CBRL 2018 – 2019

Bulletin of the Council for British Research in the Levant

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Assistant Director of CBRL's British Institute in Amman – Dr Andrea Zerbini
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Deputy Director of CBRL's Kenyon Institute – Dr Toufic Haddad (acting interim Director, Nov 2018-Aug 2019)

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About the Council for British Research in the Levant

The Council for British Research in the Levant (CBRL) is the UK's academic hub for the study of the Middle Eastern countries of Jordan, Palestine, Israel, Lebanon, Syria and Cyprus – across the social sciences and humanities.

Affiliated to the British Academy, we are an independent, not-for-profit charity that conducts, supports and promotes world-class research ranging from Palaeolithic archaeology to contemporary social science. Our activity started in 1919 with the founding of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Today, CBRL has an administrative office in London and two regional research institutes: the CBRL Kenyon Institute in East Jerusalem and CBRL Amman as well as projects and strong networks across the countries of the Levant. Our two institutes are the home of British research and intellectual life in the region, serving both international and local academic communities.

Our purpose remains as it was in 1919; to support research on, and increase understanding of the Levant, its people, cultures and societies, past, present and future.

Donors in 2018 – 19

We are grateful to the following individuals for their generous support of CBRL over the financial years 2017 – 2019: Karen Borstad, Averil Cameron, Davina Given, John Grundon, Martin Hethering, Rosemary Hollis, George Huxley, Sean Leatherbury, Sam Lieu, Joan Porter McIver, Fiona McCallum, David Mudd, Harold Walker.

We would like to thank the British Academy for their continued financial support as well as the Altajir Trust and the Barakat Trust for their support in funding our Jerusalem librarian, Hussein Ghaith.

Front cover image: Wadi Ghuwyr from Khirbet Faynan

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Chairman's foreword

> 2018 and 2019 have been years of achievement and further change at CBRL. We continued to make important contributions to scholarship across a wide range of the social sciences and humanities, increasingly in a cross-disciplinary way.
>
> **James Watt, Chairman**

We made equally important progress in improving our ability to bid for research grant funding and in our internal processes. Both came as we felt the inevitable pressure on our budget, at this late stage of the Comprehensive Spending Review period, and with our overseas costs soaring as a result of the weakness of sterling caused by the Brexit process.

The unavoidable need to meet these pressures led us to ending the London-based post of CBRL Director in March, saying farewell to Bill Finlayson, who has gone on to further work in his field. He departed with the warm thanks of us all for his years of distinguished service. The change from having three Directors to two led to further adjustments in the course of 2018, including when one of them, Mandy Turner, began a year of unpaid research leave in October, taking a well-earned break after serving for seven years as Director in Jerusalem. Carol Palmer in Amman took on the lead role for CBRL on her own, pending Mandy's return in September 2019. In this, she was ably supported by her new Assistant Director in Amman, Andrea Zerbini in 2018 in succession to Philip Proudfoot. Very sadly, Andrea passed away in July 2019 after a short illness, a great loss to all who knew and worked with him. In Jerusalem we were fortunate to recruit Toufic Haddad as the new Deputy Director, who then became Acting Director in Mandy's absence. In London, the Executive Officer, Rachel Telfer, and the Development Officer, Maggie McNulty, continued their highly effective work of transforming CBRL's administration, accounting, communications and strategic direction. They were joined in June 2019 by Kendall Livingston, for two days a week, in a new post jointly funded by CBRL, the British Institute for Persian Studies and the British Institute for East Africa, a landmark first step in closer practical co-operation between the British International Research Institutes (BIRI).

Such co-operation has become increasingly recognised as essential. The BIRIs hope to cope with the burden of increasingly demanding regulatory requirements on charities by sharing knowledge and, where possible, capacity, as well as the exciting opportunities for collaborative research. We also aim to demonstrate greater impact by co-operating where we can on major research themes. External fundraising has been recognised as more necessary than ever. At CBRL we formed a new Fundraising Working Group in 2019 to press on with this long-term process.

2018 saw the launch of a monthly e-newsletter under the direction of Maggie McNulty. It has greatly improved CBRL's reach to a wider audience, bringing news of events held in Jerusalem, Amman and the United Kingdom, and of the work being done and published by our research fellows and the recipients of our travel grants. The same new effort devoted to communicating what we do brought a systematic approach to programming lectures in London and elsewhere in the UK, and to our being represented more often at major conferences. The annual AGM lecture in December 2018, was particularly successful, with a capacity audience. It was delivered with verve and skill by Neil Faulkner on the topic of *Lawrence of Arabia: Romantic, Orientalist and Western Cultural Artefact*.

Jennie Bradbury and Philip Proudfoot represented CBRL at the British Academy's first Summer Showcase in June 2018 with research that asked: 'Was the 2011 Syrian uprising an agrarian revolt?'

Lori Allen (centre) presents at a CBRL centenary workshop on the King Crane Commission of 1919 chaired by Dawn Chatty

CBRL member Peter Parr discusses life in the at the Jerusalem Institute in the 1950s at a centenary event in 2019

The year 2019 marks the centenary of the founding of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, from which CBRL is the linear descendent, and we drew on this in order to celebrate a long history of scholarship and sheer resilience in the tumultuous conditions of our region. We made special efforts to record oral histories of those who, often now retired, could recall how things were, and what happened in the wake of the occupation of East Jerusalem and the Palestinian Territories in 1967, the establishment of an institute in Amman and the period of wary co-existence of the BSAJ and the newly-formed CBRL in the 1990s. In 2019 we also continued the series of centenary events connected to the immediate post-Ottoman world by holding a highly successful workshop at SOAS in May on *Imperial Interventions in the Levant in 1919: the Wilsonian Imaginary and the Ottoman Lands*. In March we had co-hosted a well-attended two-day conference, also at SOAS, with the London Middle East Institute and the British Egyptian Society on the Egyptian Revolution of 1919, considering its impact on the wider Arab region including Greater Syria.

Each Bulletin has the important task of recording thanks to all those who have served as volunteers in different capacities. Our much-esteemed President, Avril Cameron, stepped down from her post in December 2017, and she is warmly thanked for her advice and support over the years. She was succeeded by Clive Holes. Our Honorary Treasurer, Fiona Salzen, also stepped down then at the end of four years of dedicated hard work, in which she had thoroughly modernised our administrative and accounting capacity. We are immensely grateful to her. She is succeeded by Pat Sucher. At the same time Michelle Obeid stepped down at the end of eight years as a Trustee, in the second half of which she had launched in 2016 our highly successful new journal, *Contemporary Levant*, and served as its Editor-in-Chief. We are extremely grateful to her and to the three other Trustees ending their terms in 2018, Rosemary Hollis, Reem Abou-El-Fadel and Jennie Bradbury, for their invaluable support given to CBRL. Alex Bellem served as Honorary Secretary until June 2019, when she relinquished her post in order to concentrate on her research and CBRL is very grateful to her for her valuable contribution in the role, as well as her advocacy in promoting research in the northern Levant. Matthew Jones kindly took on the post for the remainder of the year, pending the election of a new Honorary Secretary.

I shall leave it to the Directors of the Kenyon Institute and the British Institute in Amman to describe the considerable successes they and their colleagues have achieved over the same period, and conclude with thanks to all those - staff, researchers, trustees, our Presidents, academic partners, supporters and well-wishers - who have enabled CBRL's continuing success.

James Watt,
Chairman

CBRL Amman

The past two years at CBRL's Amman Institute – The British Institute in Amman (CBRL-BIA) have been very rewarding ones, yet very sad due to the untimely passing of Andrea Zerbini, our dynamic Assistant Director, following a short illness. While a huge loss, colleagues remain eternally grateful for his presence in our lives and for all his involvement and contributions to CBRL during his time with us. It is not possible to look back at 2018 and 2019 without a sense of gratitude overall. It is a privilege to be able to work in our region and to engage with so many colleagues and friends from the UK, Jordan, the broader Levant region and beyond in a scholarly and thought-provoking context.

Andrea Zerbini

In July 2019, it was with deep sadness that we shared the news that our dear colleague, Andrea da Silva Zerbini, Assistant Director of CBRL's institute in Amman, passed away at home in Italy. Andrea was appointed Assistant Director in June 2018, replacing Philip Proudfoot who left in January 2018, and had previously been a CBRL Fellow in Amman (2013 - 2014). He was a core member of the Endangered Archaeology in the Middle East and North Africa (EAMENA) team at Oxford University and continued his association with EAMENA whilst in Amman. He loved CBRL and Jordan and the six months he spent with us are very precious ones for all of CBRL, but for the Amman team especially.

Andrea photographing in the desert

Andrea was a dynamic and ever positive presence at the Institute. He was wise and always ahead in his ideas and thinking. He was extremely passionate in everything he did, from coffee-making to classics, mastering Arabic, deciphering inscriptions, and analysing satellite imagery. Always at the centre of activities with his infectious mega-watt smile, he was a key driver for change, especially where IT was involved, which was the key role he played for EAMENA and in establishing the Newton-Khalidi Mapping Digital Heritage in Jordan (MaDiH) project started in 2019, between King's College London and the Hashemite University. Andrea fell ill in December 2018 and fought the cancer he was diagnosed with so bravely, but in the end he succumbed. We miss him greatly.

Challenges, opportunities and collaborations

Amman continues to grow and to be a dynamic hub for activities, with Jordan today possessing some of the MENA's best universities and agencies, governmental and non-governmental. There are, of course, many challenges. Internally, Jordan was in the international press in summer 2018 for the street protests surrounding proposed new tax legislation, where the protestors were actively engaged in dialogue with the government and the regime. In autumn 2019, though less well known, Jordanian teachers won a strike action for better pay after a month-long action. These events are indicators that many of the issues that sparked the so-called Arab Spring eight years ago still remain current. Moreover, Jordan continues to be profoundly affected by its geopolitical location, with on-going violence in Syria, political tensions resonating from Israel/Palestine, and new protests in Iraq and Lebanon, as well as Saudi Arabia and the Gulf influencing broader politics and economics. Strong financial and resource pressures with rising costs and an increasing legislatory environment, both in Jordan, the UK and internationally, affect all.

(October 2018) HRH Prince Hassan bin Talal pays a visit to the institute. With BIA staff and scholars & CBRL Chairman James Watt

Since 2017, Jordan has been a priority country for the UK, with the UK Embassy now reportedly growing to the third largest in the world. CBRL's long establishment in Jordan allows us to engage as embedded stakeholders, and we are particularly grateful for our long-established collaborations with the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MoTA), the Department of Antiquities (DoA) and the Royal Scientific Society (RSS). We remain grateful for the support of our Patron, HRH Prince El Hassan bin Talal, and his daughter, HRH Princess Sumaya bint El Hassan, President of the RSS. Prince Hassan kindly visited the institute in October 2018 and also lent his patronage to one of our projects in 2019, while meeting participants and hosting an evening of activities.

There is a clear need for CBRL to engage and contribute to both local and global challenges affecting Jordan and the region, and dialogues surrounding the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and 'Global Challenges' are fostered and maintained in order to demonstrate that research agendas and humanitarian interventions are more than self-serving and to the benefit of both. The opening of Newton Fund opportunities to Jordan has brought wider possibilities for collaboration, fostering a collaborative environment for UK and Jordanian colleagues. We are pleased to be a partner on four successful Newton-Khalidi AHRC Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development bids and a British Council Cultural Protection Fund (CPF) award on Bedouin intangible cultural heritage with Inherit, a branch of York Archaeological Trust, in 2019.

Faynan footsteps

An early highlight of 2018 was the 'soft opening' of the Faynan Museum on the 4th of March. The event was a collaboration between the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, the Department of Antiquities, CBRL and Reading University. Steve Mithen and Bill Finlayson, co-Directors of the Wadi Faynan 16 (WF16) excavations, were both present to mark the occasion and for the opening of the University of Reading's central exhibition at the Museum. This event was an important marker and continuation of the Institute's long-term involvement with the inhabitants of Faynan that originated with the Wadi Faynan Flagship Project in the mid-1990s.

Faynan, its Museum and its broader region continued to be a major focus of activities in 2018 and 2019. In October 2018, approximately 600 crates from WF16 stored at CBRL Amman were relocated to the Museum. Starting in February 2019, Steven Mithen's Our Past, Our Future, All Together in Faynan (OPOF) project commenced under the auspices of the Newton-Khalidi programme to further develop the Museum as a hub for the local community and resource for all visitors.

A highlight of the day was seeing all the Bedouin enthusiastically crowd around the 3-D model and pointing out areas known to them

Alta'ir: Durham-Jordan creative collaboration

In 2017, Jordanian-British author Fadia Faqir (Durham University) visited the CBRL-BIA, and in 2018 the creative collaboration 'Alta'ir' ('Bird') with Durham University, the Durham Book Festival/New Writing North, and the British Council was born. In September 2018, the CBRL-BIA welcomed the poet Linda France as writer-in-residence with a series of events and trips exploring Jordan's landscapes, botany and archaeological sites. In October 2018, the Jordanian screenplay writer and playwright, Mifleh Al-Adwan, held his exchange residency at St Mary's College, Durham, and found great inspiration exploring connections at the far reaches of the former Roman Empire, between Hadrian's Arch at Jarash in Jordan and Hadrian's Wall in Northumberland.

We were pleased to welcome the author Andrew Michael Hurley (Manchester Metropolitan University) as the second Alta'ir UK scholar in residence in September 2019, and the internationally recognised author Kafa' Al Zoubi was the second Jordanian winner, this time holding her residency at St Aidan's College, Durham. Ammar Khammash, Jordanian architect and artist, participated in the Durham exchange in 2019 with an art exhibition and accompanying discussions. It is wonderful to see how the exchange is growing and the possibilities it brings for dialogue and connections.

October 2018 participants – Mofleh Al Adwan and Linda France discuss their experiences during Alta'ir at a panel at Durham Book Festival. Photo credit: Topher McGrillis

Narratives of displacement

Also within this creative spirit, CBRL pilot-award winner Yafa Shanneik (Birmingham University), in her use of multi-method approaches for her project on Syrian and Iraqi war widows, commissioned the award-winning artist Rachel Gadsden to conduct artistic workshops using body mapping.

While Rachel was based at the Institute in August 2018, the top floor lounge became an art studio. The Palestinian artist, Amna Hussein, and musician Freddie Meyers joined Rachel for a period of two weeks. The result was one of the highlights of the past two years with colourful expressive artworks displayed in the Institute's reception room and garden for an art exhibition and artistic musical performance on the 8th August 2018.

Yaffa Shanneik, the researcher behind Narratives of displacement

Jordan, Amman, King Abdullah Mosque

Other highlights

Aside from these special activities, CBRL-BIA co-organised and hosted public lectures in 2018 and 2019 on topics as diverse as John Winterburn's lecture on the early 20th-century archaeology of communications and conflict in southern Jordan, CBRL Fellow Mirjam Twigt's lecture on the significance of information and communication technologies (ICTs) in refugees' lives, and Hussam Hussein's lecture on water scarcity discourses and hydropolitics, both in person and virtually through live-streaming. We continued our collaboration with Bath University hosting two evening events, as well as hosting Oxford University's Refugee Studies Centre's Palestine Refugees and International Law short course in 2018 and 2019. We were privileged to host very interesting workshops with Northumbria University (September 2018) and as part of the MaDiH project (October 2019), as well as a Newton-Khalidi Researcher Links collaborative workshop on water led by CBRL Trustee Matt Jones and Sana'a AlZyoud from Al al-Bait University. Matt and Sana also attended the British Institute in Ankara (BIAA) led BIRI collaborative research workshop on water in Ankara at the end of September 2019.

The Aerial Archaeology in Jordan team visited in October 2018 and 2019 to continue their now more than 20-year campaign of recording and monitoring of Jordan's cultural heritage from the air, begun by David Kennedy and now headed by Robert Bewley, Director of the Endangered Archaeology in the Middle East and North Africa (EAMENA) project at Oxford. EAMENA was very active in Amman in 2018 and 2019 organising training workshops for cultural heritage professionals from Jordan, Palestine and Yemen. Finally, CBRL participated in a new initiative to provide a discussion forum between students and staff at local universities, the DoA and Amman's international research institutes, with meetings at the Institut français du Proche-Orient (Ifpo) in March 2018, Yarmouk University in Irbid in December 2018 and King Hussein bin Talal University in June 2019.

People at CBRL Amman

CBRL Post-doctoral Fellows in residence in 2018 were Mirjam Twigt, a specialist in media-use by and for forced migrants, and Sarah Elliott, an environmental archaeologist, ethnoarchaeologist and specialist in the Neolithic, who is well-known to many due to her previous sojourns at the CBRL-BIA. Sarah continues to be a frequent visitor as part of her British Academy Post-doctoral Fellowship held in partnership with CBRL. In 2019, we welcomed Alex Henley who is working on a project on religious leadership and Michel de Vreeze who is working both in Lebanon and Jordan on the Bronze Age. Between May and December 2018, Christine Elias returned to join the team as CBRL-BIA archivist and collections consultant working on our archives and collections. We continue our partnership with the Qasid Arabic Institute that allows us to support graduate students in advancing their Arabic language skills. The 2018 recipients were Chris Wilson (Cambridge) and Faizul Redhwan Karim (SOAS) and Annie Evans (Loughborough) in 2019.

The team at the Institute continue to make it both a productive and happy place in which to live and work, including Firas Bqa'in, operations manager; Rudaina Al Momani, librarian; Osama Dasouqi, caretaker and driver; and Sameera Jbour, our housekeeper. Rana Al Zoubi, our accountant left us in April 2019 after three years of much appreciated service and we welcome, Safa Al-Muhtaseb as her replacement, now supporting both accounting and administrative functions. In 2019, three new staff joined CBRL to work on project activities: Nebras Maslamani, Shatha Mubaideen, and Khadija Al Fageer. We continue to consider the possibility of moving the Institute to a new location, away from Tla' Al Ali, but for the foreseeable future we are continuing in our present building.

... and some anniversaries

While CBRL on an institutional level has been marking 100 years since its founding, our own archive project at CBRL-BIA brought to the fore memories of the establishment of the British Institute in the 1970s.

On a final personal note, October 2018 marked the 30th anniversary ('Jordanniversary') of my first visit to Jordan to join former British Institute at Amman for Archaeology and History (BIAAH's) director, Andy Garrard's excavations in Wadi Jilat and to start fieldwork in preparation for my PhD on traditional farming at Sheffield University. To mark this event, Andrea, other staff and fellows helped in the organisation of a party at the lovely Shams Al Balad restaurant, where many friends from throughout the years joined us. Amman and Jordan as a whole are remarkably different places since 1988, but so many friends remain a source of inspiration and bonhomie. September 2019 marked my tenth anniversary as CBRL-BIA director.

Carol Palmer,
BIA director

CBRL Jerusalem

The year 2019 marked the centenary anniversary of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (BSAJ), the predecessor organisation of CBRL's Kenyon Institute (KI) (est. 2001) today. This important milestone in the history of our organisation is a testament to the vision, determination and commitment of its founders and supporters over the years, and a de facto recognition of the long-standing contributions of British intellectual life to this unique and historical city. Moreover, it is also a testimony to the great changes that have taken place both within the organisation and in the environment in which we operate.

Attendees at the CBRL Kenyon Institute at a talk given by Noura Erekat in August 2019.

Our Jerusalem institute has now existed under three different governing authorities since its founding and has constantly borne the challenge of having to balance and adapt the fulfilment of its scholarly mission to the challenges of its local circumstances. Where once we were an organisation exclusively dedicated to the teaching and practice of archaeology, today we refrain from engaging in archaeological excavations in the Occupied Territories (out of respect for international law), and primarily focus on facilitating other social-science and humanities-oriented research, a great deal of which focuses on the modern political history of the region.

> As we reflect upon our work these past two years, it is worth bearing in mind the legacy of the past, as well as the challenges of the present.

Jerusalem has hardly been a forgiving environment, with the city consistently at the centre of many local political developments. 2018 witnessed the US Trump administration's controversial decisions to move the US embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem in May. When such developments take place against a backdrop of inexistent Israeli-Palestinian political negotiations, the continued blockade of the Gaza Strip, and aggressive Jewish settlement activity across the OPT and in East Jerusalem in particular, it is not difficult to appreciate the complexity of challenges we navigate.

Kalimat literature festival November 2018 in Nazareth

Faced with this reality, CBRL's Kenyon Institute (CBRL-KI) has striven – and succeeded – in creating a reliable, secure and lively space to pursue its mission. After a century of presence in the city, we recognise that we already are a part of East Jerusalem's modern history and intellectual fabric. By contributing to the preservation, incubation and growth of independent scholarship, CBRL-KI is able to sustain an intellectual community and heritage in the heart of a city where the exchange of ideas and the possibility to network for young and experienced scholars alike is increasingly being lost.

2018 and 2019 remained active years for our research activities, publications, and outreach events overall. In total, we hosted no less than 20 public outreach events, including round tables discussions, public lectures, book talks, as well as a major literary festival. Several of these events witnessed hundreds of attendees and considerably raised the profile of the organisation and our mission. A brief overview of this outreach activity illustrates the diversity of the research community we attract, their topicality to contemporary debates, and the extensive engagement and partnership we share with UK, international and local scholars and actors.

Of particular note in this regard was the 2018 Kalimat Literature Festival, co-initiated and co-organised with the Educational Bookshop, which brought together 16 local and international authors. The November festival was thematically organised around attempting to understand the role culture and literature plays in times of adversity. Nightly thematically organised panels were held in Jerusalem, Nablus, Ramallah, Bethlehem and Haifa, while four writing workshops were also organised at al-Quds, an-Najah, Birzeit, and Bethlehem universities. The latter aimed at developing creative writing skills, and exposing international writers to local university communities, their existing writing programs, and the challenges they face overall.

