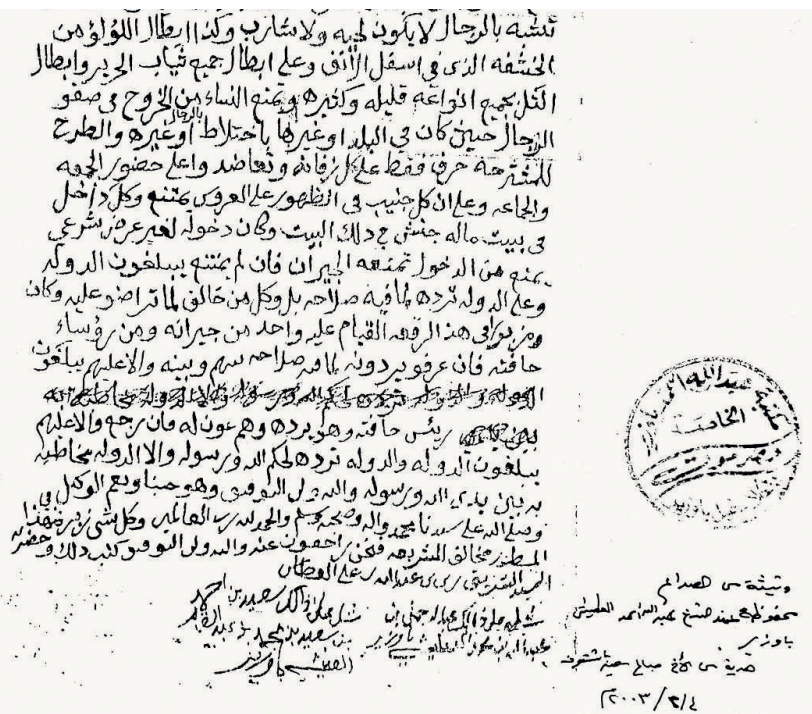


The Hadramawt Documents, 1904–51: Family Life and Social Customs under the Last Sultans

by Mikhail Rodionov
Hanne Schönig



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BEIRUTER TEXTE UND STUDIEN

HERAUSGEGEBEN VOM
ORIENT-INSTITUT BEIRUT

BAND 130

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BEIRUT 2011

ERGON VERLAG WÜRZBURG
IN KOMMISSION

Umschlaggestaltung: Taline Yozgatian

Cover illustration: Excerpt from Ghayl Bā Wazīr (GhBW) 1, 1322/[1904], the oldest document treated in this volume.

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der
Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über
<http://dnb.d-nb.de> abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;
detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

ISBN 978-3-89913-881-8

ISSN 0067-4931

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Ergon-Verlag GmbH
Keesburgstr. 11, D-97074 Würzburg

Druck: PBtisk, Pribram
Gedruckt auf alterungsbeständigem Papier

Contents

Preface and acknowledgements	IX
Abbreviations	XI
Note on usage, translation and transliteration	XIII
Map of Hadramawt	XV
Introduction	
1 Conceptual remarks	1
2 The research area	1
3 The time frame	2
4 Objectives and methods	2
4.1 Goals and methods	2
4.2 Sources	3
4.3 Fieldwork	4
4.3.1 Informants	4
5 Scholarly contributions	7
5.1 Contributions on Hadramawt documents	7
5.2 Contributions on customs, traditions and women's life in Hadramawt	9
Part I: Everyday Life Under the al-Kathirī and al-Qu'ayṭī Sultans	
1 Social structure	13
1.1 Social strata and quarter organisation	13
1.2 Migration and social change	16
1.3 Men and women apart	19
2 Life cycle rites	21
2.1 Birth	21
2.2 Circumcision	22
2.3 Marriage	23
2.3.1 Gifts and gratuities	33
2.4 Death	35

3	Religious life and rituals	37
3.1	Ramadan	37
3.2	Pilgrimages and tomb visitations	38
3.3	The ibex hunt.....	43
3.4	Prayers for rain.....	47
4	Everyday customs	49
4.1	Dances and songs	49
4.2	Food and beverage.....	52
4.2.1	Coffee	53
4.2.2	Tea.....	56
5	Women in the documents.....	59
5.1	Dress and jewellery.....	59
5.1.1	Clothing	59
5.1.2	Jewellery.....	65
5.1.3	Cosmetics	72
5.2	Household utensils.....	73
6	Rhetoric of the documents.....	77
6.1	Topics and tactics.....	77
6.2	Style.....	79
6.3	Structure and spatial organisation	80
7	Summary	83
 Part II: The Documents		
1	Catalogue	87
1.1	Documents from the al-Kathīrī Archives in Say'ūn	87
1.2	Documents from private archives.....	95
1.3	Official publications of the post-sultanate period	97
2	Facsimiles, Arabic transcripts, and English translations	99
2.1	Documents from the al-Kathīrī Archives in Say'ūn	99
2.2	Documents from private archives.....	224
2.3	Official publications of the post-sultanate period	245
3	Annotated vocabulary	269
4	Index of proper names.....	289
5	Toponyms.....	295

Appendices

1	Sections of the al-Kathīrī Archives in Say'ūn.....	297
2	Chronology of the al-Kathīrī and al-Qu'ayṭī rulers within the time frame	298
	Bibliography.....	299
Indices		
1	Index of documents	311
2	General index	312
	Illustrations.....	329
	List of illustrations	341

Preface and acknowledgements

Before they started their joint research, both authors worked independently on the documents of the al-Kathīrī Archives in Sayʿūn in Wadi Hadramawt, Yemen. Mikhail Rodionov, a specialist in Arabic and Arabian culture, has been a member of the Russian expeditions to Yemen since 1983. The fruits of his research have been published in Russian, Arabic, and English, most recently in the English version of his 1994 monograph (*The Western Hadramawt*, 2007). Thirteen years after Rodionov, Hanne Schönig, a specialist in Arabic and Islamic Studies, first accessed the documents, having been referred to them by Ulrike Freitag, the present director of the Zentrum Moderner Orient (ZMO) in Berlin.

Many individuals and institutions in Yemen, Germany, and Russia were instrumental to our research and we owe them our sincere gratitude. In Yemen it was Yūsuf ʿAbdallāh and ʿAbdallāh Bā Wazīr as former and present Heads of the General Organisation of Antiquities and Museums (GOAM), as well as ʿAlī Saʿd Ṭawāf, deputy director of the National Centre for Documents; ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Bin ʿAqīl and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saqqāf as Heads of the GOAM local branches in al-Mukallā and Sayʿūn; Ḥusayn Ḥasan al-Saqqāf, younger brother of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, as Head of the Wadi Hadramawt Branch of the National Centre for Documentation, and Ḥusayn ʿUmar al-Hādī, Head of the Maktabat al-Aḥqāf Manuscript Library in Tarīm. The Ṣanʿāʾ Branch of the Orient Department of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) and its former and present directors, Burkhard Vogt and Iris Gerlach, the permanent secretary Hertha Zabbarah and the Yemeni staff, kindly offered us their hospitality and assistance. Our deepest gratitude goes to the numerous local informants who generously transmitted their knowledge to us and were patient enough to answer our endless questions. More details about them are given later in the text.

Aleksandr Ogloblin, Saint Petersburg State University, as well as Claus Schönig, FU Berlin, helped us to shed light on dark etymologies of loanwords used in the documents, and Mohammad al-Hujairi from the Orient-Institut in Beirut (part of the Foundation of German Humanities Institutes Abroad, DGIA) vigilantly read our Arabic transcripts and did much to make our work better. We also express our thanks to the students of the Oriental Institute of Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, Inas Briek-Höfer, Christoph Carmesin, and Lydia Mshinsh for their assistance with technical and editorial work, and to Antje Seeger for making the map. Nadim Salameh was cooperative in taking some photographs in Sayʿūn and Charles Whitmer proved to be a most thorough and patient copy editor. We owe a debt of gratitude to Ines Weinrich from the Orient-Institut Beirut for her careful supervision of the publishing process as well as to Thomas Breier at Ergon for his very patient and kind cooperation in formatting and finalising the manuscript for publication.

To Stefan Leder goes a special thanks in two important respects: first for having encouraged the project as the former director of the Centre for Oriental Studies (Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum, now: Centre for Interdisciplinary Area Studies – Middle East, Africa, Asia) of the Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, and second for accepting the manuscript for publication in the series *Beiruter Texte und Studien* as the present director of the Orient-Institut Beirut. Furthermore, we greatly appreciate the inestimable financial support of the Orient-Institut for covering the printing costs.

We also wish to thank Yuri Chistov, Head of the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstammer), St Petersburg, who provided financial support for a 2008 field season in Hadramawt. Finally, without the generous grants from the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG), the German-Russian joint project could not have been realised.

And we will always remember a key figure of our project, the late scholar from Say'ūn, ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ṣabbān, who inspired us to write this book.

Abbreviations

ABR	‘Alī Bā Rajā documents, see II.1 Catalogue
GhBW	Ghayl Bā Wazīr documents, see II.1 Catalogue
GOAM	General Organisation of Antiquities and Museums, Yemen
GOAMM	General Organisation of Antiquities, Museums and Manuscripts, Yemen
RWH	Rodionov, Mikhail, <i>The Western Ḥaḍramawt</i>

Note on usage, translation and transliteration

Roman numerals indicate the category of the al-Kathīrī Archives documents. All other documents are referred to according to the acronyms given in II.1 Catalogue (ABR, GhBW, etc.).

Transliteration of Arabic generally follows that of the *Encyclopaedia of the Qurʾān* (Jane Dammen McAuliffe, general ed., Brill: Leiden, 2001–6).

ا	ā	ذ	dh	ظ	z	ن	n
ب	b	ر	r	ع	ʿ	ه	h
ت	t	ز	z	غ	gh	و	w, ū
ث	th	س	s	ف	f	ي	y, ī
ج	j	ش	sh	ق	q	ء	ʾ
ح	ḥ	ص	ṣ	ك	k	ى	ā
خ	kh	ض	ḍ	ل	l	ة	-a(t)
د	d	ط	ṭ	م	m		

Short vowels are rendered as *a*, *i*, *u*, the *nisba* as *-ī/-iyya*. Diphthongs are rendered by *aw* and *ay*. Anglicised Arabic names such as Ramadan, Wadi (in names), (Wadi) Hadramawt, Hadrami etc. are given without diacritical marks, unless they are part of a quotation.

We also keep some characteristic features of Hadrami vernacular as reflected in the sources, e.g. yodization of <ج> (*daray* < *daraj*), interchange of certain emphatic consonants (<ز> pronounced as <ḍ>: *zilla* and *ḍilla*), metathesis (*ruzz* for *zirr*), hypercorrect spelling (*jāqa* for *yāqa*, *rijāl* for *riyāl*, *jad* for *yad*), etc.

Our translation is as literal as possible. In most cases we were able to maintain the order line by line, and sometimes even word by word, thus we tried to render true the style of the original texts.

Map of Hadramawt



Introduction

1 *Conceptual remarks*

Family life here means not merely the interactions and interrelations within the basic social and economic unit, which is determined by the patrilineal principle and common descent, but also the interior domain of privacy which is protected, at least in theory, from the gaze of outsiders. In a gender separated society, the cultural domain of family life may be imagined as the intersection of the world of women with the world of men.

Social customs denote the wide range of instituted patterns of accepted behaviour observed by individuals and social groups. In the present book these patterns comprise the rites of passage (in particular childbirth practices, marriage and burial customs), religious feasts including pilgrimages, the ritual ibex hunt, and traditional ways of conflict resolution. Both topics, family life and social customs, are interpreted here in the same vein as Michel de Certeau's *L'invention du quotidien* with its view from below on everyday practices.

2 *The research area*

The research area covers some parts of a region in South Arabia known as Hadramawt, or more precisely its hinterland, Wadi Hadramawt and adjacent territories (see map) ruled by the al-Kathīrī and al-Qu'ayṭī Sultans¹ (see Figs. 10, 11). The majority of the examined sources² (IV 3–21, 23–5, 34, 36, 37, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49; ABR 1 and 2; *lā'ihā* 1 and 2) were issued in Say'un, the capital of the al-Kathīrī Sultans, one printed source (*Sharāra*) was issued in al-Mukallā, the capital of the al-Qu'ayṭī Sultans; a few documents (IV 26–9, 32, 35, 40–2, 50; Madūda 1 and 2) were issued in Madūda or were related to this settlement, an important centre of the ritual ibex hunt. Then comes Mashhad 'Alī (IV 22, 30, 47; III 276), a place of pilgrimage to the south-west of Wadi Hadramawt, Wadi Daw'an, a sacred enclave of the influential al-'Aṭṭās *sāda* family centred in Ḥurayḍa, Wadi 'Amd. At the beginning of the 20th century this region was an apple of discord between the al-Kathīrī and al-Qu'ayṭī Sultans and formally belonged to the latter. Last are documents concerned with tiny settlements in the al-Kathīrī domain of Wadi Hadramawt, Tarīs (IV 1), al-Ghuraf (IV 31), and Tarīm (IV 39), an important town of *sāda* and an autonomous stronghold of a separate branch of the al-Kathīrī Dynasty. The last two documents from the private archives of the Bā Wazīr *mashāyikh*³

¹ See Appendix 2 Chronology of the al-Kathīrī and al-Qu'ayṭī rulers within the time frame.

² See II.1 Catalogue, and Appendix 1 Sections of the al-Kathīrī Archives in Say'un.

³ See I.1.1 Social strata and quarter organisation.

(GhBW 1 and 2) cover Ghayl Bā Wazīr and its environs, an al-Qu‘ayṭī controlled territory between the hinterland and the littoral famous for its springs and irrigated agriculture, cocoa palms and tobacco. A series of interviews was held in the area, in Say‘ūn, Madūda, Mashhad ‘Alī, al-Tāriba, Ghayl Bā Wazīr, and outside, in al-Mukallā, the former seat of the al-Qu‘ayṭī, as well as in the Yemeni capital Ṣan‘ā’.

3 *The time frame*

The oldest document, dated 1322/[1904], represents the family archive of the Bā Wazīr *mashāyikh* of Ghayl Bā Wazīr (GhBW 1); the most recent of the sultanate period, 1371/[1951], is that of the Bā Rajā’ *mashāyikh* of Say‘ūn (ABR 1). The core of the documents under research are taken from section IV (1–50, dated 1337/[1919]–1378/[1958]) of the al-Kathīrī Archives in Say‘ūn.⁴ The related documents of the post-sultanate period are dated 1390/[1970] (ABR 2), 1974 (*lā’iḥa* 1, *Sharāra*), and 1986 (*lā’iḥa* 2). Field research was done by Mikhail Rodionov during numerous field seasons from 1983 to 2008, and by Hanne Schönig from 1996 to 2000.

4 *Objectives and methods*

4.1 *Goals and methods*

This study aims at presenting the Hadramawt documents of the al-Kathīrī, and to a lesser extent the al-Qu‘ayṭī, Sultanates coming mainly from the al-Kathīrī Archives in Say‘ūn and from private collections⁵ which focus on various aspects of family life and social customs during the period of cultural changes in the 20th century.⁶ Some of the documents have been studied before by the authors and other researchers.⁷ The authors were kindly given permission from ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Saqqāf to photograph (Schönig during the 1990s) and later to photocopy (Rodionov after 2000) the documents in the al-Kathīrī Archives.

Three main goals have been realised on the basis of the authors’ Arabist-philological and ethnological expertise. First, to present the corpus of section IV of the al-Kathīrī Archives in Say‘ūn as a whole. A second goal is to preserve the disappearing local lexis, quite often borrowed from South and Southeast Asia and elsewhere, concerning everyday life (dress, home utensils, goods, food, etc.) which is sometimes unfamiliar today even to the Hadramis themselves. In Part II⁸ – as an

⁴ See Introduction 4.2 Sources.

⁵ See the detailed presentation of the documents *ibid.*

⁶ See I.1.2 Migration and social change.

⁷ In II.1 Catalogue, previous works by the authors and by others according to each document are mentioned.

⁸ As an apparatus this part is placed at the end.

effort to achieve the first two objectives – the documents are given in facsimile, Arabic transcript, and English translation⁹ successively along with a catalogue and the annotated vocabulary of key items. The third goal, to highlight the social and cultural conditions and practices in the Hadramawt under the last sultans,¹⁰ the authors tried to realise in Part I. Their observations are based on the written and oral local traditions reflected in the documents, completed by field data analysis, especially the oral commentaries made by communicative actors and/or their offspring – an approach close to Brinkley Messick’s ethnography of texts which he defined as “an inquiry into practice and its written representation.”¹¹

4.2 Sources¹²

The majority of the sources are represented by handwritten documents of the al-Kathīrī Archives in Say’ūn.¹³ They comprise regulations and ordinances, correspondences, agreements, and personal documents. The actors are the current sultan, local authorities, and groups or members of social strata. In the 1980s the documents from the Say’ūn Palace¹⁴ (Fig. 10) were saved from neglect by the former director of the museum, the late ‘Abd al-Qādir Muḥammad al-Ṣabbān (1920–99),¹⁵ Hadrami scholar and poet, when he was the Head of the Say’ūn Branch of the Yemen Centre for Cultural Research, Antiquities and Museums.¹⁶ They were archived there until 2006 when they were moved to the new administrative building, part of which is occupied by the local branch (Hadramawt, the Wadi and the Desert) of the Yemen National Centre for Documentation. We translated 38 out of 50 documents of section IV and document 276 of section III. Other documents from sections I–III¹⁷ are used as references.

⁹ See above: Note on usage, translation and transliteration.

¹⁰ See Appendix 2 Chronology of the al-Kathīrī and al-Qu’ayṭī rulers within the time frame.

¹¹ Messick, *Calligraphic State*, 5.

¹² For details concerning the treated documents, see II.1 Catalogue.

¹³ See Appendix 1 Sections of the al-Kathīrī Archives in Say’ūn. – The Archives are referred to as SMA (Say’ūn Museum Archives) by Boxberger, *Empire*, and Freitag, *Indian Ocean Migrants*, see also below n. 16.

¹⁴ See the photo of the palace by van der Meulen taken in 1939 (Epstein, ‘Hadramaut’, 299).

¹⁵ al-Ṣabbān himself gives this date of his birth in the booklet on his life and research ([al-Ṣabbān], *‘Abd al-Qādir Muḥammad al-Ṣabbān*, 1), one finds 1921 in other places, however, e.g. al-Maqḥafī, *Mawsū‘a*, 3, 610a.

¹⁶ Before 1991, the Yemen Centre for Cultural Research and Antiquities was known as the Say’ūn Branch of the Yemen General Organisation of Antiquities, Museums, and Manuscripts (GOAMM). Since 2002, the GOAMM has been divided into two separate bodies, the Yemen General Organisation of Antiquities and Museums (GOAM) and the National Centre for Documentation (NCD).

¹⁷ See Appendix 1 Sections of the al-Kathīrī Archives in Say’ūn.

Due to his personal contacts and friendships over a period of more than twenty years, Mikhail Rodionov has had access to several private archives. Handwritten documents have been used from the family archives of Rabiʿ ʿAwaḍ Bin ʿUbaydallāh, Madūda (referred to as Madūda), from Ghayl Bā Wazīr (referred to as GhBW), and ʿAlī Bā Rajāʾ (referred to as ABR).

The third category consists of three printed official documents of the post-sultanate period (*lāʾiḥa 1*, *lāʾiḥa 2*, *Sharāra*) which show continuation and modification of an old tradition.

4.3 Fieldwork

Document collecting efforts demand the researcher's presence in the culture of study. Both authors conducted their fieldwork in practically all of the localities mentioned in the documents, with the most time spent in Sayʿūn, Tarīm, Madūda, Mashhad ʿAlī, al-Mukallā and Ghayl Bā Wazīr, during the numerous field seasons of Mikhail Rodionov from 1983 to 2008, and Hanne Schönig from 1996 to 2000.

4.3.1 Informants¹⁸

During 25 years of fieldwork in the area a network of informants was created. All of them deserve our deep gratitude, but here only the key persons are listed.

ʿAtṭās, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī al- (in his mid-sixties), Mashhad ʿAlī

Leader (*manṣab*) of the al-ʿAttās *sāda* clan in Mashhad ʿAlī, son of the following *manṣab*.

ʿAtṭās, Alī b. Abdallāh al-¹⁹ (d. 1986), Mashhad ʿAlī

Leader (*manṣab*) of the al-ʿAttās *sāda*²⁰ clan in Mashhad ʿAlī.

ʿAtṭās, ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-²¹ (d. 1988 over 80 years old), Ḥurayḍa

Leader (*manṣab*) of the al-ʿAttās *sāda* clan in Ḥurayḍa.

ʿAwaḍ, Laylā (around 52 years old), al-Mukallā

She is a journalist and writes mainly on topics related to women.

Bā Fuṭaym, Ghālib Muḥammad (around 62 years old), al-Mukallā

Spent his childhood in Wadi Hadramawt; he has many relatives in Sayʿūn. When being interviewed he asked his relatives, especially women, about particularities.

¹⁸ All age estimations are given as of 2008.

¹⁹ See RWH 175.

²⁰ See I.1.1 Social strata and quarter organisation.

²¹ See RWH 45, 147, 169, 175.

- Bā Ḥashwān, Ḥasan ‘Umar²² (in his mid-forties), Say’ūn (Fig. 1)
Silversmith and jewellery merchant; he took the questionnaire home and discussed it with his family.
- Bā Ḥashwān, Muḥammad Aḥmad (77 years old), Shibām
Has been one of the leading silversmiths of Shibām for many years; now there are only touristic ‘antique shops’.
- Bā Ḥumayd, ‘Alī Muḥammad (in his mid-seventies), Madūda (Fig. 2)
From *mashāyikh*; resides in Madūda, merchant of fabrics in Say’ūn.
- Bā Rajā’, ‘Alī Aḥmad ‘Abdallāh (around 50 years old), Say’ūn (Fig. 3)
From *mashāyikh*; poet and musician, head of the local union of writers.
- Bā Wazīr, ‘Abdallāh Aḥmad (around 50 years old), al-Mukallā
From *mashāyikh*; presented to Mikhail Rodionov photographs of documents on Ghayl Bā Wazīr.
- Bakhḍar, Aḥmad Sa‘īd²³ (around 70 years old), Madūda (Fig. 4)
From *mashāyikh*; hereditary chief of the ibex hunt (*muqaddam al-qanāṣa*) in the locality, whose father Sa‘īd b. Aḥmad is mentioned in several documents.²⁴
- Balfaqīh, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Alī (in his mid-forties), Tarīm
From *sāda*; son of a former owner of the Maktabat Tarīm al-Ḥadītha, book-seller and co-ordinator of publishing politics.
- Bin ‘Aqīl, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ja‘far PhD²⁵ (around 56 years old), al-Mukallā (Fig. 5)
From *qabā’i*²⁶ (Nahd tribe); Head of the al-Mukallā Branch of the GOAM, PhD on the ethno-sociology of the Hadramawt tribes,²⁷ defended in St Petersburg, Russia; specialist in ethno-sociology and ethno-archaeology.
- Bin ‘Aqīl, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ja‘far, Saudi Arabia
Elder brother of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ja‘far Bin ‘Aqīl; he is the author of several books on traditional poetry, customs and traditions.²⁸
- Bin ‘Ubaydallāh, Rabī‘ ‘Awaḍ (in his mid-sixties), Madūda (Fig. 6)
Folk poet, the leader of the ‘Ubaydallāh clan.
- Bū ‘Ā’isha, Hudā (in her thirties), al-Mukallā
Her family originated from East Africa, she works in the al-Mukallā Branch of the GOAM.

²² Rodionov, ‘Silversmiths’, 123.

²³ RWH 110; cf. Serjeant, *Hunt*, 43: Aḥmad b. Sa‘īd Bakhḍar.

²⁴ See II.4 Index of proper names.

²⁵ RWH 13, 144, 175, fig. 30.

²⁶ See I.1.1 Social strata and quarter organisation.

²⁷ See I.5.1 Contributions on Hadramawt documents.

²⁸ See I.5.2 Contributions on customs and traditions and women’s life in Hadramawt.

- Bū Bashr, alias Mubārak Sālim Bin ʿAqīl (1905–89),²⁹ Ghanīmat b. ʿAqīl
From *qabāʾil* (Nahd tribe); folk poet.
- Ḥabshī, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir al- (around 60 years old), Sayʿūn
From *sāda*; works in the GOAM, one of the elders of the al-Ḥabshī *sāda* clan
in Sayʿūn.
- Jawwās, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad (around 90 years old), Sayʿūn
Fabric merchant, husband of Shifāʾ bint Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Ṣabbān.
- Kathīrī, Muḥsin ʿAbd al-Wudūd al- (in his late seventies), Sayʿūn
Owner of the Qaṣr Sayʿūn hotel in Sayʿūn, he knows many details about the
last al-Kathīrī Sultans.
- Lakṣaḥ, Saʿīda Saʿīd Faraj (67 years old), Sayʿūn (Suḥayl quarter)
Mother of Nasīm Saʿdallāh; knowledgeable in the affairs of the ʿAbīd³⁰ quarter
of Sayʿūn and social disputes in Madūda.
- Mudayḥij, Muḥammad Saʿīd (76 years old), Ghayl Bā Wazīr
From *sāda*; diplomat and pedagogue, an expert in local culture and history.
- Muḥammad, Sālim ʿAbdallāh (in his mid-fifties), Tarīm
School teacher, interested in the culture and local history of Tarīm.
- Ṣabbān, ʿAbd al-Qādir Muḥammad al-³¹ (1920–99)³² Sayʿūn
Head of the Sayʿūn Branch of the Yemen Centre for Cultural Research; foun-
der of the Sayʿūn archives, local historian, poet and playwright.
- Ṣabbān, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir al- (around 50 years old), Sayʿūn
Son of ʿAbd al-Qādir Muḥammad al-Ṣabbān, worked in the Department of
Manuscripts, helpful for research, especially in reading illegible handwriting
and in providing additional information on words and names.
- Ṣabbān, Shifāʾ bint Muḥammad Aḥmad al- (in her mid-eighties), Sayʿūn
Sister of ʿAbd al-Qādir Muḥammad al-Ṣabbān; her husband (approximately 80
years old) is from the Jawwās-family, approximately 80 years old.
- Saʿdallāh, Nasīm (around 40 years old), Sayʿūn (Fig. 7)
From the GOAM staff, working in the Sayʿūn Branch, he belongs to the former
ʿabīd-strata.
- Saqqāf, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Ḥasan al- (in his forties), Sayʿūn (Fig. 8)
From *sāda*; Head of the Sayʿūn Branch of the GOAM.

²⁹ RWḤ 131, 169, 191–4, fig. 30.

³⁰ Called after the social strata *ʿabīd*, see I.1.1 Social strata and quarter organisation.

³¹ See Introduction 4.2 Sources; RWḤ 12–13.

³² See above n. 15.

Saqqāf, Jaʿfar Muḥammad al-³³ (around 90 years old), Sayʿūn (Fig. 25)

From *sāda*; local scholar, lawyer, and specialist in genealogies.

Saqqāf, Muḥammad Ḥasan al- (in his fifties), Sayʿūn (Fig. 9)

Elder brother of Abd al-Raḥmān; President of the Ibn ʿUbaydilāh Centre for Heritage and Society Service.

5 Scholarly contributions

5.1 Contributions on Hadramawt documents³⁴

ʿAbd al-Qādir Muḥammad al-Ṣabbān,³⁵ who saved and categorised the handwritten documents from the al-Kathīrī Archives in the Sayʿūn Palace when he was the head of the Sayʿūn Branch of the Yemen Centre for Cultural Research, Antiquities and Museums, must be credited with creating the annotated catalogue (c.10,000 documents in eight sections).³⁶

Three parts of the catalogue were published during his lifetime in a limited mimeographed edition:

- I: *Al-Wathāʿiq al-siyāsiyya wa-l-ahlāf wa-l-wuthūr wa-l-miʿābadāt*³⁷ [Political documents, treaties of alliance, written acts and agreements], 1076/1359–1665/1941, Sayʿūn 1984;
- II: *Mukhbāṭabāt ḥukūmat ʿAdan wa-l-mustashārīyya maʿa l-salāṭīn* [Correspondence of the Aden Government and the Adviser’s Office with the sultans], 1336/1918–1378/1959, Sayʿūn 1985;
- III: *Mukhbāṭabāt al-salāṭīn maʿa ruʿasāʾ al-qabāʾil wa-l-ʿashāʾir wa-l-manāṣīb* [Correspondence between the sultans and chiefs of tribes and tribal subdivisions, and high dignitaries], 1294/1877–1355/1936, Sayʿūn 1987.

The fourth, ethnographical, part of the catalogue, documents on customs and traditions (*Wathāʿiq ʿādāt wa-taqālīd*) for which ʿAbd al-Qādir Muḥammad al-Ṣabbān selected fifty documents, was not published. The only handwritten copy of it – which Schönig used during her research in the archives – was reported as lost when sent to Ṣanʿāʾ after al-Ṣabbān’s death. It is compensated in a way by the catalogue provided in this volume (II.1). The last four sections (V–VIII) of the documents have never been annotated.

³³ RWH 13, 132, 165, 189.

³⁴ In II.1 Catalogue, previous works by the authors and by others according to each document are mentioned.

³⁵ See Introduction 4.2 Sources.

³⁶ See Appendix 1 Sections of the al-Kathīrī Archives in Sayʿūn.

³⁷ al-Ṣabbān, *Fibrīst*, 1, *dāl*.

A prolific author, al-Ṣabbān made good use of the al-Kathīrī Archives in his works, especially in *ʿĀdāt wa-taqāʿid* ([1980]). The al-Mukallā journalist Laylā ʿAwaḍ³⁸ has used al-Ṣabbān’s book, sometimes even literally, for her issue of *Shibām al-ṭbaqāfi* on *ʿĀdāt wa-taqāʿid al-mar’a al-yamaniyya fi Ḥaḍramawt, Soqotrā, al-Mabra* (2003). As the quality of al-Ṣabbān’s original stencil version is rather poor,³⁹ references are often made to both of them, sometimes to ʿAwaḍ only.

Abdulla Maktari published the Arabic text and English translation of a 1372/1952 decree on the establishment of Local Council Courts from his private collection of al-Kathīrī official documents showing the way Sultan Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī b. al-Manṣūr,⁴⁰ backed by his British Adviser, started to modernise his state in a moderate way within its traditional boundaries.⁴¹

The al-Mukallā Sultanic Archives of the al-Quʿayṭi Dynasty were studied by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Bin ʿAqīl⁴² in his unpublished dissertation on tribal documents from Hadramawt which he defended in Russia in 1992.⁴³ This work is particularly significant since the great bulk of the examined documents perished during the turmoil of the 1990s.

Various Hadrami documents were analysed by Palestinian historian Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm ʿAkkāsha,⁴⁴ ʿAbdallāh Ṣāliḥ Ḥaddād,⁴⁵ and looked through by local scholars Muḥammad Saʿīd al-Qaddāl and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAlī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Quʿayṭi,⁴⁶ Thābit Ṣāliḥ al-Yazīdī,⁴⁷ ʿUmar Aḥmad al-Jawhī⁴⁸ and others.

Among the European researchers, Robert Bertram Serjeant tried in the 1950s to get ordinances from Tarīm (issued in 1313/1895–6) and Shibām (issued in the 1950s), but only received access to a public ordinance published in a newspaper in al-Mukallā in 1959,⁴⁹ which he then copied, translated, and commented on. Being issued at the end of the al-Quʿayṭi Sultanate with the objective of limiting “expenditure at marriages and other social activities,”⁵⁰ this text is extremely important

³⁸ See Introduction 4.3.1 Informants.

³⁹ Some of his publications have been reprinted during the last decades, but most of them still exist only in mimeographed copies published in Sayʿūn, or even only as manuscripts, cf. his bibliography [al-Ṣabbān], *ʿAbd al-Qādir Muḥammad al-Ṣabbān*, 3–5; al-Maqhafi, *Mawsūʿa*, 3, 611b.

⁴⁰ See Appendix 2 Chronology of the al-Kathīrī and al-Quʿayṭi rulers within the time frame.

⁴¹ Maktari, ‘Notes’.

⁴² See Introduction 4.3.1 Informants.

⁴³ ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Bin ʿAqīl, *Etnosotsialʿnaya struktura*.

⁴⁴ ʿAkkāsha, *Qiyām al-saltana al-Quʿayṭiyya*.

⁴⁵ Ḥaddād, ‘Wathīqat ʿahd’ on a document which was published only recently (‘Wathīqat ʿumruhā 82 ʿām’).

⁴⁶ al-Qaddāl and al-Quʿayṭi, *al-Sulṭān ʿAlī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Quʿayṭi*.

⁴⁷ al-Yazīdī, *al-Dawla al-Kathīrīyya*.

⁴⁸ al-Jawhī, *Ṣafahāt*.

⁴⁹ Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, 472. He was referred to similar legislation in the ʿAwdhalī Sultanate as well as in Dathīna, both in the early 1960s (*ibid.*, 463).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 472.

because of the parallels to the documents concerning marriage customs and terminology. Containing mainly coastal expressions, there is also a paragraph on ‘Ḥaḍramawt of the interior: terms relating to marriage’.⁵¹

As an early European researcher, Mikhail Rodionov, a member of the Russian expeditions to Yemen since 1983, started to use the al-Kathīrī Archives in the Sayʿūn Palace. He analysed documents primarily from sections I–IV, especially for his monograph *Etnografiya Zapadnogo Hadramauta: obščee i lokalʹnoe v etnicheskoy kulʹture* (1994), which was published in English in 2007 by the initiative of Hanne Schönig.⁵²

Since the late 1990s Ulrike Freitag has used documents from the al-Kathīrī Archives for her publications dealing mainly with the historico-sociological aspect of emigration. ‘Dokumente zu “Sitten und Traditionen”’ (1998) and ‘Wise Men’ (2000) together with Hanne Schönig,⁵³ focus on some documents of section IV, similarly Schönig in ‘Kaṭīrī Documents’ (1998).⁵⁴ In her assiduous compendium *Indian Ocean Migrants*, Freitag uses mainly sections I–III, and in addition two collections which have not been catalogued.⁵⁵ Linda Boxberger in her monograph *On the Edge of Empire* (2002) makes use of sections I–IV and VIII. She was the first to edit and translate, together with Awad Abdelrahim Abu Hulayqa, one of the numerous writings of ‘Abd al-Qādir Muḥammad al-Ṣabbān and thus made it accessible to a larger public.⁵⁶ Finally Engseong Ho made use of genealogical documents for his historico-anthropological migration study *The Graves of Tarim* (2006).

5.2 Contributions on customs, traditions, and women’s life in Hadramawt⁵⁷

Classical works of the Western pioneer researchers of Hadramawt – Mabel and Theodore Bent (1893–4), Carlo Landberg (1896–7, 1898–9), Freya Stark (1934, 1937/8), Doreen and Harold Ingrams (1934–44), Walter Dostal, and mainly the numerous contributions to South Arabian society’s studies by R. B. Serjeant provide us with cultural, social, and lexical material.

Two recent publications excel in photographic data: the 25th anniversary of the creation of the Soviet/Russian-Yemeni Complex Expedition has been an impetus to the Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) in St Petersburg to publish some articles with high quality photo-

⁵¹ Ibid., 491–3.

⁵² Including a list of the author’s publications that appeared after the Russian version had been completed.

⁵³ The latter article was translated into Arabic by Lucine Taminian and was published in the Yemen Research Series by the American Institute for Yemeni Studies.

⁵⁴ See II.1 Catalogue.

⁵⁵ See Appendix 1 Sections of the al-Kathīrī Archives in Sayʿūn, n. 2.

⁵⁶ al-Ṣabbān, *Ziyārāt*.

⁵⁷ See also RWĦ, Introduction 2. Basic Ethnographic Data on the Ḥaḍramawt to 1991.

graphs of Hadramawt and other areas of Yemen.⁵⁸ The Hamburg Museum of Ethnology (Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg) hosts a collection of photographs of the Orient (1864–1970) including photographs of Hadramawt by Daniel van der Meulen, Hermann von Wissmann⁵⁹ and Bettina von Wissmann-Rinaldini.⁶⁰

In addition to the numerous works on customs and traditions by the late ‘Abd al-Qādir Muḥammad al-Ṣabbān,⁶¹ there have been some other local publications in the last years, for example those by Aḥmad b. Diyā’ b. ‘Alī Bin Shihāb⁶² as well as Ḥāmid b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh Bin Shihāb al-Dīn⁶³ on customs and traditions in Tarīm, by Zein El-Abdin Fouad on Shibām,⁶⁴ by ‘Ayza al-‘Āmirī on the Hadrami kitchen,⁶⁵ by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ja‘far Bin ‘Aqīl on the ibex hunt,⁶⁶ as well as the linguistic and terminological articles by Abdullah Hassan Al-Saqqaf⁶⁷ and Muḥammad b. ‘Alawī al-‘Aydarūs.⁶⁸

In the booklet *Injāzāt al-markaz al-yamanī khilāl ‘asbar sanawāt 1979–1989 m.* published by al-Markaz al-Yamanī lil-Abḥāth al-Thaqāfiyya wa-l-Āthar wa-l-Matāḥif, m[uḥāfazat] Ḥaḍramawt, several research and publication projects are mentioned (among them the Russian-Yemeni expeditions and al-Ṣabbān’s well-known publications) which are closely related to the subject.⁶⁹ However, most of them are stencilled or even handwritten reports which are barely accessible and sometimes lacking in content or giving no new data. There is a long list of cassette records of songs, poems, folk stories, religious stories (*qiṣṣa*), dialogues (*ḥiwār*) on traditions, etc.⁷⁰ They are kept in a disordered manner, mostly without written notes and explanations, and the quality of sound is far from perfect. This material deserves special attention by future research.

⁵⁸ Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, *The Land of Incense*.

⁵⁹ See also their photographs in van der Meulen and von Wissmann, *Ḥaḍramawt*.

⁶⁰ Cf. Köpke and Schmelz, *Kamel*, the article by Epstein, ‘Hadramaut’, and the section with photographs at the end of the book.

⁶¹ See Introduction 4.2 Sources.

⁶² Bin Shihāb, *‘Ādāt*.

⁶³ Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Datīl*.

⁶⁴ Fouad, *Shibām in the Eyes of Its Children*.

⁶⁵ al-‘Āmirī, *Maṭbakh*.

⁶⁶ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ja‘far Bin ‘Aqīl, *Qanīs al-wa‘l*; see also his *Ṣafahāt min tārikh ibādīyya*.

⁶⁷ Al-Saqqaf, ‘Linguistics’, ‘Co-referential Devices’.

⁶⁸ al-‘Aydarūs, *Kalimāt*.

⁶⁹ *Injāzāt*, 7, no. 5: Sa‘īd ‘Awaḍ Bā Yamīn: *al-‘Ādāt wa-l-taqālid al-mutabbī‘a fi munāsabāt al-wilāda wa-l-khitān*; 9, no. 10: Ja‘far Muḥammad al-Saqqāf: *al-Mar’a fi l-mudīriyya al-shimāliyya bi-Ḥaḍramawt*; 13, no. 26: Sa‘īd ‘Awaḍ Bā Yamīn: *al-Raqs wa-l-ghinā al-sha‘bī*; 13, no. 28: Sa‘īd ‘Awaḍ Bā Yamīn: *‘Ādāt al-zawāj wa-l-khitān fi l-bādīya*; 15, no. 43: Salīm Ya‘qūb Bā Wazīr: *Sūra min al-ḥayāt al-yawmiyya fi Ḥaḍramawt*; 16, no. 50: Muḥammad Sa‘īd Daḥī: *‘Ādāt wa-taqālid min wādi Ḥaḍramawt*.

⁷⁰ *Injāzāt*, 33–63.

Part I
Everyday Life Under the al-Kathīrī
and al-Qu^ʿayṭī Sultans

1 Social structure

Three issues are essential for understanding the Hadramawt documents presented in this study: the traditional social strata, migration, and sex segregation. They constitute the background for most of the regulations given in the documents.

1.1 Social strata and quarter organisation

The social stratification, i.e. a hierarchy of fixed social strata, is a key feature of the traditional social system of Hadramawt. It has been studied by Linda Boxberger, Abdalla Bujra, Sylvaine Camelin, Walter Dostal, Ulrike Freitag, Mikhail Rodionov, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ṣabbān, and others.¹ A special emphasis on social dynamics of the society under examination was made by Rodionov.²

In general, as with all local peculiarities, South Arabian social hierarchy has as its core a stratum of fully-fledged armed tribesmen, *qabā’il*, with spiritual arbiters – of the Prophet’s offspring, *sāda*, and / or hereditary scholars, in Hadramawt *mashāyikh* – on top, the underprivileged without long genealogies and tribal affiliation below, namely the *qirwān*, *ḥaḍar* and *masākīn* farmers, town dwellers and artisans, the *ḍu‘afā’* (lit. weaklings) labourers, the *akhdām / ṣubyān* (lit. servants, boys) and with the *‘abīd* slaves as the lowest stratum.

The social strata hierarchy in Hadramawt, from *sāda* to *‘abīd*, is based on:

- the principle of marital conformity with a tendency towards hypergamy (the brides are given within the same strata or above, whereas the grooms marry women who are social equals or below),
- a system of declared, i.e. manipulated genealogies,
- the specific distribution of social and economic functions.

Despite the apparent archaism of the local strata system, it has proved to be dynamic and adaptable to historical challenges.

There had been attempts to alter the strata system well before the 20th century. Oral tradition repeatedly narrates tales about “the weaklings that dared to become tribesmen,” that “the ploughmen pretended to proclaim themselves *mashāyikh*,” about outside tribes summoned to the country as mercenaries and who settled in Hadramawt for good. The traditional arbitratory and religious functions of *sāda*, as

¹ Boxberger, *Empire*, 17–37; Bujra, ‘Political Conflict and Stratification’, and *The Politics of Stratification*; Camelin, ‘Reflections’; Dostal, ‘Squire and Peasant’, and *Egalität und Klasesengesellschaft*; Freitag, *Indian Ocean Migrants*, 38–46; RWH 19–43; al-Ṣabbān, *‘Adāt*, 32–46, and *passim*; see also below n. 3.

² Rodionov, ‘Tribes’; id., ‘Social Re-stratification’.

the Prophet's descendants, have been contested since at least the 19th century.³ The Irshādī-ʿAlawī conflict – pro-*sāda* and anti-*sāda* parties – among the Hadrami reformers in the first half of the 20th century can be seen in part as a struggle against the marital conformity rules which destined *sāda* women to be married only within their strata.⁴

In 1944 a local peasant movement was headed by famous Ḥamūd b. ʿAbbūd Bā Ḍāwī (1880–1967) whose name, along with the name of his brother ʿAlī ʿAbbūd, is mentioned in document IV 49, the 1941 sharecropping agreement. In his appeal to the Hadrami agriculturists, Ḥamūd Bā Ḍāwī urged them to forget the contemptuous stigma *ḍaʿīf*, ‘weakling’, and to stop fearing the sultans. Even today the old men of Wadi Hadramawt reminisce about the march to Sayʿūn undertaken by the demonstrators holding palm whips which caused the authorities’ retreat.⁵

The Marxist regime in the south of Yemen tried not to alter, but to undermine the strata system entirely through abolishing most of its social and economic functions and even the names of the strata themselves. Instead, in their attempt to create social classes, they replaced the names ʿ*abīd* (slaves) and *ḍaʿīfāʿ* (weaklings) with ‘workers’, so a popular socialist slogan “Workers of the world, unite” was widely misunderstood by common Yemenis. In spite of all these efforts, the rules of marital conformity have managed to survive, and therefore the system of social strata, even deprived of some of its social and economic functions, has reproduced itself over and over again. De-stratification turned out to be a re-stratification due to the alteration of social roles and structures of certain strata.

Social strata are frequently mentioned in the documents. Some regulations are addressed to several strata at the same time (GhBW 1 and 2: *sāda*, *mashāyikh*, ʿ*askar*, i.e. the Yāfiʿī tribesmen, *ḥaḍar*, and ʿ*abīd*), others are differentiated according to social strata.⁶ The longest of the Sayʿūn documents (IV 39) which was issued by the Truth Association (Jamʿiyyat al-Ḥaqq)⁷ and was then mimeographed

³ Serjeant, *The Saiyids of Hadramawt*; Knysh, ‘The Sāda in History’, and Peskes’ monograph on a group of Hadrami *sāda* (*Al-ʿAydārūs*).

⁴ See in detail Bā Ḥurra, *Dirāsāt*, 93–102.

⁵ Ṣabbān, *Ḥamūd Bā Ḍāwī*; RWH 71–2.

⁶ Cf. Bin Shihāb, ʿ*Adāt*, 11. See al-Ṣabbān on the different social strata with their customs (ʿ*Adāt*, chapter 2).

⁷ Founded in Sayʿūn in 1912 and later (1916) active in Tarīm (Freitag, *Indian Ocean Migrants*, 298–306, 532, see the discussion of the coherence of the two associations *ibid.*, 302, n. 117). The league’s purpose was to support the al-Kathīrī Sultans in the domains of justice, economic, political and military affairs, development and communications (Boxberger, *Empire*, 230–2). The association still existed in Tarīm in 2000 according to oral comment by Jaʿfar Muḥammad al-Saqqāf, while Boxberger mentions “the organization’s early demise” (*ibid.*, 230).

in the printing-house of the *Majallat ‘al-ikbā’*⁸ in Tarīm addresses only the upper strata of the *sāda* and *mashāyikh* of that town. In other places (IV 18, 20, cf. also 5) the traditional practices among the *sāda*, *mashāyikh*, as well as the *du‘afā’* are explicitly mentioned and tolerated in the new regulations which are given for the other strata. Twice for the numerous group of *masākin* special regulations are prescribed (IV 18, 20).

In sultanate documents social behaviour of weavers (*ḥā’ik*) and brokers (*dallāl*) are mentioned as shameless and bad examples, as their women met with strangers to the family in their house (IV 5). In post-sultanate documents Bedouin nomads (*al-badū al-ruḥḥal*) in the rural areas (*rīf*) are explicitly excluded from the regulations otherwise valid for all of the Northern *mudrīyya* of the Fifth Governorate (*lā’iḥa* 1) or they are given separate regulations (*Sbarāra*).⁹ Also, the oldest document (GhBW 1, 1904) eliminates them in a special context, as the other strata are prohibited from attending their common dance (*sharḥ*).¹⁰ Tribesmen (*qabā’il*) are not mentioned in the context of women and life cycle regulations – the only exclusion are the soldiers (*‘askar*) of Yāfi‘ (GhBW 1 and 2) – but are mentioned or referred to many times in documents on social disorder (the Madūda related documents IV 26–9, 32, 35, 40–2, 50, and Madūda 1 and 2).¹¹

The quarter organisation¹² allowed the rulers of Hadramawt to control the everyday life of the population through traditional leaders of the quarters by either allowing or banning such public events as processions and pilgrimages, the ibex hunt, etc.¹³ Therefore the sultans examined intently all the cases concerning the formation of new quarters as new poles of solidarity. Thus document IV 1 (1337/1919) from Tarīs presents a record of an agreement between the middlemen (*dalāl*) and “slaves (*‘abīd*) of the market” with the weavers (*ḥawīk*), that they are a united league, just like the inhabitants of a quarter. The formation of a new quarter in Madūda, regarded by traditional elites as intrigues to shake social equilibrium, is addressed below.¹⁴

⁸ Journal of Jam‘iyyat al-Ukhuwwa wa-l-Mu‘āwana in Tarīm, founded in 1929 by emigrants (Bā Ṣurra, *Dirāsāt*, 110)/ in 1927 by Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Shāṭirī and others (Freitag, *Indian Ocean Migrants*, 532). For their reformist social and educational activities see *ibid.*, 443–9.

⁹ For Bedouin life and life cycles see al-Ṣabbān, *Ḥayāt al-bādiya*.

¹⁰ See I.4.1 Dances and songs.

¹¹ See I.3.2 Pilgrimages and tomb visitations, and I.6 Rhetoric of the documents.

¹² RWH 41–2, 117–26.

¹³ See I.3.2 Pilgrimages and tomb visitations, and I.3.3 The ibex hunt.

¹⁴ See I.3.2 and I.3.3.

1.2 Migration and social change¹⁵

For centuries Hadramawt has been leading the process of external migrations from Arabia to the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean. By the Second World War the majority of Hadramis had settled in Southeast Asia and East Africa. Large communities were formed in the Netherlands East Indies (Java), Singapore, India (Hyderabad, Malabar), and in East Africa (Mombasa and Lamu; Zanzibar and Pemba), as well as in the Arab World (Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Sudan). In the 1930s, according to Harold Ingrams, “[b]etween 20 per cent. and 30 per cent. of the estimated population of the Hadhramaut lives in the East Indies, East Africa, or Egypt and the countries bordering the Red Sea,”¹⁶ a total number of 260,000 given.¹⁷

The Hadramis from different social strata (by and large *sāda*, *mashāyikh* and *qabā’il*) managed to gain wealth and high status in the diaspora. Local marriages assisted greatly in their integration into host societies, but strong intracommunal ties kept them attached to the specific culture of their homeland. Both dynasties, al-Qu‘aytī and al-Kathīrī, who came to power in Hadramawt in the 19th century and ruled until the 1960s, acquired wealth and military skills in Hyderabad. The richest family of the Tarīm *sāda*, al-Kāf, made a fortune in the real estate business in Singapore at the turn of the 20th century. It was al-Kāf¹⁸ who assisted Harold Ingrams in his successful efforts to pacify Hadrami tribes and established the Ingrams’ Peace in the region.¹⁹

New flows of migrants followed in the steps of the pioneers and helped them to create bridge-heads for economic and spiritual expansion. It is easy to trace preferences for certain localities linked to certain destinations of their migration: for Inner Hadramawt before the Second World War, the Netherlands East Indies (Java) and Singapore; for coastal Hadramawt, East Africa, called ‘Java for the poor.’

Migrants maintained frequent contacts with the homeland and were always interested in what was going on and were ready to interfere. The dream of returning to Hadramawt and spending the rest of their lives among the native valleys was commonly shared. The first attempts at introducing social reforms in the pre-war

¹⁵ During the last two decades, the Hadrami migration to the Indian Ocean has been thoroughly addressed in various scholarly publications, among them Abushouk and Ibrahim (eds.), *Hadrami Diaspora*; Bā Şurra, *Dirāsāt*, 83–113; Boxberger, *Empire*; Freitag, *Indian Ocean Migrants*; ead. and Clarence-Smith (eds.), *Hadrami Traders*; Hartwig, *Hadramawt*; Ho, *Graves*.

¹⁶ W. H. Ingrams, *Report*, 141.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 11. See the detailed discussion of the population in Hadramawt, as well as in the diaspora, in Freitag, *Indian Ocean Migrants*, 39, and 46–61, with a table on 52; see also RWH 36–8.

¹⁸ Abū Bakr Bin Shaykh al-Kāf is mentioned in the documents (IV 30, 47).

¹⁹ W. H. Ingrams, ‘Peace’. See also the recently published book by al-Qu‘aytī, *Iḥlāl al-salām fī Ḥadramawt*.

history of Hadramawt were closely linked to the intellectual developments inside the Hadrami diaspora. Young Hadramis in the Netherlands East Indies had much easier access to education and to material wealth than those at home. By the 1940s most of the Hadrami intellectuals were convinced of the necessity of radical social changes. Influenced by Islamic reformists, they sought to introduce modern ideas to the Hadrami realities. From the beginning of the 20th century discussions about reforms were the crucial point of disagreement in the Irshādī-‘Alawī conflict.²⁰

In the 1930s the more active colonial policy of Great Britain in South Yemen created favourable conditions for partial implementation of the reformist program. The British administration collaborated with the local *sāda* elite, managed to neutralise tribes and started to build the modern state structures, such as police and military forces, judicial, financial and education systems. They introduced bank loans for development of agriculture. Improvements at home along with suppression of the Hadrami communities abroad during and after the Second World War²¹ formed the grounds for the mass return of migrants to Hadramawt.

By that time external migrations had enriched the Hadrami elite and changed the mode of consumption of the entire population. In the 1930s the value of cash remittances of free currency sent by migrants to Hadramawt was estimated at 600,000 British pounds.²² As is reflected in examined documents, imported food and fabrics were replacing local production.²³ The traditional diet consisting of sorghum and dates was contested by foreign rice and canned provisions. Rich migrants tried to raise their status in the traditional social hierarchy by purchasing real estate (land and palm trees), and as a result prices rose well above their economic value. Money inflow reached traditional agriculture where a reciprocal exchange of services and goods was replaced by payments in cash.

Local spiritual and political leaders, *sāda* and *mashāyikh*, used their authority for the redistribution of wealth. Symbols of their prestige were *waqf* land, mosques and family shrines (*qubba*) in special sanctuaries (*ḥawṭa*) headed by a *manṣab*, a respectful descendant of the *ḥawṭa*'s founder.

The role of tribes in social life was dramatically curtailed. They were losing military control over fertile land, caravan transportation of commodities between coastal regions and North Yemen, as well as tribal sovereignty in general. Tribal nobility turned to loaning money which tied them to a market economy of the neighbouring states and enforced migration. The same process took place among ordinary tribesmen, peasants, labourers and artisans.

²⁰ RWĤ 61–72.

²¹ Arai, ‘Arabs Under Japanese Occupation’.

²² Serebrov and Rodionov, ‘Migration and Social Change’.

²³ See I.4.2 Food and beverages, and I.5 Women in the documents.

Strained relations between the sultans and their *sāda* allies on the one hand and certain tribes and farmers on the other was one of the reasons for decisive social turmoil. Anyhow, a large-scale migration which gave access to wealth and influence to new social actors had been challenging traditional values and identities. That was the reason why local leaders tried to put under control the social, and even family, life of the communities in Hadramawt, if not abroad.²⁴ The Truth Association (Jam‘iyyat al-Ḥaqq)²⁵ was pushing for the return to old customs and issued decrees on regulations and abolitions (cf. IV 39).²⁶ The oldest document under examination (GhBW 1, 1904) proves, however, that efforts in economical regulation of social presentations started in Hadramawt earlier than the Truth Association initiative.²⁷ However it seems that the regulations did not gain acceptance, or become completely realised, as “constantly reiterated attempts”²⁸ are reflected also in the documents of the al-Kathīrī Archives in Say‘ūn, when previous ordinances have to be rediscussed (e.g. IV 43), individuals are blamed for the disrespect of these ordinances by their family members (IV 48), or receipts have to be signed for confirmation that heads of families are aware of new regulations (IV 6–14).

Also migration customs themselves were an expression of luxury consumption and were therefore blamed in the documents, where the traditions of the occasion of the return of emigrants²⁹ were judged too wasteful. Welcome visits and celebrations³⁰ are not to be accompanied by female performances at all (*lā’iḥa* 2).³¹ They are restricted to only the close relatives and neighbourhood and only during a limited period of days (IV 39).

²⁴ On the reasons for regulations of ‘customs and traditions’ see Freitag, ‘Dokumente’, 18; ead., *Indian Ocean Migrants*; ead. and Schönig, ‘Wise Men’; Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, 472–4. A typical topic of Islamic modernist writings was the demand that the wealth of the rich would have instead urgently been needed in socially-relevant projects (Freitag, *Indian Ocean Migrants*, 306).

²⁵ See above n. 7.

²⁶ Other officials argue the other way round to keep women from exaggerated expenditure, when they mention conspicuous consumption in dress and jewellery in the context of life cycle celebrations as one reason for emigration (IV 3).

²⁷ Cf. the Tarīm ordinance issued in 1895–6, mentioned by Serjeant (see I.5.1 Contributions on Hadramawt documents).

²⁸ Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, 472.

²⁹ In the documents, the semantic field of emigration is mostly covered by the root *s-f-r* (travel) likewise used by al-Ṣabbān (‘*Ādāt*, 121–7) and ‘Awaḍ (‘*Ādāt*, 5, column 4, 6, column 1); only the place of emigration is called *mahjar* (*lā’iḥa* 2) (cf. al-Ṣabbān, ‘*Ādāt*, 122) – in opposition to *balad*, homeland (Boxberger, *Empire*, 39). Cf., however, *muhājir* to denote the Jewish emigrants into the Hadramawt (Rodionov, ‘The Kathiri Document’, publication and discussion of document I 312, which is not included in the present study).

³⁰ The welcome feast is called *mijbā* (Bin Shihāb, ‘*Ādāt*, 55).

³¹ See the description of the welcome of a *sayyid* with music, dance and *ḥajīr* (Serjeant, *Prose*, 41). The visit to his family’s graves mentioned there, however, has no reference in the documents under examination. Bin Shihāb mentions the visit to the graveyard in Tarīm (‘*Ādāt*, 55), al-Ṣabbān the visit to shrines (*qubba*) and a mosque (‘*Ādāt*, 125).

1.3 *Men and women apart*

The separation of the sexes authorised by the Qurʾān (33:53–9) and first applied to the wives of the Prophet, but later extended to all free Muslim women in their period of fertility, is symbolised by such terms as *ḥijāb* (separation, a face veil), and *ḥarīm* (the female part of a house forbidden to outsiders), hence *ḥurma* for a wife. In an extended family system based on male kinship, as it is in Arabia including Hadramawt, it is strongly believed that free mixing between women and men inevitably leads to social misbalance and moral decay. A portion of the documents under examination stresses that unrelated males and females are not to share the same place, either public or private, and females are not to be disposed to the sights of ‘others’ (IV 5, 39, GhBW 2).

Girls in Hadramawt, and all of Yemen, start veiling with their first monthly period, which is celebrated with a feast and gifts. From then on they stay at home where they usually come into close contact with only their *mahārim* and the women belonging to the family.³² Also married women may not meet unrelated men or talk to them.³³ Special kinds of female hand- and foot-painting (*naqsh*) are forbidden as provocation to commit shameless actions (IV 5). Married women leave the house only for well determined and special occasions: everyday excuses for outdoor activities are shopping and afternoon visiting of neighbouring or related women. Special occasions are religious feasts and pilgrimages as well as celebrations in the context of life cycle. Besides regulations forbidding conspicuous consumption, the texts sometimes imply moralising passages preventing the promiscuity between sexes (IV 39: wedding celebrations; GhBW 2: visitations).

The traditional elites regarded the Hadrami society as a man’s world, to which a woman’s world was subordinate and restricted entirely to family affairs. However it was impossible to draw a clear-cut boundary between the two, as they were and still are interconnected and interpenetrable. Moreover the level of women’s public participation differs according to their social stratum, with the highest level found among the most underprivileged and the tribes (*qabā’il*). The importation of new ideas from abroad also endangered the monopoly of men. Reforms in the ritual sphere, as well as other measures mentioned in the documents, can therefore be seen as efforts to restore social balance.

During the husband’s emigration, which may last for decades,³⁴ his wife returns to her father’s, brother’s or uncle’s house, and her husband is obliged to send her the monthly alimony (*nafaqa*). During his absence she is not allowed to use em-

³² Ibid., 77–8; except peasants, workers and the Bedouin (ibid., 77); Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 13.

³³ See document IV 5 on the exception among weavers (*ḥāʾik*) and brokers (*dallāl*).

³⁴ al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 123: if he went to Indonesia, he usually spent there up to 40 years or more, from Africa the emigrants returned after 5–10 years.

bellishment and decoration (*zayna*) in cosmetics or dress, even during feasts and other occasions.³⁵

Of the 50 documents of the Say'ūn Palace, 27 deal with women's matters, among them 9 receipts of regulations and abolitions. Condemnation of luxury in life cycle rituals and other social presentations started by the *sāda* and sultans was continued under socialist slogans in post-sultanate times. The post-sultanate texts adduce socio-economic anti-Anglo-Sultanic (*lā'iḥa* 1), socialist (*lā'iḥa* 2) and colonial-political (*Sharāra*)³⁶ arguments against luxury and extravagances.

³⁵ al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 123–6, and 'Awaḍ, *Ādāt*, 5, column 4, 6, column 1.

³⁶ Cf. RWḤ 147.

2 Life cycle rites

2.1 Birth¹

In the seventh or eighth month of pregnancy, the wife's family asks her husband and his family whether the wife may move to her father's house to give birth there. Since 1940, only a woman giving birth to her first child is allowed to move to her parents. Women who already have children stay with them in her husband's house. When the woman feels birth approaching, she informs her mother and is brought into an empty room so that she can give birth in privacy and nobody will know. Only the midwife stays with her.²

The midwife (*kbaddāma*) is mentioned in only one document (IV 39), i.e. when the amount of money that may be given as a gift for good news (*bishāra*)³ on the occasion of birth is regulated. Synonyms are *dāya*,⁴ *muwallida* and *munaffasa*.⁵

The *shamma*-ceremony⁶ of the naming of the child⁷ and cutting the hair,⁸ to which the husband's family and his relatives are invited,⁹ traditionally held seven days after delivery, is preponed in the documents to the third day (IV 3) or has to take place during the first week after delivery (*lā'iḥa 2*). It is prohibited to celebrate the *shamma*-feast for those who give birth outside the country and it is prohibited to give gratuities (*tarḥ*) to the woman on that day (*lā'iḥa 2*). The *shamma*-ceremony is even completely prohibited in one document (IV 39).

The childbed lasts forty days except in the underprivileged strata where it is twenty days.¹⁰ The wife's family is obliged to send the dish *ʿaṣīda* – therefore called *ʿaṣīdat al-ʿisbrīn* – to the husband's relatives twenty days after delivery.¹¹ In document IV 36, however, this tradition is explicitly prohibited, as is sending meat. *ʿAṣīd* is a porridge made out of wheat flour and dates soaked in water,

¹ For childbirth practices see Boxberger, *Empire*, 124–6; Freitag and Schönig, 'Wise Men', 81–2; D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 98–9; RWH 143–4; al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 51–72.

² *Ibid.*, 52–3.

³ Serjeant, *Prose*, 38, in a different context.

⁴ RWH 143–4.

⁵ al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 52 and 57.

⁶ Landberg, *Etudes*, I, 625: *shamma* – baiser; Serjeant, 'Sex', 199; Freitag and Schönig, 'Wise Men', 81–2.

⁷ For the choice of names see RWH 144.

⁸ al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 59.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 57. See also D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 99.

¹⁰ al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 51.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 61.

which is then cooked.¹² This dish is also offered to the mother in childbed during the first seven days.¹³

The feast on the fortieth day after delivery when the woman returns to her husband's house (*wuḥfā'*)¹⁴ is heavily restricted (IV 3, 36) or absolutely prohibited (IV 39). Schönig was invited to a *wuḥfā'* in Say'ūn in 2000. There was a women's gathering with a meal served in the mother's parents' house before the return to her husband. The young mother had been painted with henna (*ḥimmā*),¹⁵ the powdered leaves of *Lawsonia inermis*, by four professionals, one for each hand and arm, and foot and leg,¹⁶ sitting the whole day while it dried¹⁷ and she was fed with spoons – while the guests used their hands in the traditional manner. When the researcher finally dared to ask her companions about the new-born – which is usually met with reserve because of the evil eye, but in this case was not at all present –, she was touched and embarrassed: without dismay they informed her, that it “had gone (*rāḥ*).” Thus this kind of feast takes place to denote the end of the period of sexual abstinence where the young mother has been *ḥarām* to her husband and does not celebrate the new-born.¹⁸

2.2 Circumcision

Circumcision (*khitān*), according to the *shāfi'ī madhhab* observed in Hadramawt, is an important rite of life cycle rituals obligatory for males and females. Rodionov gives an overview and bibliographical references to both boys' and girls'¹⁹ circumcision in Hadramawt.²⁰ The *khitān* in the documents, however, refers only to boys.

¹² Ibid. The addition of dates seems to be a local variant, see the recipe in Serjeant et al., ‘Food’, 551. Cf. D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 156–7.

¹³ al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 61.

¹⁴ Ibid., 63–5.

¹⁵ For henna painting see also below I.2.3 Marriage and I.5.1.3 Cosmetics. For henna see Schönig, *Schminken*, 112–22.

¹⁶ Cf. al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 88.

¹⁷ *Āwāḍ*, *Ādāt*, 9, column 4.

¹⁸ Frese-Weghöft reports also that the mother of a dead baby was nevertheless sitting on her elevated place and received the visitors during the forty days, as is the custom (*Un-sichtbarkeit*, 149).

¹⁹ See also al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 66, D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 99–100. *Āwāḍ*, *Ādāt*, 7, column 2, mentions the rare girls' circumcision (*tathīr*) – which however is not practised at all among the Bedouins and in some towns – together with perforating the ears (*khushfa*), also perforating the nose, nose-ring, see I.5.1.2.1 Head), cf. Bin Shihāb, *Ādāt*, 33, Serjeant, ‘Sex’, 205–6. Still, in April 2008 a parliamentary session debated the prevention of female circumcision existing in Hadramawt and a few other regions, but failed due to reasons such as “we have no directives by the heads of religion to forbid female circumcision” (Yemen Times Staff, ‘Female Circumcision’). On the progress of this initiative see the frank article by Salma Ismail with clear drawings (!) in November of the same year (‘FGM Eradication’) and finally Al-Wadi'ee, ‘Practice of FGM’.

²⁰ RWH 144–5, see also Bin Shihāb, *Ādāt*, 33–5, Serjeant, ‘Sex’, 203–6.

The operation is effectuated when the boy is either seven days or between seven and eleven years old.²¹ In theory it could be performed between the seventh day after birth and the fifteenth year; until recently the latter practice was in use in the al-Mishqāṣ region in south-east Hadramawt. It is well documented by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Bin ‘Aqīl²² and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mallāḥī,²³ although A. J. Wensinck expressed doubt about the authenticity of information about circumcision at such late ages.²⁴

Boys’ circumcision was celebrated by street processions, drum-beating and special parties, attended by men and women separately, with songs and dances. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ṣabbān mentions a large feast comparable to the wedding festivities to which relatives, neighbours, and notables are invited and where not less than five animals are slaughtered.²⁵ Celebration also might take place together with the mother’s *wuḥfā*-feast,²⁶ or the *shamma*-day.²⁷

In 1939, document IV 39 limited the number of guests to a maximum of 150 persons. Gifts to the circumcised (*makbtūn*) shall be a small amount of money only, but neither cloth nor food. In the later printed decrees (*Sharāra*, *lā’iḥa* 2) any feasts and banquets, as well as distribution of food, and gifts of coffee and sugar by the guests are prohibited.²⁸

2.3 Marriage²⁹

Several days of traditional wedding festivities may be celebrated not successively but over a period of a few months.³⁰ According to the financial capacity of the family, not all stages are celebrated to the same elaborate and costly extent. Also, local customs contribute to irregularities in chronology and number of events, local terminology may differ, especially homonymic use complicates reconstruction and comparison – inconsistencies which are mirrored in the documents. More re-

²¹ al-Ṣabbān, *‘Ādāt*, 74, cf. Serjeant, ‘Sex’, 204, 205. Bin Shihāb, *‘Ādāt*, 33–4: girls after two or three days, boys at the age of around seven years. See RWH 144 on different practices among the Bedouins and in Eastern Hadramawt.

²² ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Bin ‘Aqīl’s personal communication with Rodionov, fieldnotes (1983).

²³ al-Mallāḥī, *Dallālāt*.

²⁴ Wensinck, *‘khitān*’.

²⁵ al-Ṣabbān, *‘Ādāt*, 75–6, cf. Bin Shihāb, *‘Ādāt*, 34.

²⁶ RWH 145.

²⁷ al-Ṣabbān, *‘Ādāt*, 74.

²⁸ See I.4.2 Food and beverages.

²⁹ See D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 44–6 (‘Marriage Rules’), 101–4 (‘Marriage and Conjugal Life’); the chapter on ‘Marriage Customs’ in RWH 145–9; Serjeant, ‘Marriage’; Freitag and Schöning, ‘Wise Men’, 80–1. See also the chapters I.4 Everyday customs and I.5 Women in the documents.

³⁰ Nowadays the wedding is only one feast for both the groom’s and bride’s families (al-‘Āmirī, *Maṭbakh*, 12).

cent articles in the Yemen Times and monograph publications on current marriage customs in Hadramawt, namely Shibām³¹ and especially Tarīm,³² as well as Rodionov's personal observations in Wadi Daw'an, Say'un and Madūda along with Schönig's observations in Say'un, demonstrate that several of the traditions described here are still observed.³³

Marriage, with its several wedding days and manifold occasions to spend money, is the most often treated topic in the women-related sources.³⁴ Only the post-sultanate documents (*Sbarāra*, *lā'iḥa* 1, *lā'iḥa* 2) mention the engagement ceremonies (*kbuṭba*)³⁵ before marriage: after the agreement on marriage between the two families, they meet at the fiancée's (*kbaṭība*)³⁶ family to settle the marriage conditions, such as gifts, dowry (*jibāz*), bridal money (*mabr*),³⁷ and the date of the wedding night (*laylat al-dukkla*), according to the Family Law (*qānūn al-usra*). Likewise, the number of persons invited to the engagement party is strictly limited by law. The mother of the fiancé (*kbaṭīb*), or a woman who represents her, may give a wedding ring (*dubla*)³⁸ of a proscribed maximum value as a present to the bride or her family in those regions where this custom exists. During this ceremony coffee (*qabwa*) is served. Invited women are allowed to offer gifts to the bride's family, the price of which, however, is also limited.³⁹

The ceremony where an initial amount of money is handed over to the bride's family is called *madād*.⁴⁰ We find contradictory information on whether this money may be a part of the *mabr*, *jibāz* or even a separate amount.⁴¹ During this ceremony, coffee (*qabwat al-madād*) is again offered (*Sbarāra*).⁴² The fiancé's family may hand out to the fiancée's family a determined amount of money only as reimbursement for this ceremonial coffee. A woman from the groom's relatives

³¹ Al-Ghabiri, 'Traditions'.

³² Ba-Udan, 'Customs'; Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Dalīl*; Bin Shihāb, *Ādāt*.

³³ At the end of his book Bin Shihāb gives a detailed consideration of the validity or change of every single custom on the threshold of the 21st century (*Ādāt*, 107–19), mostly based on personal experience (*ibid.*, 7–8).

³⁴ See the discussion of financial problems caused by marriage customs in Tarīm (Ba-Udan, 'Customs').

³⁵ al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 82–3; Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Dalīl*, 193: *kbuṭba*; Bin Shihāb, *Ādāt*, 11.

³⁶ According to Bin Shihāb, *kbaṭīb* is an intermediary between bride and groom resp. their fathers, to settle the conditions for the marriage (*Ādāt*, 11–12, see also Serjeant, 'Marriage', 494). He is called *dalīl* by al-Ṣabbān (*Ādāt*, 83).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 84.

³⁸ Goitein, *Society*, IV, 221: *dabla* – ring without a stone. At the same time the word denotes the imitation of precious materials, also *dhubla* (*lā'iḥa* 2).

³⁹ See I.2.3.1 Gifts and gratuities.

⁴⁰ al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 83–4. Serjeant, 'Marriage', 477, Arabic 479, Engl. 482, commentary 484–5: betrothal visit and the money itself.

⁴¹ See the different details in al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 83–4, 'Awaḍ', *Ādāt*, 2, column 3, Serjeant, 'Marriage', 484–5.

⁴² RWH 147, cf. Serjeant, 'Marriage', 484.

hands the money over to the bride's family or mother in a piece of perfumed cloth (*mandīl mu'attar*) during a gathering where women from both the families get to know each other.⁴³ In another case in post-sultanate times a representative of the People's Local Committee receives from the husband's family a certain amount as bridal money (*mabr*) and hands it over the bride's proxy (*wakīl*).⁴⁴ Both sides have to swear that not more than this sum has been exchanged (*Sharāra*).

The bridal money (*mabr*) is at the bride's disposal.⁴⁵ The amount has been raised continuously and there have been attempts at preventing it, such as in the 1940s⁴⁶ by a delegation headed by the famous historian 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar al-Shāṭirī,⁴⁷ the mufti of Tarīm, Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb,⁴⁸ and some other '*ulamā'* who wrote an agreement (*'abd*) on the reduction of *mabr*. They then abolished the limitation after several years, but a delegation of Jam'īyyat al-Ukhuwwa wa-l-Mu'āwana⁴⁹ renewed it in the 1950s.⁵⁰ Also, in the documents, *mabr* is always mentioned in the context of concrete limitations (IV 20, GhBW 1, *lā'iḥa* 1, *Sharāra*). All the equipment (*mu'an/ tajīb*) of the bride, such as clothes, jewellery and household items⁵¹ are provided by the groom's family, and not by her family (IV 36). Only in the *Sharāra* is the case of divorce (*talāq*) mentioned, when according to the Family Law (*qānūn al-usra*) a wife must return to her husband either half of the jewellery or an amount of money equivalent to this value.

The dowry (*jibāz*)⁵² given by the groom's family to the bride's father is limited in the documents to a certain amount dependent on whether the bride is a virgin or a woman which had been married already (*thayyib*). The dowry of a deflowered woman usually is around two-thirds or five-sixths the dowry of a virgin depending on the social strata (IV 18, 20, 24, 37, GhBW 1, GhBW 2). One paragraph in *lā'iḥa* 1 indicates the disregard of such limitations: To control the expenses, the

⁴³ al-Ṣabbān, *'Ādāt*, 83–4, 'Awaḍ, *'Ādāt*, 2, column 3.

⁴⁴ This amount has been officially determined for all social strata whereas previously different amounts had been acceptable (al-Ṣabbān, *'Ādāt*, 84). According to Serjeant, the intending husband, with relatives and friends, or instead his father without the groom himself, goes to the bride's family to hand over the money ('Marriage', 484–5).

⁴⁵ Ibid., 485, 473.

⁴⁶ al-Shāṭirī, *al-Ta'riḫ al-ḥaḍramī*, 277, n. 1.

⁴⁷ al-Maqhafi, *Mu'jam*, 1988: 340/ 2002: 1, 839; in Tarīm authority for *fiqh* and *fatwā*, died 1361 [1942].

⁴⁸ al-Maqhafi, *Mu'jam*, 2002: 1, 575; died 1356 [1937/38]. Serjeant, *Prose*, 65: well-known as Khaṭīb al-Minbar.

⁴⁹ See I.1.1 Social strata and quarter organisation, n. 8.

⁵⁰ al-Shāṭirī, *al-Ta'riḫ al-ḥaḍramī*, 277. See also on the amounts of *mabr* according to social strata and the official attempts to reduce and determine it RWH 147–8.

⁵¹ On the items in detail see *Sharāra* as well as al-Ṣabbān, *'Ādāt*, 113, 'Awaḍ, *'Ādāt*, 10, column 1–3. Cf. I.5 Women in the documents.

⁵² Serjeant, 'Marriage', Arabic 479, Engl. 482, commentary 485; 'Awaḍ, *'Ādāt*, 10, column 1; RWH 148.

bride's legal guardian (*walī*) is obliged to hand over the receipts of the purchased dowry items signed by the seller to the People's Committee of his quarter for inspection.

After *madād* the groom's family sends a person (*dalīl*) to the girl's *walī* for the official demand to fix the wedding date (*marʿid*). The following agreement is called the *waʿd*-agreement.⁵³ The coffee usually served during this event (*qabwat al-waʿd*) is prohibited (IV 24, 37).

Wedding celebrations in Wadi Hadramawt start with *dabīna*⁵⁴ at the groom's and with *qabḍa* at the bride's family, which both take place simultaneously but are celebrated differently depending on the social strata.⁵⁵ *Dabīna* (*lāʾiḥa* 2) – as it is called in Sayʿūn, *marja* (IV 39) in Tarīm,⁵⁶ and *ḥinnāʾ* in Shibām⁵⁷ – is the first night of the wedding festivities during which the groom's feet are painted with henna (*ḥinnāʾ*).⁵⁸ The custom that the bride's family join the *dabīna* at the groom's house as described by al-Ṣabbān⁵⁹ is prohibited in *lāʾiḥa* 2. They stay a limited time to watch the henna dance (*raqṣat al-ḥinnāʾ*) accompanied by henna songs.⁶⁰ Immediately after the henna dance the groom performs, together with one or several relatives or friends, a song and dance⁶¹ (*ṣawt al-kilān*⁶³),⁶⁴ which is prohibited in one document (IV 39).

There are special ceremonies to inform the bride of whom she will be married to. According to Serjeant, this ceremony may take place days, months, or even years after the *madād*.⁶⁵ “On the evening of the day, or two days in rich house-

⁵³ al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 85.

⁵⁴ Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, 492: Originally the name of a “good meal, from *dihm* ‘grease, fat, oil.’”

⁵⁵ al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 90, ʿAwaḍ, *ʿĀdāt*, 9, column 4.

⁵⁶ al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 90, ʿAwaḍ, *ʿĀdāt*, 9, column 4. Cf. Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Dalīl*, 195, and Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 12, 14, 19, and 94, n. 3 for Tarīm. Ba-Udan, ‘Customs’, gives a different chronology: “‘Harawa dinner’ [...] in the bride’s house before the nuptial night [...] On the wedding night, the second meal ‘Marria dinner’ is served.”

⁵⁷ al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 90, ʿAwaḍ, *ʿĀdāt*, 9, column 4.

⁵⁸ See the detailed description of *dabīna* by al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 90–5, Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Dalīl*, 195–6, al-ʿAydarūs, *Kalimāt*, 34.

⁵⁹ al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 91–2.

⁶⁰ Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Dalīl*, 195. Detailed with specimen of song in al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 92–3; see also Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, 478, 487.

⁶¹ For other dances and songs see also I.4.1 Dances and songs.

⁶² Popular tunes (Serjeant, *Prose*, 23; cf. the use in Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Dalīl*, 194–5); *mawlid* songs (Serjeant, *Prose*, 36), chanted verse (Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 289b). For *ṣawt* as part of dances (“Tanzspiele”) of African origin see Braune, *Küstenmusik*, 300–4, 306–10, with specimens.

⁶³ *kilān* – groom, is a synonym for *ʿarīs* and *muʿarris* (al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 132, n. 87; Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 18, and 96, n. 32; cf. Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, 493); Landberg, *Glossaire*, III, 2582: *fiancé, nouveau marié le jour du mariage*.

⁶⁴ al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 93: *ṣawt al-muʿarris* with description. Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 17–18: during *ṣubḥa*-day.

⁶⁵ Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, 477. “The marriage takes place usually between six months to one year after the engagement party” (Ba-Udan, ‘Customs’).

holds, before she goes to her future husband, a party is held in the women's quarters of the bride's home. When the guests (all women) are assembled, the bride is sent for and as she comes into the room a woman, who must only have been married once, throws a large shawl or cloak over the girl, enfolding her completely. She is picked up and carried to a bed or a mattress on the floor while the women call out 'You are the bride of So-and-So.' This is called the *rubat* (binding) in Hadhramaut." The girl is expected to display her feelings and she attends the party with her head and face covered.⁶⁶ According to the documents, the ceremonies shall take place in the afternoon or evening, but in the case of a reduced number of wedding days, it may take place in the morning. The number of guests is restricted and meals are limited or even prohibited. In some regions a dance (*sharḥ*)⁶⁷-performance takes place in the afternoon or at night. Several expressions are used for this wedding ceremony: *rubūṭ* (*Sharāra*),⁶⁸ literally 'binding',⁶⁹ *ḥikā*⁷⁰ (IV 39, *lā'iḥa* 1), because the girl is told (*ḥakā*) whom she is going to marry,⁷¹ *qabḍa*⁷² (*lā'iḥa* 1, *lā'iḥa* 2), as she is seized (*q-b-d*) and brought to a certain place at around 3 o'clock (Arabic hours⁷³), i.e. 9 p.m.⁷⁴

Immediately after *qabḍa* the bride is painted (*naqsh*) with henna,⁷⁵ which "is popular among all classes for painting designs on hands and feet."⁷⁶ The name *muḥanniya*,⁷⁷ still used today to denote the professional woman, is only mentioned in the printed sources where their payment is fixed (*lā'iḥa* 1, *lā'iḥa* 2). The rituals known all over the Islamic world – no matter how ancient they are – are attributed to the Prophet and therefore not questioned. Henna is *jā'iz* (permitted) according to the categories of *fiqh*, as it does not keep water away from the skin,⁷⁸ important in the context of ritual washing. In the documents of the al-Kathīrī Ar-

⁶⁶ D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 101.

⁶⁷ See I.4.1 Dances and songs.

⁶⁸ See also Bā Ṣabrayn, *Jumal*, f. 16a.

⁶⁹ Serjeant, 'Marriage', 477.

⁷⁰ See the details in Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Daṭīl*, 199–200. Bin Shihāb, *Ādāt*, 14, and 95, n. 14. Expression used in Tarīm and the lower Wadi (al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 129, n. 43).

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 87–8 and 129, n. 43.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 87–8. Expression used in Say'ūn and the upper Wadi (*ibid.*, 129, n. 43). 'Awaḍ, *Ādāt*, 9, column 1.

⁷³ RWH 205–6.

⁷⁴ al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 87–8 and 129, n. 43.

⁷⁵ 'Awaḍ, *Ādāt*, 4, column 1–2. According to Serjeant *laylat al-ḥimmā*, "when the bride and groom are dressed up and decorated with henna" differs very much according length (up to eight days) and time distance to other ceremonies ('Marriage', 478, 487). For body painting with henna see also I.2.1 Birth.

⁷⁶ D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 96. See the photograph of henna painted hands in Stark, *Hadhramaut*, 202.

⁷⁷ 'Awaḍ, *Ādāt*, 8, column 2.

⁷⁸ Bayḥānī, *Ustādḥ al-mar'a*, 84.

chives in Sayʿūn (IV 5, 36, 37) henna is only mentioned together with *shabb*,⁷⁹ a chemical material which is used to blacken henna painting. Only on the occasion of wedding days is the additional use of *shabb* allowed (IV 36, 37).⁸⁰ In one document (IV 5), hand and foot decoration (*naqsh*)⁸¹ with henna and *shabb* are completely prohibited, because they provoke “shameless actions and [...] carnal desires among the weaklings (*duʿafāʾ*), women and men, and bring together men from outside the family (*ajānib*)⁸² with women in one house” – a behaviour compared to the bad example which middlemen (*dalal*) and weavers (*ḥūka*) give.

After henna painting the bride’s hair is washed, oiled, and made into multiple plaits (*taʿqīd*)⁸³ (IV 39) again by professional hair dressers.⁸⁴ To wash the hair the powdered leaves of *Ziziphus spina-christi* are still used today, which are locally called *ghussa* or sometimes *lijjīn*⁸⁵ along with the standard Arabic term *sidr*.⁸⁶ Also, the groom washes his body with the ground shrub *ḥūtika*⁸⁷ and his hair with *ghussa* on the first festive wedding day – which therefore is called *ghussa*⁸⁸ – a tradition which according to Serjeant was replaced in the 1950s by shaving the

⁷⁹ Generally means alum (*shabb al-furwād* or *shabb yamānī*, see Schönig, *Schminken*, 235–6, Schopen, *Tinten*, 223), in Hadramawt a synonym for ammonium- and natriumchloride, usually called *shādbir* (see Schönig, *Schminken*, 252–4).

⁸⁰ See the description of its use in al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 88.

⁸¹ For *naqsh* as body painting see Schönig, *Schminken*, 197–209. In the documents it is also mentioned as decoration on dress and pillows (IV 3, 20).

⁸² *Ajnabī* is a common expression to denote persons not belonging to the family, frequently used e.g. by the Hadramī *faqīh* ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd Bā Ṣabrayn (Serjeant, ‘Materials’, II, 593, no. 26) in his treatise on un-Islamic customs current in Hadramawt during his time (*Jumal*, composed in 1877). He qualifies painting of the feet with henna among the most repulsive of the un-Islamic customs, as this decoration may be seen by men outside the family (*ajānib*) (*Jumal*, f. 16b, no. 47). Also, according to the informants, *ajnbī* does not translate to ‘foreigner’ as Freitag does, who suggests that this paragraph in document IV 5 (cf. also GhBW 1) may have been provoked by visits by foreigners such as van der Meulen and von Wissmann in spring 1931 or even by contact with members of the British Air Force who were accommodated in Sayʿūn and Tarīm (‘Dokumente’, 20).

⁸³ According to ʿAwaḍ this custom is spread in Wadi Hadramawt only, not in the costal areas (*ʿĀdāt*, 9, column 1, cf. Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 28, and 98, n. 65; al-Shāṭirī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-ḥadramī*, 279; cf. IV 39). The hair is parted into three segments (*kbuṣla*, cf. Nashwān al-Ḥimyarī, *Shams al-ʿulūm*, 3, 1816: bundle of hair) (IV 43).

⁸⁴ See the detailed description in al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 89.

⁸⁵ Pronounced *lijjīn* resp. *līn* according to the local pronunciation rules, see above: Note on usage, translation and transliteration.

⁸⁶ See Schönig, *Schminken*, 268–73; ead., ‘The Manifold Use’, 75. al-ʿAydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 68, and Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 18: *sidr*. The latter explains *lijjīn* as the powdered *sidr* (*ʿĀdāt*, 96, n. 34) – *sidr* and *ʿilb* are common terms to denote the tree.

⁸⁷ Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 18, and 96, n. 35. Schönig, *Schminken*, 138–9. al-ʿAydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 23: *ḥītika*.

⁸⁸ According to al-Ṣabbān the word derives from *ghassa*, i.e. to enter s.th. (*ʿĀdāt*, 95). Serjeant’s informant, however, explains it as a synonym of *ghuṣl*, which is elsewhere also vocalised *ghasl* (‘Marriage’, 493, n. 1, referring to Landberg, *Glossaire*, III, 2369; Schönig’s own observations). Serjeant writes *ghussa* in Arabic letters erroneously with *shīn* (‘Marriage’, 493).

head.⁸⁹ *Ghussa* as a wedding festivity, however, is mentioned in several documents as well as in the printed *lā'iḥas*, mostly regulating silk dresses as well as the number of guests (IV 3, 18, 20, 36, *lā'iḥa* 1, *lā'iḥa* 2).

The following *ḥarāwa*⁹⁰ (IV 24, 37, 39, *lā'iḥa* 2; cf. Figs. 23–5) is the most important wedding ceremony throughout all social classes: the day of the groom's procession to the bride's house⁹¹ followed by the marriage contract and an evening celebration.⁹² After *ghussa*, the groom is dressed in his festive clothes, which differ from one social class to another.⁹³ The party, which more guests attend than any other wedding festivity (four hundred in *lā'iḥa* 2), starts after the afternoon prayer (‘*aṣr*').⁹⁴

The marriage contract (‘*aqd al-qurʿān*’) is made at least one week before the beginning of the marriage ceremonies (*lā'iḥa* 2, *Sharāra*).⁹⁵ It is arranged either at the groom's house or at another appropriate place. In the 1970s the number of guests was formally restricted to ten persons from each side. Before the marriage contract, the official (*maʿdībūn*), in the presence of the representative of the People's Committee, had to ask the opinion of the bride (*Sharāra*). The girl who had reached full legal age (*bāliḡha*) had to be consulted concerning her marriage. But usually she was not asked and could not refuse the decision of her father or *walī*.⁹⁶ One says: the silence of the virgin is affirmation.⁹⁷ The girl that had not reached full legal age was married by the decision of her father or *walī* (*mujbar*). It happened with or without her knowledge and agreement. In theory she had the right to cancel the marriage contract if she had not yet reached the full legal age, but in practice she could not exercise this right.⁹⁸ Though nowadays no contract will be made without the girl's consent,⁹⁹ to this day bride and groom do not know each other before marriage.¹⁰⁰

⁸⁹ Ibid., 493 and 497–8.

⁹⁰ See in detail al-Ṣabbān, ‘*Ādāt*, 96–100. Bin Shihāb, ‘*Ādāt*, 94, n. 4. For the root and its morphological derivatives *ḥarīw* (groom) and *ḥarīwa* (bride) see Iryānī, *Muʿjam*, 172f. Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, 492: “[...] and a general term for a marriage celebration.” Cf. the entry *ḥrw* in Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 251. al-Mallāḥī reports the expression also in the context of circumcision among the tribes: *ḥarāwat al-khitān* (*Dallālāt*, 55). See also note 56.

⁹¹ Cf. “guests at a wedding banquet in the groom's house” (Pimenta, *Dictionary*, 91b).

⁹² “And hence a general term for marriage celebration” (Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, 492).

⁹³ al-Ṣabbān, ‘*Ādāt*, 96.

⁹⁴ Ibid., 97.

⁹⁵ According to Serjeant, ‘*aqd* and *dukbla* are close in terms of time (‘Marriage’, 478).

⁹⁶ Bā Ṣabrayn blames especially the marriage of a young girl to an old husband (*Jumal*, f. 17a, no. 51).

⁹⁷ Muʿtamar al-marʿa, *Dirāsa*, 12.

⁹⁸ Ibid. See the statements in al-Ṣabbān, who describes the former practice according to tradition and the new regulations. He insists, however, that the custom of not knowing each other was still strictly observed in the 1970s (‘*Ādāt*, 83).

⁹⁹ ‘Awaḍ, ‘*Ādāt*, 2, column 3.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. See the more liberal contact and girl's right for free choice among the Bedouins (al-Ṣabbān, *Hayāt al-bādiya*, 43) and the tribes (al-Mallāḥī, *Dallālāt*, 51).

In the morning before the wedding night (*laylat al-dukbla*) there is a ceremony of making-up the bride (*kbudda*) with dancers and drums. Serving breakfast (*ṣubūḥ*) to professional female dancers and drummers (*mushtarīḥāt*) is prohibited; coffee and tea are sufficient (*Sharāra*). On the eve of the wedding night there is a women's party (*musāmara*) with music, songs and dance.¹⁰¹

The bridal procession, i.e. the move of the bride into the groom's house is called *zaffa* or *zaffāf*,¹⁰² a general notion for processions.¹⁰³ It takes place in the late evening, however not after midnight (*lā'ihā* 1) resp. one a.m. (*Sbarāra*). Accompanied by songs and dances, drum-beating and ululations (*zaghlata*,¹⁰⁴ *ḥajr*¹⁰⁵), the bride is escorted by her female relatives.¹⁰⁶ In a bag (*shanta*), her dresses and accessories, the perfumes (*uṭūrāt*) and cosmetic utensils (*adawāt al-tajmīl*) are carried (*lā'ihā* 1).¹⁰⁷

Formerly the bride and her company rode on donkeys – if not walking in the case of short distances. Serjeant assumes in his article, based on an ordinance issued in 1959, that at that time in “the interior of Ḥaḍramawt she will usually still be conveyed on the back of an animal, but in al-Mukallā, by car.”¹⁰⁸ Document IV 39, dated 1939, however, mentions the car (*sayyāra*) as an alternative to riding on a donkey.¹⁰⁹ According to ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Ṣabbān, the first cars were driving in Say’ūn in 1934,¹¹⁰ and he mentions the custom of riding in a car on the occasion of wedding which was restricted to *sāda* until 1964.¹¹¹ Harold Ingrams, in his

¹⁰¹ For dances and songs see I.4.1.

¹⁰² Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, Arabic 481, Engl. 483, commentary 490. ‘Awaḍ, ‘*Ādāt*, 3, column 1. Landberg, *Glossaire*, III, 1842: *zaffa: conduire la mariée à la maison nuptiale, [...] conduire la nouvelle mariée à la maison de son mari, [...] mit Musik begleiten; zaffāf*, plural of *zaffa*, originellement *le cortège nuptial*. Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 500: *zaffeb* – Brautzug; *zifāf* – Hochzeitsfeier, -zug.

¹⁰³ Cf. the ceremonial procession (*zaff*) during the ibex hunt (Serjeant, *Hunt*, 29, see also 55; RWH 111, 200).

¹⁰⁴ al-Ṣabbān, ‘*Ādāt*, 107: *zaghrada*; Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, 490: *zaghrāwīd* – ululation (cf. ‘Awaḍ, ‘*Ādāt*, 9, column 4); Landberg, *Glossaire*, III, 1841: verb: *crier: lou, lou, lou*, metathetic for *zalghata* (ibid., 1850), cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 594a, s.v. *zaghrata*.

¹⁰⁵ “The *ḥajr* is said to be used from Saiwūn to ‘Aināt. It is made for every joyous occasion, a birth, a circumcision, going on a journey, a wedding, the arrival of a *maṣab*, at the time the flood (*sail*) comes down, etc.” (Serjeant, *Prose*, 44). Cf. the entry *hjr* in Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 235. In the local dialect of Tarīm *ta‘āyīṭ* (Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Dalīl*, 194).

¹⁰⁶ In Ṣan‘ā’ in the mid 1990s Schönig experienced that the male relatives accompanied the bride into the house, thus the women from the nuptial cortege had to be covered and veiled completely.

¹⁰⁷ For dress, jewellery and cosmetics see I.5 Women in the documents.

¹⁰⁸ Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, 490.

¹⁰⁹ It is in April 1939 that a photograph of Shibām, taken by Daniel van der Meulen, shows a car in the Wadi in front of the houses (Köpke and Schmelz, *Kamel*, 593). An old Ford car was imported to Say’ūn as early as 1905, see RWH 89.

¹¹⁰ Al-Ṣabbān, *Madīnat Say’ūn*, 43.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 65.

Arabia and the Isles published in 1942, counts sixty motor cars in Tarīm, more than in all the rest of Hadramawt.¹¹² In 1974 there is even a choice between Land Rovers (*lāndrūfar*), buses (*bāṣ*) or taxis (*tākṣī*) (*Sharāra*).

The wedding night, the ‘night of consummation’ (*laylat al-dakhīla*)¹¹³ itself, is only mentioned in the context of gratuities (*lāʾiḥa* 1). The oldest document (GhBW 1, 1904) mentions a tradition, which according to Serjeant has not existed in Ghayl Bā Wazīr since the 1940s: the *bāb*, a door-fee¹¹⁴ paid to the tire-woman (*kūbara*) at the door of the bride’s room to let the groom enter.¹¹⁵ The woman referred to in *lāʾiḥa* 1 “that is charged with accompanying the bride to her room on the wedding night”, might again be the *kūbara* or perhaps a *mushṭariḥa* as mentioned by Serjeant for later periods.¹¹⁶ The groom may also offer to the bride a wristwatch of a limited price (*lāʾiḥa* 1). No gifts are allowed from either side during the raising of the veil ceremony (*kashf ʿalā l-ʿarūs*) (*Sharāra*).¹¹⁷

The morning after the wedding night is called *ṣubḥa*, for it is the first morning on which the wife wakes up in her husband’s house.¹¹⁸ On *ṣubḥa*-day¹¹⁹ the most famous dance is *zafīn*.¹²⁰ The documents discuss the dress prescriptions (IV 3, 36, *Sharāra*), but mainly the daytime meals (lunch or dinner)¹²¹ and the kind and number of guests (IV 3, 16, 20, 24, 36, 37, 39, 43, *lāʾiḥa* 1, *lāʾiḥa* 2).¹²² Formerly, the *ṣubḥa* was repeated on the third day (*thānī ṣubḥa*)¹²³ (cf. *Sharāra*: *ṣubḥiyya*). ʿAwaḍ uses *ṣubḥa* and *ṣubḥiyya* as synonyms to denote a party in the afternoon after *dukkhla*, when women come to see the bride and to sing and dance.¹²⁴

¹¹² H. Ingrams, *Arabia*, 193; cf. his wife some years later (D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 141). She gives the information, that long “before there was a motor road between the coast and the interior towns, cars [...] were taken to pieces at the ports, carried up by camels (12 camels to one car) and reassembled in the wadi” (ibid., 141). On the al-Kāf road projects between the Wadi and the coast cf. Freitag, *Indian Ocean Migrants*, 311, 365–9, 380, 382, 406; cf. also RWH 69. See the photograph showing the Sultan ʿAlī b. al-Manṣūr b. Ghālib (ruled until 1938) in a car near Sayʿūn together with his younger brother and a cousin, <http://www.alkethiri.com/vb/showthread.php?t=9814>.

¹¹³ Otherwise more common *laylat al-dukkhla*, also (*laylat*) *al-dukkhūl* (Bin Shihāb, ʿ*Ādāt*, 24, Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, 478).

¹¹⁴ Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, Arabic 479, Engl. 483, commentary 487. Cf. al-Ṣabbān, ʿ*Ādāt*, 106, without mentioning the term, however.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Bin Shihāb, ʿ*Ādāt*, 25.

¹¹⁶ Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, 487.

¹¹⁷ Cf. al-Ṣabbān, ʿ*Ādāt*, 109.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 135, n. 160. For the morning gift see I.2.3.1 Gifts and gratuities.

¹¹⁹ See ʿAwaḍ, ʿ*Ādāt*, 3, column 2–4.

¹²⁰ See I.4.1 Dances and songs.

¹²¹ Bin Shihāb, ʿ*Ādāt*, 94, n. 5: lunch.

¹²² Bin Shihāb al-Dīn still mentions relatives, friends, neighbours and notables (*Daḥīl*, 201).

¹²³ RWH 149.

¹²⁴ ʿAwaḍ, ʿ*Ādāt*, 3, column 2. For *ṣubḥa* and *ṣubḥiyya* to denote the morning gift see I.2.3.1 Gifts and gratuities.

On the third wedding day (*zilla*)¹²⁵ the bride appears in public for the first time, fully clothed in her most expensive dress. She also wears the wig (*ḥaml*) and the headband (*ʿiṣāba*).¹²⁶ The ceremony starts in the morning with drums, trills, and dances. After the afternoon prayer (*ʿaṣr*) a big party for the women is held in large enclosures or in the streets near the house, which are protected from outside gaze.¹²⁷ Before the bride sat down on an elevated place, or nowadays, on a chair,¹²⁸ she remained standing for some minutes so that all the women could have a look at her.¹²⁹ This feast marks the end of the wedding days (*lāʾiḥa* 1). It is even sometimes prohibited (IV 16, 39), or at least the number of guests is limited (IV 18, 20, 36, 43). There are dress regulations (IV 36, *lāʾiḥa* 1) and the payment for the dance (*sharḥ*) is fixed (*lāʾiḥa* 2).

Many prohibitions and restrictions concern additional feasts and banquets after the wedding, such as the husband's first reception (*ghamza*) by his wife's family (*lāʾiḥa* 2), who also send a plate of meat to his house.¹³⁰ The ceremony when the bride's plaits are opened (*naqda*)¹³¹ during a women's party, and when simultaneously the bride's family invites the groom's relatives for a banquet¹³² is also forbidden (IV 3, 24, 37, *lāʾiḥa* 2, *Sharāra*).

The wife's first visit to her father's house after the wedding festivities¹³³ is called *khaṭra*,¹³⁴ which means 'a proud walking',¹³⁵ because she proceeds in a dignified manner and tambourines and drums welcome her. In al-Mukallā this visit is also

¹²⁵ al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 108; 136, n. 166: It is pronounced with *ḍ* (cf. *lāʾiḥa* 2: *ḍilla*), but correct is *z* – a place surrounded by walls. He himself uses *zilla* and *ḍilla* indiscriminately (ibid., 64–5 and elsewhere) (cf. above: Note on usage, translation and transliteration). He mentions *zilla* as well in the birth context: a public feast for women in the afternoon and evening of the *wuṣṭā* (ibid.). Serjeant reads *zalla*, lit. 'shade' and explains: "The invited guests rest in the shade of a large tree outside the village where the marriage is to take place." ('Marriage', 493). Nowadays it takes place in the afternoon of *ṣubḥa* (Bin Shihāb al-Din, *Dalīl*, 203, Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 23, and 96, n. 45).

¹²⁶ See I.5.1.1 Clothing.

¹²⁷ al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 108. During the late 1990s, Schönig attended wedding festivities in Sayʿūn in front of the house: The whole area had been protected from outside gaze by large blankets.

¹²⁸ al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 108, Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 23.

¹²⁹ Cf. below n. 156. Schönig participated in viewing the bride during a wedding for two brothers in Ṣanʿāʾ in the early 1990s. The brides were escorted to a separate room, then having opened their veils, all female relatives and guests had the opportunity to view them. A group of younger girls interrupted the wordless viewing with some songs.

¹³⁰ al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 109.

¹³¹ Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 95, n. 27: and replaited.

¹³² al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 109.

¹³³ Ibid., 110, *ʿAwaḍ*, *ʿĀdāt*, 10, column 1: two weeks after; Boxberger, *Empire*, 140: one week; Serjeant, 'Marriage', 492, and id., *Prose*, 44: a month.

¹³⁴ Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 24, and 95, n. 28. al-ʿAydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 28: a secondary wedding feast.

¹³⁵ Landberg, *Glossaire*, I, 612: II *marcher avec fierté*, cf. al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 136, n. 173.

called *naqīla*.¹³⁶ In the sources, *naqīla* is only mentioned in the *Sbarāra*, where it is prohibited. The wife's father invites his son-in-law's family, relatives and friends for lunch, and his whole family, men and women, for dinner.¹³⁷ The documents either prohibit it completely (IV 24, 37, 39, *lā'iḥa* 2), or allow it for wife and husband only (IV 16), but mostly restrict the number of guests and give detailed lists of who may be invited (IV 3, 5, 18, 20, 36, 43). It is allowed for the bride to wear silk and the wig (*ḥaml*) (IV 3, 36, 43) and make use of the chemical compound (*shabb*) to blacken henna (IV 36).¹³⁸ Before lunch, coffee roasting (*taḥmīs*)¹³⁹ is practised and tea¹⁴⁰ is offered before and after lunch.¹⁴¹ When the bride arrives at her father's house she receives a formal welcome with drums (*tubūl*)¹⁴² (IV 3). There is a women's party, called *zillat al-khatra*.¹⁴³

2.3.1 Gifts and gratuities¹⁴⁴

Gifts and gratuities of various kinds seem to have constituted an important factor of exaggerated expenditure in life cycle rituals. They are mentioned rather often – and are mostly prohibited, or at least regulated in detail. The notion *ṭarḥ*, 'throwing money towards the bride during *zafīn*-dance¹⁴⁵,¹⁴⁶ has become a general term for money gifts (cf. the use in IV 16 and *lā'iḥa* 2).¹⁴⁷ Before *ḥarāwa* the relatives and acquaintances circulate money¹⁴⁸ as a wedding gift (*ṭarḥ*)¹⁴⁹ around the head of the groom, who is sitting, then disperse it. The money is put into a vessel and given to the groom's *walī* as support.¹⁵⁰ It also denotes a gift to the professional female musicians (*mushtariḥa*),¹⁵¹ which is either prohibited or restricted in its

¹³⁶ 'Awaḍ, 'Ādāt, 10, column 1. Serjeant, 'Marriage', 478: *nuqla*; *naqīla* in Serjeant's text means the 'transference' inside the gate of the husband's house (ibid., Arabic 481, Engl. 483, 484, commentary 490, where it might be understood as a synonym of *zaffā*, but cf. *nuqla* as a synonym of *khatra*, ibid., 478).

¹³⁷ al-Ṣabbān, 'Ādāt, 110–11.

¹³⁸ See above n. 79.

¹³⁹ See I.4.2.1 Coffee.

¹⁴⁰ See I.4.2.2 Tea.

¹⁴¹ 'Awaḍ, 'Ādāt, 10, column 1.

¹⁴² Ibid. Another word for drum beating in the documents is *tifqa'* (IV 24).

¹⁴³ al-Ṣabbān, 'Ādāt, 111, 'Awaḍ, 'Ādāt, 10, column 1.

¹⁴⁴ See also I.4.2 Food and beverages.

¹⁴⁵ See I.4.1 Dances and songs.

¹⁴⁶ According to 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭās (see Introduction 4.3.1 Informants).

¹⁴⁷ Serjeant, 'Marriage', Arabic 480, Engl. 483, commentary 488–9. Bin Shihāb, 'Ādāt, 16. Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Daṭīl*, 200: dress, jewellery and money given to the bride. Cf. Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 302a. al-Ṣabbān mentions it also as the gift given to the circumcised ('Ādāt, 75).

¹⁴⁸ Among the *sāda* and *mashāyikh*, however, heads of mutton (ibid., 133, n. 110).

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Landberg, *Glossaire*, III, 2200: ce qui contient la main, arhes Aufgeld, ce qu'on donne aux nouveaux mariées; Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 770: present at wedding, Geschenk, Brautgabe.

¹⁵⁰ al-Ṣabbān, 'Ādāt, 97; Serjeant, 'Marriage', 480 Arabic, 483 Engl.

