḥajarayn, an ordinary black *thawb* requires a week to make and costs around ten dinars. It is then worn for six to twelve months and, to preserve the velvet, dry-cleaned rather than washed. It is also deodorized by exposing it to incense. Other clothes are washed. Soap has replaced the traditional heavy white clay (*nughrah*), ground leaves of the *‘ilb* (*ghussah*), or dried flowers of the mountain *hutayk*. In ‘Amd, a black *thawb* costs about 15 dinars, due to its more sophisticated decoration, and is made in ten to fifteen days and worn about the same length of time.

Face covering or *burqu‘* costs the same in both places, or about 1.5 dinars each, while a kerchief or *nuqbah* is 2.25 dinars, and a multicoloured scarf (*‘alam*) embroidered with Lurex and worn under the kerchief is 5 dinars.

Festive dresses are made in ‘Amd in thirty-five days and cost around 175 dinars. No exact figures were obtained for al-Ḥajarayn, but both the time of production and the price are a bit lower there.

Seamstresses start their training when they are about eight years old. Ornaments and decoration are hand sewn, just as they were before the advent of the sewing machine. Measurements are in cubits, spans, and fingers (see Appendix 4). Decorative elements often have expressive names: *sa‘fah* or “palm bough”, *al-ṭayr al-kabīr* or “big bird”, *‘ayn shams* or “eye of the Sun”, *ḥunayshah* or “serpent”, etc. The local Say‘ūn historian Ja‘far al-Saqqāf told me that one could use the decorations on Ḥaḍramī clothing to study the regional history of religion: he recognized Sabaean characters in it, as well as images of bulls, ibexes, eagles, the Sun, palms, the Jewish menorah, the Christian cross, the Muslim crescent, etc.

While virtually all men's clothing is imported, some women's clothing, especially the traditional dresses, is made to order. Decorated dresses are never sold in the market or at *ziyārah*s and still preserve their archaic features. However, even those dresses are subject to influence. Thus, in the lower reaches of Wādī Daw'an, striped festive dresses have fallen out of fashion the last few years and have been replaced by green ones. During the nine years of our research in Western Ḥaḍramawt, black velvet with extensive decoration appeared, and black *thawbs* began to be decorated with thin gold braids (which may be connected with the ongoing shift from silver to gold).

There are no mourning clothes in Western Ḥaḍramawt. The everyday black *thawb* with its high-cut hem is by local tradition considered a sign of mourning either for a brother of the 'Ād king killed in the area, or for a brother of the legendary Abū Zayd al-Hilālī, or else for local patriots executed by the Abbasid military chieftain Ma'n b. Zā'idah (Bā Wazīr, S. 'A. 1983: 57–8).

2.4. Face Painting

Jewellery has already been described (Chapter 3, Section 3.3), but a few words need to be said about face painting. The Bedouin art of personal grooming was vividly described by D. van der Meulen: "At an early age, 8 to 10 fine round holes are pierced all the way around the rims of the ears and through these, later on, small silver rings of the average size of a crown piece or small silver chains will be hung and the poor little ears dragged downwards. Then the nails of both hands and feet are coloured brown with *ḥinnā'*, the tips of the fingers and toes are blackened, and the inside of the hand made brown. The face, the hands, and forearms, and the legs and feet are coloured yellow with curry. The rims of the eyelids are smeared with *kuhl*, even the men do this, in order, as it is said to make the eyes strong" (Meulen, Wissmann 1932: 24).

A similar picture was observed three decades earlier by M. Bent: "Their bodies and faces are dyed a bright yellow with turmeric; on this ground they paint black lines over the eyes with antimony; the fashionable colour for the nose is red; green spots adorn the cheek" (Bent 1900: 110). The same design was seen by von Wrede (1870: 112, 171).

Today, the complicated face painting that astonished travellers is no longer practiced. However, curcuma root (*ḥurd*), saffron (*'usfur*), and *wars* are still widely used to paint the body; henna or ink nuts, to ornament the hands (figs. 24 and 25), and antimony, to colour the eyelids. Presently, *ghussab* is used less as a green body paint than as a medicine. Female facial tattooing of the kind F. Stark described in al-Hajarayn (1957: 143) is still found among the Bedouin.

Both Ḥaḍramī women and men have long used incense to care for the body and clothing. Frankincense trees grow in several localities across Western Ḥaḍramawt

(for example, in Wādī al-Ghabr), where the population collects and sells the substance to smoke rooms, bodies, and clothing. Today, spray perfumes and colognes are commonplace.¹

3. Diet

Over the last fifty years, the Ḥaḍramawt has undergone a radical change in dietary habits. For many centuries, the Ḥaḍramīs lived on the dates and durra mentioned by Pedro Paes (Serjeant 1950a: 200). The dates were eaten fresh or mashed, their water infusion serving as a milk substitute for nursing babies. However, the basic food was durra, called *ta'ām* ("food"). The flat bread made from it and baked in a *tinnār* (see Chapter 3, Section 3.4) was an essential part of every meal. Added to it were some *burr* (see Chapter 3: 1.3) and *dujr*, 'ilb fruit (sweetish-sour *dūm* berries, a speciality of the Daw'an valley), goat's or, more rarely, cow's milk and milk products, occasionally some honey, and on special occasions, goat, camel, or mutton. The food was eaten with sesame (*juljul*) oil. Available on the coast or in the Shibām market were coffee, sugar, dried fish, and, beginning in the late nineteenth century, tea.

In a good year, an average peasant harvested about 100–50 *qahwalabs* (60–120 kg) of durra and 4–6 kg *zīrs* of dates (a large *zīr* holds about 120 kg). Durra mixed with rough sand (*tafāl*) could be kept for years, but usually there was no surplus, the harvest lasting only until the next one.

Four traditional meals could be distinguished over the course of the day:

The *baṣṭ* – *busūṭ* (or *ṣubūḥ*, *fuṭūr*), a light breakfast after morning prayers (see Appendix 3), that is, at 5:00–5:30, consisting of coffee, dates, and sometimes day-old durra bread.

The *ghadā'* or *ḍuḥā'* at 8:00–9:00, consisting of coffee and day-old bread soaked in goat's milk (*fuṭūn*).

The *qiyāl* after midday prayers, consisting of coffee with dates and bread. Travellers often combined the *ghadā'* and *qiyāl* meals after midday.

The 'ashā' after (or sometimes before) evening prayers, that is, from 5:00 to 8:00, consisting of goat's milk whey (*rubā'*), fresh bread made of durra or mixed flour (durra plus *burr*), sesame oil, and coffee with roasted and salted watermelon or gourd seeds.

¹ Detailed description of Yemeni cosmetics, perfumes and fragrances has been published recently by my colleague Hanne Schönig (2002), see my review on it in Russian in: *Vostochnaya Kolleksiya*. Spring 2004: 53–5.

Of these, the most substantial meals were the *ghadā'* and the '*ashā'*. Hence, the wide-spread opinion that Ḥaḍramīs ate only twice a day.

Even the wealthiest Ḥaḍramīs never ate meat more than once a week—on Fridays. Meat was an essential part of the Muslim sacrificial feast of '*īd al-aḍḥā'* (on the tenth of the month of *Dhū-l-ḥijjah*) or its eve, or on the day of 'Arafah, after the end of the Ramaḍān in the beginning of Rajab. Meat was also desirable at evening meals throughout Ramadan, at weddings, and at occasional receptions. The favourite meat was that of young goats or camels. The locals consume mutton with some reluctance and even consider the meat of one- or two-year-old sheep to be harmful to the health.

Livestock (goats, sheep, rarely camels) are butchered with the animal's head turned towards Mecca and consigned to eternity with a *bismi-llāh al-rahmān al-rahīm* ("in the name of God the Compassionate, the Merciful"). The throat must be cut in a single movement with a straight incision underneath the top vertebra (*ḥalṣah* – *ḥalaṣ*); otherwise, the meat will be ritually unclean (*fayt* – *fiyāt*; cf. Landberg 1901: 385). After draining the blood, the butcher cuts the Achilles tendon in a hind leg of the goat or sheep and hangs the carcass with its head down from a hook or a rope. The hide is removed intact in about ten minutes. After that, an incision is made along the spine, the sinews are pulled out, the shoulder blades are detached from the shoulder, and the membrane is removed from the meat. The right front leg is the first to be cut off. The rectum with its contents and the gall-bladder are carefully taken out and thrown away. The bowels are inflated "to drive the water out", and the kidneys, liver, heart, and inner fat are laid aside. The stomach (*kirsh*), after being emptied and washed, is cut into thin noodle-like strips to wrap the entrails (the *mighdāf*) for boiling. The dressed meat is usually boiled as well, which produces broth (*marāq*). Nomads roast the meat, but the sedentary people do so only on festive occasions.

Every kitchen (*makhdam* or *ma'sam*) has a clay hearth (*mawqid*), an oven (*tin-nār*), a hand mill, a grinder (fig. 19), a set of stoneware pots (*burmah*) (fig. 46), and frying pans, metal dishes (*tust* – *ṭasāt*), wooden bowls, spoons and ladles, clay *zīrs*, water-cooling vessels (*khazbah* – *khizab*), leather skins, and various basket-work trays and containers to serve and store the food (see Chapter 3, Sections 3.1, 3.2, 3.4–3.7). Professional cooks ('*assām* or *ṭabbākh*) were engaged to cook festive dishes on special occasions; thus did hereditary cooks in al-Hajarayn originate from the al-Khashar family (see Chapter 6, Section 3.13, No. 41).

The coffee set included a clay frying pan (*mihmās* – *mahāmis*) to roast coffee beans, a wooden mortar and pestle, a woven tray over which the coffee beans were spread so that every guest could smell and appreciate them (al-Ṣabbān 1983: 39), and a coffee pot (*dallah* – *dalal*). At midday, the preferred drink was *sharīkh*, a refreshing hot beverage made of coffee beans (*bunn*), coffee husks (*qishr*) rich in caffeine, and ground ginger. Coffee with almonds was served on Fridays and at

weddings. Tea with honey and ginger was drunk before the first bridal night. Quite often cardamom was added to the coffee.

Local scholars maintain that coffee has been known in the Ḥaḍramawt since the mid-fourteenth century, while tea was brought to the country by a Tarīm resident Hāmid b. ‘Abdallāh al-Junayd in the early tenth century (al-Ṣabbān 1983: 35, 39). However, it was only in the 1930s that cheap tea from China and South-east Asia appeared in the Ḥaḍramawt, and tea has since then pushed coffee into the background. The central place in a tea set is occupied by the samovar or tea urn preserving its original Russian name (*samāwar* or *bukhārī*). Ḥaḍramīs even know the name of Tula, the Russian city where samovars are manufactured, although some believe it to be a suburb of Bukhara.

The change in diet started in the 1930s and was completed by the late 1940s when the Ḥaḍramawt began to import food on a large scale after a period of famine. Honey was replaced by sugar, and imported rice became the primary source of carbohydrates. Another carbohydrate (and protein) source today is beans (*fūl*). Imported lard, candies, crackers, chocolate, etc., have found their way to the country, as well. In the 1970s, fresh and canned fish reached Inner Ḥaḍramawt: sardines, tuna, and mackerel. Until then, only the Bedouin bought easily preserved dried fish (*lakhm* or “shark”) on the coast. Having overcome the initial resistance, fish is now a part of the ordinary diet.

Sauces (*halbī*, *bisbās*, etc.) are now used much more widely than before. Spices are consumed on an everyday basis: cumin, black cumin, ginger, fennel, cinnamon, cloves, etc. Vegetables are eaten in season (aubergines, *bāmiyā*, pumpkins, tomatoes, fresh and as paste, radishes with green stems), fruit (limes, bananas, watermelons), and nuts and seeds. Thanks to imported powdered milk, tea is often drunk “white”.

The everyday meals are now the following:

The *baṣṭ* (5:00 to 6:00 a.m.): sweet tea, “white” or “red”, flat bread, beans (*fūl*) with sauce. The *qiyāl* (12:00 a.m.): tea (sometimes coffee), dates, bread (*burr* and/or *durra*). The *ghadā’* (1:30–2:00 p.m.): rice with tomato paste and spices, fish, tea. The *‘ashā’* (7:00–8:00 p.m.): tea with bread roasted and salted pumpkin or watermelon seeds.

This is naturally an average. For festivals, various pastries (*sambūsah*) are baked, and imported sweets are served (jellies and puddings), along with canned fruit (peaches or pineapples). The population of the Inner Ḥaḍramawt is strict in its observance of the Muslim dietary taboos. Traditional meal-time etiquette is also observed.

Hookah (*rushbah* or “coconut”) smoking is as widespread in the Ḥaḍramawt, just as it is in the rest of Arabia. Tobacco is grown in Ghayl Bā Wazīr. Qāt leaves with their mild coca-like effect had never been used by Ḥaḍramīs (in contrast to the residents of the western parts of South and all of North Yemen), but unification has introduced that custom as well.

4. Folk Medicine

A short note on Ḥaḍramawt folk medicine was published by R. Serjeant (Serjeant 1956), the topic has also been addressed by W. Dostal (Dostal 1972: 116), some idea of the diseases encountered in South Yemen and the traditional ways of treating them has been provided by the German physician K.-D. Schruhl (Schruhl 1986), and a member of our expedition, V. S. Shinkarenko, has dealt with folk medicine on the island of Socotra. But on the whole, this area of South Arabian culture still awaits detailed investigation. For the latest Russian-Yemeni Expedition publication on the topic, see P. Pogorelsky (Rodionov, Serebriakova 1992: 52–60).¹

Ḥaḍramī tradition gives enormous importance to the correct selection of food. Everything has a unique effect on health. Goat broth (*marāq*) staves off fatigue, haemorrhaging, overheating, and heat stroke. *Sharīkh* (see Chapter 4, Section 3) stimulates the heart. Honey fortifies and when taken with meat (*muqwī*) is an aphrodisiac (Ingrams 1970: 38–9). Honey is also used to treat gastritis, ulcers, liver and kidney disease, and diabetes, and to promote the healing of wounds. Dates reduce fever. Pumpkin or squash pulp is a laxative. Aubergine is given to women in childbirth to prevent bleeding. It is also used as a remedy for gout and liver and kidney disease. Watermelon, a diuretic, aids in the treatment of kidney, bladder, and urinary tract diseases. Garlic purifies the mucous membrane and is a general restorative, etc. The shāfiʿī madhhab of Sunnism, like other Muslim religious and legal schools, has strikingly elaborate ideas about the purity and impurity of food, water, and the body (Balḥajj 1985, 16–21, and Ibn Hāshim 1982, 10–20).

Incense has long been regarded as having purifying properties. Frankincense, ground and mixed with water, protects the water from impurities. When burned in clay incense burners, it purifies clothing and the air in rooms. Myrrh (*murr*) is used as an aromatic, its water infusion is a remedy for colic, and its powder heals wounds. Aloe (*ṣūbar*) is used to treat tuberculosis (fresh juice is combined with honey and vegetable oil). Fresh aloe juice is also used to heal festering wounds, abscesses, and burns. Its concentrate, obtained through vaporization, is a remedy for constipation and sluggish digestion. Sesame oil is used as incense for newborn babies before they are put to bed. Banyan tar (shellac) is also used as incense, or is administered to small children as a treatment for stomach gas.

The bactericidal properties of *ghussah* are exploited externally in powder or a paste and internally as an infusion. *Qaraḍ* bark decoctions are considered helpful for diabetics. The fruit of the *tālūq* tree is said to combat cancer. An infusion of its bark aids against swelling, rheumatism, and liver disease. Ground myrtle (*rayḥān*) leaves relieve dyspepsia and inflammations. Wounds are treated with ground “dragon blood”, the red tar of the dragon tree (*dam al-akhawayn*), grown mainly on the island of Socotra. A *ḥarmal* infusion eliminates aching in the knees.

¹ See also Rodionov 1996, Field Data on Folk Medicine.

Saffron “renews” the liver. Infusions of cumin and peppermint heal abscesses and increase the milk production of breast-feeding mothers (Rodionov, Serebriakova 1992: 54–5).

Local tradition also attributes healing properties to cosmetics: *kubl* improves vision by protecting the eyes from the sun, *hurd* and *wars* purify the body, and indigo (*hawīr*) protects against the cold. This list could be extended. However, it is first necessary to test the healing properties of the local flora and to identify them by scientific name.

Besides diet therapies (including therapeutic fasting) and other non-specific modes of treatment, Ḥaḍramawt folk medicine employs phlebotomy (blood-letting) and cauterization. These two procedures have received a good deal of attention in Arab medicine, as attested by the medical treatise of Abū-l-Qāsim al-Zahrāwī, an Arab physician of the tenth and early eleventh centuries (al-Zahrāwī 1983: 34–70, 200–16). Dietary and hygienic practices and experience in phlebotomy were adopted from the Arabs in the twelfth century by the European medical school of Salerno (Arnold von Villanova 1970: 9–10: 1–79, 92–8).

To this day, all major settlements across Western Ḥaḍramawt have at least one *hājām*, who deals in blood letting and cupping (*hijāmah*). The patients’ ages range from fourteen to sixty. Blood is let either to maintain health (in the case of a superfluity of blood) or to treat such ailments as fever, kidney disease, pleurisy, tonsillitis, headache, asthma, cough diseases of the eye, haemorrhoids, furunculosis, etc. Usually it is done by incision and cupping. The cups (*mihjam* – *maḥājīm*) are copper cylinders with conical tops and handles. The Bedouin make them out of horns. The inside of the cup is smeared with grease (and now sometimes rinsed with alcohol), and the air is removed by heat or suction. The *hājām* often does cauterization (*kayy*) with a curved nail-like tool (*mikwā* – *makāwī*) (fig. 93a, b) formerly made by blacksmiths. Now, however, a wire of an average thickness is used, its tip bent and the upper part wrapped in cloth (see Rodionov, Serebriakova 1992: 56–8).

Cauterization is considered an extreme, radical treatment. During my field studies, I managed to verify and widen the cauterization scheme published by Dostal (1972: 114) (fig. 26). However, the practice of *kayy* in the Ḥaḍramawt compels one to agree with V. Shinkarenko’s idea (a 1983 oral communication) that the procedure is more traumatic than therapeutic, as judged by the severity and distribution of the burns (cf. Schruhl 1986: 222, note 26). The tradition of *kayy* reflected in al-Zahrāwī’s treatise (al-Zahrāwī 1983: 34–71) has been only partly preserved by today’s healers. On the other hand, some of them (*mujabbir* – *mujabbirīn*) are remarkably skilled in the repositioning of dislocations and the setting of broken bones.

Proper breathing is considered important by Arabic folk medicine. One should never breathe dusty or cold air, and kerchiefs and shawls are used as protection against it. Although covering his head in cold weather, a Ḥaḍramī may go bare-

foot or wear only sandals. It is said that a respected person (for example, of the Bā Jābir or Āl Ishāq *mashāyikh*) can heal with his breath (*taffāl*).

For those who wished to be cured or remain healthy, general practice required a donation to the *qubbah* consisting of sesame oil, coffee, sugar, or the making of vows on a pilgrimage. Qur'ānic formulas written by the hand of a *sayyid* were prized as amulets. At the same time, there have always been Islamic authorities who condemn those customs as superstition (Rodionov, Serebriakova 1992: 58–60, 7–19, 40).

5. Conclusions

The subsistence activities of the area under discussion are local variants of general Ḥaḍramawt patterns and, more widely, of South Arabian patterns.

The local dwelling compound is well correlated with family and clan structure. The home as a unit corresponds to the nuclear family or one about to break up, the quarter corresponds to the clan, and the settlement (as a sum of quarters) or cluster of settlements, to a group of clans usually comprising a variety of strata.

The Western Ḥaḍramawt dwelling reflects a building tradition common to the area and derives from the ancient South Arabian defensive structure, the tower house. In the latter, the residential and service areas were separated vertically; in modern versions, they are also separated horizontally. A home with all its services is not only a family but also an economic unit.

The strict separation of the sexes led to certain structural peculiarities in the interior and its arrangements. In the era of warfare and internecine strife, security became a matter of much greater concern. Those two circumstances allow the projection of ethnographic data about everyday family life and the social sphere onto archaeological material. The most primitive forms of local dwelling (caves, equipped stopping places, and so on) call for a deeper study involving comparative material from Socotra and Mahrah.

The positioning of a settlement and its planning were above all determined by the type of irrigation used, and were either stretched out along the main channel in the case of flood irrigation, or were more compact (and often radial) in the case of spring or well irrigation. Many settlements stand at the entrances to lateral valleys in order to exploit the both the main and secondary streams.

The old construction methods and the ability to adapt dwellings to climate and landscape are beginning to disappear. Partial evidence of that is provided by the destructive floods of 1989, which destroyed both old buildings with damaged water insulation systems and new buildings constructed, against custom, in the flood path.

The traditional (as a rule, female) clothing of South Arabia is an obvious marker in field conditions of the delineation of ethnic areas. For Western Ḥaḍramawt, two local varieties of women's clothing are characteristic, what I term al-Hajarayn and Upper 'Amd. A third coastal variety touches only the periphery of our area. A reason for the numerous sub varieties of female dress was cited in the Conclusion section of the Chapter 3. Its ornamentation has retained a clearly expressed procreational character.

The prototype of Western Ḥaḍramawt female clothing is the Near Eastern dress and the cloak of rectangular cut. Male clothing derives from the different versions of the South Arabian loin cloth. Wool, the traditional fabric of men's clothing, has practically disappeared. Almost all its elements are factory made and frequently imported, yet despite a certain homogenization, the traditional type has not been lost.

The social and age-related peculiarities of male and, to a lesser degree, female clothing have undergone a rapid levelling over the last two decades. Traditional hairdos have been replaced by contemporary ones. The old cosmetics are not used as widely as they were. Silver adornments are being replaced by gold.

A change in the traditional diet has also taken place over the last half century. The basis of the daily ration is now imported rice and beans (*fūl*) instead of *durrab* and dates. Coffee and diverse coffee-based drinks have been largely pushed aside by tea. The Inner Ḥaḍramawt population has grown used to fresh and canned fish. But, as in the past, feast meals consist of boiled or roasted meat (the latter having higher status) of goat or camel or sheep. Table etiquette, the traditional order of meals, and Muslim dietary restrictions are rigorously observed.

Western Ḥaḍramawt folk medicine pays close attention to non-specific healing methods: food therapy and the use of herbs and incense. In the spirit of classical Arab medicine, local physicians employ phlebotomy and cauterization. The osteopaths are skilful. The descendants of certain *mashāyikh* families are considered natural-born healers. Notions of the purity and impurity of food, water, air, and body are maintained by custom and religion.

PART III

NORMS AND CUSTOMS

Chapter 5: Moral Values

1. Kinship and Marriage Norms

The local kinship and affinity terms are close to the classical Arab model. Any classical term will stand as a synonym for a local one.

First-degree relatives: father (*walīd*), mother (*walīdah*).

Second ascending generation: grandfather (*jadd*), grandmother (*jaddah* or *ḥabābah*); cf. Socotrian kinship terms (Naumkin 1984: 209).

Zero level generation: brother (*akh* or *shaqīq*), sister (*ukht* or *shaqīqah*), step-sister (*karīmah*); for half brothers and sisters, descriptive terms are used.

First descending generation: son (*walad* or *wadd*), daughter (*walīdah* or *bint*), wife's (or husband's) son from another marriage (*walad al-zawjah* or *walad al-zawj*), daughter (*rabībah*).

Second descending generation: agnatic grandson (*ḥafīd* – *ahfād*) and grand-daughter *ḥafīdah*; cognatic grandson (*sibt* – *asbāt*).

The father's brother (*amm*) has the preferential marriage right to his brother's daughter, although it is almost never claimed in practice (Serjeant 1964: 629), passing instead to his son. The parallel cousin right strengthens the links of the individual with his agnatic uncle, but not with his mother's brother (*khāl*). Nephews of both lines of descent are designated by descriptive terms.

The wives of a single husband in a polygynous family are called *ḥarīfah* (*ḥarā'if*). A wife's (husband's) brother is *ṣibr*, and a wife's (husband's) sister, *ṣibrāh*. Some terms have a definite stratum shade; for example, *rabīd* in the sense of relatives along the mother's line of descent (Serjeant 1967: 633) was used only among the *sādah*.

Family and kinship norms operate from the moment of birth. Rites of passage mark not just life stages but also those of socialization that extend in traditional society from an infant's first cry to his last breath in old age.

1.1. Childbirth Practices

Until recently, women gave birth in a sitting position, raising their knees and bracing themselves against the floor with their hands. The floor was covered with dirty rags, since giving birth was considered impure. The woman was given some *ghussah* (see Chapter 4, Section 4) in water or oil to hasten the process. The mid-

wife (*dāyah*) received the baby by touch under the mother's dress (Ingrams 1970: 60, Bā Yamīn 1984: 57). An *adhān* was spoken into the baby's right ear, after which the women went up to the roof and shouted the news of the event to their neighbours. The mother and the child were washed, their bodies were rubbed with *hurd* (see Chapter 4, Sections 2 and 4) diluted in oil, and they were dressed in new clothes. The placenta (*lummāh*) was sprinkled with *durrah* seeds (or sometimes with ashes) and buried with an iron nail two-cubits deep under the front-door threshold, outside it for a boy and inside for a girl (Serjeant 1962: 197–8, Bā Yamīn 1984: 63). By the door and inside the room where the birth took place, raw chicken eggs were broken to please the *jinn* and keep them from harming the baby and mother. The umbilical cord was dried and preserved in a vessel, since it was believed that water in which a dry piece of it had been immersed could cure stomach colic and that similarly treated milk it could protect the eyes from inflammation.

A special sweet broth with wheat flour was prepared for the mother. The period of impurity lasted forty days, during which time the heads and bodies of the mother and child were subjected every day to sesame oil smoke. The mother was bathed with *ghussab* and smeared with *wars* (see Chapter 4, Sections 2 and 4), and her relatives and neighbours paid obligatory visits. In order to “purify the liver”, the baby was given a *ghussab* water infusion. The character *wāw* was drawn upside down between its eyebrows with ink nut or *kuhl* as a protection against the evil eye (Serjeant 1964: 201).

To this day the baby's name is often been chosen by lot from three pieces of paper on which preselected names have been written. The selection is determined by stratal affiliation. In the higher strata, the names of well-known ancestors are preferred, the genealogical sequence seeming to recombine the same small set of names. In the lower strata, names like Yuslim and Mubārak are favoured, as are those based either on the days of the week: Rubayya^ʿ (Wednesday) or Khamīs (Thursday), or on one of the months: Rajab, Shaʿbān, or Ramaḍān. Robert Serjeant has observed that the month of *Ṣafar* was considered unlucky for this purpose (1962c: 202).

1.2. Circumcision

In Western Ḥaḍramawt, boys are circumcised one week after birth (according to *sharīʿah* custom), whereas among the Bedouin the event may take place a month or even years later. In Eastern Ḥaḍramawt, the operation is performed on boys of fourteen to sixteen, sometimes just before their weddings. That fact had been observed by A. Snell (Serjeant 1962: 204), but it was not until 1983 that ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Bin ʿAqīl recorded the social aspects of the procedure among the al-Hu-

mūm of the al-Jāmiḥah in Khalfūn (in Eastern Ḥaḍramawt), including the verses recited during the ceremony.¹

As a rule, circumcision is performed early in the morning by a barber (*ḥajjām*) or by an osteopath (*mujabbir*) (see Chapter 4, Section 4). An assistant puts the one to be circumcised onto his back and pulls his legs apart. The barber smears the foreskin with fat, ties it with string, and cuts it with a knife. Honey is put in the mouth of the circumcised to “distract him from the pain”. The bleeding is stanching with cotton and wound sprinkled with ground dragon blood (see chapter 4, Section 4) or a different antiseptic, after which the glans penis is immersed in warm sesame oil or coconut milk. A week later, the wound is sprinkled with ground black antimony (Bā Yamīn 1984: 64).

There is no special celebration of the day of circumcision in Western Ḥaḍramawt. The feast in its honour may coincide with that celebrating the fortieth-day purification of a birth mother.

In Western Ḥaḍramawt as elsewhere in South Arabia, Egypt, and the Sudan, girls are circumcised by means of a partial clitorrectomy (*idhālat al-bazr*). As a rule, the procedure is performed on the seventh day after birth by a midwife, who pierces the girl’s earlobes at the same time and, formerly, also her nasal septum. The bleeding is stanching with ground *hurḍ*. Local religious authorities stress that the custom of circumcising girls has been practiced since the time of the Prophet Muḥammad (Bā Yamīn 1984: 65).

