

An Attempt to Reform Ḥaḍramawt in the Early Twentieth-Century: A Preliminary Consideration on the “Truth Society (*Jam‘iyyat al-Ḥaqq*)” of Tarīm.

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Introduction

Early twentieth century Ḥaḍramawt, a region in South Arabia, saw several attempts by its residents to reform their society. New ideas and money came from abroad, and several associations aimed at social reform were founded. Most of these were short-lived, but two of them, namely the Truth Society (*Jam‘iyyat al-Ḥaqq*) based in the inland town of Tarīm, and *Jam‘iyyat al-Ukhuwwa wa al-Mu‘āwana* in Say‘ūn, became well known for their relative longevity and their influence on society. The former, which will be discussed in the present article, founded its own school and even played the role of a municipal government after 1919.

As stated above, there were actually two associations that bore the name, “Truth Society,” one in Say‘ūn and the other in Tarīm, and the relationship between the two is a point of discussion. Due to a dearth of primary materials, the nature of the associations has not yet been fully revealed. Who were the founders and the members of the Truth Societies? What was the intention behind the founding of these associations? Did they have political aims from the beginning? Were the two “Truth Societies” related to each other? The present article considers the Truth Society of Tarīm in its early stage of development (1915-17), based on previously unpublished documents.

I. Background

It can be said that, at least after the mid-eighteenth century, the largest driving force for changes to Ḥaḍramawt society was outside influence. For example, the two main sultanates of Ḥaḍramawt in recent times, namely the al-Qu‘ayṭīs that controlled the coastal region and some

parts of inland wādīs, and the al-Kathīrīs centered in the inland town of Say'ūn, were founded by mercenaries who had served in India. This does not indicate that Ḥaḍramawt was under foreign power; these mercenaries were originally migrants from Ḥaḍramawt who had made their fortune in India.

People of Ḥaḍramawt (henceforth Ḥaḍramī, pl. Ḥaḍramīs) were famous for migration to regions around the Indian Ocean. After the mid-eighteenth century, a worsening political situation in Ḥaḍramawt, together with the opening of the regions around the Indian Ocean to foreign entrepreneurs, caused a large-scale Ḥaḍramī migration. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the improvement of transport and communication systems across the Indian Ocean further accelerated this migration. Many Ḥaḍramīs became successful in business in their new host countries, and their remittance to family and relatives in Ḥaḍramawt sustained the homeland economy. However, World War II and the subsequent foundation of several nation states around the Indian Ocean made it difficult for the Ḥaḍramīs to move freely between homeland and host countries, and to send money to home. By the 1960s, migration to the region around the Indian Ocean had come to an end, although social ties between Ḥaḍramawt and the previous destinations of the migrants remained.

The most important destination for Ḥaḍramīs before the outbreak of World War II was the Southeast Asian archipelago. The development of the Ḥaḍramī communities there, especially those in Java, in the first half of the twentieth century, influenced the homeland both economically and socially. This contact with the developed world and competition with other migrants, such as the Chinese, within Southeast Asia made the Ḥaḍramīs recognize the necessity for modernizing their community. In 1901, an Arab association called *Jam'iyat Khayr* (Benevolent Society) was founded in Batavia. Among the objectives of the association were provision of modern education to Muslim (especially Arab) children and increasing socializing among Arabs. There was disagreement among members regarding the traditional social structure of Ḥaḍramawt, and the status of the *sāda* (the descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad), and this led to another Arab association, *Jam'iyat al-Iṣlāḥ wa al-Irshād al-'Arabiyya* being founded in 1914 by ex-members of *Jam'iyat Khayr*. Although the dispute between the members/supporters of the two associations continued until the 1930s, they had a common goal, namely modernizing their community both in Southeast Asia and Ḥaḍramawt.¹⁾

Ḥaḍramawt's situation in the early twentieth century was far from stable. Although the two above-mentioned sultanates ruled major towns, their suburbs were under the control of petty armed tribes that frequently fought one another. In such a situation it was difficult to maintain public order and security, let alone modernize society. Therefore one of the main concerns of the Ḥaḍramīs abroad was the restoration of order at home, as well as social reform. The advantage of the Ḥaḍramī emigrants was two-fold: greater wealth and experience in the operation of associations in Southeast Asia. The foundation of various associations in Ḥaḍramawt needs to be seen in this context.²⁾

II. Sources, Previous Studies and the Scope of this Article

The main source for the present article is an unpublished document entitled "The Truth Society Note" (*daftar jam'iyat al-haqq*) henceforth "note," which consists of around ninety pages and includes regulation (*qānūn*), minutes of meetings, list of members, accounting reports, information on the foundation of the school and other records from the early period of the society. The note is in the possession of a descendant of one of the society's founders, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shaykh al-Kāf. The present writer obtained digital photographs of the note through an intermediary in January 2006.³⁾

The note covers the period from September 1915 to January 1917, the first fifteen and a half months of the society. It is relatively a short period in the society's history, bearing in mind that the society continued to operate until the 1940s. However, it contains precious information on the process of its foundation, operation and the concerns of the core members. During this period, nearly one hundred meetings were held. This means that many of the members (in most cases the members of the committee) of the society met roughly every five days. This frequency of meetings was far above that required by the society's regulation (*qānūn*), and it indicates that the Truth Society of Tarīm was very active in its initial stage.

The note is relatively well-known among researchers in both Ḥaḍramawt and abroad. Linda Boxberger and Engseng Ho made use of it in their works *On the Edge of Empire: Hadhramawt, Emigration, and the Indian Ocean, 1880s-1930s*⁴⁾ and *The Graves of Tarim*⁵⁾ respectively. In Ḥaḍramawt, a local historian Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh Bin Shihāb quotes from the note in his *Tarīm bayn al-Māḍī wa al-Ḥādir (Tarīm: Past and Present)*.⁶⁾

However, as the note is being stored in a private library, some historians have failed to access it and some were even unaware of its existence. Ulrike Freitag's *Indian Ocean Migrants and State Formation in Hadhramaut: Reforming the Homeland*, discusses the society without referring to the note. The lack of this source led her to overemphasize the Truth Society's political aspect, which is challenged in this article.

