

Chroniques
حوليات
du Manuscrit
خطوطات
au Yémen
اليمن



ROBERT BERTRAM SERJEANT (1915-1993)

ÉCOSSE - YÉMEN

Ed. Anne REGOURD (CNRS, UMR 7192, PARIS)

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VINGT-CINQ ANS APRES :
HOMMAGE A ROBERT BERTRAM SERJEANT (1915-1993).
L'HOMME ET SES ARCHIVES

Anne Regourd
(CNRS, UMR 7192)

Ce volume est dédié à Robert Bertram Serjeant, décédé le 29 avril 1993, il y a 25 ans. Né le 23 mars 1915 à Édimbourg, Écosse, il a consacré la plus grande partie de son œuvre à l'Arabie du Sud. Ces quelques lignes sur l'homme et sa recherche s'appuient essentiellement – à défaut de l'avoir connu – sur ses archives privées à Édimbourg, consultées en novembre 2017¹, que l'on a croisées avec les contributions à ce volume d'hommage au collègue et ami.

Son premier séjour au Yémen date de 1940, lorsqu'il obtient une bourse de la School of Oriental and African Studies, à Londres, pour étudier les dialectes du Sud de l'Arabie : cet épisode marque le début d'une carrière d'arabisant². Il se distinguera finalement par ses compétences multiples, des publications dans des domaines divers. L'activité prolifique de R. B. Serjeant, loin d'être seulement l'expression d'intérêts variés, est celle d'un pionnier des études scientifiques yéménites : il a dû constituer un à un ses instruments de travail, une étude en appelant une autre. Ses centres d'intérêt disciplinaires, tels qu'ils ressortent de sa liste de publications entre 1942 et sa mort, ainsi que de ses archives conservées dans l'unité des manuscrits et livres rares de l'Université d'Édimbourg, demeurent la langue et la littérature arabe, avec une attention spéciale dédiée à la poésie, l'histoire et l'histoire sociale du Hadramaout, la loi coutumière et le folklore. La thématique des textiles et des vêtements, tôt abordée, l'a quant à elle entraîné bien au-delà de l'Arabie du Sud.

Fort d'une connaissance du « terrain », doublée d'un niveau en dialectals arabes jugé exceptionnel, R. B. Serjeant a collecté auprès de ses réseaux yéménites des informations sur la région en période de conflit, dans les années 1960. Parmi ses notes dépouillées par Aline Brodin, il rappelle qu'il a puisé ses renseignements à des sources variées et que, de toute manière, les parties en présence ne formaient pas un seul

¹ Cette mission a eu lieu grâce à une aide financière de l'UMR 7192 (CNRS). Que l'équipe de l'unité des manuscrits et livres rares (Special Collections) de l'Université d'Édimbourg soit ici remerciée pour son accueil et son attention. Je voudrais adresser une pensée particulière à Denise Anderson, conservatrice assistante, qui a guidé mes premières tentatives d'accès au fonds Serjeant, et à Aline Brodin, cataloguer-archiviste, pour l'intérêt qu'elle a porté au projet de ce volume.

² G. R. Smith, « Robert Bertram Serjeant (1915–1993) », 1997, p. 440.

bloc³. Une fois mis de côté l'écueil scientifique que constitue le point de vue de l'informateur exclusif, des épisodes de sa vie, tel que celui qui l'a vu disparaître au nord d'Aden durant plusieurs mois aux côtés de soldats royalistes alors que Gamal Abd al-Nasser avait déployé quelques 80.000 hommes dans le Nord Yémen, suscitent quelques interrogations : « For several months, travelling mainly by mule or on foot, Serjeant lived with the Royalist troops in their mountain caves, the only accommodation safe from Egyptian MIG bombing. During all this time, he tirelessly interviewed Hamīd al-Dīn princes and tribal irregulars alike, anyone able to throw light on the momentous events of the revolution and the resulting civil war »⁴.

Au sein des archives privées de R. B. Serjeant présentes à Édimbourg, les dossiers constitués par l'homme qui suivait l'actualité politique de près représentent près de 17 % de l'ensemble. Et c'est la présence de ces dossiers qui fait que le fonds demeure encore partiellement accessible légalement (*Data Protection*). Des documents sont demeurés inexploités pour d'autres raisons : « His papers based on these interviews and those based on similar interviews with South Arabian leaders and politicians concerning the 'British betrayal' and the last days of Aden remained, alas, unpublished at Serjeant's death. They are of a highly sensitive nature and should now remain sealed for an appropriate period before they can be dealt with by a scholar of sufficient competence and tact to make them available to the scholarly world »⁵. Aline Brodin note l'attention portée par R. B. Serjeant aux événements des années 1960, à titre d'exemple, la Révolution de 1962, la participation de 'Abd Allāh al-Sallāl (m. 1994) au coup d'état, la propagande égyptienne en faveur des Républicains, l'invasion des forces égyptiennes en février-mars 1963 ou la guerre de 1967⁶. Le fonds de journaux inclut des organes de presse yéménite, aux numéros dépareillés, mais groupés par sujet ; parmi les journaux yéménites bien connus, figure *Al-falaq* (voir dans ce volume, A. Brodin, ill. 2a-b et 3a-b).

Certaines pièces de la correspondance de R. B. Serjeant ont un contenu substantiel. Parmi les destinataires identifiés ou les apports intéressants, notons la lettre de Farūq al Amawī, Adis Ababa, datée du 23 mai, 1945, adressée à « The Directors of the 'Arabic Listener' », décrivant l'état de famine en Hadramaout et le peu d'attention de la communauté internationale à son égard ; la lettre de six pages d'al-Sayyid 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Šarī al-Hūtī, datée du 4 ša'bān 1386/18 novembre 1966 ; la lettre manuscrite d'Étienne Renaud (1936-2013)⁷, datée du 26 janvier 1979 ; la lettre de Mikhaïl Rodionov, datée 26.vii.90 ; les deux lettres du Dr. Jan Knappert (m. 2005) datées

³ *Papers of Professor Robert Bertram Serjeant, 1940-1997, "Loose notes on Yemen War"* [folder], Coll-1067 box 9. Edinburgh University Library ; voir à la p. 18 de ce volume.

⁴ G. R. Smith, « Robert Bertram Serjeant (1915–1993) », 1997, p. 441-442.

⁵ Suite de la citation en référence à la note 4.

⁶ L'unification du Yémen est postérieure.

⁷ P. Liguori, <Obituaire. Étienne Renaud (1936–2013)>, juillet 2014.

d'avril et mai 1990 au sujet d'études sur des talismans ; la lettre de Husain Jafri sur papier à en-tête de « The Institute for Ismaili Studies », datée du 5 mai 1990.

Dans le fonds d'archives d'Édimbourg, les codex manuscrits sont d'abord présents sous forme de photocopies de tout ou partie du texte. Il existe aussi des tirages de microfilms, par ex. celui d'un texte conservé dans une collection (*maġmū'*), le ms. Chester Beatty 3317/3, *Raf' al-malāma 'ammā qīla fī al-ḥiğāma d'al-Šams Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ibn Ṭūlūn al-Dimashqī* (m. 1546 ; f. 52-66)⁸. Toutefois R. B. Serjeant possédait aussi des originaux manuscrits. Dans le volume 3 des *New Arabian Studies*, dédié à Serjeant alors décédé depuis peu, Ḥusayn 'Abd Allāh al-'Amrī publie un échange de l'Imam Yaḥyā avec les tribus de l'Est et du Sud du Yémen. Dans sa note 4, il remercie Marion Serjeant ainsi : « The original of this document was among the papers in the possession of the late Professor R.B. Serjeant. After his death in April 1993 his widow, Mrs Marion Serjeant, was kind enough to hand it over to be edited and published in this memorial volume »⁹. En 1995, Marion Serjeant donnait à l'Université d'Édimbourg, en même temps que les notes de recherches de son époux, sa bibliothèque, soit ca. 5.000 volumes traitant de l'Islam et du Yémen.

En 1972, alors qu'il enseignait l'architecture baroque et orientale à l'Université de Cambridge, Faculty of Oriental Studies, Ronald B. Lewcock se rendit au Yémen pour effectuer un relevé architectural dans le cadre d'un projet lancé par R. B. Serjeant, enseignant au Middle Eastern Center de Cambridge depuis 1964, à l'invitation d'A. J. Arberry (m. 1969), et son successeur à la chaire d'arabe Sir Thomas Adam depuis 1970¹⁰. G. Rex Smith, qui enseignait, lui, les études arabes à l'Université de Cambridge depuis 1970, fait partie de l'expédition. Les deux articles reproduits ici avec des photos additionnelles sont dans cette lignée : ils « couvrent » trois mosquées majeures d'époque rassoulide édifiées à Taëz. Le premier des deux articles, « Three Medieval Mosques in the Yemen » (1974), a été rédigé avec G. R. Smith, l'autre étant « The Painted Dome of the Ashrafiyya in Ta'izz Yemen » (1983). L'ouvrage collectif *Ṣan'a', an Arabian Islamic City*, paru en 1983, toujours une référence, représente un nouvel accomplissement. Sept des vingt contributions de R. B. Serjeant au volume sont écrites avec R. B. Lewcock. Parmi les autres collaborateurs de Serjeant, on notera le cadi

⁸ GAL II, p. 367-368 ; S II, p. 494-495. Il semble qu'il s'agisse d'un autographe *et* d'un *unicum* (Torsten Wollina, “What is the original? A life-cycle approach to Muḥammad Ibn Ṭūlūn's (d. 1546) Majmū'a MS Ar. 3317 (Chester Beatty Library)”, communication au colloque « Social Codicology: The Multiple Lives of Texts in Muslim Societies », organisé par Olly Akkerman (Freie Universität Berlin), Léon Buskens (Netherlands Institute in Morocco/Leiden University), Adrien Delmas (Centre Jacques Berque, Rabat/CNRS), Rabat, 9-11 octobre 2018).

⁹ H. 'A. A. al-'Amrī, « The Correspondence of Imam Yahya Hamid al-Din with the Tribes of Eastern and Southern Yemen—a Rare and Unpublished Document », 1996, p. 7.

¹⁰ G. R. Smith, « Robert Bertram Serjeant (1915–1993) », 1997, p. 441-442.

Ismā‘il al-Akwa‘, alors Directeur des Antiquités et des Manuscrits¹¹, l'historien Ḥusayn al-‘Amrī et Robert Wilson, qui fut l'élève de Serjeant.

Les travaux de R. B. Lewcock représentent une contribution importante à une archive documentée du patrimoine matériel du Yémen. Les événements survenus depuis 2014 accroissent encore la valeur des relevés illustrés, menés à Sanaa et à Taez. Y sont notées des destructions et reconstructions antérieures au projet. À Sanaa, il s'agit des murs fortifiés entourant la vieille ville, de maisons anciennes, en particulier celle de Ḥayyim Ḥabšūš, dans le quartier juif, ou de la restauration malhabile de parties de la Grande mosquée¹². À Taez, l'état de certains monuments avant destruction a pu être renseigné : c'est le cas du minaret de la mosquée (Ǧāmi‘) al-Muẓaffar, observé avant son effondrement sur les parties à l'est et au sud de la cour en 1962 (voir dans ce volume, Plate 3). Les décorations du dome de la Mosquée Aṣrafiyya, qui, une décennie avant le passage de R. B. Lewcock, étaient dans un parfait état de conservation, avaient été abîmées par l'eau.

Publier électroniquement l'article de R. B. Lewcock & G. R. Smith, suivi de l'étude complémentaire des décors du dome de la Mosquée Aṣrafiyya, permet de les rendre aisément accessibles. Des clichés additionnels sont mis à disposition des lecteurs de ce volume. Suit la dernière campagne de conservation de la Mosquée et Madrasa al-Aṣrafiyya à Taez, entreprise par le Fond social de développement (FSD), Sanaa (Yémen), et l'Istituto Veneto per i Beni Culturali (IVBC), Venise (Italie), entre 2007 et 2014. La présente contribution apporte des éléments nouveaux. On a là au total un dossier qui attire l'attention sur le patrimoine architectural yéménite, sur son intérêt historique, architectural et esthétique unique. L'ensemble des clichés servant d'illustration est accessible par un lien direct placé dans l'entrée réservée au Numéro spécial 2, 2018, sur le site des *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen*¹³.

Le rapport sur l'état de conservation de la mosquée al-Muẓaffar, préparé conjointement par l'IVBC et le FSD, a été remis en octobre 2014. La campagne est restée à l'état de projet du fait des événements récents. « It is believed that the heavy fighting occurring in the city of Tai‘zz have not affected the Rasūlid religious complex except for an external concrete cistern which was damaged » : cette phrase, plus un espoir qu'un constat, reflète la difficulté à dresser un état des lieux du patrimoine du Yémen en état de conflit.

L'étude de la liste dactylographiée de poissons commentée par Philippe Provençal introduit à l'activité lexicographique de R. B. Serjeant et, surtout, à sa méthode de travail. Le document, *Colloquial and scientific nomenclature of the more common fishes found in the Gulf of Aden during the Colonial Office R214 fishery survey of 1948-9*, compo-

¹¹ M. Jazim, <Nécrologie : Mort du Cadi Ismā‘il b. ‘Alī Husayn al-Akwa‘>, janv. 2009.

¹² Introduction dans R. B. Serjeant & R. Lewcock, *San‘a, an Arabian Islamic City*, 1983.

¹³ Page Numéraux spéciaux, site web des *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen*, http://www.cdmy.org/?page_id=18.

sé d'espèces de poissons et d'autres animaux marins récoltées dans le Golfe d'Aden et plus loin à l'est pendant les années 1948-1949, avec leurs noms transcrits en lettres latines, a été compilé à partir des matériaux procurés par Alec Frederick Fraser-Brunner, un ichtyologue britannique ayant travaillé avec le Bureau des Colonies du Royaume Uni et l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'alimentation et l'agriculture (FAO). Il contient en tout 334 noms d'espèces et de groupes plus larges, des vernaculaires utilisés dans les ports yéménites d'Aden, Little Aden ('Adan al-Šuğrā), Ra's Imrān, al-Mukallā et al-Šiḥr, ainsi que dans les ports africains de Djibouti, de Zaylā^c et de Barba-ra, de quoi aiguiser l'intérêt de Serjeant, qui en a obtenu un exemplaire, puis a fixé avec l'aide d'informateurs certaines des dénominations dialectales en lettres arabes. Ainsi 181 des noms transcrits à l'aide de l'alphabet latin, soit environ 54 % des noms originellement dactylographiés, sont donnés en lettres arabes et notés à la main sur le document. Trois sources personnelles de Serjeant pour son étude, sont également indiquées, l'une d'entre elles au moins est une source écrite, fruit d'une correspondance. Ces annotations sont souvent de la main de Serjeant.

Dans les cahiers personnels de R. B. Serjeant archivés à Édimbourg, des relevés sémantiques ou concernant l'usage de mots, effectués dans des dictionnaires ou auprès de ses informateurs apparaissent en regard d'un texte qu'il édite. L'organisation de ces cahiers de terrain, supports du travail scientifique à une époque où l'ordinateur n'existe pas et où la machine à dactylographier n'était pas toujours vue comme un moyen idéal pour une prise de notes, témoigne d'une méthode de travail : une fois le cahier ouvert, la page qui se trouve à gauche porte le texte en cours d'édition et celle de droite, les considérations sémantiques et autres. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje fait de même, à une différence près dans le cod. Or. 7099, de la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Leyde, une copie de sa main réalisée en 1906 sur un original qu'il a obtenu quelques années plus tard (cet original est conservé dans les collections de Leyde sous la cote cod. Or. 8453¹⁴). Dans le cod. Or. 7099, en effet, Snouck a copié le texte arabe sur la page de droite, se conformant ainsi au sens de l'écriture arabe, il a laissé la page de gauche, en regard, pour les annotations. R. B. Serjeant a obtenu une photocopie du cahier manuscrit de Snouck, ainsi que les archives d'Édimbourg l'attestent. Ses notes lexicographiques en regard ne se limitent pas au contexte du texte édité¹⁵.

À partir des années 1970, G. Rex Smith travaille en étroite collaboration avec R. B. Serjeant. Tout d'abord, à son invitation, au projet prestigieux de *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, qui associe Alfred Felix Landon Beeston (m. 1995) & Thomas Muir Johnstone (m. 1983), deux amis de longue date de Serjeant, à l'écriture du chapitre « Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period », et Julia Ashtiany, T. M. Johnstone & John-Derek Latham à l'édition de « Abbasid Belles-Lettres ».

¹⁴ Correspondance électronique avec Arnoud J. M. Vrolijk des 21-23 novembre 2017.

¹⁵ Voir l'exemple du relevé de différents usages de cauris/marginelles que R. B. Serjeant, commentant une expression dans une chronique, a copié sur la partie gauche du cahier, dans A. Regourd, « Coquilles », à paraître 2019.

G. R. Smith devient ensuite le secrétaire d'édition auprès des éditeurs généraux du projet de Cambridge History of Arabic Literature. En 1983, R. B. Serjeant et G. Rex Smith coéditent deux articles pour *Ṣan'a, an Arabian Islamic City*, et lancent les *New Arabian Studies* en éditant le premier numéro, avec Robin Leonar Bidwell (m. 1994), autre fidèle compagnon, devenu secrétaire/bibliothécaire du Middle Center Studies de Cambridge et coéditeur des *Arabian Studies*¹⁶. Puis 1988 voit une nouvelle coédition, associant Arthur K. Irvine (m. 2011), en hommage à T. M. Johnstone, *A Miscellany of Middle Eastern articles in memoriam Thomas Muir Johnstone 1924-83*¹⁷.

Avec l'étude de passages de la *Ru'yā al-Yaman* du Juif sanaani Ḥayyim Ḥabšūš et de la *Sīrat al-ḥawāḍa al-akram al-marḥūm Harmān Būrḥart al-Almānī* du musulman sanaani, Ah̄mad b. Muḥammad al-Ǧarādī, G. R. Smith rend hommage ici à R. B. Serjeant, le linguiste et lexicographe, mais aussi à l'historien qui déploya une grande énergie à réunir des chroniques sur le Yémen, à l'état manuscrit, dont certaines sont encore inédites. Parmi ses archives privées à Édimbourg, on notera une chronique de la vie quotidienne dans le cœur du Hadramaout, entre journal personnel et œuvre historique de mémoire. Ḥabšūš et al-Ǧarādī ont servi de guide à plusieurs illustres savants et scientifiques dans différentes régions du Yémen de la fin du xix^e-début du xx^e s., un Yémen dangereux dans ses zones tribales, fatal même à Hermann Burchardt, au service de qui al-Ǧarādī était attaché, et au Consul italien Gaetano Benzoni, exécutés ensemble près de Ibb en décembre 1909. Si, note G. R. Smith, la *Ru'yā al-Yaman* a le souffle d'un journal de voyage, l'autre texte adopte le style administratif d'un rapport aux autorités. La comparaison des deux textes écrits à peu distance n'en reste pas moins extraordinairement riche du fait de l'origine sociale et communautaire des deux locuteurs qui écrivent tous deux en arabe mélangé, plutôt sanaani après étude, mais néanmoins différent de l'un à l'autre. Cette contribution au champ d'étude de l'arabe mélangé, en plein essor – avec, pour le Yémen, des travaux linguistiques et ethnomusicologiques couvrant des régions variées et les langues sud-arabiques, mais aussi littéraires et historiques sur la poésie *humaynī* ou sur les contes de tradition orale, plongeant l'étude dans des périodes antérieures au xx^e s., conduit à affiner les catégories en suggérant sa complexité. Un autre aspect intéressant du dossier est celui du lectorat en fonction de qui le langage et la narration sont ajustés, car s'il est tout trouvé dans le cas du « rapport » d'al-Ǧarādī, qui conserve un arabe mixte destiné à un cadre officiel, la question se pose de savoir pour qui Ḥabšūš a préparé un manuscrit au style si jouissif¹⁸.

¹⁶ G. R. Smith, « Robert Bertram Serjeant (1915–1993) », 1997, p. 442-443. R. B. Serjeant, G. R. Smith & R. L. Bidwell (coéd.), *New Arabian Studies* 1, 1983.

¹⁷ Pour obtenir les références complètes des publications citées dans ce paragraphe, se reporter à la bibliographie de R. B. Serjeant en ligne à l'entrée réservée à ce numéro sur la page Numéraux spéciaux des *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen*, http://www.cdmy.org/?page_id=18.

¹⁸ Pour une récente et rapide contribution à la question du désir d'être lu et du plaisir d'écrire un texte diffusé sous forme manuscrite de la part de Ḥayyim Ḥabšūš, voir A. Verskin, *A Vision of Yemen: The Tra-*

Dans sa contribution à ce volume, Mikhail Rodionov rappelle le rayonnement de l'œuvre de Serjeant, qui inspira dès son époque de nombreuses recherches consacrées au Sud Yémen et qui, peut-être, nous tourne vers l'avenir. M. Rodionov a fait partie des invités de Serjeant au Seminar for Arabian Studies à Cambridge et dans le village où il résidait en Écosse. C'est tout particulièrement la question de la tradition conjuguée, orale et écrite, en Arabie du Sud, qui a sollicité son attention dans l'œuvre de R. B. Serjeant. L'intérêt de ce dernier pour la poésie apparaît, au-delà de ses publications, dans ses archives, où, de carton en carton, surgissent des textes photocopiés de manuscrits, dactylographiés, copiés de sa main ou encore lithographiés. On citera la reproduction d'un *dīwān* lithographié de 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Ḥadramī, intitulé : *Al-waqā'i'* *fīmā ḡarā bayna Āl Tamūm wa-Yāfi'*, 176 p., imprimé en rabi¹ al-awwal 1315/juillet-août 1897 grâce aux soins d'al-Sayyid 'Alī b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Šayh Šihāb al-Dīn al-‘Alawī, à l'imprimerie Maṭba‘at K.l.z.ā.r. (Kolzār/Gulzār ?¹⁹) ḥasanī Bumba².

Suivant cette thématique, Rodionov développe toutefois un sujet seulement effleuré par R. B. Serjeant, celui de la place de l'ibādisme dans la mémoire culturelle du Hadramaout. L'influence ibādite est encore présente dans les traditions locales et dans la mémoire culturelle hadramie, i. e. au-delà du viii^e/xiii^e s. au moins, provision faite que des communautés locales ibādites aient pu ensuite survivre en secret (*kitmān*). Mais la valeur accordée à cet héritage fait l'objet de controverses âpres et serrées.

Rédigée dans un style vif et alerte, la contribution va heureusement droit au but dans la déconstruction de couches accumulées de discours, à la manière d'un essai critique à l'œuvre du réexamen interdisciplinaire de sources orales et écrites. L'anthropologie au Yémen, on le sait, peut difficilement éviter d'être une anthropologie sociale et historique : au-delà de la question de l'informateur ou du travail historiographique, l'article souligne la restratification/retribalisation, le réveil de la mémoire culturelle dans le Hadramaout du début du xx^e s. que manifesta une activité intense de publications offerte par les moyens technologiques. Surtout, M. Rodionov invite à dépasser la dichotomie oral/écrit, dans la mesure où une tradition nourrit l'autre. Le phénomène de « re-folklorisation » (*secondary folklorization*) en Arabie du Sud est un exemple de l'intrication entre oral et écrit. Oral et écrit ne sont cependant pas à mettre sur le même plan, ils jouent chacun leur rôle : la force de l'écrit est de ré-établir la tradition orale (écrits généalogiques, par ex., mais aussi publications récentes de travaux d'historiens locaux), l'énergie de l'oral colporte telle et telle version.

Ce volume réunit des amis de longue date de R. B. Serjeant tout en offrant une lucarne sur ses archives privées. Non inventorié et peu connu, inédit pour certains documents, le fonds d'archives R. B. Serjeant à Édimbourg n'a de loin pas révélé tout son

vels of a European Orientalist and His Native Guide, 2018, p. 57-58, documentées par des références aux travaux de Shlomo Dov Goitein dans les notes correspondantes.

¹⁹ Pour les années suivant 1857, à Lucknow, sont signalées les Gulzar-e Ahmadi Press et Gulzar-e Hind Press, cf. F. Orsini, *The History of the Book in South Asia*, 2013, n. 47.

potentiel. Il est à espérer que les efforts successifs entrepris par l'unité des manuscrits et livres rares (Special collections) de la Bibliothèque de l'Université d'Édimbourg débouchera sur son catalogage, sur sa numérisation et sur sa documentation. À ce titre, les *Chroniques du manuscrit au Yémen* se font volontiers l'écho d'Aline Brodin en suggérant aux auteurs qui ont utilisé ces archives de signaler leurs publications à la Bibliothèque.

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AN OVERVIEW OF THE ROBERT BERTRAM SERJEANT COLLECTIONS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH MAIN LIBRARY

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Abstract

This article is written from an archival point of view, and is meant to give a non-exhaustive overview of the book collection and archival fonds of Robert Bertram Serjeant held in the Library of the University of Edinburgh. His personal papers, in particular, are uncatalogued and not well known. The author hopes that this contribution will inform researchers on the availability of such papers, and give a sense of their contents and the challenges surrounding them.

Résumé

Cet article a pour but de donner une vue d'ensemble, non-exhaustive, de la collection de livres et du fonds d'archives de Robert Bertram Serjeant conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'Université d'Édimbourg. Les documents constituant son fonds privé, en particulier, ne sont pas inventoriés et sont relativement méconnus. L'auteure espère que cette contribution informera les chercheurs de la disponibilité de ces archives et leur donnera une idée de leurs contenus tout en présentant les différentes contraintes liées au catalogage et à la communication de ce fonds.

خلاصة

هذا المقال يعطي فكرة عامة غير شاملة عن مجموعة كتب وأرشيف الباحث روبرت بيرترام سرجنت (Robert Bertram Serjeant)، والمحفوظة في مكتبة جامعة إدنبره (Edinburgh). ويتضمن الأرشيف وثائق وأوراق الباحث الخاصة، وهي غير مفهرسة وبسبب ذلك فهي غير معروفة. أتمنى أن يساهم هذا المقال في تعريف الباحثين بقيمة هذا الأرشيف ومضمونه، وإعطاء فكرة عن صعوبة فهرسته والحصول على إذن بالاطلاع على بعض الوثائق.

Keywords

Robert Bertram Serjeant, Personal Papers, Book Collections, Archival Catalogues, History of Yemen, University of Edinburgh, Arabic Manuscripts, Arabic Linguistics

Mots-clés

Robert Bertram Serjeant, fonds privés, collections de livres, inventaires d'archives, histoire du Yémen, Université d'Édimbourg, manuscrits arabes, linguistique arabe

عبارات رئيسية

روبرت بيرترام سرجنت Robert Bertram Serjeant، مجموعة وثائق شخصية، مجموعة كتب، فهرسة أرشيف،
تاريخ اليمن، جامعة إدنبره Edinburgh، المخطوطات العربية، علم اللغة العربية

I. Introduction

The University of Edinburgh is internationally recognised as a leading centre for research on Islamic and Middle Eastern studies, and has one of the largest concentrations of expertise in Britain in this area. Arabic has been continuously taught at the University since 1880, and in 1980 the Department of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies was established through an amalgamation of the old Departments of Arabic, Turkish, and Persian (established in 1912, 1950, and 1951, respectively). In 1995, an important gift considerably enriched the Library's Islamic collections: the late Marion Serjeant donated her husband Robert Bertram Serjeant's library which consisted of some 5,000 volumes on Islam and the Yemen to the University, together with the bulk of his research papers. There is not any record explaining why they chose the University of Edinburgh; however, Robert Serjeant had a long and personal connection to the city, where he was born and where he studied. Indeed, in 1936 he graduated from Edinburgh University with a Master of Arts in Semitic Languages, having been a student of the scholar of Qur'anic studies Richard Bell (1876–1952)¹.

A project was set up to catalogue Serjeant's books, alongside with the Watt collection, which was donated a few years later. This other significant collection was composed of 1,400 volumes on Islam which had belonged to William Montgomery Watt (1909–2006)², lecturer at the University from 1947 and Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies from 1964 to 1979. The collections were catalogued in three to four years in a MARC format³ by a part-time cataloguer fluent in Arabic⁴; and the books are now searchable on the Library's catalogue DiscoverEd.⁵ Serjeant's books are kept together

¹ University of Edinburgh, *Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies—History*, 2017, <https://www.ed.ac.uk/literatures-languages-cultures/islamic-middle-eastern/about/history> [accessed 13 June 2018].

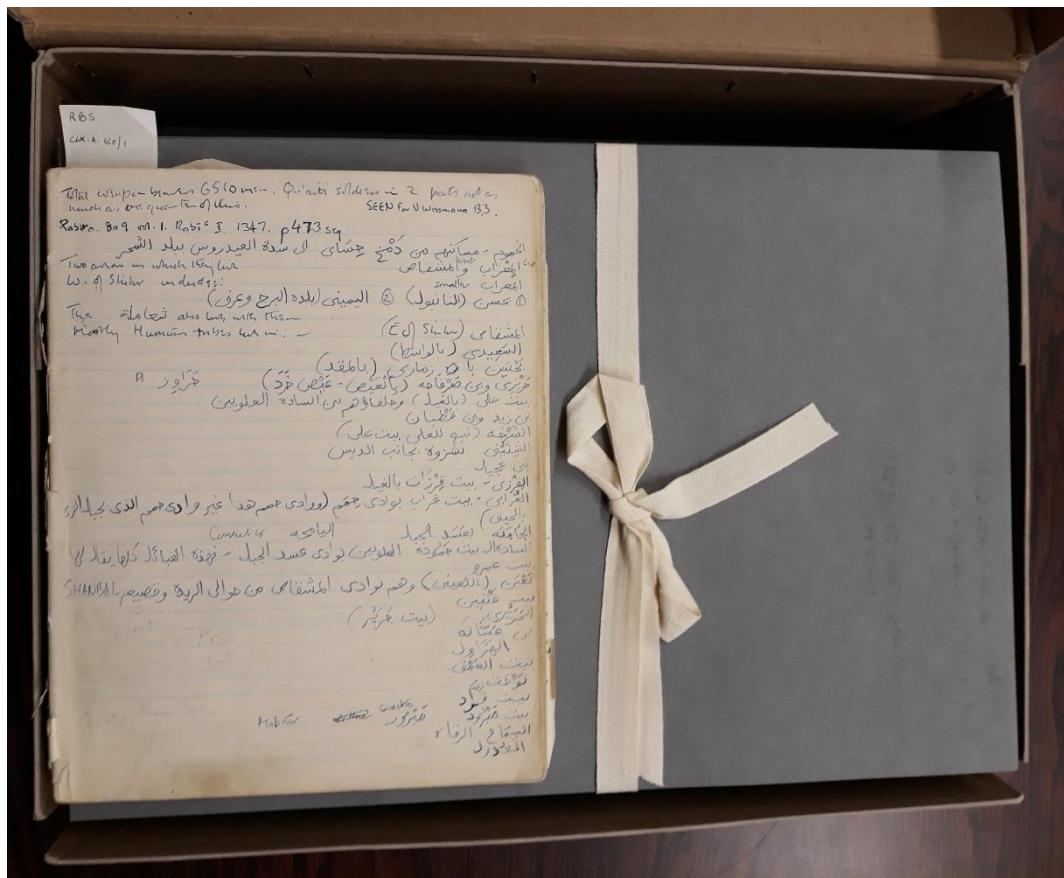
² Carole Hillenbrand (ed.), *The Life and Work of W. Montgomery Watt*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, forthcoming 2019; Richard Holloway, "William Montgomery Watt: A Christian scholar in search of Islamic understanding", *The Guardian*, 14 November 2006, <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2006/nov/14/guardianobituaries.higheducation> [accessed 14 August 2018].

³ MARC (MAchine-Readable Cataloging) standards are used by book cataloguers to code information for computer processing. It was developed for bibliographic information found in library catalogues, in order to make records readable by computers and sharable by libraries.

⁴ Janice Gailani, now Senior Library Assistant at the University of Edinburgh.

⁵ University of Edinburgh, *DiscoverEd*, 2017, <https://www.ed.ac.uk/information-services/library-museum-gallery/discovery/discovered> [accessed 13 June 2018].

as a specialist collection and mostly relate to Yemen, which is why the collection was of such interest to the University. However, there are many more general Arabic literary works and the volumes cover a wide range of subjects such as Islamic law, Islamic and medieval philosophy, the relationship between Islam and Christianity, history of the Arab world, and Arabic literature.



Ill.1. R. B. Serjeant's documents archived in a low acid box and in acid free folders.

The eleven boxes of manuscripts gifted along with the volumes are mostly composed of papers relating to Serjeant's research. They were in a state of disarray when the University received them: an excerpt from the initial review of the fonds⁶ tells us that, "it is all too clear that the material is in no order, and indeed in some considerable disorder, parts of the same item possibly being widely separated. The boxes gave all the impression of being filled by simply tipping material into them from drawers, filing cabinets, etc." Such disorder poses obvious problems in terms of accessibility and conservation. As long as a collection is not properly catalogued, an archive reposi-

⁶ This short review was done by Murray Simpson, then Special Collections Librarian, in June 1998. The resulting report was only two pages long, and was merely advising on the next steps of action.

tory cannot guarantee easy access. Archivists need to know what is in a collection to be able not only to advise users, but also to allow or restrict access according to data protection legislation. Cataloguing requires a great deal of resources: professional expertise, archival supplies, and, most importantly, time. A basic “top-level description” was created in 2007 by Assistant Librarian Graeme Eddie to make the collection visible on the online catalogue.⁷ This description consisted mainly of an incomplete inventory of the papers, some elements of physical description, and relevant indexing terms. This resource was useful, however it was not a proper archival catalogue—the papers needed in particular to be arranged and contextualised. Therefore, a survey and a complete listing were necessary to gain a better intellectual and physical control of the fonds, and prepare it for future projects.

After a more detailed review of Serjeant’s papers done in March-May 2018 by the author of the article, Cataloguing Archivist at the Special Collections of the University, it became clear that disarray was not the only barrier to cataloguing and thus to accessing the collection. Several other issues were noted: firstly, it was obvious that the housing was unsuitable for archival material, and that the files were in dire need of sorting and appraisal. Secondly, there was very little contextual information on the collection as a whole and on the different documents, all the more so that it is now impossible to contact the original creator and donor for more details.⁸ Thirdly, it became apparent that it would be extremely difficult to catalogue the fonds accurately and exhaustively without any specialist knowledge and fluency in Arabic. Finally, many files contain sensitive information on living individuals and thus are subject to Data Protection legislation, which means that some sections will have to be completely closed to the general public.

Knowledge of a particular field or topic is extremely useful to catalogue a fonds, however an archivist cannot be an expert on every subject. Therefore, researching the life, career, and bibliography of the creator of a fonds is essential before cataloguing certain specialist collections. It is of course more difficult when the original order has been lost, and when there is little contextual information on the files and no inventory or explicative notes produced by the creator(s) themselves. This is the case for Serjeant’s fonds, which will require a solid knowledge of Arabic linguistics and literature, as well as of the history of Yemen and South Arabia in general. Half of the collection consists of untitled files with hundreds of loose notes in Arabic and in English (typed as well as manuscript), with no context, seemingly no beginning and no end, seldom a

⁷ University of Edinburgh, *Papers of Professor Robert Bertram Serjeant*, Coll-1062, 2007 (last updated in 2018), in: <https://archives.collections.ed.ac.uk/repositories/2/resources/537> [accessed 26/07/2018].

⁸ Robert passed away in 1993, and his wife Marion in 2013. See “Obituaries”, *British-Yemeni Society Journal* 21, 2013, p. 64, in:

<http://b-ys.org.uk/sites/default/files/documents/BYSJ%202013%2CThe%20British%20Yemeni%20Society.pdf> [accessed 18 June 2018].

date, and no order inside the files themselves. The subjects are very varied and it is sometimes hard to know who the author of these notes is.

II. A first inventory: main categories

Once research had been done, the author of this article was able to produce an informed and meaningful inventory. This step consists in identifying and describing files or items one by one, in the order in which they are found. This is also the opportunity to ensure the fragile papers will not degrade over time by removing metal paperclips and placing the documents in suitable containers and folders, that is to say custom-made low acid boxes and acid-free folders, as opposed to acidic folders which are commonly used in everyday life. This process was carried out over the course of three months in March, April and May 2018, at the same time as the inventory.

Re-housing and making an inventory enable the processor to review the contents of a collection and to establish rough series. The Serjeant papers could be divided in four main categories:

- Papers relating to academic research, containing Serjeant's own research notes, copies of articles and talks, newspaper clippings, reports, drafts, theses, and correspondence relating to publications.
- Files containing typed and manuscript notes on the political and military situation in Yemen in 1960s, supposedly from what Serjeant heard and read in news sources, and through his informants on the field.
- Photocopies of Arabic manuscripts from various libraries around the world; a small number of them annotated by Serjeant.
- Hundreds of newspaper copies (mainly *The Times*) relating to the Arabic and Islamic world.

III. A first inventory: going into more detail

1. The first category: research papers

The first category, which we will call “research papers”, is the most significant part of the collection, representing fifty-one files out of a total of one-hundred and twenty-two. It is composed of papers dating from 1949 to 1995 linked to Serjeant's academic career and production. Beyond this, the contents of this section are quite varied: it includes original documents such as notebooks with Serjeant's own manuscript notes in Arabic and English, many loose research notes on various subjects, a file containing typed handouts from a “ten week Aden Colloquial Arabic Course”, typescript talks and reports relating to seminars in Islamic studies, chronologies, and a small amount of correspondence between Serjeant and other academics.

Covered subjects relate to linguistics, literature, ethnology, religion and sociology mostly in Yemen and in particular in Aden. Examples of files include a folder containing documents on the ‘Awdalī Treaty and ‘Awdalī tribe, Serjeant's Arabic manu-

script transcription of *Kitāb al-tabyīn fī al-man*, a typed list with handwritten annotations entitled “Fish and fisheries” in Yemen⁹, notes on “Hadrami and Yemeni merchants” and on “Qādī Ismā‘il al-Akwa‘—unpublished proverbs”, a notebook entitled “Disputation between Qat and Coffee” by Ahmād b. Muḥammad al-Mu‘allimī, one folder of correspondence and documents relating to the publication of an *Encyclopaedia of Arab Maghreb*, some correspondence and notes relating to Arabic manuscripts about magic, etc. Most of the files in this section of the collection are open to the public as they do not contain any sensitive data on identifiable individuals, however some sorting and appraisal work still needs to be done.

2. The second category: political notes

The second series, temporarily entitled “political notes”, represents twenty files out of one-hundred and twenty-two, and is one of the most intriguing sections of Serjeant’s papers. It mostly consists of hastily typed notes and extracts from broadcast and newspapers with very little context. It is sometimes difficult to know who produced these notes—presumably Serjeant, but how to be sure when it is typed and when it is impossible to recognise his handwriting? In any case, it would appear that Serjeant paid close attention to the events that were unfurling in Yemen in the 1960s, during the North Yemen Civil War. It would make sense to assume he was either the author or the recipient of these notes, especially since it is known that it was not uncommon for him to have informants on the field¹⁰. One loose note actually states the following:

My informants have been largely Royalists—but in the Royalist Yemen there is a great deal of free plain speech and plenty of criticism, both of what is happening at the moment, and of the faults of the old regime even by those most loyal to it. [...] I have however had informants actually on the Republican side or those who have defected from it to save their lives. I have discussed the situation with Adenese hostile to the Imamate, and convinced Republicans. I have also talked to Egyptians [...]. From the deserters or prisoners I have also been able to form some conception of how the Egyptians regard matters.

