Benjamin R. Foster

From New Haven to Nineveh and Beyond

Three Centuries of Near Eastern Learning at Yale

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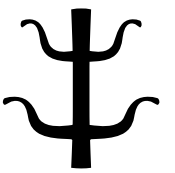

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Contents

Acknowledgments

This is the book that I often wished one of my predecessors had written, but fell to my task as the longest-serving proponent of the languages of the Near East at Yale still extant. It had its beginnings in memoranda I prepared in my years of university service to explain to committees and administrators the several disciplines we then represented, in the preparation of which I soon came to appreciate both the exceptional and the typical in Yale's engagement with this fascinating region. Although at the time of this writing there is a lively interest in the history of the study of the Near East in Europe and the United States, I could find no model to imitate for a diachronic but micro-historical survey such as this, focused on the lives and careers of a restricted group of people within a much larger institution, brought together by certain common interests, research techniques, values, and approaches to humanist scholarship.[1] A. Bartlett Giamatti once described academic departments as "the bane as well as the prop of academic existence." Whichever one chooses, and I prefer the second, that must be the frame of reference for much of this study.

I have preferred a documentary to a summary or analytic mode of presentation, lest the limitations of my own knowledge and understanding filter out something that may prove helpful in the future to someone following a particular agenda. In this spirit, it has seemed to me worthwhile to arrange for posterity a century's worth of visions and proposals for the growth, maintenance, and diversification of a small but vital scholarly enterprise against the background of what was happening elsewhere in the American academy at the time. At the very least, they represent a genre of closely defined, utopian academic output, such as reposes throughout the archives of American universities. That virtually none of them achieved their desired result scarcely diminishes the outlook they offer on the central concerns of the American Orientalist project of the mid- to late twentieth century in particular. Judging from the lack of acknowledgments or responses in the files, a goodly proportion of these may never have been read by the addressees, especially after the generations of deans, provosts, and presidents had passed away who paid prompt attention to mail they received from faculty. One might even say that, by the writer's time, planning for the future had become a rather forlorn rite, regularly requested and dutifully performed before a silent audience, but the resulting

1. Such an approach was recommended, in principle, by the historian Thomas Bender, *Intellect and Public Life: Essays on the Social History of Academic Intellectuals in the United States* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 14: "Writing intellectual history from a local standpoint becomes an exciting possibility. Here the full intellectual matrix of intellectual life can be studied in sufficient detail to grasp the way in which specific ideas or ways of thinking develop, gain hegemony or lose significance, and are used in particular settings."

documents can be a boon to the historian and I am grateful for the effort that went into them.

I see this project as more of a sequence of overheard conversations than a sweeping historical study. It is, furthermore, not intended to take a view of the university as a whole, for which I am not qualified, but offers, so to speak, a limited perspective on a teeming urban life seen from but one apartment window or experienced by traversing one or two side streets.

For the half century immediately preceding the time of writing, memory, with all its attendant gaps, reinterpretations, and fictionalizations, plays a key role, so long as the key archival resources are closed to research, or, with the onset of the age of electronics, may not even exist a few years hence. To remember some things, we perforce forget others, so I sometimes present what I cannot check or confirm. Over the years, I sought to get beyond the striking lack of interest in institutional memory characteristic of Yale, as well as the ever-expanding blanket of confidentiality and secrecy of modern institutions in general, by drawing on recollections of others willing to share them. I owe much, therefore, to reminiscences, responses to queries, and specific information and documents provided to me by department faculty and staff past and present, including John Darnell, Maureen Draicchio, Ayala Dvoretzky†, Jonas Elbousty, Karen Polinger Foster, Eckart Frahm, Bassam Frangieh, Shiri Goren, Beatrice Gruendler, Dimitri Gutas, William W. Hallo†, Ulla Kasten, Bentley Layton, Miguel Perez-Cabello, Marvin Pope†, Franz Rosenthal†, William Kelly Simpson†, Mark Smith, and Robert Wilson. For those who are deceased, I have often wished I had asked them for more; to those still living, my thanks for your patience and good will. You bear no responsibility for the outcome. T. E. Lawrence once wrote that the "prejudices of historians are generally the richest part of their narratives." Whether or not that is true, I have made no effort to conceal my own and do not apologize for them.

