

Yemen Update

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Readers are invited to contribute articles, reviews, information on Yemen, news of recent publications and events, translations and letters to Dr. Maria Ellis, Executive Director, or to the *Yemen Update* Production Editor, Dr. Joan Reilly at the AIYS office in Ardmore (see above). This can be in English or a major European language. Please submit articles and reviews on a PC formatted disc in Microsoft Word or Word Perfect with a printed copy. We would prefer that photographs and line drawings for articles be submitted in "hard copy" and on disc as a jpeg file.

AIYS would like to thank the editorial committee for their expert assistance: Dan Varisco (editor of *Yemen Webdate*), Dan Buchman (Islam), Nora Colton (Economics), Barbara Evans (Contemporary Art), Bernard Haykel (History), Joy McCorriston (Archaeology), Flagg Miller (Anthropology), Noha Sadek (Art and Architecture), Tom Stevenson (Sports), Derek Wildman (Biology and the Environment), and Layla al-Zwaini (Law).

AIYS is also grateful for the publishing assistance of the Graphics Department of Hunt Oil in Dallas, especially the advice of Ms. Connie Benedict.

AIYS maintains an office, library and hostel in Yemen. AIYS individual members may stay at the hostel at the following rates (subject to change): single occupancy (\$25/night, \$150/week, \$250/2 weeks, \$350/month), double occupancy (\$35/night, \$200/week, \$300/2 weeks, \$400/month), students (per bed rate of \$12/night, \$80/week, \$160/2 weeks, \$260/month). Chris Edens, the Resident Director, may be contacted c/o AIYS, Box 2658, Sana'a, Yemen. Phone: 967-1-278-816, fax: 967-1-285-071. E-mail: aiysym@y.net.ye.

Yemen Update is archived online at <http://www.aiys.org/webdate/index.html>.

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Bayt Hashem, AIYS' home in Sana'a



Report of the Executive Director

Maria deJ. Ellis



This present year the Yemen Symposium, announced in the last issue, is looming very large over the activities of the U.S. office. Because of it, we are pushing through a number of publications, including this issue of *Yemen Update*, in the hope that they will actually appear before the Symposium and will be available there. It will mean that with this issue *Yemen Update* will for the first time in years actually appear in the year named on its cover. AIYS is much obliged to Dr. Joan Reilly, the AIYS' production editor and administrative assistant, for the many hours and excellent work she has put in on these publications. Because this issue of *Yemen Update* follows as closely as it does on the appearance of the previous one, we have truncated the administrative report narratives. Resident Director Dr. Chris Edens is represented instead by a report on archaeological work done jointly with AIYS fellow Heidi Ekstrom. I will limit my remarks to a few topics, complemented by the usual lists of fellowship awards and donations, and the annual fellowship announcement elsewhere in this volume.

New date for the Symposium. In the last issue of *Yemen Update* we announced the upcoming symposium "Windows on the Cultural Heritage of Yemen," to be held at the Freer Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution. Originally scheduled for early June, the **date of the symposium was changed to Sept. 5-6, 2003**. Co-sponsored by the Embassy of Yemen in the U.S., the Embassy of the U.S. in Yemen, AIYS, and the Foundation for the Protection of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage (Sana'a), and supported by the governments of Yemen and the U.S., the Royal Netherlands Embassy in Yemen, and various individual and corporate donors both in the U.S. and in Yemen (for a complete list see the symposium section of the AIYS website), the program will present a wide variety of aspects of Yemen's culture during two days of illustrated and musical presentations. The presentations will be given in the Meyer Auditorium of the Freer Gallery. During the same two days there will also be a series of films on Yemen shown in a nearby room. Additional events will take place off-site, including: * an exhibit of books, photographs,

and jewelry at the World Bank InfoShop, opening with a reception at 4:00 on Thursday Sept. 4; * a special presentation on Yemeni jewelry at the Bead Museum on Monday Sept. 8 at 4:00 pm, followed by a reception, and the opportunity to buy jewelry in the museum shop; the Bead Museum is also still featuring Marjorie Ransom's exhibit "Silver Speaks: Traditional Jewelry of the Middle East," which will close after that day; * a special musical program by the Yemeni instrumental and vocal ensembles brought over for the symposium, held at the Maison de France (the auditorium of the French embassy), and * a performance by the same musicians on Wednesday Sept. 10 at noon, as part of the International Children's Art Festival that is being held on the Mall from Sept. 9-11. Both the AIYS website (<http://www.aiys.org>) and the website of the Yemeni embassy (<http://www.yemenembassy.org>) carry information on the symposium and related events. On-line registration for the symposium will be possible through the embassy site. As further details of the program become available they will be added to both sites.

New publications: After many vicissitudes and cyber glitches at the printer, the long-awaited publication to document the ruined late medieval mosque complex in Dhuran, a project by Bruce Paluck and Rayya Saggarr jointly published by AIYS and CEFAS, the French center in Sana'a, has appeared. It was sent earlier this year to all paid-up AIYS members. Due to appear by the end of the summer are a new, annotated version of Tom Stevenson's *Yemen Filmography*, which hitherto has been available only on the AIYS website, and a volume of curriculum resources on Yemen produced by former Resident Director Marta Colburn, beautifully illustrated with drawings by Maha Al-Hibshi, a trained architect who formerly was the AIYS office assistant in Sana'a.

Donors: We are very grateful to the many members who send in a donation with their membership payment, and to others who have made gifts that make AIYS programs possible. This year, in addition, a number of companies made special donations to the Symposium. The list on p. 67 is

limited to donations received during the 2002-03 financial year by AIYS. Documents of the symposium — and next year's *Yemen Update* — will report on donations received since July 1, 2003 and on those who have contributed to the Symposium through gifts channeled through the Foundation for the Protection of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage in Yemen.

Digital Library project: The American Overseas Digital Library project is nearing the end of its first stage, supported by a grant from the U.S. Department of Education to AIYS on behalf of all participating overseas center libraries and their umbrella organization, CAORC. Now a long-term program organized and funded by grants made directly to the CAORC, new components have been started. A grant from the Institute for Museum of Museum and Library Services to CAORC for the Middle East Research Journals project is making it possible to do extensive bibliographic and preservation work with such journals, including those held by AIYS. Other new projects focus on other groups of centers. The AODL Steering Committee, which includes me as AODL project director, has just hired a full-time Project Coordinator, located at the Center for Research Libraries in Chicago, to handle the increasing complex of AODL tasks efficiently and expertly. CAORC was awarded a capital funds matching grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities; with this challenge grant CAORC and the participating centers are now to complete the required match from various private sources.

Fellowship competition: The annual deadline for AIYS' fellowship programs for U.S. and Yemeni citizens is December 31. These fellowship competitions continue to be funded by a grant from the State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs administered through CAORC. There is no restriction as to field or discipline, but fellowship funds may only be used to support international travel and research costs incurred in Yemen. Program descriptions and eligibility requirements can be found on pp. 64-65; the AIYS website has this same information and application forms (<http://www.aiys.org/fellowships.html>).

Proposals for AIYS-sponsored MESA panels: AIYS is entitled to sponsor three panels at the annual MESA meeting. Scholars wishing to propose a panel

for AIYS sponsorship need to do so *before* submitting the panel proposal to MESA for consideration. Panels should conform to all applicable MESA rules and proposals should be submitted to AIYS on the MESA form; if in doubt about a projected speaker's eligibility to participate, contact MESA at <http://www.mesa.arizona.edu> or the AIYS Executive Director. The annual deadline for submitting a panel proposal to AIYS for consideration by the AIYS Program Committee is February 1; the MESA deadline is February 15. The AIYS website carries a list of panels sponsored in previous years at <http://www.aiys.org/mesahist.html>.

Outreach: At the request of the Social Fund for Development in Sana'a, AIYS has undertaken to facilitate the distribution of *Social Issues in Popular Yemeni Culture*, a series of dialogues by Abd al-Rahman Mutahhar, published in Sana'ani Arabic with a translation into English and an introduction by Janet C.E. Watson. The Middle East Studies Association is distributing this volume, along with AIYS' own publications. Furthermore, at the request of AIYS President Tom Stevenson AIYS fellow Carolyn Han, a writer, has adapted a number of the dialogues into a program of five vignettes called "Wit and Wisdom from Yemen" that premiered in early June at several community libraries in eastern Ohio, using local college students of drama as the actors.

More ancient history: Last time I asked for updated reports from persons who had held AIYS fellowships in the past, so that we can develop a long-term sense of the value of the fellowship program to pass on to the Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Exchange, which funds these fellowships. This time the request is broader: we ask that all persons who worked in Yemen under research permits facilitated by AIYS — that is, permits granted by the Yemen Center for Studies and Research, by the General Organization of Antiquities and Museums, by the archives administration, and by other agencies such as the Environmental Protection Agency — send in a brief report on their project and on what, if any, relationship it bears to their present work. We also remind those who have received permits that two copies of all publications deriving from the permitted research are required, one for the agency and one for AIYS.

I hope to see you all at the symposium.



President's Address

Thomas B. Stevenson, AIYS President



Polling place in Yemen, April 2003. Photograph by Sheila Carapico.

In the summer of 1977, as an anthropology graduate student preparing for fieldwork, I attended an exploratory meeting at the Oriental Institute in Chicago. The purpose was to lay plans for the formation of a research institute, modeled on other overseas centers like ARCE, in the Yemen Arab Republic. The gathering was well attended by scholars representing a surprising array of disciplines. Although only a few of those people present had been to Yemen, one had written a well-known book on the country more than a decade earlier. The discussions seemed promising but as I was planning to depart in six months, I concluded the institute would not materialize during my research.

Surprisingly, a little over a year later as I was doing my fieldwork, Jon Mandaville arrived to serve as the first resident director of the fledgling American Institute for Yemeni Studies. The center and hostel overlooked the Republican Palace – how times have changed. As I recall, it featured three monastic rooms for researchers, a *mafrāj*-library, and space for Jon and his family. Jon's offices were in the Yemen Research Center on Baghdad Street, then on the outskirts of town.

As implausible as it seemed to me then, AIYS is now entering its 25th year. For the moment we occupy a lovely, large, restored house, Bayt Hashem, in an extremely nice area of old Sana'a, a fifteen-minute walk from the first center. The institute's physical expansion has been accompanied by growth in its accoutrements. This is the 45th issue of *Yemen Update*, a publication that has undergone a number of

name changes. The finely produced publication in your hands (made possible by the generous support of Tom Meurer, Connie Benedict, and Hunt Oil) is a quantum leap from the mimeographed and stapled set of pages with which we began. We have also produced a number of fine publications, most of which are still in print.

AIYS' creation owes to the efforts of Marjorie Ransom, Dr. Abd al-Karim al-Iryani, Dr. McGuire Gibson and Dr. Selma al-Radi. Over the years the institute has benefited from the efforts of many others – far too many to name – who have held office, participated on committees, or served as resident director.

Our success, however, would not have been possible without cooperative agreements with the Yemen Center for Studies and Research and the General Organization for Antiquities and Museums (formerly the General Organization for Archives, Monuments and Museums). While we scholars have had fairly explicit goals and plans to achieve them, as intermediaries, these agencies have had to balance our needs with the social and political concerns of Yemeni society. This has not always been an easy task since there is often an inherent conflict between researchers' interests in easy access to people and resources and official's concerns to protect information and artifacts. For most of the last twenty-five years, our sponsoring organizations were guided by Dr. Abd al-Aziz al-Maqalih and Dr. Yusuf Abdallah. They, their predecessors, and successors have skillfully balanced competing interests.

As past president Sheila Carapico wrote, “More often than many new-comers from abroad realize, members of YCRS have gone to bat for foreign researchers. Sometimes they have been caught between the impatience of eager scholars and the deliberate constraints of other parts of the Yemeni bureaucracy. Over the years some international scholars have acted presumptuously, arrogantly, or naively in their pursuit of research agendas and timetables. Occasionally our colleagues and counterparts at YCRS have faced personal and professional risks on our behalf. More than a few American and European scholars neglect their end of the bargain, for instance by not submitting reports they agreed to write before leaving Yemen, or sending on publications. Consistently the benefits of exchange have favored international visitors over YCRS staff — they do more for us than we do for them, and we need them much more than they need us. We owe YCRS a great deal for the success of American scholarship on Yemen over the years.” Similar sentiments could describe our relationship with GOAM.

While agencies in Yemen have facilitated our introduction to Yemeni life — a debt AIYS has worked to repay through the publication of five volumes of translated research papers — in September we will help the Yemen Embassy introduce Yemen to the United States. *Windows on the Cultural Heritage of Yemen* will give Americans a chance to experience some aspects of Yemen including its music, architecture, history and culture. In short, Americans will get a view of Yemen that scholars know but that media accounts so often overlook.

As we enter our 26th year, AIYS is working to promote even stronger ties with Yemen. In this regard it gives me great pleasure to welcome Ambassador Abdulwahab al-Hajjri to the board of directors.

Addendum

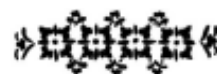
In April, I was in Yemen for the Parliamentary elections. More knowledgeable observers have commented on the process, results and prospects for the new government, so I confine my thoughts to some impressions. Most of election day was spent visiting polling places in rural areas of Ibb province where I was impressed by voter’s enthusiasm and determina-

tion. Men and women appeared informed of the voting process and their rights. Voters stood in long lines, sometimes in rain, to take advantage of their franchise. Candidates’ observers in each polling station readily called attention to any perceived violation. The level of participation — voters as well as election officials and candidates’ representatives — was impressive and led to inevitable disappointing comparisons to elections in the U.S.

Thomas B. Stevenson observed the recent elections as a guest of the government of Yemen. The National Democratic Institute (NDI) also sent a delegation to Yemen to observe the elections. Several AIYS members participated in the NDI delegation: Bob Burrowes (University of Washington and former president of AIYS), Sheila Carapico (University of Richmond), and Ambassador Charles Dunbar (currently Warburg Professor in International Relations, Simmons College, Boston, Massachusetts). See Ambassador Dunbar’s article on the next page.



Yemeni woman at a polling place, April 2003. Photograph by Sheila Carapico.





Yemen's Parliamentary Elections: A Step, But in Which Direction?



Ambassador Charles Dunbar

Ambassador Charles Dunbar served for 21 years as a diplomat and ambassador to the Middle East; he was the United States ambassador to Yemen from 1988 - 1991. In April 2003 the National Democratic Institute (www.ndi.org) sent an international election delegation to observe the April 27th elections in Yemen. Ambassador Dunbar, a member of the delegation, reports here on the recent elections for Yemen's House of Representatives.

“The April 27 elections represent another significant step in Yemen's development as an emerging democracy.” The *National Democratic Institute* (NDI) used these cautious words in its preliminary statement on the 2003 Yemeni legislative elections as another landslide victory for the General People's Congress (GPC), universally known in Yemen as “the ruling party,” was being recorded. The GPC ended by winning some 226 of the legislative council's 301 seats – a gain of one seat from its total in the last elections six years ago. The “Joint Meeting” alliance among the Islamist Yemeni Gathering for Reform (Islah in Arabic), the Yemeni Socialist Party (YSP), which ruled South Yemen prior to unification and other minor parties won just 61 seats – 48 for Islah and eight for the YSP, and five for other minor parties. Islah's share of council seats was a third less than in the previous parliament. The YSP had boycotted the 1997 elections. A total of 14 independents won seats, including 8 who immediately associated with the GPC.

For a variety of reasons, NDI's caution about these results is understandable. In “macro” terms, Yemen's economy has yet to recover from the “collateral damage” incurred in carrying out an IMF-backed structural adjustment package in the mid-1990s. Economic growth is slow to non-existent, unemployment has reached seemingly catastrophic proportions, and new investment remains low. On the political front, the Yemeni government's decision to enter into a partnership with the United States in Washington's war on terrorism has been controversial,

and the U.S. attack on Iraq just a month before the voting brought rioters into the streets of Yemeni cities. In these circumstances, an electoral defeat or at least a serious setback for the ruling party might have been expected, and the party's big win could be seen as implausible.

As an exercise in democratic development, the elections were a mixed bag. As the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) noted in its briefing of the NDI's observers prior to election day, the GPC's position astride the Yemeni political process is akin to that of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) in Mexico for most of the last century. Indeed, the GPC seemed to dominate the electoral apparatus from the most senior members of the Supreme Commission for Elections and Referendums (SCER) to those in charge of the polling stations, and the Islah and YSP leaders provided NDI's observers with a wealth of detail about the alleged stacking of the deck against them by the GPC-dominated political establishment.

IFES' comparison of the GPC with Mexico's PRI was borne in on me as I visited polling places in and around the southern governorate of Ta'iz on election day. At one, a girl's high school in Ta'iz city, the school's director, resplendent in GPC paraphernalia, was busily organizing her students for the voting process. The very youthful size of some of the voters and the large numbers of 1985 birth years on the lists of voters posted outside voting rooms strongly suggested that there had been under-age registration at the school. In the town of Turba in the southern part of the governorate, a former South Yemeni diplomat and YSP member who unsuccessfully ran as the Joint Meeting candidate, complained to me of government favoritism towards his GPC opponent by allowing him the use of official vehicles and supporting frequent pro-GPC campaign visits to the district by senior government officials. Everywhere I traveled in the province, I saw GPC parades, once complete with a truck blaring the sound of a neighing horse to animate the rearing horse that was the GPC's election symbol. Islah's rising sun logo was prominent

throughout the province, but the party clearly could not match the election-day logistics of the GPC.

The elections were marred by violence ranging from comic, to tragic to potentially cataclysmic. The representative of the YSP candidate just mentioned was expelled from a women's voting room at a polling station in Turba, where he arguably was not allowed, but then for good measure was thrown out of the polling station altogether. When I asked the overwrought election official responsible for the ejection why he had done what he did, he first shouted, "I don't know," and then joined in the general laughter that followed his forthright answer. Elsewhere in the province and country, ballot boxes were hijacked and in effect held hostage, and gunfire made it unsafe for me to visit at least one polling place in Ta'iz province. The SCER has reported that in 14 election-day gun battles, three more dead had been added to the seven killed in the course of the election campaign.

Most serious from the political standpoint, there were signs at some polling places that, in the face of a rumored nationwide setback for the ruling party, GPC officials derailed the elections by withdrawing their observers from the counting process. These tactics were reversed, and in retrospect, it seems unlikely that they were a matter of party policy. Still, such tactics are disturbing in and of themselves and the reversal occurred only as it became apparent that a big GPC defeat was not in fact in prospect.

A final concern is that "democracy" as observed by NDI and other international teams differs sharply from the politics practiced in the countryside. This view could not be directly observed – President Saleh personally and doubtless wisely forbade non-Yemenis from traveling to rural areas on election day. By all accounts, and by my recollection of Yemen as it was when I was the American ambassador there 12 years ago, the political process outside the cities and towns is largely in the hands of the country's tribal leaders.

If the reasons for questioning the validity of the elections are sobering, there are nonetheless two broad grounds for concluding that the exercise in its totality was not just a step, but rather a step forward, in Yemen's political development. Years of hard work by responsible Yemenis supported by NDI and other international organizations such as IFES and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) brought

about a series of changes for the better. Most dramatically, a million new voters were added to the electoral rolls, with women now being 42% of those registered. The process of identifying voters has been greatly improved with voters' photos on their identification cards being matched with those in records available at polling places. In the framework of a new electoral law, a campaign to get out the vote aided by international organizations, including a call for a weapons-free election day, were positive developments.

Second and equally important, the role of civil society on election day was striking. 25,000 Yemeni election monitors, including an important contingent sponsored by NDI, made their presence felt at the polling places I visited on election day. Their role was recognized and seemingly respected by election officials. I was also struck by the rough and ready, and very Yemeni way in which the ballot count was conducted at the Ta'iz girls' school I had visited in the morning. The obviously pro-GPC head of the polling station unfolded and displayed to a large crowd of party representatives, observers, government officials and soldiers each ballot and shouted his contention each time the Islah candidate's representative challenged the validity of a paper. On the face of it, the deck seemed stacked in favor of the GPC candidate, but the Islah representative stuck to his guns, and his candidate was leading when I left the polling station. In their own way, all present seemed to understand that a valid process had to be maintained.

A month after the elections, Yemen's political future is hard to read. I agree with one wise observer that the third national election since the country was unified in 1990 could come to be seen as a step towards institutionalizing a system in which the GPC's hold on power becomes a fact of Yemeni political life with other parties consigned to the role of dutiful and permanent opposition. Those Yemenis I spoke with seemed to feel that a modest electoral gain for the opposition, but certainly not an outright victory, would be the best possible outcome. In my outsider's view, they were probably right in 2003. At the same time, I hope that their attitude changes in the easily foreseeable future and that the state of Yemen's political development is not arrested where it is today.



Documentation of the Tarimi Palaces, 2002-2003: Qasr al-‘Ishshah



James Conlon, Pamela Jerome, and Selma Al-Radi

Introduction

From December 28, 2002 through January 15, 2003, a team of American conservators and employees of the Yemeni government’s General Organization of Antiquities and Museums (GOAM) surveyed Qasr al-‘Ishshah as part of a documentation training program for the mud brick palaces of Tarim in the Hadhramawt Valley. Co-directors of this effort are Pamela Jerome (Adjunct Associate Professor, Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation; Senior Associate, Wank Adams Slavin Associates, LLP) and Dr. Selma Al-Radi (Research Fellow, New York University Institute of Fine Arts; Co-Director of the ‘Amiriya Restoration Project, Rada’, Yemen). James Conlon (Staff Associate for Archaeology and Historic Preservation, Columbia University Media Center for Art History, Archaeology and Historic Preservation), Gina Crevello (independent conservator), and Lamia Khaldi (PhD candidate, Cambridge University) were also participants. Abdallah al-Saqqaf, Abd al-Karim al-

Barakani, and Salah Sultan al-Husaini, employees of GOAM, worked closely with the group, training in our methodology.

Jerome began documenting the traditional construction and repair technology of the Hadhramawt region in 1997. These efforts produced a technical paper (Jerome, Chiari, and Borelli, 1999) and a documentary video for a broader audience (Borelli and Jerome, 1999). It became clear from this work that rapid change in the Hadhramawt Valley threatens to overwhelm the mud brick architecture and overall built environment of its historic cities. The Tarimi palaces, a collection of approximately thirty mansions constructed between the 1870s and 1930s, were identified as particularly vulnerable. In 1998, Jerome, Al-Radi, and Borelli listed Tarim on the World Monuments Fund (WMF) 100 Most Endangered Sites list, where it has remained through the current cycle. The Samuel H. Kress Foundation of New York City supported a feasibility study in 2000 (Jerome and Al-Radi, 2001). This research resulted in a



Fig. 1. South façade, the Qasr al-‘Ishshah

preliminary assessment of the significance of the Tarimi palaces, their condition and issues of ownership. Some of the structures were also reviewed for adaptive reuse potential. The study proposed a documentation training program along with a restoration pilot project for Qasr al-'Ishshah and al-Munaysurah, two of the palaces. The work this season represents the initial stage of this project.

The Rationale of the Documentation Process

To paraphrase the Burra Charter (Marquis-Kyle and Walker, 1994), the intention of conservation philosophy and practice is to maintain, and in particular cases recover, the significance of a place for future generations. Conservation work respects the existing physical fabric of the object of preservation as a guiding principle: the inextricable connection between materiality and significance is of primary importance. To this end our discipline engages historical, anthropological, technological, and scientific inquiry as well as the fields of graphic and architectural design. Conservation reports, in turn, reflect the primacy of the fabric as expressed from these intellectual perspectives. These documents often gloss over the

role of activities of great importance to any project, but not traditionally associated with the history and practice of conservation: community organizing, educational practices, public policy and fund raising, cultural performances and even 'unauthentic' contemporary construction practices are at times bypassed, while technological innovation is valorized.¹

In defining the significance of heritage places, conservators are now more open to include cultural practices in their totality and engage collective memory as well as the materiality of the structure. The discipline is also more open to both the interpretations and aspirations of community stakeholders placing them on equal ground with academic research.² The use of the very term conservation is intended to signal a more broad interest in maintaining continuity with the past through managed change rather than the preservation of specific materials (Matero 2000:7).

