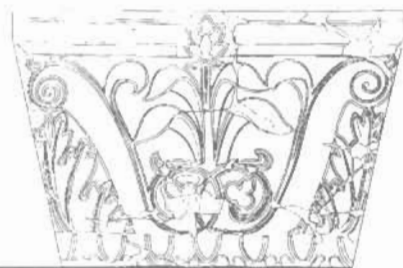


ACOR Newsletter

أخبار أكور

Vol. 7.1 — Summer 1995



The Petra Ethnoarchaeological Project

Steve Simms

Initiated in 1986, with continuing fieldwork in 1988 and 1990, this project documents the history and archaeology of the Bedul Bedouin, traditional inhabitants of Petra, Jordan. Also documented are agricultural economics, herding and dairying, Bedouin site spatial organization, and experiments in wild cereal collection. The data contribute to understanding the food producing transition and to issues of archaeological method and theory applicable to prehistory in Southwest Asia and other places in the world.

The assistance of a USIA Fellowship at ACOR, along with a *grant from the L.S.B. Leakey Foundation, enabled completion of field study, analyses and write-up of the project.* A draft manuscript has existed since 1991, but the project went into dormancy due to the unexpected death of co-author Kenneth W. Russell. My primary accomplishment while in residence at ACOR was completing the manuscript, and two brief field sessions in Petra enabled the finalizing of data collection.

Ethnoarchaeology is an aspect of archaeological research which links the behavior which forms the archaeological record with the material correlates of that behavior. Ethnoarchaeology contributes to understanding the peoples of history by combining several lines of research. In this project these include;

1. History (official records, travelers' accounts, regional histories).

2. Ethnography (direct informant experience, oral histories regarding immediate ancestors, oral history/folklore regarding the distant past, information on social organization, economics, politics).

3. Archaeology (survey and excavation of places known in oral and written history, mapping of tribal activities, recording occupied and recently abandoned campsites).

The Petra Ethnoarchaeological Project makes contributions in two



Abdel Aziz of the Department of Antiquities, Kenneth W. Russell, and Steve Simms in 1990 at the site of the Tur Imdai excavation

realms of ethnoarchaeology. First, we improve documentation on the Bedul Bedouin by adding the time sensitive evidence of archaeology to extend and variously challenge or corroborate other sources of information about Bedul traditional life and the extent of their historical presence in the Petra area. Second, ethnoarchaeology around the world has made significant contributions to the understanding of prehistory using behaviors and technologies found in modern groups as analogies for certain aspects of past behavior. This goal does not assume modern groups are literal analogies in every way—the mistake of seeing simple societies as “living fossils.” Rather, careful use of analogy combined with cross-cultural comparisons of human behavior can lead to hypotheses for incorporation into theoretical models of culture process. These hypotheses are then tested archaeologically. Ethnoarchaeology has been referred to as “letting the present serve the past.” In some ways it has helped archaeologists break the habit of applying common sense inferences from the present onto interpretations of the past by challenging long-held, but unexamined assumptions.

Toward this second goal of ethnoarchaeology this project explores three topics;

1. The behavioral ecology of food production in pastoral-agricultural systems to facilitate modeling of early domestication processes in human evolution.

2. Comparisons between behaviors and variation in the archaeological record of residential and storage sites produced by pastoralists to improve the means of archaeological inference.

3. Comparisons of Bedouin site organization with cases elsewhere in the world to seek robust generalizations regarding mobility, duration of occupation, and the identification of transient forms of housing in an archaeological record that is extremely fragile in this regard.

The main findings of the project, in order of the topics listed above are:

1. The behavioral ecology of food production in agricultural-pastoral systems. Study in this area centers on the quantification of ecological and energetic factors significant to the adoption of cereal food production in the Near East, adding to recent discussions about the processes of domestication. This study provides quantified information to assist in modeling behavioral alternatives faced by people during the Epipaleolithic and Neolithic periods in the Near East.

Data were obtained from observations of the Bedul on the costs and benefits of farming simple forms of wheat and barley produced under dry-farmed conditions, using simple *ard* technology for tillage and harvested by hand or, in a few cases, with the use of sickles. Data were also obtained on wild cereals that were either never domesticated, or whose variants were domesticated later in time than wheat and barley (i.e., rye and oats). These cereals were collected using simple techniques including hands, seed beaters and sickles.

This work leads to explanatory hypotheses concerning the order in which specific cereals were incorporated into the diet, and why some species but not others were subject to husbandry. While other researchers have measured the energetics of wild wheats and barley, this project compares the few cereals that were domesticated to some of those among many that were not subject to



Bedul tent camp at Petra

domestication. The purpose is to further explore the causes behind the selection process. The project adds to the growing literature on the processes of selection operating in the pre-Neolithic Near East essential to the understanding of domestication in terms of the processes leading up to it, rather than a focus on the consequences of domestication that has been the subject of so much scholarly attention. We find that sickles, whose presence in the archaeological record is widely assumed to identify the first cultivation, are actually less efficient than hand harvesting. This indicates that sickles are part of the intensification of production and likely have little to do with the initial phases of cereal husbandry. We also find that early grain farming is less efficient than wild grain procurement. We combine these kinds of data with knowledge from foraging societies to account for how farming, mundane in origin, fostered consequences that ensured the spread of that adaptive strategy at the expense of those who remained foragers in most parts of the world. Importantly, our model explains the cases where farming failed to appear (including areas of Southwest Asia) as well as those where it did appear.

2. There is an emerging “pastoralist archaeology” in Southwest Asia as researchers overcome the notion that pastoralists are invisible, or marginal and as researchers have moved away from juxtaposing nomadism with sedentism as nothing more than polar opposites. We document the Bedul pattern for the early 19th century, and pastoralism in the Petra area to the mid-17th century via survey, excavation and informant accounts.

We find the Bedul pastoral-agricultural economy to be highly plastic in settlement and subsistence, reflecting both short term contingencies and long term trends. We also find high architectural diversity. In addition to the well documented Bedul habitation in Nabataean tombs near the ancient city of Petra, they traditionally

employ a mix of tents and occupation in natural rockshelters. We document 42 of the latter, often with structures constructed of dry-laid masonry and located in remote places.

We also document 18 purposely hidden and disguised storage structures with obstacles including steel, "bear"-type traps intended for humans (18 is a small sample of these ubiquitous sites). Ethnographic study indicates that rather than competition with external "raiders," these reflect competition within tribes, between lineages, and even within extended families. Food was moved among the storage facilities like a shell game, with lineage heads playing the food hoarding and knowledge of its location off against one another. We find correlation between the periods of food hiding at Petra and rainfall records. Food hoarding and hiding is



Bedul harvesting wheat by hand in July 1986

an extension of sharing behavior and we incorporate the Bedul case with studies done in other societies of the evolution of sharing. The Bedul case also generates hypotheses and direct data for what may be a similar case in the prehistoric American southwest—the famous Anasazi cliff dwellers, who experienced drastic cultural changes in the 13th and 14th centuries A.D. Food competition is suspected in that case, often uncritically assumed to be from external sources, but little data on *in-group competition and remote storage* (which the Anasazi practiced at times) has been available for comparison. The Bedul present an archaeological case with the benefit of an informant record shedding light on how this behavior might be organized.

3. We document site formation processes at currently inhabited and abandoned Bedul encampments featuring the well-known black tents used widely in Bedouin societies. Our study ascertains the existence and degree of patterned relationships between the material remains which constitute the archaeological record, and the corresponding behaviors responsible for the creation of that record. Specifically, we focus on the material correlates of refuse disposal, duration of occupation, activities/site function, and the use of space, to improve the means of archaeological inference. One publication on the 1986 work appeared in 1988, but that study focused on only one site and we have since added another dozen

sites representing a variety of behavioral situations. Our approach complements other, recent study of nomad archaeology, and aims at a more explicit link with archaeological practice. To test our findings we compare the site structure of ethnoarchaeological cases, including the Bedul with three prehistoric cases elsewhere in the world and find lessons for archaeological sampling and the detection of transient or ephemeral housing in the archaeological record.