The Truth Society of Tarīm has attracted researchers' attention on account of its longevity and influence over society. Whether or not it was related to the Truth Society of Say'ūn (which was founded before that of Tarīm), the two are often discussed together (see below).

Linda Boxberger is probably the first western scholar to discuss the Truth Society in some degree of detail.⁷⁾ She first states that the social reform in the al-Kathīrī sultanate in the early twentieth century was led by associations local notables founded, explains the activities of the Truth Societies of Say'ūn and Tarīm, and details reaction from the local community. Boxberger does not discuss the relationship between the two Societies other than saying that there was a difference between the two towns in the development of reform, and that the Say'ūn's association was succeeded by another with the same name in Tarīm.⁸⁾ Boxberger's book is intended to be an overview of the development of the Ḥaḍramī society from the 1880s to the 1930s. Thus, although she uses the note, her emphasis is on an overall description of events during that period, rather than a detailed discussion of the Society itself.

Ulrike Freitag agrees with Boxberger's assertion that the social reform of Ḥaḍramawt was led by private associations composed of important figures from the community. She bases her discussions of the Truth Society of Tarīm on colonial archives, an unpublished manuscript on the history of the al-Kāf family, interviews and contemporary periodicals, and her key emphasis is the society's role as a municipal government. She states, "in its early years, the society was most noted for its political and economic role."⁹⁾ However, the examples she gives in the discussion are the activities of the society after 1919: the society's nature in its first few years is not clear. Freitag and Boxberger differ regarding the relationship between the two Truth Societies. Freitag assumed that the latter was a branch of the former, though she does not offer convincing evidence.¹⁰⁾

In order to effectively analyze the early period of the Truth Society of Tarīm, it is essential to fully analyze the note. The accounting record is yet to be reviewed; the drafts of rules and regulations can provide information on the process of the truth society's decision-making; descriptions

on people's luxurious life style (which the society condemned), give information on the manners and customs in Ḥaḍramawt at that time. The present article initiates this process. The points of discussion presented here are the following: (1) who the members of the society were; (2) whether the society had a political nature from the beginning; (3) whether there was a relationship between the Truth Society of Tarīm and that of Say'ūn.

III. The Foundation and the Failure of the Truth Society of Say'ūn

As mentioned above, the two Truth Societies (*Jam'iyat al-Ḥaqq*), in Say'ūn and Tarīm, are often discussed as if they were related to each other. This is probably because of the proximity of the two towns and the fact that both were founded within a few years of each other (1912 in Say'ūn and 1915 in Tarīm). Before discussing the Truth Society of Tarīm, it is therefore necessary to briefly view the foundation and the ill-fated end of the Truth Society of Say'ūn.

This first Truth Society was founded in 1912 by the notables of Say'ūn, the capital town of the al-Kathīrī sultanate, led by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Ubayd Allāh al-Saqqāf (henceforth Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh). They decided that the head office should be either in Say'ūn or Tarīm, and that branches would be established in al-Mukallā, al-Shiḥr, Aden, Singapore and Java.¹¹⁾ This indicates that the Truth Society of Say'ūn tried to involve not only the people of Ḥaḍramawt but also Ḥaḍramī communities in Aden and Southeast Asia. Freitag suggests that the direct momentum for the founding of the society was Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh's visit to Southeast Asia, where he met reform-minded Ḥaḍramī emigrants.¹²⁾ In any case, the branches in Aden and Southeast Asia may have been planned to function as some kind of liaison office, connecting the Ḥaḍramīs at home and abroad.

The objective of the Truth Society of Say'ūn was to improve the situation of Ḥaḍramawt. In concrete terms, its stated intentions were attaining justice and *sharī'a*, improving administration of economic, political and military affairs, facilitating development, improving communication, and cooperating with the state concerning all these matters.¹³⁾ As Freitag points out, no references are made to education. This is remarkable when one remembers that many Ḥaḍramī associations in Southeast Asia, such as *Jam'iyat Khayr* and *al-Irshād*, put great emphasis on education as a way of modernizing the community. Freitag attributes this lack of interest

in education to a difference of priorities between Ḥaḍramīs in Ḥaḍramawt and those in Southeast Asia.¹⁴⁾

In any case, the Truth Society of Say'ūn certainly intended to play a role in political affairs from the beginning. According to the statutes (*dustūr*) of the society, the sultan was obliged to authorize the decisions made by the committee. The society had to consult the sultan on matters concerning foreign policy, but it could handle tribal affairs on its own authority. On the other hand, the sultan had to obtain the society's consent to conclude an agreement with a foreign country or a tribe. As for the military affairs, it was decided that slaves belonged to the sultan but came under the control of the society: the society paid their salaries. The society also had the authority to set tax rates. In sum, the society would enjoy vast authority on state affairs. It was forbidden, however, to question the legitimacy of the sultanate.¹⁵⁾ Also, the president of the society was to be elected from within the family of the sultan until the number of its members reached one hundred.¹⁶⁾

This ambitious enterprise did not succeed. It failed to obtain the essential consent of the sultan, Maṣṣūr b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī. The society tried to buy Tarīs, a small village situated west of Say'ūn to be its headquarters, only to meet opposition from the sultan. Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh criticized the sultan for being an oppressive ruler and sought assistance from the Ḥaḍramīs abroad. Prominent '*ulamā*' in the inland wādīs opposed his actions. For example, Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭās (1841-1916)¹⁷⁾ in the town of Ḥurayḍa and 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ḥabshī¹⁸⁾ in Say'ūn asked the Ḥaḍramī notables abroad not to support him.¹⁹⁾ As a result, the Truth Society of Say'ūn ended before it had even started to operate.

After the failure of the Truth Society of Say'ūn, Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh founded two associations in 1913 and 1918,²⁰⁾ still trying to become involved in state politics. Both met with opposition from both the state authorities and the members of the associations and failed.²¹⁾

IV. Foundation of the Truth Society of Tarīm

The Truth Society of Tarīm was founded on September 30, 1915, three years after the failure of the Truth Society of Say'ūn. The central figure of the foundation was one 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shaykh al-Kāf (1886-1950). On that day, thirty-two prominent figures of Tarīm met at the house of Abū Bakr al-Kāf, and the regulation (*qānūn*) of the society was read out to them. Then the thirty-two signed the document, and the

foundation of the society was officially complete.²²⁾ On the same day, the proposal of the president and central committee members was approved by a secret ballot. There were ten committee members, and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shaykh al-Kāf became the president (see Chart 1). He was then twenty-nine years old, the same age as Ibn ‘Ubayd Allāh when the latter founded the Truth Society of Say’ūn.