¹⁵¹ Cf. ibid., 488–9.

amount (IV 24, GhBW 1, GhBW 2). A congratulatory gift (*fūja*),¹⁵² such as money, jewellery, dress and food, should be presented by females to the bride's house (*Sharāra*). Before the wedding night (*dukbla*) the groom pays a visit to his mother-in-law and gives her an amount of money (*maḥāyā*)¹⁵³ as a gift. She serves instead sweets and drinks. This is a ritual to establish love and respect between them.¹⁵⁴ In post-sultanate times, however, the amount is strictly fixed and the hospitality extended shall not be more than coffee and tea (*Sharāra*). This gift, which is also given to the bride's grandmother, is also called *shawfa*¹⁵⁵ (IV 39), literally 'viewing', as this is his first time to see the women who, up until then, did not belong to the groom's *maḥārim*.¹⁵⁶ Another expression used for it is *qabwat al-khāla* (i.e. gift for the maternal aunt, which is in this case the mother-in-law) and consists of a large quantity of coffee beans (*bunn*), sugar, and ginger.¹⁵⁷

The morning after the wedding night (*ṣubḥa*) the wife receives a present from her husband, the morning gift (*ṣabāḥiyya*,¹⁵⁸ *ṣubḥiyya*¹⁵⁹), which may also be called *ṣubḥa*.¹⁶⁰ It is "made to the bride after intercourse is presumed to have taken place for the first time [...] in compensation for the loss of virginity," and it is said to have been "a large trunk, with clothes, perfumes, a watch even, and all manner of things."¹⁶¹ The oldest of the documents (GhBW 1, 1904) explicitly mentions a small bottle (*baṭḥl*) of rose or amber perfume (*ʿitr wardī aw ʿanbarī*) and a medium box (*quṣṣa*) of sweets. Other documents address the amount or value of the morning gift (IV 24, 37, GhBW 1, GhBW 2). Doreen Ingrams observed that "the bride receives presents from her own and the groom's relatives and from those present at the party. Jewellery, clothes and money are given."¹⁶² Bin Shihāb al-Dīn calls such a present of dress, jewellery, and money given to the bride on *ṣubḥa*-day *takhāwīd*.¹⁶³ In document IV 39 *takhāwīd* is prohibited from being presented by the husband. Specific sums prescribed as *takhāwīd* by *maḥārim* and undefined 'others'

¹⁵² Ibid., Arabic 479, Engl. 482, commentary 486–7.

¹⁵³ Ibid., Arabic 479, Engl. 483, commentary 487: salutation-gift (*muḥāyā*) on the base of *ḥayya* – terme de salutation (Landberg, *Glossaire*, I, 541–4).

¹⁵⁴ ʿAwad, *ʿĀdāt*, 3, column 1.

¹⁵⁵ Boxberger erroneously reads *sbuna*, but translates 'gift' as above (*Empire*, 143).

¹⁵⁶ Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 31, and 98, n. 78. Serjeant in his paragraph on 'Ḥaḍramawt of the interior' explains *shawfa* as "[p]robably the same as the coastal *shawf*" ('Marriage', 492), which is the viewing of the bride by women invited to the marriage ceremonies (ibid., 484).

¹⁵⁷ Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 31.

¹⁵⁸ Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 814a.

¹⁵⁹ Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 275a/b.

¹⁶⁰ Serjeant, 'Marriage', 478 with n. 2; Arabic 479, Engl. 482, commentary 485; RWH 149.

¹⁶¹ Serjeant, 'Marriage', 485.

¹⁶² D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 103.

¹⁶³ Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Dalīl*, 203. Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 16: given to the bride by her relatives. He explains the term as a contraction of: *ittakhadbat yadan*, as it has been given into her hands.

suggest, however, that there it denotes a money present only.¹⁶⁴ Giving presents to the wife by male relatives (*qirādha*) on *ṣubḥa*-day is, however, prohibited later on (*Sharāra*). Also, money gifts from the groom to the bride's mother and grandmothers, as well as jewellery given by his father to the bride on the occasion of the midday ceremony (*zabīra*), such as described by al-Ṣabbān,¹⁶⁵ are prohibited (*lā'īḥa* 1).

There is a special occasion after the wedding, when women come to have a look at all the gifts and wedding items (*ṣaffā*).¹⁶⁶

2.4 Death¹⁶⁷

The deceased is washed with the powdered leaves of *Ziziphus spina-christi* (*sidr*),¹⁶⁸ camphor (*kāṣūr*),¹⁶⁹ and the ground shrub *Anticharis glandulosa* (*ḥutika*)¹⁷⁰ either at home by relatives or by professionals (male or female) of a low stratum in the special room offered by mosques near cemeteries.¹⁷¹ An entire document (ABR 1) is dedicated to the official appointment of two persons to wash the corpses in the Say'ūn quarters of al-Saḥīl and al-Ḥawṭa. They are urged most strongly to act with respect for the living and the dead and to follow the prescriptions of the Sunna. In contrast to the exact payment required in the *Sharāra*, no special payment is fixed and one even understands that the concerned relatives should pay them according to their financial capacity and their own estimation.

Quranic passages¹⁷² are read over the body by a male or a female reader, but recitation of Qur'ān should not last more than five days in total. In post-sultanate times, payment to the grave digger is defined by People's Committees except in the town of al-Mukallā. The person who reads prayers (*mulaqqin*)¹⁷³ by the grave is also paid (*Sharāra*).

¹⁶⁴ Cf. al-ʿAydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 16: dispersing money to the bride. A completely different explanation gives Serjeant: "The removal of a woman's *nuqḥab* or head-scarf" ('Marriage', 492).

¹⁶⁵ al-Ṣabbān ʿ*Ādāt*, 108.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 109, Bin Shihāb, ʿ*Ādāt*, 23–4, and 94, n. 6.

¹⁶⁷ See Rodionov, 'Death'; D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 104–5. See the chapters on death and burial customs in Serjeant, 'Cemeteries', 156–60, ʿAwad, ʿ*Ādāt*, 4, column 2–3, Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Dalīl*, 206–14, Bin Shihāb, ʿ*Ādāt*, 91–2, RWH 150. See Ho's statement on death and burial among migrants along with his study of the socio-political context for the destruction of the grave complex of the patron saint Abū Bakr al-ʿAydārūs (d. 1509) in Aden in 1994 (*Graves*, I. Burial, 1. The Society of the Absent, 3–26).

¹⁶⁸ Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Dalīl*, 213. For this tree and its powdered leaves see above n. 86.

¹⁶⁹ Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Dalīl*, 213. See also Schönig, 'Camphor'.

¹⁷⁰ al-Ṣabbān, *Dalīl*, 2. See also above n. 87. *sidr* and *kāṣūr* are part of the Islamic washing ritual, *ḥutika*, however, is a local shrub from Wadi Sanāʿ and is not known even in other parts of Yemen.

¹⁷¹ RWH 150.

¹⁷² See in detail Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Dalīl*, 208–9.

¹⁷³ See Ho on three *fātiḥas* read at a grave (*Graves*, 208–17).

Before the funeral procession women are only allowed to enter the house of the dead person if they belong to the family. After the funeral procession has left, only women are admitted who bring a bowl of food to the family of the deceased. In the case of a dead child no one is permitted to enter the house except the relatives during the week after death (IV 39). It is forbidden to arrange feasts on the occasion of death or to distribute food at the grave (*Sbarāra*, *lā'iḥa 2*) such as bread and dates as was observed by Doreen Ingrams.¹⁷⁴

In Hadramawt the period of mourning after the burial varies from several days to several months depending on place and social stratum.¹⁷⁵ According to one document (IV 39) signs of mourning and grief are prohibited for more than three days after death. Mourning ceremonies¹⁷⁶ are definitely prohibited. In a more recent source (*lā'iḥa 2*), only a general gathering of mourning ceremony for men and women during the three days of death is possible. It is prohibited to offer meals during this ceremony, but coffee is allowed.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 104–5.

¹⁷⁵ RWH 150.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 105.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Dalīl*, 213.

3 Religious life and rituals

All strata of the local population are aware that Hadramawt is a country blessed by God. The Sunni Islam of the *shāfiʿī madhhab* has here strong Sufi connotations reflected in popular mentality, poetry, formal documents, and everyday practices. Both Islamic canonical festivals, the major one, *ʿīd al-aḍḥā* (‘sacrificial festival’) on 10 Dhū l-Ḥijja, and the minor one, *ʿīd al-fiṭr* (‘festival of breaking the fast’) on 1 Shawwāl, commemorate the main Islamic pilgrimage (*hajj*) to Mecca and the Ramadan feast respectively.

On both occasions Hadramis exchange congratulations, presents, and visit their relatives and friends, as well as the deceased at cemeteries. These social presentations last for three days, during which men and women put on their best clothes, especially on the *ʿīd al-fiṭr* after the end of Ramadan. Since the minor festival is popularly celebrated to a much greater extent than the major one, it is reasonable to start with the former.

3.1 Ramadan

Visits and gatherings during Ramadan, especially on the holy night of *laylat al-qadr* when the Qurʾān was sent (97:1), lead to free mixing between Hadrami males and females. This mixing was strongly criticised by local *sāda* and forbidden by sultans (cf. IV 34). All occasions of sexual promiscuity should be avoided, such as women’s participation in the girls’ *tarāzīḥ*-performances with singing and dancing (IV 34). Nor should women leave the house at night to pray the *tarāwīḥ*-prayer¹ in the mosque after *iftār* (IV 3).

Concerning Ramadan, two regulations (IV 3, 34) were issued at the beginning of this sacred month, so one may infer that previous regulations had been neglected. They forbid giving daughters a special kind of pouch (*maṣarr*)² filled with sweets and snacks.³ The misuse by women of this tradition for begging during Ramadan, on the pretext of preparing a *maṣarr* for their daughters,⁴ may have prompted the prohibition of this custom.

During the period when the Qurʾān is recited (*kbutūm*)⁵ (IV 3) in alternating mosques during the odd nights from the 11th to the 29th of Ramadan, children go from house to house in the respective quarters, singing and receiving presents (*kbi-*

¹ Wensinck, ‘tarāwīḥ’; cf. this women’s custom in ‘Awaḍ, *ʿĀdāt*, 4, column 4. See this prayer in detail for Tarīm in Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Dalīl*, 85–6, Serjeant, *Prose*, 29, RWḤ 206.

² A pouch (*maṣarr*) is also mentioned, and prohibited, as a gift to the bride (IV 20, 39).

³ al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 137, n. 202.

⁴ According to Ghālib Bā Fuṭaym, see Introduction 4.3.1 Informants.

⁵ See in detail Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Dalīl*, 84–92, with a schedule of the mosques 92–5.

tāmī).⁶ Bin Shihāb al-Dīn gives an example of the refrain: “hātū l-khitāmī l-jadida, hātūhu wa-illā bā narūh, hātūhu min fawq al-suṭūḥ”⁷ [Give the new *khitāmī*, give it or we go away, give it from the roof]. Rodionov recorded another song recited to him by Ghālīb Muḥammad Bā Fuṭaym:⁸ “dhī l-sana khūtamnā lish wa-l-muḥbil li-‘ayyālish” [This year we sing a *khitāmī* for you [feminine], next year for your [new-born] children] which means you will give birth. This custom is permitted only for little girls in the late evening and little boys at night⁹ (IV 39).

There are public celebrations on the occasion of the completion of the Qurʾān reading by children (*khatm al-qurʾān*).¹⁰ The boy recites some quranic verses and after that the *shaykh* speaks the *fātiḥa*.¹¹ There is a procession with songs, drums, and coffee.¹² Women’s cries of joy (*zaghlata, ḥajr*)¹³ and also professional female singers and reciters (*shahḥādha*)¹⁴ are prohibited on that and on other occasions (IV 39).

Evening parties during Ramadan should be limited to offering tea (*shāḥī*) or coffee (*qabwa*) (IV 39).¹⁵

3.2 Pilgrimages and tomb visitations¹⁶

Ḥawṭa, or a sacred enclave¹⁷ (lit. a place circumambulated [by a holy man]), is a well-known South Arabian social institution that gives a sanctuary to its visitors due to the spiritual authority of its founder. The most picturesque features of Hadrami settlements are holy shrines with their whitewashed domes or flat roofs. These tombs and related constructions are built and used according to a rather rigid hierarchy of cultural status and prestige.¹⁸ A traveller in this symbolic space

⁶ Ibid., 85; cf. Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 74. al-ʿAydarūs explains *khatāmī* as a kind of treat and sweets distributed at occasions during Ramadan (*Kalimāt*, 29).

⁷ Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Datīl*, 85. According to him, *khitāmī* is the term to denote the song (*lahn*) for this special occasion. Cf. a similar version on the occasion of the first new-born in Ramadan in Bā Ṣadiq, *Turāth*, 143, as well as ʿAwaḍ, *ʿĀdāt*, 4, column 4, 5, column 1; Bin Shihāb also mentions other occasions: when an emigrant has returned that year, or when the inhabitant of the house, or one of his children, has married (*ʿĀdāt*, 74).

⁸ See Introduction 4.3.1 Informants.

⁹ For the partition of time according to prayers and the so-called Arab hours (two dozens, the day and the night dozens), see RWH 205–6.

¹⁰ Serjeant, *Prose*, 42.

¹¹ In the documents the *fātiḥa* is only mentioned in the contexts of the ibex hunt and the pilgrimage to Qabr Hūd (IV 35, Madūda 1). Bin Shihāb al-Dīn mentions the reciting of the *fātiḥa* several times in the chapter on wedding customs (*Datīl*, 191–205).

¹² al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 79. Cf. the coffee occasions in id., *Datīl*, 51.

¹³ See I.2.3 Marriage, notes 104 and 105.

¹⁴ See I.4.1 Dances and songs, n. 40.

¹⁵ See I.4.2 Food and beverages.

¹⁶ Here a number of additional archival documents are referred to. For the document sections (I–VIII) see Appendix 1 Sections of the al-Kathīrī Archives in Sayʿūn.

¹⁷ See Serjeant, ‘Haram and Hawtah’.

¹⁸ RWH 263–76; see the map and photographs in Rodionov, ‘Death’, 342–3.

makes a pilgrimage (*ziyāra*) to a sacred enclave (*ḥawṭa*), to the shrine (*qubba*) of a holy man (*walī*, pl. *awliyāʾ*) who is the patron (*marwā*) of the area due to his, or sometimes her, vital force (*baraka*).

Tombs of Islamic holy men stand by the cenotaphs of pre-Islamic prophets and ruins of ancient tribes destroyed by God. Ancient ruins and sites scattered all over the region are traditionally regarded as a proof of the vanities of this ephemeral world.¹⁹ In the 20th century, following the Saudi Arabian Wahhābī standards, the Irshādī anti-*sāda* radicals of Hadramawt and the Hadrami diaspora used to condemn regular visitations of the tombs of the *awliyāʾ*, labelling the *sāda* and *mashāyikh* involved in this practice as *qubūriyyīn*, or tomb worshippers.

The tomb (*qabr*) of the pre-Islamic prophet Hūd,²⁰ bordered by a perpetual stream of Wadi al-Masīla, the only real river in the region, is the most important place of visitation in all of Hadramawt. Qabr Hūd preserves in its annual pilgrimage rites (5–11 Shaʿbān) many archaic features, such as camel races, folk dances and chanting, and the ritual teasing of the villagers by the pilgrims on their way to the Hūd's cenotaph, etc. In the examined documents, Qabr Hūd is mentioned three times: in IV 41 (1358/1939) the Sultan Jaʿfar b. al-Manṣūr asked the Madūda representatives about the local customs of the Bā Ḥumayd *mashāyikh* concerning preparation for the pilgrimage to Nabī Allāh Hūd. The Madūda 1 document from the family archives of Rabīʿ ʿAwaḍ Bin ʿUbaydallāh, dated 1353/[1935], is an agreement between the groups of the Madūda population concerning the ibex hunt²¹ and the pilgrimage to Qabr Hūd. Document IV 39 (1358/1939) prohibits cries of joy and professional female singers and reciters²² during public occasions,²³ among which are the departure and return of the Hūd-pilgrims.

Much more attention is paid in the documents to the al-Mashhad (see Figs. 19–22) pilgrimage which begins on 12 Rabīʿ al-Awwal and lasts until the 15th. The *ḥawṭa*, or sacred enclave, of Mashhad ʿAlī²⁴ was founded in 1160/1747 by *sayyid* ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAṭṭās (1122/1710–1172/1758) in the northern part of Wadi Dawʿan, a south-western tributary of Wadi Hadramawt, connecting it with the Arabian Sea coast. It comprises his shrine with a mosque,²⁵ wells, water reservoirs and collectors, pilgrim dwellings, the remnants of a marketplace and stocks, as well as several houses populated by the al-ʿAṭṭās. The making of this

¹⁹ RWḤ 45–6.

²⁰ See Serjeant, 'Hūd'; the short monograph by al-Ṣabbān, *Ziyāra*; cf. Introduction, 5.1 Contributions on Hadramawt documents; Bin Shihāb, ʿ*Ādāt*, 76–7, and in particular Newton, *A Landscape of Pilgrimage*, Hundhammer, *Prophetenverehrung*.

²¹ See I.3.3 The ibex hunt.

²² See I.2.3 Marriage, notes 104 and 105, and I.4.1 Dances and songs, n. 40.

²³ E.g. *khatm al-qurʿān*, see I.3.1 Ramadan.

²⁴ See the more detailed Rodionov, 'Mashhad ʿAlī Revisited'.

²⁵ Cf. the photographs of Mashhad ʿAlī with pilgrims in 1939, taken by Bettina von Wissmann-Rinaldini (Epstein, 'Hadramaut', 295, and at the end of Köpke and Schmelz, *Kamel*, 597–600).

ḥarwa has been exceptionally well documented in a manuscript ascribed to the *ḥarwa*'s founder.²⁶ According to the manuscript, *sayyid* ʿAlī started to build the *ḥarwa* in honour of his great-great-grandfather ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, but there was no doubt that the vaulted shrine of al-Mashhad was intended not for his respected ancestor, but for himself. The ruins of an ancient site, Raybūn, excavated from the 1980s up to now by Russian archaeologists, inspired *sayyid* ʿAlī to compose poems, full of Sufi allusions and detailed descriptions of the site.²⁷

On 13 Rabiʿ al-Awwal the solemn ride into al-Mashhad occurred. Every tribe and social stratum entered the place in the pre-set order kept by the *manṣab*, the elder of the local al-ʿAṭṭās clan responsible for the *ḥarwa*. The first were the *sāda* on thirteen horses with colourful banners of their own (*bayraq*). As many as two thousand camels entered al-Mashhad at a time. Here were warehouses and a house of the ʿAwāliq tribe, in the British epoch manned by about fifteen guards to keep order during the pilgrimage, as well as Dār al-Nūra for the tribal nobility, and Ḥuṣn al-Dhayābina for the *qabīlī*-hostages. Pilgrims could either pray or sing and dance according to the proverb, “The dancing has the same share as the praying.”²⁸

The pilgrims drank from special water reservoirs (*siqāya*); the largest were the Ḥawḍ al-Nabī to the west, which allowed fifty-two people to drink simultaneously, and Siqāyat al-Dawla to the east, for seventy-three people. Pilgrims visited the *qubba* with seven graves, of ʿAlī b. Ḥasan, his descendants and *shaykh* Bin ʿAfīf. Local rites of veneration of tombs have been ardently discussed since the 1920s by both its partisans and opponents.²⁹

The documents concerning Mashhad ʿAlī in the al-Kathīrī Archives (III 276, and IV 22, 30, 47) highlight the social aspects of the pilgrimage. The documents IV 22 and III 276 are dated 1353/1934, the intervals between the documents IV 22, 30, and 47 are four (1357/1938) and three (1360/1941) years respectively. These three documents were written in the beginning of the month of Rabiʿ al-Awwal, less than two weeks before the start of the pilgrimage on the twelfth day of the month; the last one was sent after the pilgrimage had been completed. The three are signed by the *manṣab* of the Mashhad, Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn b. ʿUmar al-ʿAṭṭās; the fourth, by al-ʿAṭṭās *sāda* from Hurayḍa. All letters are addressed to a ruling sultan of the al-Kathīrī family, the first two, to ʿAlī b. al-Manṣūr b. Ghālib, and the third, to his brother and successor Jaʿfar.

The formal pretext for the *manṣab*'s letters was to invite the Sultan to the annual pilgrimage, although the area of Mashhad ʿAlī belonged to al-Quʿayṭī domain. The first letter (IV 22) looks like a formulaic invitation sent to the honourable participants of the pilgrimage when the water carriers, whose position was

²⁶ al-ʿAṭṭās, *Kitāb al-Maqṣad*. Cf. Ho, *Graves*, 58.

²⁷ See the translation of two poems in RWH 170–7.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 177.

²⁹ For *qubūriyyīn* see I.3.2 Pilgrimages and tomb visitations.

inherited, started filling the collector (*jābiya*) with potable water. Document III 276 tells more about the motives behind the invitation to the al-Kathīrī Sultan. According to this letter, the al-Kathīrī Sultan missed the pilgrimage to al-Mashhad in 1934, although he was awaited there by *sāda* to hear from him political news from the Imam of Yemen. That was believed to be more reliable than information propagated by the British through ‘Umar b. ‘Awaḍ al-Qu‘ayṭī (d. 1936), the Sultan of al-Mukallā, who spent much of his time in India, outside Hadramawt. Later in 1934, ‘Umar al-Qu‘ayṭī decided to visit Wadi Hadramawt in person via the Daw‘an road to solve local problems and to organise the congress where representatives of both Sultanates would discuss the reforms (III 282–5). The schedule of his visit was prepared in detail (I 210, 214–15). However, some of al-‘Aṭṭās expressed to ‘Alī b. al-Manṣūr al-Kathīrī their disagreement with Sultan ‘Umar’s ideas (III 297). Vis-à-vis his visit, a tribal chief demanded that the al-Kathīrī protect the honour of the dynasty against ‘people of Java’, i.e. emigrants (III 290). Sultan ‘Umar realised that his journey was a failure and expressed his dissatisfaction that neither tribal chiefs nor *manāṣib* were eager to discuss local affairs with him (III 298–9).

The letter from 1938 (IV 30) written by the *manṣab* also personally invites the al-Kathīrī Sultan to attend the pilgrimage. It mentions his sons returning from Aden (lines 8–9). This passage concerns the college (al-Kulliyya al-Maḥmiyya) established in 1935 in Aden for the children of the elite (I 40, 86). Local notables, however, were reluctant to send their offspring so far away from home, since it was against family traditions, as the Secretary of the al-Kathīrī State explained to the British (I 119). Vacation trips of the Sultan’s children from Aden to Wadi Hadramawt and back to Aden caused animated correspondence and stirred up a lot of emotions (II 123, 130, 132, 135).

The most important information from the second letter (IV 30) is given in a postscript (lines 17–20) – about the eight day visit of Sultan ‘Alī b. Ṣalāḥ (1898–1948) whose rich and versatile personality was depicted in a book by his son and a son of the al-Qu‘ayṭī State Secretary.³⁰ For many years ‘Alī b. Ṣalāḥ held a hereditary position representing the ruling al-Qu‘ayṭī Sultan in the important towns of the Inner Hadramawt, al-Qaṭn and Shibām. By 1938, he lost this position but was still engaged in the pacification of the tribes. The most difficult mediation took place in the villages mentioned in letter IV 30, because ‘Alī b. Ṣalāḥ, born in Khuraykhar, a village not far from al-Qūzah, was personally involved with blood revenge, since the al-Baṭāṭī (the Yāfi‘ī) tribesmen from al-Quzah had killed his maternal uncle Bin ‘Ujrān of Bin Maḥfūz (the Kinda) tribe. Local inhabitants still commemorate this conflict and can point out all the important sites, including the house where the Sultan was born. Although the authors of the book on Sultan ‘Alī b. Ṣalāḥ used many related archival documents, the quantity of relevant

³⁰ al-Qaddāl and al-Qu‘ayṭī, *al-Sultan ‘Alī b. Ṣalāḥ al-Qu‘ayṭī*.

documents still unexplored in the al-Kathīrī Archives in Say'ūn is enormous³¹ since the Sultan was an extremely prolific letter writer.

Document IV 47 contains more information than the previous two. Besides the invitation to the pilgrimage, it touches on other important topics. The *manṣab* of al-Mashhad reports to Sultan Ja'far al-Kathīrī about his visit to the al-Qu'ayṭī Sultan: "We came to al-Mashhad from al-Mukallā on 8 Ṣafar. // And Sultan Ṣāliḥ b. Ghālib, and his son, and the Adviser, and the Secretary [of State], and al-Baṭāṭī, // and the military commanders have given their firm commitment to attend the meeting in al-Mashhad on 12 // Rabī' al-Awwal. [...] // We spent some time in al-Mukallā with // Sultan Ṣāliḥ and enjoyed it, may God bless him with a thousand, thousand blessings."³²

The Adviser mentioned in the letter is the Resident Adviser to the al-Qu'ayṭī and the al-Kathīrī Sultans Harold Ingrams, the Secretary of al-Qu'ayṭī State is Sa'īd Muḥammad al-Qaddāl-Bashā, al-Baṭāṭī is a high ranking officer in the al-Qu'ayṭī Army, Aḥmad b. Nāṣir, the blood enemy of 'Alī b. Ṣalāḥ. In contrast to the late Sultan 'Umar, the new al-Qu'ayṭī Sultan was likely to have found common ground with the stubborn al-'Aṭṭās *sāda* who previously were reproached by Ingrams with a lack of political wit.³³

The next point of the letter, a request for money from the Sultan to help "the sacred place // of al-Mashhad, as regards its edifice, its pilgrimage // and its school"³⁴ is mentioned in a postscript, above the main body of the text. The last, but nonetheless just as important, piece of information is found on the next page of the letter. It concerns a military operation caused by the land conflict in Wadi al-Kasr: "The Nahd and al-Mukhaynīq sent from al-Mukallā one hundred and fifty armed men and their equipment. // They came up in response to [the judgement] of the *ḥakmān*³⁵ [*ḥakam* Āl 'Ajjā] concerning the agricultural land of al-Mukhaynīq and acted according to the words // of Āl Thābit and the *ḥakmān* concerning this land. The armed men took position at al-Jabal³⁶ // and took possession of the terrain, repairing the damage to the *wādī*³⁷ [returning it] to how it had been before [the flood]."³⁸

The *ḥakams*, traditional arbitrators in Western Hadramawt, belong to Āl 'Ajjā and Āl Thābit sections of the Nahd tribe. There is a rich folklore tradition on them in prose and poetry.³⁹ Archival documents also provide us with a story from

³¹ Rodionov, 'Mashhad 'Alī Revisited', 309–11.

³² IV 47, p. 1/13–19.

³³ H. Ingrams, *Arabia*, 248.

³⁴ IV 47, p. 1/21–3.

³⁵ Literally 'two *ḥakams*', see Rodionov, 'Mashhad 'Alī Revisited', 311.

³⁶ A place situated above the village of al-Mukhaynīq.

³⁷ After clashes between tribal factions.

³⁸ IV 47, p. 2/1–4.

³⁹ RWH 189–94; Rodionov, 'Poetry and Power'.

1916 when the *ḥakam* Mubārak Bin ‘Ajjāj seized a canon which had been sent from the *sharīf* of Ma‘rib to Sultan al-Manṣūr al-Kathīrī as a gift (I 50–1).

The documents cover only a few years of the long and dramatic history of Mashhad ‘Alī. Under the Marxist regime the religious pilgrimage rites were drastically reduced, being replaced by commercial, social and other mundane interests. Nowadays the old traditions are facing new challenges from the Islamic radicals who try to eradicate visitations of tombs, the ritual ibex hunt, the transmission of mystic poetry and tales, and other features of the legacy regarded as not permissible in their version of Islam.

3.3 *The ibex hunt*

The ritual practices of ibex hunting (*qanāṣa*)⁴⁰ in ancient South Arabia, where it seems to have continued uninterrupted through more than two millennia, was studied by, among others, Jacques Ryckmans,⁴¹ in Hadramawt by Serjeant,⁴² Rodionov,⁴³ and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Bin ‘Aqīl.⁴⁴ Observing the ibex hunt ceremonial *zaff* processions with dancing and singing⁴⁵ in Hadrami villages of al-Ghurfa, al-Tāriba and Madūda, Rodionov stressed that these rituals, especially a ‘sham play’, bear the same cultural features as pre-theatre tragedies comparable to the Greek goat-songs and rural Dionysias.⁴⁶ The Madūda documents under examination (IV 26–9, 32, 35, 40–2, 50, Madūda 1, Madūda 2) are related to the topic of the ibex hunt.

Madūda is an important settlement (*balad*) in Wadi Hadramawt, noted for its particularly skilful woven palm leaf basketwork and for its system of irrigated arable land (see Figs. 12–18). Local tradition claims that the main well of the village was dug more than eight centuries ago by the *shaykh* ‘Abd al-Kabīr Bā Ḥumayd (an alleged scion of Ḥamīd al-Ṭawīl, a companion of the Prophet) after his pilgrimage to Mecca. The place, however, has been populated since time immemorial: about 5 km to the east there is a Neolithic site with rock graffiti nearby. The *mashāyikh* Āl Bā Ḥumayd carried weapons and formed alliances with tribes to defend their settlement, which now occupies an area 1.5 km long by 1 km wide, with a population of about 10,000. Moreover, since Madūda has no *sāda* families,

⁴⁰ The ibex hunt is mainly called *qanāṣa* but also *qanīṣ*. The latter also denotes the hunting party (Serjeant, *Hunt*, glossary).

⁴¹ Ryckmans, ‘La chasse rituelle’.

⁴² Serjeant, *Hunt*.

⁴³ Rodionov, ‘The Ibex Hunt Ceremony’; RWH 110–13.

⁴⁴ Bin ‘Aqīl, *Qanīṣ al-wa‘l*.

⁴⁵ See Bā Ṣadīq, chapter ‘Aghānī zaffat al-wa‘l al-sha‘biyya’ with specimen of songs (*Turāth*, 160–72). Cf. I.2.3 Marriage, n. 102.

⁴⁶ Rodionov, ‘The Ibex Hunt Ceremony’, 124–8.

Āl Bā Ḥumayd exercises total spiritual power there, based on the moral authority of their ancestors whose dwellings are located near the main square of the village and to the east at the Mawlā Ṭuyūra (the Lord of Augury)⁴⁷ (Fig. 22).

The loyal inhabitants of Madūda have both the privilege and the obligation to participate in communal events of the village, such as:

- the annual visit to the Bā Ḥumayd *qubba* and tombs (*turba*); among the most distinguished righteous persons buried there is *shaykh* ‘Abdallāh Bin Yāsīn, who died in 968/1560–1;
- marriage and funeral ceremonies and other occasional and annual celebrations;
- the annual ritual ibex hunt.

The last social presentation seems to be of the greatest significance for maintaining the social status of a given stratum and / or quarter (*ḥāfa*). The ritual hunt begins during the reign of one of the winter stars (Dalū, Ḥūt, Naḥ, Buṭayn, Thurayyā, Baraqān, Haq‘a, i.e. from the beginning of October to the end of December),⁴⁸ and lasts four to five days. The traditional hunting area assigned to Madūda is Wadi Ju‘ayma. The head of Āl Bā Ḥumayd offers coffee,⁴⁹ i.e. a small amount of coffee beans, to all the leaders, *maqādima* (sg. *muqaddam*), of the hunting groups. If a *muqaddam* accepts coffee, and he usually does, it means that his group will participate in the hunt and will observe all its rules. To demonstrate their compliance with this agreement, the group takes part in two ritual acts: the first, called *marzaḥa* (cf. Madūda 1), takes place before the hunt. The second, *‘idda*⁵⁰ (cf. IV 32) (or *zāmil al-qanāsa*), with dances, songs and a ‘sham play’ (*buqla* or *līb*) re-enacting the events of the hunt, signifies its successful conclusion. In times of social turbulence and uneasy relationships, however, the mechanics of the ritual do not always run smoothly. This is shown in correspondence initiated with a letter from 1357/1938 (IV 26) by *shaykh* Ṭāhā (Fig. 15 shows his house), the head of the Mawlā Ṭuyūra sacred enclave, and addressed to *shaykh* ‘Āmir b. Sa‘īd b. al-Ṣuqayr, the tribal chief of the Āl al-Ṣuqayr. This tribe belongs to Āl Kathīr, and so is related to the al-Kathīrī Sultans. They have settlements to the east of Madūda (Fig. 12).

The muftī of Ḥaḍramawt, the *sayyid* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Ubaydallāh al-Saqqāf (1300/1883–1375/1956), estimated the force of Āl al-Ṣuqayr in their fortified dwellings as forty men plus thirty Bedouin warriors from the Āl Kathīr plateau. He also mentions that in 1318/1900–1 the people of Say‘ūn “felt bitter taste in their mouths” because of this tribe. Nevertheless, since he called their chief, the father of the addressee of our letter Sa‘īd ‘Āmir, “a nice man”, it seems he knew the addressee personally. It is remarkable that the grandfather of the muftī of

⁴⁷ A place mentioned in IV 26, 41, and Madūda 2.

⁴⁸ On the stellar calendar cf. RWH 202–5.

⁴⁹ See also I.4.2.1 Coffee.

⁵⁰ It is also mentioned as a dance during weddings, cf. I.4.1 Dances and songs.

Ḥaḍramawt, ‘Alawī b. Saqqāf, attempted to solve the disputes between different sections of the Madūda Bā Ḥumayd.⁵¹

The purpose of the letter is to notify the tribal chief, and through him the Sultan himself, that the underprivileged class of *masākīn* had engaged in disobedience against the social elite of Madūda by performing the ibex hunt on their own, without the Bā Ḥumayd sanction. By doing so, the *masākīn* were refusing to reaffirm the social hierarchy and accept their underprivileged status within it. *Shaykh* Ṭāhā mentioned that the last time this had happened the tribesmen had been able to counter the disobedience and had stopped it. It is noteworthy that Madūda is encircled by fortified tribal dwellings: besides those of the Āl al-Ṣuqayr, there are the Bin Shamlān houses to the south, as well as those of the Āl ‘Alī b. Sa‘īd to the east, and of the Āl Munaybārī elsewhere. These tribes exercised the right of the so-called protection of the crop (*shirāḥa*) – which has been treated in detail by Serjeant⁵² – and imposed other exorbitant levies on the non-tribal groups. However, the distinction between tribal and non-tribal in Hadramawt has never been clear-cut. Thus, the Āl Bā Maṭraf – one of the wealthiest of the non-tribal groups who have made a fortune in Java and engage in such lowly activities as handicrafts, trade, and agriculture – boasts that it is related to the al-Ṣay‘ar tribe of the noble al-Kinda. On the eve of the Second World War, the younger generation in Madūda, belonging to both the *masākīn* and *mashāyikh*, named in document IV 26, demonstrated their desire for social change by symbolic acts, both within traditional structure and outside, despite the threat of being expelled from their families. Since there were no *sāda* in Madūda, the dissidents used the anti-*sāda* modernist Irshādī vocabulary against their *mashāyikh* opponents. These actions influenced the youth of the village from the clans of Āl Bā Ḥāritha, Āl Farāra, Āl ‘Ibād, Āl Muflaḥ, Bā Zaḳāma, Āl Bin ‘Ubaydallāh, etc.

Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Bā Ḥumayd, mentioned in document IV 26, lines 16–17, is a deputy of the Sultan, a judge, and responsible for legal decisions and law enforcement (*nā‘ib al-‘uqūd*) in Say‘ūn. It is probable that his opinion of this incident differed from the position of his relative, *shaykh* Ṭāhā, as expressed in IV 26. The addressee of this complaint, ‘Āmir b. Sa‘īd b. al-Ṣuqayr, sent it to the Sultan with a cover letter of his own (IV 27). His only concern was that the Sultan’s advisers might talk him out of taking action against the dissidents from the self-proclaimed independent quarter, not recognised by the followers of *shaykh* Ṭāhā Bā Ḥumayd. Nevertheless the chief did not mention by name his main opponent, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Bā Ḥumayd, but only alluded to him (IV 27/9–10).

Document IV 29/2–5 states the measures taken by the Sultan who acted as mediator of the conflict: “People from all five units (*khums*) of the quarter (*ḥāfa*) of Madūda gathered together in the presence of the Sultan ‘Alī b. al-Manṣūr b.

⁵¹ ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Ubaydallāh al-Saqqāf, *Mu‘jam buldān Ḥaḍramawt*, 357–60.

⁵² Serjeant, ‘A *Maqāmab*’.

Ghālib // and after all of them had explained their matters to the Sultan he reinstated the unity of their *ḥāfa* as a whole entity without divisions. // He appointed foremen for each *khums*, and their names are given [below], and he appointed a head (*abū*) of the quarter as a united entity (*tāʿila*), // Saʿīd b. Aḥmad Bakhḍar, and the foremen for each *khums* [...].”

Most of the *mashāyikh* Bā Ḥumayd, however, were not happy with the Sultan’s decision. The newly appointed *abū* reports to the Sultan (IV 32) that two branches of Āl Bā Ḥumayd *mashāyikh* – the third, which is not mentioned, is Āl ʿAwaḍ – had prevented commercial middlemen, *dalal* (sg. *dallāl*), from conducting their traditional ceremonies. These ceremonies include the *maḍaraww* procession from Madūda to Sayʿūn with the spectacular entrance (*madkhal*) into the town, i.e. marching and dancing in rows, as well as the *ʿidda* dances which the underprivileged strata perform with sticks instead of weapons.⁵³ By their spiritual power the *mashāyikh* forbade the *dalal* to cross the Āl Bā Ḥumayd borders of the sacred enclave as a penalty for previous acts of disobedience. *Mashāyikh* of Madūda did not want to waive their authority over the *masākīn*, including *dalal*, even to share it with the Sultan. In IV 40, dated 1358/1939, *shaykh* ʿAlī Bā Ḥumayd reprimands the new Sultan Jaʿfar b. al-Manṣūr b. Ghālib for the deeds of his brother, the previous sultan who had ceded power over the *masākīn* to Saʿīd Bakhḍar and thus brought disorder into the village because he removed the *masākīn* from the authority of *mashāyikh* and tribesmen. As a result, argued the *shaykh*, conceited *masākīn* have become subjects of al-Kathīrī Dynasty (*darwla*); moreover their *abū* organised the presentation of the *shabwānī* dance⁵⁴ without permission. As “people of honour and dignity” (IV 40/7) *mashāyikh* demand that the Sultan either cancel the position of the quarter’s *abū* or replace Saʿīd Ghulayq (a pejorative nickname, Slow-witted) Bakhḍar with someone else.

Every social presentation or new hunting season gave cause for new disturbances. Small wonder that sultans were reluctant to give a hunting permit to the people of Madūda because the ibex hunt “causes nothing but mutual harm” (IV 42/3), according to the Sultan Jaʿfar b. al-Manṣūr al-Kathīrī, cited in a request from the two tribal chiefs, of the Āl al-Ṣuqayr and the Āl Munaybārī, who asked the Sultan to allow hunting for the *masākīn* (IV 42).

Other documents, both from the sultanic archives (IV 26–9, 32, 35, 40–1, 50) and from private collections (Madūda 1, Madūda 2), demonstrate vividly that the conflict in Madūda was not resolved; the *masākīn* continued to struggle for their rights, and some decades later a group of underprivileged from Madūda, Āl Bin

⁵³ Harold Ingrams probably watched this dance in Dammūn, though he does not give its name. He presumes that the dance must be pagan in origin and that the *sayyids* did not approve this performance by “Arabs and slaves” (‘Dance’, 13).

⁵⁴ Also mentioned as a dance during weddings, cf. I.4.1 Dances and songs.

‘Ubaydallāh, proclaimed themselves a new independent tribe.⁵⁵ According to their records,⁵⁶ the eponym of the tribe, ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Awaḍ b. Wabar, was a ploughman, settled in Madūda by the Bīr Bā Zuhayr with the permission of the local *shaykh* ‘Abdallāh Bin Yāsīn Bā Ḥumayd. Every year they gathered to remember their ancestry at the Madūda cemetery near the *shaykh*’s tomb. They also took part in all collective ceremonies of the settlement, including the ritual ibex hunt.

The Āl Bin ‘Ubaydallāh participated in the Ḥamūd Bā Dāwī peasant movement,⁵⁷ suffered the great famine, and tried to make a living through labour migration, especially to Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. They had a set of self-imposed rules which prescribed social norms and practices, e.g. the limiting of wedding expenses. In 1960 Sultan Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Kathīrī issued a decree in which marital expenditures were determined according to social stratum and the hereditary occupation of the participants.⁵⁸ The new tribe was the first to oppose the decree, since at that time members of a family were often engaged in various occupations, ranging from agriculture to state employment. By that time the circle of fortified tribal constructions (*diyār* Āl Shamlān to the south, that of Āl ‘Alī Bā Kathīr to the east, etc.) had been loosened and most of them deserted.

Nowadays, traditions of the ritual ibex hunt in Wadi Hadramawt are still alive, in particular in such centres as Dammūn, al-Tāriba, Madūda, al-Ghurfa, and al-Qa‘ūda, although oil industry activity since late 1980s has driven the ibexes away from parts of their habitat on the southern belt of plateaux to the northern one. In Madūda *shaykh* Aḥmad Sa‘īd Bakhḍar (Fig. 4), who is around 70 years old, was met by Serjeant⁵⁹ in the 1950s, and he is still the chief *muqaddam* of the ibex hunt in the locality.⁶⁰

3.4 Prayers for rain

The practice of praying for rain authorised by the Prophet Muhammad is said to go back to pre-Islamic times.⁶¹ The prayer appealing for rain (*ṣalāt al-istisqā’*) is a communal prayer taking place in the open air.⁶² In Tarīm, during prayers for rain, men stand by the graveyards which are located along a wadi bed. The prayer is led

⁵⁵ Rodionov, ‘Social Restratisation?’.

⁵⁶ Bin ‘Ubaydallāh, *Lajna*.

⁵⁷ See I.1.1 Social strata and quarter organisation.

⁵⁸ Bin ‘Ubaydallāh, *Lajna*, 6–13.

⁵⁹ Serjeant, *Hunt*, 43.

⁶⁰ See Introduction 4.3.1 Informants.

⁶¹ See the story Caton’s informant reports on the prophet Solomon (“Authorizing Discourse”, 49–50). For the Prophet’s prayers to initiate or stop rain see Rodionov, *Islam klassicheskij*, 157–61.

⁶² Monnot, ‘ṣalāt’, 931a. In larger towns also in mosques, see Caton on an experience in Ṣan‘ā’ in 2002 (“Authorizing Discourse”, 47).

by religious leaders of the town.⁶³ They also pray for rain during the pilgrimage to Qabr Hūd.⁶⁴ For women, however, it is prohibited to go out to the public prayer place and even to the houses which are not far away from it (IV 5).

⁶³ Ho, *Graves*, 200.

⁶⁴ Ibid. See I.3.2 Pilgrimages and tomb visitations.

4 Everyday customs

4.1 Dances and songs

Dance and song performances play an important role in various domains of Yemeni life. In the documents, dances and songs of several varieties are mentioned mainly in the context of feasts; instruments¹ and artistic professions are the subject of discussions too. Regulations mostly deal with dress (IV 18, 20, 24) and expenses (*lā'ihā* 1, *lā'ihā* 2), but in some documents dances are explicitly approached as visual manifestations of social stratification (IV 32, 40). *Sharḥ*² (IV 18, 20, 24, GhBW 1, GhBW 2, *lā'ihā* 1, *lā'ihā* 2) is a generic term³ for South Arabian dance with some distinctions: e.g. a coastal dance, a women's dance etc.,⁴ a song ritual which may include dance.⁵

Several dances and songs are performed during the wedding festivities.⁶ During the women's party (*musāmara*), on the eve of the wedding night, a famous song is the *khayba'ān*, a wedding song of praise, a poem set to music to extol the bride's, as well as the groom's, advantages and merits along with their relatives' qualities.⁷ Female relatives or friends, sometimes a paid professional female poet, create concrete versions of *khayba'ān*.⁸ There are refrains *yā khayb 'ān*⁹ or *hadānī*¹⁰ *yā hadānī*.¹¹ The purpose of the first refrain is to make the evil eye fail: *khāb 'ā'w*; *hadānī* means *ihda'na min al-hudū'* (be quiet and listen to the song, addressed to the women present).¹² In document IV 39 the *khayba'ān* is prohibited from being performed at the arrival of the bride to the husband's house.

¹ Cf. Bā Ṣabrayn on the prohibition of musical instruments (*Jumal*, f. 16b, no. 48).

² Serjeant, 'Marriage', Arabic 480/481, Engl. 483/484, commentary 491.

³ It does not seem so in Bā Ṣadiq, who describes it as a dance with only one drum (*tabl*). The spectators form a circle, singing and clapping their hands. In the middle, two people, or at least one woman, dance and hold each other by their hands (*Turāth*, 272).

⁴ Braune, *Küstenmusik*, 241, 245.

⁵ Serjeant, *Hunt*, 35.

⁶ See also I.2.3 Marriage.

⁷ Aydarūs, *Kalimāt*, 29, Bin Shihāb, *Ādāt*, 22–3, and 96, n. 44. According to al-Ṣabbān the *khayba'ān* is also performed on *ṣubḥa*-day (*Ādāt*, 107). According to Serjeant, the *khayba'ān* mentions the women of the household by name so that secrecy sticks to this genre (*Prose*, 43).

⁸ Bin Shihāb, *Ādāt*, 22: written by poets after a request by the bride's family. Serjeant, however, comments, that they are often written by poets or *shaykhs* who don't want to admit it (*Prose*, 43). See also Rodionov, 'Zhenskaya poeziya Aravii', 232.

⁹ Which has given the song its name, cf. Bin Shihāb, *Ādāt*, 22.

¹⁰ At the same time used as the name of that song (*ibid.*, 22–3, and 96, n. 44, Aydarūs, *Kalimāt*, 102).

¹¹ See in detail: al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 96, with a specimen 102. Another one is quoted by Serjeant (*Prose*, 168–9), who also gives a description of the song and the dance (*ibid.*, 43–4). See also Ja'far Muḥammad al-Saqqāf, *Lamahāt*, 92.

¹² al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 134, n. 131.

This performance is similar to the North Yemeni *barʿa*,¹³ some martial dances of the Gulf,¹⁴ and the *ʿidda* of the Hadramawt coast (*Sbarāra*) – armed men accompany the groom to the bride’s house, singing and leaping along with drum-beating.¹⁵

Another martial dance is *shabwānī*¹⁶ (IV 40, *Sbarāra*, *lāʾiḥa* 1, *lāʾiḥa* 2), a poetical competition according to local wedding traditions, accompanied by dances performed in two rows, each dancer in one row interacting with his counterpart.¹⁷ Hans Helfritz describes the ceremonies performed on the occasion of the return from travel, presented by two or three hundred men singing and dancing with large sticks being thrown and caught in intervals, and the following poetical competition.¹⁸ *Zarbādī* (*lāʾiḥa* 1, *lāʾiḥa* 2) denotes a team of usually five musicians, a folk music group for weddings,¹⁹ with drums of different kinds and a sort of flute, either *mizmār*²⁰ or *madrūf*.²¹ *Zarbādī* is also explained as a coastal dance²² similar to women’s *zafīn*, a common dance by men and women.²³ It is distinguished by the lightness of the rhythm, similar to *raqsat al-zarbādī* for men, and consists of a number of beats on the drum (*tubūl*) by a group of female musicians (*mushtariḥāt*),²⁴ who are mentioned in several festive contexts (IV 3, 24, GhBW 1, GhBW 2, *lāʾiḥa* 1, *Sbarāra*) always for the purpose of fee (*tarḥ*)²⁵ regulation. In one place,

¹³ See the recent monograph by Stohrer, *Barʿa*.

¹⁴ Braune, *Küstenmusik*, 246. See the detailed description *ibid.*, 262–4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 244. See also the *ʿidda*-dance as part of the ibex hunt ceremonies in Wadi Hadramawt (I.3.3 The ibex hunt).

¹⁶ al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 94. For detailed description see Serjeant, *Prose*, 26–9 after Landberg, *Glossaire*, II, 1244. al-ʿAydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 52. al-Shāṭirī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-ḥadramī*, 285: originating from Shabwa. Bin Shihāb rejects this etymology; according to him the dance was brought from India in the second half of the third [ninth] century because of the relationship between India and the al-Quʿayṭīs in al-Shiḥr and al-Mukallā (*ʿĀdāt*, 46–7). See also Freitag, *Indian Ocean Migrants*, 331.

¹⁷ Braune, *Küstenmusik*, 259, with detailed description 258–62. Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 46–7.

¹⁸ Helfritz, *Südarabien*, 53, photographs nos. 80–2.

¹⁹ Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Dalīl*, 194. ʿAydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 43: *zurbādī*.

²⁰ See the photograph of a *mizmār*, coll. by Rodionov (Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, *The Land of Incense*, 51).

²¹ Rodionov, personal observations from 1983 to 2006.

²² Braune, *Küstenmusik*, 246 (*zurbādī*).

²³ al-ʿAydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 41; Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 48, and 95, n. 16, and 96, n. 33. Bā Ṣadiq, *Turāth*, 272. Cf. Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *passim* in the chapter on wedding customs (*Dalīl*, 191–205). Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, Arabic 480, Engl. 483, commentary 488. Landberg, *Glossaire*, III, 1844. Synonym is *raqsat al-rayd* (ʿAwaḍ, *ʿĀdāt*, 3, column 2).

²⁴ Serjeant, *Prose*, 44; *id.*, ‘Marriage’, Arabic 480, Engl. 483, commentary 488, see also 490. Al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 108: synonym is *muṭribha*. Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *passim* in the chapter on wedding customs (*Dalīl*, 191–205). Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 14, and 95, n. 15: not more than four. Landberg, *Etudes*, I, 619: *mushtariḥ* – celui qui chante en battant du tambour; Landberg, *Glossaire*, III, 2035: *shrḥ* – battre la mesure avec les deux mains en chantant, *tasharraḥa* – danser.

²⁵ See I.2.3.1 Gifts and gratuities.

however, drum beating by women is explicitly restricted to weddings and the bride's first visit to her father's house after the wedding festivities (*kbatra*)²⁶ (IV 3).

Women dance to the drums' beat in a circle in front of the *mushtarīḥāt*. Two or four are rolling in front of each other or facing the drummers and the female audience jingling their anklets (*ḥujūl*).²⁷ They perform *na'īsh*, which is the shaking of the hair to the right and to the left.²⁸ Some minutes before *maghrib*, the bride dances the *zafīn*-dance in front of the attendant women, then the *kūbara* throws money as a remuneration for the bride's dancing (*tarḥ*) which is prohibited in one document (*Sharāra*). Freya Stark shows the photograph of a girl in Ḥurayḍa "dressed for the safina [*zafīn*] dance" wearing many thin plaits and a lot of jewellery around her neck and on her head.²⁹ She describes the dance as "done two by two and hand in hand, with almost imperceptible movement, stamping of feet and jingling of anklet bells."³⁰

*Habīsh*³¹ is a dance of males and females (*Sharāra*), *makhḍara*³² a song performance accompanied by lute (*ʿūd*), rebab (*rabāb*), tambourine (*daff*), dumbag (*dumbaq*), and flute (*nāy*), men dance the *zafīn* with it.³³ *Banī miḡbrāb*³⁴ (*lā'īḥa* 1) is a performance for men only with a singer who has a repertoire of *ḥumaynī* poetry,³⁵ usually mentioned in the context of the ibex hunt.³⁶ Later, other topics such as love, politics, etc. entered these poems.³⁷

²⁶ See I.2.3 Marriage.

²⁷ See I.5.1.2 Jewellery.

²⁸ Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 95, n. 17; cf. Serjeant, *Prose*, 44.

²⁹ Stark, *Winter*, plate [no. 6] (not numbered) after page X.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 131.

³¹ Variant of *sharḥ* (Braune, *Küstenmusik*, 241, 245). In the index *habīsh* is erroneously spelled with *ḥ* (337).

³² Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 50, and 94, n. 9.

³³ *Ibid.*, 50.

³⁴ Serjeant's etymological proposition for *miḡbrāb* is "a bitch set for hunting" (*Hunt*, 100, n. 164), while Bā Ṣadiq translates it as the chain around the neck of the hunting dogs (*Turāth*, 164) as well as Ja'far Muḥammad al-Saqqāf (*Lamaḥāt*, 31).

³⁵ Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 50. For *ḥumaynī* see Serjeant, *Prose*, 5–6, and in detail Wagner, *Joseph in Beauty*.

³⁶ See Bā Ṣadiq (*Turāth*, 108), Ja'far Muḥammad al-Saqqāf (*Lamaḥāt*, 29–33, with a poem on 33) and Serjeant, who gives one of the Arabic examples of hunting poetry all mentioning the term *banī miḡbrāb* (*Prose*, nos. 12–16, see also *ibid.*, 25–6) in English translation (*Hunt*, 39–41). He has collected recordings of such poems set to music (*ibid.*, 101, n. 193). According to Ho, it is "un long poème de chasse qui peut s'entendre également lors des mariages" ("Chasse", 97). The song presentations with dance (cf. Bā Ṣadiq, *Turāth*, 263: *raqsat banī miḡbrāb*) recall the hunt in ancient times (Serjeant, *Hunt*, 46). For the ibex hunt see I.3.3.

³⁷ Bā Ṣadiq, *Turāth*, 165–7.

As an individual, the double pipe (*mizmār*)³⁸ player (*muzammir*)³⁹ is mentioned (IV 24, 37, *lā'ihā* 1). Prohibited during all occasions is the professional female singer and reciter (*shahhādha*), reciting praising verse or songs⁴⁰ (IV 39).

4.2 Food and beverage

Yemeni food in general does not show a rich diversity. Nowadays in Hadramawt, where many imports are to be found, it seems even scarcer.⁴¹ In the documents, only a few kinds of food are mentioned, mainly as they are prohibited during all festive occasions, especially as gifts during the wedding days:⁴² the well-known porridge (*caṣīd*) (IV 36), dates (*burād*)⁴³ (*Sharāra*), wheat (*burr*) (IV 39), leavened bread (*mukbammār*)⁴⁴ (IV 3), sugar loafs in the shape of a pyramid imported from India (*rās qub*)⁴⁵ (IV 20, 36), broad beans (*fūl*) (IV 39), roasted and salted seeds of gourd (*hanzal*) (IV 39, *lā'ihā* 2), chickpeas (*ṣumbara*) (IV 39), small beans (*farfara*) (IV 39), almonds roasted in their husks⁴⁶ (*kāshān*)⁴⁷ (IV 39), meat (*lahm*) (IV 3, 36), meat with vegetable sauce (*ṣāna*)⁴⁸ (IV 39), the common cake (*ka'k*)⁴⁹ (IV 3, 20, 24, 39) made of flour, eggs, and ghee, baked in an oven (*tannūr*),⁵⁰ usually

³⁸ Ibid., 103–4, 267: *mizmār abū/dbū qaṣabatayn*; Braune, *Küstenmusik*, 138, 139; RWH 112, 164, 198, fig. 27. Cf. Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 508.

³⁹ Cf. *ibid.*

⁴⁰ Serjeant, 'Marriage', 492. Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Datīl*, 199, 200, 203 (both spellings). "[...] the duties of this woman known as *shahhādhab*, a *miskīnah* by class of course, lie in blessing, praising, and tending the *mibkharah* [incense burner, cf. Schönig, *Schminken*, 172]; these women also give the cries of joy (*hadjīr*) [*hajīr*; see I.2.3 Marriage, n. 105]. If it is a sad occasion, they wail." (Serjeant, *Prose*, 44). Bā Ṣadiq, *Turāth*, 113–14: originally the root is *sh-h-t*, rarely *sh-h-dh* is used. She is always from the *dallāl* strata and has to recite three *qaṣā'id* (Bā Fuṭaym, Ja'far al-Saqqāf, see Introduction 4.3.1 Informants). Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 247a/b: *shāhidh*: gypsy paid to sing on festive occasions.

⁴¹ See al-Ṣabbān on festive meals (*Ādāt*, 112) and the import of food with its terminology by the emigrants (*Ādāt*, 113). For the diet and its development and change see RWH 134–6.

⁴² al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 137, n. 19. The food gifts have been listed as they were understood as a loan (*salaf*) which one returned on appropriate occasions (Bin Shihāb, *Ādāt*, 17). al-Ṣabbān mentions also the old tradition to give meat to the female friends and the woman who washes one's hands after eating (*Ādāt*, 111).

⁴³ Cf. *burād* (Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1, 185a).

⁴⁴ al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 137, n. 199: also *khamīr*, cf. Kanafani, *Aesthetics*, 31, for the UAE with a description of preparation.

⁴⁵ al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 71, n. 39.

⁴⁶ Al-Saqqaf, 'Linguistics', 82. Boxberger, *Empire*, 144: peanuts.

⁴⁷ When a short vowel occurs in a source word (< Javanese: *kacang*), it can be lengthened (Al-Saqqaf, 'Linguistics', 82, 90). In addition the sound change č > š has been effected (*ibid.*, 83). Al-ʿAydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 86: *kūshān*.

⁴⁸ The meal and its name borrowed from India (al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 137, n. 182).

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 64; Serjeant et al., 'Food', 554.

⁵⁰ ʿAwaḍ, *Ādāt*, 6, column 2. For the common *tannūr* see Serjeant et al., 'Food', 543 with n. 17.

sprinkled with black cumin seeds,⁵¹ and also once mentioned, a Javanese kind (*kurway*)⁵² (IV 39) made of wheat flour, eggs and white sugar.⁵³ On special occasions,⁵⁴ a specific set (*taqdūm*)⁵⁵ of biscuits, sweets (*ḥalāwā*), and tea is offered, such as upon the arrival of the musicians (*mushtarīḥāt*)⁵⁶ or before the funeral procession leaves the house.⁵⁷ It is completely prohibited during wedding festivities, after circumcision (*khitān*), and in the rural areas (*rīf*) among Bedouin nomads (*al-badū al-ruḥḥal*) (*Sharāra*).

More important in the context of feasts and hospitality are the coffee and tea ceremonies: “[...] no matter how poorly furnished a room may be there will always be a corner set aside for the important ritual of coffee or tea making.”⁵⁸

4.2.1 Coffee⁵⁹

Coffee (*qabrwa*)⁶⁰ was introduced to Hadramawt from Yemen and Jabal Yāfi‘ in the middle of the 15th century⁶¹ and there have always been discussions on the permission or prohibition, according to the religious law, as it has been in all other Arab countries. Along with wine, coffee has been extolled for its invigorating effect by the Hadrami mystic poets ‘Umar Bā Makhrama⁶² (d. 952/1546) up to ‘Umar b. Saqqāf al-Ṣāfi (d. 1216/1801–2). There are numerous references in the *qaṣāʾid* by ‘Abd al-Ṣamad Bā Kathīr (955/1548–9–1025/1616).⁶³

From the end of the 16th century on, coffee has entered every house in Wadi Hadramawt. The most important time to drink coffee was in the morning (*qabrwat*

⁵¹ Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 432b. Wheat, egg, white and brown (*aḥmar*) sugar, cardamom (*ḥayl*) and black cumin (after ‘Abd al-Qādir Muḥammad al-Ṣabbān, see Introduction 4.3.1 Informants), cf. Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 1076: with water and without sugar. For black cumin seeds of *Nigella sativa* L., *ḥabba sarwāʿ*, see Schöng, *Schminken*, s. v. *quḥṭa*.

⁵² al-‘Aydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 86.

⁵³ al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 64.

⁵⁴ Bin Shihāb, *Ādāt*, 92: a meal (not specified) by the relatives of the dead for those present before the funeral.

⁵⁵ Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, 488.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Bin Shihāb, *Ādāt*, 92.

⁵⁸ D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 93.

⁵⁹ al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 152–6, also al-id., *Dalīl*, 48–52; ‘Awaḍ, *Ādāt*, 6, column 2–3, chapter “al-qahwa”. For the influence of coffee on Yemeni poetry see Bā Ṣadiq (*Turāth*, 39–51), and also his chapter on tea (ibid., 52–65). For coffee in North Yemen see Serjeant et al., ‘Food’, 556–7.

⁶⁰ Today in Yemen ‘*qabrwa*’ mostly denotes the more frequently consumed beverage made of coffee husks, also called *qisbr* or *sharīkb*. Consequently we find *qabrwat al-bunn* to avoid ambiguity (‘Awaḍ, *Ādāt*, 4, column 3).

⁶¹ al-Shāṭiri gives in fact the 8th [14th] century, which seems to be too early (*al-Taʾrīkh al-ḥadramī*, 280).

⁶² The most important Hadrami Sufi poet of the Middle Ages, cf. RWH 51.

⁶³ al-Ṣabbān, *Dalīl*, 51. For the poet see the diwan of his poems collected and commented by al-Ṣabbān who also wrote a biography of the poet (*‘Abd al-Ṣamad Bā Kathīr*).

al-dahī), mentioned in anecdotes and local poems,⁶⁴ but it was also consumed during daily gatherings.⁶⁵ The houses had a special place to prepare coffee in the middle of the gathering, called *ruqda*, covered by a cotton mattress, on which the man or woman in charge sits,⁶⁶ and there exist many different preparations with ingredients such as almonds or honey.⁶⁷ Coffee has been very often prepared either from beans or husks (*qisbr*),⁶⁸ with ginger, and with or without sugar. There is an area in the living room (*ghurfat al-istiqbāl*) where the housewife or an elderly woman prepared the coffee.

Beans were also exchanged as presents. The tradition of bringing coffee berries (*jafal*), coffee in a husk,⁶⁹ for instance in the locally produced box made of palm fronds⁷⁰ (*daray*),⁷¹ was part of the etiquette of receiving visitors (IV 39),⁷² but not commonly approved of (IV 36). It was also “customary for travellers to offer a handful of coffee to the host on entering a house.”⁷³ The host roasted and ground the beans, then turned them around to the guests on wicker mats (*masārif*) to smell the flavour before they were prepared to drink.⁷⁴ This tradition was called *tahmīs*, literally: coffee roasting.⁷⁵ Two documents (IV 24, 39) are supposed to refer to this custom. They prohibit coffee beans (*bunn*) during wedding feasts, and respectively during all kind of gatherings of men and of women. Coffee became, however, part of wedding rites⁷⁶ such as *khaṭra*.⁷⁷ Doreen Ingrams describes it as a part of the *ṣubḥa*-meeting, when bride, groom, and both their fathers assembled.⁷⁸ Assisting a wedding ceremony at the groom’s house in Ḥurayḍa (Wadi ‘Amd), Doreen Ingrams noticed that several of the guests threw handfuls of coffee beans on a mat in front of the groom and she was told that this is done for “only those

⁶⁴ al-Shāṭirī, *al-Ta’rīkh al-ḥaḍramī*, 280–1.

⁶⁵ Cf. Kanafani on the importance of coffee in UAE households: “The household that does not have or offer coffee is no home, and its dwellers are stripped of social recognition.” (*Aesthetics*, 39).

⁶⁶ al-Ṣabbān, *Dalīl*, 48–9; id., *‘Ādāt*, 152.

⁶⁷ Id., *Dalīl*, 49, 51.

⁶⁸ D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 157: “the commonest drink in the Protectorate.”

⁶⁹ Landberg, *Etudes*, I, 86; see also *ibid.*, II/2, 1056.

⁷⁰ They are produced in Shibām and al-Shiḥr (al-Ṣabbān, *‘Ādāt*, 71, n. 39).

⁷¹ al-‘Āmirī, *Maṭbakh*, 7 (= *daraja*, cf. above: Note on usage, translation and transliteration). They are like pyramids and multi-coloured (al-Ṣabbān, *‘Ādāt*, 136, n. 177). Coffee berries, but also sugar and ginger are kept in it (id., *Dalīl*, 46, 51).

⁷² D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 157; van den Berg, *Hadbramout*, 68.

⁷³ D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 157, similarly Stark, *Winter*, 212.

⁷⁴ al-Ṣabbān, *‘Ādāt*, 58. According to Doreen Ingrams some beans were taken to chew (*Survey*, 158).

⁷⁵ al-Ṣabbān, *‘Ādāt*, 135, n. 161. According to Landberg also with *ṣād* (*Glossaire*, I, 494). See below n. 96.

⁷⁶ Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Dalīl*, *passim* in the chapter on marriage customs (191–205). See also RWH 146–7. See also I.2.3 Marriage.

⁷⁷ al-Ṣabbān, *‘Ādāt*, 110.

⁷⁸ D. Ingrams, *Time*, 68, also al-Ṣabbān, *‘Ādāt*, 107. ‘Awāḍ, *‘Ādāt*, 10, column 1: during *khaṭra*.

who have been invited to lunch tomorrow and the beans will be used for their coffee.⁷⁹ In the documents coffee is allowed to be served as a beverage during several wedding feasts (IV 20, *Sharāra*),⁸⁰ where it is ground by a special woman (*daqqāqa*) (*Sharāra*).⁸¹ Coffee became obligatory in all longer gatherings, as well as during religious feasts such as *mawlid al-nabī* (*al-mawlid al-nabawī*), *kbatm al-qurʿān* and the nights in Ramadan⁸² (IV 39), and it was also part of mourning ceremonies⁸³ (*lāʾiḥa* 2).

The coffee set (*ʿiddat al-qabwa*)⁸⁴ seems to have been accepted as an important and integral part of the household. In the documents (IV 5, 39), the items of a coffee set are listed as following: a stove (*bābūr*⁸⁵ / *kānūn*⁸⁶)⁸⁷ with its seat (*qaʿāda*),⁸⁸ a wooden mortar (*minḥāz*),⁸⁹ a stone (*maṣṣal*) or wooden pestle (*quṣra*),⁹⁰ from one to five coffee kettles (*dalla*),⁹¹ from one to three metal trays (*maʿshara*)⁹² with cups (*fin-jān*),⁹³ a small box (*ṣandūq*) for coffee berries (*jaḥal*) and sugar (*ṣunkar*), eight wicker mats (*masrafa*),⁹⁴ six brass sugar boxes (*tibla*), tongs (*kalba*)⁹⁵ to take the hot coal (*jamr*), a seat (*qaʿāda*) for a pan to roast coffee (*miḥmās*),⁹⁶ a container for hot coal

⁷⁹ D. Ingrams, *Time*, 55–6.

⁸⁰ Prohibited, however, in *lāʾiḥa* 2.

⁸¹ Likely *umm al-mawqad* may denote the woman who prepares not only coffee, but also food (*Sharāra*).

⁸² See I.3.1 Ramadan.

⁸³ al-Ṣabbān, *Dalīl*, 51. At pilgrimages to graves (Ho, *Graves*, 85–6 with fig. 13 ‘Coffee implements at the grave of the Migrant’). See also I.2.4 Death.

⁸⁴ See the photograph and description of a coffee set used among the Yemenite Jews in the 19th/20th centuries (Muchawsky-Schnapper, *Jews*, 34–5).

⁸⁵ Cf. the tea set.

⁸⁶ al-Ṣabbān, *Dalīl*, 52; ʿAydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 82.

⁸⁷ ʿAwaḍ, *ʿĀdāt*, 6, column 4–7, column 1.

⁸⁸ al-ʿAydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 79: *qaʿāda*. Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, Arabic 479, Engl. 482, commentary 485: bed.

⁸⁹ al-ʿĀmirī, *Maṭbakh*, 7; al-Ṣabbān, *Dalīl*, 49, 52. Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 98, n. 71: made from tamarisk (*atbl*) wood; even made from stone. al-ʿAydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 91: mortar. See the photograph of a *minḥāz*, coll. by P. I. Pogorelsky (Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, *The Land of Incense*, 86); see Topham, *Crafts*, 104, photograph no. 244.

⁹⁰ RWH 96, there: *qawṣara*.

⁹¹ al-Ṣabbān, *Dalīl*, 51; ʿAwaḍ, *ʿĀdāt*, 6, column 3; Landberg, *Etudes*, I, 575; Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, 493; al-ʿAydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 33; made of brass, bronze and iron (ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Adawāt al-maṭbakh*, chapter 6 with photographs); made of porcelain (*khazaf*) (Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 29, and 98, n. 73). Generic name for a coffee pot (Topham, *Crafts*, 168, photographs nos. 234, 248–52, 254). Also *kuʿda*, made of porcelain (*khazaf*) (al-ʿAydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 87, al-ʿĀmirī, *Maṭbakh*, 7, Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 20, 29).

⁹² Cf. the tea set.

⁹³ Cf. the tea set.

⁹⁴ ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Adawāt al-maṭbakh*, chapter 2, with photographs; al-Ṣabbān, *Dalīl*, 46; al-ʿĀmirī, *Maṭbakh*, 7.

⁹⁵ al-ʿAydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 82. Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 1080: Beißzange.

⁹⁶ Actually with *ṣad*. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Adawāt al-maṭbakh*, chapter 6; al-Ṣabbān, *Dalīl*, 51. al-ʿĀmirī, *Maṭbakh*, 7: made of *khazaf* (pottery, porcelain) or metal. Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 285:

(*ṣakbr*), a ceramic basin (*laqan*), and in addition to that, drinking glasses (*kāsat*⁹⁷ *al-shurb*) and their seats (*qa'āda*), two in number.

Coffee was the most commonly consumed beverage until tea (*shābī*)⁹⁸ was brought to Hadramawt.⁹⁹ But still today it is used during religious (breaking the fast, pilgrimages) and special social and ritual contexts (weddings, the ibex hunt¹⁰⁰).¹⁰¹

4.2.2 Tea¹⁰²

Tea (*shābī*)¹⁰³ was brought to Hadramawt at the beginning of the 14th/ end of 19th century¹⁰⁴ by the *sayyid* Hāmid b. ʿAbdallāh al-Junayd, originating from Tarīm,¹⁰⁵ and others coming from the Ḥijāz and the Far East.¹⁰⁶ At first, its consumption was limited to rich people,¹⁰⁷ but soon it started to compete with coffee and finally replaced it in various respects.¹⁰⁸ Tea is imported from India, Singapore, and Indonesia;¹⁰⁹ among the different kinds one can find Indian tea, Liftun [Lipton], al-ʿAṭṭās, al-Bā Salāma, Bin Ṭālib, and Mashʿabī.¹¹⁰ There are numerous vessels and items for tea preparation¹¹¹ and they are obligatory for every household and have been included in the bride's dowry, as it formerly was for the coffee equipment.¹¹² Tea sets (*ʿiddat al-shābī*)¹¹³ nowadays even seem to be one of the

miḥmas – kleine Kohlenpfanne. Long-handled iron pan (Topham, *Crafts*, 104, photograph no. 240).

⁹⁷ al-ʿAydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 84: glass.

⁹⁸ See I.4.2.2 Tea.

⁹⁹ al-Shāṭirī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-ḥaḍramī*, 281.

¹⁰⁰ See Serjeant, *Hunt*, 46–7; I.3.3 Ibex hunt.

¹⁰¹ Ho, *Graves*, 86.

¹⁰² For the history of tea, its influence on Yemeni poetry, and for the competition between coffee and tea see Bā Ṣadiq, *Turāth*, 52–65, mostly after al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 156–62 (shorter also in id., *Dalīl*, 52–3); ʿAwaḍ, *ʿĀdāt*, 6, column 3, 7, column 1, chapter “al-shāy wa-l-marʿa”; cf. also the last paragraph of this chapter.

¹⁰³ In Hadramawt *shābī* (al-Ṣabbān, *Dalīl*, 52). In the documents, alternatively *shāy* and *shābī* are used.

¹⁰⁴ al-Ṣabbān gives exactly 1319 (*ʿĀdāt*, 15).

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 156.

¹⁰⁶ al-Shāṭirī, *al-Taʾrīkh al-ḥaḍramī*, 281 with n. 2; al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 156; D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 158: owing to the East Indian connection. Serjeant et al., ‘Food’, 557: brought from the Far East. In Ṣanʿāʿ and in North Yemen it has been introduced much later, the 1940s or even 1950s.

¹⁰⁷ The very first in Sayʿūn was the poet ʿAlī Muḥammad al-Ḥabshī in 1326 (al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 157).

¹⁰⁸ Coffee usage is still practised mostly among the Bedouins (id., *Ḥayāt al-bādiya*, 37).

¹⁰⁹ Id., *Dalīl*, 52. D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 158: Javanese brands of tea are the most popular.

¹¹⁰ al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 157; al-Maḥfāfī, *Muʿjam*, 2, 1537: Āl al-Mashʿabī belong to the Ṣayʿar tribes.

¹¹¹ In detail with terminology al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 160–2.

¹¹² Ibid., 157, cf. ʿAwaḍ, *ʿĀdāt*, 10, column 2.

most important pieces of household equipment¹¹⁴ and are conspicuous in the sparsely furnished Hadrami houses. In the documents, it is prohibited to give the bride a tea set before or after her wedding, but mainly as a part of the dowry¹¹⁵ (IV 18, 20, 36, 37, 39). The tea set may be shown in the house, but not displayed for decorative purposes (IV 39). It shall be purchased by the young couple within the sum which can be disposed for their furniture (*lā'ihā* 1; cf. *lā'ihā* 2).

According to the documents (IV 39, *lā'ihā* 1, *lā'ihā* 2), the tea set comprises: a metal¹¹⁶ stove (*bābūr*),¹¹⁷ a samovar (*samāwir*)¹¹⁸ (Fig. 47) or steam vessel (*bukhbārī*)¹¹⁹ with its stand (*kursī*),¹²⁰ several larger metal trays (*ma'shara*)¹²¹ for different functions, two dozen cups (*fñjān*),¹²² a dozen boxes for sugar (*ta'bur*),¹²³ two dozen nickel-plated (*tabṣī*)¹²⁴ tea spoons, a basin (*laqan*)¹²⁵ to wash the cups, a dozen small saucers (*ma'shara*), four boxes for sugar and tea, two boxes for tongs (*kalba*),¹²⁶ a water jug (*kūz*)¹²⁷ containing the water to fill the *bukhbārī*, a vessel for dirty water (*mīfala*), a metal box (*qaṣ'a*)¹²⁸ for charcoal (*ṣakbr*),¹²⁹ and four small teapots (*bar-rād*),¹³⁰ and a vessel (*zabriyya*) to strain tea.

¹¹³ See the description in D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 158, and the photograph 'Utensils for making tea', *ibid.*, Plate XXIII (after p. 96).

¹¹⁴ This is very much reflected in children's paintings within the Yemeni-German Shibām Urban Development Project run by the Yemeni General Organisation for the Preservation of Historic Cities of Yemen (GOPHCY) and the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) (Fouad, *Shibam*, section on "Unique Scenes from Shibami Daily Life").

¹¹⁵ According to al-Ṣabbān the bride was equipped with a tea as well as a coffee set (‘*Ādāt*, 113, see also *ibid.*, 158).

¹¹⁶ al-‘Āmirī, *Maṭbakh*, 7: = *kānūn*.

¹¹⁷ al-Ṣabbān, *Dalīl*, 53: belongs to the tea set, but it is also mentioned as part of the coffee set.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* According to D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 94, the samovar is only to be found among families with East Indian or Indian connections.

¹¹⁹ al-‘Aydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 9. al-Shāṭirī, *al-Ta'rikh al-hadramī*, 281, n. 3: made from copper. In *lā'ihā* 1, however, only the *bukhbārī*, the Oriental variation of Russian samovar, is permitted. Bā Ṣadiq lists the *bukhbārī* among ‘*iddat al-samāwir*’ (*Turāth*, 60).

¹²⁰ The name *kursī* is used for stands in general, mainly for the Qur’ān.

¹²¹ A multifunctional tray: the coffee cups are put on it (al-Ṣabbān, *Dalīl*, 49; ‘*Awaḍ*, ‘*Ādāt*, 6, column 2). This kind of tray is used for other household purposes, too (cf. coffee set). Often made from copper (Iryānī, *Mu'jam*, 628); a sort of metal tray or bowl (Serjeant, ‘*Marriage*’, 489); cf. Behnstedt, *Glossar*, 144: große, runde Untertasse, gewöhnlich aus Messing, auf welche man die Wasserpfeifen stellt.

¹²² Made of white transparent glass (al-Ṣabbān, *Dalīl*, 53; ‘*Awaḍ*, ‘*Ādāt*, 6, column 4). Cf. the coffee set.

¹²³ al-Ṣabbān, ‘*Ādāt*, 161: *qaṣ'at ta'bur*, cf. *lā'ihā* 1.

¹²⁴ Actually: large tray (al-Ṣabbān, ‘*Ādāt*, 161; al-‘Aydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 18: *tibsī*); metal tray (Pimenta, *Dictionary*, 48b).

¹²⁵ Pot en terre cuite (Landberg, *Etudes*, I, 711). In modern times it can be made of glass or other material, cf. al-Ṣabbān, ‘*Ādāt*, 161.

¹²⁶ Cf. the coffee set.

¹²⁷ But also synonym of *dalla* (‘*Awaḍ*, ‘*Ādāt*, 7, column 1). Behnstedt, *Glossar*, 185: irdener, poröser Krug.

¹²⁸ Box for sugar or charcoal (al-Ṣabbān, *Dalīl*, 53, 161).

Competition between coffee and tea was a topic of a special genre of disputes in verse¹³¹ and was reflected e.g. in the *maqāma* of ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Umar Shu-bayr¹³² (d. 1341/1922–3) with its general conclusion: coffee is for elderly righteous men, whereas tea should be drunk by younger people engaged in commerce and the pleasures of this life.¹³³ In their poems,¹³⁴ tea enthusiasts such as Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Alī al-Ḥāmid (1320/1902–3–1386/1966–7),¹³⁵ the mufti of Say‘ūn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Ubaydallāh al-Saqqāf (1300/1883–1375/1956),¹³⁶ and his contemporary Ḥusayn Muḥammad Bā Rajā‘,¹³⁷ praised tea in Sufi terminology as the key to eternity, the honey of the spring of Paradise Salsabīl, and the universal cure for all diseases.

¹²⁹ Landberg, *Glossaire*, III, 1911: *sakbr* et Ḥḍr. *ṣakbr*, sous l’influence de *kb*, en Ḥḍr. charbon de bois; *ibid.*, 2120: *ṣakbr* – *charbon de bois*.

¹³⁰ Cf. al-Ṣabbān, *Dalīl*, 52–3; D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 158.

¹³¹ Cf. also al-Ṣabbān, *‘Ādāt*, 157.

¹³² Serjeant gives his *laqab* as Shu‘ayra (*Prose*, 59).

¹³³ Serjeant, *Prose*, 59, no. 4, text 38–53 (Arabic pagination); the *maqāma* was translated and analysed by Rodionov, ‘Spor dvukh napitkov’.

¹³⁴ al-Ṣabbān cites poems by ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Ḥabshī (d. 1333/1914–15), Ṣāliḥ b. ‘Alī al-Ḥāmid, ‘Alī Aḥmad Bā Kathīr (1910–69), etc. (*‘Ādāt*, 158–60).

¹³⁵ Freitag, *Indian Ocean Migrants*, 473. He is mentioned in document IV 47.

¹³⁶ Freitag, *Indian Ocean Migrants*, 176–80, and in other places (see her index).

¹³⁷ ‘Alī Bā Rajā‘ unpublished notes and personal communication 2006.

5 Women in the documents

5.1 Dress and jewellery

5.1.1 Clothing¹

The documents under examination give extremely detailed information concerning women's attire and related accessories. The generic term for women's dress is *thawb*² (Figs. 27, 28) and *jubba* is a long outer garment, open in the front.³ There is a special kind of dress which is longer in the back, with a 'tail' (*dhayl*).⁴ *Dir*,⁵ a sleeveless and simple rectangular dress of thin fabric which is still well-known all over Yemen, is only mentioned in the post-sultanate sources (*lā'ihā* 1, *Sharāra*). Also *fustān*,⁶ common all over the Arab world, in our context however denotes a wedding dress (*Sharāra*). In GhBW 2 (1927), women, with the exception of old women, are encouraged to wear *kurta*,⁷ a short dress. The basic body shirt (*qamīs*), normally for both sexes,⁸ wide-bodied and very wide-sleeved,⁹ is mentioned only as a female outer garment (IV 3, 5); *qamīs tafqūra*,¹⁰ a women's dress with a low neckline, is prohibited in the documents if made of glittering fabrics (IV 18).

Today clothes are no longer produced in Tarīm, but imported from Indonesia bearing Hadrami names as trademarks. The Indonesian influence is evident in

¹ See the rare collection of photographs of Hadrami women in Stark, *Hadbramaut*. See also the chapter on "Dress" in D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 94–6, on "Dress and Jewellery" in Freitag and Schönig, 'Wise Men', 82–6, and the chapter on "Female Clothing" mainly in al-Hajarayn, Upper 'Amd, and the coastal region, with photographs and references to the early European travellers' reports in RWH 126–9 with references to Krachkovskaya's works on the topic ('Zhenskiy kostyum Hadramauta'; 'Zhenskaya odezhda Hadramauta').

² A general word for garment and fabrics (Stillman, *Arab dress*, 12), a basic robe for both sexes (ibid., 58). The shape varies little throughout Arabia (Topham, *Crafts*, 96), for Oman cf. Morris and Shelton, *Oman*, 144.

³ al-'Aydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 20. For its cultural history and use in early times see Dozy, *Vêtements*, 107–17; Stillman, *Arab dress*, 12.

⁴ Bin Shihāb, *Ādāt*, 28, RWH 127. Similarly in Oman (Morris and Shelton, *Oman*, 327).

⁵ The word *dir*(a) formerly denoted a coat of chain mail originating from Iran (see Stillman, *Arab Dress*, 19). Dozy, however, refers to *dir* as an exclusively female dress so that it had been used by poets as a synonym for women (*Vêtements*, 176–7).

⁶ Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 941: *fistān*.

⁷ Serjeant, 'Marriage', Arabic 479, Engl. 482, commentary 486: Persian (via India) for a skirt (cf. Ḥaddād 'Wathīqa', 5); 487: worn by the bride on her wedding night when receiving her husband.

⁸ D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 95: "A popular dress for the more well-to-do townsmen in the Eastern Aden Protectorate is a long white *gamis* or 'nightshirt' worn over the shirt and *futa* [*fūta*, male's loincloth, kilt, cf. RWH 130]." Other robes or tunics may be worn over the top of it (Stillman, *Arab dress*, 11–12).

⁹ Mundy, 'Dress', 533, 536 with n. 54.

¹⁰ 'Awad, *Ādāt*, 10, column 2.

the styles and names of dresses. Several dresses of Javanese¹¹ origin and style are mentioned in the context of restrictions and prohibitions: blouses (*masādir*) and sarongs (*ṣawārīm*) were limited to a certain degree of decoration and jewellery (IV 39), and it was even prohibited to tailor the decorated *jās*, a Java-dress which may be green or red (IV 3). The Indonesian dress *kibāya*¹² is explicitly allowed (IV 3). The combination of sarong (*ṣārūn*, *ṣārūm*),¹³ usually a man's kilt,¹⁴ and a blouse (*masdara*) was a popular female dress¹⁵ (IV 5, 39). Women who have to leave the house, e.g. to fetch water, shall wear trousers (*sirwāl*)¹⁶ (IV 3, GhBW 1) or stockings (*khufūf*) (GhBW 2), and the covering (*tarqīda*) shall be ordinary (GhBW 1).¹⁷

Dress which is prohibited in the documents may still be worn inside one's own house, e.g. items made of *maqlama*¹⁸ (Fig. 26), a striped fabric, with silk or silver thread (*tall*) (GhBW 2).

5.1.1.1 Silk dress

Islamic prescriptions on silk (*ḥarīr*) are very different concerning sex, the item in which silk is used, and the occasions, and they depend of course from the particular *madhhab*.¹⁹ Silk was frequently worn by Hadrami women²⁰ and accordingly is mentioned quite often in the sources. The oldest document (GhBW 1, 1904) reports an agreement on the prohibition of all silk dresses. In 1927, one concedes that those who already have silk dresses may wear them within their house

¹¹ Ho, *Graves*, 66: “Jāwā [...] a synecdoche standing for ‘island Southeast Asia’ in Hadrami parlance”. In the late 19th century entitled a foreign source of corruption, after unification Java signifies “the prospect of recuperating the past glory” (ibid., 67).

¹² Alkalali, *Kamus*, 239.

¹³ In this case (< Javanese: *sarung*) consonant emphasis in the environment of back quality vowels has become effective (Al-Saqqaf, ‘Linguistics’, 83, 91). In addition the sound change [ŋ] > n has been effected (ibid., 84).

¹⁴ Worn by grooms of all social strata (al-Ṣabbān, *‘Ādāt*, 96–7). Nowadays different colours and patterns are restricted to either male or female use according to Indonesian usage (Ho, *Graves*, 89).

¹⁵ Actually both pieces have been men's dress (al-Ṣabbān, *‘Ādāt*, 96–7, 142, id., *Dalīl*, 27; RWH 106, 130–1), the blouse was abandoned three or four decades ago (ibid., 130). See also Boxberger, *Empire*, 144. D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 95: “Many women belonging to families connected with the East Indies have adopted the Javanese or Malay dress, batik sarong and short coat – the *baju* of Malaya, known as a *mazdara* in the Hadhramaut.”

¹⁶ al-Ṣabbān, *‘Ādāt*, 143. Trousers are understood as an undergarment. For the use of *sirwāl* from pre-Islamic times see Dozy, *Vêtements*, 203–9; Stillman, *Arab dress*, 10–11.

¹⁷ Cf. the photographs of women in the streets of al-Hajarayn (at the occasion of a wedding) and Tarīm dressed and covered totally in black (Stark, *Hadhramaut*, 122, 212).

¹⁸ According to Ḥaddād, *maqlama*, *nuqba* and *khimār* are synonyms (‘Wathīqa’, 5).

¹⁹ See Steensgaard, ‘*ḥarīr*’, 209b–210a. See also Stillman, *Arab Dress*, 22. Bā ‘Alawī gives *fatāwā* regulations on the use of silk in womens' matters (*Bughya*, 81).

²⁰ al-Ṣabbān, *‘Ādāt*, 140.

(GhBW 2). Later on, silk, including *ḥāfūnī* (IV 37) and *shūt*²¹ (IV 36) is allowed only for the bride on wedding days (IV 3, 36, 37), respectively, for four months after the wedding (IV 39). The wife of a returning migrant or women recovered from delivery are allowed to wear silk dresses too (IV 3). One document (IV 43) presents a petition by members of the Reform Council (Majlis al-Iṣlāḥ)²² that the bride should be allowed to wear silk more often than a mother during her *wuḥfā*-feast or the emigrant's wife. Young girls (*muqammaza*),²³ however, are not allowed to wear silk at all (IV 3).

Silk dresses worn by the *masākīn*-stratum,²⁴ during wedding celebrations with dancing and singing and other occasions are restricted to a certain maximum price (IV 18, 20). They are recommended to have cotton linings (*taṣnīf*), simple pieces of fabric without any decoration or application,²⁵ to keep the silk from touching the skin (IV 3). The mostly coloured silk dress (*mujawwāqa*)²⁶ with bands (*yāqa*) at the neckline, the sleeves, and the hem is allowed unless it has wide sleeves (IV 39). Silk clothes such as *zaytūn* and *ʿinab* are not allowed at all (IV 24).

Only once the wedding costume (*kbiḥa*)²⁷ of striped silk or satin is mentioned (IV 20). In the 1930s they were gradually replaced by the silk dress (*mash*)²⁸ – which in the documents denotes only bright cotton or silk fabric bands (IV 3, 5). At the breast it is embroidered with *tall*²⁹ and is open in the back and front. In modern times it has started to be replaced by a white wedding dress.³⁰ According to the custom of celebrating several wedding days³¹ the bride usually has several dresses for the different occasions.³²

²¹ Brouwer, 'Textiles', 21: "Chintz, for instance, derived from Hindi *chint* or Sanskrit *chitra*," 26: "It is remarkable that *chits* or 'chintz', generally used as a collective term for printed or painted cottons in the secondary literature, only functions as a specific sort of fabric in the source materials examined here." Actually "chintz, printed calico" (Wehr, *Dictionary*). Dozy mentions even the expressions *shūt hindī* and *shūt yamanī* for "*indienne, toile de coton peinte*" (*Supplément*, I, 808b).

²² Cf. Freitag, *Indian Ocean Migrants*, 533.

²³ Girl under the marital age of ten (al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 137, n. 195), cf. Al-Ghabiri, 'Traditions'.

²⁴ See I.1.1 Social strata and quarter organisation.

²⁵ See also al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 137, n. 186. ʿAwaḍ, *ʿĀdāt*, 3, column 4: with *tall* and silk threads.

²⁶ Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 28, and 97, n. 61.

²⁷ al-Ṣabbān, *Daṭīl*, 26; ʿAwaḍ, *ʿĀdāt*, 3, column 4, and 10, column 2. al-ʿAydarūs, *Kalimāt*, 28: *kbiḥa*. See on the development of *kbiḥa* as robe of honour Stillman, *Arab Dress*, 120–37.

²⁸ al-Ṣabbān, *Daṭīl*, 27; ʿAwaḍ, *ʿĀdāt*, 3, column 4, and 10, column 2. Landberg, *Etudes*, I, 715: soie atlas. Cf. the rather frugal meanings of *mish* in Dozy, *Vêtements*, 405–7: worn by monks, slaves or mourning persons.

²⁹ See below n. 50.

³⁰ ʿAwaḍ, *ʿĀdāt*, 3, column 4.

³¹ See I.2.3 Marriage.

³² Cf. the three kinds of wedding dress shown in Maurières et al., *Reines*, 164–9; unfortunately no corresponding Arabic terminology is provided.

Also, the female guests may wear silk during wedding days. The regulations take into account the tradition of changing dress during one visit, which Schönig observed still being practised in 2000. The guests carry several dresses with them in a bag (*shanta*),³³ nowadays a simple plastic bag, or wrapped in a scarf (*buqsha*). They arrive in their ordinary dress, but then change during the course of the celebration.³⁴ Two documents mention this tradition. In one of them two dresses are allowed, one of silk, another of cotton thread (*ghazl*), crêpe de chine or expensive silk from China (*hāfūnī*) (IV 39). In the other case changing, and consequently carrying the bag (*shanta*), is prohibited (IV 24).

Silk is also prohibited in other items, e.g. in pillows (*tikāy*)³⁵ (IV 3). Mattresses (*jawdarī*)³⁶ (GhBW 2) should instead be of printed calico (*shīt*)³⁷ and filled with cotton (IV 39). Cotton (*ghazl*) is mentioned in several places as a material for dress (IV 3, 5, 39),³⁸ but is not allowed as a decoration (IV 20). The dress wrappers (*buqsha*)³⁹ and bags (*kīs*) for hair⁴⁰ should be of cotton, but not of silk, even artificial silk, such as *anānās* or similar material (IV 3, 39).

5.1.1.2 Decoration and ornaments

As the documents have been explicitly issued mainly to restrict conspicuous consumption and underline the moral concept of modesty, they insist on simple styles of all kind of dress and prohibit the manifold decorations in order to stem “immensely scandalous deeds” (IV 3). In 1938 Stark felt a responsibility for the restrictions: “Our Mansab has issued an order that spangles, sequins, cowrie shells and all such ornaments are to be abolished from the wardrobes of Hureidha. Consternation fills every harim. The ladies with sighs are snipping from their new dresses, just finished for the feast, the stars⁴¹ they wear so gracefully in the middle of their backs, swaying as they walk. And the sadness is that *we* are responsible for the tragedy. It is the sight of *our* dowdy clothes that inspires dress reform in the heart of the Mansab. He himself is a dandy, always immaculate, scented with

³³ Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, Arabic 479, Engl. 482.

³⁴ al-Šabbān, *Ādāt*, 137, n. 192: The women had changed their dresses up to five times during one *majlīs* or one day: the first dress for the *julūs*, another for *zafīn*, another for the meal, another for the *majlīs* after the meal. Cf. RWĦ 149.

³⁵ al-Šabbān mentions silk cushions among the bride’s equipment (‘*Ādāt*, 113).

³⁶ al-‘Aydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 21: *jidrī*.

³⁷ See above n. 21.

³⁸ Cf. ‘Awaḍ, *Ādāt*, 10, column 1–2.

³⁹ al-Šabbān, *Ādāt*, 137, n. 196: *maṣarr* or *mandīl*; al-‘Aydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 9; Dozy, *Vêtements*, 94; 95: *buqja* – serviette.

⁴⁰ For the artificial hair (*haml*) under the bride’s crown (cf. Figs. 29, 30) (according to Ja‘far Muḥammad al-Saqqāf, see Introduction 4.3.1 Informants). Cf. the ‘hairbag’ which has been used in Ta‘izz (Maurières et al., *Reines*, 150–1 with photographs).

⁴¹ *farba* (Fig. 27), see below n. 44.

sandalwood, his nails now pink with my varnish, which he asked for. [...] ‘Sequins,’ says the Qadhi, speaking for all, ‘cost a great deal of money and are no use.’ Social distinctions will be preserved by other means [...] this rule is now to be enforced with strictness, so that a lady may be known for a lady as she trails her shapeless garments through the dust. But the pretty spangles must go. ‘They cannot *wash* like your clothes,’ says the Mansab.”⁴²

Patching and embroidering clothes and putting beads (*hubūb*), cowries (*wadʿ*), and foil decoration (*qashfir*) on them are prohibited (IV 3). In Western Hadramawt, the back of dresses traditionally is more richly decorated than the front – less for aesthetic than magic reasons.⁴³ The conspicuous star (*farḥa*)⁴⁴ (Figs. 27, 28) on the back of a dress, which was previously mentioned by Stark,⁴⁵ and which was embroidered with sequins (*raʿsha*),⁴⁶ silver threads (*tall*),⁴⁷ or stitched on as a whole, is absolutely prohibited in some documents (IV 5, 16, 20) as well as the ornamentation ‘morning star’ (*najm al-ṣabāb*)⁴⁸ which was applied on headscarves and dresses⁴⁹ (IV 39).

Extensive use must have been made of silver threads (*tall*)⁵⁰ (Figs. 26–8) due to the large numbers of documents that mention it (IV 3, 5, 16, 20, 39, GhBW 1, GhBW 2) mainly as a trimming of the neckline, sleeves, and hem, but also in special decorative sets (e.g. *masīla*).⁵¹ They are either prohibited, or at least restricted, to a few determined dresses. Instead, a band of fabric (*yāqa*) (IV 3, 5, 20) is allowed, as well as certain kinds of embroidery, such as *banīq*⁵² (IV 3, 5) and *qītān* (IV 5)⁵³ at the neckline, sleeves, and hem.

⁴² Stark, *Winter*, 143 (emphasis in the original).

⁴³ RWH 128.

⁴⁴ Ibid.: also *ghutra*, and *ibid.*, figs. 87–8.

⁴⁵ See above n. 42.

⁴⁶ al-ʿAydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 38. The Arabic word refers to the rustling noise they produce, cf. ʿAwaḍ, *ʿĀdāt*, 10, column 4. Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, Arabic 479, Engl. 482, commentary 486: spangles.

⁴⁷ See below n. 50.

⁴⁸ In al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 113, and ʿAwaḍ, *ʿĀdāt*, 10, column 2, mentioned among jewellery.

⁴⁹ Cf. Boxberger, *Empire*, 144: style of dress with a highly decorated yoke.

⁵⁰ Thread (Pimenta, *Dictionary*, 52a); al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 137, n. 188: white thread for embroidery; ʿAwaḍ, *ʿĀdāt*, 10, column 2: silk dress is embroidered with it; *ibid.*, 3, column 4; 8, column 1: *ghazl al-sin* = *tall*. Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 28. In the Tihāma: *tallī* – “Kreuzverzierung” on women’s dress (Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 137).

⁵¹ ʿAwaḍ, *ʿĀdāt*, 10, column 2, column 4: embroidery with gold or *tall* at the slit of the fore-front.

⁵² al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 137, n. 185; ʿAwaḍ, *ʿĀdāt*, 10, column 4: silver, silk or *tall*-embroidery.

⁵³ Ibid., 10, column 4, without further explanation. Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 386a: cordon, lacet; Dostal, *Ethnographica Jemenica*, 85, on dress and hair styles in Ṣanʿāʿ: “ein Kamm in den Haaren,” with the commentary 183 referring to Serjeant and al-Akwaʿ, ‘Statute’, 192, n. 237: embroideries down the front.

5.1.1.3 Headgear and veil

Headscarves (*nuqba*)⁵⁴ were worn in earlier times by all women when they left the house, but not all of them covered their faces except those in Wadi Dawʿan and Wadi ʿAmd, where only the eyes could be seen, as it is today.⁵⁵ The majority of women usually don't leave the house except for visits, and then they cover the entire body. Others leave the house more frequently and cover the body save their face and extremities.⁵⁶ Young girls wear the veil from the age of seven, and the brother's wife veils in front of her brother-in-law even though they are living in the same house. In the desert and the western wadis one can observe Bedouin women unveiled.⁵⁷ In the eastern regions of Wadi Hadramawt, however, they veil themselves when they leave the house for work. Some peasant women veil part of their faces when they work in the fields. Some women put on the outdoor cloth (*shawādir*)⁵⁸ and cover their faces; others don't wear *shawādir* and have their faces covered.⁵⁹

Doreen Ingrams noted that townswomen wore bright orange scarves tied under the chin.⁶⁰ In the documents, rather simple headscarves are postulated (IV 39). Coloured and glittering ones which Serjeant described as made "of gauzy material with embroidery in gold and coloured threads, decorated with spangles"⁶¹ are prohibited (IV 18) to wear in the streets (IV 3). The *ghutra* head covering,⁶² which was a fashion at that time according to informants,⁶³ became prohibited for the bride (IV 5).

A special headgear was worn on the occasion of the wedding festivities, a combination of a bride's crown and an artificial wig: the bride's crown (*ʿiṣāba*)⁶⁴ (Fig. 30) is

⁵⁴ See above n. 18; see RWH, figs. 86, 92.

⁵⁵ al-Shāṭiri, *al-Taʿrīkh al-ḥaḍramī*, 277.

⁵⁶ Muʿtamar al-marʿa, *Dirāsa*, 13–14.

⁵⁷ Cf. al-Ṣabbān who describes Bedouin women behaving and dressing even more liberally (*Ḥayāt al-bādiya*, 42).

⁵⁸ Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 249a: sheet of cloth covering the whole body of a woman on her dress when going outdoors.

⁵⁹ Muʿtamar al-marʿa, *Dirāsa*, 14.

⁶⁰ D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 95.

⁶¹ Serjeant, 'Marriage', 486, cf. Maurières et al., *Reines*, 160 (photograph).

⁶² According to Rodionov, it may either be a headcloth (RWH 130; cf. Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 351b, also *ibid.*, 357a: *ghutra* – a man's head covering; Colyer Ross, *Costume*, 164: headcloth worn by Najdi men), but also a four-point star ornament on female dress (RWH 128, figs. 87–8).

⁶³ Shifāʿ al-Ṣabbān, *Hudā Bū ʿĀʾisha*, see Introduction 4.3.1 Informants.

⁶⁴ al-Ṣabbān, *Dalīl*, 26, 28; ʿAwaḍ, *ʿĀdāt*, 3, column 4; Rodionov, 'Silversmiths', 127; Bin Shihāb, however, explains *ʿiṣāba* as a wig (see *ḥaml*) with amulets (*ḥirz*, see I.5.1.2.2 Neck and breast) and cowries (*wadʿ*) (*ʿĀdāt*, 25, and 97, n. 46), he calls the silver crown *kaʿwakaʿ* [?] (*ibid.*, 25, and 97, n. 47); Maurières et al., *Reines*, 160 (bride's diadem) with photograph. "Frontlet band; a headband in which fragrant herbs are stuck" (Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 329a); cf. the elaborated headdress *ʿuṣba* in North Yemen (Mundy, 'Dress', 536 with n. 57). Actually it is a rather general notion. In ancient times it meant a kind of turban (Dozy, *Vêtements*, 302, cf. Mayer, *Mamluk Costume*, 71). It is mentioned in the *aḥādīth* as a headband

part of the *tāj al-ʿarūs* (Fig. 29), also called in Yemen *tāj al-firʿawn*.⁶⁵ This name is given as the crown is bound around the head with silk ribbons. It is allowed to be worn only by the upper social classes.⁶⁶ According to the information board in the Sayʿūn Ethnographical Museum, it is also called *ʿiṣāba ṣaghīra* in contrast to *ʿiṣāba kabīra*, which might be used as a synonym for the head garment *ḥaml*, a black dyed wig⁶⁷ made of cotton with the crown on top. This “curious custom” was observed by Doreen Ingrams, who described it as “an abundant wig, on top of which is worn a head dress embroidered in gold” for the wedding night.⁶⁸ Until the 1940s the hair of 13 to 14 year old girls was cut and used for making *ḥaml*-hairpieces.⁶⁹ These hairpieces are allowed to be worn by the bride during the wedding days (IV 3, 36), and the *ʿiṣāba* is allowed for the period of four months (IV 39).

5.1.2 Jewellery⁷⁰

The generic term for jewellery in the documents is *ḥaly*, only once it is called *kħirsh*⁷¹ specifically for golden and silver items (IV 3). The early travellers were impressed by the quantity of jewellery which one woman, especially a bride, wore at the same time. Mabel Bent describes a woman “loaded with chains and bracelets of all sorts”⁷² and a bride in Ghayl Bā Wazīr who “wore on her head large silver bosses like tin plates, her ears were weighed down with jewels, her fingers were straight with rings, and her arms a mass of bracelets up to the elbow, and her breast was hidden by a multiplicity of necklaces.”⁷³ Doreen Ingrams reports that “[e]very woman in the Hadhramaut, rich or poor, wears as many ornaments as she or her husband can afford.”⁷⁴ During a wedding, “all the gold ornaments she or her rela-

worn by the Prophet (Stillman, *Arab Dress*, 16). See also the references to *ʿiṣāba* as a women’s headband (ibid., 20, 81, 82, 148), mostly to fix the veil or attach pendants (Colyer Ross, *Costume*, 46, 49), a “[h]ead circlet made of silver, leather and silver, reeds and copper wire, etc. worn by men and women” (ibid., 167); cf. the use of *ʿiṣāba* in Saudi Arabia (Topham, *Crafts*, 104) and Oman (*ʿaṣābī*, Morris and Shelton, *Oman*, 241–2 with photographs). Cf. different types of *ʿiṣāba* in Goitein, *Society*, IV, 213–14.

⁶⁵ Information given by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Ḥabshī (see Introduction 4.3.1 Informants).

⁶⁶ al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 103, and 134, n. 148.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 103.

⁶⁸ D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 102; photograph with *ḥaml* and *ʿiṣāba*: ibid., Plate XLVII (after p. 108); see also D. Ingrams, *Time*, 67–8; Maurières et al., *Reines*, 160–1 with photograph 161.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 160–1.

⁷⁰ See photographs of Hadrami women in Stark, *Hadhramaut*. See Rodionov, ‘Silversmith’, and the chapter on “Dress and Jewellery” in Freitag and Schöniig, ‘Wise Men’, 82–6.

⁷¹ al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 137, n. 194; al-ʿAydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 28: *kħirsh*; Bā Ṣabrayn, *Jumal*, f. 12b, no. 24.

⁷² Bent, *Southern Arabia*, 122.

⁷³ Ibid., 200.

⁷⁴ D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 96.

tives possess are worn.”⁷⁵ Freya Stark, when staying in Shibām, describes in detail “the trinkets and adornments on one small bride of twelve years old.”⁷⁶ In ‘Azzān, “[t]he Sultan’s wife wore thirty necklaces from chin to waist, silver and amulets, with corals in between. Her forearms were hidden in bracelets, and the first joint of every finger was made immovable with rings.”⁷⁷ The change over the decades had, if not the aim, at least the effect, of reducing the enormous weight that women, and especially brides, had to bear.⁷⁸

Jewellery does not only have aesthetic functions, the material and quantity of jewellery is a sign of both the socio-economic and marital status of the bearer. The style shows a local and stratal affiliation, and often magical elements such as amulets against the evil eye or benevolent omens (fertility) are part of it. Hence, jewellery marks the stages of a life cycle, being a tool of social communication and evaluation. In general, the documents provide detailed restrictions on the usage of the jewellery, its quantity, material, and value.