1.3. Marriage Customs

Quite a few travellers, especially women, have written about Ḥaḍramawt weddings. Freya Stark observed: “fifteen is the age for orphans [to be married], though ordinary brides can be younger. Whatever the age, the whole thing is settled without the child’s knowledge: dresses are made ‘for a cousin’, and she only guesses what is happening when her hair is being washed for the event. Then her face is varnished yellow with zabiḍbud, a mixture of oil and wax and ‘hurḍ’ (*turmeric*); her hands and feet are covered with a brown pattern; and she sits all through the third day of the wedding feast under a red veil which her husband lifts from her face at night. In the morning he leaves ten talers on the pillow; and after the second night, a tray with a handkerchief, ten talers, a pile of cloves, scent and incense; and after that, no more.” (1936a: 119–20).

¹ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Mallāḥī has published an account on late circumcision in the al-Mishqāṣ region in the newspaper *Shibām* (al-Mukallā), 1998–9. In 2001 he printed this field data under a separate cover.

Before the Second World War, a Wādī Daw‘an bride wore her jewellery for forty days after the wedding. Gold had by that time already begun to make its appearance among the silver articles.

For outside observers, the wedding ceremony was broken up into discrete scenes having no evident connection to each other. Thus did Doreen Ingrams describe an episode of a wedding taking place in the groom’s home near Ḥurayḍah in Wādī ‘Amd: “At one village on our way back to Hureidha we arrived in time to attend a wedding ceremony at the bridegroom’s house. Entering a walled compound where a number of men sat crosslegged with their turbans tied round their knees, we shook hands with each one then sat down to wait for the bridegroom to appear. As he came out of the house surrounded by a small group of friends he was heralded by a man beating a drum and a few shrill cries from unseen women. He was young and goodlooking, dark skinned, and smartly dressed in a white shirt and futa. As soon as he had sat down a boy placed a round mat in front of him on which several of the guests threw handfuls of coffee beans. ‘Not everyone does this,’ explained Alawī, ‘only those who have been invited to lunch tomorrow and the beans will be used for their coffee.’ The same boy who had brought the mat now came out with a tin tray and a stick, exchanged a few ribald comments with the guests, and then pretended to attack the bridegroom with the stick, who pulled out his dagger to ward off the boy. The tray was then set down in front of the bridegroom and as his father threw money on it he acknowledged the gift by striking the tray with his dagger. Guests handed money, usually a Maria Theresa dollar (I/6 d), to the boy who calls out the names of the donors and the young man struck the tray in thanks. This part of the ceremony ended when the boy passed round a bowl of liquid henna into which we dipped our fingers and rubbed the henna over our hands. Then we sat quietly talking until suddenly the bridegroom sprang to his feet and made for the doorway as though to run away. Several young men immediately surrounded him, shouting and barring his way, and he was forcibly led back to his place, a part of the ceremony which Alawī could not explain. In the usual way dancing would have followed but this was cancelled because the family was in mourning and instead we had some light entertainment. First Seiyid Ali the Bedui sang a warlike song, then the local comic acted a gag farce, pretending to be a beduin from the mountains arguing about his goats with two men picked from the audience, but the real humour of the sketch was the way the men, who were little more than beduin themselves, were making fun of ‘ignorant bedu’. The last item was an imitation of the way certain men in Mukalla were said to recite the Quran. ‘They are very bad men,’ explained Alawī, ‘and they like to act as if they were women, even decorating themselves with henna.’” (1970: 55–6).

My sources on wedding rituals were ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Kāf (fifty-one years old, al-Hajarayn); the imam of the al-Saqqāf mosque, Muḥammad b. ‘Alawī b. ‘Umar al-‘Aydarūs, nicknamed Sa‘d (over seventy years old, Tarīm);

and the junior Ḥuraydah *manṣab* ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭās. As the representatives of a *sharī‘ah* judge (*qādī*), it was the duty of the first two men to register marriages (*ma’dhūn – mawādhin, ma’qid – ma’āqid*). Wedding rituals were observed by us in al-Muthawwar and al-Biḍū‘ (Wādī ‘Amd), in al-Jidfirah and Ghār al-Sūdān (Wādī Daw‘an), and in ‘Adhab (Wādī al-‘Ayn), as well as outside the area in Say’ūn.

Robert Serjeant has already noted the effort of the local authorities to put marriage rites in order by simplifying them and, above all, by reducing their cost. Such attempts were made by the Tarīm *sādah* in 1895–6, by Sultan ‘Alī b. al-Manṣūr al-Kathīrī in 1934,¹ and by his al-Qu‘ayī counterpart in al-Mukallā with his Decree No. 10 of 1959. The decree was prompted by the city elders and a conservative committee on religious matters that regarded luxury as a sinful novelty (*bid‘ah*) (Serjeant 1962b: 472–3, 479–82). Most of the proscriptions took only paper form, the one real change being that she-dancers were no longer given gifts but simply paid for their services (*ibid.*, 472).

It is interesting that the republican authorities of the Fifth Province resorted to a similar measure in 1974, albeit from a diametrically opposed position: “Extravagance in the enjoyment of luxury items is a colonial phenomenon that has served the interests of monopolies.” A conference of people’s councils published an appendix to the general marriage law, “The Order of Marriage Procedures and the Observance of Customs” (*al-Sharārah*: 17.04.1974, 1–8), which defined in detail the ritual minimum and the degree of allowed expenses. Despite its peremptory tone, the appendix (limited to the Southern *mudīrīyah*) was fully implemented neither on the coast nor in the Main Wadi. However, it and similar measures did bring about a shortening and simplification of the wedding ceremony.

The marriage is preceded by an engagement (*kbuṭūwah*). The groom’s father or a matchmaker receives the consent of the bride’s parents or guardians, and they negotiate the extent of the marriage payment (*mabr – muhūr*) owed by the groom’s side. The *mabr* or part of it (*madād*) is handed over during a morning coffee ceremony (*qabwat al-madād*) in the bride’s home, at which time it is announced to the girl that she has been engaged.

The amount of the *mabr* depends on the stratum and the degree of kinship of those who are to be married. The cheapest marriage is between parallel cousins, and the most expensive is one outside the clan or local group yet consistent with rules of marriageability (see Chapter 1, Section 1). The *mabr* has grown over time. In the 1930s, a servant in Shibām paid sixty shillings for a never married bride and thirty shillings for a divorced or widowed one, while in the early 1960s, the fi-

¹ See Freitag / Schönig 2000. The topic is also addressed by Schönig and me in our DFG project *Traditions and customs in Ḥaḍramawt according to unpublished documents*, 2003 onwards; see also p. 60, note.

gures were 300 and 200 shillings, respectively (Stark 1957: 252, Bujra 1971: 101). According to Bujra, the *sādah* of the al-‘Aṭṭās family (Ḥurayḍah) paid seventy shillings for a local al-‘Aṭṭās bride, 200 for a bride of the same clan living outside Ḥurayḍah, and 1,000 shillings for a girl belonging to any other *sayyid* family. The Bā Sahl *mashāyikh* paid 200–300 shillings for a girl of the local clan, 500 shillings for one from another *mashāyikh* family, and 1,000 shillings for a *qabā’il* bride. The *qabā’il* paid 200–300 shillings for a bride from within their own family group and 1,000 for one outside it (but still within the same tribe) (Bujra 1971: 97, 98, 101).

In the late 1980s, a poll of some ninety men and women in Western Ḥaḍramawt conducted by our group member Ilhām ‘Abd al-Wahhāb showed that the *mahr* among sedentary locals varied from 250 dinars (equivalent to 5,000 shillings) for an endogamous marriage with the daughter of a paternal uncle to 750 dinars for other kinds of endogamous union, while exogamous marriages cost from 750 to 2,000 dinars. Among the Bedouin, the *mahr* inside the tribe could be as much as 5,000 dinars, not including the cost of the bride’s wedding gown (500–600 dinars) and her jewellery, which had to equal the value of a pound of gold. Those costs were compounded in both sedentary and nomadic tribes by special wedding expenses (*jihāz*) and the 100 dinars of the “compulsory *mahr*”—the maximum marriage payment allowed by Article 18 of the PDRY Marriage law (the Agrarian Reform Law of 1978: 32; Siukiyaynen 1986: 170–1). In practice, that limit merely increased the *mahr*, since the “maximum” was viewed as an addition to all the other expenses. If a divorce is the wife’s fault, the court may award the husband monetary compensation not exceeding the amount of the *mahr* (Article 30, Agrarian Reform Law of 1978: 33). However, because the state does not permit any amount over 100 dinars, the law sometimes entails abuse on the part of the wife and her family, since the temptation to obtain a divorce and keep the lion’s share of the dowry is too great.

A *ma’dhūn* (*ma’qid*) carries out the official registration of marriage on the Qur-’ān reading the *al-fāṭiḥah*. Criers (*dā’ī – dā’iyah*), usually local *ṣubḡān*, invite the relatives and neighbours to marriage festivities with the words *anta maṭlūb* (“you are wanted [at the celebration]”).

On the morning of the first day, a reception is held in the bride’s parent’s home at which women gather and give presents (*tarḥ*) to the bride, who sits motionlessly under a cover. A celebration then takes place with singing and dancing. That evening (*laylat al-ḥinnā*), the groom’s palms and feet are painted with henna after his cheeks, temples, and the back of his head have been shaven to accompanying cries from the women (*ṣalīq* or *hajīr*), but never hooting (*zagḥārit*), which is considered improper for the occasion. Henna is also offered to respected guests (see the passage from Doreen Ingrams cited above), who contribute money for the festivities. Songs are sung, poets recite improvised poems, and the guests dance with the groom. Order is maintained by a master of ceremonies (*ṣāḥib al-zawāj*). The groom’s attempt to escape described by Doreen Ingrams is related to

the words of the marriage song “paint him with henna and may he not refuse the painting”, words that calculated to make those gathered more generous (see Chapter 6, Section 3.14, song No. 38).

The morning of the second day, the bride’s hair is combed, and she is washed and painted with henna (fig. 24) and then adorned with gold, formerly silver, bracelets (*banqārī*), along with earrings and ankle bracelets with bells (*hajājil*) (see Chapter 4, Section 2, and Chapter 3, Section 3). That ceremony is called *‘uqād* and is the occasion of a minor reception held at the bride’s home during which coffee and candies are served and dinner later in the afternoon. In the evening after prayers (that is around eight), a celebration begins at the groom’s home in anticipation of the bride’s arrival (*ḥaflat al-ḥarāwah*). Her procession arrives at midnight, accompanied by drumming, singing, dancing, and shouting. The singing and dancing used to last till morning, but the evening celebration starts earlier now and lasts around three hours.

The famed Ḥaḍramawt *faqīh* ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sa‘īd Bā Ṣabrayn (who died in the 1880s) condemned the Wādī Daw‘an wedding rituals: the ribald songs, the painting of girls’ hands with henna, the pretended abduction of the bride and her defence by her unmarried girlfriends (*al-shardah*), men and women dancing together (*duḥayfab*), and the custom permitting the husband to unveil his wife’s face in public and kiss her forehead (Bā Ṣabrayn, n.d.: f. 16 a, b). Those practices are no longer observed, but the advocates of piety still condemn the *tan‘ash*, a dance performed among themselves by Wādī Daw‘an women, who press their hands against their breasts and rhythmically nod their heads. Condemned too is the custom of changing dresses several times during a dancing party. Sometimes the dresses are worn one on top of another, the dancer then removing the outermost dress in front of everybody. Sung at this time are the women’s songs of the *khayba‘ān*, examples of which have been published by Robert Serjeant (1951: 168).

Duḥayfab dancing is still performed today by the men, who form a circle or a semi-circle, with a professional female dancer (*mushtarībah* or *mudarijah*) who calls two men to dance around the entire circle with her. The men also practice a variant of the *shabwānī* dance called *qaṭanī* in Western Ḥaḍramawt, a name derived from the town of al-Qaṭn. The second day of the wedding is called *yawm al-ṣubḥah* (*al-ṣubḥah* being the present given by the husband to his wife after their first wedding night). Formerly, the *al-ṣubḥah* was repeated on the third day (*thānī ṣubḥah*). On the fourth day the newlyweds visit the wife’s parents’ home, where a reception is held. A week after the wedding, another reception (*naqdah*) is held at the newlyweds’ home. And a week after that, the wife may, if she chooses, make a two-day visit to her former home.

1.4. Burial Customs

The dead are washed at home either by their relatives or by professional washers of the *ṣubyān* stratum. All mosques near cemeteries have special rooms for washing the dead and wooden benches (*maghsal – maghāsil*) to prepare for burial any who have no relatives. The last is paid for with *ṣadaqah* money and an allocation of *waqf* funds. The body is sprinkled with henna (women with *burd* and *wars*, as well) and wrapped in a shroud (*kafān – akfān*) or simply in an undyed cotton wrap. The nose and ears are stopped up with cotton. Prayers and Qur'ānic passages are read over the body, and the same day it is delivered to the cemetery on a special wooden litter (*na'sh – nu'ūsh*).

The grave is positioned so the dead person faces Mecca. The depth of the grave is equal to the height of a local man standing with his arm raised (that is, about two meters) and has a recess whose length is measured with a palm stick that is later stuck in the earth covering the grave. The surface of the grave is covered either with cobblestones arranged in an oval or with a single slab with stones in the centre (fig. 77). Two stones (pillars or stelae) are placed over a man's tomb at the head and the foot, while a woman's tomb has three stones, the third placed in the middle (fig. 76). If the woman died giving birth, there will be five or six small stelae. According to the observations of Efim Rezvan, a member of our expedition, the same customs prevail in Mahrah and Shabwah.

The vast majority of graves bear no inscriptions, unless they belong to *sādah* and *mashāyikh* or to revered righteous figures (fig. 75). Stone stelae with carved inscriptions (*shāhidah*) are placed on the graves of the last some six to eight months after the burial when the graves have sunk. The Bedouin bury their dead in cemeteries used by the sedentary peoples, often along the *ḥawṭah* boundaries. Thus, in a cemetery located some 350 m northwest of the al-Mashhad *qubbah*, there are at least thirty-four Bedouin graves, male and female. Cemeteries usually occupy land that is unsuitable for agricultural purposes (*fartūwān*). As a rule, they are divided into adult and children's halves, the latter reserved for children who died "before their teeth changed". The tombs are untended. On their visits to cemeteries, people bring green boughs and leave them on the gravestones. After forty years or so, a new body may be buried in an old grave site (*nabsh*).

In Western Ḥaḍramawt, the burial (*jināzah*) is followed by ten days of mourning. The first three are meant for the condolence (*ta'ziyah – ta'āzin*) ceremony. After evening prayers mentioning the deceased, a meal is served. The dishes (boiled goat meat, rice, bread, dates, coffee) are brought as a *ṣadaqah* into the dead man's house, since a fire may not be lit there. Three, more rarely five, respected men read the Qur'ān together (*khātimah – khawātim*). No special mourning garments are worn. Mirrors and television screens are draped with cloth. Entertainments, dancing, etc., are proscribed for six months.

1.5. Characteristics of Family Structure

The ritual norms of the life cycle shape the individual's relationships with relatives, in-laws, neighbours, and strangers. The norms are quite stable and not really susceptible to outside regulation. Statistical analysis of the survey material yields a sense of other characteristics of family and clan structure.

A survey conducted by Ilhām 'Abd al-Wahhāb in al-Hajarayn (Wādī Daw'an) shows that the most widespread form of marriage is the endogamous variety (about 60% of the respondents). The average number of children per family is four, although the preliminary estimate had been five or six. The discrepancy is the result of the respondents' relatively young age. Article 5 of the 1974 Marriage law (the Agrarian Reform Law of 1978: 30) defines the minimum marriageable age as eighteen for men and sixteen for women. That is largely observed, although with exceptions: there are fourteen- and fifteen-year-old brides. The average man marries much later, sometimes as many as seven to ten years, the result of his working outside the settlement and his need to accumulate *mabr*.

Sergey Serebrov and I obtained interesting data from random analysis of a literacy survey conducted by officials of the Daw'an *mudīriyah*. The sample covered three sub-districts: 'Amd, Ḥurayḍah, and al-Ḍalī'ah, in other words, the territory of Wādī 'Amd. We identified four family types.

- 1) Nuclear family: husband, wife, and children, if any.
- 2) Joint family: a) husband, wife, and married children and their offspring, or b) married brothers and their spouses and children in a shared household.
- 3) Incomplete family: lacking at least one spouse.
- 4) Mixed family: any of the preceding types, plus agnatic and/or cognatic relatives.

The following table shows the percentage of household distribution by family type.

Table No. 5. Family Types by Household

Family type	'Amd	Ḥurayḍah	al-Ḍalī'ah	Total
Nuclear	53.1	32.3	56.5	50.7
Joint	10.8	24.9	17.4	15.4
Incomplete	21.9	35.0	11.6	20.7
Mixed	14.2	7.8	14.5	13.2
	100%	100%	100%	100%

The high proportion (50.7) of nuclear families in all three sub-districts points to the active formation of new families from joint family groups in a closed cycle: nuclear family – joint paternal family – joint fraternal family – nuclear family. About 650 parcels in the Daw‘an *mudīrīyah* are sold each year for the building of homes for new families. The creation of incomplete (20.7) and mixed (13.2) families is mainly the result of emigration or the departure of able-bodied workers from their native settlements.

There is a clear correlation between household size and marriage type both within family groups and outside them. The following table shows the percentage of household distribution by marriage type.

Table No. 6. Marriage Types According to Household

Household Size	Inside the Family Group	Outside the Family Group	Total (100%)
Up to 3 people	48 (45.3%)	58 (54.7%)	106
4–7 people	328 (48.8%)	344 (51.2%)	672
Over 7 people	137 (35.9%)	245 (64.1%)	382
Total	513 (44.2%)	647 (55.8%)	1160

The total for marriages inside the family group is slightly less than that for marriages outside it, but the numbers are still comparable. It might be concluded that there is an obvious tendency towards endogamy in Wādī ‘Amd. The discrepancy between marriages inside and outside the family group is especially great in households of more than seven people: 35.9%, as opposed to 64.1%. This phenomenon will require analysis. The differences by sub-district are not especially great, even though the agricultural sub-district of ‘Amd does not resemble that of Ḥuraydah with its growing urban centre, and both differ from the plateau sub-district of al-Ḍalī‘ah with its *qabā’il* population.

The marriage rate is quite high across the whole of Western Ḥaḍramawt (about 90%). Virilocal marriage is the norm, although deviations from it are not uncommon: the western *qabā’il* (for example, the al-Ṣay‘ar and al-‘Awābithah) and especially those of the east (for example, the al-Ḥumūm and al-Manāḥīl) frequently settle among their wives’ relatives in order to reinforce their claim to their in-laws’ tribal lands (see Chapter 1, Section 3).

The data obtained in the 1984 official survey (which included about 10% of the population of the Ḥaḍramawt) shed light on the sex and age distribution of the Daw‘an *mudīrīyah* population. The following figures are per thousand people.

Table No. 7. The Daw‘an *mudīrīyah* Population by Age and Sex

Age (in years)	Males	Females	Total	Percent of Total
1–11	11.4	11.1	22.5	32.0
12–20	7.0	8.7	15.7	22.4
21–40	6.1	8.0	14.1	20.1
41–49	1.8	2.3	4.1	5.8
Over 50	5.6	8.2	13.8	19.7
Total	31.9	38.3	70.2	100%

The predominance of women in the most active age groups reflects the scale of outside work migration in Western Ḥaḍramawt.

And finally, a fact that would seem to have no direct bearing on institutional norms of kinship and marriage, but that still indicates the dependence of the population on traditional mechanisms of socialization: despite the recent campaign against illiteracy, 58.1% of the population between 12 and 40 years old can neither read nor write (23.8% of males, 84.2% of females).

2. Property Norms and Regulation

In the Ḥaḍramawt, the idea of property (*māl – amwāl*) was applied almost exclusively to land, to a cultivated parcel with palm trees, *durrab*, or other crops growing on it. Land ownership could be collective (the lands of a tribe) or private. Private landowners were listed in cadastral books (*qā‘imah – qayim*). There were and still are communal lands (*mubāh* or “permitted” lands) used as pastures or to stockpile fuel. Ideally, they belonged to everyone, but in practice they were concentrated in the hands of the *qabā‘il*. Besides this, there were *waqf* lands, as elsewhere in the Muslim world.

Land and water rights are closely linked and difficult to separate. Thus, water rights may not be transferred as marriage money (*mahr*), presented, assigned, donated (*ṣadaqah*), or bequeathed. All Muslims have equal rights to water. There is no ownership of water except when someone has dug a well on his own land

(although he cannot then refuse it to anyone who is thirsty) or when he has taken it from a communal source in a jug or water bag.

Those who practice joint use of limited water sources (springs, wells, channels) requiring an effort of maintenance or improvement possess the right of pre-emption (*shuf'ah*). In other words, whenever a parcel is to be sold, it must first be offered to the members of the family group or to neighbours on the larger irrigated body of land (the right of *jiwār*).

The link between land and water use is also reflected in the “revival of dead land” (*ihyā' al-mawāt*), in which fallow land belonging to no one is put to economic use. Such “revivals” are only possible in areas not used as pasture and not adjacent to villages, and are connected to the discovery of a water source or the digging of a well. The process entails the ploughing and levelling of the parcel, cutting down trees, building a fence, laying channels, and marking the boundaries with signs.

The principle of a free access to water lies at the basis of the customs prohibiting the piling of earth along the banks of a channel during cleaning, and requiring that a “protected” area (*barīm*) be left around a spring (Varisco 1982: 9–15, Maktari 1971: 230–54).

Fiqh, which gives socially normative implementation to the general ethical dogma of the *shari'ah* (Siukiyaynen 1986: 55) had not worked out clear principles for Islamic water use (Varisco 1982: 226). Therefore, the opinions (*fatāwā*) of the prominent *al-shāfi'i* scholar Ibn Hajar al-Haythamī (1504–67), who addressed the problem on the basis of common sense and the rule of custom (*'ādah*), were highly esteemed in the Ḥaḍramawt. An *'ādah* was the standard practice followed without interruption by at least two generations (Maktari 1971: 92). Thus, while custom allowed the storage of water without giving others access to it, Ibn Hajar felt that the owner's share was to be reckoned according to the needs of the land, the crop, and the season.

If one of two parcels of land with palms irrigated by the same channel was neglected and its ground level was elevated by the deposition of the sediment, so that there was insufficient water for the next parcel, what was the owner of the second parcel to do? Ibn Hajar's answer was that while the owner of the neglected land could not be forced to lower the ground level, the other owner did have a full right to do it for him. However, if the first owner should put his parcel back in order, then the irrigation sequence would be restored.

The one whose parcel is closer to the water will be the first to receive his share. Until he got his due, the *faqīh* said, he might control the water in any way he liked: with clay dams that stopped the entire flow, or with wooden ones or those made of palm boughs that let some of the water through. Providing he did not violate custom, he might do whatever he liked.

To the question of whether an owner might water his part of the land despite having been forbidden to by other owners who feared damage to themselves, Ibn Hajar declared that as long as the first owner's activity did not violate custom, it was permissible and he did not have to pay for any potential damage to the others (Maktari 1971: 35–7).

In Western Ḥaḍramawt, these and similar cases were decided by local experts in custom. In the lower reaches of Wādī 'Amd, the *mashāyikh* Bā Jābir enjoy particular authority. Experts in custom might be at the same time responsible for the irrigation network, although the two social functions were usually separated.

The irrigation manager was called *khayyil* (from the verb *khayyala* meaning “to notice from afar” and the term *makhīlah* meaning “signs of rain, clouds, rain”; Landberg 1901: 568–9). His chief task was to manage the main irrigation channel (*sāqiyat al-umm*, or simply *al-umm*) and to assess any damage done to the irrigation installations by the flooding (see Chapter 3, Section 1). Sāliḥ Bū Bakr Bā Sahl (about sixty years old, Ḥurayḍah) reported the following: “The day after the flood came, the *khayyil* inspected the valley and ravines and went to see if there was any damage. If there wasn't, he says, ‘Praise be to God, you haven't changed’. If there was, he was required to assess the damage and make the owners repair it. The *khayyil* was elected by the community, along with his assistants, one of whom kept a register of the landowners' names and their property limits. The assistants oversaw the branches of the main channel, and as a rule had a personal interest in the proper functioning of the network, since it delivered water to their own parcels too.”

The *khayyil* received no salary. He managed a fund to which owners contributed according to the size of their parcels. An owner could do the work himself or pay through the *khayyil* for the services of hired workers (*farq al-sawq*). The whole community helped the poor and the sick with donations as a *sadaqah* duty. In many places, the local *khayyil* was elected from among the *hirthān*, the native landowners: the Bā Daḥmān (Wādī Daw'an), Bā Ḥulaywah, Bā Ḥusayn, Bā Ḥuwayrath, etc. (Wādī 'Amd). In Nafḥūn, the functions of *khayyil* were performed by the *sayyid* 'Umar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭās; in 'Andal, by the *shaykh* 'Abdallāh Sālim Bā Jābir; in Ḥurayḍah, by the *mashāyikh* Bā Sahl, the *sādah* al-'Aṭṭās, and others (all from Wādī 'Amd). The *khayyil* was personally responsible to the community and could be replaced whenever necessary. In 1990, his functions were carried out by a collective body, the Agricultural Committee (*lajnah zirā'iyah*), which was responsible only to superior authorities.

The *khayyil* had one of the most important social roles in the self-regulation of the Western Ḥaḍramawt agricultural community. It was characteristic in flood irrigation zones where continual mutual assistance was required of the landowners. It is no coincidence that the areas where well irrigation prevailed, mid-

dle-scale land ownership quickly took hold, the communal management effectively disintegrated, and the functions of the *khayyil* remained undetermined.

The interdependence of farmers increased along with the continual fragmentation of land in accordance with inheritance custom. Although blessed by the Qurʾān (4: 8), the custom had appeared long before Islam and it gave each heir a share in every part of the inheritance. With respect to land, that meant that all heirs with equal rights received an equal part of each inherited parcel. In other areas of the Arab world, on the Syrian plain, for example, the custom resulted in an inordinate division of plots, which impeded agricultural development. In the flood irrigation areas of the Ḥaḍramawt (and on the terraces of Yemen and Lebanon), the scattered distribution of land belonging to a single family group required rigorous adherence to water-use customs. The reason is clear: water could reach the next parcel only after it had passed through the neighbour's (the decisions of Ibn Hajar had addressed the related issues at length). The custom operated with no enforcement other than common interest. A. Bujra has observed how the mechanism worked in Ḥurayḍah (Bujra 1971: 57). The fragmentation of parcels (within reason, naturally) among cultivated holdings also entailed more complex crop rotation. The fragmentation was slowed down by pre-emption rights and quarter organization: parcels could be divided only within the same lot (*maṭrah*).

Land taxes in Western Ḥaḍramawt were levied on a more or less regular basis only in the 1940s. Until then, they were sporadic and more like tribute or donations. For many *qabā'il*, the very idea that levying taxes against them was an insult.

Aside from work for communal foundations (of *khayyil*, *manṣab*, or *ṣadaqah*) or on public projects (*ghubūr*) retaining the features of "assistance", most of the farming population was economically exploited by the *qabā'il*. Especially indicative in that respect was the institution of guarding the palm harvest (*shirāḥah*), to which Robert Serjeant devoted an entire article (Serjeant 1981).

Shirāḥah was termed a "Ḥaḍramawt custom" as early as the fifteenth century (Serjeant 1981: 308). The owners paid the armed *qabā'il* who guarded the ripening dates twenty percent of the crop and ten percent of *durrah* grain and stems. Those data have been confirmed by our informant in Wādī ʿAmd, Ḥasan Muḥarak Bin Duff of the Bin Mādī tribe (fifty years old, Ṭamḥān). In al-Khuraybah and al-Ribāt (Ribāt Bā ʿAshan) (in Wādī Dawʿan), the farmers paid the Marāshidah, al-Qasam, and Sumūḥ Saybān tribes for "protection". They complained of having to pay triple taxes (*darībah*): to the state (*dawlāh*), to the tribe, and to peasant watchmen (Serjeant 1981: 311).