The momentum for the foundation of the society was the situation of Tarīm at that time, about which the founders specifically expressed their concern in the first part of the note. According to this, they were very aware that the situation was deteriorating and that their rights were being taken lightly. The glory and dignity of their ancestors’ times had been wiped out, and they were the subject of ridicule and criticism. This was intolerable: they were angry at that situation. They therefore founded a general association (*jam‘iyya ‘umūmiyya*) named it the “Truth Society” and declared they would strive for unity.²³⁾

It is not clear what the references to an “deteriorating situation” or “rights taken lightly” mean exactly. While the statement may simply reflect people’s anger at the backwardness of their society, one suspects it may refer to a particular incident. Ulrike Freitag’s explanation of how the Truth Society of Tarīm was founded offers a possible answer to this problem. According to her, slaves of the sultan attacked the important families of Tarīm in 1914-5 (1333 A.H.). This incident stemmed from their not receiving payment for a certain time. The situation was so serious that the sultan in Say’ūn could not solve the problem. The wealthy al-Kāf family was heavily damaged, and its head Ḥasan b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Kāf founded the Truth Society, with the active participation of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shaykh, from the same family.²⁴⁾

If this account is correct, it indicates that the Society must have had a political goal at the beginning. In fact, the Society did take charge of payments to the sultan’s slaves in later times. Is it possible to find other things that indicate the society’s political intention in its initial stage?

Article 1 of the Society’s regulation states the objectives of the Truth Society of Tarīm were disseminating education, enlightening people, abandoning evil, arbitrating conflict, protecting the weak, providing support to the honest, facilitating social welfare and so on. Other articles of the regulation were on the operation of the society, such as eligibility for membership, admission procedure, loss of membership, membership fees, the proper conduct of members, the role of the (central) committee, the frequency of committee and general meetings, the role of the presi-

dent, vice-president and clerical staff, the procedure for proposing an agenda at a general meeting, ways of resolving issues where opinion was divided, ways of changing the regulations and other relevant matters.²⁵⁾ Thus the contents of regulation focused on the operation and the decision-making processes of the Society: one cannot find any political orientation there. The declaration of foundation, in which the founders expressed their concern and anger, was vague, with no specific content regarding a political orientation. In other words, one cannot find clear indications that the Truth Society of Tarīm was anything other than an association aimed at social reform and the spread of education. This is in clear contrast to the Truth Society of Say'ūn, whose statutes mentioned close relationships between the sultan and the association specifically and thus directly revealed its political intentions.

V. Membership

Who was eligible for membership and who were the actual members of the Truth Society of Tarīm? According to Article 2 of its regulation, any adult male whose character fulfilled certain conditions could join the society. A new member was required to pay one rupee as an aid (*ma'ūna*) and to make a pledge of allegiance upon his admission to the society. The membership fee was one-third of a rupee per month, and voluntary gifts (donations) were welcomed. The salient point here is that the society's admission policy was based on applicants' character regardless of social class or genealogy.

However, this does not mean that the society was open to everybody. In order to join the society, an applicant needed two members to introduce him. He then had to submit an application form that included the names of the two society members and himself to the committee. The committee then processed the application, and the director-general (*mudīr al-jam'īyya*) would notify the applicant with the result. In other word, while anyone could theoretically become a member of the society, it was possible for the committee to screen the applicants. In fact, the minutes of the meeting show that some applications were turned down, while another had to wait for three months until his good character was confirmed.²⁶⁾

The note includes a list of those members who had joined the society by 1337 A.H. (1918-9).²⁷⁾ Among the 129 members on the list, 96 were *sāda* and 33 non-*sāda*. The most prominent family in the society, in terms

of number, was the al-Kāfs, with twenty-seven members in the society at this time. In comparison, the second largest family, Balfaqīh, had only eight members. Other families with several members in the society were the al-‘Aydārūs (7), Bin Shihāb (7), al-Hādī (6) and Bā Faḍl (6) families (see Chart 2 and 3). It is necessary to point out that all were important families with a long history in Tarīm, and all except Bā Faḍl were *sāda*, the descendants of the Prophet Muḥammad.

The al-Kāf family stood out in the committee, too. At first, the number of committee members from the al-Kāf family was three (see Chart 1). However, after the re-election of the committee at the general assembly on May 10, 1916, this increased to five. In other word, the members of the al-Kāf family accounted for half the total number of the committee members (see Chart 4). Given that the founder of the society was from the al-Kāf family, this is not surprising, and makes a review of the position of the al-Kāf family in Tarīm and Ḥaḍramawt, immediately relevant.

Tarīm had been famous as the center of education in South Arabia and as the place most densely populated by the Ḥaḍramī *sāda*. It can be said that the most prominent among the *sāda* family in Tarīm was the al-‘Aydārūs. Two out of three domed tombs of saintly figures in Zanbal, a graveyard at the entrance of the town, belong to this family (‘Abd Allāh al-‘Aydārūs b. Abī Bakr and ‘Abd Allāh b. Shaykh al-‘Aydārūs). Outside Tarīm, prominent figures from the al-‘Aydārūs family could be found in Tāriba, al-Shiḥr, Aden, India (Gujarat) and the Southeast Asian archipelago.²⁸⁾ There was even an Emirate in Kubu, Kalimantan, which a member of the al-‘Aydārūs family founded in the eighteenth century.

While the al-‘Aydārūs family produced many *‘ulamā’*, the number of such figures coming from the al-Kāf family was relatively small. How, then, did the al-Kāf family found and become the leading force in an association that was to influence Tarīm over a few decades? The answer can be found in their position in Southeast Asia. In Tarīm, this family is remembered more for its wealth and reform-minded figures than for the religious figures it produced. That wealth came mainly from Singapore, where they made a fortune. The family even constructed a paved road that connected Tarīm with the coastal town of al-Shiḥr in the 1930s. Although the Truth Society collected membership fees and called for donations, it would not have been able to operate without the financial backing of the al-Kāf family.