(Redacted for Data Protection purposes. Temporary reference: *Papers of Professor Robert Bertram Serjeant, 1940-1997*, “Loose notes on Yemen War” [folder], Coll-1067 box 9. Edinburgh University Library).

The contents include, but are not limited to: detailed accounts of the events of the war (almost day-by-day), excerpts of interviews of ousted President ‘Abd Allāh al-

⁹ See the article by Philippe Provençal in this volume.

¹⁰ Gerald Rex Smith, “Obituary: Professor Robert Serjeant”, *The Independent*, 12 May 1993, in: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/obituary-professor-robert-serjeant-2322421.html> [accessed 13 June 2018].

Sallāl (d. 1994),¹¹ typescripts, notes, correspondence sent to Serjeant, testimonies of people involved in the wars in Yemen in the 1960s, extracts from contemporary newspapers, reports, and minutes of meetings at the Foreign Office. It also includes loose notes on a wide variety of subjects such as the links between Yemen, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia in the early 1960s, the 1962 *coup d'état* and Egyptian involvement, the use of poison gas by Nasser, Egyptian strikes, American involvement, and others. More generally, the notes contain comments on the religious, social, military, and political situation in Yemen in the 1960s, and on the events of the war in 1967.

Most of these files contain information which can be classified as “sensitive” according to Data Protection legislation, on named individuals who may still be alive today. In these instances, guidance prescribes that archival document be closed for 75 years (100 years if the individual was a minor at the times of the facts). Most files will therefore not be open to the public before 2045, with a few exceptions such as excerpts of newspapers and transcripts of broadcast. Some other files contain historical facts already widely known but also contain information classified as personal data, and will only require the reader to sign a Data Protection form. The presence of Arabic in the collection poses an additional problem regarding Data Protection: a non-Arabic speaker will not be able to identify potentially sensitive personal information. This is why specialist skills are needed to catalogue the collection.

3. The third and fourth categories: facsimiles of Arabic manuscripts, and newspapers issues

The third section represents roughly thirty files, and is composed of facsimiles of Arabic manuscripts, which can be divided in three types:

- a. copies of clearly identifiable manuscripts,
- b. copies of unidentified manuscripts,
- c. and copies of manuscripts with handwritten annotations.

These three categories will be treated differently by an archivist.

a. The first one covers facsimiles of manuscripts with a title and/or a reference and a provenance, which makes it simple to identify and locate. An example would be the Arabic manuscript bearing the reference “Arabe 6738” and the stamp of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), enabling us to identify it as the *Kitāb wasāyā al-mulūk wa-abnā al-mulūk fī walad Qaḥṭān b. Hūd al-nabī* kept at the BnF in Paris. These

¹¹ Cf. Robert D. Burrowes, “Al-Sallal, President Abdullah”, and “Al-Sallal Regime and Era”, *Historical Dictionary of Yemen*, Lanham (Md.)/London, Scarecrow Press, ser. “Asian Historical Dictionaries”, 17, 1995 [1st imp.], pp. 319–320, and 320–322.

copies can generally be disposed of, especially if they are easy to access and made available online, as it is the case for this manuscript¹².

b. The second category consists of facsimiles of manuscripts which cannot be easily identified, with no title and no provenance. Those need to be seen by an expert in Arabic manuscripts to be identified. They cannot be disposed of as they may be rare, or very difficult to access. For example, a manuscript copy bears the handwritten note “Cairo Gen.2AH/CUR, T-S Arabic 39-345”, a shelf-mark of the Taylor-Schechter collection in Cambridge¹³.

c. Finally, we find facsimiles of manuscripts which may or may not be accessible elsewhere, but which contain handwritten notes and comments added by Serjeant himself. When this is the case, the copy becomes an original document and thus has to be kept as an archival item. We have for instance a copy of a manuscript of Bā Ṣabrayn, and a manuscript identified by a note merely stating “Anonymous”.

Lastly, two boxes of the Serjeant’s fonds contain newspapers issues dating from 1951 to 1982: seventy issues of *The Times* (mainly special reports on countries and subjects relating to the Middle East and the Muslim World, from 31 July 1951 to 1 June 1982); four issues of *The Scotsman* on Algeria (28 November 1978) and Saudi Arabia (1 November 1977); single issues of the *Daily Express* (1966), the *Observer Review* on The Shah (1975), and the *Financial Times* on Oman (1977), as well as an issue of *New Society Magazine* containing an article by Serjeant entitled “Yemen Letter—The King’s Story” (27 August 1964; ill. 4); Arabic newspapers: *Al-Falaq* (The Dawn 12 December 1956, 23 January 1957, and 7 August 1966), the *Saudi Gazette* (26 November 1977), the *Times* of Oman (6 November 1980), the *Aden Chronicle* (21 April 1960), and a small number of others entirely in Arabic. Additionally this section contains many newspaper clippings from 1962 to 1967, including a few on archaeologist and oilman Wendell Phillips (1921–1975).¹⁴

For this section, sorting and appraisal will have to take place as well: the cataloguer will dispose of newspapers which are easily available elsewhere. As a rule, while cataloguing a collection, archivists do not keep reproductions of material where the original exists (except when annotated), published articles and books (except when annotated), duplicates, scraps or scribbled notes with no context. However, it is im-

¹² “Kitab wasaya al-moulouk wa abna al-moulouk min aulad al-malik Kahtan ibn Houd al-nabi, les commandements des rois des Arabes antéislamiques de la race de Kahtan, fils du prophète Houd” (952 AH) [manuscript] Arabe 6738, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, in: <http://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc336910> [accessed 7 June 2013].

¹³ See Colin F. Baker & Meira Polliack, *Arabic and Judaeo-Arabic manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah collections. Arabic Old series, T-S Ar. 1a-54*, Cambridge (UK), Cambridge University Press, 2001, p. 340, ‘poetic expression, possibly part of a draft letter’.

¹⁴ W. M. Freeman, “Wendell Phillips, Oilman-Archeologist”, *The New York Times*, 5 December 1975, <https://www.nytimes.com/1975/12/05/archives/wendell-phillips-oilmanarcheologist-the-american-lawrence.html> [accessed 14 August 2018].

portant to make a list of everything that was disposed of so that researchers are aware it was included in the collection. The newspapers that are not easily available elsewhere and that are valuable for research will not only be kept, but will also receive priority for digitising.

III.2a. *Al-Falaq* 12 December 1956, recto.



Ill.2b. *Al-Falaq* 12 December 1956, verso.

Ill.3a. *Al-Falaq* 23 January 1957, recto.

III.3b. *Al-Falaq* 23 January 1957, verso.

YEMEN LETTER
The king's story

Despite the 1962 coup, in which it first appeared that the royal houses had been ousted, the Yemen is now a country where two rival regimes coexist: Republican and Royalist. The coup, presented to the world as a liberal revolution, was a military conspiracy of army officers with the collaboration of the military college at San'a, its Egyptian instructors and its pupils, who appear to have been anti-tribal, town boys. In contrast, also within the United Arab Republic Embassy, Sallal (now Republican President, then an army officer) had arranged that Egyptian troops should land in the Yemen in support of a revolt against Imam Ahmad. Subverted Yemeni troops were posted to Hodeida, the chief port, to meet the Egyptians, and communications experts already in the Yemen, especially those at Hodeida, worked with the Egyptians. In the early days of the Republican, Russian pilots flew planes on the Egyptian side.

With the plotters poised for action, Imam Ahmad forestalled them by dying. His son, al Badr, to whom allegiance was sworn by the army, then became the new Imam (Caliph and doctor of law), including some of the revolutionaries, proclaimed immediately on succession his intention to rule in a different manner from his father. But his promise of reform and a rule more akin to a limited monarchy did not stop the military conspirators. They attempted to assassinate him. When this miscarried they attacked him again.

Al Badr told me the story of his escape himself. Smuggled out of San'a through a sympathetic but stupefied populace, with tanks searching the streets for him, he made for northern pro-Royalist tribes. Men joined him at every village but their weapons and ammunition were pitifully few. (Ironically pursued by planes flying Russians and Egyptians who had sought to conceal that he still lived, al Badr and his men were frequently strafed. Al Badr once narrowly escaped death when his tent was hit, but they reached the Saudi frontier.

How the Royalists made their comeback in the Yemen I am still uncertain, but the evidence before my eyes showed that the

Egyptians had advanced well on their way to Najran on the eastern Saudi border. The result of their designs on Saudi Arabia's oil riches. However, with arms and supplies which must have come through Saudi Arabia, the Royalists thrust back the Egyptians until, about the end of last year, they were in a favourable position—despite their total lack of tanks, armoured vehicles and planes, and with only a few infiltrators in the bosom of anti-Royalist propaganda, against them.

Royalist-held Yemen is a theocratic state in concept. The ruling dynasty belongs to the Shi'ite branch of Islam and holds that the Imam (king) must be filled by a properly qualified descendant of the Prophet Muhammad. The population of the southern, more mountainous part of the Yemen is Shi'ite (the sect known as Zaydi), the southern part belongs to the rival Sunnite branch (the Shafi'i sect), but there is little practical difference between the two sects, and the leader of prayer may belong to either. None in principle does the Imam's avowedly Imamic or Prophetic House, which they also reverence. But they would not concur that the Imam must be of the Prophet's House and no other, while many resent the privileges arrogated to themselves by the Prophet's numerous descendants.

The true difference between Zaydi and Shafi'i lies between the former wild tribes of the high mountains and the less warlike tribes of the unarmed cultivators of the Lower Yemen, along with the mixed peoples (negroid in part) of the coastal Tihama plain. The Shafi'i complained they were dominated and oppressed by the Imam's Zaydi troops and officials and wished to participate more fully in the government. They also demanded that malpractices in customs and taxation should be removed. Under President Sallal's Republican government this has not been done and additional taxes have been introduced.

The map shows the tribal areas of the Zaydi tribes, the most important political element and bulk of the population, can never be ruled by a single ruler. Hence a despotic "market boy" to rule and mediate between them in place of a noble of the Prophet's House whose proper function they think this is. Sallal was brought up as a member of the Zaydi sect but is said to have little religion (in a country where traditional Islam is strong) and his lowly origin helps to explain his hostility to the Salafis—the religious leaders of the Upper Yemen. Hence who traditionally provide Yemen's scholars, writers, theologians and administrators. The Republicans have butchered them wholesale, threatening their bodies down the wells of San'a.

Republican supporters likewise are "children of the market": merchants, small traders, shopkeepers, bankers, etc. The Hadramiyyah district of the Lower Yemen, which supplies much of the floating labour of Aden, is also pro-Republican. On the other hand the general population of San'a and Hodeida are hostile to the Egyptians and their Yemeni collaborators.

The present Sallal government contains only two members of the Salafi sect, while others, like the late Imam Ahmad, Part of the Hashid tribe, normally defenders of the Imams, is hostile to the Royalists because Ahmad executed two Hashid chiefs, so that a blood feud with Ahmad's heir, al Badr, remains. With some of the tribes, however, money can affect loyalty and it is believed that the £10 million the Russians gave Sallal for industrial development is being drawn on to buy the temporary loyalty of such tribes

approximately 55 per cent of the population, the Shafi'i is at 45 per cent.

I found the fighting tribes of the Imam to be fanatically religious. They claim from what they call "Pharonic colonisation" They also feel a strong repugnance to Nasserite socialism. My many enquiries convince me that most of the Yemeni are on their side. The Republican regime is largely discredited and finds sympathy—helped on by radio propaganda—mainly outside the Yemen in Aden and its districts. Whilst the general Yemeni tribal rising to expel the invaders is fear that Russian planes will arrive. Even this does not stop a number of important tribes from active support of the Imam. Such tribes as the Abidah, having lost everything, are ready to go into battle whenever the opportunity offers.

Some months ago the Egyptians held only certain strongpoints, towns, and main roads during daytime. But their fighting technique has altered and they use a screen of Republicans, mostly from the Lower Yemen, to cover their movements. There is little rest between these sweeps across Egypt. The Royalists have had some gains, notably at Jabal Miswar where the Royalists had to go into battle with only 10 rounds per man as a result of the arms supply situation. However, the campaign is not a question of simply holding lines. The Royalists have been firing into San'a well inside the Egyptian lines of strongpoints. The Royalists keep in good heart and confident in the justice of their cause. The ultimate outcome of their struggle cannot be foretold, but with air parity, not entirely an impossibility, the Egyptian occupation would not last long. With their departure the Republic would lose its main prop.

As far as Aden consists of numerous tribal units, communities, and towns loosely united under the centralized authority of the Imam, so British influence gives some coherence to the Aden Protectorates. Thirty years ago the hundreds of small units, normally warring with each other, closed the country to develop a central government. This movement by a mixture of persuasion, financial aid, and in the last resort force, has created a limited number of centrally administered districts. The policy of federating these districts, including Aden colony, has now been introduced.

Just criticisms may be made of government policy, but in 25 years I have witnessed improvements in the standard of living, prosperity, and health. Health certainly, nutrition possibly, are of higher standard than in Egyptian villages. The social structure resembles that of the Yemen, but one state only has a ruler of the Prophet's House. The ruler has been described as "eccentric and fanatical". They have their virtues and their undeniable shortcomings. But the social structure of the country ensures the freedom of the tribespeople, even a kind of democracy, and there is freedom of speech.

The salaritans undergo incursions by "dissidents". At a meeting with these dissidents some months ago the Egyptian commander-in-chief in the Yemen promised to supply them with arms, warning them that neither Egyptian planes nor troops would attack the Protectorates, but once the dissidents took action, Egypt would attack Britain through them at the United Nations. The Aden authorities and the Yemen Royalists have the same opponent.

R. B. Serjeant

Ill.4 Article by Serjeant, "Yemen Letter—The King's Story",
New Society Magazine 27 August 1964 © New Statesman.¹⁵

IV. A future cataloguing project?

With the work done so far on the fonds, the foundations are laid for a cataloguing project. There is now an inventory in addition to the existing top-level description¹⁶ produced in 2007, and the papers have been now properly re-housed.

To complete the cataloguing process, one would still need to appraise and arrange the papers, to create a description of each archival unit, and to number the

¹⁵ Many thanks to the New Statesman for granting permission to reproduce the article.

¹⁶ University of Edinburgh, *Papers of Professor Robert Bertram Serjeant*, Coll-1062, 2007, (last updated in 2018), in: <https://archives.collections.ed.ac.uk/repositories/2/resources/537> [accessed 26 July 2018].

items to produce a functional catalogue. The box-list is relatively detailed, but most files need to be seen by someone who knows Arabic, and who has the time and skills to do some in-depth research on Serjeant and his publications to be able to understand and contextualise each file. They would also need to identify each manuscript to make a decision regarding appraisal. Finally, they would include in the catalogue a bibliography of any publication about or based on the use, study, or analysis of the papers, *and therefore the author of this article invites any author of such publication to contact her¹⁷* if they wish to see their work listed in the publication note of the online resource.

As a conclusion, the Serjeant fonds is a complex collection for a number of reasons, and a project to catalogue it in details would require either an archivist with specialist skills, or a research student working under supervision within a solid professional framework. As it now stands, significant parts of the collection are available for consultation at the Centre for Research Collections¹⁸.

¹⁷ You can contact her at the following email address: Aline.Brodin@ed.ac.uk.

¹⁸ More details, including practical visitor information, can be found on the CRC webpage: <https://www.ed.ac.uk/information-services/library-museum-gallery/crc>

THREE MEDIEVAL MOSQUES IN THE YEMEN: ARCHITECTURE, ART, AND SOURCES

Ronald B. Lewcock¹

(UNESCO consultant on architecture in the Yemen)

Abstract

Three mosques were designed and built during the Rasūlid dynasty (628/1229–859/1454) in Ta‘izz. They are the Ġāmi‘ al-Muẓaffar, which remains the town’s Friday Mosque (late 7th/late 13th c.), al-Ašrafiyya (7th–8th/13th–14th c.) and Mu‘tabiyya (late 8th–early 9th/late 14th–15th c.). The article introduces their architecture and decoration, and concludes with a discussion of the origins of the decoration of the domes of two of the mosques. It is followed by a contribution on the restoration work, led by an Italian team from the Social Fund for Development & the Istituto Veneto per i Beni Culturali, which was carried out on the al-Ašrafiyya Mosque and Madrasa during 2003–2004.

Résumé

Les trois mosquées décrites dans cet article furent conçues et construites sous la dynastie rasoulide (628/1229–859/1454) à Taez : il s’agit de la mosquée Ġāmi‘ al-Muẓaffar, qui demeure la mosquée du vendredi pour la ville (fin vii^e/fin xiii^e s.), al-Ašrafiyya (vii^e–viii^e/xiii^e–xiv^e s.) et Mu‘tabiyya (fin viii^e–début ix^e/fin xiv^e–xv^e c.). L’article présente leur architecture ainsi que leur décoration et se clôt sur une discussion au sujet des origines de la décoration des dômes de deux des trois mosquées. Il est suivi par une contribution sur la restauration de la mosquée et de la Madrasa al-Ašrafiyya par une équipe italienne.

خلاصة

تم تصميم وبناء المساجد الثلاثة في مدينة تعز خلال عصر الدولة الرسوليين (628/1229–859/1454) وهي : جامع المظفر، الذي لا يزال جامعاً صلاة الجمعة للمدينة (أواخر القرن السابع الهجري/أواخر القرن الثالث عشر الميلادي)، والأشرفية (أواخر القرن السابع–أوائل الثامن الهجري/الثالث عشر–الرابع عشر الميلادي)، والمعتبية (أواخر القرن الثامن وبداية التاسع/أواخر القرن الرابع عشر وبداية القرن الخامس عشر)، ويعطي المقال معلومات عن هندستها

¹ From 1974 to 1985, Professor Lewcock was a Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge. From 1894 to 1992, Aga Khan Professor of Islamic Architecture at M.I.T. From 1976 onwards he is a UNESCO consultant on architecture in the Yemen. This article first appeared as follows: 1. R. B. Lewcock & G. R. Smith, "Three Medieval Mosques in the Yemen", Parts I and II, 1974, with additional pictures; 2. R. B. Lewcock, "The Painted Dome of the Ashrafiyya in Ta‘izz Yemen", in: R. Bidwell & G. R. Smith (eds.), *Arabian and Islamic Studies: Articles presented to R. B. Serjeant*, 1983, with additional pictures. A contribution by Italian restorers completes the article. "Three Medieval Mosques in the Yemen. Part 1", includes collaboration by Ernesta Marchand († 2013, Asian Art Historian), Dr. Hugh Shire (former Assistant Honorary Secretary of the Oriental Ceramic Society), and Norah Titley (Asian Art Historian).

وزارتها، وفي الأخير يناقش أصول زخرفة قباب جامعين من الجامع الثلاثة، ويتبع المقال تقرير على إعادة ترميم الجامع والمدرسة الأشرفية تحت إشراف فريق إيطالي.

Keywords

Yemen, Ta'izz, architecture, painted dome, Rasūlids, Saladin, Fātimids, Ayyūbids, mosque, Ğāmi‘ al-Muẓaffar, al-Ašrafiyya, Mu'tabiyya, madrasa, mihrāb, Turkomans, Egyptians, *nashī*, šamsiyā, muqaddam, maṭhara, maṭāhir, minaret, *turba*, Hispano-Moorish, Indian Islamic, Anatolian Selġūqs, Mamlūks, arabesque

Mots-clés

Yémen, Taez, architecture, décors peints, Rassoulides, Saladin, Fatimides, Ayyoubides, mosquée, Ğāmi‘ al-Muẓaffar, al-Ašrafiyya, al-Mu'tabiyya, madrasa, mihrāb, turc, égyptien, *nashī*, šamsiyā, muqaddam, maṭhara, maṭāhir, minaret, *turba*, hispano-morisque, indien islamique, anatolien seljoukide, mamlouk, arabesque

عبارات رئيسية

اليمن، تعز، العمارة، الزخارف المصورة، بنو رسول، صلاح الدين، الفاطميون، الأيوبيون، جامع، جامع المظفر، الأشرفية، المعتبية، مدرسة، المحراب، التركانية، المصرية، خط النسخ، الشميسية، مقدم، مطهرة، مظاهر، المنارة، طربة، حسباني-معاري، هندي-إسلامي، الأناضول، السلجوقى، المملوكى، أراغيسك

1. Three Medieval Mosques in the Yemen

Ronal B. Lewcock & G. Rex Smith

Part 1

During the summer of 1972 the authors made a detailed study of five early and medieval mosques in the Yemen Arab Republic. The two early mosques have already been published.² The purpose of these articles is to present a report on the three medieval mosques, all belonging to the Rasūlid dynasty (628/1229–859/1454). As in the study of the two early mosques, it must be stressed that this is a preliminary report. It is hoped that further visits to the country will be made by the authors and that eventually a comprehensive study of the most important of the early and medieval mosques of the Yemen will be produced.

² R. B. Lewcock & G. R. Smith, "Two early mosques in the Yemen", 1973.

In the 7th/13th, 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries the Rasūlids controlled much of the historical area of the Yemen—the present-day Yemen Arab Republic, the area of ‘Asīr to the north, now part of Saudi Arabia, and the People’s Democratic Republic of the Yemen. All three mosques under discussion are situated within the old walls of Ta‘izz, which is the main town in the south of the country and 120 miles south of the capital, Ṣan‘ā’.

Historical background

The Rasūlids themselves were adamant that they were of pure Arab stock; they produced a genealogical line running right back to Qaḥṭān, the traditional father of the South Arabians.³ One of their ancestors, they affirmed, had migrated into the land of the Turkomans, had married into the local population; thus the family had eventually lost its Arab identity and no longer spoke Arabic. One of them, a certain Muḥammad b. Hārūn, sometime during the period 531/1136–567/1170, found favour with either al-Muqtāfi or al-Muṣṭanḡid, the two ‘Abbāsid caliphs, and was employed as his confidential envoy (*rasūl*). He thus acquired the nickname Rasūl and was later to pass on this name to the dynasty. Rasūl travelled widely and finally settled in Egypt, where, after the fall of the Fāṭimid caliphate in 567/1171, he and his relatives came to the notice of the new Ayyūbid rulers under Saladin. It is clear that the Rasūlids’ Arab pedigree was questioned from earliest times and it may well be that they were in fact Turkomans and fabricated their Arab genealogy.⁴

There were two expeditions from Egypt into the Yemen led by brothers of Saladin, one in 569/1173 and later in 579/1183. Our primary sources differ in their accounts of the entry into the Yemen of a number of Rasūlid amirs. Some⁵ say they entered with the first Ayyūbid expedition under Tūrānshāh b. Ayyūb, others⁶ that they were in the train of the leader of the second, Tuğtakīn b. Ayyūb. The most important of these amirs were Badr al-Dīn Ḥasan and Nūr al-Dīn ‘Umar (the future first Rasūlid sultan) who quickly rose to prominence during the period of Ayyūbid rule in the Yemen (569/1173–627/1229) and were fief holders, the former holding, Ṣan‘ā’ and the latter Mecca.⁷

In 627/1229 the last Ayyūbid sultan in the Yemen, al-Mas‘ūd Yūsuf, left to take up the appointment of governor of Damascus. Finding none of the Ayyūbid amirs will-

³ Cf. al-Sultān al-Malik al-Āshraf ‘Umar b. Yūsuf, *Turfat al-aṣḥāb*, 1949, pp. 88–92; ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan al-Ḥazraḡī, *Kitāb al-‘uqūd al-lu’lu’iyya fi tārīḥ al-dawla al-rasūliyya*, 1913, vol. 4, p. 27; W. Caskel, *Gamharat an-Nasab das Genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, 1966, vol. 1, Tables 176, 193.

⁴ For these events cf. Ismā‘īl b. al-‘Abbās Abū al-‘Abbās, *Fākihat al-zaman*, f. 96a; al-Ḥazraḡī, *Tārīḥ al-kifāya wa-al-i‘lām*, f. 139; al-Ḥazraḡī, *Uqūd*, 1913, vol. 4, pp. 27–28; ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Alī Ibn al-Dayba‘, *Qurrat al-‘uyūn*, ff. 58a–58b; Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim, *Ǧāyat al-amānī*, 1968, vol. 1, pp. 418–419.

⁵ E. g. al-Ḥazraḡī, *Uqūd*, 1913, vol. 4, p. 18.

⁶ Al-Ḥazraḡī, *Kifāya*, p. 138; Ibn al-Dayba‘, *Qurrat*, f. 58b.

⁷ Cf. Muḥammad b. Ḥātim, *Kitāb al-simṭ*, f. 35b, f. 38b.

ing to act as his *nā’ib*, al-Mas‘ūd was compelled to hand over to Nūr al-Dīn ‘Umar, but only, it was made clear, until an official Ayyūbid replacement should arrive in the Yemen. Al-Mas‘ūd died on his way northwards in Mecca and no Ayyūbid was ever to set foot in the Yemen again.⁸ Feigning loyalty to the Ayyūbid house, Nūr al-Dīn ‘Umar continued as *nā’ib* at first, but in 633/1235, having received an official diploma from the ‘Abbāsid caliph, al-Mustanṣir, he declared an independent Rasūlid régime in the Yemen and gave himself the title of al-Malik al-Manṣūr.⁹

Upon his death in 647/1249, al-Manṣūr ‘Umar was succeeded as sultan by his son, al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf (647/1249–694/1295) who was responsible for building the first of the three mosques under study here.

Ḩāmi‘ al-Muẓaffar

This is the usual name given to the building by the people of Ta‘izz today, and it remains the town’s Friday mosque (*ǧāmi‘*). On more than one occasion, however, the name al-Muẓaffariyya was heard; certainly the building was originally erected as a *madrasa*-mosque (al-Madrasa al-Muẓaffariyya), a fact attested both in the histories¹⁰ and in an inscription on the eastern outer wall of the structure. There is today no sign of the usual trappings of a *madrasa*, students’ rooms, classrooms etc., but part of the mosque was destroyed in 1962 when the minaret fell on it. This was incidentally just a few weeks before the revolution which ousted the Imam and the Ḥamīd al-Dīn family from the Yemen!

This mosque is dated therefore between the years 647/1249 and 694/1295, though neither the historical sources nor the inscription mentioned above give the exact date of construction.

⁸ Ibn Ḥātim, *Simṭ*, f. 42a; al-Ḥazraqī, *Uqūd*, 1913, vol. 4, p. 37. Al-Ḥazraqī, in the latter, had a different, though less convincing, account; cf. G. R. Smith, “The Ayyūbids and Rasūlids”, 1969.

⁹ Al-Ḥazraqī, *Uqūd*, 1913, vol. 4, p. 54.

¹⁰ Al-Ḥazraqī, *Uqūd*, 1913, vol. 4, p. 276.

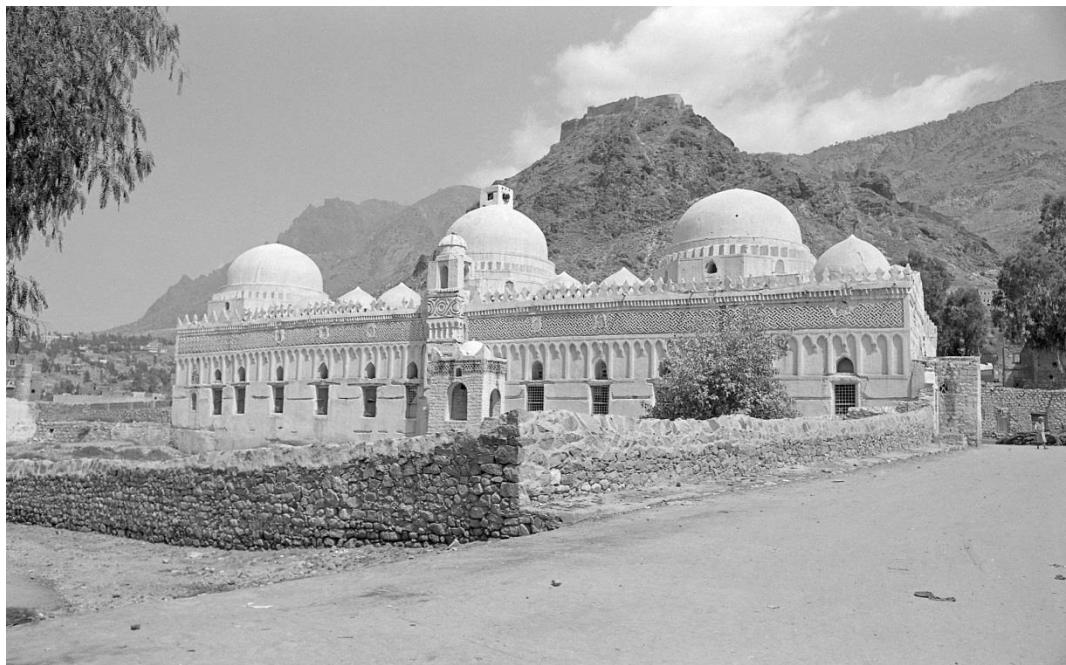
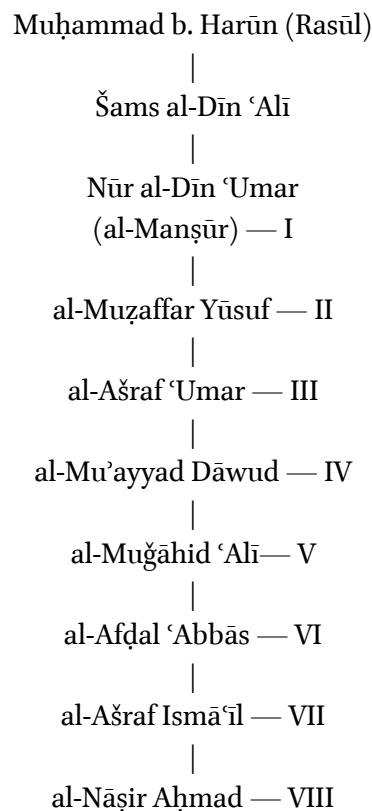


Plate 1. Ta'izz. Ġāmi' al-Muẓaffar seen from the north.

Fig. 1. Genealogical table of the early Rāsūlid sultans.



The architecture of the Šāmi‘ al-Mužaffar

The north face of the Šāmi‘ al-Mužaffar, the *qibla* wall, is approximately 53 metres long and it is approximately 10.5 metres high to the top of the cresting (Plate 1). The *mihrāb* projects almost exactly in the centre (Fig. 2). A number of features which are discussed below suggest that this wall may be of great age, while most of the mosque represents changes and rebuildings on a number of occasions.

Behind the *qibla* wall rise three large domes, but these are not equally disposed, apparently because the porch on the west, which protrudes into the plan, was already in existence when they were built; this necessitated setting the large western dome one bay nearer the centre than the eastern one. The result is that there are three pairs of flanking domes between the central and eastern large domes, and only two pairs on the western side, with an extra single flanking dome in the last small bay on the north western corner. All three large domes are the same size, approximately 7 metres in diameter, while the flanking domes average 2.8 metres in diameter. On the eastern side a porch projects from the main structure to duplicate the function of the western porch already mentioned (Plate 2).

Behind the front section of the praying hall there are two other longitudinal bays, both considerably wider and covered with flat roofs on heavy beams. Two ranges of arches cut from thick walls run transversely to support the roofs. In these two bays the total width of the mosque is increased by the depth of the eastern porch, suggesting, perhaps, that they are later additions. Although the eastern part of the southern-most praying hall bay has been completely rebuilt since the minaret fell in 1962, it is possible to conclude from the remainder that these two rear bays were built piece-meal, incorporating older work. But because the Šāmi‘ al-Mužaffar, like the other two mosques described below, is a sacred building in continuous use, it was not possible to obtain permission to explore the building systematically below the finished plaster surfaces.

On the central axis behind the praying hall lies a small courtyard. It is surrounded on the east, south and west by an arcade roofed with domes, three large on the west, one large one on the east, and four small lower domes on the south.

On the west of the courtyard is a small extension of the praying hall comprising two bays of three arches each. The areas to the east and south of the courtyard were both largely destroyed when the minaret fell and have since been completely demolished and rebuilt. The only extant evidence of what was there before are a few photographs taken at roof level, from which it is possible to see that the minaret stood at the south east corner of the courtyard, but outside its enclosing wall (Plate 3). There was a larger courtyard to the south, filled with ablution pools, according to verbal accounts. On the south and east of this courtyard there were lower buildings housing the Madrasa.

The minaret was a splendid tower of five storeys. A square base rose approximately 12 metres, and was surmounted by an octagonal storey of about 8 metres, then a smaller octagonal storey of 5 metres, carrying the main platform from which the mu-

ezzin called the prayer. Above this was a smaller octagonal base, then a circular top storey crowned with a smooth dome.

Blind arcading in thick plaster characterizes the decoration of the exterior of the mosque (Plate 4). It takes the form of stalactite niches on the first octagonal storey of the minaret and the balcony above it. The bases of the domes are enriched with angled fluting externally, made by laying bricks so that their corners project around the circular plan of the dome, to a height of about half a metre. Over these are superimposed blind arches in plaster relief so that the point of each arch coincides with a projecting angle.

Both stepped and floriate cresting is used around the building, above a basket weave frieze in plaster. The *mīhrāb* is externally ornamented with an interwoven star around a circle, a row of niches incorporating half niches on the corners, and a large circular running pattern. It is crowned with a beautifully fluted cupola resting on an open arched pavilion of great elegance; the lintels above the arches appear to contain inscriptions—but these are too high and disfigured to be read.



Plate 2. Ta'izz. Gāmi' al-Muẓaffar. The east porch.

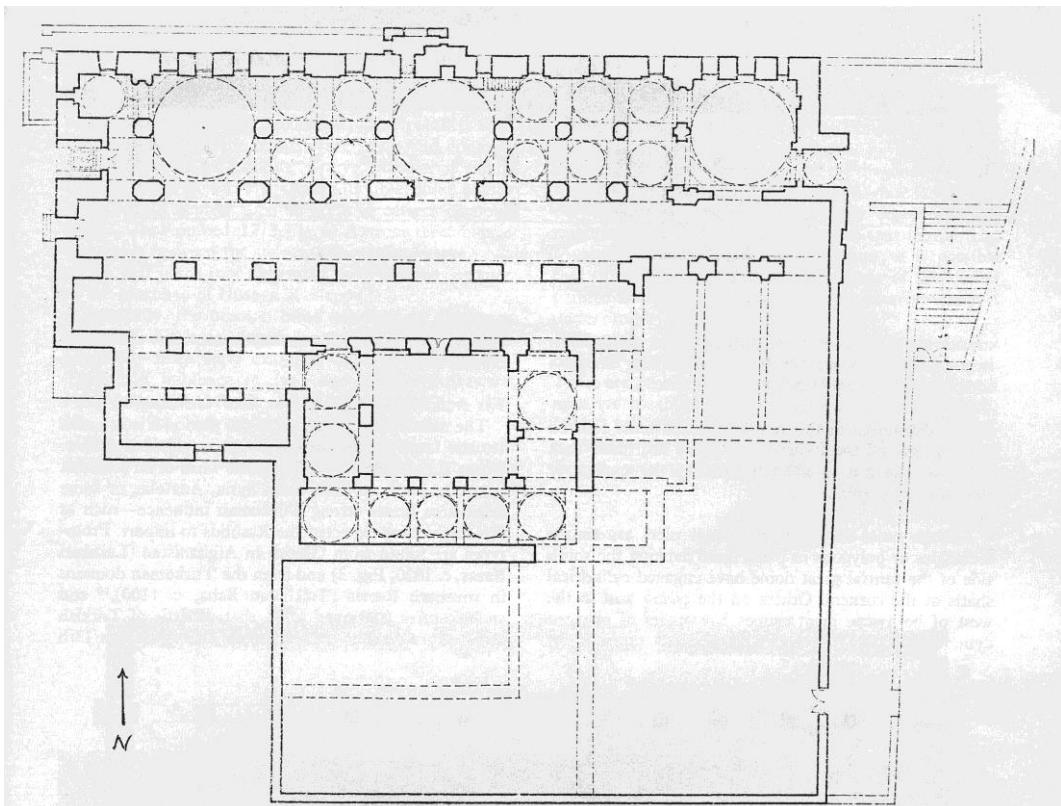


Fig. 2. Ta'izz. Gāmi' al-Muẓaffar. Plan.

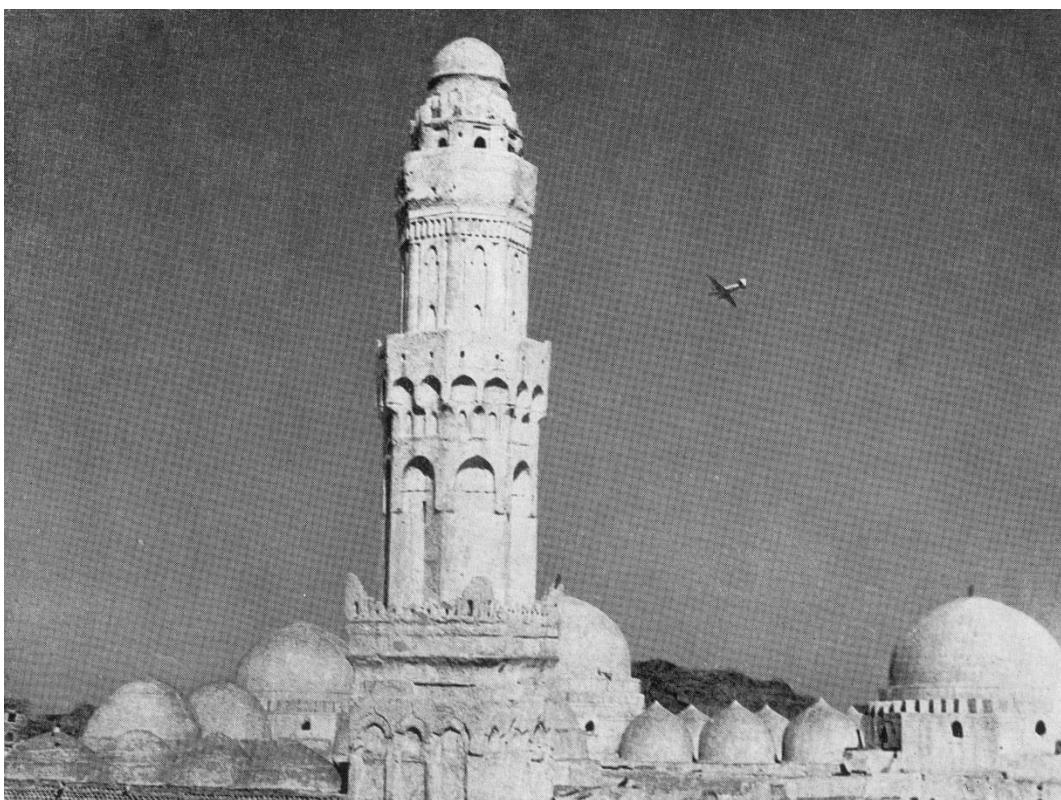


Plate 3. Ta'izz. Gāmi' al-Muẓaffar. The minaret photographed before its collapse in 1962.