The peasant watchmen, or guards armed with clubs (the usual weapon of the *du-ʿafā*), were a substitute for the "unjust and tyrannical" tribal guard. In an epistle written in the early nineteenth century in rhymed prose (*maqāmah*), the *sayyid* Ṭāhir b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ṭāhir al-ʿAlawī expressively described a *qabīlī* full of strutting tribal arrogance, who referred to his fellow tribesmen as "men of blood" and

all peasants as “men of dung (*farth*)”, who coughed loudly, blew his nose with two fingers, wore a short loincloth and a black woollen cord on his turban, insulted the landowner and his family and servants, ate or gave away the harvest he was supposedly guarding, stood leaning on his staff with his right foot on his left knee, and placing his index finger first between his eyebrows and then on the tip of his nose, swore “by his face” (by his honour) at any pretext (Serjeant 1981: 313–14, 318, 320).

The *shirāḥab* may be viewed as the initial stage in the transformation of private land ownership into a conventional holding. Even the terminologies coincided: Greek *proniya*, Iranian *timār*, and Arabic *shirāḥab*: “care or charge”. That process did not proceed very far, since the compulsory institution of *shirāḥab* was counterbalanced by the custom forbidding the exploitation (*rifqah*) of *ḥirthān* or *masākīn* property by one group of *qabā’il*, if that property was under the protection of another tribal group (Snouck Hurgronje 1905). If any tribe failed to carry out their obligations to representatives of their own stratum, the latter could, without resorting to an arbiter, forbid certain actions by the defendant’s protégés. For example, a tenant might not draw water from a well or collector, construction workers might not erect a building, caravans might be prohibited from crossing the tribal group’s territory, and so forth. The ban imposed on the *masākīn* town-dwellers’ property extended to their shops, stores of goods, and to the town as a whole. The ban might be removed after a time, the dispute having been settled via mediation by the *sādah* and/or *mashayikh* and/or tribal judges, but occasionally it could lead to armed conflict among the *qabā’il*. The prohibitions were announced and cancelled in a public place by a trusted agent of the tribe: “First, pray for him [the Prophet]; second, pray for him; third, pray for him! May you hear only good! Such-and-such a son of such-and-such proclaims that the town is under ban [*al-balad marfūqah*]” (Snouck Hurgronje 1905: 98).

The tribes’ trusted brokers (*dallāl*) played an important role in the Ḥaḍramawt economy as intermediaries. Tribal honour forbade the *qabā’il* from engaging in trade. A *qabīlī* might be a camel driver or a caravan guard, but the *dallāl* dealt with the marketplace. He sold the Bedouin livestock and bought whatever goods they needed. A former *dallāl*, ‘Abdallāh Sālim Sa‘mar, (about sixty years old, Ḥurayḍah) said that their family, the Nuṣayr, was well known all over the Ḥaḍramawt. Arriving in Ḥurayḍah about fifty years ago, they took the name of Sa‘mar. The largest Western Ḥaḍramawt markets were Qa‘ūḍah in Wādī al-Kaṣr, Shibām in the Main Wādī, and Ḥurayḍah (which he called Daw‘an) in Wādī Daw‘an (sic!). The Sa‘mar worked with the al-Ja‘dah and Nahd *qabā’il*. They took a one percent commission on everything except camels, for which they received two percent. In al-Qaṭn, it was the Bā Khamīs who distinguished themselves as intermediaries. From the North came such goods as cotton, matting, sesame oil, fodder, and livestock. From al-Mukallā came tea, coffee, sugar, and dry goods. Caravans went to the coast from Ḥurayḍah and ‘Anaq (Wādī ‘Amd).

The last caravan comprised some 150 camels, a third of which belonged to the Bin Shamlān *qabā'il*, who charged twenty-five to sixty talers per *bihār* or 300-pound camel load. The caravan's security was provided (see Chapter 1, Section 1) by a representative of Saybān tribal confederation through whose territory a significant part of the route passed. Several informants have referred to promissory notes (*ṣakk* – *ṣukūk*) used by the *dallāls* for payment.

Pilgrimages or *ziyārah* also played an important role in the economic life of Western Ḥaḍramawt, since they were (and are) accompanied by fairs (see Chapter 1, Section 3, and Chapter 3, Section 5). All internecine strife was suspended during the pilgrimage season so that caravans could safely transport their cargo. Following is a list of the region's most important *ziyārahs*.

- 1) Nafhūn (the tomb of 'Umar b. Ḥusayn al-'Aṭṭās): the seventeenth of Sha'bān;
- 2) al-Mashhad (the tomb of 'Alī b. Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭās): the twelfth of Rabī' I;
- 3) Qaydūn (the tomb of Sa'īd b. 'Īsā al-'Amūdī): the last Friday of Rajab;
- 4) Ṣīf (the tomb of Shaykhān b. Aḥmad): the tenth of Rabī' II;
- 5) Buḍāh (the tomb of Ma'rūf Bā Jimāl): the nineteenth of Dhū-l-ḥijjah;
- 6) al-'Arsamah (the tomb of 'Abdallāh b. 'Alawī Muqaybil): the second Friday of Rajab;
- 7) al-Qurayn (the tomb of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bār): the twelfth of Rabī' I;
- 8) al-Ribāṭ/ Ribāṭ Bā 'Ashān (the tomb of Daḥmān b. Shaykhān): the seventeenth of Rabī' II;
- 9) near al-Ribāṭ (the tomb of Aḥmad b. 'Abd-al-Qādir Bā 'Ashān): the seventeenth of Muḥarram;
- 10) near the Shitnah pass (the tomb of 'Umar b. 'Abdallāh Bā Rās): first day of the Dalw star (October 1).

The craftsmen who came to the *ziyārahs* with their wares had a regular opportunity to examine those of their colleagues, discuss professional problems, and sometimes to agree on prices, the delivery of raw materials, and so on.

C. Landberg mentioned that whenever a buyer and a seller did not want the terms of a transaction to be public, it was carried out “under the shawl” or “under the skirt” (Landberg 1901: 333–6). The *dallāl* joined his clients' hands under a shawl, where the bargaining was done with fingers, one finger denoting units (tens or hundreds), half a finger, 0.5, and a joint, 0.25. The custom survives to this day.

The intermediary had a wide circle of contacts and acquaintances. Visitors on business would stay at his house. The *dallāl* was considered untouchable; his gestures (the waving of a garment, for example) could stop a battle. In regard to stratum, however, he belonged to the lower levels of society.

3. Personal Norms

It is not always possible in traditional societies to make a clear distinction between moral values that pertain to the individual as such and those that pertain to him as a member of a social group. Islam directs its appeal to each individual within the community of believers (*ummah*), judging his actions in this life and promising a just reward after death.

Unlike outward behaviour, which is regulated by *fiqh*, the questions of Muslim convictions, ethics, and conscience are outlined in the *sharī'ah*, that is, in the Qur'ān and *sunnah* (Siukiyaynen 1987: 55), to which consensus (*ijmā'*) and judgment by analogy (*qiyās*) may also be added.

Muslim norms exist in the Ḥaḍramawt as precepts of the al-Shāfi'ī school. More than any other Sunni religious or legal trend, it is characterized by diversity and pluralism. Even its founder, Muḥammad b. Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī, expressed divergent views in regard to most issues. The school cultivated two logical modes: 1) the derivation of legal foundations (*takhrīj al-wujūh*), and 2) absolute reasoning (*al-ijtihād al-muṭlaq*). In South Arabia, the al-Shāfi'ī school encountered a well-developed tradition of customary law that distinguished between *'ādah* (habit) and *'urf* (custom) (Maktari 1971: 6). The operation of a particular custom (*'urf kbāṣṣ*) was geographically and socially limited; that is, special traditions were recognized for the Ḥaḍramawt in general and for each of its strata, and although not all of those traditions were approved by the religious authorities, there was no sharp contradiction between the prescriptions of the faith and the principles of customary law. However, that did not prevent the *sūfīs* and *faqīhs*, the mystics and legists, from accusing each other of deviating from pure Islam.

A Ḥaḍramī's moral system was built on foundations that are universal in the Near East. I have written about them in relation to Arab etiquette and symbolic behaviour (Rodionov 1988a: 129–38, Rodionov 1988b, Rodionov 1988c). For South Arabia they are: 1) *murūwah* (see Bravemann 1972: 1–7), 2) *qabwalah*, and 3) *dīn*; in other words, 1) the qualities of the real man (valour, magnanimity, generosity, individual honour, dominance); 2) allegiance to the clan (to the principles of mutual assistance and interdependence and to clan and stratum honour), and 3) the code of behaviour subject to religious judgment. Many of the precepts of the three principles conflict with the other two. They are listed here in ascending order: rules for the individual, prescriptions for the member of a family group or clan, and commandments for the faithful member of the Muslim community, who has a personal responsibility for their observance. Despite the predetermined character of individual behaviour in traditional society, which path he would take, how he would act, or which principle he would prefer ultimately depended on the individual himself.

P. Pogorelsky has addressed a few Ḥaḍramī behavioural stereotypes in his 1988 article. The poetry and music and dance folklore that embodied the foundations

of the Ḥaḍramī conception of life, as well as many of its institutional and personal norms, will be treated in the next chapter.

4. Conclusions

The conception of life, or system of views of the world as a coherent totality of multifarious being, is formed in the individual from childhood in the process of socialization. Institutional norms of kinship and marriage are reflected in Ḥaḍramī kinship terminology. The local system is close to the classic Arabic one. Rites of passage in Western Ḥaḍramawt have undergone greater Muslim unification than in Eastern Ḥaḍramawt. The struggle against “unnecessary and expensive” rituals engaged in by both conservatives and modernists has simplified certain customs, especially wedding customs, even as a stable ritual minimum has in many cases survived.

Analysis of the survey material indicates that in the Ḥaḍramawt, as elsewhere in the Arab world, endogamous marriages are characteristic, with many occurring between parallel cousins. The local data on joint fraternal families confirm the author’s hypothesis that it is in fact there that the origins of parallel-cousin marriage should be sought. The percentage of nuclear families is a large one (50.7%). The formation of incomplete families (20.7%) is explained by the mass seasonal departure of able-bodied males as reflected in the population’s sex and age distribution. For large households (of more than seven people), the percentage of marriages within the same family group is especially high (64.1%). Virilocal marriages are the rule, with the exceptions as the result of a husband’s claim on his in-laws’ land. Analysis of the survey information once again demonstrates the untenability of the opposition of the joint families to the nuclear ones, since they are merely different phases of a single cycle (nuclear family – joint paternal family – joint fraternal family – nuclear family).

In Western Ḥaḍramawt, as everywhere else in the Arab world, institutional norms of ownership are rooted in the close tie between land and water use and the special role played by flood irrigation, which permitted regulation of the relationships within a community of neighbours without recourse to an enforcement apparatus. Notable in that connection are the specifically Western Ḥaḍramawt social functions of the expert in custom (*‘ādah*) and the manager of irrigation works (*khayyil*). The limited water resources of the west along with the absence of a stable surplus crop made the role of the *khayyil* politically neutral: he could not change the water use order and could only verify the degree to which practice was consistent with custom. An anonymous bureaucratic institution, the agricultural committee, which is no way answerable to the farmers, cannot replace the *khayyil*. Outside the flood irrigation zone, for example in al-Qaṭn with its wells, there is no comparable social role.

Opposed to the centripetal tendencies of the community of neighbours were the centrifugal forces of tribal structures. The institution of forced protection (*shirāḥab*) imposed on farmers by the *qabā'il* could have led to the transformation of private land ownership in a conventional holding. That process was, however, impeded by other local traditions (the *rifqab*, for example) and then brought an end by the British administration.

Markets and trade during the *ziyārah*s increased the mercantile potential of the Ḥaḍramawt economy. Economic relations between the tribes and within the whole society were to a great extent controlled by the *dallāls*, intermediaries between the tribes and residents of the trade and craft settlements.

In Western Ḥaḍramawt, the personal dimensions of social technology have to an important degree been dissolved in institutional ones or have been insufficiently separated from them.

The characteristic South Arab system of customary law (*'ādah* or “habit” and *'urf* or “custom”) exists in the Ḥaḍramawt alongside the al-Shāfi'ī interpretation of Sunni Islam. Ḥaḍramī moral values are based on principles universal in the Near East, which *mutatis mutandis* for the area being studied may be formulated as

1) *murūwah*, 2) *qabwalah*, and 3) *dīn*.

Chapter 6: The Spiritual Legacy and its Transmission

1. Oral and Written Traditions

The correlation between the oral and the written has already been discussed above, in Chapter 2, Section 1. For the Ḥaḍramawt society, with its considerably high illiteracy rate, the basic way of transmitting spiritual heritage has therefore been the oral one, but it is inseparably linked with the written way of transmission. Obvious is their interrelation in local historiography, law system (the codified *fiqh* together with either non-codified or seldom codified customary law), and in many aspects of the socio-normative sphere (Chapter 5, Sections 1-2). The source of this interrelation may be probably found in the old times when the oral word of revelation and justice sought an eternal formula preserved in codification. It is not by chance that even the local Bedouin have never settled their most important agreements only orally, but also in the written form according to the saying *baynahum wathar wa-wathaq* (“there is a written agreement between them”).

Both the oral and the written have been revealed through a Ḥaḍramī poet (*shā‘ir*). There are two poetic styles: the literary *ḥakamī* style and the vernacular *ḥumaynī* one, i.e. the written and the oral, folk-oriented. In reality, not a single Ḥaḍramī poet employing the *ḥakamī* style has ever written in the formal literary language; he uses syntax close to that of the everyday speech, simplified grammatical constructions, and local vocabulary. Nearly all poets of the area under examination combine both styles depending on the genre they choose. However, the prolific author of “The story of the Ḥaḍramī poets”, ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥāmid al-Saqqāf, limited his task exclusively to literary poetry, almost never addressing the vernacular one “due to its local nature” (1934, vol. 1: 3).

Every genuine poet must have the power of improvisation (*irtijāl*); he has to be able to easily wave off his adversary’s attacks at a poetic contest; his memory must be extensive and well-trained. However, all these features of the oral tradition get on with the written word. Even if the poet himself is illiterate, one can always find at poetical gatherings (*jalsah*, *samrah*) a scribe and a prompter (*mu-laqqin*) whose task is to whisper to a singer a poem created by the poet line-by-line and to note it down. During improvisation poets use a lot of set expressions, clichés and periphrases, obvious and hidden quotations. The recitation of ready-made or improvised verse is performed either by its author or, on his behalf, by a transmitter (*rāwī*) or a singer. Poetry of that kind is always composed with an eye for the expectation effect. The listeners must laugh at a joke, loudly approve of a didactic maxim, echo the pronounced rhyme and guess the forthcoming one.

2. The Social Role of the Poet

Unlike certain social roles with strict strata attribution in Ḥaḍramawt (*dallāl*, musician, *mushtarīḥab* – female musician and dancer, etc.), poets are present in all traditional social strata from top to bottom.

Any poet is judged by his gift. There may be a great poet (*shā‘ir ‘azīm*), a poet (*shā‘ir*), and a petty poet (*shu‘ayr* or *shu‘ayrah*, both variants applied to the male poets). The latter definition is used in regard to those who compose poems occasionally and claim no communication with supernatural powers. The Ḥaḍramīs remember the Koranic sayings that a real poet transmits from supernatural voices, either from the *shayṭāns / jinn* (e.g. Qur’ān 26: 221–4) or, for the good Muslims, from “the true spirit” (*al-rūḥ al-amīn*: Qur’ān 26: 193, cf. 227). A poet is still believed to be a clairvoyant knowing both the past and the future (Rodionov 1983a; Rodionov 1984: 149).

In South Arabia, the inspiration source which prompts the verses is personified as al-Ḥalīlah, the local Muse who inspires poetical imagination, and her male counterpart, who whispers poetical words to a poet. It is al-Hājis who is often referred to in Ḥaḍramī poems: “Oh my Hājis! I got used to your prompt replies” (see Chapter 6, Section 3.1, No. 31: 3). Both these incarnations are nothing but “*shayṭāns* or *jinn* of poetry”; as for the “true spirit”, the local tradition says nothing about this source of inspiration. The words perceived by a poet are occasionally misty or weird, but they must be listened to as they may contain the *fāl*. The *fāl* is the gift of clairvoyance revealed through verses. A poet may have more or less of this gift and his *fāl* may be “good” (therefore predicting luck and success) or “bad” (predicting evil). The poets with “bad” *fāl* have always been feared, envied and sometimes were the objects of hatred. In Western Ḥaḍramawt, one of the poets predicting misfortune was al-Munqīṣ (Chapter 6, Section 3.7, No. 24).

Every family group is supposed to have a poet of their own. He plays an important role in rituals and social presentations. Weddings are usually served by several poets, and during their contest the audience backs up their local favourite who is expected to be most inventive and cunning. Poems can be commissioned outside the group, but that is not always appropriate.

Among semi-nomads and sedentary people of tribal origin the genre of *zāmīl* (Serjeant 1951a: 32–3) is still in everyday usage. *Zāmīl* can be defined as a short call-song composed on some special occasion and sung collectively (see examples in Chapter 6, Section 3.13, Nos. 19, 25–7, 35–7). Poets create songs for weddings (Section 3.14, Nos. 38–41), the ibex hunt (No. 40), daily work (e.g. the songs of the *nūrah* slake lime: No. 43), and even for calling down the rain (No. 42).

These songs are often sung with no accompaniment, or either with the *mizmār* (a double clarinet) or the *madrūf* (an end-blown flute). One can use a tambourine,

i.e. a frame drum usually with cymbals inserted in the frame, a bigger drum (*daff kabīr*) or a smaller one (*daff*), as well as a one-skin frame drum with iron rings or small bells inside the frame (*tār*). The *zurbādī* and Bā Ṣāliḥ musical teams of the Main Wadi usually employ four various hand drums: a bigger horizontal cylindrical two-skin membranes drum (*hājir – hawājir*), a medium two-skin drum (*marfa‘ah – marāfi‘*) and a pair of smaller horizontal drums of eastern African origin (*mirwās – marāwis*). There is also a version of the Middle Eastern *darabukkah*, one-skin pottery goblet to beat the rhythm (*īqā‘*) (figs. 27, 68) and different kinds of smaller vertical drums made of wood (*maṭraq – maṭāriq*).

However, the musical art centre lies outside Western Ḥaḍramawt, in Say‘ūn, al-Ḥawṭah, and other towns in the Main Wadi where the genre of *dān* or *dānah-dānah* flourishes: singers perform a song which poets are improvising hemistich after hemistich. There are lyrical and satirical *dāns*. Local scholars and poets highlight in their books this genre and its best performers: Sa‘īd Mubārak Marzūq (1911–81) and Mastūr Sulaymān Ḥamādah (1897–1975) (al-Ṣabbān 1979; Ibn Nāṣir 1983). The leading instrument of classical Arabic music, the lute (*al-‘ūd*), is used here by singers and poets much more often than in Western Ḥaḍramawt.

The role of a local poet can also be taken up by a female. Thus inhabitants of Western Ḥaḍramawt revere the poetess Fāṭimah al-‘Amūdī who lived about four centuries ago in the Wādī ‘Amd. Historian Ja‘far al-Saqqāf focused on women’s poetry in his research on the Ḥaḍramawt folk dance and song (al-Saqqāf, J. M. [n.d.]b: 14–15, 85–123).

The poet’s responsibility is to keep and transmit the tradition: the moral values (the persuasion or monition genre, *nasā’ih*), the accumulated knowledge (the catalogue-poems), the feeling of tribal or social pride (the boasting, *‘azwah*, *ṣar-khab*, and the satirical genres, *hijā’*). Poets exchange their views not only in competitions but also in poetical correspondence (in this respect the functions of written transmission are often exercised now, even among the Bedouin, by cassette tape recorders). Some examples of verse, which I have recorded during my field seasons in the region (except the catalogue-poems), are given below.¹

The poet is the catalyst and verbalizer of social conflicts. In local society, in order to perform with the power of conviction successfully, one has to introduce poetic passages in his or her speech and to possess versification skills.

¹ For more detailed characteristics concerning the social functions of local poetry and examples of it, see my article: Poetry and Power in Ḥaḍramawt (Rodionov 1996). I wrote there, in particular, “I am fully aware that being neither Ḥaḍramī nor English, I cannot offer a perfect translation of vernacular Ḥaḍramawt verses into English. The same is true of transcription itself and of at least some of my formulations” (118–19).

3. Examples of Local Poetry

3.1. Bū 'Āmir

No. 1

1. Bū 'Āmir, [whose] soul is sublime, said: I neither visit the protected.
2. nor my friend's wife and never betray the trust in its place.
3. I swear by Allāh and again swear by Allāh, I swear by the Lord of the Throne and by the one who settled in al-Baqī'.¹
4. Indeed, she strove for me, whereas I was slow like someone in pain.
5. If [somebody else's] wife agrees, the man must not agree.

1. *qāl bū 'āmer rafī' en-nefs mā ajī li-r-rabī'*
2. *lā jī marrat šāḥeb wa-lā ḥun el-amāne fī-l-waḍī'*
3. *wa-llā thum wa-llā wa-rabb el-'arsh wa-llī ḥall el-baqī'*
4. *inhā tālāwijnā wa-nā wannī kamā wann el-wajī'*
5. *lā ṭā'at el-ḥurma fa-r-rījāl yighlib mā yaṭī'*

No. 2

1. Bū 'Āmir says: Verily, I have never wished evil [to anyone],
2. but on the day of al-Salhabī',² oh, if Bū 'Āmir would have been [there]!
3. He would come with the 'bald head'³ or a spear sticky with evil.

1. *yiḡūl bū 'Āmer fā'innī ma bidā temennēt sharr*
2. *illā nahār es-Selhebī yā rēt Bū 'Āmer ḥaḍar*
3. *yihḍur bā-kerd er-rās wallā-rumeh llī maghrī bā-sharr*

No. 3

1. Bū 'Āmir says: The best knowledge is to say 'I did not know'.
2. If I saw something, I did not say anything,
3. and if someone told me [anything], I did not talk.

1. *yiḡūl Bū 'Āmer kheyār el-'ilm in qālāt mā darēt*
2. *in shuft shī mā qult shī*
3. *wa-in ḥadd ḥakā lī mā ḥakēt*

No. 4

1. Bū 'Āmir says: It was asked of me, but I have no qualities [to answer].
2. The subsistence of the living one will never cease
3. until he has renewed his shroud and died.

1. *yiqūl Bū ‘Āmer nashid tūnī wa-lā ‘endī šifāt*
2. *mā yinqaṭī ‘ḥeyy rizqu*
3. *siwā men tejadded kifāne wa-māt*

No. 5

1. Bū ‘Āmir says: From [the star] ‘Awwah to [the star] al-Simāk⁴
2. a herald is not heard because of the [noise of] *manākī* [irrigation joints].⁵
 1. *yiqūl Bū ‘Āmer min el-‘Awwā ila-s-Simāk*
 2. *mā tisma ‘ad-dā‘ī men al-manāk*

Comments

These verses are ascribed to the legendary Bū ‘Āmir, who was, according to the local tradition, a descendant of the famous Banī Hilāl tribe; he is believed to have been born in Haynin (Wādī al-Kasr) and to have lived over a thousand years ago. As a rule, scholars provide no concrete data on his biography (Serjeant 1951a: 373; al-Ṣabbān 1978a: 38). Therefore, a tiny hint at some personal circumstances (text No. 2) deserves attention. The *dīwān* of Bū ‘Āmir poetry is still expanding, since many poets use his name as their pseudonym.

Text No. 3 is extremely popular in Ḥaḍramawt today; see Serjeant’s rhymed translation of its version (1951a: 37).

Text No. 4: Bū ‘Āmir words are linked with the testament of Hayṣam (the late 18th century?) who bequeathed her land near Shibām as a *waqf* “to the one whose means of subsistence are no more”. After Bū ‘Āmir’s reply, the parcel of Hayṣamah had been merged with the town’s western cemetery.¹

Text No. 5: one of the many “agricultural maxims” ascribed either to Bū ‘Āmir, or to al-Ḥumayd walad Maṣṣūr (see below), or else to the North Yemeni poet ‘Alī b. Zā’id (‘Alī b. Zā’id 1968: 19–21).

¹ A nickname of Medina, i.e. the poet swears by Muḥammad.

² The battle near a village of the al-Kasr valley in which the poet had supposedly lost a close friend or a relative.

³ A handle of the *jambīyah* dagger.

⁴ The beginning of the rainy season, between April 2 (‘Awwā) and April 15-17 (al-Simāk) (see Appendixes 1 and 2).

⁵ An irrigation joint (*mankī – manākī*) (see chapter 5, Section 1).

¹ Cf. with a new book of a Say’ūnī poet and musician ‘Alī Aḥmad Bā Rajā’ (Bā Rajā’ 1424/2004: 47–8).

3.2. Al-Ḥumayd walad Maṣṣūr

No. 6

1. Al-Ḥumayd walad Maṣṣūr said: There is no use in laziness.
2. For laziness inherits trouble and hunger every hour.
3. Get yourself two capable [servants] and a slave whose arm is sinewy.
4. Or roaring camels whose voracity is permanent.
5. Or breed a flock of sheep; when a ram is fat, sell it.
6. Or find a noble wife; she makes you hungry when [you are] well provided for,
7. saying: [You will eat] now this [helping] and later that one.

1. *qāl el-Ḥemēd walad Maṣṣūr mā fī-l-kasāl shī nafā'a*
2. *inni-l-kasāl yirith el-hamm wa-l-jō' fī kulli sā'a*
3. *badda' fi thnēn khurrāj wa-'abd melwī dhirā'a*
4. *w-illā jāmālan tabādīr fājā'thā kulli sā'a*
5. *w-illā leqe firqet dān illā smen kebesh bā'a*
6. *w-illā leqe ḥurmet ašīle tajū'nā fī-sh-shebā'a*
7. *wa-taqūl hazā li-delhīn wa-zāk yuq'ud li-sā'a*

No. 7

1. Al-Ḥumayd walad Maṣṣūr said: Poverty is the loss of noble origin.
2. I have spent night in poverty, and [here I am already] a fornicator, a thief, and a liar.

1. *qāl el-Ḥemēd walad Maṣṣūr al-faqr ḍiyā'-l-īnsāb*
2. *amsēt min faqr lēle zānī wa-sāriq wa-kaddāb*

No. 8

1. Al-Ḥumayd walad Maṣṣūr said: Here is Būr, the dwelling of my relatives,
2. [while] I have moved to the village of al-Radā', since my relatives are humiliated.

1. *qāl el-Ḥemēd walad Maṣṣūr shū bōr lā-ablī māḥalle*
2. *ghādart lā qarēt er-Radā' min shān qōmī māḍalle*

No. 9

1. Al-Ḥumayd walad Maṣṣūr said: Oh my rain [penetrating] to sealed-off place!
2. I was safe where I was worried, and was killed where [I thought] it was safe.

1. *qāl el-Ḥemēd walad Maṣṣūr yā maṭrī min kenānī*
2. *iselimt min ḥēs anā khēf wa-qetilt min ḥēs amānī*

No. 10

1. Al-Ḥumayd walad Maṣṣūr said: Death is whirling in my throat.
2. After me, how will you treat a guest, a son-in-law, or a neighbour?
3. For the guest we slaughter [a ram] and prepare [a meal]; do whatever he wants.
4. Our son-in-law is one of us, and [he has come] to us, having a share in land and household.
5. The neighbour [may be] mistaken about us, [but] we will never be mistaken about the neighbour.

1. *qāl el-Ḥemēd walād Maṣṣūr al-mōt fī ghurghurī dār*
2. *ba'dī kēf təlqūn fī-d-dēf wa-ṣehr wa-l-jār*
3. *aḍ-dēf nizbaḥ wa-niqdah nilqī min ḥēs yikhtār*
4. *wa-ṣ-ṣehr minnā w-ilēnā qasīm fī-l-māl wa-d-dār*
5. *wa-l-jār yikhṭī 'alēnā lēs nikhṭī 'alā-l-jār*

Comments

Of the five quoted texts three (Nos. 6, 9, 10) bear a significant semblance to those by 'Alī b. Zā'id of Northern Yemen (Agaryshev, Sanches 1968: 66): No. 6, partial similarity and a common rhyme with No. 164 from the A. Agaryshev's publication; No. 9 is close to No. 88, and No. 10 to No. 155 (Ibid.: 89, 120, 77, 108, 87, 21–4). Text 7, saying that poverty results in a loss of noble origin, reminds one of the lines in which al-Ḥumayd argued against 'Alī b. Zā'id, insisting that property was more important than honour (Ibid.: 85).

