REVIVING OLD TRADITIONS THROUGH
ETHNOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION AMONG
THE YEMENITE JEWS IN ISRAEL

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The credibility of oral tradition as a source for evaluating historical phenomena has been rejected by a number of historians (Haekel, 1943; Schott 1971:34). In Israel, oral tradition is an essential source for collecting material concerning historic events which occurred in the past. In some cases, oral tradition is the only source available providing information about a community and its history (Herrmann 1979:142-257). Communities which belonged to societies with written tradition or, to define it more precisely, "semi-script societies," are poorly represented by documentation and chronicles. In these communities, many of which originally came from Muslim countries, only the males were educated. Although the women could quote from the Bible and knew many chapters by heart, they were essentially illiterate, having acquired whatever knowledge they possessed passively by listening (Goitein 1983a:236, 40; Katzir: 1982:273).

Among the Yemenite Jews in particular, men and women were accustomed to transmitting from generation to generation oral history relating to their families and crafts. This tradition continued from ancient times until the middle of the twentieth century (Ratzahbi 1958:287). The information collected orally enriches our historic sources and contributes to Israeli national cultural life. Examina-
tion of subjects such as folk art, folk song, folk dance, crafts, material culture, magic, folk belief, and the status of women in society allows us a glimpse into the interior life of a society or community.

Historical Background. Following the establishment of the state of Israel, a unique cultural situation was created by the immigration of thousands of Jews. Among those immigrants were communities which were returning to the land of their forefathers after almost 2500 years in diaspora. Many of those communities came from countries which traditionally and technologically remained in the middle ages. Their coming to Israel thrust these communities into a modern, twentieth century state, a leap of hundreds of years within the space of a few days or even hours. Such was the case with the majority of the Yemenite Jews. The Jews in Southern Arabia have a long history recorded in several sources. The earliest relate that the first settlements of Jews in Southern Arabia took place in the time of Joshua (Brauer 1934:18). Another source following the words of the prophet Jeremiah reports that the Yemenites left Zion before the destruction of the first Temple. Yet another version says that the Jews came to Yemen in the tenth century B.C. in the time of King Solomon (Gamliel 1984). It is recorded in the Bible that when the Queen of Sheba visited King Solomon in Jerusalem, she told him that she had heard about his fame and his wisdom from his subjects living in her country (Kings 1:9,26-8; 10,6-8). Tabib gives another legend that the first Jews arrived
in Southern Arabia at the request of the Queen of Sheba that King Solomon send her Jewish soldiers and teachers to protect and educate their common child (Tabib 1931:20). According to these sources, Jews lived in Yemen continuously from at least the tenth century B.C. until the mid-twentieth century.

The earliest evidence documenting Jewish presence in Southern Arabia consists of grave markers from the fourth century B.C. (Hirshberg 1968:136-40, Ben Zvi 1966:57). At the same time, however, we have no proof that legends of earlier settlements such as those cited above are not historically accurate. Nor is there information on how the Jews of Yemen survived spiritually and physically during this long period of diaspora.

This lack of information is due to the absence of written chronicles by the Jews of this period. A similar void is also a problem in the study of the non-Jewish population in Yemen.

Few documents exist from the fifth to ninth centuries and for the period of the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. Documents from the Cairo Geniza reflect the connections between the Jewish communities in the Muslim world from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries. From the eighteenth century onward, the Jews of Yemen began to record the events which affected their lives, e.g., hunger, wars, pogroms (Zaadi 1957:189ff; Habshush 1937; Ratzahbi 1958:203-7; Tabi 1980, 51-52). Those few chronicles concern mainly the Jewish community of the capital town Sanaa and its region, and thus refer to only 20% of the approximately
70,000 Jews who lived in Yemen until the middle of the twentieth century.

The Status of the Jews in Yemen. The Jews in Yemen, like Jews in other Muslim countries, enjoyed royal protection. They were Dhimmah and had to pay the Jizyah, taxes for the ransom of their soul (Williams 1971:269-72). Almost all of the Jews of Yemen belonged economically to the middle class. They were independent craftsmen or traders, producing almost everything for the population of the country. They provided services in over a hundred crafts (Klein-Franke 1982:56-64). In general, the Jews were the backbone of the economy of Yemen until their mass immigration to Israel.