The first goal identified above, documenting the history, ethnography, and archaeology of the Bedul Bedouin has also been achieved. Data are presented on Bedul social organization and kinship, and the excavation of the rockshelter, Tur Imdai, yielded 3.6 meters of stratified deposits, seven radiocarbon dates beginning in the mid-17th century and documentation of two different forms of occupation by the pastoral inhabitants. These combine with oral histories to form a dynamic picture of traditional Bedul life.

The project also led to another avenue of exploration, that is the role of the Bedul in the future development of Petra. Relocated from their traditional homes in 1985-88, rapid growth in tourism at Petra has created a classic case of development versus the rights and future of indigenous peoples. Our work documents the traditional range and life way of the Bedul to the early 19th century and, while Bedouin were clearly present earlier, the evidence does not allow the ascription of the area to a specific tribe prior to that time. However, the findings of the Petra Ethnoarchaeology Project substantiate the Bedul attachment to the area and argue for their needs in the rapidly changing economic climate at Petra. An article (co-authored with Deborah Kooring) on this controversial issue will appear in the Winter 1996 issue of *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, a magazine devoted to advocacy for the rights of indigenous peoples worldwide.

The ACOR Fellowship Program

From the time of its founding in 1968 through academic year 1990-91, ACOR had 54 resident fellows. Beginning in 1991-92, the fellowship program took off and during academic year 1994-95 ACOR hosted 43 fellows in seven programs. These programs range from the Jennifer C. Groot awards for younger students participating in archaeological excavations to the Near and Middle East Research and Training Act Post-doctoral Fellowships, for research work over a period of up to nine months.

On these pages are brief reports of some of the recent fellows. These reports give a sense of the range of research projects which are being conducted through ACOR. In the reports, fellows are identified as USIA: United States Information Agency; or as NMERTA: Near and Middle East Research and Training Act which is also funded through USIA.

Return Labor Migration to Jordan since the Gulf Crisis

The Near East has lately witnessed much turmoil, bringing with it various types of migratory movements. The Gulf Crisis, in particular, has been devastating for the region, creating much voluntary and involuntary migration. Since this return migration has been political in nature, many labor migrants have been forced back to countries like Jordan where they have joined the ranks of the unemployed or underemployed due to economies that are neither structured or prepared to absorb a mass return of migrants.

The focus of my research is the return of labor migrants to Jordan since the Gulf Crisis. In particular, it examines the return of the professional class to Jordan. The project involves the collection of data over a three year period. When they were outside of Jordan, remittances from those laborers fueled much of Jordan's economy. Since the Gulf Crisis, however, Jordanians have been pressured to return to Jordan from the Gulf. It is estimated that 300,000 Jordanians were repatriated after the war. The repatriation of those laborers has been difficult for all Jordanians. This phenomenon highlights the current and future problems of many developing countries faced with mass labor migration, problems inherent in economies dependent upon labor migration and remittances.

The research project has three goals. Firstly, to investigate to what extent prolonged labor migration has contributed to a restructuring of the Jordanian economy. Secondly, to examine the implications of these structural changes on Jordanian labor markets in light of the labor supply shock created by the Gulf Crisis. Finally, to explore the ability of labor markets to absorb returning migrants in light of returnees' expectations and skill levels.

The fieldwork has focused on all Jordanian professionals in order to collect data on their adjustment process and their expectations about the labor markets. A group of approximately one thousand professionals, selected from four hundred returnee households and four hundred non-returnee households, were surveyed in the summer of 1995 to see how they have been faring in terms of employment opportunities and compensation in the Jordanian labor market. Questions concerning the household, the background of the informant in terms of education and work experience, employment abroad, investments, and expectations concerning the labor market and economy of Jordan were asked. The survey was conducted in Greater Amman. As the capital and largest city in Jordan, Amman appeared to be the most logical relocation place for skilled returnees as well as the place most Jordanian professionals are located. A similar questionnaire will be used throughout the three years of surveying and will be administered to the same group of professionals. The information collected will be not only published as a case study of Jordan, but will

be incorporated into a large study of labor supply shocks in the region that will include fieldwork in Yemen and Egypt which will be funded by the Social Science Research Council.

Nora Ann Colton, ACOR/USIA Fellow

State, Business, and Democratization in the Near East

My research is inspired by the important role that business people played in the formation of new democratic regimes in Asia, Latin America, and Southern Europe. During the 1980s many business people on all three continents withdrew their support of authoritarian regimes, choosing instead to become forces for democratic change. Working in concert with other groups within their societies, business people were able to help bring democracy to numerous nations which had suffered under decades of authoritarian rule.

The 1980s also brought political liberalization to the Arab world. Reforms in several Arab countries laid the foundation for multi-party elections at the local and parliamentary level. Similar to their colleagues in other regions, Arab business people (and other professionals as well) were instrumental in pressuring their governments for democratic reforms. My research explores the political activities pursued by business people in Jordan and Tunisia during the period from 1984 to 1995. Investigating the business community as a political actor will further scholarly understanding of the role played by interest groups in Arab politics in general, and the process of democratization specifically.

My methods of data collection include personal interviews with business people, journalists, intellectuals, political party leaders, leaders of professional associations, and government officials as well as an investigation of local publications focusing on political and economic issues.

Scott Greenwood, Council of American Overseas Research Centers Fellowship

Sport and Jordanian Women

After an hour straining from leg lifts and jumping jacks, Madeha Faouhry, 48, looked tired but happy. She spoke of how she worked for the last year, toning her muscles on the weight machines. Then she put on her white hijab and went home to her family of 10 in Salt, Jordan. A number of women-only clubs have opened in the last five years in small towns such as Salt, Irbid and Zarqa as well as Amman.

Jordan may seem an unlikely place for any sort of boom in women's sports. There are but a handful of club teams for women and the women's national basketball team, the country's premier women's team, uses hand-me-down uniforms from the men and team members must beg local merchants for money.

Jordanian society generally discourages women from

participating in sports. Sporting women wear what is considered immodest clothing and often keep late hours at practices. While it's possible to buy women's tennis shoes and jogging shorts at local stores, and there are women's national teams in virtually every sport, government support is minimal and not enough women participate in clubs or the national teams to make them competitive.



Barbara Kingsley and Scott Greenwood at ACOR

Yet some women have created avenues for fitness within the boundaries of society. Faouhry and other women say women-only sports clubs provide a haven. Women that can afford the clubs say that they find clubs provide camaraderie and physical activity very different from what's available in their home lives. Faouhry's only activity at home is standing by a stove for hours and cooking, sometimes 10 pounds of rice, for her large family. "It's tiring, but it doesn't make you lose weight," Faouhry said.

I am a Southern California sportswriter spending the summer researching the sometimes frustrating relationship between Jordanian women and sports.

My research aims are broad-based. I want to find out what sports women participate in, what sort of women tend to participate and what levels of participation are increasing and what areas remain stagnant. And, as best as I can determine, why. I'm also talking to women about their ideas on fitness and what obstacles they must overcome to be sporting women in a conservative society.

Because there has been little research or statistics on this topic, I am relying on observations and interviews with coaches, teachers, club owners, professors, government officials, and most importantly, women athletes. Be they in small clubs or in pools or on sports teams, I believe women's participation in sports in Jordan can give a clue to women's role in Jordanian society.