The Northern Yemeni tradition depicts Ḥumayd b. Maṣṣūr (al-Ḥumayd walad Maṣṣūr) as a contemporary and competitor of 'Alī b. Zā'id, and mentions that Ḥumayd died in the village al-Maghārib to the north of Ṣan'ā'. Agaryshev wrote: "The fact that Ibn Maṣṣūr had more than once been mentioned in the verses seems to indicate that he had been a real person. Informers told the researcher that Ḥumayd b. Maṣṣūr had been 'Alī b. Zā'id's friend and also a poet. The friends argued endlessly. Quatrain No. 103 is an eulogy where Ḥumayd b. Maṣṣūr's death is lamented" (Ibid.: 21–2). Agaryshev maintained that both poets had lived, most probably in the early 16th century (Ibid.: 41).

In the Ḥaḍramawt tradition, however, there is no uniform opinion about when Ḥumayd walad Maṣṣūr lived or what his origins were (Serjeant 1951a: 50). Thus, 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-'Aṭṭās reported to me that the poet had been one of the Banī Sahl or Banī Sa'd, a subdivision of the Banī Hilāl tribe who had always been famous for their poetry, and that he had lived in the 14th century. Bū Bashr stated that the poet had been a Bā Jurāy tribesman and lived in the mid-18th century. Text No. 8 leads to an idea that the poet was born in the Būr of Ḥaḍramawt. All

my informers are unanimous that it is the “eastern Būr”, a settlement located in the Main Wadi between Tarīm and Say’ūn. Later, the poet moved to al-Radā‘ in Northern Yemen because of his relatives’ humiliation. Its reason is hinted about in Text No. 9 (cf. in Agaryshev’s edition No. 88, 21): the informers believed that it had been caused by the pregnancy of the poet’s unmarried daughter. The number of verses ascribed to al-Ḥumayd and preserved by the Western Ḥaḍramawt oral tradition does not exceed a few dozen short poems.

Al-Ḥumayd walad Maṣūr is known in Northern Yemen far better than ‘Alī b. Zā’id in Ḥaḍramawt: none of my informers could recite the latter’s poems; most did not even know the name. Nevertheless, the poems of al-Ḥumayd and ‘Alī b. Zā’id show stylistic and theme-based similarity and probably ascend to a single source. The problem of their attribution still remains open. As it is not unusual in South Arabia, the better some poems are known, the more conventional is the identity of their formal author and the weaker the link between the poems and the person. In any case, the “double authorship” of the most popular lore pieces quoted above is another proof in favour of the close cultural links between Ḥaḍramawt and Northern Yemen.

Yemeni writers have raised the problem of the strict attribution al-Ḥumayd’s (or ‘Alī b. Zā’id’s) poems (*Wathā’iq* 1974: 73–84); ‘Abdallāh al-Baradūnī thought that both of them had been real persons and explained their double identification through transmitters’ mistakes (al-Baradūnī 1985: 14).

3.3. ‘Alī b. Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭās

No. 11 (*qaṣīdah* 1)

1. Oh you, speaking Arabic! A voice like your voice is good.
2. Your tune is sweet, and your speech is that of a clear tongue.
3. A voice when it goes along with the sense heals the wounded.
4. And when it does not bear it, it resembles honey in a flat plate.
5. [It] is not our attraction towards the song whose flow is constant.
6. I mention in it [with such] mentioning which contains thoughts with spiritual meaning,
7. the Day of Summons [starts] from the beginning which is evident for us.
8. The beauty of this life is unimportant to us as an abominable temptation,
9. that cannot be compared, taken in full, with a mosquito’s wing.
10. Both its beauty and its shame – everyone suffocates in its cruelty.
11. I found him standing and exclaiming in his good-natured envy,
12. [addressing] the abstemious ones and the diligent in faith, as a goat [devouring] ground date seeds,

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13. [to those who] will resurrect later, and the resurrected will glorify God.
 14. How much wealth has gone, and its people are at rest [lit. “swimming”] in [their] graves.
 15. Everything is for nothing, and no one will ever sell at a profit.
 16. Tell those who scorned my speech turning their heads away:
 17. Where is the one who raised al-Ghaywār which is vast?
 18. Built it of plaster, and of baked bricks, and carved the notches,
 19. and erected the powerful buildings magnificent in their might?
 20. The heart’s embarrassment is for a wavering heart.
 21. Oh you, Raybūn fortress, tell us the true tidings!
 22. Tell us about your dwellers so that my heart could get quiet!
 23. [Raybūn] said: How many nice dwellers had stayed in me,
 24. and generous people whose thoughts knew no misery,
 25. men of arms and of [noble] origin, and of [old] state (*daywalah*), and of bel-
lowing [herds],
 26. and horsemen, and infantry loudly blowing their battle trumpets!
 27. And how many perfect beauties whose exquisiteness is obvious;
 28. their eyes kill a watcher, and he becomes sick (lit. “and he is bed-ridden by
the night”);
 29. their smell is musk and camphor that spread fragrance.
 30. And I will tell you, oh *sayyid* ‘Alī, the truth
 31. about the people of ‘Ād who had opposed God and never listened to persuaders:
 32. they had not trusted His mercy, and He destroyed them with hurricane and wind,
 33. and sent on them winds of fire burning with heat.
 34. For them, there came the [Day] of Resurrection, across the hollows [their
remnants] were blown.
 35. They died suddenly; no one was [properly] buried in a grave.
 36. Subsequently the warning which praised [our Lord] has been repeated
 37. from Ṣāliḥ, Mūsā, al-Khiḍr, and Christ.
 38. Here is the news about them. I have explained it to you in clear explanation.
 39. And look at their [= the people of ‘Ād] traces for which there is no praise:
 40. over the space between Sdbah and al-Hajarayn they are scattered.
 41. How many significant details there are and how many reproaches!
 42. The rhymes have thrown at me their striking wave
 43. from the sea abundant with water, on whose sword jewellery is fixed:
 44. remainder of the sins [committed by others] and a good cause [to ponder].
 45. And the mystery is hidden. Oh you, who watches calmly but does not see!

- 1- يا معرب الصوت مثل الصوت صوتك مليح
 2- نغمتك حلوة ونطقك من لسانك فصيح
 3- والصوت لا طابق المعنا دوا للجريح
 4- وان ما توافق غدا مثل العسل في سفيح
 5- ما حبنا للغنا وذي دوامه ذليح
 6- اذكر به اذكار فيها افكار معنى رويح
 7- يوم النداء من قدا المبدأ لنا بالصريح
 8- ما همنا بهجة الدنيا الغرور القبيح
 9- ذي ما نساوى جملها للبعوضة جنبيح
 10- والزين والشين كلن من جفاها يصيح
 11- ومن غبطه لقيته قيم يضبح ضبيح
 12- على المزاهد مجاهد مثل شاة الرضبح
 13- وتاليتها محاشر والمحاشر تسبيح
 14- والمال قد مال واهله في المقابر سبيح
 15- ما هي على شى ولا من يتجرها ربيح
 16- فقل لمن خل في قولى بعنقه مشيح
 17- اين الذى ثور الغيوار ذى هو فسبح
 18- بناه بالجص والياجور ينقح نقيح
 19- والقأ مبانى قوية في قواها رقيح
 20- تحير القلب لقلب حين فيها يميح
 21- يا حصن ربيون خبرنا بعلم الصحيح
 22- هات اعطنا علم سكانك لقلبي يريح
 23- قال اعتلانا من السكان كم من صبيح
- 24- وقوم نذاخ ما هو في المعانى شحيح
 25- اهل السلب والنسب والديولة والنقيح
 26- والخيل والرجل صيح الحرب دوبه يصيح
 27- وكم حسيئة جمال الزين فيها وضبح
 28- اعيانها تقتل الناظر ويمسى طريح
 29- من طيبها المسك والكافور ينفح نفيح
 30- وعادنا اعلمك يا سيد علي بالصحيح
 31- عن عاد ذي عادوا الله وادبروا بالنصيح
 32- كفروا بنعمته واهلكهم بصرصر وريح
 33- وارسل عليهم رياح النار تلفح لفيح
 34- قامت عليهم قيامة فى غيبها تفيح
 35- راحوا فجا قط ما واحد قبر في ضريح
 36- في وقت قادم يعيد العد فيه سبيح
 37- من قبل صالح وموسى والخضر والمسيح
 38- ذا علمهم قد شرحنا لك بيانه شريح
 39- وانظر الى اثارهم ذى ما عليهم مديح
 40- من سوح سدبة الى الهجرين فيها تسبح
 41- كم ذا تفاصيل في المعنى وكم ذا قديح
 42- زغرت على القوافى موجها له لديح
 43- من بحر طامى على سيفه جواهر جديح
 44- تذكير للمعتبر والمذكر والسنيح
 45- والسر مكنون يا ساجى النظر ما يبيح

No. 12 (*qaṣīdah* 2)

1. Oh you, people! Who has arrived at Raybūn, has seen the miracle. They watched in embarrassment.
2. It has strong buildings. The one who sees them cannot help thinking,
3. and multiply his glances, and [takes] four [looks], and triples his glances, and comes back.
4. In short, their deeds make you uneasy.
5. The stones are worked over like pieces of palm wood.
6. They have been mounted by a builder, and traces of [his] work are on them.
7. Or ornaments are on them, or carving, or inscriptions.
8. Verily, they can be murdered only by [God's] wrath.

9. However long had I wandered across this land [= Ḥaḍramawt], I have seen nothing like this on the Earth!
10. And I guess that this was the [capital] city of the country in this land.
11. Shibām is nothing but a street, and smaller than it [= Raybūn] are its market place and its square.
12. Truly, its [= Raybūn's] well is ten cubits [in diameter], the one who has dug it chiselled [as if in stone].
13. Its fortress is a high hill, in its [= the town's] centre erected.
14. My heart is bewildered. How could this strong building fall apart?
15. Blessed be the Lord of the land, the superior King and Lord!
16. Blessed be the Creator, Destroyer, and Resurrector!
17. He has given a form to the created of seed, according to His might.
18. And now I reckon, staying in the valley of excitement.
19. My heart is pronouncing the sweet pronouncement with the tongue of silence,
20. extolling with hymns those who are noble;
21. it attentively cares about those who have turned [towards God] and started loving.
22. Oh you, fortress Raybūn, tell me the news about the people [lit. the Arabs]!
23. And share with me the rarities, whose time has passed,
24. which were within you in the time of the [old] state and the battles.
25. How their grey-haired wise [lived], and those who were young,
26. and the shepherd in his saddle, and the one who kept breeding small cattle, and the owner of a pack saddle,
27. and the hunter seeking for lying antelopes,
28. and the one who ploughed with yellow-legged bulls?
29. How many of them were far from problems, being not the last ones,
30. generous in their wealth and reaching high positions.
31. And the white-faced [beauties] hidden by the heart inside the buildings,
32. beautiful in their features, there is no peer to them;
33. extravagant if approached; how many admirers have disappeared and fallen in despair!
34. What are the tidings about their death, and what was its reason?
35. [Raybūn] said: They had succeeded in this life in all their desires,
36. and their crops and herds multiplied, and their property grew;
37. but once there came a persuader, calling them to God, a shrewd one.
38. They renounced him, and expelled him, and did evil things to him.
39. God punished them with a devastating hurricane.

40. How many high fortresses collapsed above them and fell!
 41. Deformed is the structure [once] filled with might, and it is curved.
 42. How much had they toiled constructing these buildings!
 43. And nothing but ruins was left, as prescribed by your Lord.
 44. Anyone who sees them [= ruins] in the night darkness escapes them.
 45. How many instructive [things] are in this life, and how many amazing!

- 1- يا ناس من سار في ربيون شاف العجب
 2- فيها مبانى قوية من نظرها اشتعب
 3- واكثر اليها النظر والربع وتلت وغب
 4- والحاصل انه يحيرك امرهم في طرب
 5- على الحجر يقطعونه مثل قطع الكرب
 6- حگمه بانبيهم الصانع وفيه الشلب
 7- اما نقش فيه والا قط والا كتب
 8- حقيق ذولاك ما يقتلهم الا غضب
 9- كم سرت في الارض ما شى مثلهم فى الترب
 10- وظنى انها مدينة الارض فى ذا الجنب
 11- شبام شارع ودونه سوقها والخبب
 12- ان بيرها عشرة اذرع ذي حفرها نقب
 13- وحصنها حيد شامخ فى وسطها انتصب
 14- قلبى وحل كيف ميناه القوى اخترب
 15- سبحانه رب البرايا خير مالك ورب
 16- سبحانه المبدى المعدم ومحي الترب
 17- قد صب مخلوق من بزقة بقدرته صب
 18- والآن انا مفكر عندى بوادى شغب
 19- قلبى يخاطب لسان الحال حلو الحطب
 20- وينشد انشاد منها من نجب
 21- ويعتنى فى عناها من تقرب وحب
 22- يا حصن ربيون خبرنا بعلم العرب
 23- وهات لى من عجائب وقتهم ذى عزب
- 24- ذى خيموا فيك يوم الديولة والطنب
 25- وكيف حاذقهم الشيبة ومن كان شب
 26- وراعى السرج والشاوى ومولا القتب
 27- واهل القناصات ذى هم يتبعون الخنب
 28- واهل الحرائث بالثيران صفر العصب
 29- كم راس فيهم بعيد النو ما هو ذنب
 30- يسخا بماله ويرقا عاليات الرتب
 31- والبيض ذى كنهن بين المبانى قلب
 32- ملاح لوصاف ما يوجد كما هن ولب
 33- غوالى الوصل كم عاشق تلف وانقطب
 34- كيف الخبر فى هليكتهم وكيف السبب
 35- قال انهم عمروا الدنيا بطول الرغب
 36- وفاش فيها خصيب الخصب والخير شب
 37- وجاهم الناصح الداعى الى الله ولب
 38- عصوه واقصوه والقوا فيه فعل العطب
 39- عاقبهم الله بصرصر قطعهم خيب
 40- كم حصن على تدامر فوقهم وانتكب
 41- صلح البنا كامل القوة وفيه الورب
 42- كم كابدوا فى حكم بينانها من نصب
 43- امست خرابه كما ربك كتب
 44- من شافها فى ظلال الليل منها هرب
 45- كم ذا عبرات فى الدنيا وكم ذا عجب

Comments

Sayyid ‘Alī b. Ḥasan b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ḥusayn b. ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Aṭ-ṭās (1122/1710–1172/1758), the founder of the sacred enclave (*ḥawṭah*) in the mouth of Wādī Daw‘an, is also known as a prolific poet (Serjeant 1951a: 65). Two of his *qaṣīdahs* describing the ruins of the ancient Raybūn were recited to

me in 1983 by his descendant, ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭās, the Ḥurayḍah *manṣab*, the keeper of the *ḥawṭab* founded there in the early 16th century by ‘Alī b. Ḥasan b. ‘Abdallāh’s great-great-grandfather, ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān. The texts have been collated with the manuscript preserved in the *manṣab*’s family (al-‘Aṭṭās 1884, ff. 5–9).

The pilgrimage to al-Mashhad was described by the Ḥurayḍah *manṣab* and by the keeper of the al-Mashhad *ḥawṭab*, ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Aṭṭās (over seventy years old); I talked to him again in 1985. Of great help with the translation of both *qaṣīdahs*, and during the entire process of collecting the material on the Western Ḥaḍramawt poetical tradition was my colleague ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ja‘far Bin ‘Aqīl.

On the first sight, *qaṣīdahs* dedicated to Raybūn may be called traditional. Despite the vernacular vocabulary, they belong to the literary written trend and continue a topic well-known throughout the Arabic poetry: a wonderer’s speculation about the futility of the earthly life when he observes ruins of once magnificent buildings. However, our poet was far from any formal literary exercises and pursued a definite objective. The site of Raybūn is described in a highly detailed way (*qaṣīdah* 1: lines 17–19, 39–40; *qaṣīdah* 2: lines 1–14, 40–4): he indicated the size of the well in cubits (2: 12) and outlined the approximate limits of an area of ancient settlements, from Sadbah (a village in the south east of Wādī al-Kasr called “al-Balad” on von Wissman’s map) to al-Hajarayn in Wādī Daw‘an (1: 40). Al-Ghaywār mentioned in the verse (1:17) is a mountain near al-Mashhad, in this case, a synonym for Raybūn. The social composition of the ancient Raybūn is given in detail (1: 23–9; 2: 22–33) in words intelligible to the poet’s contemporaries. A line on the antelope hunters (2: 27) may sound strange but becomes clearer when we recall the ancient method of hunting: the antelopes were chased until they weakened and lay down on the ground to rest (cf. Serjeant 1976: 2).

Describing the disastrous consequences for those who violated the God’s will, the founder of al-Mashhad evidently addressed the residents of neighbouring villages. The ruins of a once flourishing town near the new *ḥawṭab* were considered to be a historical warning to keep the locals from the temptation to violate the sacred status of al-Mashhad. This was the purpose of both *qaṣīdahs*: the old form had received an actual content.

Recalling a tradition of his family, the *manṣab* of Ḥurayḍah told me: “‘Alī b. Ḥasan was asked by his relatives, Why do you want to settle down in al-Mashhad: there is not a living soul there? He answered: For I am like God’s Prophet, my ancestor Ibrāhīm [who said], Oh my Lord, truly I have stopped in a wadi devoid of vegetation”.

No. 13

And he [= ‘Alī b. Ḥasan] also said: Truly, I have founded this place for five things only:

1. to give water to the thirsty, to reward the lonesome,
2. to provide safety for the fearing, to help the noble,
3. and to assist the Muslims.

wa-qāl bi-ḥadd innanī mā asast hazā-l-makān illā li-khams ḥiṣāl

1. *saqey el-‘aṭishīn wa-sila li-l-munqaṭ‘īn*

2. *wa-amān al-khā‘ifīn wa-l-‘awn li-l-muḥsinīn*

3. *wa-l-‘awn li-l-muslimīn*

No. 14

He [= ‘Alī b. Ḥasan] said:

1. ‘Alī b. Ḥasan has made al-Ghaywār a *ḥawṭab*, and he began being visited [by pilgrims].
2. And you, oh al-Jahī, is turned into paradise after having been [infernal] fire.
3. You was destined for the pious, and structures were erected inside you,
4. and a watering spot, and a place to drink where once had been the place of raids,
5. and a market where goods were sold in *bihārs* (see Appendix 4).

1. *‘Alī bin Ḥasan ḥuwwaṭ el-Ghaywār wa-amsā l-mazār*

2. *wa-amsēt yā l-jahī janna ba‘d mā kunt an-nār*

3. *ḥallūk li-khiyār wa-leqū fī ‘urūdak diyār*

4. *wa-l-ḥōd wa-s-seqāya ḥēs kān el-maghār*

5. *wa-s-sūq tadkbulū l-badā‘ī bi-l-bihār*

No. 15

‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh al-‘Aṭṭās added: Every year ‘Alī b. Ḥasan prayed on Muḥammad’s Birthday. Each tribe received a seat in al-Mashhad, and the place began to flourish. He [= ‘Alī b. Ḥasan] said about this:

1. To how many people have I given a good rest here!
2. Some will come here from Ṣan‘ā’, and some from Oman.
3. The chosen ones will gather here,
4. the people of books, and the possessed.

1. *waqfat el-kheyr kām li-n-nās fihā majā‘ī*

2. *ḥadd yijihā min Ṣan‘ā wa-ḥadd min ‘Umān*

3. *tijtamī‘ fihā l-awliyā‘*

4. *wa-ahl el-kutub wa-l-majānī*

No. 16

And more:

1. Mashhad ‘Alī is situated on the southern side.
2. What a joy for those who have come to visit these buildings!
3. Pilgrims from Ṣan‘ā’ and Ma’rib,
4. and the crowds of horsemen are plentiful.

1. *Meshhed ‘Alī baḥra yilāṭim*
2. *yā bakht men zāra mabnīya*
3. *zuwwār min Ṣan‘ā wa-Mārib*
4. *wa-taḥshalat kām min maṭīya*

The Ḥuraydah *manṣab* went on with his story: “The pilgrimage to al-Mashhad begins on the 12th day of Rabī‘ al-Awwal and lasts for four days, until the 15th. Twenty days before the beginning, they start filling the reservoir with water. The *ziyārah* having been opened, the water is unlocked and blessed. The *manṣab* reads from the Qur’ān ‘Yā’ Sīn’ (*sūrah* 36) and verses about the Prophet’s descendants with the blessing by ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-‘Aṭṭās. On the 13th there occurs the solemn ride into al-Mashhad. Every tribe enters al-Mashhad in the strict order. During that time there is peace between them. They arrive to trade from the land of the al-‘Awāliq tribe and from Sanā [in Eastern Ḥaḍramawt]. Up to two thousand camels happened to be here at a time. The *ziyārah* lasts for four days, and at night the freedom was complete: one could either pray or dance. The proverb says, ‘Dancing has the same share as praying’. The riding procession included thirteen horses, and every *sādab* group had their special banners and their special colours.”

The al-Mashhad *ziyārah* has been described in European literature (e.g. Bujra 1971: 28–30). While in the past it used to be an illustrative example of the traditional social stratification typical of the old Ḥaḍramawt, nowadays the *ziyārah* is far more modest, with no borders between the traditional groups ever emphasized. Between the *ziyārahs*, al-Mashhad itself is next to uninhabited.¹

3.4. Bū ‘Alī Sālim bin Jibrān

No. 17

1. Bin Jibrān said: Behold al-Qufl in front of thee, and the other house [of mine],¹
2. and we made closer this long distance.
3. The nourishment of tribal arrogance (*qabwalah*) is nothing but bitterness;
4. there is no honey in its hive.

¹ See also Rodionov 2004, Mashhad ‘Alī revisited.

1. *yiqūl Bin Jebrān dā-l-Qūfl saddak wa-‘ād ed-dār*
2. *wa-l-bu‘d qarabnā miyūhu*
3. *wa-l-qabwala mā ta‘ambā allā qār*
4. *mā shī muṣallah min jubūhū*

No. 18

1. Today is a day of feast.
2. With whom [shall I celebrate] my feast?
3. The payment time is approaching
4. above the wicker tray.
5. I will not declaim [verse] and will say nothing,
6. until the crescent appears in its place.

1. *al-yōm yōm el-‘īd*
2. *‘īdī ‘end mīn*
3. *yōm el-mākhālīṣ bātiqa‘*
4. *fōq et-tifāl*
5. *wa-lā ‘ād bātakallam wa-lā bāqūl shī*
6. *lammā tashūf esh-shahr fī qiblat hilāl*

Comments

The author, a tribesman of the al-Baṭāṭī tribe, was a poet popular in al-Quzah (see Chapter 4, Section 1.1.); my informants said, he lived “over a hundred years ago”. The words about the tribal arrogance (in this sense, he used the word *qabwalah* elsewhere meaning the tribal pride, see Chapter 5, Section 3) are often repeated in Western Ḥaḍramawt; bitterness is a synonym for death. Text No. 18, as the informers explained, was composed when the poet had been invited to a wedding but had no money to give to the bridegroom as a present; line 5 is a set expression (cf. Bū ‘Āmir No. 3).

¹ al-Qūfl is a quarter of al-Quzah (Chapter 4: 1).

3.5. Ghānim al-Ḥakīmī

No. 19

These are verses by Ghānim al-Ḥakīmī; and Ghānim al-Ḥakīmī had neither [prominent] ancestors, nor relatives among the Nahd or the al-Kathīr, or the Yāfi‘, and he had nothing in common with either the tribe of the al-Murrah [of] the al-

Ja‘dah or with the Saybān. He was a tribe unto himself, settled down in Mīkh. During a *zāmil* [gathering] he was asked: Where are you from? And he answered:

1. I am al-Ḥakīmī, son of Sabā, son of Sām,
2. and we descended from Noah, son of Shalīkh.
3. We earn our living only with Syrian things [= weapons],
4. we leave early and come back at night, and [our] home is Mīkh.

haze qaṣīde le Ghānem al-Ḥakīmī wa-Ghānem al-Ḥakīmī mā lū jadd wa-lā lū šilā lā bə-nahd wa-lā bə-āl kəthīr wa-lā bə-yāfi‘ wa-lā lū shī be-l-qubəl wa-lā be-l-murra al-ja‘de wa-lā bə-sēbān masuwā qabīle lə-ḥāla ‘āmed Mīkh wa-sālō ent min fēn fi-z-zāmel fa-qāl:

1. *anā-l-Ḥakīmī bin Sabā bin Sām*
2. *wa-nuntaseb lā Nūḥ bin Shelīkh*
3. *mā nkassub ellā min ‘ulūq ash-Shām*
4. *sāreh wa-dōwī wa-l-məḥalla Mīkh*

No. 20

(a)

1. Ghānim al-Ḥakīmī said: Oh [the village of] al-Munayzarah, take from me whatever you can.
2. I have no pieces of meat to offer a dear [guest].
3. Nothing but cold, stale water in thine pitchers,
4. and mosquitoes, and fleas, and shaking cold.

(b) Sālim Sa‘īd Balfakhr answered:

1. Oh Ghānim, what thou hast offered, the same will be proffered to thee.
2. Nothing comes from thee but the puffs of a water pipe.
3. Our elders have already informed your elders.
4. There is nothing between us but the artefacts of Englishmen [= weapons].

(a)

1. *yiqūl Ghānem al-Ḥakīmī: yā Mnēzara minnī kbudī līsh mā samah*
2. *mā shī min esh-sharqe taqādīm el-‘azīz*
3. *mā siwā el-mənaqqas fī ziyāresh bāyitī*
4. *wa-l-ḥās wa-d-dardīl wa-l-bard el-hazīz*

(b) *wa-radd Sālem Sa‘īd Balfakhr*

1. *yā Ghānem in qaddamt shī bātīlḥaqū*
2. *mā shī siwā minnak tanāfīḥ el-mazīz*
3. *shēbānenā qid khabbarū shēbānkum*
4. *mā bēnanā ellā ṣanā‘a el-īnglīz*

Comments

Ghānim al-Ḥakīmī who was “a tribe unto it” (see No. 19) lived in Mīkh (a settlement in Wādī Mīkh, a western tributary of Wādī Daw‘an); his poetry is widely known in Western Ḥaḍramawt. His versified genealogy ascending to Sabā, Sām, and Noah can be encountered in Landberg (Landberg 1901: 461, note 2). Noteworthy are the descriptive names used in regard to weapons (Nos. 19/3 and 20 b/4). I quote only two pieces of the vast collection ascribed to Ghānim.

3.6. Al-Qāniṣ

No. 21

When the fortress on the top of the mountain near Qa‘ūdāh was built, people said, We will not work unless you compose verses, oh al-Qāniṣ. He said:

1. Place the mountain rock into the [base] of the fortress of the armed men,
2. so that the *mu‘allim*¹ will make [it] its foundation,
3. so that when the battle starts,
4. one could hear from the top how the basins² roar.

*fī waqt binā-l-ḥuṣṣan elli fī rās jebel qa‘ūdā qālū mā dām nibnē illā mā yijīb
qaṣīde yā qāneṣ wa-qāl*

1. *jurrū ḥaṣā jebelī lā ḥuṣṣan ahl es-salāb*

2. *lā-ajāl al-mā‘allem bāyuhakkam sāse*

3. *le-mēid lā thāret nāshūr al-fitne*

4. *tismā‘ kamā naqeh eṭ-ṭawas mən rāse*

Comments

The poet dubbed al-Qāniṣ, i.e. The Lucky Hunter, ‘Alī Muḥammad Bin ‘Ajjāj of the Naḥd lived in Khawr al-Qāniṣ in Wādī al-Kasr early in the 20th century; his poems are still recited. He used to compose *qaṣīdahs* glorifying the al-‘Aṭṭās *sā-dah* and verses about the ibex hunt. Two of his verses see below: 3.8, No. 25 c, d.

¹ *Mu‘allim* is the highest category of master builders (see Chapter 4, Section 1).

² Metal, mostly brass, basins are used for rhythmic accompaniment, cf. *ṭāsah*, a metal drum.