CBRL-KI researchers also maintained active publication profiles in 2018 and 2019. Notable highlights include:
CBRL Fellow Polly Withers completing her book manuscript provisionally entitled: *Beyond Resistance: Nationality, Gender, and Leisure in a Palestinian Music Scene* (under consideration with Cambridge University Press). The book explores the "alternative" Palestinian music scene in post-Oslo Palestine and is based on Polly's PhD award-winning thesis from the University of Exeter (2018 Leigh Douglas Memorial Prize for best PhD on a Middle Eastern topic in the humanities and social sciences).

Nora Parr won a £10,000 seed grant from SOAS, University of London, for the Beyond Trauma project she founded with co-principle investigator Orkideh Behrousan, parts of which were also developed during her stay at CBRL-KI during 2018. (See www.beyondtraumaproject.com.)

April 2019 also saw the publication of CBRL-KI Director Mandy Turner's *From the River to the Sea: Palestine and Israel in the Shadow of "Peace"*, which came out from Rowman and Littlefield/Lexington Books. The edited book features chapter contributions from a host of scholars including many of whom also have CBRL affiliations: Toufic Haddad (CBRL-KI Deputy Director), Cherine Hussein (former CBRL-KI Deputy Director, 2013-15), Raja Khalidi, Yonatan Mendel (CBRL Research Fellow 2008-09), and Mansour Nasasra (CBRL Research Fellow, 2014-16) among others. The book interrogates the twenty-year legacy of the Oslo Accords between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), and was sponsored by a British Academy Strategic Development Award won in 2013-14, and an LSE Middle East Centre 'Academic Collaboration with Arab Universities Grant' (MEC-AC-2015-03 'Advancing research and teaching in political economy in the oPt', 2015-17).

Mandy's consistent publication record and tireless efforts to deepen and expand CBRL-KI's mission over the years, notably won her the Susan S. Northcutt Award at the International Studies Association annual conference in San Francisco in April 2018. This award recognises outstanding work in mentoring early career researchers in academia as well as her valuable contribution to the field of the political economy of peace and development processes.

Not long after receiving her award, Mandy began a much-deserved year-long research leave to work on her own monograph. She was replaced in her duties by Deputy/Acting Director Toufic Haddad, who joined the Kenyon team in October 2018.

Before coming to CBRL-KI, Toufic had an eclectic academic and professional background, working as a journalist, editor, publisher, researcher, and consultant in Israel/ Palestine including working in various local NGOs and international organisations (UNDP, UNOCHA). He completed his PhD in Development Studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London in 2015, transforming his research into the well-received monograph, *Palestine Ltd: Neoliberalism and Nationalism in the Occupied Territory* (I.B. Tauris, 2016), which also came out in paperback in 2018.

Much of his tenure as Acting Director throughout 2019 has focused on major infrastructural upgrade projects to the CBRL-KI facility, which were historically neglected due to lack of funds. These works, partially funded by 2018-2019 and 2019-2020 Business Development Fund grants from the British Academy, include the rewiring and re-grounding of the building's electricity network, the upgrading of its dormitory bathrooms and extensive facility painting.

The rich diversity and scholarly tradition of East Jerusalem has suffered greatly in recent years, under occupation, and since 2002, cut off from its natural historical periphery in the West Bank due to the Israeli separation barrier. While these matters testify to the consistency of political turbulence that has characterised much of our history in Jerusalem, we are not impartial to their effects. We hence remain committed to helping preserve, revive and incubate East Jerusalem's scholarly tradition at the highest academic standards, doing so within the belief that connecting institutions, researchers and their ideas can play a role in bringing Jerusalem the understanding and peace it deserves, but has long been denied.

Toufic Haddad,
Acting Director CBRL Kenyon Institute

With thanks to CBRL's former Director, Bill Finlayson

At the end of March 2018, CBRL's long-serving Director, Bill Finlayson, left his post. Bill's long and distinguished association with CBRL began in 1999 shortly after the formal merger of the British Institute at Amman for Archaeology and History (BIAAH) with the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (BSAJ), when he was appointed Regional Director operating from Amman.

One of his early achievements was in completing the merger process, and in re-establishing an institutional presence in East Jerusalem at the former BSAJ premises, now CBRL's Kenyon Institute. In 2003 he moved the British Institute in Amman, as it then became, to its current premises in Tla' Al-'Ali.

Bill played a major role in transforming CBRL from a small archaeological research base into a multi-disciplinary research body with a vibrant research culture that reflects the wide disciplinary remit requested by CBRL's main sponsor, the British Academy.

His own research on the Neolithic helped ensure CBRL's strong international reputation as a leading archaeological research centre, working in partnerships with Jordanian, British, European and American colleagues. Highlights included his excavations with Steven Mithen at Wadi Faynan 16, a substantial Pre-Pottery Neolithic A settlement in southern Jordan, his heritage and experimental archaeological research at Beidha and his excavations at Dhra'.

Bill also brought cultural heritage management skills to CBRL, leading to new collaborations with the Jordanian Department of Antiquities and Ministry of Tourism within a new inter-disciplinary framework.

CBRL's operations broadened under Bill's leadership and the increasing volume of research being undertaken in Syria drove a CBRL strategy to expand its operations into Syria until the war erupted in 2011 and the initiative had to be abandoned. Bill relocated to London from 2012 in a new post as CBRL's UK Director, providing overall supervision for the development of the institutes in Amman and Jerusalem led respectively by Carol Palmer and Mandy Turner. At the same time, he took responsibility for extending CBRL's network among British universities, for developing research excellence, for ensuring the publication of CBRL's research in *Levant* and *Contemporary Levant*, and for engaging in the increasingly crucial business of securing continued funding through the British Academy. In this he achieved major successes not only on behalf of CBRL but also for the other British International Research Institutes (BIRI).

Bill talks to the local community at Neolithic Beidha as part of the 'Deep Past as a Social Asset in the Levant' (DEEPSAL) project

Undergraduate prize winners at the 2019 AGM

News from CBRL's Research Committee

Over the past two years, the CBRL Research Committee has had the privilege of reading and assessing the many grant applications submitted to our funding schemes by scholars at all career stages. Our fellowships and project awards are intended to facilitate and continue our long tradition of supporting excellent research in the broad social sciences in the Levantine region. We receive applications of extremely high quality, and competition is often tough - a sure sign of a healthy discipline.

In 2018 we added to our remit an Undergraduate Dissertation Prize, and in 2019 a Master's Dissertation Prize. We would like to thank former CBRL Trustee and research committee member Rosemary Hollis for her generous donation that supported both prizes this year. Through these new prize schemes, we hope to raise awareness of CBRL with younger scholars, and to encourage them to continue their research in the Levant.

We currently fund the majority of our research awards from our British Academy core grant. These awards are restricted to funding post-doctoral scholars at UK universities only. To enable the crucial support of doctoral students, from 2016 we began asking our members and friends to support our Post-Graduate Travel Grant scheme. The value of these grants for Levantine research has been witnessed repeatedly: they enable early career researchers to undertake specific study trips to the region, providing them with first-hand experience of the Levant and research networks on the ground, which can influence their career paths for years to come. Thank you to all who have given generously in support of these awards over the years.

The research we fund and support at CBRL covers the breadth of the social sciences and humanities in the Levant, and this year we have established eight new research themes to better describe our coverage (these can be found on the CBRL website). In the future we plan to partner with other scholarly organisations to offer joint research awards which fall within our themes.

In 2019 we partnered with University College London's Nahrein Network for the first time. Funded by an AHRC Global Challenges Research Fund, the scheme has been running for several years to bring Iraqi scholars, cultural heritage professionals and NGO workers to the UK for training and research. In 2019 the Nahrein Network expanded to include Lebanon, Turkey and Iran. We are delighted that a Lebanese scholar has been awarded a fellowship for 2019-20 and CBRL will be involved in supporting their research trip to the UK next year.

Finally, in 2019 CBRL Amman has taken on a new role as local partner for four projects funded by the AHRC Newton-Khalidi scheme for Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development in Jordan. These are collaborative projects involving UK and Jordanian Universities and organisations working together to build sustainable capacity in Jordan. As part of the Newton-Khalidi initiatives, CBRL Amman has hosted two Jordanian project managers to join the vibrant research community in Amman.

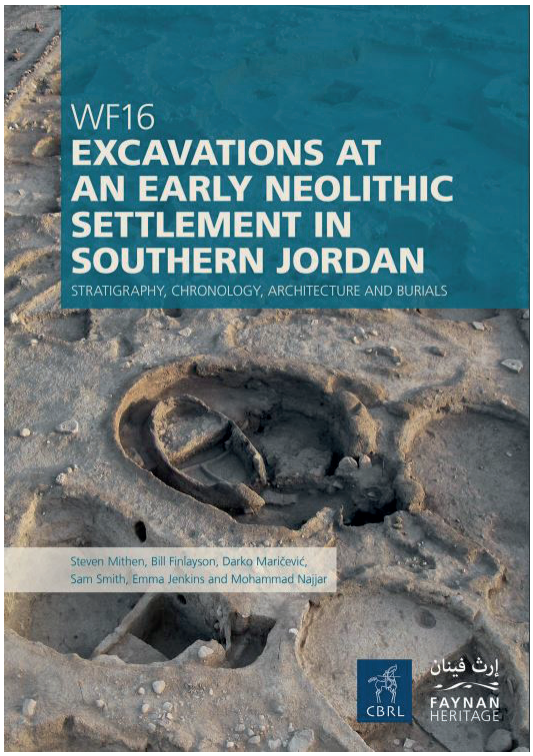
Louise Martin,
Chair of Research

Melissa Gatter 2018 Postgraduate Travel Grant recipient

The new museum at Wadi Faynan, part of the Newton Khalidi Our Past Our Future project

News from CBRL's Publications Committee

CBRL publishes the first of its open-access digital monographs



The first open access digital monograph published by CBRL

In the last two years, we have seen some significant changes to the way in which CBRL produces and circulates its published research. Perhaps the greatest change and success story is the shift to online digital open access monographs. 2018 saw the first open access digital monograph published by CBRL, *WF16 Excavations at an Early Neolithic Settlement in Southern Jordan; stratigraphy, chronology, architecture and burials* by Steven Mithen, Bill Finlayson, Darko Maričević, Sam Smith, Emma Jenkins and Mohammad Najjar.

From now on researchers wishing to publish with the CBRL Monograph Series will know that their monographs will be immediately available to everyone through the CBRL website and through the Archaeology Data Service, where our eBooks and their Digital Object Identifier are maintained and made widely available through CrossRef. Currently many of our monographs published with Oxbow are unavailable on our website, but this will be changing as we digitise monographs over three years old. Very soon these will be available as digital monographs along with our new monographs, all open access and all free to download from the CBRL website.

Open Access journals and the implications for *Levant* and *Contemporary Levant*

The move toward open access journals will have some considerable implications for CBRL journals. The key principle of Plan S (Shock) as it is called, states that by 2021, research funded by public or private grants must be published in open access journals or platforms or made immediately available in open access repositories without an embargo. The effect is that subscription rates for journals and other scholarly publications that receive government funding for their support would disappear so that publisher / publishing house would pay for production of journals and scholarly books, rather than the public.

At CBRL our journals are currently 'hybrid', that is, we publish articles that are both open access (Gold Standard) and behind a pay wall (Green Standard). Whether or not we will have to make all of our articles open access in the future is something that we are waiting to learn more about, however, right now our principal worry is that those articles that are open access will be read more and cited more than articles that are not, irrespective of quality. The editors of *Levant* and *Contemporary Levant* are monitoring the situation and I will report back in future bulletins.

Thank you to the out-going Editor-in-Chief of *Contemporary Levant*

After four years in the role of Editor-in-Chief of *Contemporary Levant* we say goodbye to Michelle Obeid. In the lead up to 2016, CBRL's board of trustees decided that it was time that we launched a new peer-reviewed journal to cover the breadth of our organisation's research interests on current and emerging issues of the contemporary Levant and its diasporas. Our institutes have always welcomed scholars from diverse interests, but it was not until the late 1990s when we 'officially' represented the full range of disciplines from the humanities and social sciences.

The task of conceiving and developing this journal was given to then CBRL Trustee, Michelle Obeid who was appointed the journal's first Editor-in-Chief. For the past four years Michelle has devoted masses of energy, enthusiasm and brilliant vision to establishing a now internationally renowned journal at the cutting edge of contemporary Levantine academic thought. From all of us at CBRL, we would like to express our heartfelt thanks to Michelle for all her hard work, editorial expertise and leadership in founding *Contemporary Levant*. We wish her well in her future endeavours.

Jo Clarke,
Chair of the Publications Committee

Contemporary Levant

A round-table discussion with the editors and Deniz Kandiyoti (SOAS)

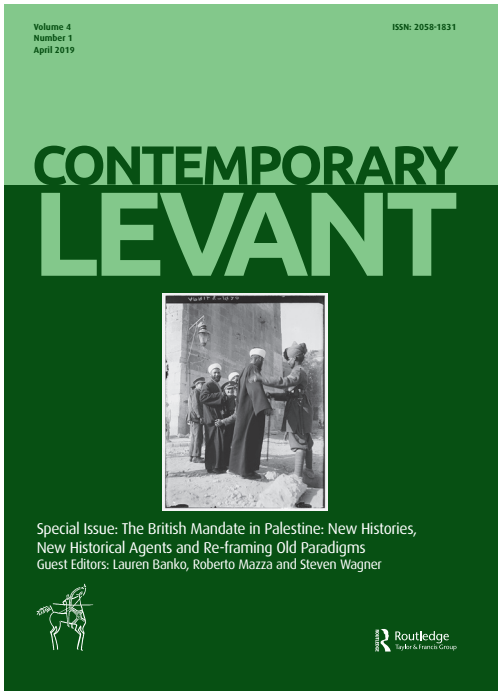
Now in its fourth year, *Contemporary Levant* is going from strength to strength, with two issues a year and an impressive readership with several articles clocking-up excess of 1,000 downloads. The journal aims to foster research agendas that engage with and reflect current and emerging issues in the region.

The 2018 special issue, co-edited by social anthropologists, Pnina Werbner (Keele University) and Claudia Liebelt (Bayreuth University) explored the theme 'Gendering Everyday Islam'. The issue offered a valuable contribution to rethinking the gendered meanings of 'everyday Islam,' Islamic piety and normativity in contemporary Muslim-majority societies and their diasporas. In the October following its publication, we held a round-table discussion with the editors and Deniz Kandiyoti (SOAS) as discussant for a lively debate that was well attended.

In the centenary year of CBRL's founding institute, we published a special issue in 2019, co-edited by Lauren Banko (Yale), Roberto Mazza (University of Limerick) and Steven Wagner (Brunel University), entitled *'The British Mandate in Palestine: New Histories, New Historical Agents and Re-framing Old Paradigms'*.

In 2018 we launched the first CBRL Prize for Best Article in *Contemporary Levant*. In its first year, the prize was awarded to Ann-Christin Wagner (University of Edinburgh) for her paper: *Remapping the Holy Land from the Margins: How a Jordanian Evangelical church juggles the 'local' and the 'global' in the Syrian refugee response*. Ann-Christin's paper shed light on important issues that had previously been invisible in academic publications, namely the impact of refugee hosting on local communities and their implications for inter-faith encounters. Ann-Christin's article was published in Volume 3, Issue 2 of the journal.

In 2019, the best paper prize was awarded to co-authors Shatha Abu-Khafajah (Hashemite University) and Riham Miqdadi (United Arab Emirates University) for their paper: *Prejudice, military intelligence, and neoliberalism: Examining the local within archaeology and heritage practices in Jordan*. The paper offers a trenchant critique of colonial and neoliberal influences on archaeological and heritage practices in Jordan. The prize committee also gave an honourable mention to Lauren Banko's article *'A stranger from this homeland': deportation and the ruin of lives and livelihoods during the Palestine Mandate*. The paper weaves historical debates around tragic personal stories that explore Mandate Palestine's immigration policy through the stories of migrants and settled residents who attempted to resist government-issued deportation orders. Both articles are published in the latest journal issue of *Contemporary Levant* (Volume 4, Issue 2).



Contemporary Levant (Volume 4, Issue 2).

Finally, as I step down from the role of Editor-in-Chief of *Contemporary Levant*, I'd like to welcome Sarah Irving who will take up the reins. Sarah holds a PhD from the University of Edinburgh and degrees from Cambridge and Manchester and from January 2020, she will be taking up a Leverhulme Early Career Fellowship at Edge Hill University. Her main research focus is the social and cultural history of Palestine in the Ottoman and Mandate periods, particularly the role of ordinary Palestinians in knowledge production and the material life of archaeology, ethnography and local history. She has published academic work on the depiction of Muslim-Jewish and Arab-Jewish relations in contemporary Yemeni, Iraqi and Palestinian fiction, and on other literary themes. Prior to returning to academia, she was a journalist and writer, principally on environmental and social subjects, and the author and editor of a number of books on the Middle East. We wish Sarah all the best in her new role as Editor-in-Chief.

Michelle Obeid,
Editor-in-Chief, *Contemporary Levant*

The Madaba Mosaic Map found in Jordan

Levant

For 2018, we were thrilled to share that *Levant* ranked at No. 33 out of 300 journals categorised under Archaeology in the SJR Scimago Index. By way of explanation, the SJR score can be read as an indicator of the relative prestige of a journal as it reflects not just number of citations (which in its raw form is biased towards those journals that publish many issues per year, and those fields with the highest numbers of active researchers), but takes account of the relative size of different disciplines and journals, and also the standing of the venues in which papers from the journal are cited. For 2018, the top 25 places are dominated by well-known journals with global coverage and large archaeological science venues; many periodicals in both categories publish scores or even hundreds of papers each year. However, *Levant* sits near the top of those journals with a defined regional focus and is the top-ranked journal dealing specifically with the archaeology of the Middle East.

The journal continues to publish three issues per year, and our coverage extends from prehistory through to the 20th Century. While the coverage of *Levant* was traditionally dominated by papers dealing with the Southern Levant, this was always more by accident than design. In 2018, we are pleased to report a growing number of articles dealing with the archaeology of Lebanon, including a review of the early Islamic period site of Anjar. We continue to publish on the archaeology of Syria, including articles on Neolithic recording systems at Sabi Abyad and child burials from Tell Arbid. Other emerging trends in 2018 are applications of archaeological science methods – including isotopic studies of animal movement in the Jordanian steppe zone, and several investigations of ceramic technology and exchange. These papers are making good use of *Levant's* on-line Supplementary Data feature. The Southern Levant continues to play a key role, as evidenced by important papers on the archaeological and epigraphic evidence from the Iron Age Moabite Sanctuary at Khirbat Ataruz in Jordan.

The 2019 volume begins with a double Special Issue on Ceramic Petrography in the Northern Levant. Pottery played an important role in early complex societies in the region; tablewares reflect changing fashions in dining; jars permitted the transport and storage of commodities like olive oil and wine. This issue offers the first substantial group of papers on the technology and production of ceramics at Bronze Age sites across the northern Levant, includes contributions by a new generation of Syrian researchers, and underlines our commitment to supporting research on the archaeology of Syria through the current crisis. The last issue of 2019 includes a re-evaluation of radiocarbon dates from prehistoric sites in the Levant, and the presentation of a major Late Bronze Age temple at Lachish in Israel.

Our programme of Special Issues will continue with issues on *Waterscapes of the Ottoman Period, (2020) and The Connected Island: Cyprus from the Neolithic to the end of the Bronze Age (2021)*. With a current acceptance rate of around 50%, *Levant* continues to publish the cutting-edge research upon which future high-level syntheses will be built.

Graham Philip,
Editor-in-Chief, *Levant*

Finance and CBRL

Our people

My name is Pat Sucher, and I have been Honorary Treasurer for CBRL since the beginning of 2019. I took over from Fiona Salzen who was Honorary Treasurer for the four years until the end of 2018. Many thanks to Fiona for the wonderful job she did as our Treasurer.

Welcome to the section on finance where we will say a little bit about how we are funded and our current position. For those who want more specifics about finances, do have a look at the Annual Report and Financial Statements for 2018 and 2019 available on the Charity Commission website.

Our funding

A significant part of our funding – 80% – continues to come from the Department for Business, Energy and Industrial Strategy's (BEIS) via the British Academy, both in the form of our core grant and through the Business Development Fund to help develop the BIRI's long-term financial sustainability. The British Academy core grant continued to reduce during 2017-18 and 2018-19, and by 2020 will have decreased by 15% since 2016. Both aspects of the British Academy grant will be negotiated in the next Comprehensive Spending Review.

We also obtain funding from donations, such as members who donate towards our provision of travel grants to students; our academic prizes; other grants towards our research; and income from our hostels in Amman and East Jerusalem where we are very pleased to welcome members.

Current position

Managing finance and ensuring we have adequate reserves is challenging. Though we generated a surplus on our general fund of £28,860 in the year ending 31 March 2019, this was after a deficit of £30,295 in the previous year. There are particular challenges around operating overseas with the weakness of sterling and managing our contributions to the USS pension scheme. However, everyone is aware of our financial constraints and our regional and London staff do a great job of monitoring and carefully managing our expenditure.

Despite the increasingly difficult circumstances under which we are operating, there have been significant achievements over the last two years. We are proud to continue to offer overseas institutes providing libraries, accommodation and a community of scholars and networks in both Amman and Jerusalem. Our ongoing financial planning strategy is to minimise risk through matching our permanent cost base to the core grant, but we remain ambitious in our outlook and continue to source alternative income to fund our mission.

Pat Sucher,
Honorary Treasurer

Bedouin breakfast' at Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi , Syria (Denis Genequand, 2006)

Research summaries for all CBRL funded and affiliated projects and Honorary Fellows in 2018 and 2019

Pilot awards

These awards are intended to enable postdoctoral scholars to undertake initial exploratory work or a feasibility study prior to making applications for major funding. In addition, CBRL may assist such feasibility studies in establishing local contacts.

