THE CULT OF THE JAMBIYA: 
dagger wearing in yemen

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On a recent visit to the Yemen Arab Republic, even before I left the National Airport, I was impressed by the fact that so many adult males, and even some adolescents, who had come to meet the plane were still wearing the traditional Arabian dagger called jambiya. The jambiya is a characteristic form of dagger that is worn throughout the Arab World and wherever Arabian influence has penetrated historically, though it may differ in form or shape from one area to another. The word actually means “something worn at one’s right side” (from the triliteral root j-n-b), and probably because of that, the very few Western writers who have even mentioned them have described them as “daggers worn on the right side.” Actually, on the Arabian peninsula in general and in neighboring Iraq, this dagger has customarily been worn exactly in front of the body, as it still is in Yemen.

The Yemeni type of jambiya generally has a curved, double-edged blade, rather...
An old type of blade with extra ribs

The standard type of Yemkeni jambiya.

A new type of blade with extra ribs.

broad where it leaves the hilt and gradually tapering toward its tip, with a protruding middle extending down its entire length (Fig. 3). However, I did see a few blades—said to be "very old"—with three such ribs and concave hollows between them (Fig. 4). These blades are usually made from a fine steel that does not seem to corrode or oxidize to form rust, instead, it simply takes on a soft gray patina, like the famous "Iron Column" in Delhi, which has stood unrestored for more than two centuries. The iron for this is said to come from Assab in the "Anabij District," which was long famous for the making of fine daggers. A short time along the head of the blade fits into the base of the hilt, where it is securely fastened. The usual form of hilt, throughout most of the country, is a flattened piece of horn, having its top, or pommel, either simply rounded or else jetting out to a point at either side, almost as far as the two lower projections at the base of the grip, so that the entire hilt resembles a broad H, lying on its side.

The horn material for the hilts seems to have first been artificially flattened, probably by boiling, as some knife handles show an unusually oval-shaped core, passing transversely through the middle of the grip, and the spurs from the top of the pommel to the base of the hilt seems too wide for the average breadth of a cow's horn. The light-colored cow-horn, in particular, is often rubbed with a tallow oil, or even soaked in it, to make it shiny and to give it a remarkable translucence. Other forms of horn were also used. I saw some examples black and dense, enough to be from water buffalo horn, while a few others of a light gray-brown had the fibrous texture that is characteristic of rhinoceros horn. This latter substance is said

The steel gleams brightly. At a final touch, may use a coarse file to produce a keen cutting edge. But nowadays the jambiya is more of a ceremonial object than a functional tool, being largely a token of manhood or a status symbol, so the daggersmith may merely sharpen the point, leaving the sides relatively dull.

It would be interesting to know exactly how the Yemkeni metalworkers manage to harden the tips of their chisels and scrapers so they are strong enough to actually remove slivers from the blades, which are themselves made of hard steel. This is only one of the questions that call for more intensive fieldwork. In fact, a detailed study of the actual forging of the blades, and the full treatment of the horn for the hilt, would provide valuable information, not yet available, regarding the traditional technology of this ancient land.

The people of Yemen have two secondary names for the jambiya: 'awal and 'urtu. The first refers to the type worn by tribesmen and ordinary people in the towns, while the second is applied to those worn by the aristocrats or chatifans. Actually the knives are usually exactly the same in either case, but the two types have different kinds of sheaths, and each is worn in a distinctive way, as we shall see.

The foundation for the usual 'awal type sheath or scabbard consists of two flat pieces of wood, in the general shape of the blade but somewhat larger and longer, slightly hollowed in their inner surfaces and rounded on the outer edges. The two pieces are then fastened together with a strip of leather or cloth. Frequently this outer covering is further wrapped with narrow, brightly colored cloth strips. These are wound around it in horizontal lines, often placed far enough apart to reveal the cloth or leather of the actual sheath but still sufficiently close to impart an overall impression of vivid color. Generally the end of the sheath is bent sharply upward toward the wearer's right, to terminate in a rounded point. This has a practical advantage: It provides a hook to catch in the belt, so, if the dagger has to be suddenly drawn, it does not pull the sheath along with it (Fig. 6). Lastly, the scabbard would be finished off with a backing of coarse white cloth or leather, where it would rest against the wearer's body.