Even though the al-Kāf family was influential in the town at that time, the unbalanced distribution of power within the society provoked a

backlash from other families. In 1926-7, the *manṣab* (family head) of the al-‘Aydārūs protested against a tax collection by the society, and the Tamīmīs, an armed tribe under the influence of the al-‘Aydārūs family, surrounded the town. This situation resulted in the deployment of the troops of the coastal sultanate of the al-Qu‘ayṭīs, and the political situation of Tarīm changed.²⁹⁾

Another interesting point is that a person from the al-Kathīrīs (the ruling family of Tarīm and Say‘ūn) joined the society. This person, Sālīm b. Muṭlaq al-Kathīrī, may have been the grandfather of Sālīm b. ‘Abūd b. Sālīm b. Muṭlaq al-Kathīrī who took power of Tarīm when the al-Kathīrī Sultanate was divided into two in 1924. However, as far as we can see from the note, his admission to the society followed routine procedure,³⁰⁾ and there is no indication that he played any special role in the society.³¹⁾

VI. Activities

So, what were the key activities of the Truth Society of Tarīm? Most of the agendas and decisions of the committee meetings in its early stage were related to the operation of the society, such as making regulations, preparing application forms, asking prominent figures of the town to join and/or help the society, screening applicants for membership, looking for an office of the society and other relevant matters.

However, we do know that one of the most important activities of the society was the spread of education. The society’s emphasis on education can be seen by the fact that the first thing decided by the committee other than administrative matters was to find a teacher who could conduct *da‘wa* (the call to Islam) for the people of Tarīm.³²⁾ The preparation for systematic education resulted in the establishment of a school that bore the society’s name, “The Truth Society School (*Madrasat Jam‘iyyat al-Ḥaqq*)” on January 10, 1916 (Rabī‘ al-Awwal 4, 1334 A.H.).³³⁾ The subjects taught at the school were Arabic (*al-khaṭṭ al-‘arabī*), arithmetic (*al-ḥisāb*), ethical training (*al-akhlāq*) and manners (*al-ādāb*). Three members of the society, ‘Alawī b. Abī Bakr Kharid, Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Qādir Bin Ṭāhir, Muḥammad b. ‘Awaḍ Bā Faḍl, were appointed as teachers (*asātidha*).³⁴⁾ This school is said to have been the first modern school in Ḥaḍramawt.³⁵⁾

Classes were held for three hours in the morning and one and half hours in the afternoon. There were no classes on Thursday afternoon or Friday. Examinations were given every five months.³⁶⁾ However, the

background of the teachers was not so different from that of traditional 'ulamā'. 'Alawī b. Abī Bakr Kharid studied under various 'ulamā' in Ḥaḍramawt and became the judge (*qāḍī*) of the al-Kathīrī sultanate. However, he clashed with an influential figure of the sultanate and resigned the position after just a month, then returning to Tarīm.³⁷⁾ Muḥammad Bā Faḍl (1885-1950) was from Tarīm, and his teachers and education indicate that he was a typical religious figure or an 'ālim.³⁸⁾ Given these facts, it can be said that the education provided at the Truth Society School may have not been a drastic departure from that previous available.

In any case, the society put special emphasis on the operation of the school. The committee meeting minutes show that matters concerning the school were frequently discussed, and the problems of the school (complaints from parents, excessive disciplinary action by the teachers and problematic behaviors of students, etc) were quickly dealt with. The society's careful management of the school can be seen in its decision not to accept new students six months after its opening,³⁹⁾ apparently avoiding possible confusions. The society's emphasis on education and social reform received attention from important figures outside Tarīm. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭās of Ḥurayḍa, the individual who had opposed the action taken by Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh (see above), visited the society on December 22, 1915 (Ṣafar 14, 1334), honored its activities and expressed hopes for its further development.⁴⁰⁾

A major concern of the Society, other than education, was the luxurious lifestyle of the people in Tarīm. As mentioned above, the residents of Ḥaḍramawt heavily depended on remittances from abroad. The value of these remittances was often out of all proportion to that needed to maintain an ordinary quality of life in Ḥaḍramawt. The excess income was often spent on the extraordinary decoration of ceremonies, clothes and other articles for luxury. The committee of the society frequently discussed the issue and imposed restrictions on such customs.⁴¹⁾

These activities culminated in 1939 by the issue of a sumptuary regulation (*lā'iḥa ilzāmiyya*) that consisted of 56 articles.⁴²⁾ In it, the society listed acceptable and unacceptable conduct during ceremonies, visits to graves and other activities, very precisely.⁴³⁾ There is, of course, a gap of more than twenty years between the issue of the ban and the period the note covers: unfortunately, the lack of source material prevents us from investigating developments during this gap. However, we can reasonably conclude that the luxurious lifestyle of the people was a concern of the

Truth Society from its inception onwards.

As an association aimed at social reform, the Truth Society of Tarīm did not limit its activities to educational and disciplinary matters. The Society sometimes intervened in disputes in the town. Also, the committee was discussing issues on the relationship between Tarīm and the sultan (of Tarīm, Sālim b. ‘Abūd al-Kathīrī) as early as January 1916. In April of that year, an attack by the sultan’s slaves on residents of Tarīm was reported to the society, and a letter of enquiry was sent to the sultan. In May, the society was asked to investigate the exploitation of the residents by the state.⁴⁴⁾ This problem appears on and off in the committee meeting minutes, and the possibility of the Society’s taking over the state finances was even discussed. The society had direct discussions with the sultan of Tarīm and the head of slaves concerning tax in August 1916.⁴⁵⁾ This issue went beyond the border of Tarīm, as the Truth Society sent a letter to the sultan in Say’ūn.⁴⁶⁾

The most important event concerning this matter was the direct negotiation with the al-Kathīrī sultan in Say’ūn. On a Friday in the month of Dhū al-Hijja, 1334 (September-October, 1916), around thirty members of the Truth Society went together to Say’ūn, to discuss the matters outlined above with the Sultan Muḥsin b. Ghālib al-Kathīrī, and to complain about their hardship. After this important meeting, the society continued to have discussions with the sultan over matters concerning the state, such as the treatment of slaves, financial matter of the sultanate, the debts of a member of the al-Kathīrīs and some slaves.⁴⁷⁾

The attack by the slaves in Tarīm, reconstructed from the note, closely resembles an event that Freitag claims occurred before the foundation of the Truth Society of Tarīm (see above). It is highly unlikely that similar incidents that involved the notables of Tarīm and the sultan occurred twice in this short interval. The point at issue is whether the negotiation with the sultan was before or after the Society’s foundation. Although the present writer has not consulted the source Freitag relies on, it seems safe to say that the note, as a contemporary account, direct from the Society, is more likely to be reliable in this case. We can therefore conclude that the attack by the slaves did not have a direct impact on the foundation of the Truth Society of Tarīm.