3.7. Al-Munqīṣ

No. 22

From the sayings of al-Munqīṣ, a poet of the Bin ‘Ajrān who lived in Khuraykhar, located in [the Wādī] al-Hajarayn. Khuraykhar is also referred to as al-Jaḥī al-Zūwir.¹ He said:

1. I dwell in al-Jahī al-Zūwir, I need nobody.
2. Sky bolts are fixed across its [whole] width,
3. below and at the top. He is the lord of al-Muṣṭah,
4. the additional prayer and the obligatory prayer.

min aqwāl el-Munqeṣ shā'ir Bin 'Ajrān ṣāḥeb Khurēkhar bi-l-Hajarēn wa-Khurēkhar yeqāl lu al-Jāḥī z-Zūer qāl

1. 'āmed bi-l-Jāḥī z-Zūer mā nā bi-ḥad
2. melqī marātij as-samā fi 'ardāḥā
3. lā-asfel wa-lā-a'lā wa-hū mōlā-l-Muṣṭa
4. wa-ṣallī-s-sinne wa-ṣallī farḍāḥā

No. 23

And then in the morning they [the Bin 'Ajrān] were attacked in Khuraykhar by the al-'Awābithah who entered al-Wajr.³ And they [the people of the Bin 'Ajrān] surrounded them by the sunset, and the Bin 'Ajrān never let them out. They [the attackers] were defeated, and [their number] was a hundred and fifty of the al-'Awābithah. And later the mediators entered into the clash, and the al-'Awābithah men were allowed to leave. And al-Munqīṣ said:

1. Bā Jūr⁴ came in the morning to our narrow borders
2. without thinking that al-Wajr is the bridge of al-Ṣirāt.⁵
3. I am with those who grind powder
4. and summon the flood during the days of curse.

wa-ba'd aṣḥāḥū l-'awābithe 'alēhum 'alā Khurēkhar wa-dakhalū l-Wajr wa-ḥājūhum āl 'ajrān 'end al-maghrib mā khalāhum bin 'ajrān yakhrujūn ankas-serū wa-minhum mīya wa-khamsīn al-'awābithe wa-ba'd dakhalū l-muṣṭāḥ bēnhum wa-kharrajū-l-'awābithe wa-qāl al-Munqeṣ

1. Bā Jūr ṣabbeḥ bi-l-ḥudūd ad-dēqe
2. mā yaḥseb in al-Wajr mā bār aṣ-Ṣirāt
3. anā ma' llī yanḥazūn eṣ-se'rī
4. wa-yar'adūn as-sēl fi yām al-qināt

No. 24

A man of the *mashāyikh* al-'Amūdī tribe was an oppressor and oppressed them. He said, Let us try to send verses to al-Munqīṣ in order to see whether he has the gift of clairvoyance. So he dispatched one [of his men] to al-Munqīṣ with the words:

1. Oh, black bee dwelling on the Thunderball [= inaccessible] Hill!
2. You shepherd [your cattle] on the people's land by force.

3. They have got no fee, and he is not the one who shares;
4. he has occupied a strong position, higher than they, fortified [on the mountain].

Al-Munqis understood these lines and said:

1. A green bird [= the bee-eater] will follow him for some time,
2. while ants and bee-eating insects will follow him always.
3. No doubt, the hive will stand empty.
4. Oppression and violation of the bans will not last [forever].

wāḥed min āl al-‘amūdī kān baṭṭāle wa-yubṭil ‘alēhum wa-qāl bānjorrah wa-bānirsil qaṣīde lā Munqes wa-in shī khabar wa-fāl ḥaqqo wa-arsal wāḥed taḥat dār al-Munqes ma‘ aqwāl

1. *yā nōb zinjī ‘āmed el-ḥēd el-bārāq*

2. *tir‘ā ‘uṭūf en-nās bi-l-ghuṣḥiye*

3. *lā nālū l-ma‘līm wa-lā hū lī farāq*

4. *‘āmed ‘arāq min fōqḥum mahjīye*

al-Munqes fahhem el-qaṣīde wa-qāl

1. *aṭ-ṭēr l-akhḍar bā yajībe bi-l-medā*

2. *wa-dh-dharr wa-l-‘āthe tejībe bi-d-dawām*

3. *lā mēl mā timsī jubūḥa khāliya*

4. *el-butl mā lu tāliu hūwa-l-ḥarām*

Comments

The poet’s nickname al-Munqis (*anqaṣa* “to reduce”, “to damage”) is linked with his “negative” *fāl*, his ability to foretell disasters (text No. 24). The Bin ‘Ajrān is a faction of the *qabā’il* Bin Maḥfūz; there is no other information about the poet.

¹ Al-Jaḥī al-Zūwir is not Khuraykhar but a part of the Naḥūlah village between al-Hajarayn and Khuraykhar.

² Al-Muṣṭah is a quarter close to al-Jaḥī al-Zūwir.

³ Al-Wajr is the tribal border of the Bin Maḥfūz.

⁴ The leader of the raiders.

⁵ The bridge to Paradise.

3.8. Wazīr al-Miḥḍār and the Tribes

No. 25

In the time of Ḥusayn b. Ḥāmid al-Miḥḍār, the *wazīr* of the al-Qu‘ayṭī state, he went to reconcile the Rawḍān tribes [belonging to the Nahd confederation] who were on hostile terms, and they greeted him with a *zāmil*. And then al-Miḥḍār said:

(a)

1. Today is the day of happiness and great joy.
2. Today is the day of al-Khiḍr and Ilyās,¹ when sins are forgiven.
3. If this *ḥakam*'s and the other *ḥakam*'s solutions are correct,
4. everything crooked will be straightened.

(b) 'Alī b. Ṣāliḥ Bin Muqayrah, a poet of the Bin Thābit tribe said:

1. Greetings to the high guest
2. who rides the back of a mare's daughter.
3. [Our] *ḥakam*'s decision; there will be nothing against it,
4. even if the camel walks on its hump.

(c) And again said the [poet] of the al-'Ajjāj [= al-Qāniṣ]:

1. Greetings to the descendant of 'Alī.
2. True is only what you say.
3. The door of ordeal, they say, is locked,
4. and we have opened wide the one of the good.

(d) And again he said:

1. A friend must respect his friend,
2. otherwise we would have locked the door to brotherhood.
3. On the day of poison, it was raised ankle-high.
4. I [want to] stop its evil and its reasons.

*fī waqt Ḥusēn bin Ḥamad al-Miḥḍār wazīr ad-dōla l-qu'ētīya jā bā yiṣleḥ mā
bēn qabā'el rōḍān wa-kānū fī-l-ḥarb wa-dakhalū bīḥa fī zāmel wa-qāl al-
Miḥḍār*

(a)

1. *al-yōm yōm es-sē'id wa-l-bakht el-qawī*
2. *yōm el-Khiḍr wa-Ilyās ḥawwam bi-l-jenāḥ*
3. *izā ṣalah rāy el-ḥakām hūwe wa-l-ḥakām*
4. *kull min ta'wey bā yaridūne samāḥ*

(b) *qāl ash-shā'ir min Bin Thābet 'Alī bin Ṣāleḥ bin Muqērah*

1. *ḥāyā wa-sablan bi-r-rafī' el-menzile*
2. *llī qid ta'ālā ḍaher bint ḥiṣānhā*
3. *da'wā el-ḥakām mā bā yeqa' shī sedāhā*
4. *lā sāret el-buzzal 'alā qutbānhā*

(c) *wa-qāl wāḥid min al-'ajjāj*

1. *ḥāyā wa-sablan waled 'Alōwī*
2. *mā sāyib illā llī teqūle*

3. *bāb el-balā qālū atqeffel*
 4. *wa-l-keh̄er fattah̄nā qufūle*
- (d) *wa-qāl*
1. *wājeb ‘alā ṣ-ṣāḥeb yirā‘ī ṣāḥebu*
 2. *w-illā l-mekhuwa qid qallednā bābhā*
 3. *yōm el-ḥima ṭil‘it ‘alā keff el-qadēm*
 4. *anā takāfa sherrhā wa-asbābhā*

No. 26

There happened a *zāmil* in al-Quzah. The al-Maḥfūz of al-Hajarayn [more strictly, of Khuraykhar] started claiming al-Quzah, and its dwellers of the al-Baṭāṭī defended it. Then one al-Baṭāṭī said:

(a)

1. May God forgive my grandfather, who arranged a shelter for me,
2. arranged for the ‘*ūl* [bird] to breed the young,
3. arranged [a settlement] inaccessible, high.
4. Gunpowder casts a shadow over it.

(b) *Sayyid* Ḥusayn al-Miḥḍār, Wazīr al-Qu‘ayṭī said:

1. Oh, infidel, become a Muslim. You have been visited by our master ‘Alī.³
2. Here, he will read you a story of the Tamīm [tribe].
3. We are the Ark: he who has come aboard it will be saved,
4. and he who is late will get into the fire of Hell.

waq‘a zāmel fī-l-Quzé Āl Maḥfūz min el-Hajarēn wa-yuṭāleb al-Quzé wa-ahl al-Quzé min al el-Baṭāṭī ghalbū. wa-qāl wāḥed al-Baṭāṭī

(a)

1. *aghfir li-jaddī llī leqā lī menzile*
2. *leqā lā-ḥēs al-‘ūl yutraḥ lu ‘ēyāl*
3. *leqā fī kille manī‘a ‘āliya*
4. *bārūthā min fōqā melqī delāl*

(b) *qāl es-seyid Husēn al-Miḥḍār wazīr ḥaqq al-Qu‘ēṭī*

1. *yā kāfir islem jāk seyidnā ‘Alī²*
2. *hazāk bā yaqra‘u ləkum qīṣaṣ Temīm*
3. *iḥnā s-safīna min ṭla‘ fīhā najī*
4. *wa-min khalaf yibqā le-n-nār al-jahīm*

No. 27

There happened a *zāmil* between the Rawḍān tribes. The old ‘Awaḍ Bā Shumayil, a poet from Wādī Rakhyah, stepped forward and said:

1. The Earth is enveloped in flames part by part,
2. thin boughs [have been put] over thick branches, and the kerosene-spiller is ready.
3. Oh, may the Mercy-faced [Allāh] cool the heat
4. at least for eight days, with a rain or downpour!

*waq‘a zāmel mā bēn al-qābel ‘end rōḍān wa-dakhal esh-shēba ‘Ōḍ Bā Shemēl
shā‘ir min wādī Rakhya wa-qāl*

1. *al-arḍ rishnet nārḥā min shaqqḥā*
2. *wa-l-ḥaṭl taḥt al-jazl wa-l-kazzāz qēm*
3. *‘asā kerīm al-wejḥ yebriḍ ḥarrḥā*
4. *tōkhuz themānḥā yām fī raḥma wa-dēm*

Comments

About the peace-making activities of the Wazīr al-Miḥḍār with their peak in the 1920s (al-Ṣabbān 1978: 31) and the struggle for al-Quzah, see Chapter 2: 2. The mentioned fate of the Tamīm tribe (No. 26 b/2) was in fact a threat, as the Sultan authorities tried to suppress the *qabā’il* riots with force. The *zāmil* of a poet from Wādī Rakhyah (west of Western Ḥaḍramawt) mentions a kerosene-spiller (*kazzāz*), i.e. a palm-killer, the most ominous figure of the intestine wars in Ḥaḍramawt (text No. 27: 2).

¹ Islamic marvel-makers.

² A play on words: the poet appeals to two personalities, ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the *sā-dah* ancestor, and to the Sultan ‘Alī b. Maṣṣūr al-Kathīrī; see the samples in (Ṣabbān 1978a: 31).¹

3.9. *Sayyid* Bā Musāwā

No. 28

Sayyid Bā Musāwā said:

1. I have no desire to contest my friends.
2. I have neither a banner nor a tomb [of a pious ancestor].
3. We belong to the faith of *sharī‘ah*,
4. while the infidels are only in Europe.

¹ Other samples concerning al-Miḥḍār’s mediations see: Rodionov 1996, Poetry and Power in Ḥaḍramawt, 124–5 (also on Ghānim al-Ḥakīmī, *ibid.*, 123; the double *zāmil*s of start-and-answer kind (121), verse concerning al-Dayyin tribal confederation (123–4), etc.).

seyid Bā Musāwā qāl

1. *lā jīt bā mārī ṣaḥābī*

2. *mā shī mā'ī bēraq wa-qubba*

3. *iḥnā 'alā dīn asb-sharī'a*

4. *wa-l-kāfir ellā bi-Ūrūbba*

Comments

Local tradition ascribes these words to Aḥmad b. Ḥāshim Bā Musāwā. In No. 28: 2 the attributes of *manṣab* are mentioned.

3.10. Al-Shubayr Bā Ya'shūt and his Opponents

No. 29

His brother visited him in Java, and al-Shubayr treated him. The guest said, Water soup with stale bread is better than all this. Then [al-Shubayr] said:

1. Do not return to your land unless you are obliged to.
2. May God protect you in troubles and on the black plateau,
3. the treacherous plateau with sharp stones all around.
4. When you are back, you will be visited
5. by someone wearing a turban on his head and another one whose head is bold.
6. Oh, what a pain it will be when they stay to spend the night [with you] and in the morning, to wait for the air to cool down!
7. They envy you your sheep, and your camel saddles,
8. and your woman with her hair untied or plaited.
9. Our mother [Java] is kind. Everyone leaving her will be back.
10. There are quince fruit here, and the living is pleasant,
11. and the lanterns are lit in every side street.

الشبير با يعشوت طلع خوه الى جاوه وحصل عنده ضيافته وقال ان محلب بصيص خير من ذا كله قال –

1- ما ردك من اراضيك الى با تعهد 7- يغبطونك على شاتك وعما شد

2- عينك الله عا لغبة وعما الجول السود 8- والمره نافشة والا شعرها معقد

3- جول كفري حصاه مسهمد 9- أمنا البارة كل من سرح منها رد

4- با تصل لارض با يجونك 10- فيها السفرجل وفيها العيش بارد مبرد

5- حد عمامة على راسه وحد راسه اكرد 11- والسرج راشنه في كل قلي توقد

6- يا عذابك الا أمس وزيد عاده أبرد

No. 30

Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Bin Junayd sent al-Shubayr a *qaṣīdah* from the town of Ṣola

1. Junayd requested: Oh, the Powerful,
2. oh King of Kings, I beg you, oh the Mighty,
3. forgive my sins, and sweep away the slip of my [tongue],
4. correct our doings in this life and in the following,
5. as well as two thousand of my prayers mentioning the Prophet,
6. the chosen one, the patron of those who have good intentions.
7. And then rise, oh my messenger, and saddle the horse
8. neighing loudly, tired of fetters,
9. with four clinging foot bracelets, the horseshoes too small for it.
10. Hear the clatter sounding back through the [echo of] clutter.
11. Leave Ṣola before the morning comes,
12. before the dawn appears in the East,
13. and pass Marfaṣ carefully without distraction,
14. having [only] one china cup of al-Shādhilī [bitter coffee].
15. Make it to Sheribon, whose constructions are incomparable.
16. What has been made by the skilful will always stand out.
17. Go straight with my message to Sālim [al-Shubayr]
18. Abū Mubārak who shelters those who ask for favour.
19. You will find him in his house, sitting in Yemeni-style.
20. He will take off your burden.
21. We want you to come back to your country rich,
22. to the place where your relatives live,
23. to the people of ploughshares, well wheels, and ards,
24. to camel-drivers who likes the sound of milking,
25. to the people whose wealth is innumerable.
26. Incomparable are [Ḥaḍramī villages] Zukaykah and Sharj al-‘Anīn,
27. there are dates and honey plants
28. sweeter than rice and fat meat.
29. There are dances for those whose hearts are merry.
30. You will enjoy the time of songs and women’s dances
31. performed by many of them, whose bodies are well-built;
32. their hair long and their foreheads are beautiful.

رسل احمد بن على بن جنيد قصيدة لشبير من صولة

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 17- توك بخطي لسالم معتني | 1- الجنيدى طلبتك يا قوى |
| 18- ابو مبارك كنان الهادفين | 2- يا مالك الملك سالك يا متين |
| 19- تلحقه في البيت جالس محتبي | 3- تغفر ذنوبى وتمحا زلتى |
| 20- يميل الهم لا فوقك عكين | 4- وتصلح اعمالنا دنيا ودين |
| 21- نباك تخرج لارضك مغتني | 5- وألفى صلاتى على ذكر النبي |
| 22- من حيث بها اهلك ساكنين | 6- المصطفى لي شفيع للمحسنين |
| 23- اهل السنن والمعافر والحلي | 7- وبعد قم يا لمعنى شدّ لي |
| 24- واهل المواويل حلوات الشنين | 8- في ظاهر صاهل من المربط سنين |
| 25- الا ازخمت خيرها ما يحتصى | 9- محجل اربع فى الصندل ربي |
| 26- ما هي زكيكة ولا شرح العنين | 10- تسمع صميمة بزقل بالصمين |
| 27- التمر ماجود فيها والجنى | 11- سرح من الصولة الصبح الجلي |
| 28- احلى من الرز واللحم السمين | 12- من قبل ما الفجر في المشرق يبين |
| 29- والشرح فيها لمن قلبه سلي | 13- واعبر مرفص وحذرك تلتهى |
| 30- يعجبك حل المغانى والزفين | 14- خذ لك من الشاذلي فنجان صين |
| 31- يحضره كم من مهفهف عيطلي | 15- أقصد لشربون ما مثله بني |
| 32- منسع الجعد حي ذاك الجبين | 16- كسب اجاويد يظهر كل حين |

No. 31

Al-Shubayr's reply:

1. My genealogy is from the Ya'āshitah, the Nahd are my brothers.
2. Neither I nor they deny our origins.
3. Oh my Hājīs! I got used to your prompt replies.
4. Slake my thirst if only with stale water.
5. Answer to the Shaykh Aḥmad b. 'Alī
6. famous as the Wreath of the knowledgeable.
7. You have mentioned 'Arshān, my parcel, and called it plentiful,
8. filling all warehouses and barns.
9. Ḍumr Bā Ḍumrah is [nothing but] a fruitless hill.
10. We do not need this infertile dust.
11. The wind from A'lā [= South], and the wind from Qanā [= East],
12. and cold penetrates [because there are cracks in the window shutters] two fingers wide.
13. Within eyeshot you will never come across anyone wearing clothes [i.e. a human].
14. It is a disaster, and the locals keep boasting.

15. East of Shana^ʿ you will find nobody polite,
16. [only] those who are quick in drawing [daggers] from the sheaths. Seek refuge on the slopes!

الجواب من شبير

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 9- في ضمير با ضمرة الحديد القفي | 1- اليعاشتان نسبي ونهدان اخوتي |
| 10- ما حنا على عكرها متحسفين | 2- لا نا ولا هم من اصلى منكرين |
| 11- نفلة من اعلى ونفلة من قني | 3- يا هاجسي عهدي الا بك بدى |
| 12- والبرد يخرج عليهم بنين | 4- خلى التعيطاش من عطن العطين |
| 13- طول النظر ما توافق مكتسي | 5- جوب على شيخ احمد بن على |
| 14- محنة وعاد أهلها منكرين | 6- اللى متوج بتاج العارفين |
| 15- شرقي شنع ما تعارض نومسى | 7- ذكرت عرشان مالى لازكي |
| 16- زعزع جفيرة ارفعوا يا طارفين | 8- يملى جميع المياسم والسرين |

Comments

The poet Sālim Abū Mubārak al-Shubayr of the village of Ramlat al-Ya^ʿāshitah was mentioned by R. Serjeant who quoted a few fragments of his poems (1951a: 79–80). One of al-Shubayr's best *qasīdahs* was published by Ja^ʿfar al-Saqqāf ([n.d.] 79–80). The al-Shubayr circle produced the best pieces of the Ḥaḍramī émigré poetry that merged the love for their land, the irony whose roots were in their poverty, and the admiration for Java marvellous environment. Sola (in Arabic, Ṣūlah) and Sheribon (Shiribūn) are two centres of Ḥaḍramī emigration. The “jinn of poetry” Hājīs is mentioned (No. 31: 3), as well as some Ḥaḍramī villages, and Shana^ʿ Mountain, the area of the *qabāʿil* al-Muhannā of the Nahd tribe. The cry “Seek refuge on the slopes!” (No. 31: 16) likened a fierce Bedouin to a flood.

3.11. Legal Cases in Verse

No. 32

A man had been deprived of his heritage, and he came to the [Nahdī] *ḥakam* in Qa^ʿūḍah.

(a) The plaintiff said:

1. I address the Allāh and you, oh *ḥakam*.
2. Wisdom is [in the solution] of complaints, so give me your opinion.
3. I have gotten property bequeathed by the dead,
4. [but] these people [lit. ‘these Arabs’], I swear by Allāh, do not give it to me.

(b) The defendant said:

1. I address Allāh and you, oh *ḥakam*.
2. [You are responsible] for the solution of complaints, so give me your opinion.
3. This poor man was slow to initiate his plea.
4. If he has a reason [to complain], why has he never done it before?

(c) The *ḥakam* said:

1. The plaintiff [needs] a witness, righteous and pious,
2. [able] to read the characters in *al-fāṭiḥab* and further.
3. In case there is [nobody of the sort], the defendant [should] swear
4. [that] he has no cause [for us] to consider it.

kān wāḥed zālem fī warasu wa-zahab ilā ḥakām fī Qa‘ūda

(a) *qāl al-mud‘ī*

1. *bā qūl ‘end allā wa-‘endak yā ḥakām*
2. *ḥukm ad-da‘awā wa-i‘ṭnā fatewāhā*
3. *waṣā ḥālek jātnā min mēit*
4. *haze-l-‘arab wa-llā lā waddāhā*

(b) *qāl al-majōwab*

1. *bā qūl ‘end allā wa-‘endak yā ḥakām*
2. *ḥall ad-da‘awā wa-i‘ṭnā fatewāhā*
3. *haze faqīr aṭraq baṭ mōtaqaddem*
4. *lā lu da‘īye kēf lu yinsāhā*

(c) *qāl al-ḥakām*

1. *‘ā-l-mud‘ī shāhed teqī wa-meṣallī*
2. *yiqra’ ḥurūf el-fāteḥa betlāhā*
3. *wa-in qid ‘idim ‘alā-l-majōwab yikblef*
4. *lā lu da‘īye ‘endenā lə-arāhā*

No. 33

(a) A man told a *shaykh*:

1. Oh *shaykh*, you carry out your decisions according to four *madbhabs*.
2. [Or you are] only a poet in the belly of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt.
3. Inform me of a virgin about to give birth,
4. [she] is pregnant, and will die when she delivers.

(b) The *shaykh*’s reply:

1. I carry out my decisions according to four *madbhabs*.
2. Do not think I will ever get inside a whale’s belly.

3. The bird who flies in the morning to the gates of the Guarantor [= God]

4. has hatched out of an egg which gets broken.

- (a) 1. *yā shēkh tiftī ‘alā-l-mazāheb al-arba‘*
 2. *mā shā‘ir illā bā-baṭn Wādī Ḥaḍramūt*
 3. *hāt lī khabar fī bint ‘azrā mōfīya*
 4. *hibla wa-‘ā al-mūlād shufhā bā temūt*
- (b) 1. *aftī ‘alā-l-mazāheb al-arba‘*
 2. *la tij‘al inni bā ṣteraṭ lak fī baṭn hūt*
 3. *aṭ-ṭēr llī yisrah ‘alā bāb el-wakāl*
 4. *yīndur mən el-bēḍa wa-hīya tighdī rəbūt*

Comments

Text No. 32 belongs to the numerous verses connected with the Qa‘ūḍah *ḥakams* (Serjeant 1951a: 22–33) (see also No. 34). Text No. 33 is a *luḡz*, a puzzle asked of a “real poet” who possesses a *fāl* of his own. The shaykh, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Bā Wa-zīr; according to my informers, he lived more than a hundred years ago.

3.12. Bū Bashr and the *Ḥakam* ‘Alī

No. 34

Ḥakam ‘Alī of the Bin Thābit clan was a poet and composed verse. Here is a conversation between him and Bū Bashr.

(I) The *ḥakam* said:

1. Tell Bū Bashr to calm down.
2. [May he] pull water from the ‘Aqīl well,¹
3. self-satisfied one, and may he wear his ‘*uqāl*²
4. saying, Behold, I am Bin ‘Aqīl!

(II) Bū Bashr said:

1. The Raḥṭān³ have not become a state yet,
2. they are an old foundation,
3. [but] we belong to the elders,
4. [we had been] before the Son of the Old Man stepped forth.⁴

(III) The *ḥakam* said:

1. Oh, how many like you I have exiled.
2. And their exiles have been caused by me.
3. You will spend your nights in exile,
4. every day you will meet sunset as an exile.

(IV) Bū Bashr said:

1. In case you raise yourself above us,
2. I will give you the high hills of sand.
3. Our towers are above them, the high,
4. [and had been there] before the Son of the Lanky Guy⁵ was born.

(V) Then the *ḥakam* changed [the rhyme] and said:

1. Bū Bashr, I hear, has escaped.
2. He saw the [God's] creatures escaping.
3. He did not think that the *ḥakam*
4. would follow people on the run.

(VI) Bū Bashr said:

1. I hear that your *mikwā*⁶ is cold.
2. And I thought that the coolness would not come to you,
3. and I did not get this notice by mail.

(VII) The *ḥakam* said:

1. Behold: our land is the best land.
2. Everyone approaching our boundaries
3. will get smitten with my blade,
4. and I leave the piece of it in the [enemy's] iron ribs.

(VIII) Bū Bashr said:

1. Every one of us has visited the spring.
2. Behold: these tribesmen will slaughter those who arrived.
3. The mother of death has come to you,
4. [she is already] between the throats and the [jugular] vein.

(IX) Then the *ḥakam* changed [the rhyme] and said:

1. Oh, if you, Bū Bashr, could become a *muqaddam*;⁷
2. your wisdom is enough for a hundred *qāmab*.
3. This merit has not yet been appreciated,
4. and in the market it has never been offered for sale.

(X) Bū Bashr said:

1. I study at school [of life], look at me,
2. in order to get my grades.
3. As for some of those who have not learned [anything],
4. they are known to God within the community of believers.

(XI) Then the *ḥakam* changed [the rhyme] and said:

1. Yā' Sīn, in the name of God,⁹
2. let us read letter by letter "Have you never seen..."¹⁰

3. Everything that will have happened in this land

4. you will see with your own eyes, oh Bū Bashr!

al-ḥakām ‘Alī bin Thābet kān shā‘ir wa-yeqsid wa-taqāsed hū wa-Bū Besher

(I) *wa-qāl al-ḥakām*

1. *Bū Besher qulū lu te‘aqqal*

2. *yisnī ‘alā bire ‘Aqīle*

3. *aqna‘ wa-leqā lu ‘uqālī*

4. *wa-qāl shū anā Bin ‘Aqīl*

(II) *wa-qāl Bū Besher*

1. *Raḥtān ‘āde mā tedawwal*

2. *lī fih el-aswās ad-dawīle*

3. *eḥnā mən awwal lī duwālī*

4. *min qabəl yeẓhar bin dawīl*

(III) *qāl al-ḥakām*

1. *yā kam mathīlak qid tezawwal*

2. *wa-minenā jāh ez-zuwālī*

3. *‘ādek tebayet fī zawīle*

4. *kull yōm timsī fī zawīl*

(IV) *qāl Bū Besher*

1. *lenta ‘alēnā bā taṭawwal*

2. *bā a‘ṭik el-deqām eṭ-ṭuwālī*

3. *akwātənā fōqa ṭawīle*

4. *min qabl yukhlaq bin ṭawīl*

(V) *wa-ba‘d qeleb al-ḥakām wa-qāl*

1. *Bū Besher qālū lī sharad*

2. *shāf al-khalā‘eq shārede*

3. *mā ḥāseb in ‘ād el-ḥakām*

4. *bā yutba‘ ən-nās esh-sherīd*

(VI) *qāl Bū Besher*

1. *mikwāk qālū lī barad*

2. *wa-ənā ḥasibtek mā tijik al-bāride*

3. *wa-la‘ād jatnā akhbār fī waṣṭ al-barīd*

(VII) *qāl al-ḥakām*

1. *shuf ḥaddənā yā khēr ḥadd*

2. *kull min yuqārib ḥaddənā*

3. *‘alēy a‘ṭū l-ḥādde*

4. *bā ṭraḥ mekhālī‘hā ‘alā dulū‘ el-ḥadīd*

(VIII) *qāl Bū Beshher*

1. *kullen ‘alā l-mōred warad*
2. *shuf dī qabā’il yuqṭe’ūn al-wārede*
3. *umm aṣ-semarmar jāk*
4. *mā bēn al-ḥanājer wa-l-warīd*

(IX) *wa-ba’d qeleb al-ḥakām wa-qāl*

1. *Bū Beshher yā rētak mēqaddam*
2. *‘endak maṣā’ib mīet qāma*
3. *al-‘izz ‘āde ma tēqawwam*
4. *fi-s-sūq mā yijleb bi-qīm*

(X) *qāl Bū Beshher*

1. *fī-l-madrese yā shufnā ta‘allam*
2. *le-mēyd mā jīb bi-l-‘alāme*
3. *wa-ba’d ḥum llī mā tē‘allam*
4. *allā bi-l-umma ‘alīm*

(XI) *wa-ba’d qeleb al-ḥakām wa-qāl*

1. *yā sīn bisme llā*
2. *bā niqrā’ ḥurūf alam tarā*
3. *kull mā jarā fī-l-ardā*
4. *yā Bū Beshher ‘ēnak bā terā*

Comments

Bū Bashr, Mubārak Sālīm Muḥammad Bin ‘Aqīl (1905–19.09.1989), a Nahdī tribesman of the Ghanīmat Bin ‘Aqīl in the Wādī al-Kasr, a folk poet. The dispute between him and the *ḥakām* took place in the 1960s; according to Bū Bashr, he defended the idea of the unified Yemen, and the *ḥakām* of the Bin Thābit was a partisan of Nahdī separatism. Possibly, this is one of the latest pieces of poetic lore connected with Nahdī *ḥakams* prior to independence.