The increasing use of golden jewellery, which is gradually replacing the customary silver, began before the Second World War⁷⁹ and was influenced by traditions from India, Singapore and elsewhere in East Asia, and Ethiopia,⁸⁰ and is reflected in several sources (IV 3, 5, 18, 20, 36, 39, *lā’iḥa* 1, *lā’iḥa* 2, *Sharāra*). The jewellery items in the bride’s trousseau, which traditionally were made from silver, are allowed to be substituted with gold with certain restrictions on price and weight (IV 18, 39, *lā’iḥa* 1, *lā’iḥa* 2, *Sharāra*) to avert its excessive usage. With the change of material however, the traditional patterns and names of pieces are disappearing.⁸¹ Artificial gold (*razwī qarwī*)⁸² is of course allowed (*lā’iḥa* 1) and gilded items (*ghams*, *maghmūs*)⁸³ are mentioned along with golden ones (IV 39), but are strictly prohibited in a special kind of necklace (IV 36). Only the Bedouins, as the last stronghold of the old traditions, still prefer silver.⁸⁴

The regulations in the documents mainly fix the specific use of jewellery and its costs in the wedding context. In one place the jewellers are even directly addressed (IV 18): in eight paragraphs prices for several pieces, mainly different kinds of bracelets referred to by their material or style, are prescribed. Due to the important role of jewellery in conspicuous consumption, the documents describe a rather detailed list of pieces from head to foot.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 102.

⁷⁶ Stark, *Winter*, 47.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 223.

⁷⁸ Bin Shihāb gives as a detailed example the change of belts (‘*Ādāt*, 26–7).

⁷⁹ RWH 146. al-Ṣabbān, however, explicitly remarks that the bride’s jewellery is all of gold, and if one cannot afford it, that it is at least gilded (cf. *ghams*) (‘*Ādāt*, 103).

⁸⁰ Bin Shihāb, ‘*Ādāt*, 26.

⁸¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 30.

⁸² Bin Shihāb mentions falsifications from India called *siwāsa* [?] (*ibid.*, 26, and 97, n. 56).

⁸³ See above n. 79, and Bin Shihāb, ‘*Ādāt*, 26.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

5.1.2.1 Head⁸⁵

Document IV 39 prohibits any golden or silver items worn on the head except those fixed at the ears, the hair parting pin (*mikbadda*),⁸⁶ and decorative hairpins (*qils*)⁸⁷ for those who wear the Java-dresses (*jāwīyyāt*). What is known as *‘uyūn al-khawra*⁸⁸ is a head ornamentation with corals (*‘urūq*) and beads (*hubūb*) worn behind the ears near the back of the neck.⁸⁹ Forehead ornamentation (*qurra*) is prohibited (IV 5), but forehead decoration (*hurūz al-kbushūm*)⁹⁰ of silver or gold, sometimes with amber (*kabrab*), is explicitly allowed in one document (IV 20). It is prohibited however to wear a piece of jewellery on the right temple (*‘alam*) (Fig. 41) (IV 39).

Earrings are referred to as *krābū*⁹¹ except in two regulations from the post-sultanate period (*Sharāra: biza‘, lā’iḥa 2: qurṭ*)⁹². They are never prohibited, but should only have artificial stones (*antun, brilyan*) (IV 39). In one case the bride is allowed to wear golden earrings (*lā’iḥa 1*). Nose-rings (*kbushfa*)⁹³ are used only by women of the *hajūr* group⁹⁴ and by tribes.⁹⁵ They are mentioned only in the oldest document (GhBW 1) where pearls (*lu’lu’*) in them are prohibited.

5.1.2.2 Neck and breast

Pieces of jewellery worn around the neck are of manifold kinds and names. Generic terms are *‘iqd*⁹⁶ for a tight necklace (IV 39), along with *silsila*⁹⁷ (IV 39) and *sils*

⁸⁵ See the photograph of a young girl’s head wearing festive jewellery (Stark, *Hadbramaut*, 188).

⁸⁶ Schönig, *Schminken*, 182, and fig. 73; ‘Awaḍ, *‘Ādāt*, 3, column 4, and 10, column 2.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 10, column 2. al-‘Aydarūs, *Kalimāt*, 77: button (*qilis*).

⁸⁸ al-Ṣabbān, *‘Ādāt*, 103: golden head ornamentation worn by the bride; *ibid.*, 89: *khūra* – back of the head; ‘Awaḍ, *‘Ādāt*, 10, column 2; *al-khawra* – evil eye (Hasan Bā Ḥashwān, Muḥammad Bā Ḥashwān, see Introduction 4.3.1 Informants); al-‘Aydarūs, *Kalimāt*, 30.

⁸⁹ al-Ṣabbān, *‘Ādāt*, 137, n. 183.

⁹⁰ al-‘Aydarūs, *Kalimāt*, 29: *kbushum* – nose.

⁹¹ al-Ṣabbān, *Dalīl*, 28; ‘Awaḍ, *‘Ādāt*, 10, column 2; *ibid.*, 3, column 4: misprint *krāw*; al-‘Aydarūs, *Kalimāt*, 82: *kurābū*. In polysyllabic loanwords (< Malayan: *kerabu*) the first two syllables are reduced into one with a consonant cluster, which is common in Hadrami vernacular itself (Al-Saqqaf, ‘Linguistics’, 81–2, 90).

⁹² al-Ṣabbān, *‘Ādāt*, 103, ‘Awaḍ, *‘Ādāt*, 10, column 2, explaining *krābū*.

⁹³ al-‘Aydarūs, *Kalimāt*, 30: opening in the nose to insert jewellery; ‘Awaḍ, *‘Ādāt*, 7, column 2: denotes the perforation in the ear, likewise *kbashfa* in Dhofar (Morris and Shelton, *Oman*, 310); see al-Ṣabbān, *‘Ādāt*, 66, on the perforation of the ear, see also 1.2.2 Circumcision; cf. the entry *kbshf* in Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 327. The nose-ring *kbashāfa* has been obligatory for married women in Dhofar, nose-studs have appeared only more recently (Morris and Shelton, *Oman*, 246–7). The townswomen “have an ordinary finger ring through one nostril which is peculiarly ugly” (D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 95).

⁹⁴ A low stratum, see RWH 28.

⁹⁵ RWH 100.

⁹⁶ General word for necklace (Topham, *Crafts*, 72).

⁹⁷ All kinds of metal chains (*ibid.*).

(*Sharāra*). The well-known *labba*⁹⁸ is part of the dowry (*jibāz*) and is allowed for the wedding guests, too (*lā'īha* 2). Many necklaces are, or contain, an amulet of which the intended function is sometimes evident by its name, such as *'ayāl mub-ashsharāt*⁹⁹ (IV 18) and *kataba* (Fig. 31) (IV 24). *Hirz* (Fig. 35–7) is a generic word for amulets,¹⁰⁰ mostly used by women and children, and is a pendant¹⁰¹ with or without jinglets. It also denotes a cylindrical or rectangular silver amulet box with, or more often without, a piece of paper with quranic wordings.¹⁰² (*Hirz*) *rā'ī*¹⁰³ is a small charm (IV 36, 37, 39); *shakk al-rā'ī* generally seems to have amber (*kabrab*) in it, but gold or gilding (*ghams*) is prohibited (IV 36). The term *shakka* is used in the Say'ūn Ethnographical Museum for the amber-necklace around the bride's neck in the showcase (Fig. 29). Elsewhere *shakka* denotes a pendant¹⁰⁴ (IV 39). A generic word for pendants used here is *mathāqīl* (IV 39).

There are different necklaces with pendants in the shape of a crescent. The most simple version is *hilāl*¹⁰⁵ (IV 18); others are *ma'nā* (IV 39), the crescent-and-star pendant (*shabr wa-najm*)¹⁰⁶ (Fig. 33) (IV 39); *al-najm wa-l-qamar*¹⁰⁷ (Fig. 34) (IV 18), a pendant in the shape of a crescent with its horns upside-down (*man-qūsh*); and *kisra*¹⁰⁸ (IV 5, 20, 24) and *mabdū*¹⁰⁹ (IV 3, 5, 18, 20), both with large silver, golden or amber beads, although amber in them is sometimes prohibited (IV 5). The necklace *murriyya*¹¹⁰ (Figs. 38–40) may have two or more threads and may contain cowries (*wad'*) or amber pearls (*hubūb al-kabrab*)¹¹¹ and usually has a charm (IV 36, 37, 39) such as the crescent-shaped *baykal*,¹¹² a variant being *mur-*

⁹⁸ al-Ṣabbān, *Datīl*, 28; 'Awaḍ, 'Ādāt, 3, column 4, and 10, column 2. Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 1100: *labbeh* – big heavy old style silver necklace. For the importance of *labba* in the context of Yemenite Jews see Muchawsky-Schnapper, *Jews*, 86–7.

⁹⁹ Cf. *bishāra* – good tidings.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Rodionov, 'A ṣarf Talisman'.

¹⁰¹ al-Ṣabbān, *Datīl*, 28.

¹⁰² Rodionov, 'Silversmiths', 127. Cf. Morris and Shelton for Oman with several variants and many photographs (*Oman*, 90–9, 175, 177–80, 258, 265–6, 293).

¹⁰³ al-Ṣabbān, 'Ādāt, 103, Bin Shihāb, 'Ādāt, 25, and 97, n. 50.

¹⁰⁴ Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 665: Halskette. See description and photograph of Omani *shakka* necklaces (Morris and Shelton, *Oman*, 81 and 169); cf. Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 262b: *masbkūk* – chain around the neck.

¹⁰⁵ al-Ṣabbān, 'Ādāt, 113.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., and 'Awaḍ, 'Ādāt, 10, column 2. Bin Shihāb understands it as two pieces ('Ādāt, 25, and 97, n. 50). *nujūm*, 'stars', also denote silver granules (Rodionov, 'Silversmiths', 125).

¹⁰⁷ al-Ṣabbān, 'Ādāt, 113, and 'Awaḍ, 'Ādāt, 10, column 2.

¹⁰⁸ Lit.: half of a round bread (Ḥasan Bā Ḥashwān, Muḥammad Bā Ḥashwān, see Introduction 4.3.1 Informants).

¹⁰⁹ al-Ṣabbān, 'Ādāt, 103, 113, 'Awaḍ, 'Ādāt, 10, column 2.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 3, column 4, and 10, column 2; Bin Shihāb, 'Ādāt, 25, and 97, n. 49. Landberg, *Glossaire*, III, 2685: *collier de perles*. Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 1156: *miryeb* – Halskette. Morris and Shelton give *marrīya* for Oman, where it describes a variety of necklaces (*Oman*, 82, 89, 180–1, 260–1 with photographs).

¹¹¹ al-Ṣabbān, *Datīl*, 26.

¹¹² Rodionov, 'Silversmiths', 127.

riyya makbraṭ made of four threads¹¹³ (IV 18). The *subḥa*-necklace has coins and other pendants (IV 24) and is allowed to have amber in it (IV 5).

Necklaces brought by emigrants are *rintū* and the pendant *lawkīt*,¹¹⁴ both of which are allowed only for those who wear the Java-dresses (*jāwīyyāt*) (IV 39). The ornamented band (*wushāḥ*)¹¹⁵ worn like a sash by women,¹¹⁶ decorated with gold and pearls,¹¹⁷ is completely prohibited (IV 3, 18), and the diagonally worn chest belt (*nijād*)¹¹⁸ is prohibited for young girls (IV 3).

5.1.2.3 Arms and hands

Bracelets are the most popular items of jewellery in Hadramawt.¹¹⁹ The standard Arabic word *asāwir* is only mentioned in one post-sultanate source (*lā'ihā* 2), where bracelets are allowed for the bride and the female guests at the wedding. In other places *hibs*¹²⁰ (Fig. 42), a bracelet for women and younger children,¹²¹ seems to be used rather as a general term and mostly in the context of permission to use amber (*kabrab*) in it (IV 3, 5, 20, 36, 39). Golden or silver beads are explicitly not allowed in *hibs* (IV 18, 20). The bride¹²² is permitted to wear the *maṭall*-bracelet,¹²³ which some documents mention as worn in pairs (*libs*) (IV 36, 37, *lā'ihā* 1). In one case (IV 39) it is explicitly allowed only in the context of Java-dresses (*jāwīyyāt*). The thin *banqarī*-bracelet made of silver or gold (*Sharāra*) is mentioned once only and might be from India or Java. Other kinds of bracelets are twisted (*maṭall mu'attarāt*,¹²⁴ *maftūl*¹²⁵) or cast (*maṭall ṣabb*) (IV 18).

¹¹³ al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 137, n. 205.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 113: *awkūt* (misunderstanding of the initial l- as the article?).

¹¹⁵ Ibid., mentioned among jewellery; 'Awaḍ, *Ādāt*, 10, column 2.

¹¹⁶ Dozy, *Vêtements*, 429–30 (*wishāḥ*): de cuir, ornée de pierreries; Wehr, *Dictionary*: in older times, a double band (*wishāḥ*, *wushāḥ*).

¹¹⁷ al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 137, n. 191.

¹¹⁸ See the silver *manjad* in Oman (Morris and Shelton, *Oman*, 263–5 with photographs). Worn under the dress and partly invisible, it might have been mostly a fertility charm (ibid., 264).

¹¹⁹ RWĦ 100.

¹²⁰ Landberg, *Glossaire*, I, 337; 'Awaḍ, *Ādāt*, 10, column 2; Rodionov, 'Silversmiths', 127: set of chains, 131: side bundles of ornaments. Bin Shihāb, *Ādāt*, 25, and 97, n. 51: with amulets (*hirz*) and cowries (*wad'*). *habs*, pl. *ḥabūs* denotes an anklet in Dhofar (Morris and Shelton, *Oman*, 286–7 with photographs).

¹²¹ al-'Aydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 25.

¹²² According to al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 67, it is put around the wrist of a new-born.

¹²³ 'Awaḍ, *Ādāt*, 10, column 2. al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 103, 113; ibid., 67 (*muṭall*, the 'u' being pronounced close to 'a'): the first bracelet which is put on the child's arm. Bin Shihāb, *Ādāt*, 25, and 97, n. 52. Cf. the *meṭellēt* hollow bracelet in Dhofar (Morris and Shelton, *Oman*, 276 with photographs).

¹²⁴ Landberg, *Glossaire*, III, 2302: 'aṭara, u, i, *tordre*. Misunderstood by Freitag as 'perfumes' ('Dokumente', 20, n. 48).

¹²⁵ Rodionov, 'Silversmiths', 126; for twisted bracelets see ibid., fig. 4, nos. 1–4. The technique of twisting is regarded as a typical Hadrami/Yemeni skill (Rodionov, 'Silversmiths', 125).

Wristwatches as wedding gifts were prohibited in the early documents (IV 18, 20), where they are euphemistically called *ilzāmāt*, i.e. obligatory [gifts]. In post-sultanate sources (*Sbarāra*, *lā'ihā* 2) the bride may be offered a watch, here called *sā'a(t yad)*, but it should not be made of gold.¹²⁶

Rings (*khātim*)¹²⁷ have either semi-precious stones – cornelian, coral or amber (*kaḥrab*) – or artificial ones (*dhubla*) (*lā'ihā* 2), mostly with inlays made of glass.¹²⁸ They are usually allowed for everybody (IV 36, 37, *lā'ihā* 2), with a maximum of six pieces (IV 39), but in the printed sources they are restricted to only one piece in the bride's trousseau (*Sbarāra*, *lā'ihā* 1, *lā'ihā* 2).

5.1.2.4 Belts

The standard Arabic term used for belts is *ḥizām*¹²⁹ (Fig. 43) (IV 5, 36, 37, 39, *lā'ihā* 1), the belt buckle is called *qurṣa* (Figs. 44, 45) (IV 5, 39, *lā'ihā* 1) or *shumsa*¹³⁰ (*lā'ihā* 1). Stark's photographs show girls and women wearing silver belts over their black dress.¹³¹ There is a long passage on belts in document IV 5 where women, and also young girls before the bridal age (*barzāt*), are prohibited to wear belts anywhere but in their houses where only their relatives or their husband are present, or in cases where the belt is covered by the garment (p. 1/18–20). It is also prohibited to decorate the belt or the belt buckle with golden plates (*taslmīs*).¹³² According to the more recent *lā'ihā* 1, however, belt buckles made of gold are explicitly allowed. Also the authorised weights and prices are discussed (IV 39, *lā'ihā* 1).

5.1.2.5 Legs and feet¹³³

There are two kinds of anklets with little bells: *ḥijāla* is flat,¹³⁴ made of hinged plates¹³⁵ (IV 3, 18), and *ḥijl*¹³⁶ (Fig. 32) is hollow or cast,¹³⁷ made especially for the

¹²⁶ al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 113, and 'Awaḍ, *Ādāt*, 10, column 2, however, mention golden ones among the dowry.

¹²⁷ al-Ṣabbān, *Datīl*, 28.

¹²⁸ See RWH 100.

¹²⁹ al-Ṣabbān, *Datīl*, 28, 'Awaḍ, *Ādāt*, 10, column 2, Rodionov, 'Silversmiths', fig. 7. They are of silver, gilded silver or sometimes of gold (al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 113; 'Awaḍ, *Ādāt*, 10, column 2: of gold); of silver and cowrie (Ṣabbān, *Datīl*, 26).

¹³⁰ Goitein, *Society*, IV, 210: "The decorative element named *shamsa*, sun disk [...], appears in different combinations and has several functions."

¹³¹ Stark, *Hadbramaut*, 160, 190; RWH, fig. 86.

¹³² Various stamps were used to make different kinds of decorations (see Figs. 51–3).

¹³³ For anklets see RWH 100.

¹³⁴ Landberg, *Etudes*, I, 86, 547. Dozy, *Supplément*, I, 254a: *ḥijāl* – Fußring. Cf. *ḥujjalī* and *ḥijjāleb* in Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 237.

¹³⁵ Rodionov, 'Silversmiths', 126, RWH 100.

¹³⁶ al-Ṣabbān, *Ādāt*, 103, 113. Landberg, *Etudes*, I, 86, 547. Bracelet or anklet (Topham, *Crafts*, 186). In Oman different derivations from this root denote differently shaped anklets (and

zafīn-dance,¹³⁸ and it is also worn by the bride¹³⁹ (IV 3, 48). Interestingly, an entire document (IV 48) is devoted to the prohibition of anklets, in which all fathers whose daughters have disobeyed former regulations are listed by name.¹⁴⁰ The prohibition is mostly restricted to the above mentioned anklets as they produce ‘tempting’ noise. The silent anklets, *ṣumūt*,¹⁴¹ are worn in pairs¹⁴² (IV 18, 24, 36, 37); variations are the light *mabrat al-ʿatf* (IV 18) and the thin *marsa*¹⁴³ (IV 39).

5.1.2.6 Stones, beads and coins

Besides silver and gold, other valuable materials are explicitly mentioned: some precious or artificial stones, beads, and coins.

Since ancient times, amber has been known for its medicinal uses and protective power.¹⁴⁴ The descriptions in the travel accounts prove that it was a highly desired stone: “Gold and amber are popular among the well-to-do.”¹⁴⁵ In Ṣanʿā, amber also was the “standard piece of jewelry for everyday wear [...] imported necklaces of large beads of kirab, amber...”¹⁴⁶ In the documents we find *kabrab*¹⁴⁷ and its metathesis *karhab* (IV 5, 36), today also *kabramān*.¹⁴⁸ Amber is only allowed in some specifically named jewellery, mostly bracelets (*hubūs*) and in some necklaces (IV 3, 5, 20, 36, 39).

A generic term for beads is *hubūb* (IV 3, 18, 20, 39), real or artificial stones may be *antun / untun* (IV 3, 39) or *briḡyan / barlayān* (IV 39), both of them thought to be

even bracelets among the Bedouins, cf. Morris and Shelton, *Oman*, 184) or refer to different regions (ibid., 116–21, 288 with photographs).

¹³⁷ Rodionov, ‘Silversmiths’, 126, RWḤ 100, Landberg, *Etudes*, I, 12–13, 86.

¹³⁸ ʿAwaḍ, ʿ*Ādāt*, 10, column 2; 3, column 3. For dance see I.4.1 Dances and songs.

¹³⁹ al-ʿAydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 27.

¹⁴⁰ See Schönig, ‘Documents’, 253. Cf. in Oman, where an imperative part of the wedding dress (Morris and Shelton, *Oman*, 116, 120), and in Sur even “after marriage, anklets were considered an essential part of the dress” (ibid., 120).

¹⁴¹ Has different spellings: al-Ṣabbān, *Dalīl*, 28 (*ṣmī*); id., ʿ*Ādāt*, 146, n. 14 (*smī*), and 113; ʿAwaḍ, ʿ*Ādāt*, 3, column 4, and 10, column 2: *ṣmī*, made of gold or gilded (*magbmūs*) silver. Bin Shihāb, ʿ*Ādāt*, 25, and 97, n. 54 (*sumūt*). Rodionov, ‘Silversmiths’, 126, with n. 32: “Also *sumt* since the emphatic consonants are often interchangeable in local articulation.” According to Landberg, it is a bracelet: *ṣumt*, pl. *ṣumūt* – bracelet massif mais peu épais en argent, ayant les deux bouts aplatis; [...] il est *ṣāmīṭ*, *silencieux* (*Etudes*, I, 86); cf. Goitein, *Society*, IV, 211: “Bracelets of all types [...] are frequently described as *ṣāmīṭ*, solid.”

¹⁴² After ʿAbd al-Qādir Muḥammad al-Ṣabbān, see Introduction 4.3.1 Informants.

¹⁴³ al-ʿAydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 92; Boxberger, *Empire*, 144. A synonym for *sumūt* (Bin Shihāb, ʿ*Ādāt*, 25, 30, and 97, n. 54). Originally a neck harness for a donkey (Jaʿfar Muḥammad al-Saqqāf, see Introduction 4.3.1 Informants).

¹⁴⁴ Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Jāmiʿ*, IV, 355–6.

¹⁴⁵ D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 96.

¹⁴⁶ Mundy, ‘Ṣanʿā’, 537a.

¹⁴⁷ Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 1088: *kabrab* – Bernstein.

¹⁴⁸ Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 503b.

Javanese expressions. Corals (‘*urūq*)¹⁴⁹ – though used rather often in decoration – are mentioned only once (IV 18). The application of cowrie shells (*wadʿ*), which one sees frequently on dress as well as on leather items, was understood as a disdained innovation at the beginning of the 1920s (IV 3), though it has been used in the region as dress ornamentation since the pre-Christian era.¹⁵⁰ Coins are also frequently applied to dress and jewellery. In the documents, however, they mainly denote currency. The silver coin (*harf*)¹⁵¹ is mentioned once as a pendant (IV 39),¹⁵² but in the GhBW documents as means of payment only, likewise the Maria Theresa thaler (*qirsh*)¹⁵³ (IV 18, 24, 34, GhBW 2). “The currency consists of rupees and Maria Theresa dollars. The exchange value depends on the price of silver, and in November 1934 [...] the dollar was practically equivalent to a rupee. [...] By mid-May 1935, the rate was Rs.149 to 100\$ in Aden and Rs.150 to 100\$ in Mukalla.”¹⁵⁴

5.1.3 Cosmetics

Cosmetics – colours and scents¹⁵⁵ – play an important role in everyday (conjugal) life, mainly in the context of rituals within private and religious feasts. The bride’s body-painting before her wedding is an important task, mostly done by professionals who are responsible for other duties such as clothing and hair dress, but also rituals during the wedding night. The terminology varies from region to region. In the documents, three terms appear: the most common is *kūbara*¹⁵⁶ (tire-woman,¹⁵⁷ midwife,¹⁵⁸ bride’s professional attendant¹⁵⁹) (IV 24, 18, 37, GhBW 1,

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 120b: ‘*arūq* corail, long et mince.

¹⁵⁰ E.g. excavated by Russian archaeologists at Raybūn, see Sedov, *Ancient Ḥaḍramawt*, 139–43, especially fig. 84, no. 13 at 142.

¹⁵¹ Behnstedt, *Glossar*, 55: old gold coins of caliphs and imams. “Das hier [al-Shiḥr] coursierende Geld ist die englisch-indische Rupie und ihre Unterabtheilungen. Das 2-ana-Stück heißt Harf, das 4-ana-Stück Ugīye” (Hirsch, *Reisen*, 24).

¹⁵² Cf. the use of *harf* in Omani forehead jewellery as an everyday head-piece, mainly restricted to unmarried girls for protection (Morris and Shelton, *Oman*, 63, 129, and 234 with photographs).

¹⁵³ Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 392b; Serjeant, *Hunt*, 126. “Die Rechnungsmünze in Schibām ist der Girsch (Maria-Theresia-Thaler), dessen Bruchtheile ihren Ausgleich in Anglo-Indischem Gelde finden” (Hirsch, *Reisen*, 205). See RWH 99 on the *qirsh* [*faranṣī*], the ‘French piaster’. See also the article by Renger showing a Maria-Theresia-Thaler with “Munaṣṣir b. ‘Abd-allāh al-Qu‘aytī” stamp on it, dated 1307/1888–9 (‘Silbermünzen’, 15).

¹⁵⁴ H. Ingrams, *Report*, 13.

¹⁵⁵ For the history, fabrication and use of scents in Aden and Lahj see the recent monograph by Jung, *Ethnography*.

¹⁵⁶ al-Ṣabbān, ‘*Ādāt*, 135, n. 158, ‘Awad, ‘*Ādāt*, 3, column 4; 8, column 2. Bin Shihāb, ‘*Ādāt*, 25, and 95, n. 18, and 97, n. 55. Schönig, *Schminken*, 157.

¹⁵⁷ al-‘Aydarūs, *Kalimāt*, 81; Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, 487, 491, 495.

¹⁵⁸ Id., *Prose*, 67, n. 6: “‘midwife’ is a free rendering of the term *kūbarab*, the woman who attends the bride, dresses her, plaits her hair, etc., a sort of tiring-woman of the *miskīn* class

GhBW 2, *lāʿiḥa* 1, *lāʿiḥa* 2, *Sharāra*). In the post-sultanate texts *muʿarriba*¹⁶⁰ (*lāʿiḥa* 1) and *muḥanniya* (*lāʿiḥa* 1, *lāʿiḥa* 2) are mentioned.

Along with *mahr* and *jihāz*, the groom has to provide the bride with bath commodities (*biḍāʿa*) such as cardamom (*ḥayl*), *ghussa* or henna (*ḥinnā*), the costs of which are limited (IV 18, 20, 24, 37).

The well-known henna is frequently mentioned (IV 5, 36, 37, *Sharāra*) and is used in several ritual contexts such as wedding commodities, as mentioned above.¹⁶¹ Lesser known, and often confused with henna or other materials, is the black gall ink (*khiḍāb*).¹⁶² “Henna is popular among all classes for painting designs on hands and feet, and a black paste called *Khudhab* is used for this purpose as well.”¹⁶³ Doreen Ingrams’ information is partly taken from Stark,¹⁶⁴ who often goes into more detail. During several field studies in the 1990s it was Schönig’s experience that *khiḍāb* was not, or was no longer, known in Wadi Hadramawt.¹⁶⁵ Only the oldest document (GhBW 1) mentions it, and does so in a rather amazing context, namely that female face painting should not resemble male features, such as a beard or moustache. Actually *khiḍāb* was – and in some parts of the country, still is – also used as a face paint, often with dotted lines covering the chin and upper lips.¹⁶⁶

Besides the common black eye colour (*kuḥl*)¹⁶⁷ (IV 39), perfume (*ʿitr*)¹⁶⁸ is mentioned as a gift in the wedding context (IV 39, *lāʿiḥa* 1, *lāʿiḥa* 2, GhBW 1).

5.2 Household utensils

Traditional materials used to make household items are: wood, mostly tamarisk (*athl*), yew (*shawḥaṭ*) and ziziphus (*ʿilb*);¹⁶⁹ palm leaves (*khūṣa*);¹⁷⁰ clay¹⁷¹ some-

often permanently attached to a large house as a servant. She performs all sorts of commissions for the women of the *saiyid* houses.”

¹⁵⁹ Boxberger, *Empire*, 141.

¹⁶⁰ al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 106. Though he gives it as main notion, and female contacts used it in Sayʿūn (Schönig, *Schminken*, 188), it is only mentioned once in the documents (*lāʿiḥa* 1).

¹⁶¹ See however Bā Ṣabrayn, *Jumal*, f. 16b, no. 47: “min aqbaḥ al-qabāyih taḥniyat al-marʿa qadamayhā.”

¹⁶² See the very detailed Schönig, *Schminken*, 99–110. Serjeant erroneously translates “henna” (‘Marriage’, 497).

¹⁶³ D. Ingrams, *Survey*, 96.

¹⁶⁴ Stark, *Winter*, and id., *Gates*.

¹⁶⁵ Schönig, *Schminken*, 101. D. Ingrams describes a bride’s face painting (*Survey*, 102).

¹⁶⁶ Cf. RWH, fig. 24 (face), see also fig. 25 (hands).

¹⁶⁷ *Kuḥl* is a generic word to denote black eye colour, but does not give any information on the ingredients which may be of manifold kinds (see Schönig, *Schminken*, 157–8; Hardy et al., ‘A Study’).

¹⁶⁸ Schönig, *Schminken*, 146–7.

¹⁶⁹ ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Adawāt al-maṭbakb*, chapter 1; see I.2.3 Marriage, n. 86.

¹⁷⁰ Pogorelsky, ‘Basketry’; RWH, chapter ‘Basketry’, 104–5.

times mixed with volcanic material;¹⁷² leather;¹⁷³ metal;¹⁷⁴ and pottery (*khazaf*).¹⁷⁵ Most items are mentioned in the context of coffee and tea.¹⁷⁶ Meals are served in large bowls (*jifna*)¹⁷⁷ made of wood¹⁷⁸ (IV 39) and put on large mats made of palm leaves (*tifla*)¹⁷⁹ (IV 39). Also made of palm leaves are multi-functional baskets (*quffa*)¹⁸⁰ (IV 39), and many other items.

Traditionally, and often to the present day, there are no cupboards in the sparsely furnished Hadrami houses. Only the post-sultanate documents mention cupboards among the groom's furniture of generally western style (*lā'ihā* 1: *kabat*; *lā'ihā* 2: *dūlāb*).¹⁸¹ Dress, cosmetics, and other belongings are more frequently put into chests of wood or metal¹⁸² (Fig. 49) and consequently they are discussed as a part of the bride's dowry. The standard Arabic word is *karwa*¹⁸³ (IV 3, 20); they are made of brass, copper,¹⁸⁴ or wood,¹⁸⁵ and mostly used by the upper classes for perfumes (*tīb*),¹⁸⁶ jewellery, and cosmetics (*khuṭūt*).¹⁸⁷ For the latter purpose, *karwa*¹⁸⁸ is prohibited as part of the dowry (IV 5, 37), as is the wooden *qāshim*¹⁸⁸ (IV 39). Other names for boxes also show foreign influences, such as the small Indian

¹⁷¹ 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Adawāt al-maṭbakh*, chapter 3 with photographs.

¹⁷² Ibid., chapter 5 with photographs.

¹⁷³ Ibid., chapter 4 with photographs. See also al-Ṣabbān, *Datīl*, 60/62, RWH, chapter "Tanning and Leather Work", 103–4.

¹⁷⁴ Neither silver nor gold, however, is allowed to be used in vessels (*awānī*), even if they are small ones such as a *mukhbala* (Bā Faḍl al-Ḥadramī, *Muqaddima*, 21).

¹⁷⁵ See the lists in 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Adawāt al-maṭbakh*, first page (no pagination); al-ʿĀmirī, *Maṭbakh*, 7.

¹⁷⁶ See I.4.2.1 Coffee and I.4.2.2 Tea.

¹⁷⁷ Serjeant, *Hunt*, 162. See the variants sub *jfu* in Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 198. *al-jifān* was called a custom to bring bowls with bread, rice or other food to the family of the deceased (Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 92).

¹⁷⁸ Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, *Datīl*, 91, ʿĀmirī, *Maṭbakh*, 7. Cf. Serjeant et al., 'Food', 544, n. 20 (*jafna*).

¹⁷⁹ 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Adawāt al-maṭbakh*, chapter 2 with photographs; al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 112; Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 96, n. 41: the silver jewellery being put on it, 29: for bread; he also reports that the bride was put on these mats after *hikā'* (see I.2.3 Marriage, n. 70), an old custom which has survived only in some songs (ibid., 30). Pogorelsky, 'Basketry', 97. See also *masārif* described as part of the coffee set (I.4.2.1).

¹⁸⁰ 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Adawāt al-maṭbakh*, chapter 2 with photographs; al-ʿĀmirī, *Maṭbakh*, 7; Pogorelsky, 'Basketry', 98: for bread with a cover. Bin Shihāb, *ʿĀdāt*, 29: for coffee (*al-qabwa wa-l-bunn*).

¹⁸¹ 'Awad, *ʿĀdāt*, 10, column 2, explained by Arabic *ʿammārī* (cf. IV 39).

¹⁸² al-Ṣabbān, *Datīl*, 26.

¹⁸³ al-Ṣabbān suggests an Indian or Indonesian origin, or even Arabic *k-t-ʿ* (a small bucket; part of a bottle) (*ʿĀdāt*, 129, n. 36).

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 'Awad, *ʿĀdāt*, 10, column 2.

¹⁸⁵ RWH 96; 'Awad, *ʿĀdāt*, 10, column 2 (teak).

¹⁸⁶ For *tīb* see Schönig, *Schminken*, 281.

¹⁸⁷ al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 129, n. 36. al-ʿAydarūs, *Kalimāt*, 31: *khuṭūt* – a kind of henna. Schönig, *Schminken*, 143: body-painting, elsewhere *naqsh*.

¹⁸⁸ Landberg, *Etudes*, I, 690: *qāshima* – boîte de la serrure en bois. Cf. Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 997: *maqsham* – Korb zum Transport von Datteln, *maqshum* – Feigen-, Aprikosen-, Pfirsichkorb.

ones (*hindīyyāt*) (Fig. 48) for *kuhl* (IV 39) and the expensive wooden *banjar*¹⁸⁹ used as a casket for jewellery (IV 39). *Ṣandūq* is a generic term (IV 3), but also denotes large metal chests as part of the dowry, used to store the clothes (*ṣanādīq*¹⁹⁰ *al-kūfar*¹⁹¹ *lil-thiyāb*) (IV 37, 39).

Necessary are lamps and items which protect against the striking heat. During the night processions women are allowed to carry oil lamps (*miṣbāḥ*) only (IV 39); kerosene (*kāz*) lamps (*karhabān*, *kabrābān*, *kabrābāṭī*)¹⁹² are prohibited for them (IV 39) and also as gifts to the bride (IV 18, 20, 36, 37), though both the authors were told that the kerosene lamps used to be part of the dowry.¹⁹³ These lamps “fueled by pressurized white gaz” have been in use among the rich since the 1920s¹⁹⁴ until they got electricity.¹⁹⁵ The fans (*mirwāḥa*) (Fig. 50) in the form of a small rectangular flag made of palm fronds on a wooden handle¹⁹⁶ and still used today shall be devoid of decoration (GhBW 2).

All types of interior decoration is either restricted, such as mirrors (*mirāyā kā-shāṭ*)¹⁹⁷ and decorative pictures or photographs (*qambar*) (IV 39), or prohibited, such as a small mirror (*manzara*). Clay figurines (*al-bānī*) (Fig. 46) of camels, horses,¹⁹⁸ donkeys,¹⁹⁹ ibexes,²⁰⁰ etc., originally sold to the pilgrims travelling to Qabr Hūd²⁰¹ and named after al-Bānī, the famous family of potters from Tarīm,²⁰² are not allowed to be part of the dowry (IV 39). It is only allowed to display a limited number of vessels (*aw‘īya*) made of materials such as glass, porcelain (*ṣīn*), brass (*sufṛ*) or decoratively shaped metal (*maṭṭī*)²⁰³ or any other metal items in appropriate places such as niche shelves (*raff*), curtained niches (*sitar*), and window-

¹⁸⁹ In RWḤ 100 it denotes a kind of bracelet.

¹⁹⁰ Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, Arabic 479 (*ṣandūq*), Engl. 482; Landberg, *Glossaire*, III, 2148.

¹⁹¹ al-‘Aydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 87. The sound change p > f (< Javanese: *koper*) has become effective (Al-Saqqaf, ‘Linguistics’, 83, 91).

¹⁹² Comparable to the metathesis of *kabrāb* > *karhab* – amber (al-Ṣabbān, *‘Ādāt*, 116).

¹⁹³ After ‘Abd al-Qādir Muḥammad al-Ṣabbān, see Introduction 4.3.1 Informants.

¹⁹⁴ Boxberger, *Empire*, 129.

¹⁹⁵ al-Ṣabbān, *Daṭīl*, 44.

¹⁹⁶ Pogorelsky, ‘Basketry’, 98 (*mirwāḥ*). See also the photograph of a fan from a collection of Rodionov (Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, *The Land of Incense*, 80).

¹⁹⁷ In loanword phonology final *-a(h)* or *-e* of the source language (< Malayan/Indonesian: *kā-shīl*) is normally treated as a feminine *-b* and pronounced according to Hadrami pronunciation as *-ib*, *-eb* or *-ab* according to the (non)emphatic environment (Al-Saqqaf, ‘Linguistics’, 82, 90). In addition the sound change č > š has been effected (*ibid.*, 83).

¹⁹⁸ See the photograph of the clay horse from Rodionov’s collection (Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, *The Land of Incense*, 105).

¹⁹⁹ al-Ṣabbān, *Ziyāra*, Arabic 44, Engl. 35.

²⁰⁰ Bā Ṣadiq, *Turāth*, 167.

²⁰¹ See I.3.2 Pilgrimages and tomb visitations.

²⁰² See Dostal, *Handwerker*, 35–45; al-Ṣabbān, *Ziyāra*, Arabic 44, Engl. 35. Helfritz, *Sūdara-bien*, fig. 8: ‘Hadramauter Kinderspielzeug aus Ton’.

²⁰³ Cf. Bin Shihāb, *‘Ādāt*, 15, and 95, n. 25: *maṭṭālī* – special kind of plate.

sills (*tāqa*)²⁰⁴ (IV 39). Other vessels, such as *flīs*²⁰⁵ (IV 36), and in a wedding context things made of glass and crystal (IV 3), are prohibited to be displayed.

Cushions (*wisāda*) and pillows (*matka*,²⁰⁶ *takiya*²⁰⁷) are restricted in number and shall not be made of silk (*ḥarīr*)²⁰⁸ (IV 3, 5, 39, GhBW 2). The special thick quilted cushion on which the bride sits during the *ṣubḥa*-ceremony²⁰⁹ (*mafrash*) is allowed in one document (IV 5), but absolutely prohibited in another (IV 39). Bedcovers (*malḥafa*)²¹⁰ are restricted in price (IV 24, 37).

Only in the most recent post-sultanate source (*lā'ihā 2*) is western furniture mentioned, such as a table (*mīz*), a dressing table (*tasrīḥa*), a bed (*sarīr*)²¹¹ and a cupboard (*kabat*), rather simple items compared to the luxury brought by emigrants returning from Singapore and other countries of Southeast Asia which the Ingrams experienced in the 1930s and 40s.²¹² The contrast “between the modernism – even futurism – and medievalism”²¹³ in Tarīm was the contrast between the poverty of “the bulk of the population [...] sleeping in caves, or little stick huts, or in mud dars” on the one hand and the wealth brought by the emigrants who could afford “twentieth century furniture, cars, telephones, electric light, iced drinks, baths and every ‘mod. con.’”²¹⁴ on the other.

²⁰⁴ al-ʿAydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 60; cf. Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 791: small ventilation window.

²⁰⁵ Cf. the *fals* called vessel used for *bukhūr lil-māʿ*, the incense to flavour the water which the *qāt*-chewers drink during the *qāt*-sessions, and its use in body-painting (*naqsh*) (Schönig, *Schminken*, 74).

²⁰⁶ A pillow to lean on as part of the diwan/sofa (Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 530b). Serjeant, ‘Marriage’, Arabic 479, Engl. 482, commentary 485: *midkā*, pl. *madākī*. RWH 96 however: mortar stand.

²⁰⁷ Awad, ʿ*Ādāt*, 10, column 2. Bin Shihāb, ʿ*Ādāt*, 30, and 98, n. 74. al-ʿAydārūs, *Kalimāt*, 16: *takya*. Cf. the entries *tkʿ* and *tky* in Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 137.

²⁰⁸ For silk see I.5.1.1.1 Silk dress.

²⁰⁹ See I.2.3 Marriage.

²¹⁰ The word also denotes a piece of cloth worn primarily by men (al-Ṣabbān, *Dalīl*, 27, Landberg, *Etudes*, I, 709, RWH 130–1), but also women (Dozy, *Supplément*, II, 527b, cf. Dozy, *Vêtements*, 401–3).

²¹¹ RWH 96, mentioned as a bench for washing the dead.

²¹² See the description of al-Kāf’s palaces and locations in Tarīm (H. Ingrams, *Arabia*, 180–1).

²¹³ *Ibid.*, 194.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 195.

6 Rhetoric of the documents

The documents in the al-Kathīrī Archives in Say'ūn, as diverse as they are, were gathered together by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ṣabbān¹ who, notwithstanding his progressive beliefs, implicitly followed classical patterns of Islamic scholarship. He assessed his material and arranged it according to subject, so the Say'ūn documentary collection may be regarded as a grandiose, though incomplete, thesaurus which provides its reader, among historical facts and details, also models of proper and improper social behaviour.

6.1 *Topics and tactics*

The content of documents formally aimed at banishing or restricting wasteful rites and deviation from the traditions, but actually offers a detailed account of popular customs and social practices. The topics of the sources² are as follows

- regulations of family ceremonies, either official documents (IV 3–5, 16–21, 23–4, 36–7, 39, 43; ABR 1) or documents initiated from below (IV 34; GhBW 1 and GhBW 2; ABR 2); receipts that the notification of abolition of certain ceremonies was handed to the undersigned (IV 6–14), cf. IV 48 blaming those who disregarded the prohibition on women wearing anklets; as well as printed official production of the post-sultanate time (*lā'iḥa* 1 and *lā'iḥa* 2, *Sharāra*);
- correspondence related to social disorders in Madūda and the ibex hunt (IV 26–9, 32, 35, 40–2, 50; Madūda 1 and Madūda 2);
- invitations to the pilgrimage to Mashhad 'Alī (IV 22, 30, 47; III 276);
- agreements between social strata (IV 1, 31, 44), including agricultural regulations (IV 15, 49).³

Seven documents of Section IV which are excluded from this publication for various reasons⁴ – documents 2, 15, 25, 33, 38, 45–6 – belong to the category of regulations and agreements.

Practically all the aspects of public and private life in Hadramawt under the sultans were liable to have been recorded, from a *tikfā*, an intertribal agreement (IV 44), to an appointment of the washer of the dead in a particular quarter of Say'ūn (ABR 1). In accordance with their goals, the documents fit into various categories – decrees or ordinances, treaties, regulations, legal codes, contracts, declarations, announcements, receipts, reports, requests, complaints, appellations, denunciations, letters of invitation, personal letters, etc.

¹ See Introduction 4.2 Sources.

² See Introduction 4.2 Sources; II.1 Catalogue.

³ Cf. also Rodionov, 'The Labour Code'.

⁴ See II.1 Catalogue.

In many cases the declared purpose of a document differs from its real goal: e.g. IV 22 is addressed to the Sultan formally “in order to seek the invocation [of God] and to draw [your] attention [to the pilgrimage], and there is a question [addressed] to you and to those who are kept close to you [about your and their health]” etc. (IV 22/8), but in fact was intended to discuss political and financial issues orally through “a humble servant” (IV 22, 9–11), a special messenger of the al-ʿAṭṭās *sāda* (cf. IV 30/11; 47, p. 1/9–11) who would elaborate written allusions and add important information orally.

Documents on social disorders in Madūda (IV 26–9, 32, 35, 40–2, 50; Madūda 1 and Madūda 2) display another pattern of correlation between topic and tactics: a spiritual leader lodges his complaint not directly to the Sultan, but via the local tribal leader who forwards it with his remarks in a cover letter; after consultations with both parties to the conflict, the Sultan as mediator passes a set of resolutions in order to restore the social balance.

Similar, but more complicated, tactical schemes are implemented in the documents concerning the regulation of life cycle rituals: initiatives from below convert into official acts with special mechanics of notification and control. Later on this scheme was developed in the printed official documents of post-sultanate times. Measures on prohibition and / or restriction of customs, however, proved to not have been at all effective. Although the official declarations were read publicly at the marketplaces by middlemen (*dalal*), and those who disobeyed were punished, authorities had to issue these documents again and again.⁵

Similar efforts were made by the Marxist authorities of the Fifth Governorate, alias Hadramawt, in 1974 and in 1986.⁶ According to the local official newspaper *al-Sharāra*, named after the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party’s organ of the early 20th century *Iskra* (‘a sparkle’), extravagance in the enjoying of luxury is a colonial phenomenon that serves the interests of the monopolies. In the issue of 17 April 1974, *al-Sharāra* published an Appendix to the General Marriage Law under the title ‘Order of procedures of marriage and traditions in the Southern *mudiriyya* of the Fifth Governorate’ which attempted to put a cap on excessive wedding expenditures. Despite the belligerent wording, the Appendix was never implemented in full, either on the coast or in the Inner Hadramawt. As for wasteful marriage expenditures, they still remain a serious problem for Yemenis.

The topics and tactics of the papers largely depend on extra-textual factors. In the Hadrami documents under consideration, the written and the spoken converged and complemented one another.

⁵ See I.1.2 Migration and social change.

⁶ II.1 Catalogue, 3. Printed official documents of the post-sultanate period.

6.2 Style

The language of the documents largely depends on stratal characteristics of its authors. Pen production of *sāda* as a rule is composed in a high literary style, with quranic wordings, Islamic formulae, and clichés; the most solemn passages (e.g. IV 22, 30, 47) are rendered in rhymed prose (*saǰʿ*). Official sultanate documents stick to more or less standard Arabic; the tribal texts adhere to specific *qabīlī* manner of expression with tribal greeting (*ḥawka*) (IV 38) and terminology; documents of underprivileged strata apply vernacular of their own. And all categories of the documents use specific vocabulary with a great amount of borrowed words to name material objects, as well as local terms for social customs and cultural ideas,⁷ which to a considerable extent are unknown to the younger generations of Hadramis.

Moralising passages occurring in various documents intend to define numerous challenges to the traditional world order. Those challenges, once called “Satanic matters” (IV 26/13),⁸ comprise such a state of affairs when “the humble (*miskīn*) increases his voice and the tribesman fails [to participate in the hunt] according to the custom” (IV 26/19), other points of censure being conspicuous consumption, “the continuance of these disgusting customs brings extensive harm and corruption” (IV 3, p. 1/3), and mixing of non-related males and females (e.g. IV 39; GhBW 1 and GhBW 2).

The candour of *qabīlī* style manifests itself in the letters of a tribal chief ʿĀmir b. Saʿīd b. ʿĀmir b. al-Ṣuqayr (IV 27, 42) who hates “idle talk (*kalmān*)” (IV 27/8) and prefers a policy of force to one of diplomacy. In his correspondence one can even find a hint of humour which is very rare in official documentation. The chief ridicules the small size of the self-proclaimed independent quarter in Madūda which he estimates as no more than a *qāma*, 6 feet or 185 cm long (IV 27/6), thus he is echoing a popular sarcastic rhyme on the size of the al-Kathīrī mini-state, ascribed by our informants to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUbaydallāh al-Saqqāf, the mufti of Hadramawt:

Limi l-kibr wa-mulkak shibr // qafzat ḥiṣān wa-awṣaltanā amān

“What is this greatness for? Your domain [is as wide as] the span of a hand (*shibr* ~ 24 cm). // One leap of a horse – and you must provide us with security.”⁹

Along with the *saǰʿ* fragments, the discourse of the documents including their stylistic means, and methods of argumentation and persuasion, has much in common with the classical Arabian art of poetry. Indeed, the documents comprise passages composed in the spirit of such poetical genres as the *fakhr* glorification,

⁷ See II.3 Annotated vocabulary.

⁸ See Rodionov, “Satanic Matters”.

⁹ After ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Bin ʿAqīl, see Introduction, 4.3.1 Informants; see Rodionov, ‘Smekhovie efekty’, and “Satanic Matters”, 218.

and the *hijā'* invective; the role of a messenger in documents is as important as in Arabian *qaṣīda* poems.¹⁰ Both South Arabian poetry and documentation keep their interactive dialogical character reflected in a question-and-answer poetry, poetical contests, legal disputes and cases in verse, etc.¹¹

In a series of documents on social conflict in Madūda, so different in style and attitudes, a reader finds the same sentence: “there is no [bad] news” (27/2, 32/2) or “there is only good news” (26/5). Of course it is nothing but stereotyped cliché, but it signifies essential features of local documents – reticence and ambiguity – which we tried to render in the English translation in Part II of this book. Any text seems to be incomplete without oral comments and supplementary explanations.

6.3 Structure and spatial organisation

With few exceptions, most of the documents are relatively short taking up more or less the size of a standard European page. Only IV 2, 4, 39, and the printed documents have more than 2 pages. As a rule, in initial lines, or sometimes at the end of a document, the date in the Hijra calendar and the place are indicated, as well as the sender's and addressee's names and the purpose of the letter. Several decrees are approved and signed by the Sultan (IV 16, 36, 49; Madūda 2). Collective documents bear signatures of an author, a scribe, and those who “have sworn an oath (*shalla*) on it” (GhBW 1), “certified and taken to fulfil faithfully” (e.g. IV 24, similarly 29 etc.).

The documents demonstrate not only a variety of expressive means according to stratal division,¹² but also a range of handwriting styles in traditional black or modern blue ink. Letters from the *manṣab* of Mashhad ʿAlī (IV 22, 47) are written down in the same large and legible script with insertions made by the *manṣab*'s hand; thus in IV 22 the name of the Sultan Jaʿfar b. al-Manṣūr al-Kathīrī was inscribed by the *manṣab* personally as a sign of respect, and IV 30 is completely written by the *manṣab*.

The spatial design of the documents containing rhymed prose (*sajʿ*) (IV 22, 47) stresses the rhymes in a continuous text with gaps in order to help a reader to recite it – another connection between the written and the spoken.

Documents IV 30 and 47 exemplify a variant of the so-called spiral texts from the North of Yemen depicted by Brinkley Messick in his *Calligraphic State*¹³ where the last part of the writing pivots under the angle to the initial lines (see facsimile). Noteworthy is that the most important information in the first document is given in a postscript (IV 30/17–20). The second document displays a combination

¹⁰ Id., *Demony*, 58–6.

¹¹ Id., ‘Poetry and Power’; RWH 163–96.

¹² See I.6.2 Style.

¹³ Messick, *Calligraphic State*, 231–49.

of traditional and modern designs – the sample of a spiral text with the bilingual Arabic-English personal stamp of the al-^ʿAṭṭās *manṣab* which was put on the paper in advance before the text had been written.

7 Summary

The documented regulations of family ceremonies and social customs appeared long before such initiatives of the Tarīm *sāda* in the al-Kathīrī Sultanate. Suffice it to mention ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Saʿīd Bā Ṣabrayn¹ (d. 1294²/1877), a *faqīh* of tribal origin, resident of Wadi Dawʿan, who in the late 19th century stigmatised improper behaviour and the mingling of sexes,³ as well as the GhBW 1 document of 1904 instigated by *mashāyikh* under al-Quʿayṭī control. Hence puritanical initiatives were proposed not only from above, but also from below.

The examined documents aimed at restoring social balance and keeping habitual social order vis-a-vis the external and internal challenges of modernity. They belong to an old handwriting culture related to oral heritage and Arabian poetry. Some specimens, however, display features of newer office work – stamps, dates by Christian era, etc. – and even ideas of moderate reforms in the spirit of the Enlightenment.

Repetitious issues of the same restrictions and regulations show that the prohibitive measures proved to be rather ineffective. Interconnected domains of men and women naturally resist total separation and excessive regulation. On the other hand the idea of inviolability of private life and autonomy as a source of human dignity – an essential principle of the European Enlightenment explicitly formulated by Immanuel Kant in his 1784 essay “What is Enlightenment?” – seems unacceptable and strange, both to the Hadrami elite and the common people of that time. For them an uncouth intrusion into private life was admissible if done in the name of higher moral principles. Nearly the same approach to family life and social customs is reflected in the documents of post-sultanate period.

The interface of the written and the oral opens up to textual anthropologists a valuable source – comments and clarifications made *in situ* by informants, most of whom are descendants of the actors of the script.

Finally we must stress again the exceptional significance of the al-Kathīrī Archives in Sayʿūn, along with other local archives, official and private, for cultural, social and historical research in Hadramawt, which international scholars have only just started to uncover.

¹ Cf. Serjeant, ‘Materials’, 593, no. 26.

² Bā Ṣabrayn, *Jumal*, f. 1b.

³ RWH 149.

Part II
The Documents

1 Catalogue

The documents of the al-Kathīrī Archives in Say'ūn and the private archives are handwritten. Often the paper is taken from copybooks or a standard European stationary. The ink is a homemade black or European blue. The majority of the texts are rather short; with a few exceptions they occupy less than a sheet or two.

The numbering has been done by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ṣabbān,¹ according to the chronology. The following copies are marked with contemporary official stamps of the Say'ūn Branch of the GOAM: I 276, IV 1, 3, 7, 16, 22, 26, 27, 29 32, 34, 40–2, 44, 47, 49, 50. The stamp reads: al-Jumhūriyya al-yamaniyya // al-hay'a al-ʿamma lil-āthār // wa-l-matāḥif wa-l-makḥūṭāt Say'ūn Ḥaḍramawt.

Correct names and spelling of the months are used in the catalogue (cf. the remarks in Note on usage, translation and transliteration). The spelling of the sultans' names as well as the spelling of the months of the Islamic calendar are standardised here and not quoted according to the variations in the documents.

References are given to scholarly contributions in which the documents were analysed and/or translated. The authors' own previously published translations have been improved and corrected in this edition.

1.1 Documents from the al-Kathīrī Archives in Say'ūn²

1.1.1 Section III: *Mukhbāṭabāt al-salāfīn ma'a ru'asā' al-qabā'il wa-l-ʿashā'ir wa-l-manāṣīb* [Correspondence between the sultans and chiefs of tribes and tribal subdivisions, and high dignitaries]

276 – 21 Rabī' al-Awwal 1353/[1934]³

Sender: al-ʿAṭṭās-family from Ḥurayḍa and *sāda* of the al-Bār and al-Miḥḍār families

Addressee: Sultan 'Alī b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī

Report on the pilgrimage to Mashhad 'Alī and the political situation in Hadramawt

2 pages on 1 sheet, 16 (13 + 3) lines

References: Rodionov, 'Mashhad 'Alī Revisited' (translation)

¹ See Introduction 4.2 Sources.

² All eight sections are listed in Appendix 1 Sections of the al-Kathīrī Archives in Say'ūn.

³ Listed in al-Ṣabbān, *Wathā'iq*, 3/1.

1.1.2 Section IV:⁴ *Wathā'iq ʿādāt wa-taqālid* [Documents on customs and traditions]

- 1 – 16 Rajab 1337/[1919]
 Agreement between *dalal* and *ḥawīk*-strata in Tarīs
 1 page, 12 lines and signatures
- 2 – Jumādā l-Ākhira 1338/[1920] omitted as it relates to a topic which is not part of the current research since it is connected with it only indirectly
 Irrigation in Sayʿūn
 Title page + 13 pages, 15 + 15 + 13 + 15 + 13 + 16 + 16 + 16 + 14 + 17 + 17 + 15 + 13 lines
- 3 – 12 Ramaḍān 1341/[1923]
 Agreement of influential people (*abl al-ḥall wa-l-ʿaqd*) in Sayʿūn on the abolishment of (marriage) customs, ordered to be executed by the Sultan ʿAlī b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī
 2 pages on 1 sheet, 57 (31 + 26) lines
 References: Boxberger, *Empire*, 139–40 (summary); Freitag, 'Dokumente' (German translation of some parts, discussion); al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 114–15 (reproduction of the text save lines 23–5 of page 2)
- 4 – 1341/[1923] omitted, = document 3 (slightly revised copy)
 3 pages on one double and one single sheet of thin lined paper, 65 (27 + 27 + 11) lines
- 5 – 16 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1350/[1931]
 Sender: ʿAlawī b. ʿAbdallāh
 Addressee: Sultan ʿAlī b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī
 Part 1: Regulations of dress, jewellery, household items, and marriage customs
 Part 2: Accompanying letter, regulation concerning rain prayer
 2 pages on 1 sheet, 34 (24 + 10) lines
 References: Boxberger, *Empire*, 140 (short summary)
- 6 – 1350/[1931]
 Receipt for a written order on the abolition (*tabṭūl*) of customs handed over to ʿUmar b. ʿAbdallāh Baḥraq by Hādi Suwaylim Bā Ṣuwaytayn
 1 page, 4 lines

⁴ All documents of this section are listed here (see Introduction 5.1 Contributions on Hadramawt documents). However, some of them have been neglected in our study if the subject is not relevant or for other reasons given. In documents which have no dates (nos. 8–11, 14, 15, 37, 48) they were added by al-Ṣabbān.

- 7 – Beginning (*fātiḥa*) of Sha‘bān [13]50/[1931]
 Receipt by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥabshī and ‘Alawī b. Miḥḍār b. ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥsin al-Ḥabshī of a paper on prohibition issued by Sultan ‘Alī b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī
 1 page, 7 lines
- 8 – [1350/1931]
 Receipt by Muḥammad b. Mas‘ūd Bā Rajā’ of a letter on prohibition of customs
 1 page, 4 lines
- 9 – [1350/1931]
 Receipt by ‘Alī b. ‘Alawī al-Ḥaddād of a letter on prohibition of customs
 1 page, 2 lines
- 10 – [1350/1931]
 Receipt by Sa‘īd ‘Āshūr b. Zayn Bā Ḥumayd of a letter on prohibition of customs
 1 page, 3 lines
- 11 – [1350/1931]
 Receipt by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Ḥabshī of a letter on prohibition of customs
 1 page, 2 lines
- 12 – [1350/1931]
 Receipt by ‘Abdallāh Sālim Aḥmad Bā Ḥashwān of the paper handed to him by ‘Ubayd b. Sālim Bā Ṣāliḥ, issued by the Sultan ‘Alī b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī
 1 page, 4 lines
- 13 – 1 Sha‘bān 1350/[1931]
 Receipt by ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ṭāhā b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh al-Saqqāf of the paper on prohibition of customs issued by the Sultan ‘Alī b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī, approved by Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥāmid
 1 page, 8 lines
- 14 – [1350/1931]
 Receipt by ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh al-Saqqāf of a letter on prohibition of customs
 1 page, 3 lines

- 15 – [1350/1931] omitted as it relates to a topic which is not part of the current research
Draft of an agricultural law (*qānūn*) on the distribution of property, an agreement between landlords and farmers
2 pages, 18 + 27 lines
- 16 – 12 Sha‘bān 1350/[1931]
Official statement on prohibitions of marriage customs signed by the Sultan ‘Alī b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī
1 page, 10 lines
References: Boxberger, *Empire*, 141 (short summary)
- 17 – 12 Sha‘bān 1350/[1931] omitted, = document 16 (identical text), without the Sultan’s signature
- 18 – Šafar 1352/[1933]
Regulations on marriage ceremonies, including dress code and jewellery
2 pages on 1 double sheet, 40 (24 + 16) lines
References: Boxberger, *Empire*, 140 (summary); al-Šabbān, *‘Ādāt*, 116–17 (full copy)⁵
- 19 – Šafar 1352/[1933] omitted, = document 18 (minor differences)
- 20 – 1 Muḥarram 1353/[1934]
Regulations on marriage customs, including dress code and jewellery
1 page, 34 lines, thin unlined paper, folded, irregular margins, torn or cut at the upper corners
Boxberger, *Empire*, 140–1 (summary); al-Šabbān, *‘Ādāt*, 117–18 (full copy of the very similar document 23)
- 21 – Šafar 1353/[1934] omitted, = document 18 (with paragraphs in a slightly different order)
2 pages on 1 sheet of yellowish unlined paper, 23 + 21 lines
- 22 – 1 Rabi‘ al-Awwal 1353/[1934]
Sender: Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn b. ‘Umar b. Hārūn al-‘Atṭās, *maṣṣab* of Mashhad ‘Alī
Addressee: Sultan ‘Alī b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī
Invitation to the Sultan to attend the annual *ziyāra* to Mashhad ‘Alī
1 page, 15 lines
References: Rodionov, ‘Mashhad ‘Alī Revisited’ (translation)

⁵ Freitag refers to the document in al-Šabbān as taken from the uncatalogued series of documents ‘Bayānāt al-dawla al-kathīriyya’ (‘Dokumente’, 20, n. 48), cf. Appendix 1 Sections of the al-Kathīrī Archives in Say‘ūn, n. 2. There may exist two very similar documents.

- 23 – Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1353/[1934] omitted, = document 20 (minor differences)
1 page, copy cut after 12 lines
- 24 – 19 Rajab 1355/[1936]
Official statement of the Sultan on wedding ceremonies
1 page, 23 lines, 3 columns of certifications with signatures, unlined paper
References: Boxberger, *Empire*, 141–2 (summary)
- 25 – 1356/[1937] omitted due to the lack of additional information about the document
Addressee: Sultan ʿAlī b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī, no sender mentioned
Relations of the people of al-Ḥawṭa and al-Balad in respect to the ibex hunt and other social presentations. A draft?
1 page, 15 lines
- 26 – 1 Ṣafar 1357/[1938]
Sender: Ṭāhā b. Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr Bā Ḥumayd
Addressee: ʿĀmir b. Saʿīd b. al-Ṣuqayr
Complaint against those people of Madūda who broke the ibex hunt tradition
1 page, 23 lines
References: Rodionov, ‘Satanic Matters’, 216–17 (translation and photo of the document)
- 27 – 1 Ṣafar 1357/[1938]
Sender: ʿĀmir b. Saʿīd b. ʿĀmir b. al-Ṣuqayr
Addressee: Sultan ʿAlī b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī
Explanation of the conflict on the ibex hunt in Madūda, attaching the previous letter [IV 26]
1 page, 13 lines + signature
References: Rodionov, ‘Satanic Matters’, 218–19 (translation and photo of the document)
- 28 – 18 Ṣafar 1357/[1938]
Reaction regarding the conflict [cf. IV 27] and resolution of the five sections of Madūda to come to an agreement with the Sultan ʿAlī b. Maṣṣūr [IV 29], signed by their representatives
1 page, 13 lines, 5 columns of names (witnesses), thin sheet of lined paper torn at the left margin, ink spot near the upper margin; the right third of the paper shows water tracks.
- 29 – 27 Ṣafar 1357/[1938]
Agreement between the Sultan ʿAlī b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī and 5 sections of the Madūda population [cf. IV 28]. Saʿīd b. Aḥmad Bakhḍar elected head of the united quarter approved by the Sultan.
1 page, 23 lines

- 30 – 1 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1357/[1938]
 Sender: Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-ʿAtṭās, *manṣab* of Mashhad ʿAlī
 Addressee: Sultan ʿAlī b. Manṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī and his brother Jaʿfar
 Invitation to the Sultan to attend the annual *ziyāra* to Mashhad ʿAlī
 1 page, 25 lines
 References: Rodionov, 'Mashhad ʿAlī Revisited' (translation)
- 31 – 11 Jumādā l-Ūlā 1357/[1938]
 Manifest that the population of al-Ghuraf acknowledge the authority of Bin
 ʿAbdallāh Āl Kathīrī
 1 page, 3 lines
- 32 – 11 [?] Jumādā l-Ākhira 1357/[1938]
 Sender: The people of Madūda, signed on their behalf by Saʿīd b. Aḥmad
 Bakhḍar
 Addressee: Sultan ʿAlī b. Manṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī
 Complaint about the interruption of a procession to Sayʿūn
 1 page, 7 lines
 References: Rodionov, 'Satanic Matters', 219–20 (translation and photo of
 the document)
- 33 – 7 Shaʿbān 1357/[1938] omitted due to the unusable state of the document
 Sender: ʿAlawī b. ʿAbdallāh Mawlā Khayla
 Addressee: Sultan ʿAlī b. Manṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī
 On traditions of social presentations
 1 page, 12 lines
- 34 – 9 Ramaḍān 1357/[1938]
 Sender: Muḥammad Shaykh al-Musāwā
 Addressee: Sultan Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī
 Asking for a manifest on the prohibition of Ramadan customs, signed by
 Muḥammad Shaykh al-Musāwā
 1 page, 12 lines
- 35 – 28 Dhū l-Qaʿda 1357/[1939]
 Sender: Ṭāhā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Bā Ḥumayd
 Addressee: Sultan Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī
 Social conflict in Madūda concerning the ibex hunt ceremony
 1 page, 9 lines, thin sheet of lined paper
- 36 – 1 Dhū l-Ḥijja 1357/[1939]
 Copy of an ordinance of the Majlis al-Iṣlāḥ al-Waṭānī in Sayʿūn on the ab-
 rogation of (marriage) customs, signed by the Sultan Jaʿfar b. Manṣūr b.
 Ghālib al-Kathīrī

- 2 pages on 2 sheets, 22 + 17 lines, thin sheet of lined paper
References: Freitag and Schönig, 'Wise Men' (translation and photo of the document)
- 37 – [1357/1939]
Regulations of marriage customs
1 page, 16 lines, several cancellations, line 14 partly cancelled and continued at the left margin, thin sheet of lined paper torn at three margins and two corners, with large spots
- 38 – 17 Muḥarram 1358/[1939] omitted due to the unusable state of the document
Sender: Muṣṭafā b. ʿAbīd b. Kartum al-Salām (name vaguely readable)
Addressee: Sultan Jaʿfar b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī
Sections of tribal population of Tāriba ask for the written prescription from the Sultan concerning reforms and prohibition of traditions
1 page, 16 lines, tribal language
- 39 – 20 Rabīʿ al-Ākhir 1358/8 June 1939
Handwritten version of an ordinance by Jamʿiyyat al-Ḥaqq
Regulations of life cycle traditions. As indicated at the end of the document it was mimeographed by the *Majallat al-ikbāʿ* in Tarīm, based on a previous document published on 14 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1352/6 June 1933 which is not among this collection.
10 pages on 5 sheets, each 17 lines except p. 1 (16 lines), 70 articles, catch-words at odd pages
References: Boxberger, *Empire*, 142–5
- 40 – 15 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1358/[1939]
Senders: ʿAbdallāh and ʿAlī Bā Ḥumayd
Addressee: Sultan Jaʿfar b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī
Report on social conflicts in Madūda, referring to a letter written by the Sultan dated 28 Shaʿbān 1357 which is not among this collection
1 page, 13 lines
- 41 – 12 Shaʿbān 1358/[1939]
Sender: *mashāyikh* of Madūda of Bā Salāma family
Addressee: Sultan Jaʿfar b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī
Informing the Sultan of the customs of Bā Ḥumayd during shrine visitation
1 page, 13 lines with signatures
- 42 – 20 Shawwāl 1358/[1939]
Sender: ʿĀmir b. Saʿīd b. ʿĀmir b. al-Ṣuqayr and ʿAwaḍ b. Muḥammad Bin Munaybārī, tribal chiefs acted as mediators

Addressee: Sultan Jaʿfar b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī

Request to provide the population of Madūda with a permit for the ibex hunt

1 page, 13 lines

43 – 1358/[1939]

Sender: Muḥammad Shaykh al-Musāwā, Majlis al-Iṣlāḥ

Addressee: Sultan Jaʿfar b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī, his son Aḥmad b. Jaʿfar

Discussion of a previous ordinance on marriage customs⁶ and a manifest on the alteration of two of its paragraphs

2 pages on 2 sheets, 20 (10 + 10) lines, draft of an announcement with blank spaces for the day and the month, thin sheets taken from a copybook, torn at the lower right corners with an ink spot on the upper margins

44 – 22 Rabīʿ al-Ākhir 1359/[1940]

Sender: chiefs of two factions of al-Shanāfira tribal confederation

Addressee: Sultan Jaʿfar b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī

Agreement between the above mentioned on date palm matters, given to the Sultan as mediator

1 page, 10 lines, the right side of the sheet is torn off

45 – 22 Jumādā l-Ūlā 1359/[1940] omitted as it relates to a topic which is not part of the current research

Addressee: Sultan Jaʿfar b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī

Agreement in an irrigation conflict in Wadi Bin ʿAlī between the tribes Āl Jaʿfar b. Sālim and Āl Sanad, reference to a previous letter which is not among this collection

1 page, 24 lines

46 – 29 Shaʿbān 1359/[1940] omitted as it relates to a topic which is not part of the current research

Sender: on behalf of the entire population of Suḥayl

Addressee: Sultan Jaʿfar b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī

Frontier conflict

1 page, 10 lines

47 – 1 Rabīʿ al-Awwal 1360/[1941]

Sender: Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn [b. ʿUmar] b. Hārūn al-ʿAtṭās, *manṣab* of Mashhad ʿAlī

Addressee: Sultan Jaʿfar b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī

Report on the pilgrimage to Mashhad ʿAlī

⁶ Freitag, 'Dokumente', n. 19: probably document 36.

2 pages, 1. page: 19 lines + 15 lines above the text, 2. page: 7 lines
References: Rodionov, ‘Mashhad ‘Ali Revisited’ (translation)

48 – [1360/1941]

Addressee: Several mostly noble families, listed by name

Official paper on their violation of the prohibition of wearing anklets

2 pages on 1 sheet, 1. page: 4 lines, list of names in 2 columns, 2. page: list of names in 22 lines, thin sheet of lined paper which had been folded twice, torn on the margins with several ink spots

References: Boxberger, *Empire*, 145 (summary); Schönig, ‘Documents’, 253 (translation)

49 – 15 Rabi‘ al-Awwal 1360/[1941]

Labour code on land tenure approved by Sultan Ja‘far b. Manşūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī with his signature in the first line, signed by 16 responsible persons, among them well-known folk leaders such as Ḥamūd b. ‘Abbūd Bā Dāwī, and ‘Abbūd b. Yuslim Bā Fuṭaym

1 page, 13 lines, the paper is worm-eaten in two places

50 – 24 Šafar 1378/[1958]

Sender: *shaykh* Ṭāhā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Bā Ḥumayd

Addressee: Sultan Ja‘far b. Manşūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī

Controversy on the ibex hunt referring to a resolution by the Sultan ‘Alī b. Manşūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī [IV 29?]

There must be a miswriting in the date, as Sultan Ja‘far b. Manşūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī died in 1948. Suggestion: 1368 which corresponds to 1948.

1 page, 17 lines

1.2 Documents from private archives

1.2.1 Madūda (from the family archives of Rabi‘ ‘Awaḍ Bin ‘Ubaydallāh, Madūda)

1 – 22 Shawwāl 1353/[1935]

Sender: Shaykhān Bā Ḥumayd

Agreement between the groups of the Madūda population concerning the ibex hunt and the pilgrimage to Qabr Hūd, signed by the representatives of these groups, approved by ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar and Shaykhān Bā Ḥumayd

1 page, 16 lines

2 – 25 Rabi‘ al-Awwal 1368/25 January 1949

Based on the letter by the late Sultan ‘Alī b. Manşūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī issued on 27 Šafar 1357 [IV 29] approved by the Sultan Ja‘far b. Manşūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī, copied literally from the original by ‘Umar ‘Ubayd al-Duqayl

Prescription to the people of Madūda to respect certain traditions and ceremonies concerning the ibex hunt

1 page, 18 lines

1.2.2 Ghayl Bā Wazīr (referred to as GhBW)

1 – The last Monday of Ṣafar 1322/[1904]

In the private collection of ʿAbdallāh Aḥmad Bā Wazīr in al-Mukallā
Resolution of the meeting of the al-Ṣidāʿ population on the abolition of (marriage) customs, approved by the participants from *sāda*, *mashāyikh* and *qabāʿil*

2 pages on 1 sheet, 1. page: 39 lines, right margin below: stamp of the owner ʿAbdallāh Aḥmad Bā Wazīr and a note that it was gifted to him by Ṣāliḥ Saʿīd Bā Shantūf on 4 February 2003; 2. page (reverse): 5 columns and 2 lines of signatures

2 – 1346/[1927]

In the private collection of ʿAbdallāh Aḥmad Bā Wazīr in al-Mukallā
Resolution of a meeting on 22 Jumādā I-Ūlā 1346/[1927] in Ghayl Bā Wazīr on the abolition of (marriage) customs

Above: stamp of the owner, lines to the left of the stamp: From the archives of my grandfather ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad Bā Wazīr; a note that a photocopy of this document was gifted to Mikhail Rodionov on 6 September 2003. Line above the text written upside down: verification by *sayyid* Aḥmad b. Muḥsin al-Haddār

1 page, 19 lines

1.2.3 ʿAlī Bā Rajā (referred to as ABR)

1 – 3 Muḥarram 1371/4 October 1951

On the washing of the dead in Sayʿūn (al-Saḥīl and al-Ḥawṭa)

1 page, 23 lines

2 – 5 Rabiʿ al-Thānī 1390/9 June 1970

Agreement on the length of dresses

1 page, 9 lines, typewritten

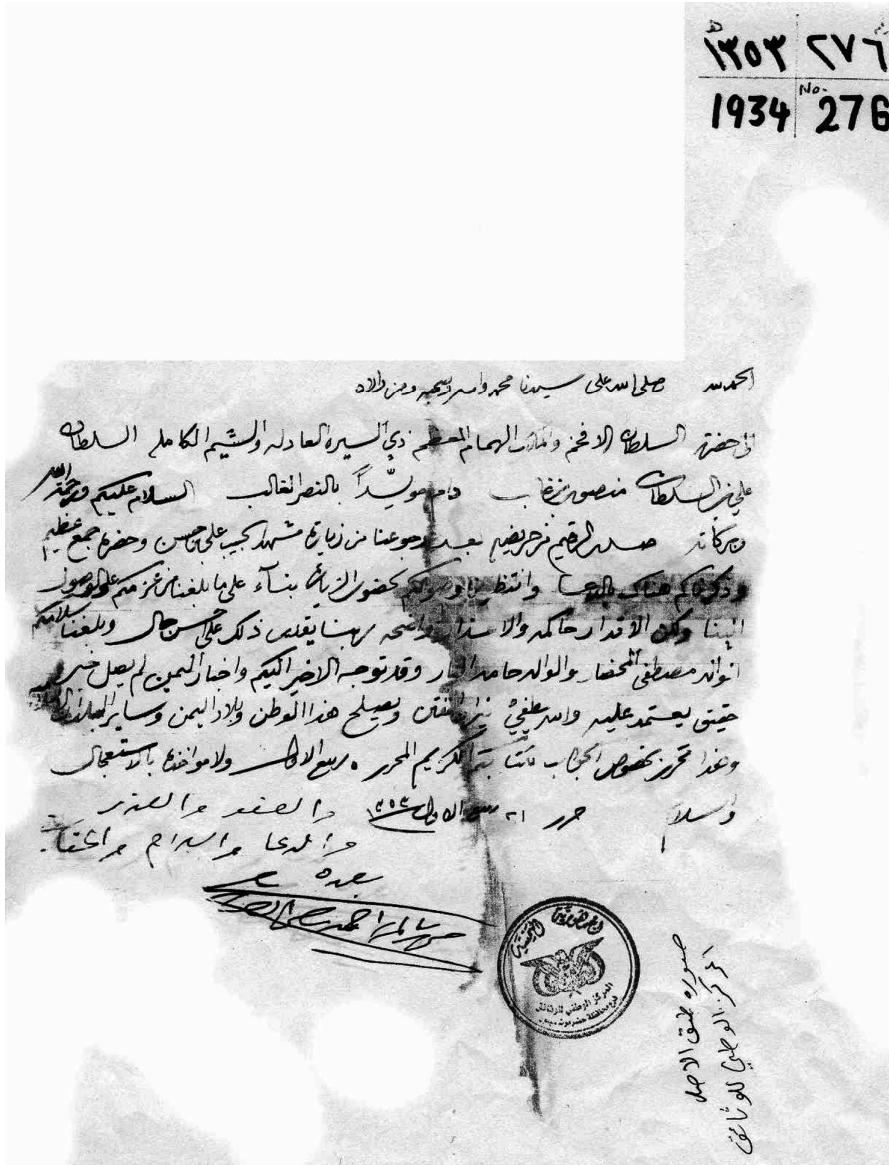
1.3 Official publications of the post-sultanate period

- 1 – *Lā'ihat tanzīm al-ʿādāt wa-l-taqālid al-ijtimāʿiyya bi-l-mudīriyya al-shimāliyya*, [al-]m[uhāfaza] al-khāmisa [Sayʿūn 1974] (referred to as *lā'iha 1*)
Decree on the regulation of social customs and traditions in the Northern *mudīriyya* (Sayʿūn district) of the Fifth Governorate, administrative decree 15/6/m. sh. 108 [19]74, dated 13.05.1394/03.06.1974, ceremonies of the life cycle, signed by the head of the Northern *mudīriyya*
The photocopy of the document was presented to Mikhail Rodionov by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Saqqāf (Fig. 8) in Sayʿūn on 5 April 2003.
18 pages, 12, 13, 13, 7, 6x13, 12, 13, 13, 12, 12, 13, 8, 1 lines
References: al-Ṣabbān, *ʿĀdāt*, 118–21 (full copy)
- 2 – *Lā'ihat al-ʿādāt wa-l-taqālid al-ijtimāʿiyya* [Sayʿūn 1986] (referred to as *lā'iha 2*)
Decree on the regulations of social customs and traditions in the Sayʿūn *mudīriyya* (16 Shawwāl 1406/23 June 1986), signed by the head of the committee on social customs and traditions
Title page + 15 pages, 16, 16, 12, 15, 16, 16, 17, 10, 16, 17, 18, 17, 19, 16, 17 lines
- 3 – *al-Sharāra*, al-Mukallā, no. 121, 17 April 1974 (referred to as *Sharāra*)
Semi-monthly newspaper (a copy presented to Rodionov by Mikhail Piotrovsky)
‘Qānūn al-zawāj wa-l-ʿādāt bi-l-mudīriyya al-janūbiyya, m-5 [al-muhāfaza al-khāmisa]’ [The Law on Marriage and Traditions in the Southern *mudīriyya* [al-Mukallā] of the Fifth Governorate], p. 6–8
Preamble, XII parts, 37 paragraphs

2 Facsimiles, Arabic transcripts, and English translations

2.1 Documents from the al-Katbīrī Archives in Say'ūn

III 276 – 21 Rabī' al-Awwal 1353/[1934]





[1]

- 1 - الحمد لله وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد و آله وصحبه ومن وآله
- 2 - الى حضرة السلطان الاقثم والملك الهمام المعظم ذي السيره العادله والشيم الكامله السلطان
- 3 - علي بن السلطان منصور بن غالب دام موثداً بالنصر الغالب السلام عليكم ورحمة الله

- 4 - وبركانه صدرالرقيم من حريضه بعد رجوعنا من زيارة مشهد الحبيب على بن حسن وحضره جمع عظيم
 5 - وذكرناكم هناك بالدعا وانتظرنا وصولكم لحضور الزيارة بناء على ما بلغنا من عزمكم على الوصول
 6 - الينا ولكن الاقدار حاكمه والاعذار واضحه رينا يقدر ذلك على احسن حال وبلغنا سلامكم
 7 - الوالد مصطفى المحضار والوالد حامد البار وقد توجه الاخير اليكم واخبار اليمن لم يصل خبر
 8 - حقيق يعتمد عليه والله يظفيء نيران الفتن ويصلح هذا الوطن وبلاد اليمن وسائر البلدان الاسلاميه
 9 - وهذا تحرر بخصوص الجواب لكتابكم الكريم المحرر ٥ ربيع الاول ولا مواخذة بالاستعجال
 10 - والسلام حرر ٢١ ربيع الاول سنة ١٣٥٣ والعفو والعذر
 11 - والدعا والسلام والحقايق
 12 - بعده
 13 - محمد سالم بن احمد بن حسن العطاس (1)

[2]

- 1 - السادة آل العطاس
 2 - والمحاضير والبار
 3 - البار والمحضار وبا صره

[page 1]

1. Praise be to God! God bless our master Muḥammad and his family and his companions and those who support him.
2. To His Highness the most superb Sultan, the greatest and sublime King, whose way of life is fair and whose habits are perfect, Sultan
3. ‘Alī, son of the Sultan Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib, may he always be granted triumphant victory. Peace be upon you and the mercy of God
4. and His blessings! The letter was issued in Ḥurayḍa after we had come back from the pilgrimage to Mashhad ‘Alī b. Ḥasan the Beloved [by God] which was attended by a great crowd.
5. We mentioned you there in our prayers, and were awaiting your arrival to join the pilgrimage because of [the information] that had reached us about your firm commitment to visit
6. us. However [there may be] decisive decrees and lucid excuses; our Lord ordains that in the best way. We have received your regards
7. through the *wālid* Muṣṭafā al-Miḥḍār and through the *wālid* Ḥāmid al-Bār. The latter is on his way to you. The news arriving [here] about Yemen are

¹ Written by his own hand.

8. neither true nor reliable. May God extinguish the fire of discord and foster reconciliation (*islāh*) in this homeland, in the country of Yemen and other Islamic countries.
9. This is composed as an answer to your noble letter composed on 5 Rabīʿ al-Awwal, and pardon me for being in a hurry,
10. and peace. Composed on 21 Rabīʿ al-Awwal of the year 1353, and forgiveness and excuse,
11. prayer and peace, and truthful facts
12. later on.
13. Muḥammad Sālim b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭās.²

[page 2]

1. The *sāda* of the Āl al-ʿAṭṭās,
2. and al-Maḥāḍīr and al-Bār,
3. al-Bār and al-Miḥḍār and Bā Ṣurra.

² Beginning with line 10: “and forgiveness...” up to the signature, the passage has been added by *sayyid* al-ʿAṭṭās himself.

- 1 - الحمد لله بتاريخ ستة عشر شهر رجب سنة ١٣٣٧ حصل الاتفاق والسداد بين
- 2 - منصور بن محيدان بن عبيد امبيريك القايم عن الدلل عبيد السوق
- 3 - بتريس وعمر بن سالم بن عبيد سالمين الشعيثا القايم عن الحويك بتريس
- 4 - ايضاً واجتمع رأيهم على ما فيه صلاح الكل ان الناحيتين المذكورتين
- 5 - عصبه واحده رايها راي واحد وشورها شور واحد لا يمكن
- 6 - لاحد منهم يقدم على امر الا بشور الثاني ومترادين الظهور
- 7 - بالشروع الوافيه كمثل اهل الخوف ولما ان المذكورين لم يقيم
- 8 - سلامهم ويحتكم الا بتكثير سوادهم من العرض بسيون
- 9 - او الغرفه اجتمع راي المذكورين على داعي ما يريدونه من عرض
- 10 - سيون او الغرفه القايم بشرعهم وحقهم اجتمع راي المذكورين
- 11 - على ما ذكر وحرر وقرر في الصحه و الاختيار من غير اكراه
- 12 - وكفى بالله شهيداً
- صحيح منصور بن محيدان بن عبيد امبيريك
- صحيح عمر بن سالم بن عبيد بن سالمين
- شهد وكتب بامره صالح بن احمد الجفري
- حضر خير الله سعيد النوي
- حضر بشراحيث
- شهد عمر بن يسلم سعد
- عيد روس بن سالم بلجون
- شهد على ذلك كرامه عوض سالمين

1. Praise be to God! Dated the 16th of the month of Rajab 1337, an agreement and a common opinion were reached between
2. Maṣṣūr b. Muḥaydān b. ʿUbayd Imbirīk, the head of the middlemen (*dalāl*), the slaves (*ʿabūd*) of the market,
3. from Tarīs, and ʿUmar b. Sālim b. ʿUbayd Sālimīn al-Shuʿaythā, the head of the weavers (*ḥawīk*), from Tarīs
4. also. They have come to terms concerning the well-being of all: both parts mentioned [above]
5. are united, their view is a united view and their deliberation is a united deliberation. It is not possible
6. for any one of them to decide any matter without consulting the other [side], and they have to cover the back [of each other]

7. in the loyal manner just as the inhabitants of the quarters (*ḥurūf*) [would do].
And if the mentioned [parties] do not reach
8. satisfaction and their difference increases, they will be judged either in Say'ūn
9. or in al-Ghurfa. The mentioned [parties] have come to terms that they may
appeal for what they wish from
10. Say'ūn or al-Ghurfa according to their law and right (*bi-shar'ihim wa-ḥaqqi-
him*). The mentioned [parties] have come to terms
11. concerning what is mentioned, issued and decided [here] with [legal] validity
and voluntarily, neither with enforcement nor coercion.
12. God is sufficient as a Witness.³
 - 'Correct', Maṣṣūr b. Muḥaydān b. 'Ubayd Imbīrik,
 - Correct, 'Umar b. Sālīm b. 'Ubayd Sālīmīn,
 - Certified and written down according to his instruction by Šāliḥ b. Aḥmad
al-Jifī.
 - Attended Khayrullāh Sa'īd al-Nūbī,
 - Attended Bashār Umḥayit,
 - A witness to that, 'Umar b. Yuslim Sa'd,
 - 'Aydārūs b. Sālīm b. Baljūn,
 - A witness to that Karāma 'Awaḍ Sālīmīn.

³ Cf. Qur'ān 13:43.

IV 3 - 12 Ramaḍān 1341/[1923]

(٢٠)
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الجمعة والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم

هذا ما اجتمع عليه اهل الحل والعقد يسبون على البطال واهل السلطان المنصور غير انك قد نعت
الذكور وانك هذه العولمة يكون نفع عظيم للبلاد واهلها ابانها هذه العولمة المتعددة يكون ضرر ونسأ ان كثير
اذا هي ~~بالتواضع~~ وسبوا ذكرا لسفر الرجال وغنوا بالانبياء حتى صبروا ابناهم بنيتهم ونسأ انهم اراهم
وبعد لحت وعمال الفكر والمطر وحال المذكور وان اضلا نسا بحالا وما لادنيا ودينها هو احداث النساء في زمان المتواخر
من تزيين الثياب وتطريزها ووضع الحبوب والورع والفتنة فيها وذنوب طرد الذكور النساء الكثرة ما لا يحصر من
اذها لا سواك بلا ذكرك وعلا اسعار هذه الانثى واجرة صلاحها وتوسيع الثياب وعدم غلبها لو نعتت
اولصق بها عرق وغيره من المستفزة تفتت عليها الثلاثة غير وغيره كما هو معروف عند الخاص والعام وعند ذلك
احتاد من ذكرنا سابقا

وغيرها الا ان

(١) لا يسوع لاحد من النساء ابانها كان المنيثاب التي فيها النفوس والنجس بهي اسئلة وسبقه واكام ذمه كما عاهد لتور الخيري
وسيله وسبقه واكام ~~من ثوب الخيري~~ واما تصديق الثوب فكلون خرقه ~~مردعا~~ عجا لطفها (تصديق جرد) اولس ثوب
بها فده عرضها في الاعلى لا يزيد عن ربعه احتاج بهي الكرم لا يزيد عن ربعه اصابع

(٢) التصديق بالسمج الشجر ممنوع وكذلك استعمال التل ممنوع وفي جميع انواع الثياب الحريرة وغيرها الا الثوب الذي له جفته فقط
لشي متى اردت الخروج خارج بيتها بان لم يسر في البيت او يذهب له في موضعها ومخطوط كل النسبة ليدل عليه لصوتها
البراقه في الشوارع

(٣) لا يسوع لاحد من النساء استعمال الكعب في جميع الخيل الا في الجرد وحسب واحد لكل جرد ~~وغيره~~

(٤) ممنوع استعمال الخيل بجميع انواعه وكذلك الوشاخ بانواعه

(٥) لسر ثياب الحر ممنوع وفي جميع الخيل والبراق والبراق والبراق والبراق والبراق والبراق والبراق والبراق والبراق
اما من ثوب زوجها من السفر او وقت من الولادة فالن لسر ثياب الحر وللعرس اما ايضا ايام الزواج ودينه بانيتها خطها
كوتع السفر نسوة كثيرا وصغير لتستول العروس ممنوع ولا يلبسها غير ثوبين من غير جنس الصفر واصل الخوط واصل الخمرش
ولا يوضع في السديرة وان يسر ثياب واحد لكل جنس ابن احتاس المخطوط

البنات المقلبات ممنوع عليه لبس ثياب الامه امته اللبس والجمالة والخيان ما كناية الحرير في غير ممنوع

(٦) العتاشية الصبيح بان لا يحضر الا النساء وما يعتري عليه داراهل العروس من رجال او حاد او خال
او عم او اخ او ايراضه او صفة

سواء القصد يكون للنساء فقط وعشائ القصد لا يدعى لها اهل بيت العروس واخوها وختها وعمها وعمتها
وخالها وخالها وصهر
(٧) الرجوع الذي يجعله له بعد الخطه وغيرها ممنوع سدا كما نأليه ما يراه العروس والزوج عند الخطه والبنات
الذما جرى عليه داراهل الزوج او حدة وجهه او عمه وعمه وخال او خاله او اخ او اخت وصهر

(٨) درجة العروس للزوجات تكون لنبون ذاك فقط

(٩) عمل الكعب ممنوع في الرواحات وغيرها الرواح التتاولا

١٩٢٤
١٩٢٤



(١٥) الهدية بصواب في الزوجات وفي سائر الأيام ممنوعه
 (١٦) الصفة التي من زجاج او بول منسوجة في الستة في الزفاف
 (١٧) عشاء زوج الست ليلة النكاح ممنوع
 (١٨) ما يعتاد على الناس الا من ارسل الحج مخروم العيد ربح السبت او ارسل الحج لاهله
 قليلة او كثره ليلة عشاء في كل ذكر ممنوع
 (١٩) كل ما يتبعه فخصيا عنه الحلي الموجود لان محظور استعماله
 (٢٠) الترحيل قبل وصول البنت من عند النساء ممنوع الا لا تقارب اما بعد وصوله فلا بأس بذلك
 (٢١) لا بأس ان تلبس العروس الحلي كزواجها ويوم الخطبة اما بعد ذلك ممنوع عليها لبسه
 (٢٢) التهمة والتفخيم للنساء يكون يوم ولادة المرأة فقط من ايام الترحيل الثاني فلا يسموع لها ان تاتي بعد
 وكذا ممنوع عليها يوم السابع ويوم العشر
 (٢٣) الضحك في ايام الترحيل ممنوع كزواجها ولا يسموع له ان ياتي بعد
 (٢٤) ممنوع على النساء حضن الطبول في المجلس والقاعة سواء في ايام الترحيل ليل او نهار الا في الزمان والنظره
 (٢٥) ممنوع ما يفعله النساء من التراجع والاحتجاب في ايام الحطم وغيره وكذلك ممنوع عمل المصدره للبنات
 الصغار في رمضان وضريح النساء بالنيل لصلاة التراويح
 (٢٦) ممنوع ايضا استعمال الجوهر الثمينه كالاسرائيل والزرير والياقوت وغير ذلك
 اما التقليد ممنوع كدخنها استعماله
 (٢٧) محظور ايضا على النساء والتفصيل في نياتها والمستهترجات
 (٢٨) وقد امر السلطان بالخصم في ايام الترحيل والاحتجاب في هذه الفترات من ايام الترحيل
 ولكنه ظهر في استعمال الموجود من الثياب البيضاء في هذه الفترات وفي هذه المدة ان
 يشغل كل انسان بتفصيل المنوع من الثياب والخصم في هذه الفترات من ايام الترحيل
 استعمال من الثياب المنوعه فقد ضالقه امر السلطان واصحابه الخرق والتقاب
 الفقراء ولكل اكل قلة لهم من الاغنياء
 ومن الشكل تلبس من امر هذه الازواج او راي من يحل بهم من اولادها فليجابهم السيد من عباده بمحرف القاف
 والسيد شيخ من محرمين السناف والسيد محرم من السيد ومنه الكون في حضوره بتبديل العرق
 ومن غيره سائر ما يظهر في الشرح الا وعليه ختم
 في روضة الخيام المصنوعه

[1]

- 1 - الحمد لله والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلم
- 2 - هذا ما اجتمع عليه راي اهل الحل والعقد بسيون على ابطاله وامر السلطان المصور بن غالب بتنفيذ ذلك وقد راي
- 3 - المذكورون ان بمحو هذه العوائد يكون شغ عظيم للبلاد واهلها بالبقا على هذه العوائد المقوتة يكون ضرر وفساد كبير
- 4 - ادى وسيودي الى سفر الرجال وخلو البلاد منهم حتى صيروا ابناهم يتامى ونساءهم ارامل

- 5 - وبعد البحث وأعمال الفكر والنظر وجد المذكورون ان اضر الاشيا حالا ومآلا دنيا وديننا هو ما احدثه النساء في هذا الزمان المتأخر
- 6 - من ترقيع الثياب وتطريزها ووضع الحبوب والودع والقشطير فيها وقد ترتب على ذلك من المفاسد الكثيره ما لا يحصى منها
- 7 - اذهاب الاموال بلا فائدة وغلا اسعار هذه الاشيا واجرة صلاحها وتوسيع الثياب وعدم غسلها لو تنجست
- 8 - او لصق بها عرق او غيره من المستفدرات شفقة عليها لتلا تتغير وغير ذلك مما هو معروف عند الخاص والعام وعند ذلك
- 9 - اختار من ذكر ما سياتي
- 10 - (١) لا يسوغ لاحد من النساء ايا كان لبس الثياب التي فيها النقوش والحبوب وغيرها الا ثوب بمسيلة وبنيق واكمام ذهب كالعاده لثوب الحرير
- 11 - ومسيله وبنيق واكمام غزل لثوب الغزل واما تصنيف الثوب فيكون خرقة مجردة عما يخالطها (تصنيف جرد) او لبس ثوب
- 12 - بجاقه عرضها في الاعلى لا يزيد عن اربعة اصابع وفي الكم لا يزيد عن اربع اصابع
- 13 - (٢) التصنيف بالمسح المشجر ممنوع وكذلك استعمال التل ممنوع في جميع انواع الثياب الحريريه وغيرها الا الثوب الذي له جاقه فقط
- 14 - (٣) متى ارادت المرأة الخروج خارج بيتها يلزم عليها لبس سروال ابيض او يشبه لون قميصها ومخطور على كل النساء لبس النقبه المصبونه
- 15 - البراقه في الشوارع
- 16 - (٤) لا يسوغ لاحد من النساء استعمال الكهرب في جميع الحلي الا في المبدوع وحبس واحد لكل يد
- 17 - (٥) ممنوع استعمال الحجل بجميع انواعه وكذلك الوشاح بانواعه
- 18 - (٦) لبس ثياب الحرير ممنوع في جميع المقاعد والمجالس والولائم الا ليوم الغسه والصبحة والنقضه والتبديل يكون الى ثوب الغزل
- 19 - اما من اتى زوجها من السفر او اوفت من الولاده فلهن لبس ثياب الحرير وللعروس لبسها ايضا ايام الزواج وينتهي بانتها خطرتها
- 20 - (٧) كوتع الصفر سواء كبيرا او صغيرا لتبتول العروس ممنوع وليس لها غير كوتعين من غير جنس الصفر واحد للخطوط وواحد للخرش
- 21 - ولا يوضع في الصندوق الاول اكثر من فنجان واحد لكل جنس من اجناس الخطوط

- 22 - (٨) البنات المقدمات ممنوع عليهن لبس ثياب الحرير واستعمال الحجل والحجالة والتجاد اما كباية الحرير فهي لهن غير ممنوعه
- 23 - (٩) استعمال تكلي الحرير ونقش الحرير ونقش رؤس التكلي كل ذلك ممنوع
- 24 - (١٠) العشا عشية الصبحه يجب ان لا يحضره الا النساء وما يحتوي عليه داراهل العروس من رجال او جد او خال
- 25 - او عم او اخ او ابن اخ او صهر او غريب
- 26 - (١١) غدا يوم النقضه يكون للنساء فقط وعشا النقضه لا يدعى له الا اهل بيت العروس واخوها واختها وعمها وعمتها
- 27 - وخالها وخالتها وصهر
- 28 - (١٢) الرجع الذي يعملونه بعد الخطره وغيرها ممنوع سواء كان ثاني يوم او بعد ايام والخطره تكون غدا فقط ولا يدعى للعشا
- 29 - الا ما يحتوي عليه دار اهل الزوج او جد او جده او عمه او عم او خال او خاله او اخ او اخت او صهر
- 30 - (١٣) درجة العروس للمشترحات تكون بنصف ريال فقط
- 31 - (١٤) عمل الكعك ممنوع في الزواجات وغيرها لزواج البنت او لاهله
- [2]
- 1 - (١٥) الهديه سواء في الزواجات او في سائر الايام ممنوعه
- 2 - (١٦) الصفه التي من زجاج او بلور ممنوعه مطلقا في الستر او في الرفاف
- 3 - (١٧) عشا زوج البنت ليلة النقضه ممنوع
- 4 - (١٨) ما يعتاده الناس الآن من ارسال لحم ومخمر يوم العيد لزواج البنت او ارسال طعمه لاهله
- 5 - قليلة او كثيره ليلة العشا عندهم كل ذلك ممنوع
- 6 - (١٩) كل ما يتجدد حدوثه في صناعة الحلي الموجود الان محظور استعماله
- 7 - (٢٠) الترحوب قبل وصول المسافر على النساء ممنوع الا للاقارب اما بعد وصوله فلا باس بذلك
- 8 - (٢١) لا باس ان تلبس العروس الحجل /الحمل لزواجها ويوم الخطره اما بعد ذلك فممنوع عليها لبسه
- 9 - (٢٢) الشمه والتقهو للنساء يكون ثالث يوم ولادة المراه فقط ومن لم تات يوم الثالث فلا يسوغ لها ان تأتي بعده
- 10 - وكذلك ممنوع عليهن الاتيان يوم السابع ويوم العشرين
- 11 - (٢٣) الغدا يوم الولاده او يوم الثالث ممنوع وكذلك ممنوع عمل وليمه للولاده وللوفاء

- 12 - (٢٤) ممنوع على النساء ضرب الطبول في المجالس والمقاعد سواء في البلاد او في الخلا ليلا او نهارا الا في الزواج والخطره
- 13 - (٢٥) ممنوع ما يفعله النساء من التزايح والاجتماع لذلك ايام الختوم وغيرها وكذلك ممنوع عمل المصره للبنات
- 14 - الصغار في رمضان وخروج النساء بالليل لصلاة التراويح
- 15 - (٢٦) ممنوع ايضا استعمال الجواهر الثمينه كالاماس الاتن والزمرد والياقوت وغير ذلك
- 16 - اما التقليد من ذلك فمباح استعماله
- 17 - (٢٧) محظورا ايضا على النساء التفصيل في ثياب جاوه المسمى بالجلاس
- 18 - (٢٨) وقد امر السلطان المنصور بن غالب بتنفيذ وابطال هذه العوائد كما في هذه القائمه من يوم تاريخه
- 19 - ولكنه رخص في استعمال الموجود من الثياب الى نصف شهر القعهه سنة ١٣٤١ وفي هذه المده ان
- 20 - يشتغل كل انسان بتنقيض الممنوع من الثياب او تبديلهن بغيرهن وبعد مضي المده المقرره من
- 21 - استعمال اشياء من الثياب الممنوعه فقد خالف امر السلطان واحب اتساع الخرق واتعاب
- 22 - الفقراء والمساكين فلا يلومن الا نفسه صح
- 23 - ومن اشكل عليه شيء من امر هذه المواد او راي من يخل بشيء من اوامرها فليخبر السيد جعفر بن عبد الله بن محمد السقاف
- 24 - والسيد شيخ بن محمد بن حسين السقاف والسيد محمد بن احمد الحبشي ومنع الكوتع مخصوص بتبتول العروس
- 25 - ومن عنده شأ لا يظهره في الشارع الا وعليه خرق
- 26 - في ١٢ رمضان سنه ١٣٤١ المنصور بن غالب⁽⁴⁾

[page 1]

1. Praise be God and prayer and well being to our Master Muḥammad and His family and His companions and salvation.
2. This is what the influential people (*ahl al-ḥall wa-l-ʿaql*) in Sayʿūn agreed to abolish and the Sultan al-Manṣūr b. Ghālib ordered it to be executed, and
3. it is the opinion of the mentioned persons that the abolition of these customs is immensely useful for the country and for its inhabitants, whereas the continuance of these disgusting customs brings extensive harm and corruption.
4. It has lead, and will continue to lead to the emigration (*safar*) of men, depriving the country of them until they will make their sons orphans and their wives widows.

⁴ Written by the sultan's own hand.

5. And after research and the act of thinking and considering, the mentioned persons found that the most harmful things in private conditions and property, in this life and hereafter (*ḥālan wa-maʿālan dunyā wa-āman*) are those which women have recently provoked
6. such as patching and embroidering clothes and putting beads (*ḥubūb*), cowries (*wadʿ*) and foil decoration (*qashfir*) on them, and the result of this are immensely scandalous deeds which can not be counted.
7. Among them [are the] useless waste of property and the high prices of these things and the costs of repairing, and getting clothes dirty and not washing them when they are grubby
8. or when sweat sticks to them or other impurities to provoke pity for them as though they cannot change [their clothes] or other [tricks] which are known to everybody (*al-khāṣṣ wa-l-ʿāmm*), and thereupon
9. they have chosen to mention the following:
10. (1) It is not allowed for any woman – whatever dress she wears – to use decoration (*nuqūsh*) and beads (*ḥubūb*) and other [decoration] except for the dress with application (*masīla*), embroidery (*banīq*), and golden sleeves (*akmām*) as it is usual for a silk dress
11. and application (*masīla*), embroidery (*banīq*), and sleeves (*akmām*) of cotton thread (*ghazl*) for a dress of cotton thread. And as for the lining (*taṣnīf*) of clothes it shall be a piece of fabric (*kbarqa*) not mixed with anything else (simple lining), or wearing a dress
12. with braids (*jāqa*) which are not wider than four fingers, and in the sleeve (*kumm*) not more than four fingers.
13. (2) Lining (*taṣnīf*) with bright cotton of vegetable decorative design (*mushajjar*) or silk fabric (*mash*) of different kinds, and similarly, the use of silver threads (*tall*) are prohibited in all kinds of silk dresses and others, except the dress which has only one braid (*jāqa*).
14. (3) When the woman wants to leave the house she has to put on white trousers (*sirwāl*) or [those] which are similar to the colour of her dress (*qamīṣ*). And it is interdicted (*mahzūr*) to all women to put on a coloured (*maṣbūgha*)⁵ headscarf (*nuqba*)
15. which is shining [when] in the streets.
16. (4) It is not allowed for any woman to use amber (*kaḥrab*) in any of her jewellery except in the necklace (*mabdūʿ*), and one bracelet (*hibs*) on each hand.
17. (5) The use of anklets (*hijl*) of any kind is prohibited, as well as ornamented bands (*wushāḥ*) of all kinds.
18. (6) Wearing silk dress is prohibited during all the sittings and gatherings and feasts except the wedding days *ghussa*, *ṣubḥa* and *naqda*. And they may change to a cotton dress [only].

⁵ According to al-Ṣabbān (*ʿĀdāt*, 114), though the Arabic document gives *maṣbūna*.

19. She whose husband returns from emigration (*safar*), or she who is recovering from delivery is allowed to wear silk dresses as [it is allowed] for the bride during the wedding days ending with the visit (*khatra*).
20. (7) Giving (*tabtūl*) chests (*karwaʿa*) – whether large or small – to the bride is prohibited, and she is not allowed to have more than two chests other than brass, one for cosmetics (*kbuṭūṭ*) and one for golden and silver jewellery (*kbirslb*).
21. In the first box (*ṣandūq*) not more than one cup (*finjān*) of each type of cosmetics (*kbuṭūṭ*) is allowed.
22. (8) It is prohibited for girls under the marital age of ten years (*muqammaza*) to wear silk dresses and to use anklets (*al-ḥijl wa-l-ḥijāla*) and chest belts (*nijād*). As for the Indonesian dress (*kibāya*) it is not forbidden.
23. (9) The use of silk pillows (*tikāy*) and silk scarfs for holding cloth (*buqash*) and the decorating (*naqsh*) of the pillows' (*tikāy*) tops, this is all prohibited.
24. (10) Dinner on the evening of the wedding day (*ṣubḥa*) is allowed to be attended by the women only, and the men of the bride's house such as grandfather or maternal uncle
25. or paternal uncle or brother or nephew or son- or brother-in-law (*ṣibr*) or strangers [relatives outside the house].
26. (11) Lunch of the *naqḍa*-day is for women only, and for *naqḍa*-dinner only the bride's family is to be invited, including her brothers and sisters and paternal uncles and aunts
27. and maternal uncles and aunts.
28. (12) Returning [for a second visit] which is usually practised after the visit (*khatra*) and others is forbidden, except on the second day or after [several] days, and the visit comprises lunch only, and for dinner are invited
29. only the husband's family: the grandfather or grandmother or paternal aunt or uncle or maternal uncle or aunt or brother or sister or son- or brother-in-law (*ṣibr*).
30. (13) The bride's payment for the professional female dancers (*mushtarīḥa*) shall be half a riyal only.
31. (14) It is prohibited for the girl's husband and his family to make cake (*kaʿk*) during weddings and other [celebrations].