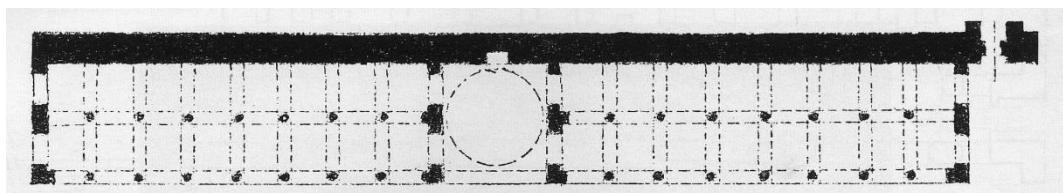


Fig. 3. Lashkari Bazar, Afghanistan. Great Mosque, c. 1020.

All the domes of the buildings are ogee and hence end in points. The central large dome has had a prayer box crowning it since 1962.

Internally, the whole of the lower part of the building has been whitewashed. The higher arches and upper walls are decorated with both painted and moulded architectural devices, characterized by cusped and scalloped arches and blind windows made of circles connected to rectangles (Plates 5 & 6). There are areas of Arabic script, often disfigured, fine floral and geometrical patterns, and in many of the domes splendid painted decorations incorporating bands and central rosettes of calligraphy. Finest of all are the large domes which preserve their painting intact (Plates 6 & 7). The squinches supporting these domes are plain, pointed arches with two decorated niches set into them, riding above a smaller scalloped squinch arch.

The decoration of the *mihrāb*, like the relief foliated patterns around the lower arches, is so encrusted with whitewash that it is difficult to judge its quality or recognize its patterns.

Though most of the columns and piers are simple rectangles or polygons in plan, those flanking the south side of the central great dome have engaged cylindrical shafts at the corners. Others on the *qibla* wall to the west of both side great domes have pairs of engaged cylindrical shafts of early type, linked together by shallow arches which span between the cylindrical capitals (Fig. 2).

The architectural origins of the Ġāmi‘ al-Mużaffar

The most striking features of the plan as it now exists are the large domes flanked by pairs of small domes. These almost certainly indicate the work of an architect from the north or east—from Syria, Anatolia, or some other area under strong Turkoman influence—such as one might have expected the Rasūlids to import. Prototypes are found from Ghazni in Afghanistan (Lashkari Bazar, c. 1020, Fig. 3) and from the Turkoman domains in southern Russia (Talkhatan Baba, c. 1100),¹¹ and such features continued to be characteristic of Turkish architecture throughout the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries (Kızıltepe or Dunaysır, Anatolia, 1204, Fig. 4).

¹¹ O. Aslanapa, *Turkish Art and Architecture*, 1971, plan 16.

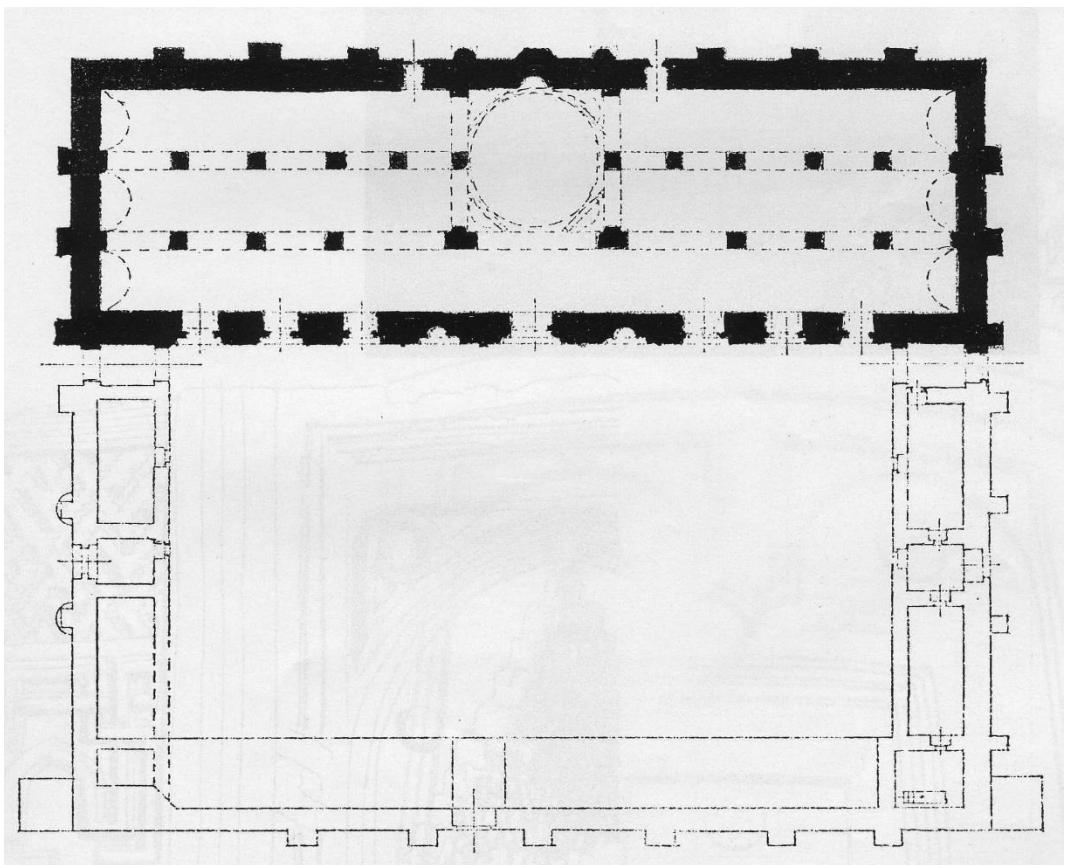
Plate 4. Ta'izz. Ġāmi' al-Muẓaffar. Detail of the *qibla* wall.

Fig. 4. Kızıltepe or Dunaysır, Anatolia. Great Mosque, 1204.

The supposition that an architect with a Turkish background worked on the mosque is supported by an analysis of the external decoration; close parallels may be found between the basketweave frieze and contemporary patterns in Anatolia (Konya, Mosque of Şâhib ‘Atâ, 1258, Fig. 5). The curious double blind arches with a short central support occur in eastern Anatolia (Ahlat, Ulu Kumbet, 1273, Fig. 6). A strong resemblance also exists between the stalactite decoration of the vault of the west porch (not illustrated here) and the entrance of the Mašhad of Ḥusayn at Aleppo.¹²

Internally, the unusual blind windows of the lower levels of the large dome decorations (Plate 4) derive eventually from early examples sometimes ascribed to Turkoman influence in Iraq and Egypt (Bulkawara Palace, Samarrā, 849–859, and Sedrata, Palace and Villa No. 2, c. 10th–11th century, Figs. 7 & 8).

The scalloped decoration in the corner squinch arches is similar to that in Divriği Mosque in Anatolia, 1228, and to much shell-like ornament in the buildings of the preceding centuries in Egypt.

The painted patterns appear to be largely work done during a reported restoration of the building during the Ottoman occupation of the Yemen in the 9th/16th century.¹³ In particular, the use of the diagonally banded frames to the lower arches in black and white stripes and the wine-beaker shapes in the dome decorations are reminiscent of fashions in Istanbul of that period (e. g. Mosque of Süleyman I¹⁴). Nevertheless, it is possible that the redecoration incorporated some of the earlier painted decorations, a subject of major interest which is under study.

No close parallels have been found between Rasūlid minarets and those of the rest of the Islamic world. There are generic links, however, with Egypt, with such minarets as those of the Madrasa of Sultan Ṣalih, 1242,¹⁵ and the Mabḥara of Zāwiyat al-Hunūd, 1260, in Cairo.¹⁶ But the minaret of the Ġāmi‘ al-Muẓaffar and the two minarets closely resembling it on the Ašrafiyya, discussed in Part 2 of this article, appear to be specific Yemeni contributions to Islamic architecture, of unusually rich and fine architectural composition.

¹² K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 1952, vol. 2, fig. 75.

¹³ R. Manzoni, *El Yemen*, 1884, p. 315.

¹⁴ U. Vogt-Gökn̄il, *Living Architecture*, 1966, plate 41.

¹⁵ K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 1952, vol. 2, plate 123b.

¹⁶ K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 1952, vol. 2, plate 123c.



Plate 5. Ta'izz. Ḡāmi' al-Muẓaffar. The area under the large western dome.

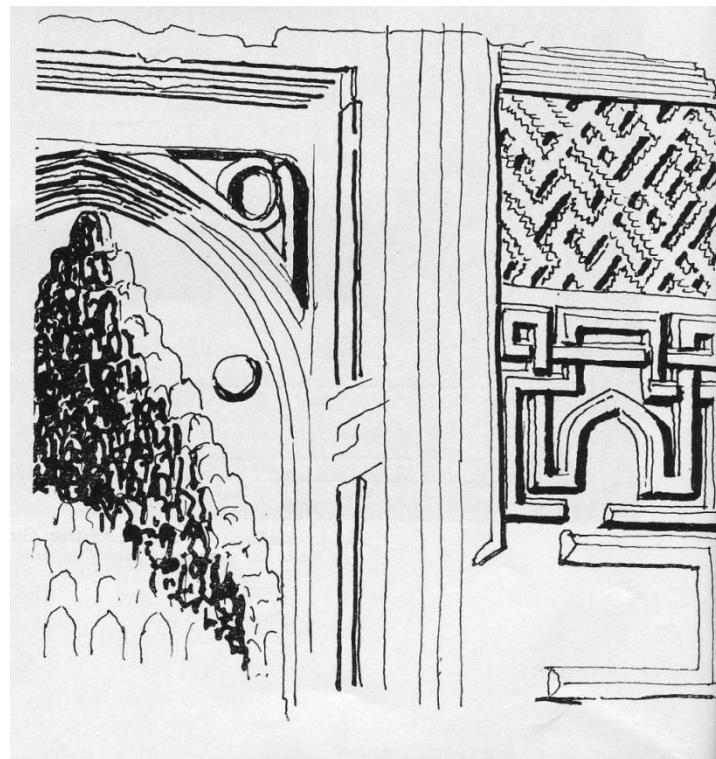


Fig. 5. Konya. Mosque of Şâhib 'Atâ, 1258.



Plate 6. Ta'izz. Gāmi' al-Muẓaffar. The lower level of the large central dome.

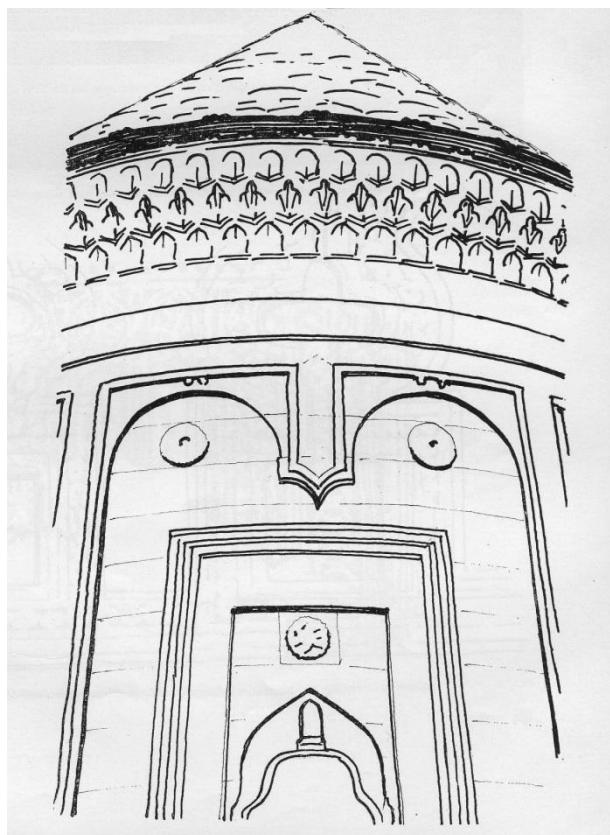


Fig. 6. Ahlat. Ulu Kumbet, 1273. Detail.



Plate 7. Ta'izz. Ğāmi' al-Mużaffar. Painted decoration on the large eastern dome.

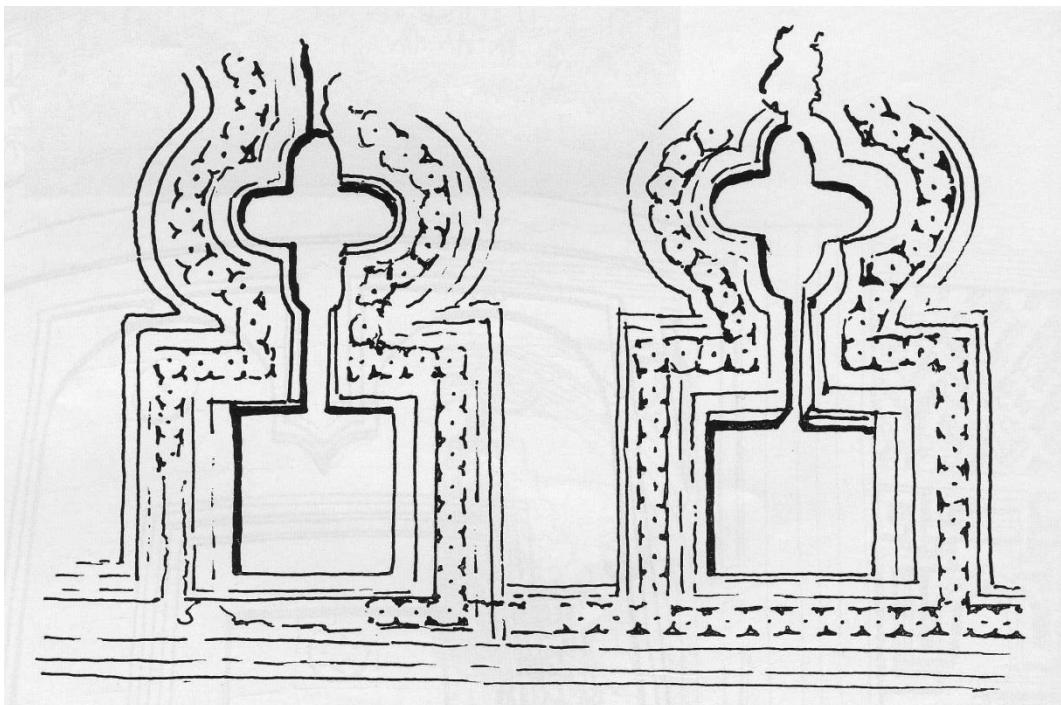


Fig. 7. Bulkawara Palace, Samarrā. Stucco ornament, 849–859.

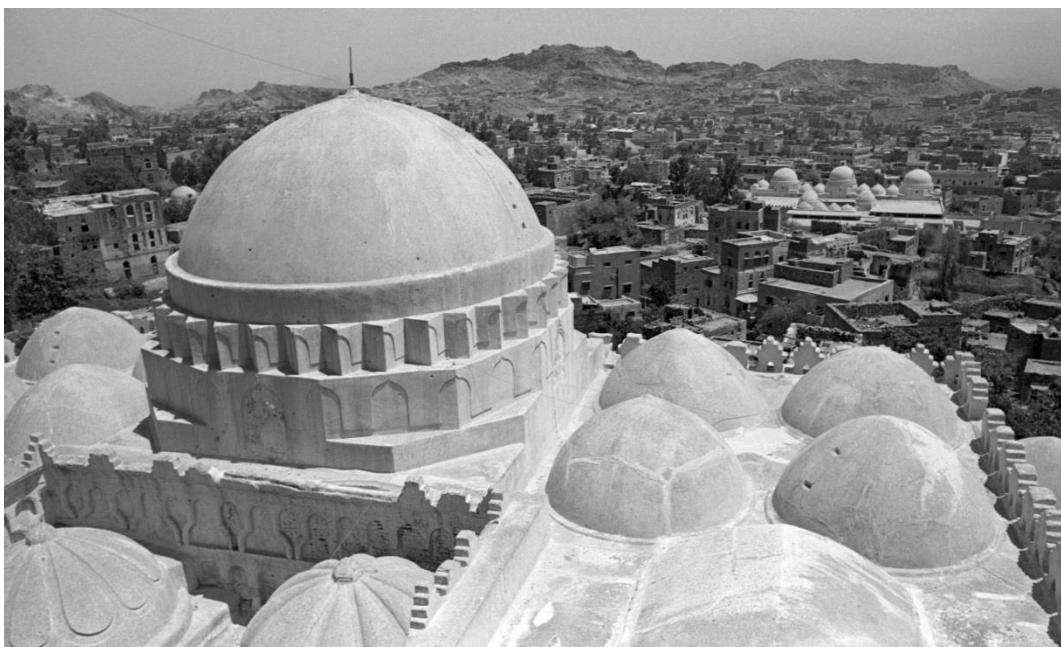


Plate 8. Ta'izz. Ğāmi' al-Mużaffar seen from the Ašrafiyya, the domes of which appear in the foreground.

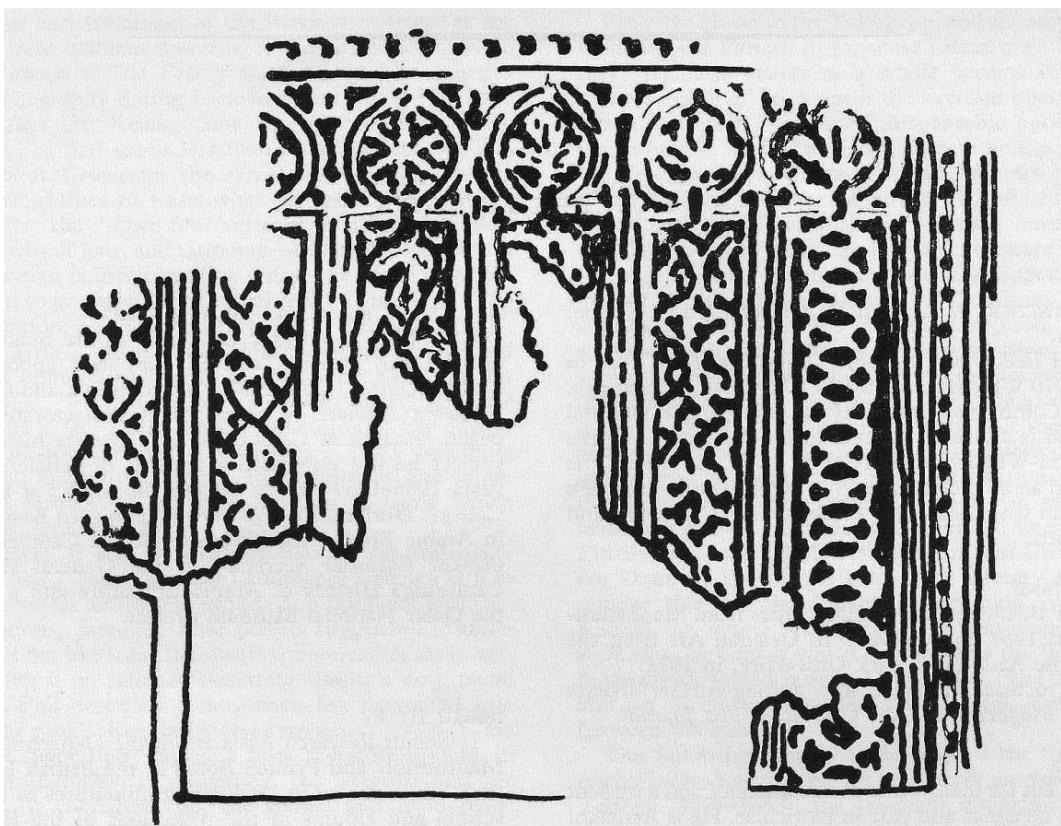


Fig. 8. Sedrata, north Egypt. Villa No. 2. Detail of stucco ornament, c. 10th-11th century.

The inscriptions

It can be said at once that there are no epigraphic surprises in the inscriptions of the three Rasūlid mosques. By the close of the 6th/12th century, the Kufic script, whose different forms had been used exclusively from very early times in Arabic epigraphy, had given way to the cursive *nashī*. All the inscriptions are in what can be termed generally Mamlūk *nashī*, that is the script which reached its artistic zenith during the Mamlūk sultanate in Egypt (648/1250–923/1517), but which continued long afterwards.

Four types of script can be found in the Ġāmi‘ al-Muẓaffar and the Ašrafiyya. The Mu‘tabiyya contains only a small number of worn inscriptions. There is the purely dedicatory type, less ornate and found in the Ġāmi‘ only, of which four or five examples remain, including the important inscription on the outer eastern wall linking the name of al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf with the building of the mosque and an inscription mentioning a court yard (here called *šamsiyya*) on the outside of the south wall of the small surviving court yard.

Two distinct types of ornate inscriptions of the domes already mentioned above (Plates 4, 5 & 12). Secondly the inscriptions which are to be found everywhere on the inner walls and arches, now, sadly, thick with whitewash.

An interesting fourth variety is that of the royal tombs of the Ašrafiyya, discussed in Part 2. The script here is ornate, though sober, fulfilling to a remarkable degree its rôle, that of marking the tomb of important royal personages.

Part 2

In the first part of this article the earliest of the three Rasūlid mosques in Ta‘izz was discussed, the Ġāmi‘ al-Mużaffar.¹⁷ The article continues with the two later mosques, the Ašrafiyya and the Mu‘tabiyya.

The Ašrafiyya

This mosque poses a difficult question of chronology. As can be seen from the family tree given in Part 1, Fig. 1, there were two of the earlier Rasūlids who gave themselves the name al-Ašraf, the first, ‘Umar, the son of al-Mužaffar Yūsuf, who ruled between the years 694/1295 and 697/1297, and the second, al-Ašraf Ismā‘il, 778/1376–803/1400, the seventh sultan of the line. It may well be that a study of the different inscriptions found on the tombs of some of the early Rasūlid rulers within the precincts (see plan, Fig. 9) will assist in dating the mosque more accurately. These, however, must await the final publication.

But what of the historical sources? From these we read that both al-Ašraf I and al-Ašraf II had *madrasa*-mosques built in Ta‘izz.¹⁸ Al-Ašraf I was buried in the mosque which bore his name, though our sources do not describe its construction. The mosque of al-Ašraf II in Ta‘izz was described in some detail by the Rasūlid court historian, al-Ḥazraqī.¹⁹ He mentioned three gates, on the southern, eastern and western sides, a spacious forward praying area (*muqaddam*) and extensive courtyard (*śamsī*)—if the reading of the latter is correct. The whole he described as a “marvellous creation” (*takwīn ‘aġib*). Al-Ḥazraqī added that an elaborate lavatory cum ablution block (*maṭhar*) was included in the building. With the exception of the courtyard, and assuming that the *maṭhar* of al-Ḥazraqī was what is called today the *maṭāḥīr*, this would not be an inaccurate description of the mosque under discussion.²⁰

For the time being we must simply say that the present structure in Ta‘izz named al-Ašrafiyya was built either between the years 694/1295–697/1297 or 778/1376–803/1400.

¹⁷ R. B. Lewcock, “Three Medieval Mosques in the Yemen. Part 1”, 1974.

¹⁸ E. g. al-Ḥazraqī, *Uqūd*, 1913, vol. 4, p. 276.

¹⁹ Al-Ḥazraqī, *Uqūd*, 1913, vol. 4, p. 276 and 1914, vol. 5, p. 317.

²⁰ Al-Ḥazraqī, *Uqūd*, 1913, vol. 4, p. 317; cf. this description with plan at Fig. 9.

The architecture of the Ašrafiyya

Two almost perfect squares, one inside the other, and coinciding at the *qibla* wall, determine the main features of the plan (Fig. 9). The inner one, 27 metres by 26.4 metres, contains at its centre a courtyard 9.8 metres by 11 metres, filled with tombs of the sultans at some stage after its original construction. About this is circumscribed the outer wall, 34.7 by 33.7 metres. It was apparently necessary to shorten the squares on one side because of the difficulty of excavating into the hillside to the south. The outer wall creates an open ambulatory on three sides of the mosque, roofed only by domed pavilions at its two extremities on the *qibla* wall. There was an area left unused between the ambulatory and the outer wall to the south, and this provided the site for a range of rooms for the Madrasa, interrupted in the centre by the great axial portal of the mosque. Owing to the rapid rise of the site, the great portal opens out into a narrow pit enclosed by a cliff almost as high as the porch itself; more convenient entrances to the building from the town below could be had on the eastern and western sides. Accordingly, side portals only slightly less imposing than the great portal were built into the ambulatory. That on the eastern side was clearly intended to be more often used, for here the elaborate ablution area was laid out, which could be entered almost equally well from the great portal to the south, or reached from the west by walking around the ambulatory.

The inner square, the mosque proper, has the prayer hall at the north, with a large central dome flanked by two pairs of smaller domes on either side. Behind this is the original courtyard, now obstructed with tombs for three quarters of its area, although one corner remains clear. It is into this corner that the main door from the ambulatory opens, by means of a vaulted corridor. A second entrance to the courtyard from the ambulatory appears to have passed under a domed porch, but this has been closed, to be used as part of the Madrasa, since it was obstructed by the construction of one of the tombs.

Two large vaulted rooms flank the courtyard to east and west. That on the east is an important tomb room, containing three tombs within a screened enclosure and a fourth at the other end against the south wall. In the southern corners of the inner square rise two almost identical minarets (Part 1, Plate 7).

Three tombs survive in the courtyard, each in a magnificently decorated domed chamber flanked by pierced wooden screens. There appears to have once been a fourth which would have completely filled the courtyard. It is possible that it remained unused and was subsequently destroyed to open part of the courtyard to the sky again, or that it collapsed through neglect; the edges of the roofs around it remain jagged and unrepaired (Plate 11).

Externally, the most striking feature of the mosque from the town is the great *qibla* wall with the dome and the minarets appearing behind it (Plate 10). Nearly 35 metres long by 15.3 metres high, this *qibla* wall is decorated with series of superimposed arches of diminishing scale ending in floriate cresting. Below is a row of six large windows with rich perforated fanlights, flanked at either end by the loggia arches of

the ambulatory. In the centre rises the *mīhrāb* wall, with a rectilinear lozenge pattern as its main feature, under five superimposed arcades which build upwards and outwards to a crowning cupola on an arched pavilion of the type already seen over the *mīhrāb* on the Ġāmi‘ al-Muẓaffar. It is possible that the presence of domed pavilions above the *mīhrābs* on these two buildings is meant to indicate their special function as mosques containing royal tombs; the domed pavilions are in themselves strongly reminiscent of Persian tombs.

On the east and west sides the ambulatory wall becomes an arcade on squat polygonal columns (Plate 9). The retaining wall is shaped at the top to make a low-backed masonry seat in each opening, from which extensive views of the city may be seen. The outer ambulatory wall is crowned with stepped cresting and is considerably lower than the wall of the main building behind it (approximately 5.5 metres as against 8.55 metres from the ambulatory pavement). The doors to the ambulatory are divided into many panels and richly carved.

The main portal on the south side has a projecting porch flanked by masonry seats. The front of the portal is built of redstone and greystone in alternate bands so that a ten-cusped arch, held in a six-cusped arch, frames the great pointed arch of the portal itself (Fig. 10). As far as can be judged this is the only part of the mosque to be built in coloured stonework.

The large dome has a base treatment closely resembling those of the Ġāmi‘ al-Muẓaffar, described above, with the addition of a larger polygonal base decorated with ogee arches in flat relief. The flanking domes have no bases except a small flat moulding. The three tomb domes in the courtyard have raised bases, first square, then circular, from which rise domes decorated with radiating lobes meeting in small panelled polygonal caps (Plate 11). The lobes on the north-west dome are flattened, those on the two eastern domes are sculptured in the round. The three polygonal caps are identical.



Plate 9. Ta'izz. Ašrafiyya. From the west.

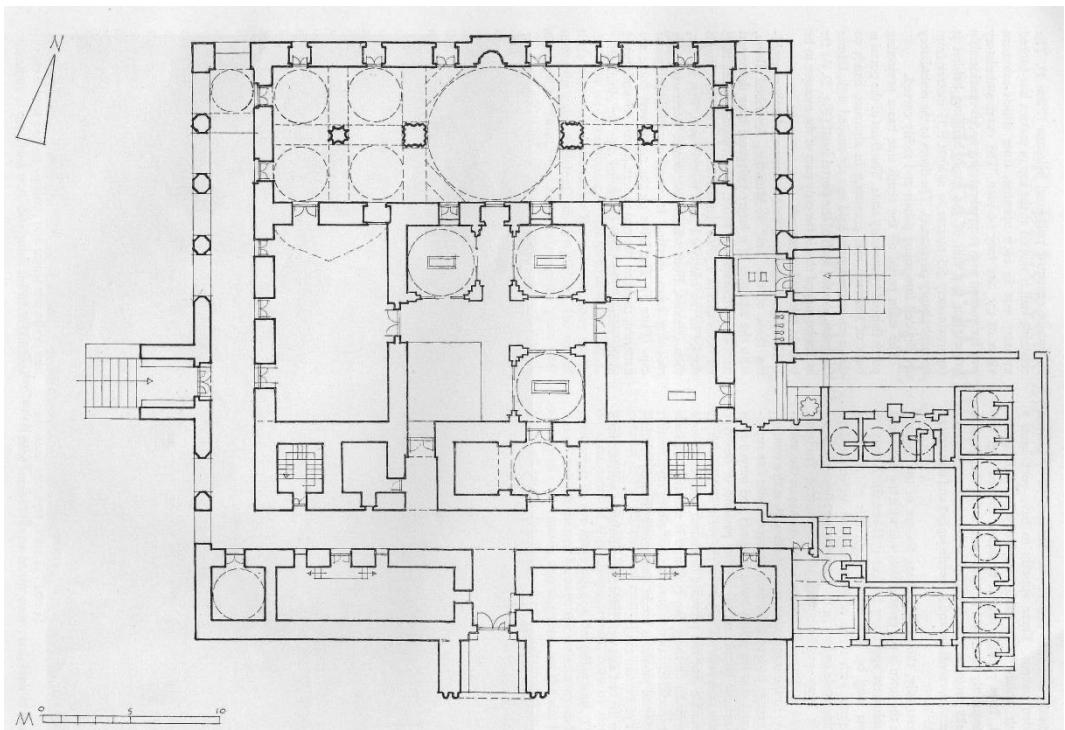


Fig. 9. Ta'izz. Ašrafiyya. Plan.



Plate 10. The *qibla* wall of the Aṣrafiyya seen from the city below.

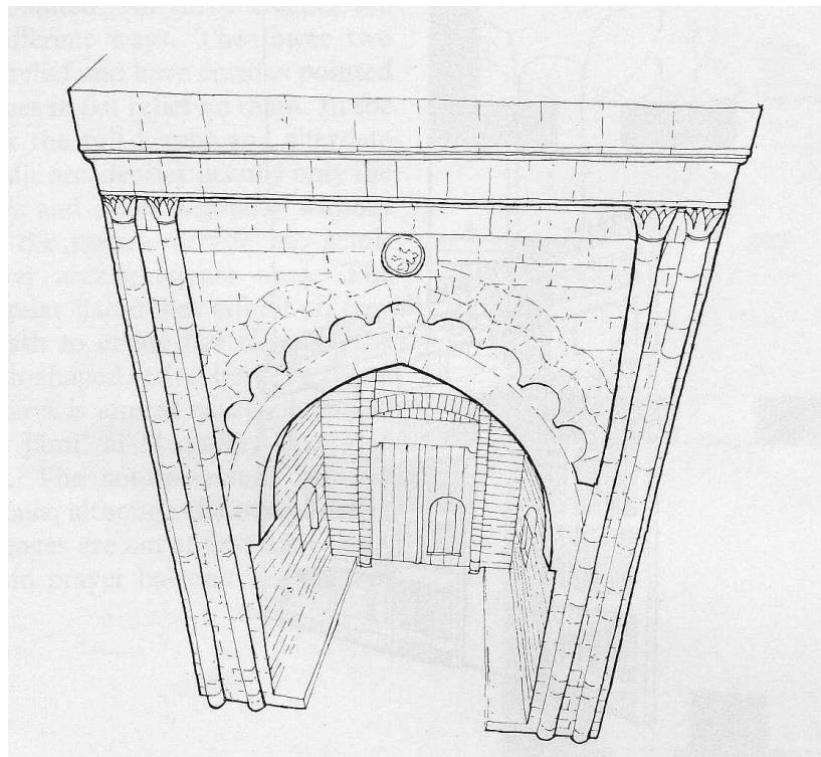


Fig. 10. Ta'izz. Aṣrafiyya. Royal portal on the south, seen from above.

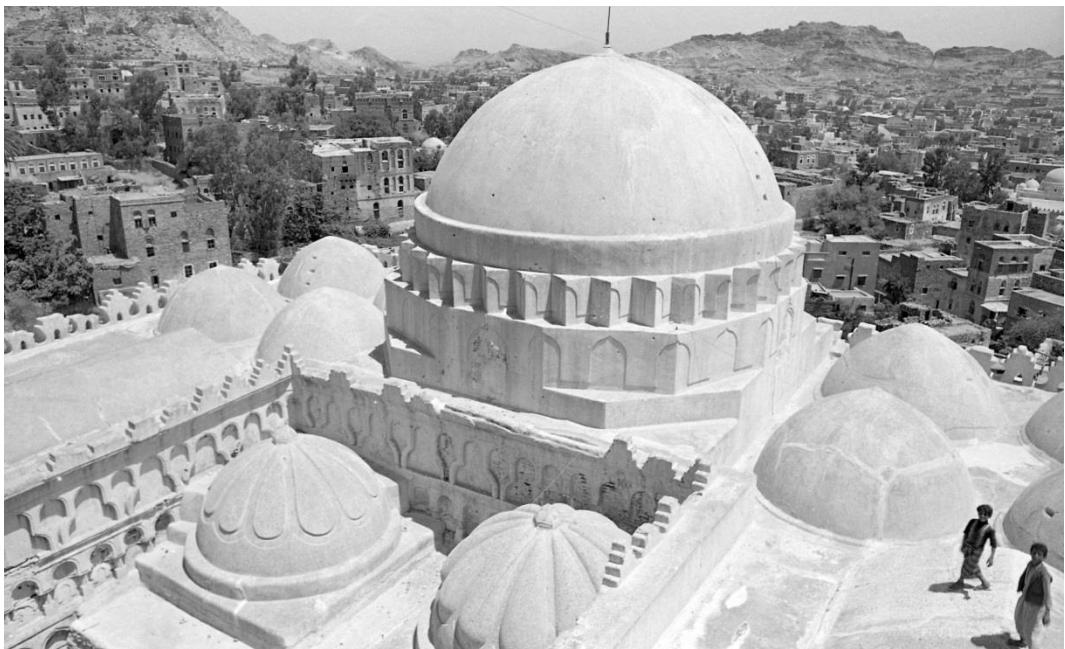


Plate 11. The roof of the Ašrafiyya and its courtyard from a minaret.

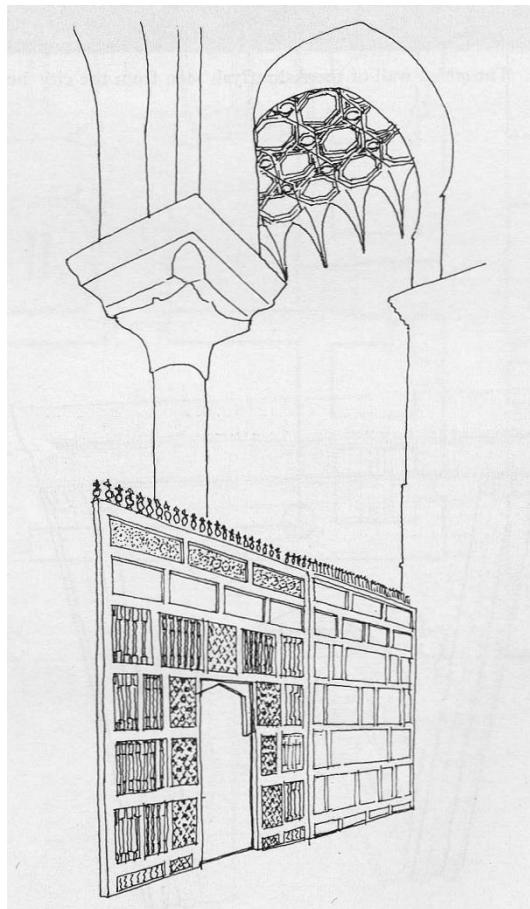


Fig. 11. Cairo. Tomb of Sultan Qalā'ün, A. D. 1284.



Plate 12. The interior of the prayer hall of the Aṣrafiyya.

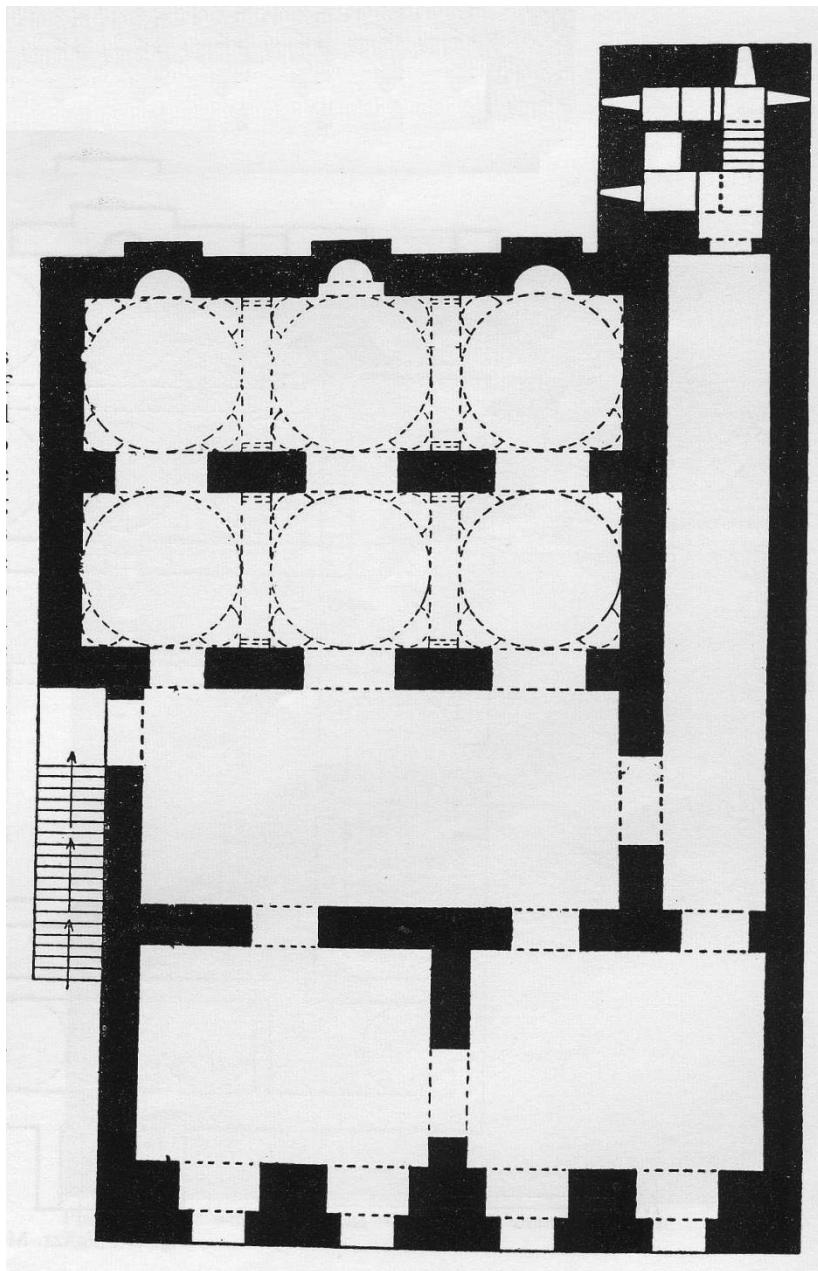


Fig. 12. Shellal. al-Mašhad al-Qiblī, A. D. 1139. Plan.