There is little question that a large-scale program in Tarim will need to reorganize traditional forms of knowledge and cultural practices as a part of a dialogue with contemporary conservation thought and practice. We would articulate the role of "folk knowledge," however, as an active participant in this



...the palaces include examples of Mughal, British Colonial, Art Nouveau, Deco, Rococo, Neo-Classical, and Modernist styles unparalleled in Yemen. While these foreign decorative styles have been incorporated into the Tarimi architectural idiom of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, traditional Hadhrami construction techniques, based on the thousand-year-old traditions of unfired mud brick and lime plasters, served as the primary methods for executing these buildings.

Fig. 2. Dar Dawil

conversation rather than as the passive object of conservation practice. To this end, we have tried to open a dialogue with a diverse group of people interested in the architectural heritage of Tarim as the first step in formulating a plan for the conservation of the historic core of the city. We see heritage conservation as neither a partnership with a continuous, dynamic tradition of earthen architecture, nor the application of technical expertise towards the preservation of built fabrics, but as a third program resulting from the interaction of both within the Tarimi context. While this report is a record of the technical documentation and condition assessment of Qasr al-'Ishshah for the 2002-03 season, it also presents the opening stages of this dialogue.

Historical Introduction and Discussion of the Significance and Challenges to the Earthen Architecture of the Hadhramawt

For most of its history, Yemen has been integrally linked to Southeast Asia, East Africa, the Iranian Plateau, and the Mediterranean Basin through trade and pilgrimage. Geographically and socially varied, one may trace Yemen's diversity through the cultural

interactions and hybrid architectural fabrics of various regions. Foreign styles and ornamental features have entered Yemen as typological and aesthetic changes. At the same time, traditional construction techniques are flexible enough to incorporate these new developments. In this way Yemeni architectural history represents a dialogue between cultures both within and outside of the modern nation. The South Asian-inspired painted plaster of the 'Amiriya Madrassa is a good example (Al-Radi 1997), as is the hybrid architectural fabric of Tarim, the theological, juridical, and academic center of the Hadhramawt Valley. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, merchant families in the Hadhramawt Valley and its tributaries grew rich from the Indian Ocean trade and their investments abroad. The al-Kaf family was considered to be among the most influential of these merchants. Many members of the family were respected religious scholars. At the same time, they were among the first Westernizing elite of the region and contributed to public works projects in the name of modernization. Their status was thus based on a complex relationship between traditional society, modernity, and international trade (Damluji 1992). Their palaces

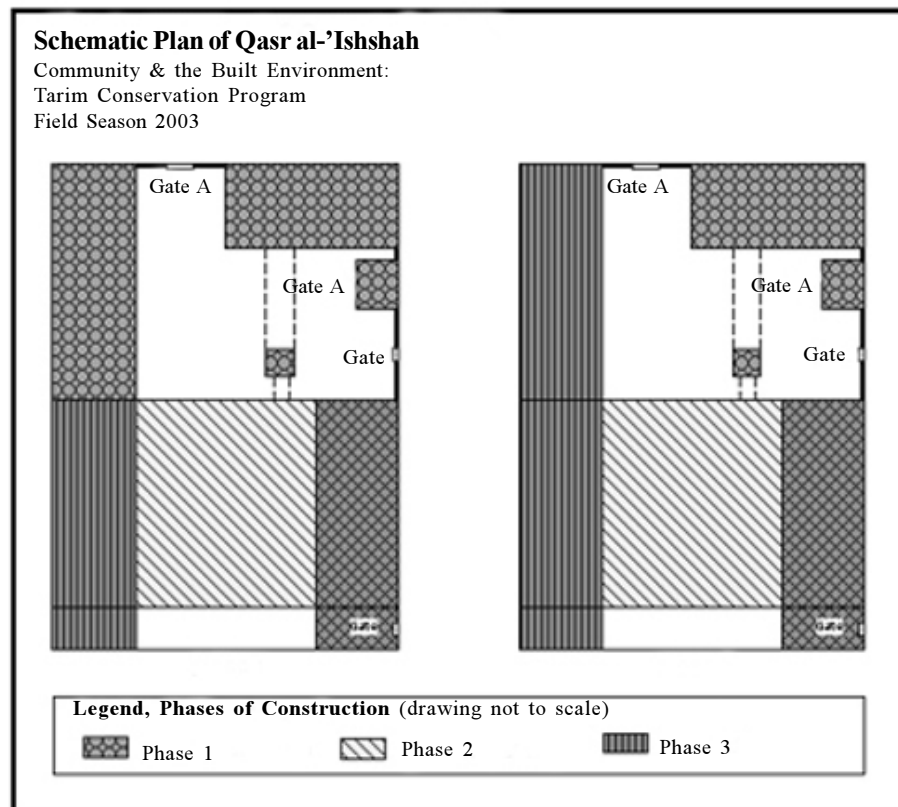


Fig. 3. Building sequence (not drawn to scale)

remain as a testament to both their affluence and the complex identity of the modernizing elite of the colonial period.

The palaces and public buildings constructed under the patronage of the al-Kafs and other prosperous families were executed in the stylistic idioms that they encountered in British India and Southeast Asia. A member of the local community, interviewed by Al-Radi, said that Muhamed Hassan al-Kaf sketched many of the buildings he came upon when abroad. These drawings served as some of the design models for the Tarimi palaces, although none of his sketches have been recovered to date. Architectural pattern books from urban centers such as Cairo may have also influenced the al-Kaf designs. As a consequence, the palaces include examples of Mughal, British Colonial, Art Nouveau, Deco, Rococo, Neo-Classical, and Modernist styles unparalleled in Yemen. While these foreign decorative styles have been incorporated into the Tarimi architectural idiom of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, traditional Hadhrami construction techniques, based on the thousand-year-old traditions of unfired mud brick and lime plasters, served as the



Fig. 4. Ornamentation and pilasters

primary methods for executing these buildings.

In his report to UNESCO in 1980, Stefano Bianca listed common challenges facing the architectural heritage of the Islamic world. Over twenty years later, many of the problems Bianca enumerated are still the source of deterioration in historic urban fabrics. Tarim and the other cities and towns of the Hadhramawt do not face the same scale of demographic pressures as many other historic cities in the region, but Bianca's comments on social disintegration and the new standards in education are relevant to the Yemeni case. Especially pertinent are his comments on the privileges associated with new styles of urbanism and architecture and the impact of economic transitions that have accompanied transnational labor movements. The latter have drawn Yemenis out of their country to work at higher paying jobs in the more affluent nations of the Persian Gulf, as well as in the United States. This shift and the consequent effects on urbanization and the production of 'vernacular' architecture were well underway throughout the 1980s (Serageldin 1982).

In 1990 the North and South united. The new nation did not join a Security Council vote to condemn Iraq's invasion of Kuwait; this resulted in the Gulf State's decision to expel their large populations of expatriate Yemeni workers. Yemeni nationals who were forced home injected still more capital into the region. Their return sparked a construction boom, while also changing people's expectations of building styles and construction processes: many preferred to build in the materials and idiom of the contemporary architecture of the Gulf States and were no longer willing to wait for the longer period it takes to build with mud brick and lime plaster. As a result, many clients demand construction in reinforced concrete in a postmodern idiom. Professional contractors (*muqawal*) have also taken on many of the roles once reserved to the master mason (*usta* or *mu'allim*) (Veranda 1996:154). In 1992-93, Sana'a University graduated its first class of architects. Both professions often valorize new technologies, materials, and styles, and are now an integral part of the conservation, construction, and planning process (Veranda 1996:156). To paraphrase Said Yislam Ba-Sweitin, a master mason from Shibam, people now have different tastes, expectations, and lifestyles. As a

result, younger generations are not learning traditional building and maintenance techniques (Borelli and Jerome 1999). The problem then not only lies in preserving significant structures in their urban context, but also in articulating the value of traditional craftsmen as the city changes with regional integration into a global social and economic milieu.

Documentation, Condition Assessment, and Dialogue

The combination of cultural-historical, aesthetic, and scientific significance of the Tarimi palaces in itself calls for a sustainable conservation program. Over the last thirty years, the al-Kaf family palaces have been neglected—in some cases, partitioned for multiuse occupancy; in others, completely abandoned—falling into a state of disrepair. As a result, many are now in danger of imminent collapse and a full documentation and conservation program is needed for the historic core of Tarim. At this point in time much of the historic core of the city is either incompletely documented or simply undocumented.

With the support of a fellowship funded by the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs from the American Institute for Yemeni Studies and of the Columbia University Media Center for Art History, Archaeology and Historic Preservation, we chose Qasr al-'Ishshah (fig. 1), the largest and most significant of the al-Kaf palace complexes, to open a larger documentation program of the Tarimi palaces and the significant urban fabric of the city. The documentation materials of this field season will support an adaptive reuse program for Qasr al-'Ishshah as well as the development of a suite of web-based pedagogical resources. The team conducted a full documentation of the 'Ishshah complex, including the completion of plans, elevations, and measured drawings; conventional, digital, and QuickTime Virtual Reality photography of the more than three hundred rooms and the exterior of the complex; and condition assessments. In addition to documentation, samples of the 'Ishshah's mud brick and plaster construction materials were taken for further analysis in the United States. (We are still waiting for the results of these tests presently.) The team also took Universal Transverse Mercator (UTM) points of twenty-eight additional al-Kaf and other

merchant families' palaces for future condition assessments and the development of a Geographic Information System.

A. Qasr al-'Ishshah complex: introduction and condition assessment

The household complex of 'Umar bin Shaikh al-Kaf, Qasr al-'Ishshah is one of the original al-Kaf family houses in Tarim. Shaikh al-Kaf built the house on the fortune he made in South Asian trade and from a hotel investment in Singapore. The name 'Ishshah derives from the Arabic root *'-sh-sh* meaning to nest, take root, or establish. Members of the al-Kaf family and other individuals in the community said that the name refers to the original house that, to paraphrase, was like a bird's nest in a thick palm grove. This first building, known as Dar Dawil, was constructed during the 1890s (fig. 2). Today the complex sits within an urban environment amongst other al-Kaf palaces and other affluent Tarimi merchant families. Qasr al-'Ishshah is a collection of several buildings constructed over a period of forty years. The main southern building alone includes several additions.

Dar Dawil is located in the northeast corner of



Fig. 5. Built-in cabinetry



Fig. 6. *Decorative capital*

the site (fig. 3). This house has a ground floor kitchen, a ramp (*manzaha*) that passed over the kitchen to permit a camel to draw water from a deep well, and store rooms below the living quarters. A north and east gate define the entrance to the site. Eventually Dar Dawil was altered, presumably as the household grew. Two additional windows were added to the three original windows on the upper story, while an extension was added to the south, including a pigeonaire. Dar Dawil turned from a rectangular plan into a T-shape, dividing the original palm grove into two courtyards.

The eastern gatehouse dates to approximately the same period and functioned as a school for the family's children. The ground and first floor of the northwest kitchen wing, to the west of the north gate, are from this period. Two garages connected Dar Dawil to the eastern gatehouse. Umar bin Shaikh eventually married four wives and as the family grew, so did the size of the complex. The main building was built at the southern end of the site in the 1920s. Soon thereafter the upper stories of the northwest kitchen wing were constructed and another wing added onto the southwest corner. It is unclear when the southeast gate was built, but we are certain that the southeast and final wing was erected in the 1930s. Local community

members contributed this information while the different styles of stucco decoration and historic photographs support the existence of multiple construction sequences.

From 1970 to 1991, Qasr al-'Ishshah was expropriated by the government of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (South Yemen) and divided up as multi-family housing. The house has now been returned to the al-Kaf family and legal ownership rights are shared amongst many of Shaikh al-Kaf's descendants. In 1997 the Historical Society for the Preservation of Tarim rented half of the house in order to present the building to the public as a house museum, the only one of its kind in the Hadhramawt. Three years later the Society rented the rest of the house, but has been unable to present it to the public due to its poor state of preservation.

On both its exterior elevations as well as on most interior surfaces, Qasr al-'Ishshah exhibits some of the finest examples of lime plaster decoration (*malas*) in the city (Jerome 2000). The decorative program of the exterior south façade finds its antecedents in Mughal royal architecture, as well as in the colonial forms of the Near East, South Asia, and Southeast Asia. Interior stucco decoration differs from room to room, including Art Nouveau, Rococo, Neo-Classical,



Fig. 7. Ceiling decoration

and combinations of the three (Beamish 1985; Damluji 1992; Myntii 1999; Scharabi 1989). The ornamentation often incorporates pilasters along the walls framing openings (fig. 4), built-in cabinetry with skilled woodcarvings (fig. 5), elaborate column capitals (fig. 6), decorated ceilings (fig. 7), niches and kerosene lamp holders (fig. 8), as well as complex color schemes.

Since our initial feasibility study of 2001, a larger portion of the central section of the west elevation has collapsed (fig. 9). The collapse not only took down the load-bearing walls of the façade, but also a large portion of the interior rooms on the west side of the building. Karami Faraj al-Tumur, a Tarimi master mason (*usta*), conducted a survey of the damage, estimating the cost of repair at 1 million YR. ‘Umar Abdalaziz Hallaj, an architect working with German Technical Aid (*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit*, GTZ) on the Shibam Development Project, confirmed al-Tumur’s estimate. Without repair, the structural integrity of the remainder of the west elevation is at risk. The collapse has caused extensive structural cracking as the floors in adjacent rooms settle. In many cases plaster finishes and detailing in these rooms have also been damaged due to the movement of the building.

In addition to the damage on the west façade, the roof and floors of the northwest kitchen wings have collapsed through three stories (fig. 10). A significant portion of Dar Dawil also collapsed approximately three years ago (fig. 11). We ascertained that the northwest section of this same structure collapsed several years before that. Non-structural material failure is taking place in sections of the complex not in the immediate vicinity of these collapses. The plaster of the ceiling in room 110, a finely decorated bath, has already fallen. Several other rooms face similar dangers. As a preliminary measure, additional funding has been secured from the Yemen Social Fund for Development (see below, section B) to rebuild and restore the collapsed western façade and interiors. These funds will also be used to put a temporary coat of lime on the roof of the main southern building to prevent further deterioration.

Many other elevations and roofs show severe damage, and both interior and exterior surfaces in the entire building complex demonstrate extensive deterioration in the mud brick and plaster fabric. For example, the roof of the gatehouse is also in extremely poor condition. Plaster finish has been lost in many areas or separated from the mud brick substrate. In addition to the deterioration in al-‘Ishshah’s mud brick



The scale of deterioration and the nature of earthen construction indicate that irreversible structural damage is imminent. Lime plaster is the sacrificial coating, functioning as both protection and decoration, and if not maintained, the load-bearing mud brick substrate will be at an even greater risk. As a consequence of the relationship between the protective plastering, mud brick and the seasonal rains, construction requires regular maintenance. When neglected, damage occurs exponentially.

Fig. 8. Lamp niche (just above meter scale)

and plaster, there is some termite damage. A significant number of the wooden elements, windows and doors are damaged beyond repair. The extensive loss of the Art Nouveau stained glass windows in room 110 is one such example, although others may be found throughout the complex (fig. 12).

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B. Dialogue, planning, and outreach

It was also our objective to establish working relationships with both governmental and nongovernmental organizations in Yemen, as well as with stakeholders in the local community, by taking as our model projects that begin by assembling a

broad group of participants (Daher 1996). The object is to facilitate the planning and implementation of national heritage status for this building, and then for a full group of historic buildings and sites in Tarim. Several organizations have helped our project in the past, showing particular attention to the conservation of Tarim and Qasr al-'Ishshah, and their support continued through this season. The Historical Society for the Preservation of Tarim currently operates part of the house as a museum; however, due to large-scale collapse and a lack of funding and expertise, they have been unable to present the entire house to the public. The Society also publishes information on the cultural heritage of Tarim and raises funds for their projects. They have been amongst our most active partners.

In addition to the Society, the General Organization of Antiquities and Museums (GOAM), a governmental ministry, has played a substantial role in our efforts. They sponsored our work by providing permits and employees to work on the project. Local GOAM employees from the Seyoun Museum were especially supportive, providing both a high level of



Fig. 9. Collapse of the west façade

expertise and knowledge of local architectural history, materials, and building professionals. The museum also made storage space available to us during the offseason. In exchange for their support, we helped train several GOAM employees in our methods of condition assessment and documentation.

The local government also showed interest in our efforts this season. In an arrangement initiated by the head of the Seyoun Museum, Abd al-Rahman al-Saqqaf, we had the opportunity to meet with Deputy Governor Abd al-Rahman Muhamed al-‘Ulfi to discuss our ideas and the general need for a more active governmental role in the conservation of national heritage. Deputy Governor al-‘Ulfi, himself an engineer by training, was supportive of our project and set up a meeting between our group and other organizations working in the area, but to date there has been little movement towards official governmental recognition of Tarim as a protected national heritage site.

We also spoke extensively with al-Kaf family members still living in Tarim, all of whom have partial ownership rights in the house. These discussions fell into the categories of ethnographic and historical interviews, and logistical consultation and evaluation. Our discussions shed light onto the site history, folklore, and building sequence of al-‘Ishshah as discussed

above. They also clarified which relatives legally own the house and the extent of their claims. These conversations laid out potential conflicts in the conservation process that we had not anticipated: our discussion with Deputy Governor al-‘Ulfi was reported on local radio, and while we considered his response to our proposal to be extremely positive, the al-Kafs we spoke with found it threatening. They expressed fears over the renewed potential of governmental seizure of their property that may accompany listing the house as a national heritage monument. During the 1970s and 1980s, the Qasr al-‘Ishshah was expropriated by the government of South Yemen, and the structure received little maintenance. As a consequence, much of the damage in the building stems from this period. On top of this, the al-Kafs were never compensated for these actions and the family members we spoke with do not feel responsible for many of the repair expenses.

Meeting with family members was essential in order to address the concerns of the al-Kaf family concerns over these financial burdens, as well as their new fears that came out of our discussions with the government. The al-Kafs helped us develop a strategy for securing these houses through purchase or long-term lease. They also introduced us to several Tarimi



Fig. 10. Collapsed kitchen (western wing)

master masons as all of our previous relationships were with individuals from Shibam and other cities in the Hadhramawt Valley. Our frank discussions with the al-Kafs were facilitated by the Historical Society and by the end of the field season, the three of us had agreed to an open working environment with full sharing of all materials produced by current and future research. We also decided on the common objective of conserving and reusing as many of the households as possible, by no means a given between family members and our project before this year's work.

During the 2002-03 field season we also conducted many informal meetings with German Technical Aid (GTZ). These discussions should not go unmentioned. GTZ has been working on a similar restoration and adaptive reuse program focusing on historic houses in Shibam, a World Heritage Site, as part of a larger development project in the city. While we have no formal partnership with GTZ, this dialogue was essential in finding local sources of materials and expertise, evaluating cost estimates, and for airing general concerns related to the project.

After the end of the field season, Al-Radi presented our work to the Yemen Social Fund for Development, a nongovernmental organization supported by the World Bank, and the General

Organization for the Preservation of Historic Cities of Yemen (GOPHCY), in order to garner additional support for the project. As a result of this meeting, the Social Fund has given 1 million YR for the consolidation of the western façade of al-'Ishshah. Discussions with the Social Fund over a partnership in a full-scale conservation project continue, but its funding of the emergency stabilization of Qasr al-'Ishshah has already proved to be an essential contribution to the project. Without this repair, further collapse was imminent. Dr. Al-Radi also brought several government officials to review informally the site and the long-term implications of historic district designation for Tarim.

We had little success in opening dialogue with architectural or structural engineering departments at the regional universities in Yemen. The faculty and, in many cases, the facilities themselves simply do not exist in the Hadhramawt, and we were too focused on completing the immediate field work to explore similar possibilities in the universities of Sana'a or Mukallah. Educational development in Yemen itself is essential to the success of this and other conservation projects. Al-Radi's work in Rada'a has already demonstrated the social and economic value of informal educational programs (Al-Radi 1997).



Fig. 11. Collapse in Dar Dawil

Architectural and engineering curricula in Yemen generally teach students to build with reinforced concrete skeletons and concrete block or brick infill, along with exterior cladding of stone in some regional contexts. The use of traditional mud brick technology, the most appropriate construction material for this specific geographical region, is often disregarded, while historic preservation and adaptive reuse are perceived as costly and unnecessary. Our earlier study of traditional construction methods demonstrated the efficacy of mud brick construction when adapted to contemporary lifestyles and conveniences. We also found several examples of successful and sympathetic upgrading of historic buildings (Jerome, Chiari, and Borelli 1999). Both points have failed to affect the training of local architects or engineers (Jerome 2002:29). To address this problem, our project plans to organize an adaptive reuse workshop under the auspices of Deputy Governor al-‘Ulfi for students as well as architects, engineers, and other professionals. This dialogue may lead to approaches that incorporate local knowledge with our own experiences and expectations, in turn producing a hybrid conservation strategy appropriate to the unique conditions in Tarim.

C. Media resources

Based on the successful use of video as a documentation and community outreach tool (Borelli and Jerome 1999; Borelli 2001), we anticipate that media will serve a vital role in our efforts. Visual perception is not a passive recording of information, but an active element of conceptualization that exercises selective, abstract and creative acts of intellectual formation (Arnheim 1969). In Yemen it has also proved to be a vital tool in opening dialogue between diverse groups of stakeholders. As the work of Shehayeb and Abdel-Hafiz in the Tablita Market of Cairo and Borelli and Jerome in the Hadhramawt have demonstrated, multi-media presentation and visual models function as integral tools by which non-designers may express their ideas (Shehayeb and Abdel-Hafiz 2001; Borelli and Jerome 1999). Another significant model for this approach is the idea of participatory design as expressed by the Presence Project supported by the European Commission’s Intelligent Information Interfaces group (Netherlands Design Institute 1997). John Thackara, chair of the Presence Steering Group, has expressed participatory design as follows:

We’re beginning to understand what it means



Fig. 12. Art Nouveau stained glass windows in a poor state of preservation.

to design with people rather than for people. I know it sounds like a minor semantic distinction, but it's had a major impact on all of our expedition's members: rather than setting off on a project with a preconceived idea about what we're going to do, now we're all committed to working with real people in the real world and starting there, rather than starting with technology and imposing it on a given situation (1997:9).

There is no way to put aside one's preconceptions when entering a project, nor as a group of professionals should we erase our opinions and expectations. But participatory design places our professional assumptions into lived situations from the inception of the project. It is our objective to engage the potential of this process within the social context of Yemeni society while also introducing a relevant, cost effective set of computer-aided design, geographic information systems, and visualization resources to our Yemeni partners. The intention is not to replace local professionals and their vital knowledge—an act that would go against the very principles of conservation—

but to provide better options for documenting and representing our work.

While the potential of these resources is exciting to a Western audience, we must balance this outlook with data on the average Yemeni's access to information technology. The World Bank statistics on Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) for Yemen are not encouraging. Based on statistics from 2000, personal computing and internet use is rare and expensive in Yemen. Out of Yemen's population of 18 million, there are only 1.9 people per every 1,000 who have a personal computer. Yemen has only 15,000 internet users, and the average monthly off-peak service charge for access to the World Wide Web is \$44.50. These averages are well below the rest of the Middle East and North Africa with the exception of the service charge statistic, which is \$26.50. (World Bank 2003).