I am under special obligation to Charles Long and Lloyd Suttle for their advice, perspective, and information on administrative matters based on their profound knowledge of Yale University management, remaining, of course, fully within the parameters of the discretion any university has the right to expect of her key administrators. They have borne with my numerous inquiries graciously and have been most generous and informative in their responses to the extent their professional responsibilities have allowed. I thank Joseph Gordon, Howard Lamar†, Richard Levin, Linda Lorimer, John Meeske, Ellen Ryerson, and Barbara Shailor for help, correction, and information on various past matters, as well as Tamar Gendler for granting me an interview on more recent events. Penelope Laurans generously shared with me her research on the complex history of Yale's foreign language requirement and bracing comment on other matters. Frank Griffel, Marcia Inhorn, and Kishwar Rizvi provided me with information and perspectives on the development of programs in the modern Middle East under the auspices of the Yale Council on Middle Eastern Studies, in which I was only tangentially involved. For memories of staff work in the Babylonian Collection half a century ago, I thank Sandra Walker Perko and Martha Rennie. Nelleke Van Deusen-Scholl kindly gave me access to historical files in the Yale Center for Language Study.

I have enjoyed the assistance of other informants on administrative matters in particular who prefer to remain anonymous. Since recollections may overlap, contradict each other, or be inaccurate, nothing in this book should be attributed to any member of the Yale community, past or present, unless that person is specifically acknowledged as a source. It is a pleasure to say, in the context of a university society, that very few people ignored my inquiries or declined to provide comment or information.

My work on the careers and lives of department graduates was greatly assisted by an employee of the previous century who gave me free access to the Alumni and Development Office files for department alumni prior to 1955, archived at 149 York Street. I would also especially acknowledge the hard work and correspondence of the anonymous staff in the Yale secretary's office, who maintained the Yale obituary record up to 1952; this preserved an enormous amount of information from oblivion. I have taken the printed *Historical Registers of Yale University*, 1701–1968, as authoritative, and note with regret that the electronic historical register is, at the time of writing, long out of date and inaccurate, leaving a gap for the future that I anticipate will never be filled to the same high standard as the printed volumes. This, together with the decision to stop producing the undergraduate and graduate *Programs of Study* in printed form, makes it nearly impossible for a researcher to be precise in certain recent matters.

Of the many written historical perspectives on Yale, I would single out those of Josephine Broude, Timothy Dwight, Edgar Furniss, Edmund Morgan, George Pierson, and the annual presidential reports of Arthur Twining Hadley as particularly valuable for this inquiry.

For other information, assistance, answers to questions, helpful comment, documents, photographs, reminiscences, and access to sources used here, I further thank Thomas Appelquist, David Apter†, Candace Bryce†, Jon Butler, James Campbell, Jerrold Cooper, Israel Dvoretzky, Kirk Freudenburg, Nancy Torrey Frueh†, Carol Gourley, Edward Greenstein, Ralph Hallo, Edward Kamens, Jacob Lassner, Tremper Longman, Peter Machinist, Harald Maier-Metz, James Muhly, Dean Plummer, Thomas Pollard, Yelena Rakic, Johannes Renger†, Cara Sargent, Pamela Schirmeister, Glenn Schwartz, Martha Smalley, Daniel C. Snell, Fran Spadacenta, Gil Stein, Richard Steiner, Klaus Wagensonner, and Laurence Zuckerman. Rosanne Rocher kindly sent me a copy of her unpublished history of the American Oriental Society and allowed me to make use of it. The staff of Yale Manuscripts & Archives were invariably helpful to me over the decades of my research in their workrooms. Vincent Spiars has been my resourceful and generous consultant on the several generations of electronics that have gone by on this project.

For permission to incorporate previously published material in revised form, I thank Abbas Amanat and Magnus Berhardsson, editors, *U.S.-Middle East, Historical Encounters: A Critical Survey* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2007), chapter 1: "On the Formal Study of Near Eastern Languages in America, 1770–1930"; Billie Jean Collins, publisher, Lockwood Press, *Beyond Hatti: A Tribute to Gary Beckman* (Atlanta, 2019), chapter 6, "Albert T. Clay and His Babylonian Collection,"; and Piotr Michalowski, editor, "*Journal of Cuneiform Studies,* The Early Years," *Journal*

of Cuneiform Studies 65 (2013): 3–12. I am grateful to the Viscusi Committee of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations for a substantial subvention toward the publication costs of this book.