Plate 13. The springing of the large dome of the Ašrafiyya.

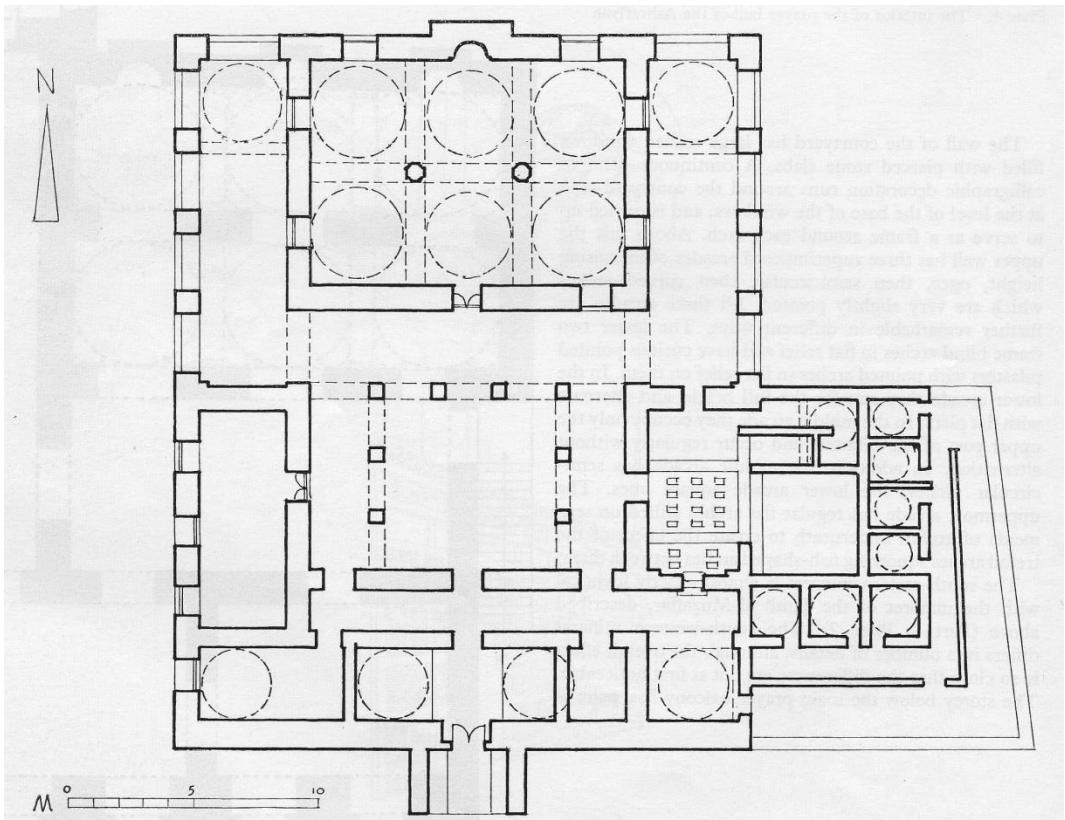


Fig. 13. Ta'izz. Mu'tabiyya. Plan.



Plate 14. The painted surfaces of the large dome of the Ašrafiyya.

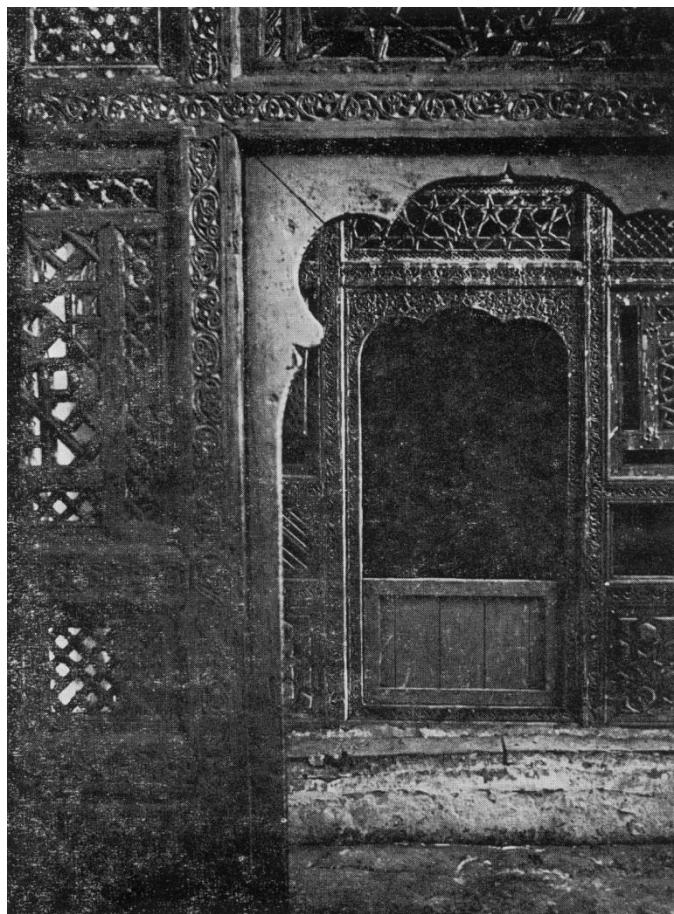


Plate 15. The wooden screens of the tomb chambers of the Ašrafiyya.

The wall of the courtyard has large arched windows filled with pierced stone slabs. A continuous band of calligraphic decoration runs around the courtyard wall at the level of the base of the windows, and is turned up to serve as a frame around each arch. Above this the upper wall has three superimposed arcades of increasing height, ogee, then semicircular, then curved arches which are very slightly pointed. All three arcades are further remarkable in different ways. The lower two frame blind arches in flat relief and have curious pointed pilasters with pointed arches in flat relief on them. In the lower arcade they run for the full height and alternate with flat piers. In the middle arcade they occupy only the upper part of the pilasters and occur regularly without alternation. In addition, the middle arcade has semi-circular niches, the lower arcade square ones. The uppermost arcade has regular flat arches stilted on segments of arches underneath to create the effect of the trefoil arches squeezing fish-shaped arches between them.

The south-eastern minaret is almost exactly identical with the minaret of the *Ǧāmi‘ al-Muẓaffar*, described above (Part 1, Plate 2). The south-western minaret differs in a number of details, although the overall effect is so close that the differences are not at first noticeable. The storey below the main prayer balcony has pairs of arched niches containing angled walls meeting at right angles, matching those of the great niches on the lower storeys. In addition, the storeys above the prayer balcony differ in their detail, although they end in the same plain circular cupola.

The ablution areas include magnificent ranges of domed private ablution rooms and lavatories, together with a number of covered pools and one eight-cusped open-air foot pool.

Internally, the prayer hall has two large piers supporting the main dome; these are polygonal, but shaped with concave curves to produce an unusually complex effect (Plate 12). Above, a band of calligraphic decoration runs around the walls at head level, and turns up to frame window arches and the arches supporting the domes. The soffit of the arches is decorated in carved rosettes set in fields of floral and arabesque background. Above the decoration of the lower levels and the painting of the great dome resembles closely that in the *Ǧāmi‘ al-Muẓaffar*, with the addition of circular crisped rosettes set into circular recesses, and conical shields flanked by plume-like mouldings in plaster (Plate 13).

There are large squinch arches under the great dome, as in the *Ǧāmi‘ al-Muẓaffar*, with two scalloped niches set into them over a smaller decorated squinch arch. A row of scalloped niches alternates with decorative pierced windows around the drum of the dome. The whole surface area of the dome above the springing of the squinch arches retains its brilliantly painted decoration. Floral surfaces alternate with geometrical, interlaced and spiral patterns in dark blue, gold, brown and white. Two calligraphic friezes, the lower white and the other gold, encircle the bottom edge of the dome. Another white inscription serves as a rosette in its centre (Plate 14). Below squinch level the whole interior of the prayer hall has been repeatedly whitewashed.

The tomb chambers in the courtyard are poorly maintained, but thick layers of whitewash and oil paint appear to have preserved delicate stucco carving and wood-

work which might otherwise have deteriorated beyond repair. Here both stucco and wooden screens continue the richness of the prayer hall ornament, with many of the same patterns and decoration details (Plate 15). Scalloped squinch arches with rich bands of patterned carving support the scalloped domes which cover the tombs (Plate 16). The tombs both here and in the eastern side chamber are of carved wood encircled with fine calligraphic inscriptions.



Plate 16. The interior of a tomb chamber of the Ašrafiyya.

The architectural origins of the Ašrafiyya

The plan of this building is so organized that it appears at first that it must be one consistent conception. Nevertheless, it is possible that it was built in two stages, the inner square first, approached only from the south side, and the outer square second, providing a Madrasa, a larger and more imposing royal porch, and side approaches along the ambulatory to the prayer hall. It is interesting to consider the possibility that the building of the tombs in the courtyard, clearly later than the original construction, may have led to the need for these side entrances which avoided the approach through the court. Some slight evidence for this is found in the shape of the ambulatory domes which are higher than those in the inner square. In this case it would not be inconceivable that the inner square was built by al-Ašraf I, and the outer by al-Ašraf II, preserving the same name for the enlarged building.

The curious arched niches of the Ašrafiyya with walls meeting at right angles within them appear to originate in Egypt, where they are found in the pendentives of the Mausoleum of Umm Kultūm in Cairo, 1120.²¹

The scalloped arches are a late classical survival, found in many parts of the Islamic world, but especially in North Africa and Egypt, where they appear together with scalloped rosettes on the mosque of al-Aqmār in Cairo, 1125.²² Scalloped domes were built in the 7th/13th century in Anatolia (Divriği, Mosque, 1228).²³

Decorations very close to those found in the stuccowork and painted great dome of the Ašrafiyya may be seen on the Madrasa-Mausoleum of Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf, Cairo, 1298. Similarly, the wooden screens of the tomb chambers are made in the small areas of broken pattern that are characteristic of Cairo work at the end of the 13th century (Mausoleum of Sultan Qala‘ūn, 1284, Fig. 11). Nevertheless, the range of patterns used is extraordinary, versatile and brilliantly incorporating Anatolian as well as Egyptian patterns. Diagonal lattice patterns, found in small areas in the tomb screens, also have Egyptian sources (cf. Screen in Ḥānqā of Baybars, Cairo, 1310).²⁴ The stucco patterns made of interlocking zigzag lines containing circles likewise have direct Cairo parallels (ceiling of the Mausoleum of Sultan Qalā‘ūn, 1284, Fig. 11). The border pattern of the wood screens and several of the infilling patterns are identical with those in the Madrasa-Mausoleum of the Emir Sunqur Sa‘di, Cairo, 1315.²⁵

Finally, the great southern portal, with plain, pointed arches held with cusped arches outlined in differently coloured stone, has direct origins in Anatolian work (Dunaysır or Kızıltepe, Great Mosque portal, 13th century).²⁶

The Mu‘tabiyia

This building was built by a lady whose precise name appears nowhere in the historical sources, but who was the concubine of al-Ašraf II and mother of a number of his children, including his successor, al-Nāṣir Ahmad (803/1400–830/1426). She was the daughter of al-Ašraf’s officer, Ġamāl al-Dīn Mu‘tab b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ašrafi and she died on 18th Ṣafar, 796/23rd December, 1393. On the following day, she was buried in the burial place (*turba*) named after her.²⁷ The architectural evidence presented below would seem to point to the fact that the building under discussion is in fact this *turba*, built therefore in her lifetime prior to the end of the year 796/1393. It should be mentioned, however, that the historians recorded that she also had a *madrasa-mosque*

²¹ K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 1952, vol. 1.

²² K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 1952, vol. 1, plate 82c

²³ O. Aslanapa, *Turkish Art*, plan 11.

²⁴ K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 1952, vol. 2, plate 98b.

²⁵ K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 1952, vol. 2, plate 102c.

²⁶ O. Aslanapa, *Turkish Art*, plate 5.

²⁷ Al-Hazraqī, *Uqud*, 1914, vol. 5, p. 252.

built in Ta'izz and there remains the possibility that that building is the one in question.



Plate 17. Ta'izz. Mu'tabiyya. View from above.



Plate 18. Ta'izz. Mu'tabiyya. View from the city below.



Plate 19. The courtyard and the entrance to the prayer hall of the Mu'tabiyya.

The architecture of the Mu'tabiyya

The Mu'tabiyya is a rectangular building 23.4 metres wide and 28.8 metres deep, containing a prayer hall, a courtyard and rooms for a *madrasa* (Fig. 13).

The south facade is unbroken by windows, its only feature being the high portal central with floriate cresting. The arch of the central portal is cusped, and masonry seats flank the entrance on either side. At the ends of the south facade a high dome rises above the parapet, in the position occupied by the minarets of the Ašrafiyya (Plate 17).

Within the entrance is a passageway between two large diwan benches covered by domes; they appear to have been part of the teaching area of the Madrasa.

An arched doorway leads into the courtyard of the mosque, 6.8 metres square, which is surrounded by well-proportioned triple arcades on three sides (Plate 19). The northern arcade extends left and right to become an open ambulatory which turns north on both sides of the prayer hall to end in domed pavilions with masonry seats; the resemblance to the Ašrafiyya plan is striking.

The prayer hall is unusual in being covered by six domes of equal size (Plate 18). The room was found to have been sealed for some time, and it was not possible to ascertain the position of the tomb which this room almost certainly contains. Some of

the internal decoration could be studied through screened openings and was found to be Salḡūq stepped diagonal patterns of a type that continued popular from the 4th/10th century.

On the east of the mosque fairly elaborate wading and bathing pools were provided, together with ranges of domed lavatories.

Externally, the treatment of the *mihrāb* as a series of superimposed arcades faintly resembles that of the Ašrafiyya, but lacks its crowning cupola.

The architectural origins of the Mu‘tabiyya

There is an obvious connection, between the ambulatory design of the Mu‘tabiyya and that of the Ašrafiyya, suggesting that they may even have shared the same architect.

The unique feature of the Mu‘tabiyya is its prayer hall, covered with six equal domes. The reasons for the choice of this strange and unaccentuated roof become clearer when one remembers Creswell’s explanation of the Mašhad al-Qiblī at Šallāl, 1139, Fig 4.²⁸ He found that such mosques, of which he discovered two others, one in Aswān from the 11th century and the Mašhad of Šarīf al-Ṭabāṭabā, 943, were mosques constructed as “canopy tombs”. This would appear to support the likelihood that the *Turba* and the Madrasa-Mosque referred to by the historians are one and the same building.

2. The painted dome of the Ašrafiyya in Ta‘izz, Yemen

Foreword

In 1972 Professor Serjeant organised an expedition of Cambridge scholars to begin detailed research in the Yemen. I was asked to join and, through the generosity of the T. E. Lawrence Fund, from the publication of *The Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, I began architectural studies. One of the early results of this first journey was the publication, with Dr. G. Rex Smith, of two preliminary reports on the mosques of Ta‘izz.²⁹

Since then, I have often returned to admire these buildings and, in particular, the beauty of the paintings in the domes. From the perspective of almost a decade, and a far wider knowledge of much of the two Yemens, it now seems to me that they are among the greatest works of man in South Arabia—a country extraordinarily rich in fine art and architecture—and of unique importance in the wider realm of Islamic art.

²⁸ K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 1952, vol. 1, pp. 11–15, 145, 148–152.

²⁹ R. B. Lewcock & G. R. Smith, “Three Medieval Mosques in the Yemen”, Parts I and II, in *Oriental Art* 20/1, pp. 75–86 and 20/2, pp. 192–203 (reprinted here with additional pictures, under No. 1).

History and general description

The Ġāmi‘ al-Mużaffar was built, at least in substantial part, by Sultan al-Mużaffar Yūsuf (647/1249–694/1295). The Ašrafiyya was built either by al-Ašraf I (694/1295–697/1297) or by al-Ašraf II (778/1376–803/1400) or by the two in succession.

The prayerhall of the mosque of al-Mužaffar is covered with three large domes, and twelve smaller ones. That of the Ašrafiyya by one large dome, flanked by eight small domes.

While it seems likely that all the domes were originally decorated internally, partly with bas-relief ornament (in the niches under the squinch arches and in the blind openings simulating window openings in the drums) and partly by painted decorations, only the largest domes and a few of the smaller ones have preserved a substantial amount of the painted decoration. The reason for this seems to have been the enthusiasm of zealots in repainting the interiors of the prayerhalls with whitewash as far as it could be painted or thrown—the larger dome decorations have been preserved mainly because they were out of reach.

There is therefore an intriguing possibility that the original paintings of some of the lower domes, and of the lower sections of the large domes, may be preserved beneath the layers of whitewash. Only careful analysis will establish whether this is so, and then only the most skilful conservation by professional experts will enable them to be revealed again, if, indeed, it can be done at all. Even more tragic is the deterioration of the condition of the external surfaces of the domes during the last ten years, since the photographs published here were taken in 1972. The resulting penetration of water has severely damaged many of the paintings, so that the possibility of preserving and restoring them completely is now a matter of some doubt.

The decoration of the main dome of the Ašrafiyya

(The numbers in brackets identify design elements for later discussion)

The bowl of the dome is decorated with a central rosette of 24 lobes (1). A monumental *nashī* inscription of a verse from the Qur’ān surrounds it.

A similar monumental *nashī* inscription of verses from the Qur’ān forms the lower border of the dome; it is divided into four sections by large 8-lobed rosettes, each containing two concentric circles within which is a smaller rosette of irregular lobing (2).

A third Qur’anic inscription stands above the lowest one, executed this time in Eastern Kufic, divided into twelve panels by doubled vertical shafts (3) which rise up through the lettering to support a decorative painted arcade of five-cusped arches (4), the centre of each of which is linked in turn to a ring encircling the central inscription of the dome by a double shaft (5).

A number of features of the shafting deserve special attention. Alternate double-shafts rise above the Kufic inscription only a short distance before they divide to encircle, again alternately, spiralling rosettes, which might almost be attempts to repre-

sent fireworks ('Catherine-wheels') (6) and twelve-pointed stars in three concentric rings, which are also made to appear to be spiralling by the way they are coloured and shaded (7).

The double shafts then move up together again until they divide to form the cusped arches. But at the top of each of these they divide again and proceed towards the central ring, interrupted only by a tiny knot near the top (8).

Between these knots, small fleur-de-lis shaped arrow heads grow out from the central ring, each with a smaller fleur-de-lis in its centre (9).

The other main double-shafts rise above the Kufic lettering to large four-looped knots (10) with adze or axe forms outlined between the shafts above them (11).

Finally, in the space between every pair of main double shafts, there rises above the Kufic lettering a second, minor, double-shaft motif. Linked to the main shafts by horizontals which form a frame above the letters, this motif leaves the inscription after forming a semi-circle around a palmette motif (12). It then moves upwards to terminate in another fleur-de-lis arrow head (13). But, before it reaches this, the shaft is studded in the centre with spiralling rosettes not unlike swastikas. They also give the illusion—perhaps this is intentional—of spiralling fireworks (14). In colour, the Eastern Kufic, the shafts, bands and cusped arches are all gold; the *nashī* inscriptions and most of the decorative features are white.

Running uniformly behind all these motifs is a spiralling vine decoration with leaves and flowers, creating a rich floral field on a blue background (15).

The circular drum of the dome is alternately pierced by windows and niches. Both have shell scalloping of ancient Umayyad type which was in widespread use over a long period. The rear walls of the niches are pierced in a variety of overall geometric patterns made up of straight lines radiating from star-shaped openings evenly spaced across the surfaces (16). A similarly patterned bas-relief covers the wall of the drum between the arches, with the difference that the patterns radiate from large half-rosettes (17).

Below the circular drum, an octagonal drum has a painted chevron ornament in a band (18) below which the surface of the drum is painted in an extremely beautiful pattern with alternate triangles framing hexagons (containing three open triangles fitted together) and star-rosettes of geometrical construction (19). This decoration is highlighted in lime-green and dark pink.

The squinch arches contain domes which are decorated in a radiating arabesque ornament (20). Between them, blind rectangular windows are crowned with circular blind recesses, and these contain star patterns based on triangles (21). The surface in front of them had a bold, free lily pattern (21A).

The cusped arches over the latter, and the squinch arches themselves, have narrow painted bands of alternately red and white voussoirs (22).

Finally, one range below the main squinch arches there are small squinch arches containing plaster bas-reliefs, now whitewashed over, with elaborately intertwining arabesques in different styles, with superimposed bands of trilobed arches overlaying

them (23). Intermediate panels have rich intertwining arabesques in a different design (24) and the central feature is a circular, deeply recessed shell boss (25).

The decorations on one of the Mużaffar mosque domes

These will be only briefly considered for comparison purposes. The dome chosen is the eastern one. Here a floral arabesque (26) surrounded the central boss, itself already obscured by damp penetration in 1972 when the photograph reproduced here was taken (Part 1, Plate 7). Outside of this a free monumental Qur'anic inscription is divided into four sections by rondels, each again containing a floral arabesque pattern (27). A further floral arabesque pattern encircles the dome to frame the central pattern (28).

The main surface of the dome outside of the central area is filled with eight large waterpot-shaped medallions outlined in broad dark ornamented bands. Alternate waterpots have geometrical overall patterns of the type referred to in one of the areas of the Ašrafiyya—no 16 (29). An additional feature is that the central stars are filled with 4-vaned spirals of the swastika type identified as (14) above. The other medallions have complex overall patterns of arabesques intertwined with straight lines (30). The surface between the medallions has a further complex arabesque pattern (31) and the dome surface is completed with a continuous band of inscription.

The circular string course below the dome is decorated with a row of curious, almost semicircular arches standing on a horizontal step on top of columns, all against a floral arabesque background (32). Below, the rows of window and niche arches have chevron patterns and stripes of various types (33). The niches below have bold floral patterns, such as found on plates, and indeed some of them are set in circles, with a central floral star (34). The main squinch arches have patterns extremely close to those of the Ašrafiyya (35), and the surface in between has an ingenious overall pattern of overlapping and intertwining floral rosettes (36).

Decorative style

In the articles published in 1974 we identified the decorations of the domes as related to Egyptian work at the end of the 7th/13th century and the beginning of the 8th/14th century.³⁰ The possibility that the decorations may be later merits a more detailed examination of the evidence. This is an important issue in ascertaining the dates of work on the building, which are in dispute between the reigns of the two Sultans al-Ašraf.³¹ Detailed examination is particularly desirable in view of the increased evidence that is

³⁰ R. B. Lewcock & G. R. Smith, "Three Medieval Mosques in the Yemen. Part 2", 1974, pp. 200–202.

³¹ R. B. Lewcock & G. R. Smith, "Three Medieval Mosques in the Yemen. Part 2", 1974, pp. 192, and 200.

available as a result of the growing number of studies on the development of the Mamlūk styles that have been made in recent years.³²

In the paragraphs that follow I have examined the decorative elements one by one in an attempt to date the fashionable period when each motif was in use in the Islamic art of other areas and determine, if possible, the date of its original appearance and its provenance. I hope in this way to build up a general body of evidence which will suggest the main source of the style of the design, and even the approximate date of work of executing the painting and reliefs.

Considering the decorations on the main dome of the Ašrafiyya first, with the numbers below referring to the decorative elements already identified:

Of the large *rosettes*, that in the centre of the dome (1) is sufficiently general in type to be difficult to date to any particular place or period. But the large 8-lobed rosettes on the lower edges of the dome (2) are more specific in form, and resemble elements of Mamlūk art in Egypt and Syria in the 8th/14th century in evidence in metal-work and book decoration (Plates 20 & 21).³³

The division of the dome surface with *double-shafts carrying cusped arches* (3), (4), (10) etc., is paralleled in much decoration in the Islamic world in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th century, notably in Hispano-Moorish, Anatolian and Indian examples. An important example cited by Creswell is a panel at the base of the minaret of Sayyidnā al-Ḥusayn which is assumed by him to be contemporary with the inscription on the gate of the minaret, which is dated 634/1237.³⁴ That panel is, however, almost exactly similar, in its particular combination of forms, to two important examples of a century later—first, the courtyard panels of the Bū ‘Ināniyya Madrasa in Fez (751/1350–756/1353),³⁵ and second, the main central tympanums and other decorations of the Mirador and the Court of the Lions of the Alhambra Granada (Plate 20, 755/1354–794/1391).³⁶ This combination of forms was therefore apparently the height of fashion around 750/1350 in western Islamic architecture; it seems unlikely that it could have been executed over a century earlier in Cairo.

It is worth noting at this point that the extremely beautiful monumental *nashī* inscriptions are in a style very similar to that of the celebrated calligraphy of the Great Mosque in Aštarqān, Persia (715/1315),³⁷ as well as, of course, resembling closely the cal-

³² For an extensive recent bibliography the reader is referred to the catalogue of the exhibition *Art of the Mamluks* prepared by E. Atil, 1981, and the proceedings of the symposium ‘Art of the Mamluks’, May, 1981, were edited by Oleg Grabar and published in a special volume of *Mugarnas*, vol. 2, “The Art of the Mamluks”, 1984.

³³ Discussed in G. Bosch, J. Carswell and G. Petherbridge, *Islamic Bindings and Bookmaking*, 1981, p. 161.

³⁴ K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 1952, vol. 2, pp. 83–84, Plate 29b.

³⁵ Cf. D. Hill and L. Golvin, *Islamic Architecture in North Africa*, Plate 313.

³⁶ Cf. T. Burchkhardt, *Art of Islam*, London, 1976, Plate 57 and O. Grabar, *The Alhambra*, 1978, Plate 51, 61, 115.

³⁷ M. Rogers, *The Spread of Islam*, 1976, 78 top right.

ligraphy of a series of Mamlūk metalwork pieces actually made for the Rasūlid court in Ta‘izz, and other celebrated pieces of Mamlūk metalwork, which are all datable to the period 689/1290–751/1350.³⁸ Many of these pieces also have double-shaft ornament of types (3), (10), etc.³⁹

The large *knots* appearing on the doubled shafts (10), (8) are already evident in Eastern Kufic inscriptions in the 7th/13th century.⁴⁰ More elaborate forms of the knotting are to be found in Anatolian Salḡūq architecture.⁴¹ *Cusped arches* (4) are also found in the 7th/13th century in many areas of Islam.⁴² Finally, *Eastern Kufic* (3) sometimes carrying knotting in its vertical shafts, was a common feature of 8th/14th century Mamlūk art.⁴³

Spiralling rosettes, both large (6) and small (14) are a feature of Mamlūk art in the early 8th/14th century. But while the latter can be paralleled exactly (in cloth), that example is assumed to be from the 9th/15th century,⁴⁴ whereas the generic type, similar except that it has six or eight vanes instead of four, is common in examples of metalwork of the period from 689/1290 to 731/1330, some of them made for the Sultan in Yemen.⁴⁵ An example of the spiralling rosette on a building is that on the Madrasa-Mausoleum of Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf in Cairo (697/1298) where it is carved in stone over some of the windows.⁴⁶ Exact precedent for the dotting and rainbow colouring of the spirals in the Ašrafiyya (6) is not yet established.

The equivalent motifs of the *12-pointed stars* looking rather like concentric chevron rosettes (7) have similar models in the central stars of some pages of calligraphy (e. g. Plate 23).⁴⁷ Their use in isolation is unusual, except in Indian Islamic, where concentric floral rosettes are sometimes found on buildings (e. g. Jamaat Khana Masjid, Delhi, c. 720/1320 (?)).⁴⁸ Ettinghausen has, however, noted the appearance of these ro-

³⁸ E. Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks*, 1981, pp. 64–65, 81–84, 86–99, etc.

³⁹ E. g. Item Catalogue No. 80, Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, Penbox in the name of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, c. 731/1330.

⁴⁰ E. g. Delhi, Tomb of Iltutmish (633/1235), v. P. Brown, *Indian Architecture, Islamic Period*, 1956, Plate VIII.

⁴¹ E. g. Sivas, Turbe of Izzuddin Kaikaus (617/1220), v. R. A. Jairazbhoy, *Outline of Islamic Architecture*, 1972, Plate 99.

⁴² See note 40 above.

⁴³ E. g. Naji Zain-al-Din, *Atlas of Arabic Calligraphy*, 1968, Plates 312, 323, etc. and M. Lings, *The Quranic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination*, 1976, Plates 42, 43 and 44.

⁴⁴ E. Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks*, 1981, p. 238.

⁴⁵ E. Atıl, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks*, 1981, pp. 62–63, 67, 86–87, etc.

⁴⁶ K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 1952, vol. 2, Plate 82, d.

⁴⁷ M. Lings, *The Quranic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination*, 1976, p. 78, Plate 37.

⁴⁸ P. Brown, *Indian Architecture*, 1956, Plate C1.

settes in a Qur'ān otherwise Mamlūk in style.⁴⁹ But the latter are far removed from the simple geometry of the rosettes in the Ašrafiyya.

The use of *fleur-de-lis* shapes as terminals (9) is common throughout Islamic art, and particularly so in the Yemen.⁵⁰ Not surprisingly, it was a frequent ornament in 8th/14th century Mamlūk art (e. g. background floral ornament of the monumental Kufic in the Sultan Ḥasan Madrasa, Cairo, 758/1356–764/1362).⁵¹ Similarly, *axehead form* (11) occur in Mamlūk art (cf. ceramic strainer in Museum of Islamic art, Item no. 1288),⁵² as do *palmette* forms (12), the latter on metalwork of the period of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and his successors (c. 689/1290–751/1350).⁵³

The peculiar combination of *arrow on a shaft* pointing up into the centre of a cusped arch (13) is evident in the examples referred to above, from Cairo (Minaret of Sayyidnā al-Ḥusayn), Fez (Madrasa of Bū 'Ināniyya) and the Alhambra—cf. Plate 20.

The overall background of *spiralling vines and leaves* across the dome (15), has, of course, an ancient tradition; but close parallels in detailed character may be seen in the background to the monumental Kufic of the Madrasa of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo, 758/1356–764/1362. Other fine examples may be seen in the Qur'anic illuminations of the period around 735/1334.⁵⁴

Bands of *chevron* ornament (18) were used in Anatolian Salḡūq architecture before being adopted in Mamlūk architecture for the northeast portal of the Mosque of Baybars (665/1266–668/1269).⁵⁵

Star-rosettes of the type used in the pattern of the circular drum (19) are another common feature of 8th/14th century Mamlūk decoration, both in carpentry, in inlaid doors and shutters, and in the illumination of Qur'āns.⁵⁶ A similar precedent exists for overall star patterns of straight lines (16) and (29),⁵⁷ although these can be taken back further in time to Anatolian Salḡūq architectural decorations.

The beautiful *radiating arabesque patterns* of the squinch domes (20) and (35) likewise have close parallels with both Mamlūk book illuminations of the 8th/14th

⁴⁹ R. Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting*, 1962, p. 173 and M. Lings, *The Quranic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination*, 1976, Plate 65.

⁵⁰ Cf. R. B. Serjeant & R. B. Lewcock, *Ṣan‘ā'*, an Arabian Islamic City, 1983.

⁵¹ T. Burckhardt, *Art of Islam*, 1976, Fig. 26.

⁵² *Guide to the Museum of Islamic Art*, Cairo, 1373/1953, Fig. 10.

⁵³ W. Izzī, ‘Objects Bearing the Name of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and His Successors’, 1969; and E. Atil, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks*, 1981, p. 87.

⁵⁴ M. Lings, *The Quranic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination*, 1976, Plate 63.

⁵⁵ R. A. Jairazbhoy, *An Outline of Islamic Architecture*, Plate 82; K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 1952, vol. 2, Plate 50, b and c.

⁵⁶ M. Lings, *The Quranic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination*, 1976, Plates 59 and 65, dating respectively from 713/1313 and 766/1363–778/1376.

⁵⁷ M. Lings, *The Quranic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination*, 1976, Plate 105, dating from 703/1303, probably Andalusian.

century (Plate 23, centre), and, in their lower part, with decorations on metalwork (e. g. Plate 22).⁵⁸

Star patterns based on triangles are again widespread, but close parallels to the types found here (21) are observable in Mamlūk art (Plate 21, centre and Plate 24) not only in crafts but in architecture (Cairo, Ṭaybarsiyya Madrasa, *mihrāb*, 709/1309–1310).⁵⁹

Bold free *arabesque* patterns (21A), (26), (27), (28), (31), are characteristic of all the best work of Mamlūk craftsmen in many different materials (Plates 21 and 23). Superimposed and intertwining arabesques are a feature of Andalusian and Moorish Islamic in particular, but were in widespread use in other parts of the Islamic world by the end of the 7th/13th century (Lāğīn's pulpit, once in the Mosque of Ibn Ṭūlūn, 696/1296,⁶⁰ Madrasa-Mausoleum of Qarāṣunqur, 700/1300–1301, Cairo).⁶¹

The *striped stone work arch* patterns (22) first became popular in Cairo after al-Nāṣir Muḥammad built the Qaṣr al-Ablaq in the Citadel (713/1313), probably copied from the palace of the same name in Damascus (665/1266–1267).⁶² In red and white, this technique was used in the arches flanking the interior door of the portico of the Mosque of Sultan Ḥasan, Cairo (758/1356–764/1362), apparently modelled on Hispano-Moorish examples.⁶³

The large eastern dome of the Muẓaffar mosque is clearly designed by a different hand, and while many features suggest that it is, at least in part, almost contemporary, there is not sufficient space here to do more than draw attention to the provenance and style of some of the elements not already dealt with above.

The most striking features of this dome are the large *waterpot-shaped medallions* (29) and (30). Similar motifs were in widespread use over a long period in Qur'anic illumination.⁶⁴ In architectural decoration they appeared in Cairo on the Madrasa and Mausoleum of the Emir Sunqur Sa'dī (715/1315)⁶⁵ and the Mosque of the Emir Ḥusayn (719/1319)⁶⁶ and continued in occasional use thereafter. On wall decorations, both internally and externally, their appearance was quite similar to those on the Muẓaffar dome, except that they were usually free of a supporting moulding, and had *fleur-de-lis* ornaments both top and bottom. Arabesque ornaments of a type extremely close to

⁵⁸ E. Atl, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks*, 1981, p. 99.

⁵⁹ K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 1952, vol. 2, pp. 253–254, Plate 99 b.

⁶⁰ Victoria and Albert Museum, v. S. Lane-Poole, *Art of the Saracens in Egypt*, 1886, Figs. 35–38.

⁶¹ K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, vol. 2, Plate 89 c.

⁶² K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, vol. 2, pp. 171–172, 260–264, Fig. 144.

⁶³ T. Burckhardt, *Art of Islam*, 1976, Plate 129.

⁶⁴ M. Lings, *The Quranic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination*, 1976, Plates 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 23, 42, 43, 44, 67, 98, etc.

⁶⁵ K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, vol. 2, Plates 101 c, 102 d, etc.

⁶⁶ K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, vol. 2, Plate 104 a.

those between the medallions (31) likewise appeared in Cairo in the dome decoration of the Madrasa-Mausoleum of Zayn al-Dīn Yūsuf (697/1298) and the Madrasa-Mausoleum of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muhammad (b. 695/1295–1296, d. 703/1303–1304).⁶⁷

The use of bold *chevron* and striped patterning framing arches and niches (33) was a fashion in Cairo from the period of at least the Mausoleum of Qalā’ūn (684/1285) onwards.⁶⁸ The precedent for plain striped patterning of arches is discussed above.

As has already been mentioned, the decoration of the semidome niches within large squinch arches (35) is almost identical with that of the Ašrafiyya, an indication that the work above may be almost contemporary in date.

The walls of the corner niches in the octagonal drum (34) seem to be decorated in imitation of precious plates of Mesopotamian and Fātimid, and possibly Persian, provenance. No precedent for such a practice in decorative painting is known, but it seems to reflect a fashion for setting precious ceramic plates into walls as ornamentation, a practice that has survived down to the present day in many parts of the Islamic world.⁶⁹

Conclusion

The consistently fine quality of design and execution of these ceilings, particularly that of the Ašrafiyya, argue that each was conceived and executed on a coherent scheme over a short period under the direction of a leading master. Who that master may have been we have as yet no way of knowing, although it is possible that cleaning may yet reveal his signature. In the meantime, among the mass of evidence discussed above, there is a clear indication that the painted domes were executed in the style current in the period between 715/1315 and 762/1360, and probably still fashionable in the 770s/1370s and 780s/1380s.

The dome decoration of the Ašrafiyya was, in its general design and many of its features, unlike any other such decoration of which we have knowledge. It was, interestingly enough, apparently derived in part from sources other than purely architectural decoration. While much of the 8th/14th century was marked by internationalism, by a tendency for artists and craftsmen to travel and for ideas to be interchanged between many different parts of the Islamic world, we have no reason to suppose that the designer of these decorations came from further afield than the Mamlūk realms of Egypt and Syria—whose art we already know the Rasūlids to have admired.⁷⁰

In overall pattern the Ašrafiyya dome follows the arrangement typical in much metalwork (cf. Plate 22) but it involves a richness of imagination and a diversity of mo-

⁶⁷ K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, vol. 2, Plates 84 c and 86 b.

⁶⁸ K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, vol. 2, Plates 108 b, II2 a, II4 c.

⁶⁹ Notably in Oman, East Africa and Nigeria.

⁷⁰ E. Atil, *Renaissance of Islam: Art of the Mamluks*, 1981, p. 62.

tifs far in excess of anything normally demanded of a craftsman working in a small compass. That it has been achieved so masterfully, and with such subtleties of colour and form, is an indication of the outstanding calibre of the artists and craftsmen who accomplished it. They achieve a level of artistic design, colouring and execution equal to work of the highest quality in the Islamic world at that period—which also saw the construction of the Mosque-Madrassa-Mausoleum of Sultan Hasan in Cairo, the Madrasa of Bū ‘Ināniyya in Fez, and the two great courts of the Alhambra at Granada.

It is to be hoped that the Yemeni government will ensure that these dome paintings, which were recently severely damaged by water, will be safely protected against further deterioration. Their interest is not limited by national boundaries. They are singular in their type and quality; until a decade ago they were in an extraordinarily perfect state of preservation; and they are surely unique in their beauty and magnificence among dome paintings in the Mamlūk style.

