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American Schools of Oriental Research Newsletter

ASOR

ASOR at Boston University, 656 Beacon Street, 5th floor, Boston, MA 02215-2010

A Report from the President

As I write this report, I feel keenly the loss to the ASOR family of Walt Rast (1930–2003), long-time ASOR and ACOR officer and the recipient of our highest award at last year's annual meeting. His memorial service was held August 28 in South Haven, Michigan, where ASOR was represented by Nancy Lapp, Rudy Dornemann, and Sten LaBianca.

A second loss that we must acknowledge is the passing of Leon Levy. Though Leon had not been active with ASOR in recent years, he and his wife Shelby White have been important members of our family in the past. Leon served for a time as our Treasurer and wisely guided our investments for many years. Shelby contributed particularly by chairing our Development Committee. An obituary for Leon will be included in our next Newsletter.

The last Newsletter carried the news that Ingrid Wood had been selected by the search committee for Executive Director of ASOR, a nomination that turned out to be controversial. At the Riverside, California, meeting of the ASOR Executive Committee on September 14, 2003, Ms. Wood withdrew her name from consideration. As of this writing the Executive Committee is considering two alternatives: 1) recommend to the board the other finalist selected by the search committee, or 2) employ a search firm to assist the committee in selecting a successor to Rudy Dornemann.

ASOR is indebted to Ingrid Wood for her attention to its investments. Her withdrawal included resignation from the investment committee. ASOR Chairman MacAllister has appointed a new investment committee

composed of Ed Gilbert, chair; Austin Ritterspach, and James Weinstein.

Speaking of resignations, I am sad to report the resignation of Ed Lugenbeal, ASOR's treasurer. The demands of his faculty responsibilities at Atlantic Union College have become too great to allow him to continue the fine job he was doing for ASOR. In the meantime, Trustee David Rosenstein's firm has temporarily stepped into the gap to assist the Boston office.

It is common knowledge in our organization that our chairman, P. E. MacAllister, has been its "savior" in many ways too numerous to mention. Thanks to his initiative, a strategic planning session was held in Chattanooga with positive results. One of the most notable has been an ASOR "Feasibility Study" by consultant Loren Basch. Presumably most of the readers of this Newsletter will have participated in this study which, at the time of this writing, has not yet been released. In conversation with Mr. Basch I have been assured that the membership continues to be enthusiastic about the importance of our organization while making numerous helpful suggestions as to how it can be improved and strengthened.

One of the key recommendations of the study will surely be a strengthening of our development function, in part by the addition to the board of new lay trustees. This agrees with the strong recommendation by Jim Erickson who has been guiding us this last year in development matters, including the strengthening of the board with new lay trustees who are now

Walter Rast

The following obituary appeared in the South Haven Tribune. ASOR extends its condolences to Walt's family. We will miss him.

Walter Emil Rast, Professor Emeritus Senior Research Professor at Valparaiso University, Indiana, spent 35 years teaching biblical studies, archaeology and religions of the ancient Near East in the Department of Theology at Valparaiso.

Professor Rast, who with his wife retired in 1996 to their Lake Michigan cottage in Glenn, Michigan, died of cancer at his home on August 22.

Professor Rast spent many years conducting archaeological fieldwork and worked on the publication of several archaeological expeditions in Jordan and the West Bank. From 1963 to 1968 he participated as a core staff member of the excavations at Tell Ta'anek, identified with biblical Taanach, publishing a volume on the Iron Age pottery from these excavations in 1978. His work on the pottery from this site stands to this day as a seminal contribution to the study of pottery during the early biblical monarchy in ancient Israel. In 1973 he became co-director of an expedition devoted to exploring ancient settlement along the southeastern side of the Dead Sea in Jordan. The excavation of two walled towns and three cemeteries in this region has contributed in an extraordinary way to understanding dynamics of urbanization that began during the third millennium B.C., the Early Bronze Age, allowing for

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significant comparisons to be made with Early Bronze Age remains in Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt.

While living for four years at different times in Jerusalem, he did research at the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research. He also spent considerable amounts of time in Jordan, and served two terms as president of the American Center of Oriental Research in Amman. He had first-hand familiarity with most of the excavations in Israel and Jordan, visiting them regularly to follow their progress. He held many professional positions in the American Schools of Oriental Research, and served as editor of their scholarly journal for eight years. Professor Rast enjoyed helping young graduate students in archaeology to develop their scholarly talents, and he encouraged undergraduate students from his own university, as well as students from many universities in the United States and several European countries, to join as volunteers in the excavations along the Dead Sea. He delighted in sharing many aspects of the history, religions and archaeology of the ancient Near Eastern cultures with students in his courses in the Department of Theology at Valparaiso.

Born in San Antonio, Texas, he early absorbed an appreciation for other cultures and languages, especially in the Mexican population and native American Indians of southern Texas. He graduated from Concordia Seminary, St. Louis (later partially united with the Lutheran School of Theology in Chicago) with a Master of Divinity degree in 1955 and a Master of Sacred Theology in 1956. He received his Master of Arts from the University of Chicago in 1964 and his Ph. D in 1966. While serving as a Lutheran pastor in Bedford, Massachusetts, from 1957 to 1961, he took courses in biblical studies and archaeology at Harvard Divinity School, studying archaeology with the late George Ernest Wright.

Besides his wife, Susanna Droege, he is survived by his children, Joel of Milwaukee, Timothy of Barrington, Illinois, Rebekah of Paris, France, Peter of Boulder, Colorado, and seven grandchildren. ✿

being identified. Should any ASOR member have such names to suggest, please share the C.V.s of such with me (lgeraty@lasierra.edu).

In the meantime our key committees have been hard at work. The Committee on Publications (COP), led by Larry Herr, is in the process of getting *Near Eastern Archaeology* back on a regular production schedule while progress on *BASOR*, *JCS* and several book projects proceed according schedule. In the meantime, staff in the Atlanta office have done a great job at bringing subscription fulfillment "in-house" and subscribers will shortly note increased efficiency and satisfaction.

In addition to its regular heavy work, the Committee on Archaeological Policy (CAP), under David McCreery's leadership, has been involved in strengthening ASOR's policy on protecting the world's archaeological and cultural heritage in general, plus specifically supporting House Bill HR 2009, which addresses the looting of antiquities sites in Iraq.

This time of year, our Committee on the Annual Meeting and Programs (CAMP), ably presided over by Doug Clark, is of course concentrating on the plans for the annual meeting, scheduled, as you know, for Atlanta, Nov. 19-22, 2003. Thanks to Eric Cline and his associates, we have every expectation that this year's meeting will be the "best ever." And don't forget the special day-long event on Wednesday, Nov. 19, "Crossing the Rift: Resources, Routes, Settlement Patterns and Interaction in the Wadi Arabah" at the Fernbank Museum of Natural History. Doug Clark, with help from many, has prepared a PR Kit for use of our members, recognizing that publicity is something ASOR could do much better.

Our Baghdad Committee has obviously had its hands full, including relating to a new initiative, the American Association for Research in Baghdad, under the auspices of the Council of American Overseas Research Centers. CAARI has a new director; AIAR has "held the fort" despite the turmoil that surrounds it, even initiating some exciting new projects; and ACOR is assisting in preparation for the Ninth International Conference on the History and Archaeology of Jordan to be held in Jordan this coming May (the Tenth Conference is tentatively scheduled for either Washington, DC or Boston in Spring 2007).

We look forward to seeing all of you soon at the Grand Hyatt, Buckhead, in Atlanta! Bon voyage! ✿

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is a nonprofit, scientific and educational organization founded in 1900.

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Highlights of the ASOR Annual Meetings in Atlanta

- Wednesday evening plenary lecture by Colin Renfrew on the world's diminishing archaeological heritage
- Wednesday all-day workshop on the Araba (at the Fernbank Museum)
- Thursday evening public lecture on Jewish life in ancient Egypt by Edward Bleiberg, on the Emory University campus
- Friday morning membership meeting (with continental breakfast)
- Friday noon session on communicating archaeology to the public, with Rami Khouri, *Daily Star*, Beirut
- Friday evening honors and awards dinner
- 53 sessions, offering 250 presentations

For more information, visit the ASOR website (www.asor.org) and click on "Annual Meeting."



2003 CAARI President's Award

The Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute has established the President's Award of \$500, which will be granted in early 2004 to a graduate or undergraduate student of any nationality who presents, in any session at the ASOR annual meeting in November 2003 or the AIA meeting in January 2004, the paper that most significantly increases our knowledge of Cyprus in any period. The paper will be judged both on presentation and content. Applications should be sought soon after the paper has been accepted for presentation and well before the annual meetings. CAARI reserves the right to not make the award if there is no paper of sufficient quality. For more information and applications, contact David Detrich, CAARI President, at ddetr@aol.com. *

Want to Publish Research for the International Public?

The Beirut-based *Daily Star*, an English-language newspaper with a wide distribution in the Middle East, in partnership with the *International Herald Tribune*, is seeking popular articles exploring the archaeology and history of the Middle East. Brief articles (900–1200 words) that publicize recent finds, excavations, and research, and are written in an entertaining, informative, and accessible style are invited.

The American Schools of Oriental Research has entered into a partnership with the *Daily Star* through its outreach journal, *Near Eastern Archaeology*. Articles published in the *Daily Star* will also be considered for *NEA's* *Arti-Facts* section, which highlights recent expeditions, exhibitions, and discoveries. This partnership arises from our mutual desire to increase public access, both domestically and internationally, to archaeological research. Scholars will be able to present their research to an audience that the North American and European media often overlook—the Middle Eastern public. Our goal is to increase awareness of current archaeological research and create a dialogue between scholars and the region's public concerning the value of history and heritage.

Please send queries and electronic submissions to Benjamin Porter, bporter@sas.upenn.edu, *NEA's* Assistant Editor for News. Please include two high-resolution images suitable for publication. If you are interested in taking advantage of this unique opportunity, but are not interested in writing the piece yourself, we will work with you to find an individual who will do so.

For more information on the Beirut *Daily Star*, visit www.dailystar.com.lb. For more information on *Near Eastern Archaeology*, including instructions on how to submit materials, visit www.asor.org/pubs/nea/.

Rami Khouri, editor of the *Daily Star*, will be available throughout the ASOR Annual Meeting in Atlanta to discuss this initiative. To contact him, check in at the ASOR display in the book exhibit. *

Sean Dever Memorial Prize

The Albright Institute is pleased to announce the third annual Sean W. Dever Memorial Prize. This award provides \$500 for the best published article or paper presented at a conference by a Ph.D. candidate in Syro-Palestinian and biblical archaeology. Authors may be of any nationality, but the articles/papers must be in English. All submissions should include the academic affiliation of the author and his/her mailing, fax, e-mail addresses and phone numbers. Submission of conference papers should also include the name of the conference and the date when the paper was presented. The deadline for submissions is December 31, 2003. All submissions should be sent to: Mr. Sam Cardillo, W. F. Albright Institute, P.O. Box 40151, Philadelphia, PA 19106. Email: cardillo@sas.upenn.edu. The Sean W. Dever Memorial Prize was established in 2001 by Professor William G. Dever and Mrs. Norma Dever in memory of their son Sean. It is given annually to a pre-doctoral student in Ancient Near Eastern archaeology. The first recipient of the Dever Memorial Prize was Mr. Edward F. Maher of the University of Illinois at Chicago for his submission "Food for the Gods: The Identification of Sacrificial Faunal Assemblages in the Ancient Near East." The second recipient was Mr. Juan Manuel Tebes of the University of Buenos Aires for his submission "A New Analysis of the Iron Age I 'chieftdom' of Tel Masos (Beersheba Valley)." *

For Teachers

NEH Summer Institute in Jordan

Six weeks in the summer of 2004, in Jordan. Designed for Middle and High school teachers. Organized by Dr. Gloria London, ASOR Outreach Education Committee member and Judith Cochran, author of the book for teachers, "Archaeology: Digging Deeper to Learn about the Past." See our website on the workshop/tour for more information and updates on the summer 2004 session.

www.asor.org/outreach/Teachers/nehprog.html

Annual Meeting Book Exhibit

This year's book exhibit is shaping up well. We are pleased to welcome the publishers and bookseller listed below, and thank them for their support. Please browse and buy! The combined display will feature new books from ASOR, copies of *Jewish Life in Ancient Israel* by Dr. Edward Bleiberg, the speaker at the Thursday evening session, and of ASOR member Marian Broida's new children's activity book *Ancient Israelites and their Neighbors* and its companion *Ancient Egyptians and their Neighbors*. These will make ideal holiday gifts for budding young archaeologists.

Brill Academic Publishers
The David Brown Book Company
Continuum
Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company
Eisenbrauns
Equinox Publishing Company
Fortress Press
Peeters Booksellers
Society of Biblical Literature
The Scholar's Choice
Shangri-La Publications
Westminster John Knox

Other participants include Richard Cleave of Rohr Productions, who has generously made his superb images available to *Near Eastern Archaeology*, and a computer "slide show" demonstrating the non-invasive GPR techniques employed by Mnemotrix Systems Inc., <http://www.mnemotrix.com/> currently being used by numerous ASOR members at their digs. Also available will be copies of the new BA CD-Rom, including all sixty issues of *Biblical Archaeologist*. Last, but not least, we will have available for sale copies of *JCS* Editor Piotr Michalowski's new jazz CD "Close Embrace of the Earth," and fine chocolates from local chocolatier Robert Reeb of Maison Robert Chocolates <http://www.maison-robertchocolates.com>. ✨



ASOR supports House Bill HR 2009 - 9/26/03

Following majority votes by its Committee on Archaeological Policy (CAP) and Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, ASOR announces its public support of House Bill 2009. Known as the "Iraq Cultural Heritage Protection Act," this bill is an attempt to protect the cultural and archaeological heritage of Iraq by restricting the importation of antiquities from Iraq into the United States. ASOR urges its members to contact their Representatives and ask them to support this important legislation.

The bill's official title is "to provide for the recovery, restitution, and protection of the cultural heritage of Iraq." It was introduced into the House of Representatives this past spring, and was referred to the House Committee on Ways and Means in May 2003, where it is now.

The intent of HR 2009 is to restrict the importation of artifacts into the U.S. that were illegally removed from Iraq since August 1990. It would also broaden the scope of the U.S. Convention on Cultural Property Implementation Act, increasing the length of time import restrictions may be in effect and allowing the President to designate import restrictions on antiquities from a larger number of countries. The latter would allow import restrictions to be granted for archaeological materials from Afghanistan as well as Iraq.