¹ Let him deal with his own family group without reaching for high politics.

² A woollen rope over the head kerchief; in Ḥaḍramawt, a piece of the uniform worn by the Bedouin Legion in which Bū Bashr served.

³ Including also the Bin Thābit.

^{4,5} The *ḥakām*’s nicknames.

⁶ An iron for cauterization (see Chapter 4: 4).

⁷ A tribal chieftain.

⁸ An average man’s height (see Appendix 4.3.7). According to Yemeni standards, Bū Bashr was rather tall.

⁹ A hint at *sūrah* 36 of the Qur’ān persuading the suspicious and telling about the Doomsday; this *sūrah* read at funerals is well-known in Ḥaḍramawt.

¹⁰ The beginning of *sūrah* 105 describing God’s wrath.

3.13. *Zāmil* Call Songs

No. 35

1. Ḥaḍramawt is for the Yāfi' only.
2. [This is written] on the paper covered with lines.
3. How many young men [we have] holding the Frank's [weapons]
4. with expensive *Rūmī* front sights.

1. *Ḥaḍramūt illā li Yāfi'*
2. *fī-l-kbuṭūṭ al-musatṭera*
3. *kam min walad bə-yedu faranjī*
4. *rūm ghālī shambara*

No. 36

(a) [Start]

1. We are Murshidī, we are death to 'Azrā'īl,
2. we are injustice at the Day of Resurrection.
3. We are tribal arrogance, its gunpowder, its measure,
4. and the lead from which there can be no escape.

(b) [Response]

1. We are Laḥlakī, the reckless, not able to measure.
2. And I have placed over thine head a [donkey's] muzzle.
3. We are the male spadix [of a date palm], and thou art a female stand of dates,
4. and the proof [of it] is oil on thy peduncle.

- (a) 1. *nā əl-Murshidī nā əl-mōt 'Ezrā'īl*
2. *nā əz-zulm fī yōm el-qiyāma*
3. *nā əl-qabwala bārūthā wa-l-mīl*
4. *wa-raṣṣāš mā minnu salāma*

- (b) 1. *nā əl-Laḥlakī jubhāl mā əqdar kīl*
2. *wa-əlqēt fī rāsak fedāme*
3. *nā ghuṣn waləd el-faḥl wa-ənta əl-khīl*
4. *wa-əz-zeyt fī maṭṭyak 'alāme*

No. 37

1. We are not afraid of [any] tribesmen,
2. and we do not settle a score [with them].
3. We are afraid only of He who is in Heaven,
4. Who pours rain down from the clouds.

1. *wa-lā nehāb el-qabīli*
2. *wa-lā naḥsub ḥəsābe*
3. *nəkhāf ellā llī fī-s-samā*
4. *allā tamṭur əs-səhābe*

Comments

Text No. 35: this *zāmil*, expressing the Yāfi‘ claim for entire Ḥaḍramawt, is one of the best-known in the region; No. 35: 2: this line shows the link between the oral and the written (see Chapter 6, Section 1); No. 35: 4: expensive front sights were made of gold and called *Rūmī* ones, i.e. Turkish.

Text No. 36 was written by the poet Bā Ṣurrah of the Saybān tribe about fifty years ago, according to my informer ‘Alī Sulaymān Buqshān (a seventy-years-old shepherd of the same tribe). In this double *zāmil* of the start-and-answer variant one can clearly see the genetic link between the genres of self-praise (*fakbr*) and derogation (*hijā*). Vegetable oil was used to coat the ripening dates in order to protect them against the insects (see chapter 3, Section 1.2).

Text No. 37: a *zāmil* sung by the *du‘afā’* of the village of al-Jidfirah (Wādī Daw-‘an) follows a standard tribal model but is directed against the *qabā’il*.

3.14. Songs

No. 38

1. Paint him with henna! May he not refuse to get painted. (Twice)
2. Oh, green bird!¹ Where will you spend the night?
3. I will spend the night with my relatives,
4. while you will stay in the middle of the valley.

1. *ḥannō lū ghalib mā yihannā*
2. *yā ṭēr yā-l-aḥḍar fēn memsāk el-lēla*
3. *ənā memsāy ‘end ahlī*
4. *wa-əntə memsāk fī-s-sēla // wallā khaṭ wallā khaṭ wī*

No. 39

1. When the intentions are pure,
2. fill a china cup to its rim!

1. *yōm el-khawātir šāfiya*
2. *jizza‘ malā fenjān šīn*

No. 40

1. Oh ibex with a hundred [rings on the horns]!
2. They will hunt you atop the hills,
3. and a hawk will devour your father.

1. *yā wa'əl ḥāmīl mīb*
2. *fī-d-duqm bā yiqnašūk*
3. *wa-ṣ-ṣaqr bā yeshīl abūk // wallā kbaw wallā kbaw wī*

No. 41

1. Ḥaymid al-Khashar, I have brought him up,
2. but I returned to my childhood [again].
3. In case your house falls down,
4. Ḥaymid al-Khashar will build it anew.

1. *Ḥēmīd el-Khasher rabbētu*
2. *wa-ənā reja't mīrbā*
3. *lā ṣaqaṭ qaṣrākum*
4. *'alā Ḥēmīd el-Khasher yibnā*

No. 42

1. Good morning, oh *zāwīyah*!
2. Oh you, mother of the minaret!
3. Over al-Hajarayn let there be no delay
4. of all sighs [of forthcoming rain]!

1. *ṣabāḥ el-ḥēr yā zāwīya*
2. *yā umm el-manāra*
3. *'alā al-Hajrēn lā ghābet*
4. *min kull ishāra*

No. 43

1. Oh you, wanderer! The night is nearing.
2. And the sun has set.
3. We have been merry a while ago
4. and the sounds [of work] are pleasant.

1. *yā mrūḥ dināk el-lēl*
2. *wa-sh-shams ghābet*
3. *‘ād neḥnā ellā ṭarebnā*
4. *wa-l-malābīj ṭābet*

Comments

All these songs are *maghannā*, i.e. performed with an accompaniment of the *mizmār* double clarinet or the *madrūf* end-blown flute (see Chapter 6, Section 2) unlike the *ughniyah* song with a lute or some other string instrument (the *ughniyahs* are not typical of Western Ḥaḍramawt, although recently they started being occasionally performed in Ḥurayḍah).

My informers describe songs Nos. 38–41 as henna wedding songs (see Chapter 5, Section 1.3). They are followed by *hawkahs* (well-wishing refrain-exclamation). Text No. 40 is an example of the genre transition: a hunting song has transformed into a wedding one (possibly, it had been caused by the fact that local festivities celebrating the successful ibex hunt include the elements of wedding ceremonies; see Chapter 3, Section 4.2).

Text No. 41: Ḥaymid al-Khashar (1910–80) was a cook in al-Hajarayn. His grandson Yuslim ‘Alī al-Khashar (twenty-three years old) reported that the song had been composed about forty-five years ago when Ḥaymid had excelled his teacher in cooking for festivals.

Text No. 42 is a song for summoning rain recalled by the ex-*khayyil* (see Chapter 5, Section 2) in al-Hajarayn. *Zāwiyah* means here a mosque rather than a cell. In the end, the singers imitated frog croaking.

Text No. 43 is a *nūrah* song (see Chapter 3, Section 1) sung by the workers rhythmically breaking baked limestone with their clubs. Composed by a contemporary poet, Bū Bakr Sālim Balfaqīh, it contains traditional clichés.

¹ A popular reference to a bride and the green bird being the bee- and honey-eater provides another link between honey and sexual desire (see Chapter 6, Section 4).

3.15. Proverbs

1. Those whose men are few start claiming the *shaykh*'s virtue.
men qillet riḡālu tamashēḥ
2. A *shaykh* is a *shaykh*, but what sort of bird is a *sayyid*?
shēḥ shēḥ wa-s-seyid eysh min ṭāhisha
3. Where did you intend to go, you exiled from Baḥrān?
lawēn tibghī yā shārid baḥrān

4. The camel presses [the sesame oil] so the camel eats oilcakes.

jemāl ta‘šar wa-jemāl tōkul et-tōḥ

5. The sovereign of Ḥaḍramawt is [God’s] mercy.

dōla ḥaḍramūt er-raḥma

4. Conclusions

In Western Ḥaḍramawt, like all over the region, the written and oral spheres are closely interrelated. Both spheres of the tradition complement each other, being void of polarity which one can see, for instance, in European culture. Written fixation of oral formulae and clichés has been practiced in Ḥaḍramawt since ancient times. It was not by chance that the local population so easily accepted the technical means, such as tape recorders and video, to store and transmit their spiritual legacy. Poets perform a special role in uniting both spheres of the tradition: the literary style of the *ḥakamī* ascends to the written, whereas the vernacular style of *ḥumaynī* naturally sticks to the oral. Actually both styles never exist in a pure form, and even the most extreme pieces of the *ḥumaynī* often are written down.

A pre-Islamic belief still remembered in the region regards poets as intermediaries between the supernatural forces and this world; some of them are believed, at least half-seriously, to know the concealed past and to forecast future: the poet = the sorcerer. The gift of clairvoyance (*fāl*) may be either “good” (i.e. predicting favourable events: rain floods, the increase of cattle, profitable deals, etc.) or “bad” (i.e. telling about draught, death, war, starvation, etc.). According to their professional level, poets are divided into great, regular, and minor ones; the transmitters of poems (sing. *rāwī*) stand below since they are considered to have no *fāl*.

The poet’s status is high, but it also needs incessant confirmation. Improvising the verse in public and all sorts of poetical contests must therefore prove that the demons of poetry, *Hājīs* and *al-Ḥalīlah*, have not left the poet. In order to decrease the danger caused by their inspiration, poets often Islamize the beginnings and ends of their compositions.

A poet in Ḥaḍramawt performs essential social functions in the ritual sphere, in formulating or settling conflicts, in transmitting and preserving moral values. Local verses have almost inevitable social tendency. Unlike a lot of social roles (musicians and dancers belonged as a rule to the lowest strata), that of a poet is not restricted to a definite position within the society. Gender segregation furthered separated phenomena of man’s poetry and that of women with homogeneous audience.

The Western Ḥaḍramawt oral lore has rather limited musical accompaniment. The centres of the Ḥaḍramī song-and-poetry performances *dāna-dān* remain

outside the area in question, in Say'ūn and other towns situated in the Main Wadi. Poetry is the necessary component of the dance procession (*zaff*) representing the social stratification of the ancient Ḥaḍramawt.

Examples of poetic lore given in this book include texts ascribed to both legendary and real authors. All pieces are attributed to the conversational style, except the *qaṣīdahs* by 'Alī b. Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭās which can be best described as something in between the *ḥumaynī* and the *ḥakamī*; however, the local tradition lists them among the literary (written) works. Quoted are legal cases in verse; tribal disputes; various kinds of songs, call, wedding, work, hunting, and rain-summoning ones; puzzles, etc.

The Western Ḥaḍramawt lore shows distinct traces of the Indonesian (and to a lesser extent Indian and eastern African) influence in its vocabulary, tunes and topics. However, primarily it is linked with the South Arabian and Arabian spiritual heritage. The Ḥaḍramī poetry is concrete and full of details; it shapes the Ḥaḍramī way of perceiving the world which makes poetry a most valuable ethno-cultural source.

General Conclusions

Thus an attempt has been made to describe the ethnic culture of the Western Ḥaḍramawt population; at least those features which the author has considered the most significant.

This task reveals contradiction between the nature of an object to be described and a way to describe it. The ethnic culture is syncretic and based on explicit and implicit precepts. One may liken its study to an endless travelling around a sphere, where some routes lead to the point of departure. Word-processing is linear and discrete; it cannot avoid “straightening” the object, dismantling it into parts amenable to analysis and description. No tables, graphs, illustrations or multiple cross-references can fully remove this contradiction.

There is no need to repeat the basic results of the study presented in the conclusions following each chapter. It seems that there were ample reasons to single out the Western Ḥaḍramawt as a special historical and cultural region. It is the periphery of the periphery where the powerful South Arabian cultural substrate experienced a unifying Muslim influence. The process, however, caused no abrupt gaps in ethno-cultural tradition. During the Islamic age, the former basics in the region under examination have been preserved or at least reshaped; it is true for the social hierarchy and most of the social institutes, to say nothing about traditional occupations, economy and subsistence activities. The social self-regulating mechanism linked with the flood irrigation is well captured in the local proverb “The sovereign of Ḥaḍramawt is [God’s] mercy” (see Chapter 6, Section 3.15: 5) where “mercy” is synonymous with flood.

Establishing of the Western Ḥaḍramawt local versions of female clothing has been conducive to outlining the area in question more precisely. Studying crafts and diet, ritual, poetic, musical, and dancing lores proves that the Western Ḥaḍramawt is inseparably linked with other parts of the country: with the towns and villages located in the Main Wadi, along the seashore, and with the Eastern Ḥaḍramawt. The latter, also a periphery, presents a mirror image of some local western features, being at the same time much closer to the Mahrah – Socotra cultural area.

Further research may follow along two routes, both extensive and intensive. Widening the area of ethnographic studies, including the plateaus, will provide a possibility to characterize the ethnic culture of Ḥaḍramawt as a whole. A deeper investigation of the marked topics will gather together valuable ethnographic data, to either support or reject working hypotheses and preliminary conclusions. Both methods may appear especially effective in the framework of the projected Ḥaḍramawt historical and ethnographical atlas (the HHEA).

The rapid deterioration of the traditional South Arabian culture urgently calls for the beginning of the HHEA project, so that endangered cultural components can be recorded before it is too late. The spatial and temporal configuration of the systemized ethnographic data along with the area-wide representation of the types and sets of ethnographic phenomena will contribute to disclosing and demonstrating implicit connections between diversified social, economical, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and natural factors. It is only with the methods involving historical-ethnographic mapping that the remaining cultural regions may be outlined; that will help to establish the specific degree of preservation of ancient South Arabian traditions in the ethnographic contemporaneity.

According to the principles of ethnographic mapping, the HHEA should contain a whole set of mutually compatible maps accompanied by well-elaborated commentaries, scholarly and reference data, local documents and illustrations.¹

A systematic ethnographic study to be conducted in Ḥaḍramawt should envisage field research of certain focal points. This activity may establish a permanent network of respondents including teachers, students, administrative clerks, folk poets, healers, artisans, and other experts in local lore. Further surveys and critical analysis of the literature on these topics with a special attention to local authors are already planned. The field work has to be done all over Inner Ḥaḍramawt from its extreme west to the east, and also at the seashore.

Along with the experts doing their field work in Socotra and Mahrah, together with our colleagues in Yemen, Great Britain, Austria, France, Germany, Italy and elsewhere, we are able to create a comprehensive ethnographic picture of South Arabia.

¹ My 1991 project of the HHEA has never been effectuated. Only some of its points have been realized in 2003 and 2004–6 with my German colleague Hanne Schönig within the DFG project *Traditions and customs in Ḥaḍramawt according to unpublished documents*.

Appendices

1. The Stellar Calendar

The agricultural year has four seasons. Their reference points are the stars of the calendar already described more than once [Serjeant 1954b; Varisco 1982: 554–76]. All in all, there are twenty-eight stars; the period of a star is thirteen days except the last one having fourteen days. The whole results in a full solar year of 365 days.

The period of the first star, al-Han‘ah, begins on January 1. The period of the last one, al-Haq‘ah, ends on December 31.

According to the data provided in literature and obtained from informants:

the *rabi‘* season starts on the sixth day of the star al-Haq‘ah (December 23), and lasts for eighty-nine days;

the *ṣayf* season, from the third day of the star al-Ṣarfah (March 22), and lasts for ninety-four days;

the *kharīf* season, from the sixth day of the star al-Shūl (June 24), and lasts for ninety-three days;

the *shitā’* season, from the eighth day of the star Fargh (September 25), and lasts for eighty-nine days.

Each name of the stars is related to some seasonal work. Almost every mosque in Ḥaḍramawt displays a table on a wall relating the star calendar dates with the “chronology reckoned from the birth [of Christ]”.

Each season except winter has one or several periods of rains: *hamīmab*. Thus, the spring *hamīmab* starts on February 22 and lasts through the end of March. The calendar relates these days to the stars al-Jabhah, Zubrah, and al-Ṣarfah. Summer has two *hamīmabs*: the first, April 2 through the end of April under the stars of ‘Awwah and Simāk; in fact, this is nothing but the prolongation of the spring spell, and the other since June 6 through early July marked by the stars al-Qalb and al-Shūl. The autumn period of probable rains is from late July through August 22 under the stars al-Mirzam and Suhayl [Serjeant 1954b: 435]. More limited periods have been quoted by al-Ṣabbān who linked them with Simāk and Suhayl, i.e. April 15 and August 10 respectively [al-Ṣabbān 1983b: 19–22].

1 - al-Han‘ah, 2 - Dhirā‘, 3 - Nathrah, 4 - al-Ṭarf, 5 - al-Jabhah, 6 - Zubrah, 7 - al-Ṣarfah, 8 - ‘Awwah, 9 - Simāk, 10 - Ghufr, 11 - al-Zubān, 12 - al-Iklīl, 13 - al-Qalb, 14 - al-Shūl, 15 - al-Na‘āyim, 16 - al-Baldah, 17 - al-Mirzam, 18 - Suhayl, 19 - Bā ‘Urayq, 20 - Sa‘d (al-Khibā), 21 - Fargh, 22 - al-Dalw, 23 - al-Ḥūt, 24 - Naḥḥ, 25 - al-Buṭayn, 26 - al-Thurayā’, 27 - Barakān, 28 - al-Haq‘ah.

3. The Diurnal Cycle and Daily Prayers

“The Arabic hours” of the day are divided into two dozens, “daytime” (7 a.m.–6 p.m.) and “night time” (7 p.m.–6 a.m.).

Daytime dozen		Night time dozen	
Hour	Arab hour	Hour	Arab hour
(1. <i>ṣubḥ</i> or <i>fajr</i> : morning)		(4. <i>maghrib</i> : sunset)	
7	1	19	1
<i>ṣubḥ</i>		(5. <i>layl</i> : night)	
8	2		
9	3		
10	4	20	2
<i>dahwah</i>		21	3
11	5		
(2. <i>zuhr</i> : midday)		22	4
12	6	23	5
13	7	0	6
14	8	1	7
(3. <i>‘aṣr</i> : after midday)		2	8
15	9	3	9
16	10	(1. <i>ṣubḥ</i> or <i>fajr</i> : morning)	
<i>al-sufur</i>		4	10
17	11		
		5	11
(4. <i>maghrib</i> : sunset)		<i>ghubshah</i> or <i>fajr</i>	12
		6	
18	12		

The time from 12 a.m. to 3 p.m. corresponding 6:00–9:00 of the Arab “daytime dozen” is called *maqīl*, the time for afternoon rest.

The diurnal cycle periods are marked by prayers.

Daily prayers

1. Morning: *ṣubḥ* or *fajr* – ca. 5 a.m. (11 of the Arab “night dozen”);
2. Midday: *zūhr* – ca. 12 a.m. (6 of the Arab “daytime dozen”);
3. Afternoon: *‘aṣr* – ca. 3:30–4 p.m. (9:30–10 of the Arab “daytime dozen”);
4. Sunset: *maghrib* – ca. 6–6:30 p.m. (12–12:30 of the Arab “daytime dozen”);
5. Night; *‘ishā’* – ca. 7:30 p.m. (1:30 of the Arab “night dozen”);
6. Additional prayers (during the month of Ramaḍān): *tarāwīḥ*

4. Traditional Weights and Measures

4.1. Weight (*waḥdāt al-kutlah*)

1. *qafḥah* – *qūfūl* = ca. 2–2.3 grams
2. *tūlah* – *tawālī* = ca. 11.7 grams
3. *awqiyah* – *awāqī* = 23.386 grams (the Maria Theresia taler)
= 28.35 grams (1 British Avoirdupois ounce)
4. *ratl* – *arṭāl* = 16 *awqiyah* (up to 1 British pound)
5. *farāsīlah* – *farāsīl* = 20 *ratls*
6. *man* – *amnān* = 28 *ratls* (in Wādī ‘Amd)
7. *bihār* – *bahrah* = 300 *ratls* (usually 120–30 kilograms, 1 camel load)

4.2. Volume Measures (*waḥdāt al-sa‘ah*)

1. *muṣrah* – *maṣārī* = 14 *awqiyah*, ca. 1 litre
2. *shaṭr* – *shīṭār* = 0.5 *muṣrahs*
qurṣ – *aqrās* = 0.5 *muṣrahs*
3. *mikyāl* – *makāyil*
in the Western Ḥaḍramawt = 8 *muṣrahs*
in al-Qaṭn, Shibām, Say’ūn = 10 *muṣrahs*
4. *qahwalah* – *qahāwil* = 12 *muṣrahs*
5. *kīs* – *akyās* = 9 *mikyāls*

4.3. Linear Measures (*wahdāt al-tūl*)

1. *bunnab* – *banāyin* = a thumb width (ca. 2 cm)
2. *ṣāʿ* – *ṣāʿāt* = two fingers' width (ca. 4–5 cm)
3. *fitr* – *fitrāt* = the smaller span: the maximum distance between the thumb and the index finger tips (ca. 18 cm)
4. *shibr* – *ashbār* = the greater span: the maximum distance between the thumb and the small finger tips (ca. 24 cm)
5. *dhirāʿ* – *adbruʿ*: Sūrī cubit = ca. 36 cm
Qaydūnī cubit = ca. 45 cm (2 *shibrs* – 0.5 British yard = 1.5 British feet = 45.72 cm)
6. *baʿ* – *baʿāt* = the smaller fathom: the distance between the tip of the nose turned to the left shoulder and the tips of the rigid fingers of the outstretched right arm (ca. 108 cm)
7. *qāmab* – *qāmāt* = the greater fathom or a “stature”: the distance between the rigid fingers of the two outstretched arms (ca. 185 cm); an average man's height, or 3.5 *dhirāʿ*s ca. 160 cm)
8. *fār* – *fārāt* = 7 Qaydūnī cubits minus 1/4 (about 304 cm)

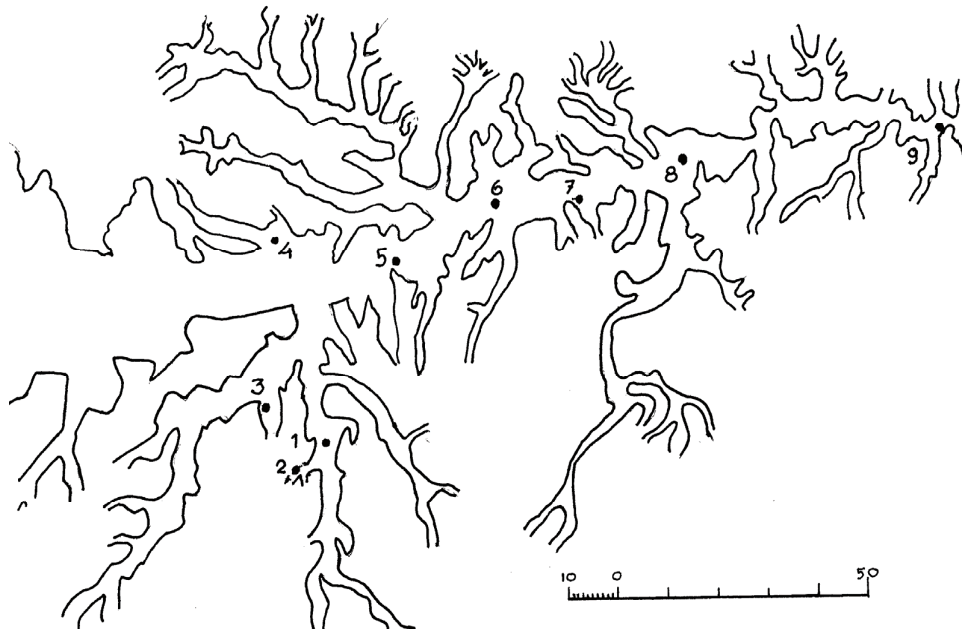
4.4. Special Linear Measures

1. *mūfir* – *mawāfir* = a height measure equal to five layers of raw bricks with the mortar (7 x 5) + (5 x 4) = ca. 55 cm
2. the ground floor of a house (*qaṣr ardī*) = 9 *mūfirs*, or ca. 4.95 metres

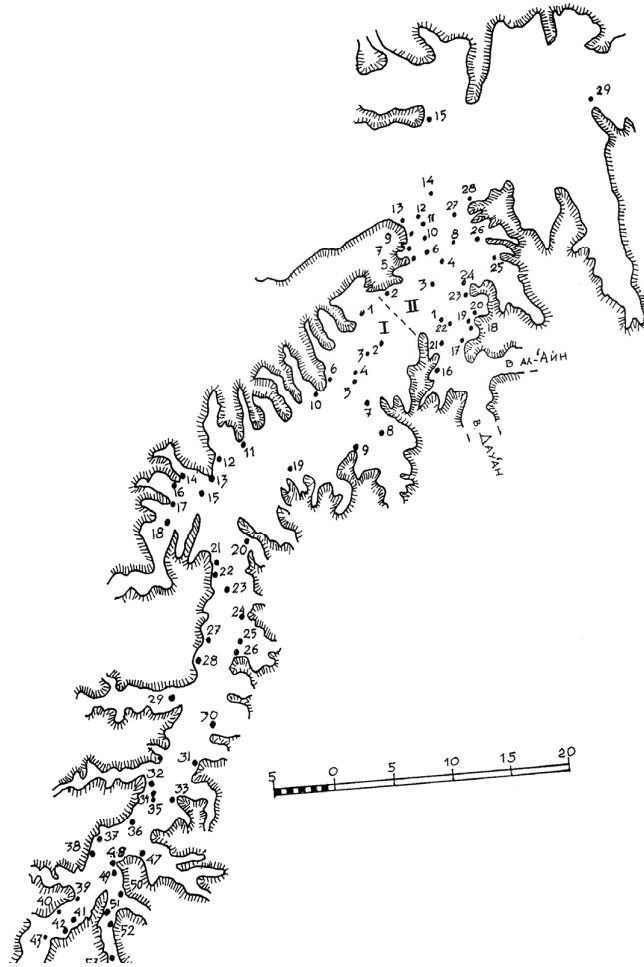
4.5. Square Measures (*wahdāt al-misāḥab*)

1. *sahm* – *ashām* = ca. 7.3 sq.m (a room with 1 supporting pillar)
2. *maṭīrah* – *muṭar* = 18.7–39.7 sq.m, officially equal to 1/120 of a feddan = 35 sq.m; in al-Ḥajarayn = 10 x 10 *dhirāʿ sūrī*, or about 12.96 sq.m
3. feddan (*faddān* – *fadādīm*) = 24 carats = 0,42 hectares

ILLUSTRATIONS



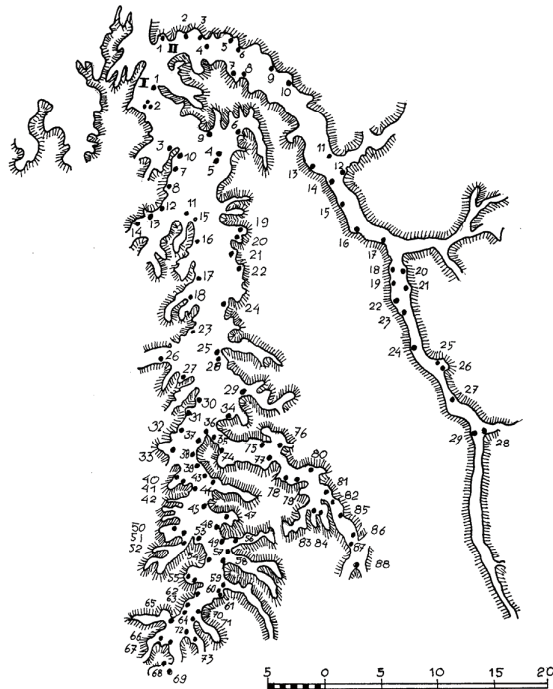
Map 1. Wādī Ḥaḍramawt: 1 al-Hajarayn, 2 al-Quzah, 3 Ḥurayḍah, 4 Haynin, 5 al-Qaṭn, 6 Shibām, 7 Say'ūn, 8 Tarīm, 9 Qabr Hūd.