Upon their arrival in Israel, many Yemenites underwent a complete change of lifestyle. The move was not only a geographical change, but one which extended to all aspects of their lives. Dependence on an unfamiliar social and economic structure in a new society replaced old traditions and customs. Traditional crafts, for example, lost economic value in modern Israel and were no longer functional. Even when Yemenites tried to find employment in modern crafts industries such as weaving or pottery, they could not adjust to machine methods of production. Thus, they became relief workers in all possible services (Klein-Franke 1983a:50). The desire to be integrated into their new country forced them to conclude that they must turn from the past and look forward to the future.

The fact that the Jews from Yemen living in Israel were cut off instantly, geographically and culturally, from
their previous environment became a useful factor in reconstructing their former lives. Their way of life in Israel in the fifties stood in great contrast to their life in Yemen, especially because the change did not happen gradually, but all at once. After an initial reluctance, informants became overwhelmingly enthusiastic about their past, producing vivid memories and descriptions of their life in Yemen.

Yemenite Jewish Attitudes toward their History. The Jews had always considered their stay in Yemen as a temporary (lasting almost 2500 years) presence, a presence which did not deserve to be recorded. Despite their negative attitude to daily life in diaspora, Yemenite Jews maintained a very strong need to keep their Jewish tradition. Thus there emerged a stable traditional culture which was transmitted orally from generation to generation with so much care and attention that the tradition survived with very little modification. Upon their arrival to Israel, however, the new immigrants ceased the practice of communicating their history. The result was that the first generation born in Israel had little knowledge of their parents' lives in Yemen.

Oral tradition is the bridge from the past to the present. The lack of written sources along with the breakdown in communication has resulted in the loss of the traditional culture of the Yemenite Jews. In an effort to preserve this culture, Israeli ethnologists have been recording Yemenite Jewish history in interviews with elderly immigrants.
Twenty to thirty years ago this was not an easy task. In similar field work in the early sixties, I found it difficult to induce my subjects to talk about their life in Yemen. Only after many sessions was I allowed to record our conversations or take photos. Very often I had to convince informants how important the information was not only for their children and their community, but also for Jewish history in general.

Many times the informants tried to reject or avoid any experiment which made them dig into their past. Their attitude toward life in Yemen was ambiguous. On the one hand, they were not ashamed of it and longed for the landscape and climate, for the protection they received from the rulers of the country, and for the order and justice they enjoyed under the Imam Yahja (1919-1949). On the other hand, the daily life was hard, and they suffered from being second class citizens, as did all the Jews in Muslim countries.

The reluctance of the Yemenite immigrants did not last long. Once assured of my interest in their history, they cooperated and enjoyed reconstructing their past. Reevaluating their past became a positive factor for reviving the old traditions and customs, dances, and songs. What was worthy to be collected by people outside the community became also "passable" and acceptable by their own group. Soon, children and grandchildren began interviewing the elderly in their community in search of the history of their families.

Ethnographic Research and the Promotion of the Revival of Tradition. The documenta-
tion and recording of traditions and customs indirectly contributed to their restoration and revival by community members. In hundreds of interviews I conducted, I witnessed the attention of the younger generations to the history and customs of their family and community as practiced in Yemen. Frequently, children joined me while I interviewed the elderly of the village, listening to their heritage.

In the late sixties, twenty years after mass immigration from Yemen, this process began in small drops. Step by step it reached a more widespread scale, a process which is still ongoing. More and more of the young generation, from more and more communities are looking for their roots. The Yemenite immigrants to Israel wanted to seal their memories in order to be "worthy" of the new life in Israel. Their children became alienated from the culture and traditions of the parents in order to integrate into the Western dominated culture. The attitude of the third generation, however, is open—they want to learn of their culture and the life of their ancestors in Yemen.

