Communism apparent. Pier Paolo Pasolini, in his intensely committed way presents Jesus as a Marxist in *Il vangelo secondo Matteo* (1964, IT/FR, *The Gospel According to St. Matthew*). Like DeMille, Pasolini did not see this as a perversion of a gospel written during the 1st century CE but an apt reinterpretation of it for the time in which the film was made. Pasolini dedicated his film to the memory of Pope John XXIII (who was indirectly responsible for its conception) and said that when he made it he was an unbeliever telling the story through the eyes of a believer (Occhiogrosso).

Other concerns, sometimes obsessions, of directors give some biblical films concerned with issues of government and control, particularly those about Jesus, huge, often controversial impact: select examples are Jules Dassin's *Celui qui doit mourir* (1957, IT/FR, *He Who Must Die*), Mark Dornford-May's *Son of Man* (2006, ZA), and the Christ figure film *Romero* (dir. John Duigan, 1989, US).

In 1957 Dassin filleted a novel by Nikos Kazantzakis (*Christ Recrucified*, 1954) about a Greek village with a Turkish governor in the disputed border zone between the two countries. The biblical element is provided in part by the village's annual Passion Play and, conjointly, the arrival of the people of another similar village that has been burnt to the ground by the Turks. The refugees are not welcomed by the locals, whose priest is keeping the peace by acting hand-in-glove with the governor. But, very awkwardly for the priest, some of the performers are pushed by the situation into taking the meaning of the crucifixion seriously in a way their predecessors have not done. Priest and governor become high priest and Pontius Pilate.

South African theater and film director, Mark Dornford-May, retells the gospel story with an all black cast in the context of a modern fictional African nation beset by internecine warfare (Son of Man, 2006, ZA). Jesus leads a movement of nonviolent resistance against oppressive governing forces attempting to maintain their own power at the expense of the impoverished populace. Much of Jesus' teaching in the film is adapted from the speeches of martyred anti-apartheid activitist Steve Biko. Aided by Judas and visually associated with Satan, governing forces track Jesus' activities and eventually abduct him, beat him to death, and secretly bury him in a dirt grave. It is Jesus' mother who finds and exhumes her son's body and publically displays it in a cruciform pose to indict an unjust government by bringing its criminal activities to

A similar liberationist perspective toward oppressive governments may be found in John Duigan's *Romero*, about the final years and martyrdom of Archbishop Oscar Romero. The film traces the emergence of the archbishop's public campaign against the government-sponsored death squads

that terrorized those who dared to speak out against the 1970s El Salvadoran regime. Urged by the President-Elect to stick to church matters and stay out of government, Romero responds: "But the gospel has political implications." Finding warrant in the Bible for liberation theology, he continues to agitate on behalf of the poor until he is assassinated while performing the Mass in 1980.

The above is only a representative sampling of the many and various ways in which the idea of government emerges in biblical and religious films. Interpreters who view God as the supreme force for good and the Bible as God's word are bound to see biblical texts, at least to some extent, as favoring the same forms of government and codes of morality as they do.

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Tom Aitken

### Governor

 $\rightarrow$  Government;  $\rightarrow$  Procurator

## Goy, Goyim

 $\rightarrow$  Gentiles;  $\rightarrow$  Nations

# Gozan

Gozan (MT Gôzān; Assyr. Gūzāna; Aram. Gzn; modern Tell Halaf) is a city on the banks of the river Khabur (Hābūr; NRSV: Habor) in northeastern Syria. The archaeological site Tell Halaf, mentioned in the Bible as Gozan among the cities to which the Israelites were deported after the capture of Samaria (2 Kgs 17:6; 18:11; 19:12; Isa 37:12; 1 Chr 5:26) and in Assyrian sources as Guzana, is situated at 36°49' nl and 40°02' el in Upper Mesopotamia (ca. 2 km west of Ra's al-Ayn in the Syrian district of Hassake) at the springs of the Khabur river. It is eponymous for a part of the Pottery Neolithic ("Halaf period," ca. 6000-5300 BCE), and gained prominence upon the discovery of a large number of sculptures from the late 10th century, which had been laid bare by the German diplomat Max Freiherr von Oppenheim in 1899, 1911-13 and 1929. Most of the sculptures had been exhibited in the Tell Halaf Museum in Berlin but were destroyed in World War II: restoration of the statues was realized recently. New excavations were resumed in 2006 by the Vorderasiatische Museum in Berlin, the General Directorate of Antiquities in Damascus, and the universities of Tübingen, Halle, and Bern.