[page 2]

1. (15) Gifts, except during weddings or other [celebration] days, are prohibited.
2. (16) The display (*ṣaffa*) of items which are made of glass or crystal is absolutely prohibited in the curtained niches (*sitar*) or on the shelves.
3. (17) The dinner given by the girl's husband on the evening of *naqḍa* is prohibited.

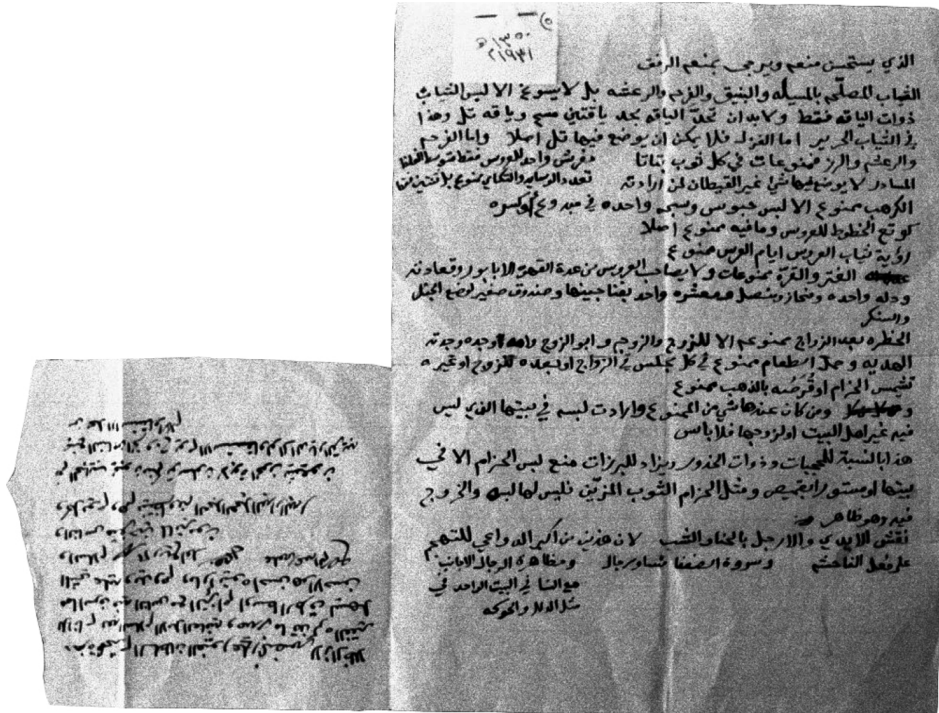
4. (18) [The custom] people have become used to nowadays of sending meat and leavened bread (*mukḥammad*) to the girl's husband on the day of the feast, or sending a tray [with food] (*tu'ma*) to his family,
5. be it a small or large amount, on the night of the dinner at their house – all of this is prohibited.
6. (19) All that is new in the fabrication of jewellery nowadays is interdicted.
7. (20) Welcoming the women before the arrival of the [returning] emigrant (*musāfir*) is prohibited except by the relatives. After his arrival there is no objection to it.
8. (21) There is no objection to the bride wearing anklets (*biḥl*)/the headgear (*ḥaml*)⁶ during her wedding and on the day of the visit (*khaṭra*), but after that it is prohibited for her to wear it.
9. (22) The *shamma*-feast and the offering of coffee (*taqlw*) shall take place on the third day after the woman's delivery only, and those who don't come on the third day are not allowed to come thereafter [on subsequent visiting days].
10. And so it is prohibited for them to come on the seventh and on the twentieth day.
11. (23) Lunch on the day of delivery or on the third day is prohibited, and likewise it is prohibited to make a party for birth and the 40th day after delivery (*wuḥfā'*).
12. (24) It is prohibited for the women to beat the drums (*tubūl*) during gatherings and sittings, in al-Bilād⁷ or outside, at night and at day, except during the wedding and the visit (*khaṭra*).
13. (25) The (*tarāzīḥ*)-performance in which women are acting, and the gathering [for the performance], on the days of Qur'ān-recitation during Ramadan (*kbutūm*) and other [celebrations] is prohibited, and so it is also prohibited to prepare a pouch (*maṣarra*) for the young girls
14. during Ramadan, as well as for women to leave the house at night for the *tarāzīḥ*-prayer.
15. (26) It is also prohibited to use precious jewellery like diamonds, artificial stones (*antun*), emeralds, sapphires and the like.
16. As for their imitations, it is allowed to use them.
17. (27) It is also interdicted for women to taylor the Java-style dresses which are called *jās*.
18. (28) The Sultan al-Manṣūr b. Ghālib ordered the implementation [of these regulations] and the abolition of these customs as they are listed here from this date onwards,

⁶ al-*ḥaml* added above the line.

⁷ A quarter of Say'ūn.

19. but he permitted the use of the dresses which [already] exist until the middle of the month al-Qa'da 1341. During this period
20. everybody shall be engaged in the destruction of the prohibited dresses or substitute them with others. When the fixed period of
21. the [allowed] use of prohibited dresses is over and one violates the sultan's order and loves to expand offence and troubles
22. for the poor (*fuqarā'*) and the *masākīn*, then he has to blame nobody but himself. This is confirmed.
23. And he who either finds any ambiguities in the order of these paragraphs, or notices anybody who violates some of its instructions, should inform the *sayyid* Ja'far b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-Saqqāf
24. and the *sayyid* Shaykh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-Saqqāf and the *sayyid* Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ḥabshī [about that]. And it is [also] prohibited to give (*tabtūl*) a chest (*karwa'*) to the bride,
25. and he who has any items shall not display them in the street, otherwise offence is on him.
26. 12 Ramadan of the year 1341, al-Manṣūr b. Ghālib.

IV 5 - 16 Rabi' al-Awwal 1350/[1931]



[1]

- 1 - الذي يستحسن منعه ويرجى بمنعه الرفق
- 2 - الثياب المصلحة بالمسيلة والبنيق والفرحه والرعشه بل لا يسوغ الا لبس الثياب
- 3 - ذوات البياقه فقط ولا بد ان تحذ البياقه بحد ياقنتين مسح وياقه تل وهذا
- 4 - في ثياب الحرير اما الغزل فلا يمكن ان يوضع فيها تل اصلا واما الفرحه
- 5 - والرعشه والررّ فمنوعات في كل ثوب بتاتا مفرش واحد للعروس فقط متوسط الغلظ
- 6 - المسادر لا يوضع فيها شيء غير القيطان لمن ارادته تعدد الوسائد والتكاي ممنوع بل ثنتين فقط.
- 7 - الكرهب ممنوع الا لبس حبوس وسبحة واحده في مبدوع او كسره
- 8 - كوتع الخطوط للعروس وما فيه ممنوع اصلا
- 9 - رؤية ثياب العروس ايام العرس ممنوع
- 10 - الغتر والفترة ممنوعات ولا يصاحب العروس من عدة القهوه الا باور وقعادته
- 11 - ودله واحده ومنحاز ومنصل ومعشره واحد بفناجينها وصندوق صغير لوضع الجفل
- 12 - والسنكر

- 13 - الخطره بعد الزواج ممنوعه الا للزوج والزوجه وابو الزوج وامه وجده وجدته
- 14 - الهديه وحمل الطعام ممنوع في كل مجلس في الزواج او بعده للزوج او غيره
- 15 - تشميس الحزام او قُرْصُه بالذهب ممنوع
- 16 - ومن كان عندها شي من الممنوع وارادت لبسه في بيتها الذي ليس
- 17 - فيه غير اهل البيت او لزوجها فلا باس
- 18 - هذا بالنسبة للمحجبات وذوات الخدور ويزاد للبرزات منع لبس الحزام الا في
- 19 - بيتها او مستورا بقميص ومثل الحزام الثوب المزين فليس لها لبسه والخروج
- 20 - فيه وهو ظاهر
- 21 - نقش الايدي والارجل بالحنا والشب لان هذين من اكبر الدواعي للتهجم
- 22 - على فعل الفاحشه وسروة الضعفا نسا ورجال ومظاهرة الرجال الاجانب
- 23 - مع النسا في البيت الواحد في
- 24 - مثل الدلل والحوكه

[2]

- 1 - حضرة المحترم السلطان الغيور علي بن منصور لا زال ظلا
- 2 - للانام بعد السلام الامل العافيه وصدر ما تذكره الفقير
- 3 - مما اسرف فيه الناس مع التزام اوسط الطرق ليسهل
- 4 - المشي عليه ويدوم وما رايتوه احسن هو الاحسن
- 5 - والسلام حرر ١٦ ربيع الاول سنه ١٣٥٠ علوي بن عبد الله
- 6 - والناس متفرحين لما تبرمون
- 7 - وكل يوم وهم ينتظرونه العجل العجل البدار البدار
- 8 - نعم الحبايب يحبون منكم ترسلون لايوة الخوف يشيعون
- 9 - بمنع النسا من الخروج يوم الاستسقا ولو الى الديار القريه
- 10 - من محل الاستسقا والسلام

[page 1]

1. [The following things] are better to prohibit and by their prohibition friendliness may be established.
2. Dresses adorned with decoration (*masīla*), embroidery (*banūq*), ornamentation in the shape of a star (*farḥa*), and sequins (*ra'sha*) are not allowed, only dresses

3. which have bands of fabric (*yāqa*). Definitely it is allowed only to have two bands (*yāqa*) made of silk (*mash*) and one band (*yāqa*) with bright threads (*tall*), and that is for
4. silk dresses. As for [dresses made of] cotton thread (*ghazl*), one definitely cannot apply bright threads (*tall*). Ornamentation in the shape of a star (*farḥa*),
5. sequins (*raʿsha*) and buttons (*ruzz*) are absolutely prohibited for all kinds of dresses. Only one thick quilted cushion (*mafrash*) of medium thickness [is allowed] for the bride.
6. On blouses (*masādir*) it is not allowed to put anything except embroidery (*qītān*) if one wants to. It is not allowed to have many cushions (*wasāyid*) and pillows (*takāy*), only two.
7. With exception of bracelets (*hubūs*) and the *subḥa*-style necklace, amber (*karḥab*) is prohibited in necklaces (*mabdūʿ*) or in pendants in the shape of a crescent (*kisra*).
8. The bride’s chest (*kaḥṭaʿ*) for cosmetics (*khutūt*) and its articles are definitely prohibited.
9. Observation (*ruʿya*) of the bride’s dress at the wedding day is prohibited.
10. The *ghutra*-head covering and forehead ornamentation (*qurra*) are prohibited, and the bride should possess a coffee set (*ʿiddat al-qabrwa*) [consisting of] nothing but a stove (*bābūr*) and its seat (*qaʿāda*),
11. one coffee kettle (*dalla*), a mortar (*minḥāz*), a pestle (*manṣal*), one metal tray (*maʿshara*) with its cups (*fanāyīn*), and a small box (*ṣandūq*) for coffee berries (*jafal*)
12. and sugar (*sunkar*).
13. The visit ritual (*kbatra*) is prohibited except for husband and wife, and the husband’s parents and grandparents.
14. Gifts and bringing meals are prohibited at any gathering either during the wedding or after it and so on.
15. To decorate the belt (*ḥizām*) or the belt buckle (*quraṣ*) with golden plates (*tash-mīs*) is prohibited.
16. It doesn’t matter if [a woman] has any of the prohibited [items] and wants to wear it in her house
17. where only her relatives or her husband are present.
18. This concerns the veiled (*muhajjabāt*) and those kept in seclusion (*kbudūr*, i.e. those who reach the bridal age). As for young girls before the bridal age (*bar-zāt*) it is also prohibited for them to wear belts (*ḥizām*) anywhere but in
19. their houses or hidden by the garment (*qamīṣ*). The same thing as with the belts the decorated cloth shouldn’t be worn outdoors,
20. when it is visible.
21. Hand- and foot painting (*naqsh*) with henna and a mixture of ammonium- and natriumchloride (*shabb*) [are also prohibited], because these two are great provocations

22. to commit shameless actions and have carnal desires among the weaklings (*du'afā'*), women and men, and bring together men from outside the family (*ajānib*)
23. with women in one house
24. as middlemen (*dalal*) and weavers (*hūka*) do.

[page 2]

1. To His Excellency revealed and zealous Sultan 'Alī b. Maṣṣūr, everlasting protection
2. over mankind, after the salutation, the hope, [and] well-being: your humble servant sends you what he remembers about
3. the extravagances of people for he is responsible [for offering them] a medium way
4. they can easily follow for evermore. And what you have observed as the best is the best.
5. And salutations. Issued on 16 Rabī' al-Awwal 1350. 'Alawī b. 'Abdallāh.
6. People will be glad when you confirm [the above mentioned].
7. Every day they are waiting for it. Hurry, hurry, quick, quick!
8. Yes, the beloved [by God] (*ḥabāyib*) [*sāda*] would like you to send your notice to the heads of the quarters (*ḥwaf*),
9. that women are prohibited to go out during the prayer for rain (*istisqā'*) [to the public place], even to the houses which are not far away
10. from the place of the prayer. And greetings.

IV 6 - 1350/[1931]

قبض واستلم عمر بن عبد الله بحرق
ورقة التنبول من يد هادي سويلم
باصويتين حرر في شعبان سنة ١٣٥٠
عمر بن عبد الله بحرق


١٣٥٠
١٩٣١

- 1 - قبض واستلم عمر بن عبد الله بحرق
- 2 - ورقة التنبول من يد هادي سويلم
- 3 - باصويتين حرر في ١ شعبان سنة ١٣٥٠
- 4 - عمر بن عبد الله بحرق

1. 'Umar b. 'Abdallāh Baḥraq took hold of and received
2. the document of abolition [of customs] from the hand of Hādī Suwaylim
3. Bā Ṣuwaytayn which was issued on 1 Sha'bān 1350.
4. [Signed:] 'Umar b. 'Abdallāh Baḥraq.

IV 7 – Beginning (*fātiḥa*) of Sha‘bān [13]50/[1931]

١٣٥٠
١٩٣١



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 بتاريخ يوم الجمعة فاتحة شعبان سنة
 قبضو واستلمو ورقة التطول المرسله
 من السلطان علي بن منصور السيد محمد
 بن احمد بن علي الحبشي والسيد علوي بن محضار
 بن عبد الله بن محسن الحبشي والله شهيد
 صحيح السيدين محمد بن احمد
 وعلوي بن محضار الحبشي

1 - بتاريخ يوم الجمعة فاتحة شعبان سنة [13]50

2 - قبضو واستلمو ورقة التطول المرسله

3 - من السلطان علي بن منصور السيد محمد

4 - بن احمد بن علي الحبشي والسيد علوي بن محضار

5 - بن عبد الله بن محسن الحبشي والله شهيد

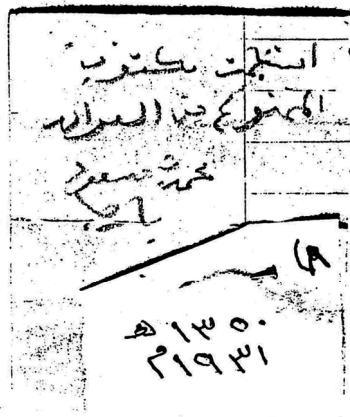
6 - صحيح السيدين محمد بن احمد

7 - وعلوي بن محضار الحبشي

1. Dated: Friday, the beginning of Sha‘bān [13]50.
2. [The undersigned] took hold of and received the document of abolition [of customs] sent

3. by the Sultan ʿAlī b. Maṣṣūr to the *sayyid* Muḥammad
4. b. Aḥmad b. ʿAlī al-Ḥabshī and the *sayyid* ʿAlawī b. Miḥḍār
5. b. ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥsin al-Ḥabshī, and God is the Witness.
6. 'Correct': both *sayyids*, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad
7. and ʿAlawī b. Miḥḍār al-Ḥabshī.

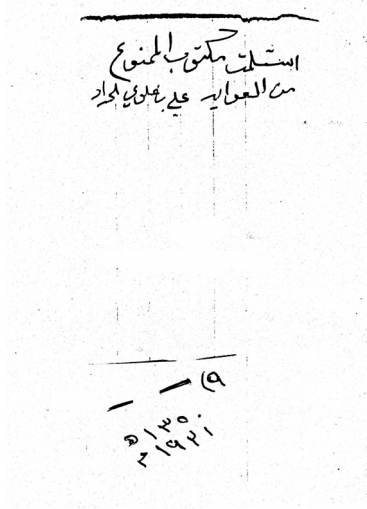
IV 8 - [1350/1931]



- 1 - استلمت مکتوب
- 2 - المنوع من العوائد
- 3 - محمد بن مسعود با رجاء

1. I received a letter
2. which prohibits the customary practices.
3. Muḥammad b. Masʿūd Bā Rajāʿ.

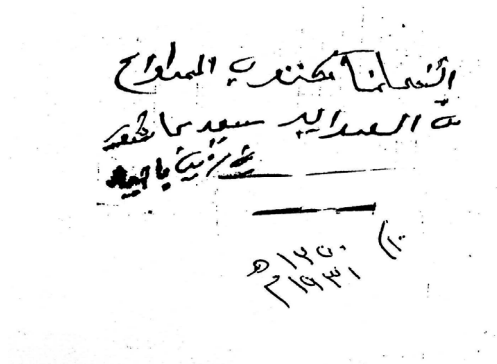
IV 9 – [1350/1931]



- 1 - استلمت مکتوب المنوع
2 - من العوايد علي بن علوي الحداد

1. I received a letter which prohibits
2. the customary practices. 'Alī b. 'Alawī al-Ḥaddād.

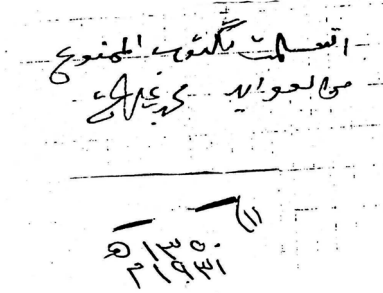
IV 10 – [1350/1931]



- 1 - استلمنا مکتوب المنوع
2 - من العوايد سعيد عاشور
3 - بن زين باحميد

1. We received a letter which prohibits
2. the customary practices. Sa'īd 'Āshūr
3. b. Zayn Bā Ḥumayd.

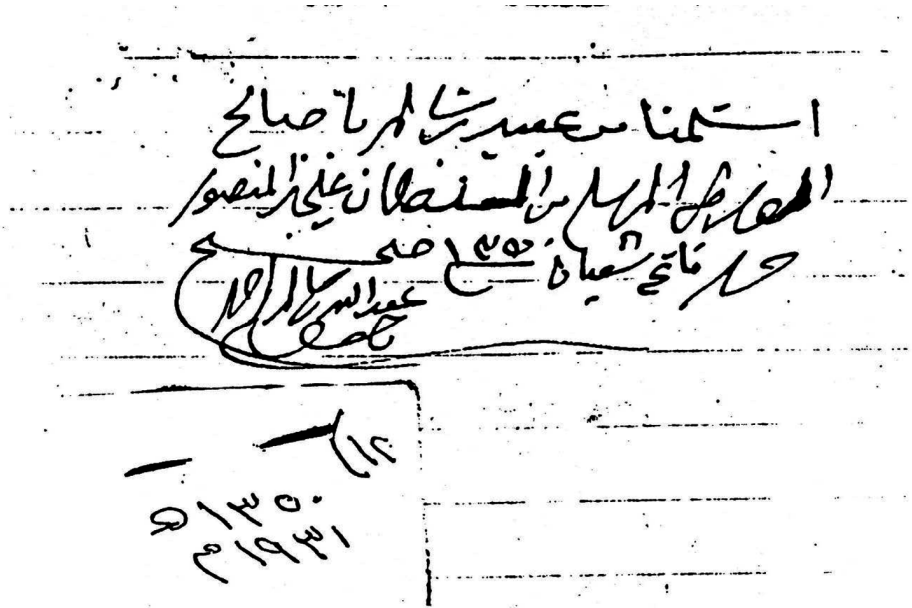
IV 11 - [1350/1931]



- 1 - اتسلمت [sic!] مكتوب المنوع
- 2 - من العويد محمد بن علي الحبشي

1. I received a letter which prohibits
2. the customary practices. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ḥabshī.

IV 12 - [1350/1931]



- 1 - استلمنا من عبيد بن سالم با صالح
- 2 - الورقة المرسله من السلطان علي بن المنصور
- 3 - حرر فاتحه شعبان سنه ١٣٥٠ صحیح
- 4 - عبد الله سالم احمد با حشوان

1. We received from 'Ubayd b. Sālim Bā Ṣāliḥ
2. the document sent by the Sultan 'Alī b. Maṣṣūr
3. issued at the beginning of Sha'bān 1350. 'Correct':
4. 'Abdallāh Sālim Aḥmad Bā Ḥaṣhwān.

IV 13 - 1 Sha'bān 1350/[1931]

١٣٥٠

في بلد سيون في سنة ١٣٥٠ فاتحت شهر شعبان قبض واستلم
 السيد عمر بن عبد الرحمن بن طه بن عبد الرحمن بن علي بن عبد الله السقايف
 من السلطان علي بن منصور بن غالب بن محسن وذلك
 ورقة التبطل الامر به على الناس وهي الحافه
 اري على بن عبد الله جعلهم ذلك في صحايف القبول
 واعانها الله في الدنيا والاخره وبالله الاهشاد [الاشهاد]
 وعليه الاعتماد وهو الشهيد الرقيب
 صحح محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن حامد⁸

- 1 - في بلد سيون في سنة ١٣٥٠ فاتحت شهر شعبان قبض و استلم
- 2 - السيد عمر بن عبد الرحمن بن طه بن عبد الرحمن بن علي بن عبد الله السقايف
- 3 - من السلطان علي بن منصور بن غالب بن محسن وذلك
- 4 - ورقة التبطل الامر به على الناس وهي الحافه
- 5 - الى على بن عبد الله جعلهم ذلك في صحايف القبول
- 6 - واعانها الله في الدنيا والاخره وبالله الاهشاد [الاشهاد]
- 7 - وعليه الاعتماد وهو الشهيد الرقيب
- 8 - صحح محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن حامد⁸

1. In the town of Say'ūn, in the year 1350, at the beginning of the month Sha'bān,
2. *sayyid* 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Tāhā b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh al-Saqqāf took hold of and received
3. from the Sultan 'Alī b. Manṣūr b. Ghālib b. Muḥsin

⁸ Written by his own hand.

4. the document on the abolition that he entrusted to the people of this quarter (*ḥāfa*)
5. to hand it over to ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh, and they registered the receipt,
6. and may God help them both in this life and hereafter, and it is God who is taken as Witness,
7. and on Him is reliance, He is the Witness and Observer.
8. ‘Correct’. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Hāmid.

IV 14 – [1350/1931]


السلامة من المنوع
 من العوايد عبد الله بن علي بن عبد الله
 السقايف

١٣٥٠
 ١٩٣١

- 1 - استلمت مكتوب المنوع
- 2 - من العوايد عبد الله بن علي بن عبد الله
- 3 - السقايف

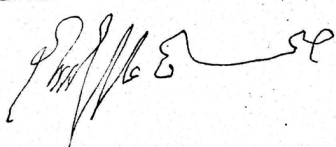
1. I received a letter which prohibits
2. the customary practices. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh
3. al-Saqqāf.

IV 16 - 12 Sha'bān 1350/[1931]



بتاريخ ١٢ شعبان ١٣٥٠ له بيان الذي تبطل على العبيد
 بامر سيدهم السلطان علي بن المنصور بن غالب

(١) اولاً زواجاتهم مقطوعه
 (٢) ثانياً الطروحات الجميع ممنوعه
 (٣) الحمل والهديه الجميع ممنوع
 (٤) الظله ممنوعه من اراد مجلس فهو نهار الصبحه
 (٥) والخطر ممنوعه إلا الزوج وزوجته
 (٦) والثياب الذي فيمن الفرجه والرعشه والتل ممنوعاً
 (٧) وكل بدعه في الثياب عندهم ممنوعه



١٣٥٠ هـ
 ١٩٣١ م

- 1 - بتاريخ ١٢ شعبان سنه ١٣٥٠ بيان الذي تبطل على العبيد
- 2 - بامر سيدهم السلطان علي بن المنصور بن غالب
- 3 - (١) اولاً زواجاتهم مقطوعه
- 4 - (٢) ثانياً الطروحات الجميع ممنوعه
- 5 - (٣) الحمل والهديه الجميع ممنوع
- 6 - (٤) الظله ممنوعه من اراد مجلس فهو نهار الصبحه
- 7 - (٥) والخطر ممنوعه إلا الزوج وزوجته
- 8 - (٦) والثياب الذي فيمن الفرجه والرعشه والتل ممنوعات
- 9 - (٧) وكل بدعه في الثياب عندهم ممنوعه
- 10 - صحيح على بن المنصور^(٩)

⁹ By the sultan's own hand.

1. Dated 12 Sha'bān 1350, the official statement (*bayān*) which abolishes [customs of] the slaves [of God]
2. by the order of their master, the Sultan 'Alī b. al-Manṣūr b. Ghālib.
3. (1) First: their wedding [expenses] must be fixed.
4. (2) Second: all kinds of money gifts (*ṭarūḥ*) [during the wedding] are prohibited.
5. (3) All kinds of gifts and presents are prohibited.
6. (4) The *zīlla*-feast is prohibited. He who wants a gathering, let it be during the daytime of the *ṣubḥa*-feast.
7. (5) The *kbatra*-visit is prohibited for [all] but husband and wife.
8. (6) Dresses which have the *farḥa*-ornamentations, sequins (*ra'sha*) and decorative threads on the neckline (*tall*) are prohibited.
9. (7) And any kind of innovation on their dresses is prohibited.
10. 'Correct'. 'Alī b. al-Manṣūr.

IV 18 - Şafar 1352/[1933]

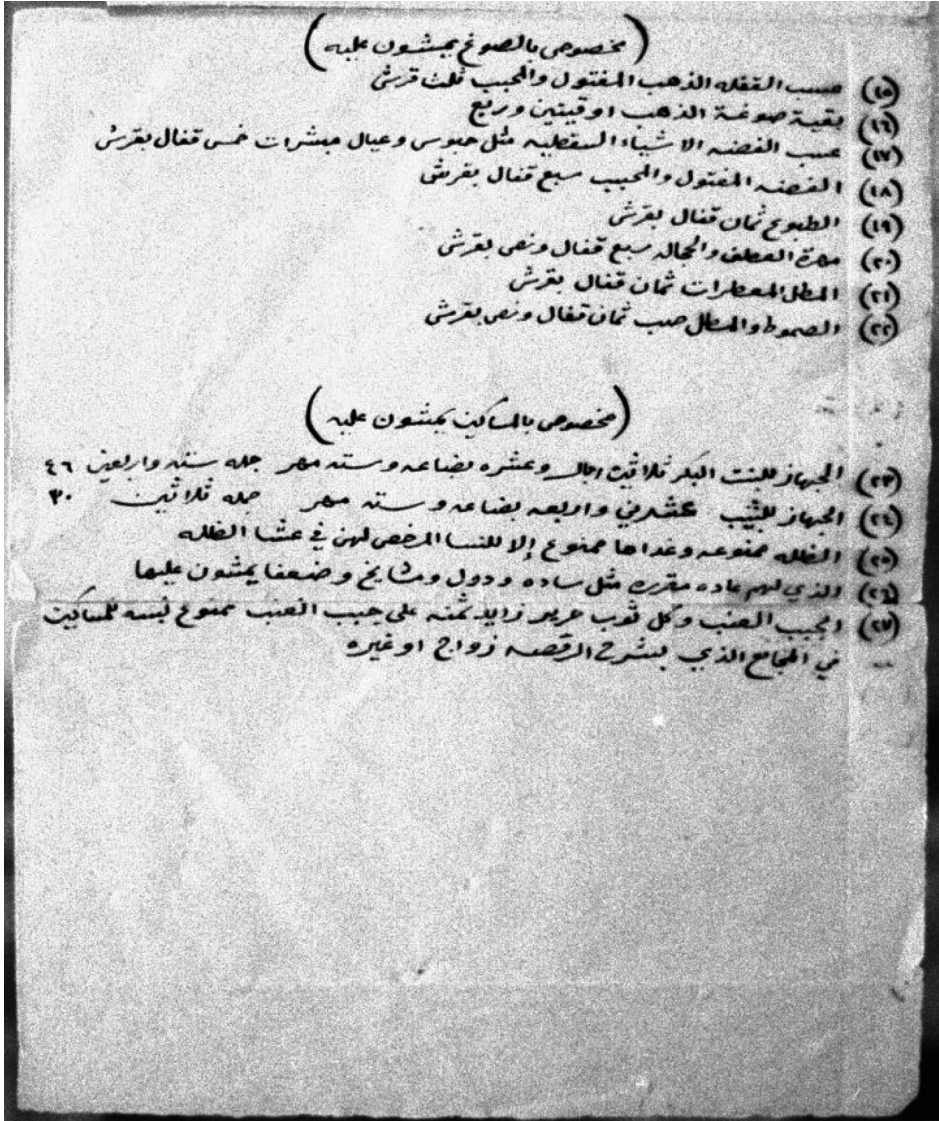
١٨

١٣٥٢

بما ربح في شهر ١٣٥٢

والحمد لله وبعد كما كان أهل البلاد يتشعرون الإلحاح بأهنا عيشنا واصفنا حال بما أبرم
من هدم العرايد المستلجحة سابقا فقد قررت الآون رغبة في بقاء حياة البلاد وسفحة
على أهلها من التدهور في ورطانات الهلاكات بلققات بابطال العرايد السابقة وبكل وسيلة
تربح الدولة إلى العيشة إن يشهروا من سنة الرخاد حتى لا يتحووا الدولة إلى النظر
إلى مثل هذه الحالات ويشكروا في عواقب الأمور وفيما يرقى بلادهم ووطنهم
ومع الدولة المساعدة والمعاونة بكل حال والله الموفق والمعين

- (١) أولاً قبول البنت بعدة الشاهب والده هبان ممنوع
- (٢) وظلها رشي من امتعة العروى ممنوع مطلقاً في بيت أهلها أو بيت زوجها قبل
 الزواج أو بعده لقراه أو غيرهم
- (٣) عدل الظلم ممنوع إلا القسا المرضي لمن في عشا الظلم
- (٤) الشاهي في أيام الزواج بعد عند الغسه وعند الصبحه ممنوع
- (٥) الخطرة تكون عند انقضاء أهل دار الزوج المبعج وأخو الزوج وأخته إذا كانوا لأنفسهم
 ومن جانب العروس أخوها وأختها إذا كانوا في غير الدار وزوج بنت أهل العروى
 والعشا يكون المزوج والزوجه وأب وأم وأرسل شي لغير هؤلاء ممنوع لهم أو غير
- (٦) قبيص التفقوت الذي يرقى والنقبه ممنوع على الجميع
- (٧) الزامات في أيدي النساء ممنوعه
- (٨) استعمال حبوس حبوب الذهب والفضه في الأيدي ممنوع والوشاح ممنوع
- (٩) مراري الذهب لانتزيد المربة المخرط على أربع جنبه وباقي المراري لانتزيد المربة على جنوبيه
- (١٠) النجم والقر لا تزيد على خمس عشر جنبه
- (١١) الهلال لا يزيد على أربع جنبه
- (١٢) المبدوع لا يزيد على اثني عشر جنبه
- (١٣) عيون المخرت وعموقون وحبوبين خمس جنبه
- (١٤) اختراع شي جديد في الحلي غير الموجود في الوقت الحاضر ممنوع



[1]

- 1 - بتاريخ صفر سنه ١٣٥٢
- 2 - الحمد لله وبعد فانه لما كان اهل البلاد يمتنعون الاعن باهنا عيش واصفا حال بما ابرم
- 3 - من هدم العوايد المستهجنه سابقا فقد قررت الاعن رغبة في بقاء حياة البلاد وشفقة
- 4 - على اهلها من التدهور في ورطات الهلاك ملحقات بابطال العوايد السابقه وبكل وسيله
- 5 - ترغب الدوله الى الرعيه ان ينتهوا من سنة الرقاد حتى لا يجوجوا الدوله الى النظر

- 6 - الى مثل هذه الحالات ويفكرون في عواقب الامور وفيما يرقى بلادهم ووطنهم
 7 - وعلى الدوله المساعدة والمعاونه بكل حال والله الموفق والمعين
 8 - (١) اولاً تتبول البنت بعدة الشاهي والكهربان ممنوع
 9 - (٢) اظهار شي من امتعة العروس ممنوع مطلقاً في بيت اهلها او بيت زوجها قبل
 10 - الزواج او بعده لقراه او غيرهم
 11 - (٣) غدا الظله ممنوع إلا للنساء المرخص لهن في عشا الظله
 12 - (٤) الشاهي في ايام الزواج بعد غدا الغسه وغدا الصبحه ممنوع
 13 - (٥) الخطره تكون غدا فقط لاهل دار الزوج الجميع واخو الزوج واخته اذا كانوا لانفسهم
 14 - ومن جانب العروس اخوها واختها اذا كانوا في غير الدار وزوج بنت اهل العروس
 15 - والعشا يكون للزوج والزوجه وأب وأم وارسال شي لغير هؤلاء ممنوع لحم او غيره
 16 - (٦) قميص التفقوره الذي يبرق والنقبه ممنوع على الجميع
 17 - (٧) الزامات في أيدي النساء ممنوعه
 18 - (٨) استعمال حبوس حبوب الذهب والفضه في الايدي ممنوع والوشاح ممنوع
 19 - (٩) مراري الذهب لا تزيد المربه المحرط على اربع جنيه وباقي المراري لا تزيد المربه على جنين
 20 - (١٠) النجم والقمر لا تزيد على خمس عشر جنيه
 21 - (١١) الهلال لا يزيد على اربع جنيه
 22 - (١٢) المبدوع لا يزيد على اثني عشر جنيه
 23 - (١٣) عيون الحوره وعروقهن وحبوبهن خمس جنيه
 24 - (١٤) اختراع شي جديد في الحلي غير الموجود في الوقت الحاضر ممنوع

[2]

- 1 - (مخصوص بالصوغ بمشون عليه)
 2 - (١٥) عسب الفقله الذهب المفتول والمحبب ثلث قرش
 3 - (١٦) بقية صوغة الذهب اوقيتين وربع
 4 - (١٧) عسب الفضه الاشياء السقطيه مثل حبوس وعيال مبشرات خمس قفال بقرش
 5 - (١٨) الفضة المفتول والمحبب سبع قفال بقرش.
 6 - (١٩) الطبوع ثمان قفال بقرش
 7 - (٢٠) محرة العطف والحجاله سبع قفال ونص بقرش
 8 - (٢١) المطل المعطرات ثمان قفال بقرش
 9 - (٢٢) الصموط والمطلّ صب ثمان قفال ونص بقرش

- (مخصوص بالمساكين يمشون عليه) - 10
- 11 - (٢٣) الجهاز للبت البكر ثلاثين رجال⁽¹⁰⁾ وعشرة بضاعة وستة مهر جملة ستة واربعين ٤٦
- 12 - (٢٤) الجهاز للثيب عشرين واربعه بضاعة وستة مهر جملة ثلاثين ٣٠
- 13 - (٢٥) الظله ممنوعه وغداها ممنوع إلا للنسا المرخص لهن في عشا الظله
- 14 - (٢٦) الذي لهم عاده مقرره مثل ساده ودول ومشاخ وضعفا يمشون عليها
- 15 - (٢٧) الجيب العنب وكل ثوب حرير زايد ثمنه على جيب العنب ممنوع لبسه للمساكين
- 16 - في المجامع الذي بشرح الرقصه زواج او غيره

[page 1]

1. Ḍafar 1352
2. Praise be to God. Since the people of the country enjoy nowadays a better life and more pleasant conditions so they confirm that they will
3. annihilate the customs which have already been considered inappropriate. Therefore I have decided, wishing to maintain the life of the country and concerned that
4. its inhabitants get into trouble, to give in the [following] annex the abolished obsolete customs. By all means
5. the state (*dawla*) desires that their subjects wake up from their slumbering recumbence so that the state is no longer obliged to keep an eye
6. on these cases and that they think over the consequences of these matters and where their land and their country advance to,
7. and the state would only help and assist in all circumstances – and God is the Possessor of reconciliation and the Supporter.
8. (1) First: to give (*tabtūl*) to a girl a tea set (*'iddat al-shabī*) or a kerosene lamp (*karhabān*) is prohibited.
9. (2) Displaying any household items belonging to the bride is absolutely prohibited in her family's or her husband's houses, before
10. or after the wedding, to his [sic!] relatives or others.
11. (3) Lunch at *zilla*-feast is prohibited except for those women who are admitted to the *zilla*-dinner.
12. (4) Tea after the *gbussa*-lunch and the *ṣubḥa*-lunch during the wedding days is prohibited.
13. (5) During the *khatra*-visit the lunch should be [served] only to those who live in the husband's house, the husband's brothers and sisters if they live apart,

¹⁰ Hypercorrect spelling for ريل according to Hadrami yodization of *jīm*, cf. above: Note on usage, translation and transliteration.

14. and from the bride's side her brothers and sisters, if they live in other houses, and her brothers-in-law.
15. The dinner should be [served] to the husband and wife, father and mother, and sending anything like meat or other [food] to anybody else is prohibited.
16. (6) Women's dresses with a low neckline (*qamīṣ al-tafqūra*) made of glittering fabrics [and the like] and also headscarfs (*nuqba*) are prohibited to all.
17. (7) Obligatory gifts (*ilzāmāt*) [i.e. wristwatches] [worn] on women's wrists are prohibited.
18. (8) To wear arm bracelets (*hubūs*) with golden or silver beads (*hubūb*) is prohibited, and ornamented bands (*wushāb*) are prohibited.
19. (9) Golden necklaces with charms (*marārī*): the price of a necklace consisting of two or more threads of beads (*murriyya makbrat*) should not exceed four guineas, and the [price of the] rest of pendants should not exceed two guineas.
20. (10) The [cost of] the *al-najm wa-l-qamar*-pendant should not exceed 15 guineas.
21. (11) The [cost of] the *bilāl*-pendant should not exceed 4 guineas.
22. (12) The [cost of] the *mabdū*-necklace should not exceed 12 guineas.
23. (13) The [cost of] the *ʿuyūn al-khawera*-head ornamentation and its corals (*ʿurūq*) and beads (*hubūb*) [should not exceed] 5 guineas.
24. (14) The invention of something new for jewellery which does not exist at present times is prohibited.

[page 2]

1. ([Regulations] concerning the jewellers to follow)
2. (15) The price (*ʿasab*) of one *qafla* of twisted (*maftūl*) gold with beads (*muḥabbab*) should be three *qirshs*;
3. (16) The rest of the golden jewellery, two *wuqiyyas* and a quarter.
4. (17) The price (*ʿasab*) of scrap (*saqaṭiyya*) silver such as bracelets (*hubūs*) and charms with inscriptions (*ʿayāl mubashsharāt*) should be one *qirsh* for five *qaflas*.
5. (18) The twisted (*maftūl*) silver item with beads (*muḥabbab*) should be one *qirsh* for seven *qaflas*.
6. (19) The *tubū*-hair decoration should be one *qirsh* for eight *qaflas*.
7. (20) The light anklets (*mabrat al-ʿatf*) and *hijāla*-anklets should be one *qirsh* for seven and a half *qaflas*.
8. (21) Twisted (*muʿaṭṭarāt*) *maṭall*-bracelets should be one *qirsh* for eight *qaflas*.
9. (22) The anklet (*ṣumūt*) and cast bracelet (*maṭall ṣabb*) should be one *qirsh* for eight and a half *qaflas*.
10. ([Regulations] concerning the *masākīn* to follow)
11. (23) The dowry (*jibāz*) for a virgin girl should be 30 riyals (*rijāl*), ten for the bath commodities (*biḍāʿa*), then six for *mabr*, all together 46.

12. (24) The dowry (*jihāz*) for a deflowered woman (*thayyib*) should be 20 [riyals], four for the bath commodities (*biḍāʿa*), then six for *mahr*, all together 30.
13. (25) The *zilla*-feast is prohibited as is its lunch except for those women who are admitted to the *zilla*-dinner.
14. (26) Those who have fixed customs such as the *sāda*, the sultans (*duwal*), the *mashāyikh* and the weaklings (*duʿafāʾ*), let them follow it.
15. (27) The *jubab*-dresses made of *ʿinab*-fabric and all kinds of silk cloth which costs more than the *jubab*-dress made of *ʿinab*-fabric are prohibited for *masākīn* to wear
16. at the gatherings, where they celebrate weddings by songs and dances (*sharḥ al-raḡsa*) or on other occasions.

IV 20 - 1 Muharram 1353/[1934]

الكهنة ونبأ خ مائة شهر ثم سنة ١٣٥٣

من حيث ان الاعلانا الصادر من السلطان علي بن المنصور بن غالب لأهل بلاده بابطال وهمم العوايد في عدة نسخ مختلفة التاريخ فقد جمع زيادة ما فيها في هذا الشعور وهو لا في لما قبله والاعتماد على ما فيه ولا قصد للسلطان إلا الإبقاء على البلاد والشقة على أهلها من التدهور غير ورطات المهلاك . ويحل مسيله يرغب السلطان الى رعيتيه وأهل بلاده ان ينتبهوا من سنة الرقاد حتى لا يحوجوه الى النظر الى مثل هذه الحالات وان يتدروني مواعيد الامور ونما يرفي بلادهم ووطنهم وعلى الدوله الساعده بكل حال والله الموفق والمعين

- (١) اولاً وليلة الزواج يوم النفس غد وعشاً مطلقاً لمن اراده صاحب الوليمه وشبهه عند الصبح لمن اراده
- (٢) عشاً الصبح ممنوع إلا لأهل الدرعيين وأب وأم وجد وجدته وأخ وأخت وعم وعمه وخاله وصهر وغريب من الجانيين
- (٣) غد الظله لأهل الدرعيين وام وأخت وجدته وعمه وخاله من الجانيين وزوج اخت العرس وشبهه عشاً الظله بزياة اب واخ وجد وعم وخال وصهر وغريب من الجانيين والظله ممنوعه
- (٤) الشاي بعد غد النفس وغدا الصبح ممنوع والبضاعة والزياف بها ممنوع ومع الزواج مقابلها خمسة عشر درهماً
- (٥) ما يعطى الدرعيون من اهل الزوج في أيام الزواج ممنوع من ثياب وغيره إلا زوجها فلا بأس به
- (٦) الهدية من مصر وكعبه وشاي وشبع ممنوعه مطلقاً في زواج او غيره للزوج أو غيره
- (٧) يتناول البنت بعدة الشاي والكرهبان قبل الزواج او بعداً ممنوع
- (٨) أفداح الصفر لا يمكن زياده على اثنين كبير وصغير واظها رششي من اتمعة العروس في بيت أهلها او بيت زوجها قبل الزواج او بعداً لقريبه أو غيرهم ممنوع
- (٩) لبس الثياب العربية بنقش الذهب والفضة والقرصه والتل ممنوع وملاح الثياب الحرير والغزل يكون مباحه لكل شئ كسبه
- (١٠) الكهراب في الأكسس واليدوع والمبوس وحرور الخشوع منقط وفي غيره ممنوع
- (١١) استعمال الزمان في ايدي النساء وحبوس حبوب الذهب في الأيدي ممنوع
- (١٢) ارسال الخيم في الأعياد وما يرسل في أيام النفس ممنوع للزوج أو أهله وما يتعلقونه اهل الزوجه للزوج البنت في جمعده وغيرها ممنوع الا شاي وثمره فخرط
- (١٣) الخيطه تكون غدا منقط لاهل الدرعيين اب وام واخ وخت وجد وجدته وعم وعمه وخاله وخاله وزوج بنات اهل الزوجين . والعشا يكون للزوج والزوجه اب وام وارسال شئ لغيره مطلقاً ممنوع
- (١٤) كل من له عاده مقرره في الجهار مثل سواده ودوله وشانج وضعفا يمشون عليها
- (١٥) وكل من لاعاده له في الجهار يكون جهاز البنت الكبره اربعين درهماً وبضاعة خمسة عشر درهماً ومهرسته درهماً جمعاً وثوب حرير الذي يتراضون عليه خلاف الخلفه وزياده على ذلك ممنوع والناقص مخصص والشج جهاز ثلاثين درهماً وبضاعة اربعين درهماً ومهرسته اربعين درهماً وثوب حرير خلاق الخلفه
- (١٦) والسائين اهل الحوق جهاز البنت ثلاثين درهماً وبضاعة خمسة عشر درهماً ومهرسته اربعين درهماً جمعاً
- والثوب عشرين درهماً جهاز وثمانه عشر درهماً وبضاعة وستة مهرجه ٢١ وزياده على ذلك ممنوع والناقص لا بأس به
- (١٧) الجيب العنق وكل ثوب حرير زياده ثمنه على جيب العنق ممنوع لبسه للسائين في الجاه الذي بشرح الرقصه زواج او غيره

- 1 - الحمد لله وبتاريخ فاتحة شهر محرم سنة ١٣٥٣
- 2 - من حيث ان الاعلانات الصادره من السلطان علي بن المنصور بن غالب لأهل بلاده بابطال وهدم العوايد
- 3 - في عدة نسخ مختلفة التاريخ فقد جمع زبدة ما فيها في هذا المنشور وهو لاغي لما قبله
- 4 - والاعتماد على ما فيه ولا قصد للسلطان إلا إبقاء حياة البلاد والشفقة على اهلها من التدهور في
- 5 - ورطات الهلاك. وبكل وسيله يرغب السلطان الى رعيته واهل بلاده ان ينتهبو من سنة
- 6 - الرقاد حتى لا يجوجه الى النظر الى مثل هذه الحالات وان يفكرو في عواقب الامور وفيا يرقى
- 7 - بلادهم ووطنهم وعلى الدوله المساعدة بكل حال والله الموفق والمعين
- 8 - (١) اولاً ولجمة الزواج يوم الغسه غدا وعشا مطلقا لمن أراداه صاحب الوليمه ومثله غدا الصبحه لمن أراداه
- 9 - (٢) عشا الصبحه ممنوع إلا لأهل دار العروسين وأب وأم وجد وجده وأخ واخت وعم وعمه وخال وخاله وصهر وغريب من الجانبين.
- 10 - (٣) غدا الظله لاهل دار العروسين وام واخت وجده وعمه وخاله من الجانبين وزوج اخت المعرس ومثله عشا
- 11 - الظله بزيادة اب واخ وجد وعم وخال وصهر وغريب من الجانبين والظله ممنوعه
- 12 - (٤) الشاهي بعد غدا الغسه وغدا الصبحه ممنوع والبضاعه والزفاف بها ممنوع وعلى الزوج مقابلها خمسة عشر ريال ١٥
- 13 - (٥) ما يعطى للعروس من اهل الزوج في أيام الزواج ممنوع من ثياب وغيره إلا زوجها فلا باس به
- 14 - (٦) الهديه من مصر وكحك وشاهي وقع ممنوعه مطلقا في زواج او غيره للزوج أو غيره
- 15 - (٧) تتبتول البنت بعدة الشاهي والكهربان قبل الزواج او بعده ممنوع
- 16 - (٨) الكوانع الصفر لا يمكن زياده على اثنين كبير وصغير واطهار شي من امتعة العروس في بيت اهلها او بيت زوجها
- 17 - قبل الزواج او بعده لقراهه أو غيرهم ممنوع
- 18 - (٩) لبس الثياب المعربه بنقش الذهب والغزل والرعشه والفرحه والتل ممنوع وصلاح الثياب الحرير والغزل
- 19 - يكون بياقه كل شي كسبه
- 20 - (١٠) الكهبر في الكسره والمبدوع والحبوس وحروز الخشوم فقط وفي غيرهن ممنوع
- 21 - (١١) استعمال الزمامات في ايدي النساء وحبوس حبوب الذهب في الأيدي ممنوع
- 22 - (١٢) ارسال اللحم في الأعياد وما يرسل في ايام النفسأ ممنوع للزوج أو أهله وما يفعلونه اهل الزوجه لزوج البنت

- 23 - في جمعه وغيرها ممنوع إلا شاهي وقهوه فقط
- 24 - (١٣) الخطره تكون غدا فقط لاهل دار العروسين واب وام واخ واخت وجد وجده وعم وعمه وخال
وخاله وازواج
- 25 - بنات اهل الزوجين. والعشا يكون للزوج والزوجه واب وام وارسال شي لغير هؤلاء ممنوع
- 26 - (١٤) كل من له عاده مقرر في الجهاز مثل ساده ودوله ومشايخ وضعفا يمشون عليها
- 27 - (١٥) ولكل من لا عاده له في الجهاز يكون جهاز البنت البكر اربعين ريال ٤٠ وبضاعه خمسة عشر
ريال ١٥ ومهر سته
- 28 - ريال ٦ جملة ٦١ ريال وثوب حرير الذي يتراضون عليه خلاف الخلعه وزياده على ذلك ممنوع والناقص
مرخص
- 29 - والثيب جهاز ثلاثين ريال ٣٠ وبضاعه ريال ١٥ ومهر سته ريال ٥١ وثوب حرير خلاف الخلعه
- 30 - (١٦) والمساكين اهل الحوف جهاز البنت ثلاثين ريال ٣٠ وبضاعه خمسة عشر ريال ١٥ ومهر سته
ريال ٥١
- 31 - والثيب عشرين ريال ٢٠ جهاز وخمسة عشر ريال ١٥ بضاعه وستة ممر جملة ٤١ وزياده على ذلك
ممنوع
- 32 - والناقص لا باس به
- 33 - (١٧) الجيب العنب وكل ثوب حرير زايد ثمنه على جيب العنب ممنوع لبسه للمساكين في المجامع الذي
بشرح الرقصه
- 34 - زواج او غيره

1. Praise be God, dated the beginning of the month Muḥarram, in the year 1353.
2. Concerning the manifests (*iʿlānāt*) issued by the Sultan ʿAlī b. al-Manṣūr b. Ghālib to the inhabitants of his country concerning the abolition and destruction of customs
3. in a number of abrogations from different dates, the essence of which is gathered in this ordinance (*manshūr*) that nullifies the previous ones.
4. In confidence about what is in it, the sultan's only goal is to maintain the life of the country and to be concerned that its inhabitants
5. [will not] get into trouble. By all means the sultan wishes that his subjects and the inhabitants of his country awake from their slumbering
6. recumbence so that they will no longer urge him to concern himself about such conditions and that they ponder the consequences of things and in what direction goes
7. their country and homeland, and the state will help them in any case, and God is the Possessor of Reconciliation and the Supporter.

8. (1) First: the groom's feast at *gbussa*-day, lunch and dinner, is only for those invited by the master of the feast, and similarly lunch at *ṣubḥa* for those he invites.
9. (2) Dinner on *ṣubḥa* is prohibited except for the close relatives of both bride and groom, father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, paternal uncle and aunt and maternal uncle and aunt, brother-in-law and strangers not belonging to either family.
10. (3) Lunch on *zilla* is for the close relatives of both, bride and groom, mother, sister, grandmother, paternal aunt, maternal aunt from both sides. And the groom's sister's husband and the like [are invited for] dinner
11. on *zilla*-day in addition to the father, brother, grandfather, paternal uncle, maternal uncle, brother-in-law and strangers not belonging to either family. And [the second] *zilla* is prohibited.
12. (4) Tea after lunch on *gbussa*-day and [tea after] lunch on *ṣubḥa*-day are [both] prohibited, and the bath commodities (*biḍā'a*) and processions of the bride (*zaffāf*) during [these days] are prohibited, and the husband should not pay [more than] 15 riyals for that.
13. (5) Dresses and other [things] which the bride is given by the husband's family during the wedding days are prohibited except [if it is given by] her husband, there is no objection to that.
14. (6) Gifts such as the pouch (*maṣarr*) and cake (*ka'k*) and tea and sugar loafs (*qub'*) are absolutely prohibited during the wedding or similar [celebrations] from the husband and others.
15. (7) Giving (*tabtūl*) to the girl a tea set (*'iddat al-sbābī*) or a kerosene lamp (*karhabān*), before the wedding or after it, is prohibited.
16. (8) One can not have more than two chests (*karwa'*), large or small ones, and the display of the bride's belongings (*amti'a*), either in her family's or her husband's houses,
17. before marriage or after, to her close relatives or others, is prohibited.
18. (9) Wearing dresses ornamented (*mi'arraba*) with decorations (*naqslī*) of gold, cotton threads (*gbazl*), sequins (*ra'sha*), decorations in the shape of a star (*farḥa*) and silver or golden threads around the neckline (*tall*) are prohibited. The amendment of silk and cotton (*gbazl*) dresses
19. shall be done with any band of fabric (*yāqa*) that fits this purpose.
20. (10) Amber (*kaḥrab*) [is allowed] in crescent pendants (*kisra*), in (*mabdū'*)-necklaces, in (*hubūs*)-bracelets, and in forehead decorations (*ḥurūz al-khashūm*) only, and in other items it is prohibited.
21. (11) The use of obligatory gifts [i.e. wristwatches] (*ilzāmāt*) on the hands of women and bracelets (*hubūs*) with gold beads (*hubūb*) on the hands are prohibited.

22. (12) Sending meat during feasts and what is [traditionally] sent during the days of childbed is prohibited for the husband or his family, and [similarly] anything that the bride's family makes for the girl's husband
23. during their meeting and other [gatherings] is prohibited, except tea and coffee (*qabrwa*) only.
24. (13) The visit (*kbatra*) shall be restricted to lunch only for the families of both bride and groom, father and mother, brother and sister, grandfather and grandmother, paternal uncle and aunt, maternal uncle and aunt and the husbands
25. of the girls on both sides of the family. Dinner shall be for husband and wife, father and mother and sending something to others than those [listed] is prohibited.
26. (14) All those who have fixed customs concerning dowry (*jibāz*) as the *sāda* and the sultans (*dawla*) and the *mashāyikh* and the weaklings (*du'afā'*) shall follow them.
27. (15) And for all those who have no customs concerning the dowry (*jibāz*), the dowry for a virgin shall be 40 riyals and the bath commodities (*biḍā'a*) 15 riyals and the bridal money (*mabr*) six
28. riyals, all together 61 riyals, and one silk dress which they agreed upon in addition to the wedding dress (*kbi'ā*); more than that is prohibited, but less than that is permitted.
29. The dowry (*jibāz*) for a deflowered woman (*tbayyib*) is 30 riyals and the bath commodities (*biḍā'a*) 15 riyals and the bridal money (*mabr*) six riyals, all together 51 riyals, and a silk dress in addition to the wedding dress (*kbi'ā*).
30. (16) For the *masākīn*, the people of the quarters (*ḥuwaf*), the dowry (*jibāz*) for the girl is 30 riyals and the bath commodities (*biḍā'a*) 15 riyals and the bridal money (*mabr*) six riyals, all together 51 riyals.
31. The dowry (*jibāz*) for the deflowered woman (*tbayyib*) is 20 riyals and 15 riyals for the bath commodities (*biḍā'a*) and six for bridal money (*mabr*), all together 41, and more than that is prohibited
32. and there are no objections [to paying] less than that.
33. (17) The outer garment (*jubab*) of *'inab* type and all silk dresses costing more than the *'inab*-dresses are prohibited to be worn for the *masākīn* at gatherings with common dances (*sharḥ*)
34. either on wedding occasions or other [occasions].

IV 22 - 1 Rabi' al-Awwal 1353/[1934]

١٣٥٣ هـ
١٩٣٤ م

الحمد لله الذي جعل شهر الميلااد من اعظم الاعياد وتم
 على كل سالك سبيل الرشاد ووارث على اعذب ميراث حمداً
 تستمد منه الامداد من منهل الورد ومروي كل صاد وافصح من نطق
 بالضاد صلى الله عليه وعلى اله الاحقاد والسلام المصحوب بالانعام
 والامداد لحضرة النافع للبلاد والعباد السند العاد طويل النجاد
 وكثير الرماد السلطان علي بن منصور واخوانه محمد واخوانهم واولادهم
 لانهم جميعاً من احساد واهل العناد امين اللهم امين صدور المسطور
 من المشهد الاوحد لطلب الدعا ومزيد الاعتناء والسؤال عنكم ومن يلوذ بكم
 بآتم صحة وعافيه وهذا جعلناه بيد الخويدم المعلن بالزياره والبيارة
 نائب عنا في زيارة الاسلاف وانتم نوبون عن المحسوب والدعوة له بصفاء
 المشروب ونبيل المطلوب وعسى شي همم للزياره بالمشهد في مجمع
 ربيع محرم والسلام وهذا نعتي من ايام حرد ربيع اخرة
 على الدعاء منكم الدعاء بكم المنصب احمد حرد
 بنوعه هاشم العطار
 محمود البراك
 ١٣٥٣

- 1 - بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي جعل شهر الميلااد من اعظم الاعياد وتم
- 2 - به الاسعاد على كل سالك سبيل الرشاد ووارث على اعذب ميراث حمداً
- 3 - تستمد منه الامداد من منهل الورد ومروي كل صاد وافصح من نطق
- 4 - بالضاد صلى الله عليه وعلى اله الاحقاد والسلام المصحوب بالانعام
- 5 - والامداد لحضرة النافع للبلاد والعباد السند العاد طويل النجاد
- 6 - وكثير الرماد السلطان علي بن منصور⁽¹¹⁾ واخوانه محمد واخوانهم واولادهم
- 7 - لانهم جميعاً من احساد واهل العناد امين اللهم امين صدور المسطور
- 8 - من المشهد الاوحد لطلب الدعا ومزيد الاعتناء والسؤال عنكم ومن يلوذ بكم
- 9 - بآتم صحة وعافيه وهذا جعلناه بيد الخويدم المعلن بالزياره والبيارة
- 10 - نائب عنا في زيارة الاسلاف وانتم نوبون عن المحسوب والدعوة له بصفاء
- 11 - المشروب ونبيل المطلوب وعسى شي همم للزياره بالمشهد في مجمع

¹¹ Written by the *mansab*'s own hand.

- 12 - ربيع محفل الحبيب الشفيق با نفرح بكم ويتم سرورنا بقدمكم والدعا
 13 - وصيتكم والسلام وهذا بعجل والسلام حرر يوم الربوع غرة شهر ربيع الاول سنة ١٣٥٣
 14 - طالب الدعا منكم الداعي لكم المنصب احمد بن حسين بن عمر بن هارون العطاس
 15 - سامحهم الله امين

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Praise be to God who made the month of the [Prophet's] Birthday one of the greatest feasts and perfected
2. thereby happiness upon every follower of the rightly guided path, and upon he who comes to the source of the sweetest water. Praise!
3. He provides help to newcomers at the watering place and offers water to those who have turned away, and He is the best of those who articulate clearly
4. “*ḏād*.”¹² God bless Him [the Prophet] and His noble family, and let peace be provided by good deeds
5. and support for His Highness, benefactor of his country and mankind, the base of the pillar, long of sword belt [i.e. of tall stature and powerful means],
6. abundant in ashes [i.e. generous], Sultan ‘Alī b. Maṣṣūr and his brothers, Muḥammad, and their brothers and their sons.
7. May they always be protected from envious and stubborn people. Amen, God, amen! The letter came
8. from al-Mashhad the Unique in order to seek the invocation [of God] and to draw [your] attention [to the pilgrimage], and there is a question [addressed] to you and to those who are kept close to you [about your and their health].
9. Let [your] health and well-being be perfect! We did it [i.e. the transmitting of the letter] by the hand of our humble servant to inform [you] about the pilgrimage and [to bring you] glad tidings,
10. our proxy in the pilgrimage of the forefathers. Act on behalf of this protégé and his plea of cheerful
11. beverage and a favour. And if you have any intention to make a pilgrimage to al-Mashhad, to the point of union
12. of Rabīʿ,¹³ the celebration of the beloved mediator (*al-ḥabīb al-shafīʿ*), you will make us delighted, and our pleasure will be complete with your arrival. And [we] plea for
13. your instruction [i.e. letter] and peace. Written on Wednesday, at the beginning of the month Rabīʿ al-Awwal, 1353 H.

¹² I.e. pure Arabs, since the emphatic consonant *ḏ* is believed to be the most difficult sound for foreigners to pronounce (cf. Rodionov, ‘Mashhad ‘Alī’, 309).

¹³ Rabīʿ – the name both of the month and the Qurayshī forefather, i.e. the ancestor of the Prophet and the *sāda* in contrast to other Yemenis, who are the sons of Qaḥṭān.

14. The seeker of [God's] invocation from you, he who invites you, the *manṣab*
Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn b. ʿUmar b. Hārūn al-ʿAtṭās.
15. May God forgive them [all]. Amen.

- 4 - (١) اولاً يكون جھاز البنت اثنا عشر قرش وقرشين ملحفة وقرشين صبحه وقرشين بضاعه
 5 - وقرش نقاب جملة تسعة عشر قرش. والمصبحين خمسين نفر من جانب آل العروس
 6 - وان احبوه مقطوع فهو بخمسة وعشرين قرش
 7 - (٢) ثانياً جھاز الثيب ثمانية قروش ومصحين خمسة وعشرين نفر وانه
 8 - مقطوع اثنا عشر قرش في مقابل المصبحين الجملة جھاز الثيب وفي تو قطعان المعازيم
 9 - عشرين قرش الا ام العروس والكويره تتبع العروس والمزمر والجمال قفا
 10 - المعرس في الزوجات المقطوعه
 11 - (٣) ثالثاً الحراوه الى عند من با يصبح بخمسين نفر وذلك عشره نفر من جملتهم
 12 - والجمال والحراوه قفا المزوج على الثيب الى ما هو مقطوع خمسة نفر من جملتهم
 13 - المزمر والجمال
 14 - (٤) رابعاً الخطره والنقضة وقهوة الوعد ممنوع والكعك والهديه والبنة
 15 - ممنوع اتياب الحرير مثل الزيتون والعنب وما شاكله ممنوع استعماله
 16 - وللحرمة ثوب واحد في الشروحات ليس لها تقلب والشنطة للثياب ممنوعه
 17 - (٥) خامساً اجرة لي تفقع قرش على آل المعرس وقرش على آل العروس والطرح
 18 - للمشترحة ممنوع والكويره اجرتها نص قرش
 19 - (٦) الممنوع من الفضة الكسره الكبيره والكتبه وسموط والمقلد وسبحه
 20 - القروش وما تعلق بها والمرخص استعماله ما كان من الشهر وفوق
 21 - (٧) سابعاً تراضو وترابطو وتقاو على الوضع عليه والعمل بما فيه
 22 - ومن خالف فعلى سيده المقام جرى ذلك برضى واختيار والله على
 23 - ذلك شهيد

شل وتحمل بوفا ما ذكر يسر	شل وتحمل بوفا ما ذكر	شل وتحمل بوفا ما ذكر بشير
فرج غلفان على داعي آل غلفان	بخيت فرج الله هو وأولاده	فضل الله الحوره هو وداعي
<u>ومن تبعه</u>	<u>ومن تبعه</u>	<u>آل الحوره ومن تبعه</u>
شل وتحمل بوفا ما ذكر امبارك	شل وتحمل بوفا ما ذكر بشير	شل وتحمل بوفا ما ذكر سالم
<u>طميس واولاده ومن تبعه</u>	رزق هو وداعي آل حرمق	فضل الله الحوره واولاده
شل وتحمل بوفا ما ذكر يسر	<u>ومن تبعه</u>	ومن تبعه
امبارك عيسا هو واخوانه		
واولاده ومن تبعه		

كتب ذلك بحضور المذكورين أعلام
كرامه امبارك وأكد

1. Praise be to God, dated Monday 19 Rajab 1355.
2. And after: the elders (*‘uqqāl*) of [God’s] slaves (*‘abūd*) and their minors have agreed, and have come to terms that all of their wedding ceremonies
3. should follow the official statement of the Sultan.
4. (1) First: the price of the girl’s dowry (*jibāz*) should be 12 *qirsbs*, two *qirsbs* for the bedcover (*malḥafā*), two *qirsbs* for the *ṣubḥa*-gift, two *qirsbs* for the bath commodities (*biḍā‘a*)
5. and one *qirsb* for the headscarf (*niqāb*), all together 19 *qirsbs*. The participants of *ṣubḥa* should be [a maximum of] 50 persons from the bride’s kin,
6. and if they want to fix the price it should be 25 *qirsbs*.
7. (2) Second: the price of the deflowered woman’s (*thayyib*) dowry (*jibāz*) should be 8 *qirsbs*, and the participants in the *ṣubḥa* should be 25 persons. And if
8. [the price] is fixed it should be 12 *qirsbs* for serving the participants of *ṣubḥa*. The total of the deflowered woman’s (*thayyib*) dowry (*jibāz*) along with the fixed [costs] for the invited persons is
9. 20 *qirsbs* except [the expenses for] the bride’s mother and the midwife (*kūbara*) who follows the bride, and the *mizmār*-player (*muzammir*) and the camel driver (*jammāl*) who follow
10. the bridal procession at weddings, which [i.e. expenses] have to be of a fixed price.
11. (3) Third: the *ḥarāwa*-procession for those who [invite] 50 persons to celebrate the *ṣubḥa*-feast shall consist of 10 persons
12. and the camel driver (*jammāl*). The *ḥarāwa*-procession which follows the groom who marries a deflowered woman (*thayyib*) should be reduced to five persons including
13. the *mizmār*-player (*muzammir*) and the camel driver (*jammāl*).
14. (4) Fourth: the *kbatra*-visit and the *naqḍa*-meal and the [serving of the] coffee of engagement (*qabrwat al-wa‘d*) are prohibited, and cake (*ka‘k*) and gifts and coffee beans (*bunna*)
15. are prohibited. Silk dresses such as “*zaytūn*” and “*‘inab*” and [dresses] of this kind are prohibited to be worn.
16. Each woman should have only one dress (*thawb*) for dances (*shuruḥāt*), she must not change [dresses] and a bag (*shantā*) [for carrying] dresses is prohibited.
17. (5) Fifth: the rate for drum beating (*tifqā‘*) is one *qirsb* for the groom’s family and one *qirsb* for the bride’s family, and a money gift (*tarḥ*)
18. to the professional female musician (*mushtariḥa*) is prohibited. And the payment for the *kaḥbara* is half a *qirsb*.

19. (6) Prohibited among silver [jewellery] are pendants (*kisra*), amulets (*kataba*), anklets (*sumūt*), necklaces (*maqlad*) and necklaces (*subḥa*)
20. with coins and other pendants, the period allowed for its wearing is no more than a month.
21. (7) Seventh: they have come to terms and determined and decided to execute it [i.e. the declaration] and to act according to it.
22. If anybody disobeys it, his master will settle this [case] according to his pleasure and choice. And God
23. is a Witness to that.

[Right column]

Certified and taken to fulfil faithfully by Bashīr
Faḍlallāh al-Ḥawra, by him and the totality of
the Āl al-Ḥawra and those who are under his authority.

Certified and taken to fulfil faithfully by Sālim
Faḍlallāh al-Ḥawra and his sons
and those who are under his authority.

[Middle column]

Certified and taken to fulfil faithfully the above mentioned by
Bakhīt Faraj Allāh and his sons
and those who are under his authority.

Certified and taken to fulfil faithfully the above mentioned by Bashīr
Rizq, by him and the totality of the Āl Ḥarmaq
and those who are under his authority.

[Left column]

Certified and taken to fulfil faithfully the above mentioned by
Yusr Faraj Ghulfān for the totality of the Āl Ghulfān
and those who are under his authority.

Certified and taken to fulfil faithfully the above mentioned by Umbārak
Ṭamīs and his sons and those who are under his authority.


Certified and taken to fulfil faithfully the above mentioned by Yusr
Umbārak ʿĪsā, him and his brothers
and his sons and those who are under his authority.

[Below]

This has written in the presence of the above mentioned
Karāma Umbārak Wākid

IV 26 - 1 Şafar 1357/[1938]

ورئاسة ضفر الخير
١٣٥٧ هـ



الحمد لله وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم
 الى حضرة المكرم المحترم الخال عامر بن سعيد بن الصقير حفظه الله تعالى امين السلام
 التام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته صدر الكتاب من بلد مدوده ولا به حادث الا خير والموجب
 نعلمكم من طرف المساكين اهل الخافه وروحا القناصه ولعاد استمعوا لنا والسبب في
 ذلك اربعة نفر ال با مطرف خرجوا من عند اصحابهم وبا يحدثون حوادث ثانيه
 في البلاد من قناصه وغيرها وقربوا بعض زقور من المشايخ ما يعقلون سعده لهم
 وقصد هم الفتنة وتفرقة الناس هذا الاشياء ان يجب تشرير المشايخ والمشايع
 والقبائل وهذه امور ما كنا نعلمها صاحب ما انتم دارين ما صدمه خلاف امر
 الخافه الا هو لا يطور به وقد جرى ما جرى بها واخره وفقوا القبائل عنها الاشياء
 وتأييدهم في السكون هذا اليوم ذموا الحرج اليهم وهم واصحابنا من نصيبنا وكذا ما
 قصه في هذه الاشياء لا شها امور شيطانية وقرتها أصن واوحي وبادت ايامهم في
 تيرة وطننا الناس بايها رادون وبالشفقة كالتهم انما عرفناهم باسمه اميرهم
 الصلاح وهذا اعلام لهم ونطلب منكم ان تحاطبوا السلطان على وعرضه لانه واجبه اذا
 ومن هو متصديه ومشترايع خبرونه والشيوخ محمد بن علي حميد نفسه من بعضه الاخذ
 ولا هو سوى من لانه اليوم عاقلنا والامه سموح الله بهم به ولا وصلنا الي هذا
 الحما الا لسبب استكوننا وان لا به لنامه تفان السلطان ونخذار طنا تنضم وتقبل
 اذا بانخصر ما عده من السلطان لان المساكين ياتهم صوتهم والقيل على بحرم حسب الاماره
 ما صا تنكاه راسه الخال والسبب عدم التبليغ والتبليغ واجب وجوابنا علينا بما
 يصير من السلطان والمخالفين عما انتم دارين لهم عبادتكم اراء وعروضكم
 وامبارك بلفيك ودست ولا شئ تسبح وعمرا محمد بن خضر وبقولنا قطريين من اهلنا

1 - حرر فاتحة ضفر الخير

2 - سنة ١٣٥٧

3 - الحمد لله وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم

4 - الى حضرة المكرم المحترم الخال عامر بن سعيد بن الصقير حفظه الله تعالى امين السلام

5 - التام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته صدر الكتاب من بلد مدوده ولا به حادث الا خير والموجب

6 - نعلمكم من طرف المساكين اهل الخافه وروحا القناصه ولعاد استمعوا لنا والسبب في

7 - ذلك اربعة نفر ال با مطرف خرجوا من عند اصحابهم وبا يحدثون حوادث ثانيه

8 - في البلاد من قناصه وغيرها وقربوا بعض زقور من المشايخ ما يعقلون سعده لهم

9 - وقصد هم الفتنة وتفرقة الناس هذا لا شك ان يجيب شر بين المساكين والمشايع

- 10 - والقبائل وهذه امور ما كنا نعهدھا حسب ما اتم دارجين ما حد له مدخل في امر
 11 - الحافه الا مولا طيوره وقد جرى ما جرى سابقا واخره وقفوا القبائل هذه الاشياء وفرحنا
 12 - فان بغينا السكون انما ليام ذي فكوا الحرج الله يهديهم واصحابنا متعصبين ونحن ما لنا
 13 - قصد في هذا الاشياء لانها امور شيطانية وتركها احسن واولى بلادنا ما [...] في اشياء
 14 - كثيره وطيننا الناس با يدرادون وبا تتفق كلمتهم انما عرفناهم ناس مداميرمضادين لاهل
 15 - الصلاح وهذا اعلام لكم ونطلب منكم ان تخاطبوا السلطان علي وتشرحو له قواعد بلادنا
 16 - ومن هو متعدي ومتشريع تخبرونه به والشيخ محمد بن علي ميل نفسه من بعض الاشياء
 17 - ولا هو سوى منه لانه اليوم عاقلنا وكلامه مسموع الله يديه ولا وصلنا الى هذا
 18 - الحد الا بسبب سكوتنا والان لا بد لنا من تفاق السلطان ونحب ارضنا تتنضم وتتعدل
 19 - اذا با تحصل مساعدة من السلطان لان المسكين يكبر صوته والقبيلي يجرح حسب العادة
 20 - ما حد اتكا على راس المخالف والسبب عدم التبليغ والتبليغ واجب وجوابكم علينا بما
 21 - يصدر من السلطان والمخالفين حسب ما اتم دارجين بهم وهم عيال سعيد هادي وعوض بليلة
 22 - وامبارك بلغيث ودس وراشد لكسح وعمر احمد بخضر وهؤلاء مقطوعين من اهلهم
 23 - شهد اكدها الشيخ طه بن محمد بن محمد بن بو بكر با حميد

1. Composed at the beginning of Ḍafar the beneficent,
2. of the year 1357.
3. Praise be to God! God bless our Master Muḥammad and His family and His companions and grant [them] salvation.
4. To the honoured and respected maternal uncle ʿĀmir b. Saʿīd b. al-Ṣuqayr, may the Sublime God protect him, amen! May perfect peace
5. be upon you, the mercy of God and His blessings! This letter is sent from Madūda. There is only good news in it, and its purpose is
6. to inform you about the *masākīn* – the inhabitants of the quarter (*ḥāfā*) went out for the ibex-hunt (*qanāṣa*) and did not wait for us because of
7. four men from Āl Bā Maṭraḥ [who] departed with some of their companions in order to start the second [round] of incidents
8. in the centre of the village concerning the ibex-hunt (*qanāṣa*) and other matters. And some youngsters from the *mashāyikh* not endowed with reason approached to help them.
9. They strived for discord and the division of these people; no doubt they [wanted] to cause mischief between the *masākīn*, the *mashāyikh*
10. and the tribesmen (*qabāʾil*). And we have no information about these things because [even] you do not know anybody who has access to the affairs of

11. the quarter (*hāfa*) except [that of] Mawlā Ṭuyūra. So it happened as it happened before. Last time the tribesmen (*qabā'il*) stopped these things and we were extremely delighted
12. as we wanted tranquility, but nowadays they have removed the prohibition [on taking part in the hunt], may God guide them to the right way. Our followers get angry, but we do not
13. intend these things because these are Satanic matters, and it is better and worthier to quit them. Our village does not observe [illegible] many things,
14. so we believe that people will come to terms (*bā yadrādūna*)¹⁴ and their words will be in agreement, but we have recognised them as the people of destructive opposition against the followers of
15. righteousness (*ṣalāh*). This is a notice for you. We ask you to write to the Sultan 'Alī and explain to him the rules of our village,
16. and who is the assailant and [who is] inconsistent (*mutasharba*).¹⁵ Inform him about it, and *shaykh* Muḥammad b. 'Alī [Bā Ḥumayd] himself has sympathy for some of these matters.
17. He is not against that, for today we are reasonable and his words are heard, may God guide him. And we have reached this
18. extent only because of our reticence. It is necessary for us now to get an agreement from the Sultan. We want our country to be in good order and to be altered properly,
19. if help comes from the Sultan, since the humble (*miskīn*) increases his voice and the tribesman fails [to participate in the hunt] according to the custom.
20. Nobody crushes the head of the transgressors because of their lack of information, although information is important as is your answer to us about
21. what will be issued on behalf of the Sultan. And the transgressors, as you know, are from the offshoot of Sa'īd Hādī and 'Awaḍ Bā Layla
22. and Umbārak Bilghayth, and Dis [Maḥfūz b. 'Umar Bā Maṭraf, the Plotter?] and Rāshid Laksah [Rāshid Yūsīm Bā l-Rāshid, called the Lame] and 'Umar Aḥmad Bakhḍar, all of them have been cut off by their relatives.
23. This is testified to and confirmed by the *shaykh* Ṭāhā b. Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr Bā Ḥumayd.

¹⁴ Local expression attested by our informants.

¹⁵ A local form explained by our informants as 'he who jumps from one subject to another.'

IV 27 - 1 Şafar 1357/[1938]

الحمد لله وحده جناب المكرم السلطان علي بن منصور بن غالب دام محترم بعد السلام عليكم
 ورحمة الله وبركاته صدر المرقوم من عرض ال الصقير ما حدث أرجوكم كانه بغايه كما نحن باتمها
 الموجب نعلمك ادركنا خط من الشيخ طاه بن محمد با حميد مشتكي من الخلافات الذي وقعت
 في بلد مدوده وهم من عيال سعيد هادي وعوض بليله وامبارك بلغيث ودس وعمر احمد بخضر
 وبراشد لكسح يلفون الزمور من المشايخ وبا يشتون بين المشايخ والقبائل وبا يلقون لهم
 حافه لانفسهم وذي حافه من قامه ومساريجها قيمه ولا حد له اعتراض
 بتفرقة الناس وشيخها محمد بو بكر مولا طيوره ومن بعدها ابنه طه بن محمد وظهرو ناس
 اليوم وقصدهم بالافتتان ولا يعتادون هذا الاشيا والكلمان والان نطلب منك
 تفرغ كلين الى طريقه القبيلي والشيخ والمساكين وان قذك تصدر تعريف الى دار
 عبيد منصور نطلب منك تمنعهم لاجل سكون البلاد والحذر تسمع كلام احد وهذا
 كلام حقيق وكل من جاك بهذين غير الشيخ طه الحذر تسمعهم بحيث انها هذا القضايا
 والاشيا حازر منها وصلاحها وصدور خط طي هذا الذي من الشيخ طه بن محمد حسب تراه
 الجواب مطلوب في الحال هذا ودمتم والسلام محرر فاتحة ظفر سنه ١٣٥٧
 من عامر بن سعيد بن عامر بن الصقير

- 1 - الحمد لله وحده جناب المكرم السلطان علي بن منصور بن غالب دام محترم بعد السلام عليكم
- 2 - ورحمة الله وبركاته صدر المرقوم من عرض ال الصقير ما حدث أرجوكم كانه بغايه كما نحن باتمها
- 3 - الموجب نعلمك ادركنا خط من الشيخ طاه بن محمد با حميد مشتكي من الخلافات الذي وقعت
- 4 - في بلد مدوده وهم من عيال سعيد هادي وعوض بليله وامبارك بلغيث ودس وعمر احمد بخضر
- 5 - وبراشد لكسح يلفون الزمور من المشايخ وبا يشتون بين المشايخ والقبائل وبا يلقون لهم
- 6 - حافه لانفسهم وذي حافه من قامه ومساريجها قيمه ولا حد له اعتراض
- 7 - بتفرقة الناس وشيخها محمد بو بكر مولا طيوره ومن بعدها ابنه طه بن محمد وظهرو ناس
- 8 - اليوم وقصدهم بالافتتان ولا يعتادون هذا الاشيا والكلمان والان نطلب منك
- 9 - تفرغ كلين الى طريقه القبيلي والشيخ والمساكين وان قذك تصدر تعريف الى دار
- 10 - عبيد منصور نطلب منك تمنعهم لاجل سكون البلاد والحذر تسمع كلام احد وهذا
- 11 - كلام حقيق وكل من جاك بهذين غير الشيخ طه الحذر تسمعهم بحيث انها هذا القضايا
- 12 - والاشيا حازر منها وصلاحها وصدور خط طي هذا الذي من الشيخ طه بن محمد حسب تراه
- 13 - الجواب مطلوب في الحال هذا ودمتم والسلام محرر فاتحة ظفر سنه ١٣٥٧
- 14 - من عامر بن سعيد بن عامر بن الصقير

1. Praise be to God alone! To His Excellency the noble Sultan ‘Alī b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib respect forever. And after [the salutations] peace be upon you
2. and the mercy of God and His blessings: the letter is sent from ‘Arḍ Āl al-Ṣuqayr. There is no [bad] news. We wish you good health as we ourselves shall acquire.
3. The purpose [of the letter is] to inform you that we received a message from the *shaykh* Ṭāhā b. Muḥammad Bā Ḥumayd complaining about disagreements that occurred
4. in the village of Madūda. They were caused by the offshoot of Sa‘īd Hādī and ‘Awaḍ Bā Layla and Umbārak Bilghayth, and Dis and ‘Umar Aḥmad Bakhḍar
5. and Barāshid Laksah [the Lame] who gathered the youngsters from the *mashāyikh* together in order to split the *mashāyikh* from the tribesmen (*qabā’il*) and to make for them
6. a separate quarter (*hāfa*). Although the size of this quarter is no more than a fathom, and its pastures are of [the same] value, nobody has any objections
7. to the separation of [these] people. The *shaykh* [of the quarter] is Muḥammad Abū Bakr Mawlā Ṭuyūra, and in addition to it is his son Ṭāhā b. Muḥammad. Today people
8. demonstrate their ostentation, intending to be infatuated. They do not recover from these things and from idle talk (*kalmān*). And now we ask you
9. to thump them both [so that they will follow] the way of tribesmen (*qabā’il*), the *shaykh* and the *masākīn*. If you wish, send an instruction to the house
10. of ‘*abīd* Maṣṣūr [since] we ask you to stop them for the sake of the country’s tranquility. Beware of listening to other words,
11. for [only] these words are truthful. And beware of listening to anyone who comes with nonsense to you but the *shaykh* Ṭāhā, for, indeed, this cause
12. and these matters are difficult to settle and improve. Find enclosed herewith the letter from the *shaykh* Ṭāhā b. Muḥammad [IV 26], as you will see.
13. The answer is anticipated immediately. Live forever and greetings. Issued at the beginning of Zafar of the year 1357,
14. from ‘Āmir b. Sa‘īd b. ‘Āmir b. al-Ṣuqayr [signature].

IV 28 - 18 Şafar 1357/[1938]

الحريه بتاريخ ١٨ حفر ١٣٥٢

نحن الراضين ايضا رانا اسفل المسطر

(اولا) نقر ونقرت بان اهالي مدره هم حافه واحده ليس مفترقين فيما تقدم

(ثانيا) نقرت ونقرنا والتعلقين بنا اقلعنا عن القره الحاصلة في هذه الايام
وصرنا افراد امر حافه واحده لنا مالها وعليها ما عليها مثل عواير وسابح
اهلنا المتقدمين فيما بيننا وبينه وبين مسابح البلده

(الثالثا) نقرت ونقرنا رانا عن الآن فضاءنا لا تنفق على فرقه من الحافه
ولا تنفصل عنها وان كل فرد منا مخاطب عن نفسه فيما له وعليه

(الرابع) نقرضي اننا تنفق نحن واخواننا اهل الحافه بمدره عند السلطان
على المنصور نقرضي بكل ما يعرفه بيننا في كل ما يلجأ اليه السيد والاف
والجلبه فنحن ملتزمين ان لا نخالفه امر في كل ما يرض فيه صلاحنا
وصالح بلادنا واهلها بكل ما جرت به عوايد اهلنا السابقه - وكل ما يرضي
به العدل والانصاف وعلى هذا وضعنا اقرارنا برضانا وفرضا والله وليه

<p>الزوم بقره السيد ركنه يرضي وسندهم في شرح الحافه</p>	<p>الزوم بقره السيد ركنه يرضي وسندهم في شرح الحافه</p>	<p>الزوم بقره السيد ركنه يرضي وسندهم في شرح الحافه</p>
<p>الزوم بقره السيد ركنه يرضي وسندهم في شرح الحافه</p>	<p>الزوم بقره السيد ركنه يرضي وسندهم في شرح الحافه</p>	<p>الزوم بقره السيد ركنه يرضي وسندهم في شرح الحافه</p>

الحق بالله سيدنا محمد بن عبد الله
الذي لا اله الا هو محمد بن عبد الله
والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد بن عبد الله
والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد بن عبد الله

- 1 - الحمد لله بتاريخ ١٨ صفر سنة ١٣٥٧
- 2 - نحن الواضعين امضاءاتنا أسفل المسطور.
- 3 - (اولا) نقر ونعترف بان أهالي مدوده هم حافه واحده ليس مفتقرين فيما تقدم
- 4 - (ثانيا) نعترف ونقر اننا والمتعلقين بنا أقلعنا عن الفرقة الحاصله في هذه الايام
- 5 - وصرنا أفرادا من حافه واحده لنا ما لها وعلينا ما عليها مثل عوايد ومساريج
- 6 - اهلنا المتقدمين فيما بيننا وبين مشائخ البلد
- 7 - (ثالثا) نعترف ونتعهد اننا من الآن فصاعدا لا نتفق على فرقه من الحافه
- 8 - ولا ننفصل عنها. وان كل فرد منا يخاطب عن نفسه فيما له وعليه
- 9 - (رابعا) نرتضي اننا نتفق نحن واخواننا أهل الحافه بمدوده عند السلطان
- 10 - علي بن المنصور ونرتضي بكل ما يعرفه بيننا في كل ما يجلب التسديد والألفه
- 11 - وبالجملة فنحن ملتزمين أن لا نخالف له أمر في كل ما يرى فيه صلاحنا
- 12 - وصلاح بلادنا وأهلها بكل ما جرت به عوائد اهلنا السابقه - وكل ما يقضي
- 13 - به العدل والانصاف وعلى هذا وضعنا اقراراتنا برضانا وفرحنا والله شهيد

التزم بذلك مبارك	التزم بذلك عبود بن علي با حشوان	التزم بذلك راشد يسلم راشد
بلغيث با مطرف	وكتب بامرہ وشهد به محمد شيخ	وكتب بامرہ وشهد به محمد شيخ
	المساوى	المساوى
وكتب بامرہ وشهد به	التزم بذلك عمر احمد بخضر	التزم بذلك عوض احمد با مطرف
محمد شيخ المساوى	وكتب بامرہ محمد شيخ المساوى	وكتب بامرہ وشهد به محمد شيخ
	المساوى	المساوى
التزم بذلك سعيد بن احمد بخضر	التزم بذلك هادي محمد با مطرف	
التزم بذلك احمد عبید دویل	التزم بذلك عبود مبارك با جبير	
التزم بذلك مقدم بن سالم	التزم بذلك سالم بن احمد عبید بخضر	
التزم بذلك ناصر بن سالم براشد	التزم بذلك وكتب بمرهم عبود بن علي بن مدرمح	

1. Praise be to God. Dated 18 Şafar 1357.
2. We, who put our signatures at the end of this document,
3. (Firstly) declare and acknowledge that the people of Madūda are one quarter (*ḥāfa*) and have not been separated in the past.
4. (Secondly) we acknowledge and declare that we and those who are related to us have renounced the division which occurs nowadays [cf. IV 27].

5. We have become members of one quarter (*ḥāfa*) with equal rights and equal duties such as traditions and common practices (*masāriḥ*)
6. of our antecedents between us as one part (*al-bayn*), and between us and the *shaykhs* of the village (*balad*).
7. (Thirdly) we acknowledge and promise that we, from this moment and for ever more, are not going to agree to a division of the quarter (*ḥāfa*)
8. and any separation from it. Every one of us is responsible for our actions personally.
9. (Fourthly) we approve that we and our brothers, the people of the quarter (*ḥāfa*) of Madūda, conclude the agreement before the Sultan
10. ʿAlī b. al-Manṣūr and approve everything which he advises us regarding all that brings happiness and harmony.
11. In general, we bind ourselves not to contradict his orders regarding everything he thinks to be good for us
12. and good for our village and its people with all that have been traditions of our people in the past, and with all that is required by
13. justice and equity. On this basis, we have signed our statement voluntarily and joyfully. And God is the Witness.

[1. passage of names – right column]

Responsible for this: Mubārak
 Bilghayth Bā Maṭraf,
 Muḥammad Shaykh al-Musāwā
 has written on his behalf and witnessed it.

[Middle column]

Responsible for this: ʿAbbūd b. ʿAlī Bā Ḥashwān,
 Muḥammad Shaykh al-Musāwā has written on his behalf and witnessed it.
 Responsible for this: ʿUmar Aḥmad Bakhḍar,
 Muḥammad Shaykh al-Musāwā has written on his behalf.

[Left column]

Responsible for this: Rāshid Yuslim Rāshid,
 Muḥammad Shaykh al-Musāwā has written on his behalf and witnessed it.
 Responsible for this: ʿAwaḍ Aḥmad Bā Maṭraf,
 Muḥammad Shaykh al-Musāwā has written on his behalf and witnessed it.

[2. passage of names – right column]

Responsible for this: Saʿīd b. Aḥmad Bakhḍar,
 Responsible for this: Aḥmad ʿUbayd Dūbil,
 Responsible for this: Muqaddam b. Sālim,
 Responsible for this: Nāṣir b. Sālim Barāshid.

[Left column]

Responsible for this: Hādī Muḥammad Bā Maṭraf,

Responsible for this: ʿAbbūd Mubārak Bā Jubayr,

Responsible for this: Sālīm b. Aḥmad ʿUbayd Bakhḍar,

ʿAbbūd b. ʿAlī Bin Mudarmaḥ is responsible for this and has written it on their behalf.

IV 29 - 27 Şafar 1357/[1938]

٢٩
١٣٥٧
٢١٩٣٨

الحمد لله وتاريخي ٢٧ ظفر ١٣٥٧

حضر ولدي السلطان علي بن المنصور بن غالب اهل حافة مدوده الجميع من كل خمس
وبعد ما فحص ما معهم السلطان الجميع ردهم حافة وحده عضو ما فيه مفصل
وجعل على كل خمس تعريفه وهم الوحي اسمهم. وجعل ابو علي الحافة الجميع طائله
سعيد بن احمد بخضر والعرايين على الاحماس وهما
مقدم بن سالم بن همام على آل مقدم وآل با جبير

وناصر بن سالم بالراشد على آل راشد

وامبارك بالغيث على آل با مطرف

وسالم زهد بخضر على آل بخضر

واحمد عبيد دويل على آل دويل وآل مورنج وآل عبيد له

هؤلاء الخمسة المذكورين كلاً على نفسه تفقد اصحابه ومسئوليتهم عند
السلطان. والسلطان ملتزم لأبوالحسن بتأديب كل من خالف من اصحابه
وذلك بعد تقرير الخلافه من عرايين الخمسة الاحماس لما و ان اختلفوا
مثلاً ثلاثة بجانب واثنين بجانب فالمرجع قول الفرقة الذي يؤثرها
لبو سعيد بن احمد بخضر والتزموا المذكورين على انفسهم ابو الحافة والعرايين
ان تكون كلمتهم وحده وينظرون بمياتهم الجميع بالسوية وكل من خالف
منهم أمره لعريفته ان ردو الخالف العريفه واصحابه الخمسة والابو
ورجعوا الخالف لعريفته بما يحكم به عليه والا ثم جعلهم السلطان وعاهدوا
الخمس المذكورين وشكروا وتخلوا للسلطان انهم حافة وحده وينبذون الخنايب
وفن الايون يصيرون عضد واحد هذا ما تقرر بحضورهم ورضاهم والتزموا
بوفاء جرمه ذلك والله رقيب الشره بلاناً ما ذكره الله سبحانه وتعالى
وامبارك بالخير بالظفر ودهم عبيد دويل وسالم احمد عبيد بخضر المقدم مسير ١٣٥٧ بخضر
رئيسه يوم ٢٧ ظفر ١٣٥٧

1 - الحمد لله وتاريخ ٢٧ ظفر ١٣٥٧

2 - حضر ولدي السلطان علي بن المنصور بن غالب اهل حافة مدوده الجميع من كل خمس

3 - وبعد ما فحص ما معهم السلطان الجميع ردهم حافة وحده عضو ما فيه مفصل

- 4 - وجعل على كل خمس عريفه وهم الاتي اسماهم. وجعل ابو على الحافه الجميع طابله
 5 - سعيد بن احمد بخضر والعرايف على الاخماس وهما
 6 - مقدم بن سالم بن هيام على آل مقدم وآل با جبير
 7 - وناصر بن سالم با لراشد على آل راشد
 8 - وامبارك بلغيث على آل با مطرف
 9 - وسالم بن احمد بخضر على آل بخضر
 10 - واحمد عبيد دوبل على آل دوبل وآل مدرمح وآل عبيد له
 11 - هؤلاء الخمسه المذكورين كلاً عليه تفقد اصحابه ومسؤوليتهم عند
 12 - السلطان. والسلطان ملتزم لأبو الخمس بتأديب كل من خالف من اصحابه
 13 - وذلك بعد تقرير الخلافه من عرايف الخمسه الاخماس فاعن افترقوا
 14 - مثلاً ثلاثه بجانب واثنين بجانب فالمرجع قول الفرقة الذي يؤيدها
 15 - لبو سعيد بن احمد بخضر والتزموا المذكورين على انفسهم ابو الحافه والعرايف
 16 - ان تكون كلمتهم وحده وينظرون عيالمهم الجميع بالسويه وكل من خالف
 17 - منهم أمره لعريفته ان رد والمخالف العريفه واصحابه الخمسه والابو
 18 - ورجعو المخالف لعريفته بما يحكم به عليه والا فمرجعهم الى السلطان وعاهد والله
 19 - الخمسه المذكورين وشلو وتحملو للسلطان انهم حافه وحده وينبذون الحقايد
 20 - ومن الاعن يصيرون عضد واحد هذا ما تقرر بحضورهم ورضاهم والتزموا
 21 - بوفاه جرى ذلك والله رقيب التزموا بوفاه ما ذكر مقدم بن سالم وناصر بن سالم برأشد
 22 - وامبارك بلغيث با مطرف واحمد عبيد دوبل وسالم احمد عبيد بخضر والمقدم سعيد بن احمد بخضر
 23 - وكتب بامرهم عبود علي بن مدرمح

1. Praise be to God, dated 27 Zafar 1357.
2. People from all five units (*kbums*) of the quarter (*ḥāfa*) of Madūda gathered together in the presence of the Sultan ‘Alī b. al-Manṣūr b. Ghālib
3. and after all of them had explained their matters [cf. IV 28] to the Sultan he reinstated the unity of their *ḥāfa* as a whole entity without divisions.
4. He appointed foremen for each *kbums*, and their names are given [below], and he appointed a head (*abū*) of the quarter as a united entity (*tāʿīla*),
5. Saʿīd b. Aḥmad Bakhḍar, and the foremen for each *kbums* (*aklbmas*) who are:
6. Muqaddam b. Sālīm b. Humām for the Āl Muqaddam and Āl Bā Jubayr,
7. and Naṣīr b. Sālīm Bā l-Rāshid for the Āl Rāshid,
8. and Umbārak Bilghayth for the Āl Bā Maṭraf,
9. and Sālīm b. Aḥmad Bakhḍar for the Āl Bakhḍar

10. and Aḥmad ʿUbayd Dūbil for the Āl Dūbil and Āl Mudarmaḥ and Āl ʿUbaydilāh.
11. For these five mentioned people their duty is the inspection of members of their community and the responsibility for them is with
12. the Sultan. The Sultan commits the heads of units (*abū l-khums*) to impose punishment on the dissident members of the community.
13. And this [comes] after the settlement of disagreements between the five foremen of the units (*akbmās*), and if they are divided
14. for example three on one side and two on the other, so the final decision is made according to the report of the group confirmed by
15. the head (*abū*) Saʿīd b. Aḥmad Bakhḍar. The mentioned persons, the head of the *ḥāfa* and the foremen, oblige themselves
16. to come to a mutual opinion and to regard their dependents equally. And everybody
17. whose case contradicts [that of] his foreman, the foreman, the five heads and *abū* have to respond to the transgressor
18. and then send him back to his foreman to judge him. If not, the authoritative decision is with the Sultan, and he made [makes] a formal agreement.
19. The five mentioned persons swore an oath (*shalla*) and assured the Sultan that their quarter (*ḥāfa*) is united and they reject hatred,
20. and from now on will support each other. That is what was decided in their presence and with their consent, and they are obliged
21. to exercise it faithfully, and God is the Observer. They, i.e. both sides, are obliged to fulfil what is mentioned. [Signatures] Muqaddam b. Sālim, Nāṣir b. Sālim Barāshid,
22. Umbārak Bilghayth Bā Maṭraf, Aḥmad ʿUbayd Dūbil, Sālim Aḥmad ʿUbayd Bakhḍar and the leader (*muqaddam*) Saʿīd b. Aḥmad Bakhḍar.
23. ʿAbbūd ʿAlī Bin Mudarmaḥ has written it on their behalf.

IV 30 - 1 Rabi' al-Awwal 1357/[1938]



١٤٦
 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 الحمد لله الذي تفضل وتكرم وحب بالجوهر
 وانعم وصى الله على حبيبه الاكرم ذو المقام الأرفع
 وعلى اله وصحبه وسالكي نهجه الاقوم وعلى السلاطين
 الكرام عاليين الدوله علي بن منصور بن غالب بن عبد الله
 تواجبه جعفر بن اولادهم حفظهم الله من اجلهم ايديهم وعيانتهم
 السلام صدر من المشهور المشير والعهود السواله اعني
 موطن الدنيا واعلامكم باننا لكم داعين منكم ذا كرمه وكرمكم
 وعقبت وحنن وانسواكم العيال من عدن يا حيا و
 هلا ورحنا ووصيلهم الى الوطن نعد عظيمه بحسب
 علينا نوعليكم اشكرها ونشكرها ونشكرها ونشكرها
 وهذا بيد اخوه المعلن تازنك بالهدية ١٣ ربيع الاول
 عس يقعكم تشرفون الجموع بانفوسكم بوالديها الدعوات
 والسلام عليكم وعلى الامراء المحبين وعلى واحد انهم من موطن
 العيال انه السلام على يوم الاحد غرة ربيع الاول ١٣٥٧
 في كذا في كذا الذي كذا المنصب
 محمد بن احمد بن حسين
 زهارة العفان

ادراكها على ان سلطانها
 على الامم الكرام والاقوام
 كرمها على الامم الكرام
 كرمها على الامم الكرام
 كرمها على الامم الكرام

- 1 - بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي تفضل وتكرم وحب بالجوهر
- 2 - وانعم وصى الله على حبيبه الاكرم ذو المقام الأرفع
- 3 - وعلى اله وصحبه وسالكي نهجه الاقوم وعلى السلاطين
- 4 - الكرام عاليين الدوله علي بن منصور بن غالب بن عبد الله

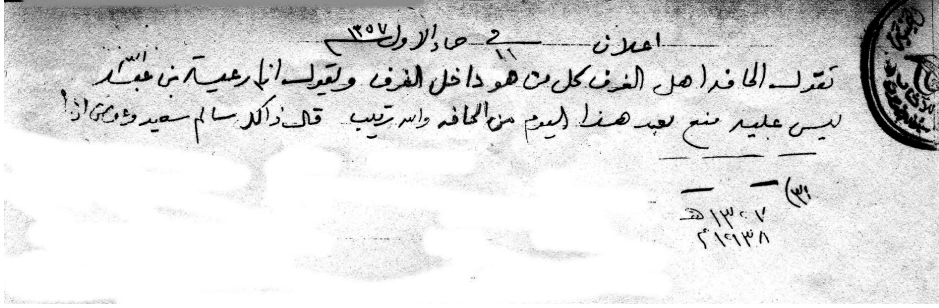
- 5 - واخيه جعفر واولادهم حفظهم الله وجلهم امين وعليهم
- 6 - السلام صدر من المشهد لتجديد العهد والسوال عنكم
- 7 - وطلب للدعا واعلامكم بانا لكم داعون وبكم ذاكرون في كل
- 8 - وقت وحين وانسوكم العيال من عدن يا حيا و
- 9 - سهلا ومرحبا ووصولهم الى الوطن نعمه عظيمه يجب
- 10 - علينا وعليكم شكرها وبشرها ونشرها الحمد لله على ذلك
- 11 - وهذا بيد الخويدم المعلن بالزياره بالمشهد في ١٢ ربيع الاول
- 12 - عسى يقع لكم تشرفون المجمع با نفرح بكم والدعا والدعا وصيتكم
- 13 - والسلام عليكم وعلى الاولاد الحسين بن علي واخوانهم منا ومن
- 14 - العيال اتم السلام حرر يوم الاحد غرة شهر ربيع الاول سنه ١٣٥٧
- 15 - طالب الدعا منكم الداعي لكم المنصب محبكم المخلص احمد بن حسين
- 16 - بن هارون العطاس
- 17 - والسلطان علي بن صلاح له ايام عندنا
- 18 - بالمشهد والهجرين والقزّه اخذ
- 19 - ثمان ٨ ايام وحال الخط رجح
- 20 - وانبسطنا به غايه وسلمو لنا
- 21 - على الاخوان ابو بكر بن شيخ
- 22 - الكاف واخوانه
- 23 - اتم السلام والسلام
- 24 - على الاخ جعفر بن صالح
- 25 - بن مطلق اتم السلام

1. In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful. Praise be to God who is kind and generous and answers with open-handedness
2. and bestows favours. God bless His most noble Beloved¹⁶ who possesses the greatest position
3. and His family, and His companions, and followers of His righteous path, and the Sultans,
4. the noble, of high dynasty, 'Alī b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib b. 'Abdallāh

¹⁶ The Prophet Muḥammad.

5. and his brother Jaʿfar, and their sons, may God preserve them and dignify them. Amen. And
6. peace be upon them! It [the letter] comes from al-Mashhad in order to renew the agreement, and [to ask] you a question [about your health],
7. and seek the invocation [of God], and to let you know that we are inviting you and remembering you all
8. the time and in every moment. And enjoy the company of your children who have come from Aden. Live long
9. and welcome! Their arrival in the homeland is a great blessing. It is necessary
10. for us and for you to be thankful for it and to announce this good news and to propagate it. Praise be to God for that.
11. This [letter] is handed by our humble servant who has been informed about the pilgrimage to al-Mashhad on 12 Rabīʿ al-Awwal.
12. Perhaps it may happen that you will honour the point of union [i.e. pilgrimage] by your presence, so you will make us delighted. [That is our] plea, the plea for your instruction [i.e. letter]
13. and peace upon you and upon your sons, al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and his brothers; from us and from
14. my children [go invocations of] complete peace! Written on Sunday, the beginning of the month Rabīʿ al-Awwal of the year 1357 H.
15. The seeker of [God's] invocation from you, he who invites you, the *manṣab* who loves you sincerely, Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn
16. b. Hārūn al-ʿAṭṭās,
17. and Sultan ʿAlī b. Ṣalāḥ has been with us for several days,
18. in al-Mashhad, al-Hajarayn and al-Quzah,
19. for eight days, and just at the moment of the writing [of this letter] he went back,
20. and we were extremely delighted with his [intention]. Give our best wishes
21. to the brothers, Abū Bakr Bin Shaykh
22. al-Kāf and his brothers,
23. the best of regards [literally: peace]. And regards
24. to brother Jaʿfar b. Ṣāliḥ
25. b. Muṭṭlaq, the best of regards.


IV 31 – 11 Jumādā l-Ūlā 1357/[1938]



- 1 - إعلان في ١١ جاد الاول سنة ١٣٥٧
- 2 - تقول الحافه اهل الغرف كل من هو داخل الغرف ويقول انا رعية بن عبد الله
- 3 - ليس عليه منع بعد هذا اليوم من الحافه والله رقيب قال ذلك سالم سعيد وعوض ابنه با دباه [?]

1. Manifest (*ʿlān*) from 11 Jumād al-Awwal [sic!] 1357
2. [which] declares to the people of the quarter (*ḥāfa*) of al-Ghuraf that everyone who belongs to al-Ghuraf and acknowledges that he is a subject of Bin ʿAbdallāh [ʿĀl Kathīr]
3. is from this day on no longer bound by the ban [on participating in the ibex hunt?] of the quarter (*ḥāfa*). And God is the Observer. This is said by Sālim Saʿīd and his son ʿAwaḍ [...] Bā Dubbāh [?].