Few if any of these statistics predate 2000, so it is impossible to chart the growth of ICT, which is generally more promising. Whereas the ICT infrastructure is experiencing rapid growth in a country like Egypt, and it makes sense to engage the potential of these technologies, there is simply no evidence for a parallel in Yemen. Also, there is no information on the distribution of ICT within Yemen. Anecdotal evidence would suggest that these resources are concentrated in Sana'a and Aden as opposed to the Hadhramawt, but this cannot be supported by statistics. Furthermore, we have no anthropological information on the way Yemenis use computers or even consume media. We cannot take it for granted that there is even a pedagogical culture connected to personal computers and the internet, as there is in many other countries.

While there are many reasons to be cautious in regard to the use of ICT, there are also the specific needs of our project to consider. During the field season, our photographs and drawings numbered in the thousands. Our first step was organizing and storing these materials in a database schema. Also, with the number of Yemenis living abroad—in particular, members of the Tarim community—a presence on the World Wide Web is necessary. In fact we have received encouragement from Yemeni students and professionals living in the United States and Saudi Arabia who learned of the project through the web

site (www.mcah.columbia.edu/tarim). Many of them will return to the Hadhramawt with a better impression of the architectural heritage of the region.

The second stage of media production will focus on developing our raw materials into web-based resources for the study of Tarimi architectural heritage. To this end we are building an integrated, multi-level system that includes digital image collection and delivery and the development of a multi-media pedagogical environment. In regard to delivering these resources within Yemen, we have to provide both the hardware and the appropriate social spaces within which to distribute them. Again, we can find parallels in Borelli and Jerome's screening of their film in locations throughout the Valley (Borelli 2001). This process will begin with demonstrations at our own events, such as the upcoming adaptive reuse workshop, and develop into a set of site-specific resources to be used in educational institutions and museums. We can also work closely with organizations such as the Preservation Society, GTZ, GOAM, and GOPHCY to put together a network of resources that will reach a broader user group. In addition, at this point in time, we can run our resources directly off the hard drive of individual machines so that we do not depend on slow connection speeds.

Conclusions

Careful documentation of al-'Ishshah revealed the physical condition of the complex, alerting us to areas that require immediate structural stabilization. Protecting the palace through complete restoration is going to be more difficult to accomplish because of issues arising from multiple ownership. The presentation of al-'Ishshah to the public as the seat of the al-Kaf family is the ultimate goal. In order to develop the house museum, further research is necessary into the lives of earlier generations of the al-Kaf family. This may be best accomplished through video documentation of the oral histories of surviving family members or cooperative work with other research projects that will eventually be disseminated on site as well as online.

The training program in documentation will continue to survey and record the Tarimi palaces, to evaluate needs, and establish priorities. We have identified the Hamtut, an abandoned palace in

salvageable condition, for the 2003-04 season. (Al-Munaysurah is in relatively good condition and, therefore, we have postponed its documentation.) The Hamtut is adjacent to Dar al-Salam, a modernist palace that lends itself for adaptive reuse as a school. We are proposing that Dar al-Salam be purchased for the establishment of the Center for Mud Brick Architecture, and that the Hamtut be reused as a hostel for the Center's visiting scholars.

We will also continue to pursue the concept of establishing a historic district in Tarim. Currently, there are no laws in Yemen that protect private property, with the exception of those that protect private property within World Heritage Sites. We will continue to have a dialogue with the government to this effect.

Finally, we will attempt to bring Yemeni architecture and engineering students into this process to widen our base of stakeholders. The web site will evolve with each additional documentation project. We will continue to train GOAM employees and hopefully, American graduate students, to further develop awareness of the significance of local construction techniques and of the Tarimi palaces as an ensemble.

Endnotes

1. The traditional documentation techniques of our discipline do not necessarily provide a more accurate expression of knowledge, but prioritize and redistribute knowledge to new sites of power and status. Mitchell's work on Egypt, which includes an extensive study of the role of heritage preservation and managed change in architectural practice, has made valuable contributions to our understanding of this process in history (Mitchell 2002). It would be unfair to say that professionals within our discipline are not taking part in this line of discussion. Polish conservation architects have challenged traditional interpretations of authenticity in their "retroversion" of the historic city of Elblag, focusing on authenticity of character and spirit rather than that of material fabric (Johnson 2000:63). The Burra Charter, even with its interest in maintaining the specificity of historic fabric, addresses the need to engage a broad range of social practices as inseparable from significance, and does well in negotiating these interests (Marquis-Kyle and Walker 1994). Perhaps most explicit is the Nara Document on Authenticity, which attaches authenticity to unique cultural practices as well as original fabric: "It is not possible to base judgments of value and authenticity on fixed criteria. On the contrary, the respect due to all cultures requires that cultural heritage must be considered and judged within the cultural contexts to which it belongs" [1996: article 11]. In an interview with Neville

Agnew and Erica Avrami of the Getty Conservation Institute, Hugo Houben, John Hurd, and Tony Crosby, three specialists in earthen architecture conservation, emphasized the need to balance “fundamental scientific studies, pragmatic testing, and development of methods for conserving historic archaeological sites and structures, and...preserving traditional folk knowledge that could inform current conservation practice.” (Agnew and Avrami 2001:15).

2. Neither line of thought relies solely on the safeguarding of built fabric or fixed interpretive categories, but instead allows heritage spaces to bring varied social practices, change over time, and local forms of knowledge into perspective.

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Prehistoric Agriculture in Highland Yemen: New Results from Dhamar



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Archaeological research to date has taken only small strides toward writing a prehistory of Yemeni agriculture. Several current American projects are addressing this subject; one is Dr. Joy McCorrison's work in Hadhramawt, and another is the Oriental Institute's Dhamar Survey in the western highlands. The latter project, initiated in 1994 by McGuire Gibson and Tony Wilkinson, has the basic objective of tracing the development of the terracing that so distinguishes Yemen's mountain landscape. In its six seasons of work to date, the project has developed a chronology for the area, investigated landscape and climate change over the past 10,000 years, addressed specific problems for the Bronze Age² (roughly speaking, 3000-1000 BC), the Iron Age and the Himyarite periods, and recorded South Arabian inscriptions and graffiti, among other topics.³ In 2001 the authors undertook, as part of this continuing project, excavations at two Bronze Age sites in Dhamar. For the first time in the project, the excavations systematically searched for prehistoric botanical remains, in order to gain information about Bronze Age crops. The following report summarizes the results of work still in progress.

Excavation of Bronze Age Sites in Dhamar, 2001

Extensive excavation at Hammat al-Qa^c (DS 101; see Wilkinson and Edens, Edens et al. for previous work at this important site) was the original intention of the Bronze Age program in 2001. When unsafe conditions in the local area made this plan impossible, the program selected two alternative sites for excavation, sites that promised to help fill several gaps in information about the Bronze Age and that also are under threat of destruction.

Hayt al-Suad (DS 324)

This site, first recorded during the 2001 survey season, is located at the eastern edge of Qa^c Jahran. The site covers around 3 ha. on the rising western slope of a volcanic hill that culminates in an abrupt drop on its other three sides. Architecture of several different kinds and dates form clusters up the slope. The architecture across the mid-slope includes rectilinear buildings constructed of large rough stones stacked in courses or laid on edge. Despite presenting features strongly reminiscent of Bronze Age assemblages, the pottery on the surface around these buildings and in nearby ash middens did not fit comfortably with known pottery groups elsewhere in Dhamar. Since basic systematics – chronology and spatial variability – are still a high priority in the project, the site seemed worth investigation.

Recent stone quarrying and associated activities have severely damaged portions of the site through the mid-slope. Here a long quarry cut provided a roughly 30 m. long section through archaeological deposits and into volcanic bedrock. The quarry cut sectioned at least two different architectural units, to the south a building constructed of massive stones, and to the north a wall of more modestly sized stones. After cleaning and drawing these portions of the sections, test excavations made small exposures in each area of architecture visible in the quarry section.

The north sounding (a triangular excavation 2.6 x 2.7 x 3.6 m. in area) exposed the corner of a building

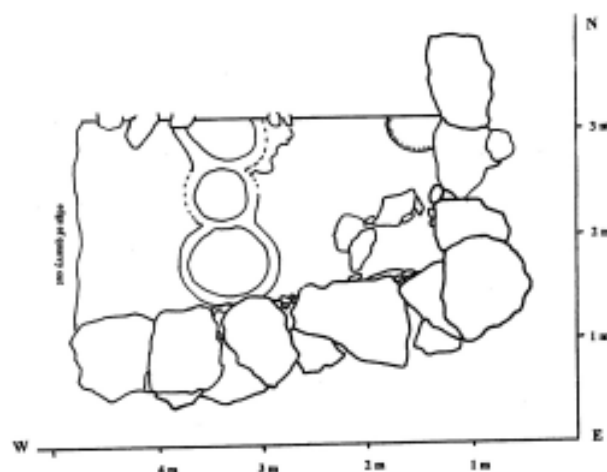


Fig. 1. Hayt al-Suad, the plan of the south sounding, showing the walls and the installations on the floor.

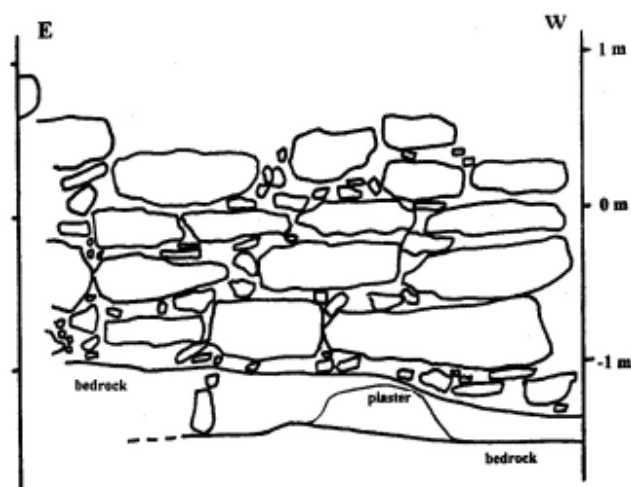


Fig. 2. Hayt al-Suad, the south sounding, the south wall of the room.

or room formed by two unbonded walls built of relatively small stones (generally 30-60 cm. long, 40 cm. wide, and 10-25 cm. high) set in rough courses above bedrock and preserved 1-1.2 m. high. Changes in appearance part way up both walls suggested that the original structure had been rebuilt at some point during its use; the lower (original) and upper (rebuilding) portions of the walls, together with associated soils, define two phases of occupation. An ashy compacted earth resting directly upon the bedrock represented the accumulating 'floor' of the room (?) defined by these walls. A broken cooking jar lay at the bottom of the floor deposit, directly on bedrock. Ashy soil and stone fall separated the latter floor deposit from looser ash deposits that belong to the second, rebuilt phase of the walls. A flimsy cross-wall also belongs to this upper phase.

The south sounding (a rectangular excavation 3.5 x 4.5 m. in area) uncovered a much more substantial structure, the southeast corner of a room the walls of which were constructed of stones up to 1.4 m. long, 1 m. wide and 40 cm. high; these walls still stand 2 m. high (figs. 1 - 2). These walls were erected upon bedrock, which had been cut down inside the room to a depth of 20-40 cm., leaving the walls on a sort of plinth (visible in figs. 2 and 3). The floor of the room, separated from bedrock by a thin band of compact soil, was a plastered surface well-preserved in some parts of the room but eroded in others. The plaster had been renewed at least twice, with a fine ashy silt separating each plaster surface. The room contained

several installations: a round bedrock mortar cut into the floor against the east wall; a bin of vertical stone slabs set in the corner of the room; and a pair of plaster-lined circular installations/ovens arranged across the room from the south wall into the north section, with traces of a smaller third plaster installation between them, all built into the plastered floor. A very large grinding stone lay next to the southern oven. Ashy sediment on the floor and around these installations represent occupation debris, which provided relatively small samples of pottery, charred seeds, animal bones, and small finds. A stony silty soil and sloping deposits of rock fall covered the occupation deposit.

Charcoal samples taken from two different components of the occupation debris over the floor in the south sounding returned identical radiocarbon dates that place the building and its contents in the second quarter of the 3rd millennium BC (Table 1; location of dated samples shown in fig. 3). This date matches the oldest dates obtained for Bronze Age settlements in Dhamar and Khawlan (see Edens 1999: 107 for a summary of Bronze Age dating evidence).

Jubabat al-Juruf (DS 269)

Jubabat al-Juruf, recorded during survey in 1998, lies at the eastern edge of the plain around Jabal al-Isi east of Dhamar, on a broad spur that rises gently from the west before dropping off abruptly to the south, east and northeast. The small caves and narrow rock

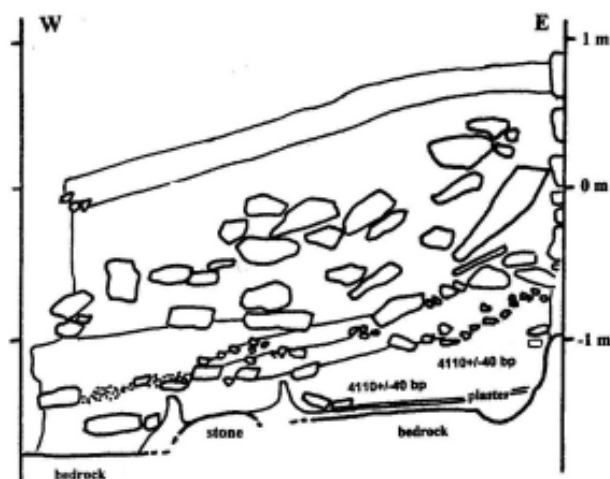


Fig. 3. Hayt al-Suad, the south sounding, the north section with the stratigraphic location of carbon 14 dates.

shelters that give the site its name occur mostly along the base of the cliff-like southern edge of the spur. South Arabian graffiti and rock art (mostly depictions of caprids and camels) appear in numerous locations around the southeastern and eastern edges of the spur, and additional material exists on other rock faces in the vicinity.⁴ Modern agricultural terracing, related stone walls, several buildings, and earthmoving by bulldozers have obscured the size and boundaries of the Bronze Age site; the surface architecture remains relatively intact and visible only in a few areas. Bronze Age sites in Dhamar are typically very shallow, but this site held the promise of a deeper accumulation. A deep hole dug by a treasure-seeker revealed 1.4 m. of cultural deposits immediately adjacent to a well-preserved Bronze Age house. This site, therefore, seemed to offer the prospect of obtaining a stratified sequence, despite the heavy surface disturbances.

The sounding, a 7x7 m. square, encompassed the eastern end of the house near the looter's pit and the unbuilt space the north of the building (fig. 4). The house belongs to a standard highland Bronze Age type: a rectangular structure 3.2-3.4 m. wide and running at least 14 m. in length (the arrangement of its western end is not clear) with one and perhaps two cross-walls dividing the interior space into rooms, and a doorway framed by a pair of massive stones set on end within the long north wall. Two additional walls extend from the short east wall of the building, one wall running perpendicular to the east wall, and the other running obliquely from the building's northeast corner.

The remains of the main building within the excavation area proved to be relatively shallow, its walls constructed as a single line of stone slabs laid vertically around the edge of a shallow pit. A dense concentration of small stones, seemingly deliberately laid, but only intermittently preserved, formed the room's floor, 55 cm. below the modern surface. A bench of flat-laid stones, about 1.2 m. long and 25 cm. high, lay against the south wall; a large pottery jar was set at one end of this bench. The doorway in the north wall was fitted with a single flat stone as a threshold, set 5 cm. below the modern surface, with rough stairs of three low treads leading down into the interior of the building. The position of the threshold suggests that the building had been constructed from a surface approximately the same as the modern one,

while the nature of the walls, the position of the floor, and the absence of exterior entry stairs all imply that the construction of the building was semi-subterranean. The same construction is also evident in the houses at other Bronze Age sites (e.g. de Maigret 1990, Wilkinson and Edens 1999).

The oblique wall off the corner of the house bordered a pavement of stone slabs 20 cm. below the modern surface; the pavement was exposed only at the eastern edge of the sounding (fig. 4). The pavement is clearly related to the oblique wall, but the temporal relationship between the oblique wall and the house remains uncertain.

The house, as well as the oblique wall and its pavement, had been constructed upon and into the upper layers of stratified deposits that were 2 m. thick (fig. 5). The upper meter of these deposits consisted of almost horizontally bedded ashy sediments that included large amounts of stone and rubble, which often gave the appearance of accumulations on temporary surfaces. A small structure, roughly rectangular in shape, 2 m. on one side and the other side running 70 cm. before disappearing into the section, appeared immediately below the floor of the house, in the lower portions of the horizontal ashy sediments (see figs. 4 - 5). The walls of this structure were oriented parallel to the walls of the upper building, and were preserved to a height of only 30 cm. Small stones and plaster patches marked the small structure's floor, upon which was a soft gray soil distinctive from the compact ashy sediments outside the small structure. The small structure appears to have been a construction not associated with, and older than, the upper building. Although the floor of the upper building could not be traced across the lower structure, the location of the small structure with respect to the upper building (in the center of the upper building, adjacent to the doorway), would make a functional connection between the two structures awkward and unlikely (e.g. the small structure serving as a storage bin within the upper building). More extensive exposure of both structures is needed to decide this question.

The lower meter of deposits, exposed in a limited area outside the house, was much more complex than the upper meter (fig. 5, cf. fig. 4); it contained a circular stone-lined bin or hearth similar to structures recorded at other Bronze Age sites (de Maigret 1990, Wilkinson et al. 1997), several small pits dug into existing ashy

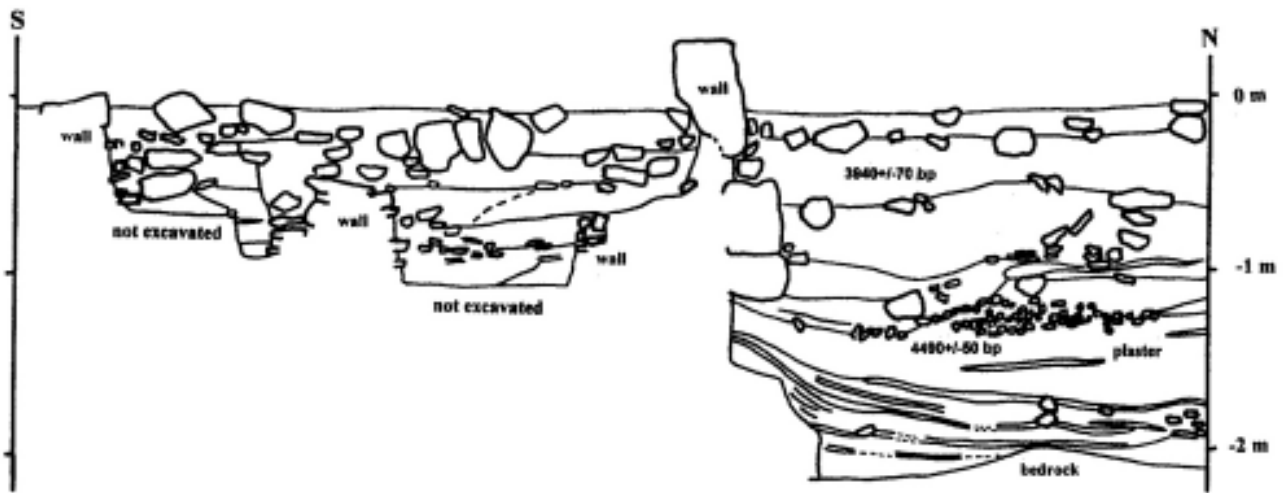


Fig. 5. Jubabat al-Juruf, the west section showing the upper building, the lower structure and the stratigraphic location of two carbon-14 dates.

General Results

The excavation results confirm that the highland Bronze Age patterns of architecture and pottery use were firmly in place already by the final quarter of the 4th millennium BC; analysis of the botanical samples reported below also confirm agriculture by the same time. In this respect, Yemen now matches southeast Arabia, where agriculture and, hesitantly, pottery use also appeared near the end of the 4th millennium BC (see Cleuziou and Tosi 1989 for late 4th millennium developments in southeast Arabia). The pottery and other finds from these excavations will be published in detail elsewhere, and the following passages merely highlight the more significant aspects before turning to the botanical remains.

Pottery-use seems well established at both sites, so the technological transition, and the social changes correlated with it, between aceramic and ceramic highland cultures must be sought in the mid-4th millennium. The pottery at Jubabat al-Juruf shows significant formal and decorative changes through the sequence. Pottery at the top of the sequence bears a resemblance to the Khurayb assemblage, but pottery from the mid-upper sections of the sequence is distinct from the coeval assemblages at Sibal, a mere 10 km. away, and at the more distant Hayt al-Suad. The pottery from the latter site includes several examples of simple designs executed in dull red paint, the first examples of painted decoration found in Dhamar. These observations show that sub-regional stylistic

variation in Bronze Age material culture was already well established by the middle of the 3rd millennium, and probably earlier.

Both sites produced samples of beads and other ornaments. Carnelian was a favored material for the small (on the order of a half centimeter across) flat disc beads found at both sites, and was also used for a pendant from Jubabat al-Juruf. The use of carnelian is hardly surprising, given that carnelian is relatively common in the volcanic landscape (the famous ‘Ans sources of carnelian are only 60 km. away), and that carnelian beads are occasionally reported from neolithic and BA sites in the western highlands. More significant is the recovery in the deeper levels at Jubabat al-Juruf of production debris – small nodules and flakes of carnelian plus several chipped rough-outs of beads that split during drilling and before polishing. The Jubabat al-Juruf production evidence is too scant to qualify as workshop debris, but it does mark the first documentation of craft activity within a highland Bronze Age settlement.

The other common small find at both sites are ‘microbeads’ – short tubes 2-3 mm. across and 2 mm. high, made from an unidentified white material apparently by cutting a longer tube into sections. Similar beads, made from a white composite material, perhaps baked chlorite, are recently reported from early 3rd millennium BC tombs at Jabal Jidran north of Marib (Braemer et al. 2001:34), and these microbeads are extremely common in 3rd millennium

tombs in the Emirates and Oman, where the material is variously identified as serpentinite (Benton 1996:113) or talcose steatite (Frifelt 1991:114). The strong formal and technological similarity between the Yemeni and southeast Arabian beads adds to the slowly growing evidence for early links across southern Arabia (e.g. Newton and Zarins 2001, Vogt 1999).

A fragmentary stone ring found at Jubabat al-Juruf also deserves comment. The ring, estimated to have been about 3 cm. across, with a flat bottom, gently curved vertical outer face, and narrow rounded top, is similar to somewhat larger rings made of siliceous stones, marble or quartzite found in several neolithic sites of Yemen (Kallweit 1996, Fedele 1986, diMario 1989). The Jubabat al-Juruf example suggests that these rings – previously thought to be an exclusively neolithic product – continued to be used into the early phases of the Bronze Age.

Metals continue to be elusive in Bronze Age residential sites. Hayt al-Suad provided a fragment of a square-sectioned copper awl, found on the surface of the ash-midden at the northern edge of the site. Although similar to a piece attributed a Bronze Age date in Khawlan (de Maigret 1990: 22, fig. 83a), this surface find cannot definitively be assigned a Bronze Age date. Jubabat al-Juruf provided two pieces of metal, both from uncertain contexts, one a bit of sheet copper found just below the modern surface, and the other a small corroded lump from an animal burrow. None of these finds contribute to the still scant evidence of metal-work in prehistoric Yemen.