Kamal Badreshany amphorae at Ell el-Burak

(2018) Kamal Badreshany (Durham University) – Instruments of imperialism? What transport jars reveal about economy and administration in the earliest world empires

This project investigates the socio-economic impact of imperial policies on the Phoenician heartland during the Iron Age through the analysis of Phoenician amphorae, a transport container known to be of great economic importance. A dataset of more than 4,000 vessels were studied using the combination of a traditional typological investigation with a focused archaeometric approach including a new quantitative method for the morphometric analysis of amphorae, thin-section petrography, geochemistry and organic residue analyses. The study was aimed at gaining a more detailed understanding of the organisation of the Phoenician economy. The results of the research demonstrate that the production of the Iron Age amphorae from Tell el-Burak in Lebanon was highly organised and was undertaken by long-lived, sustained and centralised modes. The results also provide new insights into socio-economic strategies adopted in the Phoenician homeland during the proliferation of the world's first great imperial powers. A follow-on project incorporating amphorae data from four additional Phoenician sites of Sidon, Sarepta, Beirut, and Jiye promises to significantly improve our understanding of the adoption of economic strategies during this period on the Lebanese coast.

(2018) Michael Given (University of Glasgow) – Forest heritage of Cyprus: Please see the feature article on page 26

Hussam Hussein Jordan River

(2018) Hussam Hussein (University of East Anglia) – More than just a short term! Long term resilient and flexible solutions for water sectors impacted by forced migrations and refugees; the case of the Syrian refugees in Jordan and Lebanon.

The guiding research question of this research project was: how can long-term water policies, strategies, and international water agreements adapt to sudden waves of forced migrations? This study set out to expand on literature about water policies and international water agreements to give new insights on the analysis of resilience and flexibility in treaties. Connecting studies on the impact that forced migrations have on water policies and strategies with transboundary water governance, the project deployed the adaptive governance conceptual framework to analyse the resilience of transboundary water governance. Using Jordan and Lebanon as case studies, the research evaluated the impact that refugees have on water resources as well as on long-term policies, strategies, and international agreements. It then focused on the existing policies, strategies, and international agreements, to examine the extent of their flexibility and resilience.

Jordanian and Syrian female plumbers present their skills

(2018) Katharina Lenner (University of Bath) – Tackling the causes for flight? The changing features and effects of German refugee policy in Jordan

This pilot study award made possible two months of fieldwork in Jordan, as well as background research in Germany, about the changing features and effects of German refugee policy in Jordan. Building on a critical ethnographic approach to policy-making, the fieldwork for this pilot study sought to trace the massive expansion and map the current scope of German-funded interventions in Jordan. Moreover, it sought to gain insights into the everyday dynamics of these policies by focusing on a number of projects promoting employment of Syrian refugees and vulnerable Jordanians. To this end, it analysed dynamics in and around a large Cash for Work Project, and a project training men and women to become plumbers. At the end of the fieldwork period, it brought together stakeholders from across different projects and organisations to discuss preliminary research findings, as well as broader issues and challenges of employment-oriented programming.

(2018, 2019) Gerasimos Tsourapas (University of Birmingham) – Migration diplomacy in the Eastern Mediterranean – inter-state politics of population mobility in the Middle East

This project investigates how migratory flows across national borders have affected, and featured in, the Jordanian state's diplomatic interactions. It focuses on the politics of Jordan's management of cross-border population mobility in its international relations on three dimensions: as a sending state (of emigrants to the Arab oil-producing states); as a transit state (regulating migrants' transit to other Arab and non-Arab states in the region); and as a host state (of labour immigrants and forcibly-displaced populations). The pilot study utilises British archival and secondary sources, French diplomatic reports, as well as elite and expert interviews in order to highlight how Jordan's migration policies developed in reaction to British rule (1921-1946) and the numerous population mobility crises following the 1948 War. It demonstrates the Jordanian state's complex and layered structured approach in regulating cross-border mobility from independence until today.

(2019) Bahar Baser (Coventry University) – Identification formation and diasporic mobilisation of Jewish Kurds in Israel: Please see the feature article on page 33

(2019) Piotr Jacobsson (University of Glasgow) – Dating earlier Holocene skeletal remains from south west Asia: Please see the feature article on page 37

Yafa Shanneik presenting her project at an exhibition at CBRL Amman August 2018

(2019) Yafa Shanneik (University of Birmingham) – Muslim marriages, multiple identities: Syrian and Iraqi refugee women in Jordan

The project examines how Muslim marriage practices assist Syrian and Iraqi refugee women in negotiating their 'politics of belonging' (Yuval-Davis) through shaping social relations, challenging religious boundaries and facilitating community belonging and integration within their new diaspora in Jordan. In summer 2018 I conducted 42 interviews with various Syrian and Iraqi refugee women living in both urban and rural areas in Jordan. In addition to this ethnographic fieldwork I collaborated with visual artist Rachel Gadsden to run workshops that used a 'body mapping' technique to provide women with other ways of communicating their experiences, views and feelings through art. My research in Jordan has shown that refugee women are provided with easier access to work, in contrast to men: international NGOs, in particular, have prioritised the employment of women with the aim of empowering women within their family structures which these NGOs perceive as inherently patriarchal. These work opportunities facilitate women's access to and active engagement within the public sphere. It also facilitates their economic empowerment, impacting therefore on the nature of their patriarchal family structures and understanding of gender roles. Following on from the CBRL Pilot Award I was successful in securing a British Academy Global Challenges Research Fund to continue this project.

Team based projects

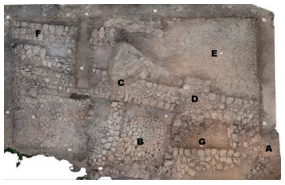
CBRL has a strong record of team-based fieldwork research and supports strategic projects that enhance the profile of UK research in the Levant and that work to develop sustainable collaborations with local institutions.

Safaitic inscription

(2018) Michael Macdonald (University of Oxford) – Badia epigraphic survey project

The Safaitic inscriptions are graffiti carved by ancient nomads in the basalt deserts of southern Syria, north-eastern Jordan and parts of northern Saudi Arabia, in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods. This was the only period in their history when the nomads of this region were literate, and they used their skills to pass the time during the long hours of solitary idleness when they were pasturing the flocks and herds or keeping watch for game or enemies. There are scores of thousands of these texts and because their authors had plenty of time, they often wrote at some length describing their daily life, their personal feelings, their relations with their neighbours and with the states in the settled regions such as the Romans, the Nabataeans and the Jews, as well as carving a large number of prayers for safety, rain, booty, reunion with loved ones, etc. We have no equivalent sources for the lives of those who lived in villages and cities since if they did write graffiti it has long since been destroyed along with any other personal texts. In addition, in the Badia, there are a small number of Greek, Nabataean, and Palmyrene graffiti and hundreds of mediaeval and modern Arabic texts, as well as rock art ranging from Neolithic drawings of cattle to modern representations of trucks!

The Badia Epigraphic Survey Project is a joint project of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, CBRL, and Wolfson College Oxford. It locates, records, and provides precise geographical information for all of these. Since 2015, the project has worked in many different parts of the basalt desert not only recording new inscriptions but locating those which were inadequately recorded in the days before digital photography and GPS. It has now made complete and systematic surveys of many of the areas where these were found, photographing thousands of inscriptions within their geographical and epigraphic contexts, and pinpointing their locations using GPS. The vast amount of information resulting from these surveys is in the process of being entered in the Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA). For more information see Macdonald, M.C.A. and Al-Manaser, A. 'Recording graffiti in the Black Desert: past, present, and future'. *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology & Heritage Studies 7, no. 2, 2019: 205–222.*



Early Bronze Age architecture at Tell Koubba

(2018, 2019) Graham Philip (Durham University) – The Koubba project: The origins of complex societies in north Lebanon

The project charts the development of society and economy in northern Lebanon from the Neolithic to the Early Bronze Age by exploring the sequence at sites around Koubba that contain occupation from the 7th – 3rd millennia BC. The main features uncovered at Koubba 1 were a wall and an associated white floor composed of burnt limestone. This structure produced chipped stone of types associated with the Ceramic Neolithic elsewhere in the Levant but without pottery. We believe that we have identified a rare north Lebanon equivalent of what is termed Aceramic Neolithic C in the southern Levant. At Kouba II we exposed an East-West wall that runs for more than 20 metres and forms the southern side of a large enclosure. Within, were two projecting outcrops of natural limestone. As the community regularly quarried limestone, the survival of these rocks suggests that they were a deliberate feature, perhaps pointing to possible cult structure. While the floor was not reached, the fill of the enclosure was packed with cultural material, including reconstructable ceramic vessels, animal bones and charred material. While this could represent dumping of domestic refuse, it is also possible that we have discovered remains of cultic offerings of some sort.

(2018, 2019) Matthew Pound (Northumbria University) – Providing the Palaeoenvironmental context to the boom and bust of prehistoric Cypriot societies: Please see the feature article on page 31

Team collects rock samples for cosmogenic dating from flank of exfoliating granite

(2019) Paul Carling (University of Southampton) – Alluvial fans as indicators of past climate change in the Levant

Alluvial fans are a widespread yet under-utilised source of climate change information in the Levant. Extensive large alluvial fans in the Eastern Desert of Egypt and in Jordan are now largely incised and inactive but may have been built during more pluvial periods. Episodes of fan-building and incision reflect shifts in regional hydrology and sediment supply, which we date using cosmogenic nuclides and optically-stimulated luminescence. This project reconstructs the past 25,000 years of landscape change and possibly significantly longer within the Quaternary period. Field surveys in 2018 and 2019 have mapped incised fan surfaces, logged sedimentary sections and provided datable rock samples. The elevations of recent flood debris, in channels upstream of fans, have been surveyed and used to model the size and frequency of recent floods. These latter data reflect the modern hydrological regimen and provide a benchmark to evaluate the estimates of palaeoflood discharges of Holocene or late Pleistocene ages. As well as explaining past geomorphological evolution of the region, the study has broader implications related to defining wet periods when early humans may have migrated past the Red Sea. As urbanisation and irrigation agriculture becomes increasingly dependent on coastal aquifers, there is a pressing need to define the past and present recharge potential of the aquifers. In contrast, floods from the fans may reach the coast causing damage and loss of life. A better understanding of fan-related flood hydrology will assist in urban planning. A scientific paper on the modern hydrology of the Eastern Desert is in final preparation.

Jordan

(2019) Matthew Jones (University of Nottingham) – Early and mid-Holocene environments and settlements in eastern Jordan

This research is part of the multi-national Eastern Badia Archaeological Project. This part of the project is investigating the early and mid-Holocene environments of the Wadi al-Qattafi and the Wisad Pools, two key sites of early Holocene occupation in the eastern Jordanian desert. Geomorphological survey and analysis of the sediment archive at both these locations allows us to build a picture of how the hydrological setting of these sites has changed in time, and especially to look at how different this might have been 8,000 years ago compared to present. Our initial work suggests that the early Holocene landscape was characterised by more vegetation than is seen today, with basins that could hold more water than they can at present. We continue to develop the evidence to test this hypothesis. (Investigators: Matthew D. Jones, Gary Rollefson, Yorke Rowan, Alexander Wasse, Morag Kersel, and Wesam Esaid).

Travel grants

CBRL Travel Grants support scholars in fieldwork investigation. Where these grants are awarded to postgraduate scholars they are entirely funded through donations and intended to support scholars in gaining practical experience of fieldwork investigation, develop specific research interest in the region and to meet a variety of active researchers.

(2018) Tamara Al-Om Travel (University of St Andrews) – the coalescence of the displaced: Syrian civil society beyond borders: Please see feature articleon page 29

Interview with writer Fadi Sahu, Beirut, Nov 2016

(2018) Adélie Chevée (SOAS, University of London) – Grassroots intellectuals of the Syrian revolution, 2011-2017

This research aims at understanding the role of Syrian grassroots intellectuals in the formation of a new generation of Arab intellectuals since the 2011 Syrian Uprising. As a new generation of political writers emerged from the Uprising, they launched print media at local levels. In this new press, debates aroused over the role of the public intellectual, the legitimacy to speak for the revolutionaries and the meaning of political commitment. The CBRL travel grant funded five-and-a-half-months of fieldwork in Beirut in order to collect data for discourse analysis and qualitative case-study of young Syrian intellectuals. Thirty-six semi-structured interviews (about 52 hours in total) were conducted with writers, journalists, academics, filmmakers, and actors of the cultural field – both Syrian and Lebanese. I conducted 15 non-participant observations of intellectual-related events (about 20 hours in total) and organised a focus group with Syrian students in a Lebanese university.

(2019) Emilio Distretti (SOAS, University of London) – Algorithmic occupation

As governments increasingly use the intelligence of algorithms, the logic of population management has changed on a global scale: while individuals are objectified, data becomes increasingly humanised. Similarly, recent navigation, social, and gaming apps are developed to reflect how algorithmic logic directly impacts the mobility, and life of their users. This becomes particularly evident in conflict areas and divided cities where social interactions and mobility develop and shape experiences through, and in spite of, physical borders and boundaries. In the context of occupied Jerusalem, where hard borders (walls, fences, checkpoints) (unequally) impact the movement of people, GPS navigation, social and dating apps (like Waze™, Tinder and Grindr), contribute to the algorithmic production of patterns of mobility across the

city, challenging the mainstream Zionist narrative of a united Jerusalem. This project argues that these patterns of mobility become increasingly influenced by how new technologies abstract the city's realities in the virtual realm, and through different characterisations of the real. In so doing, it discusses how, drawing from different political understandings of space, algorithms dictate and change mobility around Jerusalem. The CBRL travel grant enabled me to conduct initial fieldwork in Jerusalem where I interviewed app users, developers and activists.

Type A ribbed dagger from Rishon LeZion, Tomb B24

(2019) Andrea Dolfini (Newcastle University) – Investigating the function of Middle Bronze Age II Levantine weapons by wear analysis

Recent metallurgical analysis of Middle Bronze Age II (MB II; c.1900-1600 BCE) Levantine metal daggers has highlighted significant trends linking, for the first time, alloy composition with object typology, decoration, and possible uses. The characterisation of 62 daggers from Rishon LeZion, an MB II cemetery in Israel, showed that most type A (mid-ribbed and decorated) daggers were made of high-tin bronze (i.e. 8-12% Sn-Cu alloy), whilst most type B (flat and undecorated) daggers were cast from various alloys, indicating probable recycling of scrap metal (Kan-Cipor-Meron et al. 2017). This suggests that the two types of dagger may have been produced by different workshops for unlike uses, e.g. tools and weapons. This consideration invites: (a) scientific validation via the wear analysis of 10 Type A and 10 Type B daggers from Rishon LeZion; and (b) a broader collaborative project investigating MB II metal weapons, which would highlight technological choices, usage patterns, and cultural understandings of objects at a key juncture in Levantine prehistory. The CBRL grant has funded a reconnaissance trip to the University of Haifa (Israel) to meet Professor Shalev and Dr Kan-Cipor-Meron, leading experts in early Levantine metallurgy; carry out preliminary wear analysis (by portable electronic microscope) on 20 daggers from Rishon LeZion; organise a day seminar/workshop on metalwork wear analysis for Haifa staff and research students; and discuss a joint Newcastle-Haifa funding application to take the project forward.

Girls queue for sha'r al-binat at a Syrian-style carnival for World Refugee Da

(2019) Melissa Gatter (Cambridge University) – Syrian heritage and time in Azraq refugee camp, Jordan

This project originally set out to understand the complexity of nostalgia and time in Azraq refugee camp. The CBRL travel grant enabled the second stage of my ethnographic fieldwork which focused on the refugee community's conceptualisation of time in Azraq, building on the first stage which centred on aid workers' perspectives on time. From discussions with refugees in which they reflected on time in the camp and their nostalgia for a Syrian past, I came to realise how much their thoughts on the past, present, and future are shaped by the power apparatus of the camp. Within the humanitarian-development nexus, refugees are living out a temporary present in which humanitarian organisations must encourage them to conceive of future lives elsewhere. However, the same aid regime has undermined refugees' hope for a future return to Syria through an oppressive and disempowering bureaucratic environment. I argue in my resulting PhD dissertation that the Azraq community has become cynical, waiting as if a better future exists but discouraged by the unkept promises of the Syria they remember and long for and by a camp that is meant to provide refuge but has instead become something of an 'open air prison.' This research owes much to the CBRL travel grant, which allowed me the time to become close with camp residents, providing vital contrasting views of Azraq to those of its aid workers.

Pierced pot discs

(2019) Lisa Graham (University of Edinburgh) – The Makounta-*Voules* archaeological project

This travel grant enabled me to conduct analysis of ceramics found during an initial survey (2017) of a Chalcolithic-Bronze Age site – at Makounta-*Voules* in the Polis area - one of the last unknown territories from prehistoric Cyprus is the north-west of the island. This survey revealed stone tools, coroplastic art and metal slag from a large Chalcolithic and Bronze Age settlement. However, due to the lack of excavated prehistoric sites in the region, the ceramics are rather difficult to align to other known assemblages. During the 2017 season, I completed a basic sherd count and assigned very general dates. To fully make sense of this new assemblage, I undertook a detailed study and recording of the 2,000 diagnostic sherds and made comparisons to existing assemblages. By using the same recording techniques and classification system that I developed at other sites to record the Makounta ceramics, I was able to tie the Makounta assemblage into the larger, Cyprus-wide corpus, allowing for greater understanding of site activities, regionality and chronology. This collection represents the first major prehistoric ceramic assemblage ever studied from this quarter of the island. This grant enabled me to prepare this assemblage for publication and lay the groundwork for future work at the site and in the region.

(2019) Lamia Sassine (University of Sheffield) – Elusive Phoenicians: perceptions of Phoenician identity and material culture as reflected in museum records and displays

This project set out to understand the processes leading to the identification of objects as Phoenician and what this means in terms of preserving and presenting them, aiming to investigate the different perceptions of Phoenician cultural identity. Questions asked during fieldwork included: Do different museums share similar parameters for classification in terms of what is considered Phoenician and how selective are they in this respect? To what extent do objects displayed as 'Phoenician' derive from historical stereotypes inherited from past attitude, and to what extent does it now seem legitimate to identify them as Phoenician? Does museum labelling indicate instances where the classification of an object as Phoenician may have changed since the object was acquired? The Sam Lieu Travel Grant was used to conduct research in Cyprus and Lebanon where museums house Phoenician collections.

Fellowships

CBRL Post-Doctoral Fellowships and Visiting Research Fellowships enable early career postdoctoral candidates and established scholars in university posts to spend time in the Levant region to conduct primary research, develop contacts, give lectures and write-up project results/publications derived from a thesis/research.

Post-doctoral fellowships

Analysing floor surfaces for geochemical elements in a modern traditional village

(2018) Sarah Elliott – Documenting, protecting and reviving the historic cultural heritage of Jordan

This fellowship involved continuing research into Jordan's post 1750 cultural heritage. This research comes under an ethnoarchaeological theme which will eventually integrate scientific environmental archaeology techniques with ethnography (now being conducted with British Academy funding at Bournemouth University in partnership with CBRL). Part of this fellowship involved the selection of appropriate houses and/or villages for studying. In particular, time during the fellowship was spent with residents and owners of traditional houses in order to establish a relationship where I would be able to return to the site to study, sample and analyse traditionally built structures which come under the umbrella of post 1750 cultural heritage.

Eventually the ethnoarchaeological results will be used in the interpretation of Neolithic villages in the Levant. One such village is the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A site of WF16. During this fellowship in 2018 I was also involved in the archiving, recording and movement of all materials from the site of WF16 (where they were stored in CBRL Amman's basement) down to the newly opened Wadi Faynan Museum. Over 600 crates needed to be documented and moved. As I had worked at the site of WF16 I was equipped to assist in the documenting and movement of material by using the IADB (integrated archaeological database) and my prior knowledge of the site and materials.

Apo and the Apostles performing at Borderline Bar, Jerusalem

(2018) Polly Withers – Performing alterity: The translocal politics of an urban youth music scene in post-Oslo Palestine

This ethnographic and gender-sensitive research traces the trans local politics of a self-defined "alternative" youth music scene networked across particular, but connected, post-Oslo urban Haifa, Ramallah, and Amman. Based on thirteen months of fieldwork, it draws on sixty-four interviews, and over one hundred participant observations with young musicians, bands, audience members, producers, party planners, fans, bar and club owners, DJs, beat makers, and emcees; at parties, concerts, gigs, and raves. It comments on the social and political identities such musical cultures perform locally (in Palestine), and non-locally (when musicians are branded to the UK, mainly London).

(2019) Sophia Brown – Palestinian life writing; mediating activism and the literary: Please see the feature article on page 35

(2019) Simone Lemmers – Health and related stress assessment in prehistoric Cypriot societies

My project centres around the question of what effect the urbanisation process during the Bronze Age had on the health of individuals and populations. My focus is on children and how difficult their period of infancy was. In this project I assess the effect of the urbanisation process on health status from Neolithic to the Bronze Age populations in Cyprus by analysing accentuated line frequency in histological tooth sections. Assessment of teeth, looking at the accentuated line number (occurrence), timing, and patterning in multiple individuals from three markedly different Cypriot time periods contributes towards the study of change in health status over a long period of time, involving major socio-cultural, economic and demographic changes. By using light microscopy, I extracted these stress lines from teeth and reconstructed a story of an individual's first years of life. Specifically, the first molar is key to this research since this tooth contains a stress line formed when the person was born - we call this the 'neonatal line'. Once I've found this line, I then calculate the timing of other stress lines on the teeth. During my fellowship I was introduced to the application of synchroton radiation to analyse archaeological remains that allows the researcher to see inside materials such as teeth with much greater power than a conventional microscope. As part of my fellowship I had the opportunity to examine teeth specimens at the European Synchrotron Radiation Facility (ESRF), one of the world's most important facilities for this type of research.

(2019) Mirjam Twigt – The mediation of forced migration: digital technologies and everyday experiences within refugee households

My research argues for an understanding of forced migrants as also digitally connected migrants. I explore how mediated practices co-constitute everyday experiences of Iraqi refugees living in prolonged uncertainty and how this affects reception of humanitarian aid. My PhD demonstrated how, in the case of Iraqi nationals in Jordan's capital Amman registered as refugees with UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) in Jordan, the use of different media technologies – TV, mobile phone, social media - goes beyond the functional. Media technologies perform important social and subjective functions in refugees' lives, for instance regarding aspirations, identity-constructions and home-making practices. They influence how life in Jordan in general, and policies and practices by aid organisations, is interpreted and enable some space

to negotiate their situation, for instance in interaction with UNHCR Jordan. During my CBRL fellowship I was able to progress on a book proposal, organise a dissemination workshop with humanitarian actors and policy makers, do follow-up research on humanitarian communication and provide workshops for staff and student at the Centre for Refugees, Displaced Persons and Forced Migration Studies at the University of Yarmouk in Irbid, Jordan.