IV 32 - 11 [?] Jumādā l-Ākhira 1357/[1938]



١٣٥٧
١٩٣٨

الشيخ
البرهان و هو من تلامذة العلامة المشرف السلطان الفاضل علي بن منصور بن غالب الكثيري حفظه
الله و صدرت من بلد مدوده ما احداث نرجوكم بعافيه كما نحن كذلك موجه نعلمك من طرف با نحن (17)
و طلبو نحننا بسمرو مروضين الى سيون مضو الخميس ومعنا مدخل و با نروح من مدوده الى
سيون والمشايخ اعترضوا دلال ومنعواكم من الفقيه او طباله حق الحافيه الشيخ ياسين بن عبد الكبير
والشيخ عبد القادر بن علي ال با حميد الفخيزيين ال نادر وال فرج حيينا اعلام لك مرادنا بالجواب حال
برخصت العده والسلام طالبو الدعا منك سعيد بن احمد بخضر وكافت الجماعه
حرر ١١ من جاد اخر سنه ١٣٥٧

- 1 - الحمد لله وحده حضره جناب المكرم المحترم السلطان الفاضل علي بن منصور بن غالب الكثيري حفظه الله امين السلام التام عليكم ورحمه الله وبركاته
- 2 - صدرت من بلد مدوده ما احداث نرجوكم بعافيه كما نحن كذلك موجه نعلمك من طرف با نحن (17) سيدنا نحننا و ال الحوطه
- 3 - وطلبو نحننا بسمرو مروضين الى سيون مضو الخميس ومعنا مدخل و با نروح من مدوده الى
- 4 - سيون والمشايخ اعترضوا دلال ومنعواكم من الفقيه او طباله حق الحافيه الشيخ ياسين بن عبد الكبير (الكريم؟)
- 5 - والشيخ عبد القادر بن علي ال با حميد الفخيزيين ال نادر وال فرج حيينا اعلام لك مرادنا بالجواب حال
- 6 - برخصت العده والسلام طالبو الدعا منك سعيد بن احمد بخضر وكافت الجماعه
- 7 - حرر ١١ من جاد اخر سنه ١٣٥٧

1. Praise be to God alone! To His Excellency the noble, respected and distinguished Sultan ‘Alī b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālīb al-Kathīrī,¹⁸ may God protect him, amen! May perfect peace be upon you, the mercy of God and His blessings!
2. This letter is sent from the village of Madūda. There is no [bad] news. We wish you as good health as we ourselves shall acquire. The purpose of it [the letter] is to inform you from our side about what has happened between us and Al al-Ḥawṭa.

¹⁷ *bā inḥan* locally means ‘from our side’ (according to the informant ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Ja‘far Bin ‘Aqīl).

¹⁸ al-Kathīrī written above the line.

3. We asked for the evening party (*samar*), or the *maḍarwa*-procession on Thursday, to come to Say'ūn for the *maḍarwa* on Thursday, which means the enter (*madkhal*) in order to march from Madūda to
4. Say'ūn. But the *mashāyikh* obstructed the way of the *dalal* and forbade them to beat [the drums] or to drum (*ṭibāla*) at the border of the quarter of the *shaykh* Yāsīn b. 'Abd al-Kabīr [al-Karīm?]
5. and the *shaykh* 'Abd al-Qādir b. 'Alī from Āl Bā Ḥumayd, two sections [of it], Āl Nādir and Āl Faraj. We want to notify you [of that] and ask for your answer without delay
6. for permission to perform the 'idda-dances. Greetings! Asking the invocation of God from you, Sa'īd b. Aḥmad Bakhḍar and all his companions (*jamā'a*).
7. Composed on 11 Jumād Ākhir [sic!] of the year 1357.

IV 34 - 9 Ramaḍān 1357/[1938]



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١٣٥٧ هـ
٢ ١٩ ٣٨

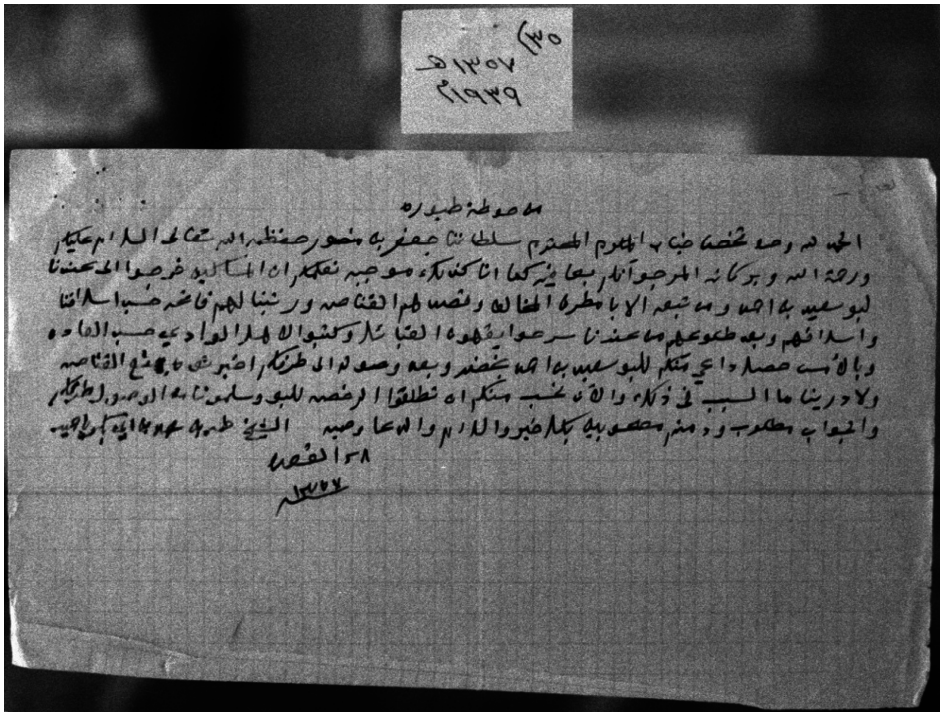
الحمد لله حضرته محترم المقام السلطان المعان جعفر بن منصور بن عثمان
بعد السلام الرجا دوام صحتكم والموجب نعلمكم اننا العام الماضي كتبنا للسلطان
المرحوم علي طلبنا منه يبطل المصرة حق البنات في رمضان فارسل خبير بذلك ومنع
حضور النساء لتزايح البنات لما في ذلك من اختلاط النساء بالرجال في شهر الغفران
والان كمين مره فقيره مالها العشاء تتكلف مصره لبناتها يستغفرن اربعة قروش
او اكثر لاجل بغت كما الناس - ودارها خالي من الطعام - فالرجا ان ترحموا الأراامل
من العوايد الخبيثه - وان يمكن تطرحون اعلان في مخزن السبايا أحسن - وان شاء الله
نحب نقوم في تبطول العوايد الكبيره وبغينا مساعدتكم ولكن بعد رمضان بحول الله هذا ودمتم في نعيم
الله
مصدر صورة اعلان ان قابل عندكم أمضو عليه والعفو منكم ان تجربنا عليكم والسلام
٩ رمضان ١٣٥٧
محمد شيخ المساوي

- 1 - الحمد لله حضرته محترم المقام السلطان المعان جعفر بن منصور بن غالب حفظ الله
- 2 - بعد السلام الرجا دوام صحتكم والموجب نعلمكم اننا العام الماضي كتبنا للسلطان
- 3 - المرحوم علي طلبنا منه يبطل المصرة حق البنات في رمضان فارسل خبير بذلك ومنع
- 4 - حضور النساء لتزايح البنات لما في ذلك من اختلاط النساء بالرجال في شهر الغفران
- 5 - والان كمين مره فقيره مالها العشاء تتكلف مصره لبناتها يستغفرن اربعة قروش
- 6 - او اكثر لاجل بغت كما الناس ودارها خالي من الطعام - فالرجا ان ترحموا الأراامل
- 7 - من العوايد الخبيثه - وان يمكن تطرحون اعلان في مخزن السبايا أحسن - وان شاء الله
- 8 - نحب نقوم في تبطول العوايد الكبيره وبغينا مساعدتكم ولكن بعد رمضان بحول الله هذا ودمتم في نعيم
- 9 - والسلام
- 10 - محمد شيخ المساوي في ٩ رمضان ١٣٥٧ - محمد شيخ المساوي
- 11 - وصدر صورة اعلان ان قابل عندكم أمضو عليه والعفو منكم ان تجربنا عليكم والسلام
- 12 - محمد شيخ المساوي

1. Praise be to God, His Excellence, His Dignity Sultan Ja‘far b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib, may God protect him,
2. after the salutation: we hope that your health will be permanent, and we want to inform you that last year we have written to the late Sultan
3. ‘Alī, and have asked him to abolish the girls’ *maṣarra*-custom during Ramadan. He then sent a message about this concern and prohibited
4. the women’s participation in the girls’ *tarāzīḥ*-performances because of the mixing of women and men in the month of forgiveness.
5. And now how many women short of means for their subsistence have to bear the costs of the pouches (*maṣarra*) for their daughters which absorb four *qirshs*
6. or more because they want [to live] as [other] people do, while their houses are devoid of food – therefore we ask [you] to have mercy upon the widows
7. concerning the malicious customs – and if possible you better send a manifest (*ī‘lān*) to the *Makbzan al-sabāyā*¹⁹ – God willing.
8. We would like to take care of the abolition of the significant customs and ask for your help, but after Ramadan, by God’s power, and may you continue in happiness
9. and well-being.
10. Muḥammad Shaykh al-Musāwā on 9 Ramadan 1357 – Muḥammad Shaykh al-Musāwā [signature]
11. He issued a copy of this manifest. If you accept it, please sign it. We ask your pardon if we impose it on you. And salute.
12. Muḥammad Shaykh al-Musāwā [signature].

¹⁹ A food shop in Say’ūn.

IV 35 - 28 Dhū l-Qa'da 1357/[1939]



- 1 - من حوطة طيوره
- 2 - الحمد لله وحده تخص جناب المكرم السلطاننا جعفر بن منصور حفظه الله تعالى السلام عليكم
- 3 - ورحمة الله وبركاته المرجو أنكم بعافيه كما انا كذلك موجبه نعلمكم ان المساكين خرجوا الى عندنا
- 4 - ليو سعيد بن احمد ومن تبعه الا با مطرف المخالف وقصدهم القناصه ورتبنا لهم فاتحه حسب اسلافنا
- 5 - واسلافهم وبعد طلوعهم من عندنا سرحوا بقهوه القبائل وكتبوا لاهل الوادي حسب العاده
- 6 - وبالأمس حصل داعي منكم ليو سعيد بن احمد بخضر وبعد وصوله الى طرفكم اخبرتوه بمنع القناصه
- 7 - ولا درينا ما السبب في ذلك والآن نحب منكم ان تطلقوا الرخصه للبو وسلمونا من الوصول طرفكم
- 8 - والجواب مطلوب ودمتم مصحوبين بكل خير والسلام والدعا وصيه الشيخ طه بن محمد بن ابي بكر باحميد
- 9 - ٢٨ القعدة سنه ١٣٥٧

1. From Ḥawṭat Ṭuyūra
2. Praise be to God alone. To our distinguished noble and respected Sultan Jaʿfar b. Maṣṣūr, may the Sublime God protect him, peace be upon you
3. and the mercy of God and His blessings. I hope you enjoy well-being as I do. The purpose of this [message] is to inform you that the *masākīn* came to us,
4. [to] *Labū* Saʿīd b. Aḥmad and those who follow him except Bā Maṭraf, the opponent, and their purpose is the [ibex] hunt (*qanāṣa*) and we arranged for them [the recitation of] the *fātiḥa* according to our ancestors
5. and their ancestors. After their departure coffee (*qabrwa*) was sent to the tribes and [a message] was written to the inhabitants of the wadi according to the custom.
6. And yesterday a messenger has come from you to *Labū* Saʿīd b. Aḥmad Bakhḍar and after his arrival at your side, you informed him about the prohibition of the ibex hunt.
7. And we do not know his reason for that, and now we would like you to grant the permission to the *Labū* so that there will be no need for us to come to you.
8. An answer is demanded – let well-being always accompany you as well as peace and invocation. By order of *shaykh* Ṭāhā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Bā Ḥumayd,
9. 28 al-Qaʿda 1357.

IV 36 - 1 Dhū l-Hijja 1357/[1939]

١٣٦١
١٩٣٩

مفتشور العوايد

المحرم وهو المستعان - وبعد فهذا ما رأى مجلس الإصلاح الوطني بسبب إبطاله من العوايد التي أضرت بأحوال البلاد والعباد - وذلك بعد النقص التام ومشاورة أهل الرأي والنفوذ إلى أن حصل الاتفاق على أن هذا هو الأليق بحال الناس الحاضرة والأرفق بهم كافة

(١) الحلي جميعه ممنوع إلا مرتبة واحد - وزلي - ومطل ليس واحد - وسوط

وكرايو - وخواتيم - وحزمه بشرط أن لا يكون في شيء من الحزم ذهب أو فميس

بل فضه خلاصه

(٢) الكرهب ممنوع إلا حبوس اليمين ليس واحد - وفي شك الرأي ولا يمكن

إدخال ذهب أو فميس في شك الرأي

(٣) تلبس ثياب الحرير بجميع أنواعه ولو تشبهه ممنوع في جميع المجالس إلا في أيام

الزواج الغنيمه والصبحة والظله - والأللعروس في أيام زواجها وبعد ها

إلى يوم خطرتها الأولى - وللرأة أن تلبس في بيتها ما شاءت إذا لم تحضرا امرأة

من خارج الدار

(٤) الرهدية بانواعها من روس قبع وحلوا وبيض وغير ذلك ممنوعه مطلقا

(٥) الخطره ممنوعه إلا للزوج وزوجته وأب وام وجد وجد وأخ واخت

وعم وعمه وخال وخاله وزوج اخت وزوجة أخ وما ضم بيت الزوج

(٦) عشا الصجد وغدا الظله وعشاها مثل الخطره فكل من رخص في عزامه

هناك يرخص في عزامه هنا

(٧) تجمير العروس بعنة الشاي والكرهبان ممنوع

(٨) يرخص للعروس استعمال الحبل وغيره من أنواع الحلي في أيام زواجها

إلى خطرتها الأولى

(١٦/٢)

- صَفِيحَةٌ تَابِعَ لِنَشْرِوَالغَاءِ الْعَوَائِدِ
- (٩) استعمال الشب فوق الحنا ممنوع إلا للعروس في أيام زواجها وخطرتها ينبغي
- (١٠) غدا الولاد و الوفاء لغير الزوج ممنوع وكذا إرسال العصيد واللحم لأهل
- الزوج ممنوع
- (١١) إرسال أهل الزوج اللحم للزوج في الأعياد ممنوع
- (١٢) جميع الصنفه للعروس في الرفوف والجدران من فليسات وأوعية ازهار
- ومناظر ممنوعه ما عدا قلاسات الشرب
- (١٣) تقديم الثياب هديه من الحالات في أيام الزواج لزواج البنت والعروس ممنوع
- (١٤) القهوة التي تعتاد النساء حملها في الدري ممنوعه في كل وقت
- (١٥) اظهار ثياب العروس وامتعتها للنساء في أيام الزواج ممنوع
- (١٦) جميع مؤن الزوج من ثياب وغيرها من كل ما تحتاج إليه على زوجها ليس
- بشيء لها شئ
- (١٧) كل ما يقرر في هذا المنشور فهو عام على النساء والبنات
- (١٨) يعتبر هذا المنشور نافذا يلزم العمل به بمصادرة السلطان جعفر بن منصور ورضائه عليه
- (١٩) يتبدى تطييف مقررات هذا المنشور من عمره شهر محرم القاد ١٣٥٨

حرر فاتحة شهر المحرم ١٣٥٧ هـ
محمد بن عبد الوهاب

[1]

- 1 - منشور الغاء العوايد
- 2 - الحمد لله وهو المستعان - وبعد فهذا ما رأى مجلس الاصلاح الوطني بسيون إبطاله
- 3 - من العوايد التي أضرت بأحوال البلاد والعباد وذلك بعد الفحص التام ومشاوره
- 4 - اهل الراي والنفوذ الى ان حصل الاتفاق على ان هذا هو الاديق بحال الناس الحاضره
- 5 - والأرفق بهم كافه
- 6 - (١) الحلبي جميعه ممنوعه إلا مرية واحده - وراعي ومطل لبس واحد ومموط
- 7 - وكرايو وخواتيم وحزمه [end of the line crossed out]
- 8 - [crossed out]

- 9 - (٢) الكرهب ممنوع إلا حبوس اليبدين لبس واحد - وفي شك الراعي ولا يمكن
 10 - ادخال ذهب أو غمس في شك الراعي
 11 - (٣) لبس ثياب الحرير بجميع انواعه ولو شديته ممنوع في جميع الملابس إلا في أيام
 12 - الزواج الغسه والصبحة والظله - وإلا للعروس في أيام زواجها وبعدها
 13 - الى يوم خطبتها الأولى - وللمرأة ان تلبس في بيتها ما شاءت اذا لم تحضر امرأة
 14 - من خارج الدار
 15 - (٤) الهدية بانواعها من روس قبع وحلوا وبيض وغير ذلك ممنوعة مطلقا
 16 - (٥) الخطره ممنوعه الا للزوج وزوجته وأب وام وجد وجده واخ واخت
 17 - وعم وعمه وخال وخاله وزوج اخت وزوجة اخ وما ضمه بيت الزوج
 18 - (٦) عشا الصبحه وغدا الظله وعشاها مثل الخطره فكل من رخص في عزامه
 19 - هناك يرخص في عزامه هنا
 20 - (٧) تجهيز العروس بعدة الشاهي والكهربان ممنوع
 21 - (٨) يرخص للعروس استعمال الحمل وغيره من انواع الحلبي في أيام زواجها
 22 - الى خطبتها [الأولى crossed out]

[2]

- 1 - صفحة ٢ - تابع لمنشور الغاء العوايد
 2 - (٩) استعمال الشب فوق الحنا ممنوع إلا للعروس في أيام زواجها وخطبتها
 3 - (١٠) غدا الولاده والوفاء لغير الزوج ممنوع وكذا ارسال العصيد واللحم لأهل
 4 - الزوج ممنوع
 5 - (١١) ارسال أهل الزوجه اللحم للزوج في الاعياد ممنوع
 6 - (١٢) جميع الصفه للعروس في الرفوف والجدران من فليسات وأوعية ازهار
 7 - ومناظر ممنوعه ما عدا فلاسات الشرب
 8 - (١٣) تقديم الثياب هديه من الخالات في أيام الزواج لزوج البنت او للعروس ممنوع
 9 - (١٤) القهوه التي تعتاد النساء حملها في الدرعي ممنوعه في كل وقت
 10 - (١٥) اظهار ثياب العروس وامتعها للنساء في أيام الزواج ممنوع
 11 - (١٦) جميع مؤن الزوجه من ثياب وغيرها من كل ما تحتاج اليه على زوجها ليس
 12 - على أهلها شي
 13 - (١٧) كل ما تقرر في هذا المنشور فهو عام على النساء والبنات

(١٨) - 14 يعتبر هذا المنشور نافذاً يلزم العمل به بمصادقة السلطان جعفر بن منصور وامضائه عليه

(١٩) - 15 يتبدي تطبيق مقررات هذا المنشور من غرة شهر محرم القادم سنة ١٣٥٨

16 - حرر فاتحة شهر الحجة سنة ١٣٥٧

17 - صحيح جعفر بن منصور بن غالب

[page 1]

1. Ordinance (*mansbūr*) on the abrogation of customs.
2. Praise be to God and His help we seek – now then: the National Reform Council (Majlis al-Iṣlāḥ) in Sayḡūn decided to abolish
3. the following customs, which are harmful to the state of the country and of its inhabitants (*‘ibād*). This [was decided] after thorough investigations and consultations
4. with the people of judgement and authority. It led to the agreement that the following is the most suitable for the present population
5. and the most considerate towards them all.
6. (1) All kinds of jewellery are prohibited – except for one necklace (*murriyya*), a small charm (*rā‘ī*), one pair (*libs*) of bracelets (*maṭall*), an anklet (*sumūṭ*)
7. and earrings (*krābū*), rings with stones (*kbawātīm*) and a belt (*hizma*) [rest crossed out].
8. [crossed out]
9. (2) Amber (*karhab*) is prohibited except [in] one pair (*libs*) of bracelets (*ḥubūs*) for both hands and in the necklace (*shakk al-rā‘ī*). It is unthinkable,
10. to insert gold or gilding (*ghams*) in the necklace (*shakk al-rā‘ī*).
11. (3) Wearing all kinds of silk clothes (*ḥarīr*), even if it is printed calico (*shīta*) is prohibited in all garments except on the
12. wedding days *ghussa*, *ṣubḥa* and *zilla* – and except the bride on her wedding days and afterwards
13. until the day of her first visit (*kbāṭra*) – the woman can wear in her house whatever she wants, if no woman is present
14. [who is] from outside the house.
15. (4) Gifts of all kinds whether a sugar loaf (*rūs qub’*), sweets, eggs and others are strictly prohibited.
16. (5) The visit (*kbāṭra*) is prohibited except for the husband and his wife, the father and the mother, the grandfather and the grandmother, the brother and the sister,
17. the paternal uncle and aunt and the maternal uncle and aunt, the brother-in-law and the sister-in-law and all those belonging to the husband’s household.

18. (6) Dinner at *ṣubḥa*-day and lunch and dinner at *ẓilla*-day are like the *khaṭra*-day: all who are allowed to be invited
19. there are allowed to be invited here as well.
20. (7) To equip the bride with a tea set (*ʿiddat al-shābī*) and a kerosene lamp (*karḥabān*) is prohibited.
21. (8) The bride is allowed to wear a wig (*ḥaml*) and other kinds of jewellery during her wedding days
22. until her [crossed out: first] visit (*khaṭra*).

[page 2]

1. page 2: continuation of the Ordinance on the abrogation of customs
2. (9) The use of a mixture of ammonium- and natriumchloride (*shabb*) on henna (*ḥinnā*) is prohibited except for the bride during her wedding days and the visit (*khaṭra*).
3. (10) Lunch [after] birth (*wilāda*) and *wufāʿ* is prohibited for anyone other than the husband, it is also prohibited to send the porridge (*ʿaṣīd*) and meat
4. to the parents of the husband.
5. (11) It is prohibited for the wife's family, to send meat to the husband during the feast days.
6. (12) It is prohibited for the bride to display (*ṣaffā*) on shelves and on the walls all kinds of vessels (*fīṣāt*) and receptacles for flowers
7. and mirrors (*manāẓir*) with the exception of cups (*qalāsāt al-shurb*).
8. (13) The offering of clothes as gifts by the maternal aunts to the groom and the bride during the wedding days is prohibited.
9. (14) The coffee (*qabwa*), which the women usually bring in the palm vessel (*darī*), is prohibited at any time.
10. (15) The exhibition of the bride's clothes and her [household] belongings (*amtiʿa*) during the wedding days is prohibited.
11. (16) All the wedding supplies (*muʿan*) of the wife consisting of clothes and all the other things that she needs, are provided by her husband, and not
12. by her family.
13. (17) Everything that has been agreed upon in this ordinance is universally [applicable] to women and girls.
14. (18) This ordinance is in effect and obligatory due to its ratification by Sultan Jaʿfar b. Maṣṣūr and his signature on it.
15. (19) The application of this ordinance begins on the first day of the coming month of Muḥarram of the year 1358
16. written at the beginning of the month al-Ḥijja 1357.
17. 'Correct' Jaʿfar b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib.²⁰

²⁰ Written by his own hand.

- 1 - 1 - أولاً) يكون جهاز البنت اثنا عشر ريال وقرشين ملحفه وقرشين صبحه، وقرش نقاب، وقرشين بضاعة
- 2 - جملة تسعة عشر ريال ١٩ والمصباحين خمسين نفر من جانب آل العروس وان احبوه مقطوع فهو
- 3 - بخمسه وعشرين ريال ٢٥
- 4 - ٢ - ثانيا) جهاز الثيب ثمانية قروش ومصباحين خمسه وعشرين نفر وانه مقطوع اثنا عشر قرش في
- 5 - مقابل المصباحين جملة في تو جهاز الثيب وقطعان المعازيم عشرين قرش إلا أم العروس والكوبه
- 6 - تتبع العروس والمزمر والجمال يتبع المعرس في الحراوه اذا كان مقطوع
- 7 - ٣ - ثالثا) الحراوه الى عند من ما يصبح بخمسين نفر وذلك عشره نفر من حملتهم المزمر والجمال
- 8 - والحراوه قفا المزوج على الثيب اذا ما هو مقطوع خمسه نفر من حملتهم المزمر والجمال
- 9 - ٤ - رابعا) الحلي جميعه ممنوع إلا مزيه واحده وراعي ومطل لبس واحد وسموط وكرايو
- 10 - وخواتيم وحزمه إلا العروس لها تستعمل ما شاءت من الحلي أيام الزواج
- 11 - ٥ - خامساً) استعمال ثياب الحرير والناناس والحافوي ممنوع الا العروس ايام زواجها وكذا قمصان الجبهه ممنوعه
- [crossed out] - 12
- 13 - ٦ - نقش الحنا والشب ممنوع إلا للعروس ايام زواجها
- 14 - ٧ - تجهيز العروس بعدة الشاهي والكهربان وصندوق كوفر والكوتع وما تعلق به ووغن صف الجميع ممنوع الا وعن
- 15 - مطبخ او عده قهوه
- 16 - ٨ - الحظره والنقضه وقهوة الوعد والهديه ممنوعه

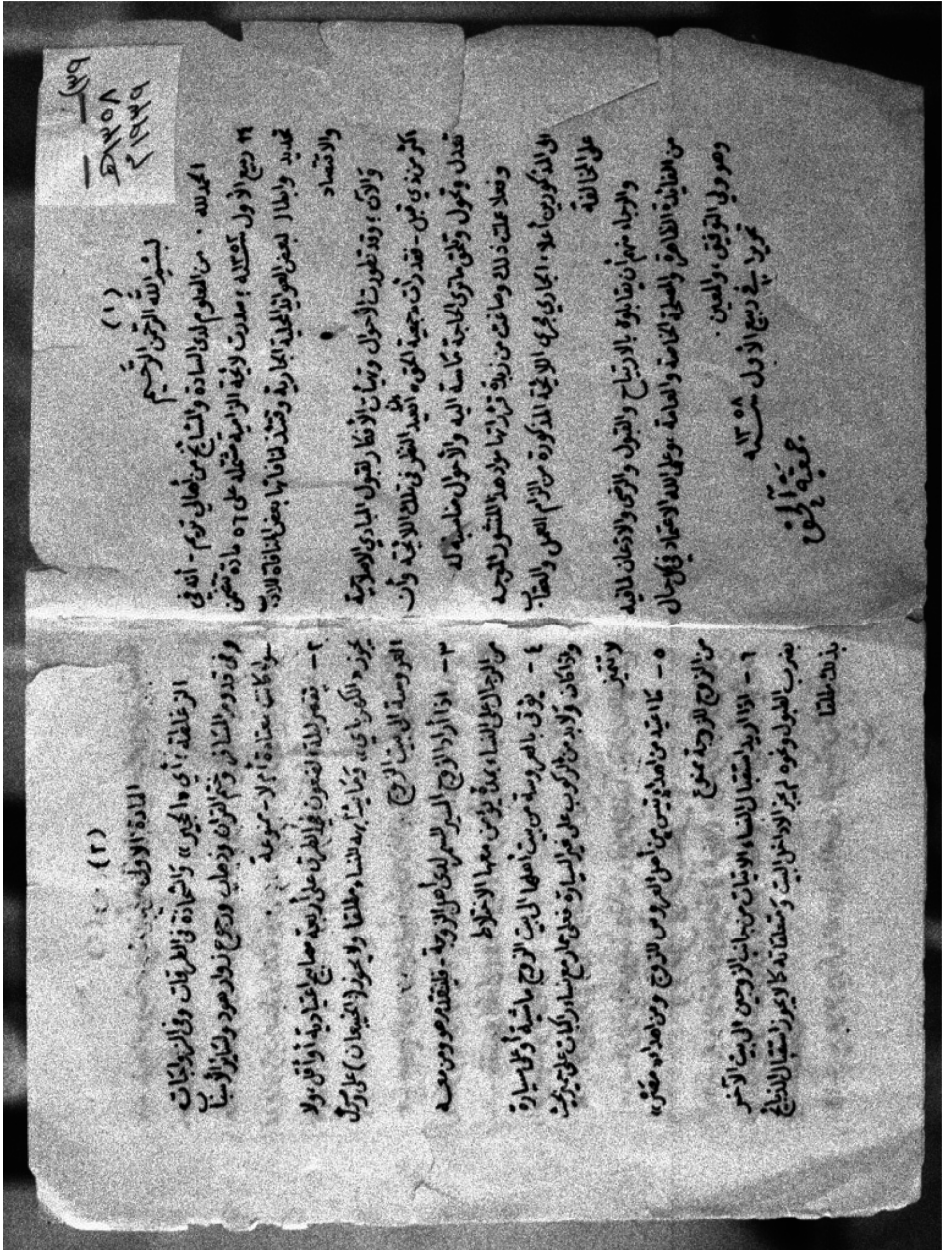
1. 1 - First: the girl's dowry (*jihāz*) should be 12 riyals and 2 *qirshs* for bedcovers (*malḥafa*) and 2 *qirshs* for the *ṣubḥa*-present and one *qirsh* for headscarfs (*niqāb*) and two *qirshs* for bath commodities (*bidā'a*),
2. all together 19 riyals. And those invited for *ṣubḥa* should number 50 persons from the bride's side, and if they want to reduce [the costs], then it should be
3. 25 riyals.
4. 2 - Second: the deflowered woman's (*thayyib*) dowry (*jihāz*) should be 8 *qirshs* and those invited for *ṣubḥa* should be 25 persons, and if reduced, it should be 12 *qirshs*
5. as an equivalent for those invited for *ṣubḥa*. The total as (*tarw*)²¹ for the deflowered woman's (*thayyib*) dowry (*jihāz*) and for the group (*qif'ān*) of invited per-

²¹ *tarw(aw)* - in front of, near, bottom, until, towards, cf. Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 54a/b.

- sons should be only 20 *qirshs* except the bride's mother and the tire-woman (*kūbara*),
6. who follows the bride and the *mizmār*-player (*muzammir*) and the camel-driver (*jammāl*), who follows the groom (*māras*) during the wedding procession (*ḥarāwa*), if the costs are reduced.
 7. 3 - Third: the wedding procession (*ḥarāwa*) – except for those who have no *ṣubḥa*-party – should have 50 persons among which should be a total of 10 *mizmār*-players and camel-drivers.
 8. The wedding procession (*ḥarāwa*) which follows the one who married a deflowered woman (*thayyib*) – when the costs are reduced – has in total five *mizmār*-players and camel-drivers.
 9. 4 - Forth: all jewellery is prohibited except a necklace (*murriyya*), a small charm (*rāṭī*), one pair (*lib*s) of bracelets (*maṭall*), an anklet (*sumūt*), earrings (*krābū*),
 10. rings with stones (*khawāṭim*), and a belt (*ḥizma*) except [for] the bride, who can use any jewellery she wants during the wedding days.²²
 11. 5 - Fifth: the wearing of dresses (*thawb*) [made of] silk (*ḥarīr*), artificial silk (*anānās*) and crêpe de chine (*ḥāfūnī*) is prohibited except [for] the bride during her wedding days, and also long outer garments (*qumṣān al-jubba*) are prohibited.
 12. [This line has been crossed out and inserted into line 11.]
 13. 6 - Body painting (*naqsh*) with henna (*ḥimmā*) and a mixture of ammonium- and natriumchloride (*shabb*) is prohibited except [for] the bride during her wedding days.
 14. 7 - Giving a tea set (*'iddat al-shābī*) to the bride as a dowry (*tajhīz*), a kerosene lamp (*karhabān*), [the end of this line has been crossed out and continued in two lines at the left margin of the document:] a metal chest (*ṣandūq kūfar*) and a chest [for cosmetics] (*karwaṭ*) and what goes with it and all vessels [*waṭn* ?] [bought] for show [only] are prohibited, except vessels
 15. for the kitchen [crossed out] or a coffee set (*'iddat qabrwa*).
 16. 8 - [cross] The visit (*khayra*), and the *naqḍa*-meal and the coffee of engagement (*qabrwaṭ al-waṭd*) and gifts are prohibited.

²² The last word has been crossed out.

IV 39 - 20 Rabi' al-Ākhir 1358/8 June 1939



١٧٩
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(١) بشيخة الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله . من العلوم اولى السادة والشايخ من حالى نونم - اذنى
 ٢٢ ربيع الاول ١٣٥٨هـ ، محدث ، لايحة الامرية مشتملة على ٥٦ مادة تتضمن
 تمهيد ، واطار لبعض الصناعات المحلية ، التجارة ، وتنشيد لثانيتها بعض المناقاة الالهية
 والاقتصاد
 والكون ، وقد تفورت اشوال وقيامها لأفكار لقبول المبادى الاسلامية
 اكثر من غيرها في زمن - قد ذكرنا جميع الحق ، الصيد الغفراني ملك الالهية ، وأرت
 تعدل ونحوه وتلقى ماقى الالهية ثمانية اليه والأشوال منسوبة له
 وفعلت ذلك وصافته من زينة قشرا تها مرارة للشتر للوجه
 الى الذكورين أعلا ، البحاري بحر ، الالهية المذكورة من الزلم العسل والسحاب
 على الخالفة
 والبراه منهم ان يابدوا بالارتياح والقبول والرحيم والايمان لاقية
 من الافاضة الاخرة ، بالحلة الخامسة والحادثة ، وعلى الله الاستعداد في حال
 وهو ولي التوفيق ، والمعين .

تحريرا في ربيع الاول ١٣٥٨هـ
عبدالله الحرف

(٢)

الذاتة الاولى
 الترغلة ، بأي ه ، الحبور ، والشهادة في الطرقات وفي الرزاقات
 وفي قدوم السانف ، وتم التزوي ونجابي ودرج زواجر حود وشايخ الراسية
 - باطانت عتادة ، أملا - ممنوعة
 ٢ - يتصور لذة لتصور في الطرقات على رغبة صابغ اشيا حوية أو اقل ، ولا
 يجوز الكبرياء ، وبما يشهد به النساء ، مطلقا ، ولا يجوز في الفيضان (على كبر
 العروسية الى بيت الزوج
 ٣ - اذا اراد الزوج السير لى على الزوجة - فليقلقه هو ومن معه
 من الزواجر على النساء ، بعد ما يؤمن معها الا يتلوظ
 ٤ - يوقى بالروسية من بيت أهلها الى بيت الزوج ماسة ، على سيارة
 وذلك ان ولاد من الزكروب على عول السياره ، على علو سائر ركبان على غير
 لا يتغير
 ٥ - كما شيد من هذا في بيت من أهل الروس الزوج ومن حاد به مقصود ،
 من الزوج الزوجة مفتح
 ٦ - اذا اراد استبا النساء ، واليات من جانب الزوجين الى بيت الآخر
 بصرب العبول ونحوه لم يزل الا من البيت ، وسفقتا ، كما لا يجوز استبا الذليج
 بذلك مطلقا

(٢٦)

- ٧- تخذ العروسه من بين النساء تقدمها الزوج احدهن من غير تسامحة بأحد من الرجال
- ٨- الوده للزوجه المسيءه بالحقا ويد، ممنوع على الزوج وبجزء لحرم الزوجين خمسة ريلات ومن غيرهم بالناقل وللزوج ان يهدي لهم الزوجه لثوبه) مالا يزيد على عشرة رايه وبلدتها خمسة ريلات
- ٩- صوت المكاف ممنوع مطلقا
- ١٠- صحب الزوج وشريكه يكون من خالص المثل، ولا يجوز (الكلن) والكويد) ونحوه تياتا، ولا يجوز خلاق القاد أيام الزواج كله
- ١١- تقسيم الكلك) والكويد) ونحوه على اصل الزوجين ونيزم منع داخل البيت وطرحه
- ١٢- لا يجوز لام الزوجه وجدها اعداء الزوج شيا من ثيابها ولا زيارتها
- ١٣- لمزاجي العروسه وشبابها ونحوها النساء، يتسرن عليه ممنوع
- ١٤- يجب الاتصاف في وليمة (المرجه) على شرفين رجالا ونساء غير الكلدانيين والسعديين وفي وليمة (الحكاه) على ثلاثين امرأة غير الكلدانيين والمسعديين
- ١٥- يد عز الزوج بكرة الدخول (الصبقه) للزوجه من شاء، وتسمى شبيهة

(١٤)

- عنه على الاقارب والجار، الترسيد اللز والغيره، ويكو رالمع فيه الصلاه) والتعجب ممنوع، وفي كبر الكنان على ارضه الزوجه نساء، ورجالا ولا يفسح امرأة فقط ويتعجب في الزوجه ليله القعد (عشاء المخرقة) من شاء، اصباح ذلك اليوم يقتصر فيه على نساء القرابه ونساء الجار القريب الدار، وله ان يهدى من الرجال عشقاً غافرا ويتولى تجهيز الطعام في قرية (الحكاه) وزوجه (الريف) وزوجه (راياييم) الصبح النساء فقط
 - ١٦- لا يجوز تسمين الكدمعيرين بنوع من الكوكلات دون البعض
 - ١٧- كل وليمة بعد الزواج تعقد وتعمو وتخلو ونحوها ممنوعه
 - ١٨- يقتصر في وليمة الزواج زيادة على الحد من خمسة عشر منزلا ممنوع النساء، والرجال ايا كانوا وفي سايزا والووليم عشق
 - ١٩- (الظله) المقاده ممنوعه تياتا
- (الولادة والحضانة والموت والسفر)**
- ٢٠- لا يجوز لأصل الولادة ان يهدى شيئا في جميع ولادتها وستسقى الولادة الاولى ويحجزون ثمن يهدى والباقي من القند الا يزيد على خمسة عشر مره
 - ٢١- وليمة الولادة الاولى تكون الاقارب والجار القريب الاثر ويتسرى في وليمة غير ولدان اريدت - عليهن في بيت اصل الوضفة ولسول وشرايع الواضفة وزوجها وانما هما وانما زوجها وتكون يوم الولادة ان

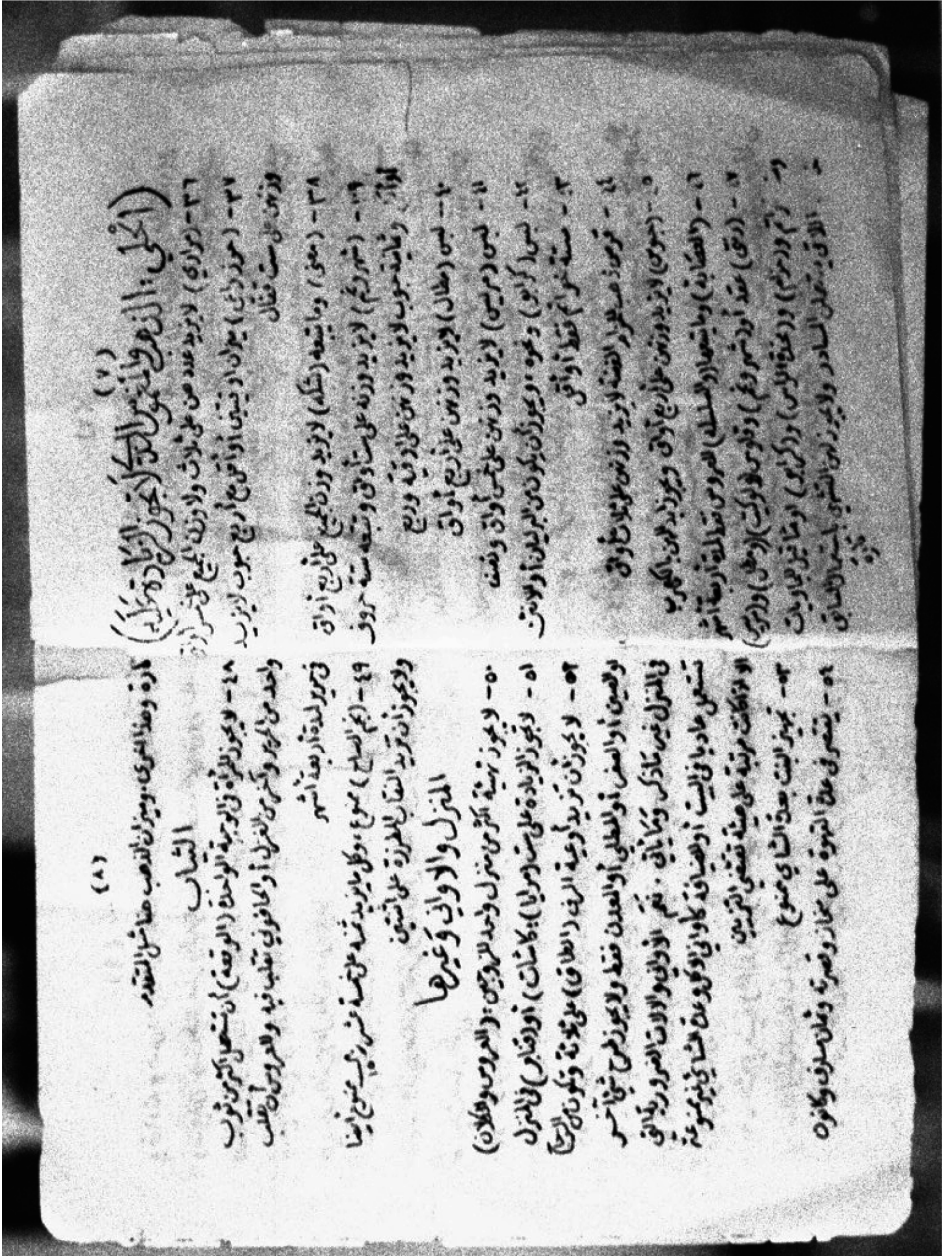
(٥)

ثالث والا فني بالاسبوع . اما لونه الوفاء فيسيرة ثباتا
 ٢٢ - يجوز تقريته المداق والتقريته نسبتا للواحدة الزوجه الا لا يترك
 عليها الشهنة في الاسبوع الاول فقط . ولا يجوز فيها مطلقا ولا يجوز
 عمل الخلفة والمهودة والشهنة مطلقا
 ٢٣ - تقرية الذرا والنسب الذهاب الى بيتها من بعد سنة من الزواج
 المقرر عليهم . امة الاسبوع . لا يولي قطبا كانهما الا ترضى . وقد وبه الى
 النادر والبلدة مئة الاسبوع الاول فقط . ولا يجوز كذا في نسوةها ابنا ولها
 بعد الاسبوع
 ٢٤ - يقتصر في وطية تدوم لسا في على الاقارب وكما لا تقرب المداق
 ٢٥ - يجب ان لا يتجاوز عدد الدخول لغيره من الثمان مائة وخمسين نفرا
 من مجموع الرجال والنساء
 ٢٦ - لا يجوز اعطاء الثمن من مال واحد كالا يجوز اعطائه شيئا من
 الشياح وأنواع الكوراث وتبويها
 ٢٧ - لا يجوز للنساء الاضباب التي يبيت لبيت يوم السبت قبل خروج الجنان
 الا الاقارب ويجوز بعد خروجها من البيت لاصل البيت (جنه) ولا يجوز
 لغيره الا في يومه الذي يبيته أهل البيت - هذا ان كان كبير . يولي
 كان لئلا يترك الاضباب الا في اقاربه فقط مئة اسبوع الوفاء

٢٥

(٦)

٢٨ - الولية للعرض بمجموعة ثباتا
 ٢٩ - (المنفل) والفقول والعصبة) والفرقة) والالكاشان) و
 (البنة) ونحوها بمجموعة في مجالس الرجال والنساء . وكذلك الهادي بيت
 القربانوت . كما يسرى القهوه . أي يغسل والسكر فانه مجموع
 ٣٠ - يجب على النساء من فاحمة سنة سنة فصاعدا . الا تصغر على بيتها
 (المورقات) و(الداويون) . و(السادور والصوليم) . والتل الذهبي بالزوجه
 جميع في الشياح والسادور والنتاب . والمجدرات وفي كل حال من الاحوال
 . وكذلك المورقات من الكهتلاب (البتش) بجميع أنواعه . بمجموعة أيضا
 بعد سنة زمان من حال اتا تزج وتكون المروسة وغيرها جميع كما ذكره
 ٣١ - الشربة : (الكسد) والعمرات بمجموعة
 ٣٢ - الوسايد (الكثاي) للصوصين يجازن ليزدن على جميع وكما ي
 وأن تكون من نزل وكما سها من نقت . وكما سلكه
 ٣٣ - يجب أن لا يزيد وزن (جدري) المروسة وغيرها على خمسين رطلا
 وأن يكون من الشيت والطقن
 ٣٤ - (المناش) المبررية بمجموعة ثباتا
 ٣٥ - مملقات الشياح (البتش) وكيس الشتر يجب أن يكون من طخن
 ولا يجوز كبريه والا اناناس ونحوها ما ليس بطين

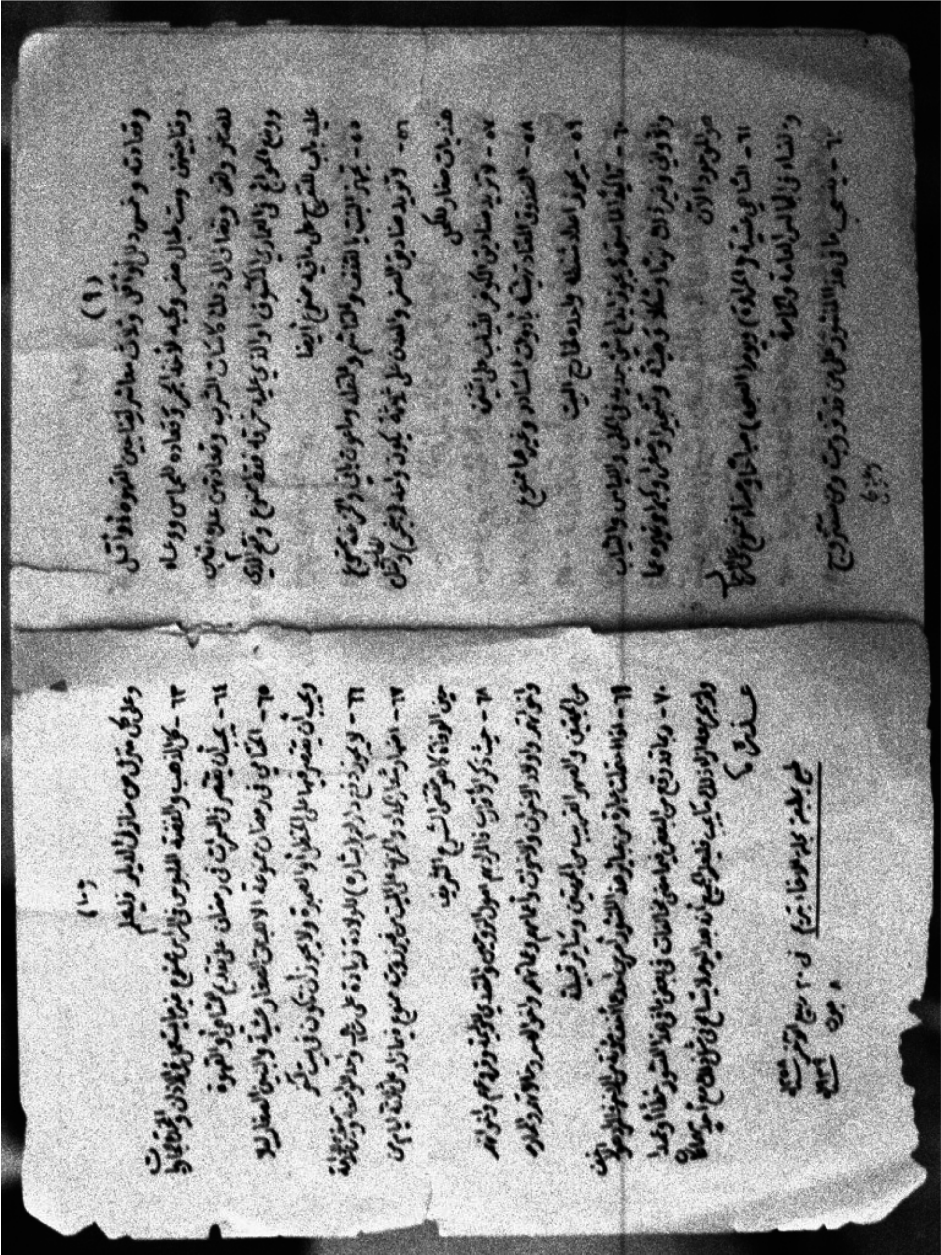


(٧) الحلى الذرى طين السلك الخبز الطاب (كرب)

- ٣٦- (مزاري) لا يزيد عدد من على ثلاث ولا وزن الجمع على عشرة
- ٣٧- (موزلاني) يوزن أو اثنين أو أقل مع أربع حبوب لا يزيد وزنها على ستة فقال
- ٣٨- (سوى) وما يتبعه (سلكه) لا يزيد وزن الجميع على أربع أواق
- ٣٩- (شوروم) لا يزيد وزنه على ست أوق وتبعه ستة حروف
- ٤٠- (مطال) لا يزيد وزنها على أربعة وربع
- ٤١- (سوس) لا يزيد وزنها على ثلث أواق
- ٤٢- (سوس) لا يزيد وزنها على ثلث أواق وتنفه
- ٤٣- (سوس) لا يزيد وزنها على ثلث أواق وتنفه
- ٤٤- (سوس) لا يزيد وزنها على ثلث أواق وتنفه
- ٤٥- (سوس) لا يزيد وزنها على ثلث أواق وتنفه
- ٤٦- (سوس) لا يزيد وزنها على ثلث أواق وتنفه
- ٤٧- (سوس) لا يزيد وزنها على ثلث أواق وتنفه
- ٤٨- (سوس) لا يزيد وزنها على ثلث أواق وتنفه
- ٤٩- (سوس) لا يزيد وزنها على ثلث أواق وتنفه
- ٥٠- (سوس) لا يزيد وزنها على ثلث أواق وتنفه

(٨) كارة وهذا الحمى، ويزن الذهب صفا مثل التقدمة

- ٤٨- لا يجوز لوزن في لوزنة الوند (الوقفة) أن تتصل أكثر من ثوب واحد من الحمى وأكثر من النمل، أو الحافوي قلب فيه والعمري قلب واحد من الحمى
- ٤٩- (نجم الصبح) موع، وكل ما يزيد منه على خمسة عشر ريب يسوع أيضا في مبر لعدة أربعة أشهر
- ٥٠- لا يجوز تهيئة أكثر من ستون لوند للوزن (العمري وولان)
- ٥١- لا يجوز الزيادة على ستين (ولان) أو ثمانين في النمل
- ٥٢- لا يجوز أن تزيد ودية الرف (اطلاق) على ثمانية وكونه الرضا
- ٥٣- لا يجوز أن يوزن أو الصبر أو العبدن فقط ولا يجوز طرح شيئا آخر في النمل غير ما ذكر، وما يأتي . نعم الأولى والأولاد العمري ويطاقي تتصل عاديا في البيت أو الصنافة كما في الودع وعلية ثمانية ويزنونه في ذلك الوقت مرتبة على صفة تقضي التحريم
- ٥٤- تهيئة البيت عدت الشاي موع
- ٥٥- يتصرف في علق التوبة على سمار وتضربه وتقلد سرف وكافرون



(١٦)

وقادته وحسن در الأمل وثبات معاشرتهم القبول وأقل
 وتأمينهم وست خلال مصر وكيفية أؤنة البحر وقصده العمام ومناه
 للدخول والحق وقصدا إلى ذلك كاستح الشرب وقصدهم من علاقتهم
 وبيع الموانع في العماريا الكسوة أو الذرة عليه ثمرة فقط صومع وتم الذي
 عليه بل للشيخ على مائه صمغ أيضا
 ٥٥ - يهتر البنت بالثقف والاسم والقلة وامرئاني الذي الذي
 ٥٦ - تزويد صناديق الصخر والهدن على تخونة يكون زهدا في البحر
 هذيان حصار لكل
 ٥٧ - تزويد صناديق الكوبر واليباب على التيق
 ٥٨ - الصندق المتكاد ريشة بأوراق المسامير وغير ما صمغ
 ٥٩ - يمحور اصلا شمله ولدهه طلاح البيت
 ٦٠ - كالكبة المسكوكة بغيره في صمغ حديد في الكمل والياس والابان
 والأولي وغير ذلك رشا وشكلا وكجدة وكثيرة أو حبل وكبر أو بوزة ما
 من المومود الآن
 ٦١ - الشاهي شية (والله) بيوم الصعد (سما) وسما صمغ كالكبة
 والشاه في الرأس العامة وكلامه
 ٦٢ - يبيع ما في على اللشوز على قدر ورشك وان مستخرج
 ٦٣

(١٧)

وعلى سرك من سائر الدليل ونعلم
 ٦٣ - كل الذهب والفضة اللغوس فالر صمغ منيا يستعمل في الأذن والوجه واليد
 ٦٤ - يمين يقصر والعزيت في رمضان على قدر الشاهي أو القهوة
 ٦٥ - الحماكي في رمضان مكمومة الاصبحت اصغار شية واليه اصغار
 وكجدة ان يصغرها على الكحل أو العيرة ولا يمحور ان تكون في بيت كوك
 ٦٦ - كوكيزه نفع در زهر بارشاره) للولادة زيادة على شة ومدام طرية وكجدة
 ٦٧ - اصغار باركاراد والكملة على البنت من كجدة صمغ منيا زاد على ليلة من
 حين الوفة لا يحتموا شرح القرف
 ٦٨ - حبة كوك الأوزة فالرزم سولان كوكيزه في القدة والكوكيزه وقوة في كوكيزه
 وكجدة كوك الأوزة والسنون والعامم وعلاقتهم لاسم الصخر والاشتر وكجدة
 من العقيق والصخر القريب من العقيق وسائر قبيلة
 ٦٩ - ماء صمغ حلاوة من با الرضة اللشوز كوكيزه في القدة والكوكيزه في القدة
 ٧٠ - وما تدفع من الصمغ صمغ الحماكي في بيت كوكيزه في القدة والكوكيزه في القدة
 والوكيزه في القدة كالكبة فيصير كوكيزه كجدة في صمغ كوكيزه في القدة
 صمغ كوك
بيع بلحمة بلحمة خا تيرج في ٢٠ صمغ كوكيزه
 من ٥ صمغ

(١)

- 1 - بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
- 2 - الحمد لله . من المعلوم لدى السادة والمشايخ من أهالي تريم - أنه في
- 3 - ١٤ ربيع الأول سنة ١٣٥٢؛ صدرت لائحة الزامية مشتمله على ٥٦ مادة تتضمن
- 4 - تحديد وابطال بعض العوائد المحلية الجارية وقتئذ لمنافاتها بعض المنافاة للادب
- 5 - والاقتصاد
- 6 - والآن؛ وقد تطورت الأحوال وتبيأت الأفكار لقبول المبادي الاصلاحية
- 7 - أكثر من ذي قبل - فقد «جمعية الحق» أن تعيد النظر في تلك اللائحة وأن رأّت
- 8 - تعدل وتحول وتلحق ما ترى الحاجة ماسة اليه والأحوال مناسبة له
- 9 - وفعلا عملت ذلك وصاغت من زبدة قراراتها مواد هذا المنشور الموجه
- 10 - الى المذكورين أعلاه الجاري مجرى اللائحة المذكورة من الزام العمل والعقاب
- 11 - على المخالفة
- 12 - والرجاء منهم أن يقابلوه بالارتياح والقبول والرضى والاذعان لما فيه
- 13 - من الفائدة الظاهرة والمصلحة الخاصة والعامة وعلى الله الاعتقاد في كل حال
- 14 - وهو ولي التوفيق، والمعين.
- 15 - تحريرا في ١٠ ربيع الأول سنة ١٣٥٨
- 16 - جمعية الحق

(٢)

- 1 - المادة الاولى
- 2 - الزغلطة أي «الحجير» والشحاذة في الطرقات وفي الزواجات
- 3 - وفي قدوم المسافر وختم القران وذهاب ورجوع زوار هود ولسائر الأسباب
- 4 - سواء كانت معتادة أم لا - ممنوعة
- 5 - (٢) يقتصر ليلة الضعون في الطرق على أربعة مصاييح اعتيادية أو أقل، ولا
- 6 - يجوز «الكهرباي» وَمَا يشابهه للنساء مطلقا ولا يجوز (الخبيعان) على وصول
- 7 - العروسة الى بيت الزوج
- 8 - (٣) اذا أراد الزوج المسير للسمر لدى أهل الزوجة - فليتقدم هو ومن معه
- 9 - من الرجال على النساء بمدة يؤمن معها الاختلاط
- 10 - (٤) يؤتى بالعروسة من بيت أهلها الى بيت الزوج ماشية أو على سيارة

- 11 - واذا كان وَلَا بد من الركوب على غير السيارة فعلى حمار مع نساء راكبات على حمير بحيث
12 - لا تتميز
13 - (٥) مَا اعتيد من اهداء «تيس» من أهل العروس للزوج ومن اهداء «مَصْر»
14 - من الزوج للزوجة ممنوع
15 - (٦) اذا اريد استقبال النساء الاتيات من جانب الزوجين الى بيت الآخر
16 - بضرب الطبول ونحوه لم يجز الا داخل البيت ومتعلقاته كما لا يجوز استقبال الذبائح
17 - بذلك مطلقا
(٣)

- 1 - (٧) توخذ العروسة من بين النساء لتقدمها للزوج احدهن من غير استعانة
2 - بأحد من الرجال
3 - (٨) الاهداء للزوجة المسمى هنا «بالتخاويد» ممنوع على الزوج ويجوز
4 - لمحارم الزوجين خمسة ريالات ومن غيرهم ريال ١ فأقل، وللزوج أن يهدي
5 - لام الزوجة (شوفه) ما لا يزيد على عشرة ١٠ ريال ولجدها خمسة ريالات
6 - (٩) صوت الكلان ممنوع مطلقا
7 - (١٠) صبح الزوج وغيره يجب أن يكون من خالص البُر، ولا يجوز (الكعك)
8 - و(الكويه) ونحوه بتاتا، ولا يجوز خلاف المعتاد أيام الزواج كله
9 - (١١) تقسيم (الكعك) و(الكويه) ونحوه على أهل الزوجين وغيرهم ممنوع
10 - داخل البيت وخارجه
11 - (١٢) لا يجوز لأم الزوجة وجداتها اهداء الزوج شيئا من ثياب أو عطر أو غيرها
12 - (١٣) ابراز حلي العروسة وثيابها ونحوها للنساء ليتفرجن عليه ممنوع
13 - (الْوَلَام))
14 - (١٤) يجب الاقتصار في وليمة (المرجه) على عشرين رجلاً ونساء
15 - غير الخدامين والمسمعين وفي وليمة (الحكاء) على ثلاثين امرأة غير الخدامات
16 - والمسمعات
17 - (١٥) يدعو الزوج بكرة الدخول (الصبة) للوليمة من شاء ويقتصر

(٤)

- 1 - عشية على الأقارب والجار القريب النار والغرباء، ويكون اللحم في (الصانه)
- 2 - والتحضير ممنوع، وفي بكرة اليوم الثاني على أهل بيت الزوجة نساء ورجالا وثلاثين
- 3 - امرأة فقط ويدعو ولي الزوجة ليلة العقد (عشاء الحراوة) من شاء أما صباح
- 4 - ذلك اليوم فيقتصر فيه على نساء القرابة ونساء الجار القريب النار، وله أن يدعو
- 5 - من الرجال عشرة أنفار ويتولى تجهيز الطعام في وجبة (الحكاء) ووجبة (المرية)
- 6 - ووجبة (ثاني يوم) الصبح النساء فقط
- 7 - (١٦) لا يجوز تخصيص بعض المدعوين بنوع من المأكولات دون البعض
- 8 - (١٧) كل وليمة بعد الزواج تعقيد وقهوه وخطره ونحوها ممنوعة
- 9 - (١٨) يغتفر في وليمة الزواج زيادة على المحددين خمسة عشر نفرا من مجموع
- 10 - النساء والرجال أيا كانوا وفي سائر الولايم عشرة
- 11 - (١٩) (الظلة) المعتادة ممنوعة بتاتا
- 12 - (الولادة والختان والموت والسفر)
- 13 - (٢٠) لا يجوز لأهل المرأة أن يهدوا شيئا في جميع ولاداتها وتستثنى
- 14 - الولادة الاولى؛ فيجوز أن يهدوا لها من النقد ما لا يزيد على خمسة عشر ١٥ ريال
- 15 - (٢١) وليمة الولادة الاولى تكون للأقارب والجار القريب النار
- 16 - ويقتصر في وليمة غيرها - ان اريدت - على من في بيت أهل الواضعة واصول
- 17 - وفروع الواضعة وزوجها واخوانها واخواتها وتكون يوم الولادة إن

(٥)

- 1 - تأتت والا في باقي الاسبوع. أما وليمة الوفاء فممنوعة بتاتا
- 2 - (٢٢) يجوز لقريبة النار والقريبة نسباً للواضعة أو زوجها الدخول
- 3 - عليها للتهنئة في الاسبوع الاول فقط. ولا يجوز لغيرها مطلقا ولا يجوز
- 4 - عمل الحفلة المعهودة (الشمة) مطلقا
- 5 - (٢٣) لقريبة النار أو النسب الذهاب الى بيت اهل المسافر بعد سفره لإدخال
- 6 - السرور عليهم مدة الاسبوع الأول فقط كما أن لها الترحيب بقدمه الى
- 7 - البنادر أو البلد مدة الاسبوع الاول فقط ولا يجوز ما ذكر لسواها بتاتا ولا لها
- 8 - بعد الاسبوع

- 9 - (٢٤) يقتصر في وليمة قدوم المسافرين على الأقارب والجار القريب الدار
 10 - (٢٥) يجب أن لا يتجاوز عدد المدعوين لوليمة الختان مائة وخمسين نفرا
 11 - من مجموع الرجال والنساء
 12 - (٢٦) لا يجوز اعطاء الختون أكثر من ريال ١ واحد كما لا يجوز اعطاؤه شيئا من
 13 - الثياب وأنواع المأكولات وغيرها
 14 - (٢٧) لا يجوز للنساء الذهاب الى بيت الميت يوم الموت قبل خروج الجنائز
 15 - إلا الأقارب ويجوز بعد خروجهما لمن يهدي لأهل الميت (جفنه) ولا يجوز
 16 - لغير المذكورات الا في اليوم الذي يعينه أهل الميت - هذا ان كان كبيرا، وان
 17 - كان طفلا لم يجز الذهاب الا لأقاربه فقط مدة اسبوع الوفاة

(٦)

- 1 - (٢٨) الوليمة للعزاء ممنوعة بتاتا
 2 - (٢٩) (الحنظل) و(القول) و(الصمبرة) و(الفرفرة) و(الكاشان) و
 3 - (البتة) ونحوها ممنوعة في مجالس الرجال والنساء، وكذلك التهادي بين
 4 - المتزاورات بما سوى القهوة: أي الجفل والسكر فانه ممنوع
 5 - (٣٠) يجب على النساء من فاتحة سنة ١٣٥٣ فصادا - الاقتصار على الثياب
 6 - (المحوقات) و(الجاويات): «المسادر والصوريم» والتل الذهبي بأنواعه
 7 - ممنوع في الثياب والمسادر والنقاب، والجدارات وفي كل حال من الأحوال
 8 - وكذلك (المحوقات) من الكيم خاب (المبمش) بجميع أنواعه - ممنوعة أيضا
 9 - بعد سنة زمان من حال التاريخ وحكم العروسة وغيرها وفي جميع ما ذكر سواء
 10 - (٣١) الشرايه: (الكشه) والعلات ممنوعة
 11 - (٣٢) الوساييد: (التكاي) للعروسين يجب أن لا يزدن على تسع ٩ (تكاي)
 12 - وأن تكون من غزل وأكياسها من بفت وما شاكله
 13 - (٣٣) يجب أن لا يزيد وزن (جدري) العروسة وغيرها على خمسين رطلا
 14 - وان يكون من الشيت والقطن
 15 - (٣٤) (المفارش) الحريرية ممنوعة بتاتا
 16 - (٣٥) ملفات الثياب (البمش) وكيس الشعر يجب أن يكون من قطن
 17 - ولا يجوز الحرير ولا الأنااس ونحوها مما ليس بقطن

(٧)

- 1 - (أحلي: الذهب والمغموس الذي لا تجوز الزيادة عليه)
- 2 - (٣٦) (مراري) لا يزيد عددهن على ثلاث ولا وزن الجميع على خمس أواق
- 3 - (٣٧) (حرز راعي) يزان اوقيتين أو أقل مع أربع حبوب لا يزيد
- 4 - وزنهن على ست قفال
- 5 - (٣٨) (معنى) وما يتبعه (شكه) لا يزيد وزن الجميع على أربع أواق
- 6 - (٣٩) (شهر ونجم) لا يزيد وزنه على ست أواق وتتبعه ستة حروف
- 7 - أو أقل وثمانية حبوب لا يزيد وزنهن على اوقية وربع
- 8 - (٤٠) (مطال) لا يزيد وزنهن على أربع أواق
- 9 - (٤١) (لبس (مريس) لا يزيد وزنهن على خمس أواق ونصف
- 10 - (٤٢) (لبس (كرايو) ونحوه، ويجوز أن يكون من البرليان أو الالانن
- 11 - (٤٣) ستة خواتم فقط أو أقل
- 12 - (٤٤) قرص ذهب للحزام الفضة لا يزيد وزنهن على ثلاث أواق
- 13 - (٤٥) (حبوس) لا يزيد وزنهن على أربع أواق ويجوز ابدالهن بالكهرب
- 14 - (٤٦) (العصاة) وما يتبعها (والسلسله) للعروس فقط لمدة أربعة أشهر
- 15 - (٤٧) (رتقى) عقد أو (شهر ونجم) وقلوس (ولوكيت) و(مطل) و(مريس)
- 16 - وستة خواتم و(حزام) و(مخدة الراس) و(كرايو) او مئاقيل للجوايات
- 17 - خ... اللاتي يستعملن المسادر ولا يجوز لهن التشهي باستعمال السابق

(٨)

- 1 - تارة وهذه اخرى. وميزان الذهب هنا مثل المتقدم
- 2 - الثياب
- 3 - (٤٨) لا يجوز للمرأة في الوجبة الواحدة (الوقعة) أن تستعمل أكثر من ثوب
- 4 - واحد من الحرير وآخر من الغزل أو الحافوني تقلب فيه وللعروس أن تقلب
- 5 - في حرير لمدة أربعة أشهر
- 6 - (٤٩) (نجم الصباح) ممنوع، وكل ما يزيد ثمنه على خمسة عشر ١٥ ريال ممنوع أيضا
- 7 - ولا يجوز أن تزيد النقاب المطرزة على اثنتين

- 8 - المنزل والأواني وغيرها
- 9 - (٥٠) لا يجوز تهيئة أكثر من منزل واحد للزوجين: (العروس والكلان)
- 10 - (٥١) لا تجوز الزيادة على ست (مرايا): (كاشات) أو (قنابر) في المنزل
- 11 - (٥٢) لا يجوز أن تزيد أوعية الرف (الطاق) على ثلاثة وتكون من الزجاج
- 12 - أو الصين أو الصفر أو المطلي أو المعدن فقط ولا يجوز طرح شيء آخر
- 13 - في المنزل غير ما ذكر وما يأتي. نَعَم الأواني والالآت الضرورية التي
- 14 - تستعمل عاديًا في البيت أو للضيافة كأواني الأكل وعدة الشاي غير ممنوعة
- 15 - إلا إذا كانت مرتبة على هيئة تقتضي التزين
- 16 - (٥٣) تجهيز البيت بعدة الشاي ممنوع
- 17 - (٥٤) يقتصر في عدة القهوة على منحاز وقصرته وثمان مسارف وكونون
- (٩)

- 1 - وقعاده وخمس دلال أو أقل وثلاث معاشر لفناجين القهوة أو أقل
- 2 - وفناجينهن وست طبال صفر وكلبه لأخذ الحجر وقعاده للمحاس ووعاء
- 3 - للسخر ولقن ويضاف الى ذلك كأسات الشرب وقعادهن عدد اثنين ٢
- 4 - ووضع الحوائج في العاري المكشوف أو الذي عليه خرقة فقط ممنوع وفتح الذي
- 5 - عليه باب للتفرج على ما فيه ممنوع أيضا
- 6 - (٥٥) تجهز البنت بالقفف والقاشم والتفله وماعون باني والخزف ممنوع
- 7 - (٥٦) لا تزيد صناديق الصفر والمعدن على ثلاثة يكون واحد (بنجر؟) للحلي واثنان
- 8 - هنديات صغار للكحل
- 9 - (٥٧) لا تزيد صناديق الكوفر للثياب على اثنين
- 10 - (٥٨) الصندوق المعتاد تهيئته بأدوات المسادر وغيرها ممنوع
- 11 - (٥٩) يجوز اعداد شنته واحده لخارج البيت
- 12 - (٦٠) تأكيذاً لما سبق لا يجوز ايداع شيء جديد في الحلي واللباس والثياب
- 13 - والأواني وغير ذلك نوعاً وشكلاً وهيئة وتشجيراً وصغراً وكبراً وغيره عما
- 14 - هو الموجود الآن
- 15 - (٦١) الشاهي عشية (الحرارة) ويوم (الصباحه) صباحاً ومساءً ممنوع على الرجال
- 16 - والنساء في المجالس العامة والخاصة
- 17 - (٦٢) ينسحب ما في هذا المنشور على من قد تزوجت ومن سستزوج

(١٠)

- 1 - وعلى كل منزل من منازل الديار فليعلم
- 2 - (٦٣) كل الذهب والفضة الملبوس في الراس ممنوع غير ما يستعمل في الاذان والمخدة للجاويات
- 3 - (٦٤) يجب أن يقتصر في السمرات في رمضان على تقديم الشاهي أو القهوة
- 4 - (٦٥) الختامي في رمضان ممنوعة الا للبنات الصغار عشية والبنين الصغار ليلا
- 5 - ويجب أن يقتصر فيها على الحنظل أو الصمبرة ولا يجوز أن تكون في بيت آخر
- 6 - (٦٦) لا يجوز دفع دراهم (بشاره) للولادة زيادة على ريال ١ واحد للواضحة وصغيره للخدمة
- 7 - (٦٧) اضهار شعار الحداد والحزن على الميت من غير زوجته ممنوع فيما زاد على ثلاثة ايام من
- 8 - حين الوفاة كما هو مقتضى الشرع الشريف
- 9 - (٦٨) حيث ذكر الأقارب فالمراد بهم اصول الزوجين والمتصدي للوليمة وفروعهم واخوانهم
- 10 - واخواتهم واولاد الاخوان والاحوات وأعمامهم وعماتهم واخوالهم وخالاتهم والمحارم
- 11 - من الجهتين والصهر القريب من الجهتين وسائر قبيلته
- 12 - (٦٩) اذا احتملت عبارة من عبائر هذا المنشور أمرين احدهما أخف مؤنة من الاخر فالمراد هو
الاخف
- 13 - (٧٠) ربما قد وقع من البعض فيما مضى مخالفات في بعض ما في هذا المنشور خطأ أو عمدا
- 14 - ولم يجر معه ازاء ذلك ما يجب فليعلم الجميع أنه بعد اليوم لا يتسامح في مثل ذلك مع أحدٍ مما كان
15 - عذره.
- 16 - طبع بمطبعة مجلة الاخاء بتريم في ٢٠ ربيع الآخر سنة ١٣٥٨
- 17 - ٨ جون سنة ١٩٣٩

(1)²³

1. In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate
2. Praise be to God. It is known among the *sāda* and *mashāyikh* from the Tarīm inhabitants, that on
3. 14 Rabi^c al-Awwal 1352 an obligatory decree (*lā'ihā*) was issued consisting of 56 paragraphs,
4. which restrict and abolish certain current local customs incompatible with good behaviour
5. and thrift.

²³ On the verso of the page there is a signature: *al-sayyid* Shaykh b. Muḥammad Bā l-Faqīh.

6. And nowadays as the circumstances have changed and [people's] minds are prepared to accept the reformist (*iṣlāḥiyya*) principles
7. more than they were before, the Truth Association (Jam'iyat al-Ḥaqq) considered revising this decree (*lā'iḥa*)
8. and to modify, alter and add what they think important and urgent and for what circumstances are convenient.
9. And actually they did so and formulated the essence of their decisions in the paragraphs of the following ordinance (*manshūr*), which are addressed to
10. the above mentioned [persons] and, similar to providing in the mentioned ordinance (*manshūr*), contain necessary actions and punishments
11. in case of disobedience.
12. They are asked to accept it with delight, consent, satisfaction, and obedience because there is
13. an obvious benefit and advantage, in particular and in general. In God is our trust
14. and He is the Possessor of reconciliation and the Supporter.
15. Issued on 10 Rabī' al-Awwal 1358
16. Truth Association (Jam'iyat al-Ḥaqq)

(2)

1. Paragraph (1)
2. Cries of joy (*zaḡhlata*), namely (*ḥajīr*), and professional female singers and reciters (*shabḥādha*) during public occasions, weddings,
3. [the] arrival of emigrants (*musāfir*), the conclusion of the Qur'ān reading (*kbatm al-qur'ān*), the leaving and returning of the Hūd-pilgrims (*zuwwār*) and for other reasons,
4. be they customary or not, are prohibited.
5. (2) The number of oil lamps (*maṣābīḥ*) during the night procession, when the bride is taken to her husband's house (*da'un*), is restricted to four ordinary oil lamps or fewer.
6. The kerosene lamp (*kabrabā'ī*) or similar things are not permitted to [be possessed by?] women absolutely. Not permitted are the *kbayba'an*-songs and dances at the arrival
7. of the bride to the husband's house.
8. (3) When the husband wants to visit an evening gathering with the wife's relatives he and his
9. male companions must precede the women so that they can be sure that there is no mixing [of the sexes].
10. (4) The bride is taken from her parents' house to her husband's house by foot or by car (*sayyāra*).
11. If she cannot be taken by a car (*sayyāra*), then [she can be taken] by a donkey with the other women riding on donkeys in order

12. to not expose herself.
13. (5) The custom of offering a male goat (*tays*) as a gift from the bride's relatives to the husband and to offer a filled pouch (*maşarr*)
14. from the husband to his wife are prohibited.
15. (6) If the female relatives of both families want to receive their counterparts in their house
16. by drum (*tubūl*) beating and so on, so it is permitted only inside the house and what is connected to it. And it is absolutely not permitted to receive [the flesh of] slaughtered animals (*dbabā'ih*) [as a gift]
17. during this [visit].

(3)

1. (7) The bride is taken from among the women by one of them without help
2. from any man.
3. (8) The [money] present given to the wife called here *takhāwīd*, is prohibited to [be given by] the husband, and it is permitted
4. to [be given by] persons forbidden to marry (*maḥārim*) from both sides five riyals and to [be given by] others one riyal or less. And the husband has to give
5. the *shawfa*-gift to the mother of his wife which does not exceed ten riyals and to her grandmother five riyals.
6. (9) Songs in the bridegroom's [house] (*şawt al-kilān*) are absolutely prohibited.
7. (10) The breakfast (*şubūḥ*) of the husband and others should be of pure wheat (*burr*). Definitely not permitted is cake (*ka'k*),
8. *kuway*-cake and so on. And not permitted are things which are against the custom during all the wedding.
9. (11) The distribution of cakes (*ka'k*), *kuway*-cakes and so on to the families of both sides and others is prohibited
10. either inside or outside the house.
11. (12) It is not permitted for the bride's mother and grandmother, to give to the husband any clothes, perfume (*'itr*) or anything else.
12. (13) Displaying the bride's jewellery, clothes and similar things so that women can inspect them is prohibited.
13. (The wedding feasts)
14. (14) It is necessary to restrict [the number of guests] at the *marja*-feast to twenty men and women
15. to say nothing of servants (sg. *kbaddām*) and heralds (sg. *musammī'*), [and] at the *ḥikā'*-feast to thirty women except the servants
16. and the heralds.
17. (15) The day after the wedding night (*şubḥa*), the husband invites for the feast those he wants and restricts

(4)

1. [the invitation for] dinner to the relatives, the neighbours who live near the house and outsiders. Meat with vegetable sauce (*ṣāna*)
2. and other meals are prohibited. The morning of the second day is [restricted] to the wife's family, men and women, and thirty
3. women only. The wife's guardian (*walī*) invites to the evening [party] on the day of the contract (*ʿaqd*) or *ʿashāʾ al-ḥarāwa* whomever he wants, but the morning [party]
4. of that day shall be restricted to the female relatives and the female neighbours who live near the house, and he has to invite
5. ten men. And taking care of the preparation of meals during the *ḥikāʾ*-feast and the *marya*-feast
6. and the feast of the second day is for the women only.
7. (16) It is not permitted to distinguish some guests from the others by offering them special kinds of food.
8. (17) A feast after the wedding for the purpose of hairdressing with multiple plaids (*taʿqīd*) as well as [serving] coffee (*qabrwa*), and the wife's first visit to her parents (*kbatra*) and similar things are prohibited.
9. (18) It is excusable during the wedding feast to add to the restricted number [of guests] fifteen persons,
10. be they women or men, and for the rest of the feasts, ten.
11. (19) The customary *zilla*-feast is definitely forbidden.
12. (Birth, circumcision, death and emigration (*safar*))
13. (20) It is not permitted for the wife's family to give her anything on occasion of all her deliveries, except
14. for the first delivery, and [then] it is permitted to present her with money which doesn't exceed fifteen (15) riyals.
15. (21) The feast of the first delivery is for the relatives and the neighbours, who live near the house,
16. and during the other feasts [of delivery] – if they are wanted – [guests] are restricted to the family of the woman who has given birth, her forefathers (*uṣūl*)
17. and descendants (*furūʿ*) and her husband and their brothers and sisters [from both sides], and it should take place on the very day of delivery,

(5)

1. and if not, during the following week. As for the *wufāʾ*-feast, it is definitely prohibited.
2. (22) It is permitted for the women close by neighbourhood (*qarībat al-dār*) and by origin (*qarībat nasaban*) as well as for the husband of the woman in child-bed to pay her a visit to

3. congratulate her during the first week only. And it is absolutely not permitted for any other persons [to visit her]. And it is absolutely not permitted
4. to organise the well-known *shamma*-feast.
5. (23) The women close by neighbourhood (*qarībat al-dār*) and by origin (*qarībat nasaban*) can go to the house of an emigrant's family after his emigration (*sa-far*) to manifest
6. their joy during the first week only, they can also welcome him at his arrival at
7. the ports or home during the first week only. And the mentioned [visits] are not permitted for others definitely and [even] for them, not
8. after this week.
9. (24) The feast of an emigrant's arrival is restricted only to the relatives and the neighbours who live close to the house.
10. (25) The number of guests for the feast of circumcision (*khitān*) should not exceed 150 persons,
11. men and women.
12. (26) It is not permitted to give to the circumcised (*maktūn*) more than 1 riyal, also it is not permitted to give him any item of
13. cloth and kind of food and so on.
14. (27) It is not permitted for women to enter the house of a dead person the day of the person's death before the funeral procession has left it,
15. except for the relatives (*aqārib*). And it is permitted [to enter the house of a dead person] after its [the funeral procession] departure for those [women] who bring a bowl of food (*jifna*) to the family of the dead person (*abl al-mayyit*). And it is not permitted
16. to anyone else but the mentioned women except the day fixed by the dead person's family – if he was old. And if
17. it was a child they were not permitted to enter [the house] except for the child's relatives during the week after death.

(6)

1. (28) Mourning ceremonies are definitely prohibited.
2. (29) Roasted and salted seeds of gourd (*hanḡal*), broad beans (*fūl*), chickpeas (*ṡumbara*), small beans (*farfara*), almonds roasted in their husks (*kāshān*) and
3. [roasted] coffee beans (*bumma*) and similar things are prohibited during the gathering of men as well as women. And also the exchange between
4. the female visitors of anything but coffee: which means coffee berries (*jafal*) and sugar, is prohibited.
5. (30) [As it has been] from the beginning of 1353 women must be confined to [the following assortment of] clothes:

6. the silk dresses (*mujaḥwawāqāt*) and the Java-dresses (*jāwīyyāt*): “the blouses (*masādir*) and sarongs (*ṣawārīm*).” Golden threads around the neckline (*tall*) of different kinds
7. are prohibited on dresses, blouses (*masādir*), and on headscarfs (*niqāb*) and headgears (*jadārāt*) in all circumstances;
8. the silk dresses (*mujaḥwawāqāt*) with wide sleeves and the scarfs for holding cloth (*mubaqqash*) of all kinds are prohibited also,
9. one year from the present date. The bride and others are equally responsible in all what is mentioned above.
10. (31) Stockings (*sharāba*): with pompons (*kushsha*) und pieces of jewellery worn on the right temple (*‘alamāt*) are prohibited.
11. (32) The *tikāy*-pillows: the bridal couple should have no more than nine pillows of this kind.
12. And they have to be of cotton thread (*ghazl*) and the pillowcases of white cotton (*baft*) or similar.
13. (33) The weight of the bride’s mattress (*jawdarī*) should not exceed 50 *ratls*
14. and it should be of printed calico (*shīt*) and [filled with] cotton.
15. (34) Thick quilted cushions (*mafāriṣh*) are definitely prohibited.
16. (35) The dress wrappers (*buqash*) and bags (*kīs*) for hair should be of cotton,
17. but neither of silk (*harīr*) nor artificial silk (*anānās*) or similar things which are not of cotton.

(7)

1. Jewellery (*ḥaly*): gold and gilded (*maghmūs*) items [the number of] which can not be increased.
2. (36) [The number of] necklaces with a charm (*marārī*) should not exceed three items and their total weight should not exceed 5 *wuqīyyas*.
3. (37) The small charms (*ḥīrz rā‘ī*) should not weight more than two *wuqīyyas* with four beads (*hubūb*),
4. which should not exceed six *qaflas*.
5. (38) The necklace (*ma‘nā*) and the pendant (*shakka*) which belongs to it should not exceed a total weight of four *wuqīyyas*.
6. (39) The crescent-and-star pendant (*shabr wa-najm*) should not exceed the weight of six *wuqīyyas* and six silver coins (*ḥurūf*) may belong to it
7. or fewer and eight beads (*hubūb*), the weight of which should not exceed one *wuqīyya* and a quarter.
8. (40) The bracelet (*maṭāll*) shall not exceed four *wuqīyyas*.
9. (41) The anklet (*murīs*) shall not exceed the weight of five and a half *wuqīyyas*.
10. (42) The earrings (*krābū*) and similar things must have artificial stones (*barlayān* or *antun*).
11. (43) Only six rings with stones (*khawātīm*) [are allowed] or fewer.

12. (44) The weight of the golden buckle (*qurṣ*) of the silver belt (*ḥizām*) should not exceed three *wuqīyyas*.
13. (45) The bracelets (*ḥubūs*) should not weight more than four *wuqīyyas* and it is possible to add amber (*kabrab*).
14. (46) The forehead band (*ʿiṣāba*) and what belongs to it and the necklace (*sil-sila*) of the bride are [allowed to be worn] for the period of four months only.
15. (47) The necklace (*ʿiqd*) (*rintī*) or crescent-and-star-necklace (*shabr wa-najm*), the decorative hairpins (*qulūs*), the pendant (*lawkīt*), the bracelet (*maṭāll*), the anklet (*murīs*),
16. six rings with stones (*khawātim*), a belt (*ḥizām*), a hair parting pin (*mikhaddat raʿs*), and earrings (*krābū*) or other kinds of pendants (*mathāqīl*) are for those who wear the Java-dresses (*jāwīyyāt*),
17. [especially – lacuna] when they use blouses (*masādir*). They should not desire to use the afore mentioned [items]

(8)

1. on other occasions, since it is another case. And the weight of gold in this case is like mentioned above.
2. Clothes (*thiyāb*):
3. (48) it is not permitted for a woman during one visit (*waqʿa*) to change into more than one dress
4. of silk (*ḥarīr*) and one [dress] of cotton thread (*ghazl*) or crêpe de chine (*ḥāfūnī*). As for the bride
5. she is allowed to change her silk (*ḥarīr*) dresses during these four months.
6. (49) The ornamentation (*najm al-ṣabāḥ*) is prohibited and all [headscarfs] whose price exceeds 15 riyals are prohibited, too.
7. It is not permitted to have more than two embroidered headscarfs (*al-niqāb al-muṭarraza*).
8. The household, utensils etc.:
9. (50) it is not permitted to allocate more than one apartment (*manzil*) for the couple (the bride and the groom).
10. (51) It is not permitted to have more than six mirrors (*mirāyā kāshāt*) and decorative pictures (*qanābir*) in the apartment.
11. (52) The vessels (*awʿiya*) in the niche shelves (*raff*) and the windowsills (*tāq*) are not permitted to exceed three items, and they can be of glass
12. or porcelain (*ṣīn*), brass (*sufr*) or decoratively shaped metal (*maṭlī*) or any metal, and it is not permitted to display anything else
13. in the household but the afore- and the below-mentioned. Certainly the necessary vessels and utensils, which
14. are of everyday use in the house or for hospitality, such as crockery and tea sets (*ʿiddat al-shāy*) are not prohibited


15. except when they are displayed for decorative purposes.
 16. (53) A tea set (*'iddat al-shāy*) as a [part of the] girl's dowry (*tajhīz*) is prohibited.
 17. (54) A coffee set (*'iddat al-qabwa*) should be restricted to a mortar (*minḥāz*) and its pestle (*quṣra*), eight wicker mats (*masārif*), a [movable] stove (*kānūn*)
- (9)
1. and its seat (*qa'āda*), five coffee kettles (*dilal*) or less, three metal trays (*ma'āshir*) for coffee cups (*fanājīn*) or less,
 2. and cups, six brass sugar boxes (*tibāl*), tongs (*kalba*) to take the live coal (*jamr*), a seat (*qa'āda*) for a pan to roast coffee (*miḥmās*), a container
 3. for live coal (*ṣakbr*), a ceramic basin (*laqan*), and in addition to that drinking glasses (*kāsāt al-shurb*) and their seat (*qa'āda*), two (2) in number.
 4. To put these items (*hawā'ij*) in an either open-shelf cabinet (*'ammārī*) or one covered by a piece of rag only, is prohibited. To open
 5. doors just to inspect what is inside, is also prohibited.
 6. (55) To give a girl wicker baskets (*qufaf*), wooden boxes (*qāshim*), a large mat for eating (*tifla*), *al-bānī* clay figurines (fig. 46) (*mā'ūn*) and pottery as dowry is prohibited.
 7. (56) Chests (*ṣandūq*) of brass and metal should not exceed three, one of them the *banjar*-chest for jewellery and two
 8. small Indian boxes (*bindiyyāt*) (Fig. 48) for *kuhl*.
 9. (57) The [number of] chests for clothes (*ṣanādīq al-kūfar lil-thiyāb*) should not exceed two.
 10. (58) The ordinary chest (*ṣandūq*) for the blouses (*masādir*) and so on is prohibited.
 11. (59) For the visits outside the house, it is permitted to have only one bag (*shantā*) [for changing dresses].
 12. (60) Surely concerning the above mentioned it is not permitted to add anything new in jewellery, clothes, and dresses,
 13. utensils etc. be it in type, shape, appearance, ornamentation (*tashjīr*), either small or big and so on
 14. to what exists nowadays.
 15. (61) Tea during the evening of the *ḥarāwa*-feast and in the morning and evening of the day of *ṣubḥa* is prohibited for men
 16. and women in general and special gatherings.
 17. (62) The content of this ordinance (*manshūr*) should be applied to those who have already married and those who are going to marry

(10)

1. and to all the households. And let them know.
2. (63) Any golden and silver items worn on the head are prohibited except those fixed at the ears or the hair parting pin (*mikhadda*) for those who wear the Java-dresses (*jāwīyyāt*).
3. (64) Evening parties during Ramadan should be limited to offering tea (*shābī*) or coffee (*qabrwa*).
4. (65) Going from house to house (*khitāmī*) in Ramadan is permitted only for little girls in the late evening and the little boys at night.
5. [Gifts to the children] should be restricted to roasted and salted seeds of gourd (*ḥanzal*) or chickpeas (*ṣumbara*), and it is not permitted in any other house.
6. (66) It is not permitted to give money for good news (*bishāra*) on the occasion of birth more than one riyal to the woman in childbed and less than that to the midwife (*khaddāma*).
7. (67) To demonstrate the signs of mourning and grief for a dead person – if it is not one's wife – is prohibited for more than three days
8. after death as it is required by the noble canonical law (*shar'*).
9. (68) When relatives (*aqārib*) are mentioned it means the forefathers (*uṣūl*) of both spouses and those who undertake a feast, the descendants (*furū'*), their brothers
10. and sisters, their brothers and sisters' children, their uncles and aunts from the paternal line, their uncles and aunts from the maternal line as well as [the other] persons not allowed to be married (*maḥārim*)
11. on both sides, those who are related by marriage to both sides and the rest of the tribe (*qabīla*).
12. (69) If some of the clauses of the ordinance (*manshūr*) can be interpreted in two different ways one of which is easier to follow than the other, then the easiest one [is preferable].
13. (70) Perhaps in the previous [regulations] there have been contradictions concerning some parts of the present ordinance (*manshūr*) either accidentally or intentionally
14. and nothing has been undertaken against it as it should have been done [in such cases]. Let everybody know that since this day on, it is not allowed for anybody to act likewise
15. notwithstanding his excuses.
16. Printed in the printing-house of the *Majallat al-ikhbā'* in Tarīm 20 Rabī^c al-Ākhir 1358,
17. 8 June 1939.

IV 40 - 15 Rabi' al-Awwal 1358/[1939]

من بلد مدوده الى سيون



١٩٣٩ م
 ١٣٥٨ هـ

حمد الله واحتراما لحضرة جناب السلطان المكرم جعفر بن المنصور بن غالب دام مجده امين بعد السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته الموجب
 سعيد غليق بخضر الذي طرحه السلطان علي طائفة المساكين صافط بلدنا بقوتكم لان السلطان علي نزع المساكين من عند
 شيخ وقبيلي ورد امرهم اليه لهذا قصره ايدينا مخافة وتشريفا للدولة وبالزيادة التي شوباني البارحة من غير رخصه
 منا يا الراجيد وقصده بموجب فعله نجد نحن على شيء ما لنا راده به الله يحفظ الجميع مكاننا اليلم والمساكين مساكين
 الدولة وامر مبرم وامر ترده احلام الرجال يا سلطان جعفر يخاطب نحن السلطان علي في بعض مكاتباته يقول
 انتم اهل سرف ومقام ونحن اهل مرفوز ومرفوزنا يقضي تعصدا لرد سرف ومقام والان كان وقت التعصيد
 والنسرو الا نصان الرجاء منكم الرجاء ودمتم الخراب مطلوب والسلام تحريرا في ربيع الاول ١٣٥٨ هـ
 محمد الدعاء

و بعد ختم الكتاب اطلعنا على مکتوبهم رقم ٢٨ شعبان ١٣٥٧ هـ اعلاما لنا باستخلاصهم محلرا خيلم المرحوم السلطان علي برضا الجمهور
 وتقولون في اخره غير مستغنين عن اشارتهم ومساعدتهم في اخير لهذا نظرنا ان توحيد المسالك واتباع المساكين امر السلطان
 فيها هو الا صلح للبلد واجملها بان يكون نزع الطائفة من بينهم ويقفون بدون طائفة او يبدل بغيره هذا نظرنا وانتم لكم نظر ودمتم
 محمد الدعاء

- 1 - من بلد مدوده الى سيون
- 2 - حمد الله واحتراما لحضرة جناب السلطان المكرم جعفر بن المنصور بن غالب دام مجده امين بعد السلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته الموجب
- 3 - سعيد غليق بخضر الذي طرحه السلطان علي طائفة المساكين صافط بلدنا بقوتكم لان السلطان علي نزع المساكين من عند
- 4 - شيخ وقبيلي ورد امرهم اليه لهذا قصره ايدينا مخافة وتشريفا للدولة وبالزيادة التي شوباني البارحة من غير رخصة
- 5 - منا يا ال با حميد وقصده بموجب فعله نجد نحن على شيء ما لنا راده به الله يحفظ الجميع مشكنا اليكم والمساكين مساكين
- 6 - الدولة وامر مبرم وامر ترده احلام الرجال يا سلطان جعفر يخاطب نحن السلطان علي في بعض مكاتباته يقول

- 7 - اتم اهل شرف ومقام ونحن اهل مركز ومركزنا يقتضي تعصيد كل ذي شرف ومقام والان حان وقت التعصيد
- 8 - والنصر والانصاف الرجا منكم الرجا ودمتم الجواب مطلوب والسلام تحريرا في ١٥ ربيع الاول سنه ١٣٥٨
- 9 - مستمعو الدعا عبد الله وعلي با حميد
- 10 - وبعد ختم الكتاب اطلعنا على مکتوبکم رقم ٢٨ شعبان/٥٧ اعلاما لنا باستخلافکم محل اخيکم المرحوم السلطان علي برضا الجمهور
- 11 - وتقولون في اخره غير مستغنين عن اشارتکم ومساعدتکم في كل خير لهذا نظرنا ان توهيد المساله واتباع المساکين امر السلطان
- 12 - فيما هو الاصلاح للبلد واهلها با يكون بنزع الطائنه من بينهم وبيقون بدون طائله او يبدل بغيره هذا نظرنا واتم لكم نظر ودمتم
- 13 - علي با حميد

1. From the village Madūda to Say'ūn.
2. Praise be to God. And respect to His Highness the honourable Sultan Ja'far b. al-Manşūr b. Ghālib, may his glory last. Amen. And then: peace be upon you, God's mercy and blessing. The goal [of the letter is as follows]:
3. Sa'īd Ghulayq Bakhḍar, to whom the Sultan 'Alī has ceded power [*tā'ila*] over the *masākīn*, brought disorder into our village by your force because the Sultan 'Alī removed the *masākīn* from [the authority of] any
4. *shaykh* and tribesman (*qabīlī*), and rendered their [the *masākīn*] matters to him. That's why our influence has decreased, in fear and honour of the sultan (*darwla*). Additionally he [Sa'īd Ghulayq Bakhḍar] organised the presentation of the *shabrwānī* dance yesterday without permission
5. by us Āl Bā Ḥumayd. With his deed he [Sa'īd Ghulayq Bakhḍar] intends to punish us for what we had not in mind. May God protect everybody. We address our complaint to you. The *masākīn* have become the *masākīn*
6. of the dynasty (*darwla*). The matter is final, but men's intelligence rejects it. Oh, Sultan Ja'far! Sultan 'Alī speaks to us in some of his writings:
7. "You are people of honour and dignity, and we are people of the power and our power requires support for every bearer of honour and dignity". Now it is the time of support,
8. help and justice. Please, we beg you. May God give you a long life. An answer is requested. Goodbye. Written on 15 Rabī' al-Awwal 1358.
9. Invocation [of God]! 'Abdallāh and 'Alī Bā Ḥumayd.

10. After having sealed up the letter we read your letter dated 28 Sha‘bān 1357 in which we were informed about your succession to the place of your brother, the late Sultan ‘Alī, with the consent of the public.
11. And you said at the end of your letter: “We are in need for your advice and your help in all the best”, so we have decided to reconcile the matter so that the *masākīn* shall follow the order of the sultan.
12. The best for the village and its people is to remove the authority/power (*tā’ila*) over them, so that they either stay without [any special] authority, or exchange him [Sa‘īd Ghulayq Bakhḍar] for somebody else. That is our opinion. You may have yours. May God give you a long life.
13. ‘Alī Bā Ḥumayd.

IV 41 – 12 Sha‘bān 1358/[1939]



بتاريخ ١٢ شعبان ١٣٥٨
 حضر و لدى السلطان جعفر بن منصور بن غالب و هما المشايخ محمد بن علي باسلامة و محمداً بن محمد بن علي ثويبت و عمر سعيد با حارثه و سعيد بن احمد بن خضر و حضورهم
 المشايخ عبد القادر بن علي و عبد الله بن سالم آل با حميد و سأل السلطان المذكورين عن
 عوايد الباحميد السارحة الذي يعلمون بها من جهة عراض الزوار نبي الله هود
 فالذي اخبرو به ابا سالم و با حارثه و ثويبت و بن خضر المذكورين
 ان الطاسة تخرج الى من البلاد الى قليفه مكان بن زيمه مع الدليل و من حضر
 من المساكين و لما قدم في قليفه يقسم عبيه تمر عليهم مولى طيوره ثم يدخلون البلاد
 الى طيوره ثم الى قبة الشيخ بن ياسين و يتفرقون ثم يمشون الى طيوره ومنها
 الى البلاد تحت دار محمد بن بو بكر و الحمد بن بو بكر يدرجون تحتها و الى قبة بن ياسين
 و يتفرقون بعد ذلك القشط من ثم يدخلون الى و يتفرقون صحيح
 محمد بن علي بن صالح
 محمد بن علي بن صالح
 سلم بن محمد بن صالح

- 1 - بتاريخ ١٢ شعبان سنة ١٣٥٨
- 2 - حضرو لدى السلطان جعفر بن المنصور بن غالب و هما المشايخ محمد بن علي باسلامة و سالم بن محمد باسلامه
- 3 - وهاذي بن صالح ثويبت و عمر سعيد با حارثه و سعيد بن احمد بن خضر و حضورهم بحضورهم
- 4 - المشايخ عبد القادر بن علي و عبد الله بن سالم آل با حميد و سأل السلطان المذكورين عن
- 5 - عوايد الباحميد السارحة الذي يعلمون بها من جهة عراض الزوار نبي الله هود
- 6 - فالذي اخبرو به آل باسلامه و با حارثه و ثويبت و بن خضر المذكورين
- 7 - ان الطاسة تخرج الى من البلاد الى قليفه مكان بن زيمه مع الدليل و من حضر
- 8 - من المساكين و لما قدم في قليفه يقسم عبيه تمر عليهم مولى طيوره - ثم يدخلون البلاد
- 9 - الى طيوره ثم الى قبة الشيخ بن ياسين و يتفرقون - ثم يمشون الى طيوره ومنها
- 10 - الى البلاد تحت دار محمد بن بو بكر و احمد بن بو بكر يدرجون تحتها و الى قبة بن ياسين
- 11 - و يتفرقون بعد ذلك القشط من ثم يدخلون الى و يتفرقون صحيح

12 - محمد بن علي با سلامة هادي بن صالح بن حاتم عمر سعيد با حارثه سعيد بن احمد بن خضر وكتب بامرها

هادي بن صالح بن حاتم

13 - سالم بن محمد با سلامة

1. Dated 12 Sha‘bān 1358.
2. With the Sultan Ja‘far b. al-Manṣūr b. Ghālib gathered the *mashāyikh* Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Bā Salāma, Sālīm b. Muḥammad Bā Salāma,
3. Hādī b. Ṣāliḥ Thuwaybat, ‘Umar Sa‘īd Bā Ḥāritha, and Sa‘īd b. Aḥmad Bakhḍar, and at the same time
4. the *mashāyikh* ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Alī and ‘Abdallāh b. Sālīm Āl Bā Ḥumayd. The Sultan asked the mentioned persons about
5. the present customs of Bā Ḥumayd about which they have been informed by the pilgrims (*zuwwār*) to God’s prophet Hūd.
6. The mentioned Āl Bā Salāma, Bā Ḥāritha, Thuwaybat, and Bakhḍar informed him
7. that the procession with timbals (*tāsa*) goes [~~crossed out: to~~] from al-Bilād to Qulayfa, the place of Bin Zayma [Āl Kathīr] with the brokers (*dalal*) and those who are present
8. from the *masākīn*. And when they reach Qulayfa, a pack (*‘ibya*) of dates is distributed among them by [the owner] of the Mawlā Ṭuyūra [*qubba*]. [~~Crossed out: Then they enter al-Bilād~~
9. until Ṭuyūra, then until the *qubba* of al-Shaykh Bin Yāsīn [Bā Ḥumayd] and then they separate]. Then they go to Ṭuyūra and from there
10. to al-Bilād, under the house of Muḥammad Bin Bū Bakr and Aḥmad Bin Bū Bakr they make a circle around these two places and [move] to the *qubba* of Bin Yāsīn
11. and after that they separate. The crossed out words from: “Then they enter” until “and separate” are correct.
12. [Signatures] Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Bā Salāma, Hādī b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥātim, ‘Umar Sa‘īd Bā Ḥāritha, Sa‘īd b. Aḥmad Bakhḍar. This was written by the order of both, Hādī b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥātim
13. and Sālīm b. Muḥammad Bā Salāma [the teacher of the mosque].

IV 42 - 20 Shawwāl 1358/[1939]



نحن المضمين ادنى هذا نقر ونعترف اننا تكلمنا مع السلطان جعفر المنصور
بن غالب ان يوجهنا في اطلاق رخصة قنص آلمدوده. واعتذر لنا
كون القنص لا يترتب عليه الاكل ضرر. ومن اجل ذلك وقفه المرحوم
السلطان علي بن المنصور بن غالب. وبعد جوابه علينا بهذا طلبنا منه ان
يوجهنا في القناصه الواقعه في شهر صفر ١٣٥٨. ووافق نحن على ذلك
وبهذا التاريخ نادو بقنص المساكين المذكورين وهو يشمل التوفيق
السابق وبعد علم السلطان بذلك وقف المساكين عن ذلك. فتوسطنا
نحن المضمين على هذا باءن يساعدنا على الرخصة للمساكين هذه (القناصه
لكون ان زواد القنص موزع فعلى هذا طلبنا من السلطان ان
يجيبنا وعلى ذلك التقرير وضعنا امضاءنا والله شهيد

تحريراً مع سؤال ١٣٥٨ اقر بن لالى من بن كسير بن عامر بن الصديق وكبير
بابه وحضره لتقديره واولاد
عليه عه على الحمد بن لالى وكاتبه باءن والله شهيد

- 1 - نحن المضمين ادنى هذا نقر ونعترف اننا تكلمنا مع السلطان جعفر بن المنصور
- 2 - بن غالب ان يوجهنا في اطلاق رخصة قنص آل مدوده. واعتذر لنا
- 3 - كون القنص لا يترتب عليه اكل ضرر. ومن اجل ذلك وقفه المرحوم
- 4 - السلطان علي بن المنصور بن غالب. وبعد جوابه علينا بهذا طلبنا منه ان
- 5 - يوجهنا في القناصه الواقعه في شهر صفر سنه ١٣٥٨ ووافق نحن على ذلك
- 6 - وبهذا التاريخ نادو بقنص المساكين المذكورين وهو يشمل التوفيق
- 7 - السابق وبعد علم السلطان بذلك وقف المساكين عن ذلك. فتوسطنا
- 8 - نحن المضمين على هذا باءن يساعدنا على الرخصة للمساكين هذه القناصه
- 9 - لكون ان زواد القنص موزع فعلى هذا طلبنا من السلطان ان
- 10 - يجيبنا وعلى ذلك التقرير وضعنا امضاءنا والله شهيد

- 11 - تحريراً في ٢٠ شوال سنة ١٣٥٨ اقر بذلك عامر بن سعيد بن عامر بن الصقير وكتب
 12 - بأمره وحضره سعيد بن يسلم وأكّد
 13 - صحح عوض بن محمد بن منياري وكتب بامر محمد بن عامر

1. We the undersigned of this [document] declare and acknowledge that we have talked with the Sultan Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr
2. b. Ghālib in order to obtain an ibex hunting (*qanīṣ*)-permit for the people of Madūda. He refused us [a permit]
3. because the ibex hunt (*qanīṣ*) causes nothing but mutual harm. That is why the late
4. Sultan 'Alī b. al-Manṣūr b. Ghālib has stopped it. After his answer, we asked him,
5. to give his permission for the hunt (*qanāṣa*) starting in the month of Ḍafar 1358 and he agreed with us about that.
6. And at that date we had summoned the afore-mentioned *masākīn* for the hunt (*qanīṣ*) and [then] it was also forbidden.
7. And when the Sultan received information about that he cancelled this ban for the *masākīn*. And we,
8. the undersigned, acted as mediators in this [case] in order to assist the *masākīn* in obtaining the permission for this hunt (*qanāṣa*),
9. because the provisions for the hunter (*qanīṣ*) had been already distributed. That is why we ask the Sultan to give us his answer.
10. We put our signatures under this report, and God is the Witness.
11. Issued on 20 Shawwāl 1358. It is confirmed by 'Āmir b. Sa'īd b. 'Āmir b. al-Ṣuqayr and written on
12. his order in his presence by Sa'īd b. Yuslim Wākīd.
13. [This is] correct: 'Awaḍ b. Muḥammad Bin Munaybārī, written on his order by Muḥammad b. 'Āmir.