Early Agriculture in Dhamar

One frequently remarked feature of the archaeological record of the Arabian peninsula, including Yemen, is the scarcity of charred seeds and other plant parts in archeological sediments. Prior efforts to recover botanical samples in Dhamar had been rudimentary, and failed. The shallow deposits that are characteristic of Bronze Age sites in the highlands probably discourages the preservation of charred plant remains at most sites in the region.⁶ Hayt al-Suad and Jubabat al-Juruf are unusual for their deep deposits, and the richness of the botanical samples from these settlements seems also to be unusual. There are over 1400 charred plant remains from Hayt al-Suad; the sample of 82 specimens from Jubabat al-

Juruf presented here is but a tiny fraction of the total sample from this site. The samples were recovered using a Siraf-type flotation system, the light fraction collected in 500 µm and 250 µm sieves. Flotation samples were taken systematically from recognized stratigraphic units, with supplemental samples also taken from potentially rich contexts.

Crop plants

Domesticated cereals and legumes represent the crop plants. Among the cereals, barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) predominates, with several kinds of wheat (*Triticum durum/aestivum*, *T. monococcum*) also appearing. In the sample analyzed to date, barley outnumbers the wheats by a ratio of over 6:1 at Hayt al-Suad but is close to 1:1 in the much smaller analyzed sample from Jubabat al-Juruf. Panic grass appears in Jubabat al-Juruf sample, several examples of which appear to be broomcorn millet (*Panicum miliaceum*).⁷ The samples also contain a large amount of other cereal plant parts, including rachises that can be identified to genus; here the barley predominates even more strongly.

The domesticated legumes are represented by the common lentil (*Lens culinaris*) along with specimens of several kinds of pea (*Pisum* sp., and *Lathyrus* or *Vicia* sp.), and chickpea (*Cicer arietinum*), plus a substantial number of fragmentary large legume fragments.

Wild plants

Wild or probably wild plants are far more abundant, but much less identifiable to genus or species than are the domesticates. The most frequent are small legumes; one unidentified species accounts for nearly 90% of this group, and a probable *Medicago* sp., a *Trigonella*-type (i.e. the genus that includes fenugreek), and an *Astragalus*-type also occur. Wild grasses are also common, with at least four different forms being distinguishable, among them a *Phalaris*-like type (accounting for two-thirds of this sample) and a *Setaria*-type; panic grasses may also occur (see n. 8). *Carex* sp., a grass-like rhizomatous herb of the Cyperaceae family, probably also occurs. Four different types of Compositae form another significant contribution to the sample.

At least eight families of other herbs and shrubs

make less frequent contributions to the sample, among them Ranunculaceae (*Ranunculus*), Amaranthaceae (*Amaranthus*), Chenopodiaceae (*Chenopodium*), Caryophyllaceae (*Silene* and *Gypsophila*), Polygonaceae (two types of polygonum, *Rumex*), Malvaceae (*Malva*), Boraginaceae (*Alkanna* and *Arnebia*), and Plantaginaceae (*Plantago*). Some of these plants were probably collected for human consumption⁸ or for animal fodder, while others may have been valued for medicinal or other qualities.⁹

Several fruits – fig (*Ficus*) and eleven specimens tentatively identified pear (*Pyrus*) – along with fragments of unidentified nut shells, also appear. Edible wild species of fig exist in southwest Arabia, but pear is not indigenous to the region and its appearance here at such an early date would, if confirmed, make a significant contribution to the history of the species.

Discussion

These first results from the on-going botanical analysis of the Dhamar samples bear important similarities with, and obvious difference from, the sample of plant impressions in Bronze Age pottery from Khawlan and Hada (Costantini 1990). In both sets of samples, barley and wheat provide the majority of domesticated cereals, although with somewhat different species identification.¹⁰ Broomcorn millet, if these are not in fact a wild panic grass, makes a minor appearance in both areas. The Dhamar samples, however, lack the oats (*Avena* sp., several wild species of which are indigenous to Yemen; Wood 1997:350) and, more importantly, the sorghum (*Sorghum bicolor*) identified in the Khawlan samples.¹¹

In other respects the two sample sets differ significantly, hardly surprising given the differences in sample sizes (120 impressions in pottery from Khawlan, around 1500 charred plant remains in Dhamar). The Khawlan samples lack entirely the domesticated and wild legumes, the variety of wild grasses (*Tragus (Cenchrus) racemosus* is identified in Khawlan but not in Dhamar) and the other plant families that are so important in the Dhamar samples. The Dhamar samples are missing the date palm (*Phoenix dactylifera*) stones that appear twice in Khawlan, but this difference is not surprising because the date palm does not thrive in Dhamar's altitude and winter cold. The Dhamar samples are also missing

the cumin (*Cuminum cyminum*) that figures as a minor element in the Khawlan sample.

The Dhamar Survey had in previous seasons made significant discoveries pertaining to early agriculture in the Yemeni highlands. Terrace construction for agriculture appears to have a deep history in southwest Arabia. A correlation in space between remnant terraces and Bronze Age settlements, and the extremely eroded condition of these terraces, strongly suggests that terracing was a regular feature of Bronze Age agriculture in Dhamar (Wilkinson and Edens 1999:5). A radiocarbon assay on charcoal from a soil associated with a terrace buried under six meters of silt in the valley floor near Sedd adh-Dhra' indicates that terracing may have begun by early in the 4th millennium BC (Wilkinson 1999). Elsewhere, Kallweit (1996:166) reports relic terraces in Wadi Dhahr, immediately north of Sana'a, of probable Bronze Age date.

The new archeobotanical results from Dhamar add to the previous Khawlan evidence to give a clearer picture of the crops grown on these terraces. Quite clearly agriculture depended on a typically Near Eastern suite of crops – 6-row barley, bread wheat, lentils, and other legumes – which was introduced to the Yemeni highlands by the last quarter of the 4th millennium BC. In addition to growing these crops, Bronze Age communities also collected a wide variety of wild plants, including figs, nuts, wild legumes, grasses and grass-like herbs. The high barley : wheat ratio found in both the Dhamar and the Khawlan samples is a feature of the traditional crop suite in Yemen, as a response to risk; barley is preferred over wheat under conditions of relatively low rainfall and high inter-annual variability of rainfall; barley is also more cold-tolerant than wheat, an important consideration for a winter crop in the highlands.

The scarcity of identified sorghum, relative to barley and wheat in Khawlan, and sorghum's absence from the Dhamar samples, strongly suggest that if sorghum did in fact have a place in Bronze Age agriculture in the Yemeni highlands, it was not yet the principle crop that it later became. Based on his sorghum identification,¹² Costantini (1990:199) raised the possibility of Bronze Age farmers growing two crops a year. With sorghum at best a minor crop, however, barley and wheat were surely the major

summer crops, to take advantage of spring and late summer rains; indeed, barley and wheat may not have been grown over the winter which, in the traditional highland agricultural system, is a minor and usually 'wet-year' season. In other words, the traditional crop preferences and schedule of the western highlands had not yet taken shape by the end of the 3rd millennium BC.

The absence of sorghum in the Dhamar samples analyzed so far may also have wider implications. The early history of sorghum cultivation and domestication remain shrouded in uncertainty. The species has an African origin, and communities in northeast Africa consumed wild sorghum as long ago as 8500 bp. But the earliest evidence of domesticated sorghum in Africa is only two thousand years old, whereas domesticated sorghum is known from sites in northwest India and Pakistan from around 2000 BC. In the latter area, moreover, two other African crops also make an early appearance, finger millet during the second half of the 3rd millennium BC, and pearl millet by around 2000 BC (see Meadow 1996:399-401; Weber 1998). In addition, early domesticated sorghum is reported from two locations in southern Arabia, at Hili 8 (Abu Dhabi) in late 4th millennium and mid-3rd millennium BC contexts (Cleuziou and Costantini 1980, 1982), and at two sites in Khawlan (Yemen) dated to the second half of the 3rd millennium BC. Many pre-historians argue for the transmission of sorghum, and of finger millet and pearl millet, from northeast Africa across southern Arabia and into the Indian subcontinent during the 3rd and early 2nd millennia (e.g. Meadow 1996, Weber 1998, Tosi 1986). In this scenario, the morphological changes of domestication did not occur until sorghum was introduced to non-native regions such as Yemen during the 4th-3rd millennium BC (e.g. Haaland 1996). Other observers, however, suggest that many identifications of these African crops in Arabia and the Indian peninsula are in fact mistaken, and point out that sorghum does not appear in the growing number of archaeobotanical samples from eastern Arabia, and that neither pearl millet nor finger millet are reported from anywhere in prehistoric Arabia. In other words, the question is not settled.

The failure, thus far, to identify sorghum in Dhamar despite the rich samples of charred plant remains, poses a problem. There are several possibilities to

consider:

1. since the Dhamar samples are older than the Khawlan evidence (late 4th millennium to mid-3rd millennium versus second half of the 3rd millennium BC), the evidence might be taken at face value as recording the arrival of sorghum in the Yemeni highlands around the middle of the 3rd millennium; or,

2. Costantini's sorghum identifications may in fact be incorrect, and the species may not have been present at all in the western highlands of Yemen during the 3rd millennium BC.

In either case, of course, sorghum and the two African millets may have been present along the coast, where taphonomic difficulties make bleak the prospect of recovering prehistoric botanical samples, except perhaps from deep shell-middens. Only considerably more research, and re-examination of the Khawlan impressions, can settle these questions.

Notes

1. The authors thank AIYS for a research grant to Ekstrom and for providing research funds to Edens; both were funded from AIYS' funds from the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. The co-author, Chris Edens, is also grateful that AIYS gave him flexibility in his Institute duties in Sana'a. Thanks also to: Tony Wilkinson for including us in the Dhamar Survey; Dr. Yusuf Abdullah, then director of the General Organization for Antiquities and Museums (GOAM), for permitting the excavations; Mr. Jamal Muhammad Thabit and Mr. Ahmad Haidary for representing GOAM during the field work; Mr. Ali Sanabani, head of GOAM's local office, for his assistance in Dhamar; Dr. Bakiye Yükmén and Ms. Lamy Khalidi for assisting in the excavations; Dr. Joy McCorriston and Dr. Naomi Miller for advice on plant identifications.

2. The "Bronze Age" is a purely conventional term in Yemen, and one fraught with ambiguity: very few metals are reported from "Bronze" Age sites, and the culture-complex found along the coast around Aden and in Tihama extended well into the 1st millennium, i.e. overlapped significantly with the "Iron Age" as identified in other parts of Yemen.

3. Among the project's publications are the following: basic field reports, Gibson and Wilkinson 1995, Wilkinson et al. 1997, Wilkinson and Edens 1999; landscape, climate change, and early terracing, Wilkinson 1997, 1999; Bronze Age pottery and settlement, Edens 1999, Edens et al. 2000; Iron Age/Himyarite architecture: Barbanes 2000).

4. Mr. Jamal Thabit recorded and photographed several dozen of these localities on behalf of GOAM. Among the graffiti are several executed in the cursive script that normally was used for inscribed sticks; de Maigret (1986) reports a similar site at Ghahu al-Harb, north of Jabal al-Isi. Their orthographic characteristics place most if not all the graffiti

in the last half millennium of the South Arabian civilization; the corresponding settlement has not been located.

5. This dating for the Khurayb pottery is based on two of the four radiocarbon dates available from the site. These two dates are from contexts containing the pottery characteristic of the site. The other two radiocarbon dates from Khurayb are far older, and match the range now obtained from Jubabat al-Juruf. But the pottery through most of the stratigraphic sequence at Jubabat al-Juruf is distinct from the Khurayb assemblage, an observation that appears to confirm the interpretation that the two older Khurayb dates refer to earlier occupation at that site (less than 5km separates the two sites, and intraregional variation seems an unlikely explanation of the ceramic differences; see Edens 1999 for details).

6. Various alternative interpretations may be offered the scarcity of archaeobotanical remains across Arabia (e.g. Nesbitt 1993, Willcox and Tengberg 1995; see also Young and Thompson 1999), among them the practices of the communities responsible for the archaeological record (e.g. consumption of relatively little plant material, processing plants in ways not conducive to charring, processing plant at locations distant from settlements, routine disposal of refuse outside of settlements), depositional factors (e.g. extremely slow deposition rates that allowed charred plant remains to break down before burial), and post-depositional factors (e.g. destruction as salt and gypsum crystals formed in charred plant remains, due to high evaporation rates).

7. The seeds seem identical to specimens from Khawlan that Costantini (1990) identifies as *Panicum* cf. *miliaceum*. However, several wild species of *Panicum* occur in Yemen, and Costantini hedges his identification; the identification of this species at Jubabat al-Juruf is therefore provisional, and they may prove to be wild panic grass(es). *P. miliaceum* is a domesticate thought to be of (East) Asian origin.

8. Chenopods and amaranths made important contributions to prehistoric diets in many parts of the world, and two species of *Amaranthus* were once cultivated in Yemen (Wood 1997: 87); *Malva parviflora* is still used today to make the slimy but delicious dish *mulukhiyya* (Varisco 1982: 490).

9. *Alkanna*, *Rumex*, *Malva*, and *Plantago* appear in the traditional Yemeni pharmacopoeia (Schopen 1983: 5-6, 104-5, 116; Varisco 1982:490) The root of *Arnebia* produces a purple dye (Wood 1997: 242).

10. 2-row barley appears in Khawlan and not Dhamar, but 6-row barley is the most common form in both areas; emmer is as frequent as hard/bread wheat, and einkorn is not reported, in Khawlan, whereas in Dhamar hard/bread wheat is the most common wheat, emmer absent, and einkorn makes a hesitant appearance.

11. A hedging of bets is required for the absence of sorghum from the Dhamar samples. All these samples include vesicular cereal fragments, some of which (particularly those from Hayt al-Suad) have a very "glossy" appearance. Experimental charring of modern sorghum at high temperatures shows that sorghum chars to a very "glossy"

appearance, presumably a consequence of its high starch content. Further work on this identification problem may clarify the question.

12. Costantini reports as *Sorghum* sp. four grain impressions from two sites dated to the later centuries of the 3rd millennium BC. Although entertaining no explicit reservation about his identification, Costantini (1990: 193, 195) does state that two of the impressions are unusually large and refers to a third impression as "cf. *Sorghum* sp."

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Table 1: Radiocarbon Dates from Hayt al-Suad*

Lab#	Context	Radiocarbon Age	2-Sigma Calibration	Probability Distribution within 2-Sigma Range
Beta-156626	HS-S 15	4110+/-40 bp	2870-2470 calBC	.19 2870-2810 calBC .69 2760-2560 calBC
Beta 156625	HS-S 18	4110+/-40 bp	2870-2470 calBC	.19 2870-2810 calBC .69 2760-2560 calBC

*Radiocarbon age corrected for isotopic fractionation; calendrical calibration according to CALIB 3.0.3, rounded to the nearest decade.

Table 2: Radiocarbon Dates from Jubabat al-Juruf*

Lab #	Context	Radiocarbon Age	2-Sigma Calibration	Probability Distribution within 2-Sigma Range
Beta-167968	Loc. 3-6	3940+/-70 bp	2620-2200 calBC	.98 2580-2200 calBC
Beta-167967	Loc. 1-18	4120+/-40 bp	2880-2490 calBC	.21 2870-2810 calBC .68 2760-2570 calBC
Beta 167969	Loc. 3-24	4490+/-50 bp	3360-2920 calBC	.95 3350-3020 calBC
Beta 167970	Loc. 3-34	4470+/-40 bp	3350-2920 calBC	.94 3340-3010 calBC

* Radiocarbon age corrected for isotopic fractionation; calendrical calibration according to CALIB 3.0.3, rounded to the nearest decade.

Table 3: Identification of Charred Plant Remains from Dhamar

	Hayt al-Suad	Jubabat al-Juruf
Crop Plants:		
Hordeum vulgare	44	3
Triticum durum/aestivum	5	0
Triticum monococcum	1	0
Triticum sp.	1	2
Panicum miliaceum	0	2
cf. Panicum	0	6
Lens culinaris	44	6
Lathyrus/Vicia	2	1
Cicer arietinum	1	0
Pisum	3	0
large legume frag.	149	40
indet. cereal caryopsis	64	15
Hordeum rachis	40	0
Triticum rachis	3	0
indet. cereal rachis	1	0
indet. cereal rachis	62	1
spikelet fork	3	0
indet. Graminae part	14	0
Wild Plants:		
Small Legumes		
cf. Medicago	38	0
Trigonella type	4	0
Astragalus type	5	0
Unknown #1	37	0
Unknown #2	691	3
Graminae		
Setaria type	6	1
Unknown grass #1	18	0
Unknown grass #2	8	0
Unknown grass #3	112	0
(Phalaris-like)		
indet. wild grass	28	1
Compositae		
Unknown #3	66	0
Unknown #4	1	0
Unknown #5	3	0
Unknown #6	3	0

Other Families:

Ficus	7	0
Alkanna (silicified)	1	0
Arnebia (silicified)	2	0
Amaranth	1	0
Chenopodium	22	1
Silene	1	0
Gypsophila	21	0
Ranunculus	1	0
Polygonum #1	12	0
Polygonum #2	1	0
Malva	1	0
Plantago	1	0
cf. Carex	3	0
Rumex	2	0

Other:

Nut/fruit frag.	21	0
Misc. plant parts	3	0



AIYS invites readers to submit reviews of recent or classic books, monographs, and articles on Yemen. If you would be interested in acting as a reviewer for new books, please send your name and resume to the executive director, Dr. Maria Ellis (see p. 2).

MILES TYRRECVS
abdicatus.

Seit ich auf den Thron,
S' ist nicht mehr Gefahr auf dem Rhein;
Wie einst ich mit dem Schwert,
So ist jetzt mein Kreuz der Feind.

Keine Zeit mehr zum Feindtragen,
Und groß gekleidet zu sein.

the main narrative, which is a descriptive summation of who did what, but with the short introduction, which has to be one of the sloppiest and most careless I have ever seen in a scholarly work.

Let us start with the lightning; Clive Smith has provided a translation of the 1967 Arabic edition of al-Nahrawâlî's text by Hamad al-Jâsir. Although it is not a critical edition, stemming back to the surviving manuscripts, it serves the need for serviceable translations of Arabic texts on Yemen's history. Clive Smith had the assistance of historian G. Rex Smith and the Omani scholar Mohamed Nâsir al-Mahrûqî, thus assuring that this is a careful and accurate translation. There are more than two dozen pages of endnotes with descriptive and analytical information of value to readers, whether novices or experts. Clive Smith writes a short introduction, but there is little new information here. He notes the author's prejudice in favor of the Ottomans but agrees with Hamad al-Jâsir that there is still value in this account. Obviously there is value in any contemporary or near-contemporary historical account, but the sheer polemical weight of the treatise makes the historical value quite contingent on placing it in context. Early on the reader is informed that the Zaydi military commanders (sons of Mutahhar in this case) were "pillars of sedition and evil and the source of revolt, wrongdoing and resistance" (p. 24). Later we read that "... the Zaydî tribesmen were now among the most treacherous of men on earth and were the most disloyal where all Arab tribesmen were concerned" (p. 157). On the other hand, the Ottoman Sinân Pasha is treated as "stout of heart and full of faith, sincere in his conviction, loyal in his belief and faith, clear in his advice, complete in his success, radiant in his grace for the spring of Islam and ardent in his damage to the heart of heresy" (p. 51). There are a number of relevant Yemeni historical texts which provide a very different picture of the Ottomans and portray the imam Mutahhar not as a scheming cripple but rather as a patriotic liberator. Some sense of this counterweight, polemical as it must inevitably be, would have greatly aided the reader. Failing this, I fear that some readers will fall into the trap of taking seemingly straightforward comments as accurate, simply because there is so much obvious hyperbole about the characters.

"There is much to distract the modern reader in

this account... Imagery shines on every page," argues Smith in his introduction to the text. I am not convinced. There are plenty of clever phrases; e.g., "... a lot of sheep do not frighten the butcher, and fine necklaces, however valuable, are worth more to people who appreciate them" (pp. 31-32). Al-Nahrawâlî is good at describing political scheming and movements of troops, but there is little about Yemen itself. He gives more information about food in Mecca (p. 187) than he does for Yemen. Clearly missing are the first-person observations of cultural life that teem in the earlier account of Ibn al-Mujâwir, for example. As Smith notes, the author has a poetic style with a wide variety of metaphors that at times do not carry well over into English. Consider the following: "Star-like arrow-heads broke as human frames were cleft. Wells of blood met their end as virginal armour was deflowered by men's swords" (p. 146). I get the picture — the author delights in bloody battles and heads being chopped, but I doubt the Freudian sentiment here is as nonsensical as the English rendering would have it. There is one passage that I thoroughly enjoyed, although it sounds decidedly apocryphal: a certain Ibn Shuway ran away from a defeat, in the process throwing off his armor and clothes (apparently to lighten his load in running away) until he finally cast off his trousers "showing his rear to the man behind him and disclosing his ugly buttocks as he ran on" (p. 60). A remarkable [ob]scene, even without a parting fart (cf. the donkey fart on p. 79). A close rival would be the tale (literally about a tail) of the cat used as a fuse for setting off a store of gunpowder. In this case the bark (not the best analogy for a cat, I know, but it makes a good pun on *barq*) was worse than the bite.

There are a couple of places where I am not sure if there is an error or simply obtuse wording (or perhaps an English idiom I miss). For example, on 'Uthmân Pasha's departure from Yemen, we read: "He continued to dance attendance, seeking a happy return" (p. 39). One of the references mentioned in the notes (p. 193, note 1) is to a work by Mustafa Salim, but this is missing in the bibliography. Overall, there appear to be few errors. This narrative is an interesting read, even for non-Ottomanists, but please take it with several grains of salt.

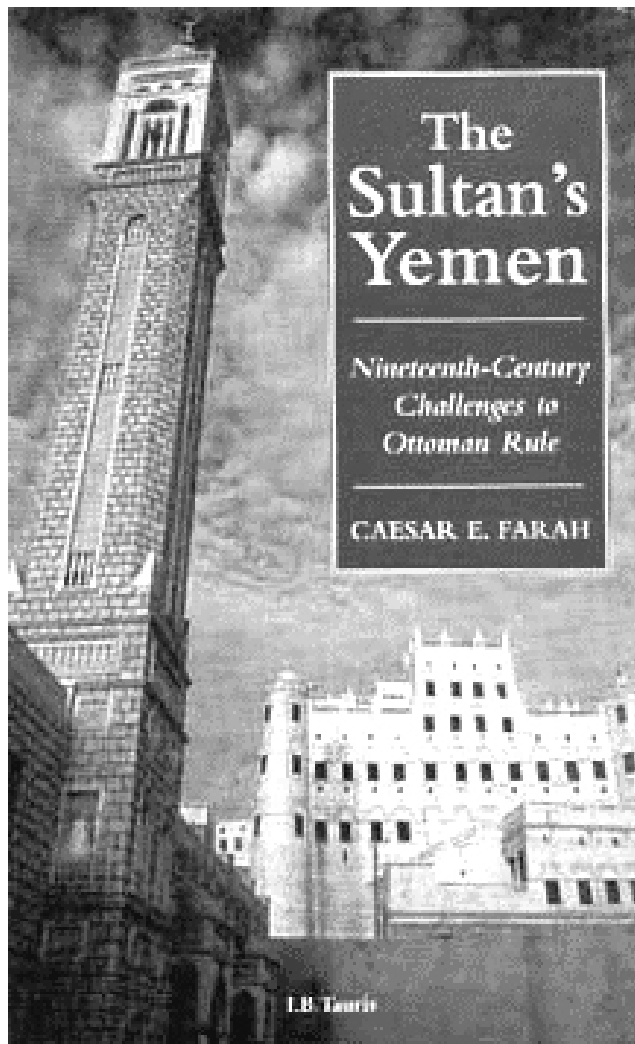
With *The Sultan's Yemen*, we are set forward into the Ottoman rule during the nineteenth century. "The

main focus of this study is on Ottoman efforts to maintain sovereignty over Yemen, which were constantly being challenged from within and without" (p. ix). Thus begins Caesar Farah's preface, announcing from the very first sentence an outright resistance to sound grammar. After dangling his modifier, the author mentions that his data stem from Ottoman officer accounts, other archival Ottoman documents in Istanbul, some available first-hand accounts, other government archives, newspapers, journals, and secondary sources (see pp. 365-372 for the sources). Perusal of the endnotes (pp. 299-356) indicates that Farah draws mainly on the archival information, thus providing new information of value to historians. Unfortunately, he does not seem to be aware of more recent secondary sources. For a discussion of early trade in Mocha, he sends the reader to a minor article by Boxhall (1974) in *Arabian Studies*, but ignores the invaluable publications of C.G. Brouwer, especially the latter's *Al-Mukhâ: Profile of*

a Yemeni Seaport as Sketched by Servants of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) (Amsterdam, 1997). At times Farah ignores sources that would seem to be important for his discussion. In chapter 8, for example, there is a discussion of Eduard Glaser's travels in Yemen, yet only one brief 1884 newspaper interview by Glaser is cited. Not only are several of Glaser's writings about his travels available, but there is an informative book on Glaser's travels by Walter Dostal (*Eduard Glaser – Forschungen im Yemen*, Vienna, 1990).