Concluding Remarks

It is a rare occasion for any historical researcher to be able to access

genuine primary materials in Ḥaḍramawt, because of the difficult conditions (i.e. white ants, flood and severe weather conditions), which such documents have to survive. The note is therefore very special in providing primary material through which an extensive study on the modern history of Ḥaḍramawt can be developed. Based on the information discussed above, we can conclude the following. Firstly, the Truth Society of Tarīm was led by the al-Kāf family and mainly composed of local notables, mostly *sāda*, whose families had long history in Tarīm. Secondly, the society was founded primarily to be a private association aimed at social reform: there is no indication that the society intended to become engaged in the politics or local administration from the beginning. The term that describes the operation of the society the best may be “solidity”; what the society valued was its smooth operation, the promotion of education and the promotion of a simpler, less luxurious life style. This kind of moral and religious enlightenment and educational activities gained support from important figures, not only Tarīm but also other places in Ḥaḍramawt. These features are in sharp contrast to the aims of the Truth Society of Say’ūn.

It was only after the Society was well established that it attained some features of a municipal government, taking over the town administration and collecting taxes. It is worth remembering that it was requests from the residents of Tarīm that resulted in the society’s involvement of state issues. Although the administration of Tarīm by the society faced opposition from some important families in later times, the longevity of the society can be largely ascribed to support from the residents.

Why, then, was the operation of the Truth Society of Tarīm so different to that of Say’ūn’s? There were clearly differences in their leaders’ aims, and in the political and social situations of the two towns. However, one cannot overlook the fact that the Truth Society of Tarīm had information that Say’ūn lacked: the fate of the preceding Truth Society that intended very rapid reform. Although it cannot be proven, one possible reason for the longevity of the Truth Society of Tarīm is that it learned from the failure of Say’ūn. In this sense, the Truth Society of Tarīm can be seen as a successor to the Say’ūn’s.

Notes

- 1) See Mobini-Kesheh 1999 and Freitag 2003 for the development of the Ḥaḍramī communities in Southeast Asia.

- 2) See Freitag 2007, pp. 532-533 for the list of associations founded in Ḥaḍramawt.
- 3) The present writer did consult the note during his stay in Ḥaḍramawt. However, the photographing of the note was done by other people who assisted him.
- 4) Boxberger 2002.
- 5) Ho 2006.
- 6) Bin Shihāb 2005. The section on the Truth Society in this book is more of a quotation from the note than a study. It is probably intended to provide information to the readers (presumably to the Ḥaḍramīs).
- 7) Boxberger 2002, pp. 230-232.
- 8) Boxberger 2002, p. 231.
- 9) Freitag 2003, p. 302.
- 10) Freitag 2003, p. 302, f.n. 117.
- 11) Boxberger 2002, p. 230.
- 12) Freitag 2003, p. 298.
- 13) Freitag 2003, p. 299; Boxberger 2002, p. 230. The statutes of the Truth Society of Say'ūn are in the Say'ūn Museum Archives (SMA), III, 2, though the present writer has not consulted them yet.
- 14) Freitag 2003, p. 299.
- 15) Boxberger 2002, pp. 230-231; Freitag 2003, pp. 299-300.
- 16) To be more exact, the president would be elected from the descendants of Ghālib b. Muḥsin al-Kathīrī (the al-Kathīrī sultan, r. 1844-1870), the father of the then sultan. Freitag 2003, p. 299.
- 17) The head (*manṣab*) of the al-'Aṭṭās family, an important *sāda* family in inland Ḥaḍramawt. At that time, Aḥmad was one of the most influential '*ulamā*' in Ḥaḍramawt. See *EI3*, "al-'Aṭṭās, Aḥmad b. Ḥasan."
- 18) Another famous '*ālim*' at that time. A dome built above his grave is one of the landmarks of Say'ūn.
- 19) Freitag 2003, p. 301.
- 20) The one founded in 1913 was "Reform Congress" (*Majlis al-Iṣlāḥ*), and in 1918 *Jam'iyya li al-Ḥisba wa al-Nazar fī al-Mazālīm*. Boxberger 2002, p. 231; Freitag 2003, p. 301-302.
- 21) The reason why Ibn 'Ubayd Allāh met opposition from inside the associations was that rumors of his political intrigues were spreading at that time. *ibid.*
- 22) The signatures are in pages 6-7 of the note.
- 23) Note p. 1. Bin Shihāb 2005, p. 189. The statement quoted here is a rough translation by the present writer.
- 24) Freitag 2003, p. 302. Freitag also expresses the opinion that a deteriorating economic situation during World War I was another reason for the attack.
- 25) *Qānūn Jam'iyyat al-Ḥaqq* (Truth Society Regulation) in the note, pp. 2-6. Bin Shihāb 2005, pp. 189-190 contains some articles of the regulation.
- 26) Note pp. 12, 15.
- 27) Note pp. 25-28, 85. The list of the members is in Chart 2.
- 28) For example, a saint from the al-'Aydārūs is buried in the Luar Batang dis-