IV 43 - 1358/[1939]

الحمد لله الذي جعلنا منكم شعوباً ونجعلكم أعداء لبعضكم بعضاً
 يومئذ نصلبكم على الأشجار والشجران ونجعلكم لظالمين آياتاً
 وكان لكم الجحيم وهو مصدق عليهم ثم يفرغهم من ذواتهم
 ولابد لها من اقتباز قليل لا يعرفها والموقف من جنتها الحاضر
 مع تعدد هذه المراتب والآيات صدق الحكيم تعالى إذا أوفقتم على ذلك
 عليه بعد فقد تعلمتم من قوله تعالى لا يسأل الله عنكم شيئا من
 ذنوبكم إلا ما أوحى إليكم فإنه خلقكم على الفطرة فاعلموا
 على الفطرة وما لكم الباطل على الفطرة كما كتب إليكم في الكتاب
 أن تؤمنوا بالله وحده لا شريك له فاعلموا بالله وحده لا شريك له
 فاعلموا بالله وحده لا شريك له فاعلموا بالله وحده لا شريك له

أعلان
 حيث أنه قد حصل تصديق على صاحب الموضع في منعه من عزومة قرنته وأصحابه
 يوم الخيط ونهار عتق العبيد وهذا الظلمة بنسأها فقد حصل التعديل في
 هذه المراتب وحصلت الرخصة لصاحب الموضع أن يعزم من ربه من قرنته وأصحابه
 ومن جنتهم - أتانا من جهة العدل الجورس في الرخصة وحصل الخروج في الخيط في الموضع
 العدل على من ذكروا في السطور
 وأيضاً حصل التعديل في الرخصة للعرسان في استعمل ثياب الحرير والحرير ورتبة الأدم
 المزاج والخير لرتب كلها وأول ظهور في الأدم والعرسية والموقف وزوجة النساء
 ليرثا واحداً هذا ما تقر بموافقة أكثر اصوات المجلس وأنته حيث
 حررته
 ١٣٥٨

[1]

- 1 - الحمد لله - حضرة الامجد السلطان جعفر بن منصور وابنه احمد بن جعفر دامت حالهم
- 2 - بعد السلام امس جلسنا نحن واعضاء مجلس الاصلاح وتكلمنا من طرف شكوى
- 3 - اهل الضيافة وقع تضيق عليهم في منعهم من عزومات ارحامهم واقاربهم
- 4 - وكذلك العروس وقع تضيق عليها في استعمال الحرير في خصلاتها واول ظهور
- 5 - ولا بد لها من امتياز قليل على غيرها والموفيه وزوجة المسافر واجتمع راي الاعضاء
- 6 - على تعديل هذه المادتين والآن صدر اليكم اعلان اذا وافقتو على ذلك صححوا
- 7 - عليه بعد نقله بقلم عمر عبود الدقيل وارسلوه لسيد علوي بن عبيد الله يعرضه على ال با رجا
- 8 - وال با حميد لكونهم قريبين عهد بزواج وبعد يرسله للشريفه بنت السيد عمر بن حامد تقراه
- 9/10 - على النساء ولكم الراي الاعلى والسلام | محمد شيخ المساوى | كاتب مجلس الاصلاح
- 9/10 - وديننا نطلع اليكم | لكن ما شي فرصة والسلام

[2]

- 1 - أعلان
- 2 - حيث انه قد حصل تضيق على صاحب الموجه في منعه من عزومة قرابته وارحامه
- 3 - يوم الخطره ونهار عشا الصبحه وغدا الظله وعشاها فقد حصل التعديل في
- 4 - هذه المادتين وحصلت الرخصه لصاحب الموجه ان يعزم من اراد من قرابته وارحامه
- 5 - ومن جرى مجراهم - أما من جهة اهل العروس في الموجه واهل الزوج في الخطره فيلزم
- 6 - العمل على من ذكروا في التبطل
- 7 - وأيضا حصل التعديل في الرخصه للعروس ان تستعمل ثياب الحرير والحلي مدة ايام
- 8 - الزواج والخطرات كلها واول ظهور في اول موجهه وللموفيه وزوجة المسافر
- 9 - يوماً واحدا هذا ما تقرر بموافقة أكثر اصوات المجلس والله رقيب
- 10 - حرر في شهر سنه ١٣٥٨

[page 1]

1. Praise be to God, His Magnificence Sultan Ja‘far b. Manşūr and his son Aḥmad b. Ja‘far, may their well-being last forever,
2. after the salutation. Yesterday we sat together – we and the members of the Reform Council (Majlis al-İslāḥ) – and talked about the part of the complaint
3. of the people offering hospitality (*abl al-ḍiyāfa*) who came across the restrictions concerning the prohibition on inviting their kin (*arḥām*) and relatives (*aqārib*).

4. Likewise the bride came across the restriction on using silk [decoration] in her plaits (*kbuṣalāt*) and [during] her first appearance,
5. and there is no doubt that she has to be distinguished slightly from the others, such as a woman during her *wufā*²-feast (*mūfiya*) and that of the emigrant's (*musāfir*) wife. The opinions of the members are in agreement
6. on the alteration of these two paragraphs. And now the manifest (*īlān*) has been sent to you, and if you agree, then confirm
7. it after it has been copied by the pen of ʿUmar ʿAbbūd al-Duqayl, and send it to the *sayyid* ʿAlawī b. ʿUbaydallāh, who shall show it to the Āl Bā Rajā
8. and Āl Bā Ḥumayd since they will soon be making marriage contracts, and afterwards he shall send it to *al-sharīfa*, the daughter of the *sayyid* ʿUmar [Bin] Ḥāmid to read it
- 9./10. to the women, and your opinion is supreme, and salutations. | Muḥammad Shaykh al-Musāwā | the secretary of the Reform Council (Majlis al-Iṣlāh).
- 9./10. We wanted to come to you | but there was no occasion – and greetings.

[page 2]

1. Manifest
2. Due to the fact that the restriction happened to the person in question prohibiting the invitation of relatives (*aqārib*) and kin (*arḥām*)
3. on *kbatra*-day and the afternoon before the *ṣubḥa*-dinner and the lunch and dinner of the *zilla*-day. So these two paragraphs have been altered.
4. The person in question got permission to invite the relatives (*aqārib*) and kin (*arḥām*) whom he wants,
5. and it follows the same way, as for the bride's side is concerned and the groom's family during the (*kbatra*)-day, it is necessary
6. to act in accordance with what is mentioned in the *tabṭūl*[-documents].
7. And likewise the bride got permission to use silk (*ḥarīr*) dresses and jewellery during the wedding days
8. and all the visits (*kbatra*) and the first appearance concerning the first cause. As for the woman during her *wufā*²-feast (*mūfiya*) and the emigrant's (*musāfir*) wife [the permission is]
9. for one day. This is what has been decided by the agreement of the majority of the members of the Council (al-Majlis) – and God is the Observer.
10. Issued the month [no month given] of the year 1358.

IV 44 - 22 Rabi' al-Ākhir 1359/[1940]

٤٤
 بعد بتاريخ ربيع الثاني ٢٢ ربيع الآخر ١٣٥٩ هـ حصلت التكفاه الصحيحه الشرعيه من
 ادنى هذا وهم عبيد بن سعيد بن علي وصالح بن سعيد بالريس وحسين بن صالح بن سعيد من جهة
 وحسن بن عمر وولده عبد الله بن عمر ومحسن بن محمد بن علي من الجهة الاخرى وذلك للسلطان
 المنصور والسيد علوي بن عبد الله بن حسين وذلك في ان ينظروا ويبحثوا فيما بينهم من
 واختلاف في الخلع الذي غرسوه بالجانب النجدي من سواد بلد سيون على المشاركة فيما بينهم
 ما يعرفه السلطان جعفر والسيد علوي المذكوران فيما بينهم قاطعا للنزاع وفاضلا لتضيتهم
 ما دام كلا منهم العمل به والجرى عليه التزموا بذلك التزاما مؤيدا بالنظر والصحيح تبرر بعد
 وطلبا لقطع النزاع المرغوب عند الفريقين وجرى ما ذكر مع ارض ونفوذ التصرف وكفى
 بالله شهيدا اقر بذلك حسن بن عمر بن حسن اقر بذلك صالح بن سعيد بن بارس اقر بما ذكر عبيد بن
 سعيد
 اقر بذلك محسن بن محمد بن علي اقر بذلك عبدالله بن حسن بن عمر وكتب بامر محسن بن محمد اقر
 بذلك حسين بن صالح بن سعيد

- 1 - [أما] بعد بتاريخ ٢٢ ربيع الآخر سنة ١٣٥٩ حصلت التكفاه الصحيحه الشرعيه من
- 2 - ادنى هذا وهم عبيد بن سعيد بن علي وصالح بن سعيد بالريس وحسين بن صالح بن سعيد من جهة
- 3 - وحسن بن عمر وولده عبد الله بن عمر ومحسن بن محمد بن علي من الجهة الاخرى وذلك للسلطان
- 4 - المنصور والسيد علوي بن عبد الله بن حسين وذلك في ان ينظروا ويبحثوا فيما بينهم من
- 5 - [...] (24) واختلاف في الخلع الذي غرسوه بالجانب النجدي من سواد بلد سيون على المشاركة فيما بينهم
- 6 - ما يعرفه السلطان جعفر والسيد علوي المذكوران فيما بينهم قاطعا للنزاع وفاضلا لتضيتهم
- 7 - ما دام كلا منهم العمل به والجرى عليه التزموا بذلك التزاما مؤيدا بالنظر والصحيح تبرر بعد
- 8 - وطلبا لقطع النزاع المرغوب عند الفريقين وجرى ما ذكر مع ارض ونفوذ التصرف وكفى
- 9 - بالله شهيدا اقر بذلك حسن بن عمر بن حسن اقر بذلك صالح بن سعيد بن بارس اقر بما ذكر عبيد بن
سعيد
- 10 - [أقر] بذلك محسن بن محمد بن علي اقر بذلك عبدالله بن حسن بن عمر وكتب بامر محسن بن محمد اقر
بذلك حسين بن صالح بن سعيد

24 The right margin of the document is cut.

1. And after [the salutations]: on 22 Rabi^c al-Ākhir 1359 the right and legal agreement (*tikfā*) between
2. the following persons were effected: ʿUbayd b. Saʿid b. ʿAlī, Ṣāliḥ b. Saʿid Bā l-Rays, Ḥusayn b. Ṣāliḥ b. Saʿid on one side
3. and Ḥasan b. ʿUmar and his son ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar and Muḥsin b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī on the other side.²⁵ The Sultan
4. [Jaʿfar] al-Manṣūr and the *sayyid* ʿAlawī b. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥusayn have to examine and to study the disagreement between them
5. concerning the date palm saplings (*kbaḥ*) which they planted in the western (*najdī*) side of the arable land of the town Sayʿūn with the mutual cooperation of both of them.
6. [...] According to what the [previously] mentioned Sultan Jaʿfar and *sayyid* ʿAlawī know about the [dispute] between them, they must overcome their disagreement and resolve their case.
7. As long as both of them practise [the agreement] and act according to it, they regard as obligatory the fulfilment of this [agreement] supported by the right opinion, which will be justified later,
8. asking to end the dispute [which is] wanted by both parties. And what has been mentioned has happened with their consent and has legal effectiveness. And it is sufficient
9. to have God as a Witness. Ḥasan b. ʿUmar b. Ḥasan has affirmed that. Ṣāliḥ b. Saʿid b. Bā l-Rays has affirmed that. ʿUbayd b. Saʿid has affirmed what has been mentioned.
10. Muḥsin b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī [has affirmed] what has been mentioned. ʿAbdallāh b. Ḥasan b. ʿUmar has affirmed it, while Muḥsin b. Muḥammad has written on his behalf. Ḥusayn b. Ṣāliḥ b. Saʿid has affirmed that.

²⁵ Two factions of al-Shanāfira tribal confederation.

IV 47 - 1 Rabi' al-Awwal 1360/[1941]

وانما تكلمت في مقامه
 من طرقت معاوية وزياد
 المشركين وسنة في حوالة لوكيلها
 في سنة ١٣٦٠ هـ
 ١٩٤١
 راضي صاحبها
 لا تغفل من المنهد واهله على طاعة
 ولا تغفل من المنهد واهله على طاعة
 راضي صاحبها
 لا تغفل من المنهد واهله على طاعة

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي عرفنا بالجوهر وشرّف الوجوه
 بالحبيب الذي في شهر ربيع الأول مولود سيدنا محمد المجدود
 ومخ الله امته الاقباد لتعظيم هذه الشعائر وجعل القايم
 بها مسجود وفي الاخبار معه وود وبنال كل مقصود وعلى
 معدن الكرام والجود السنه العجود من العجود حشر
 في مقصود بزغاب رخص رعد الله حفظة الله امين وعليه السلام
 ورحمة الله وبركاته جعلنا له تحاريك عهد وسؤال عنكم وطلبنا
 مهالي دعاكم ومزيد اعنيكم وموجب هذا بيك الخويدكم
 المعاني بالزبان والشايع في ربيع الأول حسينا اعلامكم
 بذالكم والباء وصيتكم لنا والافيه المسلمين والسلم عليكم ورحمة
 وعلى اولادكم انما السرايم حر يوم اجعه فاعته ربيع
 الأول سنه ١٣٦٠ هـ ونحن وصيونا المنهد من الكلايين اخصر
 والسنه طالع يعاليت براينه والمسنه روار كرتي والبطايك
 ومقادرة العسكر فيهم قومي كمنه جمع المنهد في

ربيع الأول وانتم
 المولد النبوي بلحمه
 اخصر ونحن اخذنا
 الكلايين صالح وانسطن
 اهو عنكم قومي اخصر
 ليمه وحشا نبروتنا
 ربيع الأول الكلايين عند
 جيا له اسم الله الف خير



ونهدوا الخنيفة اسلوا من الملكا فانه فخر من نفعنا وحررتهم
 من كيد على كتمان من طرف عمالت الخنيفة واولوا عهد اللقوكلام
 الرضايت سو كتمان غير هذه العمال من الاعمال ريتوا اجل
 وخطوا الضم ويطعون الخيازي العادي بعد تمام الزمان
 وهذا بعجز والاسلم عليهم وعلى الاف اوكار في الكافي
 ابرار الزمان والابواب بحجم المراسم النضال لبر عن هات
 العظامي غوره



[1]

- 1 - بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي عرّف بالجوّد وشرف الوجود
- 2 - بالحبيب الذي في شهر ربيع الأول مولود سيدنا محمد المحمود
- 3 - ومنح الله امته الاتقياد لتعظيم هذا الشعار وجعل القائم
- 4 - بها مسعود وفي الاخير معدود وينال كل مقصود وعلى
- 5 - معدن الكرم والجود السند العمود سلطان المعهود جعفر
- 6 - بن منصور بن غالب بن محسن بن عبد الله حفظه الله امين وعليه السلام
- 7 - ورحمت الله ارجوكم بعافيه ونحن ومن لدينا باتم صحه وسرور
- 8 - وعافيه وهذا جعلناه تجديد عهد وسوال عنكم وطلبا
- 9 - صالح دعاكم ومزيد اعتنائكم وموجه هذا بيد الخويدم
- 10 - المعلن بالزياره والباشارة في ١٢ ربيع الأول حبيننا اعلامكم
- 11 - بذلك والدعاء وصيتكم لنا ولكافة المسلمين والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله
- 12 - وعلى اولادكم اتم السلام حرر يوم الجمعة فاتحة ربيع
- 13 - الاول سنة ١٣٦٠ ونحن وصلنا المشهد من المكلا في ٨ صفر
- 14 - والسلطان صالح بن غالب وابنه والمستشار والسكرتير والبطاطي
- 15 - ومقادمة العسكر عزهم قوي لحضور مجمع المشهد في ١٢
- 16 - ربيع الأول واتم ارجو عزمكم قوي لحضور
- 17 - المولد النبوي بالمشهد ليم فرحنا وسرورنا

- 18 - بحضوركم ونحن اخذنا مده ويزيد بالملكلا عند⁽²⁶⁾
- 19 - السلطان صالح وانبسطنا جزاه الله الف الف خير و
- 20 - وايضا تكونون⁽²⁷⁾
- 21 - من طرف معاونت مقام
- 22 - المشهد وعمارته وزيارته
- 23 - ومدرسته وشف حواله العام
- 24 - الماضي رجعها لشيخ عمر بن بو بكر با فضل
- 25 - في ٢٥ ربيع رجعناها من طريق السيد
- 26 - الاخ صالح بن علي الحامد عنكم وارجوكم
- 27 - لا تغفل من المشهد واهله على عادة اهلكم
- 28 - ولكم الفضل والجواب مطلوب
- 29 - والسلام عليكم والرحمه
- 30 - حرر يوم الجمعة غرة ربيع الأول
- 31 - سنه ١٣٦٠ والسلام على اخوانكم
- 32 - وعلى العيال احمد بن جعفر و
- 33 - الحسين بن علي وجعفر
- 34 - بن صالح بن مطلق

[2]

- 1 - ونهد والمخنيق ارسلوا من الملكلا مائه وخمسين ١٥٠ نفر عسكر وعربتهم
- 2 - مدركين على الحكيمان من طرف عمالت المخنيق وعملوا قد اللقو كلام
- 3 - ال ثابت والحكيمان في هذه العماله والعسكر رتبوا الجبل
- 4 - ويقبضوا ارض ويصلحون الغيار في الوادي بعد تمام الرأي
- 5 - وهذا بعجل والسلام عليكم وعلى الاخ ابو بكر بن شيخ الكاف
- 6 - اتم السلام طالب الدعا محبكم المخلص المنصب أحمد بن حسين بن هارون
- 7 - العطاس عنى الله عنه

²⁶ In the middle of the text between lines 16-18 there is a stamp of the *mansab*: المنسب السيد: العتاس Haroun Alattas.

²⁷ The following lines are written above the main text of the page.

[page 1]

1. In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Praise be to God who is known by the name of generosity and who honoured all of existence
2. with the Beloved who has been born in the month of Rabī^ʿ al-Awwal, our master Muḥammad the Praised.
3. God bestowed compliance upon His [Muḥammad's] community in order to exalt this token and He made the leader
4. of it [the community] fortunate, the goodness [of his qualities] are rare, he attains all that he aims for, and [he is]
5. the source of generosity and open-handedness, the base of pillars, the re-known Sultan Ja^ʿfar
6. b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib b. Muḥsin b. ʿAbdallāh, may God protect him. Amen. And peace be upon him
7. and God's mercy! We and those who are with us wish you well-being, perfect health, joy
8. and well-being. We did this [the sending of the letter] in order to renew the agreement, and [to ask] you a question, and to seek
9. appropriate invocation to you and your highest attention, and the reason that [this letter] is handed [to you] by our humble servant
10. [is] to inform you about the pilgrimage and [to give you] glad tidings for the twelfth of Rabī^ʿ al-Awwal. We would like to let you know
11. about this and request your instructions to us and to all Muslims. Peace be upon you and the mercy of God,
12. and perfect peace be upon your sons. Written on Friday which opens Rabī^ʿ
13. al-Awwal, in the year 1360. We came to al-Mashhad from al-Mukallā on 8 Ṣafar.
14. And Sultan Ṣāliḥ b. Ghālib, his son, the Adviser, the Secretary [of State], al-Baṭāṭī,
15. and the military commanders have given their firm commitment to attend the meeting in al-Mashhad on 12
16. Rabī^ʿ al-Awwal. And we ask you for your firm commitment to attend
17. the Prophet's Birthday (*al-marawīd al-nabarawī*) in al-Mashhad to complete our delight and our joy
18. by your attendance. We spent some time in al-Mukallā with
19. Sultan Ṣāliḥ and enjoyed it, may God bless him with a thousand, thousand blessings. And [we appreciate]
20. *wherever you feel*
21. *like helping the sacred place*²⁸

²⁸ Lines 20–34 are written above the main body of the text.

22. of al-Mashhad, as regards its edifice, its pilgrimage
23. and its school. But you see, the money [debt] from
24. last year was returned through Shaykh ʿUmar b. Abī Bakr Bā Faḍl.
25. On 25 Rabīʿ we returned it [this money] through the sayyid
26. brother Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī al-Hāmid. I beg you
27. not to neglect al-Mashhad and its people according to the habits of your own people.
28. The choice is yours, and your answer is required.
29. Peace be upon you and mercy.
30. Written on Friday, the first day of Rabīʿ al-Awwal
31. of the year 1360. Peace be upon your brothers
32. and upon the children of Aḥmad b. Jaʿfar and
33. al-Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī and Jaʿfar
34. b. Ṣāliḥ b. Muṭlaq.

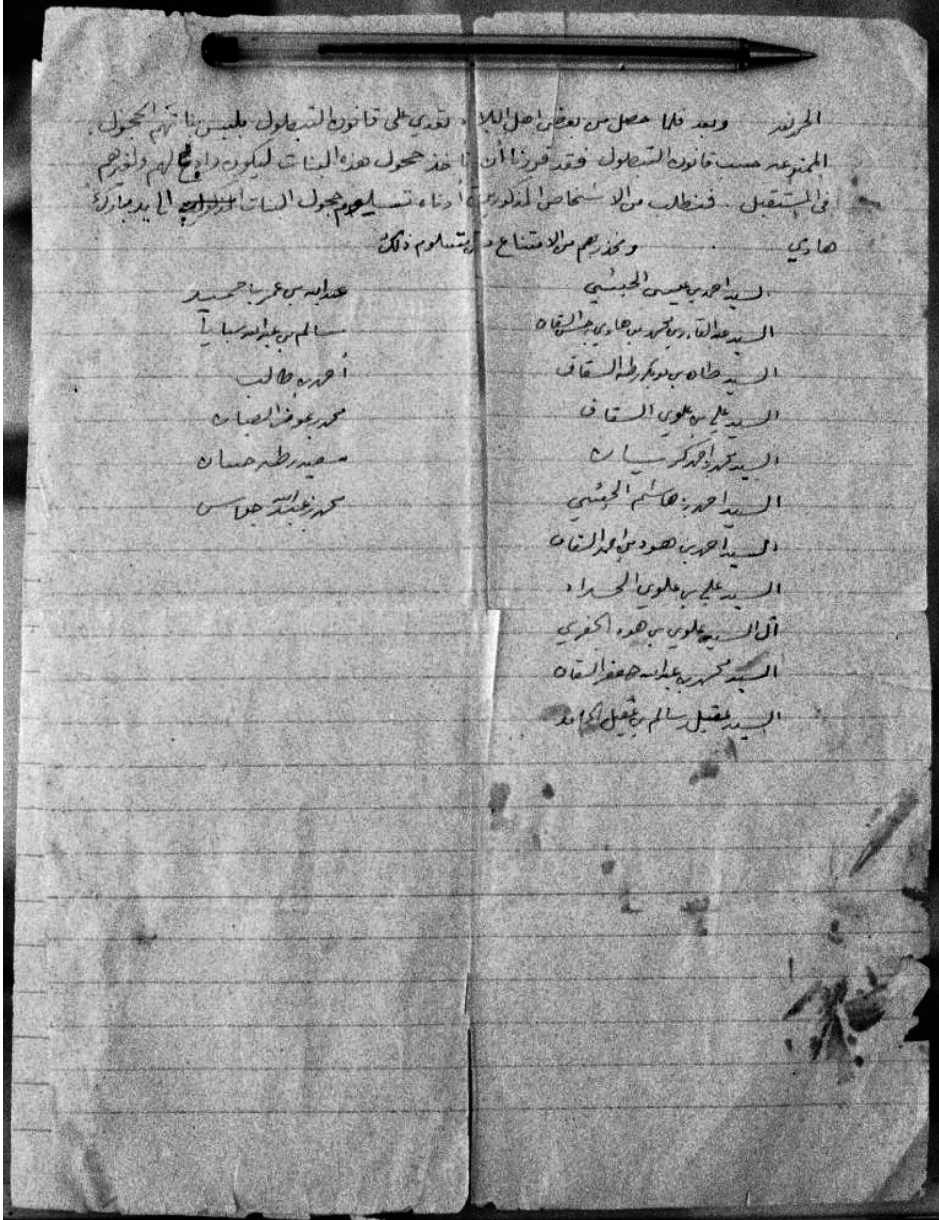
[page 2]

1. The Nahd and [people of] al-Mukha[y]nīq sent from al-Mukallā one hundred and fifty armed men and their equipment.
2. They came up in response to [the judgement] of the *ḥakmān*²⁹ [*ḥakam* Āl ʿAjjāj] concerning the agricultural land of al-Mukha[y]nīq and acted according to the words
3. of Āl Thābit and the *ḥakmān* concerning this land. The armed men took position at al-Jabal
4. and took possession of the terrain, repairing the damage to the *wādī*³⁰ [returning it] to how it had been before [the flood].
5. And this [was written] in a hurry. Peace be upon you and upon brother Abū Bakr Bin Shaykh al-Kāf,
6. perfect peace. The seeker of the invocation [of God], he who loves you sincerely, the *manṣab* Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn b. Hārūn
7. al-ʿAtṭās, God forgive him.

²⁹ Literally ‘two *ḥakams*’, cf. Rodionov, ‘Mashhad ʿAlī’, 311.

³⁰ After clashes between tribal sections.

IV 48 - [1360/1941]



[1]

- 1 - الحمد لله وبعد فلما حصل من بعض اهل البلاد تعدي على قانون التبطل بلبس بناتهم الحجول
- 2 - الممنوعه حسب قانون التبطل فقد قررنا أن نأخذ حجول هذه البنات ليكون رادع لهم ولغيرهم
- 3 - في المستقبل فنطلب من الاشخاص المذكورين أدناه تسليم حجول البنات (المذكورات) الى يد مبارك
- 4 - هادي ونحذرهم من الامتناع من تسلوم ذلك

السيد احمد بن عيسى الحبشي	عبد الله بن عمر با حميد
السيد عبد القادر بن محمد بن هادي بن حسن	سالم بن عبد الله سبايا
السقاف	
السيد طه بن بو بكر بن طه السقاف	احمد بن طالب
السيد علي بن علوي السقاف	محمد بن عوض الصبان
السيد محمد بن احمد كريسان	سعيد بن طه حسان
السيد احمد بن هاشم الحبشي	محمد بن عبد الله جواس
السيد احمد بن هود بن احمد السقاف	
السيد علي بن علوي الحداد	
آل السيد علوي بن هود الجفري	
السيد محمد بن عبد الله بن جعفر السقاف	
السيد عقيل بن سالم بن عقيل الحامد	

[2]

- 1 - بنت عبد الله بن عمر با حميد
- 2 - بنت الحسن احمد بن عيسى حبشي
- 3 - بنت سالم بن عبد الله السباعي
- 4 - بنت احمد بن طالب
- 5 - بنت الحبيب قدري بن محمد بن هادي
- 6 - بنت الحبيب محمد الجفري
- 7 - بنت محمد بن عوض الصبان
- 8 - بنت طاهر بن بو بكر بن طه السقاف
- 9 - بنت علي بن علوي بن سقاف السقاف
- 10 - بنت الحبيب محمد كريسان

لايست حيول	11 - بنت سعيد بن طه حسان
لايست حيول	12 - بنات الحبيب احمد بن هاشم
لايست حيول	13 - بنت الحبيب ⁽³¹⁾
لايست حيول	14 - بنت الحبيب علي الحداد
لايست حيول	15 - بنت الحبيب علوي بن علوي بن هود الجفري
لايست حيول	16 - بنات محمد بن عبد السلام
لايست حيول	17 - بنت محمد بن عبد الله جواس
لايست حيول	18 - بنات سالم بن صالح
	19 - بنات الحبيب سالم بن عقيل الحامد تعني [؟]
	20 - لابسات حيول
	21 - بنت محمد السباعي لايست
	22 - حيول

[page 1]

1. Praise be to God, and after [the greeting]: Since it came to us that some inhabitants of the country violated the law which abolished anklet (*hujūl*)-wearing by their daughters
2. as it is prohibited according to the Law of Abolition. Thus we decided to confiscate the anklets of these girls to prevent them and others [from wearing anklets]
3. in the future. And so we demand the persons mentioned below to hand over the girls' anklets to Mubārak Hādī.
4. And we warn them not to refuse [the request] to hand them over.

[List of names]

[right column]:

al-sayyid Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā al-Ḥabshī

al-sayyid ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Hādī b. Ḥasan al-Saqqāf

al-sayyid Ṭāhā b. Bū Bakr b. Ṭāhā al-Saqqāf

al-sayyid ʿAlī b. ʿAlawī al-Saqqāf

al-sayyid Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Kuraysān

al-sayyid Aḥmad b. Hāshim al-Ḥabshī

al-sayyid Aḥmad b. Hūd b. Aḥmad al-Saqqāf

al-sayyid ʿAlī b. ʿAlawī al-Ḥaddād

³¹ The name is crossed out.

al-sayyid ʿAlawī b. Hūd al-Jifrī
al-sayyid Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh Jaʿfar al-Saqqāf
al-sayyid ʿAqīl b. Sālim b. ʿAqīl al-Ḥāmid

[left column]:



ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar Bā Ḥumayd
 Sālim b. ʿAbdallāh Sabāyā
 Aḥmad b. Ṭālib
 Muḥammad b. ʿAwaḍ al-Ṣabbān
 Saʿīd b. Ṭāhā Ḥassān
 Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh Jawwās

[page 2]

1. The daughter of ʿAbdallāh b. ʿUmar Bā Ḥumayd has worn anklets (*ḥuyūl*).
2. The daughter of al-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. ʿĪsā [al-]Ḥabshī...
3. The daughter of Sālim b. ʿAbdallāh al-Sibāʿī ...
4. The daughter of Aḥmad b. Ṭālib ...
5. The daughter of *al-ḥabīb* Qadrī b. Muḥammad b. Hādī ...
6. The daughter of *al-ḥabīb* Muḥammad al-Jifrī ...
7. The daughter of Muḥammad b. ʿAwaḍ al-Ṣabbān ...
8. The daughter of Ṭāhir b. Bū Bakr b. Ṭāhā al-Saqqāf ...
9. The daughter of ʿAlī b. ʿAlawī Saqqāf al-Saqqāf ...
10. The daughter of *al-ḥabīb* Muḥammad Kuraysān ...
11. The daughter of Saʿīd b. Ṭāhā Ḥassān ...
12. The daughters of *al-ḥabīb* Aḥmad Bin Hāshim ...
13. The daughter of *al-ḥabīb*³² ...
14. The daughter of *al-ḥabīb* ʿAlī al-Ḥaddād ...
15. The daughter of *al-ḥabīb* ʿAlawī b. ʿAlawī b. Hūd al-Jifrī ...
16. The daughters of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh al-Salām ...
17. The daughter of Muḥammad b. ʿAbdallāh Jawwās ...
18. The daughters of Sālim b Ṣāliḥ ...
19. The daughters of *al-ḥabīb* Sālim b. ʿAqīl al-Ḥāmid [... not clear]
20. have worn anklets.
21. The daughter of Muḥammad al-Sibāʿī has worn
22. anklets.

³² The rest of the name is crossed out resp. corrected.

IV 49 - 15 Rabi' al-Awwal 1360/[1941]

الحمد لله بتاريخ ١٥ شهر ربيع الأول سنة ١٣٦٠ هـ فقد اتفقوا العارة المضين على هذا
 بان يعملوا بموجب الشروط الآتية - أولاً المخاربه تكون في نجم القلب
 ثانياً غير ممكن لأي عمار يدخل على الثاني بنقصان من الشروط المعتاده
 للعمار على الموال ثالثاً المخاربه لصاحب المال لمن هو مجمل في البير واهل
 النقايل تبعاً به واذ صار تقصير على ارباب الاموال اهل النقايل
 وحصل منهم التبليغ فالمقام على العمار من الدوله . هذا الذي تقرر بين
 العاره المضين عليه للصيانه من تقدمهم على بعضهم البعض بما يسبب
 الضرر على الاموال وعلينهم التزام بذلك والعمل بمقتضا ما تقرر
 سلاماً جماً حفظ عمر بنوك حماد بن عبد حميد كرم زخرفاً حماد حماد عمر بنوك
 حفظ عمر بنوك حماد بن عبد حميد كرم زخرفاً حماد حماد عمر بنوك
 حماد بن عبد حميد كرم زخرفاً حماد حماد عمر بنوك حماد بن عبد حميد كرم زخرفاً
 حماد بن عبد حميد كرم زخرفاً حماد حماد عمر بنوك حماد بن عبد حميد كرم زخرفاً
 عمر بنوك

- 1 - صحيح جعفر بن المنصور بن غالب (33)
- 2 - الحمد لله بتاريخ ١٥ شهر ربيع الأول سنة ١٣٦٠ هـ فقد اتفقوا العارة المضين على هذا
- 3 - بان يعملون بموجب الشروط الآتية - أولاً المخاربه تكون في نجم القلب.
- 4 - ثانياً غير ممكن لأي عمار يدخل على الثاني بنقصان من الشروط المعتاده
- 5 - للعمار على الموال ثالثاً المخاربه لصاحب المال لمن هو مجمل في البير واهل
- 6 - النقايل تبعاً به واذ صار تقصير على ارباب الاموال اهل النقايل
- 7 - وحصل منهم التبليغ فالمقام على العمار من الدوله. هذا الذي تقرر بين
- 8 - العاره المضين عليه للصيانه من تقدمهم على بعضهم البعض بما يسبب

33 Written by the sultan's own hand.

- 9 - الضرر على الاموال وعليهم الترمو بذلك والعمل بمقتضا ما تقرر
- 10 - سلمان بن جمعان | محفوظ عمر بريك | جمعان بن عمود حبيش | كرامه بن عوض خباه | جمعان عمر بريك
- 11 - محفوظ بن يسلم با فطيم | حمود بن عبود با ضاوي | جمعان سليمان بضاعه | حميد عمر با رماده | علي عبود با ضاوي
- 12 - سالم عوض با سيود | عبود بن يسلم با فطيم | احمد عمر قصي | عوض سالم قفزان | حميد سالم قفزان
- 13 - عمر علي با فرج

1. 'Correct': Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib
2. Praise be to God, dated the 15th of the month Rabi' al-Awwal 1360. The undersigned arable farmers (*ammāra*) have come to an agreement about these [issues]
3. which shall be executed according to the following terms: firstly, the *mukhbābara* sharecropping lease starts on the al-Qalb star.
4. Secondly, it is not allowed for any farmer to oust another by the reduction of the usual conditions
5. to the landowner (*marwā*). Thirdly, the *mukhbābara* [is offered for use] by the landowner [in the first instance] to those who have dug a well, and
6. other sharecroppers [i.e. subleasers] (*naqāyil*) are [offered only] after him. And in case of a violation [of the lease conditions] by the sharecroppers against the landowners
7. which is reported by them [the landowners], the authorities (*darwa*) declare the farmers responsible. That is what has been decided among
8. the undersigned arable farmers in order to prevent competition between one another, since it causes
9. harm to the arable land. The [undersigned] are responsible for that and put their signatures to certify what has been decided:
10. Salmān b. Jum'ān | Maḥfūz 'Umar Brayk | Jum'ān b. 'Abbūd Ḥubaysh | Karāma b. 'Awaḍ Khabā | Jum'ān 'Umar Brayk,
11. Maḥfūz b. Yuslim Bā Fuṭaym | Ḥamūd b. 'Abbūd Bā Dāwī | Jum'ān Sulaymān Baḍā'a | Ḥumayd 'Umar Bā Rumāda | 'Alī 'Abbūd Bā Dāwī,
12. Sālim 'Awaḍ Bā Saywud | 'Abbūd b. Yuslim Bā Fuṭaym | Aḥmad 'Umar Qumṣī | 'Awaḍ Sālim Qafzān | Ḥumayd Sālim Qafzān,
13. 'Umar 'Alī Bā Faraj.

IV 50 - 24 Şafar 1378/[1958]

٥٠
١٣٦٨ هـ
١٩٥٨



الحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم
 الى جناب المكرم المحترم السلطان جعفر بن منصور حفظه الله تعالى امين السلام عليكم ورحمة الله
 وبركاته نرجوكم بعافيه كما انا كذلك كتابكم العزيز وصل ليام ذيك بيد القبائل عامر بن سعيد
 وعوض بن محمد ومحمد بن عامر ومحمد عبيد وذكرتم فيه تكاسر القناصه ونجري على حسب العوايد
 السابقه وفرحنا به لان فيه تشريف لنا ولقبائنا وقبائلكم والان يقولون صدرت رخصه منكم
 للمساكين والمشايخ المضادين لنا وليس لهم خير لا في قناصه ولا حافه البلاد وانما قصدهم الفتنه
 والافتراق وان لهم حق عندنا في شيء او عاده يعتادونها ومنعناها يكون القبل
 عندكم في الحال لشان تعرف المصيب من المخالف وتزجر المخالف والعمد على الوثر الذي القاه السلطان
 المرحوم علي بن منصور ونحكم تمشون الناس على موجب ما في الوثر لشان قطع النزاع وقصدنا
 منكم بمنع المشايخ والمساكين ال با مطرف من القناص لانهم بغوا قناصه لانفسهم ولا كانوا
 يعتادون قناصه لانفسهم الا في سعة جماعتهم حسب ما في الوثر الذي بطرفكم وقناصتهم

محمد بن محمد
١٣٧٨ هـ

- 1 - الحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم
- 2 - الى جناب المكرم المحترم السلطان جعفر بن منصور حفظه الله تعالى امين السلام عليكم ورحمة الله
- 3 - وبركاته نرجوكم بعافيه كما انا كذلك كتابكم العزيز وصل ليام ذيك بيد القبائل عامر بن سعيد
- 4 - وعوض بن محمد ومحمد بن عامر ومحمد عبيد وذكرتم فيه تكاسر القناصه ونجري على حسب العوايد
- 5 - السابقه وفرحنا به لان فيه تشريف لنا ولقبائنا وقبائلكم والان يقولون صدرت رخصه منكم
- 6 - للمساكين والمشايخ المضادين لنا وليس لهم خير لا في قناصه ولا حافه البلاد وانما قصدهم الفتنه
- 7 - والافتراق وان لهم حق عندنا في شيء او عاده يعتادونها ومنعناها يكون القبل
- 8 - عندكم في الحال لشان تعرف المصيب من المخالف وتزجر المخالف والعمد على الوثر الذي القاه السلطان
- 9 - المرحوم علي بن منصور ونحكم تمشون الناس على موجب ما في الوثر لشان قطع النزاع وقصدنا
- 10 - منكم بمنع المشايخ والمساكين ال با مطرف من القناص لانهم بغوا قناصه لانفسهم ولا كانوا
- 11 - يعتادون قناصه لانفسهم الا في سعة جماعتهم حسب ما في الوثر الذي بطرفكم وقناصتهم

- 12 - هذه با تجر فتنه كبير واتم والين على ردعهم لان هذا الافتراق شاق علينا جم جم لانه حادث
 13 - وان لم تصدق بقولنا اسئل من اردته من اعيان بلد مدوده وان احببتم الافتراق اتم ذلك
 14 - بلادنا حافتين او ثلاث بعد ما كانت حافه وحده ولم يرتضي الافتراق السلطان علي هذا امر منكم
 15 - واليكم فنحن غير راضين بذلك والان المساكين يتسابون كل يوم نحن نسمعهم والسبب في ذلك [اتم؟]
 16 - والدعا وصيه والسلام الشيخ طه بن محمد بن ابي بكر با حميد والجواب مطلوب بيد العاني
 17 - ٢٤ صفر سنه ١٣٧٨

1. Praise be to God alone. God bless our Master Muḥammad, His family and His companions and grant [them] salvation.
2. To His Highness the noble and venerable Sultan Jaʿfar b. Maṣṣūr, may the Most High God protect him. Amen. Peace be upon him, God's mercy
3. and His blessings. We wish you well-being as I myself enjoy. Your notable letter has come recently through the tribesmen (*qabāʿil*) ʿĀmir b. Saʿīd
4. and ʿAwaḍ b. Muḥammad [Bin Munaybārī] and Muḥammad b. ʿĀmir and Muḥammad ʿUbayd. You mentioned in it the ibex hunt (*qanāṣa*) and actions concerning old traditions,
5. and it brought us joy because it bestows honour on us, on our tribes and your tribes (*qabāʿil*). And now people are saying that you gave your permission [for the ibex hunt]
6. to the *masākīn* and the *mashāyikh* who opposed us, and they have no option (*kbīr[a]*) either in the ibex hunt (*qanāṣa*) or in the [affairs of] the quarter (*ḥāfa*) of the village; on the contrary, their aim is [to cause] trouble
7. and disruption. And if they have any well-grounded claims [to present] to us on any [particular] thing or any tradition which we forbade, we would come
8. to you immediately so that you can discern the right one from the wrong one. Backed up to the letter sent by the late Sultan
9. ʿAlī b. Maṣṣūr, we wish you to lead people to the goal declared in this document in order to stop the controversy definitely; and we ask you
10. to ban the ibex hunt (*qanāṣa*) for the *mashāyikh* and *masākīn* Āl Bā Maṣṣraf, because they wanted to hunt on their own, although
11. the hunt (*qanāṣa*) should not be exercised separately but only in the ranks of their community in accordance with the document you sent [to us]. Their way of hunting (*qanāṣa*)
12. will cause great trouble. And you are lenient with their butts although this split brought to us the great, great discord and it still exists.
13. If you find my words insufficient, ask whom you like from the important people of Madūda village. And if you want the split,

14. our village does not consist of two or three parts, but it is a single quarter; and the Sultan ʿAli did not want the split [cf. IV 29?], and this case is in your disposal.
15. And we do not agree with it. Now the *masākīn* are grumbling every day and we are listening to them, and the reason [for all that] is you [?].
16. Invocation [of God], instruction and peace! The *shaykh* Ṭāhā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Bā Ḥumayd. And we need the answer from the hand of an appointed person (*al-ʿānī*).
17. 24 Ḍafar, 1378.

2.2 Documents from private archives

Madūda 1 – 22 Shawwāl 1353/[1935]

الحمد لله بتاريج يوم الاحد في ٢٢ شهر شوال سنة ١٣٥٣ فقد اتفقوا وتواتروا بالاتزام الصحيح
على شرح النسخ واللفظ وهما امبارك علي با مفتاح وبلغيت بن سالم بن فرج القائمين على جماعتهم
وعمر احمد وسعيد بن احمد بن بختير القائمين على جماعتهم البخضر وناصر بن سالم بن راشد بن سالم الراشد
القائمين على جماعتهم الراشد ومقدم سالم القائم على جماعته ال مقدم والريحان وجمعان سالم بن عبيد
القائمين على جماعته ومن تبعه من ال عبيد الله ومريم علي د و بل القائمين على جماعته ال د و بل
المتروكون المذكورين في تعاضدوا على كل شرح واقر بان لا احد يوجز ولا يعطي في صاحبه
اليوم ولا في المستقبل ومن خالف من الجماعة المذكورين من غير رضا المذكورين فقد اوجب عليه
واحد وادبته عشر في قرشي وراسي ختم وتان من المذكورين بان لا احد يدخل على القوم
التي اهلها ولا يجر ولا يجر احد منهم القائمين من قضاة وسراجه من مزاج من يارة هو د ومن خالف
من القوم فقد عليه الفساركة المذكورة والجد في احد عليهم الا من يارة غير ذلك من غيرهم
المذكورين من تباعهم ليس على حد مانع ويسبونه بالمرزوم من تحت دار العلم عن المراجع
يغلقون تحت دار العلم عن بعد الناقم والتم شاهد ورضيت امر على علمه المذكورين
امبارك بن علي با مفتاح وبلغيت بن سالم بن فرج وعمر احمد وسعيد بن احمد البخضر وناصر بن سالم
وراشد بن سالم الراشد ومقدم سالم القائم والريحان وجمعان سالم بن عبيد الله وعمر علي
د و بل القائمين على جماعته وكتب با مريم الكاتب وشهد باقر احمد بن عبد الله
رشيدان باحميد

- 1 - الحمد لله بتاريج يوم الاحد في ٢٢ شهر شوال سنة ١٣٥٣ فقد اتفقوا وتواتروا بالاتزام الصحيح
- 2 - على شرح النسخ واللفظ وهما امبارك بن علي با مفتاح وبلغيت بن سالم بن فرج القائمين على جماعتهم
- 3 - وعمر احمد وسعيد بن احمد بن بختير القائمين على جماعتهم البخضر وناصر بن سالم بن راشد [با راشد] وراشد بن سالم الراشد
- 4 - القائمين على جماعتهم الراشد ومقدم سالم القائم على جماعته ال مقدم والريحان وجمعان سالم بن عبيد الله
- 5 - القائم على جماعته ومن تبعه من ال عبيد الله وعمر بن علي د و بل القائم على جماعته ال د و بل

- 6 - التزموا المذكورين وتعاضدوا على كل شرع وافي بأن لاحد يوخذ ولا يعطي في صاحبه
 7 - اليوم ولا في المستقبل ومن خالف من الجماعه المذكورين من غير رخصه المذكورين فقد الجد⁽³⁴⁾ عليه
 8 - واحد وادبته⁽³⁵⁾ عشرين قرش وراس غنم وتلازموا المذكورين بأن لاحد يدخل على الوثور
 9 - الوله⁽³⁶⁾ لاهم ولا جماعتهم التابعين من قناصه ومعراج ومرزح زيارة هود ومن خالف
 10 - من الوثور فقدر عليه الخساره المذكوره والجد واحد عليه الا زيارة عمر يدخلون المرزحه
 11 - المذكورين ومن تبعهم ليس على حد مانع ويستبدون بالمرزحه من تحت دار الطه عمر والمرجع
 12 - يعلقون تحت دار الطه عمر بعد الفاتحه والله شاهد وريقيب اقروا على ذلك المذكورين
 13 - امبارك بن علي با مفتاح وبلغيث بن سالم بن فرنج وعمر احمد وسعيد بن احمد ال بخضر وناصر بن سالم
 [با راشد]
 14 - وراشد بن يسلم الراشد ومقدم بن سالم الهمام وجمعان سالم بن عبيد الله وعمر بن علي
 15 - دويل القائمين وكلين على جماعته وكتب بامرهم الكاتب وشهد باقرارهم عبد الله بن عمر
 16 - وشيخان با حميد

1. Praise be to God. Dated: Sunday, the 22nd day of the month Shawwāl 1353. The agreement was concluded and codified with due obligation
2. based on the pure and clear law by the two parts who are Umbārak b. ‘Alī Bā Miftāḥ and Bilghayth b. Sālīm b. Furayj on behalf of their community;
3. and ‘Umar Aḥmad and Sa‘īd b. Aḥmad Āl Bakhḍar on behalf of their community [i.e. that of] Āl Bakhḍar; and Nāṣir b. Sālīm [Bā Rāshid] and Rāshid b. Yuslim al-Rāshid
4. on behalf of their community al-Rāshid; and Muqaddam b. Sālīm on behalf of his community Āl Muqaddam and al-Rayḥān; [?] and Jum‘ān Sālīm Bin ‘Ubaydil(l)āh
5. on behalf of his community and those who follow him from Āl ‘Ubaydil(l)āh; and ‘Umar b. ‘Alī Dūbil on behalf of his community Āl Dūbil.
6. The above mentioned obligated themselves and supported one another [in this concern] by all legal norms that nobody shall take or give [anything] to his companion,
7. today or in future. If the community of the above mentioned violates [the rule], without permission of the [other] above mentioned, then all must act against them [as] a mutual hand,

³⁴ Hypercorrect spelling for *ḍ* according to Hadrami yodization of *jīm*, cf. above: Note on usage, translation and transliteration.

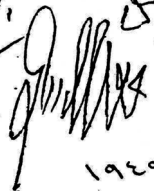
³⁵ *udba* – a local word for punishment, proposed and attested by informants.

³⁶ *al-wala* – local pronunciation for *al-awwal*, attested by informants.

8. and their punishment is twenty *qirshs* and a sheep. And the above mentioned obligated themselves that nobody may follow the previous documents
9. neither them nor their communities taking part in the ibex hunt (*ganāṣa*) or *mī'rāj* or processions (*marāzib*) of the pilgrimage to the [prophet] Hūd [tomb]; and he who disobeys
10. these lines [= documents, rules] the mentioned fine is imposed on him and the mutual hand will be against him, with the exception of the pilgrimage to [Shaykh Ṭāhā] 'Umar which is entered with a procession (*marzaḥa*)
11. by the above mentioned and those who follow them, and it is never forbidden. They start with the procession at the house of Ṭāhā 'Umar and on their way back
12. [the procession] stops by the house of Ṭāhā after the *al-fātiḥa* [has been recited]. And God is the Witness and the Observer. This is confirmed by the above mentioned
13. Umbārak b. 'Alī Bā Miftāḥ, Bilghayth b. Sālim b. Furayj, 'Umar Aḥmad, Sa'id b. Aḥmad Āl Bakhḍar, Naṣir b. Sālim [Bā Rāshid],
14. Rāshid b. Yuslim al-Rāshid, Muqaddam b. Sālim al-Humām, Jum'ān Sālim Bin 'Ubaydil(l)āh and 'Umar b. 'Alī
15. Dūbil – representatives, every one (*kullayn*)³⁷ on behalf of their communities. This was written down according to their order by the scribe, and their decision is certified by 'Abdallāh b. 'Umar
16. and Shaykhān Bā Ḥumayd.

³⁷ *kullayn* for 'everybody,' cf. Piamenta, *Dictionary*, 433b.

Madūda 2 - 25 Rabī' al-Awwal 1368/25 January 1949

ما ذكر افضل هذا صريح
 نقل طبق الاصل


٥٥ ربيع الأول ١٣٦٨هـ موافقا ٥٥ جوارح سنة ١٩٤٩

المجديده بناء على ما قرره ائمتنا المحرم السلطان علي بن منصور بن علي
 بتاريخ ٥٧ صفر ١٣٥٧ بين اهالي بيافه بلدة مدوده والزمهم العمل به
 ضمن الآون توحيد ذلك القرار وتلزمهم العمل به ايضا
 وحيث ان المذكورين حضرو لدينا بهذا التاريخ وهم مقدم الخافه
 سعيد بن احمد محضر وعريف الأضمر ، فبعد سماع كلامهم فيما يتعلق
 برخصة القنيسه التي كان موقفا من قبل سجنالهم بالرخصه
 والزمناهم العمل بما ياتي

١ يكون اسم القنيسه اول ليلة من ذلك اليوم في ظهوره وثاني

ليلة عند من كان من مشايخ ارباب حميد لديه المنصبه

٢ كل عريف مسؤول عن حمايته والمقدم مسؤول عن العريف

٣ عواريه القنيسه السابقه بحرون مبيده وعليهم المقادير في

بعضهم البعض ومع المشايخ وغيرهم من كان مدوده ومع القبايل

والطباويريين ارباب ومن خالفهم يعاقب كصالح
 جعفر المنصور بن علي

نقله من الاصل حرفا بحرف
 عيسى

- 1 - ما ذكر اسفل هذا صحيح
- 2 - نقل طبق الاصل
- 2a - [جعفر بن المنصور]⁽³⁸⁾
- 3 - ٢٥ ربيع الأول سنة ١٣٦٨ الموافق ٢٥ جنواري سنة ١٩٤٩
- 4 - الحمد لله بناءً على ما قرره اخينا المرحوم السلطان علي بن المنصور بن غالب
- 5 - بتاريخ ٢٧ صفر سنه ١٣٥٧ بين أهالي حافة بلدة مدوده والزمهم العمل به
- 6 - فنحن الآءن نؤيد ذلك القرار ونلزمهم العمل به أيضا
- 7 - وحيث أن المذكورين حضرو لدينا بهذا التاريخ وهم مقدم الحافة
- 8 - سعيد بن احمد بخضر وعرايف الأخاس. فبعد سماع كلامهم فيما يتعلق
- 9 - برخصه القنيص الذي كان موقفاً من قبل. سمحنا لهم بالرخصه
- 10 - والزمناهم العمل بما ياتي
- 11 - ١ - يكون سمر القنيص أول ليله عند الشيخ مولى طيوره. وثاني
- 12 - ليله عند من كان من مشايخ آل با حميد لديه المنصب
- 13 - ٢ - كل عريف مسئول عن جماعته والمقدم مسئول عن العرايف
- 14 - ٣ - عوايد القنيص السابقه يجرون عليها وعليهم المقادير في
- 15 - بعضهم البعض ومع المشايخ وغيرهم من سكان مدوده ومع القبائل
- 16 - المجاورين لها. ومن خالف هذا يعاقب صحيح
- 17 - نقاه من الأصل حرفا بحرف جعفر بن المنصور بن غالب
- 18 - عمر عبيد الدقيل

1. What is stated below is correct.
2. Copied from the original
- 2a. [Ja'far b. al-Manṣūr].
3. 25 Rabi' al-Awwal 1368 corresponding to 25 January 1949.
4. Praise be to God. In accordance with the decree of our deceased brother the Sultan 'Alī b. al-Manṣūr b. Ghālib,
5. dated 27 Ḍafar 1357 [IV 29], [based on the agreement] between the population of the quarter(s) of the *balda* Madūda whom he ordered to fulfil it,
6. we now support that decree and order [them] to fulfil it, too.
7. As those mentioned below have come to us on this day, and they are the leaders (*muqaddam*) of the quarter

³⁸ Written by the sultan's own hand.

8. Saʿīd b. Aḥmad Bakhḍar and the foremen (*ʿarāyif*) of the five quarters (*aklmās*), and after hearing their words concerning
9. the [hunting] permission for the ibex hunters (*qanīs*) which was suspended earlier, we granted them permission [to hunt]
10. and ordered them to act as following:
11. 1 - the *samar*-meeting of the hunting party (*qanīs*) on the first night has to be at the *shaykh* Mawlā Ṭuyūra, and on the second
12. night, at [the place of] he who is the *manṣab* of the *mashāyikh* Āl Bā Ḥumayd.
13. 2 - Every foreman (*ʿarīf*) is responsible for his community, and the leader (*muqaddam*) is responsible for the foremen.
14. 3 - The previous traditions of the hunting party (*qanīs*) are still valid, and upon them is a collective departure [to the hunt]
15. together with the *mashāyikh* and others from the people of Madūda and the tribesmen (*qabāʿil*) nearby.
16. And those who disobey that, will be punished. “That is right” Jaʿfar b. al-Manṣūr b. Ghālib.
17. This is copied from the original, letter by letter. Jaʿfar b. al-Manṣūr b. Ghālib
18. ʿUmar ʿUbayd al-Duqayl [the secretary of the Sultan].

GhBW 1 - The last Monday of Safar 1322/[1904]

Bawazir NA

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا الذي كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله والصلوة والسلام على أشرف المرسلين
سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه أجمعين وبعده لما كان يوم الاثنين من شهر صفر سنة
اثنان وعشرون وثلاث مائة والى عا ١٣٢٢م فقد حصل الاجتماع
والعاصد والتناصر والتوازر والمساعدة بين أهل الصداق البين
وبين أهل الصداق وذو أحياء الله ولرسوله وأخوانهم المؤمنين بشقة
منهم على القسم وعلى أحوالهم المؤمنين وهم مشايخ البلد وعسكرها
وحضرها وغيرهم ممن دخل مدخلهم وهم الواضعون آخر السطور
أقر بهم وكان اجتماعهم على إبطال المنكرات الحادثة والرجوع إلى هادي
السعادات والخيرات لهم في الحياة وبعد الممات وانفقت كلمة الجميع على
أن الجهاز للنبذ البكر سنة أو غيرها الغاية تلاقف بالآ وغير أن
الجهاز للثيب عشرون ريالاً والجميع من خاله وخاله وكورده وباب
داخله في هذا المذكور على أن ابن الع والاجني سوا في ذلك والضيقة
تكون مقله من ربيته أو ثلاثاً وكبطن عطر وردى أو عنبرى
وقصه حلوى وسط لاهى كبيره ولاهى صغيره حسب العاده وكل
أن المهرست أو اوق فضه واحمعو أيضاً على تطويل وجه ثوب
المرولة التي فوق الكعبي، ولا تخرج المرولة خارج بيتها الأبر وال
والترقيده تكون دراسه تمنها إلى غاية قرش وربع أو نحوها على
منه حضور بشرح البدو وعلى أن الحضاب يكون في الوجه من غير
تثنية بالرجال لا يكون لحيه ولا شارب وكذا إبطال اللؤلؤ من
الخشفة الذي في أسفل الأنف وعلى إبطال جميع ثياب الحرير وإبطال
الكل بجميع أنواعه قليلة وكثيره ويمنع النساء من اللوح في صفو
الرجال حين كان في البلده أو غيرها باختلاط أو غيره والطرحة
للمشرفة حرق فقط على كل زيادة وتعاقد وأعلى حضور الجوه
والجامع وعلى أن كل جنب في الظهور على العروس بمنع وكل دخل
في بيت ماله جنس ح ذلك البيت وكان دخوله لغيره من شرعي
منع من الدخول تمنعه الجيران فان لم يمنعهم يسألون الدوله
وعلى الدوله تردده بما فيه صلاحه بل وكل من خالف لما تراض عليه وكان
ممنوعاً في هذا الرفعه القيام عليه واحد من جيرانه ومن رؤساء
حاقفه فان عوقب دونه بما فيه صلاحه ستم وبينه والإعلمه بياقوت
الوجه والوجه والوجه والوجه والوجه والوجه والوجه والوجه
بش حاقفه وهو يردده وهم عون له فان رجعه والاصلام
يسألون الدوله والدوله تردده لحكم الله ورسوله والأدوله مخاطبه
به بيان بداءه الله ورسوله والله جل العوقب وهو حبا ودم الوكيل في
وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم والوجه من العالمين وكل من في هذا
الطرحة مخالفاً للشرعه فكل أخوه وعنه والله جل العوقب لله والوجه
الوجه الشرعي في حق الله رعا العطان



وتشبه من الصدام
محمد بن محمد شيخ محمد بن محمد الطيحي
تأويله
صديق من شيخ صلاح حيدر شيرازي
١٣٠٣/٤٤

ش

ش على ذلك
محمد بن مبارك
باجليده

ش على ذلك
مبارك بن محسن
باحارث

ش على ذلك
سالم بن محمد بن
عيسى بن محمد بن

ش على ذلك
سعيد بن
عثمان بن مشقال

ش على ذلك
سعيد بن
باوقيد
بنه بن محمد بن
باهره الفقيه

ش على ذلك
عبد الله بن محمد بن
عيسى بن محمد بن

(وثيقة من الصداق محفوظة عند الشيخ عبد الله احمد العطيبي با وزير هدية من الاخ صالح سعيد با شنتوف
٢٠٠٣/٢/٤م) (39)

[1]

- 1 - بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلاه والسلام على اشرف المرسلين
- 2 - سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه اجمعين وبعد لما كان يوم الاثنين سلخ صفر عام
- 3 - اثنين وعشرين وثلاث مئه والف عام ١٣٢٢ فقد حصل الاجتماع
- 4 - والتعاقد والتناصر والتوازر والمساعدة بين اهل الصداق البين
- 5 - وبين اهل الصداق ونواحيها لله ولرسوله ولاخوانهم المؤمنين شفقة
- 6 - منهم على انفسهم وعلى اخوانهم المؤمنين وهم مشايخ البلد وعسكرها
- 7 - وحضرها وغيرهم ممن دخل مدخلهم وهم الواضعون آخر المسطور
- 8 - اقرارهم وكان اجتماعهم على ابطال المنكرات الحادته والرجوع الى ما فيه
- 9 - السعادات والخيرات لهم في الحياة وبعد المات واتفقت كلمة الجميع على
- 10 - ان الجهاز للبت البكر شيخه اوغيرها الى غاية ثلاثون ريالاً وعلى ان
- 11 - الجهاز للتيب عشرون ريالاً والجميع من خاله وخال وكوبره وباب

39 مكتبة عبدالله احمد با وزير الخاصة - مكتبة عبد الله احمد با وزير الخاصة - حضرموت - المكلا - غيل با وزير.

- 12 - داخله في هذا المذكور وعلى ان ابن العم والاجنبي سوا في ذلك والصبحة
- 13 - تكون مقلمه ثمن ريتين او ثلاث ويطبخ عطر وردى او عنبرى
- 14 - وقصه حلوى وسط لا هي كبيره ولا هي صغيره حسب العاده وعلى
- 15 - ان المهر ست اواق فضه واجتمعوا أيضا على تطويل وجه ثوب
- 16 - المرءة الى فوق الكعبين ولا تخرج المرءة خارج بيتها الا بسر وال
- 17 - والترقيده تكون دراسه ثمنها الى غاية قرش وربع اونحوه وعلى
- 18 - منع حضور شرح البدو وعلى ان الخضاب يكون في الوجه من غير
- 19 - تشبه بالرجال لا يكون لحيه ولا شارب وكذا ابطال اللؤلؤ من
- 20 - الخشفه الذى في اسفل الأنف وعلى ابطال جميع ثياب الحرير وابطال
- 21 - التل بجميع انواعه قليله وكثيره وتمنع النساء من الخروج في صفو
- 22 - الرجال حيث كان في البلد او غيرها باختلاط بالرجال او غيره والطرح
- 23 - للمشترحه حرف فقط على كل زفاهه وتعاضدوا على حضور الجمع
- 24 - والجماعه وعلى ان كل جنيب في الظهور على العروس يمتنع وكل داخل
- 25 - في بيت ما له جنس في ذلك البيت وكان دخوله لغير عرض [غرض؟] شرعي
- 26 - يمنع من الدخول تمنعه الجيران فان لم يمتنع يبلغون الدوله
- 27 - وعلى الدوله ترده لما فيه صلاحه بل وكل من خالف لما تراضو عليه وكان
- 28 - مزبوراً في هذ الرقععه القيام عليه واحد من جيرانه ومن رؤساء
- 29 - حافظه فان عرفو يردونه لما فيه صلاحه بينهم وبينه والا عليهم يبلغون
- 30 - [الدوله... crossed line]
- 31 - [...] رئيس حافظه وهو يرده وهم عون له فان رجع والا عليهم
- 32 - يبلغون الدوله والدوله ترده لحكم الله ورسوله والا الدوله مخاطبه
- 33 - به بين يدى الله ورسوله والله ولى التوفيق وهو حسبنا ونعم الوكيل
- 34 - وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد واله وصحبه وسلم والحمد لله رب العالمين وكل شئ زير في هذا
- 35 - المسطور مخالف الشريعه فنحن راجعون عنه والله ولى التوفيق كتب ذلك وحضر له
- 36 - السيد الشريف زين بن عبد الله بن علي العطاس
- 37-38 - شل على ذالك عبد الرحمن بن | عبد الله بن محمد العطيشي با وزير
- 37-39 - شل على ذالك سعيد بن احمد | بن سعيد بن محمد بن عبد القادر العطيشي با وزير

[2]

- 1 - شل علا ذلك | محمد بن مبارك | با جليده
 2 - شل علا ذلك | مبارك بن عوض | با حارث
 3 - شل علا ذلك | سالم بن احمد بن | عوض حمدون
 4 - شل علا ذلك | سعيد بن | عوض مشقال
 5 - شل على ذلك | سعيد بن سالم | با معيب | كتبه بامر زين بن عبد الله العطاس

[below]

- 6 - شل على ذلك محمد عوض السيلي
 7 - وولده حسين محمد عوض السيلي

[page 1]

[right margin below]:

- document from (al-Şidā^c)
 - kept with *shaykh* ʿAbdallāh Aḥmad al-ʿUṭayshī Bā Wazīr
 - a gift by *al-akb* Şālīḥ Saʿīd Bā Shantūf
 - 4/2/2003
1. In the Name of God the Merciful the Compassionate, Praise be God, the Lord of the worlds, and blessing and salvation to the most noble of messengers,
 2. our Master Muḥammad and His family and all His companions. And after: on Monday, the last day of Şafar of the year
 3. 1322, there took place a gathering
 4. and [there were] cooperation, help, support and assistance between the people of al-Şidā^c as such
 5. and between the people of al-Şidā^c, their sections, by God and His messenger, and their pious brothers, in sympathy
 6. with themselves and their pious brothers, who are the *mashāyikh* of the town, their soldiers (*askar*)
 7. and *ḥaḍar* and the others who followed their steps; they are those who signed at the end of this letter [*maşṭūr*]
 8. their decision. Their gathering took place in order to abolish new detestable [customs] and to return to those [customs]
 9. which cause happiness and well-being for them in this life and hereafter. They decided unanimously
 10. that the dowry (*jibāz*) of a noble woman (*shaykha*) or others shall not exceed 30 riyals, and that

11. the dowry (*jibāz*) of a deflowered woman (*thayyib*) shall be 20 riyals. And all what is for the maternal aunt and uncle, the tire-woman (*kūbara*) and the door[-fee] (*al-bāb*)
12. is included in the mentioned [amount]. The paternal cousin and the stranger (*ajnabi*) [not belonging to the family] are the same in this [respect]. The *ṣubḥa*-gift
13. shall cost two or three rupees (*rubīyya*) and a small bottle (*batkl*) of rose or amber perfume (*‘iṭr wardī aw ‘anbarī*)
14. and a box (*quṣṣa*) of sweets, not large and not small, according to the custom, and [they decided] that
15. the bridal money (*mabr*) shall consist of six *waqīyya* of silver. They agreed also on the lengthening of the front of female dress
16. to the ankles. Women shall not go out of their houses without trousers (*sir-wāl*), and the covering (*tarqīda*) shall be ordinary, the cost of which shall not exceed a *qirsh* and a quarter or similar.
17. Attending the common dance (*sharḥ*) of the nomads (*badū*) is prohibited, and the black painting (*kbiḏāb*) shall be on the face
18. without resembling males' beard or moustache. And likewise [they agreed on] the abolition of pearls (*lu'lu'*)
19. in the nose ring (*kbushfa*) which is below the nose, and on the abolition of all silk dresses and the abolition
21. of silver thread (*tall*) of all kinds, either scarce or plentiful. Women are prohibited to go out to men's gatherings,
22. when they are in the town or elsewhere, to mix with men. The gift (*tarḥ*)
23. for the professional female dancer (*mushtariḥa*) shall be only one coin (*ḥarf*) for all processions (*zaffāfa*). They [the above mentioned] agreed that the public attendance of common people
24. and strangers [not belonging to the family] at the presentation of the bride should be prohibited. He who enters
25. into the house, without either any business in this house or any legal reasons [?],
26. is prohibited to enter by the neighbours. But if they cannot prevent him [from entering], they shall inform the authorities (*dawla*) [about violations of this agreement],
27. and it is for the authorities (*dawla*) to find a settlement. However, if anybody is opposed to what is agreed upon and
28. is written (*mazbūr*) on this piece of paper, he will be examined by one of his neighbours and the elders
29. of his quarter (*ḥāfa*). And if they agree, they will find a settlement between them and him and if not, they inform
30. [crossed out]

31. the head of his quarter. And he examines the cause with their assistance, and if he fails they have to
32. inform the authorities (*dawla*), and the authorities examine it by virtue of God and His messenger. And if not, the authorities are responsible
33. for it in front of God and His messenger, and God is the Protector of success, and He is all-sufficient for us and He is an excellent Guardian.
34. God bless our Master Muḥammad and His family and His companions and grant Him salvation. Praise be to God, Lord of the Worlds. Everything written in this
35. document (*masṭūr*) [that is] contrary to the law (*sharīʿa*), we denounce it. God is the Possessor of reconciliation. This was written in the presence of him
36. the noble *sayyid* Zayn b. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī al-ʿAṭṭās.
- 37./38. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. | ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad al-ʿUṭayshī Bā Wazīr has sworn an oath (*shalla*) on it.
- 37.–39. Saʿīd b. Aḥmad | b. Saʿīd b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Qādir | al-ʿUṭayshī Bā Wazīr has sworn an oath on it.

[page 2]

1. Muḥammad b. Mubārak Bā Julayda has sworn an oath on it
2. Mubārak b. ʿAwaḍ Bā Ḥārith has sworn an oath on it
3. Sālim b. Aḥmad b. ʿAwaḍ Ḥamdūn has sworn an oath on it
4. Saʿīd b. ʿAwaḍ Mishqāl has sworn an oath on it
5. Saʿīd b. Sālim Bā Muʿaybad has sworn an oath on it. Zayn b. ʿAbdallāh al-ʿAṭṭās has written it on his behalf

[below]

6. Muḥammad ʿAwaḍ al-Sīlī has sworn an oath on it
7. and his son Ḥusayn Muḥammad ʿAwaḍ al-Sīlī has sworn an oath on it.

- 6 - العسكر والعبيد لا ان الدفع انقص مما ذكر واما لبس النساء فيكون كرت الا العجايز فلهن لبس الثياب بشرط ان يكون وجه الثوب طوله الى الكعبين ولبس
- 7 - الطاس غير الكرت ممنوع وتل في جميع الثياب ممنوع الا في الكرت يكون تطريفاً الى غايت العرض اربعة اصابع في الاكمام ومن اسفل واما الصدر فطوله شبر ونص والعرض
- 8 - اربعة اصابع واما المستعمل في مراوح ومتاكي ومزايد من فظة وتل ممنوع والجودري الحرير ممنوع وخروج النساء واختلاطن برجال في الزياره وغيرها ممنوع والمستقيات
- 9 - وغيرهن يستعملن السراويل او خفوف ومن معه شي متقدم من ثياب ومقالم كبارحرير وتل قبل هذا التاريخ يستعمله في بيته فقط واما في المواجيب والجمعات
- 10 - وغيرها ممنوع واما العروس اذا وصلت الى بيت الزوج يتلقونها بشرح من تحت السده الى منزلها والطرح على المشتركه ممنوع الا الذي تدخل اول مره
- 11 - عليها حرفين والعروس قرش والكوبه قرش والبواب قرش وكل منكر حدث بعد هذا التاريخ يدفعونه الى الدوله اعيان البلد ومن تجاوز ما ذكرناه من
- 12 - الاغنيا فعليه مايه ربيه خسر لدوله او من الفقرا فعليه خمسة وعشرين ريال ٢٥ ويرده الدوله الى ما تقرر في هذا المسطور واذا حصلت مخالفه من احد فيما ذكر
- 13 - اعلاه يعطي به خبر مقدم الحافه وكل مقدم الحافه يعطي خبر للاعيان وهم يعطون الدوله خبر والدوله يعاقب المخالف بما ذكر اعلاه والذي يبلغون
- 14 - الخبر اهل الحافه الى مقادمتهم وهم عوض هادي با نجار وعوض سالم مخرج ومحمد عبد الله با مطرف وسعيد حميد ويدان [؟] وسالم با دباه وحمد عوض با جعاده والمقادمه يوصلون الخبر الى الاعيان
- 15 - وهم السيد عمر بن محسن مدهر والسيد سالم بن حسين مديح وعبد الصمد عمر قويره وعبد الرحيم محمد بن شيخان مشمع وعلي بن عبد الله ابنا الشيخ علي وعوض عبد الله بن علي الحاج وشيخ
- 16 - بن سالم بن غوث وعمر بن شيخ بن طاهر وسعيد عبد الله صفي ومحمد سعيد بن همام وعبد الرحيم بن سالم بن عبد الرحمن بن يعقوب وبجيا بن صالح بن علي عوض الخلاقي وعلوي عبد الحبيب اليزيدي
- 17 - وعبد الرحيم سالم بن شيخان وعمر احمد الخلاقي وسالم محمد البوري وعوض عبد الله فقيم وعبد الله سعيد بن هاوي وحسين سعيد احمد الحظرمي ومحسن احمد بن جابر وسالمين حسين بن همام
- 18 - وسعد بن العبد عفيف وسعيد فتح عامر وجمعان مرسال والاعيان والمقادمه يوصلون الخبر الى عند المناصب الشيخ عبد الرحيم بن سالم بن يعقوب والشيخ عوض محمد قويره
- 19 - ال با وزير والجميع غوث بعضهم البعض يبلغون الخبر الى عند الدوله وبعد ثبوت ما يدفع اليه فله الاقدام على التخسير و التأديب وباللله الاعتماد

[Line above text written inverse]:

[This is] correct, the *sayyid* Aḥmad b. Muḥsin al-Haddār

[Line left from stamp]:

From the archives of my grandfather ʿAbdallāh b. Muḥammad Bā Wazīr

1. In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, all praise be to God, the Lord of the Worlds, the most perfect praise is addressed to Him, and blessing and salvation to our Master Muḥammad, the greatest mean of increase of every good fortune and to His family and His companions from the beginning to the end.
2. And after: on the 22nd day of the month Jumād Awwal of the year 1346 took place a gathering and cooperation, help, support and assistance of the inhabitants of al-Ghayl, who are *sāda*, *mashāyikh*, soldiers (*ʿaskar*) [the al-Yāfiʿi tribesmen],
3. inhabitants of al-Bilād,⁴¹ *ḥaḍar*, and ʿ*abīd* and those who followed their steps, and they are those who signed at the end of these lines under their decision and confirm [it]. The gathering dealt with the abolition of reprehensible and modern customs
4. of these times and the return of the mentioned [persons] to well-being and happiness in this life and after their death. They decided unanimously that the dowry (*jihāz*) of a virgin shall not exceed 50 riyals, and [the dowry of] a deflowered woman (*thayyib*)
5. shall not exceed 30 riyals. *ṣubḥiyya* of the poor and all that is related to it [shall not exceed] 10 riyals, and the *ṣubḥiyya* of the rich 14 riyals. As for Āl Bā Wazīr, they belong to those who remember the customs of their ancestors and likewise
6. the soldiers (*ʿaskar*) and the ʿ*abīd*, so that their payment is less than mentioned. As for women's dresses they shall be a [modern] short dress (*kurat*) – except old women, they shall wear dresses (*thiyāb*) under the condition that the front of the dress is as long as the ankles, and dresses
7. made of atlas (*aṭlās*) except *kurat* are prohibited. Silver threads (*tall*) in all kinds of dresses are prohibited except in the short dress (*kurat*), but shall not exceed the width of four fingers at the sleeves (*akmām*) and the bottom. As for the front, its length shall be one span of the hand (*shibr*) and a half with a width
8. of four fingers. As for what is applied to fans (*marāwih*), pillows (*matākī*) or provision bags (*mazāyid*) silver and silver thread (*tall*) are prohibited. Mattresses (*jarwadārī*) with silk (*ḥarīr*) [cover] are prohibited. The going out of women and their mixing with men during visitations (*ziyāra*) and the like are prohibited. The women carrying water (*mustaqiyāt*)

⁴¹ Main quarter of Ghayl Bā Wazīr.

9. and other [women] wear trousers (*sirwāl*) or stockings (*khufūf*). And those who already possess some modern dresses (*thiyāb*) and large items of striped (*maqālim*) silk (*harīr*) and silver thread (*tall*) before this date may wear it in their house only. As for obligatory visits (*mawājīb*) and gatherings
10. and so on, they are prohibited. As for the bride when she arrives at the husband's house she is to be met with the dance (*sharḥ*) from the gate (*sidda*) to her living area. And a money gift (*tarḥ*) for the professional woman drum beater (*mushtariḥa*) is prohibited except for the woman that enters [the *zafīn* dance] for the first time,
11. she pays two petty coins (*ḥarf*), and the bride [gives to the *mushtariḥa*] one *qirsh* and to the tire woman (*kūbara*) one *qirsh* and [to the] the doorman one *qirsh*. And every violation that may happen after this date shall be turned over to the authorities (*dawla*) by the important people of the town, and if the violation of what we have mentioned
12. is done by a rich person he pays one hundred rupees to the authorities (*dawla*), as for the poor they pay 25 riyals. The authorities will restore him to what has been decided in these lines. And if a violation happens by anyone concerning the above-mentioned [regulations]
13. the leader (*muqaddam*) of the quarter (*ḥāfa*) is informed about it, and every leader of a quarter gives the news to the important people, and they inform the authorities (*dawla*), and the authorities punish the violator according to what is mentioned above. And those who transmit
14. the news from the inhabitants of the quarter to their leader are ʿAwaḍ Hādī Bā Najjār, ʿAwaḍ Sālim Mukharrij, Muḥammad ʿAbdallāh Bā Maṭraf, Saʿīd Ḥaymid Wuydān [?], Sālim Bā Dubbāh, and Ḥimīd ʿAwaḍ Bā Jaʿāda. And the leaders transmit the news to the important people
15. and they are the *sayyid* ʿUmar b. Muḥsin Mudhur, the *sayyid* Sālim b. Ḥusayn Mudayḥij, ʿAbd al-Ṣamad ʿUmar Quwayra [Bā Wazīr], ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Muḥammad Bin Shaykhān Mushammaʿ, ʿAlī b. ʿAbdallāh, the sons of Shaykh ʿAlī, and ʿAwaḍ ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī al-Ḥājj, Shaykh
16. b. Sālim b. Ghūth [Bā Wazīr], ʿUmar b. Shaykh b. Ṭāhir [Bā Wazīr], Saʿīd ʿAbdallāh Ṣafī [al-Yāfiʿī], Muḥammad Saʿīd b. Humām, ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Sālim b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Yaʿqūb, Yaḥyā b. Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAlī ʿAwaḍ al-Khallāqī [al-Yāfiʿī], ʿAlawī ʿAbd al-Ḥabīb al-Yazīdī [al-Yāfiʿī],
17. ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Sālim b. Shaykhān [Bā Wazīr], ʿUmar Aḥmad al-Khallāqī [al-Yāfiʿī], Sālim Muḥammad al-Būrī, ʿAwaḍ ʿAbdallāh Fuḡaym, ʿAbdallāh Saʿīd b. Hāwī [Bā Wazīr], Ḥusayn Saʿīd Aḥmad al-Ḥaḍramī [al-Yāfiʿī], Muḥsin Aḥmad Bin Jābir, Sālimīn Ḥusayn Bin Humām [al-Yāfiʿī],
18. Saʿd b. al-ʿAbd ʿAfīf, Saʿīd Faṭḥ ʿĀmir, and Jumʿān Mursāl. And the important people and the leaders transmit the news to the [Bā Wazīr] leaders (*manāsīb*): Shaykh ʿAbd al-Raḥīm b. Sālim b. Yaʿqūb and Shaykh ʿAwaḍ Muḥammad Quwayra

19. Āl Bā Wazīr. And they all help each other to bring the news to the authorities (*dawla*), and after they [the authorities] have been convinced of what was presented to them, they impose the fine and punishment and the reliance is on God.

‘Alī Bā Rajā 1 - 3 Muḥarram 1371/4 October 1951

الحمد لله وبتاريخ ٢٣ محرم الحرام ١٣٧١ هـ
 وسبعين وثلاثمائة والفرع هجريه موافق ٤- أكتوبر
 ١٩٥١ م هـ احدى ومخمسون وثلثمائة والفرع
 ميلاديه حضر له بيتنا احمد بن سليمان حمادي من
 طائفة السجيل وكرامه بن خميس باهدليه من
 حافة الجوظه عن شان غسل اموات المسلمين
 بالجاوتين المذكورين ومتعلقاتها
 والذي تقررين المذكورين بتاييد وتفريغ فضيلة
 قاضي سين الحالي السيد عبدالقادر بن سالم الرشيد
 السقاف ان يتولى كرامه بن خميس باهدليه
 غسل حافة الجوظه ومتعلقاتها وعلية العمل
 بتقوى الله واقامة الواجب والمسنون وامانة
 الناس من الازياء والاموات والقنوع بها
 يحصل من متوسطي الناس وفقرائهم
 وان يتولى احمد بن سليمان حمادي غسل حافة
 السجيل ومتعلقاته وعلية العمل بمنزلة ما امرنا
 به كرامه باهدليه قبل وجب ذلك بحضور
 المذكورين وفضيلة القاضي المذكور وناجيه
 السيد محمد بن علي العبدروس وكتابة القاضي
 عبد الله بن عبد القادر بارحاه والسيد عبد القادر
 بن محمد بن عبد السقاف والجم التقدير وكتبه عبد الرحمن
 بن محمد بن مسعود بن احمد بارحاه
 نائب الشرع بمسعود

- 1 - الحمد لله وبتاريخ ٣ محرم الحرام سنة ١٣٧١ احدى
- 2 - وسبعين وثلاثمائة والف هجريه الموافق ٤- أكتوبر
- 3 - سنة ١٩٥١ احدى وخمسين وتسعمائة والف
- 4 - ميلاديه حضر لدينا احمد بن سليمان حادي من
- 5 - حافة السحيل وكرامه بن خميس با هديله من
- 6 - حافة الحوطه عن شان غسل اموات المسلمين
- 7 - بالخافتين المذكورتين ومتعلقاتها
- 8 - والذي تقرر بين المذكورين بنبأته وتقرير فضيلة
- 9 - قاضي سيون الحالي السيد عبد القادر بن سالم الروش
- 10 - السقاف - ان يتولى كرامه بن خميس با هديله
- 11 - غسل حافة الحوطه ومتعلقاتها وعليه العمل
- 12 - بتقوى الله واقامة الواجب والمسنون ومراعاة
- 13 - الناس من الاحياء والاموات والتنوع بما
- 14 - يحصل من متوسطي الناس وقراءتهم
- 15 - وان يتولى احمد بن سليمان حادي غسل حافة
- 16 - السحيل ومتعلقاته وعليه العمل بمثل ما امرنا
- 17 - به كرامه با هديلة قبل وجرى ذلك بحضور
- 18 - المذكورين وفضيله القاضي المذكور ونائبه
- 19 - السيد محمد بن علي العيدروس وكاتب القاضي
- 20 - عبد الله بن عبد القادر با رجا والسيد عبد القادر
- 21 - بن محمد بن طه السقاف والحجم الغفير وكتبه عبد الرحيم
- 22 - بن محمد بن مسعود بن احمد با رجا عن
- 23 - نائب الشرع بسيون

1. Praise be to God, dated the 3rd of the Holy Muḥarram 1371, one
2. thousand three hundred and seventy one of the Hijra, which corresponds to 4 October
3. 1951, one thousand nine hundred and fifty one
4. after Christ. A visit was paid to us by Aḥmad b. Sulaymān Ḥimādī from
5. the quarter (*ḥāfa*) of al-Saḥīl and Karāma b. Khamīs Bā Hudayla from

6. the quarter of al-Ḥawṭa concerning the washing (*ghasl*) of the deceased Muslims
7. in the mentioned two quarters and its neighbourhoods.
8. It was decided between the above mentioned, the delegates and the decree of His Excellency
9. the present Qāḍī of Sayʿūn, the *sayyid* ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Sālim al-Rūsh
10. al-Saqqāf, that Karāma b. Khamīs Bā Hudayla
11. has to be in charge of washing [the dead] in the quarter of al-Ḥawṭa and its neighbourhoods and he has to act
12. with the fear of God and must perform the requirements and the prescriptions of the Sunna and [he has to act with] respect for
13. the living and the dead and [he must] be content with [what
14. he is given by] the people of average means and by the poor.
15. Aḥmad b. Sulaymān Ḥimādī has to be in charge of washing [the dead] in the quarter of
16. al-Saḥīl and its neighbourhoods, and he has to act in accordance with what has been previously ordered to
17. Karāma Bā Hudayla. This [document] is issued in the presence
18. of the two mentioned above and the above-mentioned His Excellency the Qāḍī, his authorised representative
19. the *sayyid* Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAydarūs, the secretary of the Qāḍī,
20. ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAbd al-Qādir Bā Rajā, and the *sayyid* ʿAbd al-Qādir
21. b. Muḥammad b. Ṭāhā al-Saqqāf and a numerous crowd of people. It was written by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm
22. b. Muḥammad b. Masʿūd b. Aḥmad Bā Rajā from
23. the deputy of the canonical law (*sharʿ*) in Sayʿūn.

‘Alī Bā Rajā 2 – 5 Rabī‘ al-Thānī 1390/9 June 1970

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الحمد لله والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه
 وسلّم . فطبقاً للأوامر الشرعية والآداب الاجتماعية والخير المبرور اضيق المضمون
 ادناه على ان يكون استعمال نسائهم وكل من لهم عليها سلطة على ان يستعملن الثياب التي لا تغطى
 عن نصف الساق في الأرجل ولا تقل عن نصف العضد في الأيدي وعلى ان يبذلن لواء كل طاقتهم
 في نشر هذا الاتفاق وتطبيقه باللحسبة للأخضرين . ويكون ابتداء العمل بهذا من تاريخ فاتحة
 جماد الأول ١٣٩٠ والله رقيب

حررتني ٥ ربيع الثاني ١٣٩٠
 الموافق ٩ جون ١٩٧٠

1. In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful,
2. Praise be to God, and blessing and salvation to our Master Muḥammad, His family and His companions.
3. And after: according to legal orders, social decency and Arabian self-respect, the undersigned agreed
4. that their women and all those [women], over whom they have authority, must wear dresses which [cover] no less
5. than half the calf and no less than half the forearm; and that they [the undersigned] will use all their energy
6. in the propagation of this agreement and in the adaptation to it by the women of other [families]. This [agreement] becomes effective at the beginning of
7. Jumād al-Awwal 1390. And God is the Observer.
8. Issued on 5 Rabī‘ al-Thānī 1390,
9. corresponding to 9 June 1970.

2.3 Official publications of the post-sultanate period

Lā'ihat tanzīm al-ʿādāt wa-l-taqāʿid al-ijtimāʿiyya bi-l-mudāriyya al-shimāliyya, [al-]m[ubāfāza] al-kbāmisa [Sayʿūn 1974]

Decree (*lā'ihā*) on regulation of social customs and traditions in the Northern *mudāriyya*, the Fifth Governorate

(3)

Amen.

1. Administrative resolution
2. no. 15/6/ Northern *mudāriyya* 108 of the year AD [19]74.
3. The victorious struggle of our masses, guided
4. politically and organisationally by the National Front, brings considerable improvement
5. in (the methods) and pace of the development of the social and economic progress in
6. our country, in accordance with the general laws
7. and local peculiarities which gives impetus
8. to the revolution and its forces, reasons to its discoveries and to the factors
9. of its maturity.
10. The continuous profits which realises the revolution
11. of 14 October [1963] by its allied forces in different
12. fronts of the battle, started with the expropriation of political independence

(4)

1. {and} as a transition to the corrective period since 22 June,
2. and the fifth meeting of the General Congress, has stressed
3. the possibilities for the improvement of life and human conditions that put an end
4. to the relations of subjection and suppression and to the methods of subjection
5. and resignation inherited from the
6. hateful comprador Anglo-Sultanic government of tribal and feudal elements, and
7. the pattern of people's combative actions which are practised nowadays
8. in this district which is not void of harmful things in contrast to revolutionary principles effected by
9. the first Congress, of the People's Committees which took place
10. in the period from the 20/4 until the 21/4/AD 1974.

11. However, the results have arrived of this persistent struggle, for which the National Front was responsible

12/13. in respect of tactics in the guiding principles of the political system.

(5)

1. The legislative principles of this document are founded on
2. complaints uttered by the great majority of the mass of people (the document
3. of the decree (*lā'iḥa*) on the regulation of social customs and traditions)
4. and [this document] gives great (social) benefit to the revolutionary masses, and their forces
5. working hard in the battle on the path towards its realisation, and the defence of its interests,
6. and working on its development when it is necessary.
7. On behalf of the mass of people, possessors of all real benefits
8. due to the economic and social changes,
9. we published the following resolution:
10. (1) We approve the document on the decree on the regulation of social customs
11. and traditions in the Northern District.
12. (2) This decree is valid from 24 Jumād
13. al-Awwal 1394 AH which corresponds to 15 June 1974 AD.

(6)

1. (3) Those responsible for the accomplishment of this
2. decree and all it concerns must take measures to bring a person into court
3. on an appointed time to effect its prescriptions.
4. Dated 13/5/AH 1394
5. corresponding to 3/6/AD 1974,
6. Aḥmad Faraj Janbayn,
7. head of the Northern District.

(7)

1. The first article
2. Article 1 – This decree is called
3. (decree on the regulation of social customs and traditions
4. in the Northern District).
5. Article 2 – The text of this regulation is not contradictory
6. to what is said in the Family Law (*qānūn al-usra*) no. (1) of the year AD 1974.
7. Article 3 – This decree covers all
8. the Northern District of the Fifth Governorate except the regions
9. of the nomad Bedouins (*al-badū al-ruḥḥal*).

10. The second article

11. (Marriage)

12. Article 4 – The dowry (*mahr*) is not allowed to exceed,

13. in its prepaid and later paid parts, 100 Yemen dinars as it is said in the

(8)

1. Family Law (*qānūn al-usra*).

2. Article 5 – The exchange of gifts is allowed among the fiancés

3. during the period of the engagement, and their cost shall not be more than five

4. dinars from both sides.

5. Article 6 – The bride's trousseau (*tajhīzāt*)

6. The bride can have no more than the following:

7. "jewellery (*huly*)"

8. *a* – One pendant (*lawkīt*) or its substitute made of gold.

9. *b* – One pair of (*libs*) bracelets (*maṭall*) or its substitute made of gold.

10. *j* – One golden ring with a stone (*kbātim*).

11. *d* – One pair (*libs*) of golden earrings (*krābū*).

12. *h* – One silver belt (*hizām*) whose

13. belt buckle (*qurṣ*) (*shumsa*) may be of gold and in all

(9)

1. conditions the cost of the above mentioned golden jewellery is not allowed to exceed

2. 60 Yemen dinars including the price for goldsmithing.

3. *w* – The use of artificial gold (*rawl qaṭl*) is permitted

4. if its value does not exceed five dinars and it is prohibited to wear

5. the 'double' (*muzdawij*) [the mixture of it with gold].

6. "Dress and perfumes (*uṭūrāt*)"

7. *z* – One dress for the bridal procession (*zaffāf*) and the *zilla*-feast with its accessories

8. the price of which shall not exceed three dinars.

9. *h* – A bag (*shantā*) which contains the dresses and their accessories

10. and the perfumes (*uṭūrāt*) and cosmetic utensils (*adaṭāt al-tajmīl*) and their accessories

11. the cost of which including the price of the bag (*shantā*) does not exceed 25 dinars

12. except the dress which she wears during the bridal procession (*zaffāf*) or any of

13. these dresses for the period of three months after her marriage.

(10)

1. *ṭ* – The bride is permitted to have as a dowry
2. a cupboard (*dūlāb*) the costs or expenses of which shall not exceed 17/500
3. seventeen dinars and five hundred *fiṣ* [only].
4. Article 7 – The bride’s legal guardian (*walī*) is obliged to hand over for inspection, to the
5. People’s Committee of his quarter, the receipts of the purchased dowry (*tajhīzāt*)
6. signed by the seller.
7. The seller and the buyer bear the responsibility for any falsification
8. or tricks concerning the prices. And if it is impossible to obtain
9. a receipt for anything mentioned the matter is to be transmitted to the People’s Committee.
10. Article 8 – The groom’s room is to be furnished with all necessary accommodations
11. for an amount which does not exceed 75 dinars and the couple
12. can choose furniture which is suitable for both of them in the limits of this amount.
13. And if they want a tea set (*‘iddat shāy*) so [the price of] it shall be included

(11)

1. in the same amount.
2. One samovar (*bukhārī*), its stand (*kursī*), its tray (*ma’shara*) (the samovar (*samaḡwār*) is prohibited),
3. eight tea cups (*fanājīn*), their spoons (*ma’āliq*) and the tray (*ma’shara*) for it, two little tea pots (*barārīd*),
4. two boxes for tongs (*kalba*) or whatever takes its place,
5. two metal vessels (*qiṣā’*) for sugar (*ta’būr*) with trays (*ma’āshīr*), one of them
6. of plated nickel (*tabṣī*), a basin (*laqan*), a decoratively shaped (*maṭlī*) water jug (*kūz*), a sort of a vessel (*zabrijya*)
7. to strain tea, a vessel for charcoal (*ṣakhr*) and a stove (*bābūr*).
8. Which, as was said in article 7 above, is applicable on
9. the items purchased for the groom’s room, and neither changes
10. nor additions to the furniture are permitted before the completion of a one year period after the wedding.
11. Article 9 – The groom may offer to the bride
12. during the wedding night (*laylat al-dakhīla*) a wristwatch (*sā’at yad*) the cost of which should not exceed
13. five dinars.

(12)

1. Article 10 – The guest has the right to show up during the wedding
2. and other occasions in two dresses (*fustānayn*) the price of
3. one cubit (*dbirāʿ*) of it should not exceed 250 *fiḷs* or a dress (*dirʿ*) the price of which does not exceed
4. 1/100 one dinar and hundred *fiḷs*, [and as much] gold
5. as is fixed for the bride in this decree.
6. Article 11 – The wedding feasts shall be the following:
7. *a* – One feast in the bride’s house on *ghussa*-day,
8. the number of guests shall be no more than fifty persons
9. including the guests from outside the region.
10. *b* – One feast in the groom’s house on *ṣubḥa*-day,
11. the number of guests shall be no more than fifty
12. persons including the guests from outside the region.
13. Article 12 – (appointed times)

(13)

1. *a* – The informing (*ḥaky*) of the bride shall be in the afternoon and
2. the (*qabḍa*)-dance (*sbarḥ*) shall finish before sunset, and its performance is permitted
3. in the regions which have this custom.
4. *b* – The ceremonies of the bridal procession (*zaffāf*) shall take place at a time which does not surpass
5. midnight.
6. *j* – The midday ceremony (*zabīra*) of two kinds shall be performed during the two
7. wedding days and it is prohibited to offer any gift on this occasion.
8. *d* – *zilla*-feast is practised in the afternoon of the *ṣubḥa*-day and ends
9. before sunset and that is the end of the wedding ceremonies.
10. Article 13 – (The payment for the dance (*sbarḥ*) and what is connected to it)
11. *a* – The payment for the professional musicians (*mushtarīḥ*) for the slow dance (*sbarḥ*)
12. team of musicians (*zarbādī*) for all of the wedding festivities is according to the habit for an amount of three dinars.

(14)

1. *b* – The payment for the professional dancers (*mushtarīḥ*) of the quick dance (*banī migbrāb*-dance (*sbarḥ*))
2. *wa-mā ilayḥ*) – for (all of) the wedding festivities is according to the habit for an amount of two dinars.

3. *j* – The payment for the professional musicians (*mushtarib*) with the double pipe (*mizmār*) is five dinars.
4. *d* – The payment for the professional female dancers (*mushtariba*) for the slow dance (*sharḥ*) is four
5. dinars according to the habit, and for other
6. occasions it is 500 *fiḷs*, and for the quick dance (*sharḥ*) including dances (*raqṣa*)
7. and what accompanies them during the wedding two dinars, and the payment shall be shared equally
8. among the families of both spouses.
9. The priority in the dance (*sharḥ*) is given to everyone according to their region and in the case
10. of a need to bring [dancers] from outside, agreement is to be obtained from
11. the People's Committee, and the organisers of the wedding bear [the responsibility for] their transport [costs]
12. and their hospitable reception.
13. *b* – The payment of the (*shabwānī*)-performance is two dinars.

(15)

1. *w* – The payment for the evening party (*sabra*) with music for weddings is
2. 7/500 7 dinars and 500 *fiḷs*.
3. *z* – Only one kind of male dance (*sharḥ*)
4. as well as [only one kind of] female [dance] is allowed during the wedding ceremonies.
5. *ḥ* – The total of the payments fixed in this article have to be regarded as
6. final.
7. Article 14 – “The payment of service and cooking”
8. *a* – The payment to the bride's tire-woman (*mu'arriba*), the (*kūbara*), is one dinar
9. and five hundred *fiḷs* shared equally among the families of both spouses.
10. *b* – The payment to the cook for the meals is one dinar,
11. and the payment to a female cook is 750 *fiḷs*.
12. *j* – The payment to the butcher is 750 *fiḷs* for one animal.
13. *d* – The payment to the henna painters (*muḥanniyāt*) of the bride is 500 *fiḷs*

(16)

1. if their number is not more than two.
2. *b* – The compensation which the groom offers to the woman
3. that is charged with accompanying the bride to her room on the wedding night (*laylat al-dakbīla*)
4. is 500 *fiḷs* only.
5. *w* – The total of the payments fixed in this article have to be regarded as

6. final.
7. Article 15 – Gifts (*ṭarḥ*) are allowed, such as money
8. to groom or bride, on the condition that it is not done in a public way.
9. Part two: (general principles)
10. Article 16 – The general gatherings of women on occasions
11. can be [accompanied] by the [performance of] a dance (*sharḥ*) or the offering coffee (*qabrwa*) (only).
12. Article 17 – The owners of the places where

(17)

1. general gatherings of women take place are not responsible for violations that might happen
2. during these gatherings and every woman is responsible for her violation.
3. Article 18 – Everything that is not mentioned in this decree
4. concerning the previous traditions on marriage, birth, travel (*saḡar*),
5. and death is considered prohibited and the details
6. one can find in an explanatory note to this decree.
7. Part three: (control and punitive measures)
8. Article 19 – The control subcommittees (*lijān far'īyya*) on the
9. level of the quarters or household units exercise the function
10. of realisation of the clauses mentioned in this decree.
11. The violations are [to be] submitted to the People's Committee after the verification
12. of their occurrence and conviction.

(18)

1. Article 20 – The People's Committee has the right to impose
2. the punishments determined by this decree to those who violate it and
3. their judgement is final (in this matter).
4. Article 21 – The upper limit of the penalty of reparation
5. does not exceed 15 fifteen dinars and imprisonment
6. does not exceed one month. The infliction of one
7. of the punishments or both is realised according to the extent and surrounding circumstances of the violation
8. and in the case of imprisonment, the prisoner has to bear
9. the costs of his meals.
10. Article 22 – The distribution of [moneys from] the penalties is approximately the following:
11. 20% for the budget of the People's Committee, and 40% for the development
12. of the quarter and the region, and 40% for the social insurance fund
13. of the Committee.

(19)

1. Part four: (closing articles)
2. Article 23 – This decree is considered to be the only standard document for
3. the social customs and traditions in the Northern District and nullifies
thereby
4. all the orders practised previously in
5. in the centres of the district.
6. Article 24 – A committee has to explain the articles of this decree
7. and consists of the head of the Northern District, the deputy
8. controller and the deputy of social affairs.

(20)

The payment is *fifty fils*.

Lā'ihāt al-ʿādāt wa-l-taqālid al-ijtimāʿiyya [Sayʿūn 1986]Decree (*lā'ihā*) on social customs and traditions

(1)

1. Decree on adjustment of social customs and traditions
2. in the Sayʿūn district (*mudiriyya*)
3. Preamble:
4. The life of the people relies on a basis of cooperation,
5. harmony and social solidarity under the aegis of perfect regulations
6. of which the aim is to make the life of these
7. people happy and prosperous.
8. From the most ancient times our country has been living
9. a simple and modest life be it in joy or grief,
10. a life of contentment and satisfaction without expenses and extravagances.
11. The customs and traditions of that period, observed by hundreds
12. of families and family groups strong and cohesive in our country,
13. gave them the spirit of pure matrimony far removed from evil
14. desires and material interests of this life.
15. But then came another historical period when the balance of
16. these customs and traditions was lost and they were put upside down.

(2)

1. However these traditions brought a dangerous effect to the life of our society
2. when they stir great desires to boast, to display and to demonstrate
3. one's own capacities by [practising] customs of joy and sorrow
4. likewise. By those new impulsive and thoughtless motions have originated
5. in our milieu as an isolating unsurpassable obstacle
6. for our young sons who want to settle
7. their life to no longer be a bachelor and
8. to live the married life of their own. This is one side, and on the other side
9. there are many of those who have been swept away by the new destructive
10. wave
11. imported into our world and especially in respect of
12. wedding festivities and the excessive costs and manifestations of arrogance
13. connected with it.
14. It wounded human souls deeply and forced people to be in great debt
15. that pushed them to drift with the traditions different than our original and
16. perfect traditions and customs.
14. Esteeming highly the role of the family in the building of
15. society and the proper education of its sons, the Government regards [it]
16. as necessary to organise the familial ties according to

(3)

1. the principles and aims stated in the programme of the National Revolution
2. and to put an end forever to all kinds of old ties
3. which determined the links of the Yemeni family and prevented them
4. from playing a positive role in the building of society.
5. The Family Law (*qānūn al-usra*) no. 1 dated AD 1974 brings forth
6. the regulation of family life and the strengthening of its nature with the aim
7. to create a sensitive generation armed with
8. scientific socialist ideas. This explanatory decree
9. is the first attempt to give concrete details as to the organisation of the social life
10. in order to bring most benefit and to lighten the burden
11. of extravagance and boasting and to create comfortable and happy life
12. in prosperity, easiness, and contentment.

(4)

1. Paragraph (4) [1] The title
- 2./3. This decree is called (Decree on social customs and traditions)
4. Chapter one
5. The ceremonies of engagement (*kbuṭba*) and marriage
6. Paragraph (2) The ceremonies of engagement (*kbuṭba*)
7. In observance of the regulations of paragraph 3:4 of the effectual Family Law (*qānūn al-usra*)
8. the celebration of a collective party for the occasion of engagement (*kbuṭba*) is permitted
9. in which refreshments are offered, and it does not extend beyond
10. the relatives and friends of the two fiancés.
11. Paragraph (3) The marriage contract (*‘aqd al-qur’ān*)
12. The contract is made at a date which has been agreed upon before the beginning
13. of the marriage ceremonies at least one week previously.
14. Paragraph (4) The determination of the wedding ceremonies
15. The wedding ceremonies are determined as they are practised now,

(5)

1. and it is permitted to shorten its duration to two days.
2. Paragraph (5) The groom’s room
3. *a* – The groom is not permitted to furnish his room with more than the following:
4. One bed (*sarīr*), one cupboard (*kabat*), one dressing table (*tasrīḥa*), chairs,
5. a small table (*mīz*), a tea set (*‘iddat shāḥī*) according to the details mentioned

6. in paragraph (7).
 7. *b* – It is prohibited to visit the groom’s room during the wedding days.
 8. Paragraph (6) The groom’s gifts
 9. It is permitted for the groom to offer a gift to the bride of the following only:
 10. (A wristwatch (*sāʿat yad*), 4 items of dress, 4 long necked bottles (*qawārīr*) of perfume (*ʿiṭr*), one pair
 11. of shoes, kerchiefs (*manādīl*).
 12. Paragraph (7) The tea set (*ʿiddat sbābī*)
 13. It is not permitted for the tea set to comprise more
 14. than the following:
 15. a samovar (*samāwir*) or steam vessel (*bukbārī*), two dozens (*darzan*) of cups (*fānājīn*), a dozen of boxes (*ʿulab*)
 16. for sugar (*taʿbūr*), two dozen nickel-plated (*tabṣī*) tea spoons, a basin (*laqan*),
- (6)

1. a dozen small saucers (*maʿāsbīr*), four boxes (*ʿulab*) for sugar and tea,
2. a water jug (*kūz*), a vessel for dirty water (*mitfala*), a metal box (*qaṣʿa*) for charcoal (*ṣakbr*), four little teapots (*barārīd*)
3. only.
4. Paragraph (8) The equipment of the bride and the female guests
5. It is not permitted to equip the bride with more than the following:
6. *a* – Gold jewellery, a necklace (*labba*), bracelets (*asāwir*), a ring (*khātim*),
7. earrings (*qurt*) with stone imitations (*dbubla*) in the way that the total weight of jewellery does not exceed
8. 40 *qaflas*, a wristwatch (*sāʿat yad*) in the fabrication of which gold is not used,
9. and two bags (*shunat*).
10. *b* – It is allowed for the female guests at the wedding party to wear the following:
11. (bracelets (*asāwir*), a necklace (*labba*), earrings (*qurt*), a ring (*khātim*) with stone imitations (*dbubla*), in a way that
12. the weight does not exceed 30 *qaflas*).
13. The banquets and wedding parties
14. Paragraph (9) The banquets
15. *a* – It is not allowed to have more than one banquet at the bride’s family
16. (lunch at *ṣubḥa*-day) and the guests shall not exceed 300 persons.

