The Women and the Land: The Conception of Belonging in Hadhrami Society through Almehdar's Operettas (The Victim and the Bedouin Girl)

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ABSTRACT: Almehdar's treasury of Hadhrami original traditions that creates the DNA of Hadhrami identity has not been investigated to reveal its due value. Therefore, this article aims at scratching upon the surface of this issue through investigating the portrayal of the women and the land, as two major interlinked marks of Hadhrami identity revealed in Almehdar's literature, in the selected operettas, The Victim and The Bedouin Girl, as both reflect the article’s two interlinked points; women and the land, within the thorough portrayal of the original seeds of Hadhrami identity, mainly in mid-20th-century. These issues are to be discussed within the theoretical perspectives of Kathy Butterworth's (2017) conception of women as a decentred autonomous subject. She argues that between the autonomous and decentred authority, the undecidability of women can be situated. Besides, there is a symbolic link between the attachment to the homeland and that to women (central/centered) highlighted in previous literature as Smith (2019), Tzili Mor (2016), Alexander (2011), and Linda Marina (n.d.) but from a negative perspective unlike this article. The analysis shows the situation of the two women in the texts, The Victim and The Bedouin Girl, in their relation to the patriarchal authority of the father, cousin, and the lover/potential husband. Given that, in these texts, the constructive interchangeability of women and the land reflects how Hadhrami people, though of a tribal and patriarchal mentality, are attached to their land as a source of belonging and indication of identity. Likewise, their intimate love for their ladies is a source of power that makes them do the impossible to defend them and never cede with them. As for the Hadhrami women, the texts show that they have a space of freedom to say their opinions frankly and declare, but politely, their love affairs and their right in selecting their husbands. Meanwhile, they are respectfully bound by their parental decisions. In all, these texts show the extent to which they are sacred for their men who never accept any foreign invasion to their land or ladies.

KEYWORDS: Almehdar, decentred autonomous woman, Hadhrami identity, operettas, The Bedouin Girl, the land, The Victim

I. INTRODUCTION

Hadhrami identity has been ignored and diluted initially by the Hadhrami’s reluctance to revive and emphasize its peculiarities and show pride of being so (Alsba’i, 2020; Belfaqiuh, 2015; & Baharethah, 2011). Among the few attempts to write about is Alshatery’s book Adwar Altareekh AlHadhrami (Stages of Hadhrami History) (1993). Alshatery explains that generally Hadhrami identity is stamped on the one hand, by the inherited Arabic and Islamic characteristics such as: generosity, hospitality, patriotism, and others. On the other hand, there are some negative features of the Hadhramis such as insulting and calling each other with bad names/ nicknames (Alshatery, 1993). Besides, Hadhrami literature is one of the significant records of Hadhrami identity attributes. Within this article’s context, Hussien Abu Bakr Almehdar represents a genuine part of Hadhrami identity in his poetic production. As a Hadhrami whose culture is a positive hybrid/melting pot of a wide variety of Hadhrami areas, Almehdar's works typically reflect social, cultural, political, and linguistic Hadhrami peculiarities. This significance of Almehdar's works has not yet been seriously tackled in academia, but of some web articles that give a brief overview of his works and some undocumented lectures during his anniversaries. Therefore, this article is an attempt to investigate one really neglected part of Almehdar's poetic production, his operettas. Besides, the focal issue of this article is the status of Hadhrami women in the Hadhrami tribal society of the mid-20th century and its relationship to the belonging and attachment to the land. Both issues, women and land, compose essential elements in identifying a significant part of Hadhrami identity then and now. Given that, and before elaborating the theoretical and analytical perspectives of the article, an overview of the poet and his texts is due.

A. Hussein Abu Bakr Almehdar

Hussein Abu Bakr Almehdar (1930-2000) was born in a family who are descendants of the prophet, Mohammad, (peace be upon him) and who are distinguished for their local poetry and involvement in politics. He is a talented Hadhrami poet and musician. He is famous for his deep and multipurpose local poetry that reflects the various emotional, political, and intellectual stages in his
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context not only throughout his lifetime, but his genius surpasses it to touch the worries, hopes, and tastes of Hadhrami, Yemeni, and Gulf people up to today. His poems have been sung by famous singers in the area, of them, Abu Bakr Salem Balfaqueeh is the most voice linked to Almehdar's poetic productions. His poetry is spontaneous and deep (Almehdar, n.d.).