- trict of Jakarta, Indonesia, and many Indonesians come to pay respect at his grave.
- 29) Boxberger 2002, p. 232.
 - 30) Note, p. 44.
 - 31) However, the timing of his admission into the society (May 25, 1916/Rajab 22, 1334), may have indicated the society's intention to involve someone from the al-Kathīrī family in its operation. By that time, the problems of the sultan's slaves had already become one of the items on the agenda of the committee meetings.
 - 32) Note, p. 9.
 - 33) Note, p. 22.
 - 34) Note, p. 47. Also see Boxberger 2002, p. 168 for the Truth Society School.
 - 35) Another modern school was said to be founded in Ḥurayḍa in wādī 'Amd. See Arai 2004, pp. 274-278.
 - 36) Note, p. 47.
 - 37) al-Mashhūr 1412H., vol. 2, pp. 166-167.
 - 38) Bā Faḍl 1420H., pp. 5-19. There is no information on Muḥammad Bin Ṭāhir other than that he came from Masīlat Āl Shaykh, a village in the suburb of Tarīm.
 - 39) Note, p. 47.
 - 40) Note p. 18. The record of the visit by Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭās is also included in Bin Shihāb 2005, p. 192. One of the reasons why Aḥmad visited the Truth Society was that two of his disciples, Muḥammad Bā Faḍl and 'Alawī Kharid, were closely involved in the Truth Society.
 - 41) Note, pp. 17, 18, 42, 70.
 - 42) The regulation is under the possession of the same person as the note.
 - 43) See Boxberger 2002, pp. 142-145 for the contents of the regulation.
 - 44) Note, pp. 42-43.
 - 45) Note, p. 73.
 - 46) Note, p. 75.
 - 47) Note, pp. 77-82. According to *al-Nahḍa al-Ḥaḍramiyya* no. 11, pp. 11-12, the sultan later gave up the administration of Tarīm.
 - 48) The first name "Muḥammad" is missing in the original text. As other parts of the note include "Muḥammad" when referring to this person, the absence of the first name is considered to be a mistake.

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Position	Name	Number of Votes	Share of the Vote
President	‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shaykh al-Kāf	23	majority
Vice-President	‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr Balfaḡīh	10	majority
Accountant	Ḥasan b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Kāf	17	majority
Clerical	Karāma b. Sa‘īd Baldram	22	majority
Committee	‘Aydarūs b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn Bin Shihāb	24	majority
Committee	Abū Bakr b. Ḥusayn al-Kāf	23	majority
Committee	Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mawlā Bin Ṭāhir ⁴⁸⁾	19	majority
Committee	Muḥsin b. Zayn al-Hādī	19	majority
Committee	‘Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥiyy al-Dīn	17	majority
Committee	Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Bin Shihāb	14	majority

Chart 1: Members of the Truth Society’s Committee (at the time of the foundation)

	Name (transliteration)	Name (Arabic)	Family
1	Ḥasan b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Kāf	حسن بن عبد الله الكاف	al-Kāf
2	‘Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥiyy al-Dīn Balfaḳīh	عبد القادر بن محي الدين بلفقيه	Balfaḳīh
3	‘Alawī b. Abī Bakr Kharid	علوي بن ابي بكر خرد	Kharid
4	Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mawlā Bin Ṭāhir	محمد عبد المولى بن طاهر	Bin Ṭāhir
5	‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Bū Bakr Balfaḳīh	عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن بو بكر بلفقيه	Balfaḳīh
6	‘Alī b. Zayn al-Hādī	علي بن زين الهادي	al-Hādī
7	Abū Bakr b. ‘Alawī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mashhūr	ابو بكر بن علوي بن عبد الرحمن المشهور	al-Mashhūr
8	Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Bin Shihāb	محمد بن عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن بن شهاب	Bin Shihāb
9	‘Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Ḥaddād	عبد القادر بن محمد الحداد	al-Ḥaddād
10	‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh Bin Shihāb	عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن شهاب	Bin Shihāb
11	Bū Bakr ‘Alawī b. Abī Bakr b. Aḥmad al-Kāf	بو بكر علوي بن ابي بكر بن احمد الكاف	al-Kāf
12	Zayn b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Zāhir	زين بن عبد الله الزاهر	al-Zāhir
13	‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Hādī	علي بن محمد بن احمد الهادي	al-Hādī
14	‘Aydārūs b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn Bin Shihāb	عيدروس بن محمد بن هرون بن شهاب	Bin Shihāb
15	Bū Bakr b. Ḥusayn al-Kāf	بو بكر بن حسين الكاف	al-Kāf
16	Ḥusayn b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Zāhir	حسين بن عبد الله الزاهر	al-Zāhir
17	Saqqāf b. Zayn al-Hādī	سقاق بن زين الهادي	al-Hādī
18	‘Umar b. Shaykh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kāf	عمر بن شيخ بن عبد الرحمن الكاف	al-Kāf
19	Zayn b. Aḥmad b. Ḥasan ‘Aydīd	زين بن احمد بن حسن عيديد	‘Aydīd
20	‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shaykh al-Kāf	عبد الرحمن بن شيخ الكاف	al-Kāf
21	‘Abd al-Qādir b. Shaykh al-Kāf	عبد القادر بن شيخ الكاف	al-Kāf
22	‘Umar b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Hādī	عمر بن محمد بن احمد الهادي	al-Hādī
23	Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. ‘Alawī Bin Shihāb	محمد بن حسن بن علوي بن شهاب	Bin Shihāb
24	‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alawī al-Kāf	عبد الله بن محمد بن علوي الكاف	al-Kāf