Barbara Kingsley, NMERTA Predoctoral Fellow

Democracy in Jordan

On June 1, I arrived in Amman after a long two-day trip from San Francisco. When I awoke from my nap and gazed out onto the field filled with yellow grass, white stones, plus goats and a shepherd, I knew that I had finally arrived at my destination—the Near East. It is a region I have been studying for several years, and suddenly all of the words I had read, the music that I had heard, and the food that I had eaten, paled in comparison to the view outside my window. My journey had just begun.

I spent the first few days getting acclimated to the pace and the surroundings of ACOR. Other fellows introduced me to the fine art of taxi travel and communication, including the wonders of Safeway and the hills of Tla al-Ali. And then the political research began, starting with the taxi drivers who could speak English. From there I progressed to the Jordanian

Women's Union, The Business and Professional Women's Club, the Baqqa Refugee Camp, business offices, personal homes, the American Embassy, Parliament, and on and on and on. Basically, anyone who made eye contact with me and spoke English, I asked for an interview.

At times I used my tape recorder and transcribed the interviews. Other times I took notes while we were talking, and then, occasionally I wrote up notes after the meeting. My encounters with Jordanians, Palestinian-Jordanians, and Kuwaiti-Jordanians, have been rich in information. I am overwhelmed by the kindness and courtesy, as well as the frankness of my interviews. All together I have pieced together a near complete picture of "Democracy in Jordan" that illustrates the complexity of the issue from its ambiguous definition to its particular Jordanian implementation.

In the month and a half I have been working in Amman I have conducted over thirty interviews. Also during this time I have gathered written materials to expand my library of information regarding Jordan. In the next few weeks of my research I intend to canvas the more rural, and lesser populated regions of Jordan. This will allow me to expand my research to include a more comprehensive picture of the democratization process within Jordan. When I return to San Francisco I will work with my graduate advisor to capture and publish my experiences.

Maggi M. Morehouse, NMERTA Predoctoral Fellow

Aspects of Neolithic Symbolism

The subject of my summer research was Neolithic symbolism. Thanks to the generosity of Gary O. Rollefson and Zeidan Kafafi, excavators of the site of 'Ain Ghazal, a Neolithic site exceptionally rich in symbolic material, I was able to study firsthand the figurine collections stored at Yarmouk University, Irbid. I report here on my preliminary findings on the zoomorphic figurines.

The most remarkable feature of the animal figurine collection is its homogeneity. During some 2000 years of occupation at 'Ain Ghazal, 7250-5000 B.C., animals were depicted in clay, in the same position, and with the same stylization. Two main types of figurines emerge. The first are bovids with a sweeping dorsal curve suggesting the withers. The second are caprids identifiable by the (broken) horns as goats, sheep, and gazelles. As a rule, the foreparts of the animals are grossly exaggerated. The heads, necks, and shoulders bulge in front—often representing about 1/3 of the length of the entire beast—in contrast to the tapering rumps. Because these features are repeated in each period they must be significant. As



A cache of animal figurines of the Middle PPNB Period, ca. 7250-6500 B.C. As they were recovered with a lump of the clay of which they were made, the importance of the figurines may have been in their manufacture.

the same animals with the same characteristics are found at other contemporary Near Eastern sites, they must be meaningful. The challenge is to interpret the evidence.

The analysis of the zoomorphic figurines leads me to infer that, although the species they depict were mostly docile animals in the process of domestication, the preference for male adults and the emphasis on dynamism conveyed by the exaggerated foreparts, imply that the animals depicted were wild. The artifacts, therefore, continue a Near Eastern Paleolithic and Mesolithic tradition of animal symbolism. The Neolithic contribution was to translate the bulls and caprids in clay, thus giving them three-dimensionality and autonomy. The small size of the objects, the common material in which they were made, and their casual modelling denote a domestic use. Nothing in the context indicates that the objects had an intrinsic value. Instead, their function seems

dependent on the act of manufacture, the location and number in which they were deposited. Lastly, the different contexts in which the zoomorphic figurines were recovered point to multiple usages.

Denise Schmandt-Besserat, USIA Fellow

Sampling Bias: The Nature of its Effect on Analyses of Skeletal Remains

The main focus of my research at ACOR in 1995 is to determine the extent and nature of sampling bias that could occur in statistical analyses of human skeletal remains from archaeological sites in Jordan of the Byzantine period. Sampling bias can best be defined as a systematic error that occurs while selecting a study sample from which conclusions will be based and then applied to a population as a whole. This error can be controlled and accounted for in most investigations, such as studies in medical research. However, in dealing with ancient populations and their skeletal remains, an archaeologist or physical anthropologist cannot control the nature of the sample that will be studied. They must work with what is available for excavation, such as a cemetery, which usually has very limited boundaries for investigation. Furthermore, a cemetery rarely contains an accurate cross section of the population that resided at an associated occupational site at a particular point in time. Distortion of the research population can be caused by mortuary practices (e.g., burying infants separately or not at all; secondary burials and re-use of tombs), soil chemistry and its effect on the bones, economic and political factors, excavation procedures, spatial variability, excavation sampling, and tomb robbing—to name a few.

By investigating the possibility of these factors during a restricted period in a restricted area, the strength and the validity of the data collected can be weighed as conclusions are eventually made. The results from statistical analyses, such as demographic (population numbers and distribution) and epidemiological (disease prevalence and state of health) studies, are extremely valuable in the interpretation of archaeological remains and in determining the social, cultural, political, economic, and biological environments of a site. Furthermore, if the research findings are not representative of the population being studied, for whatever reason, this needs to be acknowledged to avoid giving a false impression of the community being studied.

While at ACOR, I began my investigation by selecting a number of sites that had a sizable Byzantine period cemetery, preferably with an excavated occupational site associated with the cemetery. I narrowed my study down to Pella, Tell Hesban, Abila, Khirbet es-Samra, Yasileh, and Umm al Jimal, excluding sites where cemeteries had been excavated, but lack osteological analysis of the skeletal remains. The next step was to thoroughly research each site, through publications and preliminary reports on file at the Department of Antiqu-

uties in Amman. In this literature review, I focused on the sociocultural history and the role of each site during the Byzantine period, the environment, the climate, the size, and the excavation techniques of the cemetery area. I also visited the sites and, if possible, met with the principal investigators of each site to discuss my research topic in relation to their project. Finally, to put this research into context, I investigated Jordan during the Byzantine period and its role in the Empire.

My preliminary results regarding the extent of sampling bias and the condition of skeletal remains have been less than positive, with the greatest amount of distortion coming from tomb robbing and disruption. In addition, because tombs during the Byzantine period were used over an extended time, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact period of use of the tomb and, therefore, a more specific representation of the population at a site at one point in time rather than over an extended period. However, this study has been valuable in compiling tomb types and structures as well as burial practices during the Byzantine period in Jordan. An interesting intra- and inter-site variety in tomb styles and burials across Jordan exists which hasn't been fully explained or systematically investigated. This study has given me a clear understanding of mortuary ritual and possible sampling bias during the Byzantine period, which I will apply to my dissertation research on disease prevalence and frequency and general health of the population during this period in what is now modern Jordan. In addition, it will assist me in future excavation and study of cemeteries in the region.

Megan A. Perry, NMERTA Predoctoral Fellowship

Democratization: Jordan, 1988-1993

As a part of the Ph.D. requirements for the Department of Political Science at the University of Michigan, I am conducting research on political parties for my dissertation entitled "Mobilization, Collective Action, and Democratization: Jordan, 1988-1993."

In the 1989 general elections for the Lower House of Parliament, political parties scored strong electoral victories. They captured nearly half of the seats of the Lower House. This phenomenon signaled the rise of political parties in Jordan, historically a stronghold of independent candidates dependent on tribal loyalty. The apparent strength of political parties was even more dramatic given that political parties remained illegal in 1989 and had been since 1957.