As for his operettas, there are more than 20 operettas. Among them are: The Bedouin Girl, The Victim, Marriage Traditions, The Seven Martyrs, The Ten Candles. They are marked by linguistic eloquence, well-knot plots, and poetic delicacy. They discuss several issues historical, social and about the traditions and customs and prove his vast knowledge of the minute details of Hadhrami society with all its varieties. According to Alseeq (cited in Alammary 2007) Almehdar's operettas are a distinctive mark of the excellence of the poet not only in Hadhramout but in the whole country. Alammary emphasizes that, “Almehdar's operettas as his sung poetry must be scrutinized” (para 5) (Alammary, 2007). Therefore, and as it is clear, there is a real scarcity of academic scrutiny of Almehdar’s operettas, among his poetic production, especially as preservations and presentations of genuine Hadhrami identity.

B. Summary of the Texts

As there is a shortage of sources about these texts and as they have not been translated into English, I attempt to read (as they are in Arabic) and summarize them in English. Besides, I translate the meanings of the quotations to clarify the arguments and analyses. Another important point is that I translate the name of the protagonist in The Victim, as “the bride/ the victim” although it is indicated in the original text as “the bride” only because I want to highlight her situation; in between the positive image of being a bride and the negative one of being a victim of some rigid customs. As for the other operetta “The Bedouin Girl,” as she is referred to in the text as the Bedouin girl, I prefer this reference to her although the original text’s title is literally, “The Daughter of the Tribes” or “The tribal Daughter.” I think the first reflects the connotative indication of her personality and the aim of the author well. In all, the texts are loaded with Hadhrami identity peculiarities such as polygamy, priority of tribal/societal laws over the governmental constitutions, stratification, herding and farming as means of livelihood, significance of justice, parental obedience, and good reputation, the priority of the paternal cousin to marry his female relative(s) to foreigners (from other tribes) to keep the line of ancestry and the tribe property within the confines of the tribe. These are some general features of which some have been changed since the time of writing these texts; mid20th century. However, they are basically engendered in the Hadhrami collective identity, and some might appear occasionally.

The Victim

It is targeted to discuss with potential solutions of the problem of masculine patriarchy and allow women a space of autonomy (towards a decenteredness!). The chief male character, Mukhaizem, initiates the story by declaring his love to his land and linking it to his adornment to the lady of his dreams, Al-meshqasiah (the girl is from an area in the farthest eastern parts of Hadhramout coastline called Almeshqas). She is in love with him, but she asks him to clarify his intentions towards her, just to pass time or to get married. When he promises to propose to her, her cousin interferes and quarrels with her informing her that he, having the authority of being her paternal relative, will never allow her to marry anyone but him although he is married and has children and although she frankly rejects him.