The site was occupied during the Pottery Neolithic (6500–5300) and the Chalcolithic period (ca. 5300–3000 BCE). Subsequently it was abandoned

and not resettled before the end of the 2nd millennium BCE.

The first settlers after the long hiatus were presumably deportees of Eastern Anatolian origin, settled by the Middle Assyrian government in the 11th century in close vicinity of the provincial town of Ashukanni/Sikani (modern Tell Fakhariyah). One century later Gozan became the capital of an Aramaean principality known as Palê and Bit-Baḥiana. After Adad-Nirari II (911–891 BCE) overthrew the rebellious king of Bit-Baḥiana, Gozan became an Assyrian province, ruled by an indigenous dynasty.

Of the early Aramaean rulers, only few are known by name: among these, especially Kapara merits our interest, since he commissioned major building activities (like the sculptured *Hilani* or "Western Palace" and the neighboring "Scorpion's Gate"). Of particular interest is the burial custom of cremation connected with monumental ancestor's cult statues. Aside from paying tribute to Assyria, the Aramaean principality remained fairly autonomous until the mid-9th century, when it became an Assyrian vassal. At that time, a certain Adad-it'i ruled in Gozan, whose statue with a bilingual inscription in Assyrian and Aramaic was found at Tell Fakhariyah (Abou Assaf et. al; Lipiński).

In the 8th and 7th centuries BCE the province paid tribute to the Assyrian homeland in the form of agricultural products: rye, barley, and livestock. Following an insurrection in 808 BCE, Gozan was conquered by Adad-nirari III and incorporated into the empire permanently. In 793 BCE, Mannu-kimāt-Assur, whose administrative archive was found in Tell Halaf, was the first governor of Guzana to hold the eponym office (limmu) in Assyria. His palace, built in typical Assyrian style on top of a mudbrick terrace, occupied the eastern part of the citadel ("Northeastern Palace" and "Assyrian House"). In 753, Guzana participated unsuccessfully in a rebellion against the powerful eunuch Shamshi-ilu, the unofficial sovereign of the empire. According to the HB, parts of the population of Samaria were deported after the destruction of Samaria (722 BCE) by the Assyrians and settled at the Khabur, the "river of Gozan."

After the collapse of the Assyrian Empire between 612 and 609 BCE, the town was incorporated into the late Babylonian Empire (605–539 BCE) and remained of some importance. The palace was still in use until its abandonment during the Achaemenid Period (539–323). The town was inhabited until the 1st century BCE and gave its name to the whole region (Gauzanitis, mentioned by Ptolomy 5.18.4), before it was finally replaced by Tell Fakhariyah, called Rhesina (Akk. *rēšīna* "head of the spring") by the Byzantine authors (mod. Ra's al-Ayn).

The rectangular city was enclosed by a fortification, with the Jirjib, a branch of the Khabur river, defining its northern boundary. It comprised a cita-

del and a lower town, the latter being occupied by domestic and sacral architecture (an Assyrian temple and an ancestor's cult chapel of Aramaean date). The citadel was fortified and in itself subdivided into an outer and an inner part. A gate gave access from the lower town and the connection between outer and inner part was provided by the richly decorated "Scorpion's Gate." The northwestern area of the citadel was occupied by the Western Palace, built by Kapara, king of Gozan during the second half of the 9th century, and the Assyrian governor's palace was located in the east. The southern part was the location of the rich elite's residential area with large-scale houses situated on top of artificial mudbrick terraces. So far, no information was gained on the occupation of the central and northern areas of the citadel. Hence it remains obscure whether the famous temple of the storm-god of Gozan, the "Lord of the Khabur," was situated in the homonymous city or in near-by Sikani, as indicated by the statue inscription of Adad-it'i.