Other archaeological organizations are also supporting this legislation, such as the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) and the Society for American Archaeology

(SAA). More detailed statements on their positions are available as links from our "Iraq information" web page: <http://www.asor.org/policy2.htm>

The Committee on Archaeology Policy of ASOR encourages ASOR members to contact their Representatives and ask them to become co-sponsors of this important legislation. A list of current co-sponsors of the Bill is available via our web page listed above, or can be accessed directly at: <http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/bdquery/z?d108:h.r.02009>:

ASOR's Policy on Preservation and Protection of Archaeological Resources, developed in 1995, is available online (<http://www.asor.org/policy.htm>) and by request from the ASOR office. The introductory material on this web page provides background on the development of ASOR's policy, and the text of the policy includes links to the UNESCO pages summarizing the 1970 UNESCO Convention (full title: "Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property") and the Hague Convention of 1954 (full title: "Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict") and its Protocol.

Further questions about ASOR's role in antiquities preservation may be directed to the Chair of our Committee on Archaeological Policy, David McCreery (tel 503-375-5490; email dmccreer@willamette.edu). ✨

Dothan Lectureship

The W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research is pleased to announce the fourth annual (2004) Trude Dothan Lectureship in Ancient Near Eastern Studies, sponsored by the Albright Institute with the support of the Dorot Foundation. Dr. Joseph Maran, Director of the Institute of Pre- and Proto-History of Heidelberg University, and Director of the excavations at Tiryns, Greece will give three presentations in Jerusalem:

Tiryns during the late Palatial and Post-palatial Periods: New Excavation Results, Tuesday, March 2nd at 4:00 p.m. at the Ambassador Hotel, Nablus Road, Sheikh Jarrah

Coming to Terms with the Past: Ideology and Power in Late Helladic III C, Wednesday, March 3rd at 5:00 p.m. at the Hebrew University, Mt. Scopus Campus

The Spreading of Objects and Ideas in the Late Bronze Age Eastern Mediterranean: Two Case Studies from the Argolid of the 13th and 12th centuries BCE, Thursday, March 4th at 4:00 p.m. at the W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, 26 Salah ed-Din Street

A History of ASOR's Baghdad School, Part I

Given the current interest in ancient Mesopotamia and discussion of possible renewed American archaeological research in Iraq, we thought it timely to provide a short history of ASOR's research and presence in this region. From the early 1920s through the late 1960s, ASOR directly funded and assisted scholars in a series of groundbreaking excavations and surveys. ASOR has become an institutional member of the American Association for Research in Baghdad (AARB), which aims to establish an archaeological research center in Iraq. Our membership in the AARB will give our Baghdad Committee a voice in revitalization of archaeological research in Iraq.

Richard Zettler, Chair (ASOR Baghdad Committee) and Britt Hartenberger (ASOR)

The Founding of the School

The origins of the Baghdad School of the American Schools of Oriental Research go back to the early years of the twentieth century. In 1913, largely at the instigation of George A. Barton, the Archaeological Institute of America appointed a committee for the purpose of establishing a school of archaeology in Mesopotamia. The Committee included Barton (Chair), Albert T. Clay, Morris Jastrow, Jr., James A. Montgomery, Edward T. Newell, James B. Nies and William Hayes Ward. Just after World War I, Clay traveled to Baghdad to lay the groundwork for the school. In 1921 the AIA's Committee affiliated itself with the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, formally incorporating as the American Schools of Oriental Research in June. The Committee asked the AIA to be discharged at the end of that year since the establishment of a School had been assumed by ASOR, which would "represent the interests of the Institute in Archaeological matters in Mesopotamia as well as in Palestine ..."

From its beginning the Baghdad School was envisioned as an offshoot of the School in Jerusalem, with an Annual Professor traveling with students each winter from Jerusalem to Baghdad to pursue research. The Baghdad School's Director was based in the US where he could oversee general policy and provide continuity. George A. Barton became the School's first Director, serving until 1934; Albert T. Clay was its first Annual Professor (1923–1924). Upon his death in 1922, James B. Nies left substantial bequests to the American Schools, including the residual portion of his estate, to be held in trust for the Baghdad School's excavations and publications. The bequest became available to the Schools on the death of his surviving

brothers in the 1940s and provided the Baghdad School with a modest financial underpinning.

The British Mandate government gave permission to establish an American School of Oriental Research in Baghdad in late October 1923. Clay formally opened the School with a lecture on November 2, 1923 at the Iraq Army Officers Club. The U.S. Consul presided and the Minister of Communications and Works, followed by Clay and Edgar L. Hewitt (American School of Archaeology at Sante Fé), spoke about archaeological work in Iraq *BASOR* 13 [1924]: 3–5).

Gertrude Bell, Iraq's Honorary Director of Antiquities, provided a preview of the evening:

Last Friday I went to the wedding of Saiyid Husain Afnan at 9 a.m. and there's another wedding to which I'm bidden next Friday but I'm thankful to say I can't go ... because we have a public meeting of which Professor Clay is going to inaugurate an American school of archaeology ... He gave a lecture on Babylonian archaeology on Monday, under my auspices. We had an enormous audience including lots of Baghdadis. How much even the English people understood I don't know. He's the most muddled old thing and incidentally never finishes a sentence ... But there's a very genuine interest here in the ancient history of the country and people always flock to lectures. (October 31, 1923)

Mr. F. B. Riley, affiliated with Iraq's Ministry of Education, attended the opening and gave a more sober assessment of the longer-term significance of the School:

Much interest was taken by Baghdad in the opening of the School ... I refer not merely to the Europeans residing

in Baghdad, but to the Iraqis themselves. Indeed the opening ceremony was a revolution to everybody, for the Hall of the Officers' Club was packed full and the front rows were occupied by the Iraq Ministers and other leading officials, Arab as well as British. Prof. Clay's lecture on Ancient Babylonia was also crowded out ... It should be borne in mind that the history of Babylonia and Assyria is the early history of Iraq and the schoolmasters are very keen to get all the information they can about the early history of their peoples. For this reason alone they welcome the establishment of a competent School of Archaeology in Baghdad. They realize that the Baghdad Museum is destined to become, in a very short time, one of the principal museums of the world ... The Iraqis hope to have a stream of competent scholars coming out, both to dig and interpret ... the School of Archaeology will be able to exert steady and continuous influence to place such [local University] Semitic studies upon a level of real scholarship.

It cannot be too much emphasized that work of this nature appeals to the people of Iraq, because it is felt to be disinterested. It has no suggestion of either political or economic exploitation; it is a work beneficial to all parties concerned, for the



The Baghdad Museum in 1926.

uncovering of buried cities which will reveal an early history common to all—be they Occidentals or Orientals. In such work, co-operation is both possible and desirable and, so far as they can, the Iraqis will be only too willing to cooperate.” (*BASOR* 17 [1925]: 10–11)

The Baghdad School was initially housed in the U.S. Consulate in Baghdad. When that arrangement proved impractical, Gertrude Bell offered space in the new National Museum. Annual Professor Raymond Dougherty moved the School’s library to the Museum in April 1926 and it remained there, stored in increasingly crowded conditions, until the late 1930s, when the School arranged with the Department of Antiquities to house the library in the Museum. The Baghdad School Library, built initially with bequests and donations from various individuals, including Morris Jastrow, was one of the first research libraries in Iraq and today constitutes the core of the Iraq Museum Library.¹

Iraqi officials repeatedly offered the Baghdad School a site for a permanent headquarters in the capital city (*BASOR*

12 [1923]: 23–24; *BASOR* 21 [1926]: 24–25) and the School made various attempts, sometimes joining with other American institutions, e.g., the University of Chicago, to establish a physical presence in the country. Unfortunately, the School never had the funds to secure its own building and its Annual Professors and Fellows made their own living arrangements in the city, often staying at the British School of Archaeology.

Early Excavations and Research

Edward Chiera followed Clay as Annual Professor in 1924–1925. Chiera planned a survey in the south, but Gertrude Bell’s invitation to undertake excavations at Yorghan Tepe (Nuzi) near Kirkuk led him to shift his activities. Chiera began excavations in early March 1925, initially for the Iraq Museum, but in April as a joint excavation of the Iraq Museum and American School. Excavating a small mound some 300 meters north of Yorghan Tepe, where a local named Atiyah had reportedly found twelve donkey-loads of tablets, Chiera uncovered substantial private houses and more than five hundred tablets. As might be expected, Gertrude Bell took notice of Chiera’s work:

J. M. [Wilson] and I ... went up to inspect a little excavation which is being done under the auspices of the Museum by un nomm, Chiera, an Italian who is professor of Assyriology at some American university. It is the home of some rich private person who lived about 800 B.C., very comfortable, with a nice big bathroom lined with bitumen so that you could splash about, and water laid on—we discovered the drain the afternoon we were there. It has fine big rooms and an open courtyard but it all came to a bad end for in every room the floor is covered with a thick layer of ashes, the remains of the wooden roof which fell in when the house was burnt down. Dr. Chiera has found a great quantity of tablets and we hope when they are deciphered to get the history of the well-to-do family which built and lived in the house ... Nothing in this part of the world has been excavated ever; it is all full of unanswered questions ... (April 22, 1925).

Chiera’s work was a particularly auspicious beginning to an active phase in the American School’s history. The School continued the excavations at Yorghan Tepe in concert with Harvard University between 1927 and 1931. Prior to World War II, the School was also involved in surveys, such as those undertaken of the southern floodplain by Raymond Dougherty and of the north by E. A. “Fred” Speiser (Annual Professor 1926–1927), as well as excavations with the University of Pennsylvania at Tepe Gawra (1927, 1931–1938); Tell Billa (1930–1933, 1936–1937), and Khafajah (1937–1938). The School also supported Leroy Waterman (Annual Professor 1927–1928) in a series of excavations at Tell Umar, ancient Seleucia, and collaborated with the University of Pennsylvania in its 1931 excavations at Fara. After serving as an Annual Professor,² Speiser became Director in 1934 and was to prove a very capable administrator during the difficult time that followed.³

Part II of this history, the post-WWII era, will be included in the Winter 2003 ASOR Newsletter. ❀

ASOR invites you to

a lecture by

Dr. Edward Bleiberg,
Brooklyn Museum of Art

**Jewish Life in Ancient
Egypt: A Family Archive
from the Nile Valley**

7pm Thursday, Nov. 20, 2003

Free and open to the public

Woodruff Health Sciences Building
Emory University, Atlanta

For more information:
<http://www.asor.org/AM/am.htm>

¹ On his death in 1916, William Hayes Ward left his library to an American school of archaeology to be established in Mesopotamia, provided such a school were established within ten years of his death. After some litigation, the library came into the American School’s possession in 1928. After cataloguing, the Director of the School attempted to fill in gaps in Ward’s holdings, but whether Ward’s library was ever shipped to Baghdad cannot be determined.

² A complete list of Directors and Annual Professors of the Baghdad School is available on our web site at <<http://www.asor.org/baghistory.html>>.

³ A forthcoming article will detail ASOR’s history of research in Mesopotamia in the context of the development of Near Eastern archaeology in the United States. This article by Elizabeth Stone (member of our Baghdad Committee), entitled “Mesopotamian Archaeology under the American Schools of Oriental Research,” will appear in *100 Years of American Archaeology in the Middle East: Proceedings of the American Schools of Oriental Research Centennial Celebration, Washington, DC, April 2000*. This volume will be published by ASOR in Fall 2003.

Albright Institute of Archaeological Research Fellows' Reports

COMMENTARY ON THE TESTAMENT OF
SOLOMON • DAVID E. AUNE (UNIVERSITY OF
NOTRE DAME), ALBRIGHT ANNUAL
PROFESSOR

The focus of my project at the Albright Institute this year was on researching and writing a commentary on the Testament of Solomon, slated for publication in the Walter de Gruyter series, *Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature*. The Testament of Solomon is a pseudepigraphal work written in Greek from the first–third centuries C.E., and exists in fifteen Greek, two Syriac and one Arabic manuscripts. Originally a Jewish work, it was subject to Christian redaction and was thereafter transmitted only in Christian circles. Superficially cast in the literary form of a “testament,” the Testament of Solomon is basically an elaborated folktale narrating how Solomon, using a magical ring from God given to him by the archangel Michael, gained control of Beelzeboul, the prince of demons, and through him secured control of various other demons by sealing them with his ring and then assigning them to various tasks in connection with the construction of the Temple in Jerusalem. As the reader eavesdrops on Solomon’s interrogation of individual demons, he or she eventually gains access to an extensive pharmacopoeia of magical solutions to a spectrum of physical and emotional problems. For example, when interviewing Obyzouth, a female demon, Solomon learns that her main vocation is traveling around at night and strangling newborn infants (T. Sol. 13:3–7). On learning this, Solomon asks by what angel she is thwarted, to which she responds: “By the angel Raphael. When women give birth, write my name on a piece of papyrus and I shall flee from them to the other world.” This is essentially a prescription for an apotropaic amulet to protect newborns, conveyed in a narrative context. The text bristles with angelic and demonic names, many of which have no parallel in other ancient texts. The most relevant bodies of texts which provide illuminating parallels to the Testament are the various corpora of magical papyri, magical gems and magical amulets.

The Testament of Solomon is a text with strong connections both to Jerusalem and to the Albright Institute. Jerusalem is the narrative setting for the story, which explains how it was possible for Solomon to construct

such a magnificent Temple—he not only relied on the help of God (like the biblical Solomon), but also enlisted the aid of a corvee of demonic craftsmen. Two of the fifteen Greek manuscripts of the Testament are located in Jerusalem, in the library of the Greek Patriarchate, Sancti Saba, No. 422 (fifteenth or sixteenth century), and Sancti Saba, No. 290 (eighteenth century). C. C. McCown, the editor of the only critical Greek text of the Testament of Solomon, was the Thayer Fellow at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem in 1920–1921 (the first year of W. F. Albright’s directorship). After he had sent in the manuscript to Verlag Hinrichs, he discovered the existence of the two Greek manuscripts of the Testament in the library of the Greek Patriarchate. McCown later served as Director of ASOR in Jerusalem for a two-year period (1929–1931), succeeding Albright, and was later appointed Annual Professor between 1935–1936.