The Bedouin Girl

There are three major characters: the peasant, the Bedouin girl and her father. The story takes place on the land of the peasant who has been admiring his land and his life on it when the girl suddenly interrupted with her goats. This beautiful land and its products are the fruit of the peasant's efforts. Although being an intruder, the girl is apprehended by the presence of a man asking him who he is. He does not introduce himself by a name, but by his function/ his relationship to the land, “I am a peasant, the one who this land hath sowed and watered.” The girl too identifies herself as a Bedouin shepherdess sent by her parents to herd the goats. The man becomes angry as her goats are destroying his land. She informs him that the land is the most fruitful in the area, but she apologizes and takes permission to leave. The matching beauty of the land and the girl makes the peasant fall in her love asking her not to leave and to stay for longer time accompanying him. The man is driven by this intimate moment with the girl and touches her hand which is not allowed as he is not her Mahram (a relative who is an “unmarriageable person” (Mahram, www.almaany.com)). This act, in the tribal customs, requires a kind of penalty, called “Ano” of the actor/ doer. At that time, it was to donate a gun and a she-camel. The girl is really provoked by his action, so she cries calling her parents and complaining to them. Here the father appears defending his daughter and threatening the man that to end the scandal he must pay the Ano otherwise dies. The man insists on his proposal that he wants to marry the tribal girl regardless of the traditions (which impose the stratifications between the tribes and the peasants, so intermarriage is not accepted especially if the man is of a lower rank than the girl) which are fading in front of the new constitution of the newly born republic then (the socialist republic of the southern part of Yemen) which gives women the full right to choose their husband. The peasant explains that women are not like cattle to be sold and bought without any hand in their fate. The father relishes the man's point of view. The marriage is to be set after the girl accepts the peasant and her parents bless their bond. The operetta ends with all engaging in chanting expressing their love for their land and everything belongs to it and that they cannot live but in it.
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In both texts, there is a common theme of the connection between the noble love of the dream lady and belonging to the land. As the land is to be protected and defended against any interruption or attack, so do the woman's relatives (chiefly the father and the tribe behind him) and her lover, to-be husband. As for the Hadhramis peculiarities in these texts, although both were written around mid-20th century, I mean that period was marked by a shift in the overall mood towards socialism. The Hadhramis basically (maybe genetically) represent a strong attachment to the land, adherence to the collective tribal/societal norms/laws, and observation of the good reputation.

II. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

The two texts are to be analyzed within the selected framework of Butterworth’s decentered autonomous subject in which she locates women in a persistent moment in between the two extremes. Also, this perspective of the women is linked to the shared symbolic dimension between women and the land in strengthening belonging and attachment to both of them.

A. Feminist Autonomy/Decenteredness

Kathy Butterworth’s arguments reveal that there is no one fixed reading of the feminist identity either autonomous or decentered; the former reflects the traditional unified and unifying self while the latter represents the fluid self of persistent process of becoming. She asserts that the decenteredness is a post-structuralist perspective as “we can no longer properly understand ourselves as a unified, sovereign subject, insofar as the overarching experience we have of ourselves is that of a decentered self, a subject that is constantly in process of becoming” (p. 155) (Butterworth, 2017). The autonomy, she argues, “as a set of competencies, which is compatible with a narrative account of the decentered self” (p. 155) corresponds with the narrative view of the self. More currently, some feminists welcome the decentered self considering it a way to shed the patriarchal hegemony. However, other feminists support the tendency to unify women’s fate as the fragmented self is easily intruded. Even this last view, that women should cling to their shared universal characteristics is criticized.

Butterworth’s employment of the word “subject” to refer to the carrier/holder of these selves either autonomous or decentered shows a Marxist contextual tendency mingled with postmodern touches of the indeterminacy that echoes Derrida’s différence. Moreover, she explains that her view, which I support, is neither autonomous nor decentered, she attempts to consider the self, with a special reference to the feminine self “whose stability and coherence is an achievement and is capable of autonomy or agency” (p. 161) which is, as I think, a view that puts the self in a persistent play between the two notions carrying traces of both but not belonging to either. Hadhrami women in the targeted texts are examples of parental obedience and freedom of choice, to love and choose her husband, to work in and outside their parents’ household and declare their opinions. The image is not positive in all its aspects, as there is the cousin’s interference, signifying a rigid tribal extreme, breaks the victim/bride’s marriage with Mukhaizam or in the case of the Bedouin girl when the obligations of social stratification has been about to make her father reject marrying her to the peasant. However, in both cases, the two Hadhrami women do not submit to circumstances, as the first decides to wander in God’s land as it is the property of no one and the second is saved by the new governmental laws that equal all people in the society and give women the right to choose a husband.

B. Symbolism of Women and Land

Within the aforementioned perspective, the women, in the selected texts, are related to the land; both are sources of attachment and love and must be protected and defended. This issue has been previously tackled from a different perspective. Tzili Mor (2016) provides an overall image of the link between women and the land or feminizing the land

We feminize our planet by calling it “mother earth” but land as a feminist issue goes beyond metaphor. It is because the majority of the world’s poor depend on land for food, shelter, livelihood, and often their identity, but lack legal control over this source of their survival. And this experience has a bias. Our relationships to land, forests, water and natural resources are not gender neutral, and our rights to these resources are gender biased. (1st para.)