In the HB, Gozan is mentioned in 2 Kgs 17:6; 18:11; 2 Chr 5:26 as one of the areas to which the inhabitants of the northern Kingdom Israel were exiled by the Assyrians. The speech of the Rabshakeh (2 Kgs 18:19–35) might refer to Ashur-Dan II who had put down a rebellion in the area of Gozan in 759-758 BCE. Gozan is mentioned as one of the cities whose gods were unable to protect their inhabitants against the power of the Assyrian army (2 Kgs 19:12; Isa 37:12) indicating that Gozan was conquered by Sennacherib or one of his predecessors. Although Assyrian royal inscriptions do not provide information about the place and areas where deportees were exiled, Assyrian letters and legal documents show traces of the Israelite deportees and their descendants. A contract on the sale of a slave from 709 BCE (SAA 6:34) contains, among others, the names, Paqaha and Nadbi-Iāu as witnesses to the deed. Another contract mentions that a slave girl named Daiānâ must be given to a person with a clear Israelite name Ūsi'i, "Hoshea" (Tell Halaf Document 111). In a letter sent from Gozan (SAA 16 no. 63) – most probably by the Assyrian "secret service" - Nērī-Iāu and Palți-Iāu are listed as advisors to the governor of Gozan who was in the process of appointing a new governor (šaknu). The same letter indicates that other factions in Gozan were happy with the present šaknu and were arguing against a replacement. The letter thus indicates that the two Israelites were engaged in political intrigue. Letters like SAA 1 nos. 123 and 128 indicate that royal estates existed in the vicinity of Gozan. The deported Israelites were most probably brought there to work at these crown-estates with the aim to secure the production of food for the heartland of Assyria.

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Bob Becking and Mirko Novák

See also → Fakhariyah, Tell; → Habor

### Gozzoli, Benozzo

→ Benozzo Gozzoli

#### Gra

→Elijah ben Solomon Zalman of Vilna

# Grabar, André

André Grabar (1896–1990) was a pioneer in the history of medieval Christian art. He was born in Kiev, educated in St. Petersburg and Odessa, and worked in Sofia (1920–22) then Strasbourg and Paris, where he was professor at l'École Pratique des Hautes Études (1937–46) and later professor of Art and Archaeology of Byzantium at the Collège de France (1946–66). In 1947, Grabar became a visiting fellow and later research professor at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C.

André Grabar's intellect encompassed both Eastern and Western medieval art, late antiquity through Byzantium, and artistic interactions between Christians and Muslims. His research included mosaics, frescoes, sculpture, icons, metalwork, ivories, architecture, and manuscripts. He wrote prolifically on icons and iconography, the origins of Christian imagery, and medieval art's stylistic issues, producing some thirty monographs, many translated from the original French into English, and numerous articles. Grabar's great contribution was his ability to synthesize material and present works of art and architecture as evidence for the processes of cultural and religious change. Along these lines, two of his early works stand as field-changing classics: his investigation of the influence of imperial iconography on developing Christian art, L'empereur dans l'art byzantine (1936), and his magisterial two volumes on the origins, evolution, imagery, and functions of Christian martyria entitled, Martyrium: recherches sur le culte des reliques et l'art chrétien antique (1946), neither of which, it is lamentable, were translated into English.

In an era when medieval art history was still in the shadow of classical and Renaissance studies, and formalism dominated methodology, Grabar brought significant attention to the cultural changes that occurred when Christian art made its debut. Quite ahead of his time, Grabar was constantly engaged with the historical contexts of works of art. He outlined the ways Christian iconography derived from Roman art, adapting the existing language of representation to a new religion, and suggested stylistic changes lay not in the realm of a decline in skill, as had been the formalist view, but rather reflected the evolving intentions of artists and patrons to impart certain meanings. Moreover, he pinpointed the beginnings of these changes earlier than the dawn of the Christian Empire, where Christian art was part of a wider artistic shift instead of the catalyst, as many other scholars had suggested. In this way, Grabar elevated Byzantine art as inherently linked to Greco-Roman classicism while demonstrating sophisticated changes in meaning and contexts that were suited to the Christian Roman Empire. In an academic sphere that focused on Western European art, he shifted the point of view eastward, to Constantinople and the Byzantine Empire, in order to promote the profoundly interesting visual and cultural phenomena of the period. His The Beginnings of Christian Art, 200-395, translated into English in 1967, presents a general study of early Christian art, including pagan and Jewish art of the period. A series of lectures Grabar presented in 1961, made available in English in 1968 under the title, Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins, was so astute and comprehensive that it is still, a half of a century later, a vital resource for the study of early Christian iconography. Additionally, Grabar catalogued early Byzantine sculpture and the extremely important collection of pilgrims' ampullae in Monza and Bobbio. He founded, with Jean Hubert, the academic journal, Cahiers Archéologiques.