Three elements induced the re-adoption of their parents' traditional culture by these young people: the national/political agents, the social scientists, and community representatives. In the fifties, the policy of the "melting pot" was the official trend of the Israeli government, and the influence of Western Jewish culture dominated the Israeli society. The designers of cultural life, along with the politicians in the Ministry of Education, saw two patterns in society: culture=Western/Ashkenzic, and folklore=oriental/Sephard-
This dichotomy developed to such an extent that the two spheres had almost no meeting one with the other. The Ashkenizim became acquainted with only a few elements of the oriental Jews, in what Smooha calls "the aesthetic field," (1978:185). These were mostly popular food items such as humus and felafil as well as folk dance, folk songs, jewelry and embroidery. The Yemenite influence on the last four elements is remarkable.

On the other hand, the Oriental Jewish children had to learn the literature, the history, and the heritage of the Jewish communities which originated in Western Europe, as well as their Zionist activities in Palestine. It was as if the Oriental Jews were not part of the Israeli life and did not cooperate with the national aims.

The social differences, the ethnic separatism, and the cultural gap between the Western and the Eastern communities provoked social tension with occasional violent response. The minority, but dominant, society not only rejected oriental Jewry as part of Israeli culture, but also refused to recognize that over fifty percent of the Jewish population in Israel had an equal need to express their own cultural heritage.

The young generation demanded that their culture, history, and literature be taught and accepted in educational programming. Their demands had been in the air over ten years, and were not a sudden development. Nevertheless, when demonstrations broke out, the Rural Socialist administration was shocked with such violent expression (Shiloah-Cohen 1982:11, 22-3). Theories of the
melting pot were frozen, and the phrase "multi-cultural society" became politically fashionable. The new vantage point insisted that the heritage of all communities should be learned.

In the early seventies, the number of comprehensive schools in the big cities was increased, thus encouraging social integration. A special program for all classes and levels was prepared with the aim of teaching the history and culture of the Jewish communities from all countries, especially from Oriental and Arab lands. Activities for the pupils included doing interviews among their own families and communities. The results were read in the class with all taking part in the discussion. Exhibitions of material culture were part of a project demonstrating the cultural richness of these communities. This program was especially beneficial to those children from Oriental families. For the first time they could show and talk about their culture and customs outside of their family and community.

The Ministry of Education has set up a special department called Moreshet (heritage). The aim is to finance research and to publish scientific works on the Oriental Jews. It is a very active department, providing the schools with all the materials for courses on Oriental Jewish heritage.

Another activity to increase knowledge of Oriental Jewry was to enlarge the departments of ethnography in local museums, which were encouraged to survey the material culture of those communities. The power of an exhibition of an ethnic group was demonstrated by the Israel
Museum's exhibition of Moroccan Jews twelve years ago. This community more than any other Oriental community in Israel suffered from a negative image. In the exhibition, their rich culture was shown, with emphasis on their ancient Jewish heritage. People, many of whom were unacquainted with Moroccan Jewish culture, came from all over the country to see the exhibition. Jews from Morocco also came to the exhibition, for many, their first visit to the Israel Museum. They were proud of their culture as it was interpreted. One of the results—although not an official aim—of this exhibition was to diminish the negative attitude towards Moroccan Jews.

Jewish life in other Oriental communities such as Bokhara and Kurdistan have also been focal points of ethnographic exhibits. These exhibitions demonstrated to both the public and the communities, themselves, the value of their cultural heritage. The result has been a desire in oriental communities to maintain what material culture still exists by collecting objects of interest.

The Folklore Research Center in the Hebrew University and the Ministry of Education with the cooperation of the National Insurance and Health Office, the Union-Histadruth, and the Municipality of Jerusalem with its Department of Adult Education brought seventy to eighty elderly people to Jerusalem for one week-long seminar. Between 1972 and 1975, three such seminars were organized for Kurdish, Moroccan, and Yemenite communities. Men and women from each community were brought together from all over
the country. They were told to bring with them what they still possessed from their country of origin, i.e., old books, documents or photos, tools, costumes, and jewelry. Each day, these informants were at the disposal of researchers who interviewed them individually and in groups concerning all aspects of life before immigration to Israel. In the evening, traditional ceremonies were reconstructed which were recorded, photographed, and filmed.