Parties were legalized, however, in 1992 with the publication of the Political Parties Law and the Press and Publications Law, both of which were delineated in the National Charter of 1990, thus commencing political liberalization. Yet, paradoxically, political parties underwent electoral decline in the 1993 general elections for the Lower House after their legalization. How can one explain the puzzle of party decline in the face of democratization?

It is generally accepted within the political science community that political participation is highly dependent on organizations providing carrots and sticks. It is even more important for political organizations to offer incentives for gaining not just political participation but political support through participation. Although my research is in the preliminary stages, the results indicate that the internal characteristics of political parties remained roughly the same and thus cannot account for their electoral decline in the 1993 elections. Rather, factors external to parties must explain electoral decline of political parties. I am finding that changes in the economic policies such as changes in welfare policies and alterations in institutional rules like election laws affect political parties' abilities to garner electoral support. These changes impact not just the ability of parties to gain support but also affect which of these parties may succeed in gathering popular support and therefore, in determining future Jordanian policies.

Najma Baccellani, NMERTA Predoctoral Fellow

Gendering the Development of Civil Society in Jordan

The objective of the research was to learn more about women, organizations, and the development of civil society in Jordan during political transition. Essentially the investigation sought to gender organizational development and civil society formation in Jordan.

Gender needs to be included as a variable when discussing civil society development and political transition processes because women play significant roles in these. For instance, women and women's organizations in Latin America and Eastern Europe have influenced and have been influenced by political transition. Furthermore, gender needs to be considered as a variable in nations where women are not proportionally represented in the formal ranks of government (typical of most nations with the possible exception of Scandinavia). Thus, this research seeks to eliminate any normative bias that states that political influence occurs only in formal institutions; such elitist perspectives exclude activities in which women play an important role. Grassroots movements, such as women's movements, can significantly affect transition. However, in the past and in other regions, women's movements often have become marginalized during periods of less political change. Thus, this research should heuristically lay groundwork and criteria for post-transition investigations of women in Jordan.

To analyze and gender civil society formation in Jordan, I used a feminist methodology. First, I conducted open-ended, non-hierarchical interviews which allowed the women to empower themselves by discussing what they saw as the important issues, not what I judged to be significant. I am supplementing the interviews with literature on gender and activism, civil society, organizational development, the Near East, and

specifically, Jordan. Second, the label, "Women in Jordan", can be misleading and inadequate because it implies a national division rather than a gender continuation which transcends borders and it connotes a static position. However, the label serves necessary purposes because individual state policies do affect women, and the focus on activism confronts any static implication; thus, the label remains.

The investigation indicated, contrary to prevalent misconceptions about Jordan, Muslim nations, and the Arab world, that Jordanian women comprise the entire spectrum of activism and feminism. The conversations I had are encouraging me to build a more inclusive, universal, wider definition of feminism.

Most women I interviewed tried to separate themselves from Western/U.S.-oriented notions of feminism and activism by including their specific history, culture, norms, and values. Many women said that Western women try to become more like men and aim for gender equality by integrating themselves into existing androcentric structures; in doing so they create a crisis between men and women, sever relations among women, and mistake the path for the target. For instance, in their view, Western women want equal rights in the workplace, but in the process they refuse to admit men and women come from different power positions, shun women who choose to be at home, and see equal employment opportunities as a goal of feminism instead of a means to a larger goal. Many Jordanian women, antipodally, see women as having special qualities not available to men and emphasize them; thus, they do not cause friction in male/female relations, do allow a bond among women, and maintain the aim of feminism to be equity.

The investigation also revealed that Jordanian women are active in indigenously developing organizations and civil society. I studied various organizations including: The Jordanian Women's Union, The General Federation of Jordanian Women, The Women's Studies Center, The National Committee for Women, and The Business and Professional Women's Center. Many factors interact with and upon the organizations such as: culture and norms, gender, political transition, religion, economic situation, education, foreign travel, participation in regional/international conferences, and international affairs. These components complement and interact with one another; an analysis of any single factor separate from the others would distort reality. The organizations were formed pragmatically and strategically, not altruistically. However people varied in their views of the efficacy of the organizations and their members, their real roles, and whether or not a true civil society was forming—considering the limits given by the present state of political transition and liberalization.

In the future, I would like to study the long-term effects of political transition on gender and civil society formation in Jordan. I would also like to investigate the effects of women's activities on political transition and

the development of civil society. This research has therefore met my original goals of: broadening the definition of feminism/activism to be more inclusive and universal, supplementing existing research on gender and politics, and initiating further studies in Jordan.

Cathlene Hanaman, NMERTA Predoctoral Fellow

Socialization of Muslim Women in Three Cultures: Bosnia, India, and Jordan

I spent two months in Jordan working on one segment of a three-part study of the socialization and education of middle-class Muslim girls in 'Amman, Sarejevo, and Ahmedabad. Little material is available on women in Jordan. Based on reading and impressions from an earlier visit, I expected to find a conservative, traditional social outlook on women's issues; but, when asked by Jordanians about my purposes and intentions for my research on women, my answers were met with skepticism and frustration. One woman summed it up in this way: "You Westerners only think in stereotypes about Arab women — submission, the veil, oppression."

I challenged these women by asking them to share with me the realities of their lives. From these came several informal life histories from women of varying ages and ethnicities—Palestinian, Circassian, and Jordanian. It was from these encounters that developed a loosely structured interview format. Eventually I recorded material from more than fifty women and girls of varying ages.

After interviewing a range of women professionally involved with issues of the education and status of women, I completed a series of cross-generational interviews in depth, with women of two middle class, urban, government-educated Muslim families. Among those I interviewed were a 67 year old grandmother who was illiterate until two years ago — when she began reading classes at the same time as her five year old granddaughter. One of her older granddaughters is in her second year the university studying elementary education. She hopes to open a school where she can "raise children the right way," tempering traditions she considers outdated.

These interviews included professionals, stay-at-home mothers—some highly educated, some less so due to age and social circumstances. The group of women I interviewed grew up, respectively, in every decade from the 1920s to the 1980s.

During my stay in 'Amman I've tried to gather information from a range of families and individual women representative of contemporary Jordan. The case studies will become part of the final document of my NEH Teacher-Scholar report, once they have been incorporated with the work I complete in Bosnia and India.

Gail Vander Heide, USIA Fellow

Phoenix from the Ashes: Update on the Petra Papyri

In December of 1993, Zbigniew T. Fiema and his group of excavators found a number of carbonized papyri in a storage room adjacent to a richly decorated Byzantine church in Petra. These burnt papyri present a great challenge for papyrologists and papyrology. The Finnish team under the leadership of Jaakko Frösén has completed the difficult task of conservation. Now we are confronted with the challenge of deciphering the Petra papyri which promise information about the region in the 6th century. We have almost no other written sources for that period so they are indeed unique.

The decipherment of the Petra papyri has just begun. We are still at a stage where a newly-read word can force us to reevaluate our reading, understanding, and reconstruction. Today's conclusions may become tomorrow's errors and naivete. However, we expect that from the ca. 152 rolls that have been opened, about 23 rolls will yield partially continuous text segments; another 19 rolls will provide us with fragments of substantial information. Hence, 42 rolls are well-enough preserved to be published with their full extant text; but even the other rolls, with only some words extant, should yield information.

Here I report primarily for the American team, which presently consists of Traianos Gagos, Christopher Barnes, and Matthew Kraus, and myself from the University of Michigan, Bob Daniels, as well as Jim Keenan and Clement Kuehn from Loyola University at Chicago. The papyrus rolls have been individually assigned to the Finnish and American teams, but they belong to a family archive, I believe, and the persons and activities are interrelated. Therefore the two teams must develop close interaction and share their responsibilities.