Anyone interested in the Ottoman presence in Yemen during the nineteenth century should consult this book, as there is much of value in it. However, this is not a book likely to be read very far by anyone who is not intensely interested in obscure details. Consider the following passage: "The grand vizier issued instructions to the governor general to withdraw 200 Ottoman troops from the house of 'Ali ibn Muqbil. Nuri Süleiman, the mutasarrıf of Ta'izz, had issued a buyrultu on 15 February 1873 to 'Ali ibn Muqbil after he offered to submit to Ottoman authority, appointing him müşir of Lahj under the immediate supervision of Hayrallah Aga, the kaymakam" (p. 138). Farah has a tendency to string together details, sandwiched in between an opening paragraph saying what each chapter is about and a short concluding paragraph, but his historical analysis is wedged amongst the details rather than driving the narrative. He also has a tendency to paraphrase rather than translate directly, which can be annoying to fellow historians. His annexes exemplify this habit; such summaries are useful in general but not for serious comparative purposes where the original is not accessible.

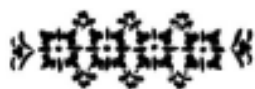
I strongly suggest that the reader skip over the book's introduction, which is fraught with errors. It appears that this was written in a hurry without benefit of access to proper references and that the responsible Taurus copy editor was under a particularly inauspicious sign when this manuscript went to the printer. One of the more egregious errors is mislabeling the prophet's nephew 'Ali as Ja'far (p. xii); nor was Isma'il one of the Prophet's "grandsons" (p. xiii). It is rather curious and inaccurate to assert that "The Mamluks of Egypt controlled the land from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century when the Ottomans displaced them" (p. xiii). If Farah is referring to the



Ayyubids, they came from Egypt in the twelfth century; the Rasulids who succeeded them were hardly under the dominion of the Egyptian Mamluks; nor were the Tahirids who the Ottomans did engage! Historical and alphabetical order are ill-served by placing the Tahirids before the Rasulids in a casual listing of local dynasties (p. xii). In this same paragraph, chronological flip-flopping continues when Farah returns to a discussion of the Abyssinians and Persians after discussing the entry of Islam into Yemen. The author also seems to have left his calculator off when noting that the British occupied Aden in 1839 but “were forced to leave fewer than 100 years later” (p. xiv); the British left in 1967.

Grammatical errors abound: the second sentence is missing a comma (after “neighbours”). Farah seems to have a particular penchant for dangling modifiers. A literal reading would result in the knowledge that “Continual foreign intrigues and manoeuvres to gain access to the region’s commerce, especially coffee in the Yemeni highlands, which the Dutch had first controlled in the seventeenth century, led to competition...” It is hard to explain some of the odd translations given by Farah for quite commonplace Yemeni terms. Surely he has spent enough time in Yemeni qat chews to find a better way to define “Kat” than “a nut chewed by Yemenis” (p. 359). Similarly, a janbîyah is more than a “weapon” (p. 359). It is rather misleading to define “Rumi” in a Yemeni context as “pertaining to a Greco-Roman term” (p. 362), since it is a common appellation in Yemen for things “Turkish” in the sense of Rum” for Istanbul. It is fine to describe ashraf as “Descendants” (p. 357) of Muhammad, but the singular sharîf is mismatched as “descendants of the Prophet” (p. 363).

So there you have it: two books on either end of the Ottoman intrusion into Yemen. Ottomanists will want copies of both, but the average reader will probably need to be more cautious. For enjoyment, an appreciation of an author’s polemical hubris, I suggest *Lightning over Yemen* over *The Sultan’s Yemen*. For micro-analysis from previously ungleamed archival material, check out Farah’s narrative, but please pass over the first few pages of his introduction.



Learning the Language of Command

M. A. Ghanem. *Yemen Aden Arabic for Beginners*. (San‘a’: Markaz ‘Ubadi li-l-Dirasat wa-l-Nashr, 1999).

Reviewed by John M. Willis*

The back cover of this third edition of Muhammad Abduh Ghanem’s book on Aden Arabic situates its reappearance in the somewhat hopeful climate of post-unification Yemen. It notes that this book was first used in the 1960’s and 1970’s by those expatriates drawn to the region by the oil boom and suggests that it became the “model” for all texts on Gulf Arabic. More interestingly, it also suggests that in the post-unification period, in which Aden was declared the “economic capital” of Yemen, Aden Arabic has indeed become “dominant in Yemen.” Some ten years after the unification of North and South Yemen, the publisher’s comments seem more than a little optimistic. The 2000 bombing of the *USS Cole* and a series of other incidents has been disastrous for the port of Aden, and prospects for the revival of business look grim when faced by the competition of more secure ports in Djibouti and Dubai. But this does not detract from the value of this fascinating book, which I highly recommend as a historical text as much as a linguistic tool.

First and foremost, this book is meant to teach the newcomer the basics of the Adeni dialect of Yemeni Arabic, at least as it was spoken in the 1950’s. Organized into eighteen lessons, each chapter begins with a dialogue based on an everyday situation, brief

...for those already familiar with Arabic and especially the Yemeni dialect of San‘a’, this book is extremely useful for comparative purposes (especially if used along side Janet Watson’s user-friendly texts on the San‘ani dialect), and contains a wealth of vocabulary particular to the south.

notes on grammar and idioms, a selection of vocabulary and a series of exercises (without answer key). The book uses a fairly simple transliteration system rather than the Arabic alphabet and a short key to pronunciation is included in the beginning. A brief appendix (pp. 116-126) includes a guide to the form and conjugation of verbs, including irregular and doubled verbs. Finally, the book includes an Arabic-English/English-Arabic glossary.

In light of the absence of accompanying audiotapes or some other format for learning pronunciation, and the somewhat limited exercises for practice, I would not recommend this book for beginners. However, for those already familiar with Arabic and especially the Yemeni dialect of San'a', this book is extremely useful for comparative purposes (especially if used along side Janet Watson's user-friendly texts on the San'ani dialect), and contains a wealth of vocabulary particular to the south. Words such as *lim hali* for orange or *babur* for car, for example, remind one of the linguistic differences that must have been typical in the 1950's, and are perhaps less prevalent in these days. And a chapter devoted to the work of the Abyan Development Board (Ch. 14) suggests the sheer variety of regional agricultural terminology. Other words, however, are distinctly part of the legacy of colonial rule and could hardly be expected to resurface amongst ex-patriots in post-colonial Aden. I cannot imagine that anyone would welcome being referred to as a *battawala*, defined as "peon," today, nor can I imagine any citizen of Aden referring politely to a foreigner with the archaic Anglo-Indian title of deference, *sab* or *memsab*.

It is the presence of linguistic anachronisms such as these that render this book less useful as a learner's text than as an artifact of colonial rule. The book has retained, for example, the original forward from the 1958 edition, written by then governor of the British Crown Colony of Aden, Sir William Luce (1956-60). While he notes that the book will be especially useful to those serving with the Arab Armed Forces in Aden, it would also help all of those non-native speakers who would reap, with knowledge of at least a few words, "a harvest of goodwill and interest." In hindsight, such seemingly innocent confidence seems misplaced, but a closer look at the dialogues that precede each chapter give one pause to wonder how

Ghanem's book on Aden Arabic offers a fascinating and suggestive glimpse into the role language played in the rise of a culture of colonialism in South Yemen, a subject which has received little attention from scholars.

it could have been believed even in the 1950's. The majority of the dialogues detail situations which Europeans might face in the workplace from their positions in the upper echelons of the colonial economy. In Ch. 4, the subject is interviewing an Arab worker for possible employment. In Ch. 6, he is a doctor examining a patient trying to avoid work. In Ch. 12, he is a police inspector and Ch. 17 an exporter dealing in hides. The use of "he" is intentional, for the agent in these dialogues is primarily British and male. Dealing specifically with the life of the British woman, Chs. 8 and 9 reproduce an encounter with a domestic servant and a cloth merchant in the *suq*. The situations inevitably allow for valuable lessons in instructing one's driver (Ch. 11), teaching a domestic servant the proper way to clean (Ch. 8), learning the proper way to "haggle" with local merchants (Ch. 9), and enforcing discipline among the native soldiers (Ch. 18). The following excerpt from a dialogue between "Mr. Smith" and his "peon" is typical of the text as a whole:

MS: *Battawala!*

P: *Marhaba sab.*

MS: Why is this pencil not sharpened?

P: I sharpened it only yesterday.

MS: No, you are too lazy to work. Look, also the ink in this bottle is dry and the blotting-paper is dirty. If you don't do your work well, I'll have you fined (pp. 65-66).

What becomes clear is that each situation introduces a very specific set of power relations integral to the maintenance of colonial rule. No matter what the social or professional context he or she might be in, the appropriate idiom is one of command, and each dialogue is an exercise in the reproduction of

dominance and subordination. In fact, it is difficult to read through this text without a certain feeling of discomfort, knowing that its republication was intended to instruct a new generation of ex-patriots in the development sector in an idiom so blatantly colonial.

It was Bernard Cohn who suggested the complicity of linguists in the production of an epistemological space which made possible the discourse of Orientalism and the creation of a particular form of colonial rule.¹ The mastery of indigenous languages in colonial India was merely the first step in the creation of a “language of command.” Ghanem’s book on Aden Arabic offers a fascinating and suggestive glimpse into the role language played in the rise of a culture of colonialism in South Yemen, a subject which has received little attention from scholars. The reappearance of the book at this time is fascinating in itself, especially in light of the return of

Victoria’s statue to the once-named “Victoria Gardens” in Tawahi and the current restoration of other colonial landmarks, such as little “Big Ben” and the Prince of Wales pier. Indeed, the rhetoric of nostalgia for *ayyam Britaniya*, the “the days of the British,” seems a growing phenomenon in post-unification Aden and inevitably implies a critique of northern political hegemony since the civil war of 1994. It remains to be seen what role books such as Ghanem’s will play, if any, in the creation of a post-colonial Adeni culture, or the creation of a new post-colonial “language of command.”

Endnotes

* John M. Willis is a Ph.D. candidate in the departments of History and Middle Eastern Studies at New York University.

1. Bernard S. Cohn, “The Command of Language and the Language of Command,” in: *Colonialism and its Forms of Rule: The British in India* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996) 16-56.





Narrative Reports from AIYS Fellows

Introduction



Joan Reilly

Every year AIYS conducts a fellowship competition for U.S. citizens. The fellowships are supported by a grant from the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA, formerly the U.S. Information Agency).^{*} The interesting and valuable research of our fellows would be greatly diminished without their support; far fewer scholars would be able to perform research in Yemen without it.

All AIYS fellows, upon the completion of their research or language training in Yemen, submit a narrative report. Past issues of *Yemen Update* have occasionally featured reports, but with this issue we are publishing several, largely from scholars in the fellowship competitions of the past three years, but also narratives of interest going back as far as 1994. They present a variety of styles, styles as individual as the fellows and their projects. The reports have been edited and shortened for this publication (in order to fit within space requirements for this issue).

The narratives demonstrate the remarkable range of research being conducted by AIYS fellows, research that represents a variety of topics and periods, and we have chosen reports that we hope will interest our readers. For example, Dima Khalidi and Matthew Hopper are representative of the younger generation of scholars who have won AIYS fellowships for language training in Yemen; here they narrate their experiences while studying Arabic. Caterina Borelli reports on the progress of her next video, *A Vanishing Tradition: The Making of Qudad*. Lisa Wedeen researched issues of identity in modern Yemen. Marion Katz investigated the contemporary performance of women's *mawlid*s. Nora A. Colton investigated issues of poverty alleviation and development, and Peter Moore researched the relationship between business and the state in Yemen. We look forward to the future development and publication of the research that AIYS fellows initiated in Yemen.

We have also selected reports that speak about the hurdles and difficulties encountered over the years by AIYS fellows. The 9/11 tragedy, the bombing of the *USS Cole*, unresolved tensions throughout the

area, and the Yemeni Civil War of 1994, all appear in their narratives. They responded with remarkable coping strategies and ingenuity in dealing with the difficulties. They have also made it apparent that, overall, they met with a warm welcome from the people of Yemen who reached out to them with remarkable kindness. Matthew Hopper reports on the events of 9/11, as seen from his perspective as an American student in Yemen. Steve Caton reports on his recent return to Yemen and his future plans for research. In an unusual twist, his narrative includes an op-ed piece, *Another Yemen*; it reflects his experience in Yemen after the bombing of the *USS Cole*. Stephen Day's report mentions the difficulties that he encountered as an American scholar in a post-9/11 Yemen. Lisa Wedeen also found unexpected challenges as a result of 9/11, challenges that were balanced by the decency of the Yemeni people. Linda Boxberger prepared initially to study institutional change in the Hadhramaut, but security concerns changed these plans into a study of women's poetry. Finally, Scott Reese found it imperative to shift the focus and place of his research when the Civil War broke out in Yemen in 1994. We hope that the words of our fellows will contribute something towards a balanced perspective on Yemen and its people.

Narratives and Competition Year (in order of appearance):

Dima Khalidi, 2001-2002
 Caterina Borelli, 2000-2001
 Steve Caton, 2000-2001
 Stephen Day, 2000-2001
 Matthew S. Hopper, 2000-2001
 Lisa Wedeen, 2000-2001
 Marion Holmes Katz, 1999-2000
 Nora A. Colton, 1998-1999, Amended 2000-2001
 Peter W. Moore, 1997-1998
 Linda Boxberger, 1996-1997
 Scott S. Reese, 1992-1993

^{*} See the announcement in this issue, p.64-65.

Dima Khalidi
Fellow 2001-2002
Arabic Language Grant

I was initially attracted to Yemen for several reasons. My desire to improve my Arabic in a place where there would be little temptation to revert to English in times of uncertainty was one of them. My interest in Yemen in particular grew from my increased exposure to its history and culture, both through my undergraduate studies in History and Near Eastern Studies at the University of Michigan, and through relationships with people with close ties to the country, who spoke so fondly of its beauty and rich traditions. The course of study that I will be pursuing this year also greatly influenced this choice. The Masters in International and Comparative Legal Studies, in which I am enrolled at the School of Oriental and African Studies, allows for a focus on the role of law in Near Eastern societies, especially Islamic Law and International Law. Given that Yemen is a staunchly Muslim country, more so than the other Middle Eastern countries that I have been to, I felt that going to Yemen would give me a perfect opportunity to observe the way that Islamic law molds the cultural, political and economic life of a society. Indeed, religion permeates every aspect of Yemeni society and provides the basic guidelines by which people live their lives.

The Arabic course that I undertook at the Sana'a Institute for Arabic Language (SIAL) gave me a chance not only to develop specific areas of my Arabic, but also to engage in discussions with my teachers and other students about the nature of Yemeni society and its relationship with the rest of the world. SIAL's policy of Arabic only among the students and teachers provided a good environment for a dedicated study of Arabic. I studied for three months for a total of 110 hours in a one-on-one basis with two teachers, one male and one female. It was an intensive course that catered to my individual interests and needs. In particular, I wanted to concentrate on building my vocabulary in subjects such as politics, law, and history, and on reading, writing, listening and conversation in Modern Standard Arabic. These areas are essential for any work that I aspire to do in the field of International Law in the Middle East. This was achieved through daily reading assignments from newspapers and other texts focusing on history and

law, weekly writing assignments on topics of interest to me, weekly exercises listening to news broadcasts, and daily conversations based on all these issues. Grammar exercises were also prepared according to areas of trouble to me. The private nature of my course was greatly beneficial in that it didn't put time constraints on different lessons, it provided me with a variety of choices as to the curriculum and allowed for conversations to develop naturally.

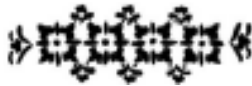
With Arabic language study, not to mention the study of any language, the instructor and the method of instruction shape overwhelmingly the experience of the student, especially when the instruction is one-on-one. The Director of the Institute suggested that two teachers would benefit me and provide a more diverse curriculum. A male and a female teacher gave me much insight into gender roles and relationships in Yemen, and the extent to which interpretations of Islamic precepts define those relationships. On the one hand, my female teacher was a fiercely independent working woman, never married, and determined in her capacity to succeed as a teacher and businesswoman. Our discussions often touched on the perceptions of women in Yemeni society, and on the difficulties women face in defying traditional roles and entering male-dominated spheres. Though her adherence to Yemeni traditions and her Islamic faith were evident, she chose not to wear the nuqab (the face covering revealing only the eyes that most women wear) and she challenged the dominant view that women had no place in public arenas. On the other hand, my conversations with my male teacher revealed his notion of the dependency of women on men and their subject status in society, which he justified on Koranic grounds. Given that Islamic societies regard the Koran and other sayings attributed to the Prophet as guides for the functioning of society, interpretations of these texts impose strict codes of conduct and on women in general.

What I found, however, was that the distinction between what one could consider religious standards and traditional values is often thoroughly blurred. The highly tribal nature of Yemen adds another dimension to the way that society functions and the rules to which people adhere. Tribal customs are often justified by religion, but sometimes supersede religious precepts. Non-tribal elements in the society are often derisive of the tribal "mentality," reproachful of the lack of piety

they perceive among some tribes and the deference to the tribe above all else.

These reflections were all borne out of conversations with people I encountered inside and outside of class, in Sana'a and while traveling throughout Yemen's diverse regions. They provide only a hint of my impressions. The Arabic course proved valuable, providing me with the means and the confidence to engage in discussions that went beyond the formal niceties to which I was previously confined. I am now looking forward to my next trip to Yemen, and a further exploration of its distinctive character.

Dima Khalidi is currently a graduate student at the University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS)



Caterina Borelli
AIYS Fellow 2000-2001
Title: A Vanishing Tradition: The Making of *Qudad*¹

Report to the American Institute for Yemeni Studies after the visit to Yemen, April 8 to May 7, 2002

I received support from the AIYS to document the process of making and applying the waterproofing material *qudad*. The final product of the documentation work will be a thirty-minute videotape that will visually show the complete process — either for repair or for laying the substance anew.

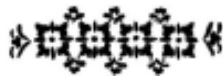
The filming took place at the 'Amirya mosque in Rada' in the period between April 9 and May 7, 2002. During my stay, I was able to get acquainted with all the steps and to film them as well. The first week I became familiar with the different kinds of mixes (*halta*) that the masons have tailored to every specific circumstance. I was able to identify and document four. To integrate the visual documentation, I conducted 13 interviews with the specialized masons and with the two Directors of the 'Amirya Restoration Project, Dr. Selma Al Radi and Yahya Al Nassiri, Director of Antiquities for Beidha Province. Because my knowledge of Arabic is limited, I was able to count on the help of Ms. Lamya Al Khalidi and Mr. James Conlon to conduct the interviews. They not only translated, but also helped my work with their keen

observations.

I have filmed a total of 25 one-hour cassettes. In the next months I will catalogue the material to prepare for the editing. I will also work with an Arabic-speaking person who will assist me in individuating the relevant segments of the interviews. I anticipate this work to last until the spring of 2003. The final documentary film could be ready for its premiere in April 2003, one year after its production. It is my intention to travel back to Rada' to show it to the people who participated.¹ Contrary to my previous experience during the filming of "The Architecture of Mud" where I had to continuously displace myself, on this occasion my work was greatly helped by working at a single location for the entire duration of the production. In this fashion, it was easier to build a relationship with the people working on the project and to make them aware of my interests. After the first week, the masons started anticipating my interests and began to tell me when the work they were starting was something I had not filmed yet. It also became possible to ask them to show me a particular technique or mix — as in the case of the mix for closing cracks, where the compound is strengthened with eggs and sugar. I could also count on the cooperation of the GOAMM employees and on the support of Dr. Al Radi who greatly helped me with her twenty years of experience at the mosque.

1. For a report on Ms. Borelli's recent showing of her earlier work to communities in Yemen see: Caterina Borelli, "Filming the Architecture of Mud," *Yemen Update* 43 (2001), pp. 13 - 16.

Caterina Borelli is a producer of independent films in New York City whose earlier documentary video *The Architecture of Mud* was partially supported by AIYS and the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Cultural and Education Affairs. For information on the video please contact: Anonymous Productions, 244 North 6th Street, Brooklyn, NY 121211, U.S.A.



Steve Caton

AIYS Fellow 2000-2001

Title of the Project: The Anthropology of an

Event: An Epilogue

RESEARCH ACCOMPLISHMENTS

I was in Yemen from June 13 until July 13, 2001. It was wonderful to be back, even under somewhat stressful circumstances.

In this period of time in Sana'a, I managed to contact some people from Khawlan at-Tiyal to talk about the incident that had occurred in al-Kibs twenty years ago. Best of all, however, they managed to get permission for me to travel to and stay for five days in the village in which I had done my original fieldwork, an opportunity that refreshed my memories of a time and place that I am writing about in my next book. So startling were some of the revelations that I am now faced with something more serious than writing an epilogue to a manuscript largely completed, and I am contemplating restructuring and revising the latter in full. I spoke to a gathering of scholars at AIYS on June 25th about some of these findings and their implications for my writing project.

Besides conducting research on the event, I also took a week to travel to Hadhramawt, an area of the country I had not seen before because it was off-limits to Americans twenty years ago and found the visit absolutely fascinating.

Finally, I was also looking into the possibility of beginning a new project in Yemen, one related to the growing scarcity in water resources. To that end, I met with some people who are familiar with the problem, including Tim Kennedy of CARE Australia, Renaud Detalle (independent consultant), and Marta Colburn. I also compiled and read a number of recent reports on the problem, which gave me badly needed technical and economic background information. My tentative plan is to return to Yemen in six months (for three weeks in January of 2002) in order to discuss the crisis and a possible research project on it with other experts, especially ones in the Yemeni government. What I have found is that the crisis is addressed mainly in scientific or technical and economic terms, and much more rarely in social,

political, or cultural ones. It would be the latter, of course, that would be the focus of my interests.

WRITE UP

I have written an op-ed piece on Yemen, which I hope to have published in the *New York Times* or some other nationally prominent newspaper (see enclosure), the most immediate result of my recent trip to Yemen. I plan to spend the remainder of the summer figuring out how to re-write my book on the event in Yemen. Given, as I indicated above, the somewhat unexpected revelations I gleaned from people, with any luck, I should have a revised manuscript ready for Hill & Wang by the end of this academic year.

Steven Caton is a professor at Harvard University. His visit to Yemen in the Summer of 2001 and the submission of his narrative occurred before the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Towers and consequently he does not mention the incident in his report. Steve's op-ed piece, Another Yemen, is published below.