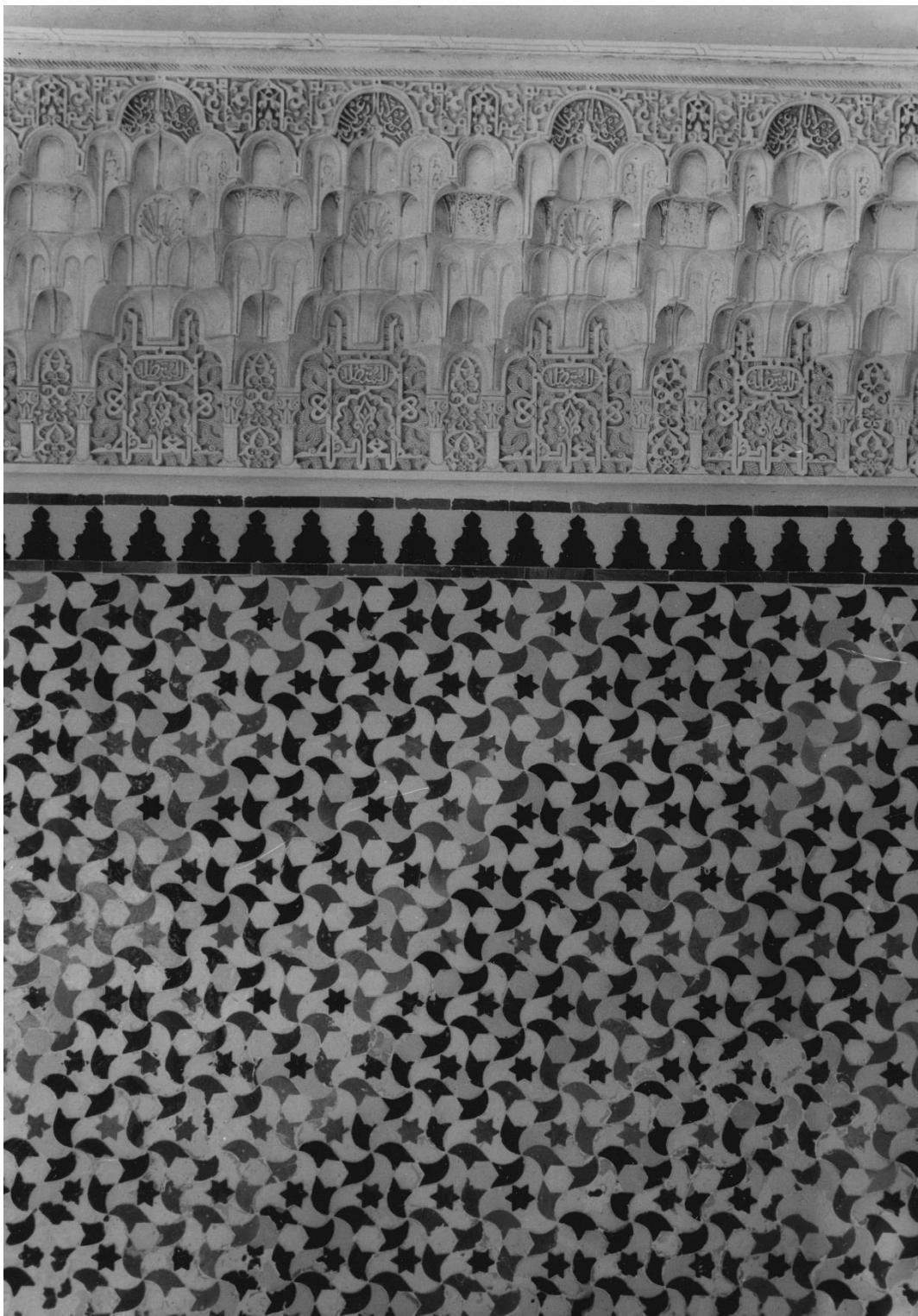


Plate 20. Part of the decoration of the Mirador de la Daraxa,
Court of the Myrtles, Alhambra, Spain (c. 755/1354–794/1391 (?)).

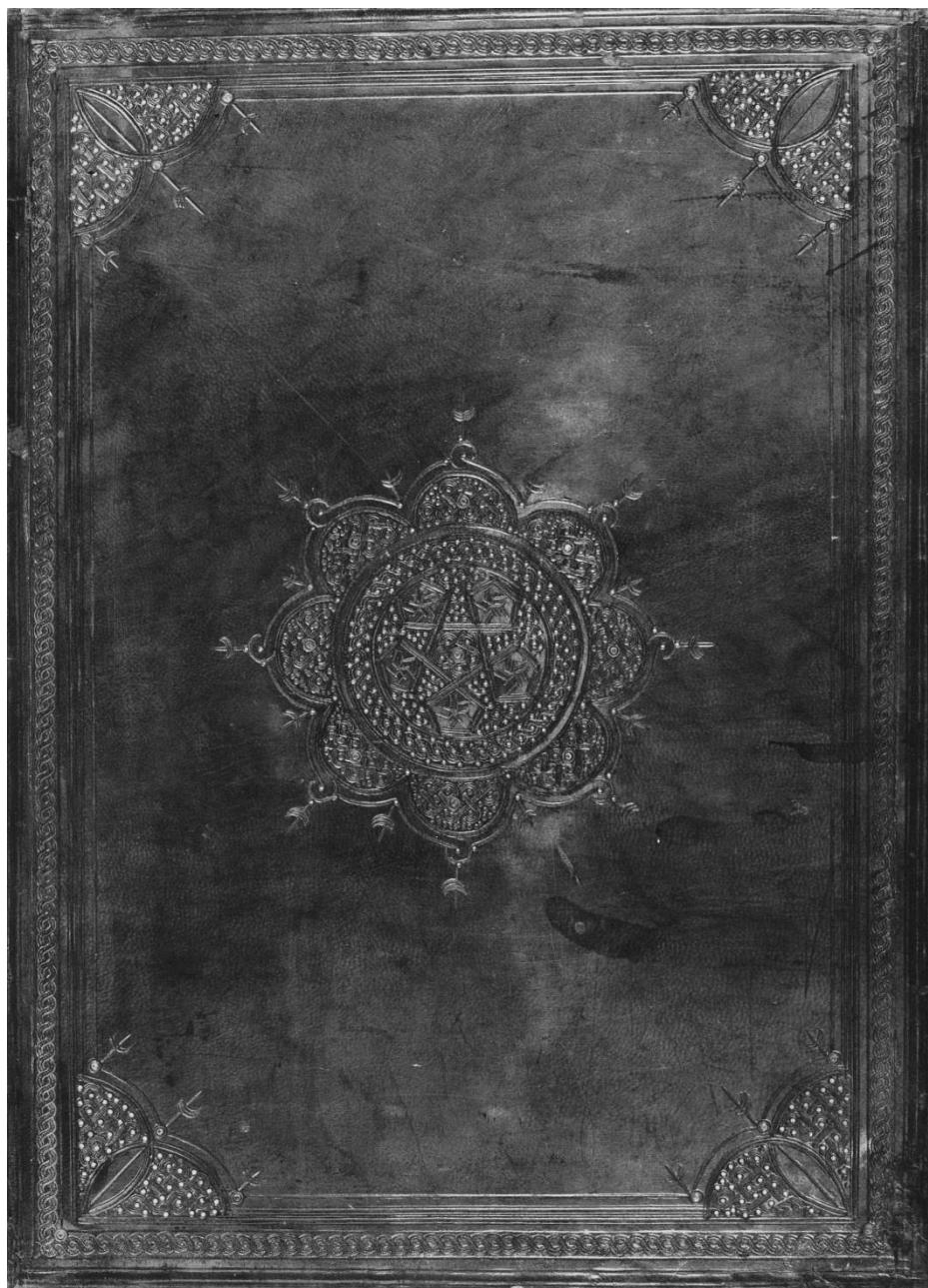


Plate 21. Leather book cover, Egypt/Syria, 8th/14th century.

Chester Beatty Library Moritz Collection 20 (cf. note 5).



Plate 22. Lamp made in brass inlaid with silver and gold.
Mamlük, second half of 8th/14th century.

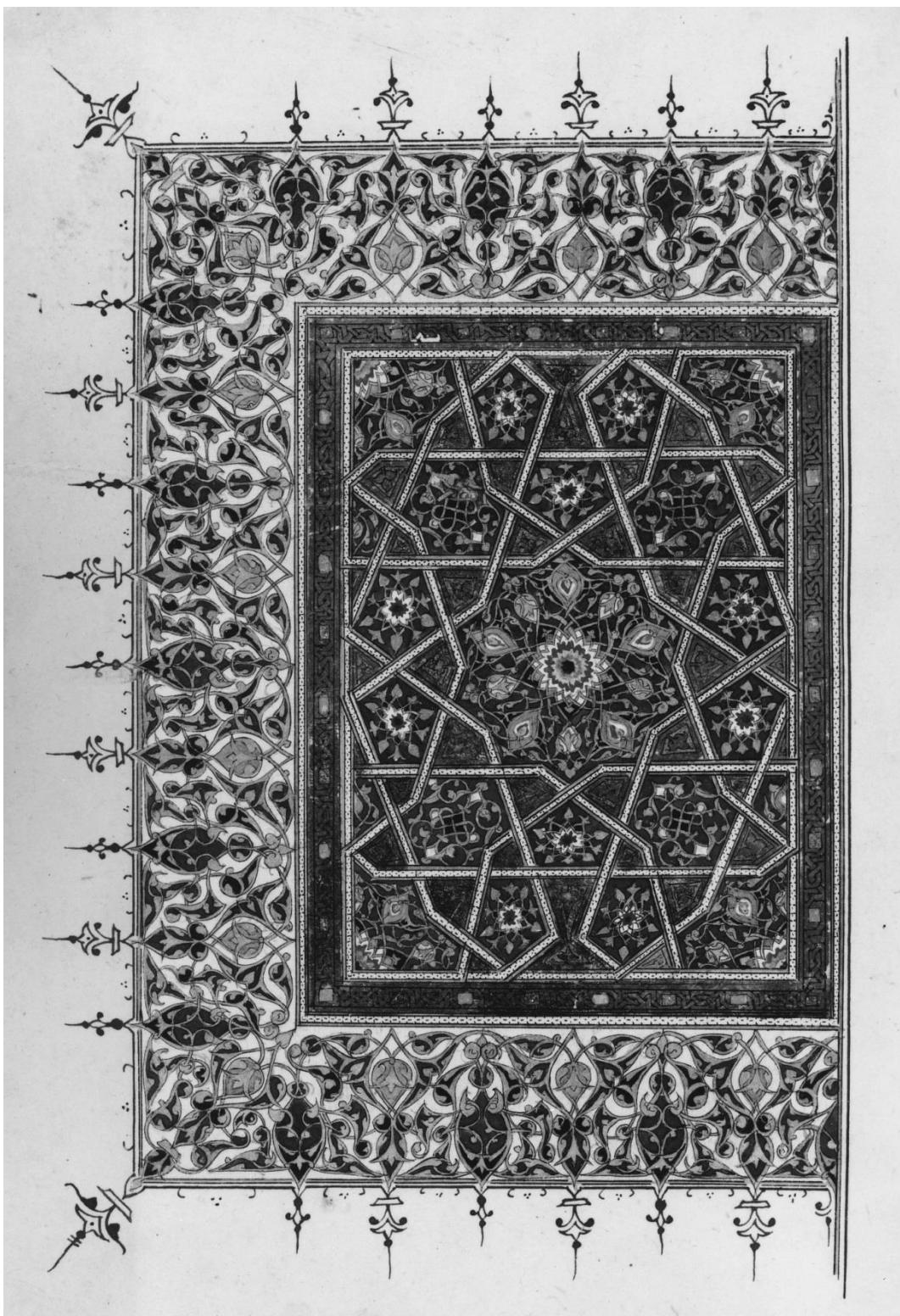


Plate 23. End page of a Qur'an in a style typical of 8th/14th century Mamluk illumination (cf. note 19).

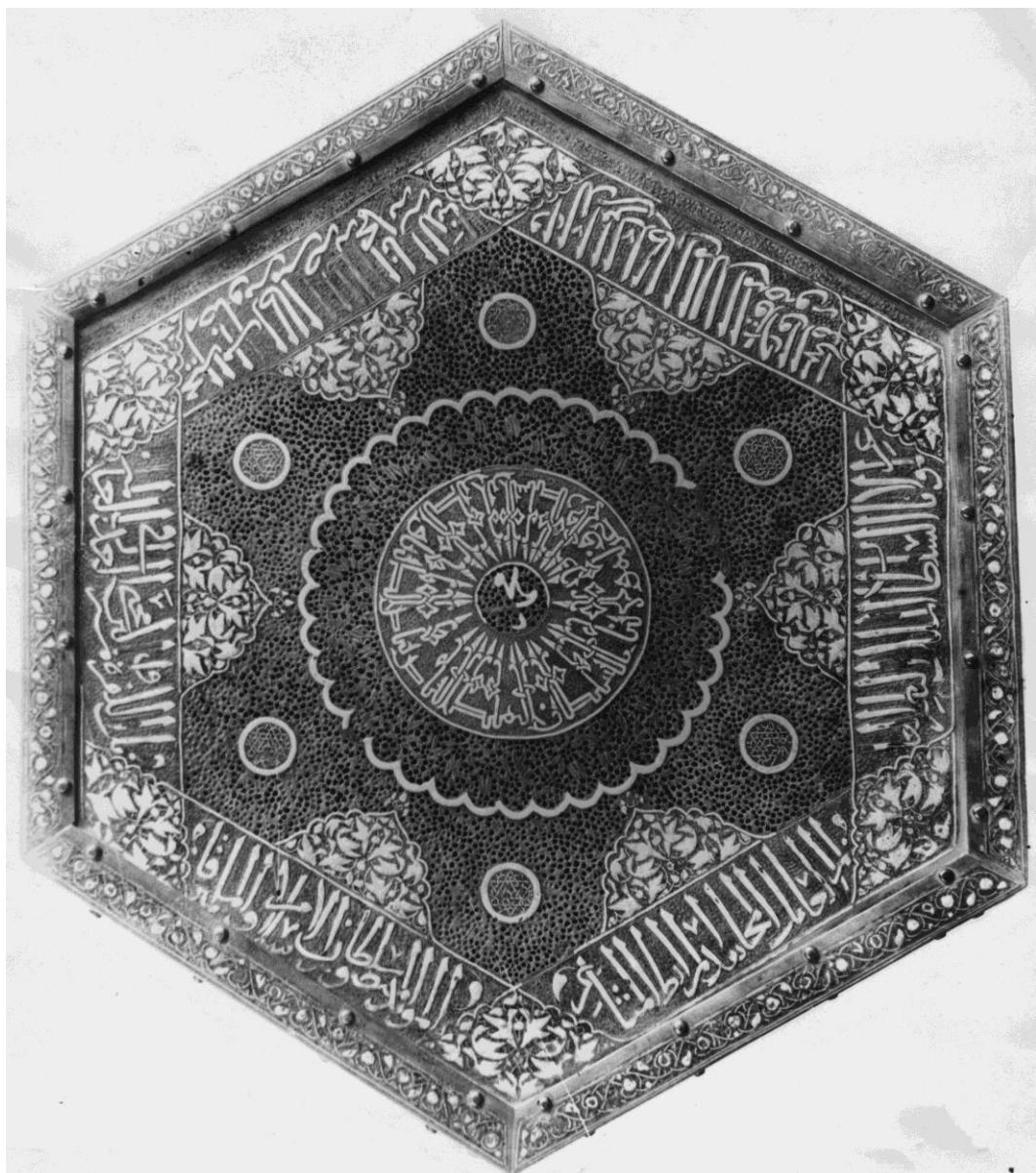


Plate 24. Brass plated *kursī* in the name of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (c. 720/1320).
Cairo, Museum of Islamic Art, Cat. No. 61.

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The Italian-Yemeni cultural cooperation for the conservation of two Rasūlid religious complexes in the city of Ta‘izz

Social Fund for Development, Sanaa Yemen
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 Istituto Veneto per i Beni Culturali, Venice Italy⁷¹

In memory of the lost cultural heritage of the city of Ta‘izz

1. The restoration intervention of the al-Ašrafiyya Mosque and Madrasa

The architectural conservation project of the al-Ašrafiyya Mosque and Madrasa complex, requested by the Social Fund for Development (SFD),⁷² was elaborated between 2003 and 2004 and the fine restoration began in 2007.

The following year, the Istituto Veneto per i Beni Culturali (IVBC) was entrusted with the management of the restoration of the historical and artistic artifacts, namely the mural decorations, the architectural timber structures and the monumental stone works. An intervention program was included for the training of the local workforce, under the supervision of the Istituto’s experts. The main goal of all involved in the project was to appraise the immense heritage of Yemen and enhance public awareness of the priceless value of it, which is the legacy of a great past. The IVBC hopes to continue in the direction taken more than forty years ago by Pier Paolo Pasolini, who in 1971 addressed an invocation to the UNESCO, to help, “Yemen to be aware of its identity and value.”⁷³

The wall painting and the carved stuccoes in the prayer hall

The main dome

The prayer hall is a long rectangular base structure (25 meters by 7.60 meters) divided into two aisles by arches resting on octagonal pillars.⁷⁴ In the middle of the hall, as

⁷¹ We are very grateful to all the colleagues who contributed to this article and especially to architect Abd al-Hakim al-Sayaghi (SFD), architect Renzo Ravagnan, Jean Pierre Zocca & Cristina Muradore (IVBC).

⁷² Yemeni government agency that is actively engaged in the development and promotion of the country in various fields, beyond the cultural one.

⁷³ *Le mura di Sana'a*, 1971, short film, documentary, Italia. Director and writer, Pier Paolo Pasolini.

⁷⁴ For the in-depth investigation that analyzes historically the decorative elements of the Rasūlid style, please refer to: N. Sadek, “Patronage and Architecture in Rasūlid Yemen, 626–858 A.H./1229–1454 A.D.”, 1990.

mentioned above, is the big decorated dome, fifteen meters high, which dominates the space in front of the *mihrāb*, the niche indicates the direction of Mecca. On both the East and West side, two large pillars support the archway ceiling of the barrel vaults, adorned with carved stucco in geometrical patterns. The *mihrāb* is also framed by a frieze with Qur'anic verse inscriptions in *tulūt* calligraphy and is surmounted by a projecting cornice—drilled shrine shape—on which three small caps are placed, dominated by gypsum ovoid cusps.

The *qaḍād* whitewash daubs the walls of the hall up to a man's height and ends in a stucco strip decorated with *tulūt* calligraphy, which relates Qur'anic verses and meanders along the perimeter, marking the limit of the first register. The *qaḍād* is a fine mortar based on lime, traditionally used in Yemeni architecture as waterproof protective layer. The area above forms the second register, denominated "niches level" in which projecting arched niches with pointed arches open up intermingled by simulated lancet windows five-lobed shaped, each one also containing false stucco windows. The wall surfaces are coated with delicate symmetrical stylized floral decorations. The next register is the octagonal drum, which is articulated by four arc-shaped windows. These openings let the natural light shine into the hall and magnify the wall decoration in its entire splendor.⁷⁵

The spacing between windows is decorated with a dense series of flowers, where a wide range of colours is cleverly displayed in order to create a dynamic decorative pattern. On the drum, which ends in a notched annulus rough projecting, rises the hemispherical dome, harmoniously painted with three concentric ascending modules.

The first consists of a large calligraphic strip that stands out on a red and blue floral carpet and is interrupted by large purple rosettes in the four cardinal points. Another circular calligraphic *tulūt* band, again on a floral carpet, with the *basmala* (the invocation to God) and the *šahāda* (the profession of faith), identifies the summit, that is completed by a projecting stucco rosette.⁷⁶ In the middle, a symbolic structure stands out that recalls the shape of a pergola with branches, painted in orpiment to recall the preciousness of gold, and which is based on Kufic inscription. With a deep blue sky as its background, a lively spiral twists with red and white vegetal elements.⁷⁷

The eight minor domes

To the east and the west of the main dome, extend the lateral aisles, composed of two bodies, each covered by four minor domes that are 7 meters high that present an extended mural painting, set on two types of decoration. The first one has round motifs recalling the shape of a pomegranate, that are spaced out by red five-petaled flowers,

⁷⁵ B. Finster, "The Architecture of the Rasūlid", 1987.

⁷⁶ N. Sadek, "Red Rosettes. Colors of Power and Piety in Rasulid Yemen", 2009.

⁷⁷ R. B. Lewcock, "The Painted Dome of the Ashrafiyyah in Taizz, Yemen", 1983.

symbols of the Rasūlid dynasty; the second has eight hexagons, including a four-pointed star. Both are arranged between bands with Qur'anic inscriptions. Under the pendentive, diamond drawings and other inscriptions in Kufic calligraphy can be found.

The state of conservation of the mural decoration in the Prayer Hall

Over the centuries, the Mosque has suffered a significant decay, due both to natural and anthropic factors and in particular caused by landslides and earthquakes that affected the area and provoked serious subsidence in the masonry, threatening the stability of the supporting structure. More critical was the opening of two deep cracks in the walls of the east and west sectors corresponding to the central dome, which had, as a result, a partial settlement of the lateral arches and significant cracks in the pendentive and detachment or deterioration of part of the iconographic setup. Between 1978 and the 1980, to overcome a critical situation, concrete curbs were placed over the arches that supported the minor domes. These were 40 cm high and surrounded all sectors, except the central one. Because of this insertion, at least 100 linear meters of the polychrome decoration have been lost. However, the decoration was already heavily damaged because of the surface erosion due to the rainwater that spilled out on the inner walls forming the cracks. The water triggered solubilization processes on the surfaces and the formation of salt efflorescence in the construction materials and on the painted plasters. The dissolution and the dragging of new stiff substances within the structure caused vast stains. Although they are more evident on the minor domes, they are also present on the main one. The salts crystallization in some areas engendered the detachment and even the powdering of the pictorial film, while in others the loss of entire painted sections, with the consequent revealing of the underlying wall texture. Moreover, in the past, the decorations had been covered by many lime washes to a height of four meters that hid most of the painted sections beneath. This tradition "wall refreshing" was repeated during the weeks leading up to Ramadan, so as to clean up the environment for the reception of the believers. The layering was executed by throwing buckets of limewater that then trickled down the walls.

From the preliminary analysis that was carried out to check the state of conservation, it seemed clear that the preparatory plaster of the central dome had a different composition from the one of the lateral domes: while the latter was made with *qadād*, the former was of a chalky kind and therefore sensitive to the humidity changes. Thus, over time, it became insubstantial and in several areas, it even flaked off. Again, in the main dome under the windows of the drum, the decoration appeared extremely compromised, with large vertical gaps, due to the runoff of the rainwater from the windows themselves. Mechanical erosion was visible on the surface: chipped plaster,

bursting and detachments of the mural septum. To overcome this situation the windows had been bricked in.⁷⁸

The restoration intervention was planned following the international standards and guidelines and it developed from a careful mapping of the decay pathologies, cleaning and consolidation to the integration of the lacunas and retouching.

An important criterion followed during these phases is that of the combination of the traditional techniques and the Western approach, which yielded good practical results and also demonstrated to the Yemeni team that the local material can be an appropriate basis to perform excellent restorations. In this way, a philological continuity was established and local artisans could play a central role in supporting the Italian experts with their knowledge of the traditional crafts and materials.

The final interventions were dedicated to the pictorial integration of the mural decorations. In this regards, the integration of the incomplete Qur'anic inscriptions proved to be extremely challenging yet satisfactory. In the Islamic monuments, the calligraphy is not only ornamental, but also iconographic as it shelters and discloses God's word to the believers. So after a deep analysis of all the calligraphic motifs the Yemeni-Italian experts could faithfully restore its missing parts. This solution has also been adopted to the carved gypsum inscription in the Prayer Hall.

Among the most satisfactory results of this restoration and education project, it can be included the sensitization of the local manpower, who is now fully aware of the importance of conserving their cultural heritage sites and of the value embedded in their knowledge of traditional building techniques.

The restoration of the monumental complex of the al-Ašrafiyya Mosque and Madrasa was completed in 2014 and the Prayer Hall was opened to the believers during an official opening ceremony in the presence of the authorities of the Governorate of Ta'izz.

2. The state of conservation of the al-Mużaffar Mosque (2014)

Before the collapsing of the Yemeni political situation, the SDF asked the IVBC to carry out a detailed survey of the state of conservation of the al-Mużaffar Mosque in order to develop a conservation intervention project. This survey was completed in October 2014 in collaboration with the SFD experts. A major conservation project was drafted but unfortunately the works have yet to begin and we are not aware completely of the actual state of conservation of this holy place. It is believed that the heavy fighting occurring in the city of Tai'zz have not affected the Rasūlid religious complex except for an external concrete cistern which was damaged. The following description relates to the last survey the Italian experts carried out together with the Yemeni colleagues from the SFD.

⁷⁸ L. Barban et al., *Il restauro delle decorazioni murali della moschea al-Ashrafiyya in Ta'izz, Yemen*, 2011.

The architectural structure is composed of two large bodies. The first, on the north side, preserves the original features, including two long parallel aisles that incorporate twelve minor domes and three main domes, which have a coeval decoration setting on the inside.

In the other two aisles of the Prayer Hall, which are south facing, only the pillars supporting the arches are original. The roofing was secured with reinforced concrete during the 1960s. Similarly, the two large open rooms parallel to the Prayer Hall, on the east and on the south side of the courtyard, were built during the 1960s, after the collapsing of the ancient minaret.

The perimetral porches in the courtyard are to be considered parts of the original building, which dates back to the 13th century. In general, the original architectural structure, which is more than eight centuries old, presents a problematic decay: both the load-bearing masonry structures and the wall decorations are significantly damaged.

Over the centuries, the structure has undergone many stresses due to earthquakes (the last was in 1982)⁷⁹ and landslides, which have caused static damage in the architectural load-bearing structure.

An aspect linked to the situation of static instability concerns an intervention carried out to strengthen the pillars and arches in the prayer hall, specifically in the first major dome to the west and the last great dome to the east. The strengthening work carried out in the past, of which currently there is no documentation, consisted of the construction of large masonry blocks in rectangular sections, functioning as buttresses for the damaged arches and pillars.

Even under the Prayer Hall floor, in the mosque's underground rooms, called *hanqa*, the thick bearing walls with their bases set deep in the foundation soil, showed several cracks.

In 2005 the Cultural Heritage Unit—SFD and the Department for Antiquities—Tai'zz Branch launched an awareness raising campaign concerning the situation of al-Mużaffar Mosque and addressed a letter to the local authorities and, in particular, to the attention of the Governor of Ta'izz. From the month of May until the following year, a first urgent intervention on the masonries in the underground rooms beneath the north/west aisles took place. This intervention, under the direction of architect Abdulhakim al-Sayaghi (SFD) with the team coordinated by the archeologist al-Ezzi Musleh and the engineer Mohammed Ali Dabwan, removed sediment and other kinds of waste and subsequently conducted investigations and surveys in order to assess the cracks. Other interventions for static stabilization were conducted, including the placement of supporting beams where necessary. These were very important works although they affected only a single part of the underground rooms corresponding to

⁷⁹ N. N. Ambraseys & C. Melville, "Seismicity of Yemen", 1983.

the north-west aisle and central dome *mīhrāb*. There were no open access areas to analyze the underground spaces corresponding to the southwest aisles.

In the Prayer Hall the static structural instability is particularly clear along the first aisle, parallel to the *mīhrāb* wall (north), symmetrically along the first pillars' row.

In the main domes, several long fractures are distinctly visible. In the past, they have caused a massive infiltration of rainwater. Other cracks are also visible in some of the niches' corners in both the main and the minor domes, and in many pillars of the second aisle.

Over time, the copious percolation of rainwater from the extrados leaked inside the structure and expanded as runoff along the walls and the decorated surfaces. Mechanical surface erosions, plaster detachments, swelling and mortar disintegration are clearly visible. Even more evident are the big lacunas in the main domes, resulting from the collapse of portions of decorated plaster that have left the masonry texture uncovered. The cracks in the extrados were repaired in the past but the deterioration on the inner surfaces was highly advanced and humidity had already soaked much of the masonry frame, i.e. the structural load-bearing body of the building. In any case it is necessary to highlight that, thanks to such operations performed presumably in the 1970s, the presence of water and humidity has been gradually attenuated and today the phenomenon is rather limited, although still present.

However, before the intervention of filling the cracks and the lacunas in the coverage, other water infiltration led to the migration of soluble salts both within the walls and, even more visibly, on the surface of large parts of the decorations. The action of decay linked to salts fundamentally caused by the process of the transformation of calcium carbonate, present as a binder in the *qaḍād* plaster coating the walls in a soluble product known as calcium sulphate. After the first stage of crystallization, the salts have evidently undergone several cycles of solubilization and recrystallization because of the humidity in the masonry and in the environment remained high for a long time. These crystallizations caused both efflorescence, which appeared on the surface as white stains, and sub florescence in the inner levels. This reaction led to the weakening of the *qaḍād* plaster cohesion, which covers the wall structure and serves as a base for the preparatory plaster that was applied prior to the wall decorations. This particular kind of plaster is made of gypsum and has a thickness of 0.5–1 cm. Gypsum is a compound that is particularly affected by the presence of humidity, tending to deteriorate rapidly in the form of pulverization. For example, in decorated areas where previously there was high humidity, the preparatory layer of plaster was reduced in a stage of disintegration. Another negative consequence connected to the seepages relates to the wooden beams. The masonry structure of the monumental complex of al-Muẓaffar mosque consists mainly, as per the medieval Islamic building tradition, in ashlar, pebbles, fired bricks, and wooden beams that are placed both within and on the edges of the masonry at different heights. The wooden beams serve as both a tie and damper in order to limit the damage of possible earthquakes.

The consequences of the collapse of a big minaret in 1962 should also be considered. This event led to the destruction of a portion of the mosque on the southeast

side. In the following years, new buildings were erected in this area in front of the Prayer Hall and around the courtyard in order to replace the old sections demolished by the ruinous fall.

These modern additions, which are open and integrated into the Prayer Hall and anchored to the original structures, were built in reinforced concrete with columns, beams, and flat ceilings.

In the investigations carried out on the mosque's roof, it was observed that the contact line between the two architectural bodies, the historic and the new one in concrete, is not planar.

A general aspect of the decay involves the walls and the pillars at the ground floor of the Prayer Hall, at the height of the carved stucco works. Originally, the *qadād* plaster was visible and had a particular grey-beige tone. Over time, due to humidity and lack of maintenance, several lacunas formed. During the works of the 1970s, but also more recently, they have been covered with several coats of a white oil-based painting, which are not coherent with the original decoration.

In conclusion, the state of conservation of the al-Muzaffar complex presents several challenges and the Yemeni-Italian team developed a careful restoration project responding to each of them. It is our hope to go back to Yemen and keep working with our colleagues on the conservation of this beautiful Rasūlid monument.

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**LA QUESTION DES NOMS D'ESPECES DE POISSONS EN ARABE :
LA LISTE DE ROBERT BERTRAM SERJEANT**

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Résumé

Cet article traite d'une liste de noms vernaculaires de poissons du Golfe d'Aden composée en 1954 par le Bureau colonial britannique. Un exemplaire de cette liste se trouvant actuellement à la bibliothèque de l'Université d'Édimbourg contient 334 noms dactylographiés ainsi que 181 noms en lettres arabes marqués à la main, provenant de Robert Bertram Serjeant ou de ses informateurs dont certains ont apparemment inscrit directement leurs notes dans les marges. Le problème des noms d'espèce en arabe et l'importance du contenu linguistique de la liste pour les recherches sur les termes biologiques arabes sont discutés.

Abstract

The article provides the treating of a list of vernacular names of fish from the Gulf of Aden composed by the former Colonial Office in 1954. An issue of this list, which is now at the library of the University of Edinburgh contains 334 typed names and in addition 181 names in Arabic script marked by hand by Robert Bertram Serjeant or by his informants of whom some have apparently placed their notes directly in the margins. The problem of Arabic species names and the importance of the linguistic contents of this list for research in Arabic biological terms are discussed.

خلاصة

موضوع هذا المقال قائمة بأسماء الأسماك في خليج عدن، وفيها أسماء محلية، وهذه القائمة طلبتها مكتب المستعمرات البريطاني السابق في سنة 1954. وتحتفظ مكتبة جامعة إدنبره (Edinburgh) بنسخة من هذه القائمة تتضمن 334 اسمًا لأصناف السمك، بالإضافة إلى 181 اسمًا مكتوبة بخط روبرت برترام سرجنت (Robert Bertram Serjeant) أو بيد مخبريه. وهذه المقالة تناقش مشكلة أسماء الأنواع العربية، وأهمية المحتوى اللغوي لهذه القائمة للباحثين الذين يدرسون المصطلحات البيولوجية باللغة العربية.

Mots-clés

Noms d'espèces, poissons, activités maritimes, concepts d'espèces en arabe, Golfe d'Aden, Robert Bertram Serjeant, Bureau Colonial britannique.

Keywords

Species names, fish, maritime activities, Arabic species concepts, Gulf of Aden, Robert Bertram Serjeant, Colonial Office.

عبارات رئيسية

أصناف السمك، سمك، الأنشطة البحرية، مصطلحات أصناف السمك باللغة العربية، خليج عدن، روبرت برترام
سرجنت Robert Bertram Serjeant، مكتب المستعمرات البريطاني

I. Lexicographie arabe et noms d'espèces biologiques

Dans la lexicographie arabe, les noms d'espèces biologiques sont toujours l'objet de bien des confusions. En effet, les dictionnaires allant de l'arabe vers une langue européenne donnent le plus souvent des indications vagues lorsqu'il ne s'agit pas d'animaux domestiques, de plantes cultivées ou d'espèces sauvages bien connues. Ceci peut paraître étrange car un bon nombre de textes donnent des descriptions parfois fort détaillées des espèces mentionnées¹.

La raison principale de ce manque de précision semble être que la plupart des orientalistes et des philologues étudiant ces textes n'avaient pas les connaissances adéquates en histoire naturelle pour pouvoir entreprendre une analyse qualifiée de leurs contenus et que la plupart des naturalistes ne connaissaient pas l'arabe ou ne s'intéressaient pas à cette langue de façon suffisante. Une approche interdisciplinaire s'est très tôt révélée indispensable pour les personnes travaillant sur le sujet.

Certains orientalistes ont tiré profit du savoir de zoologues contemporains afin de trouver l'identité d'une espèce mentionnée dans les textes qu'ils étudiaient. Ainsi en est-il du Professeur Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy qui fut le premier à tenir une chaire de langue arabe à l'École des langues orientales créée en 1795 par la Convention. Dans son étude du *Kitāb al-ifāda wa-al-i‘tibār fī-al-umūr al-mušāhadā wa-al-ḥawādīt al-mu‘āyana bi-‘ard Miṣr* [Le Livre sur l'utilité et l'instruction en relation aux faits vus personnellement et aux événements observés en terre d'Égypte] écrit par ‘Abd al-Lāṭīf al-Baġdādī (1162-1231)², il demanda au zoologue français Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire et au botaniste français René Desfontaines de faire des commentaires au sujet de certains des animaux et des plantes qui étaient mentionnés dans le livre de ‘Abd al-Lāṭīf al-Baġdādī³. Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire faisait partie du contingent de scientifiques qui avait accompagné Napoléon Bonaparte lors de son expédition en Égypte de 1798 à 1801 et René Desfontaines avait été en expédition scientifique en Afrique du Nord pendant deux ans.

¹ Voir par ex. : Ph. Provençal, « Observations Zoologiques de ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī », 1992 ; id., « Nouvel essai sur les observations zoologiques de ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baġdādī », 1995.

² Muwaffaq al-Dīn Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Laṭīf b. Yūsuf al-Baġdādī écrivit une excellente description de l'Égypte contemporaine de l'auteur. Elle inclut un chapitre sur les plantes et un autre sur les animaux d'Égypte. L'on y trouve entre autre une description détaillée du crocodile du Nil, *Crocodylus niloticus* (Laurenti), et du varan du Nil, *Varanus niloticus* (Linné).

³ A. I. Silvestre de Sacy, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif*, 1810, p. xviii-xix.

Les grands dictionnaires allant de l'arabe vers une langue européenne ne donnent le plus souvent que de vagues identités pour les noms d'espèces zoologiques ou botaniques lorsqu'il ne s'agit pas d'espèces domestiques ou d'espèces sauvages très connues comme le lion. Même les espèces sauvages qui jouent un grand rôle dans la culture arabe tel que l'oryx d'Arabie, *Oryx leucoryx*, peuvent être mal identifiées. Cette espèce porte plusieurs noms en arabe classique, dont l'un est *baqar waḥšī*, qui veut littéralement dire « bœuf sauvage » et qui est très souvent traduit ainsi par les arabisants.

Parfois, les dictionnaires ne font que paraphraser ce que les dictionnaires arabes classiques écrivent sans procurer d'identification d'espèce. C'est le cas du dictionnaire d'Albert Félix Ignace Kazimirski⁴, dans lequel, par exemple, le lexème *hirdawn* est rendu par : « espèce de lézard particulier à l'Afrique ». Or le *hirdawn* (aussi épelé *hirdawn*) est le lézard agamidé appelé stellion *Laudakia stellio*.

D'autres essayent de consulter la littérature spécialisée afin de mieux définir les lexèmes traités. C'est le cas du dictionnaire d'Edward William Lane⁵, qui, à titre d'exemple, indique les identités zoologiques exactes des lexèmes *waral* et *dabb* en s'appuyant sur les notes procurées par le naturaliste suédois Peter Forsskål⁶. Il les identifie correctement *waral* comme étant les varans (c'est à dire pour le domaine arabe, le varan du désert, *Varanus griseus*, et le varan du Nil, *Varanus niloticus*, et pour le Yémen, le varan du Yémen, *Varanus yemenensis*) et *dabb* comme étant les fouettes queue (*Uromastyx spp.*).

Les dictionnaires modernes ne sont guère plus précis. Ainsi le *hirdawn* est simplement noté comme « lézard » dans le dictionnaire de Hans Wehr⁷ et comme « lézard, agame » dans le dictionnaire de Daniel Reig⁸. Or le terme « agame » n'est pas plus précis car il indique une famille de lézards comprenant plus de 300 espèces au monde !

II. Les études interdisciplinaires sur les problèmes d'identité des espèces zoologiques et botaniques

Ce qui caractérise la plupart des approches citées plus haut est le fait que les travaux sur les noms d'espèces ont fait partie de recherches plus larges où ces problèmes ne représentaient qu'un aspect des tâches de traduction ou des travaux lexicographiques généraux. Les recherches interdisciplinaires ayant pour but principal l'identification des noms d'espèces mentionnés dans les livres arabes de l'époque classique n'ont

⁴ A. de B. Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français*, 1860.

⁵ E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1956.

⁶ Ph. Provençal, « La systématique zoologique dans le monde arabe », 2017.

⁷ H. Wehr, *Dictionary of modern written Arabic*, 1976.

⁸ D. Reig, *Dictionnaire arabe-français, français-arabe, as-Sabil*, 1983.

commencé sérieusement qu'au XXI^e s. Ainsi le *Mu'ǧam al-hayawān* [Dictionnaire des animaux] d'Amin Malouf est paru en 1932⁹. Il s'agit d'un livre nommant les espèces zoologique par ordre alphabétique de noms d'espèces ou de termes techniques anglais, mais où les explications sont données en arabe. C'est à ma connaissance le premier ouvrage qui tente de reconnaître l'identité d'une espèce à partir des descriptions livrées par les textes arabes eux-mêmes. Cette approche a été reprise ces dernières vingt-cinq années par des recherches interdisciplinaires, entre autres sur le *Kitāb al-hayawān* [Le Livre des animaux] du savant iraquien du IX^e s. al-Ǧāhīz¹⁰, ainsi que sur des textes géographiques arabes¹¹. Pour la botanique, il y a la thèse de Catherine Alice Yff Breslin, *Abu Hanifah Al-Dinawari's Book Of Plants: An annotated English translation of the extant alphabetical portion*, où les plantes traitées par Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawārī¹² sont identifiées grâce aux descriptions livrées par cet auteur¹³.