Let us now turn to the content of the Petra papyrus rolls and their nature. Most deal with the possession, disposition, and acquisition of real estate. There are sworn and unsworn agreements and settlements of disputes of sales, exchanges, cessions, divisions, registrations of properties, and dowries—before or after the wedding. The properties include vineyards, orchards, other garden land, sown land, structures on such land, as well as houses, apartments, and stables in settlements and villages as well as in Augustopolis or Udhru, Kastron Zadakathon or Zadaqa, Ammatha or Hammam, and in Petra itself.

Once we hear of a mortgage, once of a loan, and twice of donations after death. One of these (inv. 6a), or perhaps two, come very close to what in American law is called a charitable remainder trust. In inv. 6a, a dying man assembles his friends and names two curators for

his estates. They are to take care of the needs of his mother for her lifetime and, after her death, the remainder is to be donated to a church and a church-run hospice or hospital. There is little that connects the archive with the church except for a number of priests and deacons, and even bishops, one of whom, a Theodoros, may have been present at the synod in Jerusalem in A.D. 536. Once we find a reference to the lighting of candles, "the forgiveness of sins" appears once, and once we find the priest "of her, our All-Holy, Praised Lady, the Glorious God-bearing and Eternally Virgin Mary." But these religious connections remain at the fringe.

There are trivia such as a list of lost or stolen goods: "List of things I, Epiphanius, have lost. And I suspect that Euthenios, son of Dusarios, has taken 6 birds and a table, when he emptied his house. I have given him two keys so that he ... I have received an oath from Euthenios son of Dusarios ... He did not give them to me." There are a few more lines in which he lists a large key for the upper store of a house and two young cypress trees. Much remains obscure, but it appears that Epiphanius



Traianos Gagos, Ludwig Koenen and Matthew Kraus in the ACOR Conservation Laboratory

accuses Euthenios of having stolen some goods from him which he had lent or rented to him. Euthenios is a member of Petra's high society, and in 559/60, he was a member of the Council of the Metropolis.

In the archive, then, the banal is mixed with important ownership documents. There are also a few accounts and tax documents, important at the moment they were issued, but hardly of much importance for the long-term fortune of the families involved.

The archive covers a period between A.D. 528 and 578 and, possibly, until 583/86—hence more or less the years of Justinian and his successors. The same persons appear over and over again in the documents. Although in many cases it is not certain that persons carrying the same name are identical, there is no doubt that one of the

main figures is one Theodoros, son of Obodianos, grandson of Obodianos (not to be confused with the bishop Theodoros mentioned above). In A.D. 537, when Theodoros, son of Obodianos, was under the age of 24, he was married and became an archdeacon of the "most holy church of ... in the metropolis." He also was a landowner and participated in extensive business transactions. Another important figure in the texts is one Bassus who, at first glance, seems unrelated to Theodoros and his clan. However, a certain Patrophilos, son of Bassus, had a daughter Stephanos, and that daughter married the young Theodoros during or before A.D. 537. The two families promptly got into a dispute over the dowry and engaged in negotiations and finally reached a settlement. Additionally, we learn from Theodoros' signature in another papyrus on the same subject matter, that he regards Patrophilos, his wife's father, not only as father-in-law, but also as an uncle. Hence Patrophilos, also known from other papyri, was probably a brother of the wife of Obodianos, and the two families were already connected by marriage in the previous generation. I am almost certain that further research will show that all or most of the primary actors of this archive are related to Theodoros. In other words, this is family archive whose last owner was Theodoros the archdeacon. When he died, his family archive was left in the storage room of the church in which he and his father had served.

The nature of the archive therefore gives a one-sided picture. We hear of what was important to this group of rich landlords: their fields, houses, and slaves. Animals and husbandry occur only in passing. In an earlier time, Petra was famous for its trading activities. This archive does not reflect this, but I would be cautious about concluding that Petra's inhabitants were no longer involved in long-distance trade. Instead, we learn a great deal about agriculture—in particular from roll 10. That roll reports a division of property among three brothers, Bassus, Epiphanius, and Sabinus, grandsons of the Bassus mentioned above. In three subsequent lists, we learn what each of them has received. In this description the same categories are always used in the same order: vineyards, sown land, slaves, housing complexes with orchards in villages and in Petra.

The three brothers are not small farmers. In the extant parts of roll 10, the brothers divide 85 iugera among themselves; taking the lost third of the papyrus into account, this should mean a minimum of 127 iugera or 85 acres. As in Egypt, each field is described by its neighboring fields. The fields that border the fields subject to the division are usually owned by one or two of the brothers or by other relatives. Altogether, we calculate that members of the family owned about 75 neighboring fields, each being the size of at least one iugerum. This brings us to an absolute minimum of 202 iugera, or about 134 acres as owned by this family. The family may, however, have had additional land in areas not mentioned in the present document, but even 134

acres are a quite a respectable family farm.

The preceding remarks imply a tempered picture. On the one hand, and from the point of view of the governing class of the rich land owners, Petra and its hinterland was still functioning throughout the 6th century. According to the archive, land-ownership was the backbone of Petra's society—not long distance trade. As I said, this picture may be misleading, but there is no doubt that agriculture played a major role in Petra. The land-owning families were sedentary over generations, and they are members of the Council of the City.

Petra was, in Hellenistic and Early Roman times, the capital of the Nabataean kings. The Nabataeans were Semitic, more specifically Arabic, tribes. For their official writing they had adopted Aramaic, the *lingua franca* of the area; and they wrote it in their own script which was derived from Aramaic. Their personal names are by and large Arabic and, in later texts, the Arabic element grew stronger. One can imagine that their spoken language was much closer to Arabic than their epigraphical writing. According to one theory, Nabataean and Aramaic were in use simultaneously, but Nabataean writing went out of use in the 4th century, replaced by a growing use of Greek in inscriptions. However, the new papyri provide indications that the spoken language of the people remained Arabic, and we may have had a similar split between spoken Arabic and written Greek. In any case, behind the Greek facade of the Greek papyri, exist the people who once were known as Nabataeans.

In roll 10, as well in some other rolls, districts, fields, orchards, houses, and even parts of houses have Greek transcriptions of Semitic, mostly Arabic or Aramaic names. For example, one of the papyri refers to a dry-orchard called *gammath al-salam*, most likely translated as "Garden of Peace." It is significant that these people, while they used Greek in their documents, named their houses and fields in their own tongue. In description of fields and houses the names are convenient, but they are not strictly needed. Fields, for example, are fully described by the names of their neighbors, but they gave Arabic names to them, and this fact also points to the people's self-identification, far beyond the parameters of the written language.

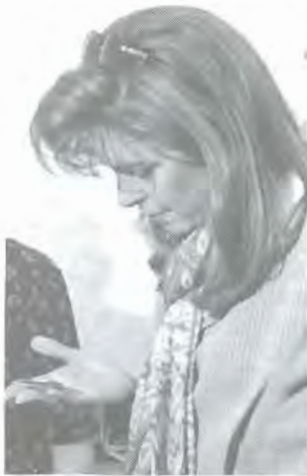
I have been drawing a revisionist picture of Petra. There is the overwhelming picture that Petra, perhaps less rich than before, remained a viable city with a functioning hinterland throughout the 6th century. Its agriculture, spread across its hinterland, has made it less dependent on the fate of trade and trade routes. The earthquake back in A.D. 363 had done damage to the city, and its consequences may have reduced the population but, as the rich church of the papyri shows, this did not bring an end to the viability of the city. To a large extent, the city was rebuilt and was a place that attracted people.

Ludwig Koenen, University of Michigan
(Excerpts from the keynote address at the International Papyrological Congress, Berlin, August 1995)

H.M. Queen Noor Visits ACOR

On May 20 Her Majesty Queen Noor visited ACOR, specifically to see the conservation of the scrolls. Bassam Gergi presented her with a bouquet of flowers. In the lab, Jaakko Frösén, Marjo Lehtinen, and Fatma Marii explained the process of unrolling the scrolls. As the conservation project had just been completed, the Minister of Tourism and Antiquities, H.E. Abdel-Elah M. Khatib, named one of the scrolls *Papyrus Petra Jaakko Frösén* in honor of his efforts for their preservation.