25	Ḥasan b. Zayn al-Hādī	حسن بن زين الهادي	al-Hādī
26	Karāma Saʿīd Aḥmad Baldram†	كرامه سعيد احمد بلدرم	Baldram†
27	Muḥsin b. Zayn al-Hādī	محسن بن زين الهادي	al-Hādī
28	ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kāf	علي بن عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله الكاف	al-Kāf
29	ʿAlawī b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAlawī al-Kāf	علوي بن ابي بكر بن علوي الكاف	al-Kāf
30	Muḥsin b. Sālīm al-Sarī	محسن بن سالم السري	al-Sarī
31	Ḥusayn b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jifrī	حسين بن عبد الرحمن الجفري	al-Jifrī
32	ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. Shaykh al-Kāf	عمر بن احمد بن شيخ الكاف	al-Kāf
33	Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Kāf	محمد بن احمد بن محمد الكاف	al-Kāf
34	ʿAlawī b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Kharid	علوي بن عبد الرحمن خرد	Kharid
35	ʿAbd al-Qādir (Suʿayyid?) b. Ḥusayn b. Shaykh al-Kāf	عبد القادر (سعيد) بن حسين بن شيخ الكاف	al-Kāf
36	Ṣādiq b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAlawī al-Kāf	صادق بن ابي بكر بن علوي الكاف	al-Kāf
37	ʿAlī b. Aḥmad b. Abī Bakr al-Kāf	علي بن احمد بن ابي بكر الكاف	al-Kāf
38	ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Hārūn Bin Shihāb	عمر بن احمد بن عبد الله بن هارون بن شهاب	Bin Shihāb
39	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad b. Ḥāmid b. ʿAlawī Ḥāmid	عبد الرحمن بن احمد بن حامد بن علوي حامد	Ḥāmid
40	Salmān b. ʿAlī b. Aḥmad Baldram†	سلمان بن علي بن احمد بلدرم	Baldram†
41	ʿAlawī b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Kāf	علوي بن عبد الله بن محمد الكاف	al-Kāf
42	al-Duktūr Jalāl al-Dīn Aḥmad	الدكتور جلال الدين احمد	?
43	ʿAlī b. Zayn al-Shāṭirī	علي بن زين الشاطري	al-Shāṭirī
44	ʿAbd al-Qādir b. ʿAlī Bin Sahl	عبد القادر بن علي بن سهل	Bin Sahl
45	Sālīm b. Sālīm b. ʿAlawī al-Sarī	سالم بن سالم بن علوي السري	al-Sarī
46	Ḥāmid b. Muḥammad Ḥāmid	حامد بن محمد حامد	Ḥāmid
47	ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kāf	عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله الكاف	al-Kāf
48	Muḥammad b. Ḥasan ʿAydīd	محمد بن حسن عيديد	ʿAydīd
49	Saqqāf b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kāf	سقاق بن عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله الكاف	al-Kāf
50	ʿUmar b. Ḥasan al-Kāf	عمر بن حسن الكاف	al-Kāf
51	Sahl b. ʿAbd Allāh Bin Sahl	سهل بن عبد الله بن سهل	Bin Sahl

52	‘Umar b. Ḥusayn b. Bū Bakr al-Kāf	عمر بن حسين بن بو بكر الكاف	al-Kāf
53	Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Hārūn Bin Shihāb	محمد بن عبد الله بن هرون بن شهاب	Bin Shihāb
54	‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Khaṭīb	علي بن عبد الرحمن الخطيب	al-Khaṭīb
55	‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Bā Faḍl	عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن بافضل	Bā Faḍl
56	‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Zāhir	عبد القادر بن عبد الله الزاهر	al-Zāhir
57	‘Alī b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Balfaḳīh	علي بن حسن بن محمد بلفقيه	Balfaḳīh
58	Zayn b. Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Balfaḳīh	زين بن حسن بن محمد بلفقيه	Balfaḳīh
59	Ḥāmid b. Muḥammad b. Sālim Sarī	حامد بن محمد بن سالم سري	al-Sarī
60	Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr ‘Aydīd	محمد بن ابي بكر عيديد	‘Aydīd
61	Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Abū Faṭīm†	محمد بن حسين ابو فطيم	Abū Faṭīm
62	Salmān b. ‘Abd al-Shaykh Shāmī	سلمان بن عبد الشيخ شامي	Shāmī?
63	‘Alawī b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Kāf	علوي بن عبد الله الكاف	al-Kāf
64	Muḥammad b. ‘Awaḍ b. Muḥammad Bā Faḍl	محمد بن عوض بن محمد بافضل	Bā Faḍl
65	‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Kāf	عبد الرحمن بن محمد الكاف	al-Kāf
66	‘Awaḍ b. Aḥmad Bal‘afif†	عوض بن احمد بلعفيف	Bal‘afif†
67	‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Kāf	عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله الكاف	al-Kāf
68	‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Sālim Sarī	عبد الله بن محمد بن سالم سري	al-Sarī
69	‘Abd al-Qādir b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Balfaḳīh	عبد القادر بن احمد بن محمد بلفقيه	Balfaḳīh
70	‘Abd Allāh b. Zayn b. Muḥammad Bin Sumayṭ	عبد الله بن زين بن محمد بن سميط	Bin Sumayṭ
71	‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar al-Jifrī	عبد الله بن عمر الجفري	al-Jifrī
72	‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad Bā Faḍl	علي بن عبد الله بن احمد بافضل	Bā Faḍl
73	‘Alī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad ‘Abd Allāh al-Khaṭīb	علي عبد الرحمن بن احمد عبد الله الخطيب	al-Khaṭīb

74	'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. Zayn Bin Sumayṭ	عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن زين بن سميط	Bin Sumayṭ
75	Ḥasan b. Zayn al-'Ābidīn al-'Aydarūs	حسن بن زين العابدين العيدروس	al-'Aydarūs
76	'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh Sālim Bā Raḍwān	عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن عبد الله سالم بارضوان	Bā Raḍwān
77	'Abd al-Qawī b. Sālim Bā Faḍl	عبد القوي بن سالم بافضل	Bā Faḍl
78	Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Aḥmad Bā Faḍl	محمد بن عبد الرحمن بن احمد بافضل	Bā Faḍl
79	'Ubayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Irfān Bā Rajā'	عبيد بن عبد الرحمن عرفان بارجاء	Bā Rajā
80	'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kāf	عبد الله بن محمد بن عبد الله الكاف	al-Kāf
81	'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Alī Hāshim al-Saqqāf	عبد الرحمن علي هاشم السقاف	al-Saqqāf
82	Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar Balfaḡīh	ابو بكر بن محمد بن عمر بلققيه	Balfaḡīh
83	'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kāf	عبد الرحمن بن حسن بن عبد الرحمن الكاف	al-Kāf
84	Bakrān [†] b. 'Umar Bā Jammāl	بكران بن عمر باجمال	Bā Jammāl
85	Abū Bakr b. Shaykh al-Kāf	ابو بكر بن شيخ الكاف	al-Kāf
86	Sālim b. Muṭṭlaq al-Kathīrī	سالم بن مطلق الكثيري	al-Kathīrī
87	Muḥammad b. Sālim al-Sarī	محمد بن سالم السري	al-Sarī
88	'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad 'Irfān	عبد الرحمن بن محمد عرفان	'Irfān
89	Ḥasan b. Muḥammad 'Irfān	حسن بن محمد عرفان	'Irfān
90	Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn Bin Sumayṭ	احمد بن حسين بن سميط	Bin Sumayṭ
91	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Sumayṭ	احمد بن محمد بن سميط	Bin Sumayṭ
92	'Alī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Bin Sahl	علي بن عبد الرحمن بن سهل	Bin Sahl
93	Zayn 'Awaḍ al-Shāṭirī	زين عوض الشاطري	al-Shāṭirī
94	'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Alī Bin Sahl	عبد الرحمن بن علي بن سهل	Bin Sahl
95	'Abd Allāh b. 'Awaḍ al-Shāṭirī	عبد الله بن عوض الشاطري	al-Shāṭirī
96	Shaykh b. Muḥammad Balfaḡīh	شيخ بن محمد بلققيه	Balfaḡīh
97	Aḥmad b. Sālim Bin Dhiyāb [†]	احمد بن سالم بن ذياب	Bin Dhiyāb [†]
98	Aḥmad b. Sālim Bā Jarī	احمد بن سالم باجري	Bā Jarī
99	'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh al-Zāhir	عمر بن عبد الله الزاهر	al-Zāhir
100	'Umar b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kāf	عمر بن عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله الكاف	al-Kāf