Another Yemen

In the aftermath of the bombing of the U.S. naval ship *Cole*, Yemen has been portrayed in the news media as a terrorist country, hostile to American visitors. In the summer of 2001, the U.S. government temporarily closed its embassy in Yemen and issued a travel warning for its citizens, citing alleged bomb threats as the reason. Without downplaying the legitimacy of the concerns officials have for the safety of American lives and property abroad, I want to offer another view of Yemen, one that is not likely to be reported in the press.

When I finished my fieldwork in 1980, then North Yemen had been fighting a war with its communist southern neighbor and I was warned not to go to the country because my life would be in danger. I wanted to conduct field research for a doctoral dissertation on oral tribal poetry and managed to stay in a village in the eastern part of the country known as Khawlan at-Tiyal where I met my best friend and consultant for the project. Ten years later Muhammad Qasim

was dead, a victim of tribal war, leaving behind a widow and seven children, and it would not be until 2001 that I would have the chance to go back to visit his grave and pay my respects to his family.

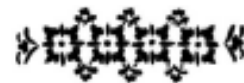
There was one difficulty, however, Khawlan aT-Tiyal was now off-limits to foreigners. Most of the dozens of kidnappings of tourists, ordinary workers and personnel of embassies from all over the world that have taken place in Yemen in recent years have been instigated by tribesmen from that region, disgruntled by the Yemeni government for not helping them enough with aid and development projects. What is often not reported in the press, is that one notorious sheikh has perpetrated the majority of kidnappings and that the victims have been returned after only a few days, unharmed and well. Nevertheless, that they occur at all is naturally a matter of grave concern to foreigners living in the country, as it is also an acute embarrassment to the Yemeni government. Getting permission to go there would be nearly impossible.

But I had learned two important things about Yemen. The first is that a lot depends on timing and whom you know. The second is that many government officials are wise and compassionate. The following anecdote illustrates what I mean. I met up with an old friend, Sabri Salim, who knew the governor of Sana'a, who has jurisdiction over the recalcitrant region in question. Accompanied by Ahmed, the eldest son of my deceased friend, I chewed *qat* with the governor and in the course of the conversation the subject of my visit to the village was broached. The governor had nothing to gain and everything to lose by granting this request; he and his government did not need a headline in the news of yet another kidnapping, this time of a Harvard professor. "It would mean a great deal to me to see my friend's grave" was all I said, and he understood.

Once it took three and a half hours over a dirt road to get to my friend's village. Now it is a smooth ride of forty-five minutes over asphalt. Ahmed is considered *maskiin* or unfortunate even by Yemeni standards, yet he pulled out all the stops in five days of hospitality and friendship. At dinners and *qat* chews attended by up to one hundred people, I met old friends who teasingly observed that I had "filled out" a little since last we had seen each other, and I remarked that we had all gotten a little older. Poets, whom I had interviewed for my field research, showed

up to pay their respects, composing verses of welcome in my honor. On a tour of the village I was proudly shown a new secondary school, and it was pointed out to me that it had been built entirely through local efforts without help from the central government or recourse to kidnapping. Ahmed asked me if I wanted to see his father's grave and suddenly it was at my feet. I recited the opening of the Qur'an and knelt for a moment at the simple unmarked headstone. A hand rested itself gently on my shoulder and I heard Ahmed say, "Don't cry Mr. Steven. That's just the way things are." I had been given the closure that I had been searching for.

His gesture also quickened in me a determination to return to Yemen, for I had been away far too long. Well-meaning friends in the U.S., who would not think to warn others of the hazards of sky-diving or climbing Mt. Everest, will caution me about traveling to the Middle East in troubled times — as if this region has known a period when there has not been a crisis — and, as always, there will be Yemenis who will hail me in the streets when they find out that I am an American and say "Welcome friend. Welcome to Yemen." And I will feel, thanks to this kind and generous people, that it is good to be back again.



Stephen Day

AIYS Fellow 2000-2001

Title of the Project: Local Government and Decentralization in Yemen

This is the final report of a 2001 AIYS fellowship award to conduct follow-up research in Yemen after finishing a doctoral dissertation at Georgetown University on Yemen's local government system. My original plan was to travel to Yemen during its first post-unity local council elections expected sometime in 2001. At the end of 2000, however, the Yemeni government announced an early election date in February of 2001, which was before I had received the award. Although I could not observe the elections, I decided to study the post-election formation of the local councils. I scheduled my departure date for

September 15, 2001, but delayed my departure after the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Center in New York City. In June of 2002 I was finally able to continue my study.

GENERAL REVIEW

I spent a total of eight weeks in Yemen between mid-June and early August 2002. Roughly three weeks of this time were spent in Sana'a, while the remaining weeks were spent on trips to the provinces. I made two research trips to Aden, one to the Hadhramaut (visiting both the Wadi and the coast), and one to Taiz. Ground travel was restricted for foreigners because of new post-9/11 security arrangements, thus nearly all of my travel was by airplane. After arriving in the provincial capitals, local travel was unrestricted, except in Wadi Hadhramaut where I was not allowed to leave Seiyoun airport without a "guide" or host. A local hotel sent a driver to meet me at the airport. Later the deputy governor assigned one of his assistants to accompany me on official research trips. In other locations I was permitted to travel freely by taxi, unaccompanied.

Overall the research trip was a success, although I experienced many more hurdles and barriers than on past visits to Yemen. During each interview or meeting I inevitably faced questions about the current US "war on terrorism" and encountered far greater suspicion about my possible connection with American military or intelligence agencies. In some situations (for example, specific interviews with local administrative officials in Wadi Hadhramaut and Aden) it was not possible for me to pursue a normal line of questioning about recent political developments in Yemen. Instead I would get a lecture about "the many political wrongs of the US." To some extent I was able to steer these conversations back to my topic of research, but I definitely felt the consequences of 9/11. The subsequent US reaction has created a less fruitful environment for American political researchers working in Yemen.

SPECIFIC REVIEW

I collected valuable information about the formation of Yemen's first local councils. After much effort I was finally able (during my last week in country) to get a copy of the 2001 local election results from

the supreme elections committee in Sana'a. Government officials closely guarded this information. The final vote tallies have never been published, and there are many complaints about how the government managed the entire process. The election information that I received is a general summary of how the various political parties performed in provinces and districts across the country. The general results show that the candidates of the ruling GPC party won roughly 85-90% of all seats, with the two strongest opposition parties faring best in the central/desert, south-western, and eastern provinces. The Islamist "Islah" party won most of its seats in the central region of Marib and Dhamar and the eastern province of Hadhramaut, while the Socialist party performed strongest in the south-western provinces of Lahej and Dhale.

In addition to this electoral information, I collected several books, government reports and publications, and various essays and papers dealing with the formation of Yemen's local councils. I conducted personal interviews in Sana'a, Taiz, Aden, and Hadhramaut with the presidents and secretaries-general of a dozen or so local councils. In addition, in Sana'a I arranged to meet a few central government officials to discuss recent developments in the country's decentralization policy. My general conclusion is that the elected local councils are off to a rocky start. Many local officials complain that they do not have sufficient resources to carry out their duties, and that they lack clear direction in what their duties are. There are also reports of local councils demanding the removal of civil servants charged with corruption and failing to carry out their own responsibilities. If there is one positive role being played by the councils it is that they act as a voice for citizens calling for greater accountability and effectiveness in government.

In the wake of Yemen's 1994 civil war, I found that there remain southern complaints of discrimination at the hands of northern officials. Earlier in 2002, a group of notable southern figures, including members of parliament and key tribal figures (originally aligned with President Saleh and the GPC), formed a loose organization called "Gathering of the Sons of the South" (*Multaqa Ibna'a al-Jumub*). This group sent a formal letter of protest to the president's office complaining that proportionately more southerners

have recently been “retired” or otherwise dismissed from their jobs. The President initially ignored the letter, but when the group took the step of publishing it in local newspapers, Saleh and his assistants reacting very harshly, threatening certain individuals and demanding that the group apologize and formally withdraw its complaints. Leaders of the group persisted until they were granted a formal meeting with the President in the spring. Group leaders report that Saleh promised to take remedial action if they discontinued their activities.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this research project will form the concluding chapter of a manuscript for a book based on my earlier doctoral dissertation. In addition, I plan to write two journal articles about local/provincial developments in Yemen and other topics in the near future.

Stephen Day received his Ph.D. from Georgetown University in 2001. He was at St. Lawrence University in the Government Department for the 2002-2003 academic year.



Matthew S. Hopper

Fellow, 2000-2001

Title of the Project: Arabic Language Grant and The African Presence in South Arabia: Slavery, Abolition and Diaspora in Yemen, 1807-1902

SUMMARY

My project aimed to assess the potential for conducting doctoral research on the African Diaspora in Yemen and develop my skills for conducting this research. There were two aspects of this project. First, I aimed to assess my language skills for reading historical documents and engaging in dialogue in Arabic, and then work toward acquiring the necessary language skills at a reputable language school in Sana'a. Second, I planned to travel to two regions in Yemen, attempting to make a preliminary survey of the potential for doctoral research and make

connections to facilitate the research. Although I found my experience in Yemen infinitely valuable, I regret that I was unable to complete my second goal of traveling due to conditions after September 11th.

I arrived in Sana'a on 11 July 2001 and began studying Arabic at the Sana'a Institute for Arabic Language on the following Saturday. For the next ten weeks I studied at the institute five days a week. I studied two hours per day with a former Peace Corp trainer who is known as one of the institute's best conversational Arabic instructors, and for my last four weeks I added two more hours of study per day with a classically trained linguist who specialized in reading historical documents like the probate records I hope to read in my research.

During my second week in Yemen I took a four day trip to the Tihama, from Sana'a to Taiz, then on to visit Yifrus, Mokha, Khokha, Zabid, Beit al-Fakhi, and Hodiedah before returning to Sana'a. On this trip I was able to speak with fishermen in Mokha, Khokha, and Hodiedah about the whereabouts of Swahili fishermen and traders on the Red Sea Coast. While I never had a chance to meet them and practice my Swahili, I did obtain some valuable information regarding the areas they visit regularly, and I hope to return at some point to follow up on these tips.

I had planned to do the bulk of my traveling beginning on September 25, when my course at the SIAL ended, but the heightened tensions in the wake of the events of September 11th made these plans impossible. On the advice of the AIYS resident director I cancelled my plans to travel south to Hadhramaut, and decided to leave Yemen slightly earlier than I had originally planned.

Like most Americans, I watched the collapse of the World Trade Center towers live on television on September 11. I got word of the attacks in New York and Washington from my Arabic instructor at the SIAL during our ten-minute break from class only minutes after the second plane collided with the second tower. I was sitting in the courtyard outside of our classroom enjoying a box of Abu Walid biscuits and some Shamlan bottled water, waiting for class to begin again, when my teacher hurried down from the institute's second floor TV room with the news. I spent the next four hours with the staff of the institute and three other students flipping between CNN and Al-Jazeera, watching in disbelief. I finally returned to

the AIYS hostel after *Isha* prayers and stayed up with the rest of the fellows watching news channels and waiting for more news.

The next three weeks in Yemen were marked by an acute sense of uneasiness. As Yemeni papers blamed the Japanese Red Army for the first three or four days and then the Israelis for the next several weeks, the public seemed to grow increasingly anxious about U.S. plans for retaliation. Most people I came in contact with were exceedingly sympathetic and apologetic, assuring me that they did not support terrorism. But with the widespread belief that Israeli agents were behind the attacks, any U.S. retaliatory actions outside of Israel seemed they would invite criticism or anger. I became somewhat uneasy myself when some of my most liberal Yemeni friends told me that if the United States invaded an Arab country it would be Jihad, and they would have to fight. Regardless of the increased tensions, the worries were groundless—no foreign researchers I knew ever felt any animosity or personal threat at any time. The community in Sana'a seemed generally unaffected by the events in September and remained as supportive as ever. The staff at SIAL were especially supportive and encouraging.

I finished my regularly scheduled courses on Wednesday, 26 September, and departed the following morning. I decided to leave Yemen at this time for three reasons. First, my ten-week Arabic course was completed. Second, my travels to Hadhramawt had to be cancelled due to the uncertain international conditions. Finally, the airline on which I had scheduled my return (11 October), United/Lufthansa, had suspended all flights to and from Yemen. It was going to be necessary for me to fly to Cairo to catch my return flight. Then, on 22 September, the largest carrier to Cairo, Egypt Air, cancelled all of its scheduled flights to Yemen, leaving only one carrier, Yemenia Airlines flying to Cairo. Fearing a rush on the airline, I booked the next available flight to Cairo on Yemenia and spent two weeks working at the American University in Cairo and waiting for my regularly scheduled flight on United/Lufthansa.

I found my time in Yemen infinitely valuable. I met a number of Yemenis who became close friends, and I met several other foreign researchers who were very helpful and insightful. I received many useful pieces of advice on my research ideas, including

several tips about the best places to conduct both documentary research and personal interviews. I also had the opportunity to assess the resources of the AIYS library and the library at the French Institute for Yemeni Studies. Most valuable of all, I was able to concentrate on my language studies. I believe I acquired the equivalent of at least one year of academic study in my ten-week course in Sana'a. Especially valuable were my courses in translation, in which I learned how decipher difficult nineteenth-century orthography and specialized vocabulary related to trade with East Africa.

I am very grateful to the American Institute for Yemeni Studies for the opportunity to study and travel in Yemen for three months this past summer. I found the staff and resources of the institute in Sana'a very helpful, and very much enjoyed my studies at the Sana'a Institute for Arabic Language. My experience in Yemen will prove to be of infinite value as I prepare to conduct research for my dissertation on historical connections between South Arabia and East Africa.

Matthew Hopper is a graduate student in the Department of History, University of California, Los Angeles



Lisa Wedeen

Fellow 2000-2001

Title of the Project: *Peripheral Visions: Local Identifications in Unified Yemen*

OVERVIEW OF PROJECT

Peripheral Visions examines the ways in which political identifications are made in the aftermath of dramatic institutional change. Focused on the period following Yemeni national unification in 1990, the book investigates a gap that exists between official formulations of citizenship and people's substantive experiences of belonging. State institutions in the new polity have been weak from the start—incapable of providing welfare, protection, and education to the population. Nor does the state enjoy a monopoly

over the use of violence. In a country of 17 million people, there are an estimated 51 million weapons in private hands. There is also little evidence to suggest that the incumbent regime has succeeded in constructing a coherent sense of membership able to tie people's political allegiances to the nominal nation-state it rules. The book asks: how, in the absence of strong state institutions, does the Yemeni regime attempt to represent national authenticity, cultivate and manage loyalties, and control the terms of unification?

While presenting a clear example of a weak state, however, Yemen cannot be categorized with countries such as Yugoslavia or Rwanda, where violence has destroyed communities and shattered fragile political arrangements previously in existence. Unified Yemen came into being at the end of the cold war, when a non-democratic state dependent on labor remittances and donor aid combined with a failed socialist state. The idea of Yemen as a single geographical entity preceded unification, as evidenced by constitutionally mandated goals in the two separate states calling for unity, in failed unity agreements, and in stories, songs, and poetry. But unlike other recent examples of unification, Northern and Southern Yemen had never been united into a single nation-state.

Yemeni unification, in short, is a story of failed attempts and qualified successes. It is less a typical example of reunification than it is a novel experiment in nation-state formation. In 1994 the country underwent a brief civil war and a failed secessionist movement—both signs simultaneously of the precariousness of national unity and of the regime's durability. President 'Ali 'Abd Allah Salih has been in power since 1978, even while competing regional political identifications remain strong and energetic. In addition to exploring regime practices in the context of a weak state, *Peripheral Visions* thus also asks why Yemen holds together to the extent that it does, and under what conditions would contending expressions of "groupness" undermine the stability of the regime? More generally, why do some processes of group identification crystallize while others are placed at risk? How necessary are political identifications for social order anyway?

CONTRIBUTIONS

The project makes contributions that are

methodological, conceptual, and comparative. Methodologically, *Peripheral Visions* asks: How might scholars study substantive experiences of belonging? What should count as evidence of substantive experience in the first place? This project's concern with people's actual experiences draws on my previous work, while also charting a significant departure from it. Whereas *Ambiguities of Domination* showed how official rituals and rhetoric acquire force by operating not on what people think or know, but on how they ultimately act, this book examines resonant meanings, the alternative everyday practices and signs of belonging that seem compelling to people. And I ask further: What evidence is there of a connection between everyday forms of identification and national ones? How does one know national identification when one sees it? Where does national identification come from? How does it coalesce? What makes it adhere to a state? What factors can cause it to "tip?" A major objective of the project, then, is to develop criteria for distinguishing instances of "strongly binding" affective national allegiance from "loosely structured," mildly confining examples of "affinity and affiliation" (Brubaker and Cooper 00: 21; See also I.M. Young 1997: 12-37). Developing such criteria requires examining the mechanisms by which ordinary men and women convey political identifications anonymously and acephelously through their everyday practices (Brubaker and Cooper 00). It also demands an investigation of why some practices become important in producing national identifications while others do not. The potential sources of national belonging this project examines include:

"Historical consciousness"—the collective memories, national myths, and Quranic references in which understandings of "Yemeni-ness" come to the fore;

Actual political process of unification;

Regime coercion and cooptation;

State-sponsored education;

Official spectacles;

Popular and elite expressions of identification (e.g., art, literature, clothes, qat, "tribal" activities, mosque sermons);

Life experiences and personal memories of belonging (e.g., family life, peer pressure; membership in local social groups; past encounters with colonial

or Imamate rule);

Globalization (e.g., the end of the Cold War, neo-liberal economic reforms, new patterns of migration).

The multiplicity of Yemeni identifications and their availability for political mobilization offer an excellent opportunity to explore the conceptual and empirical conundrums to which the vast literature on “identity” refers. In Yemen, there are a variety of sub- and transnational allegiances that sometimes operate compatibly with, and sometimes in opposition to, the nation-state. Loyalties to tribe and region, occupational caste distinctions, identifications with Shafi‘i or Zaydi sects, exposure to oil-producing Gulf states, family connections to Ethiopia, Eritrea, India, Indonesia, and Singapore complicate people’s experiences of Yemeni-ness. Both official and unofficial declarations of Yemeni authenticity operate ambiguously and simultaneously with alternative local and transnational experiences of identification. One aim of this project is to offer concrete ways of conceptualizing such complications, rather than simply acknowledging their existence.

In comparative political terms, the project makes three primary contributions. First, the book will help to sharpen current theorizations of state and nation. Early state-formation in Western Europe suggests that the state evolved into a powerful set of institutions before nationalism developed as the articulated, ideological expression of common political identification (Hobsbawm 1987 and 1990; Gellner 1983; Shafir 1998; for a contrary account of nationalism in England, see Pincus 1999). In the postcolonial setting, regimes have had to construct an effective institutional apparatus while concomitantly cultivating national consciousness, and in many cases such exigencies have produced authoritarian regimes that deliver goods and services in return for some national allegiance and obedience. The case of Yemen suggests a third model of political development involving the emergence of vague, mildly constraining forms of national identification without a strong, sovereign state. In the absence of a network of institutions capable of interpellating the individual as *homo nationalis*—to use Etienne Balibar’s term—shared every day practices and transformative political events may nevertheless produce conditions in which a putative “nation” of Yemenis begin to pine for a state capable of protecting them. Second, the book will

make a key contribution to the developing comparative politics literature on “democratization.” Contrary to most political scientists, who argue that democracy requires a sovereign state and/or a common sense of national identification (Rustow 1999; Linz and Stepan 1996), the example of Yemen suggests that democratic activity may actually thrive *because* the state is weak and national identification tenuous. Of course vigorous activity in the qualified “public spheres” of what Sheila Carapico and others identify as “civil society” might encourage, but does not guarantee, democratic institutions of governance (Habermas 1964; Carapico 1998). Third, then, this analysis will also specify the conditions under which a government representative of and accountable to the concerns of citizens might emerge.

PROGRESS

My fieldwork of fall 2001 and January 2002 entailed open-ended interviews with men and women from San‘a’, ‘Aden, and Wadi Hadramawt, as well as with politicians from various political parties. I also collected additional source materials, including a videotape of the dicennial celebrations of unity, Friday mosque sermons on cassette tapes, regional poetry and songs, historical narratives of common founding, newspaper articles on democracy and on identity, biographies of political figures, and political iconography. I completed the chapter, “Seeing Like a Citizen, Acting Like a State” and am currently working on a subsequent chapter on political subjectivity and democratic practice.

During my residence at the American Institute for Yemeni Studies, I began work on the introductory chapter whose theoretical concerns are adumbrated above, and gathered data for a chapter provisionally entitled “The Lilliputian State.” As indicated in my initial proposal for funding, the latter explores what Gramsci has termed the “educative and formative role of the state,” the ways in which schooling, in particular, becomes an important institution in producing citizens whose consent is self-evident to them (Gramsci; Lloyd and Thomas 1998: 21). Public education has been one of the crucial institutions generally credited with inculcating norms of national membership. The chapter thus compares the post-unification textbooks on national education, religion, and history with the

pre-unity textbooks in order to chart the transformations in state representations of national authenticity. National education textbooks include lessons about manners and proper norms of citizen conduct, as well as idealized accounts of Yemen's history. These idealizations conform to theories about the school's purpose as an inculcator of national value. In practice, however, Yemeni state's educative institutions fail to serve the role generally attributed to them by theorists of "hegemony" or nationalism. State schooling in Yemen is unusually weak for the Middle East region. Illiteracy rates are extremely high—seventy percent of women cannot read. Those classrooms that do exist are overcrowded and understaffed. National education courses, moreover, are taught haphazardly when they are taught at all. And according to my ethnographic research, teachers do not seem to be enthusiastic ideologues whose accounts of national history coincide with regime narratives. Students also interrogate their national history, asking questions that undermine any image of students as passive putty to be "formed" by regime-indoctrinated teachers. Islamicist schools, moreover, coexist with the state's education system, and even parents who do not particularly approve of the Islamicists' political program may prefer to send their children there because classrooms are less crowded than those in the public schools. Even prior to September 11, Islamicist schools had become sites of struggle—their institutional independence and religious curriculum placed at risk by the regime's moves to incorporate them. Recent efforts at textbook reform, moreover, are directed by a U.S.-based company with funding granted through the World Bank, which implies that certain settled assumptions about national education may have to be rethought in the less bounded contexts of transnational capital and knowledge-production. Having attended school classes, interviewed teachers and students, and discussed major curriculum reforms with those who designed them, the chapter seeks to move beyond a strictly textual analysis to show the ways in which institutions devoted to ideas operate in practice. I also interviewed members of the Islah party who were forced to have their "institutes" incorporated into the state education system, and I collected the newly published textbooks and the documents on curriculum reform.

The second of my initial objectives was to have a group of prominent politicians read *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* and discuss its ideas in relation to public sphere activity in Yemen. The events of September 11 and my inability to procure Habermas' text in Arabic, however, made it difficult to pursue this objective. (I did go to Beirut and Cairo to look for the book; I also contacted prominent publishers of translations in London) On the other hand, qat chew conversations yielded fruitful material for my understandings of identity-formation. Samuel Huntington's *The Clash of Civilizations*, anxieties about the U.S. response to the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, anger over U.S. response to the Palestinian issue, support for Bin Ladin, and the meanings of culture, civilization, East/West, and pan-Arabism were all discussed. These discussions increased my understanding of political identifications, how they become important, how they are made to seem cohesive, and how they are reproduced through public talk and action.

Other events and opportunities deepened my understanding of the meanings and manifestations of democratic practice in Yemen. I was able to record *zamil*, a genre of poetry discussed at length in Steve Caton's book, *"Peaks of Yemen I Summon,"* which turned out to be a key way in which nationalist politicians from the countryside were first introduced to ideas about the nation in the 1950s and 60s. I participated in and observed the Yemeni Socialist Party's meetings with the National Democratic Institute. I collected the Islah Party's political pamphlets on democracy, and gathered data about the local elections from CDF—the local, independent institution responsible for studying the February 2001 event.