For decoration, the tops of the finer scabbards are often fitted with a broad metal band or collar, technically called the locket, usually of worked silver, engraved or pierced in scrollwork patterns or studded with small granules in geometric patterns. Some sheaths that I saw had locket-bands much wider than usual and set with nine flat, oval cameos, or the substance for these in dark red glass. I was told that this form of ornamentation was characteristic of the Bayda District, in the disputed border area to the southeast, a region that is now too politically troubled for foreigners to visit. In fact, the men who were wearing these distinctive sheaths were usually identified as coming from there, because they also had the typical Bayda-style "sitting bands," recalling the cloth bands of similar function used by Indian yogis as supports during meditation. The Bayda men wore these draped over the left shoulder, as they strolled about in the bazaars of Sanaa or Taiz.

With or without the upper metal mounting, the 'awal dagger sheath could be extended up or outward at the lower end, by a metal end-cap called the chape. In some cases a projecting chape would prolong the scabbard so far that its tip might reach nearly to the hill. The usual type of chape generally terminated in a round knob or cone-shaped point.
and they are made of a rather thin, shiny-looking silver alloy, cut through in simple shapes—often triangles—to expose the sheath facing of colored cloth or leather beneath it. The higher quality sheaths are of thicker silver, sometimes gilded. Especially handsome are sheaths on which the chape has been carefully designed to complement a locket of similar material and design. This is not as common as one might expect, because often a man buys a sheath, and then may have to wait years before he can afford to get a locket, made by someone else in a different style. The best silverwork was formerly done by Jewish artisans, so probably it is because most of the Yemeni Jews emigrated to Israel in 1948 that the delicate work of the older daggers—particularly the granulation—is no longer being done.

When all the basic work has been completed, and some of the trimmings added, the scabbard is generally permanently secured to a broad dagger-belt. In fact, the full jambiya outfit is not considered complete without such a belt. Some of these are rather simple, of plain leather decorated with metal appliques. But anyone who can afford it prefers to have a handsome one, made of brown leather, lined with white cloth or softer white leather, like the back of the scabbard, and faced with heavy, colored silk cloth, brocaded or embroidered with gold or silver thread. This rich decoration is worked in bold arabesques, phrases from the Koran, or simple repeated designs. The belts that I saw being worn, or displayed in the bazaars, varied from three to five inches in breadth and were generally about three feet long. A small metal strap, pierced with holes, was fastened near one end to match a small buckle at the opposite extremity, so the wearer could adjust it to his comfort. This belt also helps to secure the knee-length skirt which in most districts is worn over the lower end of a European-style cotton shirt. Most men of any means wear over this a European jacket, left unbuttoned in front to display the jambiya. But the men of the lowlands, on the Thama Plain, often leave off the jacket, and the belt as well, because of the heat, simply tucking the sheathed dagger into the top of their sarong-type skirt, called faut.

After the Revolution of 1962, which overthrew the rule of the hereditary Imams and created a republic, the old clan distinctions were officially abolished, and theoretically, at least, any man can now dress pretty much as he wishes. But one still finds surviving relics of past sumptuary laws or long-accepted customs. One of these old traditions insisted that ordinary townsmen or men of the tribes should wear daggers of the 'nibit type set vertically at the front of the belt.

Most tribesmen, in particular, choose to wear these with the hilt and the upper part of the scabbard leaning outward at an angle of some 30° from the wearer’s body. In this position, the dagger can serve as a convenient peg over which to hang things. We often saw jambiyas draped with a scarf, a towel, or a kulfis—the traditional Arab headdress, which also serves many other purposes. With the sarong-type faut in the Thama District, or the knee-length men’s skirt in the Yarim-Dhamar area to the north—both of which somewhat resemble a kilt—these dangling cloths, hanging down in front and coming together below the sheath, often recalled a Scotsman’s sporran. (See Fig. A.) In contrast to the commoners, the towns- men of high degree—seyyids and qidras, who were also set apart by their differing styles of formal headgear—traditionally wore their daggers and sheaths of the nubat-type set diagonally at the front of the belt, so that they slanted from the wearer’s upper left to his lower right (Fig. B). Though the knives themselves were often quite plain, having the usual horn handle without undue extra ornamentation, the upperclass dignitaries generally wore them in rather ornate scabbards. These might be dark velvet with metal fittings, as previously described, or else made entirely of silver; but whatever their substance or form of decoration, they were conservative in shape, lacking the exaggerated upright at the lower end. However, there may have been some exceptions in the past; because I did see in the Sonia some antique examples in solid silver that had a highly abrupt curve and a long extension for the tip. It is possible, though, that these might have been brought in from beyond the frontiers, where perhaps other customs.