As I began sifting through the textual evidence that McCown had collected in his critical edition, a fundamental weakness in his eclectic approach to the text became evident, a weakness primarily due to the peculiar nature of the manuscript tradition of the Testament. A critical edition is typically based on the identification of a manuscript or family of manuscripts that appears closest to the original autograph, and by selecting among the variant readings and

the occasional use of conjecture, to reconstruct a version of the text as close to the original autograph as possible. This focus on the original text is analogous to the approach to the folktale advocated by the so-called Finnish school of folklore, which sought to identify the geographical origins of folktales by identifying the regional version that best accounted for all the existing variant versions, thus revealing the “center” from which the variant versions had been orally disseminated. Folklorists have now generally given up the attempt to identify or reconstruct the original form of a folktale as a futile enterprise, regarding each version of a folktale as a “performance” which merits study in its own right (no two performances are ever exactly the same). Similarly, the diverse manuscripts of certain types of written texts—particularly those with prominent folkloristic features—cannot be used to reconstruct an “original” text when there was little or no concern on the part of those who “copied” such texts to transmit the text accurately.

The Testament of Solomon is precisely the kind of “folkloristic” text that frustrates attempts to reconstruct *the* original autographed form. The fifteen extant Greek manuscripts of the Testament diverge from each other so widely that one might almost suspect that the scribes who “copied” the Testament were involved in a conspiracy to add, delete, modify and expand the text at whim. However, there is a positive light regarding this tendency: each manuscript of the Testament can be considered a “performance” of the text that is worth studying in its own right, without undue concern as to whether it is more or less original than the texts preserved in other manuscripts. There is an obvious archaeological analogy: when a tel has had several millennia of continuous occupation, which period should the excavator uncover? It depends on the archaeologist, but attention to Early Bronze II, for example, would destroy the Iron, Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine strata above it. Like this hypothetical tel, the Testament presents a challenge to the commentator: which text (of the fifteen extant texts, not to mention the Syriac and Arabic translations) should be the focus of interpretation? This calls for a new conception of a commentary in which the “original” is no longer accessible, but each manuscript takes on an intrinsic



interest of its own. I have decided for practical purposes to base the commentary on one of the Jerusalem manuscripts (Sancti Saba, no. 422), since it is one of the more extensive versions of the Testament, and one which McCown only discovered after his book was in press. I have also discussed extensive sections of other manuscripts in excurses, footnotes and appendices in order to give the flavor of some of the more interesting directions which this popular text took during its successive incarnations.

The facilities of the Albright Institute, the help from a student assistant from Hebrew University during the first semester, provided by the Albright's internship program, and the close proximity of the Albright to the Ecole Biblique, where much of the research was carried out, made it possible for me to make great progress in my research agenda. For this opportunity and their support, I would like to thank the Educational and Cultural Affairs Department of the US Government, the Horace Goldsmith Foundation, the American Council of Learned Societies and the University of Notre Dame.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE KHIRBET AL-MAFJAR ARTIFACTS AT THE ROCKEFELLER MUSEUM • FRANAK HILLOOWALA (INDEPENDENT RESEARCHER), NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES FELLOW

The goal of my project during my fellowship period at the Albright Institute was to conduct research on the archaeological artifacts from the early Islamic site Khirbet al-Mafjar, situated north of Jericho. My proposed program was to assist in updating the interpretive text and museum presentation of Khirbet al-Mafjar material on display in one of the permanent galleries of the Rockefeller Museum in East Jerusalem. This project offered me the opportunity to work with material culture from the Islamic period, as well as to examine an important collection unique to the area and important in the development of Islamic art and architecture.

The Rockefeller Museum has three permanent galleries dedicated to Islamic art. Many of the museum's permanent exhibits do not have comprehensive labels or accompanying materials that identify the artifacts or their significance. One of these permanent galleries is dedicated to the material brought from the Khirbet al-Mafjar site to the museum during the excavation seasons between 1934–1948.

Khirbet al-Mafjar is a site composed of several building complexes erected on the northern banks of Wadi Nu'eima, a short distance north of Jericho. Khirbet al-Mafjar was one of the many so-called Umayyad desert palaces or castles built during the early Islamic period. An earthquake is thought to have destroyed the palace in 749 C.E. before its completion. The finds displayed at the Rockefeller are extensive, including some forty statues, hundreds of architectural elements and pottery sherds and are unparalleled in the region.

The decoration and architectural elements on display in the gallery exemplify the formative years of Islamic art and architecture, which borrowed heavily from Roman/Byzantine and Mesopotamian/Iranian traditions. The collection is also important because it sheds light on the social and cultural changes that occurred after the seventh century invasion and unification of the ancient Middle East under Islamic rule.

The predominant building material at Mafjar was stone, which was typical of construction in Palestine and the region at this time and carved stone was used as decoration in architectural elements as well as for some statues and figures. However, it is other decorative material that makes Khirbet al-Mafjar unique to the area. This includes the use of familiar decorative elements such as frescoes, mosaics as well as the introduction of carved stucco or plaster. The Khirbet al-Mafjar gallery at the Rockefeller contains frescoes, carved stucco ornamentation, statues and architectural features. It is these artifacts which were the main focus of my research.

Over 250 fragments of paintings were found during the excavations conducted by D.C. Baramki and R.W. Hamilton between 1934–1948. Reconstruction of the position of the frescoes in the buildings or even their composition remains tentative. The fragments were discovered in two areas of the palace in the eastern wing and in the main hall of the bath complex. The frescoes are of different decorative styles including motifs taken from eastern influences such as Sassanid textiles common at the time and a classical painting style of the western tradition.

The decorative element that was used most extensively at Mafjar was carved stucco. It was used in almost every form—as carved surface decoration to cover walls and benches, vaults and domes of the buildings. This complete surface decoration was in the form of figural and vegetal reliefs as well as

flat geometric designs. Carved stucco was also used in such architectural features as window screens, balustrades, panels and niches. There are also freestanding stucco statues of human forms, which are today the most intriguing of the finds from the site. The tradition and technique of stucco decoration came from Iran and Mesopotamia had been used since Parthian times to as an inexpensive cover for the brick structures common in that region. We can only speculate as to how this technique reached Syria. Thus, the extensive use of carved stucco as primary decorative technique appeared in Palestine for the first time during the early Islamic period under the Umayyads.

In the stucco decoration, there is a blend of eastern and western motifs and images. For example, a common decorative element at Mafjar was the vine scroll motif which was used to cover surfaces. This surface decoration contained figural, animal and vegetal motifs. Many of the vegetal designs were prevalent images found in the Roman and Byzantine periods, while the shapes of the creatures' bodies are believed to have taken inspiration from the east in Sassanid Iran. Archaeologists have found similar stucco figures at sites dated to the late Sassanid period or possibly early Islamic period which do not find parallels in the west, and attest to the wide range of artistic inspiration the early Islamic rulers had at their disposal.

In addition, the human and animal figures in the ornamentation give us a glimpse of the moral and cultural atmosphere of the early Islamic period. They contradict the belief that Islamic art strictly forbade figural



art in decoration. This social and religious prohibition does not exist at Khirbet al-Mafjar in the stucco forms.

Another example which attests to the unique usage of artistic tradition visible at Mafjar is the carved stucco of the balustrades, panels and posts. The form of the balustrades was traditional, following the example of the chancel screens in innumerable Christian churches of the area. In addition, many of the geometric designs and vegetal decoration of the panels and posts find close parallels in the carved wood and stone decoration of early Coptic churches and in the mosaic floors of Christian Palestine. However the use of carved plaster was unique as the material of construction in an area where builders had traditionally used limestone and marble.

Thus, the extensive use of the stucco technique attests to the mutual contact with foreign craftsmen or with traditions made possible by the Islamic conquest and the subsequent increased building programs of the Umayyads. However, the continuation of local motifs associated with the Roman/Byzantine influence of the area indicates the craftsmen who worked on the site maintained the traditions of the area and were more than likely local. Indeed, early Islamic art, such as that found at Mafjar, was a process of acceptance and rejection of artistic and building traditions from the cultures with which Islam came into contact as a result of the conquest.

The fellowship period at the Albright allowed me access to the Rockefeller Museum to work with this collection. I was able to look at the objects in the Khirbet al-Mafjar Gallery and other items from Mafjar displayed in other galleries in the Rockefeller, Israel and L. A. Mayer Islamic Art museums in Jerusalem. In addition, I studied the information in the registration and catalog records for the Mafjar collection. I also looked at the remaining material from Mafjar still housed in the storerooms of the Rockefeller. Much of this was miscellaneous stucco pieces, pottery, pottery sherds and small finds from the site. In addition, I had the opportunity to visit the Khirbet al-Mafjar site outside Jericho and examined some of the collection which was housed at a small museum near the site. Furthermore, my visit to the site gave me the opportunity to observe changes at the site which have occurred since the excavation photos from the 1930s and 1940s, as well as to observe the work recently done to restore and stabilize the mosaics at the site. The visit to

the site was also invaluable for my research since it added to my knowledge of the collection's archaeological context and the significance of the different objects in the gallery.

The other half of my work was library research which I conducted mainly at the Rockefeller library and in the Archives Department at the Rockefeller. I looked at the records for the Mafjar site from the British Mandate, Jordanian, and Israeli periods. Most of my research was focused on recent scholarship which I hope to use in the interpretation of the gallery.

I hope that my initial research will contribute to the Rockefeller Museum's process of updating the information in the museum presentation of the Khirbet al-Mafjar Gallery. Interpretation of the items in the gallery would educate the public as to the importance of the site in the region. In addition, one goal of the research on the artifacts is to publish an updated catalog of the complete collection, possibly incorporating additional material connected with the site, which is currently not included with the rest of the collection. The collection has not been photographed or published since Hamilton's 1959 work, *Khirbat al-Mafjar: An Arabian Mansion in the Jordan Valley*. A catalog would help revive interest in the collection. In addition, these projects and studies have implications for future interpretation of the actual site in Jericho at a future date.

THE THEATER AT SEPPHORIS: FROM HERODIAN THEATER TO MUNICIPAL THEATER COMPLEX •
C. THOMAS MCCOLLOUGH (CENTRE COLLEGE, DANVILLE, KENTUCKY), NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES FELLOW

In 1983, the archaeological staff from the University of South Florida (USF) Excavations at Sepphoris initiated the excavation of Field II. The location of this field had been determined by the excavation of Sepphoris undertaken by Leroy Waterman of the University of Michigan in 1931. Waterman had dug two large trenches in the acropolis and one of those trenches had exposed a theater, whose founding Waterman had dated to the Herodian period and whose seating he had estimated to be approximately five thousand. Field II was opened adjacent to Waterman's trench to verify his conclusions and to expose more of the architecture of this large Roman theater. The excavation of Field II continued until

1987. The NEH Fellowship was awarded to support the final report on these excavations.

The ancient city of Sepphoris is situated in the lower Galilee five miles north of Nazareth. It overlooks the Bet Netofah valley and its strategic location mid-way between the port of Acco/Ptolmais and the Sea of Galilee ensured its habitation from at least the Iron Age to the modern period. Literary references to the city first appear in the works of Josephus who identified it as a Hasmonean stronghold that was conquered by Herod the Great and utilized as the first capital for Herod Antipas' rule of Galilee. The city maintained a consistent history of conciliatory relations with Roman governance of the region and was in turn rewarded with political favors such as the right to mint its own coinage. The history of Sepphoris is picked up again in the rabbinic literature as the city became one of the most important centers for rabbinic thought and authority. The city flourished in the 3rd century C.E., serving as the residence for Rabbi Judah the Prince and as archaeological sources attest, expanding and enhancing the urban landscape with column-lined streets and polychrome mosaics. The city suffered significant damage in the mid-fourth century and a transformed urban landscape emerged in the late fourth century that has all the signs of a pragmatic and divided Byzantine city.

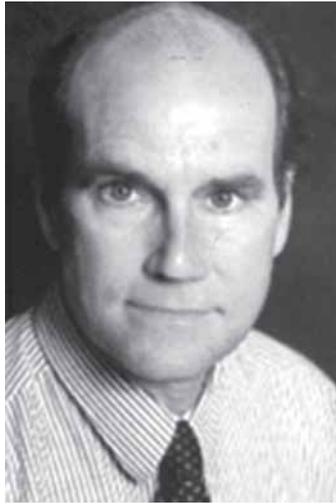
The place of the theater in this history has come to light (not without dispute) as a result of the excavations. As already noted, the USF excavations were not the first to expose the theater nor have they been the only excavations to work on it. In addition to Leroy Waterman's excavations of 1931, the Joint Sepphoris Project (under the direction of Ehud Netzer of the Hebrew University and Eric and Carol Meyers of Duke University) excavated areas of the theater beginning in 1985. The disputed issue that has surfaced throughout these excavations has been primarily that of the date of the theater's founding. While none of the excavations have published a final report, the preliminary reports have offered three theories regarding the date of the theater's founding: Herod the Great was the builder (Waterman); Herod Antipas was the builder (Yeivin in Waterman's report and the Joint Sepphoris Project, 1985 and 1986); a late 1st, early 2nd century founding (Joint Sepphoris Project, 1987 and later monographs by members of the Joint Sepphoris Project team). Given the conflict over the dating and the lack of published data to facilitate some resolution, it seemed

especially timely to analyze and publish our data fully in the form of a final report.

In following the stratigraphical history derived from the loci of the nine areas opened by the USF excavations, it became clear that there were three stages of construction: a founding stage, which appears to have entailed the construction of a small theater (seating two thousand) built on the Vitruvian model and utilizing bossed ashlars of the Herodian type; the second stage, during which the theater was expanded to seat four thousand and various architectural elements (e.g., buttressing piers, additional drains) were added to facilitate the expansion; and the final stage, during which the theater was abandoned, a large retaining wall was built and the seating area was filled with rubble. In this period, we find that the area on the periphery of the theater was transformed for use as agricultural or domestic space.

The sparse numismatic evidence, dating these stages of construction and use, meant relying primarily on ceramic data. To that end, a significant amount of time was given to identifying the loci critical to dating the stratigraphy and sorting through the ceramics associated with those loci. With the assistance of Dr. Anna de Vincenz of JAFU-Archaeological Resources and Projects, the plates of the ceramic profiles were prepared and a dating scheme was developed. The conclusions that ensued were striking and intriguing as the stages of construction were clearly differentiated into three periods: the founding period dated no later than 75 C.E. with the majority of finds dating to pre-50 C.E.; the second stage dating to the early third century; and the final stage dating to the early fifth–sixth centuries.