I also participated in what might be construed as "civil society" gatherings. Women's organizations, human rights groups, lawyers, judges, members of Parliament, journalists and politicians from the opposition met to solidify positions on issues, such as the recent controversy over the proposed Parliamentary amendments 371-372, known as *Bayt al-Ta'a*. A public qat chew honoring the nationalist 'Amr al-Jawi prompted heated debate over the events of 1970 when royalists struggled with republicans for political control. The Cultural Center at 'Afif also

held a symposium on Yemeni identity during which a range of views were offered—that Yemeni identity was “in crisis,” that it was inherently race-based, that it was irrelevant, non-existent, lost, enduring, important, subordinate to a more cosmopolitan understanding of humanity, etc.

My work on understandings of Yemeni-ness were furthered as well by an analysis of various newspapers from the 1940s-70s, including *Sawt al-Yemen*, *al-Hikma*, *Akhbar al-Sh‘ab*, among others.

Finally, I was able to continue my illuminating interviews with the politician, Jar Allah ‘Umar. We were able to cover the events leading up to and including the civil war of 1994, his exile in Cairo in 1995, and his subsequent return to Yemen. These interviews were enhanced by the actual return of YSP leader Salim Salih on the President’s plane in January 2002. The surprise event prompted rich conversations with ‘Umar and others about the nature of exile, the future of the YSP as a political party, the role of alternative organizations such as the newly formed alliance between politicians from the Southern and Eastern governates, and prospects for post-war reconciliation among the regime, the YSP and/or “the South.”

In short, the two months of fieldwork were productive and fulfilling. The unpredictable events of September 11 made the research challenging but especially poignant for me. The range of conversations, serendipitous encounters, experiences of solidarity and isolation, and opportunities for serious thinking will all contribute to a rich theorization of the nature of political identifications.

Lisa Wedeen is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Chicago



Marion H. Katz

AIYS Fellow 1999-2000

Title of the Project: Gender and Emotion in the Ritual Remembrance of the Prophet’s Birthday

October 2000

My research in Yemen under the auspices of AIYS focused on the performance of the mawlid al-nabawi, the recitation of a narrative about the Prophet’s birth and activities with accompanying devotional hymns and prayers. My initial concern was to define exactly what was “popular” about mawlid as a form of popular Islam. On the one hand, most of the mawlid in circulation today are the works of elite religious scholars, members of a highly select group of the most erudite Muslims of the medieval and modern periods. On the other, mawlid enjoy wide popularity among sectors of Muslims (notably women) who frequently, in countries like Yemen, have little or no formal religious education and minimal literacy skills. How does the interface between these two very different groups of Muslims (elite scholars and unlettered women) operate? The relationship between religious elite and ordinary practitioners is further complicated by the fact that the legitimacy of mawlid is today hotly contested, with influential religious scholars condemning their performance as a form of illegitimate innovation (*bid’a*) in Islamic practice.

As a case study in the dynamics of the mawlid, I concentrated particularly on one group of Yemenis, the San’ani women. The women of Sana’a have traditionally performed mawlid in a number of different contexts. The most frequent occasion for a mawlid is the birth of a child; the forty-day period following the birth is a time of gathering and celebration during which the women of the family host a mawlid and/or sessions of singing, storytelling and general sociability. Mawlid are also sometimes held in the final stages of the multi-day marriage process, on the day (known as the *shikma*) when the bride returns to her family home to share a feast with her relatives and friends. Mawlid may also be held in gratitude for any auspicious event, such as recovery from an illness, entry into a new home, or safe return from a lengthy journey. Sometimes women make vows (*nudhur*) to hold a mawlid if a desired event comes to pass. Finally, like Muslims in

many parts of the Muslim world, San'ani women participate in mawlid on the traditional date of the Prophet's birth (the twelfth of Rabi' al-Awwal) or at any time during that month.

In order to gain access to women's mawlid, I made contact with women who were professional chanters (*munshidat/nashshadat*) and accompanied them to the homes where mawlid were being held. In all, I worked with seven women chanters (in addition to more casual contact with a number of others). In most cases, I was able to record them chanting mawlid (one chanter declined to be recorded, on the grounds that a woman's voice was 'awra, i.e. not to be publicly exposed). I made transcriptions of the words of those chants that were not available in print and the chanters helped me to correct my transcriptions. I also occasionally paid chanters to write chant lyrics down for me, when recordings were unclear or I did not have a recording of specific material.

As I examined the decisions that women chanters made about what to chant and how to chant it, I came to the conclusion that the chanters were functioning as "culture brokers" in a fairly complex negotiation between elite purveyors of devotional texts and ordinary consumers. Texts did come from the top down, in the sense that almost all of the material ultimately came from printed texts written by male scholars. Texts were only successful, however, insofar as the women who participated in mawlid and the hired chanters perceived them as attractive and religiously meaningful. The success of a text related both to its aesthetic appeal (which involved both the words themselves and the tunes to which they were set) and its religious content. The chanters made decisions based on elite religious teaching and on popular demand. While some chanters perform straight from printed texts, most chanters have handwritten notebooks in which they have recorded the material that they choose to present. This gives them the flexibility to add or delete material and to combine material from different published texts if they so desire. For some chanters, particularly those whose motives in chanting are primarily financial, the main issue is popular taste and demand. Others have high aspirations to influence the religious beliefs and practices of the women for whom they perform. The

ultimate content of the mawlid, however, always represents some form of mediation between text and audience.

I was also struck by the extent to which San'ani women's mawlid were intertwined with the major events in a woman's personal life. Mawlid on the occasion of marriage and childbearing associate these peaks in a woman's emotional and social experience with evocations of love for the Prophet Muhammad. Particularly in the case of births, the content of the mawlid (which, in its most traditional form, concentrates on the experiences of the Prophet's mother, Amina) corresponds closely to the occasion in which it is performed. The emotions of love, excitement, gratitude, etc. evoked by the woman's personal situation are thus intimately linked with the figure of the Prophet. In this way, the performance of the mawlid, which is the most frequent and elaborate group religious ceremony in the lives of many of the women involved, contributes greatly to the cultivation of the religious disposition most valued by many traditional San'ani women, a deep personal love for the Prophet Muhammad. This interlinking of the celebration of the Prophet's birth with the major events in a woman's personal and biological life contrasts, for instance, with the pattern observable among Yemeni Sufi men. While they may also perform mawlid in celebration of personal occasions, mawlid occur most frequently and regularly on occasions of impersonal religious significance (Thursday evenings, Mondays and religious holidays).

In addition to mediating between the scholars who produce mawlid and the public that consumes/performs them, chanters also (now as well as, apparently, for most of the history of the mawlid genre) must negotiate the disagreements between two different religious elites, those who promote mawlid and related forms of devotionism and those (usually characterized as "Wahhabis" or "fundamentalists" in Yemen today) who oppose them. I came into contact with a number of chanters, both male and female, who had revised the mawlid that they performed in response to some of the more telling criticisms of the genre's opponents. In general, I came to the conclusion that criticism of the mawlid had prompted a broad shift from the mawlid as an occasion for efficacious speech acts (particularly the invocation of

blessings upon the Prophet Muhammad) to the mawlid as a framework for religious education analogous to the fundamentalist muhadara or lecture.

In order to gain some broader context and appreciate the distinctive qualities of San'ani women's mawlid, I also collected texts, spoke to informants, and in some cases attended mawlid in two other areas of Yemen. I spent two weeks in Hadhramaut, where I attended mawlid at the Sufi madrasa Dar al-Mustafa and collected copies of texts from the al-Ahqaf Library and local bookstores. I also spent time in Ta'izz and the nearby village of al-Turba, where I stayed with the family of a Sufi shaykh and gained a general idea of their distinctive approach to the mawlid.

Marion Katz is currently a professor at New York University, in the department of Middle East Studies.



Nora Ann Colton

Fellow 1998 - 1999; Amendment Granted 2000-2001

Title of the Project: Poverty Alleviation and Development in Yemen

Final Report for Amendment Grant

Anyone who has ever embarked upon fieldwork and data collection has felt the frustration of finally returning to one's home country only to realize that there remain gaps in the research and information collected. Yet, it is exceptional that one is given a second chance to return to the field to fill these missing components of one's original work. I feel very grateful to AIYS and its fellowship program for allowing me to have the opportunity to not only conduct extensive fieldwork on poverty alleviation and development in Yemen, but return to Yemen the following year to fill in the gaps in my work.

As an economist, I wanted to focus on poverty alleviation from the standpoint of increasing incomes

via economic growth as well as developing human potential. By the mid 1990s, the World Bank and IMF were heavily involved in the development of Yemen. Yet, all I heard from Yemenis was that the World Bank and IMF were making the situation worse. Consequently, my initial fieldwork was directed towards attempting to collect sufficient data to produce a counterfactual model that would essentially examine what Yemen would be like had the structural adjustment program put in place by the World Bank to assist the Government had never existed. I hoped to show that the IMF and World Bank approach to the poverty problem was not conducive to poverty alleviation and that their restrictive measures of cutting government spending, focusing on monetary variables and constraints were actually counterproductive to poverty reduction in the short and long run.

This project goal led me on the laborious task of data collection on a country with no "canned" data sets and a very precarious data collection process at best. I spent a significant portion of my first trip to Yemen to work on this project trying to collect any and all data pertaining to Yemen in the 1990s. I had hoped to have a model in place by the Fall, but alas, I just couldn't find enough of the appropriate variables to test after having completed the theoretical and historical review of the problem. In fact, I came to realize that I needed to restate my question. Rather than focusing on the structural adjustment program in place, I decided to examine what had led the government and the bank to pursue such a prescription for Yemen's economic ills. I was particularly inclined to take this new approach in light of many other approaches that were being attempted in Yemen by various NGOs and international agencies. Many of these agencies were focusing on human development approaches to poverty alleviation.

The second summer that I got to spend in Yemen led me to rethink the methodology of my project. I was also able to present a draft of my initial work at a conference held in Yemen. This conference was sponsored by the Middle East Awards and the Yemen Center for Research and Studies. It was aimed at scholars in the region, but since I was residing in Yemen at the time, I was allowed to be a participant. The conference which examined issues of poverty alleviation in the MENA region was an excellent

opportunity for me to interact with other scholars working on similar topics as well as to receive excellent feedback from the individuals who attended my panel. This feedback helped me refocus my project as well as build contacts in Yemen. I was interviewed by the local media as well as featured in an Arabic newspaper, radio program and television broadcast.

I also spent part of my time in the Hadhramaut region. Parts of this region have been deemed the poorest in Yemen, yet it is also host to many of the oil reserves in Yemen. Officials and friends in Sana'a provided individual references to people in this region, enabling me to travel extensively and meet people in the Hadhramaut. This trip helped me put in perspective many of the reports and documents that I had read on this region by the United Nations and other agencies.

My project paper now centers on whether it is correct to see Yemen's problems as something internal or external. The internal approach states that more prudent actions and behaviors by the government can solve the problem (i.e. the World Bank/IMF approach). The external approach argues that the poverty is a product of the fact that Yemen is a renter state and very dependent on external variables for the health and well being of its economy.

Since the 1990 mass return of migrants from the Gulf, significant changes have taken place to the structure of the Yemeni economy. Most importantly the economy has gone from one sustained by remittances and foreign aid to one that is now sustained by oil revenues. Agriculture has actually decreased since 1990 with its share of GDP being 28 percent to only 16.6 per cent in 1996. Yemen has become increasingly dependent on imported foodstuffs even in light of the loss of remittances. Reliance on the imported foodstuffs renders Yemen vulnerable to fluctuations in world prices. Furthermore, the lack of industrial development means that most of what is consumed in Yemen, regardless if it is a durable or non-durable goods, comes from abroad.

Industry increased due to the expansion of the oil sector. Oil and gas went from contributing 13.7 per cent of GDP in 1990 to 29.2 per cent in 1996. The increase in the oil sector was significant in creating changes in the economy. In spite of the limited nature of the oil sector, non-oil industry has remained stagnant.

Manufacturing including oil refining only rose from 8.1 per cent of GDP in 1990 to 10.7 per cent in 1996. Furthermore, total employment in this sector in 1996 was 4 per cent. Most of the individuals that work in this sector work in establishments employing one or two workers. One of the arguments of why this sector has not taken off in light of the mass return of labor is that there was a lag time in terms of wages adjusting so that wage rates remained high in the early 1990s creating a disincentive for entrepreneurs to develop this sector. Consequently, the sector has remained capital intensive.

Yemen has not only lost much remittance income, but foreign aid was also drastically cut in the aftermath of the Gulf Crisis. Yemen was a member of the United Nations Security Council during the Gulf War and when it choice to side with the Iraqis the then U.S. Secretary of State, James Baker, made a promise to Yemen that it would pay dearly for its decision and it did. Foreign aid took a nosedive starting in 1991. To add insult to injury, during the same period, oil prices also decreased offering no relief for lost remittances or aid.

The Yemenis also went from running a balance of payment surplus to an increasing deficit. The balance of payment deficit went from 12 per cent of GDP in 1990 to 16 per cent of GDP in 1994. The rate of inflation was also moving at a galloping rate. It went from 33 per cent in 1991 to 120 per cent. Inflation was being fuelled by a government desperate to finance its spending by increasing the money supply at the expense of the economy. Official exchange rates remained overvalued until the mid-1990s when the currency was officially floated. Unofficial rates moved from a yearly average of 14 riyals to a dollar before the crisis to an average of 121.4 riyals to a dollar by 1995. The initial reluctance of the Yemen authorities to come to terms with what was happening further exasperated the situation as Yemeni exports were extremely overvalued and foreign investment was totally put off entering the Yemen market. A further reflection of the severity of the situation was the drop in per capita GNP from the highs of the 1980s to a low of \$217 by 1995.

In 1995, the government invited the International Monetary Fund and World Bank into the country, a recognition that the socio-economic situation was no

longer something that they could control. A comprehensive Economic, Financial and Administrative Reform Program with the assistance of the IMF and World Bank was undertaken. The program goal was to improve the macro-economic situation in Yemen. The program focuses on two main areas: stabilization to restore macroeconomic balance and reduce inflation and structural reforms to stimulate economic growth. The initial phases of the program have been on cutting the government budget through the cutting of subsidies to the poor, oil subsidies, the cutting of civil service employees and a tightening of monetary policy. The program emphasizes that economic growth should be through private sector growth. This led the program to include reforms to trade liberalization, privatization and public enterprise reform and improvement of the regulatory framework. The program has had some limited success. The budget deficit was reduced to 2.5 per cent of GDP and inflation has been brought under control to between 6 and 9 percent. There has also been an improvement in the Central Bank's situation as savings has increased; however, the lack of adequate and appropriate lending practices and procedures has meant that this savings has only served to be a leakage from the economy.

However, what has been most alarming for Yemenis is that unemployment and poverty continue to rise. Unemployment has been estimated to be as high as 45 per cent recently and 37 percent of the population lives in poverty. The circumstances of a large portion of the population is dreary. In fact, this situation is becoming so alarming that many international agencies along with the government are creating programs to address this situation.

The question that I asked is what if the situation is not because of internal problems and government mismanagement, but external factors such as the supply shock of the return of labor or the fact that the country is overly dependent on oil revenues - a commodity that fluctuates widely. If in fact the problem is that the country is too dependent on external variables than wouldn't the prescription differ and, in fact, what we might conclude is that Yemen needs to expand its economy through more government spending directed towards creating an economy less dependent on rents and the international market where

it continuously finds itself a price taker.

I began to look at a number of variables to show that Yemen is in fact very dependent on external variables. Specifically I have been able to collect data to examine world wheat prices, oil prices, worker remittances, and the price of imports in relation to growth and inflation in Yemen. The results are promising and seem to lend credence to the notion that many of the problems of Yemen, as well as its ability or inability to grow, are tied to external variables. I hope to argue with this empirical evidence that the approach to poverty alleviation and development in Yemen should be one centered on kick starting the economy through economic stimulation at the local and state level. Also that this approach will decrease the importance, as well as the volatility, that Yemen experiences due to its present dependence on world markets. Rather than a contractionary approach (which has been the main criticism of many Yemenis to the World Bank/IMF structural adjustment program) to managing the economy we would then be calling for expansion in areas that would generate economic growth in the local markets.

Presently, I am editing a manuscript for publication in an economic development journal that puts forth my argument, model and empirical results. I have also been engaged in much public discussion and debate about the Middle East and its economic ills since September 11th 2001. There has been an outpouring of interest in my university and community to understand the Middle East and what role economic deprivation plays in modeling events and attitudes concerning the West. I have spoken in schools, churches and college campuses in my area.

I truly believe that to pursue meaningful research on a country such as Yemen, fieldwork is a must. I appreciate the support that I have received from AIYS and its sponsors. I hope that my contribution will not only enrich our understanding of Yemen, but that it will be of value for how we think and evaluate poverty alleviation and development.

Dr. Nora Ann Colton is a professor at Drew University in Madison, NJ.



Peter W. Moore

AIYS Fellow 1997-1998

Title of the Project: Business and State in Yemen

July 1999

The focus of my research project is state-business relations in Yemen. Recent literature on state-business relations in the developing world argues that a country's economic performance is tied to the type of relations between state and business. My research in Yemen, therefore, asked a number of questions: How has Yemen's unification and political liberalization affected business-state relations and vice-versa? What are the factors shaping the ability of the Yemeni State and its private sector to compromise on policy issues? How has the reorganization of Yemen's peak business associations in the 1980s and 1990s impacted the private sector's ability to lobby the state effectively? I will first describe how I addressed these questions during my fellowship in Sana'a, then review some of my preliminary finds, and finally describe plans for future research and publication.

As part of my research, I conducted interviews with past and present Chamber of Commerce officials in Sana'a and Aden. I was able to gather records concerning organization, funding, membership and policy papers stretching over the last decade. Various NGO's and government ministries provided additional documentation on macro-economic policies, current efforts at economic reform, and issues before parliament. I was able to interview only a handful of past government ministers, but it allowed me to get a fundamental understanding of the general interest of the state concerning economic reform. Finally, I found that the archive of Yemeni newspapers at the AIYS library to be helpful in providing additional information. From these sources, I believe that I have made good progress towards a larger comparative project.

My research in Yemen fits into a larger comparative project that examines business-state relations among a number of Arab states. Let me briefly review the various approaches to the issue of business-state relations in the social sciences that I used as a base for my investigation. Four lines of argument appear in the literature that attempts to explain what drives business-state relations and what this means for a country's economic performance. One

line focuses on the character of a country's state and how it shapes the relationship with business. In other words "the more the state intervenes in the economy, the greater the incentives of business to mobilize politically to influence that intervention." A second focuses on the type of business associations and how they are organized. The extent of institutional capabilities determines their ability to influence economic policy. A third emphasizes a country's endowment (or the resources available for export and development, such as oil, minerals, etc.) and what this means for firms that comprise organized business. An implication of this approach is that a country's reliance on raw material export and commodity import dooms its private sector firms to unproductive economic policies. The final argument, developing among rational choice adherents, offers cultural heritage as a determinant of a society's economic institutions and organizations. The implication is that differing cultural norms lead to distinct economic organizations and institutions that influence whether organized business in a country is biased toward distributive or productive policies. My previous research in Jordan and Kuwait focused on the second argument as the best model to explain the differences in business-state relations for each country. My findings in Yemen, however, directly contradict my earlier work.

Based on the preliminary findings, business-state relations in the last decade have been driven by the character of the Yemeni State and changes in its political structure far more than factors resident in the business community itself. Simply put, because of changes within the state, Yemen's business class and associations of collective action (Chamber of Commerce) have remained poorly organized and coordinated over the past decade. Elections to the country's leading business organization, the Sana'a Chamber of commerce, have been delayed for over 10 years as rival business groups battle over draft legislation to reorganize the "umbrella" organization for all Yemeni Chambers, the Federation of Yemeni Chambers of Commerce. Consequently, coordination with state officials on Yemen's economic reform program is very weak. The newly formed government council with business representation is, in the eyes of business leaders, a Potemkin village. Though Yemen

boasts a large number of businessmen elected to Parliament, possibly the most in the Arab World, these representatives rarely act in unison due to poor coordination among business the elite (according to interviews). Much of this can be explained from the perspective of the state.

In the first place, there is little historical interaction between state and business in either the north or the south of Yemen. Business and state developed independently. Second, the civil war and reunification of Yemen has placed a great burden on Chamber leaders to work out a new system of nation-wide business representation to include all local Chambers. Third, in the early 1980s, government officials granted control of one percent of import duties to the Federation of Chambers as a form of revenue. This patronage has made the Chamber more dependent upon the state and raised the stakes over battles among businessmen to control the Federation. Access to this patronage turned Chamber leaders from the service of the business community toward their own personal gain (a feature not uncommon in the developing world when state powers are extended to private associations). Fourth, prior to the political and military victory of North Yemen over South Yemen, business' lobbying efforts could gain more leverage by playing one party against another. Unity has voided this advantage for the private sector. Finally, and probably most importantly from the perspective of the state, Yemen's new-found oil wealth has lessened the state's need for its own private sector. Although this oil wealth is far less than Yemen's Gulf neighbors, nevertheless over 70 percent of the central government's revenue comes in the form of oil monies. The government, therefore, simply does not require the private sector to generate more income (for taxation) and it has enough independent revenue to actually buy-off or punish business groups. An excellent example of this dynamic at work is Yemen's proposed Value Added Tax (VAT) law.

As a part of the IMF restructuring package, Yemen is attempting to reform its tax code and, ostensibly, reduce its reliance on external revenue (oil and foreign aid). A proposal to implement a national VAT is currently before Parliament. Similar tax reforms in Jordan in the early 1990s generated tremendous public debate between business and state. By

comparison, debate is quite tame in Yemen. This is due almost exclusively to the relative revenue security of the state. The political costs of implementing and enforcing a genuine national sales tax far outweigh the revenue benefits that could accrue above current oil concessions. Business knows this and, hence, there is no real concern that such a tax will be widely implemented.

The implications for Yemen's future economic development are rather straightforward. At some point business and state will have to fashion a new, more cooperative relationship. For that to happen, fundamental changes within the state are necessary, changes that will support a more permissive environment for the private sector. The case of Yemen resonates with examples of other countries in the developing world, demonstrating that what is needed for long-term productive growth is not more or less state, but a different type of state.

My immediate plan for this research is to publish an article on Yemen's economic development in MERIP. Over the next year, I will begin preparing research for my next case, Egypt. Eventually, I hope to return to Yemen for a longer period so that I can develop a more focused comparison on these issues between Yemen and Egypt.

Peter Moore is now a professor at the University of Miami in the Department of Political Science.



Linda Boxberger

AIYS Fellow 1996-1997

Title of the Project: Institutional Change in the Hadhramaut Under the Rule of Sultan Salih al-Qu'aiti

February 28, 1999

AIYS Fellowship Final Report

For my research trip of early 1999, an uncertain security situation in Yemen dictated that my research plans be flexible. I had proposed a project about the integration of the *badu* into state authority in the Qu'aiti sultanate of Hadhramaut during the 1950s. I was uncertain, however, that this project would be feasible under current restrictions on the travel of foreigners, because it required oral history interviews with the tribes living in the hinterlands of the Hadhramaut coast. So I traveled to Yemen and to Hadhramaut, but I came prepared with an alternative project to study poetry, including women's poetry, a project that I expected to be able to carry out even under travel restrictions.