Other attempts to investigate this idea focus on its negative aspects. Alexander (2011) metonymically links women’s bodies to the land as a colonial masculine target. Alexander argues that the Haitian context here reveal the negative destructive desire of rape/confiscation. Smith (2019) supports Alexander’s (2011) views though her focus has been on the rhetorical elements in texts of literature in which feminizing the land through language/linguistic expressions happens unconsciously. Linda Marina (n.d.) emphasizes a strong connection between land and women in several cultures. She argues that there is a need for changing the negative linkage between women and the land as subjects for exploitation to a bond of love as this transformation of thought, attitude and behavior towards both is constructive for the whole human civilization. So, my point is to highlight the positive images, as recommended by Linda Marina (n.d.), that signify relationship between the Hadhrami women and their land as portrayed in Almehdar’s selected texts.

Almehdar's poetic production portrays minute details of Hadhrami identity. This contribution of Almehdar's works, especially his operettas and the way he reflects the issues of women and the land as two pivotal marks of Hadhrami peculiarity, is to be highlighted in the present analytic qualitative article within the adopted theoretical perspectives of Butterworth's autonomous decentered
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subject and the symbolic interrelation between women and the land. In the coming section, the selected texts are to be analyzed focusing on the lines that reveal women’s position both the ones said by and to them. Also, the symbolic traces that link women and the land are highlighted to signify the relationship between them.

III. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

A. The Victim

In the text, there are three female characters, the victim also called the bride, the mother, and the cousin’s first wife. The protagonist is the bride. Unlike the marginalized first wife, only mentioned roughly in the discourse between the bride and her cousin, the bride and her mother are portrayed as initiative personalities who declare their opinions and reject any injustice. The bride/ the victim appears in the opening of this operetta conversing with her lover, Mukhaizam, who declares his love for her beauty, outside and inside (morality). She informs him that she is waiting patiently for him to prove his true love for her through marriage

"Patient is me and my patience is of sour made/ If with the sweetest honey it is mixed/ but taste it and it is thy end!” (lines 7-8)

She exaggerates her endurance through the repetition of the root “S. B. R” three times, “صابر” “صابر” “صابر” To clarify the extent of her patience waiting for him to realize his emotions and intentions to her, the use of “honey” is employed to show the difference and that her patience if it had been honey, it would have become sour. And she challenges Mukhaizam on his patience and whether his would equal or exceed hers

"بيننا الوقت مطول سينين/يشوش صبرك يا باجر الصبر كيف يكون" (lines 9-10)

“I will see/ I will examine thy endurance/ And time is our judge.” (11-12).

Then she is challenging his loyalty that she is willing to patiently waiting for him if and only if he is serious in his intention. She asks challenging,

"فقطع هذا و عينك و رهينة في العشق قلي ما المضمون" (lines 13-14)

“What is your true intention of this love? / Are you serious and intend to marry me or it just time passing?” (15-16).

The expressions used when she provides the two choices are used in trade/merchandise, “a clear-cut deal/transaction” “قطع” (or “a mortgage” “رهن” (“She clarifies, throughout this image, that she is serious and not involving in a trivial affair. When they agree on their serious intentions and true love that is to happily end, her cousin interrupts her, that she will be no one’s wife but himself. Again, she is confronting her cousin and declares her love for Mukhaizam and that she will never marry him (her cousin) as he is married to a beautiful lady and has children.