Based on this data, I developed a theory of theater construction and use that argues for a founding during the period of Herod Antipas. Like his father, Herod Antipas built like a Roman, and no Roman city would be complete without a theater. In the early decades of the first century C.E., a small Roman theater was built at Sepphoris at the initiative of Herod Antipas, serving primarily the interest of Antipas and his retinue. In the third century, Sepphoris expanded its urban landscape and likewise the theater was



expanded by the addition of an upper tier of seating (summa cavea) and the enlargement of the scaenae. At this point, the theater had been totally woven into the life of the city to include the construction of a villa or public building immediately to the south of the theater, housing a triclinium paved with a mosaic, sporting a scene from the life of Dionysius, the god of theater. In the late fourth century, the theater had been so badly

damaged by the earthquake of 363 C.E. (probably causing the collapse of the summa cavea and the scaenae) that it went out of use, its seating area was filled in and the area around the stage was transformed into agricultural and domestic use. Like other ancient cities, in the Byzantine period, Sepphoris witnessed the disappearance of the structures that had defined the classical city of the Roman and Greek periods.

The history of the theater at Sepphoris is a mirror image of the city itself as it developed from Herodian center to flourishing municipality to a complex center of Byzantine urban life in lower Galilee.

ETHNOARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS OF BEDOUIN SETTLEMENTS: THE HAJAR HOUSE REVISITED • BENJAMIN SAIDEL (Independent Researcher), ERNEST S. FRERICHS FELLOW/ PROGRAM COORDINATOR

The aim of my research as an E. S. Frerichs Fellow was to use multiple types of evidence to examine the socio-economic organization and archaeological remains of those Bedouin who lived in the western Negev during the British Mandate period in Palestine (1920–1948). The goals of this long-range study were twofold: to generate data that would enable social anthropologists and historians to better understand the processes involved in the sedentarization of pastoral nomads in the 20th century; and to provide an archaeological perspective on the material culture associated with sedentarized Bedouin.

I used this fellowship period primarily as an opportunity to conduct archival research. For example, I conducted research at the Archive of the State of Israel in Talpiot.

There, I had access to correspondence between representatives of the Bedouin and British Authorities relating to a range of issues, such as land tenure. In order to gain a better understanding of those administrators during the British Mandate who dealt with the Bedouin, I also examined the personal records of specific officials. For example, I studied the personal records of Arif el Arif, the Governor of Beersheva in the early 1930s. The information contained in his dossier provided a broader context in which to evaluate his publications. One drawback with archival research is that while there are folders for specific files, in a number of cases the contents were lost and in some cases, their physical condition is poor. Based on the catalogue of the Mandate documents, there seems to be an increase in the early and mid-1940s in petitions filed by the Bedouin who had legal claims to land holdings in the northern and western Negev. Obviously, this impression needs to be substantiated with more detailed documentation. I would like to thank Michal Zapt and the staff at the Archives for their assistance. I also carried out research at the Photothèque at the Ecole Biblique with the kind permission of Jean-Michel de Tarragon. One aspect of this research was to generate information on the physical conditions of specific locations in the Negev, such as Bir Hafir, during the Mandate period, in other words, to ascertain the physical conditions of the architecture at this water source and police post from the photographs. This photo archive also provided raw data which enabled me to begin a reconstruction of the settlement history for portions of the Negev from the late



nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries. In particular, I used these photographs to document the growth of settlements in the northern Negev throughout the early 20th century. By visiting these sites I was able to determine where these photographs were taken. The photographs also provided information that enabled me to compare the conditions represented in the photographs with other images from the Mandate period. Thus, I was able to fill in some chronological gaps in my research.

In order to collect additional information about the Bedouin in the Mandate period, I conducted a number of interviews with anthropologists, such as Aref Abu Rabia, and kibbutz members who have collected local histories of the northern Negev. This proved to be a useful counterbalance to the archival material, especially since these sources of information do not overlap. Finding individuals to interview is difficult as the Mandate period ended approximately forty-eight years ago.

During the award period, I submitted three articles for publication. I co-wrote an article with Dr. Gary Christopherson (University of Arizona) an article reappraising Woolley and Lawrence's archaeological survey of Khalasa in 1914. We will present a paper on this subject at the ASOR meetings in Atlanta. I also submitted a paper on sixth-eighth centuries C.E. at Rekhes Nafha 396. In this paper, entitled "Herding Station or Pastoral Campsite," I use the pottery assemblage from Rekhes Nafha 396 as a tool to distinguish between pastoral nomads and shepherds. Lastly, I wrote a brief article on the occupational history of Unit A at Nabi Salah in southern Sinai. This paper, entitled "More Than Meets the Eye," will appear in the *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society*.

PALEODIET AND BIO-CULTURAL PRACTICES OF THE NEOLITHIC 'AIN GHAZAL INHABITANTS IN JORDAN • ISSA SARIE' (AL-QUDS UNIVERSITY/ THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY), GEORGE. A. BARTON FELLOW

My research attempts to draw a picture of the lifestyle of the 'Ain Ghazal Neolithic village population (i.e the impact of the people's bio-cultural activities on their general health status), using an analysis of dental and skeletal materials derived from various seasons of archaeological excavations. 'Ain Ghazal is one of the earliest villages excavated in the Levant,

occupied continuously from the seventh through the fifth century B.C.

Since the excavation of the Epi-Paleolithic and Neolithic sites began, the general debate has focused on the transformation of lifestyle and food production from hunter-gatherer to a more sedentary way of life. The large quantity of archaeological samples excavated at the site of 'Ain Ghazal has provided evidence of an expansion in animal domestication along with agricultural exploitation in the PPNC phase of occupation, although it is recognized that some animals were already domesticated in the PPNB phase of occupation. Therefore, much attention has been devoted to the shift in food production and lifestyle from the agriculture-based economy of the PPNB period (7,250–6000 B.C.) to the husbandry mode of subsistence in the Yarmoukian Pottery Neolithic period (5,500–5,000 B.C.).

This research involves interdisciplinary investigations, including anthropological and ethnographic data and archaeological materials. The human remains of the Neolithic population of 'Ain Ghazal were chosen for this research because of the major role played by this population in terms of socio-economic and cultural developments as reflected in houses, streets and burial customs and rituals. The nature and range of their subsistence and biophysical activities were examined by means of the analysis of 994 teeth taken from the skeletal remains of 160 individuals (children, sub-adults, and adults) from various seasons of excavations at 'Ain Ghazal.

The research focuses on an analysis of the PPNB and PPNC dental remains. Laboratory analyses of the human remains were conducted mainly at the Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology of Yarmouk University.

These analyses included:

- 1) Tracing dental disease and its association with paleodiet.
- 2) Tracing different phenomena on the teeth that may provide an indication of how the teeth were used in various bio-cultural activities.
- 3) Tracing signs of paleo-pathology and their relevance to environmental stresses.

In addition, ethnographic fieldwork was conducted in traditional farming and Bedouin villages (al-Mukheibe and al-Mafraq) in the northern part of Jordan, as



well as in the southern Palestinian villages of Yatta and al-Ka'abneh. This research serves as a tool for interpreting and understanding phenomena recorded in the dental collection of 'Ain Ghazal.

The results of the dental and skeletal analyses can be summarized as follows: The different types of pathology that can directly or indirectly provide insights into health, nutrition, subsistence, and social organization appear in the skeletal and dental material from the PPNB and PPNC levels at the site. The accumulation of dental calculus on the teeth shows evidence of periodontal diseases associated with heavy mastication and attrition resulting from food of an abrasive nature. An examination of dental wear also shows that the diet included food of an abrasive nature, but with more abrasion among the PPNB population, since it was heavily dependent on agricultural seed crops. An association between the scattered micro-striation of the vestibular teeth and remodeling of the temporo-mandibular joint (TMJ) indicates that the people of 'Ain Ghazal suffered from severe masticatory problems. These were mostly derived from various types of stress such as dental diseases; using the teeth as tools in hiding leather, flossing sewing threads, and basketry crafts; food of an abrasive nature; and food preparation techniques, mainly grinding cereals on grinding stones for making bread, burghul and Fareike. The process of baking bread and roasting and drying meat for jerky was known among the people of 'Ain Ghazal and undoubtedly contributed to the severe dental wear, ante-mortem tooth loss, and masticatory dysfunction. Information on the use of teeth in cultural activities was derived from the phenomenon of severe lingual dental chipping of many of the front teeth (attrition on the anterior facets).

The population of 'Ain Ghazal suffered from severe stresses that are evident in the marked prevalence of enamel hypoplasia on their teeth, a high rate of child mortality, and various other diseases traced on their skeletal remains. The prevalence of enamel hypoplasia, as a remarkable stress marker, is generally high and variable in terms of prevalence and expression. This indicates that the stress factors were variable on the population's metabolic system from birth to the development of the third molars (12 years). The high prevalence of hypoplasia on children's teeth indicates that they suffered from severe stresses that led to a high rate of mortality. The groove patterns of defect, which are used as an indicator of severe types of hypoplasia caused by high levels of physical stress, tended to be higher in the dentition of the 'Ain Ghazal PPNC group than in the PPNB group. The severe case of dental enamel hypoplasia and the high rate of mortality among the children at the 'Ain Ghazal in the first phase of occupation (PPNB) indicate that they suffered from high levels of episodic stress factors. Severe deterioration of the mother's health status during pregnancy, due to long hours of agricultural work and insufficient nutrition, could be a sufficient episodic stress factor no less significant than early weaning. Epidemic and infectious diseases from contaminated food and water are common in agricultural societies and cause great stress on children, usually leading to death. The sub-adult dentition indicates less prevalence of hypoplasia, as well as less frequent grooves (severe patterns), suggesting a gradual improvement in health status in those who survived childhood.

My ethnographic research in the village of Yatta involved investigating the use of animal products. This included the way milk is prepared after milking, how it is preserved and kept before shaking, and whether it is exposed to environmental contamination from animals, dust, and fleas, mainly in the process of making dried yoghurt and cheese. Samples of the milk were analyzed to determine the level of bacterial activity during the storing process.

This study adds new significant data to the research frame and broadens our understanding of these aspects of the Neolithic period. It may go a long way to filling in the gap in our knowledge of the diachronic patterns of change in the dentition of the ancient Near Eastern population.

EXPORTS TO ANCIENT ISRAEL: NEW LIGHT ON BIBLICAL HISTORY • CAROLINA AZNAR (HARVARD UNIVERSITY), SAMUEL H. KRESS FELLOW

An analysis of archaeological data has made possible a better understanding of the role ancient economies played in historical processes such as the Phoenician expansion to the West and the appearance of the Israelite state. Despite this, the use of archaeological data for the study of short-distance economic exchanges in the Israelite, Phoenician and Philistine settlement areas (and between them) during the Iron Age II (ca. 1,000–586 B.C.E.), has been largely neglected until now. My research at the Albright this year, which focused on

“Phoenician Exports to Ancient Israel: New Light on Biblical History,” (and is also the subject of my doctoral dissertation), aimed at improving this situation by analyzing the style, involving decorative pottery, artistic production and distribution networks of two types of pottery vessels—common storage jars and luxurious thin-walled Red Slip Ware (RSW) bowls—from the Iron Age II strata assemblages of thirteen main archaeological sites: Horbat Rosh Zayit, Tel Keisan, Tel Abu Hawam, Hazor, Beth Shean, Rehov, Megiddo, Gezer, Tel Batash, Ashdod, Lachish, Tel Beersheba and Tel 'Ira. Vessels from Akhziv, Samaria, Gile'am, Tel Michal, Ashkelon and Tel Migne were also examined. The technique used to determine the origin of manufacture of the vessels was ceramic petrography.

Several studies have dealt with the craft of pottery production in the southern Levant, and more have touched on aspects of trade when describing typological parallels between sites. So far, however, no archaeological study has focused on several sites from the entire region at the same time, explaining Iron Age II pottery distribution by means of the identification of pottery manufacturing centers, pottery exchange mechanisms and commercial networks. For this reason, the determination of the origin of manufacture of storage jars and of RSW thin-walled bowls through petrography will shed new light on commercial relations during this period. The analysis of the storage jars and common vessels used to contain and carry foodstuffs will also provide a comprehensive typology by which petrography with quantitative and contextual data will help in tracking jars and their contents from the point of manufacture to the place of consumption. An analysis of

the RSW thin-walled bowls, luxury vessels commonly attributed to Phoenician workmanship and found in sites associated with the Israelites, Phoenicians, and Philistines, will offer valuable information on both style diffusion and commercial ties among those groups. The sites were selected to represent the three different ethnic groups, a selection that deals with the “pots equal people” current debate.

The analysis of the RSW thin-walled bowls, to which I dedicated this year at the Albright, is particularly interesting for the study of artistic production and types of decoration used in the Iron Age II Southern Levant. These are fine bowls, ca. 2–3 mm thick, covered with a bright burnished red slip, with either rounded walls with a rounded or flattened base, or carinated walls with a rounded, flattened or small-ring base. They are skeuomorphs of copper or bronze tableware, which would have graced the tables of the elite; they served as tableware for the finer households, which sought to emulate the elite but could not afford the more expensive metal vessels. These vessels, found in many of the Northern and coastal sites of the time, are made with a highly refined artistic sense that combines elegant shapes and extremely thin walls with the use of red slip and incised concentric circles as decorative elements. In contrast to what happens with most vessels in the Iron Age II period in ancient Israel, their slip was not just used to cover their surface but to create artistic patterns. Thus, it may appear covering their outer surface, their inner surface, or both surfaces. It may also appear covering parts of the outer or inner surface



and leaving others “in reserve,” together with incised concentric circles in the base of the vessel, or without them. It can also appear alternating with yellow slips or just by itself. Finally, it is always carefully burnished to present a smooth, shiny surface which makes the ware distinctive. These easy-to-identify vessels are always mentioned in the archaeological reports of the many sites where they are found. Archaeologists note that they present different combinations in their use of the slip and the incised concentric circles, and they suggest that these vessels must have evolved through time, but since nobody has studied these vessels in detail before, the discussion about them has so far remained speculative. My goals this year were to examine these vessels and to identify their artistic patterns, their evolution through time, the manufacturing workshops, and to take samples for petrographic analysis.