With my husband accompanying me, I traveled from Sana'a to Hadhramaut by plane, as recommended by the U.S. and Yemeni governments. To travel from the interior of the Hadhramaut to the coast, we hired a car with a driver and were accompanied by a member of a local tribe who was armed. I had productive visits to al-Mukalla, al-Shihr, al-Hami and al-Dis al-Sharqiyya. I had arranged for a local scholar to assist me in the research project that I had originally proposed. He had made arrangements through the leader of the local tribal confederation for me to meet with members of the communities of the eastern coast of the Hadhramaut and its hinterland. Despite my invitation by the tribal leader and his assurances of my protection, the government authorities at first insisted that I be accompanied by a military guard and later demanded that I take a political security officer with me (a member of the *amin al-sayasi* from outside the region). I found this condition unacceptable and decided to concentrate on the poetry project.

I hope to return to the coastal hinterland to conduct research at a time when there are fewer restrictions on travel for foreigners. Although I was unable to do the traveling and oral interviews that I had planned, I

learned more about my proposed subject. I have decided that in the future I will focus on economic conditions in addition to state institutions as factors encouraging the sedentarization and social assimilation of the *badu* of this region during the 1950s.

Even though circumstances prevented me from being able to do the project I had originally proposed, I was successful in conducting research on poetry. During my previous research in Hadhramaut, I had observed poetry performances, a few by women as well as many by men, but had not analyzed either the poems or the process of their production. So, during this trip, I focused on interpretation and analysis of poetry.

The product of this research will be one or more articles on poetry as cultural and social expression in Hadhramaut. I have already begun writing a paper entitled "Women's Poetry in Hadhramaut: Piety, Praise and the Politics of Housework," which I will present at the 1999 MESA conference as part of a panel on poetry and song in the Arabian peninsula. I will submit it later for publication to an appropriate journal. I plan to write another paper dealing with the Hadrami "dan" performed by men, analyzing the dan as a medium of social and political commentary.

Besides the research on poetry, I was able to collect additional copies of manuscript materials for my study on the historical writings of al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman Bin 'Ubaydillah al Saqqaf and had the opportunity to discuss his life and work with some of his descendants and other interested people. This study is an ongoing work, a preliminary version of which I presented at the 1998 MESA conference; considerably more work is necessary before I am ready to publish on this subject.

While the purpose of this trip was to conduct new research, I also benefited from the opportunity to discuss my recently completed dissertation on late nineteenth and early twentieth century history of Hadhramaut with local scholars and others. Besides receiving some comments that will help me in the preparation of the manuscript for publication, I was able to acquire some additional sources that will be useful, including copies of two manuscripts that I had previously cited from secondary sources.

In both the interior and coastal regions, people were enthusiastic about the forthcoming AIYS bilingual

edition of al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir al-Sabban's book, *Visits and Customs: The Visit to the Tomb of the Prophet Hud*. Shaykh al-Sabban died shortly before I arrived in Hadhramaut and his death received considerable media coverage. I gave my condolences to the family, and I showed a copy of the mock-up for the book to his son, Muhammad, who was pleased with it. The word spread quickly that the book would soon be available in Hadhramaut and many people enquired about it.

I encountered a great deal of interest in my work and was offered a number of "public relations" opportunities. I met with the President of the Hadhramaut University of Science and Technology and with the Acting Head of al-Ahqaf University. I was invited to speak at several gatherings of social and cultural clubs; I did so when it did not interfere with my research schedule. I gave contact information about AIYS in Sana'a to the Universities and to other organizations and individuals. I arranged for interested persons to receive information on AIYS fellowships for Yemeni scholars. Six articles about my work and activities appeared in local newspapers (*al-Ayyam*, *Shibam*, and *al-Mithaq*) and I wrote an essay for the Hadhramaut University newsletter.

The tense security situation created certain obstacles for my research, making my trip to Hadhramaut shorter and more limited in scope than I had planned. My research on women's poetry, however, was successful and will enable me to make a significant contribution to this field. I was also able to collect some other materials relevant to my ongoing scholarship and to prepare myself for the revision and publication of my dissertation. At the same time, I was able to renew relationships and connections with people who are important to my former and my current research. On the whole, this trip was of significant and professional benefit to me, despite the difficulties of the situation.

Since this report was filed in 1999, Dr. Boxberger has published her book, On the Edge of Empire: Hadhramawt, Emigration and the Indian Ocean, 1880s - 1930s, State University of New York Press, 2002.

Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir Muhammad al-Sabban's book, Visits and Customs: The Visit to the Tomb of

the Prophet Hud (published in Arabic and in an English translation by Linda Boxberger and Awad Abdelrahim Abu Hulayqa; introduction by Linda Boxberger) is available through MESA. Contact: MESA Secretariat, 1219 Santa Rita Avenue, University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ 85721.



Scott S. Reese

AIYS Fellow: 1992-1993

Title of the Project: The Role of Yemeni Merchant Networks and Local Alliances in the Establishment of the Somali Hobyo Sultanate in the Late Nineteenth Century

In March 1994 I arrived in Yemen under the auspices of an AIYS grant to conduct research on African connections with the Islamic educational institutions of the Wadi Hadhramaut. After a brief orientation period in Sana'a, I traveled to the religious learning center in Tarim where the bulk of my survey was to be carried out. The primary purpose of my work in Tarim was to examine manuscripts housed in the *Maktaba al-Ahqaf* religious library for documents relating to the education of African Muslim scholars in the Hadhramaut or, documents regarding Hadrami scholars who emigrated to Africa for greater or lesser periods of time.

Although my research was, for reasons to be explained, of a preliminary nature, I managed to uncover a number of items which may be worth further study. Foremost among these are a number of *rihlat* or travel accounts by scholars seeking knowledge in the educational centers of the region that describe the educational institutions of the nineteenth century in great detail. At least one appears to have been written by an African scholar, although greater study of the manuscript is required to be certain. During this trip I also examined a previously unknown *mukhtasir* or abridgement of the noted *Sada* genealogy *Shams al-Dhahira*, which details the migrations of the various *Ashraf* lineages from the

Hadhramaut throughout the Indian Ocean including East Africa. I also uncovered a number of books of *managib*, collections of miracles performed by various local saints. While I was unable to examine these in detail, eventually I hope to include these in an examination of the genre, comparing them with their East African counterparts.

While in the Hadhramaut I was able to contact the family of the late *alim* Sheikh Bah Fadhl of Doan who was a noted anti-*Sada* preacher living in Mogadishu, Somalia from the 1930's through the 1950's. During two interviews with sons of the late Sheikh, I learned something of his religious and political activities during his years in Somalia, and consulted a manuscript-memoir detailing the religious environment of late colonial Somalia. I learned during these visits that the Sheikh published at least two theological works during his lifetime. Unfortunately, I have been unable to locate copies of either work.

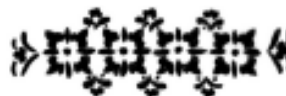
Following my visits with the Bah Fadhl family, I had hoped to travel to the town of Makulla. During the nineteenth century and before, Makulla was one of the principal Yemeni ports trading with East Africa in general and Somalia in particular. I had intended to spend several weeks in Makulla examining the archives of the of the former Sultan and interviewing local merchant families involved in the Africa trade. I had identified two archives that contain records of the Qu'atin Sultanate in private hands and obtained letters of introduction. Unfortunately, the worsening political situation in Yemen in April 1994 prevented me from traveling on to Makulla by road.

For reasons of safety, I decided to return to Sana'a to see if the situation would resolve itself. After two weeks in Sana'a I decided to briefly leave the country in order to visit my wife who was, at the time, employed by the United Nations in Nairobi, Kenya. I hoped that after a few more weeks the situation would have calmed enough to return. Unfortunately, the Civil War broke out ten days after my departure. It was not clear when the war would end or if it would be possible to return to the Hadhramaut following its conclusion. I was forced to adjust the focus of my research for my dissertation.

Instead of returning to Yemen, I was able to carry out my research among Somali merchants and Sufi adherents living in the refugee camps in and around

Mombasa, Kenya. Using Arabic religious documents produced by Somalis, as well as oral histories, my focus turned from the history of African scholars in Yemen to an examination of mercantile relationships between Somali merchants and their Arab counterparts. While this formed the basis of my research and subsequent dissertation, I would eventually like to return to Yemen in order to continue the research interrupted by the recent war.

Scott S. Reese received his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1996 and he is currently an Assistant Professor of History at Northern Arizona University.



RECENT AIYS FELLOWS

Fellowships Awarded for the 2002 - 2003 Competition

A. Competition for U.S. Citizens

Adra, Najwa Dr. (Faculty, Hofstra University)
“Bara’ Bravado: The Semiotics of Dancing in the
Highlands of Yemen”

Boxberger, Linda Dr. (Independent Scholar)
“Linking Histories: Connections Between
Hadhramawt (Yemen) and Dhufar (Oman)”

Hirsch, David, G. (Library Professional,
University of California – Los Angeles) “Bibliographic
Access to Yemeni Émigré Publications in Southeast
Asia”

Lamprakos, Michele (Graduate Student,
Massachusetts Institute of Technology – Aga Khan
Program in Islamic Architecture: Program in History,
Theory and Criticism) “Sana’a Yemen: Tradition and
Modernity in a World Heritage City”

Lipton, Gregory Andrew (Graduate Student,
University of North Carolina) Arabic language study

Osborn, Wayne Henry Jr. (Graduate Student,
University of California – San Diego) Arabic language
study

Papenfuss, Theodore J. (Research Specialist,
University of California, Museum of Vertebrate
Zoology) “A Mitochondrial DNA Study of Reptile
Species from the Horn of Africa Across the Red Sea
to Yemen and Socotra Island”

Patel, David Siddhartha (Graduate Student,
Stanford University) Arabic language study

Rahimi, Dan (Museum Professional, Royal
Ontario Museum) “Wadi al-Fijrah Terrace

B. Competition for Citizens of Yemen

Al-Ansi, Khalid Ali Mohammad, “Fieldwork in
Baraqish and a Pottery Study of the Islamic Period,
8th - 18th Centuries, AD.”

Al-Haj, Mehdi Ahmed, “Determination of
Pesticide Residues in Khat (Qat) by Using Solid Phase
Extraction and HPLC Method.”

Al-Jeredi, Ali Omer Awad, “Factors Affecting
Adoption of Innovations Among Farmers in Wadi
Hadhramaut, Yemen.”

Al-Majid, Najmi Abd, “‘Fatat al-Jazirah’ and the
Formation of Civil Society in Aden, 1940-1967.”

Al-Mikhlaifi, Abdullah Ghalib Nagi (Dr.), “The
Special Investment in Economical Improvement
Policies in Yemen: Obstacles and Solutions.”

Al-Muwadda, Abdunasser Hussein, “The
Political Practice of the Yemeni Tribe and the
Democratic System: A Comparative Study.”

Al-Sagaf, Ali Ahmed (Dr.), “Determinants of
Poverty in Yemen.”

Al-Sunaidi, Saleh Mohammed Abdurrah, “A
Study of the Ecology and the Biology of the Coffee
Berry Moth, *Prophantis smaragdina*, and the
Application of Plant Extracts for its Control in Yahar
(Yafe’a), Republic of Yemen.”

Assag, Mohammed Abdullah Mahyoub, “The
Study of Entomopathogens of Lepidopterous Pests
of Rain-fed Crops in the Central Highland of Yemen.”

Ismail, Rokhsana M. (Dr.), “The Role of Society
in Improving the Situation of Cleanliness in Yemen.”

Noh, Tanuf Salim, “The Poetry of West Soqatra,
Part II.”



AIYS FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM FOR STUDY AND RESEARCH IN YEMEN

AIYS FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM FOR STUDY AND RESEARCH IN YEMEN

The American Institute for Yemeni Studies announces two competitions for fellowship programs of in-country residence and research in Yemen, one for U.S. citizens and one for citizens of the Republic of Yemen. Both competitions have strict eligibility requirements that must be met before applications may be submitted. Before inquiring about the fellowship program, please be sure that you meet the requirements for the program in which you are interested. The fellowship program is described in detail on the AIYS website, <<http://www.aiys.org/fellowships>>; the annual deadline for applications is December 31.

Competition for U.S. Scholars

Support for this program comes from a grant from the United States Department of State's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (ECA) through the Council of American Overseas Research Centers (CAORC). Eligibility is limited to U.S. citizens who are enrolled as full-time graduate students in recognized degree programs or who are post-graduate researchers. Awards will be made on the basis of merit as determined by a review committee of scholars from AIYS member universities. All funds currently available or pending come from US government sources and may be awarded only to US citizens. These fellowships are fully taxable after legitimate deductions for professional expenses. There is no restriction as to field or discipline, but project funds may only be used to support research costs incurred in Yemen. Projects are not normally funded above \$10,000. Applicants may need to secure additional funding for other expenses or for extended research periods, but in the case of multiple awards AIYS reserves the right to modify or cancel its fellowship offer. A full statement of conditions governing fellowships may be obtained from the AIYS office or the AIYS website. Researchers whose projects will take them to more than one country are

advised to consider applying to CAORC's Multi-Country Fellowship Program as well as to AIYS.

General Fellowship Program: Proposals are invited from graduate and post-graduate scholars for feasibility studies or research projects. Collaborative or group projects are eligible for funding. It is permissible to combine Arabic language study with a research or feasibility project. Arabic language training grants provide funds for a 10-week program at one of the language centers in Sana'a and for residence at the AIYS hostel in Sana'a. These fellowships, for which all local arrangements are made through AIYS' Sana'a office, are intended to enable persons to conduct research in Yemen, and applicants should relate their intended use of fellowship funds to their present interests and to future research plans. Those desiring general Arabic language training for purposes not related to Yemen should apply to other language programs.

U.S. Scholars in Residence Program: Proposals are invited from US post-doctoral scholars who plan to spend a sabbatical or post-doctoral time in Yemen. This includes individual or collaborative research or participation in ongoing AIYS-affiliated projects in Yemen.

How to Apply

All applicants must submit five (5) copies of each of the following:

- a completed application form (available from AIYS administrative office and at www.aiys.org);
- a curriculum vitae;
- an application narrative consisting of:
 - (a) for applicants for Arabic language training grants: a short statement explaining their interest in Yemen.

- (b) for all other applicants: a project description and proposed budget. Five pages suggested maximum length.

Required supporting documentation to be sent directly to AIYS by the application deadline; single

copies are acceptable.

- all applicants should provide three (3) letters of recommendation;

- pre-doctoral applicants must have both undergraduate and graduate transcripts sent; recent Ph.D. recipients are encouraged to provide a graduate transcript.

Deadline for Applications

The annual deadline for receipt of applications is December 31. To be certain of consideration applications must be complete and in the AIYS office by the deadline. This includes letters of reference and transcripts sent directly to AIYS by third parties. For further information see www.aiys.org or contact the AIYS office (AIYS, PO Box 311, Ardmore PA 19003-0311; 610-896-5412, aiys@aiys.org).

Research Fellowships for Scholars who are Citizens of the Republic of Yemen

In order to encourage original research by Yemeni scholars in all fields of the humanities, social sciences, and sciences, the American Institute for Yemeni Studies (AIYS) may support research projects proposed by qualified researchers who are citizens of the Republic of Yemen. The annual deadline for receipt of completed applications is December 31.

- *The proposal must be for original research or field study within Yemen. Work to be done elsewhere does not qualify for fellowship support.

- *Fellowships are not available for translation or publication projects.

- *As a general rule AIYS cannot consider applications from researchers who have received funding from an AIYS fellowship within the previous three years.

- *The maximum amount that can be awarded to any one project under this fellowship competition is \$2,000. Applicants should provide a detailed project budget justifying the amount requested. Preference will be given to applications that explain clearly how AIYS funding will be used for research purposes. Only

research-related expenses will be considered for funding. The level of approved funding will be decided by AIYS.

- *Applicants must show qualifications for undertaking the project described in the proposal. An advanced degree is not a requirement, nor is fluency in English. However, the application cover form must be submitted in English.

- *Upon completion of the project, the applicant must provide a final report (3-8 pages) in Arabic or English. Two copies of this report must be submitted to AIYS. It will be published in the AIYS bulletin, Yemen Update.

- *Researchers should also submit a financial accounting of how the research funds, provided by the AIYS fellowship, were spent.

- *Any publications resulting from this project must acknowledge the aid of the fellowship from AIYS and two copies of each of these publications must be provided to AIYS for its library in Sana'a.

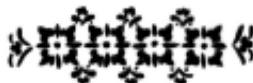
- *Researchers are responsible for obtaining whatever research permission is necessary for their projects.

- *Research proposals submitted for funding should follow the guidelines in the application packet; incomplete proposals or proposals that do not conform to the guidelines cannot be considered.

- *Inquiries, requests for applications, and completed applications originating in Yemen should be addressed to the AIYS Resident Director in Sana'a (P.O. Box 2658, Sana'a; tel. 1-278-816; fax 1-285-071; aiysyem@y.net.yet). The annual deadline for receipt of applications in Sana'a is December 31.

- *Eligible applicants who are currently in the U.S. should address questions and completed applications to the AIYS office in the U.S. (P.O. Box 311, Ardmore PA 19003-0311; 610-896-5412; aiys@aiys.org). The annual deadline for receipt of applications in the U.S. is December 31.

- *The application form is also available on the AIYS website (www.aiys.org/app-yemeni).



AIYS PUBLICATIONS

Back issues of *Yemen Update* should be ordered from AIYS; all other publications are distributed for AIYS by: MESA Secretariat, 1219 N. Santa Rita Avenue, University of Arizona, Tucson AZ 85721; make check payable to MESA. Items marked * are out of print.

Yemen Bibliography Series

1. *Studies on Yemen, 1975-1990: A Bibliography of European Language Sources for Social Scientists* compiled by Thomas B. Stevenson, 1994 (xx+197 pp.). ISBN 1-882557-01-8. \$15.

Yemen Development Series

1. *Yemeni Agriculture and Economic Change: Case Studies of Two Highland Regions* by Sheila Carapico and Richard Tutwiler, 1981 (x+191 pp.). Was out of print, but a few copies have become available. \$15.
- *2. *Bibliography on Women in Yemen* by Joke Buringa (edited by Marta Colburn), 1992 (158 pp.). ISBN 1-882557-00-X. Out of print.

Yemen Research Series (translations of Western-language research into Arabic)

- *1. *Political Studies on Yemen, 1990-1994* (edited by Abdu Hamood Al-Sharif), 1996 (ii+222 pp.). ISBN 1-882557-03-4. Out of print.
2. *Studies on the Ethnology of Yemen* (edited by Lucine Taminian with the assistance of Abdul Karim Al-Aug), 1997. ISBN 1-882557-04-2. \$15.
3. *Studies on Women in Yemen* (edited by Lucine Taminian), 1997. ISBN 1-882557-05-0. \$15.
4. *North American Contributions to the Archaeology of Yemen* (edited by Noha Sadek). 2002. ISBN 1-882557-08-5. \$15.
5. *Studies on Medieval Yemen* (edited by Noha Sadek), 2003. ISBN 1-882557-09-3. \$15.

Yemen Translation Series

1. *My Journey through Arhab and Hashid* by Eduard Glaser (translated by David Warburton), 1993 (xi+31 pp.). ISBN 1-882557-02-6 \$5.
2. *Visits and Customs: The Visit to the Tomb of the Prophet Hud* by Shaykh 'Abd al-Qadir Muhammad al-Sabban (published in Arabic and in an English translation by Linda Boxberger and Awad Abdelrahim Abu Hulayqa; introduction by Linda Boxberger), 1999 (112 pp.). ISBN 1-882557-06-9. \$10.
3. *City of Divine and Earthly Joys: The Description of Sana'a*, by Sayyid Jamal al-Din 'Ali al-Shahari (translated into English by Tim Mackintosh-Smith from the Arabic text

edited by 'Abdullah ibn Muhammad al-Hibshi), 2001 (xii+34 pp.). ISBN 1-882557-07-7. \$10.

4. *Social Issues in Popular Yemeni Culture*, translated, edited and annotated by Janet C.E. Watson, 2002 (based on the radio program, *Mus'id wa-Musida*, written by Abd al-Rahman Mutahhar, iv + 217 pp.). \$18.

Miscellaneous Research and Documentation Publications

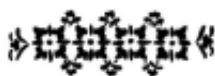
1. *Ma'alim al-zira'a fi-l'Yaman (Agricultural Knowledge in Yemen)* by Yahya Al-Ansi. Sana'a: Published jointly by the Centre Français d'Études Yéménites (CFEY) and the American Institute for Yemeni Studies. 1998. Distributed by CEFAS (POBox 2660, Sana'a, Yemen; www.univ-aix.fr/cfey).
2. *The al-Hasan bin al-Qasim Mosque Complex: An Architectural and Historical Overview of a Seventeenth Century Mosque in Duran, Yemen*, by Bruce Paluck and Raya Sagar, 2002 (xvi + 79 pp., 23 drawings, 3 photographs, and frontis map). ISBN 1-882557-10-7. Published jointly by the American Institute for Yemeni Studies and the Centre Français d'Archéologie et de Sciences Sociales Sanaa (CEFAS). Text in English and French, with Arabic translation. \$20.

Yemen Update (AIYS, annual from 38 [1996]). Issues 1-27 (=AIYS Newsletter) \$3.00 per issue; back issues of *Yemen Update*: vols. 28/29-38, \$7.00 per issue, vols. 39ff., 12.50 per issue.

The Architecture of Mud, a video documentary project of Pamela Jerome and Caterina Borelli supported by an AIYS NMERTA fellowship; produced by Caterina Borelli. 1999. 52 mins. The video is available in Arabic (PAL format) or English (NTSC or PAL format). To order, contact DER Documentary Educational Resources (617-926-0491, fax 617-926-9519, docued@der.org). AIYS institutional members receive a discount on the purchase price and should place their order through the AIYS office. The video may also be rented from Anonymous Productions (917-743-5696, fax 212-226-3976).

Murshidat: Female Primary Health Care Workers Transforming Society in Yemen, a video documentary by Delores M. Walters, whose work was supported by a USIA fellowship, is distributed by Penn State Multimedia Sales <<http://www@mediasales.psu.edu>>. 1999. 35 mins. \$50.

AIYS publications are produced with financial assistance from the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, formerly the United States Information Agency



RECENT CONTRIBUTORS TO AIYS

Membership fees and tax-deductible contributions over the years have supported AIYS in its continuous growth and have helped it to enlarge and adapt the programs that support American research in Yemen. Today they are needed more than ever to supplement or match federal program grants and to support specific purposes such as: the AIYS library, the program to provide English and computer training opportunities for staff members of the Yemeni agencies that support researchers affiliated with AIYS in their work, and cultural heritage projects for which AIYS provides technical and administrative support. Contributions may be restricted or may be designated for a specific purpose. If you are interested in contributing to a specific AIYS project and would like more information, please contact the AIYS Executive Director, or use the “contributor” section of the membership form inserted in this issue of Yemen Update. The list below gives the names of those who made donations during the 2003 fiscal year. Not included in the sections that list donors of goods or services are the AIYS officers and the scholars who serve on the fellowship, library, and publications committees although their service in those capacities is a valuable and much-appreciated contribution to AIYS’ programs.

Donations Received in Fiscal Year 2003 (July 1, 2002 – June 30, 2003)

Restricted Gifts, Benefactors who made contributions for specific programs and projects:

Yemen Symposium 2003

Supporters*

Contrack International
Occidental Oil and Gas Corporation
Social Fund for Development, Sana’a
U.S. Embassy in Sana’a

*A complete report on Symposium funding, including monies received by AIYS during fiscal 2003-04, gifts-in-kind, and funds collected in Sana’a by the Foundation for the Protection of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage, a co-sponsor of the Symposium, will be given in the next issue of Yemen Update.

Unrestricted Gifts:

Benefactor (\$500 and above)

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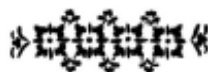
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