In travelling around the country, my guide-companion and I noted that the majority of Yemeni jambiyas belonged to the type just described, in either of the two traditional forms of sheath; but we also came across some rather striking regional variations. Although we were informed that the present increased mobility, with relative ease
of travel from region to region in the over-
loaded sedans or LandRovers called 'taxis,'
or in open lorries, was rapidly breaking down
the time-honoured regional distinctions in the
weapom, as well as in headgear and types of
dress, certain forms of jambiya seemed still to
be strictly local.

For example, in the Tihama Plain, which
extends from the base of the high mountains
to the shores of the Red Sea, silver dagger-
hilts were quite common. One especially
handsome one, with rather heavy though
graceful lines, was described in other parts of
the country as being of 'Hodeida style.'

However, when we visited the northern
part of that area, we observed that many
men there now wear modified Western clothing
and have abandoned the custom of wearing
daggers, so the 'Hodeida daggers' cannot be
seen only in adjacent areas. The hilts of these
silver 'Hodeida daggers' are generally dis-
tinguished by having two prominent metal-
heads projecting from the hilt and the base
of the grip, and are decorated on the
front surfaces with particularly rich granula-
tions, often arranged in patterns of small
triangles, while the relatively smooth, plain
back of the hilt often bears the name of the
first owner, along with the date when he
acquired it. For example, the one shown in
Fig. 10 is engraved with the name Hassan
Mohammad and the date 1358 A.H., which
corresponds to A.D. 1939.

Another metal-hilt type that we saw in the
Red Sea Coast area, especially in the region
around Zalab, had three protrusions at the
top: one pointing straight out, the other two
arching out and downward on either side;
lke eagle's beak. The workmanship on these
showed designs similar to those on the
'Hodeida daggers,' somewhat more coarsely
executed: but both of these types had the
same kind of blade as those with the more
common horn handles.

In the coastal districts I did not see any
of these metal-hilted daggers being carried in
metal scabbards. Instead, their wearers
seemed to prefer simple wooden sheaths
covered with cloth—especially, modern im-
ported silks in bright colors. In fact, arms
mounted with false brocading in silver or in
imitation gold (Fig. 11). These were colorful
but garish, even to that exotic setting where
brilliant blues were exceedingly popular. This
choice may have been partly inspired by a
current fashion encouraged by the Indian
merchants in Hodeida; but quite possibly it
was done for a practical reason, since a metal
sheath against one’s body could easily become
too hot for comfort in the tropical heat of
the Tihama District. However, I did see one or
two of the ‘Hodeida daggers’ in magnesium
metal sheaths, in the cario shops that have
recently sprung up in the Sanaa Bazaar to
take advantage of the building tourist trade.

These Sanaa shops, though, are generally
not the place to study authentic jambiya
types, as very few of the daggers on view
there still have their original scabbards, and
most of them are obviously mismatched.
Either the jambiya-wearers are too proud of
finely made, well-matched daggers to part
with them, or the Cairo dealers must have
acquired daggers and sheaths separately and
have simply put together mismatched combina-
tions calculated to attract the tourist’s eye.

Since most jambiyas in their ordinary sheaths
are rather plain, an ordinary one can be made
to seem more attractive in a better scabbard,
while the finer daggers look sufficiently
appealing in simple sheaths; thus a savvy
dealer can double his opportunities for
profitable sales.

In spite of all this, the shops in the Sanaa
soup sometimes have a few notable excep-
tions to these mismatched sets: for example,
jambiyas from the Bedouin tribes who live in
the far north of Yemen, or over the border in
the Najran District or Asir Province, parts of
historic Yemen that were recently taken over
by Saudi Arabia. These northern daggers are
fully silver-mounted. They have thin plain
pommels are either simply rounded or double-
pointed, and their distinctive scabbards are
L-shaped, ending in a short, bluntly rounded
point which juts out toward the wearer’s
right. Their scabbards are also fairly plain,
most of the decoration being provided by
metal cords or chains across the middle,
linking together large silver rings that are
attached directly to the front surface of the
belt.