Due to the fact that the RSW bowls were first found in the Israelite city of Samaria (in 1908)—hence the name “Samaria Ware bowls”—they were originally thought to have been made by the Israelites. But that idea was abandoned after they started appearing not only in Israel, but in Lebanon (the Phoenician homeland) and throughout the Mediterranean, from Cyprus to Spain, in places where, according to the Classical sources, the Phoenicians had settled. The visual examination of these vessels has shown that those from Akhziv, the main Phoenician center in the Iron Age II southern Levant, are very different from the vessels from Samaria, the capital of the northern Kingdom of Israel, both in quality and material. The vessels from Samaria are much better made and finer than those from Akhziv. This could be explained by taking into account that Samaria was a royal capital, whereas Akhziv was only a common settlement, and by considering that the clays are very different in both areas. The ones from Akhziv are very sandy and, therefore, worse in quality. But the fact remains that the best “Phoenician” vessels in the Southern Levant are not from Akhziv, the main Phoenician settlement in Israel. This suggests that the vessels from Samaria were part of a specialized industry made for the upper Israelite class. Perhaps they were of Phoenician manufacture or perhaps of Israelite manufacture imitating and improving the original Phoenician creation. In any event, it has become clear that it is incorrect to call the vessels from Akhziv “Samaria Ware.” A more appropriate

description of the “RSW thin-walled vessels” would be sub-type of the “Samaria Ware.”

Interestingly enough, the RSW vessels examined from Hazor and Tell Abu Hawam have revealed a style similar to that of the Samaria bowls, whereas the vessels examined from Tel Michal and Gile’am, both on the coast, are closer to the ones from Akhziv. This, together with fact that these vessels were found in large numbers in the port of Tell Abu Hawam, a site located in the mouth of Nahal Qishon in the bay of Haifa, seems to include the later site in the sphere of the material culture of the Northern Israelite Kingdom, rather than in the sphere of the Phoenician material culture, despite its proximity to Akhziv (ca. 35 km north of it by the coast). It is possible that it was used as a seaport for the Northern Kingdom. The few vessels found in the sites of Tel Michal and Gile’am could be Phoenician exports. A petrographic analysis of these vessels will provide further information on their manufacture origin.

THE DURA-EUROPOS SYNAGOGUE FRESCOES:
PRIESTLY PATRONAGE AND THE IMAGE OF THE
TEMPLE • KARA L. SCHENK (THE JOHNS
HOPKINS UNIVERSITY), SAMUEL H. KRESS JOINT
ATHENS-JERUSALEM FELLOW

The Dura-Europos Synagogue, located on the Euphrates River in Eastern Syria, was decorated with an extensive series of biblical frescoes between 244–245 C.E. Although the frescoes were unearthed in 1932, fundamental questions still remain concerning the function and “program” of the images, of which only approximately two thirds remain. My dissertation focuses on how history and liturgy are represented and interconnected in the structure of the images. In particular, I am interested in images of the Temple.

One important consideration that forms the backdrop to my research is the role of priests as patrons and leaders in the synagogue, a subject of increasing academic interest. Scholars have recently investigated figurative floor mosaics in later synagogues, for instance, in light of liturgical poems. Many of these poems (*piyyutim*), were produced by priests and reflect interest in the Temple. The early Dura synagogue may fit into this tradition, since, according to a dedication inscription, a priest named Samuel bar Yeda’ya was a leader in the synagogue and oversaw its fresco decoration. Yet, Samuel was chronologically closer to the

otherwise unknown “Eliezer the priest,” named on coins of the Bar Kokhba Revolt in 132–135 C.E. Some coins from the Revolt display the first extant depiction of the Jerusalem Temple, an image which may have been a model for the earliest such Temple image in the Dura synagogue itself.

This early image of the Temple in the synagogue, a simple tetrastyle structure which appears on the “temple panel” above the Torah shrine, is sometimes seen as a direct representation of an “eschatological” temple. However, a dedication inscription on the Torah shrine, which refers to the shrine as a “house for the ark,” emphasizes the connection between the wooden chest containing the Torah scrolls which the shrine “housed” and the Biblical Ark of the Covenant. This and other contextualizing features suggest ways in which the image is implicated in the liturgical perpetuation of the Temple’s legacy in the synagogue itself. None of the features of the image are necessarily suggestive of its status as an “eschatological” or “messianic” depiction of the Temple. On the other hand, a number of images subsequently added above the Torah shrine have convincingly been argued to relate to messianic ideology, and may have, in essence, “re-contextualized” the image of the Temple below to suggest its “messianic” status.

A further three levels of Biblical narrative images were added to the walls of the assembly hall. Scholars have long noted the thematic focus of this middle level on “liturgical” images and, particularly, on the Ark of the Covenant which is shown numerous times. Strangely, this Ark is not shown in the second image of the Temple displayed on this level, although it appears to be returning from the land of the Philistines to Israel from a panel at the right. The Temple itself has been interpreted in a number of different ways: Solomon’s Temple or a “Messianic” Temple in contrast to the obviously paired image of Aaron in the Tabernacle represented on the opposite side of the wall; a “pagan” Philistine Temple, contrasted with true Israelite worship to the left; the “Heavenly Temple” of Jewish mysticism; and the “sinful” Israelite city of Beth Shemesh, the last of the “trials” of the Ark before the messiah’s appearance, are just a few of the possibilities. On the second level, the chronological sequence from one panel to the next always proceeds to the left, a direction largely complemented by the direction of continuous narratives presented within each panel. As J. Gutmann has



already suggested, the second level seems to represent a history of the Ark of the Covenant from the Tabernacle in the Sinai wilderness to the Temple. Rather than argue that the Temple is essentially defective without the Ark, it is possible that the act of the Ark's return was the focus of this prominent sequence of images. This action would have been presented as part of a larger historical narrative structure, where the Temple does not represent directly an "eschatological" Temple, but would have functioned nevertheless as a typological indicator of God's return to Zion. Thus, the focus is not on the status of the sanctuary per se, except in so far as the return of the divine presence determines this status.

What has not been noted is that the narratives of the upper level follow a pattern of chronological order, from right to left, as well. The first image displayed on the upper level is the vision of Jacob's ladder at Bethel. The next is the Exodus, which shows strong overall movement from right to left. These images, if read together with those of the middle level, can be integrated into the chronological progression established there. The next of the images after the Exodus on the upper level is the Tabernacle, followed by the history of the Ark on the middle level. After arriving at the image of the Temple, the progression jumps back up to a fragmentary panel showing a throne, labeled "Solomon" who may be receiving the Queen of Sheba. At the point of narrative where the sequence proceeded from the Exodus on the upper right to the panel depicting the

Wilderness Tabernacle on the middle left, it seems that Moses on Sinai has been left out. However, I would argue that Moses is actually represented four times at this focal point of the room, in the "wing panels" surrounding the central images above the Torah shrine. Moreover, if the linear structure that I propose is accurate, and is extended to a hypothetical recreation of the other narratives on the upper level, the image of Jacob at Bethel would have been preceded by earlier images, beginning with Abraham himself and perhaps related to the other two patriarchs. The image of Solomon may have been followed by narratives from Israel's subsequent history, possibly ending in the exile. The upper two levels would have constituted some variation on what D. N. Freedman would term the "primary history" of Israel.

The Ark of the Covenant makes its first appearance, chronologically, next to the figure of Moses holding the Torah scroll. Another image of Moses shown above this figure, here at the Burning Bush, is labeled "Moses, son of Levi," casting Moses in the role of a Levite by naming his tribe rather than his father. Under Moses on the lowest level of narratives is a panel showing "Samuel, when he anointed David." All three figures are positioned directly above the elder's seat, thus placing Samuel bar Yeda'ya in line with his namesake and with the source of all Torah authority, Moses himself. Moreover, the Ark, depicted throughout the middle level as the Torah scroll cabinet, moves not only towards the Temple image ("returning to Zion"), but towards the Torah shrine where it was kept, the "house for the Ark." In this way, it redefines the synagogue itself as a "small sanctuary," which has its own "Ark." Thus, a linear structure of the narrative overlaps at the liturgical focal point of the synagogue to suggest continuity between the revelation at Sinai, the presence of the Ark in the Temple and the status of the Dura synagogue, its leadership and the community that gathered there.

On the level below, the majority of the narratives reverse the universal right-to-left direction of the two levels above and do not proceed in chronological order. Instead, compositional links within the lower level narratives themselves, and between the lower level and the middle and upper level narratives heighten thematic connections between them. For example, Ahaseusus in the "Purim panel" on the lowest level is seated on Solomon's throne, occupied by

Solomon himself on the upper level (a legendary embroidering of the Esther story to appear only in much later textual sources). The weaving together of different aspects from otherwise chronologically diverse narratives in order to draw out thematic connections may correspond, as A. J. Wharton has pointed out, to the "midrashic" tendencies of homilies that functioned in a similar manner.

My time at the Albright in Jerusalem, and at the American School in Athens, has allowed me a context in which to research and develop these ideas, and my stay in Israel, in particular, has afforded me the opportunity to see a number of important comparanda related to synagogue architecture and decoration. I hope to finish my dissertation on the topic within the next year.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARAMAIC LEGAL FORMULARIES AS REFLECTED IN THE DOCUMENTS FROM THE JUDEAN DESERT • ANDREW D. GROSS (NEW YORK UNIVERSITY), EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL AFFAIRS FELLOW

My project focuses on continuity and change within the Aramaic legal tradition, and how these fluctuations reflect the phenomena of cultures in contact. Legal traditions tend to be conservative at their core, and thus they are capable of retaining certain integral elements over the course of centuries. Nonetheless, they are not totally immune to outside influences, and during the centuries when Aramaic was the lingua franca of the Near East, the cultural influences that existed throughout the region were manifold. The index I am using in order to track the extent of these influences—as well as the extent of continuity—within the extant Aramaic legal materials is their legal formularies. By closely examining the development of these legal formularies, I hope to be able to answer some wider questions about the extent of mutual influences between cultures in contact.

During the first two centuries of our era, the Roman Empire solidified its political and military hold on the Near East, and thus, the intermingling of cultures—certainly at the legal and administrative level—was particularly acute. For those studying this period, the last few years have been quite beneficial, as an increasing number of documents discovered in the Dead Sea region (i.e., the Judean Desert) have become available. Besides the literary and religious documents from Qumran, several corpora of



Aramaic legal documents from elsewhere in this region (e.g., Nahal Hever and Wadi ed-Daliyeh) have been published recently, and they shed important light on the question of inner continuity and development within the Aramaic legal tradition.

Prior to the publication of these documents, our richest source for Aramaic legal material in antiquity was the Elephantine papyri, a collection of Aramaic papyri found in southern Egypt that date to the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E. In the 1950s and 1960s, important studies by Reuven Yaron and Yohanan Muffs elucidated the subtleties of the legal formularies used in these documents. While Yaron's synchronic analysis clarified much about the papyri's legal system as a whole, Muffs delved deeply into these formularies' cuneiform roots and demonstrated both the antiquity and the innovative character of the legal traditions preserved within the Aramaic legal tradition at Elephantine. The connections between the Aramaic legal tradition and its cuneiform antecedents have also been explored in important studies by J. J. Rabinowitz and Eleonora Cussini.

Building upon these studies, my aim is to incorporate another important source that also only recently became available to the scholarly community, namely, Neo-Assyrian Aramaic tablets and dockets. While many of these texts had been previously available in the corpus published by Mario Fales, our corpus has been greatly increased and diversified by an important collection recently published by Andre Lemaire. These materials chronologically extend back in

time by a couple of centuries our corpus of Aramaic legal materials. Here, the influence of the cuneiform antecedents is much more acute and direct, and therefore, we can better isolate those elements that are originally from Northwest Semitic traditions and those that are not.

This newly available material thus fills in some chronological gaps for the most important periods of cultural influence. As Muffs has shown with the Elephantine material (and more recently, as Douglas Groppe has shown with the Wadi ed-Daliyeh material), Aramaic legal scribes absorbed and adapted elements of the earlier cuneiform legal traditions. With the addition of these earlier materials from the Neo-Assyrian period, we can get closer to the period, when these traditions were at their most vibrant, and further clarify the process by which their respective elements were absorbed and adapted.

While this early Aramaic legal material clearly reflects its cuneiform antecedents, the question arises as to the degree of influence which Greek and Roman political hegemony had on the local legal traditions. Fortunately, the materials from Nahal Hever, which, along with the Wadi Murabba'at texts (originally published in the 1960s and recently re-edited by Ada Yardeni) helped to refine the picture from the first and second centuries C.E. These texts help fill the chronological gap between the Persian period texts (the Elephantine and Wadi ed-Daliyeh papyri) and the legal materials from the Rabbinic and Gaonic periods. Thus, because much of the Judean Desert legal material was composed during the centuries of Roman domination in the region, we can begin to see how the local Aramaic legal traditions absorbed and adapted elements of the Greco-Roman legal tradition.

In addition, we can also fill out the picture with non-Jewish Aramaic legal sources from Late Antiquity, including Syriac legal papyri (a relatively meager, but nonetheless important corpus) as well as Nabatean and Palmyrene funerary inscriptions, which surprisingly contain an extensive amount of legal content.

The key to my investigation will be the development of the legal formularies used in these documents, from their overall schema to the wording of particular clauses as well as their use of particular legal vocabulary. By focusing on these particular details, I hope to be able to isolate a variety of different elements and influences within the Aramaic legal tradition, including Greco-Roman ones

as well as Northwest Semitic elements that antedate the cuneiform elements within the tradition.

Thus, using evidence from antiquity through the Gaonic period, my aim is to investigate the degree to which these formularies both illustrate the phenomenon of cultures in contact, and to which they reflect the preservation of continuity within the Aramaic legal tradition—and indeed, the degree to which it is appropriate to speak of such a—"tradition" in a unified sense.

CRUSADERS AND LOCAL CHRISTIAN COMMUNITIES, 1097–1187 • CHRISTOPHER MACEVITT (PRINCETON UNIVERSITY), NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE HUMANITIES FELLOW

The focus of my research at the Albright was on the relationship between local Christian communities and the Frankish elite who ruled Palestine in the 12th century. This was the subject of my dissertation, which I completed at Princeton University in June 2002. My dissertation, however, was based largely on contemporary histories, theological treatises and other written accounts, and my goal at the Albright was to focus on how the archaeological record could illuminate the relationship, and perhaps tell a story different from that of the written sources. I decided to focus particularly on churches, for it was through ecclesiastical architecture that I could archaeologically 'track' religious populations.