The party then moved on to the periodical room where an exhibit had been set up: Zbigniew Fiema explained the discovery; Matti Mustonen and Jan Vihonen demonstrated how the photography was done; William T. Oliver, the Director of USAID/Jordan, showed Her Majesty the plans for the shelter over the site; and Clement Kuehn demonstrated the computer data base. Finally, in the library, Her Majesty visited with the ACOR fellows and Pierre Bikai presented her with the photograph and text which is to the right here, saying that the text of that scroll recalled His Majesty King Hussein's efforts in the peace process.



Her Majesty examines a scroll fragment



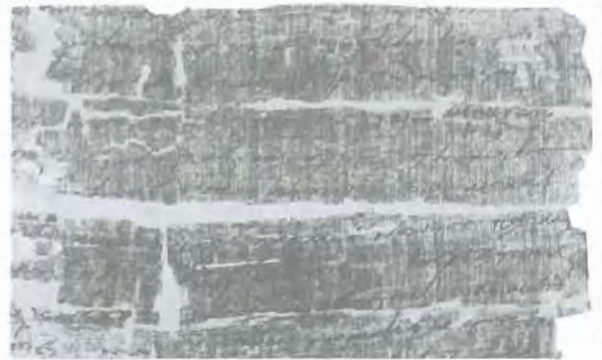
Jaakko Frösén explains the conservation project



Clem Kuehn explains the high-tech resources available for the interpretation of the scrolls

Papyrus Petra Jaakko Frösén

Named in his honor on the occasion of the completion of the conservation of the papyrus scrolls found at Petra in December of 1993. In a very short period of time, he organized a team consisting of eight Finnish graduate and postgraduate students from the University of Helsinki: Marjo Lehtinen; Mari Mustonen; Matti Mustonen; Tiina Purola; Erja Salmenkivi; Marjaana Vesterinen; Sampo Vesterinen; Jan Vihonen. He also trained Fatma Marii, a Jordanian student of archaeology and conservation from Yarmouk University, in the techniques of conservation. He organized support for the project from the University of Helsinki, the Ministry of Education and Culture of Finland, and the Academy of Finland. The conservation project began in September of 1994 and ended in May of 1995. This scroll was the last of the 152 scrolls opened. His contribution to the effort to save this part of the national heritage of Jordan is very much appreciated.



Papyrus Petra H.M. King Hussein bin Talal and H.M. Queen Noor al-Hussein

Named in their honor on the occasion of the visit of H.M. Queen Noor to the American Center of Oriental Research on May 20, 1995, to see the conservation of the papyrus scrolls found at Petra in December of 1993. The 152 scrolls, written in Greek, are the largest group of documents from antiquity found in Jordan. This scroll (Inv. no. 83) mentions Abu Karib ibn Jabalah, a Ghassanid, who was the leader of the Arabs in southern Jordan, then the Byzantine Province of Third Palestine of which Petra was the capital. According to the Byzantine author Procopius, Abu Karib ibn Jabalah was named a phylarch, a military leader, of the Arabs in Third Palestine by the Byzantine Emperor Justinian about A.D. 528. It is also known that Abu Karib and his brother, al-Harith ibn Jabalah, the king of all Arab allies, sent an embassy to Abraha, an Ethiopian who was the ruler of South Arabia at that time. In this scroll, which can be dated to the middle of the 6th century A.D., Abu Karib is involved in the settlement of a dispute over the rights to water from a spring at Petra. Theodoros son of Obodianos owned the spring, but Stephanos son of Leontios had been using the water without permission.

ACOR Director Receives Award

On May 31, 1995, ACOR Director Pierre M. Bikai received the Abdul Hameed Shoman Foundation Award "in recognition of his efforts and accomplishments" in conservation and cultural preservation. The following are excerpts from his remarks at the ceremony:

We normally think of conservation as work dealing with the preservation of nature, but in fact the cultural world has suffered just as much as the natural world and it is just as much in need of assistance. Because we are in one of the oldest occupied areas of the earth, the cultural remains here are very dense. A cultural site is any site where human activity once occurred. It can be a place where, in the Neolithic era, one person lit a camp fire and chipped stone to make tools, or it can be a Petra, a Jerash, or a Baalbek. The place where the campfire was lit can be just as important as Petra, because perhaps it was the first place where a certain tool was made, so it has a value. It is estimated that there are some 500,000 cultural sites in Jordan and there must be several million in the Near East. Of the 500,000 sites in Jordan, only about 10,000 are registered and only a handful of those are really protected. We cannot save them all but we must somehow save those that have a value, whether that



Pierre Bikai addressing the guests at the award ceremony

value is for scholarly reasons, for national history or heritage reasons, or for economic reasons—such as the use of a site to generate tourism income.

When I began in the field of archaeology in Lebanon in 1967 at the site of Tyre, I saw first the economic value as Tyre had become a major tourist site. Later I saw the scholarly value when layer upon layer of the cultural history of Lebanon were uncovered at Tyre, and finally I saw the national heritage value when so much that could never be replaced was destroyed during the Lebanon war.

My work in Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, and Jordan has been a two-pronged attempt to preserve some part of our heritage. First, create preservation projects which can be models for other projects and, secondly, train, train, and train the future generation—train them technically so they know how to save a building or a mosaic and train them to view the national heritage as their heritage.

This last is the most difficult lesson. A site is called Greek or Roman or Byzantine and therefore the general population sees it as a foreign entity and does not identify with it. If they do not identify with it, they do not care for its preservation. My name is Pierre, I was educated in English, French, and Arabic, and I am now proud to be an American citizen. A future historian, seeing my name and perhaps the things I have written in languages other than my mother tongue, might wonder what I was, but I am Arab and I was born in Beirut.

The great temples of Baalbek are called Roman, but they were built by Lebanese craftsmen working for a ruler of the Roman Empire whose mother was born in Homs, Syria. Petra of the Roman era was built by Jordanians who spoke an ancestor of Arabic called Nabataean, and Petra of the Byzantine era was populated with people who had names like Abu Karib ibn Jabalah—they were Jordanians.

It is difficult to persuade people that they should be interested in preserving the rain forests of the world until you first persuade them that those rain forests create the oxygen they breathe. It will also be difficult to persuade people that they should preserve their national heritage until they understand that it is their national heritage.

I first understood the problem when I worked with an American archaeological expedition at Sarepta in Lebanon and realized that they cared more for my national heritage than I did. I learned something from them from the care they took because they were interested in what they saw as part of their religious heritage; the site is mentioned in the Bible. This brings me to my final point.

These places and artifacts are our heritage, and they are also our responsibility in that they are the heritage of all mankind. We are their guardians—not just of their physical safety but also of their political safety. These things should not be used to represent any single thing—one group's religious heritage or another group's shrine to some view of a glorious past which should be revived. They belong to everyone but they also belong to themselves and should be allowed to tell their own story.

I view this award as a recognition of the cultural preservation movement and thank the Abdul Hameed Shoman Foundation for it.