"أي ش دخلت بيني وبينه" (line 17)

“And it is not your business to interfere between me and him” (27)

"اني ما بغيتك قلبي بصاحبي بن مشطون" (line 18)

“And I have no interest in you, my heart is with my lover” (36)

Here, the cousin is really provoked by her stark love declaration considering it breaking the tribal laws and he threatens to kill her before being the wife of a ‘foreigner,’ the bride/ victim asks her mother’s help. The mother here is supporting her daughter to marry her lover who has already proposed to her and paid her dowry to her father. On the wedding day, when the cousin fights with Mukhaizam, the mother asks the father to interfere to end the problem for Mukhaizam. But the father has been reminded of the obligations of the tribal laws, “(line 84)by the cousin and one of the tribe’s sheikhs. So, he decides to decline Mukhaizam in favor of the cousin. The mother, here, attempts to motivate her husband’s loyalty and common sense of wisdom and justice, in vain.

“يا عمر سارحة جا من الخون على شان بنتك اعتنى لك /عيب يا عمر في الميزان تنقص المالك/أوفي خميره الكلمة تعا وجدال" (line 85)

“Keep your word/ Shame upon you in the world/ Troubles for you and your gal he has beheld” (81-83)

The incidents about the bride/ victim, her mother and the silent marginalized first wife reveal that the woman has a voice, and she is courageous to declare her opinion even though the final word is of the hegemonic patriarchy. These features portrayed by the bride/ victim and her mother indicate that there is a space of autonomy, of independence for the Bedouin Hadhrami females to share their personalities in a masculine-ridden community, of course with the role of the first wife representing the marginalization being practiced over other portions of Hadhrami women in the society then. Besides, the two paradoxical description of the major character, the bride/ victim, demonstrates that Hadrami women, with a special reference to the Bedouin, are respected and they have a space of freedom and opinion expression but still they are bound by the collective tribal laws that partially protect them but also confiscate a part of their autonomy. The bride/ the victim does never submit to the tribal laws, and she threatens to go wandering in the desert/ mountains and valleys rather than marrying him,
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“I will wander in God’s land; it is not your property” (104)

At this moment, a total incarnation happens between the bride/ the victim and the land as both are independent and free of any hegemony and not the lawful property of any human being. The three major male characters in the text are the lover, Mukhaizam, the cousin and the father. Each of the three represents an authority/ power. Mukhaizam is the weakest in the context as he is considered a foreigner in a tribal community governed by tribal laws, “سارة عمر.” However, he is a tribesman and has his own power among his own people and wish to marry his dream lady even if she is from another tribe. Unfortunately, the tribal laws, strictly applied by the cousin and then the father, are above any love or feelings. The bride/ the victim in the text gives a clear example of the strong woman who will not submit to injustice by declaring her love to Mukhaizam and her rejection of her cousin. The cousin’s attitude represents the extremist tribal hegemony. Not done by the father, he keeps observing the bride/ the victim and he discovers her affair with Mukhaizam,

“Your cousin is me, and I will never allow you to marry anyone else and disgrace us/ Even Al-Se'er and Ibn AlZabbenah” (28-29)

And he insists on his lawful right to marry her even if she will be just a maid in his household,

“And if I keep you a maid” (33)

Then when she argues with him, he threatens to use ‘his’ right to kill her before she defames their tribe’s reputation by marrying a foreigner,

“I will behead you by the sharpest of daggers” (42)

He even threatens Mukhaizam on the day of the wedding. The cousin does not even consider the bride’s father’s consent and he challenges the bridegroom,

“And dare to step once, and it is thy end” (64)

The cousin’s rigid attitude influences the father who initially follows his wife and daughter’s intention and accept Mukhaizem as a suitable husband for his daughter generally forgetting the tribal laws that gives the cousin the lawful priority, especially when the cousin says,

“And you agree, oh uncle! / You agree to separate your cattle/ and the foreigner shares you your property?” (75-77).

Here, the cousin’s intentions are revealed that he is greedy and wants the bride’s property. This is supported by his words to her that he will marry her even if she will be only a maid. Although this point demonstrates a vicious image of materialism, at the symbolic level (as women and the land are interchangeable symbols), it shows how one should be rigid when it is about the lawful property defending it against the foreigners’ intrusion. This image contradicts the initial image in the opening lines of the text which begins with Mukhaizam declaring his love for his land and for his beloved, the bride/ the victim. The two are linked as both provide security and intimacy. This idea is expressed by its opposite,

“فترة الدار صعبة محينة”

“So hard and torturing is departing with home” (2)

Using the word “home” is significant that it refers to both the homeland and one’s home where wife and children are there.