The church of St. George outside Tiberias provides evidence that local Christians—in this case, Greek Orthodox or Melkite Christians—and Latins used the same churches. A charter from 1178 records an agreement between Gerald, the bishop of Tiberias, and John, the abbot of St. Mary of Jehoshaphat, concerning the church of St. George which was in the diocese of Tiberias but was owned by the monastery of St. Mary. The document stipulated that St. George would not serve any of the bishop's parishioners, nor anybody whom the bishop had excommunicated. Furthermore, neither Latins nor Syrians (a term which generally referred to Melkites) could be baptized, married or purified at St. George. The church was, however, allowed to bury brothers and servants of the abbey, as well as Syrians, and offer Mass with the doors closed.¹ We thus have a church apparently used by both Latins and Melkites.



Who then were the clergy serving at St. George's? To answer that question, we must turn to the church itself. Denys Pringle has suggested that the church excavated in 1991 outside the walls of Tiberias can be identified with the St. George of the charter. This church has quite an interesting history. It is known as the "anchor" church for the half-ton basalt stone carved in the shape of an anchor found under the altar. Much larger than an actual anchor, it has been shown to be a Bronze age cult object, transformed into a Christian relic. The church was originally built, almost inevitably, by Emperor Justinian in the mid-6th century. It was destroyed by an earthquake in 749, but rebuilt soon after. The new church, while following the older floorplan, had an interior height half that of the original church. The columns were apparently cut in half and doubled to support the arcading that separated the nave from the aisles. As Yizhar Hirshfeld has pointed out, this was not the result of poor planning or poverty on the part of the church. Such a style echoes secular and sacred Islamic architecture. Further changes were made inside the church in the Abbasid period—the sanctuary was fully enclosed by walls, and benches added along the side. Two small rooms were formed in the western ends of the two aisles by walls which encased the columns. The arrival of the Crusaders, on the other hand, made little impact on the church, adding only buttresses to the exterior as well as a bell tower. At St. George, then, we have a church under the authority of a Latin abbey, but which continued to have a layout designed for the performance of the Melkite liturgy, where the clergy would process,

emerging from a door on the north side of the chancel and entering the sanctuary through a door aligned with the nave. It thus seems likely that the church continued to be served by Melkite clergy, as it had been before the arrival of the Crusaders. Yet, both Melkites and Latins used the church, particularly for funereal services, as the charter makes clear. The Latin inhabitants of Tiberias and its environs apparently saw few barriers between themselves and local Melkites, and had no compunction in attending Orthodox services.

A church excavated adjacent to the eastern city wall of Ascalon along the Levantine coast gives us a glimpse of a less direct form of interaction between Franks and local Christians, though no less significant. The church was built as a three-aisled late antique basilica measuring 11.2 m by 12.9 m with a single apse and perhaps six bays and a baptismal font in the shape of a cross in front of the sanctuary. At some point the church was converted to a mosque, and after the Crusader conquest of Ascalon in 1153, the church was restored, but taking the form of a four-columned cross-in-square church of typically Byzantine design, rather than a Latin configuration. The church was at this time decorated with frescoes depicting four churchmen, holding Greek scrolls. These elements make clear that the church was intended for use by a Melkite community.

The excavators identified it as St. Mary of the Green, a Melkite church of the late antique and the early Islamic period. The Melkite chronicler Yahya ibn-Sa'id, writing in tenth-century Antioch, recorded that a Muslim and Jewish crowd destroyed the church in 939. Petitions to rebuild the church were denied, so the bishop moved his See to Ramla. The pillaged church then became a mosque, probably the "Green" mosque of Ascalon. The excavators have argued that Ascalon's rulers had a deliberate strategy of harassment of the Christian population, perhaps because of the city's strategic location at the border between Egypt and Palestine. Circumstantial evidence suggests that Ascalon had lost its Christian population by the late 11th century. If the church did indeed become the Green Mosque, then we can trace its history a bit further. Following the Crusader conquest, it was initially given to the canons of the Holy Sepulcher, who exchanged it for land owned by Amalric, Count of Jaffa and Ascalon. Most likely then, Amalric either paid for the church's reconstruction himself

or donated it to local Christians, who then rebuilt it. In either case, Amalric hoped to encourage local Christian settlement in Ascalon, which probably lost a considerable portion of its population through the Crusader siege and conquest. Perhaps the church's restoration can even be linked to Amalric's marriage to the Byzantine princess, Maria Komnena in 1167. What is evident is that crusader rule over Ascalon revitalized the moribund Christian community there.

By putting together the limited textual evidence with the archaeological evidence, we thus gain a view on Crusader relations with local Christians, previously inaccessible to us. What we see is a complex set of relationships, not easily reducible to "cooperation" or "conflict." Both exist at the same time, and sometimes even in the same place. As I have argued elsewhere, this is characteristic of social relations in the Latin East, an interaction I have termed "rough tolerance." Each community created images of each other that responded to contemporary and ever-changing situations, but none of these became a standard trope widely used. "Rough tolerance" was not by any means the equivalent of modern concepts of multiculturalism. Episodes of conflict, violence and oppression occurred frequently, yet were often directed at specific groups within local communities, usually elites, in a way that used intercommunal factionalism to drain away the sense of threat to the larger community. Historians such as David Nirenberg have described a world in which each act of violence was loaded with symbolic meaning. In the Latin principalities of the Levant, Franks and local Christians permitted incidences of conflict to have only local and temporary meaning, never accumulating symbolic or lasting significance. Yet before we allow this material to lead us to think of the Latin East as an integrated society, let us remember that the kings who ruled over Palestine called themselves "rex Iherusalem Latinorum"—King of Jerusalem of the Latins.²

¹ Henri-François Delaborde, *Chartes de Terre Sainte provenant de l'abbaye de Notre-Dame de Josaphat*, (Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1880), #LV, pp. 87–88.

² Queen Melisende is the one monarch who seems to have chosen simply "regina Jherusolimorum." See Bresc-Bautier, "Cartulaire du Saint-Sépulcre," #35, 36, 37; Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire Général des Hospitaliers*, vol. I, #191.

R. MacMullen's classic article on the Roman "epigraphic habit" (1982) opened the way to dealing with Greco-Roman epigraphy not only as "historical evidence," but also as a cultural phenomenon characteristic of this period. Following in the path of this seminal paper, numerous concepts have been introduced, such as "epigraphic consciousness," "epigraphic culture," "epigraphic environment," and more recently, "epigraphic landscape." Although the theme of my dissertation is the "Jewish Epigraphic Habit in Late Antiquity" as a whole, my research at the Albright centered on a well-defined area—synagogue inscriptions.

My aim was not to develop a separate database of synagogue inscriptions, since there are good catalogues available (edited by B. Lifshitz, J. Naveh, R. C. Gregg, D. Urman and L. Rot-Gershon written over the last four decades), but rather to concentrate on the similarities and differences of the epigraphic cultures of the pagan, Christian, Samaritan and Jewish "holy places" in late third–early-sixth century Palestine.

It has been widely accepted in scholarly literature that there exists an overall resemblance between the external appearance of Jewish synagogues in the late Roman/early Byzantine period (fourth–sixth century C.E.) and that of secular buildings, pagan temples and Christian churches in the Eastern Roman Empire, not to mention Samaritan synagogues. As the epigraphical sources indicate, apart from the common language of the architecture, there was also an "epigraphic koine" in this area, which the Jewish synagogue inscriptions resemble perfectly. The epigraphic material of diaspora synagogues reflect the same picture (especially in the case of Sardis). In the textual evidence of the pagan, Christian, Samaritan and Jewish sacred places we find, however, some distinctive features, on the basis of which we can determine with more or less certainty the religious affiliation of the inscriptions and the buildings.

First of all, however, we had to examine the Jewish religious approach of 'epigraphic culture.' In the Torah we can find two explicit prohibitions concerning the erection of "pillars" (Lev. 26:1; Deut. 16:22), i.e. engraved or inscribed monuments (cf. I Sam.

15:12; II Sam. 18:18). This prohibition was applied even by the profoundly Hellenized Philo of Alexandria to monumental inscriptions (De somn. I. 242–247). In the vast rabbinic literature we hardly find any reference to either Jewish or pagan inscriptions. Nevertheless, the negative attitude of the sages towards written monuments is palpable. As to funeral memorials, we find an implicit remark in y.Sheqalim 2:5 (47a): "It has been taught: R. Shimon b. Gamliel says: 'They do not make sepulchers for the righteous. Their teachings are their memorial.'"

I examined seven topics among the distinctive features of Jewish "divine epigraphy": (1) The absence of dedications to God. This phenomenon is undoubtedly connected with the Third Commandment (Exod. 20:7). In the epigraphic material of the synagogues, however, we find some euphemistic Divine Names, mostly in dedicatory inscriptions written in Greek ("Most High God," "One God," "One Helping God," "Helping Lord," and the peculiar "Providence" inscriptions in Sardis). In the Hebrew/Aramaic texts, we find Divines Names such as "King of the Universe," "Merciful," "Lord who Knows the Names," "Lord of Heaven." All of these phrases are connected with certain Biblical passages, but are not direct translations.

(2) The second interesting phenomenon of synagogue inscriptions is the rarity of direct Biblical quotations. Except for the labels on mosaics referring to Biblical figures and scenes (e.g., Beth Alpha, Sepphoris; Dura Europos and Mopsuestia) only two inscriptions can be found (in Meroth and Caesarea) which cite the Bible literally. This is all the more interesting, since the Samaritan synagogues and Christian churches (and in the Byzantine period the public buildings as well) were full of scriptural verses found on architectural elements, wall paintings, and mosaics.

(3) Another peculiar characteristic of the "epigraphic culture" of Jewish synagogues is the presence of long literary inscriptions either encrusted in the mosaic pavements or painted on the plastered walls (Ein-Gedi, Rehov). These texts are sometimes characterized as "halakhic" ones, because their content is closely connected with contemporary rabbinic instructions, but they also have a bearing upon the synagogal piyyut-literature. Traces of such "literary" inscriptions were not found yet in the synagogues of the Diaspora.

(4) Priestly and Levitical lists (Caesarea, Kisufim, Rehov, probably Ashkelon, and even at Bait al-Yadir in Yemen; Ahmadiyye) contain not only the names of the heads of priestly families according to number, who served in the Temple of Jerusalem, but also the place in which each family settled after its destruction (70 C.E.).

(5) The calendars, especially the zodiacs, also represent peculiar phenomena of the synagogues (Hammam Tiberias, Beth Alpha, Husifa, Na'aran, Sepphoris, Horvat Susiya, Yafia). The pagan origin of the zodiac motifs is well-known, and their exclusion from the decorations of the Temple of Jerusalem centuries earlier is clearly attested by Josephus (BJ 5.214). The rabbinic sages also declared: "There is no (planetary) luck (or fate) in Israel" (b.Shabbat 156a–b). Since this theme would merit a study in its own right, I surveyed the literature debating this question, and concluded that probably M. Avi-Yonah (followed by M. Dothan and R. Hachlili), who argued for the depiction of this kind of calendar with a practical purpose, were right.

(6) Philo, complaining about riots against the Jews of Alexandria (38 C.E.), mentions that the tributes to the emperor—which consisted of, among other things, shields, gilded crowns, slabs and inscriptions hanging on synagogue walls—were pulled down by the mob (*Leg.* 20.133). In one of his other speeches, he states that all over the oikumene, the synagogues were intended to show reverence to benefactors of the Augustan house (*In Flacc.* 7.49). This picture is affirmed especially by the synagogal



inscriptions of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. From the second–third century C.E., dedications to emperors came to light in Ostia, as well as at Intercisa and Mursa (in Pannonia). The common characteristic of these inscriptions is the low-key style, refraining from mentioning any phrase of the imperial tituli which has religious connotations. The imperial dedication from Quasyun (Galilee) remained an enigma, hence, the Greek inscription was written by the local Jewish community, but it was found among the ruins of a pagan temple.

(7) The overwhelming majority of the synagogue inscriptions were made with benefactorial aims, to record the donations of individual members of the community or of the community itself. The private inscriptions are usually short, but generally reflect the particular atmosphere and climate of certain synagogues. In distinct contrast to the community inscriptions which are usually written in Greek, the private dedications are generally composed in the spoken Aramaic dialect of Palestine. The private inscriptions, however, are very formulaic, usually introduced by the Aramaic formula *dkyr ltv*, “remembered (be) for good,” which has been literally translated into Greek as *mnesthei eis agathon*. In the Diaspora, there were other dedicative formulas characteristic of the Jewish synagogue, but mostly influenced by the surrounding pagan and Christian epigraphic culture.

To conclude, the late Roman—early Byzantine Jewish synagogues, considering their epigraphic material, architectural and artistic elements, symbolism etc., in my opinion, can be considered “sites of memory.” This concept was developed by the contemporary French historian Pierre Nora, who defined the *lieux de m'moire* as places “where memory crystallizes and secretes itself.” The ancient synagogues reflected both the recent (communicative or social) memory of a living generation (e.g. in the donative inscriptions), and the cultural memory of their distant past (e.g. in the Priestly and Levitical lists and religious symbolism). Nora says that the purpose of sites of memory is “to stop time, to block the work of forgetting,” and they all share “a will to remember.” The memorial function of the synagogue is absolutely in keeping with one of the most important religious duties of an Israelite: the *Zakhor!* (Remember!)

QUMRAN ORTHOGRAPHY IN DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE • PIOTR MUCHOWSKI (ADAM MICKIEWCZ UNIVERSITY, POZNAN, POLAND), ANDREW W. MELLON FELLOW

This project represents an attempt to look for developmental tendencies in Qumran orthography. Its main aim is to determine whether some distinctive and regular features occur in the orthography of the manuscripts from particular periods. This task is based on the assumption that if, as some scholars claim, Qumran Hebrew, as documented in manuscripts from a period of over two hundred years, reflects a spoken living dialect of Hebrew, then some systematic alterations could reasonably be expected to have appeared in the course of its natural development. The existence of such developmental tendencies is suggested by irregularities in the orthography of the scrolls. It is noteworthy that some scholars (E. Tov and others) propose to assign these irregularities to the diachronic changes of the Qumran language and orthography. My project is an attempt to verify this thesis.

Formally the project consists of a comparison of the orthography of manuscripts from a number of distinct paleographical periods, that is, from the main phases of the Hasmonean and Herodian periods. My research was based on about one hundred manuscripts, most of them from the first century B.C., and written in early, middle and late Hasmonean and Herodian script. They were selected on the basis of a few main criteria, such as the extent of the attested material, the re-occurrence of Qumran features, and the social and chronological provenance of the work. In my analysis, I considered such factors as the literary genre and the possible date of origin.