Visiting Research Fellowships

(2019) Teodora Todorova (University of Warwick) – Transnationalising human rights advocacy for Palestinian political prisoners: Please see the feature article on page 42

Centennial awards

To commemorate the centenary of the founding of CBRL's active research community with the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, at the end of 2017 CBRL offered a number of Centennial awards for research that focused on the history of British scholarship in the area and early Mandate history, society, and politics.

(2019) Emma Nyhan (European University Institute) – Taking the rights road less travelled: Bedouin 'special rights' in Mandate Palestine and the United Nations: Please see the feature article on page 39

George and Mahmud Charish, UCL Institute of Archaeology

(2019) Amara Thornton (University College London) – Petra: The first excavation

This digital pilot project set out to present a contextualised transcript of the *Petra Exploration Fund Diary* from the first scientific excavation at Petra in 1929. The "uncorrected diary", written by George Horsfield and Agnes Conway, details the progress of excavation probably for the benefit of the main funder, Henry Mond. The diary records the research of Melchett Expedition members George Horsfield, Agnes Conway, Ditlef Nielsen and Tawfiq Canaan as they examined the history of Petra from many angles over the two-month season. By digitising the 1929 diary (part of the UCL Institute of Archaeology's archive), the project aims to provide added contextual information and images to bring the story of this important excavation in Petra's history to a wider audience. Including keywords and full reference information within each entry enables the diary to be filtered by place name, person name, author, subject or theme, highlighting other histories contained within the text of the diary. Now users can explore the document in an interactive way and reveal some of the hidden histories from the Horsfield Petra archive. The next steps are to continue to draw attention to the website as a resource and encourage wider visibility for archaeological archives. Website: www.petra1929.co.uk

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(2019) Bart Wagemakers (University of Applied Sciences Utrecht) –Jericho off the record

The project aims to gather, preserve, study and publish forgotten documentation from Kathleen Kenyon's expedition to Tell es-Sultan (1952-1958), which she directed on behalf of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (CBRL's founding institute), University of London and the Palestine Exploration Fund. This research is part of the wider Jericho off the Record project, which aims to trace, digitise, disseminate and study the 'overlooked' private documentation of the Second British Expedition to Tell es-Sultan, ancient Jericho. This expedition was significant for the development of archaeological methods and techniques, as well as for the knowledge of the habitation history of the Jericho Oasis. The centennial grant funded a second phase of the project, which involved examining the 'official' excavation record as a base line against which to evaluate the potential contribution of unofficial records to our understanding of both the site and its excavations. The ability to compare the two categories of documentation offers insight into the development of the documentation methodology within the archaeological discipline. The findings of this work were presented at a CBRL lecture in March 2019 and will be published in the volume *Life Writing in the History of Archaeology: Critical Perspectives* (UCL Press), edited by G. Moshenska and C. Lewis.

(2019) Steven Wagner (Brunel University London) – The correspondence between Shakib Arslan and Hajj Amin al-Husseini 1940–45: Please see the feature article on page 46

Honorary Fellowships and affiliated research projects

CBRL Honorary Fellowship

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(2019) Marcel Elias (University of Cambridge) - The superior enemy: Muslims in medieval European literature and culture (1200-1500)

In the field of literary criticism, East-West relations have long been examined from the perspective of power, most influentially by Edward Said, who focused his analysis on Western images of Arabs and Muslims from the late eighteenth through twentieth centuries, when Europe was establishing and consolidating colonial rule in the Middle East. While Said himself acknowledges that 'Islam dominated both East and West' during the eighth century to the sixteenth, the tremendous impact of the superior geopolitical power of the Islamic East on premodern European literature and culture has been sparsely explored. My monograph in progress, entitled *The Superior Enemy: Muslims in Medieval European Literature and Culture (1200-1500)* and supported by a CBRL Honorary Fellowship, argues that Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman (re)conquests during the late twelfth through fifteenth centuries prompted a crisis in the European collective consciousness, manifested in sustained interrogation and critique of prevailing philosophical beliefs and cultural practices, and increasing attraction to Islam's (perceived or actual) cultural, political, and religious characteristics. It focuses on the evidence supplied by a large number of fascinating yet little-known writings in English, French, Occitan, Italian, German, and Latin.

CBRL affiliated projects

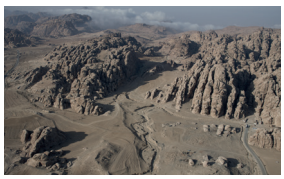
(2018 & 2019) Robert Bewley - Aerial archaeology in Jordan

The landscapes of the Middle East have undergone an astonishing transformation as a result of population growth: Jordan's population has risen from c. 340,000 in 1943 to over c. 6 million today. The impact of this has been an increase in damage and disturbance to archaeological sites, as a result of the intensification of agriculture, city, town and village expansion and an increased demand for land and water. Many archaeological sites have thus been destroyed or damaged before they can be investigated, hence the need for continued monitoring of sites by using aerial reconnaisance. The broad objectives of the Aerial Archaeology in Jordan project have remained the same since 1997 - to discover, record, monitor, map, and interpret a variety of landscapes and publish our results. The methodology and results have been highly successful, working through CBRL in Amman, and collaborating with many of the excavation survey teams, and the Department of Antiquities, in Jordan. The imagery is made available via the APAAME website (www.apaame.org). The AAJ project works with the EAMENA project (eamena.arch.ox.ac.uk) which documents sites, allows access to its database and assesses the condition of archaeological sites.

(2018 & 2019) Claudine Dauphin and Mohamed Ben Jeddou - Fallahin and nomads in the Southern Levant from Byzantium to the Mamluks: population dynamics and artistic expression

White camels grazing at el-Hasa in the semi-arid zone of S Jordan

Between the Palestinian coast and the vast desert of southern Jordan stretches an enormous semi-arid buffer-zone. Bisected by the Rift, the Ghôr depression, this marginal arid zone between the sown and the desert, between the subtropical Mediterranean and the "continental arid" climates, was the setting for various modes of interaction between agriculturalists and nomads from the late Byzantine Empire (6th and early 7th centuries AD) to the Mamluk Sultanate (13th - 15th centuries): sedentarism, nomadic infiltration, semi-sedentarisation, sedentarisation, reversal to nomadism, and temporary settling for the servicing of pilgrims on the road to Mecca, the Darb al-Hajj. Using new research tools - Geographical Information System (GIS) - in conjunction with traditional archaeo-historical interpretation of the past, an innovative geo-spatial approach applied to landscape archaeology was introduced in 2008 by archaeologist Claudine Dauphin and GIS expert Mohamed Ben Jeddou in an attempt to capture across ten centuries the diachronic, fluctuating population dynamics of southern Palestine and Jordan, to detect changes at play in the landscape of arable lands and desert, and trace the consequent adaptation of local populations of agriculturalists (*fallahin*) and nomads (*bedu*). The project has received financial support from the Augustus Foundation since 2014 and has been affiliated to CBRL since 2011.



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(2018 & 2019) Micaela Sinibaldi (Cardiff University) - Islamic Baydha project

The Islamic Baydha Project is part of broader project, the Late Petra Project, that aims to reconstruct the post-urban history of Petra and its region, which was inhabited after the Nabataean period without significant chronological gaps. The Islamic Baydha Project focuses on a Middle to Late Islamic-period rural village located in Baydha, north of Petra, which holds what looks the most substantial and accessible evidence in the region of a settlement during the Islamic period. The project, launched in 2014, has now been conducted for six continuous seasons, and it has investigated one habitation and two mosques, which are a rare feature in the Petra region. The goals of the project include recording and reconstructing the architecture and building style of the structures; understanding daily life at the village and framing it within the broader context of the other sites in the region, including Petra itself, during the Islamic period. The project encompasses the synergic use of the different components: study of the local, modern material culture to better understand the archaeological record; fieldwork training to Jordanian and international archaeologists; and community engagement through the training of local staff and activities with schools of the Petra region.

(2018, 2019) Duncan Keenan-Jones (University of Queensland) - Sustainable water management and socio-environmental dynamics: past and present

In 2019, this project has developed through collaboration with the British Institute at Ankara (BIAA) that received funding from the British Academy to develop a British International Research Institute (BIRI) network. Over the past year, the network has focused on developing projects on water management, possibly seeking to leverage the experience of past water management throughout the Mediterranean, Middle East and Africa to assist with modern water management. We have now held an initial workshop in Ankara and a second is to be held in the UK in mid-February 2020. Through these workshops we are bringing together water researchers associated with each of the BIRI (including CBRL) so that they become acquainted with each other's work and develop projects for which funding will soon be sought.

Cache of gazelle mandibles and crania fragments

(2019) Alexander Wasse (Yeditepe University) and Rowan Yorke (University of Chicago) - Eastern Badia archaeological project

This project focuses on the later prehistory of the southern 'panhandle' of eastern Jordan. Since 2008, survey and excavation by the project has yielded abundant evidence for semi-permanent occupation during the Late Neolithic (LN [*ca* 6,500 - 5,000 cal BC]) of areas that are now arid. The sites are affiliated with what we have recently defined as the Black Desert Neolithic (BDN) cultural complex, and are characterised by the presence of substantial stone-built structures (some with courtyards and enclosures), gypsum plaster surfaces and a wide range of stone-built and plaster installations. Although the precise nature of climatic and environmental conditions in the Eastern Badia at the time these sites were occupied remains to be determined, converging strands of evidence indicate the presence of park woodland, marsh and bodies of standing water in some localities. In May and June 2019, the project continued its Late-Neolithic-focused investigations at Wisad Pools. Excavations focused on structure W-80, a long-lived and unexpectedly complex curvilinear pillar building, and W-400, which is shaping up to be a pastoral hut-and-enclosure complex with a focus on bead manufacturing. These yielded further evidence for the existence of cultural links between the Badia and the northern Levant, Mesopotamia and Arabian peninsula, as well as with the southern Levant, during the 7th and 6th millennia cal BC.

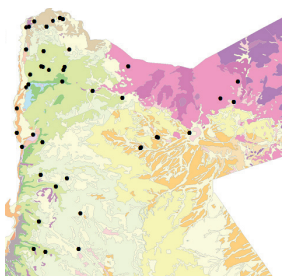
(2019) Alison McQuitty - Khirbat Faris: ethnography, land-use and environmental studies

A recent publication, *Landscapes of the Islamic World* (McPhillips and Wordsworth: 2016), has noted the importance of using ethnographic and environmental evidence in the interpretation of rural settlement as well as the more mainstream archaeological and historical analysis. The support of CBRL is allowing this goal to be realised by enabling the final analysis and synthesis of data collected during the fieldwork stage of the Khirbat Faris Project which ran in Southern Jordan from 1988 to 1994. The Project covers the period from the Nabatean (1st century A.D.) to the late 20th century A.D. The stratigraphy, architecture and small-finds volume has been accepted for publication and this CBRL-supported work will comprise the second volume. This material is being interpreted to produce a picture of the land-use related to the settlement at Khirbat Faris. Data comes from the excavated areas; from botanical survey and excavation in the fields surrounding the site; from analysis of aerial photos and satellite imagery and from extensive collection of first-person accounts of the relations between pastoralism and agriculture... between tribe and state. These first-person accounts lie at the centre of the ethnographic report which also records disappearing "ways-of-life"; local interpretations of 19th century history on the Karak Plateau and anthropological analysis of how a tribal society works.

Training session at the Jordan Museum

(2019) Robin Skeates (Durham University) and Shatha Abu Khafajah (Hashemite University) - Learning from multicultural Amman: engaging Jordan's youth

Our main project objective is to create better opportunities for young people to learn about and value Jordan's rich and multicultural heritage, particularly in museums. We are achieving this by: asking museum, heritage and education professionals what might work best in the Jordanian context; by training museum and heritage staff, teachers and university lecturers to make to most of and modernize Jordanian museums; and by advocating to policy makers the benefits of Jordanian museums for community engagement and education. Our secondary objectives are: to form new partnerships that bring together diverse Jordanian colleagues/institutions, as well as international experts, working together in an ethical and critical, post-colonial, manner; and to identify, share and adapt best professional practice. So far, we have undertaken an initial needs assessment for museum education in Jordan, we have identified existing good practice in Jordan, and we have provided training in Jordan and the UK. Now, we will: develop, implement and evaluate a set of educational activities and events led by Jordanian museum staff in collaboration with university lecturers/students and teachers/pupils from three schools; create and share a Jordan-specific set of museum learning guidelines; and continue to lobby decision-makers.



Sample Locations in Jordan

(2019) Graham Philip (Durham University), Janet Montgomery (Durham University), Khaled Al-Bashaireh (Yarmouk University) - A multi-isotope base map for Jordan: a tool for re-examining movement and community in the past

This project is a collaboration between Durham University and Yarmouk University (Jordan) and is funded by the AHRC Newton-Khalidi programme. The project is designed to enhance research capacity within Jordan in isotopic analysis, and to address issues for movement and identity within past communities. The project aims to use a strategy of systematic sampling of plant, water and invertebrate samples taken from targeted locations across Jordan to characterise geographical isotopic variation and create the first multi-isotope map for Jordan. This map will be the first of its kind in the Middle East and will place Jordan at the forefront of developments in isotope research.

Feature articles: 2017 – 2018 CBRL grant recipients

Rising from the ashes: Karterouni and the forest heritage of Cyprus

Michael Given (University of Glasgow) and Erin Gibson (University of Stirling)

In June 2016 we set out from Nicosia to visit the abandoned forest village of Karterouni. We had recorded it back in 2002 as part of the Troodos Archaeological and Environmental Survey Project (TAESP, a project partly funded by CBRL). It was inhabited from about the 17th century to its final abandonment in the mid-20th centuries, and its houses, terraces, threshing floors and water channels are well preserved.

Karterouni in c. 2002 (Michael Given)

Even in Nicosia, we could smell the smoke in the air, and as we drew closer we could see the huge plume of smoke rising from the mountains behind Karterouni's still-inhabited neighbour, the village of Ayios Theodhoros. We never made it to Karterouni that day, and that forest fire, one of the worst in recent decades, killed two fire-fighters and burnt 19 sq. km of forest.

We had intended our visit to stimulate our thinking about heritage and what that meant to local communities. As part of TAESP, we had recorded visible archaeology in ways that addressed our research questions and followed a defined methodology. For example, we gave a pair of ruined structures in the valley immediately east of Karterouni a name from the cadastral plan ('Khalospita': 'ruined house') and a number (TP250), and carefully recorded its masonry, layout, state of preservation and pottery. Our connection to this place – archaeological, academic, aesthetic – made it a place worth recording and later writing about.

When Erin returned to it with Panayiotis Alexandrou Loppas, the son of a shepherd who grew up there, she learnt that to him, it was the goat fold of a man named Alexandros Velleros. Alexandros had a big herd but never stayed at the goat fold, travelling back and forth to his house in the village of Spilia 7km to the south. Panayiotis' account is a reminder that what is viewed as an archaeological site to one person might be a living, breathing place that is integral to the landscape and identity of someone else.

As we walked along an old mule-path between Ayios Theodhoros and Asinou, in a direction which hopefully took us away from the raging forest fire, we talked about different ways of doing heritage. This was the key component of Erin's Marie Skłodowska-Curie fellowship on 'Pathways to Heritage'. Instead of focusing on what archaeologists felt was important about the landscape, both our projects ('Forest Heritage of Cyprus', generously funded by CBRL, and 'Pathways to Heritage') asked villagers the question: 'What in this area where you live is important to you?'

Heritage emerges from the connections and relationships that people make with the past in the present. These are often personal connections to places, events and things, though heritage value can also be determined on a national or even international level. Our connections can be multiple and overlapping, and illustrate the significant role that the recent or distant past plays in the richly textured world that we live in.

Colonialism, cairns and clearance

Our survey project had provided rich evidence for past habitation and use of the Adelphi Forest from the Roman to the modern period. Thinking about contemporary connections to the forest, however, it becomes clear that the forest's resources and the material remains of those who once lived there have been heavily influenced by major changes to the forests in the late 19th century.

When the British took over the administration of Cyprus from the Ottoman Empire in 1878, they set up a Forest Delimitation campaign which drew a line round what was now State Forest and banned or restricted goat grazing and the collection of forest resources such as timber, firewood and resin. Waist-high whitewashed forestry cairns marked the boundaries between cultivated land and forest: they were clearly meant to be seen and to enforce adherence to the new definition of the forest.

Villages like Karterouni became enclaves in the forest, enclosed by forestry cairns and unable to use the resources necessary to live. There was, of course, considerable resistance and ongoing goat grazing. Communities often clubbed together to pay the fines of those, like Panayiotis' father, who continued to take their goats along old paths between the new cairns. In the Asinou Valley the last of the infamous 'Asinou goats' were removed from the forest in 1940 and the inhabitants of Asinou village permanently moved to villages outside of the forest boundary.

In Karterouni, the population was forced to move out in 1947, though many maintained connections with it by tending their fields and orchards. The last resident was Nicholas Savvides, whose house is still visible. When the Forestry Department proposed purchasing this land from remaining landowners in the 1990s, elders like Fadias Pevadikos refused to sell. He tried to fight the proposal in court in 1996 but was unsuccessful.

Forest cairn on the ridgeline above Karterouni, with the house of Nicholas Savvides visible beyond (Michael Given)

Burnt trees and eroding threshing floors at Karterouni, October 2016 (Erin Gibson)

Constructing the path at Karterouni (Erin Gibson)

Heritage work at Karterouni village

Karterouni was completely burnt in the great forest fire of June 2016. The only two storey house, that of Nicholas Savvides, was burned and its roof collapsed. The damage to vegetation prompted an increase in soil erosion, which subsequently influenced the preservation of structures and even the previously well-preserved threshing floors.

In 2017 the Forestry Department decided to create a heritage site at Karterouni that included a reconstructed building, a walking trail and signs telling the history of the village and its significance to those who once lived there. As part of our 'Forest Heritage of Cyprus' project, we worked closely with them in doing the work of heritage – collating past archaeological data collected through the TAESP project, documenting contemporary connections to the village, helping to develop new pathways for new interactions, advising on the reconstruction of one of the houses, and writing text for making signs. Our aim was to bring the old village and its people, animals, crops, water supply and soils back to life for modern visitors.

Storypaths at Karterouni

As part of her 'Pathways to Heritage' project, Erin developed the idea of 'Storypaths' as a technique to document those visual expressions and physical movements that are so important to understanding the meaning of place and the process of heritage formation. She piloted it at Karterouni by using video to document the experience of Panayiotis Loppas (80 years old at the time) as he walked through the village following the forest fire.

Panayiotis Loppas at Karterouni Village, 2017 (Erin Gibson)

In spite of his distress about the fire, Panayiotis made the decision to visit Karterouni because, he said, "it is the village I was born in, I am attracted to it, I feel that it is the place I was born." The stories he told us as we walked together through the burned village made Karterouni come alive. Standing on one of the lowermost human-made terraces that make up the topography of the village, Panayiotis looked across the valley and told research assistant Andri Evripidou about goat grazing:

Panayiotis: "When they were in here with the herds, they didn't have any way of communication. With the voices. [Cries out.] The other one, on the top of the mountain up there, was shouting: "Get the lambs home, goats are coming!". To avoid the lambs suckling the big goats. Pfff, lots of stories. "

Andri: "It was alive."

Panayiotis: "There's nothing now. "

Reconstruction of Karterouni village, used in the new 'InfoKiosk' for visitors (Lorraine McEwan)

There is sadness in his tone – a response to the abandonment of the village and to the forest fire. Still, his stories and those of Andreas Savvides (son of Nicholas) and Fadias Pevadikos keep the memory and place of Karterouni village alive. Their accounts enabled us to create a vivid and intimate understanding of life in the village up to 100 years ago, which in turn has been incorporated into a reconstruction drawing by Lorraine McEwan and our information signs. The Forestry workers who helped to build pathways and clean the threshing floor expressed pride in their work – they had become part of Karterouni's living history.

We make heritage by creating connections with the past and maintaining them through activities such as telling stories, visiting old ruins and carrying out traditional crafts, cooking and other practices. Karterouni remained an important place to Panayiotis, Andreas and Fadias, regardless of its charred terraces, collapsed roofs and eroding threshing floors. People can still rejuvenate and enliven the past through memory, even when those remains are burned and presumed lost. The 'Forest Heritage of Cyprus' project continues to be a collaboration with those who lived and worked in the forest.

Karterouni in February 2017, with the vegetation recovering from the fire on the deeper soils of the old agricultural terraces (Loizos Konstantinou)

From the ashes at Karterouni emerges not only fresh new growth but strong new connections with the land and the past. The deep soils in its old terraces and the long engagement among people and forest create new possibilities, new memories and interactions that will take it forward into a richer future.

For more on a local community's vision of their own heritage, please see the videos, maps and photos in 'Telling the Story of Home: Why the Rural Cypriot Village of Nikitari matters': https://arcg.is/15ru0v

Coalescence of the displaced: Syrian civil society beyond borders

Tamara al-Omm (University of St Andrews)

Introduction

Prior to the 2011 uprising, Syrian civil society was dominated by government-controlled bodies that restricted organisational activities and engaged in unbridled suppression.

It was during the early period of the uprising that new political voices began to emerge within civil society, enabling a freer undertaking of activities, the building of connections, and the expression of thoughts and ideas that had never been previously possible. However, while it was possible for those involved in civil society to function inside the country in the early stages of the uprising, this grew increasingly more difficult as years went on. Many of those playing key roles in the articulation of civil society's new voices were forced to leave the country and re-establish themselves and their work abroad. This dispersed actors across various continents, resulting in the connections and networks built whilst in Syria, now being maintained and expanded beyond Syria's borders.