I am under the greatest obligation to Karen Polinger Foster, whose accurate memory and excellent files made up for the deficiencies of my own, who read and greatly improved various versions of this study, and who shared most of this experience.

Benjamin R. Foster

Preface

This book is about Yale's engagement over the course of three centuries with the languages and civilizations of the Near East. Focusing on Yale allows us to understand more fully not only how and why this particular institution approached these subjects, but also how and why American Orientalism developed in the same time span, often under the impetus and aegis of Yale scholars. As we shall see, Yale's faculty starred such figures as Ezra Stiles, Josiah Gibbs, Edward Salisbury, William Rainey Harper, Charles C. Torrey, Albert T. Clay, Albrecht Goetze, Millar Burrows, Franz Rosenthal, and William Kelly Simpson, whose careers and writings mark milestones in the evolution of American Orientalist scholarship, and whose lived experience as members of the Yale community tells a significant story of its own.

Although their biographies would make a useful chronological framework for this inquiry, two other perspectives have equal claims on our consideration. First are the historical specifics of the languages until recently combined in Eurocentric thinking under the rubric Oriental Studies. In the case of Yale, these included Hebrew and other biblical languages; Arabic, Persian and Turkish; the languages of ancient Mesopotamia, now subsumed under Assyriology; and the languages of ancient Egypt, now subsumed under Egyptology. On the one hand, such different areas of endeavor justify a discipline-centered approach to their past, on the grounds that practitioners of small academic fields may have more in common with their fellows than with their colleagues in other fields with whom they have been associated for organizational purposes. I would argue, however, that their common values and shared interests in the Near East amply justify treating them as a community.

Second are the constraints that institutional contexts and priorities placed on Near Eastern learning. At Yale, and elsewhere, these disparate linguistic fields were grouped into single faculties, then formalized into university academic departments. Accordingly, this study examines major shifts at Yale from the eighteenth to the early twenty-first centuries, taking up deployment of financial resources, student constituencies, research opportunities, collection and library building, expeditions, and related topics. The intangibles of intrainstitutional social capital and prestige also play an important role.

We begin with the earnest efforts of a small band of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scholars to cultivate in the New World a reading knowledge of Biblical Hebrew and to maintain it as a subject of study at Yale and the other colleges of early America. The migration of Hebrew from colleges to divinity schools during the nineteenth century, and its subsequent redefinition as a historical and philological academic discipline in graduate schools, took place against the backdrop of American religious revivalism and the desire, particularly in New England, to uphold a vigorous, scripturally and historically based Protestant faith as a defining element of an educated American elite.

It was at Yale in 1841 that the first American professional Orientalist was appointed, with other American graduate schools eventually following suit. Thereafter, Near Eastern learning at Yale inspired endeavors in several leading American universities to create programs in biblical and Semitic studies, Assyriology, Egyptology, and Arabic. Yale became a leader in the American urge to collect: Arabic manuscripts, cuneiform tablets, coins, ancient Egyptian grave goods, and other spoils of the East. Yale was also a leader in building a first-rate Orientalist research library and in founding and sustaining America's first learned society devoted to Oriental studies and its first Orientalist periodical. Faculty in Yale's Department of Semitic Languages and Literatures, inaugurated in 1886, established the first American research institutes in Palestine and Iraq and laid plans for archaeological expeditions to Syria, Turkey, Iraq, and Arabia.

During the 1930s, though, when the Ford Foundation in particular was promoting the teaching of modern foreign languages that were not hitherto part of American university curricula, Yale developed language programs for sundry regions, but not the Middle East. We explore the reasons for this and the consequences. In the Cold War era, when strategic concerns and financial incentives stimulated area studies nationwide, as well as the concepts of critical languages and centers of strategic and political expertise and excellence, we will see that during this burst of American interest in the modern Near East, Yale stood aside and let others take the initiative.

Despite repeated and concerted efforts by Near East faculty, the Yale administration steadfastly refused their requests for additional positions in favor of professorships in other departments, which approached the modern Middle East from strategic, religious, economic, and socio-political standpoints, rather than language, literature, science, material culture, art, and civilization, which the Near East faculty considered necessary points of departure for any authentic understanding of the region.