101	‘Abd al-Qādir Bā Rajā	عبد القادر بارجا	Bā Rajā
102	‘Ubayd Allāh b. Aḥmad Dajrūj†	عبيد الله بن احمد دجروج	Dajrūj†
103	Sālim b. ‘Abd Allāh Dajrūj†	سالم بن عبد الله دجروج	Dajrūj†
104	‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sālim al-Dawīla	عبد الرحمن بن سالم الدويله	al-Dawīla
105	Aḥmad b. ‘Awaḍ b. Ḥamīdān† Bā Buhayr†	احمد بن عوض بن حميدان بابهير	Bā Buhayr†
106	Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh Baldram†	محمد بن عبد الله بلدرم	Baldram†
107	‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Umar b. Ibrāhīm al-Saqqāf	عبد الرحمن بن عمر بن ابراهيم السقاف	al-Saqqāf
108	‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Aydarūs al-‘Aydarūs	عبد الله بن عيروس العيروس	al-‘Aydarūs
109	Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Junayd	حسن بن عبد الرحمن الجنيد	al-Junayd
110	‘Abd al-Qādir b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Junayd	عبد القادر بن عبد الرحمن الجنيد	al-Junayd
111	Muṣṭafā b. Shaykh al-‘Aydarūs	مصطفى بن شيخ العيروس	al-‘Aydarūs
112	‘Abd Allāh b. Sālim al-Suyūd†	عبد الله بن سالم السيود	al-Suyūd
113	Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad Balfaḥīh	ابو بكر بن محمد بلفقيه	Balfaḥīh
114	Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Abu Faṭīm†	محمد بن علي ابو فطيم	Abū Faṭīm†
115	‘Abd al-Bārī’ b. Shaykh al-‘Aydarūs	عبد الباري بن شيخ العيروس	al-‘Aydarūs
116	Muḥammad b. Saqqāf b. Ḥasan al-‘Aydarūs	محمد بن سقاف بن حسن العيروس	al-‘Aydarūs
117	Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Khaṭīb	محمد بن عبد الله الخطيب	al-Khaṭīb
118	‘Umar b. Sālim Bā Faḍl	عمر بن سالم بافضل	Bā Faḍl
119	‘Abd al-Shaykh b. Muḥammad Shāmī	عبد الشيخ بن محمد شامي	Shāmī?
120	Zayn b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Kāf	زين بن عبد الله الكاف	al-Kāf
121	‘Umar b. Bū Bakr al-‘Aydarūs	عمر بن بو بكر العيروس	al-‘Aydarūs
122	‘Alawī b. ‘Alī Bin Sumayṭ	علوي بن علي بن سميط	Bin Sumayṭ
123	al-Muḥibb† Sa‘īd b. ‘Abbūd Muslim†	المحب سعيد بن عبود مسلم	Muslim?
124	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Ṣalībiyya†† al-‘Aydarūs	احمد بن محمد الصليبيه العيروس	al-‘Aydarūs
125	Saqqāf b. Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh Bin Shihāb	سقاف بن محمد عبد الله بن شهاب	Bin Shihāb

126	Muḥammad b. ‘Alawī b. Ibrāhīm al-Saqqāf	محمد بن علوي بن ابراهيم السقاف	al-Saqqāf
127	‘Abd al-Kabīr b. Aḥmad Bā Ḥamīd	عبد الكبير بن احمد باحميد	Bā Ḥamīd
128	‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad Bā Ḥamīd	عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن محمد باحميد	Bā Ḥamīd
129	Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-‘Aṭṭās (in Sadbah)	احمد بن محمد العطاس بسدبه	al-‘Aṭṭās

Source: “Note” pp. 25-28, 85.

* The order of the members is as given in the original source.

† The transliteration has not been cross-referenced with other sources.

†† The handwritten Arabic is not clear.

Chart 2: Member List of the Truth Society of Tarīm

Family	Class	Number of Members
Al-Kāf	<i>sāda</i>	27
Balfaqīh	<i>sāda</i>	8
Al-‘Aydārūs	<i>sāda</i>	7
Bin Shihāb	<i>sāda</i>	7
Al-Hādī	<i>sāda</i>	6
Bā Faḍl	<i>mashā’ikh</i>	6

Chart 3: Members of the Truth Society According to Family

Position	Name	Share of the Vote	Number of Votes	
President	‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Shaykh al-Kāf	majority	55	reelected
Vice-President	‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad Balfaqīh	majority	50	reelected
Accountant	Ḥasan b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Kāf	majority	63	reelected
Wakīr al-mudīr	‘Aydārūs b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn Bin Shihāb	majority	41	reelected
Committee	‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Kāf	majority	60	new
Committee	Abū Bakr b. Ḥusayn al-Kāf	majority	43	reelected
Committee	Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Bin Shihāb	majority	38	reelected
Committee	‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kāf	majority	37	new
Committee	Muḥammad b. Ḥasan Bin Shihāb	majority	37	new
Committee	Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Mawlā Bin Ṭāhir	majority	29	reelected

Chart 4: Members of the Truth Society’s Committee (after reelection)