(7)

1. *b* – It is not allowed to have more than one banquet at the bridegroom’s
2. (lunch at *ṣubḥa*-day), and the invited persons shall not exceed 300.
3. *j* – It is allowed to invite a number of persons which shall not exceed 50 during the

4. first night of the wedding at the groom's and bride's families,
5. on the condition that they are relatives as well as those coming from
6. outside.
7. *d* – The augmentation of the number of invited persons is permitted if
8. there are two grooms or two brides in one household
9. up to 400 for lunch at *ghussa*-day or dinner of *ḥarāwa*-day or 400 for lunch
10. at *subḥa*-day.
11. Paragraph (10) The banquets after the wedding
12. It is prohibited to celebrate banquets after the wedding
13. such as the *naqḍa*-meal, the *kbatra*-visit, the reception (*ghamza*) and so on.
14. Paragraph (11) The wedding festivities
15. *a* – *dabīna*-festivity or an evening party as is usual at night
16. and it is prohibited the night of *dabīna* that the bride's family comes to the house of
17. the groom.

(8)

1. *b* – *qaḍba* has to take place in the afternoon, and in case of reducing
2. the wedding days to two days, *qaḍba* takes place in the morning.
3. *j* – The bridegroom is allowed to celebrate one party only
4. (an evening party or a dance *sharḥ* or *shabwānī*-performance and so on).
5. Paragraph (12) Money gifts (*tarḥ*)
6. *a* – It is prohibited to give money gifts (*tarḥ*) in public to help the groom's
7. or bride's families.
8. *b* – Money gifts (*tarḥ*) are prohibited during the two processions (*zaff*) of the groom or the bride.
9. Paragraph (13) Other customs
10. *a* – All [other] customs related to the wedding are prohibited and there will be no
11. clauses of permission to perform them according to the orders
12. of this decree.
13. *b* – It is prohibited to offer tea (*shābī*), coffee (*qabrwa*), roasted and salted seeds of gourd (*kbanzal*),
14. sweets and similar things to the guests during wedding.

(9)

1. Chapter two
2. Payment
3. Paragraph (14) The payment for the cooks and butchers
4. *a* – The payment for the cook is limited to 10 dinars and his assistant
5. to five dinars only.

6. *b* – The payment for the butcher is 1 dinar 500 [*fiḥs*]
7. for each head.
8. *j* – The payment for the tire-woman (*kūbara*) is 10 dinars on the condition that there is
9. only one tire-woman (*kūbara*).
10. *d* – The payment for the professional henna painters (*muḥanniya*) is two dinars for each of them.
11. Paragraph (15) The payment for the group of musicians (*zarbādī*)
12. *a* – The payment for the group of musicians (*zarbādī*) for all the wedding [festivities] in the administrative regions (*markaz*) of Say'ūn,
13. Tarīm and Shibām if the festivities take place within
14. the administrative regions is fifty dinars and outside the administrative regions sixty dinars.
15. *b* – In the case of demand for the performance of the wedding procession (*ḥarāwa*) only the payment
16. is 25 dinars.

(10)

1. Paragraph (16) The payment for the group that performs popular dance (*al-sharḥ al-sha'bi*)
2. *a* – The payment for the group that performs popular dance (*al-sharḥ al-sha'bi*) without female dancers
3. and female singers within the administrative regions of Say'ūn, Tarīm and Shibām is fifty
4. dinars and outside the administrative regions 60
5. dinars.
6. *b* – In the case of demand for the performance of the wedding procession (*ḥarāwa*) only it is 25 dinars.
7. *j* – The payment for the group that performs popular dance (*al-sharḥ al-sha'bi*) with two female dancers for all the wedding
8. is 70 dinars within the administrative regions and 80 dinars
9. outside the administrative regions.
10. *d* – In the case of demand for afternoon parties only or a dance (*sharḥ*) after
11. the evening party the amount is limited to 25 dinars as payment for
12. the afternoon parties and the amount is limited to 30 dinars as payment
13. for the dance (*sharḥ*) after the evening party.
14. Paragraph (17) The music groups
15. *a* – The payment for music groups (evening party) in the administrative regions
16. of Say'ūn, Tarīm and Shibām during the wedding is 60 dinars within the centres
17. and outside 80 dinars.

(11)

1. *b* – The payment for the music groups in the afternoon in the case of demand
2. for the wedding procession (*ḥarāwa*) is half of the fixed amount for the group (a) [p. 10, line 2] in
3. this paragraph.
4. Paragraph (18) Women's dances (*shurūḥāt*)
5. *a* – The payment for the group that shall perform the dance (*sharḥ*) in the house of the wife
6. is 20 dinars on the condition that it includes the *ḍilla*-party.
7. *b* – The payment for the group that shall perform the dance (*sharḥ*) in the house of the husband
8. is 15 dinars.
9. *j* – In the case that it is one group and this is the one that includes
10. the party in the husband's and the wife's houses the complete payment
11. of 35 dinars is given and the amount is shared equally.
12. *d* – When the group moves from one administrative region to another the payment
13. is the following:
14. the payment for the group that shall perform the dance (*sharḥ*) in the wife's house
15. is 30 dinars on the condition that it includes the *ḍilla*-party.
16. The payment for the group that shall perform the dance (*sharḥ*) in the husband's house
17. is 25 dinars and in the case that it is one group
18. that includes the party in the husband's and the wife's houses

(12)

1. the complete amount is given and the payment is shared equally.
2. Chapter three
3. Childbirth – the return from the place of emigration (*mahjar*) – death
4. Chapter (19) Childbirth
5. *a* – It is not allowed to visit the mother in childbed except after [a period of] three days
6. following delivery and continuing one week on the condition that *shamma*-feast takes place during
7. this week.
8. *b* – It is prohibited to celebrate the *shamma*-feast for those who give birth outside the country.
9. *j* – It is prohibited to give money gifts (*tarḥ*) to the woman during her *wufā*²-feast (*mūfiya*) and the same on the *shamma*-day.
10. Paragraph (20) The return from the place of emigration (*mahjar*)

11. *a* – The welcome of the emigrant (*musāfir*) takes place during the first three days
12. of his arrival at his house.
13. *b* – It is prohibited to visit the emigrant's room.
14. *j* – It is prohibited to give a money gift (*tarḥ*) to the emigrant's wife.
15. Paragraph (21): Circumcision (*khitān*)
16. The visit to the child that has been circumcised (*khitān*) shall be during the three
17. first days after circumcision (*khitān*).

(13)

1. Paragraph (22) Death
2. It is possible to have a general gathering of mourning ceremony for men and women
3. during the three days following death. It is prohibited to offer meals during it
4. but it is allowed to offer coffee (*qabrwa*) only.
5. Paragraph (23) The banquets and coffee (*qabrwa*)
6. *a* – It is prohibited to organise special banquets for childbirth, the return
7. from the place of emigration (*mabjar*), circumcision (*khitān*) and death.
8. *b* – It is prohibited to bring sugar (coffee – *qabrwa*) to the house of childbirth,
9. circumcision (*khitān*), emigrant (*musāfir*) or the house of death.
10. Chapter four
11. Final regulations
12. Paragraph (24) The responsible and executive committees in charge of the decree
13. The objectives of this decree are exercised by the following bodies:
14. *a* – On the level of *mudiriyya*:
15. the commissioner of the *mudiriyya*, or his representative, as the head,
16. the head of the organisation of the Committees of People's Defence, m/s [*muhāfazat Say'ūn*], as a member,
17. the head of the general union of Yemeni women, as a member,
18. the head of the penalty court in Say'ūn, as a member,
19. the commander of the peoples' police in *mudiriyya* [? unreadable], as a member,

(14)

1. the head of Say'ūn municipal committee, as a member.
2. *b* – On the level of the administrative region (*markaz*):
3. the deputy commissioner, as the head,
4. the head of the organisation of the Committees of People's Defence in the administrative region, as a member,

5. the delegate of the General Union of Yemeni Women in the administrative region, as a member,
6. the delegate of the police in the administrative region, as a member,
7. the deputy of the head of the Municipal Committee.
8. *j* – On the level of the quarters:
9. the head of the organisation of the Committees of People's Defence in a quarter, as the head,
10. the heads of dwelling units, as members,
11. the heads of women's committees in the quarters, as members.
12. Paragraph (25) The committees' competence
13. *a* – To explain terminology, phraseology, and clauses presented in
14. the regulations of this decree.
15. *b* – To publish information, instructions, and directives
16. concerning the execution and explanation of the regulations of this decree.

(15)

1. *j* – To assess the execution of the decree every three months and submit
2. their considerations to the responsible authorities according to this context.
3. *d* – To exercise ardent measures in accordance with the penalties defined
4. in the decree preventing the problems before they emerged.
5. Paragraph (26) Penalties
6. Imposed fine should not be less than
7. 50 dinars and not more than 250 dinars
8. according to the regulations of this decree.
9. Paragraph (27) The decree's validity
10. This decree is effective in the administrative regions of Say'ūn, Tarīm
11. and Shibām from the beginning of 8/7/AD 1986.
12. Sa'īd Naṣr Yādayn,
13. head of the committee on social customs and traditions
14. Say'ūn
15. Issued:
16. 16 Shawwāl AH 1406
17. corresponding to 23 June AD 1986.

al-Sharāra, al-Mukallā, no. 121, 17 April 1974

page 6

The Law (*qānūn al-zarwāj*) on Marriage and Traditions in the Southern *mudīriyya* [al-Mukallā] of the Fifth Governorate

Preamble

In the social history of mankind it is recognised that the manners and customs of a given society are nothing but the objective reflection of the social and economic interests this society lives by, which originate in the facts of these conditions and which represent their true, proper expression.

The Anglo-Sultanic power, [which] governed in the past, aimed to keep the Yemeni people suffering as long as possible under the burden of backward and obsolete customs and traditions, which at any rate forced people to live in poverty, ignorance and illness. The bygone era not only kept the people in a state of backwardness, but also sanctified and supported the customs helpful to the politics of dominance in the area, politics based on tyranny and despotism.

In the course of the development of our epoch and in comparison with the futile customs and traditions which have been left behind in the bygone era, which have fettered our people, they decided definitely to get rid of these chains imposed on him and to move with the times and not stay in the same place. Excesses and extravagances in the purchasing of luxury items is a phenomenon of colonialism which served the interests of monopolies with the aim of exhausting people's material forces and resources to prevent them from mobilising [these forces] for serving people's fundamental interests. From here comes the necessity to terminate the excesses in the customs and traditions connected with marriage, birth and funerals, to get rid of extravagance and to replace it with customs corresponding with the everyday conditions of our people's lives today, the customs which will fit with the tasks of national democratic revolution.

We are sure that this Order will be observed and will be introduced into life properly, with great consideration and care, since it has not been imposed on the people by anybody, but presents the fruits of great endeavours and wider research related to customs and traditions in the *mudīriyya*, the result of disputes and discussions at the conference of people's committees, among the masses and in their local committees. Here is hidden the significance of the present Order and the potential for its execution. The certitude of its practical realisation will be our ally.

Order of procedures of marriage and traditions in the Southern *mudīriyya* of the Fifth Governorate

Part I

§1: Its title, nomination and implementation

This Order is called 'The Order of Procedures of Marriage and Traditions in the Southern *mudīriyya*'.

§2: The area of implementation

Without defiance of the Law no. 1, 1974, on family affairs this Order is in effect throughout all the Southern *mudiriyya* of the Fifth Governorate of the PDRY.

Part II

§3: When an agreement on engagement (*kbuṭūba*) is reached, according to the Family Law (*qānūn al-usra*), a representative of the People's Local Committee receives from the husband's family a certain amount of money defined as bridal money (*mabr*) after having sworn the following oath:

"I swear by the Great God that I did not, and will never, pay more than the agreed dowry (*jibāz*), which is no more than a hundred Yemeni dinars."

The representative of the People's Committee hands the sum defined as *mabr* over the bride's proxy (*wakīl*) and receives from him the following oath:

"I swear by the Great God that I did not receive more than the agreed dowry (*jibāz*) which is no more than a hundred Yemeni dinars".

In the afore-mentioned situations the *madād*-reception for men is prohibited.

§4: It is forbidden to the members of the fiancé's (*khaṭīb*) family to visit the house of the fiancée (*khaṭība*) family [in a group] larger than ten women at the *madād* evening party in those regions where this custom exists. The number of people invited to the engagement party (*kbuṭūba*) by the family of fiancée (*khaṭība*) must not exceed twenty.

§5: The mother of fiancé (*khaṭīb*), or a woman who represents her, may give a wedding ring (*dubla*) as a present to the bride or her family, [and] its price should not exceed five dinars in those regions where this custom exists.

§6: Invited women are allowed to offer presents to the bride's family. The price of each gift, however, should not exceed seven hundred and fifty *fiṣ*, or fifteen shillings.

§7: The fiancé (*khaṭīb*) family may present to the fiancée (*khaṭība*) family an amount of money not greater than five dinars as reimbursement for coffee served at the ceremony of the wedding ring (*dubla*) presentation.

§8: During the *madād* of women and the engagement party only coffee (*qabrwa*) and tea are to be served.

Part III

§9: The equipment (*tajhīz*) of the bride

First: jewellery. The bride is allowed to wear the following jewellery:

1. four bracelets (*banqarī*) weighing not more than a *tūla* and a quarter each,
2. a chain (*sīl*) weighing no more than a *tūla* and a half,
3. a set (*lib*s) of earrings (*biza'*) the price of which is no more than five dinars,

4. a ring with a stone (*kbātim*) the price of which is no more than five dinars,
5. women's wristwatch (*sā'a*) the price of which is no more than five dinars.
6. In total the price of gold cannot exceed eighty dinars maximum.

Part IV

§10: The equipment (*tajlīz*) of the bride in rural areas (*rīf*)

1. In the rural areas (*rīf*) of the Bedouin nomads (*al-badū al-ruḥḥal*) a husband presents to his wife gifts the price of which does not exceed eighty dinars (1600 dirhams),⁴² i.e. the value of silver that corresponds to the cost of bedroom equipment in the urban areas. This rule is applicable in the localities of the rural areas (*rīf*), where the custom exists.
2. In the regions mentioned in paragraph 1, husband and wife agree to equip their bedroom together on an equal footing; in all cases, including payment in silver, expenses should not exceed one hundred dinars.
3. In the case of divorce (*talāq*) according to any reason mentioned in the Family Law (*qānūn al-usra*), a wife has to return either half of the jewellery or an amount of money in accordance with this value, and present it to her husband.

§11:

1. In the regions afore-mentioned in paragraph 1 of Article 10, a wife is not allowed to use any other [pieces of] jewellery except those defined by law, the price of which does not exceed eighty dinars. In the same vein it is forbidden for the husband to present any gifts of jewellery over the afore-mentioned price.
2. The proxy (*wāli*) of the bride shows to the representative of the People's Committee, either in urban or rural areas (*rīf*), all the receipts from a jeweller or a merchant to acknowledge that the requirements of this Order have been observed.

§12:

1. Women invited to the wedding are not allowed to wear more gold than is prescribed to the bride in Article 9 of this Order.
2. Clothes. The bride is allowed to decorate herself with the following clothes:
 - 1) It is not forbidden to hire a traditional wedding dress (*fustān*) and all its accessories in the urban areas where this custom exists, but for the night of the bridal procession (*laylat al-zaffāf*) only.
 - 2) A dress (*fustān*) which costs no more than five dinars [can be worn] on the day of *ṣubḥa*. In the areas where they usually [wear] fewer dresses, the old custom is to be followed.

⁴² Dirham = shilling.

page 7

3. A bag, which contains various dresses (*fasātīn*) and accessories and also perfumes (*‘uṭūrāt*) and other cosmetic items (*adawāt al-tajmīl*). Their total value cannot exceed twenty dinars, or four hundred shillings.

4. Invited women are forbidden to show themselves in dresses (*fasātīn*) more expensive than five dinars each.

Part V

§13: Bedroom

1. Marital bedroom is [to be] equipped with all the necessary items within the limit of one hundred dinars. Husband and wife are free to choose appropriate items within the limits of this amount.

2. To confirm the legality of expenses, the marital couple or either one of them must provide receipts concerning the purchases for the bedroom to the representative of the People’s Committee either of the urban or rural area (*rīf*).

3. It is forbidden to rent another bedroom over the one hundred dinars’ limit and it is also forbidden to make alterations in the bedroom before the period of six months after the marriage ends.

Part VI

§14: Marriage contract (*‘aqd al-qur’ān*)

The marriage contract is arranged either in the house of the husband or in another place he would find appropriate for that, at least a week before the wedding.

§15: For the marriage contract in the husband’s house or in another appropriate place, it is necessary to restrict the [number] of guests to ten persons from each side.

§16: Before the marriage contract, it is necessary that the official (*ma’dhbūn*), in the presence of the representative of the People’s Committee, asks the opinion of the bride.

§17: In the place of the marriage contract it is forbidden to serve anything other than coffee (*qabrwa*) and tea.

Part VII

§18: Marriage ceremonies

First: the seizure- (*rubūt*) and *himmā*[-ceremonies] cannot be imposed by the families of husband and wife. If these ceremonies are organised, the families of husband and wife have to observe the following:

1. *rubūt* takes place in the evening of the first day of the appointed date of marriage, immediately after the evening prayer (*‘ashā*).

2. During the *rubūt*-evening an evening performance (*sabra*) is organised, it has to start at 9 p.m. and to end at 1 a.m. at the latest.

§19: Second: Making up the bride (*kbudda*)

In the morning of the second day of the wedding there are the preparations of the bride for her move to the groom's house (*zaffāf*); in the afternoon of the same day there is a celebration in the bride's house.

§20: Money gift (*mahāyā*)

1. The money gift (*mahāyā*) [ceremony] takes place in the evening of the second day of wedding. During this ceremony only coffee (*qabrwa*) and tea are served.

2. The husband hands over to his *khāla*, i.e. the bride's mother, or to a woman that represents her, an amount which does not exceed the sum of two dinars and a half, or fifty shillings, only.

§21: Change of residence

1. The bride moves to the house of the groom not later than one a.m.

2. If the People's Committee supposes that the distance between the houses of the groom and the bride demands a move by car (*sayyāra*), it makes its decision providing that the move will be exercised by not more than two Land Rovers (*lāndrūfar*), buses (*bās*) or taxis (*tāksī*).

§22: *Ṣubḥiyya*

On the third day of the wedding women celebrate the bride's move into the groom's house by common dances (*sharḥ*) [there] and pairs' dances (*zafin*). The marriage ceremonies end on this day.

§23: The marriage ceremonies should not continue for more than three days.

Part VIII

§24: Wedding meals

1. Various wedding meals [given] on behalf of the families of the husband and the wife are abolished, excluding meals for the guest coming from outside the region where the wedding takes place. They are to be served ordinary food. The number of outside guests in rural areas (*rīf*) must not exceed fifty persons of each sex. Urban dwellers are not allowed to invite more than twenty persons of both sexes, men and women, from each family.

2. Husband and wife are allowed to bring their relatives with the permission of the People's Committee of urban or rural areas (*rīf*). These persons are not included in the number of outside guests defined by paragraph 1 of this article.

Part IX

§25: Prohibitions

Anyone who practices the customs listed in this Order in areas where they existed before, is regarded as infringing this Order.

1. Evening *rubūṭ*-meals, even from the side of the husband's family.
2. To serve *taqdūm* during any day of the wedding in the houses of the husband or wife.
3. Mother-in-law greeting ceremony (*taṣbīḥ* ^ʿ*alā l-kbāla*).
4. Giving presents to the bride, by male relatives, the morning after her move to the groom's house (*qirādba*).
5. Throwing money towards the bride (*tarḥ*) during *zafīn*-dance.
6. *Zaffa*-procession of the bride during the marriage.
7. Reservation of special places in the streets.
8. Gifts from the sides of the bride and groom's families during the raising of the veil ceremony (*kashf* ^ʿ*alā l-ʿarūs*).
9. Serving breakfast to professional female dancers and drummers (*mushtariḥāt*) during the *kbudda*-ceremony. Coffee (*qabrwa*) and tea are sufficient.
10. Serving breakfast to the woman (*daqqāqa*) who pounds coffee (*qabrwa*) for the wedding. Coffee (*qabrwa*) and tea are sufficient.
11. Presenting twenty five *fiḥs* to the *mushtariḥa* during each woman's dance (*zafīn*).
12. *Naqda*-meal.
13. *Naqila*-celebration.
14. *Fūja*-gifts.
15. Escorting the groom by a *dāʿī*-herald when the former is going to the *ḥimmā*²-ceremony.
16. Food or meals called *taqdūm* in the rural areas (*rīf*) where Bedouin nomads (*al-badū al-ruḥḥal*) live. It is allowed to serve only *burād* (dates), and the value of the dates cannot exceed two dinars and five hundred *fiḥs*.
17. It is forbidden to serve coffee of consolation "al-shilin" and sugar in the areas where this custom existed.

Part X

§26: Payment during wedding ceremonies

The families of husband and wife have to pay certain amounts as follows:

1. Payment to the musicians at the *ḥimmā*²-party is seven dinars and five hundred *fiḥs*.
2. Payment to the actors of *sabra* dance performance (*makbdara*) is four dinars including all their equipment.
3. Payment for the ^ʿ*idda*-, *shabrwanī*-, and *habīsh*-dances is seven dinars and five hundred *fiḥs*.

4. Payment for a male or female herald is one dinar only.
5. Payment to the *kūbara* is one dinar only.

page 8

6. Payment to the *musbtariḥa* is five dinars shared equally by the families of the wife and husband.
7. Payment to the “mother of the hearth” (*umm al-marwaqad*), is seven hundred fifty *fiḥs* (15 shillings) only.
8. Payment for the transportation of the wedding furniture is five hundred *fiḥs*.
9. Payment to the contractor of marriage, the official (*ma’dhūn*), is five hundred *fiḥs*.
10. Payment to the *musbtariḥa* for *zafīn*-dance is twenty five *fiḥs* for every woman.⁴³

§27: Payments listed in Article 26 are made through the representative of the People’s Committee.

Part XI

§28: Payment for death and birth

1. Payment to the male or female washer [of the dead body] is seven hundred and fifty *fiḥs* only.
2. Payment to the male or female reader of the Qur’ān is two hundred fifty *fiḥs* per day. Recitation of the Qur’ān should not last more than five days.
3. Payment to the grave digger is one dinar in al-Mukallā town, in other areas or regions the payment is defined by People’s Committees. The best way of its execution is on the basis of the people’s initiative.
4. Payment to he who reads prayers (*mulaqqin*) by the grave is five hundred *fiḥs*.

§29:

1. It is forbidden to arrange *taqdūm* meal after the circumcision (*khitān*).
2. It is forbidden to arrange feasts or to distribute food on occasions of death, circumcision (*khitān*) or birth.

§30: This Order encourages any initiative to fulfil it for the minimum expenditure [to be found] in it.

Part XII

§31: Conclusive regulations

People’s Committees in urban and rural areas (*riḥ*) organise inspection teams of men and women whose task is to oversee the fulfilment of the regulations of this Order within the regions. The People’s Committee selects the head of this team.

⁴³ Cf. §25/11 when this practice is forbidden.

Punishment

§32:

1. On anyone who violates the regulations of this Order a fine will be imposed of no more than fifteen dinars. If he refuses to pay or is not able to do so, he is subject to imprisonment for a term no more than one month, or to both punishments; at the same time he has to bear all the expenses of his diet by himself.

§33: People's Committees are authorised to impose punishments on infringers of this Order. Their decision on these issues is regarded as final.

§34: Before they submit the case to the People's Committee, inspection teams must investigate the violations and convince themselves that they have really been committed.

§35: Fines are distributed as following:

(1) 50% to the financial department of the People's Committee in the area where the violation was committed.

(2) 50% to the development project in the district. If there is no development project in this district, the money is to be used for development purposes within the *mudiriyya*.

§36: This Order comes into effect on the day of its publication.

§37: This Order repeals all previous orders on the same questions which have been issued in this *mudiriyya*, and is considered to be a common order within the *mudiriyya*.

Issued by the People's Committees' Conference
of the Southern *mudiriyya* of the Fifth Governorate,
held 29 to 30 March 1974.

3 Annotated vocabulary

This list of vocabulary covers only Arabic terms within the translated documents.¹ References are given in the following form: document no. or title, (page)/line(s).

The word order is organised according to the Latin alphabet. Since the annotations are partly based on Rodionov's *Western Hadramawt* (RWH), references to it are given.

Broken plurals are given consequently, not only when they occur in the documents.

Initials in brackets denote the following Hadrami informants:²

AJ	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad Jawwās
AR	ʿAlī Aḥmad ʿAbdallāh Bā Rajāʿ
AS	ʿAbd al-Qādir Muḥammad al-Ṣabbān
GF	Ghālib Muḥammad Bā Fuṭaym
HH	Ḥasan ʿUmar Bā Ḥashwān
JS	Jaʿfar Muḥammad al-Saqqāf
LA	Laylā ʿAwḍ
MBH	Muḥammad Aḥmad Bā Ḥashwān
SL	Saʿīda Saʿīd Faraj Laksah
SS	Shifāʿ bint Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Ṣabbān

Comments concerning loanwords belong to

AO	Prof. Dr. Aleksandr Ogloblin, Saint-Petersburg State University, personal communication
AHS	Abdullah Hassan Al-Saqqaf, 'Linguistics'
CS	Prof. Dr. Claus Schönig, FU Berlin, personal communication

ʿ*abīd* slaves (social stratum) – IV 1/2; GhBW 2/6; cf. RWH 25–6, 28, 31, 34–5, 37–40, 73, 131; subjects of the sultan or God (pl. ʿ*ibād*) – IV 24/2; 36, p. 1/2
abū head (of a quarter) (lit.: father); cf. *labū* – IV 29/4, 12, 15, 17; cf. RWH 41
adawāt al-tajmīl cosmetic utensils – *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 9/10; *Sharāra* §12/3
abl al-ḥall wa-l-ʿaqd 'people of unbinding and binding,' authorities – IV 3, p. 1/2
akbmas (pl.), see *kbums*
akwāz (pl.), see *kūz*

¹ See II.1 Catalogue.

² For more data see Introduction 4.3.1 Informants.

ʿalam, pl. ʿalamāt (Fig. 41) piece of jewellery which women wear on the right temple; generally any such piece, in contrast to the *nuqba* and *burqaʿ*, e.g. scarf with sequins or a bright fabric – IV 39, p. 6/11

ʿalamāt (pl.), see ʿalam

ʿammārī, < Indonesian *almari*, probably via Portuguese (AHS, 90) open-shelf cabinet, wardrobe – IV 39, p. 9/4; cf. RWH 120

amtiʿa belongings – IV 20/16; 36, p. 2/10

anānās, < Malayan *nanas* or *nenas* – ananas (from Portuguese); probably used to denote woven fabrics made of *Agava cantala*, a plant looking like ananas (AO) kind of fabric; artificial silk (SS) – IV 37/11; 39, p. 6/17

ʿanbar, see ʿitr ʿanbarī

antun, *untun*, < Malayan *intan* – almas, diamond; Javan *inten* – almas, precious stone (AO) artificial stone; precious stone, diamond (AR, JS) – IV 3, p. 2/15; 39, p. 7/10

ʿaqd *al-qurʿān* marriage contract – IV 39, p. 4/3 (ʿaqd); *lāʿiḥa* 2, p. 4/11; *Sharāra* §14–§17

ʿaqīl, pl. ʿuqqāl elders – IV 24/2; cf. RWH 41, 98

ʿarāyif (pl.), see ʿarīf

ʿarīf, pl. ʿarāyif foreman – Madūda 2/8, 13

ʿasab price – IV 18, p. 2/2, 4

asāwir (pl.), see *siwār*

ʿashāʿ *al-ḥarāwa* evening (party) on the day of the marriage contract; cf. *ḥarāwa* – IV 39, p. 4/3

ʿašīd porridge made from flour and dates soaked in water – IV 36, p. 2/3

ʿaskar Yāfiʿī tribesman (lit.: soldier) – GhBW 1, p. 1/6; GhBW 2/2, 6

atlās atlas (fabric) – GhBW 2/7

ʿayāl *mubashsharāt* charms, mostly with inscriptions (JS); cf. *bishāra* – IV 18, p. 2/4

bāb, *al-* door-fee – GhBW 1, p. 1/11

bābūr here: stove to prepare tea and meals; cf. *kānūn* – IV 5, p. 1/10; *lāʿiḥa* 1, p. 11/7

badū (*al-ruḥḥal*), *al-* Bedouin (nomads) – GhBW 1, p. 1/18; *lāʿiḥa* 1, p. 7/9; *Sharāra* §10/1, §25/16

baftī piece of white cotton fabric – IV 39, p. 6/12

balda a settlement, cf. RWH 123, 125; concerning Madūda: the local social entity – Madūda 2/5

bānī, *al-* (Fig. 46) clay figurines of camels, horses, ibexes, etc. sold to the pilgrims to Qabr Hūd named after al-Bānī, the famous family of potters from Tarīm – IV 39, p. 9/6

- banī miḡbrāb* dance and song performance; poems about the ibex hunt – *lāʾiḡa* 1, p. 14/1
- banīq* embroidery, especially at the neckline, sleeves, and hem – IV 3, p. 1/10, 11; 5, p. 1/2
- banjar* wooden chest named after a region in Kalimantan/Borneo with a large Hadrami community (JS) – IV 39, p. 9/7
- banqarī* thin bracelet of silver or gold – *Sharāra* §9/1; cf. RWH 149 (*banqārī*)
- barārīd* (pl.), see *barrād*
- barlayān, briḡyan* brilliant, used regardless if stone is real or artificial – IV 39, p. 7/10
- barrād*, pl. *barārīd* little teapot, upper pot of a samovar – *lāʾiḡa* 1, p. 11/3; *lāʾiḡa* 2, p. 6/2
- barza* young girl around twelve years old, before the bridal age – IV 5, p. 1/18
- bāṣ* bus – *Sharāra* §21/2
- baṭkb*, pl. *buṭūkb* small bottle, flacon – GhBW 1, p. 1/13
- biḡāʿa* bath commodities – IV 18, p. 2/11, 12; 20/12, 27, 29, 30, 31; 24/4; 37/1
- bishāra* [money gift for] good news – IV 39, p. 10/6
- bizāʿ* earrings – *Sharāra* §9/3
- briḡyan*, see *barlayān*
- bukhbārī* Oriental variant of Russian samovar; cf. *samāwir* – *lāʾiḡa* 1, p. 11/2; *lāʾiḡa* 2, p. 5/15; cf. RWH 136
- bunn* coffee beans; cf. *qabrwa* – IV 24/14; 39, p. 6/3; cf. RWH 135
- buqash* (pl.), see *buqsha*
- buqsha*, pl. *buqash*, < Turkish *boğça* (Tietze, *Lugat*, 1, 365) scarf for holding cloth tied at the four corners; cf. *maṣarr* – IV 3, p. 1/23; 39, p. 6/8 (*mubaqqash*), 16
- burād* dates offered to the guests by the Bedouin – *Sharāra* §25/16
- burr* wheat (*Triticum vulgare*) – IV 39, p. 3/7; cf. RWH 82, 87–8, 92, 134, 136
- buṭūkb* (pl.), see *baṭkb*
- dabīna* first night of the wedding festivities during which the groom is painted with *ḡinnāʿ* (s.v.); also *marja* (s.v.) – *lāʾiḡa* 2, p. 7/15, 16
- ḡāʿif* (sg.), see *ḡuʿafāʿ*
- dakhīla*, see *laylat al-dakhīla*
- dalal* (pl.), see *dallāl*
- dalla*, pl. *dilal* coffee kettle made of brass, bronze, or iron; also *kūz* (s.v.) – IV 5, p. 1/11; 39, p. 9/1; cf. RWH 120, 135
- dallāl*, pl. *dalal* broker, social category of trading middlemen – IV 1/2; 5, p. 1/24; 32/4; 41/7; cf. RWH 5, 25, 27, 157–8, 161, 164
- daqqāqa* woman who pounds coffee for the wedding – *Sharāra* §25/10
- daray* (< *daraj*) box made of palm fronds – IV 36, p. 2/9
- ḡāʿūn* procession when the bride is taken to the groom’s house – IV 39, p. 2/5

darwla, pl. *darwal* dynasty, i.e. the sultan and the area he rules; authorities – IV 18, p. 1/5, p. 2/14; 20/26; 40/4, 6; 49/7; GhBW 1, p. 1/26, 27, 32; GhBW 2/11, 12, 13, 19; cf. RWH 55, 58, 66, 74, 156

dhabāʾih (pl.), see *dhabīha*

dhabīha, pl. *dhabāʾih* animal for slaughter, slaughtered animal – IV 39, p. 2/16

dhabab, *dhababī* gold, golden – IV 3, p. 1/10; 5, p. 1/15; 18, p. 1/18, 19, p. 2/2, 3; 20/18, 21; 36, p. 1/10; 39, p. 6/6, p. 7/1, 12, p. 8/1, p. 10/2; *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 8/8, 9, 10, 11, 13, p. 9/1, p. 12/4; *lāʾiḥa* 2, p. 6/6, 8; *Sharāra* § 9/6, § 12/1

dhubla, see *dubla*

dilal (pl.), see *dalla*

dirʿ, pl. *durūʿ* dress of thin fabric in a simple rectangular cut without sleeves or collar – *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 12/3

dirʿafāʾ, *daʿīf* (sg.) weaklings (social stratum) – IV 5, p. 1/22; 18, p. 2/14; 20/26; cf. RWH 24–6, 28–9, 34, 37–9, 41–2, 71, 74, 93–4, 101, 123, 156, 196

dubla, *dhubla*, < Engl. double, twofold ring wedding rings for bride and groom; imitation of precious materials – *lāʾiḥa* 2, p. 6/7, 11; *Sharāra* (wedding ring) §5, §7

dūlāb, < Persian *dolāb* (Tietze, *Lugat*, 1, 639) cupboard – *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 10/2

durūʿ (pl.), see *dirʿ*

darwāl (pl.), see *darwala*

fanājīn (pl.), see *finjān*

farfara snacks, e.g. small beans, pearl millet; in modern use: popcorn – IV 39, p. 6/2

farḥa (Figs. 27, 28) decoration in the shape of (a) star(s) applied on dress – IV 5, p. 1/2, 4; 16/8; 20/18

fasātīn (pl.), see *fustān*

fātiḥa first sura of the Qurʾān – IV 35/4; Madūda 1/12; cf. RWH 148, 190

fiḍḍa silver – IV 18, p. 1/18, p. 2/4, 5; 24/19; 39, p. 6/12, p. 10/2; GhBW1, p. 1/15; GhBW 2/8; *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 8/12; *Sharāra* §10/1, 2

finjān, pl. *fanājīn* (coffee, tea) cup, glass – IV 3/21; 5, p. 1/11; 39, p. 9/1; *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 11/3; *lāʾiḥa* 2, p. 5/15

flīs, pl. *flīsāt* vessel commonly made of soapstone (*ḥaraḍ*) – IV 36, p. 2/6

flīsāt (pl.), see *flīs*

fūja gifts presented by women at the bride's house – *Sharāra* §25/14

fūl broad beans – IV 39, p. 6/2; cf. RWH 136, 140

fustān, pl. *fasātīn* dress – *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 12/2; *Sharāra* §12/2–4

ghams gilding; cf. *maghmūs* – IV 36, p. 1/10

ghamza first visit by the groom to the bride's family; gifts of food sent to his house (GF) – *lāʾiḥa* 2, p. 7/13

- ghasl* washing (of the deceased) – ABR 1/7, 11, 15
- ghazl* cotton (thread); yarn, spun thread – IV 3, p. 1/11; 5, p. 1/4; 20/18; 39, p. 6/12, p. 8/3
- ghussa* one of the wedding ceremonies, named after the powdered leaves of *‘illb* (*Ziziphus spina-christi*) used to wash hair – IV 3, p. 1/18; 18, p. 1/12; 20/8, 12; 36, p. 1/12; *lā’iḥa* 1, p. 12/7; *lā’iḥa* 2, p. 7/9; cf. RWH 132–3, 137, 143–4
- ghutar* (pl.), see *ghutra*
- ghutra*, pl. *ghutar* head covering – IV 5, p. 1/10; cf. RWH 130
- ḥabāyib* (pl.), see *ḥabīb*
- ḥabīb*, pl. *ḥabāyib* beloved [by God]; *ṣayyid* (s.v.) – IV 5, p. 2/8; 22/12; 48, p. 2/5, 6, 10, 12–15, 19; cf. RWH 22, 26, 111
- ḥabīsh* dance of males and females – *Sharāra* §26/3
- ḥadar* town dwellers (social stratum) – GhBW 1, p. 1/7; GhBW 2/3; cf. RWH 24–6
- ḥāfā*, pl. *ḥurwaf* quarter, a section of a town – IV 1/7; 5, p. 2/8; 13/4; 20/30; 26/6, 11; 27/6; 28/3, 5, 7, 9; 29/2, 3, 15, 19; 31/2, 3; 32/4 (*ḥāfiyya*); 50/6, 14; GhBW 1, p. 1/29, 31; GhBW 2/13; ABR 1/5, 6; cf. RWH 42
- ḥāfūnī* crêpe de chine; expensive silk imported from China, mostly yellowish (JS) – IV 37/11; 39, p. 8/4
- ḥā’ik*, pl. *ḥawīk*, *ḥūka* weavers (lowest social stratum) – IV 1/3; 5, p. 1/24; cf. RWH 25–7, 105
- ḥajīr* women’s cries of joy on special occasions; cf. *zaghlata* – IV 39, p. 2/2; cf. RWH 148 (*ḥajīr*)
- ḥakam*, *ḥakmān* arbitrator – IV 47, p. 2/2, 3; cf. RWH 36, 41, 163, 183, 189–92, 194
- ḥakmān*, see *ḥakam*
- ḥaml* headgear; black dyed wig made of cotton – IV 3, p. 2/8; 36, p. 1/21
- ḥanzal* roasted and salted seeds of gourd (*faḡūz*) (*Citrullus colocynthis*) – IV 39, p. 6/2, p. 10/5; *lā’iḥa* 2, p. 8/13 (*kbanzal*); cf. RWH 90 (*ḥanḍal*)
- ḥarāwa* (Figs. 24, 25) day of the groom’s procession to the bride’s house; cf. *‘ashā’ al-ḥarāwa* – IV 24/11, 12; 37/6, 7, 8; 39, p. 9/15; *lā’iḥa* 2, p. 7/9, p. 9/15, p. 10/6, p. 11/2
- ḥarf*, pl. *ḥurūf* silver coin – IV 39, p. 7/6; GhBW 1, p. 1/23; GhBW 2/11
- ḥarīr* silk – IV 3, p. 1/10, 13, 18, 19, 22, 23; 5, p. 1/4; 18, p. 2/15; 20/18, 28, 29, 33; 24/15; 36, p. 1/11; 37/11; 39, p. 6/16, p. 8/3, 4; 43, p. 1/4, p. 2/7; GhBW 1, p. 1/20; GhBW 2/8, 9
- ḥawīk* (pl.), see *ḥā’ik*
- ḥawṭa* sacred enclave – IV 35/1; cf. RWH 20–1, 30, 32, 37, 119, 125, 150, 174–6
- ḥibs*, pl. *ḥubūs* (Fig. 42) bracelet (HH) – IV 3, p. 1/16; 5, p. 1/7; 18, p. 1/18, p. 2/4; 20/20, 21; 36, p. 1/9; 39, p. 7/13; cf. RWH 100, 101

- hijāla* flat anklet typically with suspended little bells – IV 3, p. 1/22; 18, p. 2/7; cf. RWH 100
- hijl*, pl. *hujūl* (Fig. 32) a hollow or cast anklet, with or without suspended little bells, esp. for *zafīm*-dance (s.v.) (LA) – IV 3, p. 1/17, 22, p. 2/8; 48, p. 1/1, p. 2/1–18, 20, 22; cf. RWH 100
- hikāʿ* informing (the bride of whom she will be married to); cf. *qabḍa* and *rubūʿ* – IV 39, p. 3/15, 4/5; *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 13/1 (*haky*)
- bilāl* pendant in the shape of a crescent (a crescent with its horns upside-down is called *manqūsh*) – IV 18, p. 1/21
- hindiyya* (Fig. 48) Indian box – IV 39, p. 9/8
- himmāʿ* henna, the powdered leaves of *Laroesonia inermis* – IV 5, p. 1/21; 36, p. 2/2; 37/13; *Sbarāra* §18, §25/15, §26/1; cf. RWH 133
- (*hirz*, pl. *hurūz*) *rāʿī* (cf. Figs. 35–7: *hirz*) small charm – IV 36, p. 1/6; 37/9; 39, p. 7/3
- hizām*, pl. *hizma* (Fig. 43) belt of silver, gilded silver, or sometimes gold – IV 5, p. 1/15, 18; 36, p. 1/7; 37/10; 39, p. 7/12, 16; *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 8/12; cf. RWH 100
- hizma* (pl.), see *hizām*
- hubūb* (pl.) beads – IV 3, p. 1/10; 18, p. 1/18, 23, p. 2/2 + 5 (*muḥabbab*); 20/21; 39, p. 7/3, 7
- hubūs* (pl.), see *hibs*
- hujūl* (pl.), see *hijl*
- hūka* (pl.), see *hāʿik*
- hurūf* (pl.), see *ḥarf*
- hurūz* (pl.), see *hirz*
- hurūz al-khushūm* forehead decoration made of silver, gold, and sometimes with amber (JS, MBH) – IV 20/20
- ḥurwaf* (pl.), see *ḥāfa*
- ʿibya* pack for dates woven from palm fibre, 30–40 kg – IV 41/8
- ʿidda* male dance with sticks performed in the town quarters – IV 32/6; *Sbarāra* §26/3
- ʿiddat al-qabrwa* coffee set; cf. *qabrwa* and *bunn* – IV 5, p. 1/10; 37/15; 39, p. 8/17
- ʿiddat al-shābī* (*al-shāy*) tea set; cf. *shābī* – IV 18, p. 1/8; 20/15; 36, p. 1/20; 37/14; 39, p. 8/14, 16; *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 10/13; *lāʾiḥa* 2, p. 5/5, 12, 13
- ikhāʿ*, *al-* see *Majallat al-ikhāʿ*
- ilzāmāt* (pl.) obligatory gifts; during the period in which the documents were written it meant mostly wedding gifts of wristwatches – IV 18, p. 1/17; 20/21
- ʿinab* dress made of silk, especially for the wedding night. The colour was identified as dark violet (AJ) – IV 18, p. 2/15; 20/33; 24/15
- ʿiqd* tight necklace – IV 39, p. 7/15

- ʿiṣāba* (Fig. 30) forehead band, part of the bride's crown – IV 39, p. 7/14; cf. RWH 100 (*ʿaṣāba*)
- iṣlāḥ, iṣlāḥī* both traditional reconciliation and modern social reforms – III 276, p. 1/8; IV 39, p. 1/6
- istisqāʾ* prayers for rain – IV 5, p. 2/9
- ʿiṭr*, pl. *ʿuṭūrāt* perfume – IV 39, p. 3/11; GhBW 1, p. 1/13 (*ʿiṭr wardī azw ʿanbarī*); *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 9/6, 10; *lāʾiḥa* 2, p. 5/10; *Sharāra* §12/3; cf. RWH 104–5
- jadārāt* (pl.) headgear – *tāj al-ʿarūsa* (JS) – IV 39, p. 6/7
- jāfal* coffee berry, coffee in husk – IV 5, p. 1/11; 39, p. 6/4
- Jamʿiyyat al-Ḥaqq Truth Association – IV 39, p. 1/7, 16
- jāqa*, see *yāqa*
- jās*, < Malayan *jas* – jacket < Dutch *jas* – id. (AO) Java-dress which may be green or red (SL) – IV 3, p. 2/17
- jawdarī* mattress with cotton padding – IV 39, p. 6/13; GhBW 2/8
- jāwīyya* Java-dress – IV 39, p. 6/6, p. 7/16, p. 10/2
- jifān* (pl.), see *jifna*
- jifna*, pl. *jifān* large bowl for meals; made of wood (JS) – IV 39, p. 5/15; cf. RWH 96
- jibāz* dowry; cf. *tajbīzat* – IV 18, p. 2/11, 12; 20/26, 27, 29, 30, 31; 24/4, 7, 8; 37/1, 4, 5; GhBW 1, p. 1/10, 11; GhBW 2/4; *Sharāra* §3; cf. RWH 148
- jubab* (pl.), see *jubba*
- jubba*, pl. *jubab* long outer garment, open in front; cf. *qamīṣ* – IV 18, p. 2/15; 20/33; 37/11 (*qumṣān al-jubba*)
- kabat*, < Engl. cupboard (cf. Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 1049) cupboard – *lāʾiḥa* 2, p. 5/4
- kabrab, karhab* amber – IV 3, p. 1/16; 5, p. 1/7; 20/20; 36, p. 1/9; 39, p. 7/13
- kabrabāʾī*, see *karhabān*
- kaʿk* cake made of flour, eggs, and ghee – IV 3, p. 1/31; 20/14; 24/14; 39, p. 3/7, 9
- kalba* tongs – IV 39, p. 9/2; *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 11/4; cf. RWH 94, 97
- kānūn* stove; cf. *bābūr* – IV 39, p. 8/17
- karhab*, see *kabrab*
- karhabān, kabrabāʾī* kerosene lamp – IV 18, p. 1/8; 20/15; 36, p. 1/20; 37/14; 39, p. 2/6
- kāshān*, < Malayan: *kacang* – beans, nuts; also peanuts, arachis, etc. (AO; AHS, 90) almonds, almonds roasted in their husks – IV 39, p. 6/2
- kāshāt* (pl.), < Malayan/Indonesian *kaca* (AO; AHS: *kāshih*, 90) glass; mirror – IV 39, p. 8/10 (*mirāyā kāshāt*)
- kaṣḥf ʿalā l-ʿarūs* veil ceremony – *Sharāra* §25/8
- kataba* (Fig. 31) amulet, presumably with inscription – IV 24/19

karwaʿ, [kūti] < Persian, Turkish *kutu* (Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 1089) chest used mostly for cosmetics – IV 3, p. 1/20, p. 2/24; 5, p. 1/8; 20/16; 37/14; cf. RWH 96

khaddāma midwife – IV 39, p. 10/6

khaf date palm saplings – IV 44/5; cf. RWH 84

khanzal, see *hanzal*

khaṭīb(a) fiancé(e) – *Sharāra* §4, §5, §7

khātim, pl. *khawātim* ring with a stone – IV 36, p. 1/7; 37/10; 39, p. 7/11, 16; *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 8/10; *lāʾiḥa* 2, p. 6/6, 11; *Sharāra* §9/4; cf. RWH 100

khatm al-qurʾān conclusion of the Qurʾān reading by children and celebration of this occasion; cf. *kbutūm* – IV 39, p. 2/3

khafra wife's first visit to her parents after marriage; cf. *naqīla* – IV 3, p. 1/19, 28, p. 2/8, 12; 5, p. 1/13; 16/7; 18, p. 1/13; 20/24; 24/14; 36, p. 1/13, 16, 18, 22, p. 2/2; 37/16; 39, p. 4/8; 43, p. 2/3, 5, 8; *lāʾiḥa* 2, p. 7/13

khawātim (pl.), see *khātim*

khaybaʿān women's song and dance – IV 39, p. 2/6; cf. RWH 9, 149

khidāb (black painting with) gall ink – GhBW 1, p. 1/18

khiʿa, *khufʿa* traditional wedding dress of striped silk or satin – IV 20/28, 29

khirsh silver or gold jewellery – IV 3, p. 1/20

khitāmī children's Ramadan custom of going from house to house on the days of *kbutūm* (s.v.), singing and receiving presents – IV 39, p. 10/4

khitān boys' circumcision – IV 39, p. 5/10, 12 (*makbtūn*); *lāʾiḥa* 2, p. 12/15, 16, 17, p. 13/7, 9; *Sharāra* §29/1, 2

khudda the ceremony of making-up the bride and the proceeding celebration in her family's house the second wedding day – *Sharāra* §19, §25/9

khufūf stockings – GhBW 2/9

khufʿa, see *khiʿa*

khums, pl. *akbmas* traditional unit of a settlement – IV 29/2, 4, 5, 12, 13

khūṣalāt (pl.) parted segments of the bride's hair – IV 43, p. 1/4

khushfa nose-ring, nose-stud; a green date, used by the Bedouins and others (*khashwa*, *khashfa*) (JS) – GhBW 1, p. 1/20

khutba engagement – *lāʾiḥa* 2, p. 4/5, 6

khutūba engagement (party) – *lāʾiḥa* 2, p. 4/8; *Sharāra* §3, §4; cf. RWH 147 (*khutūwab*)

kbutūm reciting of the Qurʾān in alternating mosques during the odd nights from 11 to 29 Ramadan, after *tarāwīḥ*-prayer (s.v.); cf. *khatm al-qurʾān* – IV 3, p. 2/13

khutūt (pl.) cosmetics – IV 3, p. 1/20; 5, p. 1/8

kibāya Indonesian dress – IV 3, p. 1/22

kilān groom, see *ṣawt al-kilān*

- kisra* pendant in the shape of a crescent with large silver, golden, or amber beads – IV 5, p. 1/7; 20/20; 24/19
- krābū*, < Malayan *kerabu* – gold or silver earrings (AO; AHS, 90) earrings – IV 36, p. 1/7; 37/9; 39, p. 7/10, 16; *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 8/11
- kūbara* tire-woman; cf. *muʿarriba* – IV 24/9, 18; 37/5; GhBW 1, p. 1/11; GhBW 2/11; *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 15/8; *lāʾiḥa* 2, p. 9/8, 9; *Sharāra* §26/5
- kūfar*, < Javanese, Malayan vernacular *koper* – bag, valise < Dutch *koffer* – id. (AO; AHS, 91) metal chest – IV 37/14; 39, p. 9/9
- kūḥl* black eye colour makeup – IV 39, p. 9/8; cf. RWH 129, 133, 138, 144
- kurat* (pl.), see *kurta*
- kursī* stand (of samovar) – *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 11/2; cf. RWH 96
- kurta*, pl. *kurat* women's short dress; skirt – GhBW 2/6, 7; cf. RWH 129 (*karta*)
- kushash* (pl.), see *kushsha*
- kushsha*, pl. *kushash* pompons; flowers made of fabric; floral ornamentation (AJ) – IV 39, p. 6/10
- kuway*, < Malayan *kue*, *kueh*, *kuib* – cake (made of flour, borrowed from a Chinese dialect) (AO; AHS (*kwēh*), 82, 91) cake made of wheat flour, eggs and white sugar – IV 39, p. 3/8, 9
- kūz*, pl. *akwāz* water jug; synonym of *dalla* (s.v.) – *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 11/6; *lāʾiḥa* 2, p. 6/2
- labba* necklace – *lāʾiḥa* 2, p. 6/6, 11; cf. RWH 100 (*libba*)
- labū* local title: the paramount chief, either of leaders of subtribes or leaders of teams of hunters; cf. *abū* – IV 35/4, 7
- lāndrūfar* Land Rover – *Sharāra* §21/2
- laqan* ceramic basin (in modern times it is often made of glass or other material) – IV 39, p. 9/3; *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 11/6; *lāʾiḥa* 2, p. 5/16
- lawkīt*, < Engl. locket (AHS, 92) pendant – IV 39, p. 7/15; *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 8/8
- laylat al-dakbila* wedding night of consummation – *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 11/12, p. 16/3
- libs*, pl. *lubūs* a pair (*zawj*, HH) or a set of items – IV 36, p. 1/6, 9; 37/9; *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 8/9, 11; *Sharāra* §9/3
- lubūs* (pl.), see *libs*
- luʾluʾ* pearls – GhBW 1, p. 1/19
- maʿāshir* (pl.), see *maʿshara*
- mabdūʿ* necklace of large silver, amber, or golden beads (AS) – IV 3, p. 1/16; 5, p. 1/7; 18, p. 1/22; 20/20
- madād* the ceremony when part of the bridal money (*mabr*, s.v.) is handed over to the bride's family – *Sharāra* §3, §4, §8; cf. RWH 147
- maḍaww* procession – IV 32/3
- maʿdhūn* an official authorised by the qadi to perform marriages – *Sharāra* §16, §26/9

mafārish (pl.), see *mifrasb*

maftūl twisted (jewellery) – IV 18, p. 2/2, 5; cf. RWH 100

maḡhmūs a gilded item; cf. *ghams* – IV 39, p. 7/1

maḡārim (pl.), see *maḡram*

maḡāyā groom's money gift to the bride's mother – *Sharāra* §20/1

mahjar place of emigration – *lā'iḡa* 2, p. 12/3, 10, p. 13/7

mabr bridal money – IV 18, p. 2/11, 12; 20/27, 29, 30, 31; GhBW 1, p. 1/15; *lā'iḡa* 1, p. 7/12; *Sharāra* §3; cf. RWH 147–8, 151, 153

maḡram, pl. *maḡārim* persons forbidden as marital partners according to quranic regulations – IV 39, p. 3/4, p. 10/10

mabrat al-ʿatf light anklet – IV 18, p. 2/7

Majallat al-ikbāʿ journal *Brotherliness* – IV 39, p. 10/16

Majlis (al-Iṣlāḡ) (al-Waṡānī) (National) Reform Council – IV 36, p. 1/2; 43, p. 1/2, 10, p. 2/9

makhḡara song-and-dance performance by men (GF) – *Sharāra* §26/2

makbrat, see *murriyya*

Makhzan al-sabāyā a food shop in Sayʿūn – IV 34/7

malḡafa bedcover – IV 24/4; 37/1

maʿnā a kind of necklace (AS) – IV 39, p. 7/5

manāṡib (pl.), see *manṡab*

manāzir (pl.), see *manzara*

manṡab, pl. *manāṡib* head of a *sāda-* (s.v.) or *mashāyikh-*clan (s.v.) – IV 22/14; 30/15; 47, p. 1/stamp, p. 2/6; Madūda 2/12 (*manṡaba*); GhBW 2/18; cf. RWH 20–1, 33, 35, 41, 45, 50, 54, 59–60, 73, 112, 147, 156, 175, 177, 186, fig. 68

manṡal pestle, pounder – IV 5, p. 1/11; cf. RWH 96

manzara, pl. *manāzir* a small mirror – IV 36, p. 2/7

maqālim, see *maqlama*

maqlad necklace – IV 24/19

maqlama, *muqallama*, pl. *maqālim* (Fig. 26) a striped fabric or dress – GhBW 2/9

marārī (pl.), see *murriyya*

marāwiḡ (pl.), see *mirwaḡa*

marāziḡ (pl.), see *marzaḡa*

marja first night of the wedding festivities during which the groom is painted with *ḡinnāʿ* (s.v.), synonym: *dabīna* (s.v.) – IV 39, p. 3/14, p. 4/5 (*marya*)

marsa, pl. *murīs*, *maryas* anklet – IV 39, p. 7/9, 15

marya, see *marja*

maryas (pl.), see *marsa*

marzaḡa, pl. *marāziḡ* procession; cf. *tarāziḡ* – Madūda 1/9, 10, 11

maṡābiḡ (pl.), see *miṡbāḡ*

masādir (pl.), see *masdara*

- masākīn*, sg. *miskīn* the upper layer of underprivileged classes, tradesmen (social stratum) – IV 3, p. 2/22; 18, p. 2/10, 15; 20/30, 33; 26/6, 9, 19; 27/9; 35/3; 40/3, 5, 11; 41/7; 42/6, 7, 8; 50/6, 10, 15; cf. RWH 25, 27, 44, 93, 111, 157
- maṣārīḥ* (pl.) common traditional practices – IV 28/5
- maṣarr(a)* pouch filled with sweets and snacks; cf. *buṣṣba* – IV 3, p. 2/13; 20/14; 34/3, 5; 39, p. 2/13
- masdara*, pl. *masādir* blouse (AS) – IV 5, p. 1/6; 39, p. 6/6, 7, p. 7/17, p. 9/10; cf. RWH 130
- maṣḥ* bright cotton or silk fabric; bands or wedding dresses made of this fabric – IV 3, p. 1/13; 5, p. 1/3
- maʿshara*, pl. *maʿashīr* metal tray – IV 5, p. 1/11; 39, p. 9/1; *lāʿiḥa* 1, p. 11/2, 3, 5; *lāʿiḥa* 2, p. 6/1
- maṣḥāyikh* (pl.) privileged social stratum, second after *sāda* (s.v.) – IV 18, p. 2/14; 20/26; 26/8, 9; 27/5; 32/4; 39, p. 1/2; 41/2, 4; 50/6, 10; Madūda 2/12, 15; GhBW 1, p. 1/6; GhBW 2/2
- maṣīla* dress decoration, either embroidery with golden or silver threads or application (GF) – IV 3, p. 1/10, 11; 5, p. 1/2
- maṣrafa*, pl. *maṣarīf* round wicker mat on which meals are served – IV 39, p. 8/17; cf. RWH 105
- mastūr* written document (lit.: lines) – GhBW 1, p. 1/35
- matākī* (pl.), see *matka*
- maṭall* bracelet – IV 36, p. 1/6; 37/9; 39, p. 7/8, 15; *lāʿiḥa* 1, p. 8/9
- maṭall muʿaṭṭarāt* twisted bracelet (HH) – IV 18, p. 2/8
- maṭall ṣabb* cast bracelet – IV 18, p. 2/9
- mathāqīl* (pl.) pendants – IV 39, p. 7/16
- matka*, pl. *matākī* cushion or pillow to lean on; cf. *takiya* – GhBW 2/8
- maṭlī* decoratively shaped metal – IV 39, p. 8/12; *lāʿiḥa* 1, p. 11/6
- mawlid al-nabarwī, al-* the Prophet's birthday – IV 47, p. 1/17
- mazbūr* written text – GhBW 1, p. 1/28
- miḥmās* pan used to roast coffee beans – IV 39, p. 9/2; cf. RWH 135
- mikhbadda(t al-raʿs)* hair parting decorative pin – IV 39, p. 7/16, p. 10/2
- minḥāz* mortar – IV 5, p. 1/11; 39, p. 8/17; cf. RWH 96
- miʿrāj* celebration of the Prophet's ascension to Heaven on 27 Rajab – Madūda 1/9
- mirāyā* mirror – IV 39, p. 8/10
- mirwaha*, pl. *marāwīḥ* (Fig. 50) a plated flag-fan made of palm fronds – GhBW 2/8
- miṣbāḥ*, pl. *maṣābīḥ* oil lamp – IV 39, p. 2/5
- miskīn* (sg.), see *masākīn*
- mitfala* vessel for dirty water – *lāʿiḥa* 2, p. 6/2
- mīz*, < Persian *mīz* (Behnstedt, *Dialekte*, 1187) table – *lāʿiḥa* 2, p. 5/5

- mizmār* double pipe (musical instrument) – *lā'iḥa* 1, p. 14/3; cf. RWH 112, 164, 198, fig. 27
- mu'an* wedding supplies – IV 36, p. 2/11
- mu'arriba* tire-woman; cf. *kubara* – *lā'iḥa* 1, p. 15/8
- mu'attarāt*, see *maṭall*
- mubaqqash*, see *buqsha*
- mūfiya* woman during her *wufā'*-feast (s.v.) – IV 43, p. 2/8; *lā'iḥa* 2, p. 12/9
- muhanniya* professional henna (*ḥimmā'* s.v.) painter – *lā'iḥa* 1, p. 15/13; *lā'iḥa* 2, p. 9/10
- mujarwawaqa* dress usually made of coloured silk with bands (*yāqa*, s.v.) at the neckcut, sleeves, and hem (AS, JS) – IV 39, p. 6/6, 8
- mukbābara* sharecropping lease – IV 49/3, 5
- mukhammar* leavened bread – IV 3, p. 2/4
- mulaqqin* one who reads prayers by the grave – *Sharāra* §28/4; cf. RWH 163 (souffleur at the poetical performances)
- muqaddam* (tribal) leader – IV 29/22; Madūda 2/7, 13; GhBW 2/13, 14; cf. RWH 30, 34–5, 41, 110–11, 192
- muqallama*, see *maqlama*
- muqammaza* girl under the age of ten, before the bridal age – IV 3, p. 1/22
- murīs* (pl.), see *marṣa*
- murriyya* (*murriyya makbraṭ*), pl. *marārī* (Figs. 38–40) necklace of two or more threads, usually with a charm (AS) – IV 18, p. 1/19; 36, p. 1/6; 37/9; 39, p. 7/2; cf. RWH 101
- musāfir* traveller (= emigrant) – IV 39, p. 2/3, p. 5/5, 9; 43, p. 1/5, p. 2/8; *lā'iḥa* 2, p. 12/11, 13, 14, p. 13/9
- mushtarib(a)* professional (female) musician – IV 3, p. 1/30; 24/18; GhBW 1, p. 1/23; GhBW 2/10; *lā'iḥa* 1, p. 13/11, p. 14/1, 3, 4; *Sharāra* §25/9, 11, §26/6, 10; cf. RWH 149, 164
- muzammir* a *mizmār*-player (s.v.) – IV 24/9, 13; 37/6, 7, 8
- najm wa-l-qamar, al-* (Fig. 34) a kind of pendant; cf. *shabr wa-najm* – IV 18, p. 1/20
- najm al-ṣabāḥ* special kind of ornamentation applied to veils and dresses – IV 39, p. 8/6
- naqda* stage of marriage ceremony when the bride's hair and plaits are made up; an invitation to the groom's relatives by the bride's family (GF) – IV 3, p. 1/18, 26, p. 2/3; 24/14; 37/16; *lā'iḥa* 2, p. 7/13; *Sharāra* §25/12; cf. RWH 149
- naqīla* al-Mukallā synonym for *khaṭra* (s.v.) – *Sharāra* §25/13
- naqsh*, pl. *nuqūsh* decoration; body painting – IV 3, p. 1/10, 23; 5, p. 1/21; 20/18; 37/13

nijād silver belt for women worn across the shoulder and breast – IV 3/22; cf.

RWH 100 (*nis'a haqq al-šadr*)

niqāb (pl.), see *nuqba*

nuqba, pl. *niqāb* headscarf, (head)kerchief – IV 3, p. 1/14; 18, p. 1/16; 24/5; 37/1;

39, p. 6/7, p. 8/7; cf. RWH 106, 127, 130, 132

nuqūsh (pl.), see *naqsh*

qa'āda, pl. *qa'āyid* seat – IV 5, p. 1/10; 39, p. 9/1, 2, 3

qa'āyid (pl.), see *qa'āda*

qabā'il (pl.), see *qabīlī*

qabāda informing the bride of whom she will be married to (lit.: seizure); cf. *hikā'* and *rubūt* – *lā'iḥa* 1, p. 13/2; *lā'iḥa* 2 (*qaḍba*), p. 8/1, 2

qabīlī; pl. *qabā'il* tribe(sman) (social stratum) – IV 26/10, 11, 19; 27/5, 9; 35/5; 39, p. 10/11 (*qabīla*); 40/4; 50/3, 5; Madūda 2/15; cf. RWH 91–2, 99, 110–11, 122–4, 131, 148, 152–3, 156, 182, 185, 189, 194, 196, fig. 85

qaḍba, see *qabāda*

qafla, pl. *qifāl* 1/10 *wuqiyya* (s.v.) – IV 18, p. 2/2, 4–9; 39, p. 7/4; *lā'iḥa* 2, p. 6/8, 12; cf. RWH 206 (*qufūl*)

qabrwa coffee; cf. *bum* and *'iddat al-qabrwa* – IV 20/23; 35/5; 36, p. 2/9; 39, p. 4/8, 6/4, 10/3; *lā'iḥa* 1, p. 16/11; *lā'iḥa* 2, p. 8/13, p. 13/4, 5, 8; *Sharāra* §7, §8, §17, §20/1, §25/9, 10, 17

qabwat al-wa'd coffee of engagement – IV 24/14; 37/16

Qalb, al- (star) – IV 49/3; cf. RWH 203, 205

qambar, *qumbura*, pl. *qanābir*, < Malayan, Javanese *gambar* – picture, drawing, photograph (AO) decorative pictures or photographs – IV 39, p. 8/10

qamīš, pl. *qumšān* men's or women's dress; bride's dress; wide-bodied and very wide-sleeved, full garment; cf. *jubba* – IV 3, p. 1/14; 5, p. 1/19; 37/11 (*qumšān al-jubba*); cf. RWH 20, 131

qamīš tafqūra women's dress with a low neckline (LA); in modern usage a garment for wearing outside the house (*bālṭū*) – IV 18, p. 1/16

qanābir (pl.), see *qambar*

qanāša the ibex hunt; cf. *qanīš* – IV 26/6, 8; 35/4, 6; 42/5, 8; 50/4, 6, 10, 11; Madūda 1/9

qanīš ibex hunt; hunting party; cf. *qanāša* – IV 42/2, 3, 6, 9; Madūda 2/9, 11, 14

qānūn al-usra Family Law – *lā'iḥa* 1, p. 7/6, p. 8/1; *lā'iḥa* 2, p. 3/5, p. 4/7; *Sharāra* §3, §10/3

qānūn al-zawāj Marriage Law – *Sharāra* title

qaš'a, pl. *qišā'* round or rectangular box made of metal, with a cover – *lā'iḥa* 1, p. 11/5; *lā'iḥa* 2, p. 6/2

qashāṭir (pl.), see *qashṭir*

qāshim wooden box – IV 39, p. 9/6

qashbīr (< *qashdīr*), pl. *qashbātir* tin; decorations made of tin or foil – IV 3, p. 1/6

qils, pl. *qulūs* decorative hairpins; buttons – IV 39, p. 7/15

qirādha the giving of presents to the bride by male relatives the morning after her move to the groom's house – *Sbarāra* §25/4

qirāt (pl.), see *qurt*

qirsh [*faransī*], pl. *qurūsh* Maria Theresa thaler – IV 18, p. 2/2, 4–9; 24/4–9, 17, 18; 34/5; 37/1, 4, 5; Madūda 1/8; GhBW 1, p. 1/16; GhBW 2/11; cf. RWH 99

qisāʿ (pl.), see *qasʿa*

qītān decoration, embroidery at neckline, sleeves and hem of a dress – IV 5, p. 1/6

qitʿān group (of persons); originally: cattle – IV 37/5

qubʿ, see *rās qubʿ*

qufaf (pl.), see *quffa*

qufāl, see *qafla*

quffa, pl. *qufaf* wicker basket usually made of palm leaves – IV 39, p. 9/6

qulūs (pl.), see *qils*

qumbura, see *qambar*

qumšān (pl.), see *qamīš*

quraš (pl.), see *qurša*

qurra forehead ornamentation – IV 5, p. 1/10

qurša, pl. *quraš* (Figs. 44, 45) belt buckle – IV 5, p. 1/15; 39, p. 7/12; *lā'iḥa* 1, p. 8/13

qurt, pl. *qirāt* earrings – *lā'iḥa* 2, p. 6/11

qurūsh (pl.), see *qirsh*

qušra wooden pestle – IV 39, p. 8/17; cf. RWH 96 (*qawšara*)

qušša box for sweets – GhBW 1, p. 1/14

raff niche shelf – IV 39, p. 8/11; cf. RWH 120

rāʿī, see *ḥirz rāʿī*; *shakk al-rāʿī*

Ramadan – IV 3, p. 2/14, 26; 34/3, 8, 10; 39, p. 10/3, 4; cf. RWH 51, 92, 135, 144, 206

raʿsha sequin – IV 5, p. 1/2, 5; 16/8; 20/18

razel qazvel kind of artificial gold – *lā'iḥa* 1, p. 9/3

rīf rural area – *Sbarāra* §10/1, §11/2, §13/2, §24/1, 2, §25/16, §31

rintū necklace – IV 39, p. 7/15

rubiyya rupee – GhBW 1, p. 1/13; GhBW 2/12

rubūt informing the girl that she is to be married, covering her head with a piece of fabric (lit.: binding); cf. *ḥikāʿ* and *qabḍa* – *Sbarāra* §18, §18/1, §18/2, §25/1

rūs (< *rās*) *qubʿ* sugar loaf – IV 20/14; 36, p. 1/15

ruzz (< *zirr*) button – IV 5, p. 1/5

- ṣāʿa(t yad)* wristwatch – *lāʿiḥa* 1, p. 11/12, *lāʿiḥa* 2, p. 5/10, p. 6/8; *Sharāra* §9/5
ṣabb, see *maṭall*
- sāda*, sg. *sayyid* descendants of the Prophet (highest social stratum) – III 276, p. 2/2; IV 3, p. 2/23, 24; 7/3, 4, 6; 18, p. 2/14; 20/26; 39, p. 1/2; 43, p. 1/7, 8; 44/4, 6; 47, p. 1/25; 48, p. 1/list of names, right column; GhBW 1, p. 1/36; GhBW 2/2; ABR 1/9, 19, 20; cf. RWH 19–26, 29–33, 35–42, 47, 51, 53–6, 59–61, 63–8, 73–4, 110–12, 122–6, 131, 143, 147–8, 150, 155, 157, 177, 180, 185
- ṣafar* travel, emigration – IV 3, p. 1/4, 19; 39, p. 4/12, p. 5/5; *lāʿiḥa* 1, p. 17/4
- ṣaff(a)*, pl. *ṣufūf* display of cosmetics, fragrance, jewellery, and dress in the groom’s house – IV 3, p. 2/2; 36, p. 2/6; 37/14
- ṣakbr* hot coal, charcoal – IV 39, p. 9/3; *lāʿiḥa* 1, p. 11/7; *lāʿiḥa* 2, p. 6/2; cf. RWH 97
- salāsil* (pl.), see *silsila*
- ṣalāt*, see *tarāwīḥ*
- samar* meeting during the ibex hunt – IV 32/3; Madūda 2/11; cf. RWH 163
- samāwir* (Fig. 47) samovar, tea urn; cf. *bukbārī* – *lāʿiḥa* 1, p. 11/2 (*samāwār*); *lāʿiḥa* 2, p. 5/15; cf. RWH 136 (*samāwar*)
- ṣāna* meat with vegetable sauce – IV 39, p. 4/1
- ṣanādīq* (pl.), see *ṣandūq*
- ṣandūq*, pl. *ṣanādīq* chest, box – IV 3, p. 1/21; 37/14; 39, p. 9/7, 9, 10
- sarīr* bed – *lāʿiḥa* 2, p. 5/4
- ṣārūn*, *ṣārūm*, pl. *ṣawārim*, < Malayan, Javanese *sarung* (AO; AHS 91) man’s kilt (*fūṭa*) – IV 39, p. 6/6; cf. RWH 106, 130–1
- ṣawārim*, see *ṣārūn*
- ṣawt al-kilān* groom’s melody, both songs and dances, which are performed by the groom’s party after the henna ceremony – IV 39, p. 3/6
- sayyāra* car – IV 39, p. 2/10, 11; *Sharāra* §21/2
- sayyid* (sg.), see *sāda*
- shabb* alum; local synonym for ammonium- and natriumchloride which is used to blacken henna painting – IV 5, p. 1/21; 36, p. 2/2; 37/13
- shabwānī* dance; poetry competition – IV 40/4; *lāʿiḥa* 1, p. 14/13; *lāʿiḥa* 2, p. 8/4; *Sharāra* §26/3; cf. RWH 149
- shabḥādha* professional female singer and reciter – IV 39, p. 2/2
- shāhī*, *shāy* tea; cf. *iddat al-shāhī* – IV 18, p. 1/12; 20/12, 14, 23; 39, p. 9/15, p. 10/3; *lāʿiḥa* 1, p. 11/7; *lāʿiḥa* 2, p. 6/1, p. 8/13; *Sharāra* §8, §17, §20/1, §25/9, 10
- shabr wa-najm* (Fig. 33) crescent-and-star pendant; cf. *al-najm wa-l-qamar* – IV 39, p. 7/6, 15
- shakk al-rāʿī* amulet necklace; cf. *rāʿī* – IV 36, p. 1/9, 10
- shakka* a pendant – IV 39, p. 7/5
- shalla* to swear an oath – IV 29/19; GhBW 1, p. 1/37–8, 37–9, p. 2/1–7

- shamma* ceremony on the seventh day after delivery – IV 3, p. 2/9; 39, p. 5/4;
lā'īḥa 2, p. 12/6, 8, 9
- shanta*, pl. *shunaṭ* bag – IV 24/16; 39, p. 9/11; *lā'īḥa* 1, p. 9/9, 11; *lā'īḥa* 2, p. 6/9
- sharāba*, < Turkish *çorap* (CS) stockings – IV 9, p. 6/10
- sharḥ*, pl. *shurūḥāt* dance – IV 18, p. 2/16; 20/33; 24/16; GhBW 1, p. 1/18;
 GhBW 2/10; *lā'īḥa* 1, p. 13/2, 10, 11, p. 14/4, 6, 9, p. 15/3, p. 16/11; *lā'īḥa* 2, p.
 8/4, p. 10/1, 2, 7, 10, 13, p. 11/4, 5, 7, 14, 16; *Sharāra* §22
- sharī'a* Islamic religious law – GhBW 1, p. 1/35; ABR 1/23 (*shar'*)
- shawfa* gift which the groom gives to his mother-in-law during his first visit; cf.
takhāwid – IV 39, p. 3/5
- shāy*, see *shāhī*
- shibr* one span of the hand, c.24 cm – GhBW 2/7; cf. RWH 207
- shīt*, < Malayan vernacular? [not found in dictionaries] < Dutch (obsolete?) *sits* –
 printed calico (AO) printed calico; chintz – IV 36, p. 1/11; 39, p. 6/14
- shumsa* belt buckle; cf. *tashmīs* – *lā'īḥa* 1, p. 8/13
- shunaṭ* (pl.), see *shanta*
- shurūḥāt* (pl.), see *sharḥ*
- sils*, pl. *sulūs* necklace – *Sharāra* §9/2
- silsila*, pl. *salāsīl* necklace – IV 39, p. 7/14
- ṣīn* porcelain; a porcelain cup – IV 39, p. 8/12
- sirwāl* trousers – IV 3, p. 1/14; GhBW 1, p. 1/16; GhBW 2/9; cf. RWH 129
- sirwār*, pl. *asāwir* bracelet – *lā'īḥa* 2, p. 6/6, 11
- subḥa* necklace with coins and other pendants; consisting of small beads (LA) –
 IV 5, p. 1/7; 24/19
- subḥa* the morning (gift) after the wedding night – IV 3, p. 1/18, 24; 16/6; 18, p.
 1/12; 20/8, 9, 12; 24/4 (gift), 5, 7, 8, 11; 36, p. 1/12, 18; 37/1 (gift), 2, 4, 5, 7;
 39, p. 3/17, p. 9/15; 43, p. 2/3; GhBW 1, p. 1/12 (gift); *lā'īḥa* 1, p. 12/10, p.
 13/8; *lā'īḥa* 2, p. 6/16, p. 7/10; *Sharāra* §12/2; cf. RWH 149
- subḥiyya* third day of the wedding ceremony: women celebrate the bride's move
 into the groom's house – *Sharāra* §22; morning gift – GhBW 2/5
- subūḥ* breakfast – IV 39, p. 3/7; cf. RWH 134
- ṣufūf* (pl.), see *ṣaffa*
- sulūs* (pl.), see *sils*
- ṣumbara* millet; chickpeas – IV 39, p. 6/2, p. 10/5
- ṣumūt*, *ṣumūt* anklet (silent, without bells); bracelet – IV 18, p. 2/9; 24/19; 36, p.
 1/6; 37/9; cf. RWH 100
- sunkar* [*sukkar*] sugar – IV 5, p. 1/12
- tabṣī*, < Turkish *tepsi* (CS) nickle-plated metal (tray) – *lā'īḥa* 1, p. 11/6; *lā'īḥa* 2, p.
 5/16
- tabtūl* presenting a gift – IV 3, p. 1/20, p. 2/24; 18, p. 1/8; 20/15

- taʿbūr* serving coffee; vessel for coffee or sugar – *lāʿiḥa* 1, p. 11/5; *lāʿiḥa* 2, p. 5/16
tafqūra, see *qamīs*
- tajhīz, tajhīzāt* (pl.) equipment, items for dowry; cf. *jihāz* – IV 37/14; 39, p. 8/16;
lāʿiḥa 1, p. 8/5, 10/5; *Sharāra* § 9, 10
- takhāwīd* (money) present given to the wife and her mother; cf. *sharʿifa* – IV 39,
 p. 3/3
- takiya*, pl. *tikāy* pillow; cf. *matka* – IV 3, p. 1/23; 5, p. 1/6; 39, p. 6/11
- tāksī* Taxi – *Sharāra* §21/2
- ṭalāq* divorce – *Sharāra* §10/3
- tall*, < Turkish *tel* (CS) trimming of the neckline, sleeves, and hem with either a
 fabric band of contrasting colours or by bright threads, mostly silver or gold –
 IV 3, p. 1/13; 5, p. 1/3, 4; 16/8; 20/18; 39, p. 6/6; GhBW 1, p. 1/21; GhBW
 2/7, 8, 9; cf. RWH 128
- ṭāq* (pl.), see *ṭāqa*
- ṭāqa*, pl. *ṭāq* (window) sill (JS) – IV 39, p. 8/11
- taqdūm* specific set of biscuits, sweets, and tea – *Sharāra* §25/2, 16, §29/1
- taʿqīd* hairdressing with multiple plaits – IV 39, p. 4/8; cf. RWH 149 (*ʿuqād*)
- tarāwīḥ*, sg. *tarwīḥa, ṣalāt al-* prayer during Ramadan – IV 3, p. 2/14; cf. RWH
 206
- tarāzīḥ* rows of singing and dancing people; cf. *marzaḥa* – IV 3, p. 2/13; 34/4
- tarḥ*, pl. *ṭurūḥ(āt)* fee, gratuity, gift – IV 16/4; 24/17; GhBW 1, p. 1/22, GhBW
 2/10; *lāʿiḥa* 1, p. 16/7; *lāʿiḥa* 2, p. 8/5, 6, 8, p. 12/9, 14; *Sharāra* §25/5; cf. RWH
 148
- tarqīda* covering – GhBW 1, p. 1/17
- tarwīḥa*, see *tarāwīḥ*
- ṭāsa* (procession with) timbales – IV 41/7
- taṣbīḥ ʿalā l-khāla* mother-in-law greeting ceremony – *Sharāra* §25/3
- tashmīs* decorating with ornamented plates esp. in the shape of rhombus; cf.
shumsa – IV 5, p. 1/15
- taṣūf* lining; underskirt worn with silk dresses – IV 3, p. 1/11, 13
- taswīḥa* dressing table (GF, LA) – *lāʿiḥa* 2, p. 5/4
- tays* male goat – IV 39, p. 2/13; cf. RWH 92
- thawb*, pl. *thiyāb* (Figs. 27, 28) women’s dress – *passim*; cf. RWH 127–8, 131–3
- thayyib* previously married woman (lit.: deflowered) – IV 18, p. 2/12; 20/29, 31;
 24/7, 8, 12; 37/4, 5, 8; GhBW 1, p. 1/11; GhBW 2/4
- thiyāb* (pl.), see *thawb*
- ṭibāl* (pl.), see *ṭibla*
- ṭibāla* drum beating; cf. *tifqaʿ* – IV 32/4
- ṭibla*, pl. *ṭibāl* sugar box – IV 39, p. 9/2
- tiḥla* large mat set on the floor, from which meals are served – IV 39, p. 9/6; cf.
 RWH 105, 178

tifqaʿ drum beating; cf. *ṭibāla* – IV 24/17

tikāy (pl.), see *takiya*

tikfā a tribal agreement imposed by mediator(s) – IV 44/1

ṭubūʿ hair decoration – IV 18, p. 2/6

ṭubūl (pl.) drums – IV 3, p. 2/12; 39, p. 2/16

ṭūla weight, c.11,7 grams – *Sharāra* §9/1, 2; cf. RWH 206

ṭuʿma tray [with food]; meal prepared in a stone pan (*burma*) or deeper vessel – IV 3, p. 2/4

ṭurūḥ(āt) (pl.), see *ṭarḥ*

umm al-mawqad woman who prepares coffee and food (lit.: mother of the hearth) – *Sharāra* §26/7

untun, see *antun*

ʿuqqāl (pl.), see ʿaqīl

ʿutūrāt (pl.), see ʿitṛ

ʿuyūn al-khawera head ornamentation worn behind the ears near the back of the neck (JS) – IV 18, p. 1/23

wadʿ cowrie – IV 3/6

wadʿ, see *qabrwat al-wadʿ*

walī legal guardian – IV 39, p. 4/3; *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 10/4; *Sharāra* §11/2 (*wālī*)

ward rose, see ʿitṛ (*wardī*)

wasāʿid (pl.), see *wisāda*

wisāda, pl. *wasāʿid* cushion – IV 5, p. 1/6

wufāʿ the 40th day after delivery – IV 3, p. 2/11; 36, p. 2/3; 39, p. 5/1

wuqiyya ounce (28.35 grams) – IV 18, p. 2/3; 39, p. 7/2, 3, 5–9, 12, 13; cf. RWH 206 (*awqiyya*)

wushāḥ ornamented band – IV 3, p. 1/17; 18, p. 1/18

yāqa band of fabric at the neckline, sleeves, and bottom of clothing – IV 3, p. 1/12 + 13 (*jāqa*); 5, p. 1/3; 20/19

zaffā, *zaffāf(a)* (bridal) procession; the move of the bride into the groom’s house – IV 20/12; GhBW 1, p. 1/23; *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 9/7, 12, p. 13/4; *lāʾiḥa* 2, p. 8/8; *Sharāra* §12/2 (*laylat al-zaffāf*), §19, §25/6

zaffāf(a), see *zaffā*

zafīn dance – *Sharāra* §22, §25/5, 11, §26/10

zaghlaṭa women’s cries of joy on special occasions; cf. *ḥajīr* – IV 39, p. 2/2; cf. RWH 148 (*zaghārit*)

zabīra, *ḍabīra* midday ceremony – *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 13/6

zabriyya a type of a vessel – *lāʾiḥa* 1, p. 11/6

zā'ir, pl. *zawwār* pilgrim – IV 39, p. 2/3; 41/5

zarbādī team of musicians – *lā'iḥa* 1, p. 13/12; *lā'iḥa* 2, p. 9/11, 12

zaytūn a kind of dress made of artificial silk – IV 24/15

zilla the third wedding-day – IV 16/6; 18, p. 1/11, p. 2/13; 20/10, 11; 36, p. 1/12, 18; 39, p. 4/11; 43, p. 2/3; *lā'iḥa* 1, p. 9/7, p. 13/8; *lā'iḥa* 2, p. 11/6 + 15
(*ḍilla*)

ziyāra pilgrimage – Madūda 1/9; GhBW 2/8, 10; cf. RWH 30, 32, 93, 114, 126, 133, 158, 161, 177, 179

zawwār (pl.), see *zā'ir*

4 Index of proper names*

All names are given in alphabetical order, disregarding the Arabic article al-, Āl (clan, family), and b. (ibn).

- ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Sālīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān
b. Ya‘qūb, see Bā Wazīr
- ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Sālīm b. Shaykhān, see Bā
Wazīr
- ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Sālīm b. Ya‘qūb, see Bā
Wazīr
- ‘Abd al-Šamad ‘Umar Quwayra, see Bā Wazīr
GhBW 2/15
- ‘Abdallāh Aḥmad al-‘Uṭayshī, see Bā Wazīr
- ‘Abdallāh [b. Ḥasan] b. ‘Umar, see al-
Shanāfira
- ‘Abdallāh Sa‘īd b. Hāwī, see Bā Wazīr
- ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar, see Bā Ḥumayd
‘*abīd* Manšūr IV 27/10
- Aḥmad b. Ja‘far [b. Manšūr], see al-Kathīrī
- Aḥmad b. Ṭālib IV 48, p. 1/list of names,
left column, p. 2/4
- [‘Ajjāj, Āl] IV 47, p. 2/2; RWḤ 36
- ‘Alawī b. ‘Abdallāh (b. Ḥusayn) IV 5, p. 2/5;
44/4, 6
- ‘Alawī b. ‘Ubaydallāh IV 43, p. 1/7
- ‘Alī b. ‘Abdallāh IV 13/5; GhBW 2/15
- ‘Alī b. (al-)(Manšūr) (b. Ghālib) (b. Muḥsin)
(al-Kathīrī), see al-Kathīrī
- ‘Alī b. Šalāh, see al-Qu‘aytī
- ‘Āmir b. Sa‘īd b. (‘Āmir b.), see al-Šuqayr
- ‘Aṭṭās, Āl al- III 276, p. 2/1
- ‘Aṭṭās, Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn (b. ‘Umar) b. Hā-
rūn al- IV 22/14; 30/15 16; 47, p.
1/stamp, p. 2/6 7; RWḤ 62
- ‘Aṭṭās, Muḥammad Sālīm b. Aḥmad b.
Ḥasan al- III 276, p. 1/13
- ‘Aṭṭās, Zayn b. ‘Abdallāh (b. ‘Alī) al- GhBW
1, p. 1/36, p. 2/5
- ‘Awaḍ b. Muḥammad, see Bin Munaybārī
- ‘Awaḍ Sālīm Mukharij GhBW 2/14
- ‘Aydarūs, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al- ABR 1/19
- ‘Aydarūs b. Sālīm b. Baljūn IV 1/[19]
- Bā Dāwī, ‘Alī ‘Abbūd IV 49/11
- Bā Dāwī, Ḥamūd b. ‘Abbūd IV 49/11; al-
Šabbān, Ḥamūd Bā Dāwī; RWḤ 71 2;
Freitag, 31, 439 41, 459 60, 471
- Bā Dubbāh, ‘Awaḍ [?] IV 31/3
- Bā Dubbāh, Sālīm (Sa‘īd) IV 31/3; GhBW
2/14
- Bā Faḍl, Shaykh ‘Umar b. Abī Bakr IV 47, p.
1/24
- Bā l-Faqīh, Shaykh b. Muḥammad IV 39,
verso of page 1
- Bā Faraj, ‘Umar ‘Alī IV 47/13
- Bā Fuṭaym, ‘Abbūd b. Yuslim IV 49/12
- Bā Fuṭaym, Maḥfūz b. Yuslim IV 49/11
- Bā Ḥārith, Mubārak b. ‘Awaḍ GhBW 1, p.
2/2
- Bā Ḥāritha, [Āl] IV 41/6
- Bā Ḥāritha, ‘Umar Sa‘īd IV 41/3, 12
- Bā Ḥashwān, ‘Abbūd b. ‘Alī IV 28/1. pas-
sage of names, middle column
- Bā Ḥashwān, ‘Abdallāh Sālīm Aḥmad IV
12/4
- Bā Hudayla, Karāma (b. Khamīs) ABR 1/5,
10, 17
- Bā Ḥumayd, Āl IV 32/5; 40/5; 41/5; 43, p.
1/8; Madūda 2/12; RWḤ 22, 34
- Bā Ḥumayd, ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Alī IV 32/5;
41/4
- Bā Ḥumayd, ‘Abdallāh IV 40/9
- Bā Ḥumayd, ‘Abdallāh b. Sālīm IV 41/4
- Bā Ḥumayd, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar IV 48, p.
1/list of names, left column, p. 2/1;
Madūda 1/15
- Bā Ḥumayd, ‘Alī IV 40/9, 13
- [Bā Ḥumayd], Muḥammad b. ‘Alī IV 26/18;
RWḤ 35
- Bā Ḥumayd, Sa‘īd ‘Āshūr b. Zayn IV 10/2 3
- [Bā Ḥumayd], (al-Shaykh) Bin Yāsīn IV
41/9, 10

* For the references see the bibliography (Freitag = Freitag, *Indian Ocean Migrants*; RWḤ = Rodionov, *The Western Hadramawt*).

- Bā Ḥumayd, Shaykhān Madūda 1/16
(Bā Ḥumayd), Ṭāhā (b. Muḥammad) (b. Abū/ Abī Bakr) IV 26/23; 27/3, 11, 12; 35/8; 50/16
- Bā Ḥumayd, Yāsīn b. ‘Abd al-Kabīr (al-Karīm?) IV 32/4
- Bā Ja‘ada, Ḥimid ‘Awaḍ GhBW 2/14
- Bā Jubayr, Āl IV 29/6; RWH 31, 114
- Bā Jubayr, ‘Abbūd Mubārak IV 28/2. passage of names, left column
- Bā Julayda, Muḥammad b. Mubārak GhBW 1, p. 2/1
- Bā Layla, ‘Awaḍ IV 26/21; 27/4
- Bā Maṭraf IV 35/4
- Bā Maṭraf, Āl IV 26/7; 29/8; 50/10; RWH 114
- Bā Maṭraf, ‘Awaḍ Aḥmad IV 28/1. passage of names, left column
- Bā Maṭraf, Hādī Muḥammad IV 28/2. passage of names, left column
- [Bā Maṭraf, Maḥfūz b. ‘Umar], see Dis (Bā Maṭraf), Mubārak/ Umbārak Bilghayth IV 26/22; 27/4; 28/1. passage of names, right column; 29/8, 22
- Bā Maṭraf, Muḥammad ‘Abdallāh GhBW 2/14
- Bā Miftāḥ, Umbārak b. ‘Alī Madūda 1/2, 13
- Bā Mu‘aybad, Sa‘īd b. Sālīm GhBW 1, p. 2/5
- Bā Najjār, ‘Awaḍ Hādī GhBW 2/14
- Bā Rajā, Āl IV 43, p. 1/7
- Bā Rajā, ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad b. Mas‘ūd b. Aḥmad ABR 1/21 2
- Bā Rajā, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Abd al-Qādir ABR 1/20
- Bā Rajā?, Muḥammad b. Mas‘ūd IV 8/3 (Ba)Rāshid [Rāshid Yuslim Bā l-Rāshid], Laksah, see Laksah
- [Bā Rāshid] (Barāshid/Bā l-Rāshid), Naṣīr b. Sālīm IV 28/2. passage of names, right column; 29/7, 21; Madūda 1/3, 13
- Bā l-Rays, Šāliḥ b. Sa‘īd (b.) [Āl Kathīr], see al-Shanāfira
- Bā Rumāda, Ḥumayd ‘Umar IV 49/11
- Bā Salāma, Āl IV 41/6
- Bā Salāma, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī IV 41/2, 12
- Bā Salāma, Sālīm b. Muḥammad IV 41/2, 13
- Bā Šāliḥ, ‘Ubayd b. Sālīm IV 12/1
- Bā Saywud, Sālīm ‘Awaḍ IV 49/12
- Bā Shantūf, Šāliḥ Sa‘īd GhBW 1, p. 1/margin
- Bā Šurra, [Āl] III 276, p. 2/3; RWH 32–3, 59, 68
- Bā Šuwaytayn, Hādī Suwaylim IV 6/2 3
- Bā Wazīr, Āl GhBW 2/5; RWH 21–2, 31, 34–7, 41–2, 71
- [Bā Wazīr], ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Sālīm b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ya‘qūb GhBW 2/16
- [Bā Wazīr], ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Sālīm b. Shaykhān GhBW 2/17
- [Bā Wazīr], ‘Abd al-Raḥīm b. Sālīm b. Ya‘qūb GhBW 2/18
- Bā Wazīr, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-‘Uṭayshī GhBW 1, p. 1/37 8
- [Bā Wazīr], ‘Abd al-Šamad ‘Umar Quwayra GhBW 2/15
- Bā Wazīr, ‘Abdallāh Aḥmad al-‘Uṭayshī GhBW 1, p. 1/right margin below
- Bā Wazīr, ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥammad GhBW 2/line left from stamp
- [Bā Wazīr], ‘Abdallāh Sa‘īd b. Hāwī GhBW 2/17
- Bā Wazīr, Sa‘īd b. Aḥmad b. Sa‘īd b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Qādir al-‘Uṭayshī GhBW 1, p. 1/37 9
- Bā Wazīr, Shaykh ‘Awaḍ Muḥammad Quwayra GhBW 2/18 19
- [Bā Wazīr], Shaykh b. Sālīm b. Ghūth GhBW 2/15 16
- [Bā Wazīr], ‘Umar b. Shaykh b. Ṭāhir GhBW 2/16
- Baḍā‘a, Jum‘ān Sulaymān IV 49/11
- Baḥraq, ‘Umar b. ‘Abdallāh IV 6/1, 4
- Bakhḍar, (Āl) IV 29/9; 41/6; Madūda 1/3; RWH 34, 104
- (Bakhḍar), Sa‘īd b. Aḥmad, (Āl) IV 28/1. passage of names, middle column; 2. passage of names, right column; 29/5, 15, 22; 32/6; 35/4, 6; 41/3, 12; Madūda 1/3, 13; Madūda 2/8
- Bakhḍar, Sa‘īd Ghulayq IV 40/3
- Bakhḍar, Sālīm (b.) Aḥmad (‘Ubayd) IV 28/2. passage of names, left column; 29/9, 22
- Bakhḍar, ‘Umar Aḥmad IV 26/22; 27/4; 28/1. passage of names, middle column; Madūda 1/3, 13
- Bakhīt Faraj Allāh 24/list of names, middle column

- Bār, [Āl] al- III 276, p. 2/2, 3; RWḤ 33
 Bār, Ḥāmid al- III 276, p. 1/7; Freitag 253,
 490, n. 194
 Bashār Umḥayit IV 1/[17]
 Bashīr Rizq, see Ḥarmaq, Āl
 Baṭāṭī al- IV 47, p. 1/14
 Bilghayth b. Sālim b. Furayj Madūda IV 1/2,
 13
 Bin ‘Abdallāh, see Kathīr, Āl IV 31/2
 Bin Bū Bakr, Aḥmad IV 41/10
 Bin Bū Bakr, Muḥammad IV 41/10
 Bin Ḥāmid, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān
 IV 13/8
 [Bin] Ḥāmid, ‘Umar IV 43, p. 1/8
 Bin Hāshim, Aḥmad IV 48, p. 2/12
 Bin Humām, Sālimin Ḥusayn, see al-Yāfi‘i
 Bin Jābir, Muḥsin Aḥmad GhBW 2/17
 Bin Mudarmaḥ, ‘Abbūd ‘Alī IV 28/2. pas-
 sage of names, left column; 29/23
 (Bin Munaybārī), ‘Awaḍ b. Muḥammad IV
 42/13; 50/4
 Bin ‘Ubaydil(l)āh, Jum‘ān Sālim Madūda
 1/4, 14
 Bin Yāsīn (al-Shaykh), see Bā Ḥumayd
 Bin Zayma, see Kathīr, Āl IV 41/7
 Brayk, Jum‘ān ‘Umar IV 49/10
 Brayk, Maḥfūz ‘Umar IV 49/10
 Būrī, Sālim Muḥammad al- GhBW 2/17
- Dis [Maḥfūz b. ‘Umar Bā Maṭraf] IV 26/22;
 27/4
 Dūbīl, Āl IV 29/10; Madūda 1/5
 Dūbīl, Aḥmad ‘Ubayd IV 28/2. passage of
 names, right column; 29/10, 22
 Dūbīl, ‘Umar b. ‘Alī Madūda 1/5, 14 15
 Duqayl, ‘Umar ‘Abbūd/ ‘Ubayd al- IV 43,
 p. 1/7; Madūda 2/18
- Faraj, Āl IV 32/5
 Fuqaym, ‘Awaḍ ‘Abdallāh GhBW 2/17
- Ghulfān, Āl IV 24/list of names, left column
 Ghulfān, Yusr Faraj IV 24/list of names, left
 column
- Ḥabshī, Aḥmad b. Hāshim al- IV 48, p. 1/
 list of names, right colmn
 Ḥabshī, Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā al- IV 48, p. 1/list of
 names, right column
- Ḥabshī, ‘Alawī b. Miḥḍār (b. ‘Abdallāh b.
 Muḥsin) al- IV 7/4 5, 7
 Ḥabshī, Ḥasan Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā [al-] IV 48, p.
 2/2
 Ḥabshī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (b. ‘Alī) al-
 IV 3, p. 2/24; 7/3 4, 6
 Ḥabshī, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī IV 11/2
 Ḥaddād, ‘Alī (b. ‘Alawī) al- IV 9/2; 48, p.
 1/list of names, right column, p. 2/14
 Haddār, Aḥmad b. Muḥsin al- GhBW 2/line
 above text written inverse
 Ḥaḍramī, Ḥusayn Sa‘īd Aḥmad al-, see al-
 Yāfi‘i
 Ḥājj, ‘Awaḍ ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī al- GhBW
 2/15
 ḥakmān, see ‘Ajājī, Āl
 Ḥāmid, ‘Aqīl b. Sālim b. ‘Aqīl al- IV 48, p.
 1/list of names, right column
 Ḥāmid, Šāliḥ b. ‘Alī al- IV 47, p. 1/26;
 Freitag 321, 473
 Ḥāmid, Sālim b. ‘Aqīl al- IV 48, p. 2/19
 Ḥarmaq, Āl IV 24/list of names, middle
 column
 [Ḥarmaq, Āl], Bashīr Rizq IV 24/list of
 names, middle column
 Ḥasan b. ‘Umar (b. Ḥasan), see al-Shanāfira
 Ḥawra, Āl al- IV 24/list of names, right col-
 umn
 Ḥawra, Bashīr Faḍlallāh al- IV 24/list of
 names, right column
 Ḥawra, Sālim Faḍlallāh al- IV 24/list of
 names, right column
 Ḥimādī, Aḥmad b. Sulaymān ABR 1/4, 15
 Ḥubaysh, Jum‘ān b. ‘Abbūd IV 49/10
 Hūd [prophet] IV 41/5
 (Humām, b./al-) Muqaddam b. Sālim IV
 28/2. passage of names, right column;
 29/6, 21; Madūda 1/4, 14
 Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al- IV 30/13; 47, p. 1/33
 Ḥusayn b. Šāliḥ b. Sa‘īd, see al-Shanāfira
- Ja‘far (b. (al-)Manšūr) (b. Ghālib) (b. Muḥsin
 b. ‘Abdallāh), see al-Kathīrī
 Ja‘far b. Šāliḥ b. Muṭlaq IV 30/24 5; 47, p.
 1/33 4
 Janbayn, Aḥmad Faraj lā’iḥa 1, p. 6/6
 Jawwās, Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh IV 48, p. 1/
 list of names, left column, p. 2/17
 Jifri, ‘Alawī (b. ‘Alawī) b. Hūd al- IV 48, p.
 1/list of names, right column, p. 2/15

- Jifri, Muḥammad al- IV 48, p. 2/6; RWH 70
 Jifri, Šāliḥ b. Aḥmad al- IV 1/[15]
 Jum‘ān Mursāl GhBW 2/18
- Kāf, Abū Bakr Bin Shaykh al-¹ IV 30/21 2;
 47, p. 2/5; Freitag, passim; al-Saqqāf and
 al-Kāf, Abū Bakr b. Shaykh al-Kāf
 Karāma ‘Awaḍ Sālimin IV 1/[20]
 Karāma Umbārak Wākid 24/list of names,
 below
 [Kathīr, Āl], Bin ‘Abdallāh IV 31/2
 [Kathīr, Āl], Bin Zayma IV 41/7
 Kathīrī, Aḥmad b. Ja‘far [b. Maṣṣūr] al- IV
 43, p. 1/1; 47, p. 1/32
 (Kathīrī), ‘Alī (b. (al-)Maṣṣūr) (b. Ghālib) [b.
 Muḥsin] (b. ‘Abdallāh) al- III 276, p. 1/3;
 IV 5, p. 2/1; 7/3; 12/2; 13/3; 16/2, 10;
 20/2; 22/6; 26/15; 27/1; 28/10; 29/2;
 30/4; 32/1; 34/3; 40/3, 6, 10; 42/4; 50/9,
 14; Madūda 2/4; RWH 66–7, 147, 185
 Kathīrī, Ja‘far (b. (al-)Maṣṣūr) (b. (al-)Ghālib)
 (b. Muḥsin b. ‘Abdallāh) al- IV 30/5;
 34/1; 35/2; 36, p. 2/14, 17; 40/2, 6;
 42/1 2; 43, p. 1/1; 44/4, 6; 47, p. 1/5 6;
 49/1; 50/2; Madūda 2/2, 16; RWH 69
 Kathīrī, (al-)Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al- III 276, p.
 1/3; IV 3, p. 1/2, p. 2/18, 26
 [Kathīrī], Muḥammad [b. Maṣṣūr al-] IV
 22/6
 Khabā, Karāma b. ‘Awaḍ IV 49/10
 Khallāqī, ‘Umar Aḥmad al-, see al-Yāfi‘ī
 Khallāqī, Yaḥyā b. Šāliḥ b. ‘Alī ‘Awaḍ al-, see
 al-Yāfi‘ī
 Kuraysān, Muḥammad (b. Aḥmad) IV 48, p.
 1/list of names, right column, p. 2/10
- Laksaḥ, (Ba)Rāshid [Rāshid Yuslim Bā l-
 Rāshid] IV 26/22; 27/5
- Maḥāḍir al-, see al-Miḥḍār
 Maṣṣūr b. Muḥaydān b. ‘Ubayd Imbirik IV
 1/2, [13]
 Mawlā Ṭuyūra,² Muḥammad Abū Bakr IV
 27/7
- Miḥḍār, [Āl] al- III 276, p. 2/2, 3 (al-
 Maḥāḍir)
 Miḥḍār, Muṣṭafā al-³ III 276, p. 1/7
 Mubārak Hādī IV 48, p. 1/3
 Mudarmaḥ, Āl IV 29/10
 Mudayhiḥ, Sālim b. Husayn GhBW 2/15
 Mudhur, ‘Umar b. Muḥsin GhBW 2/15
 Muḥammad, see [Kathīrī, b. Maṣṣūr al-] IV
 22/6
 Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh al-Salām IV 48, p.
 2/16
 Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, see Bā Ḥumayd
 Muḥammad b. ‘Āmir IV 42/13; 50/4
 Muḥammad Sa‘id b. Humām GhBW 2/16
 Muḥammad ‘Ubayd IV 50/4
 Muḥsin b. Muḥammad (b. ‘Alī), see al-
 Shanāfira
 Muqaddam, Āl IV 29/6; Madūda 1/4
 Muqaddam b. Sālim (b./al-Humām), see al-
 Humām
 Musāwā, Muḥammad Shaykh al- IV 28/1.
 passage of names, right, middle, and left
 column; 34/10, 12; 43, p. 1/9
 Mushamma‘, ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Muḥammad
 Bin Shaykhān GhBW 2/15
- Nādir, Āl IV 32/5
 Nahd [tribe] IV 47, p. 2/1; RWH 5, 7, 9, 23–
 4, 30–1, 34, 36, 41, 47–55, 57, 60, 67, 71,
 98, 111, 157, 178–80, 182, 188–9, 194
 Nāṣir b. Sālim (Barāshid/Bā l-Rāshid), see Bā
 Rāshid
 Nūbī, Khayrullāh Sa‘id al- IV 1/[16]
- Qadrī b. Muḥammad b. Hādī IV 48, p. 2/5
 Qafzān, ‘Awaḍ Sālim IV 49/12
 Qafzān, Ḥumayd Sālim IV 49/12
 [Qu‘ayṭī], ‘Alī b. Šalāḥ al-⁴ IV 30/17; RWH
 66, 71
 [Qu‘ayṭī], Šāliḥ (b. Ghālib) al- IV 47, p.
 1/14, 19; RWH 65–6, 71
 Qumṣī, Aḥmad ‘Umar IV 49/12

¹ See his photograph in al-Qaddāl and al-Qu‘ayṭī, *al-Sulṭān ‘Alī b. Šalāḥ al-Qu‘ayṭī*, between 80 and 81, and 96 and 97.

² Also name of a place, cf. II.5 Toponyms.

³ See his photograph in van der Meulen and von Wissmann, *Hadramaut*, after 73.

⁴ See al-Qaddāl and al-Qu‘ayṭī, *al-Sulṭān ‘Alī b. Šalāḥ al-Qu‘ayṭī*.