It is this metamorphosis of Syrian civil society that resulted in the final section of my PhD research, and which necessitated the last phase of fieldwork, supported by CBRL. Fieldwork sought to explore the phenomenon of exiled Syrian civil society, with primary research questions inquiring as to how and why Syrian civil society remained active despite displacement of the majority of its actors. This research inquiry entailed conducting interviews with civil society actors in Beirut and Istanbul in 2017, including in-depth interviews with Syrian artists, writers, actors, musicians, film-makers, activists, intellectuals and organisations.

Findings: struggles in exile

The most potent characterisation of all those interviewed in Beirut and Istanbul was a sense of absolute exhaustion. Life in exile - in general, but in Lebanon in particular - has become increasingly difficult. Attacks from security services as well as the general populace - both verbal and physical - have almost become the norm. Costs of living are increasing, while opportunities for work are diminishing.

Most difficult of all is the slow but steady departure of those involved in Syria's exiled civil society to Europe and the Americas in the hope of a better future. While this move sometimes means the end of their work (although not always), it is those who remain in Beirut and Istanbul who feel their absence most profoundly. Connections become interrupted, projects suspended, and plans for the future put on hold indeterminately.

Moreover, there is a sense of overwhelming resignation, especially in light of the international community's change in approach to Assad's involvement in Syria's future. Many interviewed resigned themselves to Assad's continuous presence, while retaining little hope for the future and the conflict's peaceful resolution.

Despite this, it is the death and displacement of so many and the destruction of so much that stops people giving up. For Jawad Muna, the founder of the newspaper *Souriatna* [Our Syria], when asked why he continues, he responds laughingly "I cannot say, but I ask myself that every day, 'until when will I be here?' But we keep going... Maybe tomorrow will be better."

Fundamentals of Syrian networks of civil society

In the early days of the uprising's peaceful protests, it was the shared values of freedom, dignity and citizenship that played a role in the formation of Syria's new civil society. Today, themes of rebuilding and return are added to this agenda, driving many of civil society's actors to continue their work.

A major challenge facing civil society actors in exile relates to the fact that they continue to build for a future Syria that is largely unknown, while attempting to maintain the collective memories of a Syria that no longer exists. Bidayyat, a Beirut-based organisation supporting filmmakers through training and production, attempts to preserve some of these memories whilst maintaining its 'resistance' orientation:

> *this is the importance of culture. If you look to our work, we have a huge archive of visual material about places, people, ways of living, and stories that are part of the collective memory of Syrians. Continuing to produce films, to raise some debate [about this material] is an act of resistance... It is about how to ensure, through documentation work, that other things can survive. (Interview 27/7/17).*

There is also an undeniable sense amongst all those interviewed that a shared Syrian identity, however complex, is fundamental to their continued work and determination for change. The identity of resistance that was formed within the newly found voice of civil society, early on in the uprising, continues to be heard in the voices of those interviewed.

> *I think a person's belonging to a country or place is a portal for their ability to change... I am from this country, I understand it, I was part of its revolution. I believe that my Syrian identity is the portal for me. (Interview 19/7/17).*

Another of these fundamentals is the desire to build networks of support and advocacy through the spreading and sharing of information about the situation on the ground in an attempt to break with the 'grand narratives' that exist within the mainstream media about the plight of the Syrian people. For Atassi, Syrians are not just victims of barrel bombs or other forms of violence but are victims of the mainstream media and the way in which it reports the Syrian conflict in general (Interview 27/7/17).

Creating spaces

One of the most interesting findings that emerged from fieldwork is the physical spaces established or used by actors in Syrian civil society to work, express themselves in, and importantly, feel safe in. In both Beirut and Istanbul, these spaces act as meeting points for creativity and discussion. Hamisch in Istanbul and Bidayyat in Beirut (both cultural organisations), provide spaces for Syrians to gather and interact, while offering training programmes, lectures and seminars. Ettijahat (Beirut) supports developing intellectuals and artists with funding, training and research opportunities.

There are also spaces that have emerged by chance and over time, but which operate below the radar. A small bar for example, in the sleepy residential area of Geitawi in Beirut, provides basement space for Syrian artists (and a variety of locals and foreigners) to use for work and social life. For a number of Syrians I interviewed who live without any official identification papers, this space also provides a place of relative safety, distant from the threat of security forces. This threat was much less an issue for those based in Istanbul. Despite this threat, many spoke of a sense of freedom in exile, being able to function with relative autonomy away from the Syrian regime.

Conclusion

Syrian civil society networks in exile have found a multitude of ways to express their voice, struggle, and creativity while showing resilience and determination to continue what so many Syrians sacrificed their lives for since 2011. Whilst their work may not always be perceived or even intended to be overtly political, the very acts they undertake are a form of continued resistance against the oppression they continue to face. In this way, the political voice that many Syrians found at the start of the uprising continues to be expressed within the realm of civil society, across and between borders. Ultimately however, the question remains as to whether any of these emerging networks are able to transform themselves into a political movement which could play a role in the political realm of the current crisis.

Interviews:
Oroa Mokdad, Interview 19/7/17; Ali Atassi, Interview 27/7/17; Jawad Muna, Interview 15/8/17

Providing the palaeoenvironmental context to the boom and bust of prehistorical Cypriot societies: report of the first field season in March 2018

Matthew J. Pound (corresponding author (Northumbria University)), Emma P. Hocking (Northumbria University) and Calian J. Hazell (Northumbria University)

Background, aims and methodology

Understanding past climate and environmental change is crucial to predicting the potential wider implications of anthropogenic climate change. Arid and semi-arid regions are particularly vulnerable due to the fine balance between water availability and societal demands. Should future anthropogenic climate change be kept to the Paris 2015 Agreement, and not surpass 2°C in the next century, then the Mediterranean Basin's climate and environment will change in a way not seen for thousands of years. Cyprus, as a semi-arid island, has been identified as an area where biodiversity and agriculture are facing a complex threat from future variability in temperature and precipitation. This may also be a contributing factor to societal collapse on Cyprus in the early and late Bronze Age. However, current understanding of how the island of Cyprus responded to this past climatic variability is based on low resolution records – greater than 100 years between samples. Our aim is to generate new high-resolution multi-proxy palaeoenvironmental datasets to set Bronze Age Cypriot societies into a wider context of terrestrial and marine environmental change.

Core name	Location name	Latitude	Longitude	Depth cored to (cm)	subsampled in field	If subsampled, number of subsamples
AM18/1	Akrotiri Marsh	34.631784	32.933682	220	-	-
AM18/2	Akrotiri Marsh	34.631811	32.933642	175	-	-
AM18/3	Akrotiri Marsh	34.631723	32.933513	225	Yes	62
AM18/5	Akrotiri Marsh	34.631881	32.933038	170	-	-
AM18/6	Akrotiri Marsh	34.631899	32.933855	150	-	-
PL18/1	Paralimni	35.033665	33.969177	55	Yes	6
La18/1	Larnaca Salt Lake	34.846849	33.616924	124	-	-
La18/2	Larnaca Salt Lake	34.847473	33.617463	44	-	-
LA18/3	Larnaca Salt Lake	34.846815	33.616856	88	Yes	21

Table 1: Summary of cores taken during the first field season

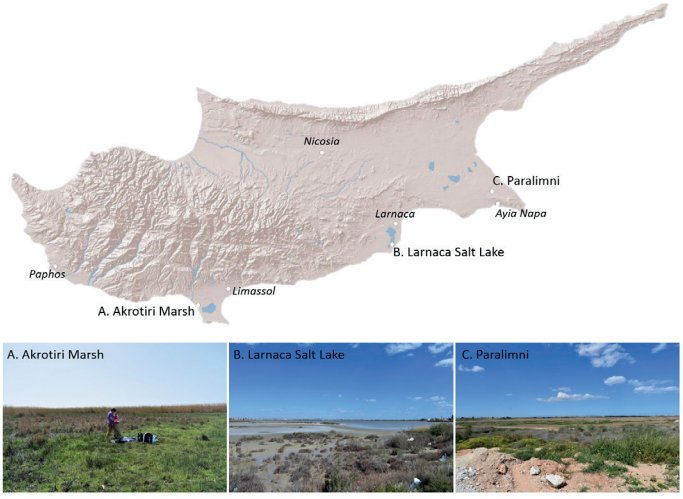


Figure 1. Shaded topographical map of Cyprus showing the location of the coring sites and major settlements. Field photos relate to the coring locations: A. Akrotiri Marsh, B. Larnaca Salt Lake and C. Paralimni. Map made in ArcGIS 10.0, shaded relief map Copyright: © 2014 Esri.

In our first field season we evaluated sedimentary archives along the south coast of Cyprus (Figure 1) and collected nine cores spread over three locations.

Results

Five cores were taken from the Akrotiri Marsh to a maximum depth of 225 cm and we identified 10 sedimentary units in these cores (Figure 2, 3; Table 1), with different units reflecting changing environmental conditions through time. We generally saw a transition from creamy white clays (units 8-9), to brown clays (unit 7), to organic-rich clays and peat (units 5-6), with the most recently deposited sediments being red or brown clays (units 1-4). Three cores were also taken from Larnarca Salt Lake and sub-sampled in the field for microfossil analysis (Figure 1, 2; Table 1). We identified four sedimentary units in the three cores from the Larnaca Salt Lake all of which were clays, except the topmost 2cm that were more sandy (Figure 4). Microfossil analyses (diatoms and pollen) are currently underway, and six samples (wood and plant macrofossils) have been taken for high-precision radiocarbon dating.

To raise awareness of our research we were able to meet with key local stakeholders: the Geological Survey Department of Cyprus and the Akrotiri Environmental Education and Information Centre. We signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the former, which will greatly improve future coordination. Once our microfossil analysis is complete and the cores have a chronology, we intend to work with the latter to produce appropriate outreach materials to support their aim to promote the important cultural and environmental heritage of the Akrotiri Peninsula. We were also able to meet with archaeologists from the Ancient Akrotiri Peninsula project whom we hope to collaborate with further as this research develops.

Figure 2. Satellite imagery of the coring locations. A. Akrotiri Marsh, the five cores taken from this locality were situated around a bird hide that was constructed after this satellite image was taken; B. Larnaca Salt Lake, the three cores taken from this locality are situated in the southwest corner of the salt lake south of Larnaca International Airport (visible in the northwest corner of the image). Images made in ArcGIS 10.0, shaded relief map Copyright: © 2014 Esri, sources: Esri, DigitalGlobe, GeoEye, Earthstar Geographics, CNES/Airbus DS, USDA, USGS, AeroGRID, IGN, and the GIS User Community.

Discussion

Our initial interpretations of the Akrotiri Marsh cores are based purely on sedimentological evidence and may change once the microfossil analysis is complete and a chronology is established. The Akrotiri Marsh sediments suggest a change in the depositional environment from the basal white sediments (units 8-10) that may represent weathered chalk soils with limited vegetation present. By unit 7, a more vegetated soil had formed and the mottling may well represent fluctuations in soil moisture content. Units 6 and 5 are both organic rich and were formed in a wetland environment.

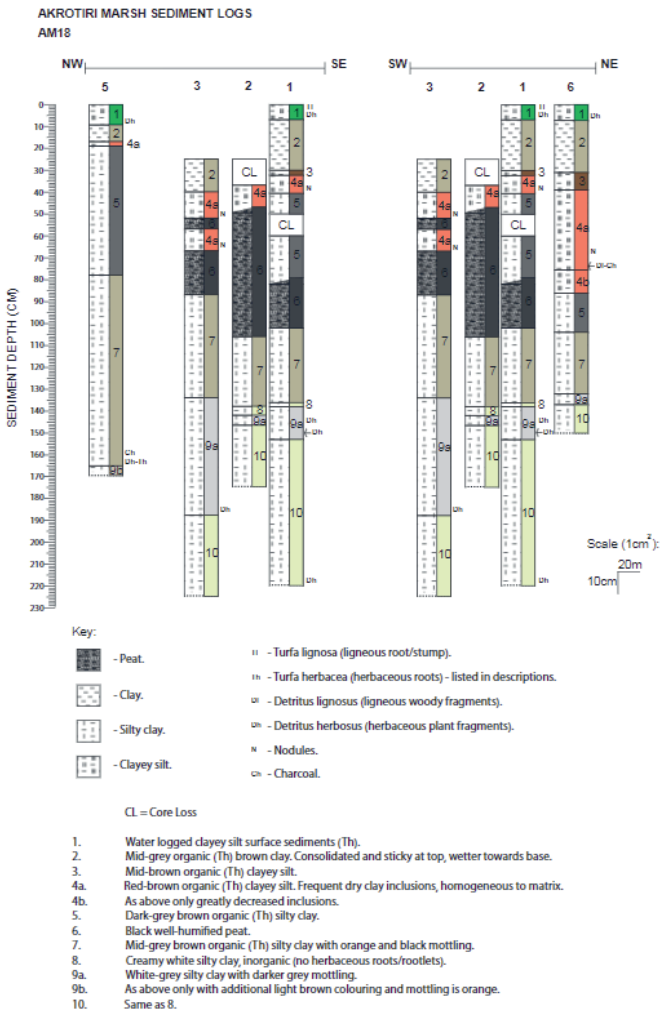


Figure 3: Stratigraphic core logs from Akrotiri Marsh also describing units discussed in the text

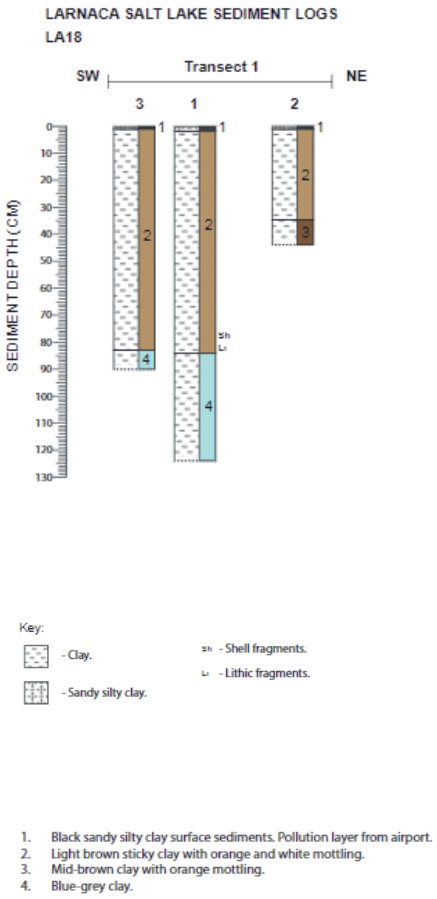


Figure 4: Stratigraphic core logs from Larnaca Salt Lake also describing units discussed in the text

Subsequently, we interpret units 2-4 as representing a drying of the environment and possible terrestrialisation of the wetland. All sediments from the Larnaca Salt Lake suggest deposition in a lagoonal salt lake environment. The unusually dark layer at the top of the cores is caused by modern volatile organic sulphur compounds.

Future work

We are now processing a sample every 2cm along the sediment cores to produce our high-resolution (less than 30 years between each sample) palaeoenvironmental record of Cyprus, which will be supported by radiocarbon dating. Our immediate objective for the future is to retrieve a longer core from Paralimni. At this location, the compact nature of the sediment meant it could not be effectively cored manually and so we intend to use a mechanical corer. Once we have our high-resolution palaeoenvironmental record we intend to integrate it with archaeological evidence for civilisation changes and/or collapse in Bronze Age Cyprus.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to Chris Hadjigeorgiou of the Geological Survey Department, Cyprus, Thomas Hadjikyriakou of the Akrotiri Environmental Education and Information Centre, the Ministry of Defence and Defence Infrastructure Organisation for enabling us to undertake fieldwork and take samples. Miltiadis Polidorou is thanked for his kind support on Cyprus in locating coring sites.

Feature articles: 2018 – 2019 CBRL grant recipients

Jewish Kurds from Iraq in Israel: A forgotten story?

Bahar Baser (Coventry University)

A British consular report from 1910 reports 45,000-50,000 Jews residing in Baghdad; by 1952, no more than 6,000 remained (Rejwan 2004:1). Across Iraq, the Jewish population totalled 140,000 in the late 1940s, however no sizeable Jewish community remains there today (Morat et al 2008). The traumatic and often lengthy departure of Iraqi Jews from Baghdad has been extensively studied. Some spent six months stateless, homeless and jobless, living on support they received from Jewish charities, relatives and friends. Their properties were confiscated by the Iraqi authorities and most lost everything (Benjamin 2006). Their Aliyah to Israel, strategies of integration into Israeli society, and struggles against hierarchies between European Jews and themselves, have also been a topic of interest to academics for decades. Many books have been published in English and Hebrew describing their lives in camps, their contributions to Israeli society and their approaches to nationalism.

The Babylonian Heritage Center Museum

Although Jews lived in "Babylonia" for thousands of years, their arrival in Israel was treated by the Israeli government as a "homecoming" and their lives in Iraq referred to as "diaspora". Commemoration events continue to be organised to remember their days in Iraq and cherish their contributions to Iraqi society. A museum called the Babylonian Heritage Center was built to demonstrate the hardships they faced and how they helped '(re)build Israel'. However, these stories mostly revolve around the experiences of Baghdadi Jews who lived a different life than the Jews of Kurdistan. Kurdish Jews lived in rural areas in northern Iraq under the mandate of Kurdish tribes and received protection from Kurdish tribal leaders. After peaceful co-existence for decades, these communities also left their villages and towns, such as Amadiya and Zakho, and migrated to Israel. Their narratives however have somewhat disappeared from within the dominant narrative of Baghdadi Jews.

Thousands of Kurds were airlifted to Israel from Iraq in the early 1950s by Operation Ezra and Nehemiah after the government in Baghdad briefly reversed its ban on Jewish emigration. The first generation and their descendants today constitute a sizeable community of more than 150,000 people (Neriah 2012:27). Only a few authors, such as Mordechai Zaken, have penned books and articles about their early experiences in Israel using oral history methods. However, there is still much to tell about their identity and sense-of-belonging to their ancestral homeland, with a specific focus on their contemporary attachments to Kurdistan and its people. My CBRL funded research aimed to fill this gap by conducting in-depth interviews with generations of Kurds who now made Israel their home.

Why study Jewish Kurds today?

Iraq has changed significantly since its Jewish minority left. After decades of political turmoil, sectarian conflicts, civil wars and rebellions, the Iraqi political scene is not what it looked like in the 1950s and 1960s. The Kurdish region became autonomous in the early 1990s and has become a quasi-state within Iraq. Although armed conflict between the central government and the Kurdish region has stopped, tensions continue to this day. The Kurdistan region of Iraq held a referendum for independence in September 2017. The only country that showed open support to Kurdish aspirations for self-determination was Israel. Kurds welcomed this unexpected support. Israeli flags could be seen amongst Kurdish ones at mass demonstrations in Kurdistan before and after the referendum. More interesting was the gathering of Kurdish-origin Jews in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem to support Kurdistan's independence. Kurdish newspapers started referring to a "Kurdish diaspora in Israel"; their activism during this highly important political event made them more visible.

Where is diaspora and where is home?

I conducted my CBRL-funded fieldwork in Israel in October-November 2018 and then again in May 2019. My aim was to explore the diasporic experiences of Jews with Kurdish origins while at the same time map their political leverage in Israeli and Kurdish politics. Most of my interviewees resided in Jerusalem and in surrounding towns and villages. With the help of my research assistant Nitzan Horesh, I reached out to Israeli-Kurdish organisations and their leaders as well as lay people who had origins in Iraqi Kurdistan. I interviewed twenty-five community members as well as academics, journalists and bureaucrats in order to understand the diasporic practices of this community. I also visited the archives of the Diaspora Museum in Tel Aviv to better understand their perilous journey from Iraq to Israel and their settlement in the area surrounding Jerusalem. With Nitzan, we visited Kurdish synagogues in Jerusalem in the vicinity of Mahaneh Yehuda market, which was known as a Kurdish Jewish settlement area in the past. My fieldwork ended with a visit to the Babylonian Heritage Center where I observed how much space is dedicated to the narratives of Kurdish Jews within the larger narrative of the Iraqi experience.

My interviews scrutinised the experience of Jews from Iraqi Kurdistan and aimed to understand how these Kurds and their descendants manage their multiple religious and ethnic identities. To my surprise, as soon as I started fieldwork, I found myself in a conceptual mess. Although the Kurds in Kurdistan referred to Jewish Kurds in Jerusalem as "the Kurdish Diaspora", Kurdish Jews I interviewed talked about their lives in Kurdistan as "when they were in the diaspora". Moreover, referring to this community became problematic: was it Kurdish Jews or Jewish Kurds? Would "Jews of Kurdistan" as a term capture how they define themselves? In the literature, they were mostly referred to as "Jewish Kurds" but then when they talked about their neighbours in Zakho or Amadiya, they referred to them as "the Kurds". This confusion persisted throughout the project and I still do not have a proper answer. Yet, most of the answers I heard corroborated with what Sarah Adeki, one of the first Kurdish Jews who arrived in Israel said in our interview (October 2018): "I am Kurdish, yes, but I am more Israeli." As a result of this hybrid identity, they kept certain traditions and norms from their Kurdish past. Community gatherings for Kurdish folkloric dances and singing is still common and the traditional dish called *Kubbeh* is still extremely popular for this community. Once a year they organise a festival called *Seharane*. They have formed associations such as the Kurdistan-Israel Friendship Association and the National Organisation of Jews from Kurdistan in Israel, which testifies to their commitment to retaining both identities, albeit with the Israeli dominating the latter. I also noted that the Israeli identity takes preference over Kurdishness when I visited Kurdish synagogues in Jerusalem. Each was surrounded by Israeli flags - a demonstration of an amalgam of Israeli nationalism and Kurdish heritage. The Kurdish heritage, however, was presented in the names of the synagogues (usually named after a town or village in Kurdistan).