B. The Bedouin Girl

Here, there is only one female character, the Bedouin girl. She with her goats intrudes the land of the peasant. When he is offended, she explains,

“ماقتيت شي أرض في الوادي كمها”

“No other land in valley resembles it” (13)

This description of the peasant’s land meets the peasant’s impression about the Bedouin girl,

“وشاقني حسنها والحسن يسبي”

“And I have been invaded by her beauty” (32)
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The peasant is attracted to her beauty as she is attracted to the beauty of his land. The two the Bedouin girl and the land share attractive everlasting beauty. She is strong and reliable that her parents send her herding, and she is not afraid to argue with him although she is the intruder.

“من إنت قل لي “

“Who are you? Tell me!” (7)
And she is initiative to introduce herself,

“أعطني البني بيشوبه رعاها/أني من الباردية رسولني أهلي “
(I am from the Badia, sent by my parents/ I have the cattle to herd) (10-11)
And when he is driven by his emotions and touches her hand, she stops him and charges him with the tribal “Ano.” Later, when her father asks her if she accepts the peasant, she reveals pure obedience to him,

علي وقولي بنتي قد حياها/هذا إذن ترضيني وتفسى “
“I’m afraid you beat me/ And think your daughter is devoid of shyness” (62-63)

“Come, oh father, marry me to the peasant/ I love him and, forever, will be forever faithful” (67)

So, the Bedouin girl represents a milder example of the Hadhrami women than the bride/the victim. Both are strong and independent and have a space of freedom given to them by their parents. They are bound by their obedience to their parents and do nothing that might disgrace them. The bride/ the victim has stronger attitudes through resisting the imposed marriage to her cousin and challenging the injustice of the tribal laws.

The two major male characters here are the peasant and the father. The peasant, though of a lower rank, is a hardworking gentleman whose love for his land and whose ambition for knowledge make him turn the land to be the most beautiful in the area and to defend his lawful right of equal chance as any tribal man in marrying the Bedouin girl. Again, like Mukhaizam, the peasant’s love for the land and everything belonging to it is parallelized to his love and loyalty to the Bedouin girl. The father resembles the Victim/bride’s father in that both are tolerant in giving their daughters the right to help in the household, to declare their opinions and to select their husbands. However, unlike the victim’s father who submits to the tribal laws and stops his daughter’s marriage, the Bedouin girl’s father balances the tribal laws and the governmental laws declared by the peasant and also, he thinks well about his daughter’s right to choose. And thus gives his consent to their marriage. To emphasize their love for the land as a source of pride and a base for belonging, Almehdar ends, as he starts it this operetta by involving all characters in praising the land and declaring their love for it. But there is a slight difference that at the beginning the peasant has been singing alone while at the end all participate with him.

“أني من البادية رسلوني أهلي/ أعطني البني بيشوبه رعاها“
“I adore my village and its air/ I can’t live but, on its soil” (1-2 & 68)

CONCLUSION

In these texts, the constructive interchangeability of women and the land reflects how Hadhrami people, though of a tribal and patriarchal mentality, are attached to their land as a source of belonging and indication of identity. Likewise, their intimate love to their ladies is a source of power that makes them do the impossible to defend them and never cede with them. As for the Hadhrami women, the texts show that they have a space of freedom to say their opinions frankly and declare, but politely, their love affairs and their right in selecting their husbands. Meanwhile, they are respectfully bound by their parental decisions. One aspect that is negatively interpreted is comparing the woman to the cattle and property in general that should not be abandoned for the foreigners/invaders. It gives a humiliating image of the women as animals and property.

With this richness and profundity of implications about Hadhrami identity, Almehdar’s operettas are significant sources of all details of Hadhrami identity. Therefore, I strongly recommend tackling all Almehdar’s poetic production with academic investigation to give it its due value and to highlight more features of the Hadhramis.

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