Director's Report

Pierre M. Bikai

ACOR Projects

Madaba, Archaeological Park and Mosaics Shelters, Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities and ACOR/USAID Petra Church Documentation Project, ACOR, World Monuments Fund: Chrysanthos Kanellopoulos and Catherine Alexander

Petra Scroll Project, ACOR, Academy of Finland, University of Helsinki, University of Michigan. Funded by National Endowment for the Humanities, Samuel H. Kress Foundation, the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, and numerous others. Project participants: Jaakko Frösén, Marjo Lehtinen, Matti Mustonen, Sampo Vesterinen, Marjanna Vesterinen, Jan Vihonen, Tiina Purola, Fatma Marii, Zbigniew Fiema, Henry Cowherd, Ludwig Koenen, Clement A. Kuehn, Traianos Gagos, Christopher Barnes, James Keenan, Bob Daniels, and Matthew Kraus

ACOR-Assisted Field Projects

Tell Nimrin, James Flanagan and David McCreery

Tell Jawa, P. M. Michèle Daviau

Umm el-Jimal (study season), Bert de Vries

Wadi Ziglab, Ted Banning

Humeima, John Oleson

Petra South Temple, Martha Joukowsky

Tell Safut, Donald Wimmer

Moab Survey, Gerald Mattingly

Abila, Harold Mare

'Ain Ghazal, Zeidan Kafafi and Gary Rollefson

Via Militaris, David Graf and Fawzi Zayadine

Fellows in Residence

Near and Middle East Research and Training Act Senior Educator Fellow

Bill L. Turpen, A Descriptive Study of Two Magnet Secondary Schools for Academically Talented Students

Near and Middle East Research and Training Act Post-Doctoral Fellows

Erin Addison, Women's Support Systems in a Middle Eastern Context

Sharon Araji, Women, Education and Development in Jordan: A Comparative Study

Owen Dickens, Religious Diversity in the Modern Middle East: Christianity as a Minority Culture

Zbigniew T. Fiema, Petra and Tuwaneh Publication Project

James Gillespie, The Hashemites: A Study in Dynastic Politics and Modernization

Clement A. Kuehn, Estates and Proprietors in Early Byzantine Jordan and Egypt

Jesse C. Long, Educational Strategies in Archaeology: A

Study Project in Jordan

Albert Randall, Spiritual-Religious Dimensions of Peace in the Middle East

Near and Middle East Research and Training Act Pre-Doctoral Fellows

Najma Bachelani, Mobilization, Collective Action, and Democratization: Jordan

Elizabeth Anne Beal, A Preliminary Investigation of Consumption Practices among Urban Jordanians

Karla J. Cunningham, Islam and the Politics of Inclusion: A Jordanian Case-Study

Cathlene Hanaman, The Dynamics of Women in Jordanian Society

Barbara Kingsley, Sport and Jordanian Women

Pete Moore, The Paradox of Civil Development: The Jordanian and Kuwaiti Chambers of Commerce in Comparative Perspective

Maggi Moorehouse, Measuring Democracy in Jordan

Megan Perry, Sampling Bias: The Nature of its Effect on Demographic and Epidemiological Analyses of Skeletal Remains in Jordan

Joseph Purrello, Institutional Organizational Linkages, Constraints and Opportunities in the Jordanian Food Marketing System

Robert E. Rook, Propagating the TVA Gospel: U.S. Water Resource Planning for the Jordan River Valley, 1937-1960

Cheryl Steele, Democratic Processes in Jordan: Their Role and Impact upon the Middle East Peace Process

Alan Stein, Migration of Labor and Capital to Jordan: A Survey of Arab Workers in Jordan

United States Information Agency Fellows

Betty Anderson, The Evolution of Jordan's National Identity: The Role of the National Socialist, Ba'ath and Communist Parties 1948 to 1957

Louise Cankar, A Social History of the Returnees from Kuwait in Jordan

Nora Anne Colton, Return Labor Migration to Jordan since the Gulf Crisis

John Creed, Environmental Politics in Jordan

Marc Lynch, *Sovereignty and the Contestation of National Identity in the Public Sphere*

Beatrice St. Laurent, A Survey and Analysis of Late Ottoman Pasha Residences and Farmsteads in Jordan

Denise Schmandt-Besserat, Aspects of Neolithic Symbolism: the Socioeconomic Significance

Andrew M. Smith II, The Historical Geography of Wadi Araba, Jordan

Gail Vander Heide, Socialization of Muslim Women in Three Cultures: Bosnia, India, and Jordan

Elise Young, Effects of Processes of State Building on Definitions of Health and Health Care Practices among Palestinian Women in Jordan

Arabic Speaking Academic Immersion Program

Fida Adley and Nancy Coffin

Affiliated Fellows

Ellen Lust-Okar, Council of American Overseas Research Centers, Managing Crises: Political and Eco-

conomic Liberalization in the Middle East

Rebecca Foote, Council of American Overseas Research Centers, *Expanding the Market: Early Urban Commercial Architecture of the Levant in the Early Islamic Period*

Brian B. Schmidt, Council of American Overseas Research Centers, *Magic and Divination in Ancient Levantine Cultures*

Jillian Schwedler, Social Sciences Research Council, *The Transformation of Islamist Groups in Yemen and Jordan*

Information about ACOR's fellowships can be obtained from ACOR, 3301 North Charles St., Baltimore MD 21218.

News and Notes

◆Jan. 6. Chrys Kanellopoulos describes a stone-aging technique that uses 'ferocious oxide.' [Did he mean ferrous oxide?]

◆Jan. 15. The contractor fixing the pavement in the patio asks for money to buy more dirt. Kathy: "With all the dirt ACOR people dig up, do we have to BUY dirt?"

◆Jan. 18. While unwrapping a scroll, Fatma Marii finds the carbonized remains of a Byzantine BUG!

◆Jan. 23. Zbig invites Kathy to attend his lecture on Petra. Kathy: What are you going to talk about? Old rocks? Old dirt? Old burned paper?"

◆Jan. 26. The whole scroll team, a number of the resident fellows, and Patricia and I depart for Petra. The day includes a tour of the Petra Church.

◆Jan. 27. Zbig gives the Petra group a tour of sites around Petra—the types of

locations mentioned in the scrolls. During the course of the tour an archaeologist points out an abandoned village. A non-archaeologist asks, "Why was it abandoned?"—Expecting, no doubt, earthquake, fire, famine, war or plague as an answer. Archaeologist: "I don't know—maybe they just didn't like it anymore."

◆Feb. 12. It is reported that Chrys Kanellopoulos has said that the Petra Church has a low cholesterol (did he mean clerestory?)

◆Feb. 12. Patricia and I host a going-away party for Shishir Dutta. He is praised by a number of speakers and the first copy of Chrys Kanellopoulos' *The Great Temple of Amman: The Architecture* is presented to U.S. Ambassador Wesley Egan.

◆Feb. 13. It had been thought that the Petra Church collapsed in the earthquake of A.D. 551. Jaakko Frösén states that absolutely, positively, no question about it, he has a scroll with the date Jan. 30, 559, in it. Surprise!!

◆Feb. 13. ACOR Treasurer Randy Old arrives carrying 200 pounds of paperwork for the staff. Since he's carrying an equivalent amount of chocolate chips, he is ad-



The scroll team on a tour of the Petra region

Donors to ACOR

The following friends of ACOR contributed over the last months: Barbara Donovan, Jessica Friedman, Victor Gold, Randy Old, John Oleson, Oliver Page, Jim Richerson, Maria-Louise Sidoroff, and Henry Thompson.

Donations to the ACOR Endowment were received from: Pierre and Patricia Bikai, Lyman Bloomingdale, Roger S. Boraas, Carl Brown, Terry Christensen, Citibank, Nicholas Clapp, Thomas A. Dailey, Bert and Sally de Vries, Harold Forshey, Giraud Foster, Nan Frederick, Sami Habayeb, Martin Ludington, David McCreery, Patrick McGovern, Michel Marto, Charles Miller, Anne Ogilvy, Randy Old, S. Thomas Parker, Wertheim Schroder, H.E. Senator Leila Sharaf, Robert Trainer, Donald Wimmer, H.R.H. Ra'ad Zeid, and Judy Zimmerman.

There were donations to the Jennifer Groot Fellow-

ship Endowment from Tim Ferrell, Bruce R. Gould, and S. Thomas Parker.