As a result of the 1941 violence perpetrated against the Jewish community in Baghdad, known as the Farhud, more than one hundred people were killed and many more were injured. According to many authors, this was the beginning of the end for Iraq's Jewish community, and things took an unexpected turn. This surely made the Jewish community in Kurdistan fear their fate, but they still do not recall any traumatic events that made them remember Kurdistan with fear and sorrow. Instead, this community has strong ties to Kurdistan despite decades of separation. Most of my interviewees remember Kurdistan with positive memories and a feeling of nostalgia. For instance, Mordechai Yona who migrated with the first waves after Farhud stated that: Kurds always had good relations with their Jewish counterparts but because they lacked autonomy, they didn't have the power to protect them against anti-Semitic Arab aggression. My visit to the Kurdish-Israeli Friendship Association also confirmed this. The room was full of posters of Mullah Mustapha Barzani, one of the most prominent Kurdish political leaders in history, who protected the Jews in Kurdistan. Their love and aspiration for Barzani was not a mere political engagement but rather an emotional attachment to a Kurdish leader who was considered a "friend of Jews".

Feelings of "longing from afar" on certain occasions also turned into visits to Kurdistan despite perilous conditions. Returning to Kurdistan has not been easy for this community. Kurdistan is still part of Iraq despite its autonomous status, while Israel considers Iraq an enemy state. Entering Iraq and coming back to Israel could cause a lot of trouble to community members despite the good relations evolving between the Kurdistan Autonomous Region and Israel. The journey is also usually partaken via Turkey, with many who attempt it also having the impression that they might not be treated fairly either in Turkey or in Iraq along the way. Despite this, I met many Jewish Kurds who visited the region by legal means or via smugglers in order to stay connected with their Kurdish heritage and neighbors. For instance, Sarah Adeki's story is remarkable:

> *Everyone was very poor. After Saddam had killed so many people, then they were dying of starvation. When I went there, they didn't have a cup of tea to give us. From here [Israel] we brought tea, sugar, cakes, we brought everything over there... the market was operating, but they didn't have any money, so my late husband and two of his friends went to the market, and bought them rice, bread, fruits and vegetables, tea and coffee and sugar, cheeses... everything. We stayed there for almost a month, we travelled. And they invited us in, they hosted us very kindly. Even though they didn't have food.*

The second generation does not remember life in Kurdistan but they respect their parents' memories. Returning to Kurdistan does not seem to be an aspiration for this community; they feel a belongingness to Israel and they prioritise their Jewish identity over other ideas of belonging. However, they continue to mobilise to help and support the land they left behind and its people. Their support for Kurdish self-determination is very visible and they appear to want to play a mediation role between Israel and the Kurdish region. While doing that, they also relate a distinct story from other Mizrahi Jews: they have a different story to tell and their emotional attachments to where they came from endure.

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Narrating injustice: contemporary Palestinian life writing

Sophia Brown (Goldsmiths College, University of London)

Being able to pursue fieldwork is not at all straightforward for an early-career researcher – especially if you're a scholar of literature. Simply put, the funding opportunities that allow us to visit the places integral to our research are extremely limited. This is why the three-month research fellowship I undertook at the Kenyon Institute in East Jerusalem in the summer of 2018 was so important. Following on from a particularly stressful year juggling several teaching contracts in London, it was my first period of funded research in over two and a half years and my first visit back to the region since 2015.

My main objective during the fellowship was to work on my first monograph, based on my PhD thesis. Awarded in 2017 by the University of Kent, the thesis explores Palestinian life writing in English, a growing yet understudied area of literature. Broadly speaking, my work argues that Palestinian life writing published in English for an international audience should be read as a form of literary testimony that poses an urgent and necessary counternarrative to the hegemony of the Israeli discourse on Palestine/Israel. My monograph broadens the scope of the doctoral work to also include more writers, as well as a fuller consideration of each author's awareness of their audience and the ways their work is published by an industry too often restrained in presenting Palestinian voices in a global literary marketplace.

My research examines life writing by different generations of Palestinians – from those who experienced the 1948 Nakba ('Catastrophe'), to those born as second-generation Palestinians in their adopted homelands in the Middle East or beyond. This means being attentive to the work of those who remain at a geographical distance to Palestine/Israel, as well as those who do, or have, lived under Israeli military occupation. Authors I've studied include Suad Amiry, Sahar Hamouda, Edward Said and Raja Shehadeh, who have all published powerful examples of life writing deserving of further critical attention.

The separation wall at Abu Dis, separating it from Jerusalem

Because I focus on English language Palestinian life writing, I'm acutely aware of the international audience that the writers primarily address. This literature has a distinct sense that one of its main objectives is to highlight, publicise and explain the longstanding injustice that the Palestinian people continue to face. My conviction that Palestinian life writing works as a counternarrative to expose this injustice, is bound up with this issue of language. Key aspects of Palestinian experience, such as displacement and life under occupation for example, are repeatedly narrated, I would argue, because the authors write with the specific hope of reaching and influencing international public opinion.

My research focus on the international readership of Palestinian life writing has meant thinking seriously about the experiential gap between the authors and English-language readers. Most of the latter will inevitably have little conception of life under military occupation, or what it means to be exiled from one's homeland, and this is the gap that the literature attempts to bridge. This is one aspect where the fellowship proved so invaluable to my research. Being able to spend quality time in East Jerusalem and the West Bank, observing aspects of the occupation that are repeatedly narrated in the literature – such as the separation wall, settlements and checkpoints – has made it easier to recognise this gap and its implications, as well as to better understand my own position as a privileged outsider. Given that I work on contemporary writing that deals directly with an ongoing conflict that is routinely misrepresented by mainstream media, this is particularly crucial. Put more simply, I would not feel comfortable pursuing my research were I not able to spend time in Palestine/Israel.

One of the most productive aspects of the fellowship was being able to travel throughout the West Bank to visit places that feature in the literature I research, as well as to meet Palestinian authors and academics. Given the difficulties that Palestinians face in travelling abroad and, coming to the UK in particular, I had the opportunity to meet with many people relevant to my research who I would not otherwise have encountered. Again, I was reminded in very concrete ways of the privilege I have as a UK academic – something I continue to be very mindful of and which I hope will always be evident in how I conduct my research.

A particularly important trip I took during the course of my fellowship was to An-Najah National University in Nablus. I travelled there from Jerusalem in order to meet with Dr Ahmad Qabaha, Assistant Professor in Postcolonial, Comparative and American Studies, who I was fortunate to connect with through the relatively small world of academics working on Palestinian literature. Mindful of our shared research interests, Ahmad invited me to join him in leading a seminar he was teaching on the literature of exile. As it happened, the students were studying the work of Ghada Karmi, whose memoirs *In Search of Fatima* (2002) and *Return* (2015) I discussed in detail in my thesis and am also analysing in my monograph. Her books are interesting to think about in terms of how they relate to questions of readership and reception, given how her writing explicitly explores challenges of growing up in the UK as an exiled Palestinian and navigating the different and often contradictory facets of her identity.

Having never previously had the opportunity to discuss my research with a classroom of Palestinian students, or to hear their thoughts on Palestinian literature, it was fascinating to get their perspectives on Karmi's work, as well as to see how they responded to my own observations. I always had wondered the extent to which Karmi's narration of exile, life in London, and Palestinian identity would resonate with contemporary Palestinian readers in Palestine. As such, it was genuinely enlightening to discover what they related to, as well as what didn't correspond with their own experience. Discussing Karmi's memoirs with them reinforced my decision to further prioritise the issue of readership in my monograph and to think more incisively about class and gender.

Overall, spending three months at the Kenyon Institute allowed me to make meaningful progress with my monograph that I would not have been able to make elsewhere; not just in terms of granting me precious time as an early-career scholar who is yet to secure a permanent post, but also in terms of enabling me to spend dedicated time in the region that I work on.

The separation wall at Abu Dis, separating it from Jerusalem

An-Najah National University, Nablus

Some badly decayed bones from south-west Asia and their radiocarbon dating potential

Piotr Jacobsson (Scottish Universities Environmental Research Centre, University of Glasgow)

Introduction: why radiocarbon date archaeological bones from south-west Asia?

A century of archaeological research into the Final Pleistocene and Early Holocene (ca. 20,000 – 5,500 cal BC) of the Levant, and south-west (SW) Asia in general, paints a picture of a world of transfers and change between networked communities. We know, for example, that sometime in the 8th millennium cal BC people begin to aggregate in larger settlements such as 'Ayn Ghazal or Basta (Jordan). The evidence for the speed at which these developments took place, or how synchronous they were, however, remains limited. This causes some difficulty in describing how these changes happened and grasping *why* they happened. There is a need to create a high-precision chronology to understand the detail of how and why things change.

Modern radiocarbon dating can provide precise dates through the use of improved measurement techniques and statistical modelling of 14C concentration. However, this is only the case if the samples are good for dating. What does that mean? On a technical level, a sample is good if we can extract some carbon fraction that we can be certain is not a contaminant incorporated into the sample sometime after deposition. Then there is the contextual level: the sample has to trace particular archaeological events, be it a building conflagration, formation of an ash lens, or a burial. Once such events are isolated they can be linked to other happenings at a site through stratigraphy and thus form the basis for dating the site in general.

For the time being the majority of radiocarbon dating in the Levant, at least for the Final Pleistocene and Early Holocene, relies on charred plant remains (CPRs), such as fragments of charcoal or carbonised seeds. While these are straightforward from a technical point of view – a simple benchtop procedure can isolate the most relevant carbon fraction – ensuring their contextual integrity is often more difficult. Reliable contexts, such as burnt-down storage silos, or even hearths, are too rare to be the only source of chronological information. Meanwhile we often have little understanding of the origins of CPRs from more common contexts, such as building fills, or middens.

Dating skeletal remains found in articulation could go a long way to provide a complimentary set of good dating contexts. This is because we can be almost sure that if human or animal remains are found in their anatomical position, they would not have been disturbed much since not long after death. Success of large 14C dating programmes that relied to a major extent on dating articulated human and animal remains, such as Whittle's *Times of their Lives* (Oxbow Books, 2018) proves this to be the case. However, while advantageous contexts, such as intra-mural burials, might be common in SW Asia, there are technical challenges that have to be resolved before their chronological potential can be fulfilled.

How do we radiocarbon date bone?

To understand the technical challenges of dating bone in SW Asia we first need to recall that bone consists of two main fractions, an organic scaffolding and mineral fill, accompanied by small amounts of non-collagenous proteins (NCPs). Collagen, which forms the organic scaffolding, provides the bone with flexibility, and also forms the basis for soup or glue, is the preferred fraction of bone for radiocarbon dating. While the inorganic crystals of the mineral fill can incorporate intrusive carbon *post mortem*, preserved collagen triple helices will not do that. Furthermore, well-preserved collagen is easy to extract. Almost all 14C laboratories worldwide do this using a method published by R. Longin in 1971 in *Nature*, where the mineral component of the bone is removed through immersion in cold, dilute acid (e.g. 1M hydrochloric). In a well-preserved bone, as the mineral fraction dissolves, a spongy acid-insoluble ghost bone remains. This will consist to an overwhelming extent of collagen and provides prime material for 14C dating and other isotopic analyses.
The challenge in SW Asia is frequent loss or deterioration of collagen. When collagen deterioration is too advanced, the triple helix will begin to unfold allowing for the uptake of contaminant organics and when collagen is lost altogether, it is gone. However, there are ways around these problems. For deteriorated collagen we can aim to extract specific substances, which we know are the building blocks of collagen, and as such we can trust the dates we get on them. Meanwhile, in cases where collagen is gone altogether, there still might exist the possibility of extracting the NCPs. Yet, for both of these alternatives to work, some of the bone organic content has to survive. This pilot study sought to begin building a baseline understanding of this organic preservation across SW Asia, while exploring what might have happened to the collagen in the first place.
We do have (some kind of) organics...

Results from 22 bones collected from four sites provided optimistic prospects for preservation of bulk organic material, as all but one sample consisted of at least 5% organic compounds by mass (Figure 1). This is known through measuring loss on ignition: baking powdered bone samples at 450°C. At such temperatures the organic compounds burn away and so comparing the mass of the sample before and after tells us how much of bone was made up of organics. There are also other positive indicators. While only three bones studied so far produced good quality collagen, most, when immersed in acid, produced a discoloured, sometimes foamy, suspension with some acid-insoluble fibres (Figure 2). The fibres will consist of deteriorated collagen that can be targeted with compound-specific extraction techniques, while the overall discolouration hints that other organics might be present in the sample.

...and various things could have happened to the collagen.

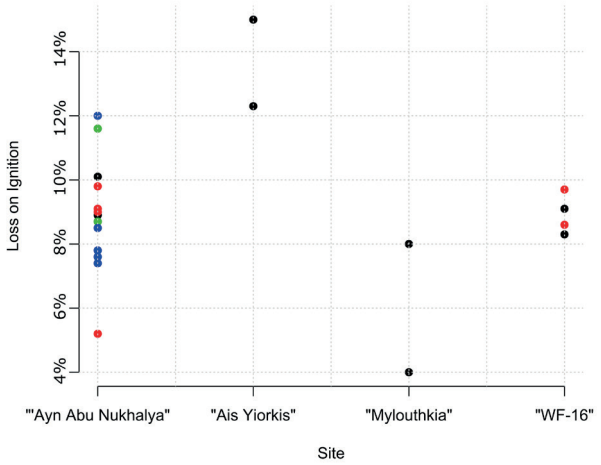

Figure 1.

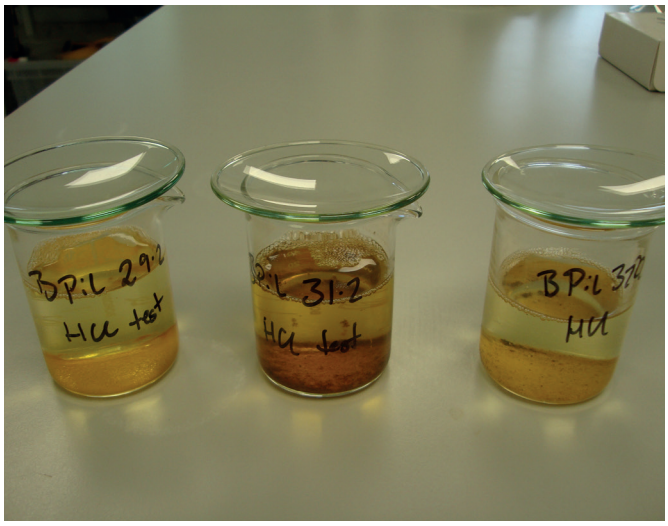

Figure 2. Beakers with suspensions from the acid dissolutions of bones from SW Asia. While large acid-insoluble fraction fragments are absent, discolouration, sediment and foam all indicate presence of some organic materials that might be autochthonous to the bone.

There still is no definitive answer as to why collagen deteriorates more in the Levant (and other arid environments, such as south-western edges of the Sahara), than it does in temperate European climates. There are several possibilities, however, one of which is that collagen fibres which become mobilised during the region's wet winters recrystallise inside the bone matrix during their dry summers. If this is the case, we could expect to see greater collagen loss in samples that contain more secondary crystals.

The amount of carbonate deposited in the bone after burial can be estimated by immersing it in dilute acetic acid. This will remove secondary carbonates and leave the native mineral fraction intact. The difference in sample weight before and after the treatment thus indicates the amount of secondary carbonate in the bone. The results are unambiguous: there is no clear correlation with the amount of organics (Figure 3). This seems to refute the original hypothesis, although it is also possible that secondary crystals, immune to dilute acetic acid, formed in some of the samples and skewed the results.

Other clues as to what might be happening to the collagen can be found in bone microstructure, as seen in Figure 4. In the top row we can see micrographs of a modern bone, fresh from the butcher. All the anatomical structure is present: the larger tunnels known as Haversian canals, the lamellae between the subsequent layers of bone growth and the canaliculi which form at the edge of the lamellae. The second row of micrographs consists of images of archaeological bone from Kissonerga - *Mylouthkia* (Cyprus). Here, instead of the well-ordered structure, we can see what comes across as an endless sea of blots. The technical terminology for these blots is "multi-focal destruction" (MFDs) and they testify to intensive bacterial attack, which in some instances has been associated with substantial collagen loss. However, the material from southern Jordan (next two rows of Figure 4), which has a very similar amount of organics and little or no collagen, shows no evidence of intensive bacterial attack. Instead, the structure of the bone is for the most part preserved, perhaps with the exception of blurring of the lamellae and presence of fractures. To complicate things further, the bone from Krittou Marottou - *Ais Yiorkis* (Cyprus; lowermost row of Figure 4), which suffered the heaviest bacterial attack of all, also enjoyed the best organic preservation in the study.

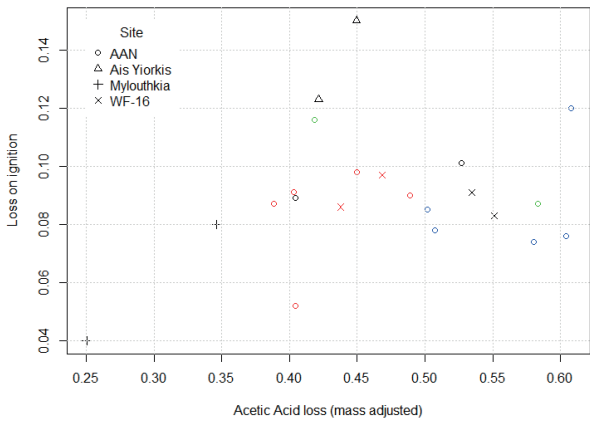

Figure 3. Extent of mass loss (corrected for differences in sample sizes), plotted against loss on ignition estimates of organic content. Note that while material from different sites and features might or might not cluster, there is little evidence of an overall trend.

Hence, the results so far fail to indicate any particular key driver for collagen loss in SW Asia. This was to be expected – if the solution of the riddle was easy, the riddle would have been solved a long time ago. Having said that, the diversity of preservation conditions on the microscopic scale, coupled with a range of diagenetic parameters, suggests that there might be more than one factor behind collagen loss in the region and that, in itself, may be a very important finding.

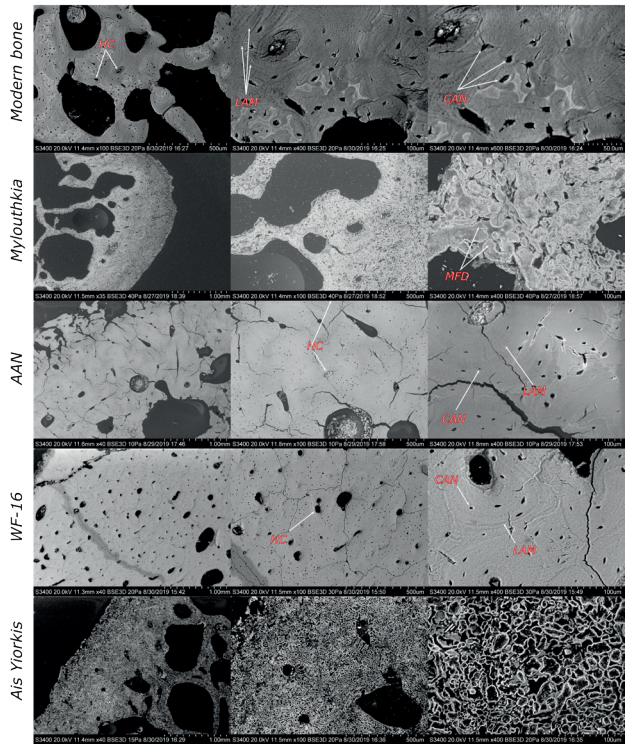

Figure 4. Preservation of microscopic features of bone anatomy. In the top row we can see a fresh modern bone with three anatomic features highlighted: Haversian canals (HC), lamellae (LAM) and canaliculi (CAN). In the second row we can see a micrograph of a bone fragment from Kissonerga-Mylouthkia, where little of the organisation visible in the modern bone can be identified. Rather we have plenty of "blooms", indicative of bacterial activity. The following two rows present material from 'Ayn Abu Nukhayla and Wadi Feynan 16, both of which are located in southern Jordan. Here the microstructure of the bone is preserved, although the presence of organics is similar to that at Mylouthkia. The lowermost bone comes from Ais Yiorkis, Cyprus, and bears witness to heavy bacterial attack.

Beyond the Pilot

This pilot study explored the range of organic preservation in some bones from the Levant and beyond and probed into why the survival of collagen is so limited. In the process two things became clear:

1) There might be a range of factors behind collagen loss;
2) In most instances there is an amount of organics within SW Asian bone samples, some of which are acid-insoluble.

Both these findings are encouraging. While the evidence so far is still too limited to be conclusive, the possibility that collagen loss across SW Asia is driven by multiple factors working together is very exciting and warrants further investigation. In the first instance this means building up a broader baseline of the kind of evidence presented here – basic parameters that trace state of bone preservation across SW Asia, without which we cannot refine the hypotheses on what is happening to the collagen and begin untangling the possible multiplicity of factors involved.

Persistence of organics is of direct relevance. While the fragments of acid insoluble organics and proteinous foams produced by many of these samples will include many contaminants, they also might hide organics autochthonous to the bone. Hence the next step is to search these organics for either collagen building blocks, or non-collagenous proteins. Once isolated, these materials will let us date skeletal remains from SW Asia on a more routine basis than hitherto possible and make it easier to clarify the *hows* and answer the *whys* of cultural changes in the Final Pleistocene and Earlier Holocene.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the excavators of Ais Yiorkis, Mylouthkia, Wadi Feynan 16, 'Ayn Abu Nukhayla, Bestansur and Iktanu, as well as the Department of Antiquities of the Republic of Cyprus, for access to the samples.

Taking the rights road less travelled: Bedouin 'special rights' in Mandate Palestine and the United Nations

Emma Nyhan (European University Institute)

In a previous life interning at a law centre working on Arab minority rights in Israel, I became preoccupied with the question of who is entitled to indigenous justice and who can claim indigenous rights under international law. I learned that the Palestinian Arab minority is split into three religious communities - Muslim, Christian, and Druze - and is seen to constitute a national, ethnic, linguistic, and religious minority under international law. Yet the Bedouin, although identifying as Palestinian Arab and Muslim, are set apart from the three religious communities and can be treated as an indigenous minority under international law overseen by the United Nations.