The department's belief in the primacy of linguistic competence was strengthened by the advent of Orientalists fleeing Nazism. In the 1930s, its ranks had been decimated by retirement and unexpected deaths. Yale's appointment of three scholars with rigorous European training in Assyriology, Arabic, and Semitics offers a brilliant perspective on a turning point in the history of Near Eastern learning in America.

The *richesse et misère* of the Near East as the birthplace of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam bequeathed a legacy of contested space that remained unresolved and often tense for much of Yale's history. Where should Christian Scripture fit in the curriculum? By 1920, the uneasy solution was to center Christian doctrine in the Divinity School; the English Bible as history and literature in the College; the languages of the Bible in the Near Eastern (Semitic) Department in the Graduate School; and religion as a phenomenon in a new Department of Religion. Since Jewish learning emphasized language and texts, it entered Yale as an adjunct of the Near Eastern graduate program, gaining momentum with the appointment of Jewish faculty. After Religion became Religious Studies, some of its faculty saw the Near East Department as subsidiary to their own.

From 1891 to 1976, Near Eastern languages at Yale were first and foremost a graduate subject, so this story charts the development of what Wilbur Cross called "the invisible Graduate School," including the successes, failures, and subsequent careers of its student constituency, as well as the evolution of institutional attitudes and assumptions about the department's programs and how they affected its mission. In due season, graduate students became more outspoken about their expectations from graduate study and their professors; this too finds a place in our story.

For much of its history since 1950, the educational strategies of the Department of Near Eastern Languages became increasingly out of step with the Graduate School's frequently changing policies and visions of what graduate education was supposed to be. The reality was that nearly all Near East students required a longer apprenticeship than in other humanistic disciplines because very few had acquired the linguistic competence necessary for professional graduate study. The Near East Department remains the only one at Yale to require three full years of coursework prior to the comprehensive exam and dissertation stage.

This affected every aspect of student life: progress toward the degree; the timing of the comprehensive examination; withdrawal from the program; the beginning of independent work; how teaching requirements could be met; possibilities for study abroad; and eligibility for final-dissertation-year fellowships. The department faculty vigorously resisted, time and again, administrative calls to reduce the amount of coursework and to oblige department students to meet newly devised requirements on the same schedule as other graduate students.

With the provision of full support for all graduate students after 2000, the department faculty became concerned that they were developing unrealistic expectations of academic life, owing to their receiving such generous funding. The department was concerned as well that the concomitant reduction in admissions was sapping the vitality of its graduate programs, since there was little overlap of student cohorts in the coursework of its subfields, with entering classes of at most one each. Financial anxieties of previous student generations were replaced by worries over the lack of codified statements on procedure. In the department faculty's contrasting view, the very flexibility of its program was one of its distinguishing strengths. They also felt that self-motivation and independent discovery were critical factors in the formation of a future Orientalist, as borne out by the department's very high production of successful scholars over its long history.

With the establishment of the undergraduate major in 1976, the department faced a precipitous rise in undergraduate interest, especially in Arabic and Hebrew. Denied expansion, its small faculty found themselves expected to meet simultaneously the needs of a long-established, first-rate graduate program and a burgeoning undergraduate one. This essentially unworkable situation unfolded in the context of much debate over the place of foreign languages, ancient and modern, in the College curriculum. Yale's solution was to rely on a growing underclass of nonladder or "instructional" faculty to sustain the undergraduate programs in languages. As we shall see, this led to its own set of issues for the languages of the modern Middle East. Yale also created a Center for Language Study, which sought

to set uniform pedagogical standards at the College level and to regularize and oversee the appointment process for language-teaching faculty.

Visibility on the Yale and community stage posed a challenge for a primarily philological department. Early on, Albert T. Clay agitated for a museum for displaying treasures from the Babylonian Collection and related materials, but he was turned down. Ferris Stephens mounted some exhibits of Babylonian Collection artifacts in the library and he and his successor, William W. Hallo, were assiduous in publicizing its activities through Yale news bulletins and articles in Yale publications. Beginning in 2002, annual thematic exhibits in the library's public ground floor progressively raised the profile of one of Yale's most extraordinary collections.