The greatest difficulties of this research were due to the fact that most manuscripts are copies of works, which have exactly the same orthographic form, regardless of the period from which they come. Most of the scrolls were faithfully copied and therefore do not reflect any diachronic linguistic changes or any contemporary scribal practices. Therefore, the first and most important task of my project was to identify the texts, which could be assigned to a particular period on the basis of orthography. This refers to the works, which exhibit internal evidence, (that is, data in the texts

enabling dating, for example, names of kings, description of events), such as in the Pesharim, i.e. the Qumran commentaries on Biblical texts. Secondly, texts had to be identified, in which the spelling had been changed by the scribes in a particular period. The identification of such texts is made possible by a comparative analysis of works attested in many copies, which show orthographical differences and come from different periods. Such texts were apparently written by less professional scribes or scribes who had a freer approach to the rules of faithful copying.

During my three-month stay at the Albright I managed to complete the stage of



the project consisting of the description of the orthography of the selected scrolls. I prepared a database of all the distinct features. My interest centered first of all, on a number of categories, such as the distinctive forms of pronouns and suffixes, the misspellings, the particles *lo'* and *ki*, the occurrence of correct and defective spellings, as well as the forms of some particular words. In the database, I also included the data concerning the distribution and frequency of these forms.

The next stage, which I intend to complete within the few next months, will consist of a comparative analysis of selected data and their interpretation for the research on the dialectal and stylistic identity of Qumran Hebrew.

The purpose of my project was to study the origins and semantics of the iconographic formula, Holy Mary in Passion, in the context of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine image traditions. During my three-month stay at the Albright as an Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, I had an opportunity to use the libraries of the Albright Institute, the Hebrew University, the British School of Archaeology, the Rockefeller Museum and the Greek Patriarchate, to meet specialists from different fields, and to study the iconographic history of the Holy Land and Cyprus from the time of the Crusaders. Also, by seeing Christian artifacts from the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods, I became acquainted with many different aspects of the complicated cultural and historical environment in which the image of Holy Mary in Passion appears.

Starting from the indisputable fact that in iconography, based on a strict system of dogmatically determined and stable symbols, like the Christian ones, signs and gestures don't appear accidentally, I decided to use as a starting point in my study, the earliest known depiction of “Holy Mary in Passion” from the Cyprus church Panagia Arakiotisa in Lagudera (1192).

The question I asked myself was: Why, during the dramatic period of the Byzantine Empire and Orthodox Church of the eleventh and twelfth centuries does this iconographic scheme—of the Virgin Mary with archangel(s) and symbols of the Passion—first appear in Cyprus at the end of the twelfth century?

The geographical factor, which was the basis of all historical cataclysms in Cyprus, led me to search for the answer in connection to the Holy Land. A stopping point for Crusaders and pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem, especially in the 12th century, Cyprus turns into an arena of conflict subject to numerous influences—Byzantine, Roman, Norman, Syro-Palestinian, and Arabian. The situation in the Holy Land and in Jerusalem in particular was similar—their sacred history turned them into the most sought-after “possessions” for French kings and Holy Roman Emperors.

After the twelfth century, the cult of relics of saints and martyrs gradually changed its

focus to include the passions of Christ, acquiring a Christ-centered character. The popularization of this type of worship, the continuing transfer of holy relics by the Crusaders to the West, and mainly to Rome (between the middle of the eleventh – thirteenth century), reflects the range of western iconography, including an expansion of the Passion cycle.

The Holy Land is the place where—“Roman style” art meets the traditions of Byzantine art. The results of this amalgamation are attested by the fragments of an exceptional Jerusalem monument to be found in the museum of the Greek Patriarchate—the sarcophagus of the last Crusader ruler of Jerusalem, Baldwin V (1185–1186)—merging pagan motifs with Christian depictions, connected to Christ's passions.

During the second half of the twelfth century, in the French church, St. Peter in Moutieres (Yonne), which, in those times was a way station for Irish pilgrims on their way to Rome, we see Christ from the

“Day of Judgement” painting, presented in a diamond-shaped mandorla unusual for the Roman style iconography of the period. The depiction of the blood running from His wounds and the archangels around Him, holding different implements of the passions remind one more of His iconography from the Crucifixion. In Britain in the late twelfth century, in the Ashampstead church in Berkshire (Oxford), the scheme of the Last Judgement again contains archangels with a cross and a spear and the Righteous Judge sitting on a throne is presented pointing at His wounds. Of course, the iconography of these elements, connected with the passions has long since been developed in the Christian East. The scheme with the archangels flanking Christ (often carrying crosses or spears) from the sarcophagus of Baldwin V is typical of the iconographic decoration of the reliquaries (ornamental box for icons) since the ninth–tenth century, and the blood running from the wounds on the hands of the Righteous Judge is known from the Sinai icons depicting Judgement Day, attributed to the eleventh–twelfth century.

At the same time, in the Christian East, as a reaction against the official iconographic order and arguments with the Roman Catholic Church, concerning the immaculate conception of Holy Mary and dogmas about incarnation and Christ's Sacrifice, Orthodox worship gives priority to works within the passion and eschatological



thematics, indirectly reflected in the iconography as well.

Therefore, it is not strange that it is in the art of Cyprus, which in the twelfth century was one of the major centers of the Crusaders' invasion, that from the composition “Candlemas,” connected to the omen of Christ's passions, independent images of St. Simeon Glicofilos and Holy Mary in Passion are formed and in whose schema, archangels with the implements of the passions appear.

One of the earliest depictions of the dogmatic composition “Unsleeping Eye,” established at the time and preserved in the “Holy Cross” Georgian monastery in Jerusalem, shows the simultaneity of human mortality and divine life in the undivided personality of the Infant, visualized through the familiar formula of the archangels with the implements of the passions.

As a result of the new meaning acquired during the period of the Crusaders by some images in the context of the passion symbolism, and the stress on elements, connected to the preparation of the Sacrifice, the bilateral procession icons of “Odigitria” and “Eleusa” with “The Throne Prepared” or “Crucifixion” on the other side became popular in Byzantine and Balkan art. Somewhat later, at the end of the thirteenth century, the basket with the nails from the “Crucifixion”—a detail familiar from the iconography of “Removing from the Cross”—can be seen in the hand of the famous Holy Mary of Levit from Prizren (Yugoslavia).

None of these scenes and images, however, should be taken as the only prototype for the formula of Holy Mary in Passion because it is not a derivative but a synthetic image.

Though the connection with the already mentioned bilateral (double-sided) icons has been discussed a great deal and to some extent clarified as semantics, I think that not enough attention has been paid to the fact that apart from the processions, many of these icons, worshipped as protectors from enemy attacks, have accompanied military marches. The iconography of Nikitirion, dated to the 6th century, presents a cross flanked by archangels with the implements of the passions and decorated with a palm wreath—a symbol of victory over death. Indisputably, this explains the purpose of the famous twelfth century icon from the Assumption Cathedral in the Kremlin (SGT, inv. #14245), on one side of which is presented the “image not made with human hands” of the face of Christ, honored as a protector, and on the other side of which is depicted the Glorification of the Cross, a composition known from the sixth century. The Glorification of the Cross presents an eight-armed cross, encircled with a wreath, which is flanked by archangels holding the instruments of Christ’s passion, a typological element for the Holy Mary in Passion. This provoked the question of whether the Holy Mary icons, honored like protectors, did not originally present the Glorification of the Cross on their opposite sides, and whether the Mary of God’s passion types represented a symbiosis between the Holy Mary with the Infant in this composition. The reason for this argument is that the later Cretan icons of Holy Mary in Passion from the 16th century often show archangels holding in their hands identical eight-armed crosses with wreaths, known from the iconography of the Glorification of the Cross.

My time at the Albright Institute gave me the opportunity to study also the semantic closeness of the Holy Mary type in question to St. Simeon Glikofilos, including some specifics regarding the posture of the Infant variations of Odigitria and Eleusa, and to the composition “Unsleeping Eye.” This helped me to clarify the reasons for the iconographic similarities. Because, if in the later variations of Holy Mary in Passion, the posture of the Infant from “Candlemas” is established, then in the fourteenth century in the composition “Unsleeping Eye” from the cave church St. Nicholas in Motolla (Italy) God’s Mother appears, holding the Infant mirroring the Cyprus Arakiotisa, with a

gesture reminiscent of the spoon with which the priest gives Holy communion to the laity. This gesture is, like other elements also connected with the Passions and the Eucharistia. For example, note the leaning posture of the Infant typical of Anapeson from the schemes of the Cyprus Arakiotisa in the icons Virgin Kykkotissa—1280 (diptych with St. Prokopios, St. Ekaterina monastery, Sinai, Egypt), St. Simeon Teddodoxos—thirteenth century (St. Ekaterina monastery, Sinai, Egypt), and the Holy Mary Peribleptos—fourteenth century (St. Athanasios Church, Meteora, Greece), etc. This shows how thematically similar images in certain stages of their development double their formulas in search of ways to express common ideas.

I think that the archangels with the implements of Christ’s passions do not appear in the scheme of the Cyprus Arakiotisa or in Unsleeping Eye under the influence of the West, but the connection is exactly the opposite. On the contrary, creations of the Byzantine world, these iconographic formulations attest to the Orthodox Church’s response to the presence of the Crusaders.

ROME, PERSIA AND ARMENIA. PROPAGANDA, DIPLOMACY AND WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST: 280–300 • MIHAIL ZAHARIADE (THE NATIONAL ROMANIAN INSTITUTE OF THRAEOLOGY), ANDREW W. MELLON FELLOW

Throughout the centuries, the Near East has been one of the most important areas of conflict between the great powers. The 1st–7th centuries in particular, saw a great deal of political and military conflict between the Roman Empire on the one hand and the Iranian state on the other, in both its Parthian and Sasanian incarnations. The period on which I focused my attention appears to have been a decisive one in terms of economic, political and ideological changes for both of the protagonists. The geographical scope of my analysis included the Middle and Lower course of the Euphrates and the eastern regions of Anatolia, the Roman province of Syria-Palestina (which roughly covered the modern states of Syria, Lebanon, and Israel), the ancient province of Arabia (which partly covered modern Jordan), the territories between the Euphrates and Tigris and slightly beyond.

There has been a significant amount of literature, both ancient and modern, and a

considerable quantity of epigraphic, numismatic and architectural evidence of the political evolution of the area in the late third and early fourth centuries. However, the more expansive modern literature is, the less likely it is that the intricate relations between the two great powers in the Near East and the mechanism that led to alternative politics, will come to light. Because of the wide range of opinions expressed recently on Romano-Persian relations in the last two decades of the 3rd century and the often highly speculative positions, I believe that a technical approach to the topic and a thorough analysis of all the categories of sources (historical, epigraphic, archaeological, numismatic) would open the way to a better understanding of the political and military decisions taken.

Although the Roman Empire and Persia were the main protagonists of the diplomatic and military confrontation, one must keep in mind that other political power centers, such as Armenia and the Saracene kingdoms of the desert were regularly involved in the political affairs of the Near East in that period. Armenia was even the main point of disagreement between Rome and Persia and ironically their confrontation was mainly focused on who ruled this country. Indeed, Armenia offered a very good strategic position vis-à-vis Syria and Mesopotamia, the main target, as it seems, of Parthian and Sasanian foreign policy in the west. Armenian historical literature, though subjective and highly inaccurate, provides unique information on the historical background of the region, and has been submitted to a thorough analysis. In particular, I have compared it with the scarce Roman and Persian sources regarding the political events that led the Armenian leaders into the complex interests of the great powers in the area, Persia and the Roman Empire.

My research was, therefore, focused on approaching the topic from a different point of view of analysis, using all the known categories of sources available to bring forth as complete a picture as possible of the relations between Rome, Persia and Armenia in the late third century.

Roman–Persian relations, for centuries in a state of military confrontation, reached their worst period in the mid third century, when the new Sasanian dynasty came to power in Iran. Rome’s serious internal political crisis never seemed to end, and offered its adversary, Persia, enough



opportunities to re-open the hostilities led by the energetic king Shapur I. Although I have pinpointed this period of serious setback for Rome on the Euphrates to the beginning of the conflict, I thought that this short span of time was worthy of more extensive treatment, especially from an archaeological point of view, that could offer more specific information on the extent of the damaged area during the “obsessive decade,” 252–62.

One of my main goals in this project was, and still is, to avoid the methodological mistakes of previous scholarship in approaching the events either from Roman, Persian, or even Armenian perspectives. Using all categories of sources involved not only new interpretations, but also more critical attitudes towards older or recent literature on the subject.

Periods of less war and more diplomacy were rare, but such an interlude can be chronologically located between 280–290, thus requiring special attention.

The attempts to settle the territorial divergences and economic interests in the Euphrates area seem to have failed repeatedly in the face of a new and powerful instrument in the hand of the Persians, namely, the closing of the caravan roads and using this to thwart any efforts to restore Rome’s older links with the Gulf area and the Far East. This measure had longstanding and serious consequences, not only for a part of the Mediterranean world, but also for numerous small Arab kingdoms, whose existence relied on mediating trade between Far East and East Mediterranean lands, and therefore was

considered a *casus belli*. The sources are meagre and only very few, if any, modern scholars have attempted to see the major connection between this economic factor and the political developments in the region. I, therefore, tried to analyze the many intricate aspects of international relations. Even if the kingdom of Palmyra, which was the only caravan city in the region that survived until 273, militarily pressed Persia to re-open the roads, and was involved in this particular aspect of the economic life of the Near East, the only way to return the previous situation was to force action against the Sasanian king. Besides the economic aspects, serious concerns arose for Rome and Persia regarding the two main strategic issues in the area: Mesopotamia, a bulwark against the adversary who controlled it, and Armenia a major point of contention between the two powers over the centuries. The new emerging ideologies in Persia and the Roman Empire, opposed in their structure and mentality, contributed to a significant degree to the configuration of the new political decision making.

There had been several attempts to avoid military confrontation. First, during the reign of Probus, very likely in 280, when it was agreed to split the areas of influence in Armenia, and again in 287 when Diocletian, willing to have peaceful terms with Persia, temporarily concluded a peace.