Bedouin in Israel are one of only a handful of groups to achieve this indigenous recognition under international law. Ethnographic observations and socio-legal research reveal how the Bedouin can be seen to have become indigenous through the work of activists, academics and UN officials over the last 20 years. As one Bedouin interlocutor told me with conviction, 'I am indigenous to my piece of land here. My great-grandfather and my grandfather lived under the Ottomans, the British Mandate, and the Israeli government.' (Aziz al-Turi, Al-Araqib, 20 November 2015). Both scholars and legal practitioners agree that once recognised as indigenous, the Bedouin are entitled to a set of tailor-made rights, also known as 'special rights'. If indigenous is a new millennium phenomenon in the context of the Bedouin in the Naqab (Negev), I was left wondering what was written about the Bedouin before this international watershed? Mahmood Mamdani's book *When Victims Become Killers* (2001) reveals how identities generated in colonialism distinguished the indigenous from the non-indigenous, which was crucial to the Genocide in Rwanda, and his recent book *Define and Rule* (2013) develops this for Sudan. Building on the foundations of Mamdani's work and broadening current understandings of how identities are founded and shaped by colonial contexts, my research interests lie in understanding the emergence of indigenous justice and indigenous rights in the Middle East.

Aziz al-Turi and Emma Nyhan in shigg in al-Araqib, Naqab/Negev Israel, 20 November 2015

Poster with description 'Arab Bedouin - The Indigenous People of the Naqab-Negev, Israel', 24 November 2015

It is possible to begin to understand the Bedouin as they existed prior to their international indigenisation through a close reading of the archives. These show how external actors wrote the Bedouin into time and place that linger in contemporary opinions and literature about the Bedouin. The special status and rights of the Bedouin were created, reinforced and maintained during the British Mandate between 1917 and 1948. Mandatory politics acted to bind the Bedouin to geography and custom, rather than history and law, as the basis of their administration. Yet, delving back further in history, Bedouin exceptionalism predates the Mandatory era.

The earliest existing literature accessible to the Western reader on the Middle East comes from travellers' accounts. These accounts are the precursor to European (and later, Western) knowledge on the Bedouin. Europeans, white and mostly male, began increasingly to travel and explore the region from the 19th century onwards, reconceiving and reproducing the Bedouin as the 'pure Arab' described by the 14th-century author Ibn Khaldun. At first, the Holy Land and holy sites were the main object of inquiry. With the Bible as a handbook and map, Western writers employed the Bedouin instrumentally and compared the Bedouin to the Patriarchs of the Old Testament. The Holy Land was deemed a *terra sancta*, or a sacred geography, which gave rise to religious representations of the Bedouin as biblical shepherds following an honourable and pure life. Religious and historical angles prevailed, and only belatedly did the travellers write about their lifestyle, customs and religion.

A Group of Bedouins Near the Railway Station, Beersheba, Palestine, circa 1917

The Beersheba bazaar (Bedouins bargaining with vendors), between 1898 and 1946. Photo credit: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)

All this meant that the figure of the Bedouin often dominated Orientalist representations of the Muslim-populated world in the 19th century. Culturally and socially distinct, Bedouin symbolised unchanging, pristine remnants of a passing traditional society. The Bedouin belonged to an Oriental space, characterised as the changeless East, where the Bedouin functioned as a 'living museum'. Moreover, and still pertinent in today's discussions of the identity of the Bedouin as an indigenous people, the Bedouin in Ottoman Palestine underwent idealisation and stereotyping and were portrayed as wanderers or desert nomads.

While early European explorers were preoccupied with the Bedouin lifestyle, the British Mandate administrators who came to rule in the aftermath of the First

Bedouin woman in the Bedouin market, 20 April 2017

Aref el Aref and Bedouin sheikhs, August 1932
(Photo credit: Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division)

World War were concerned with governance. It was during this time that the special identity specific to the Bedouin crystallised and the Mandate officials recognised the special rights and customs of the Bedouin tribes. Bedouin were consistently described 'as special, their social affairs following the autonomous logic of distinctively Bedouin or "nomadic" culture romanticised around values of honor and tribal *asabiya* [solidarity]' (Mansour Nasasra and colleagues in *The Naqab Bedouin and Colonialism: New Perspectives*, 2015, page 9). For example, Winston Churchill, the State Secretary for Colonial Affairs, reinforced the guarantees already granted in Beersheba by the High Commissioner to the Sheikhs that the special rights and customs of 'the Bedouin tribes of the Beersheba will not be interfered with' (Foreign and Commonwealth Office Records: PRO, CO 733/2/21/21698 folio 77).

Much of what we know about the Bedouin in Beersheba during this era comes from the records of Aref al-Aref, the District Officer for Beersheba in the British administration, who both governed and wrote about the Bedouin. His work remains salient for discussing understandings of and literature on the Bedouin during the British Mandate because, as a Westernised Arab, he wrote both from the colonising and the colonised perspectives, and published *Bedouin Love, Law and Legend Dealing Exclusively with the Badu of Beersheba* (1944).

Al-Aref aspired to write like a European traveller and mimicked their works yet, as a colonial bureaucrat, he marvelled at the Bedouin and claimed special insights. Thus, Al-Aref had an uncanny ability to link the Bedouin to other groups while simultaneously setting them apart. In his writings, Bedouin and 'civilised' groups share commonalities, most apparent in matters of law, love, and legend: the Bedouin have courts like courts in civilised countries, the Bedouin men love like civilised men, and the Bedouin's Thursday the 25th is the equivalent of Friday the 13th in the civilised calendar. The Bedouin's distinctiveness from the rest of the Arab population is equally important. Bedouin do not like peasants and their living conditions, adding that they regard Arabs who live in stone dwellings as their inferiors, and they resent any suggestions of peasant origin.

The Bedouin's special rights in Mandate Palestine can be seen as a precursor to their internationally defined status and rights in the 21st century as indigenous under contemporary international law. Yet. there are deeper historical, geographical, and political forces that have made it possible for the Bedouin in the Naqab to achieve this. The legacy from special rights in Mandate Palestine to special rights in the United Nations broadens understandings of how the colonial apparatus segregated the colonised into unchanging categories, cementing formerly fluid and diverse identities and making notions of tribe, race and ethnicity into administrative and thereby (international) legal reality.

Bedouin man waiting to embark bus of IDF soldiers, 24 April 2017

Bedouin man on bus looking out window at IDF soldiers, 24 April 2017

Securing human rights in an age of securitisation

Teodora Todorova (The University of Warwick)

Securitisation policies and practices that have been adopted by liberal democratic states as a consequence of 'the war on terror' have come under considerable scrutiny from critical scholars due to their implications on human rights, democracy and citizenship more broadly. Many of the techniques deployed by states to manage populations perceived as a 'threat' to national security pose a direct threat to the legitimacy of international human rights norms. These include the use of racial profiling, detention without charge or trial (administrative detention), subjecting 'security' prisoners and detainees to torture, and other ill and degrading treatment (Peirce 2010).

My work argues that in an age of securitisation, the extent to which political prisoners' human rights are protected and promoted is the litmus test for liberal democracies' adherence and commitment to international law and human rights standards. I thus depart from the premise that states which claim the 'liberal-democratic' label should be more amenable to human rights discourses and the efforts of civil society to promote the adoption of 'democratic "unexceptional" procedures in policy and law making' (McGhee 2010: 47).

My latest research project examines the transnational efforts of civil society and legal advocates who have worked over the past two decades to promote and reinforce a commitment to human rights for Palestinians imprisoned in the name of 'security'. I am particularly interested in how these advocates interpret and utilise legal and/or socio-political instruments to promote their clients' human rights, as well as to advocate against security policies and practices that routinely violate Palestinian human rights under occupation and during incarceration. I am also interested in the obstacles and opportunities for these advocates to create, build and sustain a critical intercultural coalition that can work more effectively in achieving these aims and objectives.

Bethlehem wall graffiti: Ahed Tamimi - End The Occupation

Solidarity PSC 2017

The Israeli state and its military occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip has a long history of imprisoning Palestinians under a 'security' pretext. This history pre-dates the contemporary 'age of securitisation' by decades. Since 1967, an estimated seventy percent of Palestinian families have had at least one family member serve time in an Israeli prison (Hass 2015). Close to 6,000 Palestinians are currently held in Israeli prisons under a security pretext, including around 500 administrative detainees and 200 children (Addameer 2019). Palestinian detainees are subjected to prolonged detention without charge or trial, and to torture and other ill and degrading treatment within Israel's military law enforcement system. The extraction of 'guilty' confessions through these methods is one of the reasons why there is a close to 100% conviction rate.

In the immediate aftermath of the 1993 peace accords, transnational human rights NGOs and 'cause lawyers' became more significant because the Palestinian prisoners' movement was marginalised by these accords (see Advocate 2019). In the past decade, the post-Oslo generation of prisoners has returned to centre stage as a symbol of Palestinian national resistance after a series of individual and collective hunger strikes. This resistance has been met with a series of campaigns by the Israeli government and its supporters, who, in their own stead have adopted human rights language in the service of the occupation, its practices, and the criminalisation of Palestinian and transnational anti-occupation and human rights activists (Perugini and Gordon 2015). Few scholars have yet considered the role and impact of transnational advocacy in relation to Palestinian political prisoners in light of these developments.

In the summer of 2018, I conducted interviews with Palestinian, Israeli and international civil society activists and legal advocates working to promote Palestinian detainee and prisoner human rights. My intellectual framework was informed by the concept of transnational advocacy networks, defined as 'actors working internationally on an issue, who are bound together by shared values, a common discourse, and dense exchanges of information and services [...] They also promote norm implementation, by pressuring target actors to adopt new policies, and by monitoring compliance with regional and international standards' (Keck and Sikkink 1998: 81-90). My interviews demonstrated that Palestinian prisoner rights advocates maintain a range of opinions regarding the extent to which the law (international and/or national) is an effective instrument for ensuring adherence to human rights norms in practice. With few exceptions, there was a clear difference in opinion between Jewish-Israeli and Palestinian advocates in relation to the role of the law in securing the human rights of Palestinian prisoners. These differences reflect a broader power asymmetry between Palestinians and Israelis and their political positioning as citizens of a state or as subjects of occupation.

Bedouin man on bus looking out window at IDF soldiers, 24 April 2017

Given the current state of international affairs, Palestinian advocates were pessimistic about the human rights situation in the Occupied Palestinian Territory and saw their appeals to international human rights norms as part of a broader long-term strategy of resisting and ending the occupation, as well as constituting a way to affirm the legitimacy of the Palestinian struggle. While most Palestinian-Israeli and some Jewish-Israeli advocates shared this position, they were also more dismissive towards international human rights instruments, viewing these as 'rhetorical' and lacking in real power for change. As Israeli citizens, their access to the Israeli legal system means that they place emphasis on achieving tangible, even if small, gains for their clients through litigation and petitioning the High Court. This strategy is argued to be particularly important for those convicted of acts of political violence and who will endure lengthy prison sentences.

The tension between an emphasis on attaining tangible, short-term objectives within the domestic legal system, versus focusing on enacting a long-term strategy of ending the occupation through an appeal to international law as constituting the most effective strategy for securing the human rights of Palestinian prisoners, could become an obstacle to building and sustaining an effective Israeli-Palestinian advocacy coalition. Ensuring Palestinian prisoner human rights, and those of Palestinians in general, requires an effective advocacy coalition that combines efforts and strategies that ensure that the deterioration of the human rights situation is resisted in the short-term, while simultaneously working towards the ultimate goal of ending the occupation.

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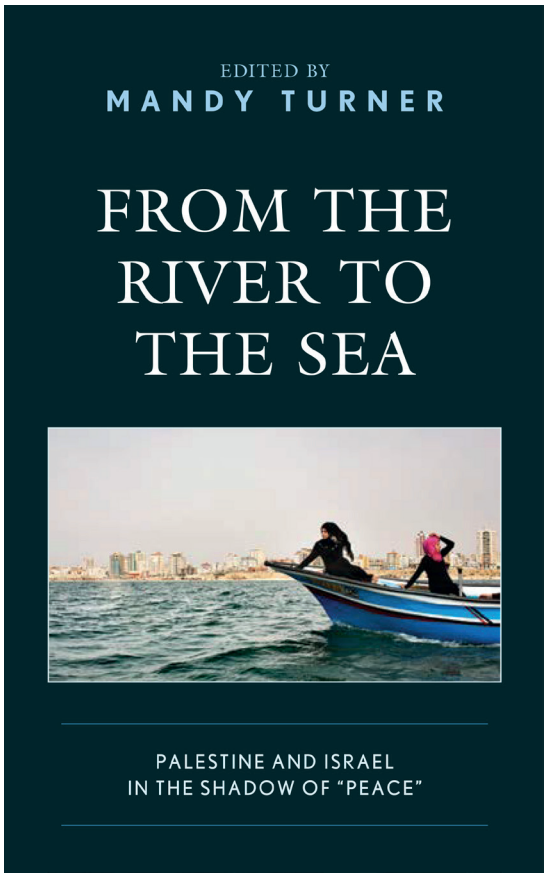
From the river to the sea: Palestine and Israel in the shadow of "peace"

Mandy Turner (CBRL Kenyon Institute Director)



In April 2019, my edited book *From the River to the Sea: Palestine and Israel in the Shadow of "Peace"* was published. It was the product of years of research, workshops, and conversations between the contributors.

My ideas behind it crystallised in 2013 in response to the flood of books, newspaper articles, and journal special issues being published on the twentieth-year anniversary of the Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements, otherwise known as the Oslo Accords, between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO). Pretty much all of these publications focused on assessing why the two-state solution had (so far) not been achieved, how the peace process had failed, and why Palestinians were still no closer to achieving self-determination.

Many of these assessments were important and useful, but I was interested in something else. I wanted to know how the "peace" and the supposedly "interim" framework had shaped the lives of the different communities of people involved, and what had been their coping strategies and political responses to it. Because this required a more anthropological focus, I drew together expert scholars who had a deep knowledge of the communities and issues I wanted to explore. I was aiming, as much as possible, to get a full and clear view of what had been happening "between the river and the sea" during a purported period of "peace."

The book analyses the combined effects of the ongoing impact of Israeli settler colonial policies and practices, as well as the policies and practices introduced after the Oslo Accords. The chapters show how Israel's expropriation and repression of Palestinians accelerated during this purported period of "peace," and how different forms of expropriation and control emerged under the cover of this peace framework which were less visible and more stable. For instance, the chapter by Raja Khalidi shows how the Paris Economic Protocol (PEP), the economic part of the Oslo Accords, not only allowed Israel to continue to de-develop the economy of the Occupied Palestinian Territory (OPT), but also regularised and legitimised these strategies through an internationally-accepted economic agreement. He reveals how the conventional wisdom, which understands the OPT economy as experiencing impressive levels of economic growth, in fact masks its structural deformation over the past twenty-five years, as well as the resource extraction by, and dependency on, Israel. But one of the worst aspects of all this, Khalidi concludes, is that the PLO accepted the PEP as a legitimate policy framework, and so are complicit in the development model distorting the OPT economy. He shows how this came about historically (at the end of the Cold War, and with the dominance of neoliberal economic frameworks) and through political economy processes (the profit and rent-seeking imperatives of Palestinian private capital, and the dominance of the World Bank in the development of economic frameworks in the OPT). He therefore provides a rich analysis of how the situation turned out the way it did. The other chapters follow similar methods of enquiry.

I was motivated to study this because I am a conflict and peace scholar researching thematically on the politics of international intervention. What is interesting about the Israeli-Palestinian case is that it requires us to consider broader debates on how to conceptualise the international system and the nature of power, how we should understand international intervention, and what kinds of actors/ideas are involved in developing an alternative future. I have always found it odd that the discipline of International Relations fetishes sovereignty as constituting the main principle of the international system and so any contravention needs explanation. This is because the empirical record shows that intervention is a constant practice in the imposition and policing of international order—and I am not just talking about military "boots on the ground." Sanctions, financial assistance for preferred elites, and development and governance aid are other strategies of intervention used to control, manipulate and coerce. Of course, these are more subtle methods, but they are no less effective than direct military force. In fact, more subtle methods are perhaps more effective. The modern international system should be understood as constituting a global colonial matrix of control policed by various strategies of intervention, of which formal colonialism was only one historical instance.

Western donor practices in the OPT since 1993, which were purportedly to help create the conditions for a two-state solution through the implementation of a variety of peacebuilding strategies, are therefore an important example to explore. My research has tried to understand these policies and strategies—how they impact on the ground, particularly in terms of the form of political economy they are helping to implant; how they interact, coexist, and consolidate Israel's strategies and practices of settler colonialism and counterinsurgency; if and how different sets of Palestinian political and economic elites have co-opted, adapted, or rejected these policies; and what western donors say they are doing but what they are actually doing in a context of settler colonialism and the global alliances that dominate in this case. This edited book allowed me to continue to explore

these themes through working with researchers who had the in-depth knowledge and expertise to uncover the conundrums, contradictions, and hypocrisies in the history of the conflict and "peace" in Israel/Palestine.

We (meaning the contributors and I) deliberately kept our contributions light on theory because we wanted these histories to reach beyond the academy. So, I hope that anyone interested in understanding the situation that currently exists in Israel/Palestine will read it. However, I am under no illusion that more research and more words will change the current situation. The promise of peace has become increasingly hollow, negotiations have collapsed, sovereign statehood for Palestinians has been denied, and exchanges have become ever more bitter—perhaps even returning to the level of acrimony that dominated the decades before peace talks began in the early 1990s. Indeed, given the recent policy directions under the presidency of Donald J. Trump, it appears that the United States is insistent on forcing a "peace" that favours Israel but not the Palestinians. What we need in such a context is a transformation in international public perception and opinion that, in turn, fuels an increase in solidarity actions and movements in support of Palestinian rights. We hope this book helps by offering documentation and analysis of the experiences and responses of the people who have been affected by the festering wound created by this conflict. The book was called "From the River to the Sea" because I conceived of the whole project with this title and most of the contributors refer to the phrase in their chapters. It is a descriptive term that encompasses both modern-day Israel inside the "green line" and the OPT, and has also been used by both the Zionist movement/Israel and Palestinian groups to stake their claim to the land.

The use of this phrase by Marc Lamont Hill, Professor of Media Studies and Urban Education at Temple University, at the United Nations in November 2018, drew the ire of those seeking to silence criticism of Israel's actions in the OPT. These kinds of attacks are becoming more frequent. It is commonplace, as a researcher of this conflict, to be accused of "bias"—like Lamont Hill was—as if somehow the study of society and social life can be "scientific" and "neutral." It has been a guiding principle throughout my intellectual life that research can be objective but it cannot be neutral—so there is a common thread that underpins this edited book, i.e., how the past twenty-five years has witnessed the imposition of a victor's peace for Israel and has denied rights (both national and human) to Palestinians, under the guise of a "peace process." For all the contributors to this book, these facts are undeniable. Unfortunately, though, these facts are not enough because there is a broader battle over narratives–and this is going to get worse before it gets any better.

I am extremely grateful to the immensely talented Tanya Habjouqa for the cover photograph, which appears with this article. This beautiful image, which first appeared in *Occupied Pleasures* (Foto-Evidence, 2015), is from an extraordinary collection of photos of everyday Palestinian life. In this photo, Palestinian high school students take a field trip off the coast of Gaza. For these teenagers, "A ten-minute boat ride," says Habjouqa, in her description, "is the epitome of freedom." Describing herself as a Texan-Jordanian, and now resident in Ramallah, Palestine, Habjouqa's photographs capture the lives of Palestinians as they attempt to live, love and laugh under repressive conditions.

I start the book's introduction with a line from Mahmoud Darwish, who is generally regarded as the Palestinian national poet. Taken from *A State of Siege*, which was written during Israel's military bombardment of the OPT during the Second Intifada in 2002, Darwish captures the concept of *samoud*, which is so central to Palestinian resistance to attempts to uproot them from their homes and land. "We stand here. Sit here. Remain here. Immortal here. And we have only one goal: to be." The key question remains: how to liberate Palestine from the violence of Israeli settler colonialism and to build a future based on the defeat and eradication of the inequality and oppression that this system has created.

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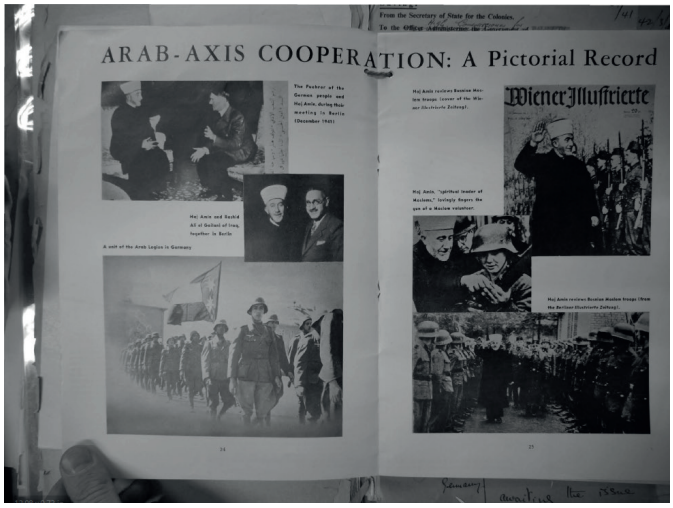
Unearthed: the wartime archive of Amin al-Husayni

Steven Wagner (Brunel University London)

Background

There is no more controversial figure in Palestinian history than Hajj Amin al-Husayni, Mufti of Jerusalem from 1921-37. Since at least 1947, Husayni's ties to the SS leadership have been a bludgeon in the propaganda wars of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The controversies revolve around his leadership, the assassination campaign against his opponents, and his refusal to compromise with the Arab states and British diplomats during 1939 negotiations that led to severe restrictions on Jewish immigration. It went on to include his connections with Nazism, the SS, and the Final Solution. In July 1945, the United Nations War Crimes Commission listed Husayni as a criminal on the basis of Yugoslavia's indictment, for his role in creating Bosnian SS battalions.