From the 1970s on, several Department faculty organized large-scale international conferences at Yale, including Assyriological, Aegeanist, and American Oriental Society meetings, as well as smaller symposia in Arabic-Islamic studies and Egyptology. The crises and destruction of September 11 and the American-led invasion of Iraq inspired an unprecedented series of public teach-ins and interdisciplinary panels that were in effect the first time the Near East Department as a whole engaged with current events in the region. Individual faculty, such as Clay and Millar Burrows, were outspoken on such issues as Jewish settlement in Palestine in the 1920s and the treatment of Palestinians after 1948. Despite all this public outreach and cooperative ventures across the university, the department was frequently reproached by administrators for its alleged isolation in the Yale community.

The transformation of archaeology into a scientific discipline finds reflection in the department's field initiatives, beginning with Charles C. Torrey's work at Sidon in 1900. In the early twentieth century, multiple proposals were ambitious and well-intentioned, but showed scant grasp of even the logistics and methodology of the day. This situation a faculty appointment in archaeology might have rectified. The 1930s saw excavation at Gerasa and Dura Europos, primarily by Classics faculty; the 1942 appointment of a Near Eastern archaeologist, Harald Ingholt, did not change the classical emphasis. Exemplary work in Egypt and Nubia began in the Aswan High Dam salvage era under William Kelly Simpson, with other projects at Abydos and Giza, and continues to the present under John Darnell at prehistoric, pharaonic, and Christian sites. Yale returned to Syria with the Tell Leilan project, directed by Harvey Weiss, likewise a model of multidisciplinary archaeological research.

The growth of Yale's administration and management and how this affected Near Eastern learning runs like a sometimes discordant *leit motif* through this book. The initial moves in the 1920s to deprive the professoriate of any significant role in institutional governance or apportionment of resources, followed by the development of the postwar federal grant university, built Yale, by the end of our story, into one of the largest and most expensive managerial hierarchies per student of any American university. While the Near East Department often felt itself a singular victim of the near ritualized administrative laments over shortages of funds and the necessity for reductions in faculty and academic programs, university-

wide protests over the restructuring of 1991 led to the abrupt serial resignations of the Yale president, provost, and dean of the college. As we shall see, however, what befell the department in 2013–2015 was a perfect storm of particular events.

For this writer, whose lived experience as a graduate student, junior then senior faculty member, and Babylonian Collection curator, spans over half a century of this narrative, the most important parts about Near Eastern learning at Yale are left unsaid. These are the individual personal satisfactions of research, teaching, friendship, collegiality, and common endeavor that Yale academic life at its best has afforded. They remain among the private joys of the initiate.

List of Plates

5.8. Ludlow Bull. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 135 (1954): 2.
6.1. Albrecht Goetze and Ferris Stephens, 1961. Photograph Yale News Bureau. Yale Babylonian Collection.
6.2. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, vol. 1.
7.1. Marvin H. Pope, ca. 1960. Yale Divinity School, courtesy Martha Smalley.
7.2a. Entry card for high holiday dinner, Franz Rosenthal, Berlin, 1936. Jüdisches Museum, Berlin, online collections 2010/44/3.
7.2b. Dinner invitation, inaugural K. W. and E. K. Rosenthal Lecture, 2000. Private Collection.
7.3. William Kelly Simpson, 1985. Peter Der Manuelian, ed., *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1996), frontispiece.
7.4. William W. Hallo. Private Collection.
7.5. Briggs Buchanan. Photograph Robert Marsland. Yale Babylonian Collection.
7.6. *Yale Shelanu*, 1996. Private Collection.
8.1. Bassam Frangieh and Arabic students 2004. Photograph Robert Marsland, courtesy Office of Public Affairs and Communications, Yale University.
8.2. Poster for 9/11 teach-in, 2001. Poster by Peter Johnson. Private Collection.
8.3. Poster for Future of the Global Past, 2007. Poster by Yale Graphic Design. Private Collection.
8.4. Poster for Iraq beyond the Headlines IV, 2008. Poster by Peter Johnson. Private Collection.
8.5. Tell Leilan Team, 1979. Front row, left to right: Margot Stout, Harvey Weiss, Benjamin R. Foster, Constance T. Foster, Karen Polinger Foster. Second row: Marhaf Halaf, Arlene Miller, Ilene Nicholas, Glenn Schwartz; Third row: Vaughn Crawford, Jean Svendsen, Marc Van De Mieroop, Lorraine Ferguson, William N. Goetzmann. Photograph Harvey Weiss.
8.6. Acropolis northeast temple, Tell Leilan. Photograph Harvey Weiss.
8.7. John Coleman Darnell. Photograph Yale Expedition to Egypt.
8.8. Gary Beckman. Photograph Robert Marsland. Yale Babylonian Collection.
8.9. Poster for centennial of the Babylonian Collection, 2009. Poster by Colleen Manassa. Private Collection.
8.10. Babylonian Collection Exhibit, UN Global Colloquium on Global Heritage, 2016. Photograph Karen Polinger Foster.
8.11. Egyptology graduate student pride lapel pin, 2001. Private Collection.
9.1. First department website, 1999. Website design by Karen Polinger Foster.
9.2. First department color brochure, 1999. Design by Karen Polinger Foster. Private Collection.
10.1. Poster for Graeco-Arabica conference, 2014. Poster by Dimitri Gutas and Yale Printing and Publishing. Private Collection.