Map 2. Research area: Wādī 'Amd and the western part of Wādī al-Kasr.

I. Wādī 'Amd: 1 Laḥrūm, 2 Safūlah, 3 'Andal, 4 al-Ṣubīḥah, 5 Ṭaflah, 6 Ḥidbat Āl Fāris, 7 'Unaybāt, 8 al-Bidū', 9 Ḥurayḍah, 10 al-Mughtabaqah, 11 Maṭāwil, 12 Ruwayḍāt Āl Balḥubāk, 13 Qarn Bin 'Adwān, 14 Maghdaf, 15 'Alaṭ, 16 Dār Murayṭān, 17 al-Jarshah, 18 Lawṣār, 19 Muthawwar Āl Ḥamūd, 20 Shāmikh, 21 Zāhir Bā Tays, 22 al-Raḥm, 23 Nafḥūn, 24 Qarn al-Māl, 25 Jidfirah Āl Marāḍīh, 26 Khanfar, 27 Suraywāh, 28 al-Raḥab, 29 Mankhūb, 30 'Anaq, 31 al-Nu'ayr, 32 Shaḥīyah, 33 Ḥusūn Bin al-Shikl, 34 Ḥibab Bin Shamlān, 35 'Amd, 36 Jāhiz, 37 Ṭamḥān, 38 al-Dabbah, 39 Makhīyah, 40 Qarn Bā Mas'ūd, 41 Sharqī Bā Tays, 42 Ribāt Bā Kūban, 43 Tammul, 44 Khamīlat Bā Yazīd, 45 Khurbat Bā Karmān, 46 Ḥālat Bā Ṣulayb, 47 Ḥibrah, 48 al-Wajr, 49 Muṣaynat Bā Maḥfūz, 50 Sharāqī Bā Sulaymān, 51 Shu'bah, 52 Zāhir, 53 al-Raḍḥayn.

II. Wādī al-Kasr: 1 Diyār Bin Sulaymān, 2 Lakhmās, 3 Bahrān Bin Thābit, 4 Ḥawṭat Āl Huwaymil, 5 Sharāḥ, 6 al-Munīf, 7 al-Qufl, 8 Diyār Āl Buqrī, 9 Qashāqishah, 10 al-Qārah, 11 Sharyūf, 12 al-Zāhir, 13 Qa'ūḍah, 14 al-Minba'th, 15 Haynin, 16 al-Qabḍayn, 17 al-Rawḍah, 18 Kīr'ān, 19 'Arḍ Bū Zayd, 20 Sadbah, 21 al-Faḍah, 22 Laqrān, 23 Ḥawrah, 24 'Arḍ Āl Makhāshin, 25 Bā Suwayd, 26 al-Naq'ah, 27 Ghanīmat Āl 'Aqīl, 28 al-'Ajlanīyah, 29 al-Qaṭn.



Map 3. Research area in Wādī Daw'an and Wādī al-'Ayn.

I. Wādī Daw'an: 1 al-Mashhad, 2 Raybūn, 3 Mīkh, 4 al-Munayzarah, 5 al-Hajarayn, 6 al-Qaw, 7 Diyār Āl Hāmid, 8 Naḥūlah, 9 al-Ḥawṭah, 10 Sharj Bin Hatrash, 11 Khuraykhar, 12 al-Jidfirah, 13 al-Quzah, 14 al-Ghabrah, 15 Ṣayla', 16 Ghār al-Sūdān, 17 Nisrah, 18 Ni-mayr, 19 Maṣna'ah, 20 Labah, 21 Khulayfah, 22 Khibir, 23 Ḥusn Labyaḍī, 24 al-'Āḍiyah, 25 Qārat Bin Sulūm, 26 Qaydūn, 27 Ṣīf, 28 Ḥusn al-Ja'āfirah, 29 Fayl, 30 al-Ḥuṣūn, 31 Kawkah; **Wādī Layman:** 32 Khudaysh, 33 Bilād al-Mā', 34 Ḥayd al-Balāghim, 35 al-'Arsamah, 36 Ḥusn Albūḥasan, 37 Jibil, 38 al-Ruwayḍāt, 39 Qarn Mājid, 40 al-Qiblī, 41 Buḍah, 42 Ḥusn 'Abd al-Ṣamad, 43 al-Sharqī, 44 al-Qufl, 45 Qārat Bā Qun'ah, 46 al-Jubayl, 47 Ghayl Bilkhayr, 48 al-Qārah, 49 Khusūfar, 50 Lijrāt, 51 'Arḍ Bā Suwayd, 52 Zāhir, 53 al-Birshah, 54 Ḥuwaybah, 55 al-Quwayrah, 56 Hadūn, 57 Ruḥāb, 58 al-Qurayn, 59 'Awrah, 60 Maṣna'at Bā Ṣurrah, 61 al-Siqq al-Sharqī, 62 al-Rashīd, 63 Bā Shu-'ayb, 64 al-Khuraybah, 65 Qarn Bā Hakīm, 66 al-Ḥasūṣah, 67 Qurḥat Bā Hamīsh, 68 Ghayl Bā Ḥukūm, 69 al-Jirbah, 70 al-Shuwayṭah, 71 Sharq, 72 Ribāt Bā 'Ashan, 73 Ḥusn Bā Ṣamm; **Wādī Laysar:** 74 al-Jahī, 75 'Arḍ Bā Haytham / Bā Qār, 76 al-Dūfah, 77 al-Jadīdah, Ṣubaykh, 78 Jarīf, 79 Khaylah al-Qibliyah, 80 Khaylah al-Sharqīyah, 81 al-Maḥ-san, 82 Ḍarī, 83 Ḥusn Bā Sa'd, 84 Tawlabah, 85 Ḥūfah, 86 al-Jazīl, 87 Khalīf Bā 'Abbūd, 88 Ḥarf Marāh.

II. Wādī al-'Ayn: 1 'Adhab, 2 Marāwih, 3 Liqlāt, 4 al-Safil, 5 Tubuqqul, 6 Ju'aybūrah, 7 al-Buwayriqāt, 8 Ḥusn Bā Ṣabbāh, 9 Ḥusn al-Karādīs, 10 Juraybāt, 11 Ḥālat Bin Ḥamdayn, 12 Mankhūb, 13 Munayzāh, 14 al-Bāṭinah, 15 al-Jubaybah, 16 al-Hishim, 17 Ha-rīh, 18 al-Qāhirah, 19 Bā Maq'ayn, 20 al-Marāfī, 21 Tiyīs, 22 Ghūrib, 23 Saymāh, 24 Ṣay-qat Bā 'Abbūd, 25 Libiyā, 26 Sharj al-Sharīf, 27 Ḥusūn Āl Bikir, 28 al-Ghayḍah al-Suflā, 29 al-Ghayḍah al-'Ulyā.

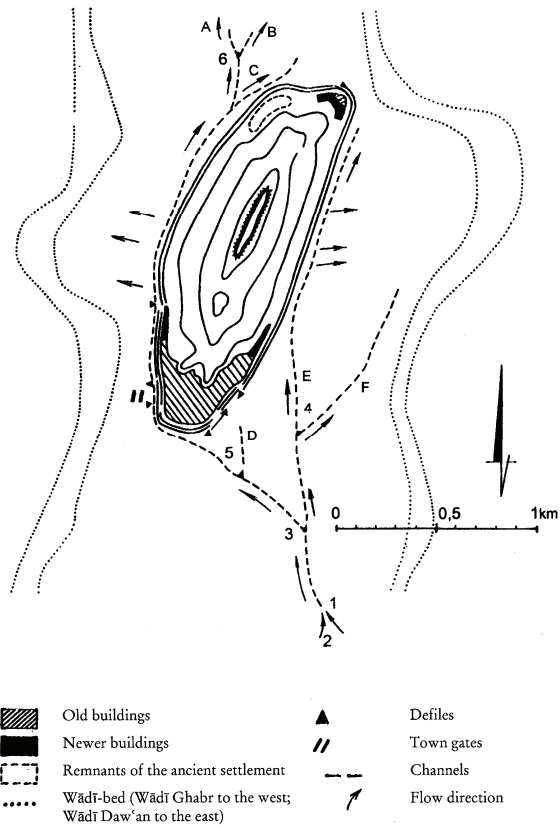


Figure 1. al-Hajarayn. Sketch-map of the settlement and its two irrigation systems: 1 deflector dam (*damīr*); 2 coating of boulders and pebbles; 3–6 water dividers. Secondary water channels from the Dammūn main channel: a - Bā Ḥaddād, b - Mijfah, c - 'Aybah; from the Khaydūn main channel: d - al-Tijil, e - al-Sifil, f - Ḥumaysh.

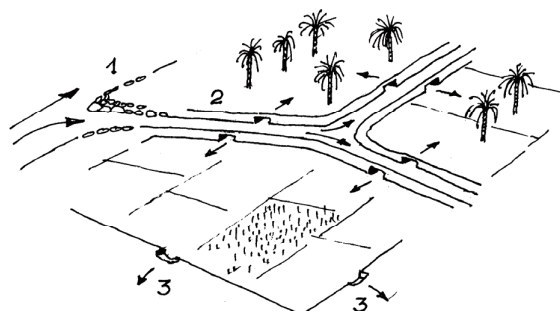


Figure 2. Flood irrigation in the valley: rain flood is directed by the deflector dam (1) into the main water channel (2) which leads the water onto the fields via its offshoots; the excess is removed via the drainage gutters (3).

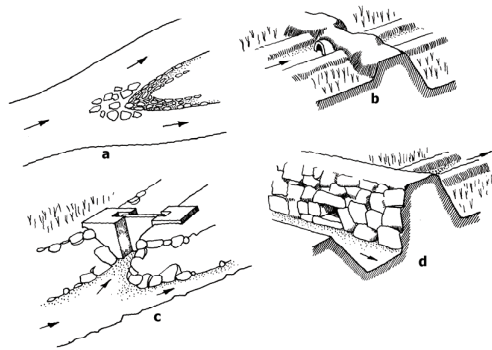


Figure 3-4. Hydraulic joints used in flood-irrigated valleys: a - deflector dam (*damir*); b - complex (surface and/or sub-surface) waste gate (*manki*); c - open channel (*bid*); d - channel with a hole (*harrah*) in bund.

Figure 5. The plateaus rainfall irrigation: the field lay-out is linear; the water is transferred from one field to another through special ditches (*atm - utum*), so this system may be called the *utum* irrigation method.

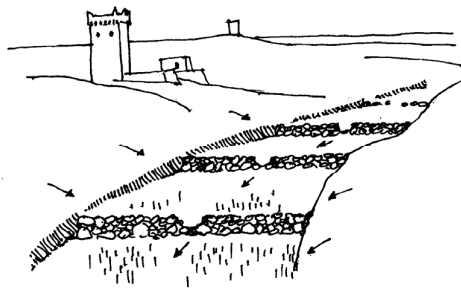


Figure 6. The options of water distribution: 1 - direct distribution; 2 - successive distribution; 3 a, b - parallel distribution (3a - the spring irrigation usually has an intermediary reservoir, *jābiyah*, between the spring and the field; see figure 73). Source: Varisco 1982: 53.

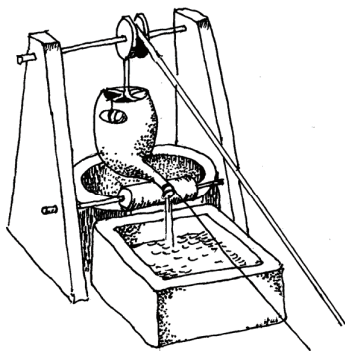
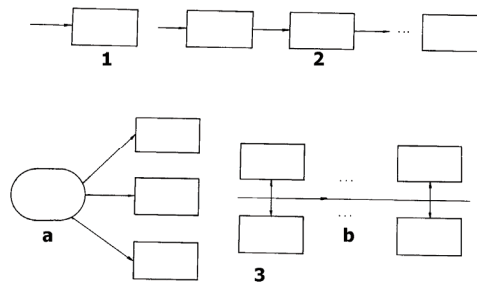


Figure 7. Well irrigation (*sanawab*); this device is driven by a camel; a few decades ago bulls were used also; presently the wells are mechanized.

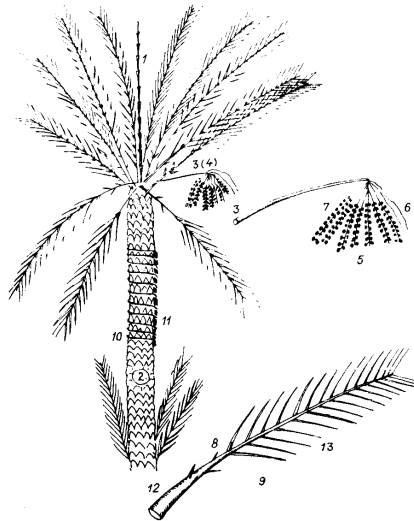


Figure 8. Date palm “anatomy” (see Chapter 3, Section 1.2: Date Palm Cultivation).

Figure 9. The ard ploughing device (*ḥalī*): A - bigger one, B - smaller one, C - a yoke (for description, see Chapter 3, Section 1.3).

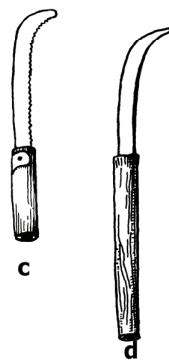
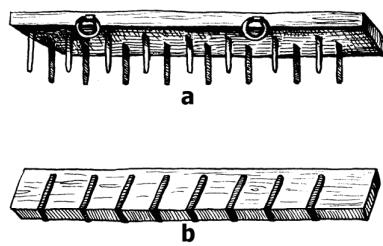
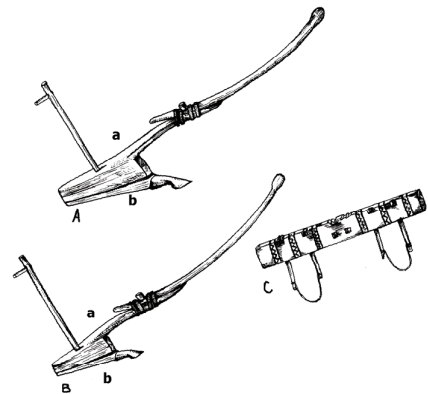


Figure 10. Agricultural implements: A - a bigger harrow, B - a levelling board, C - a sickle (*sharīm*), D - a gardening knife (*mal'ab*).

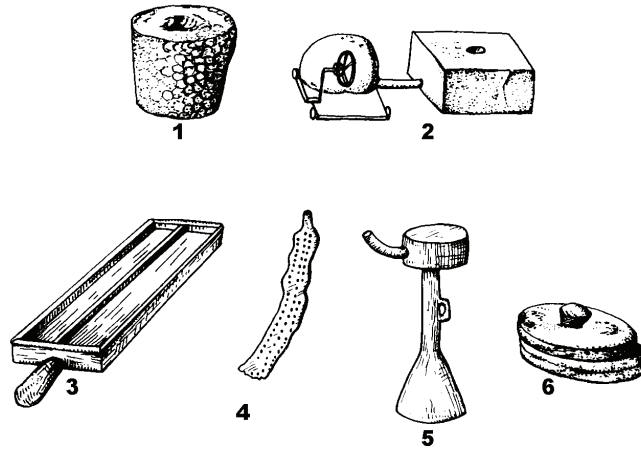


Figure 13. Jeweller's tools: 1 - a crucible (4.8 cm high, the bottom diameter of 3.9 cm); 2 - a portable forge (11 cm high, the bottom length of 24 cm); 3 - a bar mould (the working part length is 22.7 cm, the width, 9.2 cm); 4 - a pull-through model (15.9 cm in length with the maximum width of 2.4 cm); 5 - a kerosene welding lamp (the bottom diameter 9.4 cm, the height, 26.7 cm); 6 - a clay weight (the bottom diameter 18.4 cm, the overall height, 8.9 cm).

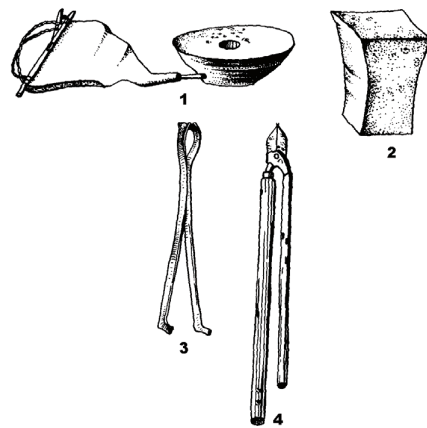
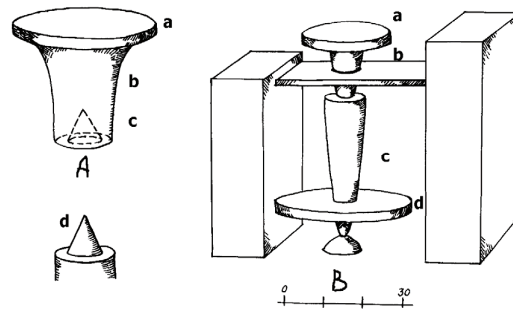


Figure 14. Blacksmith's tools: 1 - a portable forge, 2 - an anvil, 3 - pliers, 4 - tin-cutting scissors.

Figure 15. Potter's implements: A - as used in Şif, B - as used in 'Amd (for description, see Chapter 3, Section 3.4).



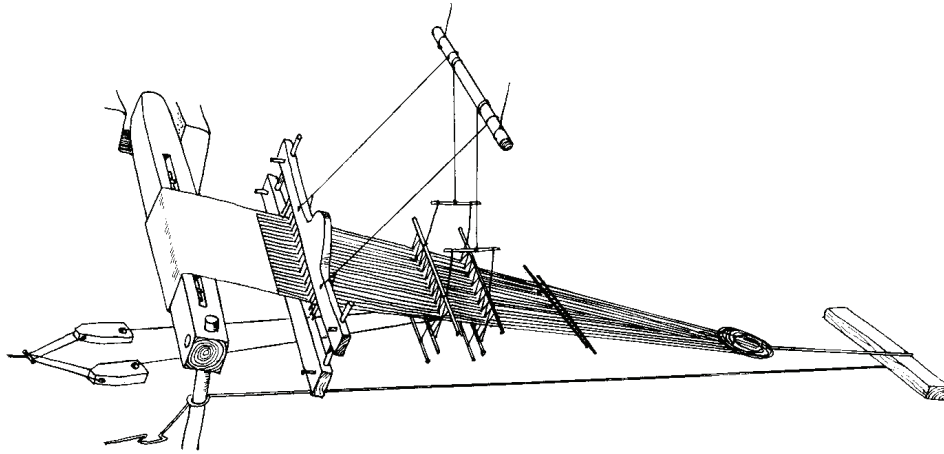


Figure 16. Loom from al-Buwayriqāt, Wādī al-‘Ayn (see Chapter 3, Section 3.7.).

Figure 17. Beehive and the queen’s cage (for description, see Chapter 3, Section 4.1: Apiculture).

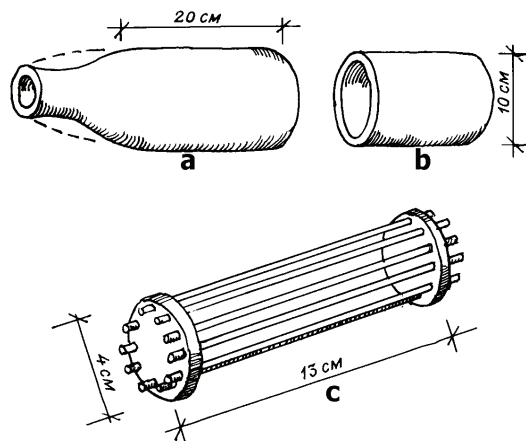


Figure 18. Ibex horns in a catching net: an episode of the hunters’ festival in Ma-dūdah, near Say’ūn. In the Western Ḥaḍ-ramawt, hunting nets are not used.

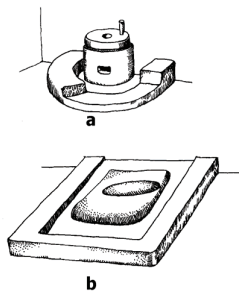


Figure 19. Kitchen hand mill (a) and a stone grain-grinder (b).

Figure 20. Wooden mould for making mud bricks.

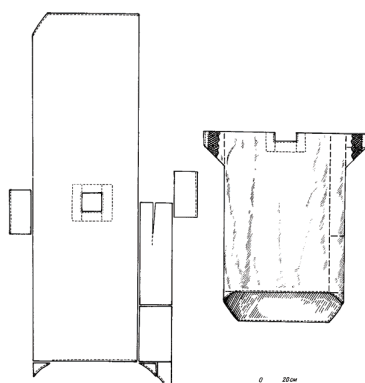
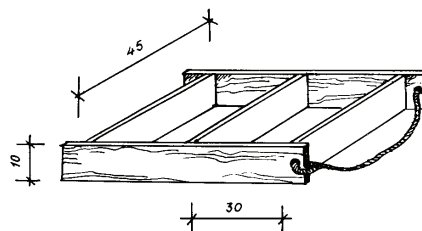


Figure 21. Female dress: the al-Hajarayn variant. For the Upper 'Amd dress variant see figures 89–90.

Figure 22. Female face veils. *Right:* The al-Hajarayn variant. *Left:* A veil from the village of al-Ādiyāh, Wādī Daw'an, to the south of al-Hajarayn.

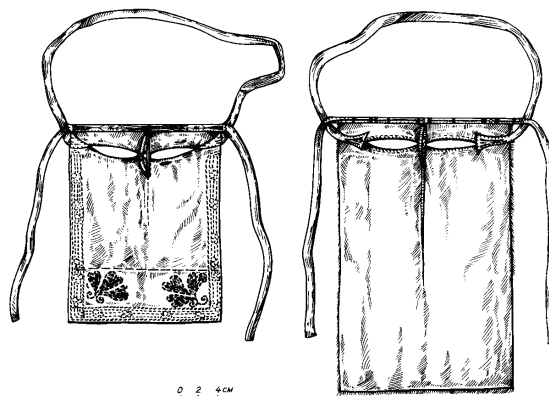


Figure 23. Wide-brim female hat woven of palm leaves, a face veil, and a head kerchief. Museum of anthropology and ethnography, St. Petersburg, collection 6878-6a, 5.

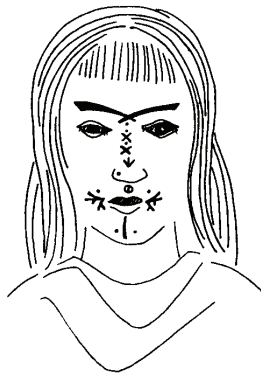
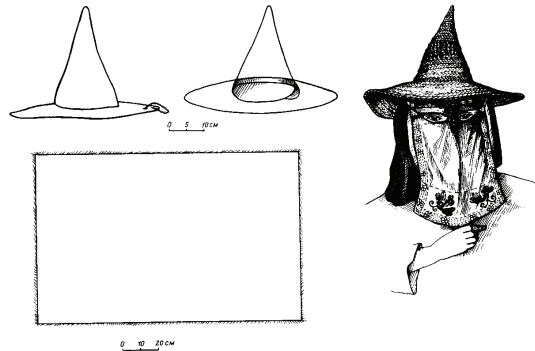


Figure 24. Face painting of a Ḥaḍramī bride (according to the pattern exhibited in the Say'ūn Ethnographic Museum).

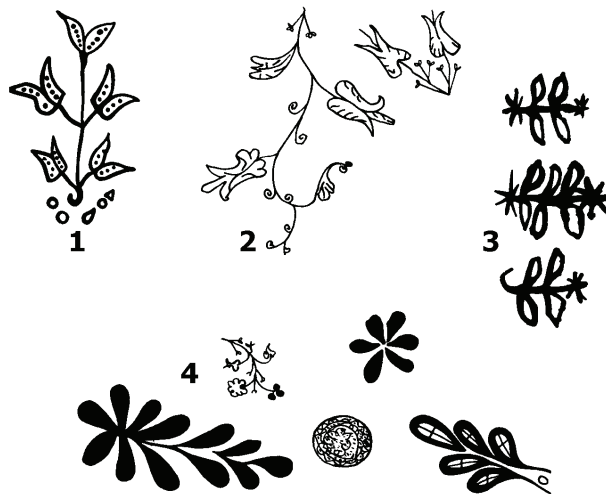


Figure 25. The henna patterns for women's hands (1-4), al-Hajarayn, Wādī Daw'an.

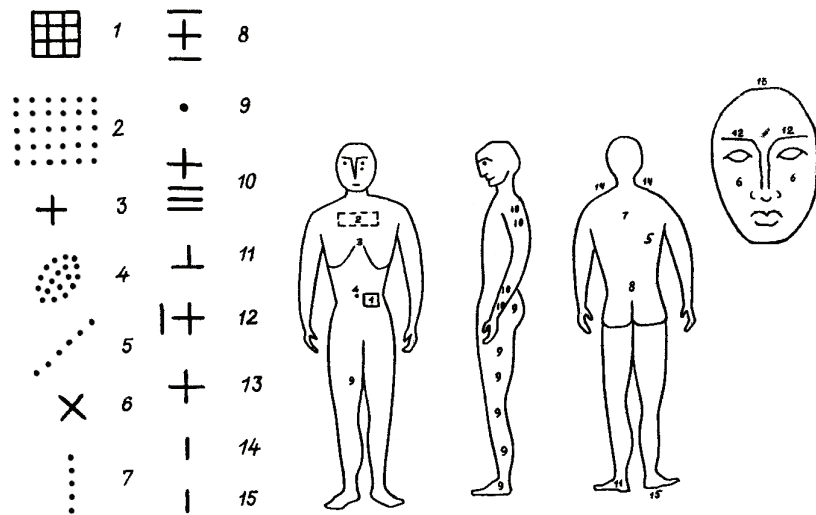


Figure 26. Scheme of curative cauterization points: 1 - Splenic diseases; 2 - Lung diseases; 3 - Stomach diseases; 4 - Anaemia and general weakness; 5 - Pleurisies, cordial diseases ; 6 - Smallpox, scabies, and other skin diseases; 7 - Asthma, spine traumas; 8 - Back pains in males; bleeding and miscarriages in females; 9 - Rheumatic pains; 10 - Blood pressure imbalance; 11 - Bladder and kidney diseases; 12 - Eye suppuration; 13 - Severe headaches; mental problems; 14 - Shoulder pains; 15 - Nausea. W. Dostal's data (1972a: 114) slightly enlarged and revised by the author of this book.