In Sanaa, at the weekly souq, which is held
every Sunday, we also met Saudi Arabsians
wearing much longer, ‘Wahabi
knives’ that resembled small swords. Due to
their excessive length, those held to be passed
through the belt at an angle, like the tua
daggers of the Yemeni aristocracy, but they
proved to be vastly inferior to the latter, as
they had plain, ribbed blades, and hilts and
scabbards of poor quality metal.

Nowadays, the men of Yemen seem to be
wearing daggers as a mark of manhood,
or as a kind of status symbol. It has not always
been so. In "the old days," before 1902, they
were frequently used for combat or defense,
if occasionally they were. A comment in a
British Intelligence report on Yemen, written
early in this century, remarks of the jambiya,
"The Arabs are very expert in its use; it has
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sider dagger-wearing “old fashioned.” But in Saada, in the more conservative North (some five hours above Sanaa by motor transport), small boys of only eleven or twelve were strolling through the Sunday souq proudly wearing jambiyas that were much too large for them.

Since the jambiya itself now seems to be worn primarily for display, many men carry, tucked into the belt behind its sheath, a smaller, sharp-edged knife for general utility, sometimes accompanied by an automatic pencil or a ball-point pen. These accessories are often loosely covered by a hollow silver tube with an ornate top, shaped like a sword-hilt. Although the merchants in the souqs now refer to the latter simply as “knife covers,” I strongly suspect that they must have originally served as hilts for the now-obsolete Arabian-style sabers, which men ceased to wear after the change of government in 1962. The fact that these hilt-shaped “knife covers” never really fit the secondary knives and are usually large enough to contain other things as well, convinces me that they were intended for some other use, and they do exactly resemble the distinctive shape of the traditional Arabian sword hilts. Though the few antique swords now offered for sale in the Sanaa antique shops are shabby things, with simple hilts of wood or bone, these same hilts usually have three vertical projections at the top, which is a distinguishing feature on many of the silver “knife covers,” and they are the same relative size as the latter.

We occasionally came across a man wearing an empty sheath, without the jambiya. This could be accounted for in several different ways. Sometimes the dagger itself might have been pawned or stolen. The considerable number of sheathless jambiyas being offered for sale by shady-looking characters in Sanaa souq’s “Thieves’ Market” would tend to support this. In other cases, the man with the empty sheath might have had his jambiya taken away from him by the town authorities. This is often done when a man is recognized as being dangerously mad (majnūn), or has a criminal record. Lesser offenders serving jail sentences are permitted to wander around the streets by day, wearing iron leg fetters, as long as they return to prison at night, and naturally these were not permitted to wear daggers. Lastly, both parties engaged in a law case are required to give up their daggers, for security, pending the court’s decision. Incidentally, this also removed the temptation to take the law into their own hands with the jambiyas.

One final instance of the ceremonial use of the jambiya involves their ritual importance in the taking of oaths or making contracts. We actually witnessed such an undertaking in a tea house in Saada. Two bearded old men, each having two companions who were apparently serving as witnesses, were deeply involved in an argument over opposite sides of a long table at which we also were sitting. The loud conversation suddenly stopped, and both of the old men smiled. Each of them drew his jambiya from its sheath, and after crossing first the blades, then the hilts, and making other motions too fast and too complex for us to follow in detail, they laid them on the table between them. Then, after a few more words each resheathed his dagger. After one more rite, they all walked off in apparent agreement.

The concluding act of the oath-taking did not directly involve the jambiyas but it did have important significance as a cultural survival. Three of the men, one of the principals and his witnesses, reached across the table and touched the laps of the other old man, below his dagger sheath, as he giggled nervously. This final ritual gesture, “to seal the oath,” like the rite of circumcision, is traced back to their traditional ancestor, Abraham, in a line descending from Ishmael. (See the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, vol. 9, pp. 436-37, text and notes.)

Not only in oath-taking but also in many other ways, the cult of the jambiya is bound up with many still older traditions. The two types of dagger, ‘asib and tuza—differing only in their sheaths and the manner in which they are worn—still play a part in the social life of Yemen as well as in the lives of individual Yemenites. As we have seen, although the plain steel blade with its prominent midrib is used almost everywhere, the forms of the hilts and the sheaths still present distinctive local variations. However, the latter are gradually breaking down as the population becomes more mixed, due to the increasing mobility provided by new roads and motor transport. Doubtless, too, the increasing tendency toward modernization in the larger cities, leading toward adoption of Western-style clothing and customs, will soon render obsolete these picturesque weapons, which still survive as relics of a more militant past.