Abbreviations

AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
AB	Anchor (Yale) Bible
ACLS	American Council of Learned Societies
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AISC	American Institute of Sacred Literature
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AS	Assyriological Studies
AJSL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOS	American Oriental Series
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BM	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica
BO	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BR	*Bible Review*
BRM	Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan
BSac	*Bibliotheca Sacra*
BzA	*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
ExpTim	*Expository Times*
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IF	*Indogermanische Forschungen*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JR	*Journal of Religion*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
MLC	Yale Morgan Library tablets
NEA	*Near Eastern Archaeology*
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications

OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
Or	*Orientalia* NS
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul
PLO	Porta linguarum orientalium
pl(s).	plate(s)
RA	*Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*
RSO	*Rivista degli Studi Orientali*
SANER	Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
TRu	*Theologische Rundschau*
UBL	Ugaritisch-Biblische Literatur
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
YBC	Yale Babylonian Collection
YBT	Yale Babylonian Texts
YCS	Yale Classical Studies
YES	Yale Egyptological Studies
YJS	Yale Judaica Series
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches
YOS	Yale Oriental Series
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

Sources and Credits

The surviving records of the Department of Semitic Languages and Literatures, Oriental Studies, and Near Eastern Languages and Literatures are in the Yale Manuscripts & Archives, some classed as such, many also to be found within the presidential papers of Hadley (1899), Angell (1921), Seymour (1937), and Griswold (1950) under the then-current name of the department or individual correspondents.

Records of Provosts (RU 92) begin in 1919, with department correspondence under "Semitics" (box 60, folder 576), 1920–1938; "Oriental Studies" (box 48, folders 477–78), 1935–1946; and "Near Eastern Languages and Literatures" (box 46, folders 452–53), 1946–1957. At the time of writing, some files pertaining to the department were being reordered in the archives with a view to consolidation. Certain departmental records, previously separated in YRG 14-B, were consolidated in 2006 and afterward into various collections, RU 273 (1929–1952), RU 11 (1930–1950), RU 92 (1946–1957), RU 22 and RU 275 (1950–1998), RU 11 (1969–1973). RU 275 (1975–1981, 1980–1984, 1982–1986, 1990–1995, 2003–2004), RU 12 (1977–1978), RU 129 (1978–1980). A consequence of this is that some of my citations may be out of date and some files previously open to research may now be closed.

In 1978, the secretary of the university, Henry Chauncey Jr., sent out a memorandum on "Archival Records," noting that there was no university-wide records management program, despite the creation of the University Archives in 1939, and noting that "valuable records" were sometimes discarded "out of desperation." Although the situation with the department was by no means desperate, most of its administrative correspondence, curricular records, meeting minutes, and other documents spanning over fifty years were discarded, on the advice of a representative of the office of the provost, after the retirement of Maureen Draicchio in 2010. I took the occasion to salvage materials I deemed of historical interest for this project from the trash. Various department administrative assistants and colleagues over the years gave me old files as well. I cite documents in my possession simply as "NELC Provost" or "NELC Archives."

Records of the Yale Corporation with respect to the Semitics Department to 1938 are RU 164 box 62 folder 445.