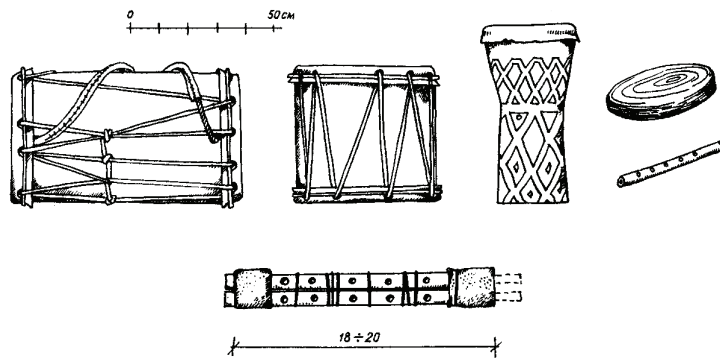


Figure 27. Musical instruments played in Western Ḥaḍramawt. *Left to right*: Bigger horizontal two-skin hand drum (*bājir – hawājir*); medium two-skin drum (*marfa'ah – marrafi*); one-skin pottery goblet (*darabukkah*); smaller wooden drum (*maṭraq – maṭariq*); a pipe. *Below* a double clarinet (*mizmār*). See Chapter 6, Section 2. For tambourines, see figure 68.



Figure 28. 'Abd-al-Qādir Muḥammad al-Ṣabbān (1920–99); ethnographer, historian and a poet of Ḥaḍramawt.



Figure 29. Ḥusayn 'Abdallāh Bin al-Shaykh Bū Bakr, a friend and assistant of Russian-Yemeni expedition.

Figure 30. Folk poet Bū Bashr, alias Mubārak Sālim Bin 'Aqīl (1905–89) and Yemeni scholar 'Abd al-'Azīz Ja'far Bin 'Aqīl, *left*.



Figure 31. A well in Ḥurayḍah; a dwarf cow drinking from the cattle watering section.



Figure 32. Well with a water-pulling tripod.

Figure 33. Cistern of drinking water (*siqāyah*) near the village of al-Quzah.





Figure 34. Wooden plough and a yoke.

Figure 35. A carpenter with a double window frame; on the left, his tool basket.

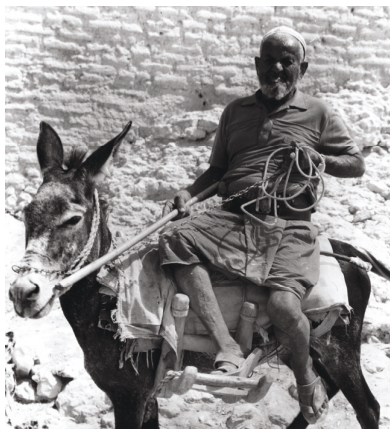
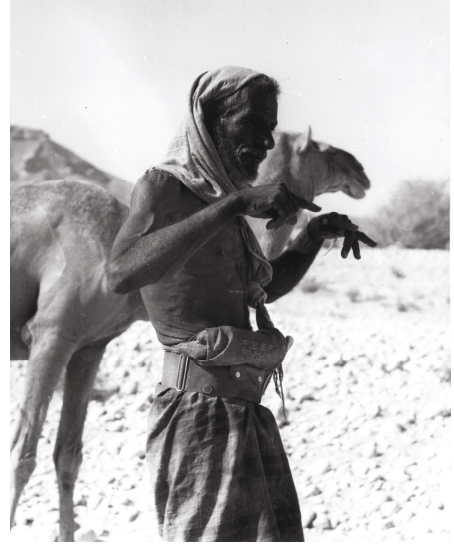


Figure 36. Donkey's pack saddle with supporting "wings" made of wood (cf. figure70).



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Figure 39. Wooden mortars. Museum of anthropology and ethnography, St. Petersburg, collection 6927-10, 11.

Figure 40. Wooden dish (*qadah*). Imported from India or East Africa. Museum of anthropology and ethnography, St. Petersburg, collection 6927-9.



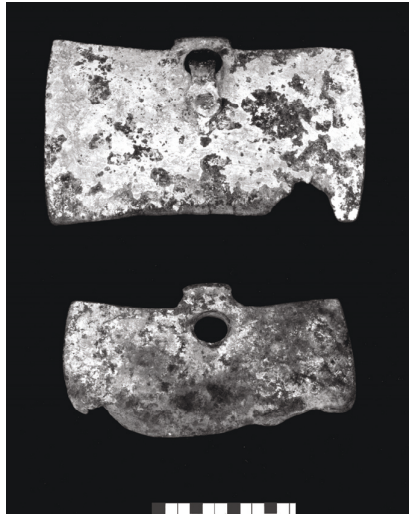


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Figure 42. A mould for casting 5 bullets 1.4 sm each. Khuraykhar. The early 20 c. Museum of anthropology and ethnography, St. Petersburg, collection 6920-20.



Figure 43. Muskets. The early 20 c. Museum of anthropology and ethnography, St. Petersburg, collection 6878-13 (*below*), 6920-21 (*above*).



Figure 44. Wash-stand made of clay (*midh-yāb*). Museum of anthropology and ethnography, St. Petersburg, collection 6927-7.

Figure 45. Vessel for cooling water (*khazbah*) and a coffee cup. Museum of anthropology and ethnography, St. Petersburg, collection 6901-23, 6927-2.

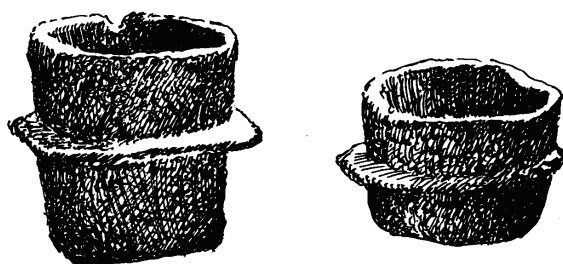


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Figure 47. Basketry articles. Museum of anthropology and ethnography, St. Petersburg, collection (from left to right) 6920-32, 33, 34, 35, 39, 40.

Figure 48. Box for documents. Museum of anthropology and ethnography, St. Petersburg, collection 6920-29 ab.

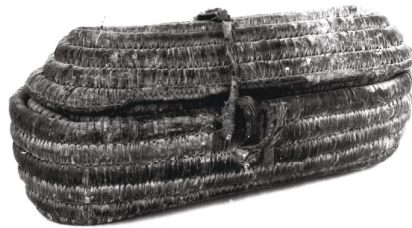


Figure 49. Round-based coiled basket; such baskets are often hung on ropes below the ceiling. Made in Oman or Lahj. Museum of anthropology and ethnography, St. Petersburg, collection 6920-30.

Figure 50. Bag for cut-off male blossoms (*fukhtab*) used for palm pollination. Museum of anthropology and ethnography, St. Petersburg, collection 6920-31.

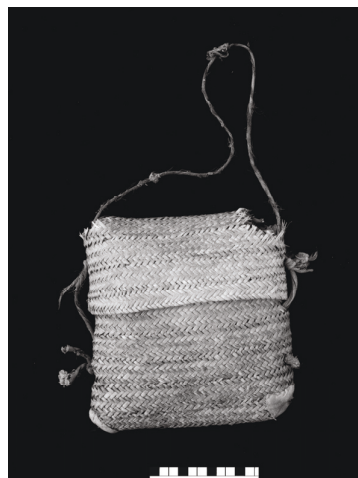




Figure 51. Leather bucket (*dabw*). Found near al-Nukhr, deserted well 4 km to the west of Ḥurayḍah. Museum of anthropology and ethnography, St. Petersburg, collection 6920-26.

Figure 52. *Abū juḥaysh* sandals. Museum of anthropology and ethnography, St. Petersburg, collection 6920-14.



Figure 53. Men's belts (*upwards from below*): two bandoliers, a modern belt with pockets for money and small items. Museum of anthropology and ethnography, St. Petersburg, collection 6920-11, 12, 13.



Figure 54. A primitive bomb *dabbab*: a leather container for gunpowder and lead or pebble. About 120 cm high.



Figure 55. An old leather belt for women. First half of the 20th c. Museum of anthropology and ethnography, St. Petersburg, collection 6920-10.



Figure 56. Sesame oil press (see Chapter 3, Section 3.8).

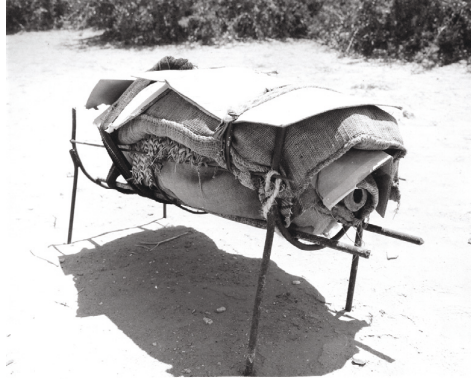


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Figure 59. Wādī Daw'an: a cave for living and storage near al-Jidfirah.

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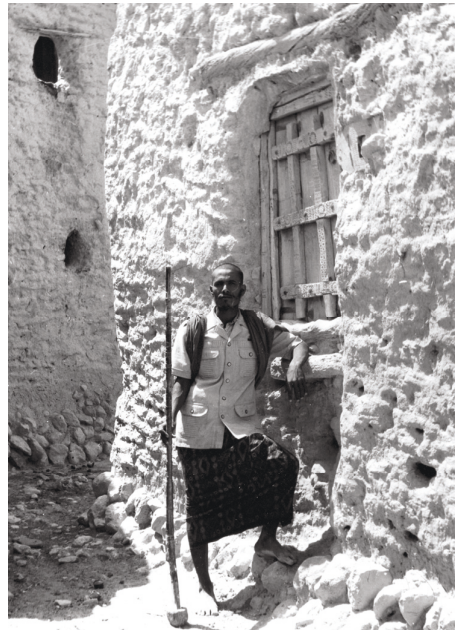




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Figure 62. al-Hajarayn. An entrance door: in the centre, the door hammer; below the lintel, the carpenter's inscription; to the right, a hole in the wall for opening the latch.

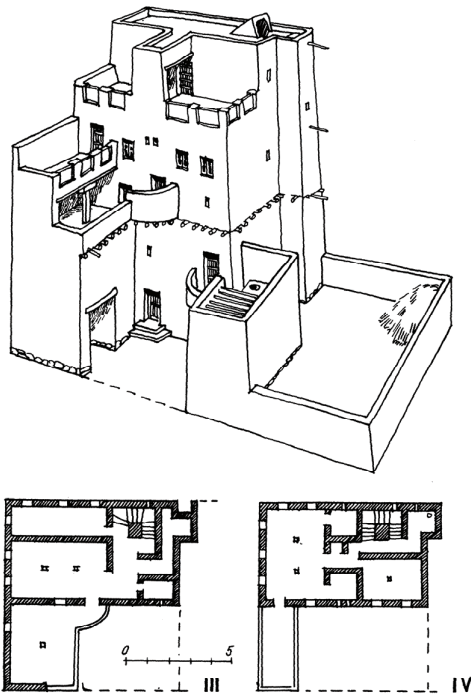


Figure 63. al-Hajarayn: a dwelling complex.

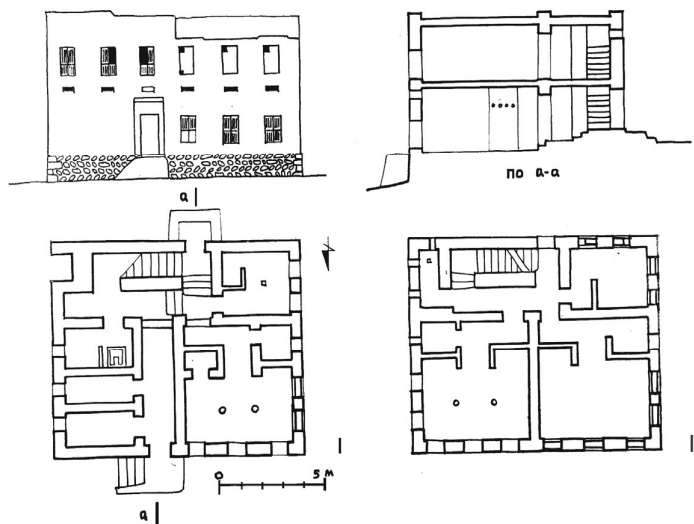


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Figure 65. Hand mill. The village of al-'Ajlānīyah, Wādī al-Kasr.

Figure 66. Service room; to the right, an overturned *zīr* pitcher.

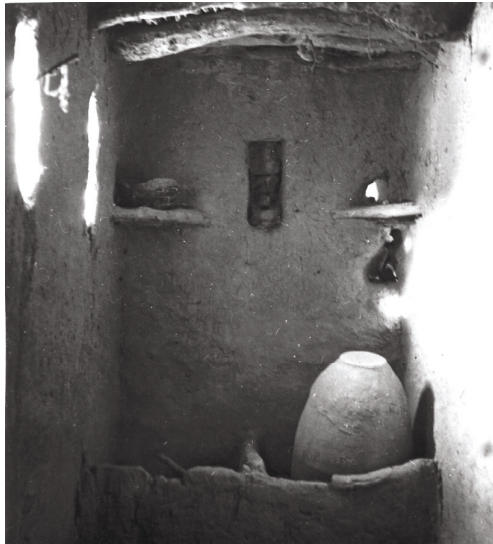


Figure 67. Interior of a dwelling house, Wādī Daw'an: a carved wardrobe and bed linen.



Figure 68. Huraydah. Interior of a house belonging to the *manṣab* of the al-‘Aṭṭās *sādah* clan. On the right, ritual tambourines (*tār – ṭī-rān*), a round-shaped one and the nonagon.

Figure 69. Making mud bricks.



Figure 70. Transporting mud bricks. Donkey pack saddle with modern “wings” of metal pipes (cf. figure 36).

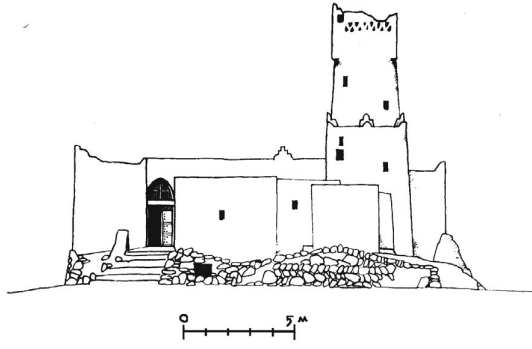


Figure 71. The mosque of 'Alī b. Ḥasan Bā Rabā', the village of Sadbah, Wādī al-Kasr.

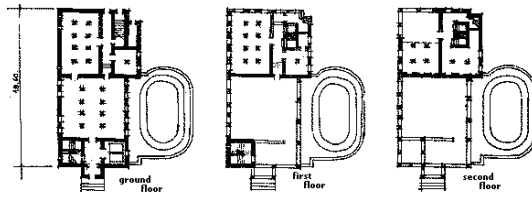
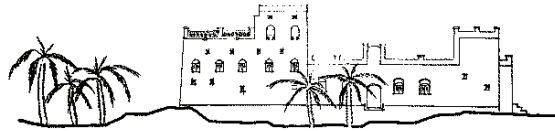
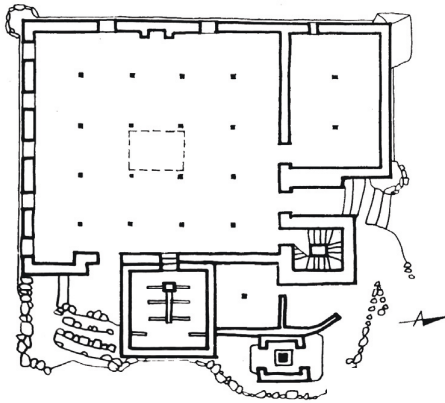
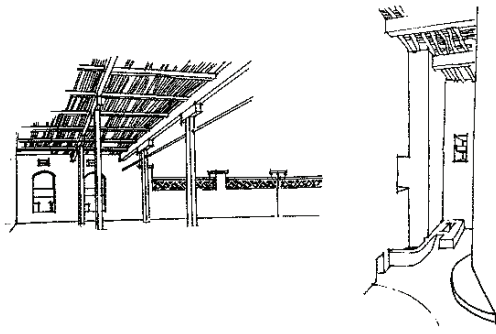


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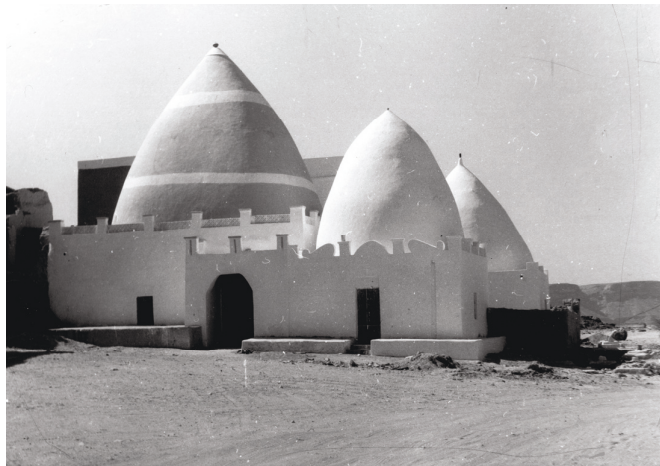


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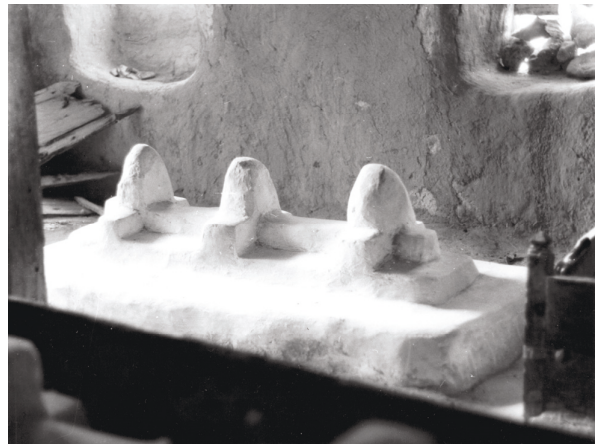




Figure 77. Cemetery between al-Hajarayn and Khuraykhar, Wādī Daw'an.

Figure 78. al-Quzah: sketch-map of the settlement lay-out (for description, see Chapter 4, Section 1.1).

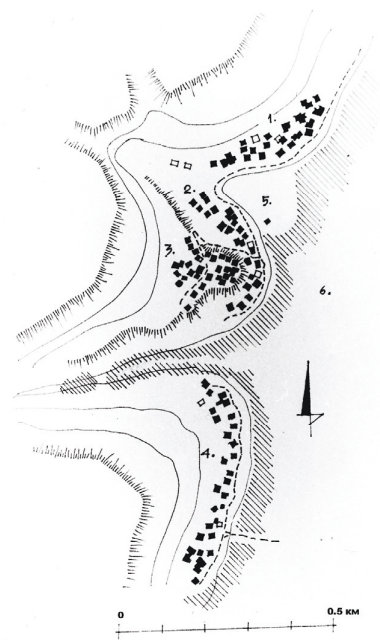


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Figure 80. al-Hajarayn; sketch-map of the town lay-out (see Chapter 4, Section 1.3).



Figure 81. al-Hajarayn: general view of the town and its irrigation network to the south.

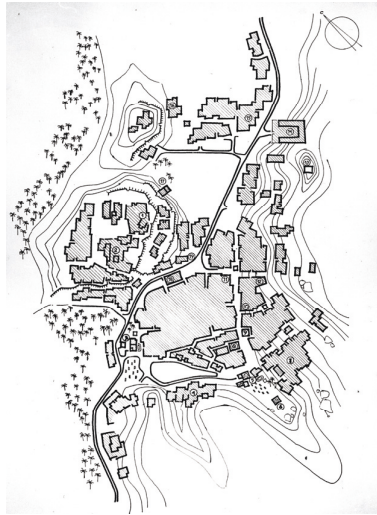


Figure 82. 'Amd: sketch-map of the town lay-out (for description, see Chapter 4, Section 1.2).



Figure 83. The town of 'Amd: general view.

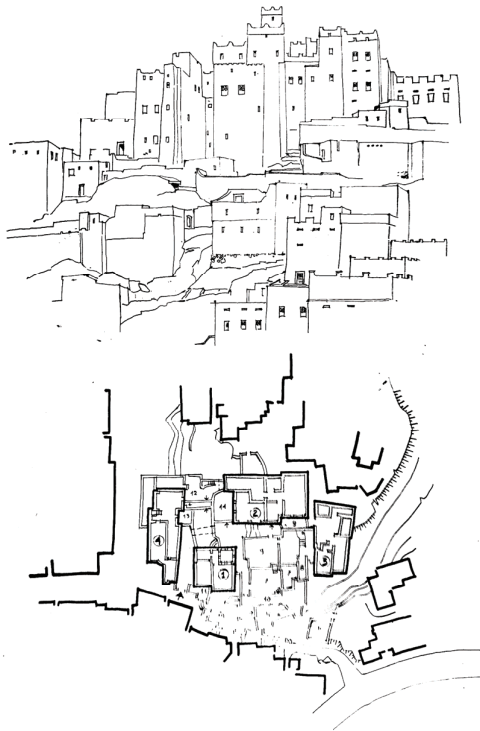


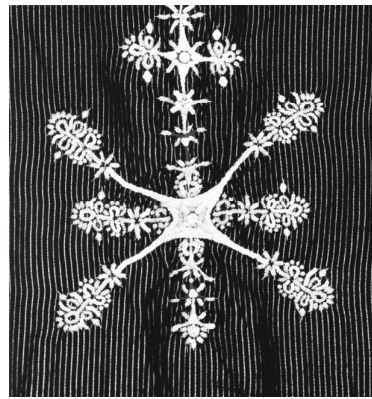
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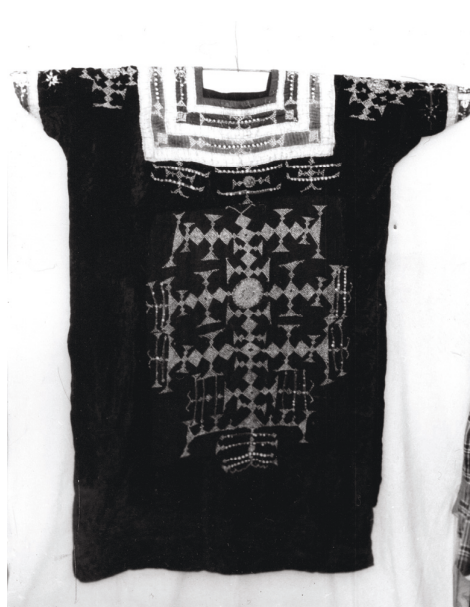
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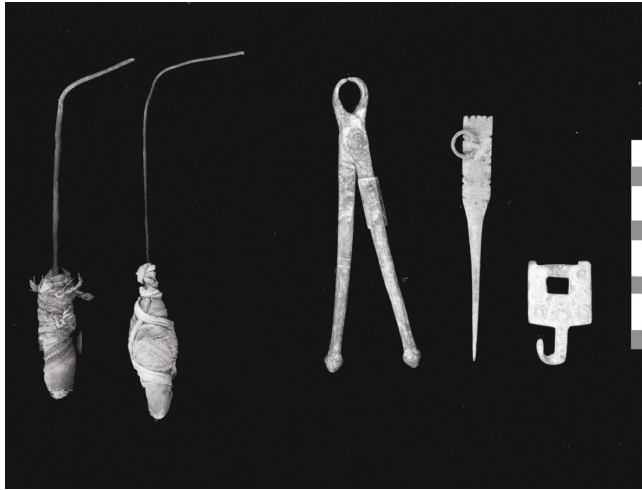


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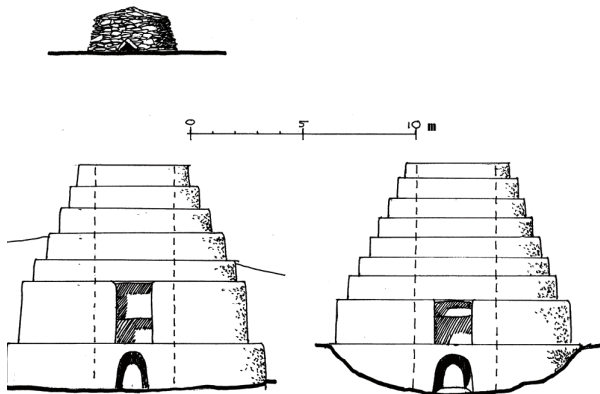
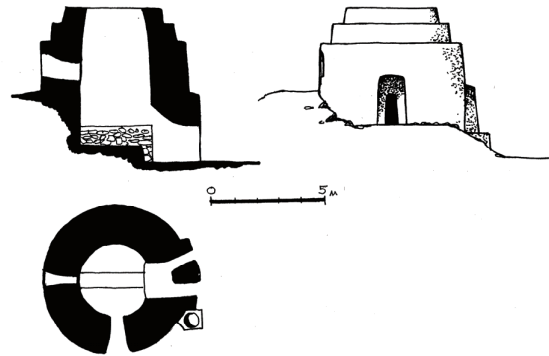


Figure 95. Lime kilns: near Ghayl Bā Wazīr (*above*); to the west of al-Mukallā (*second row*); near Burūm (*below*).

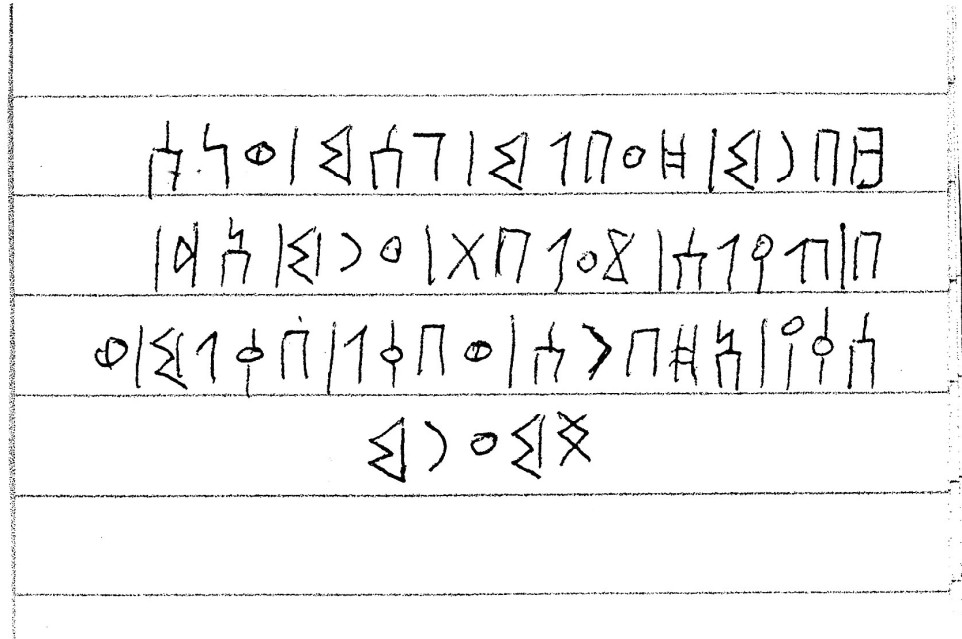


Figure 97. A rock inscription in the Daw'an (Wādī Laysar) village of Tawlabah copied by 'Abd al-'Azīz Ja'far Bin 'Aqīl and read by Mikhail Piotrovsky:

1. Dabrum Dhū 'Ablim cut in and set
2. up his channel (*gbayl*) Tawlabah in bedrock in order to
3. water his fields and plant vegetables and
4. cereals.

Illustrations by:

Yuri Kozhin (Figs. 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 24, 31–8, 46, 56, 59–71, 73–81, 86, 91, 92, 94); Vladimir Terebenin (Figs. 28, 29, 39–45, 47–55, 58, 87–90, 93); Mikhail Rodionov (Maps 1–3; Figs. 2, 5, 25, 30, 85); Leonid Tugarin (Figs. 27, 72, 82–4); Pavel Pogorelsky (Figs. 8, 15, 17, 20); Walter Dostal (Figs. 11, 12, 26 with Rodionov); Daniel Varisco (Fig. 6).

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Abbreviations

BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London*

Etiket = *Etiket u narodov Sredney Aziyi*, Etiquette of the Middle Asian peoples, collection of papers, Moscow 1988.

GJ = *The Geographical Journal*, London

GOAMM = General Organization of Antiquities, Museums and Manuscripts

JRAS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London

JRCAS = *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, London

JRGS = *The Journal of the Royal Geographic Society of London*

MAE = *Muzey antropologiyi i etnografiyi im. Petra Velikogo* SPb., L. = The Peter the Great museum of anthropology and ethnography, St. Petersburg/ Leningrad

SWJA = *The Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Albuquerque

YCCSAM = The Yemeni Centre for Culture Studies, Antiquities, and Museums

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