Lorsqu'on étudie les textes classiques de la culture arabe traitant des animaux¹⁴, il apparaît que le vocabulaire en histoire naturelle est étendu et varié et que les descriptions sont souvent aussi très précises, avec des différences notables d'un auteur à un autre. Cependant, lorsqu'on compare les noms d'espèces dans la littérature arabe classique, tels que ceux notés par al-Damīrī¹⁵, avec les noms de plantes et d'animaux collectionnés lors de travaux de naturalistes ou d'arabisants sur le terrain, on

⁹ A. Malouf, *An Arabic Zoological Dictionary*, 1932.

¹⁰ Abū 'Utmān 'Amr ibn Bahr al-Ǧāhīz (m. 255/868) auteur de nombreuses œuvres écrites sur des sujets très variés. Son œuvre la plus connue est cependant son *Kitāb al-Hayawān* (Livre des Animaux). Ce dernier a fait l'objet de quantité d'études interdisciplinaires. Voir entre autre: A. Aarab, Ph. Provençal & M. Idaomar, « Eco-ethological data according to Ǧāhīz through his work *Kitāb al-Hayawān* (The Book of Animals) », 2000 ; id., « The mode of action of venom according to Ǧāhīz », 2001 ; id., « La méthodologie scientifique en matière zoologique de Ǧāhīz dans la rédaction de son œuvre *Kitāb al-Hayawān* (Le Livre des Animaux) », 2003 ; M. ben Saad, Ph. Provençal & M. Katouzian-Safadi, « Réflexions sur un critère de classification des animaux chez le savant al-Djāhīz (776-868) : le mode de reproduction chez les reptiles et les oiseaux », 2013.

¹¹ Ph. Provençal, « Marine biological report in the *Nuḥbat ad-Dahr fi 'Ajā'ib al-Barr wa-al-Baḥr* », 2014 ; id., « A Philological And Zoological Description », 2015-2016, parties 1-4.

¹² Abū Ḥanīfa Alḥmad ibn Dāwūd ad-Dīnawārī (815-896). Auteur entre autre d'œuvres de sciences naturelles dont la plus connue est une œuvre botanique intitulée *Kitāb al-nabāt* [Le Livre des plantes].

¹³ C. A. Y. Breslin, *Abu Hanifah Al-Dinawari's Book Of Plants*, 1986.

¹⁴ Pour un bon inventaire de ces livres et textes voir H. Eisenstein, *Einführung in die arabische Zoographie*, 1991.

¹⁵ Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Damīrī (1344-1405) composa un livre intitulé *Hayāt al-hayawān* [La vie des animaux] qui fut achevé en 1372. C'est l'une des œuvres de zoologie les plus connues de l'époque arabe classique. Le contenu a la forme d'un dictionnaire des animaux où les noms d'animaux forment les entrées par ordre alphabétique. Ce livre traite surtout de l'importance culturelle des espèces traitées telles que les formes grammaticales de leurs noms, leurs mentions dans le hadith, leurs utilisations pharmacologiques, la position des différentes écoles théologiques (*maḏāhib*) concernant leurs utilisations etc. Le contenu biologique est de nature compilatoire, l'auteur ne faisant que se référer aux données trouvées dans d'autres écrits (M. Ullmann, *Die Natur-und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, 1972, p. 39-40 ; H. Eisenstein, *Einführung in die arabische Zoographie*, 1990, p. 132-134 ; Ph. Provençal, « A Philological and Zoological Description », 2016, p. 29).

s'aperçoit qu'ils ne recouvrent qu'une petite partie du vocabulaire arabe biologique entier. Certains termes locaux, tels par exemple les noms des poissons d'eau douce d'Iraq dans le *Livre des Animaux*¹⁶ d'al-Ǧāhīz¹⁷, sont utilisés dans les écrits classiques, mais la plupart des autres sont restés dans les parlés dialectaux.

Une autre approche consiste à aller dans les pays arabophones et à rassembler les noms locaux. Ceci implique que l'on note les noms dialectaux, mais ceux-ci recourent souvent ceux trouvés dans les textes classiques. Comme déjà indiqué, le problème de l'identité fut reconnu très tôt ce qui veut dire que cette approche fut elle aussi employée très tôt. Ainsi l'un des buts principaux de l'expédition royale danoise en Arabie de 1761-1767 était de rassembler autant de noms possibles des animaux et des plantes rencontrés au cours du voyage. Comme le Yémen était considéré par les organisateurs de cette expédition comme étant l'un des pays les plus importants à visiter, il en résulte que nous avons des listes de noms de plantes et d'animaux de la flore et de la faune yéménite datant de plus de 250 ans. Après la publication en 1775 des travaux magistraux du naturaliste de l'expédition danoise Peter Forsskål¹⁸, il fallut attendre 137 ans avant que ne soient publiés les résultats d'une autre enquête botanico-linguistique sur le terrain. Il s'agit des travaux du botaniste et géographe allemand Georg August Schweinfurth¹⁹ qui publia en 1912 son *Arabische Pflanzennahmen aus Aegypten, Algerien und Jemen* [Noms de plante arabes d'Égypte, de l'Algérie et du Yémen].

Pour l'Égypte, ce livre procure 1.360 noms en dialecte arabe égyptien recouvrant 670 espèces de plantes. Les renseignements nécessaires à l'élaboration d'une telle liste proviennent en grande partie des noms rassemblés par Schweinfurth même avec les noms trouvés dans la littérature botanique comme supplément²⁰.

Pour le Yémen, G. A. Schweinfurth publia deux listes dans son étude. L'une est une élaboration des noms de plantes recueillis par Forsskål dans laquelle les données publiées dans l'œuvre de Forsskål²¹ sont augmentées par une indication des noms botaniques scientifiques tels qu'ils étaient employés en 1912 et par une transcription des noms arabes suivant un système de transcription élaboré par Schweinfurth lui-même. Cependant son ouvrage livre ces noms sans commentaire et sa méthode de transcription n'est pas appropriée à des travaux philologiques.

¹⁶ Abū ‘Uṭmān ‘Amr b. Baḥr al-Ǧāhīz, *Kitāb al-ḥayawān*, 1996.

¹⁷ A. Aarab, Ph. Provençal & M. Idaimar, « La méthodologie scientifique en matière zoologique de Ǧāhīz dans la rédaction de son œuvre *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (Le Livre des Animaux) », 2003.

¹⁸ P. Forsskål, *Flora Aegyptiaco—Arabica*, 1775a ; id., *Descriptiones Animalium*, 1775b ; C. Niebuhr (éd.), *Icones Rerum Naturalium*, 1776. Le nom de cet auteur est le plus souvent épelé Forsskål, mais il est épelé Forskål dans les publications mentionnées ci-dessus.

¹⁹ G. A. Schweinfurth, *Arabischen Pflanzennahmen*, 1912. Ce livre est accessible en ligne sur :
<https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/41971#page/11/mode/1up>

²⁰ G. A. Schweinfurth, *Arabischen Pflanzennahmen*, 1912, p. xvi.

²¹ Petrus Forskål, *Flora Aegyptiaco—Arabica*, 1775a.

L'autre liste contient les noms de plantes rassemblés par Schweinfurth lui-même lors de son voyage au Yémen, effectué de 1888 à 1889²². Elle comprend 735 noms de plantes recouvrant 463 espèces. Forsskål quant à lui rassembla 758 noms de plantes pour 475 espèces²³. Beaucoup de noms rassemblés par Forsskål recoupent ceux rassemblés par Schweinfurth.

Les travaux botaniques plus récents au Yémen tentent eux aussi de noter les noms locaux. À titre d'exemple nous avons le livre bilingue anglais-arabe d'Ahmed al-Hubaishi & Klaus Müller-Hohenstein, *An Introduction to the Vegetation of Yemen*²⁴ où les noms locaux les plus communs des plantes sont indiqués. L'étude des médicaments traditionnels du Yémen faite par Armin Schopen indique elle aussi les noms locaux des différents médicaments, dont la plupart sont des plantes ou à base de plantes²⁵.

Pour les animaux, il y a aussi les noms rassemblés par P. Forsskål et publiées dans son œuvre zoologique, *Descriptiones animalium* [Description des animaux]. Forsskål fut le premier naturaliste suivant la méthode de Linné à examiner la faune de l'Égypte, de la mer Rouge et du Yémen. Dans sa *Description des Animaux*, il nota 653 espèces d'animaux dans la partie de l'œuvre portant le titre : *Faunæ orientalis conspectus*²⁶ [Inventaire²⁷ de la faune d'Orient]. Il y fournit un inventaire de toutes les espèces zoologiques observées lors de l'expédition et cet inventaire contient les noms scientifiques ainsi que les noms locaux lorsque Forsskål les connaissait. Parmi ces derniers, on trouve 34 mammifères (appelés « *Quadrupeda* »), auxquelles s'ajoutent 10 noms arabes notés – mais sans indication d'espèce, ainsi que deux noms d'animaux légendaires, 55 oiseaux, 40 espèces du groupe *Amphibia* qui comprenait non seulement les reptiles et amphibiens de la classification contemporaine mais aussi les requins et les raies, plus de 170 espèces de poissons²⁸; à cela, s'ajoute une liste de 114 poissons de l'île de Malte accompagnés de leurs noms en dialecte arabe maltais, enfin 349 invertébrés.

Pour les recherches sur le terrain des noms locaux de poissons du Yémen et de la mer Rouge qui ont eu lieu depuis et surtout au xx^e s., une grande partie provient d'enquêtes de nature économique entreprises par les autorités coloniales ou plus tard par l'ONU et les agences de développement. Une petite partie de ces recherches a été faite par des arabisants au sens académique du mot. D'autres (et ce sont les plus nom-

²² G. A. Schweinfurth, *Arabischen Pflanzennahmen*, 1912, p. xix.

²³ G. A. Schweinfurth, *Arabischen Pflanzennahmen*, 1912, p. xvii et xxi.

²⁴ A. al-Hubaishi & K. Müller-Hohenstein, *An Introduction to the vegetation of Yemen*, 1984.

²⁵ A. Schopen, *Traditionelle Heilmitteln in Jemen*, 1983.

²⁶ P. Forskål, *Descriptiones animalium*, 1912, p. iii-xxxiv.

²⁷ En latin, *conspectus* signifie vue, regard, action de voir. Donc ce mot est souvent utilisé pour indiquer une vue d'ensemble.

²⁸ C'est-à-dire les poissons osseux, *Osteichthyes*, de la classification zoologique contemporaine.

breuses) ont été écrites par des zoologues ou naturalistes étant ou coopérant avec des personnes de langue arabe. Dans ces deux dernières catégories, entrent, à titre d'exemple, les publications suivantes recouvrant une grande partie des mers du domaine arabe²⁹ :

- Reed, William. 1964. *Red Sea fisheries of Sudan*, Khartoum, Government Printing Press, Ministry of Animal Resources, Sudan Government³⁰.
- Neve, Paul & Hamad al-Aiidi. 1972. « Red Sea Fish: check list No. 1 », *Journal of the Saudi Arabian Natural History Society* 1/5, p. 8-20.
- Provençal, Philippe. 1997. « Animal Names gathered by interviews with members of the Muzin tribe in Sinai », *Acta Orientalia* 58, p. 35-46.
- Mikaili, Peyman & Jala Sayegh. 2011. « An etymological review on fish common and scientific names in the Euphrates and Tigris », *Research Journal of Fisheries and Hydrobiology* 6/4, 412-423.
- Tesfamichael, Dawit & Hesham Saeed. 2012. « Common names of exploited fish and invertebrates of the Red Sea », dans : Dawit Tesfamichael & Daniel Pauly (éd.), *Catch reconstruction for the Red Sea large marine ecosystem by countries (1950-2010)*, coll. « Fisheries Centre Research Reports », 20/1, Vancouver, Fisheries Centre, University of British Columbia, p. 205-238.
- Provençal, Philippe. 2012. « Names of Fish and other Marine Animals in Qatar », dans : Pernille Bangsgaard, Reinhardt Møbjerg Kristensen, Peter Rask Møller & Hanne Nymann (éd.), *Qatar Islamic Archaeology and Heritage Project. End of Season Report, Environmental Studies*, Copenhagen, University of Copenhagen [1^{re} éd. révisée].
- Provençal, Philippe & Birgit Skaarup. 2016. « Arabic fish names gathered at the Fish Market in Hurghada (al-Ğardaqah) May 2011 », *Journal of Semitic Studies* 61/1, p. 231-246.

²⁹ Les travaux extensifs sur les noms de poissons recouvrant presque tout le domaine arabe de Giovanni Oman : G. Oman, *L'Ittionimia nei paesi arabi del Mediterraneo*, 1966 ; id., « L'Ittionimia araba delle acque interne, I. I laghi egiziani ed il bacino del Nilo », 1974 ; id., *L'Ittionimia nei paesi arabi dei Mari Rosso, Arabico e del Golfo Persico (o Arabico)*, 1992, ont tous un caractère de compilation. Giovanni Oman a surtout fait une compilation de noms de poissons trouvés dans les rapports de l'ONU et dans les rapports des agences de développement bien qu'il ait aussi utilisé des rapports écrits par les naturalistes et aussi ses propres notes de terrain.

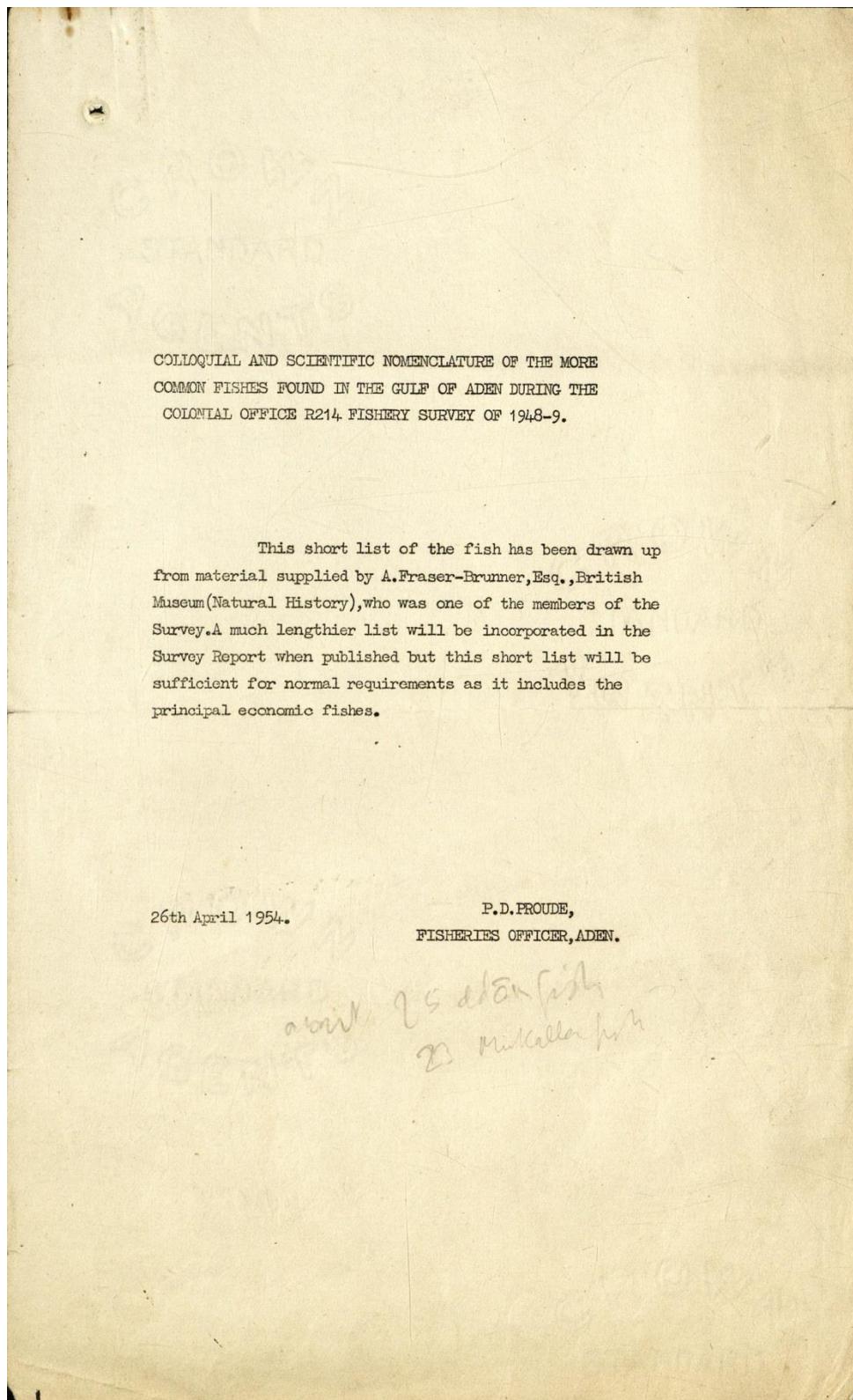
³⁰ Pour ce dernier, les noms locaux de poissons ont été expliqués linguistiquement surtout en ce qui concerne leurs étymologies dans la publication suivante : A. al-Tayib, « Commentary on the names of Red Sea fishes », 1971.

III. La liste de noms des archives Serjeant, Bibliothèque de l'Université d'Édimbourg

À ceux-ci, nous pouvons ajouter un document très intéressant, *Colloquial and scientific nomenclature of the more common fishes found in the Gulf of Aden during the Colonial Office R214 fishery survey of 1948-9* [Appellations locales et scientifiques des poissons couramment trouvés dans le Golfe d'Aden au cours de l'enquête des pêches R214 menée par le Bureau des Colonies en 1948-9], une liste d'espèces de poissons et d'autres animaux marins récoltées dans le Golfe d'Aden pendant les années 1948-1949, avec leurs noms locaux transcrits en lettres latines. Le document contient en tout 334 noms d'espèces ou parfois de groupes plus larges tels que les requins en général, dactylographiés en lettre latines sur dix pages, douze pages si l'on inclut la page de titre et la page arrière. Seules les pages 2 à 10 sont numérotées. Selon la note placée sur la page de titre, cette liste a été compilée à partir des matériaux procurés par Alec Frederick Fraser-Brunner, un ichtyologue britannique ayant travaillé avec le Bureau des Colonies du Royaume Uni et pour l'Organisation des Nations Unies pour l'alimentation et l'agriculture (FAO). La page de titre est signée par l'Officier britannique des pêches d'Aden, P. D. Proude, à la date du 26 avril 1954. Les noms de poissons figurant dans cette liste sont classés par ordre alphabétique suivant les noms vernaculaires.

Dans l'exemplaire de cette liste qui se trouve conservé dans la section des manuscrits et livres rares (Special Collections) de la Bibliothèque de l'Université d'Édimbourg, une grande partie des noms vernaculaires a été commentée à l'aide de notes écrites à la main par R. B. Serjeant³¹. En tout, 181 noms ont été notés à l'aide de l'alphabet arabe, ce qui représente environ 54 % des noms dactylographiés en alphabet latin. Parmi ceux-ci, certains ont été écrits à l'encre (apparemment à l'aide d'un stylo à bille), tandis que d'autres l'ont été au crayon. Il y a 128 noms marqués à l'encre et 53 marqués au crayon. Il semble donc que R. B. Serjeant ait bénéficié de plusieurs sources pour les appellations en arabe. S'y ajoutent des notes écrites à la main en lettres latines. Elles semblent indiquer les sources utilisées par R. B. Serjeant. Il y a apparemment trois sources qui reviennent, appelées Nahdah [ill. 2-4], Attas [i. e. 'Attās ; ill. 3, 4] et une « Ghanem's letter » [i. e. Ġānim ; ill. 3-5], qui n'est pas en notre possession. Ces noms ne se trouvent qu'en caractères latins. Enfin dans la marge gauche du document, on relève des symboles dont la signification nous échappe. Le symbole le plus fréquent est le chiffre 61, ensuite viennent les symboles □, x, □, -. Il y a un seul symbole par nom d'espèce.

³¹ Anne Regourd, communication personnelle.



Ill. 1. *Colloquial and scientific nomenclature of the more common fishes found in the Gulf of Aden during the Colonial Office R214 fishery survey of 1948-9.* Page liminaire
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| <u>Gulf of Aden Fishes</u> <u>Colloquial and scientific nomenclature</u> | | | |
|---|-----------------|--|------------------------------|
| <u>Abu Busheita</u> | (Zeila) | <u>Abddefduf saxatilis</u> | |
| <u>Abu Dugn</u> | (Jibuti) | <u>Thrissocles setirostris</u> | |
| <u>Abu Dugn</u> | (Zeila) | <u>Parapeneus spp.</u> | |
| <u>Abu Duwali</u> | (Berbera) | <u>Trachinotus bailloni</u> | |
| <u>61 Abu 'Ein</u> | (Aden) | <u>Myripristis murjan</u> | |
| <u>61 Abu 'Ein</u> | (Aden) | <u>Priacanthus spp.</u> | |
| <u>X Abu Ghanamah</u> | (Aden) | <u>Holocentrum rubrum</u> | |
| <u>Abu hagar</u> | (Berbera) | <u>Gobiidae</u> | |
| <u>Abu hagar</u> | (Berbera) | <u>Spider crabs</u> | |
| <u>61 Abu hiddi</u> | (Aden) | <u>Lutjanus vaigiensis</u> | <u>ابو حدي</u> <u>Nahdat</u> |
| <u>Abu kheirt</u> | (Aden) | <u>Carcharhinus menisorrah</u> | |
| <u>61 Abu muliat</u> | (Berbera) | <u>C. bleekeri, C. sorrah,</u> | |
| <u>Abu Maikan</u> | (Berbera) | <u>C. spallanzani, C. ehrenbergi</u> | |
| <u>Abu Salama</u> | (Berbera) | <u>Muraenidae</u> | |
| <u>61 Abu Saif</u> | | <u>Crawfish (Palinurus spp.)</u> | |
| | | <u>Dolphin (Cetacean)</u> | <u>of Randa fish</u> |
| | | <u>Pristis spp., Rhynchobatus djiddensis</u> | <u>ابو سيف</u> |
| <u>61 Abu sinduq</u> | (Aden) | <u>Ostracion tuberculatus.</u> | <u>ابو صندوق</u> |
| <u>Abu sinduq</u> | (Berbera) | <u>Balistapus undulatus</u> | |
| <u>Abu sinduq</u> | (Berbera) | <u>Dromiid crab</u> | |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Af Gamar | (Somali) | <u>Trachinotus blochi</u> | |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Af Muss | (Somali) | <u>Euthynnus pelamis</u> | |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Ahmah duwan | (Berbera) | <u>Lepidaplois bilunulatus</u> | |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Aida gili | (Jibuti) | <u>Sillago sihama</u> | |
| <u>Air</u> | (Aden) | <u>Callyodon spp. (small)</u> | <u>كاليدون</u> |
| <u>61 Antaq</u> | (Aden, Berbera) | <u>Holocentrum sammara</u> | <u>قوري</u> |
| <u>61 Antaq</u> | (Zeila) | <u>Nemipterus japonicus</u> | |
| <u>Aqam</u> | (Berbera) | <u>Sphyraena jello</u> | |
| <u>61 Arabi</u> | (Jibuti) | <u>Valamugil seheli</u> | |
| <u>61 Arabi</u> | (Aden) | <u>Mugil spp.</u> | <u>Monfrid / 20</u> |
| <u>Arusa</u> | (Jibuti) | <u>Cheilinus spp.</u> | |
| <u>Arusa</u> | (Zeila) | <u>Callyodon spp.</u> | |
| <u>Arusat-al-bahr</u> | | <u>Chaetodontidae spp.</u> | |
| <u>61 Arusat-al-Binyan</u> | (Mukalla) | <u>Chaetodon malepterus</u> | <u>دانتون</u> |
| <u>61 Awirah</u> | (Mukalla) | <u>Sphyraena spp.</u> | <u>سمور</u> |
| <u>Aqab</u> | (Jibuti) | <u>Prawns</u> | |
| <u>61 Ba Akim</u> | (Mukalla) | <u>Megalaspis cordyla</u> | <u>باكيم</u> |
| <u>61 Ba Busi</u> | (Mukalla) | <u>Mullidae</u> | <u>بلوبي</u> |
| <u>61 Ba Dhurus</u> | (Mukalla) | <u>Lepidaplois bilunulatus</u> | |
| <u>61 Baghah</u> | (Aden) | <u>Rastrelliger canagurta</u> | <u>باغه</u> |
| <u>61 Bahar</u> | (Zeila) | <u>Lutjanus vaigiensis</u> | <u>لوجانس</u> |
| <u>61 Ba Harah</u> | (Berbera) | <u>L. argentimaculatus</u> | |
| <u>61 Ba Harah</u> | (Mukalla) | <u>L. gibbus</u> | <u>لوجانس</u> |
| | | <u>L. coccineus</u> | |
| | | <u>L. gibbus</u> | <u>لوجانس</u> |

Ill. 2. Colloquial and scientific nomenclature of the more common fishes found in the Gulf of Aden during the Colonial Office R214 fishery survey of 1948-9, p. 1
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| | | | | |
|----|---------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| 61 | Bahaq | (Aden) | Tetraodontidae & Diodontidae | <i>جبل شن</i> |
| / | Ba Heilus | (Mukalla) | Acanthurus xanthurus | |
| / | Ba Hut | (Mukalla) | Parabalistes albocaudatus | <i>الأسافر بات</i> |
| / | Ba Khanafu | (Mukalla) | Apogon spp. | |
| 61 | Ba Kheit | (Mukalla) | Apogon multitaeniatus | <i>كيل</i> |
| 61 | Ba Khireiga | (Mukalla) | Lutjanus vaigiensis | <i>الأسافر بات</i> |
| 61 | Ba Kusheifur | (Mukalla) | Pempheris vanicolensis | <i>السمكة</i> |
| | Balif | (Mukalla) | Myripristis murdjan | |
| 61 | Ba Nahar | (Mukalla) | Lutjanus vaigiensis | <i>الأسافر بات</i> |
| / | Ba qureidha | (Mukalla) | Priacanthus spp. | <i>الأسافر بات</i> |
| 61 | Bara-m | (Aden) | Caranx sansum (small) | |
| 61 | Baraq | (Aden, Zeila) | Saurida tumbil | <i>ناقد</i> |
| 61 | Barbir | (Mukalla) | Torpedo spp. | <i>بربيز</i> |
| / | Barmumi | (Jubuti) | Sardinella sirm | <i>برسيم</i> |
| | Baram-al-bahr | (Aden) | Halocentrum sammara | |
| | Ba Rur | (Aden, Ras Imran) | Trachinocephalus myops | <i>برم</i> |
| / | Baruru shil | (Somali) | Trachinotus blochi | <i>بقرور</i> |
| 61 | Basal | (Aden) | Ceasio chrysozona | <i>ناقد</i> |
| | Basal | (Berbera) | Pempheris spp. | <i>ناقد</i> |
| | Basal | (Jibuti, Berbera) | Holocentrum spp. | |
| | | | Myripristis murdjan | |
| | | | Ambassis spp. | |
| 61 | Basal-albahr | (Aden) | Cheilodipterus lineatus | |
| 61 | Ba Tamrah | (Mukalla) | Upeneides vittatus | <i>با تمرا</i> |
| | Baqas | (Berbera) | Caranx speciosus | |
| 61 | Bagarat -al | (Mukalla) | Iactoria cornueta | <i>بقرة البحر</i> |
| 61 | Bayadh | (Aden, Zeila, Berbera, Mukalla) | Caranx spp. (small) | |
| 61 | Bayadh | (Jibuti) | Leiognathus equulus | <i>بيانض</i> |
| | | | Decapturus spp. | <i>ناقد</i> |
| 61 | Ba Yug | (Mukalla) | Duleo toeniura | <i>با يوف</i> |
| / | Bidingi | (Somali) | Caranx sansum (small) | |
| / | Biyo | (Jibuti) | Sillago sihama | |
| | Bishut | (Aden) | Dussumieriya acuta | |
| 61 | Bint-al-Hag | (Mukalla) | Scoolopsis ghanam | <i>بنت الحاج</i> |
| / | Boghad | (Berbera) | Rhinobatus halari | |
| / | Bugam | (Jibuti) | Aphanus dispar | |
| 61 | Bugeir | (Mukalla) | Ostracion tuberculatus | <i>بلط</i> |
| | Burbida | (Aden) | Epinephelus flavicoceroides | <i>بلط</i> |
| | Bushat | (Aden) | Sardinella sirm | <i>بلط</i> |
| / | Busu | (Berbera) | Giant Clam | |
| 61 | Da'an | (Mukalla) | Lepidaplois bilunulatus | <i>دعي</i> |
| 61 | | | Callyodon rubrovioceus etc. | |
| | | | Euthynius pelamis | |

/3

Ill. 3. Colloquial and scientific nomenclature of the more common fishes found in the Gulf of Aden during the Colonial Office R214 fishery survey of 1948-9, p. 2
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| | | |
|--|-------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dabub | (Somali) | <i>Euthynius pelamis</i> |
| <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Dabist-al-battan | (Aden) | <i>Acanthurus filojinosus</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dabbal qat | (Somali) | <i>Aetobatus narinari</i> <i>Mobula diabolus</i> etc. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | | |
| Daha | (Little Aden) | <i>Carcharhinus gangoticus</i> |
| Dahah | (Aden) | <i>Scolopsis ghanam</i> |
| <i>G1</i> Dahmah | (Mukalla) | <i>Abudefdaf saxatilis</i> <i>أوقي</i> |
| <i>G1</i> Daliyak | (Aden) | <i>Ephippus orbis</i> <i>أوقي</i> |
| Daluk | (Aden) | <i>Drepane punctatus</i> |
| Darak | (Berbera) | <i>Drepane punctatus</i> <i>Ephippus orbis</i> <i>Scutaphagus argus</i> <i>Monodactylus argenteus</i> <i>Chaetodontidae</i> |
| <i>G1</i> Deirak | (All localities) | <i>Scomberomorus commerson</i> <i>نالداح</i> |
| Dirar | (Mukalla) | <i>Dules taeniurus</i> <i>أطلس</i> |
| <i>G1</i> Dhabi | (Aden) | <i>Scriola dumerili</i> <i>طوي</i> |
| <i>G1</i> Dhobia | (Mukalla) | <i>Elagatis bipinnulatus</i> <i>طوي</i> |
| <i>G1</i> Digagat-al-Bahr | (Aden) | <i>Scorpaenidae</i> |
| <i>G1</i> Digil | (Aden) | <i>Carcharhinus menisorrah</i> <i>C. sorrah</i> , <i>C. spallanzani</i> , <i>C. amblyrhynchos</i> , <i>C. amboinensis</i> <i>أطلس</i> |
| <i>G1</i> Dik | (Aden) | <i>Scorpaenidae</i> <i>أطلس</i> |
| <i>G1</i> Dik-al-bahr | | <i>Pterosia</i> spp., <i>Dactyloptera orientalis</i> |
| <i>G1</i> Dimeir | (Somali) | <i>Balistidae & Ostracion</i> spp. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dina | (Berbera) | <i>Taeniura lymma</i> <i>Dasyatis gerrardi</i> |
| Dirarah | (Mukalla) | <i>Therapon jarbua</i> |
| <i>G1</i> Duruk | (Little Aden) | <i>Scomberomorus commerson</i> <i>شجرة غامد</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Drum | (Berbera) | <i>Tetradontidae</i> |
| Dud-al-bahr | (Berbera) | <i>Marine</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dudwah | (Somali) | <i>Trachinotus bailloni</i> |
| <i>G1</i> Duga | (Mukalla) | <i>Galeocerdo cuvier</i> <i>أوقي</i> |
| <i>G1</i> Dugunna | (Mukalla) | <i>Scoliodon walbeehmi</i> <i>فقيه</i> <i>S. vagatus</i> |
| <i>G1</i> Dugus | (Mukalla) | <i>Scoliodon vagatus</i> <i>فقيه</i> |
| <i>G1</i> Durein | (Aden) | <i>Cheili</i> spp. <i>شجرة غامد لب.</i> |
| <i>G1</i> Durrah | (Mukalla) | <i>Callyodon</i> spp. <i>شجرة</i> <i>أطلس</i> |
| <i>G1</i> Durub | {Aden, Berbera, Jibuti} | <i>Scomberoides</i> spp. <i>شجرة</i> <i>(also MGhamis litteris)</i> |
| <i>G1</i> Eidagali | (Somali) | <i>Sillago sihama</i> |

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Ill. 4. Colloquial and scientific nomenclature of the more common fishes found in the Gulf of Aden during the Colonial Office R214 fishery survey of 1948-9, p. 3
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| | | | | |
|----|----------------|--------------------------|---|------------------|
| 61 | 'Eid | (Aden, Mukalla) | Sardinella longiceps | جبل |
| | Fanusah | (Mukalla) | Chaetodon vagabundus | |
| | Far | (Berbera) | Hemirhamphus far | |
| | Faraklas zizan | (Berbera) | Kyphosus spp. | |
| | Farintas | (Mukalla) | Odorus niger | |
| 61 | Faras | (Mukalla) | Istiophorus indicus | فريس |
| | Fasio | (Mukalla) | Cirrhitichthys calliurus | فريس الماء |
| | Fat-al-bahr | | Echidna nebulosa | Probably Muraena |
| 61 | Fatrakh | | Bothus spp. | فتره |
| 61 | Gadab | (Aden) | Selar crumenophthalmus | جبار |
| 61 | Gadawa | (Berbera) | Therapon spp. | |
| 61 | Gahsh | (Aden) | Lethrinus spp. | جنس |
| 61 | Gahsh-al-haraq | (Zeila) | Lethrinus harak | |
| | Gahsh langass | (Berbera) | Scolopsis monogramma | |
| | Gahsh gurd | (Zeila) | Lethrinus mahseneides | |
| 61 | Gahsh hamari | (Zeila) | Lethrinus nebulosus | |
| 61 | Gahsh-ma-haraq | (Zeila, Berbera, Jibuti) | Lethrinus harak, | |
| | Gahsh hurud | (Berbera) | Lutjanus vaigiensis, Lutjanus seba | |
| 61 | Gahsh ma'sinui | (Berbera) | Lethrinus mahsena | |
| 61 | Galu | (Mukalla) | Lutjanus mosseli | قاره |
| 61 | Garbib | (Aden) | Parabalistes niger | قربي |
| | Garnal | (Aden) | Stephanolepis diaspros | |
| | Gargur | (Mukalla) | Epinephelus fasciatus | قرفعه |
| | Garm | (Aden, Berbera, Mukalla) | Caranx ignobilis Caranx ferdau (large) | جرم |
| | Ghanam | (Zeila) | Holocentrum spp. | |
| | Gharnib | (Mukalla) | Mugilidae | |
| 61 | Ghubar | (Aden) | Dolphin (Cetacean) | حرب |
| 61 | Ghudah | (Mukalla) | Rhachicentron canadum | غوده |
| | Ghuwad | (Aden) | Macrura kelu | |
| | Gihuma | (Aden) | Therapon puta | |
| 61 | Giladah | (Mukalla) | Julis purpureus | جلاده |
| 61 | Gilatyah | (Aden) | Dules taeniurus | جلادي |
| 61 | Girad | (Aden) | Cypselurus | جبل |
| 61 | Girad-al-bahr | (Berbera) | Blunidae | جبل البحر |
| 61 | Girad | (Aden) | Dactyloptera orientalis | جبل |
| 61 | Gizal | (Mukalla) | Canthizaster margaritatus | جزل |
| □ | Gudawah | (Berbera) | Therapon jarbua | |

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Ill. 5. Colloquial and scientific nomenclature of the more common fishes found in the Gulf of Aden during the Colonial Office R214 fishery survey of 1948-9, p. 4
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Les notes écrites à la main proviennent de plusieurs mains. Celle indiquant les sources Nahdah et Attas étant plus nettes et plus droites que les autres. Il semble donc que R. B. Serjeant ait demandé à ses sources ou à certaines de ses sources d'écrire leurs renseignements directement sur le papier de la liste. La plupart des notes proviennent cependant de la main-même de R. B. Serjeant. En font partie les noms qui reprennent à l'encre des noms écrits au crayon [cf. ill. 1-4]³². Cela indique que le nom écrit à l'encre contient la forme correcte. C'est par exemple le cas pour le nom indiqué comme *bā nahār*³³ dans la liste [ill. 3]. D'autres ont leurs signes de voyelles courtes écrits au crayon, tandis que le nom est écrit à l'encre. C'est le cas en particulier du nom *khashabill* de la liste pour l'espèce *Lutinianus kasmira*, que R. B. Serjeant rectifie en *qašābir* et dont la source, « Ghanem's letter », semble être à l'origine de la vocalisation. Le nom de la source et les voyelles courtes sont tous écrit au crayon.

Cette liste augmentée est d'une très grande valeur pour toute recherche et documentation sur les noms de poissons utilisés autour du Golfe d'Aden, car les transcriptions un peu maladroites faites par l'auteur de la liste sont « rectifiées » par les noms originaux indiqués en arabe et placés en regard. R. B. Serjeant, orientaliste arabisant, a beaucoup travaillé sur les dialectes de l'Arabie du Sud. Les noms sont souvent notés dans leurs prononciations dialectales, mais R. B. Serjeant indique, grâce à l'annotation des noms en lettres arabes, les véritables racines des mots.

³² Donnée obtenue en comparant l'écriture de R. B. Serjeant sur un document des archives procuré par Anne Regourd, en cours de publication par ses soins, avec les écritures manuscrites de la liste.

³³ La transcription est celle de la liste.



Ill. 6. Ces poissons sont mis en vente au marché de la ville égyptienne de Ġardaqa (Hurghada pour les touristes), sur la mer Rouge. La caisse contient des scaridés et une espèce de carangue.

Ces espèces sont nommées plusieurs fois dans la liste.

Photo : Philippe Provençal, 10 mai 2010.



Ill. 7. Marignan (*Myripristis murdjan*). Dans la liste, il porte le nom d'Abu 'Ein correspondant à *abū 'ayn*.

Photo : Philippe Provençal, 22 avril 2005, Ra's Ša'bī, côte égyptienne de la mer Rouge.

Les origines géographiques de tous les noms sont indiquées sur la liste. Il s'agit des ports yéménites d'Aden ('Adan), Little Aden ('Adan al-Šuqrā), de Ra's Ḥimrān, d'al-Mukallā et d'al-Šihr, ainsi que les ports africains de Djibouti, de Zaylā^c et de Barbara. Certains noms sont simplement désignés comme somalis tandis que d'autres proviennent du Somaliland. Une partie seulement des noms est donc d'origine arabe, d'autres proviennent du somalien ou d'autres langues parlées dans la Corne de l'Afrique.