Minutes of department meetings began with Dougherty's chairmanship of the Department of Semitic Languages in 1932–1933. The minutes of the Department of Oriental Studies may be pieced together from the Stephens papers in the Babylonian Collection and the Bull Papers in the University Manuscripts & Archives. The earliest minute of a Near Eastern Languages and Literatures faculty meeting known to me dates to October 6, 1947, Bull Papers, series 1 box 4 folder 91. A nearly continuous set of minutes from 1950 on is in my possession. During Hallo's chairmanship they became more detailed and informative, and during my chairmanship, I initiated the custom of summarizing discussion in the meeting minutes. I have gratefully made liberal use of these records here.

Department student records prior to 1957 are in the Yale Manuscripts & Archives (RU 273) but are not available for study. Student and faculty records from 1957 to the present are maintained by the department. I have generally not made use of them for research purposes except to verify published information, for reasons of confidentiality.

The most substantial internal records of the department from 1928 to 1962 are to be found in the archives of the Yale Babylonian Collection, collected by Ferris Stephens under "D." So far as I am aware, no systematic departmental collection and retention of files other

than student records was carried on prior to the appointment of Maureen Draicchio, with the exception of Edgerton's folder of important correspondence on departmental affairs, 1933–1950 (YRG 14), which he donated separately to the Yale Archives, and what is contained in the records of the Department of Oriental Studies (1937–1946). The department's annual reports up to the early 1960s are available for study in Yale Manuscripts & Archives, Records of the Office of the Secretary of the University; many of them dating after that time were discarded from the department in 2010 and are in my possession. Unattributed documents quoted here have been drawn from my own files.

Documents of value for the history of the Babylonian Collection are widely scattered in the University archives. For the early years, the records of the Yale Secretary and Yale Treasurer's Office contain much information; after 1920 documents are to be found in the records of the several provosts and presidents, sometimes under the department and sometimes separately, occasionally concealed under misleading headings, such as, in the Angell Presidential Papers (RU 24), under "Graduate School, Humanities Program, Babylonian Collection" (box 92 folder 939). The Babylonian Collection itself has a rich archive that was in the process of being sorted and classed at the time of writing by a professional archivist, James Campbell, who first began this task under my curatorship. In some matters these duplicate or supplement what can be found in the university archives. I have not updated all my citations to keep current with the ongoing classification, which will, however, make documents much easier to find.

My sources for the careers of graduates who died prior to 1951 are the annual volumes of the *Yale Obituary Record*, a labor of love formerly compiled and maintained by the office of the secretary of the university, and the *Historical Register of Yale University*, complete through 1968, both of which I have accepted as authoritative. For graduates of Yale College, the various class books for key reunion years often contain biographical and autobiographical sketches and photographic portraits. Thanks to a particularly helpful and accommodating staff member in the Yale Alumni Office, I was permitted, some decades ago, to examine the alumni records up to 1955 archived at 149 York Street, consisting of a great variety of documents, both personal and printed (such as clippings from newspapers), as well as the "consolidation sheets" then compiled by the Development Office, and information sheets filled out upon registration in the Graduate School. Consolidation sheets initially filled out by the graduates themselves were regularly updated by staff, with such matters as changes of address, for the primary purpose of soliciting donations and alumni news. The vast expansion of internet resources in the new century has allowed me to supplement this mass of data and so to compile brief sketches of the education, professional career, and publication record of everyone who received a doctorate from the department, from 1886 to my cut-off point, 2009. For graduates living at the time of writing, I have used only publically available information or communications from those who were kind enough to respond to my inquiries. At the time of writing it was my privilege to have known personally nearly all the living graduates of the department, as well as an unfortunately increasing number of deceased graduates as well, so to me they are much more than the bare facts recorded here.

Yale does not maintain, to my knowledge, a publicly accessible collection of faculty committee reports to the president and provost. I therefore quote such reports from copies I was able to locate here and there, but can provide no archival references for most of them.

The Office of the Registrar maintains a complete collection of the relevant *Bulletins* and *Courses of Study* of the College and many other Yale publications. The office of the Dean of the Graduate School maintained a complete collection of *Bulletins* and *Courses of Study* of the Graduate School that I was able to consult prior to the removal of that office from the Hall of Graduate Studies.

The electronic "Historical Register" of Yale is both long out of date and astonishingly inaccurate, so has proved of limited value in my research.

Sources of Published Chapter Epigraphs

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