Left to right: Heinrich Himmler, head of the SS, with unknown and Amin al-Husseini, 4 July 1943. (© Israeli State Archives, Eichmann Trial Papers. A/3149/16)

Last year, the Mufti's prominence in history led Rome's Jewish community to boycott Liberation Day celebrations, marking the end of Fascism in Italy. They argued that the presence of pro-Palestinian demonstrators at the demonstration contradicted historical truth: the Jewish Brigade helped to liberate Italy; whereas Palestinians, under the Mufti, sided with the enemy. Recently, Israeli officials have embellished this history, preposterously alleging that the Mufti inspired the Final Solution (Beaumont, The Guardian, 21st October 2015). It is impossible to ignore the Mufti's impact on the conflict and Palestinian aspirations. In a May 2019 Washington Post op-ed, Middle East studies scholar Dr Maha Nassar addressed recent critics of US House Representative Rashida Tlaib, saying that 'by citing the pro-Nazi propaganda of Mufti Hajj Amin al-Husayni to claim that "Palestinian leaders at the time sided with Hitler," they conflate the statements and actions of a single individual with those of an entire people.'

When writing *Statecraft by Stealth* (Cornell University Press, 2019), I strived to discuss the Mufti's political career before the Second World War without being influenced by what we know came next. As Mufti and President of the British-created Supreme Muslim Council, he was a powerful government officer in the British Mandate. He was also Palestine's principal political leader, varyingly alienating and supporting the national movement in its transition to a mass movement and popular uprising. Historians debate the extent to which he supported Palestinian resistance to Britain's Zionist policy, and whether he planned to lead a revolt against Britain. By 1937, British authorities held him responsible for armed resistance during the Palestinian revolt of 1936-41 (Wagner, 2019). Probably with some help from the British police, he fled from Palestine to Lebanon, and then Syria, where he attempted to organise and lead armed resistance from exile. His goal: to stop Jewish immigration and secure Palestinian independence. During the Second World War, he participated in Rashid 'Ali al-Kilani's 1941 coup in Iraq, but then fled the British reoccupation, reaching Italy by way of neutrals Iran and Turkey. By late 1941, he reached Germany and met Hitler.

A Colonial Archive

Using his personal archive, made available to researchers by the Israeli State Archives only a few years ago, we are closer than ever to the truth of the matter. The story of the archive reveals much about the persistent controversies and myths about the Mufti. The CBRL centennial grant that I was awarded in 2018 provided vital support to examine Hajj Amin al-Husayni's long-lost archive. While the Mufti's papers have many features in common with other Palestinian records that fell under Israeli control, the archive provides the first chance since he buried it in 1945 to set the record straight regarding many of the controversies he has been associated with over the years. In so doing, it restores a significant dearth of Arabic records from this period that can be compared against other well-known sources, and more recently declassified intelligence files from the United States and Britain, which are often based on intercepted communications. The Mufti's personal archive thus offers original insight into how he continued to impact the conflict with Zionism, and Palestinian prospects for statehood. In particular, it sheds original light on many of the claims about the Mufti's relationship with the Nazis.

Unearthed in Bad Gastein; buried in Jerusalem

In the weeks before the end of the Second World War in Europe, as the Allied armies closed in on Nazi Germany, Hajj Amin al-Husayni and his small entourage sought refuge at the Nazi Foreign Office's protocol department, which had relocated to the mountain resort town of Bad Gastein in Austria. Perhaps he hoped for asylum from one of the other diplomatic delegations. Bad Gastein was a last safe haven for the former Mufti of Jerusalem and Palestinian leader. He had already fled the bombing in Berlin and his home in Oybin, near Dresden, for Vienna. Bad Gastein put distance between him and the Red Army. Hajj Amin hoped to carry on armed struggle against Britain and the *Yishuv* (the pre-1948 Jewish community of Palestine) without the safe harbour he previously enjoyed under the Third Reich. With the Allied armies closing in, Hitler dead by suicide, and the imminent unconditional surrender of Germany, the Mufti had to take a risk on his future.

The Mufti with Himmler, ca. July 1943. (© Israeli State Archives, Eichmann Trial Papers. A/3102/33)

On 7 May 1945, the day before V.E. Day, al-Husayni received his final payment of 20,000 Reichmarks from Germany and buried his private archive "under a pile of rocks near the promenade in the city of Bad Gastein" (National Archive and Record Administration, College Park, MD. (NARA). Record Group 319/Entry ZZ 6/Box 4. Grand Mufti of Jerusalem MSN53145. Salzburg to A.C. of S, G-2 (CI), USFA. 25.1.1946.).

With several other political refugees and a small entourage of his own, Hajj Amin boarded a flight to Switzerland. Swiss authorities barred Husayni from entry, having checked the passengers' names against a blacklist. He returned to Austria, arriving in the French zone of occupation, where he turned himself in. French authorities arranged for him to live in a Paris suburb under house arrest. In 1946, with French connivance, Hajj Amin "escaped" to the Middle East where he began to reorganise Palestinian armed resistance from exile.

In November 1945, the US army found his archive and the Counter Intelligence Corps (CIC) processed it at headquarters in Salzburg, revealing the full extent of his participation in the Third Reich, the SS, and his knowledge of the Holocaust. Asher Ben-Natan, then known as Arthur Pier while working for the Bricha escape organisation, which illegally helped Jewish survivors escape eastern Europe to the US zone of occupation, and from there to Palestine, told US intelligence that the Red Army captured another collection of the Mufti's documents in Vienna, which do not seem to be available.

The CIC reported that the archive contained "photographs, notebooks, documents, and many personal correspondences of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, which may be of interest to authorities dealing with his affairs (NARA. Record Group 319/Entry ZZ 6/ Box 4. Grand Mufti of Jerusalem MSN53145. Salzburg to A.C. of S, G-2 (CI), USFA. 25.1.1946.)."

"The Arab War Effort" by the American Christian Palestine Committee (1947). (© TNA, CO537/2642,43. The Arab War Effort. Ca. 1947)

Ben-Natan arranged for his organisation to microfilm that archive while it was in transit from Salzburg to US headquarters for the European theatre. These microfilms were made available by the Israeli State Archive in 2013. The only other time they saw light was during the Eichmann trial (1961-62). In a sworn statement meant to assure the court of the authenticity of the few documents submitted to the court, Tuvia Arazi, an Israeli diplomat and former Haganah intelligence officer, said that the Mufti's documents had been found by the Allies at Bad Gastein in 1945. "All the material in the archive was filmed in 12 rolls, each containing 750 documents, and one containing 436 personal photographs, and its copy was sent to the Jewish Agency Political Department [this was both the Jewish Agency's foreign office and intelligence service]..."

This statement, compared with other records pertaining to the archive's provenance, leads to a number of important observations. First, if Arazi's numbers are accurate, about half of the archive is missing. By my calculation, there are 4,440 individual images, now divided across 47 archival files. Arazi's numbers would amount to 9,000. It is possible that nothing is missing and that empty verso slides were deleted at some point. It is also possible that Arazi was wrong. I have not found any of those 436 photographs, except two submitted as evidence in the 1961 Eichmann trial. I have been in correspondence about this with the Israeli State Archive, who have begun to process and make available further microfilm reels, including the photographs. The damage to or poor quality of the films has limited the amount of material that they are able to produce. Yet they are working on it and I look forward to the final result. I am also checking again with the US National Archive and Record Administration to see whether they have the originals. When I last looked in 2013, I could not find originals in US archives.

Why is the story of the provenance of this material important? Hajj Amin's archive is a unique kind of colonial archive that sheds light on revived scholarly discussions on the status of colonial records and Palestinian loss of control over these sources. Even more so, the declassification of intelligence records and the migration of previously withheld colonial archives from Hanslope Park aid our understanding of this issue (Cobain, The Guardian, 18th October 2013).

The Zionist Mission to the UN in 1947

Paradoxically, the material which can help reveal the truth of the Mufti's record was foundational to many myths surrounding him. Within a month of Zionist intelligence microfilming the archive in March 1946, the New York Post ran an article using leaked British intelligence records and claiming to have acquired new documentary evidence – most likely from the Mufti's papers. That clipping found its way into both US and British intelligence files on the Mufti (Hurwich, New York Post, 20th April 1946). The Post published further damaging articles through 1948.

Post
New York, N.Y.
110
APR 20 1946

Documents Prove

Mufti a War Criminal

By ARTHUR HURWICH
Cable Editor of The Post

Documentary evidence that Haj Amin el Husseini, ex-Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, is a war criminal even under the technical definition given by Hector McNeil, British Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs, is now in possession of the New York Post.

McNeil told Parliament last Monday: "Technically, the Grand Mufti is not a war criminal since he was not an enemy national and did not serve in the armed forces of the enemy."

One document, portions of which are reproduced in an adjoining column, is a report by a

Nailing Down the Grand Mufti

Defence Security Office,
C.I.O.I. 'Iraq,
Baghdad.

Report No. 1

8.406/1/1

9th December, 1944.

The first NY Post headline which refers to the documents. (© Arthur Hurwich, "Documents Prove Mufti is a War Criminal," New York Post. 20 April 1946)

Prominent American political figures feature on the ACPC board, including Senator Robert Wagner and former New York Mayor Fiorello La Guardia. La Guardia was by then director of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA), which took in Jewish survivors and displaced persons in Europe. Freda Kirchwey, editor of *The Nation*, also used the Mufti's archives to publish pro-Zionist, anti-Palestinian pamphlets distributed at the UN in 1947. Peter Bergson, aka Hillel Kook, who established the Hebrew Committee for National Liberation – which originally lobbied for indicting the Mufti as a war criminal – was also involved in leaking and distributing this kind of material. Maurice/Moshe Perlman, future spokesman of the Israel Defence Forces (IDF), published a series of essays, based on the Mufti's archive, and distributed them to the UN delegations in 1947. These serialised essays became a book, the first English biography of the Mufti (Pearlman, 1947). The campaign proved potent.

As propaganda, all of these publications point their intended audience toward the same conclusions:

- The Mufti was a Nazi. If there is a Palestinian state, it will be a Nazi state under his leadership.
- The Mufti participated in genocide. The Mufti's war on the Jews of Palestine will become genocidal.
- A Jewish state will be a vital bulwark against these forces.

Thus, the long-lost archive actually played a significant role in shaping fundamental ideas and myths about the Palestinian-Zionist conflict as the UN debated the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish states. These myths have impacted and been impacted by contemporary politics, as shown by Gilbert Achcar's sensitive and convincing study. Not only was this story politicised by post-war propaganda over the future of Palestine, but the Mufti's record has again come into question since 2001, as writers sought to tie him to contemporary terrorism. Genuine evidence about the Mufti's wartime record has shaped public discourse about the Mufti, and even the Palestinian case for a state. This project will clear the fog which has shrouded these matters for decades, separating fact from myth about the Mufti's activities during 1940-45.

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CBRL Events 2018 – 2019

CBRL Amman, 2018

Faynan Museum - waiting for the officials to arrive for the soft opening on 4 March 2018

Prof Steve Mithen (Reading University) - Celebrating and realizing the economic potential of a remarkable archaeological asset in southern Jordan. Joint lecture with the Friends of Archaeology and Heritage (FOAH).

Faynan Museum Opening. Joint event with the Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities (MoTA), the Department of Antiquities (DoA), and University of Reading.

The first "Heritage and Archaeology Diwan". Joint event with the French Institute of the Near East (Ifpo), the German-Jordanian University (GJU), the Protestant Institute of Archaeology (GPIA), and CBRL.

Dr Yafa Shanneik (University of Birmingham) and Rachel Gadsden (artist) – Narratives of Displacement: an art exhibition.

Dr Katherine Baxter (Northumbria University), Cat Auburn (filmmaker and sculptor) and Dr Philip Proudfoot (Northumbria University) - Creative practice and cultural memory: exploring First World War Heritage in the Middle East (workshop).

Cat Auburn (artist) – Exploring the construction of culture and collective memory through art practice.

Linda France (poet, Alta'ir Creative Collaboration) - Poetry Reading. Joint event with the University of Jordan.

Dr Hussam Hussein (University of Kassel; University of East Anglia) – Water scarcity discourses and hydropolitics in the case of Jordan.

Dr Robert Bewley (University of Oxford; EAMENA) – Aerial Archaeology and Remote Sensing in the Middle East: Monitoring Change.

Dr John Winterburn (University of Oxford; EAMENA) – Trains, planes and automobiles: the early 20th century archaeology of communications and conflict in Southern Jordan.

Dr Mirjam Twigt (CBRL Fellow; University of Leicester) – The connected forced migrant: the complex significance of ICTs in refugees' lives. An ethnographic study on mediated experiences of prolonged displacement, legal uncertainty and humanitarian aid within Iraqi refugee households in Amman.

The second Heritage and Archaeology Diwan. Joint event with Institut français du Proche-Orient (Ifpo), German Jordanian University, German Protestant Institute of Archaeology, and Yarmouk University.

Al Tair Project Andrew Hurley at Shoman Foundation

MaDiH workshop - Raya Sharbin gives a lecture at CBRL Amman

CBRL Amman, 2019

Dr Shadaab Rahemtulla (University of Jordan), Dr Katharina Lenner (University of Bath) – Human rights, humanitarianism and development in Jordan. Joint event with the University of Bath.

Rudaina Al-Momani (CBRL Amman) - Remote Sensing for Long- and Short-term landscape change (in Arabic). Joint event with the University of Jordan.

Dr Edward Zychowicz-Coghill (University of Cambridge) – Pre-modern Arabic foundation legends for ancient cities in the Bilad al-Sham.

Dr Fouad Al Hourani (Jordan University) - Khirokitia (Cyprus) - A Neolithic World Heritage Site: Settlement reconstruction and rehabilitation (in Arabic). Joint lecture with the University of Jordan.

Dr Sean Leatherbury (Bowling Green State University; University of Oxford) – The mosaics of Hisham's Palace at Khirbat al-Mafjar in their late antique context.

Dr Micaela Sinibaldi (Cardiff University; Albright Institute of Archaeological Research in Jerusalem) – Islamic Baydha Project: archaeology of settlement in post-urban Petra. Joint lecture with the American Center of Oriental Research (ACOR).

Dr Matt Jones (Nottingham University) and Dr Sana'a AlZyoud (Al al-Bayt University) - Water Resources: management and sustainability in Jordan from pre-history to the future (workshop).

The third Heritage and Archaeology Diwan. Joint event with Ifpo, German Jordanian University, German Protestant Institute of Archaeology, and Al-Hussein Bin Talal University.

Dr Fadi Bala'awi (Hashemite University) and Dr James Smithies (King's College London) – Mapping digital cultural heritage in Jordan. Joint lecture with King's College London and the Hashemite University.

Mapping Digital Cultural Heritage in Jordan (MaDiH) Project - Asset Identification & Requirements Elicitation Workshop. Joint event with King's College London and the Hashemite University.

Kalimat Palestine Literature Festival

CBRL Jerusalem, 2018

Professor Paul Shore (University of Regina) – Late Renaissance and Baroque Christian Engagement with the Qur'an. Joint event with the Khalidi Library.

Professor Rema Hammami (Birzeit University) and Dr Yael Berda (Harvard University) – Living Emergency: Israel's Permit Regime in the Occupied West Bank. Joint event with the Educational Bookshop.

Adnan Abdelrazak and Raja Khalidi – The Arab Architectural Renaissance in West Jerusalem. Joint event with the Educational Bookshop, Dar al-Tifel al-Arabi, and the Khalidi Library.

Professor Marc Lamont Hill (Temple University) and Attorney Sahar Francis (Addameer) – From Ferguson to Palestine: State Control and Oppression. Joint event with the Educational Bookshop and the Bookshop at the American Colony Hotel.

Professor Patrizia Riganti (Nottingham Trent University), Sami Ershied (Save Lifta), and Yonathan Mizrahi (Emek Shaveh) – Preservation of Historical Sites in Jerusalem. Joint event with Emek Shaveh.

Gary Fields (University of California) and Raja Shehadeh – Enclosure: Palestinian Landscapes in a Historical Mirror. Joint event with the Educational Bookshop, Dar al-Tifel al-Arabi, and the Khalidi Library.

Seth Anziska (University College London) and Sari Nusseibeh (Al-Quds University) – A Political History from Camp David to Oslo. Joint event with the Qalandiya International (Al Ma'mal Foundation for Contemporary Art and the Educational Bookshop.

Kalimat: Palestine Literature Festival. Joint event with the Educational Bookshop, British Council Palestine, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Ost-Jerusalem, Institut Français de Jérusalem - Chateaubriand and Goethe-Institut Ramallah.

Attendees at a talk given by Noura Erekat

CBRL Jerusalem, 2019

Professor Michael Dumper (University of Exeter) – Comparing Holy Cities: Jerusalem and religious conflicts in some cities in Asia. Joint event with Dar al-Tifel al-Arabi.

Professor Ilana Feldman (George Washington University) – Humanitarian Predicaments: Protracted Displacement and Palestinian Refugee Politics. Joint event with the Educational Bookshop.

Noura Erakat, LLM (Rutgers University) and Omar Shakir (Human Rights Watch) – Justice for Some: Law and the Question of Palestine. Joint event with the Educational Bookshop.

Tareq Baconi (International Crisis Group) and José Vericat (Carter Center) - Hamas Contained: The Rise and Pacification of Palestinian Resist. Joint event with the Educational Bookshop.

Professor Andrew Ross (New York University) and Fida Touma (A.M. Qattan Foundation) - Stone Men: The story of Palestine's stonemasons and the building of Israel. Joint event with the Educational Bookshop.

Dr Mandy Turner (CBRL) – From the River to the Sea: Palestine and Israel in the Shadow of "Peace."

Eugene Rogan gives a joint CBRL and British Lebanese Association lecture at SOAS

CBRL UK, 2018

Malcolm Billings (Broadcaster and historian) – On the Crusades with Jonathan Riley. Joint event with the Palestinian Exploration Fund at the British Museum.

Professor Eugene Rogan (University of Oxford) – Devastated Lands, Lebanon at the end of the Great War. Joint event in partnership with London Middle East Institute at SOAS University of London and the British Lebanese Association.

Tom Young (artist and archivist) – Troublemaker, Liberator, Scapegoat; Spears in Lebanon 1941 – 44.

Dr Sarah Tobin (Chr. Michelsen Institute) – Sectarianism & Identity Among Syrian Refugees in Jordan. Joint event in partnership with the Social Anthropology at the University of Sussex.

Dr Philip Proudfoot (University of Bath) and Dr Jennie Bradbury (University of Oxford; EAMENA) – Was the 2011 Syrian uprising an agricultural revolt? British Academy Summer Showcase.

Professor Dawn Chatty (University of Oxford) and Diana Darke (author) – Syria's People; Lessons for the future?

Professor Pnina Werbner (Keele University), Claudia Liebelt (University of Bayreuth), Deniz Kandiyoti (SOAS University of London), Michelle Obeid (University of Manchester) – Round-table discussion: Gendering 'Everyday Islam.' In partnership with London Middle East Institute at SOAS University of London.

Dr Neil Faulkner (archaeologist and writer) – Lawrence of Arabia: Romantic, Orientalist and Western Cultural Artefact. CBRL AGM lecture.

Andrew Patrick gives a talk on 'Imperial Interventions in the Levant in 1919'

CBRL UK, 2019

Dr Amara Thornton (UCL) – The first scientific excavations at Petra. Joint event with the Palestine Exploration Fund at the British Museum.

Dr Sarah Elliott (Bournemouth University) – Enviro-Ethnoarchaeology and Archaeology: Scientific approaches in archaeology utilising an ethnoarchaeology approach. Joint event with Archaeology at the University of Sheffield.

Bart Wagemakers (University of Applied Sciences Utrecht) – Jericho Off the Record. Joint event with UCL's Institute of Archaeology.

The Egyptian Revolution of 1919: The Birth of the Modern Nation. Joint conference with London Middle East Institute at SOAS University of London and the British Egyptian Society.

Professor Dawn Chatty (University of Oxford), Dr Andrew Patrick (Tennessee State University), Dr Lori Allen (SOAS University of London), Dr Lauren Banko (Yale University), James Barr (author). Workshop: The King Crane Commission of 1919. Joint event with London Middle East Institute at SOAS University of London.

Dr Andrew Patrick (Tennessee State University) – Imperial Interventions in the Levant in 1919 (King Crane Commission). Joint event with London Middle East Institute at SOAS University of London.

Dr Ben Cook (NASA) – The Past and Future of Climate, People, and Drought in The Eastern Mediterranean. Joint event with UCL Geography and UCL's Institute of Archaeology.

Dr Ben Cook (NASA) – The Past and Future of Climate, People, and Drought in The Eastern Mediterranean. Joint event with the University of East Anglia

Dr Ben Cook (NASA) – Regional and global detection of climate change influences on drought and hydrocele. Joint research seminar with the University of East Anglia

Remembering the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (BSAJ). Held in partnership with the Palestinian Exploration Fund at UCL's Institute of Archaeology.

Dr Yafa Shaneik (University of Birmingham) and Rachel Gadsden (artist). How can art help refugee women tell their stories? British Academy Summer Showcase.

Professor Rosemary Hollis and Dr Seth Anziska (UCL) – Palestine and Israel: scholarship and public debate in confrontational times. Joint event with the Institute of Advanced Studies, UCL.

Remembering the British Institute at Amman for Archaeology and History (BIAAH and BIA) at UCL's Institute of Archaeology.

Michael Macdonald (University of Oxford) – Nomads, soldiers, musicians and hairdressers some thoughts on language and identity in the Roman Provinces of Syria and Arabia. Joint event with Wolfson College, University of Oxford.

Professor Bill Finlayson (Oxford Brookes University) – People like us? The Neolithic in Southwest Asia. Joint event with UCL's Institute of Archaeology. CBRL AGM & Crystal-M. Bennett Memorial lecture.