Tous les noms indiqués sont bien sûr notés dans le dialecte local. Ainsi pour le port d'al-Mukallā, au Yémen, il y a une série de noms commençant par *bā*, par exemple : *bā hanāfū* pour les Apogons *Apogon spp.*, *bā hayṭ* pour l'espèce *Apogon multitaeniatus*³⁴ et *bā ḥarayqa* pour l'espèce *Lutianus vaigensis*, *bā qušay‘ūr* pour les deux espèces *Pempheris vanicolensis* et *Myripristis murdjan*. À part les Apogonidés, aucune de ces espèces n'est apparentée l'une avec l'autre. Le poisson-hachette, *Pempheris vanicolensis*, et le marignan, *Myripristis murdjan* [ill. 7], sont à peu près de même taille et sont tous les deux de couleur rouge, la couleur rouge du marignan étant généralement plus prononcée. Tous les noms repris ici ont été « corrigés » par la version en alphabet arabe sous le contrôle de R. B. Serjeant. Il y a cependant encore d'autres noms commençant par *bā* qui ne sont notés qu'en transcription latine : « *ba heilus* » et « *ba hut* »³⁵. *Bā* est fréquent pour « *Abū* » (« *Abā* »), dans le Hadramaout³⁶. L'examen de cette liste fait apparaître que certains des noms de poissons se retrouvent dans les listes provenant d'autres recherches. Ainsi le nom arabe du requin marteau figurant dans la liste est *muqarran*, un nom évidemment dérivé de l'aspect de la tête de cette espèce en forme de marteau. Ce nom est noté comme provenant de toutes les localités (« all localities » dans la liste) mais il fut déjà noté au Yémen par Forsskål en 1763³⁷. En d'autres termes, ce nom commun est resté le même de 1763 à 1948 ou 1949 et il est toujours utilisé de nos jours. R. B. Serjeant l'écrit à la main en lettre arabe. Le nom commun des mérous en mer Rouge en donne un autre exemple. Les mérous sont des poissons appartenant à la famille des serranidés, qui ont un aspect typique. En mer Rouge, on en trouve 23 espèces³⁸ et la plupart portent le nom commun ou générique de *kušar*³⁹. R. B. Serjeant note ce nom générique à l'aide de l'alphabet arabe et de ce fait confirme que le nom de *kušar* est employé dans tout le domaine de la mer Rouge et du Golfe d'Aden, un point intéressant car au Qatar, dans le Golfe Persique, les mérous

³⁴ Cette espèce se nomme maintenant *Lepidamia multitaeniata* suivant FishBase :

<http://www.fishbase.se/summary/Lepidamia-multitaeniata.html>

³⁵ Transcriptions conformes à la liste.

³⁶ Anne Regourd communication personnelle.

³⁷ P. Forskål, *Descriptiones animalium*, 1775 p. x, n° 21.

³⁸ J. E. Randall & A. Ben-Tuvia, « A Review of the groupers (Pisces: Serranidae: Epinephelinae) of the Red Sea, with description of a new species of *Cephalopholis* », 1983.

³⁹ Ph. Provençal & B. Skaarup, « Arabic fish names gathered at the Fish Market in Hurghada (al-Ğardaqqah) May 2011 », 2016.

portent un autre nom commun, celui de *hamūr*⁴⁰. Un troisième exemple est constitué par le nom *qad* ou *qadd*, attribué dans la liste aux bécunes ou brochets de mer, *Sphyraenidae* spp., qui a également été noté par Forsskål pour la grande bécune, *Sphyraena baracuda*.

Cependant, certains des noms indiqués dans la liste de P. D. Proude et donnés en arabe par R. B. Serjeant semblent être neufs. Ainsi le nom commun des requins à Aden est *muzaurir* selon la liste, un nom correspondant apparemment à *muzawrir*. Ce nom ne semble pas figurer dans d'autres recherches et il diffère du nom général pour les requins, i. e. *qırş*, plur. *quruş*, le nom commun pour les requins en mer Rouge de même qu'en arabe classique⁴¹. En outre, dans le Golfe Persique, c'est le nom d'origine iranienne, *kawsağ*, qui domine.

Un autre exemple est représenté par les poissons-ballons, *Tetraodontidae*, et les poissons-porc-épic, *Diodontidae*, qui à Aden portent le nom commun de *bahaq*, ainsi que noté dans la liste en lettres latines, mais que R. B. Serjeant rectifie en « *buhaq* ». Cette appellation est semble-t-il unique pour Aden et je ne l'ai rencontré nulle part ailleurs.

Le nom yéménite des sardines, *'ayd*⁴², présent dans le document, apparaît dans un article de R. B. Serjeant, “Customary Law among the Fishermen of al-Shihr”⁴³. Dans cet article est publié le texte des règles coutumières suivies par les pêcheurs du port d'al-Mukallā. Le nom *'ayd* est l'un des noms vernaculaires les plus usités pour cette espèce qui joue un grand rôle dans l'économie du Yémen⁴⁴. Sylvaine Camelin mentionne ce nom dans son article sur les pêcheurs de la ville yéménite d'al-Šihr. Elle indique que chez les pêcheurs habitant cette ville il y a deux genres de capitaines de pêches. Ceux qui sont spécialisés dans la pêche à la sardine sont nommés *rabbān al-'ayd* tandis que les capitaines sans désignations spéciales sont ceux qui pêchent tous les genres de poissons surtout à la ligne et aux filets fixes, contrairement aux *rabbān al-'ayd* qui utilisent presque uniquement des filets maniables⁴⁵.

Son article confirme que les pêcheurs du Yémen ont par les nécessités de leur travail un savoir étendu sur les poissons et leurs biologies, ce qui se traduit en un vaste

⁴⁰ Ph. Provençal, « Names of Fish and other Marine Animals in Qatar », 2012.

⁴¹ Voir par exemple le dictionnaire de H. Wehr, *Dictionary of modern written Arabic*, 1976.

⁴² Il s'agit de l'espèce *Sardinella longiceps* Valancienne 1847 selon la liste. Ce nom scientifique est toujours valable selon la base de données FishBase <http://www.fishbase.se/summary/Sardinella-longiceps.html>. Cette espèce est appelée « sardinelle indienne » en français.

⁴³ R. B. Serjeant, « Customary Law among the Fishermen of al-Shihr », 1980.

⁴⁴ O. M. Bahurmiz, F. Adzitey & W. Keong Ng, « Nutrient and fatty acid composition of the flesh of oil sardine (*Sardinella longiceps*) and Indian mackerel (*Rastrelliger kanagurta*) from Hadhramout coast of the Arabian Sea, Yemen », 2017.

⁴⁵ S. Camelin, « Les pêcheurs de Shihr », 1995. Je remercie Anne Regourd de m'avoir indiqué cette référence.

vocabulaire ayant relation à la pêche et aux appellations des poissons ce qu'atteste la liste de poissons traitée ici.

IV. Conclusion

Les noms d'espèces trouvés dans la littérature arabe classique ne sont qu'une fraction des noms d'espèces utilisés dans cette langue. Surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de poissons, d'insectes ou de petits animaux, les dictionnaires et les encyclopédies écrites en arabe à l'époque classique font défaut. Ce trait a déjà été noté par François Viré dans son article sur le terme *samak* dans la seconde édition de l'*Encyclopédie de l'islam*⁴⁶. Il apparaît de tout cela que les recherches faites sur le terrain sont de très grande importance. Premièrement, pour découvrir l'ampleur réelle du vocabulaire arabe en matière d'histoire naturelle, deuxièmement pour nous fournir la signification de noms d'espèces trouvés dans la littérature mais qui ne figurent pas parmi les lexèmes traités par les auteurs classiques, troisièmement enfin parce que les noms vernaculaires sont incontournables lorsque l'on veut étudier un texte ou un manuscrit appartenant à une région limitée, comme c'est le cas des manuscrits du Yémen.

Il semble que les poissons de la mer Rouge forment linguistiquement une catégorie qui n'a pas été traitée par les auteurs des dictionnaires classiques. Ainsi mes propres études ont montré que, dans l'état actuel de nos recherches, la plupart des noms d'espèces ne se trouve pas dans ces dictionnaires. La faune de la mer Rouge est cependant décrite dans les œuvres géographiques d'auteurs arabes. Ainsi Šams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Abī Ḥālib al-Ansārī al-Šūfī al-Dimašqī (1256-1327), auteur du livre de géographie du XIV^e s., le *Nuḥbat al-dahr fi 'aǧā'ib al-barr wa-al-bahr* [Les rapports sélectionnés de temps concernant les merveilles des mers et des terres], traite de six animaux provenant précisément du Golfe d'Aden⁴⁷. Ces descriptions sont suffisamment précises pour identifier cinq de ces animaux⁴⁸ et donner le nom pour deux d'entre eux. Il s'agit du *qirš* qui cependant dans ce texte n'est pas un requin, mais un poisson-scie (famille des Pristidés), et de la *bassa* qui est le requin baleine *Rhinodon typus*. Ce nom *bassa* semble ne plus être employé car on ne le retrouve plus dans les listes de noms contemporains⁴⁹. Les poissons-ballons, *Tetraodontidae*, et les poissons-porc-épic, *Diodontidae*, qui semblent porter le nom unique pour Aden de *buhaq* selon la liste, sont bien décrits dans les descriptions d'al-Dimašqī, mais leurs mentions proviennent de leurs formes et de leurs mœurs remarquables.

⁴⁶ F. Viré, « Samak », 2010.

http://brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_COM-0993

⁴⁷ Ph. Provençal, « Marine biological report in the *Nuḥbat ad-Dahr fi 'Ajā'ib al-Barr wa-al-Bahr* », 2014. *Bahr al-Yaman* dans le texte.

⁴⁸ Ph. Provençal, « Marine biological report in the *Nuḥbat ad-Dahr fi 'Ajā'ib al-Barr wa-al-Bahr* », 2014.

⁴⁹ Ph. Provençal, étude personnelle.



Ill. 8. Poisson-ballon de l'espèce *Arothron hispidus*.

Selon la liste les poissons de ce genre portent le nom de *ȝizal* à al-Mukallā.

Photo : Philippe Provençal, 25 septembre 2007,
Marsā Šūna, côte égyptienne de la mer Rouge.

Nous pouvons donc considérer la liste manuscrite des noms de poissons de R. B. Serjeant comme faisant partie de ses études des dialectes sud-arabiques. Il s'inscrit dans une tradition d'études des vocabulaires zoologiques et botaniques de cette région qui débute en 1763 avec les études menées par Peter Forsskål. Il semble qu'à peu près un tiers des noms notés par R. B. Serjeant ne se trouve pas dans les autres études examinées par l'auteur de cet article, mais beaucoup de travail reste encore à faire.

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IBĀDĪS IN THE WRITTEN-ORAL TRADITION OF MODERN ḤADRAMAWT

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Abstract

Dedicated to R. B. Serjeant (1915–1993), this paper deals with his favorite topic, the written and the oral facets of the Ḥadramī tradition. The author aims to show how local inhabitants and their cultural memory estimate nowadays the value of the Ibādī heritage in the area. For that purpose the field data gathered by the author in 1983–2008 was analyzed as well as various written sources including a book of ‘Abd al-Rahmān Ğa’far Bin ‘Aqīl (2006), an edition of limited circulation by ‘Abd al-Rahmān ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Mallāḥī (2001), and local tribal histories.

Résumé

Dédié à R. B. Serjeant (1915-1993), cet article traite de l'un de ses thèmes favoris, les aspects écrits et oraux de la tradition hadramie. L'auteur de l'article tente de mettre en lumière la valeur accordée au patrimoine ibadite du Hadramaout, autant par ses habitants que dans la mémoire culturelle. L'étude s'appuie sur des données de terrain réunies de 1983 à 2008, différentes sources écrites, en particulier un livre de ‘Abd al-Rahmān Ğa’far Bin ‘Aqīl (2006), une édition diffusée dans des cercles limités de ‘Abd al-Rahmān ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Mallāḥī (2001), ainsi que sur des récits de tribus locales.

خلاصة

هذه المقالة مكرسة لجود روبرت سرجنت (1915-1993) وتناول موضوعه المفضل وهو المظاهر المكتوبة والشفاهية للتقاليد الحضرمية. ويدل المؤلف إلى إظهار مدى اهتمام سكان البلاد بذكرياتهم الثقافية وتقدير قيمة التراث الإباضي في المنطقة. ولهذا الغرض تم تحليل المعطيات والبيانات الميدانية التي جمعها المؤلف في السنوات 1983-2008، بالإضافة إلى المصادر المكتوبة ومن بينها الكتاب الذي ألفه عبد الرحمن جعفر بن عقيل (2006)، وطبعة نادرة ومحدودة التوزيع لكتاب المؤرخ والباحث عبد الرحمن عبد الكريم الملحي (2001)، وبعض التواريخ القبلية المحلية.

Keywords

South Arabia, Ḥadramawt, Ibādīyya, ‘Abd al-Rahmān Ğa’far Bin ‘Aqīl, ‘Abd al-Rahmān ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Mallāḥī (1936–2013), written-oral tradition, editions of small circulation, tribal histories

Mots-clés

Arabie du Sud, Hadramaout, Ibadites, ‘Abd al-Rahmān Ğa’far Bin ‘Aqīl, ‘Abd al-Rahmān ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Mallāḥī (1936-2013), traditions orale et écrite, éditions de diffusion restreinte, récits tribaux

عبارات رئيسية

جنوب الجزيرة العربية، حضرموت، الإباضية، عبد الرحمن جعفر بن عقيل، عبد الرحمن عبد الكريم الملاحي (1936-2013)، التقاليد المكتوبة والشفهية، إصدارات ذات توزيع محدود، تواريخ قبلية محلية

I. Introduction

Seminal works of R. B. Serjeant (1915–1993) and his bright personality influenced many researchers of South Arabia, myself included.¹ It is true in particular of such a topic as the written and the oral facets of the South Arabian tradition. This paper tackles an issue Serjeant touched only indirectly,² i.e. the place of the Ibādī heritage in the cultural memory of Ḥadramawt.



Fig. 1. Map of Hadramawt.

designed by Antje Seeger

¹ M. Rodionov, *The Western Hadramawt: Ethnographic Field Research, 1983–1991, 2007*, pp. 8–9.

² R. B. Serjeant, “Customary Law among the Fishermen of al-Shihr”, 1980, pp. 193–203.

II. Cultural memory and social stratification in Ḥadramawt

“The origins of Ibādīsm in the Ḥadramawt and the Yemen are rather obscure”, affirms T. Lewicki in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.³ Obscure, ill documented—similar claims are presented not only in scholarly writings but also in the cultural memory of local inhabitants. Cultural memory as the shared past created within an ethnic culture singles out certain historical periods and memorizes definite heroes while other actors are consigned to oblivion.

By the advent of Islam to Ḥadramawt, the local cultural memory was split along stratal lines. The tribesmen, *qabā'il*, cherish memories of their decisive role either in Arab conquests or in separate campaigns and skirmishes. For the religious elite of Sāda and Mašāiyḥ clans with north Arabian genealogy, their family history begins with the Sayyid Ahmād b. Ṭsā al-Muhāġir of Basra (d. 345/956), whose new home in al-Ḥaġarayn, Western Ḥadramawt, is still shown to visitors. Until he settled down there, al-Muhāġir is believed to have lived in the village of al-Ǧubayl (in Wādī al-Ayman, the Right, i.e. Western, tributary of Wādī Dawān). His last abode, however, was in Ḫusayyisa between Say'ūn and Tarīm.⁴

Weakened after the defeat of the anti-Islamic *ridda*, the noble Kinda tribes ceded influence in Western and Central Ḥadramawt to the Tuġīb, the largest affiliate of the al-Sakūn tribal alliance. In the 8th century CE, however, the Kinda sought revenge and led a rebellion (*tawra*) against the Umayyad Governor, under the leadership of Qādī 'Abdallāh b. Yaḥyā al-Kindī, known as Imam Ṭālib al-Ḥaqqa, Adherent of Truth, along with the tribes of al-Sakūn, Hamdānī, and Nahd. The uprising was inspired by the ideas of the Ibādīyya, a movement originated from the Ḥariġiyya socio-religious branch of Islam. Ṭālib al-Ḥaqqa conquered Mecca and Medina but later was defeated by the Umayyad troops.⁵

Fighting the Umayyad and afterward the 'Abbāsid forces, the Ibādīs managed to hold on to the Ḥadramawt. In Wādī Dawān they were supported by the tribes of Kinda and al-Ṣadaf; in Wādī al-Kasr, by the Tuġīb; and in Wādī 'Amd, by the al-Ṣadaf. Al-Hamdānī regarded the most important Dawān city as the residence of the Ibādī Imam in the Ḥadramawt.⁶ Local inhabitants are sure that the Ibādī centre was in al-Hurayba, Wādī Laysar, as it was told many times during my field researches in the area in 1983–1994. Their collective memory retains the evil image of Ma'n b. Zā'ida, the 'Abbāsid military chieftain who executed people, both Ibādīs and non-Ibādīs (amount of victims reported as 15,000), cut date palms, destroyed wells and dams. It was he who reportedly ordered to local women to wear everyday black *tawb* dresses with its high-cut

³ T. Lewicki, “Al-Ibādīyya”, 2001, vol. 3, pp. 646a–657b.

⁴ About Ahmād b. Ṭsā al-Muhāġir of Başra, see M. Šihāb, *Al-Imām al-Muhāġir*, 1980.

⁵ M. Rodionov, *The Western Hadramawt: Ethnographic Field Research, 1983–1991*, 2007, pp. 47–48.

⁶ Ḥ. al-Hamdānī, *Geographie der arabischen Halbinsel*, 1884, vol. 1, p. 87.

hem either as a sign of complete submission to the Abbasids whose color was black, or the sign of mourning, the tradition is kept up to present day.⁷

The Ibādīs effectively fought against the Ismā'īlīs of 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī invaded from North Yemen in the 11th century CE. The Ibādī sultans of Šibām, belonging to the Nu'mān subdivision of the Bin Daǵǵār tribe, opposed the Āl Rāšid Sunni rulers of Tarīm. Early in the 12th century, the Āl Rāšid conquered Šibām and put an end to the Nu'mān dynasty. Since then there has been no direct evidence of Ḥadramawt Ibādīs, stated ṣayḥ Sa'id 'Awad Bā Wazīr.⁸

III. The oral and written sources on the Ibādiyya in Ḥadramawt

The summary of data concerning the Ibādiyya in Ḥadramawt was published in 2006 by 'Abd al-Rahmān Ča'far Bin 'Aqīl of Nahd tribal origin in his book *Ṣafāḥāt min ta'rīḥ ibādiyya 'Umān wa-Ḥadramawt*. Non-Sayyid-s historians were attracted by egalitarian principles of the Ibādiyya movement which denied traditional division into privileged and underprivileged social strata with Sayyid-s at the top of its hierarchy.

My informants, in particular 'Umar 'Alī Bā Ḥurayš (about seventy years old in 1980s, resident of al-Ḥaǵarayn), believed that the decisive blow to the Ibādīs in Western Ḥadramawt was dealt by the Sayyid Aḥmad b. Īsā al-Muhāġir during a battle near Bahrān in Wādī al-Kasr. Everyone in the locality seems to memorize a saying supposedly addressed to the fleeing Ibādīs: *lawēn tibǵī yā šārid bahrān?* "Where did you intend to go, you exiled from Bahrān?"⁹ This question has no answer, since further movements of the Ibādīs after this defeat are vague. Ambiguity is aggravated by another version of the events saying that al-Muhāġir defeated his enemies with exhortations rather than weapons: *bi-al-lisān lā bi-al-sinān*, i.e. "by tongue and not by spear-head"¹⁰—and that the battle of Bahrān occurred at a different time. Anyway the conflict is remembered by non-Sāda cultural memory as the struggle between two fractions of local tribes, one lead by the native Ibādī Imam Abū Iṣhāq Ibrāhīm b. Qays b. Sulaymān al-Hamdānī al-Ḥadramī, the other, by a newcomer, the Sayyid Aḥmad b. Īsā al-Muhāġir. These two heroes, however, could not encounter at Bahrān because according to al-Bārūnī, Imam Abū Iṣhāq was born at least 60 years later than the death of al-Muhāġir.¹¹

The case of Imam Abū Iṣhāq and his identity as poet and leader denied by most Bā 'Alawī Sāda historians is examined in detail by Serge Frantsouzoff in his paper "The Heritage of Ibadism in the Medieval History of Ḥadramawt in the Context of the Ideo-

⁷ S. Bā Wazīr, *Ṣafāḥāt min al-ta'rīḥ al-ḥadramī*, 1983, pp. 57–58.

⁸ S. Bā Wazīr, *Ṣafāḥāt min al-ta'rīḥ al-ḥadramī*, 1983, p. 74.

⁹ M. Rodionov, *The Western Hadramawt: Ethnographic Field Research, 1983–1991*, 2007, p. 198.

¹⁰ S. Bā Wazīr, *Ṣafāḥāt min al-ta'rīḥ al-ḥadramī*, 1983, pp. 56–57.

¹¹ S. Bā Wazīr, *Ṣafāḥāt min al-ta'rīḥ al-ḥadramī*, 1983, p. 73.

logical Struggle between the Iršādites and the ‘Alawites’,¹² so only brief comments should be made here. The point is that in course of time Frantsouzoff stance towards the Iršādī-‘Alawī ideological struggle, including discussion about Imam Abū Ishāq, has become a part of local cultural memory. His statement that interests of their [Bā ‘Alawī Sāda] religious affiliation proved to be stronger than scientific interests¹³ cited by ‘Abd al-Rahmān Bin ‘Aqīl¹⁴ is continuously reproduced even by those who never read any of these publications.

Indeed, Sayyid Ṣāliḥ al-Ḥāmid and Sayyid ‘Alawī b. Ṭāhir al-Ḥaddād compared the biography of Imam Abū Ishāq given by al-Bārūnī¹⁵ with a movie story or a tale of the Arabian nights and contested the integrity of Imam’s poetical *dīwān*.¹⁶ Despite of this rigorous attitude, the position of some Bā ‘Alawī scholars and religious leaders was and still is much more flexible; a native land loyalty in this respect may be more important than that of a religious trend (*madhab*). Thus historian Sayyid Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ṣāṭirī did not regard our Imam as fictional figure though he mentioned this suggestion in a note.¹⁷ As for Abū Ishāq’s *dīwān*, the practice of rewriting verse of a well-known poet and adding new ones to his original corpus is quite common in the area. Suffice it to mention either the case of medieval Ḥaḍramī poet Bū ‘Āmir whose “new” poems appeared up to the second half of the 20th century or contamination of poetical production of ‘Alī b. Zā’id, Northern Yemen, with that of al-Ḥumayd b. Manṣūr, Ḥaḍramawt.¹⁸

With the appearance in the Ḥaḍramawt of the first appanage rulers of the Nu‘mān and Āl Rāṣid dynasties, tribal influence increased, both that of already well-known tribes like the Nahd and Maḍḥiğ, as well as of newcomers like the Āl Yamānī Banū Ẓanna of Kinānī origin, and the al-Kaṭīrī Banī Ḥarām of Ḥimyarī Hamdānī origin. In the early 15th century CE, the first al-Kaṭīrī sultan, ‘Alī b. ‘Umar b. Ḍa’far b. Badr al-Kaṭīrī, made an attempt to unify the Ḥaḍramawt, something that was achieved only by his great-great-grandson Badr b. ‘Abdallāh b. Ḍa’far b. ‘Abdallāh b. ‘Alī, celebrated as Badr Bū Ṭuwayriq (1496 to the early 1570s). His name has lived on in Ḥaḍramī cultural memory, while the other invaders trying to seize control of the country, such as the Zaydī in the 9th to 11th and 17th centuries, the Ẓulayḥī in the 11th to 12th centuries, the Ayyūbī in the 12th to 13th centuries, the Rasūlī in the 13th to 15th centuries, and the Ṭāhirī in the 15th to 16th centuries, have left virtually no trace in the local oral tradition. The definition of “oral” in this case is highly conventional, since the tradition has

¹² S. Frantsouzoff, “The Heritage of Ibadism”, 2018, pp. 151–155.

¹³ S. Frantsuzuf, *Tārīḥ Ḥaḍramawt*, 2004, p. 193.

¹⁴ ‘A. Bin ‘Aqīl, *Ṣafahāt min tārīḥ ibādiyya*, 2006, p. 254.

¹⁵ A. al-Bārūnī, *Hayāt Sulaymān-Bāšā al-Bārūnī*, 1948.

¹⁶ Ṣ. al-Ḥāmid, *Tārīḥ Ḥaḍramawt al-‘āmm*, 1968, vol. 1, p. 267 n. 1.

¹⁷ M. al-Ṣāṭirī, *Adwār al-tārīḥ al-ḥaḍramī*, 1972, vol. 1, pp. 153, 154 n. 1.

¹⁸ M. Rodionov, *The Western Hadramawt: Ethnographic Field Research, 1983–1991*, 2007, pp. 163–170.

also been nourished by written records provided by genealogies, family and local chronicles, treatises, narrative poems, and verse, as well as by recent publication of the works of local historians. Modern specialists often encounter in their research on South Arabia the phenomenon of “secondary folklorization”: an oral tradition that had once enriched the written one re-establishes itself on the basis of the written sources.¹⁹

IV. The Ibādī influence in the Ḥadramawt tribes since early 12th century CE?

However it is not fair to agree with those who maintain that vestiges of the Ibādī influence have left no traces in Ḥadramawt since the beginning of the 6th/early 12th century CE, though it is quite right that this historical period has left more questions than answers.²⁰ These traces may be detected in various fields,²¹ e.g. in the rites and customs of certain Ḥadramī tribes. Thus a local historian ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Mallāḥī (1936–2013) [Fig. 2] in his field notes published as edition of small circulation [Fig. 3] presents an Ibādī poem recited by teenage boys of the Ta‘īn tribe during collective circumcision.²² Along with al-Ḥumūm tribal federation, Ta‘īn populate al-Miṣqāṣ region [Fig. 4] at the East of Ḥadramawt, an area with various traits of al-Mahra and Socotra traditional cultures.

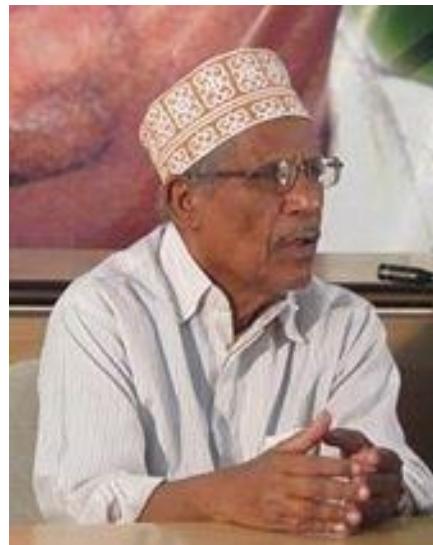


Fig. 2. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Mallāḥī (1936–2013).
Photo by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Bin ‘Aqīl.

¹⁹ M. Rodionov, *The Western Hadramawt: Ethnographic Field Research, 1983–1991, 2007*, p. 48.

²⁰ S. Bā Wazīr, *Al-fikr wa-al-taqāfa fī al-ta’rīħ al-ḥaḍramī*, 1961, p. 74.

²¹ M. Rodionov, “Ibādīs in the Cultural Memory of Modern Ḥadramawt”, 2018, pp. 146–148.

²² ‘A. al-Mallāḥī, *Al-dalālāt al-iġtimā‘iyya*, 2001, pp. 84–104.

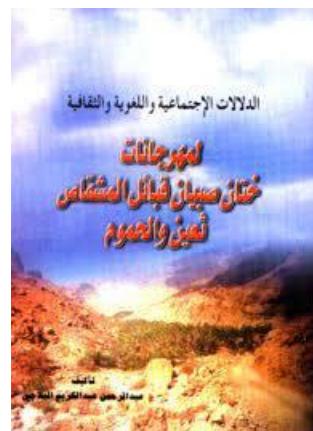


Fig. 3. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Mallāḥī. *Al-dalālāt al-iġtimā'iyya wa-al-luġawiyya wa-al-taqāfiyya li-mahriġānāt hitān ſhubyān qabā'il al-Mišqāš, Taīn wa-al-Ḥumūm*, [Haḍramawt], 2001.



Fig. 4. Al-Mišqāš, Ḫuṣn Širwān. Photo by Bāsil Bā 'Abbād.

In autumn 1991 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Mallāḥī accompanied Russian team during our field research in Wādī Bidš and other places of al-Mišqāš. He provided us with invaluable and generous assistance. It allowed addressing essential aspects of compli-

cated tribal organization and social normative culture which have been practiced in this specific area until recently.²³

The poem in question, rather long *qaṣīda* consisted of 88 lines, is composed in vernacular. The elders ascribe it to a local poet Ibn Ḏib‘ān from the Qirrād section of Ta‘īn who lived in the 7th or 8th century H (*sic!*)—no biographical data are available.²⁴ Called by the first line: *Ma‘rajīf al-damīr* (“With the floodwaters of the dam”), it contains a set of favorite south Arabian images started with irrigation terminology and rain flood, symbol of God’s mercy. Further the flood of water turns into the flood of words given to a poet by Hāyis/Hāḡis, Demon of poetry.²⁵ These words praise the calm and restraint (*ṣabr*) shown by the circumcised during the ceremony, honor dear guests who are served with coffee and dates.²⁶ The poet speculates about human deeds and responsibility of perpetrators; according to al-Mallāḥī,²⁷ he refers herewith to the Ibādī postulate concerning infidelity (*takfir*).

In addition, poetical references²⁸ to the rule of the Rasūlids (7th to 9th/13th to 15th centuries) and Crusaders (11th to 13th centuries CE) do not contradict to the estimated epoch of poet’s life (7th to 8th/13th to 14th centuries). However, anachronistic mentioning of firearm²⁹ proves that the text has undergone later changes. Finally,³⁰ the poet summons the images of water and rain as signs of God’s mercy, the ibex horns as a symbol of social solidarity and the curved dagger as an attribute of tribal honor.

A major breakthrough in the field of social re-stratification/re-tribalisation³¹ and revival of local cultural memory was made at the turn of this century by a dramatic increase in publishing activity in Ḥadramawt. One can easily obtain access to a reprint, facsimile copy or electronic file of a rare book, manuscript, or document. A tribal history written by a tribesman, reflects the stratal approach common to the historiography of Ḥadramawt, and contains a modern claim to complex interdisciplinary discourse based as far as possible on the analysis and evaluation of source materials.

One of the books belonging to this genre is an introduction to the genealogies and poetry of the Āl Katīr Hamdanite tribes of the Oman origin written by Ḥasan ‘Abd Allāh al-Barqī al-Katīrī (1429/2008). Suppressed under the Socialist regime, the tribal federations of Ḥadramawt—not only the al-Katīrī but also the Banū Ẓanna, the

²³ M. Rodionov “Plemena al-Mišqasa”, 1993, pp. 60–75.

²⁴ ‘A. al-Mallāḥī, *Al-dalālāt al-iᬁtimā’yya*, 2001, pp. 82–84.

²⁵ See M. Yosefi, “The *ȝinn* of Poetry in Contemporary Yemen and Ancient Arabia”, 2018, pp. 75f.

²⁶ ‘A. al-Mallāḥī, *Al-dalālāt al-iᬁtimā’yya*, 2001, pp. 84–92.

²⁷ ‘A. al-Mallāḥī, *Al-dalālāt al-iᬁtimā’yya*, 2001, pp. 93, 95 n. 88.

²⁸ ‘A. al-Mallāḥī, *Al-dalālāt al-iᬁtimā’yya*, 2001, pp. 97–98.

²⁹ ‘A. al-Mallāḥī, *Al-dalālāt al-iᬁtimā’yya*, 2001, p. 100 n. 126.

³⁰ ‘A. al-Mallāḥī, *Al-dalālāt al-iᬁtimā’yya*, 2001, p. 103.

³¹ M. Rodionov, “Social Restratiﬁcation in Modern Hadramawt”, 2006.

Saybān, and some others—resumed their social activities in 1992 through a series of meetings, resolutions, and tribal delegations.

An enthusiastic tribal historiographer of the Saybān, ‘Umar Aḥmad Abū Bakr Bin al-Ša‘b al-Ǧawhī dedicated his research³² to his own tribe, al-Ǧawhiyyīn, taking an interest in Bedouin heritage and oral traditions. He also pays tribute to poetry as a valuable cultural source.³³ Family trees seem to be an integral part of tribal historiography, especially if one is dealing with the Saybān, an ancient autochthonous Ḥaḍramī tribe of Qahtān origin³⁴ whose involvement in the Ibādī movement, along with the Kinda, the Nahd, Hamdānī etc., was mentioned above.

In contrast to al-Katīrī tribesmen whose motherland lies to the east of Ḥaḍramawt, in Oman, and the al-Yāfi‘ tribal federation including al-Qu‘ayṭī originating in the west, the Saybānīs, are proud of being a significant part of the ancient population of Ḥaḍramawt. As evidence of this, they cite the written, archaeological, and anthropological sources available. The Saybānī land is certainly rich in ancient artifacts and rites including a tradition of pilgrimage to the Mawlā Maṭar (“The Lord of Rain”) pre-Islamic shrine in the Kawr Saybān plateau³⁵ near Wādī Dawān, once abode of the Ibādī domination in the West as al-Mišqāṣ was the Ibādī stronghold in the East.

V. Conclusion

To draw the conclusion, one can say that the Ibādī influence in Ḥaḍramawt was active at least to the 8th/13th century; local Ibādī communities could have survived for some time in state of secrecy (*kitmān*). Anyway various leftovers of the Ibādī influence are still present in local tradition and cultural memory of Ḥaḍramawt, though its value causes today intensive and harsh disputes.

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³² U. al-Ǧawhī, *Ṣafahāt min ta’rīħ al-ǧawhiyyīn*, 2006.

³³ U. al-Ǧawhī, *Ṣafahāt min ta’rīħ al-ǧawhiyyīn*, 2006, pp. 318–330.

³⁴ U. al-Ǧawhī, *Ṣafahāt min ta’rīħ al-ǧawhiyyīn*, 2006, pp. 331–353.

³⁵ M. Rodionov, “Wādī Ḥaḍramawt as a landscape of death and burial”, 2010, pp. 341–345.

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TWO LITERARY MIXED ARABIC TEXTS FROM THE YEMEN

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Abstract

Two apparently independently written accounts of life in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Yemen have reached us: the *Ru'yā al-Yaman* by Ḥayyim Ḥabšūš, and the *Sīrat al-ḥawāḍja al-akram al-marḥūm Harmān Bürħart al-Almānī* by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ğarādī. The circumstances of their composition, their provenance, their linguistic and literary qualities, and the vivid impressions they bear of their authors are as deserving of comparison, as they are of translation. Translations are offered with a glossary of the more uncommon expressions and some remarks on LMA.

Résumé

Deux textes livrant une description de première main de la vie au Yémen des xix^e et début du xx^e s., rédigés indépendamment l'un de l'autre, nous sont parvenus, *Ru'yā al-Yaman* du Juif sanaani Ḥayyim Ḥabšūš et *Sīrat al-ḥawāḍja al-akram al-marḥūm Harmān Bürħart al-Almānī* du musulman sanaani, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ğarādī. Les circonstances de leur composition, leur provenance, leurs qualités linguistique et littéraire et l'impression forte qu'ils nous laissent de leur auteur appellent la comparaison et leur traduction. Les deux traductions sont suivies d'un glossaire et de quelques remarques sur l'arabe mélangé.

خلاصة

لدينا نصان مختلفان عن الحياة في اليمن في القرن التاسع عشر وبداية القرن العشرين تصنيفهما دون تداخل من الواحد إلى الآخر، وأول النص هو رؤيا اليمن للمسيحي الصناعي حاييم حبسوش والثاني هو سيرة المخواجة الأكرم المرحوم هرمان بورخرت الألماني للمسلم الصناعي أحمد بن محمد الجradi وسياق التأليف والوصول وميزتها اللغوية والإدية وتأثير شخصية المؤلفين من خلال كتابتها على القاري فكل هذا تحت على المقارنة بينها والترجمة. وتتبع الترجمتين قائمة المصطلحات وبعض التعليقات عن اللغة العربية.

Keywords

Yemen, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century, Sanaa, Ḥayyim Ḥabšūš, Joseph Halévy, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ğarādī, Hermann Burchardt, *Ru'yā al-Yaman*, *Sīrat al-ḥawāḍja al-akram al-marḥūm Harmān Bürħart al-Almānī*, Jacob Saphir, LMA

Mots-clés

Yémen, xix^e-début du xx^e s., Sanaa, Ḥayyim Ḥabšūš, Joseph Halévy, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ğarādī, Hermann Burchardt, *Ru'yā al-Yaman*, *Sīrat al-ḥawāḍja al-akram al-marḥūm Harmān Bürħart al-Almānī*, Jacob Saphir, arabe mélangé

عبارات رئيسية

اليمن، القرن التاسع عشر-بداية القرن العشرين، صنعاء، حaim جبشوش، جوزيف هاليبي، أحمد بن محمد الجرادي،
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المختلطة

I. Introduction

Writing in 1893, a Ṣan‘ānī Jew, Ḥayyim Ḥabšūš, (hereafter Ḥ) produced a description of his travels with the French orientalist, Joseph Halévy, in the north and north-east of the Yemen twenty-three years earlier. The title he gave it was *Ru'yā al-Yaman*.¹ Writing in 1910, a Ṣan‘ānī Muslim, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ğarādī (hereafter Ğ) composed a report on the final journey and murder of the German traveller and photographer, Hermann Burchardt. Ğ named the report *Sīrat al-hawāja al-akram al-marḥūm Harmān Būrħart al-Almānī*.² These two texts provide real first-hand accounts of life in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Yemen and also a fascinating insight into the language of the period.

II. The authors

1. Ḥayyim Ḥabšūš

We do not know the date of Ḥ's birth. We first hear of him when he acted as guide for the Rumanian Jewish traveller Jacob Saphir who visited the Yemen in 1858.³ Ḥ was a coppersmith by trade with, so it seems, a keen interest in magic which in turn produced in him a fascination for the letters of the monumental South Arabian script, although it is not clear that he knew anything of their phonetic value, let alone the meaning of the words. In 1873, he accompanied Halévy, not only to Wādī Naqrān, as mentioned in the title of Goitein's edition of the text, but also to the dangerous area of al-Ğawf among the Zaydī tribes and as far east as Mārib. During the whole of this expedition, Ḥ appears to have made not only all the logistical arrangements necessary for such a dangerous mission: provisions, accommodation etc., but also to have copied many—perhaps the majority—of the 685 inscriptions which Halévy took back with him to France. Eduard Glaser, the Austrian orientalist, who visited the Yemen on four occasions (1882, 1885, 1887 and 1892–1894), each time took Ḥ with him as guide. The

¹ I use the edition found in S. D. Goitein, *Travels in Yemen: an Account of Joseph Halévy's Journey to Najran in the Year 1870*, 1941. On the MSS used by Goitein, see section III. The manuscripts.

² The text was edited by E. Mittwoch, *Aus dem Jemen: Hermann Burchardts letzte Reise durch Südarabien*, 1926. On the MSS used by Mittwoch, see section III. The manuscripts.