When the military conflict erupted (296–298) there was little place left for diplomacy. Forces from Egypt, Palestine, Arabia, Syria and also from Europe were concentrated on the Euphrates where a vast staging area for action was set. Official inscriptions and milestones attesting to the road repairs in the years leading up to the confrontation, offer most of the information. Their inventory shows a gradual build-up of forces and the areas of concentration of troops.

The conflict ended with a Roman victory, and a peace that settled the sphere of interest and territorial affairs for the next fifty years at least. These events and each piece of information provided by a large number of historical sources were thoroughly analysed. One important contribution of this chapter is that it relies mostly on the description of the Galerius Arch in Thessaloniki, an outstanding source—although propagandistic—for better understanding the course of operations. This was the first attempt in modern historiography to stress the value of this architectural and descriptive monument and has resulted in a completely new picture of the course of events.

I have also added new elements and brought fresh interpretation to clauses of the peace treaty that followed the defeat of the Persian army. The clauses of the peace treaty and all the details on the negotiations are described by Petrus Patricius, a 6th century diplomat, who certainly had access to the Roman archives in Constantinople. Because Petrus’ text is only sketchy and interpretative, it required a purely philological analysis that yielded a new interpretation both of the text and of the historical geography of the new territories the Romans annexed through this peace treaty.

The post-war imperial propaganda, designed to boost the imperial achievements, was carried out through different means: panegyrics, monuments, coins, and triumphal monuments. The Eastern provinces, from Egypt to Syria were totally involved in bolstering the regime achievements. The picture resulting from this huge mass of information is quite impressive and helps us to understand the new ideology of the period.

My research carried out through the Andrew W. Mellon Fellowship at the Albright Institute brought a good deal of new information and fresh perspective for understanding the political, ideological and propagandistic reasons of the two powers that clashed in the region of the Levant. The consequences of these events had far-reaching effects on the societies in the Near East, the main achievement being the re-opening of the Silk Route and the roads leading to the Gulf area. This was enormously profitable not only for the Levantine traders in Judea, Syria and Phoenicia (Lebanon) but also for the significant communities of Jewish, Syrian, and Armenian traders in Mesopotamia and Armenia who could re-develop on a large scale the channels of a traditional commerce between the Far East (India, China) and the remotest western provinces of the Roman Empire. The aftermath of this political and military confrontation was that the Near Eastern regions enjoyed fifty years of peace that allowed the economic, social and cultural processes to continuously develop.



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Hebrew Bible Position

The Department of Classical and Near Eastern Studies in the College of Liberal Arts at the University of Minnesota seeks to make a tenure-track appointment at the rank of Assistant Professor in the area of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament, to begin fall semester, 2004. The field of research specialization within Hebrew Bible is open. Additional research field(s) that contribute a comparative dimension are desirable, with preference for religion and/or Near Eastern archaeology. Teaching expectations include a range of undergraduate courses on biblical and cognate literature that contribute to the general education mission of the College of Liberal Arts. Candidates will also be expected to teach upper-level courses that introduce the texts in original languages and serve strong undergraduate major and minor programs in Religious Studies, Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology, Ancient Studies, and Jewish Studies. The candidate should also be able to contribute graduate-level courses to the department's newly created comparative Masters track in the Religions of Antiquity.

The department integrates the disciplinary perspectives of Classics, ancient Near Eastern Studies, and Archaeology, to create a coherent program in the study of the ancient Mediterranean, which includes the cultures, languages, and material remains of Greece, Rome, and the ancient Near East. Faculty have a strong commitment to the historical and philological analysis of the literature, culture, and religions of this period. Preference will be given to applicants who share these broad perspectives and can contribute to their development. The successful candidate will also be invited to join an expanding inter-disciplinary Center of Jewish Studies, with faculty expertise ranging from antiquity to modernity.

Applicants must demonstrate a strong commitment to academic research and publication, as well as to undergraduate and graduate instruction. They should possess expert philological skills in classical Hebrew and relevant research languages, both ancient and modern, and will be expected

to teach classical Hebrew at the undergraduate and graduate levels. Candidates must have completed all requirements for the Ph.D. or equivalent degree in ancient Near Eastern Studies, Religious Studies, or other appropriate field by the time of appointment.

To apply, please send a letter of application that outlines your specific interest in, and qualifications for, this position, a curriculum vitae, three letters of recommendation, a writing sample under 30 pages, and any evidence of successful teaching. Completed applications must be received by November 3, 2003, to be assured of full consideration by the search committee. The position will remain open until filled. The committee expects to select a list of candidates for preliminary interviews at the Atlanta meetings of the AAR/SBL (Nov. 22–25), or by other arrangements with the search committee. All applications must be sent by mail or courier (not fax or email) to the following address: Professor Bernard M. Levinson, Chair, Hebrew Bible Search Committee, Department of Classical and Near Eastern Studies, 305 Folwell Hall, University of Minnesota, 9 Pleasant Street S.E., Minneapolis, MN 55455-0125.

Questions may be directed to Professor Levinson by email at levinson@umn.edu. Further information about the department may be found at <http://cnes.cla.umn.edu/>. The Center for Jewish Studies maintains its own web page at <http://jwst.cla.umn.edu/>.

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Mesopotamia Position

The Department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology, Bryn Mawr College, invites applications for a tenure-track appointment at the level of Assistant Professor, to begin August 2004. The area of specialization is Mesopotamia, although coverage is desired of Egypt, the Levant and Anatolia. Applicants should be able to participate in interdisciplinary teaching and research. The position requires undergraduate and graduate teaching and advising. Archaeological field experience is expected. Ph.D. in relevant field required. Send letter of application postmarked no

later than December 1 together with curriculum vitae and the names and addresses of three referees to James C. Wright, Chair, Department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology, Bryn Mawr College, 101 N. Merion Avenue, Bryn Mawr, PA 19010-2899. Bryn Mawr College is an equal opportunity/affirmative action employer. The College particularly wishes to encourage applications from individuals interested in joining a multicultural, international academic community. Minority candidates and women are especially encouraged to apply. ✨

C O N F E R E N C E C A L E N D A R

November 6–8, 2003

Transeuphratene in the Persian Period: Powers, Societies and Religions. Institut Catholique, Paris. Contact: Secretary of the 6th International Conference, Institut Protestant de Theologie de Paris, 83 boulevard Arago, 75014 Paris, France (iptparis@wanadoo.fr). E-mail: elayij@mediatechnix.com. Web: www.mediatechnix.com/transeuphratene/

November 19–24, 2003

ASOR Annual Meeting, Grand Hyatt, Atlanta, GA. Contact: www.asor.org/AM/am.htm.

November 21–22, 2003

The Archeology of the Achaemenid Empire. College de France (Paris). Program and pre-papers are now available on the Internet at: <http://www.achemenet.com/annonces/colloques/colloque05.htm>

November 22–25, 2003

SBL Annual Meeting, Atlanta, GA. Contact: www.sbl-site.org.

January 2–5, 2004

105th AIA Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA. Contact: <http://www.archaeological.org/webinfo.php?page=10096>

February 20–22, 2004

SOMA 2004. The eighth annual meeting for postgraduate researchers in Mediterranean Archaeology, Trinity College Dublin. The symposium provides an informal setting for predoctoral researchers across Europe and beyond to come together to present and discuss their works in progress. Contact: email: soma@tcd.ie; web: www.tcd.ie/Classics/soma/somahome.html

February 20–24, 2004

Midwest Region of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Olivet Nazarine University Bourbonnais, IL. Contact K. L. Younger, Trinity International University, 2065 Half Day Rd., Deerfield, IL 60016, email: lyounger@trin.edu.

March 6–7, 2004

ASOR Southwest Regional Meeting. The Harvey Hotel, Dallas (DFW Airport; 972 929-4500). Contact: Stephen Von Wyrick, University of Mary Hardin-Baylor. Email: swyrick@umhb.edu

March 12–15, 2004

214th meeting of the American Oriental Society. DoubleTree Hotel (Mission Valley), 7450 Hazard Center Drive, San Diego, CA 92108. Contact: www.umich.edu/~aos/

March 21–22, 2004

Annual Meeting of the Pacific Coast Region of the Society of Biblical Literature with the American Schools of Oriental Research will be held at Whittier College in Whittier, CA. Contact: (Bible and Archaeology) Tammi J. Schneider, School of Religion, The Claremont Graduate University, Claremont, CA 91711, 909-607-3217, Tammi.Schneider@cgu.edu; (The Archaeology of the Ancient Near East) Beth Alpert Nakhai, The University of Arizona, 816 E. University Blvd., Tucson, AZ 85721, 520-206-9748, bnakhai@email.arizona.edu.

March 28–29, 2004

ASOR Midwest States Regional Meeting. Holiy Inn Westport, St. Louis, MO. ASOR invites paper proposals on any aspect of ancient Near Eastern or Mediterranean archaeology, the history and culture of the ancient Near East, or graphic displays of ancient architecture, material culture, or everyday life. Send proposals to: Dr. Victor H. Matthews, Southwest Missouri State University, 901 S. National Ave., Springfield, MO 65804. Ph: (417) 836-5529. Fax: (417) 836-8472. Email: vhm970f@smsu.edu

March 28–April 3, 2004

4th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East - 4ICAANE, Berlin. Contact: www.4icaane.de.

April 1–2, 2004

The Eastern Great Lakes Biblical Society, Oglebay's Resort in Wheeling, WV. Contact: Suzanne Richard, Box 3161, Gannon University, Uni-

versity Square, Erie, PA 16541. Email: Richard@Gannon.edu

April 16–17, 2004

Upper Midwest Regional Meeting of the AAR, SBL and ASOR. Luther Seminary, Saint Paul, Minnesota. Contact: <http://umw-aarsbl.org/proposal.htm>.

April 17–18, 2004

Becoming Divine: Concepts of Immortality in the Ancient World. Contact Richard Short (short@fas.harvard.edu). Abstracts of no more than 500 words should be mailed to the following address by November 15, 2003: Dept of the Classics, ATTN: Graduate Conference, 204 Boylston Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 02138.

May 7–9, 2004

Pacific Northwest Regional ASOR Conference. University of British Columbia and Simon Fraser University. Contact: Douglas Clark, Walla Walla College, clardo@wwc.edu.

June 18–21, 2004

3d International Conference: "Hierarchy and Power in the History of Civilizations." Co-sponsored by the Russian Academy of Sciences, the Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies and the Institute for African Studies, 30/1 Spiridonovka St., 123001 Moscow, RUSSIA. Tel.: + (7 095) 291 4119; Fax: + (7 095) 202 0786. E-mail: civ-reg@inafr.ru. Contacts: Prof. Dmitri M. Bondarenko, Dr. Igor L. Alexeev, and Mr. Oleg I. Kavykin preferably by e-mail <conf2004@hotmail.com>, or either by fax (+ 7 095 202 0786), or by ordinary mail (Center for Civilizational and Regional Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, 30/1 Spiridonovka St., 123001 Moscow, Russia). Tel: + 7 095 291 4119.

June 20–22, 2004

Confronting Catastrophe in the Ancient World. Abstract deadline: 15 January 2004. Contact: Dr Erhan Altunel, Osmangazi University, Eskesehir, ealtunel@ogu.edu.tr or Dr Iain Stewart, University of Glasgow, Glasgow G12 8QQ, UK. Tel: +44 (0) 141 330 6653 or ext. 6653; Fax: +44 (0) 141 330 4894; E-mail: istewart@geog.gla.ac.uk.

June 4–5, 2004

Dialogues between Sculpture and Archaeology. International Conference at the Henry Moore Institute. Please send 500 word proposals (for 25 minute papers) to Liz Aston at the Henry Moore Institute at liz@henry-moore.ac.uk The deadline for proposals is Monday 6th October.

July 25–28, 2004

European Association of Biblical Studies (EABS) and the European branch of the Society for Biblical Studies will jointly convene an international meeting in Groningen, the Netherlands. Contact: www.shef.ac.uk/bibs/EABS/news.htm.

August 2–6, 2004

50th rencontre assyriologique internationale. Theme: Fauna and Flora in the Ancient Near East. To be held at the Skukuza (Kruger National Park, South Africa). Contact: <http://www.unisa.ac.za/rai50/>.

September 17–19, 2004

Hittites, Greeks and Their Neighbors in Ancient Anatolia: An International Conference on Cross-Cultural Interaction. Emory University, Atlanta, GA. Keynote speaker: Walter Burkert. Abstract deadline March 21, 2004. Contact: Billie Jean Collins, Department of Middle Eastern Studies, S312 Callaway Center, Emory University, Atlanta, GA 30322. Email: bcollin@emory.edu.

October 21–23, 2004

Fiscality in Mycenaean and Near Eastern Archives, Naples, Italy. The Conference, organised by M. Rosaria De Divitiis and Massimo Perna, will be held at the Soprintendenza Archivistica della Campania in Naples, PalazzoMarigliano, via S. Biagio dei Librai n.39, 80138. Contact Massimo Perna: via F. Crispi 72, 80121 Napoli, Italia. e-mail: massimo-perna@rdm-web.com.

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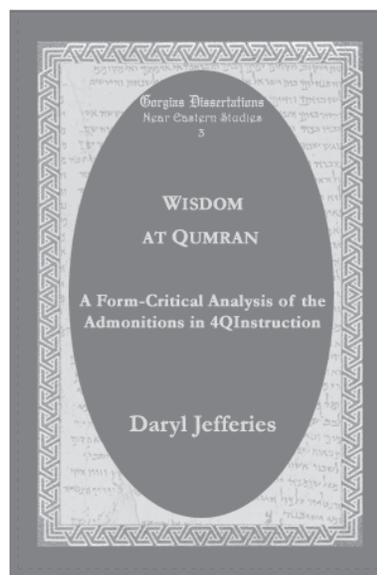
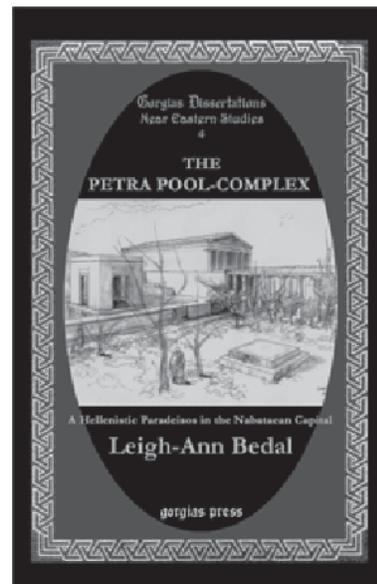
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