Many Oriental communities have established and funded their own centers for the research of their heritage. The traditional leadership of these communities—-and their research centers—fell to the younger generation whose members were born in Israel or were small children when their parents immigrated. The new directors of the research centers solicited the help of folklorists to revive the national festivities of these communities, such as the maimuna of the Moroccans. As described above, the interest of researchers who worked to document and record customs and traditions awakened in the members of the community the desire to maintain their heritage. Thus, the values known in the place of origin came to be reaccepted by the immigrants and their children in Israel, who realized that they could enrich not only themselves, but also Israeli society in general.

An example of the process of reconstructing old customs can be seen in the marriage ceremony as practiced by young brides of Yemenite origin. Originally, the Yemenite marriage ceremony took place for seven days and nights, from Sunday until Friday, each evening distinguished
from the others by activities, such as hair-cutting, dressing, drawing designs on the hands and the face with henna, and leading the bridegroom to the bride's house.

This renewed interest in the traditional marriage ceremony has changed its structure, until only a few elements survive. The "Henna Evening" in Israel, which has become popular only in the last few years and is carried out mainly when the bride is of Yemenite origin, takes place on the eve of the wedding ceremony or on the last Saturday before the marriage week. It includes all the processes such as the dressing and painting ceremonies for both the bride and the bridegroom together. If the bride is of Yemenite origin, she takes the initiative and asks her parents to do the ceremony for her. The bridgroom encourages his fiancee and takes an active part, even if he is not of Yemenite origin. If the bridegroom is Yemenite but the bride is not, the ceremony usually does not take place.

The style of the wedding ceremony on the next evening is modern, following Western patterns. The bride appears in white dress and the bridegroom in a suit. The marriage usually takes place in a public hall with modern orchestra music and a standard meal served to the guests. These neo-traditional ceremonies take place not only in the family, but also within the community as a whole. The revival of the traditional wedding ceremonies has led to the renaissance of many old and forgotten crafts. Many accessories of the wedding costume now used only for the henna ceremony, were
missing, and the elderly artisans were asked to supply them.

The push to renew folk art for souvenirs has also brought life to traditional crafts. The silversmith's work has been strongly encouraged. The jewelry for the bridal costume is complex, made of dozens of pieces of silver pieces. Another revived craft is embroidery, since the bride's trousers must be richly embroidered. Other material components of the marriage ceremony are woven basket bowls for flowers and candles, ceramic implements, a holder for the incense, and a rose water jar. Another object, the mazharah, holds the henna as well as flowers and green plants including rue and basil, which both protect the bride and her guests from the evil eye and bless them with good luck.

Conclusion. Through interest generated by community research conducted by outside organizations, including museum ethnographers, marriage customs have been recalled to life in an endangered culture, the Yemenite Jewish community of Israel. A folk industry which was in danger of disappearing has been revived and its value renewed. Furthermore, in spite of social change and the dynamic process of acculturation, the Yemenite Jews in Israel prefer to modify elements of their traditional culture, in form and function, rather than to lose them entirely.

NOTES

1. Organized immigration movements of Yemenite Jews began over a hundred years ago. Until the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, one third of Yemenite
individuals came by air during the first two years of statehood.

(2) Goitein (1983b:218) found by interviewing the Yemenites of El Gaddes in the early fifties that they were confused and hesitated to talk about their past.

(3) The Jewish people lived over a thousand years under the rule of Christians and Muslims, whose culture and heritage reflected on that of the Jews. In very general terms, the Jews are divided into two categories: Ashkenazim and Sephardim. In earlier times this division marked the country of origin. For the last hundred years, the use of these terms has reflected broader implications of social and cultural difference (Lewis 1984:3-6).

Neither the Ashkenazim nor the Sephardim are homogeneous in their culture or history. The Yemenites have never accepted being classified as Sephardic Jews; neither have the Jews from India or Ethiopia. Although the Yemenites felt themselves more familiar with the Sephardic communities, they demand a special status. (See Druyan 1981, Chapters 5-6; and Nini 1982:269-73.)


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