³ Saphir died in 1886 and was the author of the travel work *Eben Sappir*; see Y. Tobi, *The Jews of Yemen*, 1999, pp. 267–268.

last date is particularly significant, for during this period Ḥ began his writing of the *Ru'yā*.⁴ He died in the winter of 1899–1900.

2. Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Ǧarādī

Of Ǧ we know nothing other than what he reveals in his report, *Sīrat al-ḥawāġa*. He describes himself throughout as Burckhardt's "secretary" (*kātib*) and, with some reverence, refers to Burckhardt as *al-ḥawāġa*.⁵ Ǧ was not present when the murderous attack took place in December 1909 and went on to write the report in January 1910.

III. The manuscripts

Goitein provides a detailed introduction to the MSS which he uses in the edition of Ḥ's *Ru'yā*.⁶ The MS which he calls "Glaser" was the most complete of the two found, lacking only some nine folios which Goitein eventually received from the Chief Rabbi of Ṣan'ā', with the latter's assurance that they did in fact belong to the Glaser MS.⁷ The library of the Hebrew University Jerusalem also preserves a deficient MS, two photographs of pages of which are shown in Steindler's *Hayyim Habšuš*.⁸ The Glaser MS is immaculately written and might well have been published by Goitein in facsimile. It might be added that the text of Goitein's edition is an extremely accurate version of the MS original.

Alas, the MSS of Ǧ's *Sīra* have yet to be traced. Mittwoch tells us little of the two MSS of the text which he employs.⁹ One, he writes, is in Berlin, while the other is preserved in the Ambrosiana in Milan. The former is not in the Staatsbibliothek and it is perhaps now to be found in the Israeli State Archive with others of Mittwoch's papers. The Milan MS is not in Löfgren & Traini's catalogue,¹⁰ nor does it appear in any of the library's on-line searches.

A point to stress here is that these two MSS appear to have been written on separate occasions without reference one to the other. Mittwoch does not provide an *apparatus criticus* and seems to have used in the main the Berlin MS, with only occasional references to that of Milan.

⁴ See section IV. The texts – contents.

⁵ Mittwoch has an interesting photograph of the traveller and his secretary, Tafel I of *Aus dem Jemen*, 1926, in which the two appear to be discussing an Arabic document, Ǧ facing the camera in his Arab dress, Burkhardt turned away with the document and wearing a jacket and *ṭarbūš*. The photograph must have been taken just prior to the two embarking on the fateful journey.

⁶ S. D. Goitein, *Travels*, 1941, pp. 12–14.

⁷ S. D. Goitein, *Travels*, 1941, p. 3.

⁸ G. Moscati Steindler, *Hayyim Habšuš Immagine dello Yemen*, 1976, between p. xvi and p. xvii.

⁹ E. Mittwoch, *Aus dem Jemen*, 1926, pp. 6–7.

¹⁰ O. Löfgren & R. Traini, *Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana*, 1975–2011.

IV. The texts – contents

1. *Ru'yā al-Yaman*

It is not surprising that Ḥ's fascinating text, written in 1897 Yemen and describing events and conditions there in 1870, has occasioned several translations.¹¹ Ḥ was more than a humble coppersmith. He provides an extraordinary account of his journeys with Halévy, of his own part in the copying of inscriptions and of their hard and dangerous expedition through harsh Zaydī tribal areas where the writ of no government ran and justice was in the hands of the most powerful. The text is replete with information on the politics of the day, of life as a Jew and an Arab tribesman, the laws, customs and behaviour of both communities. It is an enormously important source for an investigation into the relations between Jew and Arab and the system which of *ḡiwār* which had evolved, whereby a Jew, in order to survive, was obliged to adopt an Arab tribe as protector, both protected and protector being known as *ḡār*. Numerous anecdotes are provided to illustrate the practice. Internal Jewish laws too are laid bare. There are important references to the Ottomans who had entered the Yemen once again in 1870. Ḥ's humour also shines through in his text, in sharp contrast to Halévy who clearly had absolutely no sense of humour at all!

¹¹ In chronological order they are: S. D. Goitein, *Masē'ot Ḥabšuš*, 1939 (Hebrew); G. Moscatin Steindler, *Hayyim Ḥabšuš*, 1976 (Italian); S. Naïm-Sanbar, *Hayim Habshush Yémen*, 1995 (French); A. Verskin, *A Vision of Yemen. The Travels of a European Orientalist and his Native Guide*, 2018.

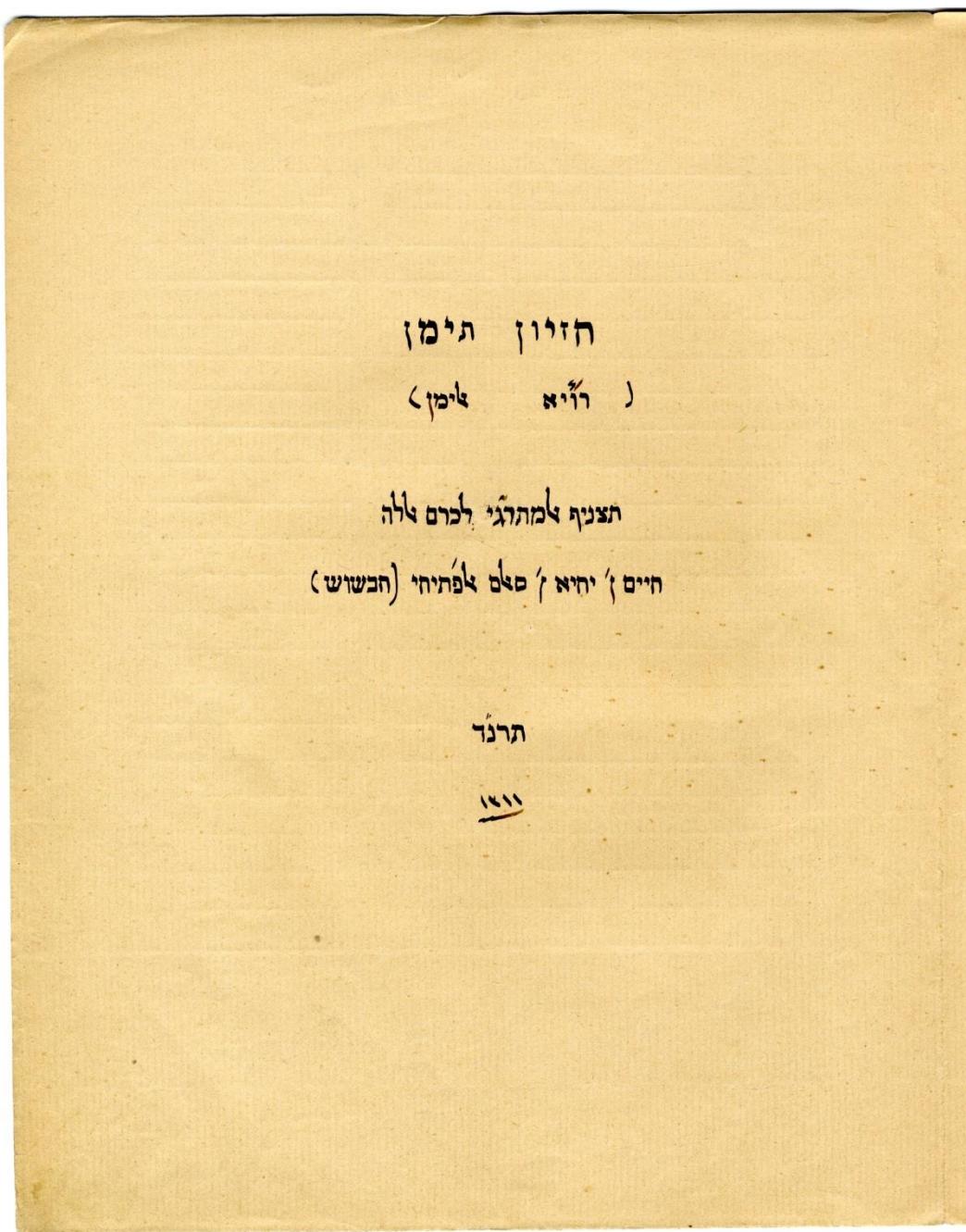


Fig. 1. The title page ḥabšūš's "Glaser" ms. of *Ru'yā al-Yaman*.
Ms. A 1009. Glaser's "Tagebuch XVI a". Courtesy of the Library of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

2. *Sīrat al-ḥawāḍa*

The text documents in some details Burchardt's journey in December 1909 from Ṣan‘ā' to Mocha and the return with Benzoni as far as Wādī al-Dūr near Ibb¹² where both were shot by bandits. The account is told in the third person, ġ referring to himself constantly and consistently as Burchardt's *kātib*. All places are named carefully and the precise names of the guards and escorts are given. The date and even the time of day figure in ġ's report. A constant, and perhaps rather irritating, feature of the text is the author's catalogue of where and of what Burchardt was taking his photographs, twenty-eight of which are included at the end of Mittwoch's *Aus dem Jemen*. ġ had his secretarial chores, though he appears not to have been much involved in the logistics of the expedition. His illness at the time of the murder (probably malaria) meant that he was not with Burchardt when the latter and Benzoni were murdered. Was the crime an inside job, one might ask?!

V. The texts – language

The language of these two late-nineteenth, early-twentieth century texts is of as much interest and fascination as their contents. They are both written in what can now be termed Literary Mixed Arabic (LMA) (the label “Middle Arabic” having been well and truly abandoned). By LMA, I mean a mélange of classical Arabic (CA), spoken Arabic (SA), the SA in both cases being Ṣan‘ānī Arabic (SaA), and a third element which is neither entirely CA or SA.¹³ Ḥ's *Ru'yā* may further be described as Late Judaeo-Arabic, according to the various periods of Judaeo-Arabic (JA) generally recognised by scholars: early JA (pre-tenth century), classical JA (tenth-fifteenth centuries) and late JA (post-fifteenth century).¹⁴

Three morpho-syntactic points common to the two texts under study—and indeed to all LMA texts—are as follows and they thus arouse no further comment below under VI. The texts – some passages. The sound-plural ending *-īn* is found in all grammatical environments; verb-subject and noun-adjective concord very often does not follow the expected norms of CA; and the *alif al-tanwīn* is absent throughout.

Ḥ's *Ru'yā* is a sheer delight, with its many stylish and polished features, which by far outweighs the at times extreme difficulties in interpreting the text.¹⁵ Apart from his more staid passages which concern the mundane matters of the journey, the author is master of the anecdote where his humour is obvious to all (perhaps with the excep-

¹² Ibb is located about 120 km north-east of Mocha and about the same distance south of Sanaa.

¹³ A. Bellem & G. R. Smith, “Middle Arabic?” Morpho-Syntactic Features of Clashing Grammars in a Thirteenth-Century Arabian Text”, 2014, p. 9. There are examples of this third feature below under IV. The texts – some passages.

¹⁴ G. Khan, “Judaeo-Arabic”, 2007.

¹⁵ G. R. Smith, “Some Linguistic and Stylistic Observations on a Yemeni Late Judaeo-Arabic Text – Ḥabšūṣ's Nineteenth-Century *Ru'yā al-Yaman*”, 2018.

tion of Halévy!) and his physical descriptions of men and places, his comments on the social and political situation in late nineteenth-century Yemen are entirely linguistically and stylistically appropriate. Glaser's prompting of Ḥ to write this work—and in Arabic, not in his original choice of language, Hebrew—was all that was needed for him to compose such a remarkable piece of literature.¹⁶

How different Ġ's *Sīra*, in language as well as content! This is a report, written, one suspects, at the behest of the German and Italian authorities who were greatly concerned at the murder of Burchardt and with him the Italian consul, Benzoni, near Ibb in the Yemen in December 1909. Written in January 1910, it is a dull, lifeless, pedestrian account, replete with the inclusion of full personal names of those involved, exact dates and times, and geographical locations. Even the details of the actual murder are not in any clear detail. There is nothing remotely stylish about the text. Indeed its only real interest is in the language which can also be described as LMA.¹⁷ The *Sīra* is heavily laced with SaA, much more so than the *Ru'yā*, bearing witness to the fact that LMA is a cocktail whose ingredients differ from text to text.

VI. The texts — some passages

I have below transliterated the Hebrew-script text of Goitein's edition into the Arabic script. It is a brief insight into the *giwār* system.¹⁸

A. Text (Goitein, *Travels*, 1941, 2.15–3.14)

Original

في قرایب واحد غريب يهودي واسمه رفعت¹⁹ (مشه) من بغداد جا الى الروضه بعد يعقوب سفير الذي هموم ليسكوه واخذو ما معه وهو قد هرب ونجى. واليهود احتبسوا بسبب هربته وما خرجوا من الحبس الا بغرامه. وانا كنت في ذلك الوقت من المحبسين بسبب يعقوب سفير.

فهذا الغريب البغدادي لما وصل الى سوق الروضه فاستعلم من محل اليهود وكان في السوق واحد سيد من جوار يهود المزاعقه فقالوا للسيد اعمل ثواب، سوق هذا اليهودي معك الى محل اليهود. فبينما هم يسيرو افتكر السيد في نفسه ان الثواب واجب له، حيث وهو سيد الحاجه لكل شيء داعيه وقد هذا

¹⁶ S. D. Goitein, *Travels*, 1941, Arabic text, *hē* Goiten's introduction, (pp. 1–12) and the synopsis of the text (pp. 15–71) provide an excellent introduction to the text as a whole.

¹⁷ G. R. Smith, "Murder Most Foul" – a Report in Literary Mixed Arabic of the Final Journey and Death of Hermann Burchardt in Early Twentieth-Century Yemen", 2018.

¹⁸ See above, IV. The texts – contents.

¹⁹ The *damma* is clearly marked on the *rā'* in the Hebrew-script text.

رزق الله، فلما وصل به الى محل اليهود فمشع عليه الجنبيه واراد يقتله. فهرب اليهودي الغريب وصاح والسيد اخذ حمار اليهودي بما فوقه ودخل به الى قصبه. واولاد يهود المزاعقه ساروا الى القبائل جيرانهم يغورو. فاقتلت ²⁰قبائل الروضه الى المزاعقه محل اليهود لينضرو ما الذي جرا. والسيد اغلق قصبه وطلع السطح ببندهقه يريد الفتنه والبغدادي يصبح ويقول اخذو حماري وفلوسي وكتابي، لانه يدعوي انه صاحب كتاب. فناجو السيد وقالوا له ما هذا المنكر الذي فعلت في وسط المحل. فلولا كنت خارج المحل ما تكلمنا عليك بشيء، اما وسط المحل فعيوب علينا ولكن سلم حق اليهودي من غير فتنه وبعدكم كلام وتعب ارجع له الحمار فقط وأخذ له ما عليه.

²⁰ Perhaps we should read *fa-iqtabalat*.

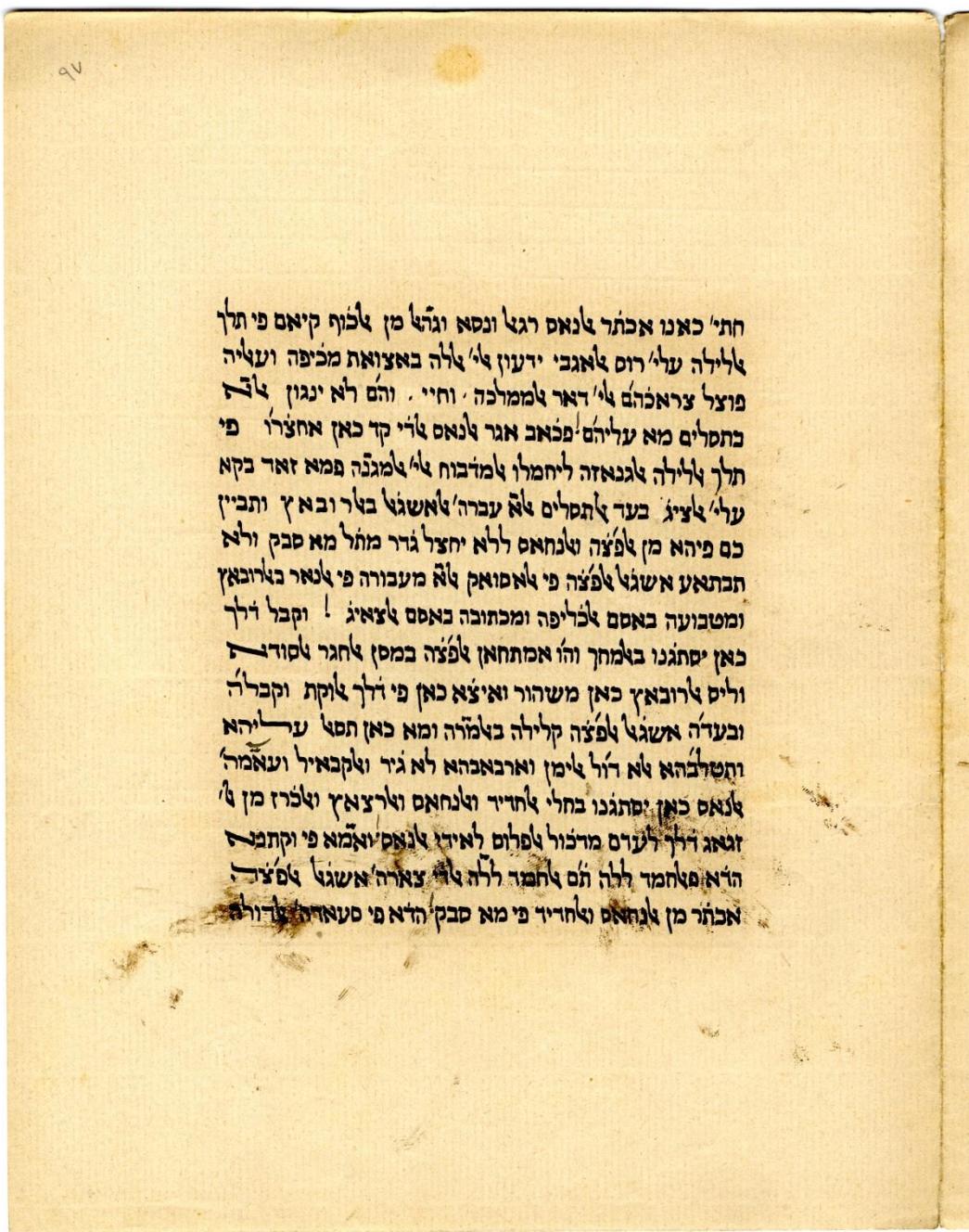


Fig. 2. Fol. 97a of Ḥabšūš s "Glaser" ms. of *Ru'yā al-Yaman*.
Ms. A 1009. Glaser's "Tagebuch XVI a". Courtesy of the Library of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

Translation

Recently a certain Jew, a stranger named Rufāt²¹ Moshe from Baghdad, came to al-Rawda after Jacob Saphir²² whom they were quick to seize and take his belongings, but in fact he fled and escaped. Because of his flight, the Jews were imprisoned and only left prison after paying a fine. I was one of those imprisoned at that time because of Jacob Saphir.

When this Baghdadi stranger reached the market of al-Rawda, he asked after the Jewish quarter. Now there was a certain sayyid in the market, one of the protectors of the Jews of al-Mazā'iqa, and he was asked if he would be kind enough to take this Jew with him to the Jewish quarter. While they were on their way, the sayyid thought that there should be a reward for himself, since he was a sayyid and every need was his due; this was indeed sustenance from God. So when he had taken him into the Jewish quarter, he drew his dagger, intending to kill him. But the Jewish stranger fled and shouted out. The sayyid took the Jew's donkey and its load and went into his tower house. The Jews of al-Mazā'iqa went to the tribesmen protecting them, seeking their help. The tribesmen of al-Rawda came to the Mazā'iqa Jewish quarter to see what had happened. The sayyid locked his tower house and climbed up to the roof with his rifle, intending to fight it out. The Baghdadi was shouting out, "They've taken my donkey, my money and my book," since he claimed that he had a book [of magic]. So they shouted to the sayyid, "What is this abomination which you have committed in the middle of the quarter? If you had been outside the quarter, we wouldn't have said anything at all to you; but inside, it is a shame on us all! Hand over what belongs to the Jew without any trouble." (...) After a lot of tiresome argument, he returned only the donkey and took its load for himself.

Glossary

Line 1 – *fi qarāyib*, SA, clearly the meaning here is “recently”; cf. M. Piamenta, *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic*, 1990–1991, vol. 2, p. 391, “in a short while”.

2 – *hamm*, SA, here “be quick to”; Comte Carlo de Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale*, I. *Hadramoût*, 1901, p. 731.

nağā with *alif maqsūra* = CA *nağā*.

ihtabas, “be imprisoned”; VIII the passive form of I.

5–6 – *tawāb*, literally “service, favour” (l. 5); with the imperative of ‘*amal*, “be so kind as to”; Goitein, *Travels*, 1941, p. 83; “reward” (l. 6); Piamenta, *Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 58.

7 – *maša'*, SA, “draw”; Landberg, *Glossaire datînois*, 1920–1942, vol. 3, p. 2697; Goitein, p. 94.

²¹ See note 3 above.

²² See note 3 above.

8 – *qaṣaba*, SA, “tower house”; Piamenta, *Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 400.

9 – *gawwar*, SA, “call for help, seek help”; Goitein, p. 91; Piamenta, *Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 361.

10 – *nāğ*, SA, “shout”; Piamenta, *Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 479.

Linguistic notes

Items of lexical interest are dealt with in the Glossary above. The following linguistic notes are presented line by line as they occur in the Arabic text.

Line 2 – NB *hammū li-yamsukū-h*.

4 – Ḥ produces two sentences (l. 4 and 6–7) in which the subordinate temporal clause introduced by *lammā* is followed by a main clause introduced by *fa-*: *lammā waṣal ilā sūq al-rāwda fa-isti'lām min maḥall al-yahūd* and *fa-lammā waṣal bi-h ilā maḥall al-yahūd fa-maša‘ ‘alay-h al-ġanbiyya*.

5 – *sūq* being the masculine singular imperative of *sāq*, *yasūq*; cf. CA *sūq*.

6 – *wa-qad hādā rizq Allāh*; the *qad* here in this verbless sentence is an emphatic particle with the force of “this was indeed sustenance from God”.²³

6–7 – see l. 4 above.

7 – note the asyndeton in *wa-arād yaqtul-h*, a common phenomenon in LMA.

9 – *li-yandurū*; the verb is spelt both with *dād* and *zā’* in Ḥ’s text.

10 – *mā hādā al-munkar alladī fa‘alt* with no object pronominal suffix on the verb in the relative clause, which would normally be present in CA.

11 – *law-lā* clearly has no negative force here and must equate with the simple *law*; also, the main clause omits *lām ġawāb al-ṣart* which would be usual in CA.

B. Text (Mittwoch, *Aus dem Jemen*, 1926, 16.3–18.5)

I have produced the text below verbatim from Mittwoch’s text.

²³ It should be noted that Ḥ scatters *qad* around liberally throughout his text (approximately 482 times in a text of about 36,600 words), as opposed to J who uses the particle very sparingly, on eight occasions to be precise (in a text of about 3,500 words). As well as the CA uses (see E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1863–1893, pp. 2490–2491 and W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 1951, vol. 2, pp. 3, 5, 79, 346), Ḥ employs the particle as an emphatic with both the suffix and prefix conjugations of the verb, where “indeed” or “in fact” is frequently the appropriate translation, as here where there is no expressed verb. For *qad* in the *Ru'yā*, see G. R. Smith, “The Particle *qad* in a Nineteenth-Century Yemeni Literary Mixed Arabic Text. Ḥabšūš’s *Ru'yā al-Yaman*”, forthcoming.

Original

وبعد ما نسمنا فيها ثلاثة ايام عزمنا منها ومعانا خمسه انفار من اهالي ذمار²⁴ محافظين فتوكلنا على الله ونیتنا نعرف رداع²⁵ فسافرنا على السلامه والعافیه وخطينا من قیعان کنا نبسر الرباح فيها والذیاب مثل التراب طول اليوم ووجھنا تبت قریت سنبان ودخلنا امسينا عند یہودی اسمه شمعون لأن المقهوین مدعومین في سنبان فادخلنا اليهودي المذکور مكان فيه قدر میتین سفره بیدبغهن والقمل ملائین فهمین علينا القمل حتى اسهرنا سهر عظیم ويوم ثانی الخميس خامس شهر القعدہ²⁶ عزمنا من سنبان وخطينا من بیت المصری ودخلنا قاع فيه الرباح ملائنه وخطينا من قریت ملح وقریت المصلا ولقینا باب القریه صانع بیشتغل فرید رداعیات هو وثلاث بناته فاخذ الخواجہ رسم الصانع وبناته واعطاهم اربعه غروش وعزمنا من عندهم ولقینا في الطريق خمین جمل محملات ملح فاخذ الخواجہ رسم الجمال برضاء الجمالین وسلم لهم فلوس وعزمنا فاشرفنا على مدینت رداع ودخلناها بالسلامه والعافیه ووجھنا تبت السمسره الكبیره الموجوده في وسط السوق حق مدینت رداع لم وافت الخواجہ وبعد ذلك شلینا جميع القراش للحکومه²⁷ وبقین فیها والشيخ صالح ابن صالح الطیری موجود في المدینه فسرح الخواجہ وکاتبه سلمو عليه لانه قایقام واضافهم براس غنم هم والعسکر المحافظین والخواجہ وکاتبه طلعوا الى القلعه وهي اعلا من جميع الدور حق رداع ويوم ثانی سرح الخواجہ وکاتبه والتبانی واخذ الخواجہ رسم العامریه من الاربع الجهات وهي اعظم العجایب بحسن عمارتها لانه عمرها السلطان عبد الوهاب²⁸ وصور الخواجہ جميع

²⁴ Damār is a town some 50 miles due south of Ṣan‘ā'; al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Čazīrat al-‘Arab*, 1884–1891, pp. 55, 80, 104 etc., Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 1979, vol. 3, p. 7. Interestingly, it is of the pattern *fa‘āli*, along with other place names in the Arabian Peninsula like Zafār, the medieval town on the southern coast of Oman, now the name of the whole southern province of Oman; G. R. Smith, “The Classical Arabic Pattern *fa‘āli* Revisited”, 2004, pp. 264–280, 276–277.

²⁵ A town about 35 miles due east of Damār; al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 1884–1891, pp. 55, 93 etc.; G. R. Smith, *The Ayyubids and Early Rasulids in the Yemen*, 1974–1978, vol. 2, p. 193, with full references. It may too be of the pattern *fa‘āli*.

²⁶ 5 Dū al-Qa‘da = 18 November 1909.

²⁷ This must be the government building which is meant.

²⁸ Al-Manṣūr ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, third Tahirid Sultan, 883–94/1478–89; G. R. Smith, “The Political History of the Islamic Yemen down to the First Turkish Invasion (1–945/622–1538)”, 1988, pp. 129–139, 137, 139. J is wrong here! The ‘Āmiriyah Mosque and Madrasa were built in 910/1504 by the first Tahirid sultan, al-Zāhir ‘Āmir (reg. 858–864/1454–1460); for the architecture of the mosque: V. Porter, “The History and Monuments of the Tahirid Dynasty of the Yemen, 858–923/1454–1517”, unpublished PhD thesis of the University of Durham, 1992; S. Al-Radi, *The Amiriya in Rada: the History and Restoration of a Sixteenth-Century Madrasa in the Yemen*, 1997; V. Porter, “The Bani Tahir and the ‘Amiriya Madrasa: Architecture and Politics”, 2017.

الجومع وخرج الخواجه والعسكر الى قريه قريبه من رداع اسمها قريت الجراف فاخذ رسمها والساكنين فيها
يهود يستعملو المدر من كل جنس وفوق القرى المذكوره جبل فاخذ الخواجه رسمه وبعد ذلك ان الخواجه
ابسر خمسه محاريق الذي يحرقو فيهن القص وبه فيهن عشر یهوديات بضربين القص بضارب من الخشب
فاخذ الخواجه رسمهن واعطاهن.

Translation

[16] After we had taken our rest there for three days, we left, accompanied by five *Damārīs* as guards. We set off with the intention of discovering Radā'. We journeyed feeling safe and with well-being. We made our way through plains in which all day long we could see numerous baboons and wolves. We made in the direction of the village of Sanbān. We went in and stayed the night in the house of a Jew called Simon, since there were no innkeepers in Sanbān. This Jew showed us into a room in which there were two hundred untreated hides with the hair still on them which he tans; they were full of lice. These lice attacked us and we just could not sleep. The next day, Thursday, 5 [Dū] al-Qa'da, we left Sanbān and made our way through Bayt al-Miṣrī and entered a plain full of baboons. We passed through the villages of Milḥ and al-Muṣallā, coming across at the village gate someone working on Radā'i rugs, he and three of his daughters. The gentleman took photographs of the workman and his daughters and gave them four piastres. We left them and en route met fifty camels laden with salt. The gentleman took a photograph of the camels with the consent of the cameleers and gave them some money. We pressed on and came to the town of Radā'. We went in feeling safe and with well-being and made our way to the large caravanserai situated in the middle of the town market of Radā'. But it was not to the liking of the gentleman and we then took all the animals to the government building where they remained. Now Šayḥ Ṣalih b. Ṣalih al-Ṭayrī was in town, so the gentleman and his secretary went to greet him since he was governor. He gave them a meal of a goat, they and the guards. The gentleman and his secretary climbed up to the citadel, the highest building in Radā'. The next day [18] the gentleman, his secretary and al-Nabhāni²⁹ went and the gentleman took photographs of the ‘Āmiriyah from all sides, it being the greatest wonder because of the beauty of its construction, having been built by Sultan ‘Abd al-Wahhāb. The gentleman photographed all the mosques and he and soldiers left for a nearby village called al-Ġirāf. He took photographs of it. Its inhabitants are Jews who make clay pots of all kinds. Above this village is a mountain which the gentleman photographed. Then he noticed five kilns where they were burning

²⁹ Earlier in the text (E. Mittwoch, *Aus dem Jemen*, 1926, p. 10) Ĝ identifies Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad al-Nabhāni as a gendarme of the Zaydi tribe of Arḥab, appointed from the start of the expedition as Burchardt's escort.

lime and where there were ten Jewish women who were beating limestone with wooden mallets. The gentleman took their photograph and gave them money.

Glossary

Line 1 – *nasam*, Yemeni Arabic (YA), “rest, take rest”; Landberg, *Glossaire*, vol. 3, p. 2767; Piamenta, *Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 484.

‘azam min, “depart, leave”; E. W. Lane, *Lexicon*, pp. 2037–2038, form I = CA VIII, with a Yemeni source; Landberg, *Glossaire*, vol. 3, p. 2289; Piamenta, *Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 326.

tawakkal ‘alā Allāh, “set off, set out”; often reduced to *tawakkal* in the Yemen; Piamenta, *Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 531.

2 – *haṭī*, YA, “make ones way”; H. A. Qafisheh, *Yemeni Arabic Dictionary*, 2000, p. 175; J. C. E. Watson, *Wasf Ṣan‘ā’*: *Texts in Ṣan‘ā’i Arabic*, 2000, p. 313; Piamenta, *Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 32.

ribḥī, plural ***rubāḥ***, “baboon”; Landberg, *Glossaire*, vol. 2, p. 1061.

absar/abṣar, “see”; SA, and indeed YA in general, allow both forms; Piamenta, *Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 32.

3 – *tabt, tibt* (or *ṭabt*), YA, “in the direction of”; E. Rossi, *L’Arabo Parlato a Ṣan‘ā’*, 1939, p. 245; R. B. Serjeant & R. B. Lewcock, *Ṣan‘ā’, an Arabian Islamic City*, 1983, p. 562; perhaps <*tabb, tubūb*, “row, line”, Landberg, *Études*, p. 264.

maqhawī, YA, “keeper of small inn (*maqhāya/mahāya*)”, smaller than a *samsara*, q.v.; Rossi, 1939, p. 143; Landberg, *Glossaire*, vol. 3, p. 2538; Piamenta, *Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 416.

4 – *sufra*, SA, “hide, untreated and with the hair still on it”; Rossi, *L’Arabo*, p. 226; Piamenta, *Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 224.

6 – *farda*, plural ***farīd***, YA, “rug, mat”; Landberg, *Glossaire*, vol. 3, p. 2406; Piamenta, *Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 369.

8 – *asraf ‘alā*, YA, “reach, come to”; Mittwoch, *Aus dem Jemen*, 66; Landberg, vol. 3, p. 2042.

9 – *samsara*, plural ***samāsir***, YA, “caravanserai”, larger than a *maqhāya*, q.v.; Serjeant & Lewcock, *Ṣan‘ā’*, p. 592; Piamenta, *Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 232.

10 – *šall*, YA, “take”; Landberg, *Glossaire*, vol. 3, p. 2073; Goitein, *Travels*, 1941, Glossary, p. 89; Piamenta, *Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 263.

qāriša, plural ***qirāš***, YA, “animals” in general, but often used of cattle. Here I take it to mean Burchardt’s riding animals, perhaps donkeys or mules, or both. Landberg, *Glossaire*, vol. 3, p. 2474; Piamenta, *Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 393.

sarah, YA, “go”; Piamenta, *Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 220.

11 – *qāyimaqām*, “governor”; J. W. Redhouse, *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, 1890, p. 1429.

14 – *ista'mal*, “make”; this meaning of the verb is not CA, nor does it find a place in the Yemeni lexicographical literature at my disposal, though R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, 1881, vol. 2, p. 157, gives us *fabriquer*.

15 – *mihrāq*, pl. *maḥārīq*, YA, “kiln”; Piamenta, *Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 90.

16 – *quṣṣ/qiṣṣ* usually appears as *ğuṣṣ/ğiṣṣ* in CA (Lane, 428), as well as in the vernaculars; Piamenta, *Dictionary*, vol. 2, pp. 67–68; from the Persian *gağ* or *kağ*; F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, 1930, pp. 1016, 1074.

Linguistic notes

There are no *hamza* signs in Mittwoch's text of the *Sīra*, nor *alif-al-wiqāya*.

Line 1 – *ma'ā-nā*; SA has *ma'ā-hā* with the third person feminine singular and *ma'ā-* with all the plural suffix pronouns.³⁰

1–2 – *wa-niyyat-nā na'rif radā'*, literally, “our intention [was] that we discover Radā”. No verb “to be” is expressed and the subject noun (*niyyat-nā*) is linked to the verb (*na'rif*) asyndetically.

2 – *kunnā nubsir al-rubāḥ ft-hā* is thus a relative clause whose antecedent is *qīān*.

3 – *wa-waġġahnā*, form II = CA V, *wa-tawaġġahnā*.

wa-dahalnā amsaynā, “we went in and spent the night”, the two verbs linked asyndetically.

4 – *miyatayn sufra*, “200 hides”; the first part of the *idāfa* construction retains the final *nūn* of the dual ending.

bi-yadbağ-hunn/bi-dbağ-hunn, “which he tans”, i.e. habitually as a profession; the *bi-* prefix with the prefix conjugation verb “expresses continuous and habitual aspect”; Watson, *Syntax*, 1993, pp. 62, 78ff.; “une valeur de concomitance”; S. Naïm, *L'Arabe yéménite de Sanaa*, 2009, p. 72. The feminine singular antecedent, *sufra*, is followed in the asyndetic relative clause by the feminine plural suffixed pronoun *-hunn*.

fa-hağamayn 'alay-nā, “they (feminine plural) attacked us”; the feminine plural suffix conjugation is always *-ayn* in SA; Watson, *Syntax*, 1993, p. 56. The subject collective noun *qaml*, following the plural verb, *hağamayn*, is regarded as feminine plural, here and in the previous sentence *wa-al-qaml malān-hunn*.

aśarnā, IV = CA I, *sahirnā*, followed by a cognate accusative, *sahar 'azīm*.

5 – *yawm tānī*, for *al-yawn al-tānī*, is used commonly in the text.

6 – *bi-yaštāgil/bi-štāgil*; see above l. 4.

The plural noun *farīd* is qualified by the feminine plural adjective, *radā'iyyāt*.

³⁰ J. C. E. Watson, *A Syntax of Ṣan'ānī Arabic*, 1993, p. 196.

7 – *ḥamsīn ḡamal muḥammalāt milḥ*; the numeral is followed by the singular noun, *ḡamal*, which is then qualified by the feminine plural participle, *muḥammalāt*.

9 – *fi waṣaṭ al-sūq*; the *ṣād* replaces the CA *sīn* in pronunciation because of the following emphatic *tā'*.

al-sūq haqq madīnat Radā', “the market of the town of Radā’”; an example of the common analytic genitive; *haqq* is the only possessive linker used in YA; Naïm, *L'Arabe yéménite de Sanaa*, pp. 115–116; the linker can be declined; P. Behnstedt, *Die Dialekte der Gegend von Sha'dah (Nord-Jemen)*, 1987, p. 62.

wa-lam wāfaqat al-hawāġa, “but it [the *samsara*] was not to the gentleman’s liking”; *lam* with the suffix conjugation, negating past time; a common feature in Š’s text; see above note 11. This is a good example of the third feature of LMA. See V. The texts – language above.

10 – *šallaynā*, “we took”; for the vernacular suffix conjugation of the doubled verb, see Bellem & Smith, “Middle Arabic?”, p. 12; J. C. E. Watson, “Ṣan‘ānī Arabic”, vol. 4, 2009, p. 114, proposes an “-ay-” infix, rather than the common interpretation that the doubled verb in the vernacular is, as it were, turned into a verb with third radical *yā'*; in either case the gemination is retained.

10-11 – *fa-sarah al-hawāġa wa-kātibū-h sallamū ‘alay-h*, “the gentleman and his secretary went and greeted him”; note that *sallamū* is plural here and linked asyndetically.

11 – *wa-al-hawāġa wa-kātibū-h ṭala‘ū ilā al-qal‘a*, “the gentleman and his secretary climbed up to the citadel”; *ṭala‘ū* is plural.

12 – *ḡamīt al-diūr haqq Radā'*, “all the buildings of Radā’”; see above l. 9.

13 – *li-anna-hu ‘amar-hā al-sulṭān ‘abd al-wahhāb*, “because Sultan ‘Abd al-Wahhāb built it”; note the *ḍamīr al-ṣa‘n*, here in bold.

15–16 – *absar ḥamsa maḥārīq alladī yaḥriqū fi-hinn al-quṣṣ*, “he saw five kilns in which they were burning limestone”; the indefinite antecedent *maḥārīq* (grammatically feminine plural sufix pronoun *-hinn*. An interesting mixed Arabic sentence!

allī is the usual SA relative pronoun, irrespective of the number and gender of the antecedent; Naïm, *Sanaa*, p. 121; *alladī* is used as the one relative pronoun throughout Š’s text.

16 – *bi-yadribayn/bi-dribayn*; see l. 4 above.

VII. Conclusion

Both texts under review concern travel in late-nineteenth/early-twentieth Yemen. Both are written in what can be described as LMA, as described above, in which the SA component is SaA. However, H was a Jew, writing JA in the Hebrew script, whereas Š was an Arab. H was the stylist, the man of letters, whereas Š was the “secretary”, the functionary, compiling his report for the European authorities who had learned of the murder of their citizens. Both texts throw much light on the social conditions of tribal Yemen at that time and illustrate well the LMA of the era study. Both are fully deserving of closer study.

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