- Rabī' IV 22/12
 Rāshid, (Āl) (al-) IV 29/7; Madūda 1/4;
 RWH 10–11, 48, 125
 Rāshid, Rāshid (b.) Yuslim al- IV 28/1. pas-
 sage of names, left column; Madūda 1/3,
 14
 Rayhān al- Madūda 1/4
- Sabāyā, Sālim b. 'Abdallāh IV 48, p. 1/list of
 names, left column
 Šabbān, Muḥammad b. 'Awaḍ al- IV 48, p.
 1/list of names, left column, p. 2/7
 Sa'd b. al-'Abd 'Afif GhBW 2/18
 Šafi, Sa'id 'Abdallāh, see al-Yāfi'
 Sa'id b. Aḥmad (Āl) (Bakhḍar), see Bakhḍar
 Sa'id b. Aḥmad b. Sa'id b. Muḥammad b.
 'Abd al-Qādir al-'Uṭayshī, see Bā Wazīr
 Sa'id b. 'Awaḍ Mishqāl GhBW 1, p. 2/4
 Sa'id Fath 'Āmir GhBW 2/18
 Sa'id Hādī IV 26/21; 27/4
 Sa'id b. Ṭāhā Ḥassān IV 48, p. 1/list of
 names, left column, p. 2/11
 Sa'id b. Yuslim Wākīd IV 42/12
 Šāliḥ b. Ghālīb, see al-Qu'aytī
 Šāliḥ b. Sa'id (b.) Bā l-Rays, see Bā l-Rays
 Sālim b. Aḥmad b. 'Awaḍ Ḥamdūn GhBW
 1, p. 2/3
 Sālim Sa'id IV 31/3
 Sālim b. Šāliḥ IV 48, p. 2/18
 Salmān b. Jum'ān IV 49/10
 Saqqāf, 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b.
 Hādī b. Ḥasan al- IV 48, p. 1/list of
 names, right column
 Saqqāf, 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b.
 Ṭāhā al- ABR 1/20 1
 Saqqāf, 'Abd al-Qādir b. Sālim al-Rūsh al-
 ABR 1/9 10, [18, 19]
 Saqqāf, 'Abdallāh b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh al- IV
 14/2 3
 Saqqāf, Aḥmad b. Hūd b. Aḥmad al- IV 48,
 p. 1/list of names, right column
 Saqqāf, 'Alī b. 'Alawī (Saqqāf) al- IV 48, p.
 1/list of names, right column, p. 2/9
 Saqqāf, Ja'far b. 'Abdallāh b. Muḥammad al-
 IV 3, p. 2/23
 Saqqāf, Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh Ja'far al-
 IV 48, p. 1/list of names, right column
 Saqqāf, Shaykh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn al-
 IV 3, p. 2/24
- Saqqāf, Ṭāhā/ Ṭāhir b. Bū Bakr b. Ṭāhā al- IV
 48, p. 1/list of names, right column, p. 2/8
 Saqqāf, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ṭāhā b.
 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī b. 'Abdallāh al-
 IV 13/2
 [Shanāfira al-], 'Abdallāh [b. Ḥasan] b.
 'Umar IV 44/3, 10
 [Shanāfira al-], Ḥasan b. 'Umar (b. Ḥasan)
 IV 44/3, 9
 [Shanāfira al-], Ḥusayn b. Šāliḥ b. Sa'id IV
 44/2, 10
 [Shanāfira al-], Muḥsin b. Muḥammad (b.
 'Alī) IV 44/3, 10
 [Shanāfira al-], Šāliḥ b. Sa'id (b.) [Āl Kathīr]
 Bā l-Rays IV 44/2, 9
 Shaykh 'Alī GhBW 2/15
 Shaykh b. Sālim b. Ghūth, see Bā Wazīr
 Sibā'i, Muḥammad al- IV 48, p. 2/21
 Sibā'i, Sālim b. 'Abdallāh al- IV 48, p. 2/3
 Sili, Ḥusayn Muḥammad 'Awaḍ al- GhBW
 1, p. 2/7
 Sili, Muḥammad 'Awaḍ al- GhBW 1, p. 2/6
 Šuqayr, 'Āmir b. Sa'id b. ('Āmir b.) al- IV
 26/4; 27/14; 42/11; 50/3
- Ṭāhā b. Muḥammad (b. Abū/ Abi Bakr) (Bā
 Ḥumayd), see Bā Ḥumayd
 Ṭāhā b. Muḥammad [son of Muḥammad
 Abū Bakr Mawlā Ṭuyūra] IV 27/7
 (Ṭāhā) ('Umar) Madūda 1/10, 11, 12
 Ṭāhīb, Āl IV 47, p. 2/3; RWH 36, 41
 Thuwaybat, [Āl] IV 41/6
 Thuwaybat, Hādī b. Šāliḥ (b. Ḥātim) IV
 41/3, 12
- 'Ubayd b. Sa'id (b. 'Alī) IV 44/2, 9
 'Ubaydil(l)āh, Āl IV 29/10; Madūda 1/5
 'Umar Aḥmad (Bakhḍar), see Bakhḍar, Āl
 'Umar [Bin] Ḥāmid, see Bin Ḥāmid
 'Umar b. Sālim b. 'Ubayd Sālimin (al-
 Shu'aythā) IV 1/3, [14]
 'Umar b. Shaykh b. Ṭāhir, see Bā Wazīr
 'Umar b. Yuslim Sa'd IV 1/[18]
 Umbārak Bilghayth (Bā Maṭraf), see Bā
 Maṭraf
 Umbārak Ṭamīs IV 24/list of names, left
 column
 Wuydān [?], Sa'id Ḥaymid GhBW 2/14

Yādayn, Saʿīd Naṣr lāʾiḥa 2, p. 15/12

[al-Yāfiʿī], ʿAlawī ʿAbd al-Ḥabīb al-Yazīdī

GhBW 2/16

[al-Yāfiʿī], Ḥusayn Saʿīd Aḥmad al-Ḥaḍramī

GhBW 2/17

[al-Yāfiʿī], Sālīmīn Ḥusayn Bin Humām

GhBW 2/17

[al-Yāfiʿī], ʿUmar Aḥmad al-Khallāqī GhBW

2/17

[al-Yāfiʿī], Yaḥyā b. Šāliḥ b. ʿAlī ʿAwaḍ al-Khallāqī GhBW 2/16

[al-Yāfiʿī], Saʿīd ʿAbdallāh Šafi GhBW 2/16

Yazīdī, ʿAlawī ʿAbd al-Ḥabīb al-, see al-Yāfiʿī

Yusr Umbārak ʿĪsā IV 24/list of names, left column

5 Toponyms*

- Aden IV 30/8
‘Arḍ Āl al-Şuqayr IV 27/2
Bilād al- IV 3, p. 2/12 (a quarter of Say’ün);
41/7, 8, 10 (in Madūda); GhBW 2/3 (main
quarter of Ghayl Bā Wazīr)
Ghuraf al- IV 31/2
Ghurfa al- IV 1/9, 10
Hajarayn al- IV 30/18
Ḥawṭa, al- IV 32/2; ABR 1/6, 11
Ḥawṭat Ṭuyūra IV 35/1
Hūd, see Qabr Hūd
Ḥurayḍa III 276, p. 1/4
Jabal al- (near al-Mukhayniq) IV 47, p. 2/3
Java IV 3, p. 2/17
Madūda (Figs. 13–16) IV 26/5; 27/4, 28/3, 9;
29/2; 32/2, 3; 40/1; 42/2; 50/13; Madū-
da 2/5, 15
Mashhad al- (Mashhad ‘Alī b. Ḥasan) (Figs.
19–22) III 276, p. 1/4; IV 22/8, 11; 30/6,
11, 18; 47, p. 1/13, 15, 17, 22, 27
(Mawlā) Ṭuyūra (*qubba*) (Fig. 18) IV 26/11;
41/8, 9; Madūda 2/11
Mukallā al- (Fig. 11) IV 47, p. 1/13, 18, p.
2/1
Mukhayniq, al- IV 47, p. 2/1, 2
(Qabr) Hūd IV 39, p. 2/3; 41/5; Madūda 1/9
Qulayfa (Fig. 17) IV 41/7, 8
Quzah al- IV 30/18
Saḥīl al- ABR 1/5, 16
Say’ün (Fig. 10) IV 1/8, 10; 13/1; 32/3, 4;
36, p. 1/2; 40/1; 44/5; ABR 1/9, 23;
lā’iḥa 2, p. 1/2, p. 9/12, p. 10/3, 16, p.
13/18, p. 14/1, p. 15/10, 14;
Shibām *lā’iḥa* 2, p. 9/13, p. 10/3, 16, p.
15/11
Şidā‘, al- GhBW 1, p. 1/4, 5, right margin
below
Tarīm IV 39, p. 10/16; *lā’iḥa* 2, p. 9/13, p.
10/3, 16, p. 15/10
Tarīs IV 1/3, 4
Ṭuyūra, see Ḥawṭat Ṭuyūra and Mawlā
Ṭuyūra
Yaman al- III 276, p. 1/7, 8

* For more details on most of the toponyms see RWĦ.

Appendices

1 Sections of the al-Kathīrī Archives in Say'ūn¹

According to al-Ṣabbān (*Fibrīst al-wathā'iq al-khaṭṭiyya*) there are eight² sections (*aṣnāf*) of documents in the al-Kathīrī Archives:

- I: *Al-Wathā'iq al-siyāsiyya wa-l-aḥlāf wa-l-wuthūr wa-l-mu'ābadāt*³ [Political documents, treaties of alliance, written acts and agreements], 1076/1359–1665/1941
- II: *Mukhbāṭabāt ḥukūmat 'Adan wa-l-mustashbāriyya ma'a l-salāṭīn*⁴ [Correspondence of the Aden Government and the Adviser's Office with the sultans], 1336/1918–1378/1959
- III: *Mukhbāṭabāt al-salāṭīn ma'a ri'asā' al-qabā'il wa-l-'ashā'ir wa-l-manāṣib*⁵ [Correspondence between the sultans and chiefs of tribes and tribal subdivisions, and high dignitaries], more than 1200 documents,⁶ 1294/1877–1355/1936
- IV: *Wathā'iq 'ādāt wa-taqā'id*⁷ [Documents on customs and traditions] 1337/1919–1378/1958
- V: *al-Shu'ūn al-māliyya lil-dawla*⁸ [Financial affairs of the state]
- VI: *Wathā'iq 'an al-ḥāshīya (al-'abīd) wa-l-salaṭāt*⁹ [Documents on frontiers – slaves – and the authorities]
- VII: *al-Mukātabāt al-'amma wa-l-rasā'il al-muqaddama ilā l-ḥukkām*¹⁰ [General correspondence and letters to the governors]
- VIII: *Wathā'iq ghayr rasmiyya: al-'uqūd al-mukhtalifa fi l-mu'āmalāt*¹¹ [Unofficial documents on different contracts of business transactions]¹²

¹ In al-Ṣabbān's leaflet on *Qism al-tawṭhiq* of the Say'ūn Palace, loosely translated into English by Linda Boxberger and Awad Abdelrahim Abu Hulayqa, one finds slightly different section titles.

² Freitag, 'Dokumente', 11: "ten categories", including two series of documents which have not been catalogued and which she uses in *Indian Ocean Migrants*: 'al-Hay'āt al-sha'biyya wa-l-jam'iyyāt al-'ummāliyya wa-l-nawādi l-tullābiyya', and 'Bayānāt al-dawla al-kathiriyya'.

³ al-Ṣabbān, *Wathā'iq*, 1, *dāl*.

⁴ Ibid., 2, *alif/bā'*.

⁵ Ibid., 3/1, [*alif*].

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid., 1, *hā'*. They are also known as *wathā'iq al-tabṭūl* (al-Ṣabbān, *'Ādāt wa-taqā'id*, 114), 'Documents of Prohibition' (Freitag and Schönig, 'Wise Men', 68).

⁸ al-Ṣabbān, *Wathā'iq*, *hā'*.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² The first document in this section (documents from 'Īnāt) is dated 1032/1622. The first unofficial document is dated 1049/1639 (al-Ṣabbān, *Qism al-tawṭhiq*).

2 *Chronology of the al-Kathīrī and al-Qu‘aytī rulers
within the time frame*¹

Al-Kathīrī Sultans (in Say‘ūn): (years of rule)

Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib b. Muḥsin	1870–1929
‘Alī b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib	1929–1938
Ja‘far b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib	1938–1949
Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Maṣṣūr	1949–1967

Al-Qu‘aytī Sultans (in al-Mukallā):

‘Awaḍ b. ‘Umar b. ‘Awaḍ	1865–1909
Ghālib b. ‘Awaḍ b. ‘Umar	1909–1921
‘Umar b. ‘Awaḍ b. ‘Umar	1921–1936
Ṣāliḥ b. Ghālib b. ‘Awaḍ	1936–1955
‘Awaḍ b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ghālib	1955–1966
Ghālib b. ‘Awaḍ b. Ṣāliḥ	1966–1967

¹ Cf. Freitag, *Indian Ocean Migrants*, 531; Al-Qu‘aytī, Review on: Boxberger, *Empire*; <http://www.alkathiri.net/?To=History>

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Indices

1 Index of documents*

- III 276 1, 3, 40, 41, 77
IV 1 1, 2, 15, 77
IV 3 1, 2, 21, 22, 28/n. 81, 29, 31, 32, 33, 37, 50, 51, 52, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79
IV 5 1, 2, 15, 19 (with n. 33), 28 (with n. 82), 33, 48, 55, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 74, 76, 77
IV 6 1, 2, 18, 77
IV 7 1, 2, 18, 77
IV 8 1, 2, 18, 77
IV 9 1, 2, 18, 77
IV 10 1, 2, 18, 77
IV 11 1, 2, 18, 77
IV 12 1, 2, 18, 77
IV 13 1, 2, 18, 77
IV 14 1, 2, 18, 77
IV 16 1, 2, 31, 32, 33, 63, 77, 80
IV 18 1, 2, 15, 25, 29, 32, 33, 49, 57, 59, 63, 64, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 77
IV 20 1, 2, 15, 25, 28/n. 81, 29, 31, 32, 33, 37/n. 2, 49, 52, 55, 57, 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75, 77
IV 22 1, 2, 40, 77, 78, 79, 80
IV 24 1, 2, 25, 26, 29, 31, 32, 33 (with n. 142), 34, 49, 50, 52, 54, 61, 62, 68, 69, 72, 73, 76, 77, 80
IV 26 1, 2, 15, 43, 44 (with n. 47), 45, 46, 77, 78, 79
IV 27 1, 2, 15, 43, 45, 46, 77, 78, 79
IV 28 1, 2, 15, 43, 46, 77, 78
IV 29 1, 2, 15, 43, 45, 46, 77
IV 30 1, 2, 41, 77, 78, 80
IV 31 1, 2, 77
IV 32 1, 2, 15, 43, 44, 46, 49, 77, 79
IV 34 1, 2, 37, 72, 77
IV 35 1, 2, 15, 38/n. 11, 43, 46, 77, 78
IV 36 1, 2, 21, 22, 25, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 52, 54, 57, 61, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 75, 76, 77, 80
IV 37 1, 2, 25, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 57, 61, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77
IV 39 1, 2, 14, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28 (with n. 83), 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37/n. 2, 38, 39, 49, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74 (with n. 181), 75, 76, 77, 79, 80
IV 40 1, 2, 15, 43, 46, 49, 50, 77, 78
IV 41 1, 2, 15, 39, 43, 46, 77, 78
IV 42 1, 2, 15, 43, 46, 77, 78
IV 43 1, 2, 18, 28/n. 83, 31, 32, 33, 61, 77
IV 44 1, 2, 77
IV 47 1, 2, 42 (with n. 32, 34, 38), 58/n. 135, 77, 80
IV 48 1, 2, 18, 71, 77
IV 49 1, 2, 14, 77, 80
IV 50 1, 2, 15, 43, 46, 77, 78
Madūda 1 1, 15, 38 n. 11, 39, 43, 44, 46, 77, 78
Madūda 2 1, 15, 43, 44/n. 47, 46, 77, 78, 80
GhBW 1 2, 14, 15, 18, 25, 28/n. 82, 31, 34, 49, 50, 60, 63, 67, 72, 73, 77, 79, 80, 83
GhBW 2 2, 14, 15, 19, 25, 34, 49, 50, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 79
ABR 1 1, 2, 35, 77
ABR 2 1, 2, 77
lā'ihā 1 1, 2, 4, 15, 20, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, 49, 50, 51, 52, 57 (with n. 119, 123), 59, 66, 67, 69, 70, 73 (with n. 160), 74, 77
lā'ihā 2 1, 2, 4, 18 (with n. 29), 20, 21, 23, 24 (with n. 38), 26, 27, 29, 31, 32 (with n. 125), 33, 36, 49, 50, 52, 55 (with n. 80), 57, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 73, 74, 76, 77
Sharāra 1, 2, 4, 15, 20, 23, 24, 25 (with n. 51), 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55 (with n. 81), 59, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 73, 77, 78

* Only documents reproduced and/ or translated in Part II.2 are listed.

2 General index

The general index covers entries of Part I only. *As for occurrences in the documents, see the indices in Part II (II.3 Annotated vocabulary, II.4 Index of proper names, II.5 Toponyms).

All entries are given in alphabetical order, disregarding the Arabic article al-, Āl (clan, family), and b. (ibn).

- ʿabūd* 6 (with n. 30), 13, 14, 15
 abolish(ment), abolition 14, 18, 20, 25, 62, 77
 Abu Hulayqa, Awad Abdelrahim 9
*adawāt al-tajmīl** 30
 Aden* 7, 35/n. 167, 41, 59/n. 8, 72 (with n. 155)
 Africa(n) 19/n. 34, 26/n. 62, East Africa 5, 16
Agava cantala, see II.3 sub *anānās**
 agriculture, agricultural, agriculturist 2, 14, 17, 42, 45, 47, 77, 89 (IV 15)
abādīth (pl.) (Prophetic tradition) 64/n. 64
 Aḥmad b. Nāṣir 42
ajānīb (pl.), see *ajnabī*
 ʿAjjāj, Āl* 42
ajnabī, pl. *ajānīb* (person not belonging to the family) 28 (with n. 82)
akhdām (social stratum) 13
 ʿAkkāsha, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Karīm 8
 ʿalam* 67
 ʿAlawī, see Irshādī-ʿAlawī
 ʿAlawī b. Saqqāf 45
 ʿAlī Bā Kathīr, Āl 47
 ʿAlī b. Ḥasan (al-Mashhad) 40
 ʿAlī b. Saʿīd, Āl 45
 amber, see *kabrab**
 ʿĀmirī, ʿAyza al- 10
*ammārī** 74/n. 181
 amulet, see charm
*anānās** 62
anbar (ambergis), see ʿiṭr ʿanbarī*
 Anglo-Sultanic 20
 anklet I.5.1.2.5, 77, see also *ḥijāla**, *ḥijl**, *mabrat al-ʿaṭf**, *marsa**, *sumūṭ**
Anticharis glandulosa, see *ḥutika*
*antun**, *untun** 67, 71
*ʿaqd al-qurʿān** 29
 Arabia(n) 16, 19, 59/n. 2, 79, 80, 83, Arabian Sea 39, see also Saudi A., South A.
 archaeologist 40, 72/n. 150
 archives (family, private) 1, 2, 4, 39, Sayʿūn (Museum) A. 3/n. 13, 6, see also al-Kathīrī A.; Mukallā Sultanīc A. 8
aris (groom) 26/n. 63
 artificial gold, see *rawl qawṭ**; a. hair, see *ḥaml**; a. silk, see *anānās**; a. stone 71, see also *antun**, *brilyan**
*asāwir** (pl.) 69
*ʿaṣīd(a)** 21, 52, *ʿaṣīdat al-ʿisbrīn* 21
*ʿaskar** 14, 15
ʿaṣr (afternoon prayer) 29, 32
atbl (tamarisk) 55/n. 89, 73
 ʿAttās, Āl (clan, family) al- 1, 39, 40, 41, 42, 56, 78
 ʿAṭṭās, ʿAbdallāh b. ʿAlī al- (informant) 4
 ʿAṭṭās, Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn b. ʿUmar b. Hārūn al-* 40, 81
 ʿAṭṭās, Alī b. Abdallāh al- (informant) 4
 ʿAṭṭās, ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al- (informant) 4, 33/n. 146
 ʿAṭṭās, ʿAlī b. Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh al- (1710–58) 39
 ʿAwaḍ, Āl 46
 ʿAwaḍ, Laylā 4, 8, 31
 ʿAwāliq 40
awānū (pl., vessel) 74/n. 174
 ʿAwdhalī Sultanate 8/n. 49
awʿīya (pl., vessel) 75
*awliyā** (pl.), see *walī**
*ʿayāl mubashsharāt** 68
 ʿAydarūs, Abū Bakr al- (patron saint of Aden, d. 1509) 35/n. 167
 ʿAydarūs, Muḥammad b. ʿAlawī al- 10
 ʿAzzān 66
 Bā Ḍawī, ʿAlī ʿAbbūd* 14
 Bā Ḍawī, Ḥamūd b. ʿAbbūd* (1880–1967) 14, 47
 Bā Fuṭaym, Ghālīb Muḥammad (informant) 37/n. 14, 38

- Bā Ḥāritha, Āl* 45
 Bā Ḥashwān, Ḥasan ‘Umar (informant) 67/n. 88, 68/n. 108
 Bā Ḥashwān, Muḥammad Aḥmad (informant) 67/n. 88, 68/n. 108
 Bā Ḥumayd, Āl* 39, 43, 44, 45, 46
 Bā Ḥumayd, ‘Abd al-Kabīr* 43
 Bā Ḥumayd, ‘Abdallāh Bin Yāsīn* (d. 968/1560–1) 44, 47
 Bā Ḥumayd, ‘Alī* 46
 Bā Ḥumayd, ‘Alī Muḥammad (informant) 5
 Bā Ḥumayd, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī* 45
 Bā Ḥumayd, Ṭāhā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr* 45
 Bā Kathīr, ‘Abd al-Ṣamad (955/1548–9–1025/1616) 53
 Bā Kathīr, ‘Alī Aḥmad (1910–69) 58/n. 134
 Bā Makhrama, ‘Umar (d. 952/1546) 53
 Bā Maṭraf, Āl* 45
 Bā Rajā(?), ‘Alī* 58/n. 137
 Bā Rajā’, ‘Alī Aḥmad ‘Abdallāh (informant) 5
 Bā Rajā’, Ḥusayn Muḥammad 58
 Bā Ṣabrayn, ‘Alī b. Aḥmad b. Sa‘īd (d. 1294/1877) 83
 Bā Salāma, al-* 56
 Bā Wazīr* 1, 2
 Bā Wazīr, ‘Abdallāh Aḥmad (informant) 5
 Bā Zaḳāma 45
*bāb** 31
*bābūr** 55, 57, see also *kānūn**
 baby, see new-born
*badū al-ruḥḥal, al**, see Bedouin
 bag, see *kīs, shanta**
 Bakhḍar, Aḥmad (b.) Sa‘īd (informant) 5 (with n. 23), 47
 Bakhḍar, Sa‘īd b. Aḥmad* 46
 Bakhḍar, Sa‘īd Ghulayq* 46
balad (homeland) 18/n. 29, Balad, al- 90 (IV 25)
 Balfaqīh, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Alī (informant) 5
bāligha (girl who has reached full legal age) 29
bālū (women’s outside garment), see II.3 sub *qamīṣ tafqūra**
 Bānī, al-, *bānī, al** 75
*banī mighrāb** 51 (with n. 34, 36, also *raqsat b. m.*)
*banīq** 63
*banjar** 75
 banner, see *bayraq*
*banqarī** 69
bar‘a (dance) 50
baraka (blessing) 39
 Baraqān (star) 44
*barlayān**, *brilyan** 71
*barrād** 57
*barza** 70
*bās** 31
 basket, see *quffā**; basketwork 43
 Baṭāṭī, al-* 41, 42
 bath 76, b. commodities, see *biḍā‘a**
*baṭkl** 34
bayraq (banner) 40
 bean, see *farfara**, *fūl**, see also coffee b.
 bed 55/n. 88, see also *sarīr**; bedcover, see *malḥafa**
 Bedouin, *al-badū al-ruḥḥal** 15 (with n. 9), 22/n. 19, 23/n. 21, 29/n. 100, 44, 53, 56/n. 108, 64 (with n. 57), 66, 71/n. 136
 belt 66/n. 78, I.5.1.2.4, see also *nijād**; b. buckle, see *qurṣa**, *shumsa**
 Bent, Mabel 9, 65, B. Theodore 9
*biḍā‘a** 73
 Bin ‘Afif, *shaykb* (al-Mashhad) 40
 Bin ‘Ajjāj, Mubārak 43
 Bin ‘Aqīl, ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Ja‘far 5, 8, 23 (with n. 22)
 Bin ‘Aqīl, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ja‘far 5, 10, 43, 79/n. 9
 Bin ‘Aqīl, Mubārak Sālīm, see Bū Bashr
 Bin Maḥfūz 41
 Bin Shamlān 45
 Bin Shihāb, Aḥmad b. Diyā’ b. ‘Alī 10
 Bin Shihāb al-Dīn, Ḥāmid b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdallāh 10, 34, 38
 Bin Ṭālib 56
 Bin ‘Ubaydallāh, Āl 46, 47
 Bin ‘Ubaydallāh, Rabi‘ ‘Awaḍ 4, 5, 39, 45
 Bin ‘Ujrān 41
 Bīr Bā Zuhayr 47
 birth I.2.1, 23, 30/n. 105, 32/n. 125, 38, see also delivery
*bishāra** 68/n. 99
*biza** 67
 black cumin, see *ḥabba sarwāḍ**
 blood enemy 42, b. revenge 41
 blouse, see *masdara**
 body painting, see *naqsh**
 bottle, see *baṭkl**
 bowl, see *jifna**

- box, see *daraj**, *hindīyya**, *qaṣ'ā**, *qāsbim**, *quṣṣa**, *ṣandūq**, *ta'bvūr**, *ṭibla**, see also chest
- Boxberger, Linda 9, 13
- bracelet 65, 66, I.5.1.2.3, 70/n. 136, see also *asāwīr**, *banqarī**, *ḥībs**, *maṭall**, *sumūt**
- brass, *ṣufr* 55 (with n. 91), 74, 75
- bread 36, 52 (*mukhammar**), 68/n. 108, 74/n. 177, 179
- breakfast, see *ṣubūḥ**
- breaking the fast 37, 56
- bride 13, 24 (with n. 36), 25 (with n. 44), 26 (with n. 56), 27 (with n. 75), 28, 29 (with n. 90), 30 (with n. 106), 31, 32 (with n. 129), 33 (with n. 147), 34 (with n. 156, 163), 35 (with n. 164), 49 (with n. 8), 50, 51, 54, 56, 57 (with n. 115), 61, 64 (with n. 64), 65, 66 (with n. 79), 67 (with n. 88), 68, 69, 70, 71, 72 (with n. 158), 73 (with n. 165), 74 (with n. 179), 75, 76, b.'s crown, see *ṣiṣāba**, *tāj al-ʿarūs*, b.'s trousseau, equipment, see *tajībīz**, bridal age 70, b. money, see *mahr**, b. procession, see *zaffā** *brīlyan**, see *barlayān**
- Brinkley, Messick 3, 80
- British 17, 40, 41, B. Adviser 8, B. Air Force 28/n. 82
- broker, see *dallā**
- Bū ʿĀ'īsha, Hudā (informant) 5, 64/n. 63
- Bū Bashr, alias Mubārak Sālim Bin ʿAqīl (1905–89), Ghanimat b. ʿAqīl (informant) 6
- Bujra, Abdalla 13
- bukhbārī** 57 (with n. 119), see also *samāwīr**
- bukhbūr lil-mā'* 76/n. 205
- bunn**, (coffee) bean 34, 44, 53/n. 60 (*qabrwaṭ al-b.*), 54 (with n. 74), 55, 74/n. 180
- būqshā** 62 (with n. 39: *būjja*)
- burād** 52 (with n. 43: *burdā*)
- burial 1, 35/n. 167, 36
- burma* (pan), see II.3 sub *ṭu'ma**
- burqa'* (enveloping outer garment), see II.3 sub *alam*
- bur**, wheat (*Triticum vulgare*) 52, 53 (with n. 51))
- Butayn (star) 44
- cake, see *ka'k**, *kurway**
- calico, see *shūt**
- caliph 72/n. 151
- camel 31/n. 112, 40, 75, c. race 39
- Camelin, Sylvaine 13
- camphor, see *kāfir*
- car 30 (with n. 109), 31 (with n. 112), 76, see also *sayyāra**, see also *lāndrūfar**, *tāksī**
- caravan 17
- cardamom, see *bayl*
- cemetery 35, 37, 47
- cenotaph 39
- Certeau, Michel de 1
- chain 51/n. 34, 59/n. 5 (ch. mail), 65, 67/n. 97, 68/n. 104, 79/n. 120, see also necklace
- charcoal, see *sakbr**
- charm, amulet 66, 68, see also *ʿayāl mu-bashsharāt**, *ḥīrz**, *kataba**, *shakk al-rā'ī**, see also *murriyya**
- chest 74, see also *banjar**, *karwa**, *kūfar**, *ṣandūq**, see also box
- chickpea, see *ṣumbarā**
- child, children 21, 36, 37, 38 (with n. 7), 41, 57/n. 114, 68, 69 (with n. 123), childbed 21, 22, childbirth practices 1, 21/n. 1; see also birth
- China 62
- chintz, see *shūt**
- circumcision, see *khitān**, *taḥīr*
- Citrullus colocynthis*, see *ḥanzal**
- class, see social stratum
- clay figurine, see *al-bānī** 11
- cloth, clothes, clothing 23, 25, 29, 34, 37, I.5.1.1, see also dress, garment
- coal, see *jamr*, *sakbr**
- coast, coastal 9, 16, 17, 31/n. 112, 34/n. 156, 39, 49, 50, 59/n. 1
- coffee 23, 24, 30, 34, 36, 38, I.4.2.1, 56 (with n. 102, 108), 58, 74 (with n. 180), see also *qabrwa**; c. bean, see *bunn**, c. berry, see *jafāl**, c. cup, see *finjān**, c. husk, see *qisbr**, *sharīkh*; c. kettle, c. pot, see *dalla**, c. roasting, see *taḥmīs*, c. set/equipment, see *ʿiddat al-qabrwa**
- coin 69, I.5.1.2.6
- colonial 17, 20, 78
- compete, competition 50, 56 (with n. 102), 58
- conflict 1, 14, 17, 41, 45, 46, 78, 80, frontier c. 94 (IV 46), land c. 42
- conspicuous 57, 63, c. consumption 18/n. 26, 19, 62, 66, 79

- copper 57/n. 119, 121, 65/n. 64, 74
coral, see *urūq*
cornelian 70
correspondence 3, 7, 41, 44, 79
corruption 60/n. 11, 79
cosmetic 20, I.5.1.3, 74, see also *khuṭūṭ**, c.
utensils, see *adaḡāt al-tajmīl**
cotton 54, 61 (with n. 21), 62, 65, c. thread,
see *ghazl**, c. fabric, see *baft**, *maṣḥ**
Council, see Reform C.
cover, see *tarqūda**, see also bedcover, head
covering
cowrie (shell), see *wad**
crêpe de chine, see *ḡāfūnī**
crescent 68, see also *bilāl**, *kisra**, c.-and-star
pendant, see *shabr wa-najm**
crop, see *shirāḡa*
crown, see bride's c.
cup, see *finjān**
cupboard, see *dūlāb**, *kabat**
currencies, see *ḡarf**, *qīrsb** [*faransī*], rupee
cushion, pillow 28/n. 81, 62/n. 35, see also
mafrash, *matka**, *takiya**, *wisāda**
- daff* (tambourine) 51
*dabīna** 26 (with n. 58), see also *marja**
*dā'if** (sg.), see *dā'afā**
*dakbīla**, *dukbla*, see *laylat al-dakbīla**
*dalat** (pl.), see *dallāl**
*dalla** 55, 57/n. 127
*dallāl**, pl. *dalat** 15, 19/n. 33, 28, 46,
52/n. 40, 78
Dalū (star) 44
Dammūn 46/n. 53, 47
dance, dancing 23, 30 (with n. 101), 31, 32,
37, 39, 40, 43, 46, I.4.1, 61, see also *banī*
*mighbrāl**, *bar'a*, *habīsh**, *idda**, *khayba'an**,
*makhḡara**, *raqsa*, *ṣawt al-kīlān**, *shabwānī**,
*sharḡ**, *zafīn**, see also *marzaḡa**, *tarāzīḡ**;
dancer 30, 50, see also *musbtariḡa**
*daqqāqa** 55
Dār al-Nūra 40
*daraj**, *daray** 54 (with n. 71)
date (fruit) 17, 21, 22/n. 12, 36, see also *bu-*
*rād**
Dathina 8/n. 49
daughter 37, 71
dāya (midwife) 22
decoration, decorative, decorated 57, 60, 61,
62, I.5.1.1.2, 64, 67, 69, 70 (with n. 130,
132), 72, 75, see also *masīla**, *naqsb**,
*qasbtīr**, *qītān**, *tubū**, *zayna**
deflowered, see *ihayyib**
delivery I.2.1, 61, see also birth
*dhahab**, see gold
dhayl ('tail' of a dress) 59
Dhofar 67/n. 93, 69/n. 120, 123
Dhū l-Ḥijja 37
*dhubla**, see *dubla**
diadem 64/n. 64
diaspora 16 (with n. 17), 17, 39
dilm (oil) 26/n. 54
dinner 26/n. 56, 31, 33
*dir** 59 (with n. 5)
divorce, see *ṭalāq**
diwan (poems) 54/n. 63, diwan (sofa) 76/n.
206
donkey 30, 71/n. 143, 75
door-fee, see *bāb**
Dostal, Walter 9, 13
dowry 25, 26, 56, 57, 70/n. 126, 74, 75, see
also *jībāz**, *tajībīz**
dress 20, 28/n. 81, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33/n. 147,
34, 49, I.5.1.1, 69/n. 118, 70, 71/n. 140,
72 (with n. 158), 74, see also *dir**, *fustān**,
fūṭa, *inab**, *jāwīyya**, *jubba**, *kibāya**,
*kurta**, *maqlama**, *mujaḡawraqāt**, *qamīṣ**,
*ṣārūm**, *sirwāl**, *taṣnīf**, *tbawb**, *zaytūn**,
see also cloth, garment, wedding d.; d.
wrapper, see *buqsha**, dressing table, see
*tasrīḡa**
drum 30, 32, 38, 50, 51, see also *ṭabl*, d.-
beating 23, 30, 50, see also *tifqa**, drum-
mer 51, see also *musbtariḡ/a**
*dā'afā**, sg. *dā'if** 13, 14, 15, 28
*dubla** 24, *dhubla** 24/n. 38 (also *dabla*), 70
dukbla, see *laylat al-dakbīla**
*dūlāb** 74
dumbaḡ (dumbag, musical instrument) 51
- earrings, see *biza**, *krābū**, *qurṭ**
East Indies, East Indian 16, 17, 56/n. 106,
57/n. 118, 60/n. 15
economy, economic(al) 1, 13, 14 (with n. 7),
16, 17, 18, 20, 66
education, educational 15/n. 8, 17
Egypt 16
electric light 76, electricity 75
elite 15, 17, 19, 41, 45, 83

- embroidery, embroidering, embroidered 61, 63 (with n. 50–3), see also *banīq**, *masīla**, *qītān**
- (e)migrant (*musāfir**), (e)migration (*safar**) 9, 13, 15/n. 8, I.1.2, 19 (with n. 134), 35 (with n. 167), 38/n. 7, 41, 52/n. 41, 55/n. 83, 61, 69, 76, see also *mahjar**, *muhājir*
- engagement 26/n. 65, see also *khutba**
- Ethiopia 66
- ethnography, ethnographic(al), ethnology 3, 7, 9/n. 57, see also Hamburg Museum of Ethnology, Peter the Great Museum, Say'un Ethnographical Museum
- European 8, 59/n. 1, 83
- evil eye 22, 49, 66, see also *khawra*
- expenditure, expenses 18/n. 26, 25, 33, 47, 49, 78
- extravagance 20, 78
- fabric 59 (with n. 2), 61, 63, see also *aḥlās**, *maqlama**, *masb**, *shīt**
- fakhr* (glorification) 79
- fals*, see *flīs**
- Family Law, see *qānūn al-usrā**
- fan, see *mirwahā**
- faqīh* (expert in Islamic jurisprudence) 28/n. 82, 83
- Far East 56 (with n. 106)
- Farāra, Āl 45
- farfara** 52
- farḥa** 62/n. 41, 63
- farmer 13, 18, 89 (IV 15)
- fatāwā* (pl.), see *fatwā*
- father 19, 21, 25, 29, 32, 33, 35, 51, 54, 71
- fātiḥa* (first sura of the Qur'ān) 35/n. 173, 38 (with n. 11)
- fatāwā*, pl. *fatāwā* 25/n. 47, 60/n. 19
- fee, see gratuity
- fertility (woman) 19, 66, 69/n. 118
- fiancé 26/n. 63, see *khaṭīb**
- fiḍḍa**, see silver
- Fifth Governorate 78
- financial 17, 23, 24/n. 34, 35, 78
- finjān**, cup 55, 57 (with n. 121)
- fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) 25/n. 47, 27
- flīs** 76 (with n. 205: *fals*)
- flour 21, 52, 53
- flute, see *madrūf*, *mizmār**, *nāy*
- folk poet 5, 6, f. story 10
- Freitag, Ulrike 9, 13
- fūja** 34
- fūl** 52
- funeral 44, 53/n. 54, f. procession 36, 53
- furniture, furnished 57, 74, 76
- fustān** 59 (with n. 6: *fistān*)
- fūṭa* (man's kilt) 59/n. 8, II.3 sub *ṣārūn**
- gall ink, see *kbiḍāb**
- garment 59/n. 2, 60/n. 16, 63, 65, 70, see also cloth, dress
- genealogy, genealogical 7, 9, 13
- German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) 57/n. 114
- ghams**, *maghmūs** 66 (with n. 89), 68
- ghamza** 32
- Ghanīmat b. 'Aqīl, see Bū Bashr
- ghast** 28/n. 88 (also: *ghust*)
- Ghayl Bā Wazīr 2, 4, 5, 6, 31, 55
- ghazl** 63 (with n. 50: *gh. as-sīn*)
- Ghuraf, al-* 1
- ghussa** 28 (with n. 88, also: *ghassa*), 29, 73, see also *'ilb*, *lijjīn*, *sidr*
- ghutra** 64 (with n. 62)
- gift, present 19, 21, 23, 24, 31 (with n. 118, 124), I.2.3.1, 37 (with n. 2), 43, 52 (with n. 42), 54, 70, 73, 75, see also *fūja**, *ilzāmāt**, *qirādba**, *shawfa**, *ṣubḥa**, *takbāwīd**, *tarḥ**
- gild, gilding, see *ghams**
- ginger 34, 54 (with n. 71)
- girl 19, 22 (with n. 19), 23/n. 21, 26, 27, 29 (with n. 96, 100), 32/n. 129, 37, 38, 51, 61 (*muqammaza**; with n. 23), 64, 65, 67/n. 85, 69, 70, 72/n. 152
- GOAM(M) 3/n. 16, 5, 6
- gold, golden (*dbabal**, *dbababī**) 63/n. 51, 64, 65, I.5.1.2, 74/n. 174, artificial g., see *rawl qarw**
- gourd (*ḥaqūz*), see *ḥanzal**
- gratuity 21 (*tarḥ**), 31, I.2.3.1
- grave(yard) 18/n. 31, 35/n. 167, 173, 36, 55, 83, g. digger 35
- Great Britain 17
- Greek 43
- groom 13, 23/n. 30, 24 (with n. 36), 25 (with n. 44), 26, 27/n. 75, 28, 29 (with n. 91), 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 49, 50, 54, 60/n. 14, 73, 74 see also *'arīs*, *ḥarīw*, *kilān* (*sawt al-kilān**), *mu'arris*
- guardian, see *walī**

- guest 22, 23, 27, 29 (with n. 91), 32 (with n. 125, 129), 54, 62, 68, 69
 Gulf, the 50
 gypsy 52/n. 40
- habba sawdā'* (*Nigella sativa* L.) 53/n. 51
 (also: *quḥṭa*)
*habīsh** 51 (with n. 31)
 Ḥabshī, al- 6
 Ḥabshī, 'Alī Muḥammad al- (d. 1333/1914–15) 56/n. 107, 58/n. 134
 Ḥabshī, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir al- (informant) 6, 65/n. 65
*ḥaḍar** 13, 14
 Ḥaddād, 'Abdallāh Ṣāliḥ 8
*ḥāfūn** 61, 62
*ḥā'ik**, pl. *ḥawīk*, *ḥūka* 15, 19/n. 33, 28
 hair 21, 28 (with n. 83), 51, 63/n. 53, 65, 72/n. 158, artificial h., hairpiece, see *ḥaml**, h. dress 72, h. dresser 28, h. parting pin, see *mikbadda**, hairbag 62/n. 40, see also *kīs*; hairpin, see *qils**
 Hajarayn, al-* 59/n. 1, 60/n. 17
ḥajj 37
*ḥajū** 18/n. 31, 30, 38, 52/n. 40, see also *zagblaṭa**
ḥajūr (social stratum) 67
*ḥakam**, *ḥakmān** 42 (with n. 35), 43
ḥalāwā (sweets) 53
ḥaly (jewellery) 65, see also *kbirsh**
 Hamburg Museum of Ethnology (Museum für Völkerkunde Hamburg) 10
 Ḥāmid, Ṣāliḥ b. 'Alī al-* (1320/1902–3–1386/1966–7) 58 (with n. 134)
 Ḥāmid al-Ṭawīl (companion of the Prophet) 43
*ḥaml** 62/n. 40, 64/n. 64, 65 (with n. 68)
*ḥanṣal**, gourd (*Citrullus colocynthis*) 52
 Haq'a (star) 44
ḥaraḍ (soapstone), II.3 sub *ftīs**
ḥarām 22
*ḥarāwa** 29 (with n. 90: *ḥarāwat al-khitān*), 33
*ḥarf** 72 (with n. 151, 152)
ḥarīm (pl.), see *ḥurma*
*ḥarīr**, see silk
ḥarīw (groom), *ḥarīwa* 29/n. 90
 Ḥawḍ al-Nabī (water reservoir) 40
*ḥawīk** (pl.), see *ḥā'ik**
*ḥawṭa** 17, 38, 39, 40
 Hawṭa, al-* 35, 90 (IV 25)
- ḥaykal* (charm) 68
ḥayl, cardamom 53/n. 51, 73
 head (of a quarter), see *abū*
 head covering, headdress, headgear, head-piece I.5.1.1.3, see also *ghutra**, *ḥaml**, *jadārāt**, *tāy al-'arūs*, *'uṣḥa*
 headband, see *'iṣāba**
 headscarf, headcloth 63, 64 (with n. 62), see also *ghutra**, *nuqba**
 Helfritz, Hans 50
 henna, see *ḥinnā**
*ḥibs**, pl. *ḥubūs** 69 (with n. 120: *ḥabs*), 71
ḥijā' (invective) 80
ḥijāb (separation; face veil) 19
*ḥijāl(a)** 70 (with n. 134, also: *ḥijjāleh*, *ḥujjāh*)
 Ḥijāz 56
*ḥijl**, pl. *ḥujūl** 51, 70
*ḥikā** 27, 74/n. 179, see also *qabḍa**, *rubūṭ**
*ḥilāl** 68
 Hindi 61/n. 21
*ḥindiyya** 75
*ḥinnā**, henna (*Lawsonia inermis*) 22 (with n. 15), 26, 27 (with n. 75, 76), 28 (with n. 82), 33, 73, 74/n. 187, h. dance (*raqṣat al-ḥ.*) 26, h. song 26, see also *laylat al-ḥ.*, *muḥanniya**
*ḥirz** 64/n. 64, 68, 69/n. 120, *ḥ. rā'ī** 68
ḥiwār (dialogue) 10
*ḥizām** 70
 Ho, Engseng 9, 35/n. 173
 holy (man), see *walī**
 honey 54
 hospitality 34, 53
 host 54
*ḥubūb** (pl.) 63, 67, 68 (*ḥ. al-kabrāb*), 71
*ḥubūs** (pl.), see *ḥibs**
 Hūd, see prophet Hūd, Qabr Hūd*
*ḥujūl** (pl.), see *ḥijl**
*ḥūka** (pl.), see *ḥā'ik**
ḥumaynī (kind of poetry) 51 (with n. 35)
 hunt, hunting, see ibex h.; hunting dog 51/n. 34, h. poetry 51/n. 36
buqla (shamplay) 44
 Ḥurayḍa* 1, 4, 40, 51, 54, 62 (Hureidha)
ḥurma, pl. *ḥarīm* (woman) 19, 62 (harim)
 husband 19, 21, 22, 25 (with n. 44), 27, 29/n. 96, 31, 32, 33 (with n. 136), 34, 49, 59/n. 7, 65, 70
 Ḥuṣn al-Dhayābina 40
 Ḥūt (star) 44

- ḥūtika* (*Anticharis glandulosa*) 28 (mit n. 87:
ḥītika), 35 (mit n. 170)
Hyderabad 16
hypermamy 13
- ʿIbād, Āl 45
ibex 47, 75, (i.) hunt, see *qanāṣa**
- Ibn ʿUbaydilāh Centre for Heritage and Society Service 7
ʿīd *al-adḥā* (sacrificial festival) 37
ʿīd *al-fiṭr* (festival of breaking the fast) 37
ʿidda* 44, 46, 50 (with n. 15)
ʿiddat *al-qabrwa**, c. set/equipment 55, 56,
74/n. 179
ʿiddat *al-samāwir* 57/n. 119, see also *samāwir**
ʿiddat *al-shābir** 56
iftār (breaking the fast) 37
ʿilb (*Ziziphus spina-christi*) 28/n. 86, 73, see
also *ghussa**, *lijjin*, *sidr*
*ilzāmāt** (pl.) 70
imam 41, 72/n. 151
import, imported 30/n. 109, 52 (with n. 41),
56, 59, 71
ʿinab* (dress) 61
incense, see *bukḥūr lil-mā*ʿ, i. burner, see
mibkharab
India, Indian 16, 41, 50/n. 16, 52 (with n.
48), 56, 57/n. 118, 59/n. 7, 66 (with n. 82),
69, 74 (with n. 183), I. Ocean 16 (with
n. 15)
Indonesia, Indonesian 19/n. 34, 56, 59, 60
(with n. 14), 74/n. 183, 75/n. 197
Ingrams, Doreen 9, 34, 36, 54, 64, 65, 73,
76, I. Harold 9, 16, 30, 42, 76
ink 80, see also gall ink
instrument (musical) 49 (with n. 1), see also
dumbaq, *mizmār**, *nāy*, *rabāb*, ʿūd
intercourse 34
invitation 40, 41, 42, 77
ʿiqd* 67
Iran 59/n. 5
irrigation 88 (IV 2), 94 (IV 45), irrigated 2,
43
Irshādi 39, 45, I.-ʿAlawī conflict 14, 17
ʿiṣāba* 32, 64 (with n. 64, also: ʿuṣba), 65
(with n. 64, also: ʿaṣābī; 68)
Iskra (newspaper) 78
*istisqā** I.3.4
ʿiṭr*, pl. ʿuṭūrāt* 25 (*muʿaṭṭar*), 30, 34 (ʿi.
wardī, ʿi. ʿanbarī), 73, see also *ṭīb*
Jabal, al.* 42
Jabal Yāfiʿ 53
jābiya (water reservoir) 41
*jafal** 54 (with n. 71), 55
Jaʿfar b. Sālim, Āl 94 (IV 45)
Jamʿiyyat al-Haqq* 14, 18
Jamʿiyyat al-Ukhuwwa wa-l-Muʿāwana
15/n. 8, 25
jamr (coal) 55, see also *sakbr**
*jāqa**, see *yāqa**
*jās** 60
Java*, Javanese 16, 41, 45, 52/n. 47, 53,
56/n. 109, 60 (with n. 11, 13, 15), 69, 72,
75/n. 191, Java-dress, see *jāwiyya**
*javodari** 62 (with n. 36: *jidri*)
Jawhī, ʿUmar Aḥmad al- 8
*jāwiyya** 60, 67, 69
Jawwās, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Aḥmad (informant)
6, J.-family 6
Jew, Jewish 18/n. 29, 55/n. 84, 68/n. 98
jeweller 66, jewellery 5, 18/n. 26, 25,
33/n. 147, 34, 35, 60, 61, 63/n. 48, I.5.1.2,
74 (with n. 179), 75, see also *ḥaly*, *kbirsh**
*jifān** (pl.), see *jifna**
*jifna**, pl. *jifān** 74 (with n. 177; 178: *jafna*)
*jibāz** 24, 25, 68, 73, see also dowry, *tajlīz**
jinglet, jingling 51, 68
journal, see *Majallat ʿal-ikbā**
*jubba** 59, see also *qamūṣ**
julūs (sitting, gathering in the living room)
62/n. 34, see also *majlis*
Junayd, Ḥāmid b. ʿAbdallāh al- 56
- kabat** 74, 76
Kāf, al- 16, al-Kāf’s palaces 76/n. 212, al-Kāf
road 31/n. 112, al-Kāf, Abū Bakr Bin
Shaykh* 16/n. 18
kāfūr 35 (with n. 170)
*kabrāb**, *karḥab**, amber 67, 68, 69, 70, 71
(with n. 147), 75/n. 192, *kabramān* 71
*kabrabāʿī**, see *karḥabān**
kabrabān, see *karḥabān**
kabramān, see *kabrāb**
*kaʿk** 52
*kalba** 55, 57
*kānūn** 55, 57/n. 116, see also *bābūr**
*karḥab**, see *kabrāb**
*karḥabān**, *kabrabāʿī**, *kabrabān* 75
*kāshān** 52 (with n. 47: *kūshān*)
*kashf ʿalā L-ʿarūs** 31

- kataba** 68
 Kathīr, Āl 44
 Kathīrī, al- 1, 2, 6, 8, 14/n. 7, 16, 40, 41, 42, 44, 46, 79, 83, al-K. Archives 1/n. 2, 2, 3 (with n. 13, 17), 7 (with n. 36), 8, 9, 18, 27, 38/n. 16, see also archives
 Kathīrī, ‘Alī b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-* (r. 1929–38) 31/n. 112, 40, 41, 45–6, 90 (IV 25), 92 (IV 33)
 Kathīrī, Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. Maṣṣūr al- (r. 1949–67) 8, 47
 Kathīrī, Ja‘far b. Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-* (r. 1938–49) 39, 40, 42, 46, 80, 93 (IV 38), 94 (IV 45, 46)
 Kathīrī, Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib b. Muḥsin al- (r. 1870–1929) 43
 Kathīrī, Muḥsin ‘Abd al-Wudūd al- (informant) 6
kaṣwa^{cs} 74
kāz (kerosene) 75
*kbaddāma** 21, see also midwife
*kbaṭīb/a**, fiancé/e 24
 Khaṭīb, Abū Bakr b. Aḥmad al- (“Khaṭīb al-Minbar”, mufti of Tarīm, d. 1937/38) 25
*kbātim** 70
*kbātm al-qur‘ān** 38, 39/n. 23, 55
*kbatra** 32, 33 (with n. 136), 51, 54 (with n. 78), see also *naqīla**
kbawra 67/n. 88 (also: *khūra*), see also ‘uyūn al-*kbawra**
*kbayba‘ān** 49 (with n. 7)
kbazaf (porcelain, pottery) 55/n. 91, 96, 74
*kbiḍāb** 73 (also: *kbudbab*)
*kbiḥa**, *kbūḥa** 61 (with n. 27)
kbimār (kind of fabric) 60/n. 18
*kbirsh** 65 (with n. 71: *kbarish*), see also *ḥaly*
*kbitāmī** 37–8, 38 (with n. 6: *kbatāmī*; 7), see also *khutūm**
*kbitān**, circumcision, circumcised (*makbtūm*) I.2.2, 29/n. 90, 30/n. 105, 33/n. 147, 53, see also *ḥarāwat al-kb.*, *taḥīr*
*kbudda** 30
kbūḥūf^{fc} 60, see also *sharāba**
*kbūḥa**, see *kbiḥa**
*kbums** 45, 46
 Khuraykhar 41
kbūṣa (palm leaves) 73
*kbushfa** 22/n. 19, 67 (with n. 93: *kbashfa*, *kbashāfa*)
kbushum (nose) 67 (*ḥurūz al-kbushūm**/n. 90
kbūṣla (segments of the hair) 28/n. 83
*kbūṣba**, *kbūṣba** 24 (with n. 35)
*kbūṣba**, see *kbūṣba**
*kbūtūm** 37, see also *khitāmī**
*kbūṣūḥ** 74 (with n. 187: *kbūṣūḥ*)
*kibāya** 60
kilān, see *saṣwat al-kilān**, see also groom
 Kinda, al- 41, 45
kīs (hairbag) 62
*kisra** 68
 kitchen 10
*krābū** 67 (with n. 91: *kurābū*; 92)
*kūbara** 31, 51, 72 (with n. 156)
ku‘da (kettle) 55/n. 91
*kūfar** 75
*kuḥl** 73 (with n. 167), 75
 Kulliyya al-Maḥmiyya, al- 41
*kursī** 57 (with n. 120)
*kurta** 59
 Kuwait 47
*kurway** 53
*kūz** 57
*labba** 68 (with n. 98: also: *labbel*)
 labourer 13, 17
lahm (meat) 52
lahn (melody, song) 38/n. 7
 Laksah, Sa‘īda Sa‘īd Faraj (informant) 6
 lamp 75, see also *kabrabā‘ī**, *miṣbāḥ**
 land 17, 42, 43
 Landberg, Carlo 9
*lāndrūṣaf** 31
*laqan** 10
 law, agricultural l. 89 (IV 15), Family Law, see *qānūn al-usra**; Marriage Law 78, religious l. 53
*lawokī** 69
Lawsonia inermis, see *ḥinnā**
*laylat al-dakhīla**, (*l.*) *al-dukbila* 24, 29/n. 95, 30, 31 (with n. 113: also *l. al-dukbūl*), 34
*laylat al-ḥinnā** 27/n. 75, see also *ḥinnā**
laylat al-qadr (Night of Destiny during Ramadan) 37
 leader 5, 15, 17, 18, 48, 78, see also *maṣṣab**, *muqaddam**
 leather 65/n. 64, 72, 74 (with n. 173)
*libs** 69
lijjīn (powdered leaves of *Ziziphus spinachristi*) 28 (with n. 85: *līn*, *liyyīn*; 86), see also *ghussa**, ‘*ill*, *sīdr*

- living room, see *ghurfat al-istiqbāl*
*lu'lu'** 67
 lunch 31 (with n. 121), 33, 55
 lute, see *'ūd*
 luxury 18, 20, 76, 78
- mabdū'** 68
*madād'** 24 (*qabwat al-m.*), 26
*madaww'** 46
madhhab (Muslim school of law) 22, 37
*ma'dhūn'** 29
madrūf (flute) 50
 Madūda* 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 15, 24, 39, 43, 44, 45,
 46, 47, 77, 78, 79, 80
mafrash (cushion) 76
*mafīūl'** 69
*maghmūs'**, see *ghams'**
 magic, magical 63, 66
*mahārim'** 19, 34
*mahāyā'** 34 (with n. 153: *muḥāyā'*)
*mahjar'** 18/n. 29, see also emigration
*mabr'** 24, 25 (with n. 15), 73
*mabrat al-'atf'** 71
*Majallat 'al-ikhbā'** 15
majlis (gathering) 62/n. 34, see also *julūs*,
 Majlis al-Iṣlāḥ (al-Waṭānī)* 61
*makhbara'** 51
 Maktari, Abdulla 8
 Malabar 16
 Malay, Malaya, Malayan 60/n. 15, 67/n. 91,
 75/n. 197
*malḥafā'** 76
 Mallāḥī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al- 23
*ma'nā'** 68
*manāṣīl'** (pl.), see *manṣab'**
mandīl (piece of cloth) 25, 62/n. 39
manqūsh (pendant) 68
*manṣab'**, pl. *manāṣīl'** 4, 7, 17, 30/n. 105, 40,
 41, 42, 80, 81
*manṣal'** 55
*manzara'** 75
maqāma (Arabic literary genre) 58 (with
 n. 133)
*maqlama'** 60 (with n. 18)
maqsbam, *maqsbum*, see *qāsbim'**
 Maria Theresa thaler, see *qirsb'**
 Ma'rib 43
*marja'** 26
 Markaz al-Yamanī lil-Abḥāth al-Thaqāfiyya
 wa-l-Āthar wa-l-Matāḥif, al- 10
- marriage, marry, (un)married, marital 1, 8, 9,
 13, 14, 16, 19, I.2.3, 38/n. 7, 47, 51/n. 36,
 57/n. 76, 61/n. 23, 66, 67/n. 93, 71/n. 40,
 72/n. 152, marriage contract, see *'aqd al-*
*qur'ān'**, M. Law (*qānūn al-zawāj'**) 78, see
 also wedding
*marsa'** 71
 Marxist 14, 43, 78
*marzaḥa'** 44
*masādir'** (pl.), see *masdara'**
*masākin'**, sg. *miskīn'** 13, 15, 45, 46, 61
*masāriḥ'** (pl.), see *masrafā'**
*maṣari'** 37 (with n. 2), 62/n. 39
*masdara'**, pl. *masādir'** 60 (with n. 15: *maz-*
dara')
*maṣḥ'** 61 (with n. 28: *mish'*)
 Mash'abī, Āl al- 56 (with n. 110)
*ma'shara'** 55, 57
*mashāyikh'** (pl.) 1, 2, 5, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17,
 33/n. 148, 39, 43, 45, 46, 83
 Mashhad 'Alī, al-Mashhad 1, 2, 4, 39, 40,
 41, 42, 43, 77, 80
mashkūk, see *shakka'**
*masīla'** 63
*masrafā'**, pl. *masāriḥ'** 55, 74/n. 179
*maṭall'**, m. *mu'aṭṭarāt'**, m. *ṣabb'** 69 (with
 n. 123: *meṭellēt*, *muṭall'*)
 maternal aunt 34
*matḥāqūl'** (pl.) 68
*matka'** 76 (with n. 206: *midkā*), see also
*takiyā'**
*maṭṭr'** 75 (with n. 203: *maṭṭalī*)
 mattress, see *javdarī'**
maw'id (wedding date) 26
mawlā 39, Mawlā Tuyūra* 44, M. Khayla,
 'Alawi b. 'Abdallāh 92 (IV 33)
mawlid al-nabarwī, al-*, *mawlid al-nabī* 55,
 26/n. 62 (m. song)
 meal 22, 26/n. 54, 56, 27, 36, 52/n. 41, 48,
 62/n. 34, 74, see also dinner, lunch,
*tu'ma'**
 meat 21, 32, 52 (*laḥm*, *ṣāna'**, with n. 42)
 Mecca 37, 43
 mediation, mediator 41, 45, 78
 Meulen, Daniel van der 3/n. 14, 10 (with
 n. 59), 28/n. 82, 30/n. 109
mibkharab (incense burner) 52/n. 40
 midday ceremony, see *zahīra'**
 middlemen, see *dallā'**

- midwife, see *dāya*, *khaddāma**, *munaffāsa*,
murwallida, see also *kūbara**
- migrant, migration, see emigrant, emigration
- miḥmas** 56/n. 96
- mijbā* (welcome feast) 18/n. 30
- mikhaddā** 67
- military 14/n. 7, 16, 17, 42
- millet, see *ṣumbara**
- minḥāz** 55 (with n. 89)
- mirāyā kāshāt** 75
- mirror, see *manzara**, *mirāyā**
- mirwah(a)** 75 (with n. 196)
- miṣbāḥ** 75
- Mishqāṣ, al- 23
- miskūn**, see *masākīn** (pl.)
- miṭfala** 57
- mīz** 76
- mizmār** 50/n. 20, 52 (with n. 38: *mizmār abū/*
dhū qaṣabatayn)
- modern, modernise, modernism, modernist,
 modernity 8, 17, 18/n. 24, 45, 57/n. 125,
 61, 76, 80, 81, 83
- Mombasa 16
- money, m. gift 17, 21, 23, 24 (with n. 40), 25
 (with n. 44), 33 (with n. 147), 34, 35 (with
 n. 164), 42, 51, 63, see also bridal m.,
maḥāyā
- moral, moralising 19, 44, 62, 79, 83
- morning star, see *najm al-ṣabāḥ**
- mortar, see *minḥāz**
- mosque 17, 35, 37 (with n. 5), 47/n. 62
- mother 21, 22 (with n. 18), 23, 25, 35, 61,
 mother-in-law 34
- mourning 35, 55, 61/n. 28
- mu'an** 25
- mu'arriba** 73
- mu'arris* (groom) 26/n. 63, 64
- Mudayḥij, Muḥammad Sa'īd (informant) 6
- Muflaḥ, Āl 45
- mufti 25, 44, 58, 79
- muhājir* (Jewish emigrant into the Hadra-
 mawt) 18/n. 29
- Muhammad (Prophet), see Prophet Muham-
 mad
- Muḥammad, Sālim 'Abdallāh (informant) 6
- muhannīya** 27, 73
- mujawwāqa** 61
- Mukallā, al-* 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 30, 32, 35, 41, 42,
 50/n. 16, 72 (Mukalla)
- mukhala* (*kuḥl* container) 74/n. 174
- mukhammar** 52 (with n. 44: *khamūr*)
- Mukhaynīq, al-* 42 (with n. 36)
- mulaqqīn** 35
- munaffāsa* (midwife) 21
- Munaybārī, Āl 45, 46
- muqaddam**, pl. *maqādima* 5, 44, 47
- muqammaza** 61
- murriyya** 68 (with n. 110: *marrīya*, *miryeb*),
*m. makbraṭ** 68–9
- musāmara* (women's party) 30, 49
- museum, see Hamburg M., Peter the Great
 M., Say'ūn Ethnographical M.
- musbtariḥ** 50/n. 24, *musbtariḥa** 30, 31, 33,
 50, 51, 53, see also *muṭriba*
- music, musical 19/n. 31, 30, 49 (with n. 1),
 50, 51/n. 36, musician 5, 50, see also *musb-*
*tariḥ/a**, *muṭriba*, *muzammīr**, *zarbādī**
- muṭriba* 50/n. 24, see also *musbtariḥa**
- murwallida* (midwife) 21
- muzammīr** 52
- nafaqa* (alimony) 19
- Nahd (tribe)* 5, 6, 42
- na'īsh* (shaking of the hair, element of dance)
 51
- najm wa-l-qamar*, al-* 68, *n. al-ṣabāḥ** 63, see
 also *shabr wa-najm**
- naming of the child, see *shamma**
- naqda** 32
- naqīla** 33 (with n. 136: *nuqla*), see also
*kbatra**
- naqsb** 28 (with n. 81), 74/n. 187, 76/n. 205
- Naṭḥ (star) 44
- nāy* (flute) 51
- necklace 65, 66, I.5.1.2.2, 71, see also chain,
*'iqā**, *labba**, *mabdū*^{ck}*, *ma'nā**, *maqlad**,
*murriyya**, *rintī**, *shakka**, *sils**, *silsila**,
*subḥa**
- neighbour, neighbouring, neighbourhood
 18, 19, 23, 31/n. 122
- Neolithic 43
- Netherlands East Indies (Java) 16, 17
- new-born, baby 22 (with n. 18), 38 (with
 n. 7), 69/n. 122
- newspaper *al-Sharāra* 78
- Nigella sativa* L., see *ḥabba sarwāḍ*
- nijād** 69 (with n. 118: *manjad*)
- nomad, see *badū al-ruḥḥal*, al*
- North Yemen, N. Yemeni 17, 50, 53/n. 59,
 56/n. 106, 64/n. 64

- Northern *mudūriyya* 15
 nose-ring, nose-stud, see *khushfa**
*nuqba** 35/n. 164, 60/n. 18, 64
- obligation, obligatory, obliged 19, 21, 22,
 26, 44, 55, 56, 67/n. 93, 70
- Oman, Omani 59/n. 2,4, 65/n. 64,
 68/n. 102,104,110, 69/n. 118, 70/n. 136,
 71/n. 140, 72/n. 152
- oral, orally 3, 78, 80, 83, oral tradition 3, 13,
 o. heritage 12
- ordinance 3, 8, 18 (with n. 27), 30
- ornament, ornamentation, ornamented
 I.5.1.1.2, 64/n. 62, 65, 67 (with n. 88), 69
 (with n. 120), 72
- painting 72 (with n. 165), see also body p.
 palace, see al-Kāf's p., Say'ūn Palace
 palm 2, 14, 17, 43, p. frond 75, see also *da-
 raj**; p. leaf 74, 75, see also *khūša*
 pan, see *burma, miḥmas**
 Paradise 58
 parents 21, 22
 patron, see *marwā*
 pearl 68, 69, see also *lu'lu**
 peasant 19/n. 32, 64, p. movement 47
 Pemba 16
 pendant I.5.1.2.2, 65/n. 64, 72, see also *bilāl**,
*kisra**, *manqūsh*, *lawkūt**, *mathāqūl**, *al-najm
 wa-l-qamar**, *shabr wa-najm**, *shakka**
 People's (Local) Committee 25, 26, 29, 35
 perforation, perforating the nose, the ears,
 see *khushfa**
 perfume, perfumed 34, see also *'itr**, *ḥib*
 Persian 59/n. 7
 pestle, see *manṣal**, *quṣra**
 Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology
 and Ethnography (Kunstkamera) 9
 piaster, French, see *qirṣb**
 picture, see *qambar**
 pilgrim, pilgrimage 1, 15, 19 37, 38/n. 11,
 I.3.2, 43, 48, 55/n. 83, 56, 75, 77, 78, see
 also *hajj*, tomb visitation, *ziyāra**
 pillow, see cushion
 pipe (musical instrument), see *mizmār**
 plait 51, 72/n. 158, see also *ta'qūd**
 poem, poet, poetical, poetry 3, 5, 6, 10, 37,
 40 (with n. 27), 42, 43, 49 (with n. 8), 50,
 51 (with n. 36), 53 (with n. 59, 62, 63), 54,
 56/n. 102,107, 58 (with n. 134), 59/n. 5,
 79, 80, 83, see also *banī migbrāb**, hunting
 poetry, *shabwānī**
 politics, political 7, 14/n. 7, 17, 20, 35/n. 167,
 41, 42, 51, 78
 porcelain, see *khazaf*, *ṣīn**
 porridge, see *ʿaṣīd*
 potter 75, pottery, see *khazaf*
 prayer, pray(ing) 35, 38/n. 9, 40, I.3.4, see
 also *tarāwīḥ**; afternoon p., see *ʿaṣr*, rain
 p., see *istisqā**
 pregnancy 21
 present, see gift
 privacy, private 1, 19, 22, 72, 77, 83, p. ar-
 chives 1, 4, p. collection 2, 8, 46
 procession 15, 23, 29, 36, 38, 53, 75, see also
*ḥarāwa**, *maḍaww**, *marzaḥa**, *tarāzīḥ**
 prohibition, prohibit, prohibitive 15, 21, 22,
 23, 26, 27, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37 (with
 n. 2), 38, 39, 48, 49 (with n. 1), 51, 52, 53,
 54, 55/n. 80, 57, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67,
 68, 69, 70, 71, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 83, 93 (IV
 38)
 promiscuity 19, 37
 prophet 39, p. Hūd 39, see also Qabr Hūd*;
 Prophet (Muhammad) 13, 14, 19, 27, 43,
 47 (with n. 61), 65/n. 64, Prophet's birth-
 day, see *al-marwīd al-nabawī**, prophet
 Solomon 47/n. 61
 prose 42, see also *saḥf*
 proverb 40
 proxy, see *wakīl*, *walī**
- qa'āda** 55 (with n. 88: *qa'cāda*), 56
*qabā'i** (pl.), see tribe
*qabḍa** 26, 27
*qabīlī**, see tribesman
qabr 39, Qabr Hūd* 38/n. 11, 39, 48, 75, see
 also prophet Hūd
 Qaddāl, Muḥammad Sa'īd al- 8
 Qaddāl-Bashā, Sa'īd Muḥammad al- 42
*qabwa**, see coffee, *qabwat al-ḍaḥī* 53–4, *q. al-
 khāla* 34, *q. al-madād* 24, *q. al-wa'd** 26
*qambar** 75
*gamīṣ** 59 (with n. 8: *gamis*)
*qanāṣa**, (ibex) hunt, (i.) hunting 1, 5, 10, 15,
 30/n. 103, 38/n. 11, 39, 43 (with n. 40:
*qanīṣ**), I.3.3, 50/n. 15, 51 (with n. 34, 36),
 56, 77, 79, 90 (IV 25), see also ibex
*qānūn al-usra** 24, 25
*qaṣ'a** 57 (with n. 123: *qaṣ'at ta'būr*)

- qaṣā'id* (pl.), see *qaṣīda*
*qāshim** 74 (with n. 188: also *maqsham*, *maqshum*)
*qashīr** 63
qaṣīda, pl. *qaṣā'id* 52/n. 40, 53, 80
qāt 76/n. 205
 Qatn, al- 41
 Qa'ūda, al- 47
*qīls** 67 (with n. 87: *qilis*)
*qīrādba** 35
*qīrsb** [*faranṣī*], Maria Theresa thaler 72 (with n. 153)
qīrwan (social stratum) 13
qīshbr (beverage from) coffee husk 53/n. 60, 54
*qūtān** 63
 Qu'aytī, al- 1, 2, 8, 16, 40, 41, 42, 50/n. 16, 83
 Qu'aytī, 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Alī b. Ṣalāh al- 8
 Qu'aytī, 'Alī b. Ṣalāh al-* (1898–1948) 41
 Qu'aytī, Munaṣṣir b. 'Abdallāh al- 72/n. 153
 Qu'aytī, Ṣāliḥ b. Ghālib b. 'Awaḍ al-* (r. 1936–55) 42
 Qu'aytī, 'Umar b. 'Awaḍ b. 'Umar (r. 1921–36) 41
qubba (shrine) 17, 18/n. 31, 39, 40, 44
qubūriyyīn (tomb worshippers) 39, 40/n. 29
*quffā** 74
quḥṭa, see *ḥabba sawdā'*
 Qur'an, quranic 35, 38, 57/n. 120, 68, 79, Q. 33:53–9 19, Q. 97:1 37, see also *kbatm al-qur'an**, *kbutūm**, see also *'aqd al-qur'an**
*qurra** 67
*qurṣa** 70
*qurṭ** 67
*quṣra** (pestle) 55 (with n. 90: *qawṣara*)
*quṣṣa** 34
 Quzah, al-* 41

rabāb (rebab) 51
 Rabī' al-Awwal 39, 40, 42
*raff** 75
rāṭī, see *ḥīrz rāṭī**, *shakk al-rāṭī**
 rain prayer, see *istisqā'**
 Ramadan* 37, I.3.1, 55, see also *khitāmī**
*raqṣat banī miḡbrāb**, see *banī miḡbrāb**, r. *al-ḥinnā'*, see *ḥinnā'**, r. *al-rayḍ* 50/n. 23, see also *zafīn**; r. *al-zarbādī*, see *zarbādī**
*rās qub** 52
*ra'sha** 63

*razel qavel** 66
 Raybūn 40, 72/n. 150
 recitation, reciting, recite 38 (with n. 11), 52 (with n. 40), 80, see also *kbatm al-qur'an**, *kbutūm**, reciter 39, see also *shahḥādība**
 reform, reformer, reformist 14, 15/n. 8, 16, 17, 19, 41, 62, 83, 93 (IV 38), Reform Council, see *Majlis al-Iṣlāh (al-Waṭani)**
 religious 13, 43, 48, 56, r. law 53, r. feast 1, 19, 55, 72, r. story (*qīṣṣa*) 10
 rice 17, 74/n. 177
*rīj** 15, 53
 ring 65, 66, 67/n. 93, see also *ḍubla**, *khātim**
*rintī** 69
 rite, ritual 1, 10, 19, 20, 22, 27, 33, 34, 35/n. 170, 39, 40, 43, 44, 49, 53, 54, 56, 72, 73, 77, 78, ritual hunt 1, see also *ibex hunt*
 rock graffiti 43
 Rodionov, Mikhail 2, 4, 5, 9, 13, 22, 23/n. 22, 24, 38, 43, 50/n. 21
 rose perfume, see *'itr wardī*
*rubūṭ** 27 (also: *rubat*)
 rupee (*rubīyya**) 72
ruqda (place to prepare coffee) 54
 rural area, see *rīj**
 Russia, Russian 5, 8, 9/n. 52, 40, 57/n. 119, 72/n. 150, Russian-Yemeni expeditions 9, 10, R. Social Democratic Labour Party 78
 Ryckmans, Jacques 43

*sā'a(t)yad** 70
 Ṣabbān, 'Abd al-Qādir Muḥammad al- (1920–99) 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 23, 26, 30, 35, 77
 Ṣabbān, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir al- 6
 Ṣabbān, Shifā' bint Muḥammad Aḥmad al- (informant) 6, 64/n. 63
 sacred enclave, see *ḥawṭa**
*sāda**, sg. *sayyid** 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 13, 14 (with n. 3), 15, 16, 17, 18 (with n. 31), 20, 30, 33/n. 148, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46/n. 53, 56, 73/n. 158, 78, 79, 83
 Sa'dallāh, Nasīm (informant) 6
 Ṣafar 42
*saḡar**, see II.3
*ṣaffā** 35
 Saḡīl, al-* 35
 saint 35/n. 167
saḡ (rhymed prose) 79, 80
*ṣakbr** 55, 56, 57 (with n. 129, also: *sakbr*)

- salaf* (loan) 52/n. 42
*šalāt**, see prayer
 Salsabil (spring in Paradise) 58
*samāwir** 57 (with n. 119), see also *bukhārī**
 samovar, see *bukhārī**, *samāwir**
*šānā** 52
 Šan‘ā’ 30/n. 106, 32/n. 129, 47/n. 62
 Sanad, ĀI 94 (IV 45)
*šanādīq** (pl.), see *šandūq**
 sanctuary, see *hawṭā**
 sandalwood 63
*šandūq**, pl. *šanādīq** 55, 75 (with n. 190)
 Sanskrit 61/n. 21
 Saqqāf al- 22
 Saqqāf, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥasan al- 2, 6
 Saqqāf, ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Ubaydallāh al-
 (1300/1883–1375/1956) 44, 58, 79
 Saqqaf, Abdullah Hassan Al- 10
 Saqqāf, Ja‘far Muḥammad al- 7, 14/n. 7,
 52/n. 40, 62/n. 40, 71/n. 143
 Saqqāf, Muḥammad Ḥasan al- (informant) 7
*sarīr** 76
 sarong, see *šārūm**
*šārūm**, *šārūn**, pl. *šawārīm** 60 (with n. 15)
 sauce, see *šāna*, saucer, see *mā‘sharā**
 Saudi Arabia 5, 16, 39, 47, 64/n. 64
*šawārīm** (pl.), see *šārūm**
*šawt al-kilān** 26
 Šay‘ar, al- (tribe) 45, 56/n. 110
 Say‘ūn* 1–7, 8/n. 39, 14 (with n. 7), 22, 24,
 26, 27/n. 72, 28 (with n. 82), 30 (with
 n. 109), 31/n. 112, 32/n. 127, 35, 42, 44,
 45, 46, 56/n. 107, 58, 73/n. 160, 77, 83, 88
 (IV 2), S. Ethnographical Museum 65, 68,
 S. Palace 3 (with n. 14), 7, 9, 20, see also
 al-Kathīrī Archives
*sayyāra** 30
*sayyid**, see *sāda** (pl.)
 scarf, see *buqsha**, *mašarr**, *nuqba**
 scent, scented 62, 72 (with n. 155)
 Schönig, Hanne 7, 9, 22, 24, 28/n. 88,
 30/n. 106, 32/n. 127, 129, 62, 73
 seeds of gourd, see *hanzal*, s. of black cumin,
 see *ḥabba sawdā’*
 segregation, see sex s.
 separation, see sex segregation, *ḥijāb*
 sequin, see *ra‘sha**
 Serjeant, Robert Bertram 8, 9, 18/n. 27, 26,
 28, 31, 43, 45, 47, 64
 sex, sexual 19, 22, 37, 59 (with n. 2), 60, 83,
 sex segregation/ separation 13, 19, 83
 Sha‘bān 39
*shabb** 28 (with n. 79: *sh. al-fiwād*, *sh. ya-*
mānī), 33
 Shabwa, see *shabwānī**
*shabwānī** 46, 50 (with n. 16: Shabwa)
shādbir (ammoniumchloride) 28/n. 79
shāfi‘ī 22, 37
*shahḥādba** 38, 52 (with n. 40: also *shāḥidb*)
*shābīr**, *shāy** 38, 56 (with n. 103), see also
*‘iddat al-shābīr**
*shabr wa-rajm** 68 (with n. 106: *nujūm*)
*shakka**, *shakk al-rā‘ī** 68 (with n. 104, also:
mašbūkū)
*shalla** 80
 shameless 15, 19, 28
 Shamlān, ĀI 47
*shamma** 21 (with n. 6), 23
*shanta** 30, 62
*sharāba**, see II.3, see also *kbuḥfūf**
 sharecropping 14
*sharḥ** 15, 27, 32, 49, 50/n. 24: *tasharraḥa*,
 51/n. 31
sharīkl (beverage from coffee husk) 53/n.
 60
 Shāṭirī, ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Umar al- 25
 Shāṭirī, Muḥammad Aḥmad al- 15/n. 8
shawādir (outdoor cloth) 64
*shawafa** 34 (with n. 156)
shawḥaṭ (yew) 73
 Shawwāl 37
*shāy**, see *shābī**
 Shibām* 5, 8, 10, 24, 26, 30/n. 109, 41,
 54/n. 70, 66, 73/n. 153 (Schibām), see also
 Yemeni-German Shibām Urban Devel-
 opment Project
 Shiḥr, al- 50/n. 16, 54/n. 70, 72/n. 151
shirāḥa (right of protection of the crop) 45
 shirt, see *qamīš**
*shūt** 61 (with n. 21: *sh. bindī*, *sh. yamanī*), 62
 shrine 38, 39, 40, see also *qubba*
 Shubayr, ‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Umar
 (d. 1341/1922–3) 58 (with n. 132: his
laqab Shu‘ayra)
*shumsa** 70 (with n. 130: *shamsa*)
sidr (*Ziziphus spina-christi*) 28 (with n. 86),
 35/n. 170, see also *ghussa**, *‘ill*, *lijjīn*

- silk, *ḥarīr** 29, 33, 60, I.5.1.1.1, 63/n. 50, 52, 65, 76, see also *masḥ**, see also artificial s., *mujawwāqāt**
*sīls**, *sīlsila** 67
 silver, *fiḍḍa** 63/n. 52, 64/n. 64, 65 (with n. 64), 66, 67, 68 (with n. 98, 106), 69 (with n. 118), 70 (with n. 129), 71 (with n. 141), 72, s. thread, see *tall**, s. coin, see *ḥarf**, silversmith 5
*ṣīn** 75
 Singapore 16, 56, 66, 76
 singer, sing(ing) 31, 37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 49/n. 3, 50, 51, 61, see also *shabḥādba**, song
siqāya (water reservoir), Siqāyat al-Dawla 40
*sirwāl** 60 (with n. 16)
 slaughter (*ḍbabīḥa**) 23
 slave 46/n. 53, 61/n. 28, see also *‘abūd**
 soapstone, see *ḥaraq*
 social change I.1.2, 45, s. reform 16, (s.) stratum (strata, stratal, stratification, class, hierarchy) 3, I.1.1, 13, 16, 17, 19, 21, 25 (with n. 44, 50), 26, 29, 35, 36, 37, 40, 44, 45, 46, 47, 49, 60/n. 14, 65, 66, 67, 60/n. 14, 77, 79, 80, see also *akhdām*, *‘abūd**, *dallāl**, *ḍu‘aṣā**, *ḥaḍar**, *ḥajūr*, *masākīn**, *masḥāyikb**, *qabīlī**, *qirwān*, *sāda**
 socialist 14, 20
 Solomon (prophet) 47/n. 61
 song I.4.1, see also *banī migbrāl**, henna s., *kbayba‘ān**, *lahn*, *makhḍara**, *marwīd* s., *ṣawt al-kilān**, see also singer
 South Arabia(n) 1, 9, 13, 38, 43, 59, 80
 South Yemen 14, 17
 South(east) Asia 2, 16, 60/n. 11, 66, 76
 Southern *mudūriyya* 78
 spangle 62, 63, 64, see also *ra‘sha**
 spoon 22, 57
 St Petersburg 9
 stamp 70/n. 132, 72/n. 153, 81, 83
 star 44; see also *farḥa** (decoration)
 Stark, Freya 9, 51, 62, 63, 66, 70
 steam vessel, see *bukḥārī**
 stockings, see *khufjūf**, *sharāba**
 stone I.5.1.2.6, artificial s., see *antun**, *bar-layān**; semi-precious s., see cornelian, coral, *kabrāb**; stonepan, see *burma*
 stove, see *bābūr**, *kānūn**
 stratum, see social s.
- subḥa** 69
*ṣubḥa** 26/n. 64, 31 (with n. 124), 32/n. 125, 34, 35, 49/n. 7, 54, 76, *ṣubḥiyya* 31/n. 124, 34 (also: *ṣabḥiyya*)
*ṣubūḥ** 30
ṣubūān (pl.) (servants, boys) 13
 Sudan 16
 Sufi 37, 40, 53/n. 62, 58
ṣufr, see brass
 sugar 23, 34, 53 (with n. 51), 54 (with n. 71), 55 (*sunkar**), 57/n. 128, s. loaf, see *rās qub**
 Suḥayl (quarter of Say‘ūn) 6, 94 (IV 46)
*ṣumbara** 52
*sumūt** (*sumt*, pl. *ṣumūt*; *sumt*, *ṣumūt*) 71 (with n. 141, 143)
*sunkar** [*sukkar*], see sugar
 Sunna, Sunni 35, 37
 Ṣuqayr, Āl al- 44, 45, 46
 Ṣuqayr, ‘Āmir (b. Sa‘īd b. ‘Āmir b.) al-* 44, 45, 79
 Ṣuqayr, Sa‘īd ‘Āmir al- 44
 Sur (Oman) 71/n. 140
 swear an oath, see *shalla**
- ta‘āyīt* (ululation) 30/n. 105
ṭabl, pl. *ṭabūt** 33, 49/n. 3, 50
 table, see *mīz**
*tabṣī** 57 (with n. 124: *tibṣī*)
*ta‘būr** 57 (with n. 123: *qaṣ‘at t.*)
taḥmīs (coffee roasting) 33, 54
 Ta‘izz 2/n. 40
tāj al-‘arūs, *t. al-fir‘awm* 56
*tajhīz** 25, see also dowry, *jihāz**
*takhāwūd** 34
*takiya**, pl. *tikāy** 62, 76 (with n. 207: *takya*)
*tāksī** 31
*ṭalāq** 25
*tall** 60, 61 (with n. 25), 63 (with n. 50: also *tallī*; 51, 52)
 tamarisk, see *atbl*
 tambourine 32, 50/n. 24, see also *daff*
tannūr (oven) 52 (with n. 50)
*ṭāqa** 76
taqāṭīd, see *‘ādāt wa-taqāṭīd**
*taqḍām** 53
*ta‘qūd** 28
*tarāwīḥ** 37
*tarāzīḥ** 37
*ṭarḥ** 21, 33, 50, 51

- Tārība, al- 2, 43, 47, 93 (IV 38)
 Tarīm* 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 14/n. 7, 15 (with n. 8),
 16, 18/n. 27,31, 24 (with n. 34), 25 (with
 n. 47), 26 (with n. 56), 27/n. 70, 28/n. 82,
 30/n. 105, 31, 37/n. 1, 60/n. 17, 76 (with
 n. 212)
 Tarīs* 1, 15
*tarqāda** 60
*tashmīs** 70
*taṣnīf** 61
*tasrīḥa** 76
taḥbīr (girl's circumcision) 22/n. 9, see also
*khitān**
 taxi, see *tāksī**
 tea 30, 33, 34, 53 (with n. 59), I.4.2.2, 74, see
 also *shāhī**, tea set, see *‘iddat al-shāhī*, tea-
 pot, see *barrād*
 terminology, terminological 9, 10, 23,
 52/n. 41, 56/n. 111, 58, 72, 79
 Thābit, Āl* 42
*thawb**, pl. *thiyāb** 59, 75
*thayyib** 25
*thiyāb** (pl.), see *thawb**
 Thurayyā (star) 44
ṭib 74, see also *‘it**
*ṭibla** 55
*ṭifla** 74
*ṭifqa** 33/n. 142
 Tihāma 63/n. 50
*tikāy** (pl.), see *takiya**
*tikfā** 77
 tire-woman, see *kūbara**, *mu‘arrība**
 tomb I.3.2, 44, 47, see also *qabr*, *turba*, (t.)
 visitation 19, I.3.2, see also pilgrimage, t.
 worshipper 39
 tongs, see *kalba**
 townsman/-woman 59/n. 8, 64, 67/n. 9, see
 also *ḥaḍar**
 transportation, see *bās**, car, caravan, taxi
 travel, traveller 18/n. 29, 38, 50, 54, 59/n. 1,
 65, 71, see also (e)migrant
 tray, see *ma‘shara**, *tabṣī**
 treaty 7, 77
 tribe, tribesman, tribal, *qabīl**, (*qabīla*), pl.
*qabā‘il** 5, 6, 7, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19,
 29/n. 90,100, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47,
 56/n. 110, 67, 79, 93 (IV 38), 94 (IV 45)
Triticum vulgare, see *burr**
 trousers, see *sirwāl**
 Truth Association, see Jam‘iyyat al-Ḥaqq*
*tubūt** (pl.), see *ṭabl*
turba (tomb) 44
 UAE 52/n. 44, 54/n. 65
 ‘Ubaydallāh b. ‘Awaḍ b. Wabar 47
 ‘ūd (lute) 51
 ululation, see *ḥajr**, *ta‘āyil*, *zaghlata**
 ‘Umar b. Saqqāf al-Ṣāfi (d. 1216/1801–2) 53
*umm al-mawqad** 55/n. 81
 ‘urūq, coral 66, 67, 70, 72
 ‘uṣba (headdress) 64/n. 64
 ‘uṭūrāt* (pl.), see *‘it**
 ‘uyūn al-khawra* 67
 veil, veiling 19, 30/n. 106, 32/n. 129,
 65/n. 64, I.5.1.1.3, see also *ḥijāb*, veil cere-
 mony, see *kashf ‘alā l-‘arūs**
 verse 26/n. 62, 38 (quranic v.), 52, 58, 80
 vessel, see *awānī*, *aw‘iya*, *bukhār**, *flīs**, *mit-
 fala**, *zabriyya**
 viewing, v. the bride 32/n. 129, 34 (with
 n. 156)
 virgin, virginity 25, 29, 34
 visit, visiting, visitor 18 (with n. 31: grave v.),
 19, 22/n. 18, 24/n. 40, 28/n. 82, 34, 37, 44
 (tomb v.), 51, 54, 62, 64, see also *khatra**,
 tomb visitation
 wad*^c, cowrie 62, 63, 64/n. 64, 68,
 69/n. 120, 70/n. 129, 72
 wa‘d* 26
 (Wadi) ‘Amd 1, 54, 59/n. 1, 64
 Wadi Bin ‘Ali 94 (IV 45)
 (Wadi) Daw‘an 1, 24, 39, 41, 64, 83
 Wadi Ju‘ayma 44
 Wadi al-Kasr 42
 Wadi al-Masila 39
 Wadi Sanā? 35/n. 170
 Wahnābī 39
wakīl (proxy) 25, see also *walī**
*walī** (guardian) 26, 29, 33
*walī**, pl. *awliyā**^c, holy man 38, 39
waqf 17
 wash 28, 52/n. 42, 57, 63, wash(ing), washer
 (of the dead) 35 (with n. 170), 76/n. 211, 78
 wasteful 18, 77, 78
 water 27, 57, 76/n. 205, w. carrier 40, w. jug,
 see *kūz**, w. reservoir 39, see also *jābiya*,
siqāya
 weaklings, see *du‘afā**

- weapon 43, 46
 weaver, see *ḥā'ik**
 wedding 19, 23, I.2.3, 35, 38/n. 11, 44/n. 50, 46/n. 54, 47, 48, 50 (with n. 23, 24), 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 60/n. 17, 61 (with n. 32), 62, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 72, 73, 76, 78, w. dress 71/n. 140, see also *fustān**, *kbiḥ'a**, w. gift 70, see also *tarḥ**, w. night 59/n. 7, 65, 72, see also *laylat al-dakhīla**, w. ring, see *dubla**, w. song, see *kḥayba'an**; see also marriage
 Wensinck, A. J. 23
 wheat, see *burr**
 wicker mat, see *masrafa**, w. basket, see *quffa**
 wig, see *ḥaml**
*wisāda** 76
 Wissmann, Hermann von 10, 28/n. 82, W.-Rinaldini, Bettina von 10, 28/n. 82, 39/n. 25
 wood, wooden 55 (with n. 89), 63 (sandal-wood), 73, 74, 75
 World War, Second 16, 17, 45, 66
 watch 31, 34, see also *ilzāmāt**, *sā'a(t yad)**
*wuḥfā** 22, 23, 32/n. 125, 61
*wuḥshāḥ** 69 (with n. 116: *wuḥshāḥ*)
 Yāfi', Yāfi'ī 14, 15, 41
*yāqa** 61, 63
 Yazīdī, Thābit Ṣāliḥ al- 8
 Yemen Centre for Cultural Research, Antiquities and Museums 3 (with n. 16), 6, 7, see also GOAM(M)
 Yemen General Organisation of Antiquities and Museums (and Manuscripts), see GOAM(M)
 Yemen National Centre for Documentation (NCD) 3 (with n. 16)
 Yemeni General Organisation for the Preservation of Historic Cities of Yemen (GOPHCY) 57/n. 114
 Yemeni-German Shibām Urban Development Project 57/n. 114
 Yemenite 55/n. 84, 68/n. 98, see also Jew
 yew, see *sharḥaṭ*
*zaff(a)**, *zaffā(a)** 30 (with n. 102, also: *zaffeb*, *zifāf*), 43 (with n. 45: *zaffat al-wa'l*)
 see *zaffa**
*zafīn** 31, 33, 50, 51, 62/n. 34, 71, see also *raqṣat al-rayḍ*
*zaghlaṭa** 30 (with n. 104: *zaghbrada*, *zaghārīd*, *zaghbrata*, *zalghaṭa*), see also *ḥajūr**
*zabīra** 35
*zabriyya** 37
zāmīl al-qanāṣa (ibex hunt ritual) 44
 Zanzibar 16
*zarbādī** 50 (with n. 19: *zurbādī*, 22: *zirbādī*)
*zayna** 20
*zaytūn** (dress) 61
 Zein El-Abdin, Fouad 10
*zilla** 32 (with n. 125: also *ḍilla*, *zalla*), 33 (*zillat al-khaṭra*)
*ziyāra** 39
Ziziphus spina-christi, see *ghussa*, *ʿilb*, *lijjin*, *sidr*

Illustrations



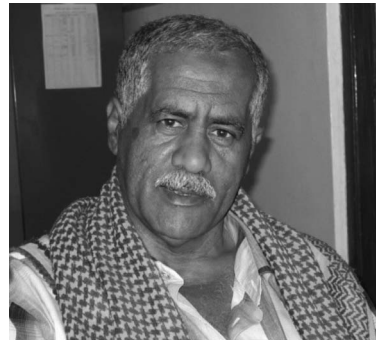
1. Ḥasan ʿUmar Bā Ḥaṣḥwān, a jeweller from Sayʿūn



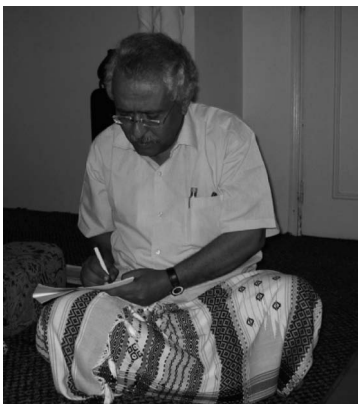
2. ʿAlī Muḥammad Bā Ḥumayd, merchant of fabrics, Sayʿūn



3. ʿAlī Aḥmad ʿAbdallāh Bā Rajāʿ, poet and musician from Sayʿūn



4. Aḥmad Saʿīd Bakhḍar, a leader of the ibex hunt in Madūda



5. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Jaʿfar Bin ʿAqīl, Head of the al-Mukallā Branch of the GOAM



6. Rabīʿ ʿAwaḍ Bin ʿUbaydallāh, a folk poet from Madūda with his son



7. Nasim Sa'dallah, from the staff of the Say'un Branch of the GOAM



8. 'Abd al-Rahmān Ḥasan b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Saqqāf and his son Ḥasan



9. Muḥammad Ḥasan b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Saqqāf, a head of the Ibn 'Ubaydilāh Centre for Heritage and Society Service, Say'un



10. The palace of the al-Kathīri Sultans in Say'un



11. The palace of the al-Qu'ayṭi Sultans in al-Mukallā



12. The house of 'Āmir al-Ṣuqayr, a tribal chief, by Madūda



13. Madūda, a place for the ibex hunt ceremony



14. Madūda, the house of the leader of the ritual ibex hunt



15. Madūda, the house of *shaykh* Ṭāhā



16. Madūda, the house of Muḥammad Bin Munaybārī



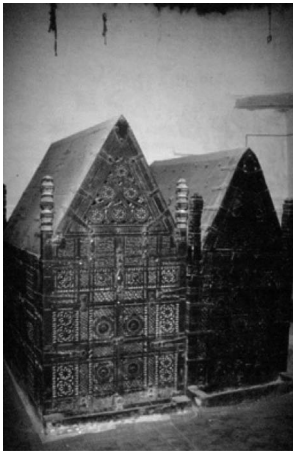
17. Qulayfa in Madūda



18. Mawlā Ṭuyūra, *qubba*



19. Mashhad 'Alī, mosque

20. Mashhad 'Alī, *qubba*21. Mashhad 'Alī, inside the *qubba*22. Mashhad 'Alī, irrigation reservoir (*jābiya*)23. Part of wedding ceremony (*ḥarāwa*), *mashāyikh* Bā Rajā', Say'un24. Part of wedding ceremony (*ḥarāwa*), Madūda village



25. Part of wedding ceremony, *mashāyikh*
Bā Rajāʿ, Sayʿūn



26. *maqlama*, a striped dress with silver thread
ornamentation (*tall*)



27./28. Reverse
side of the *thawb*
dress with *farḥa*-
decoration of
silver thread (*tall*)



29. Bridal headgear (*tāj al-ʿarūs*)



30. Bridal headband (*ʿiṣāba*)

31. A kind of *kataba*-amulet32. Pair of anklets (*hiji*), Say'ūn33. Crescent-and-star pendant
(*shabr wa-najm*)34. *najm wa-qamar*



35. A kind of *hirz* amulet



36. A kind of *hirz* amulet



37. A kind of *hirz* amulet



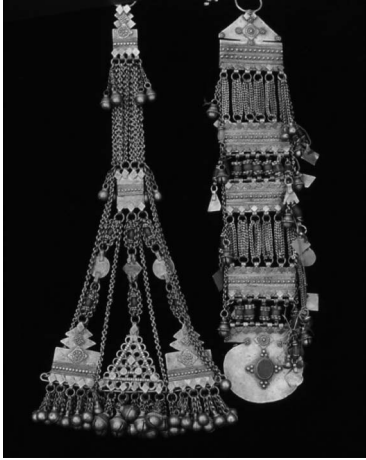
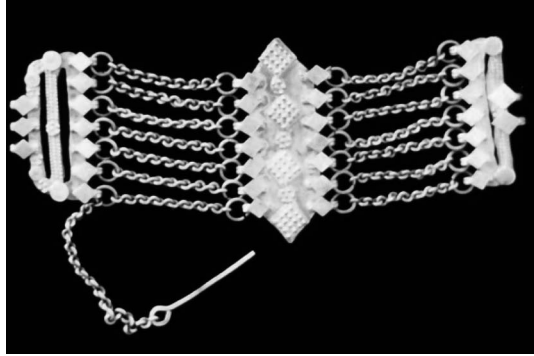
38. A kind of *murriyya* necklace



39. A kind of *murriyya* necklace



40. Kinds of *murriyya* necklaces

41. A kind of *alam*-decoration42. *ħibs* bracelet43. *ħizām* silver belt44./45. Belt buckles (*qurşa*)



46. *al-bānī* clay figurines,
Ta'īm



47. *samāwir*



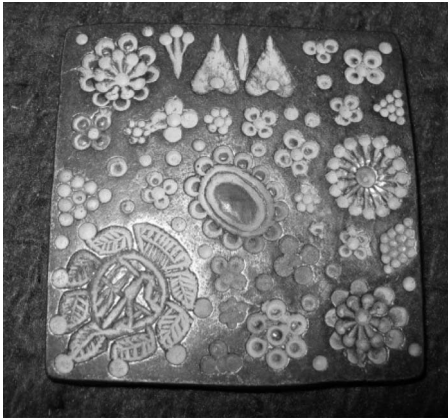
48. *hindīyyāt* boxes



49. Various kinds of chests



50. Flag-fan (*mirwahā*)



51.–53. Various stamps (*tubūʿ*) used by Muḥammad Aḥmad Bā Ḥashwān, former jeweller from Shibām

List of illustrations

Photographs in the Say'ūn Ethnographical Museum (29, 30, 48, 49, 50) were made with the kind permission of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥasan b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Saqqāf (Fig. 8), head of the Say'ūn Branch of the GOAM. A photograph in the Ghayl Bā Wazīr Ethnographical Museum (47) was taken by the courtesy of the Museum Head, Muḥammad Sa'īd Mudayḥij. The jewellery for the photographs 34–6, 41, and 42 was kindly offered by Ḥasan 'Umar Bā Ḥashwān (Fig. 1).

References to illustrations are given in Part I as well as in Part II.3; references to related documents are given below.

MR (Mikhail Rodionov) – photographs taken in 2006
HS (Hanne Schönig) – date indicates when photograph taken/jewellery purchased
NS (Nadim Salameh) – photographs taken in 1997

1. Ḥasan 'Umar Bā Ḥashwān, a jeweller from Say'ūn (MR 2006)
2. 'Alī Muḥammad Bā Ḥumayd, merchant of fabrics, Say'ūn (MR 2006)
3. 'Alī Aḥmad 'Abdallāh Bā Rajā', poet and musician from Say'ūn (MR 2006)
4. Aḥmad Sa'īd Bakhḍar, a leader of the ibex hunt in Madūda (MR 2006)
5. 'Abd al-'Azīz Ja'far Bin 'Aqīl, Head of the al-Mukallā Branch of the GOAM (MR 2006)
6. Rabī' 'Awaḍ Bin 'Ubaydallāh, a folk poet from Madūda with his son (MR 2006)
7. Nasīm Sa'dallāh, from the staff of the Say'ūn Branch of the GOAM (MR 2006)
8. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ḥasan b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Saqqāf and his son Ḥasan, two generations of the al-Saqqāf *sayyids* (MR 2006)
9. Muḥammad Ḥasan b. 'Ubaydallāh al-Saqqāf, a head of the Ibn 'Ubaydilāh Centre for Heritage and Society Service, Say'ūn, by the portrait of his grandfather (MR 2006)
10. The palace of the al-Kathīrī Sultans in Say'ūn, now an archaeological museum, ethnographical museum and headquarters of the local branch of the GOAM (HS 1992). Cf. the photograph taken by Daniel van der Meulen in 1939 (Epstein, 'Hadramaut', 299).
11. The palace of the al-Qu'ayṭī Sultans in al-Mukallā, now the Museum of Antiquities and the headquarters of the local branch of the GOAM (MR 2006)
12. The house of 'Āmir al-Ṣuqayr, a tribal chief, by Madūda (MR 2006), see IV 26, 27, 42, 50
13. Madūda, a place for the ibex hunt ceremony (MR 2006)

14. Madūda, the house of the leader of the ritual ibex hunt (MR 2006), see IV 26, 42, 50, Madūda 2
15. Madūda, the house of *shaykh* Ṭāhā (MR 2006), see IV 27
16. Madūda, the house of Muḥammad Bin Munaybārī (MR 2006), see IV 42, 50
17. Qulayfa in Madūda (MR 2006), see IV 41
18. Mawlā Ṭuyūra, *qubba* (MR 2006), see IV 26, 41, Madūda 2
19. Mashhad ‘Alī, mosque (MR 2006), see III 276, IV 22, 30, 47
20. Mashhad ‘Alī, *qubba* (HS 1992)
21. Mashhad ‘Alī, inside the *qubba* (HS 1992)
22. Mashhad ‘Alī, irrigation reservoir (*jābiya*) (MR 2006)
23. Part of wedding ceremony (*ḥarāwa*), *mashayikh* Bā Rajā’, Say’ūn (MR 2006)
24. Part of wedding ceremony (*ḥarāwa*), Madūda village (MR 2006)
25. Part of wedding ceremony, *mashayikh* Bā Rajā’, Say’ūn. The groom is identifiable by his headgear; on the left side of the photograph Ja‘far Muḥammad al-Saqqāf (in glasses) (MR 2006)
26. *maqlama*, a striped dress with silver thread ornamentation (NS 1997), see GhBW 2
- 27./28. Reverse side of the *thawb* dress with *farḥa*-decoration of silver thread (*tall*) (NS 1997), see IV 5, 16, 20
29. Bridal headgear (*tāj al-‘arūs*) (NS 1997)
30. Bridal headband (*‘iṣāba*) (NS 1997), see IV 39
31. A kind of *kataba*-amulet (MR 2006), see IV 24
32. Pair of anklets (*ḥijl*), Say’ūn (MR 2006), see IV 3, 48
33. Crescent-and-star pendant (*shabr wa-najm*) (MR 2006), see IV 39
34. *najm wa-qamar* (NS 1997), see IV 18
35. A kind of *ḥirz* amulet (NS 1997)
36. A kind of *ḥirz* amulet (NS 1997)
37. A kind of *ḥirz* amulet (HS 2000)
38. A kind of *murriyya* necklace (HS 1992), see IV 18, 36, 37, 39
39. A kind of *murriyya* necklace (NS 1997), see IV 18, 36, 37, 39
40. Kinds of *murriyya* necklaces (HS 1992), see IV 18, 36, 37, 39
41. A kind of *‘alam*-decoration (NS 1997), see IV 39
42. *ḥibs* bracelet (NS 1997), see IV 3, 5, 18, 20, 36, 39
43. *ḥizām* silver belt (HS 1997), see IV 5, 36, 37, 39, *lā’iḥa* 1
- 44./45. Belt buckles (*qurṣa*) (HS 1997), see IV 5, 39, *lā’iḥa* 1
46. *al-bānī* clay figurines, Tarīm (MR 2006), see IV 39
47. *samāwir* (MR 2006), see *lā’iḥa* 1, *lā’iḥa* 2
48. *hindīyyāt* boxes (NS 1997), see IV 39
49. Various kinds of chests (NS 1997)
50. Flag-fan (*mirwaha*) (MR 2006), see GhBW 2
- 51.–53. Various stamps (*tubū‘*) used by Muḥammad Aḥmad Bā Ḥashwān, former jeweller from Shibām (MR 2006)

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Die Unterreihe „Türkische Welten“ ist in die unabhängige Publikationsreihe „Istanbuler Texte und Studien“ des Orient-Instituts Istanbul übergegangen.

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<http://www.ergon-verlag.de>
 Stand: März 2011

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The study is based on documents pertaining to the al-Kathīrī and al-Qu‘ayṭī Sultanates in Hadramawt (Yemen) and gathered from the al-Kathīrī Archives in Say‘ūn and private collections. The material discussed consists of letters, reports, personal notes, legal opinions and poetry focusing on family life and social customs during the period of cultural changes in the first half of the 20th century. The first part of the book depicts everyday life under the sultans – such as the structure of traditional society, life cycle rites, religious rituals, and everyday customs – with special attention given to the women’s world as pictured in the sources. It also analyses the topics of the documents, their style, structure and design. The second part deals with the documents themselves, which are presented in facsimile, Arabic transcripts and English translation. The annotated vocabulary aims to preserve the disappearing local lexis of the period, often borrowed from South West and South Asia, and elsewhere, unfamiliar today even to most young Hadramis. The fruit of many field seasons in Hadramawt, this book introduces significant primary and secondary texts which contribute to an understanding of a South Arabian culture and society.

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ISBN 978-3-89913-881-8
ISSN 0067-4931