Donations of books for the library were received from: American Research Center in Egypt, American School of Classical Studies, P. Assimakopoulou, Zaki Ayoubi, Pierre and Patricia Bikai, Nan Broeder, Robin Brown, Thomas A. Dailey, Ernestine Elster, Zbigniew Fiema, Peter Fischer, Meryle Gaston, Getty Conservation Institute, Dieter Glade, Issachar Goldrath, David Hopkins, Maria Iacovou, Israel Exploration Society, Lee Jobling, Nabil Khairy, Anthi Koutsoukou, Ian Kuijt, Ma'moun Farouka & Co., Hamdan Mansour, David Merling, Issa Nakhleh, New York University Library, Anne Ogilvy, John P. Oleson, William Overstreet, Glen Peterman, Jane Peterson, Joe and Sheila Purello, Michele Piccirillo, Randa Salti, Robert Schick, Robert Schumaker, Jillian Schwedler, Ahmad Sharma, A. M. Smith, Charles Tripp, University of Jordan Library, Judith Weingarten, and H.R.H. Prince Ra'ad bin Zeid.



Chrys Kanellopoulos and Shishir Dutta

mitted to ACOR.

◆Feb. 15. A group of archaeologists from Tel Aviv University come by for a tour. Afterwards there is a discussion of a regional database of archaeological information.

◆Feb. 19. Jordan TV's very nice film on the JADIS project appears on CNN World Report multiple times during the day.

◆April 5. Zbig returns from a trip to Helsinki where he lectured twice about the Petra project and the scrolls. He brings back magazines from Finland which show what a BIG DEAL the scrolls are there.

◆April 13. Gail Vander Heide lectures on "Women, Islam, and Development in Jordan."

◆April 15. A long article by Rami Khouri on the Petra Scrolls appears in the Jordan Times.

◆April 18. ACOR hires Nisreen Abu Al-Shaikh to replace accountant Marwan Yassine who is taking up another position.



Nisreen Abu Al-Shaikh

◆April 25. Joseph T. Purello lectures on "Seeking Development and Food Security: An Examination of Jordanian Agricultural Policy" and Robert E. Rook on "U.S. Water Resource Planning for the Jordan River Valley, 1864-

1969: An Overview."

◆April 30. I uncover part of the mosaic in the Petra church to see how it is faring after being buried for two winters. It looks fine.

◆May 1. Andrew Smith, viewing my pride and joy, ACOR's growing art collection: "Every time I come back here, the walls are more cluttered."

◆May 2. Erin Addison gives a lecture entitled "By Myself with Other Women."

◆May 4. I depart for Tunisia with Ghazi Bisheh for the Getty Conservation Institute's Mediterranean Conference—aboard a cruise ship which will sail to Sicily, Crete, Turkey, and then to Athens to visit sites with high-impact tourism problems and conservation problems. Everyone is pleased. Everyone is jealous.

◆May 13. H.R.H. Prince Ra'ad asks to meet some of the ACOR fellows and this evolves into a small event in the evening.

◆May 16. Sharon Araji gives a lecture entitled "Higher Education in Jordan: Do Dreams and Realities Match?"

◆May 17. General Wayne Downing comes by for a visit. He and his party are the last to see a scroll being opened.

◆May 24. In the morning, I make the last payment on the building mortgage. We own it!

◆June 5-10. During the week, the Sixth International Conference on the History and the Archaeology of Jordan is held in Turin, Italy. Burton MacDonald, Dénysse Homes-Fredericq, Bert de Vries, Gaetano Palumbo, Doug



Trustees Artemis Joukowsky and Patrick McGovern at the ACOR exhibit in Turin

Clark, Tim Harrison, Sten LaBianca, Tom Schaub, Tom Parker, Martha Joukowsky, Zbig Fiema, Patricia Bikai, Pierre Bikai, Don Whitcomb, Nancy Coinman, Mike Neeley, Gary Rollefson, Al Simmons, John Oleson, Michele Daviau, and Pat McGovern give papers.

◆June 16. I lead a tour of Petra for the trustees.

◆June 17. Lunch is served for more than 80 for the third day in a row.

◆June 22. I lead a tour of Humeima and Aqaba for the Friends of Archaeology. The group camps on the beach at Aqaba after setting up tents in a howling gale. No one gets any sleep.

ACOR Trustees Meet in Amman

The ACOR Board of Trustees met in Amman in June. Of the 24 trustees, 19 were able to attend. Events began on Monday, June 12, when they visited the Madaba project and attended a reception hosted by H.R.H. Prince Ra'ad and H.R.H. Princess Majda. The actual trustees meeting was held on June 13 and, that evening, there was a reception at ACOR to celebrate the final payment on the mortgage. The next day the trustees had a tour of the Institute of Art and Archaeology at Yarmouk U. in Irbid and visited Umm Qeis. That evening, U.S. Ambassador and Mrs. Wesley Egan received them at their residence. Events concluded with a trip to Petra.

Discussions during the meetings centered on the endowment campaign and the application to the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) for matching funds for that campaign. If the application is successful, each \$3 donated to the endowment will be matched with \$1 by NEH.

The following are extracts from the report of President Artemis Joukowsky at the board meeting:

"ACOR is, I believe, entering into or already flowing through a 'golden period' in its history—however we define such an exalted status. If viewed from the top, and if compared to all that ACOR has experienced from its humble beginnings 27 years ago, our institute is flourishing—intellectually, professionally, physically, and humanly. Our mortgage has been retired and fund-raising efforts for the establishment of an endowment have made good progress through the generosity and loyalty of its trustees. We are not in doubt of the value of our mission and are charging forward to make it succeed. I believe that our future is bright and that we should view it with great optimism.

"As you will recall, the first challenge for the ACOR Development Committee was to identify priorities for fund-raising. Our decision to build an endowment to ensure ACOR's future. In the long term, the Board intends to raise the funds necessary to underwrite the annual expenses of the Director, the Assistant Directors, and the Librarian. Each of these represents the endowment of the most essential and major operational expenses of the institute.

"Within that overall goal, it was decided that our initial focus would be to raise a one million dollar endowment for the Director's position. We concluded that ACOR should realistically be able to achieve this goal in a period of five years. In order to further encourage the philanthropic energy of the Trustees, the 'President's Challenge' was announced at the November 1994 meetings in Chicago. It was speculated that this initial thrust would raise \$100,000 or more as a nucleus fund in order to demonstrate to others the commitment of Trustees to the organization. As of today, I am delighted to report that we have achieved total gifts of \$119,592. I am also very pleased to announce that we are very close to 100% participation of all trustees."

ACOR Publications

The Great Temple of Amman by Chrysanthos Kanellopoulos. The architecture of the so-called "Temple of Hercules" which was excavated, studied and partially restored by ACOR. \$80.00 (includes shipping).

The Mosaics of Jordan by Michele Piccirillo. Large format, cloth-bound volume (10" x 13") includes 303 pages in full color with 824 illustrations, plans and aerial photographs. \$175.00 (includes shipping).

JADIS: The Jordan Antiquities Database and Information System: A Summary of the Data, edited by Gaetano Palumbo. Basic information on nearly 9,000 archaeological sites from all periods. This 453-page, large format (11" x 9"), hard-bound volume is xero-graphically reproduced. There are 117 maps of site locations by region and period, plus one large fold-out map. \$40.00 (includes shipping).

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ACOR and its Newsletter

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Inquiries may be sent to ACOR, P.O. Box 2470, Jebel Amman, Amman, Jordan, Tel.: (962-6) 846-117, Fax: (962-6) 844-181, or to ACOR, 3301 North Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21218, Tel.: (410) 516-3498, Fax: (410) 516-3499. The ACOR Newsletter is edited by Patricia M. Bikai. Printed in Jordan. The drawing on the cover page (a pilaster capital from the Petra Church) is by Chrysanthos Kanellopoulos.