From Jerash to New York: Columns, Archaeology, and Politics at the 1964–65 World’s Fair

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New York’s second-oldest monument is the Roman column in Flushing Meadows Corona Park, Queens. The column hails from Jerash, one of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan’s preeminent Greco-Roman cities that flourished in the second century CE (Figure 1). King Hussein of Jordan gave the column to the city of New York during the 1964–65 World’s Fair, which was held in Flushing Meadows. This column, which is architecturally significant in its own right, is part of a larger, more complex, and controversial story about Robert Moses, the 1964–65 New York World’s Fair, and the political conflicts that have engulfed the Holy Land since 1948. King Hussein’s gift reflects Jordan’s strategy in the 1960s and 1970s of using its archaeological heritage to strengthen ties with the United States by bestowing columns and capitals on American cities and institutions. In this article, we consider how the column figured in the conflict surrounding the competing narratives of biblical and classical history and archaeology presented at the 1964–65 World’s Fair and in the controversy over the inclusion of a contentious mural about Palestinian refugees in the fair’s Jordan Pavilion. Finally, we consider how the Column of Jerash functioned within the narrative of nation building and the international presentation of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.

The Column of Jerash in Queens, New York

The idea that Jordan should present a column to the New York World’s Fair originated with Hugh D. Auchincloss Jr., a well-connected American lawyer and stockbroker. In 1962, Auchincloss visited Jordan and other Arab countries to stimulate interest and encourage participation in the 1964–65 World’s Fair. While in Jordan, he met King Hussein and suggested to Jordan’s foreign minister that Jordan could give a column to the city of New York as part of the country’s participation in the fair. King Hussein assented and approved the exportation of a column as a gift from the government of Jordan to New York City.

The column proposed as the gift was approximately 9.75 meters high, weighed 16,329.3 kilograms, and measured 0.91 meters in diameter. The column was to be shipped in seven pieces: a base, a plate on top of the base, four drums (each section was 1.83 meters), and a capital, the type of which was not identified. According to a letter dated February 1964, Dr. Awni Dajani, the director general of antiquities in Jordan, had sent a somewhat smaller column. This column was shipped in six pieces, which, with crating, weighed 6,240.0 kilograms. Charles Poletti and Lionel Harris, vice president and director, respectively, for international affairs and exhibits at the fair, accepted the substitute column, apparently because they did not want to reveal to Robert Moses, the president of the 1964–65 New York World’s Fair, that the column received was not the one originally selected. According to a letter dated 24 February 1964, Dr. Awni Dajani, the director general of antiquities in Jordan, had sent a somewhat smaller column. This column was shipped in six pieces, which, with crating, weighed 6,240.0 kilograms. It also may have been expedient to accept the column, as noting that it was a different column and thus somehow unacceptable might have offended the Jordanians.
Figure 1  The Column of Jerash, Flushing Meadows Corona Park, New York, with the Unisphere and New York State Pavilion visible in the background (looking west), 17 January 2013 (authors’ photo).

Figure 2  Map of the International Area of the 1964–65 World’s Fair, Flushing Meadows, New York (after the official souvenir map, authors’ collection).
The Column of Jerash is located just to the west of United Nations Avenue South in Flushing Meadows Corona Park, Queens, New York (Figure 2). The limestone column has not been moved since its installation in 1964; it stands on a permanent cement pedestal that was installed with the column. During the fair, it was located to the north of the Jordan Pavilion (Figures 3 and 4). The column’s shaft is composed of three unfluted drums located atop an Attic base, which also includes the lowest section of the column’s shaft. The base is damaged on its eastern side. The lowest drum has no distinguishing features; the middle block has two shallow, but clear, vertical rectangular cuts on the north and south sides, evidence that a lewis (an iron clamp placed on stone for lifting) was used on the drum. The color of the highest drum is different from that of the lower two drums; the upper drum is a lighter ocher or tan color, while the lower drums are light pink and gray with thin black veining; the weathering, however, suggests the drums belong to the same column. The highest drum sharply tapers to the Corinthian capital. The lowest drum has a circumference of 2 meters, meaning the lower diameter of the shaft is 64 centimeters; the height of the column shaft (excluding the capital and modern pedestal) is 4.32 meters; and the capital is approximately 62 centimeters high.

The column’s total height is 4.94 meters (excluding the modern pedestal).

A Corinthian column and its capital are arranged in relatively fixed proportions; specifically, the ratio of the height of the capital to the diameter of the inferior part of the column shaft (height divided by diameter) should be around 1:10 for an elegant composition. The Column of Jerash’s ratio of capital height to base diameter is 0.69/0.64, or 1.07, which is within the proportional range of many Corinthian columns. The column tapers toward the top, and it has a slightly outward curve (entasis). These factors indicate that when the column was sent, it was not missing any drums and was intact.

The Corinthian capital probably dates to the second century CE, based on comparisons to other capitals from Jerash. The capital is cut from a single block of local limestone and features two tiers of acanthus leaves; two helices located above the acanthus face inward (Figure 5). The abacus is undecorated. At each corner, there is a volute. There is a boss with a fleuron at the center of the abacus on each side. Only the southwestern volute is complete. The northeastern volute has been almost entirely lost, and the southeastern and northwestern volutes are also damaged. Photographs from 1964–65 confirm that the column was in this condition when it arrived in New York City.

Figure 3 The Column of Jerash and Jordan Pavilion, Flushing Meadows, New York, during the 1964–65 World’s Fair (courtesy of Bill Cotter).
A modern dedicatory plaque accompanies the column (Figure 6):

COLUMN OF JERASH / THIS COLUMN WAS PRESENTED TO / THE NEW YORK WORLD’S FAIR AND THE CITY OF NEW YORK BY / HIS MAJESTY KING HUSSEIN OF THE HASHEMITE KINGDOM OF JORDAN / ON THE OCCASION OF JORDAN’S PARTICIPATION IN THE FAIR. / THE COLUMN WAS RECEIVED BY THE HONORABLE ROBERT MOSES, PRESIDENT / NEW YORK WORLD’S FAIR 1964–1965 CORPORATION. / THIS IS ONE OF MANY COLUMNS IN A TEMPLE, ERECTED BY THE ROMANS IN 120 A.D., / THAT STOOD IN THE ROMAN CITY OF JERASH, JORDAN. / THE COLUMNS ARE KNOWN AS THE WHISPERING COLUMNS OF JERASH.

The documentary evidence in the World’s Fair Corporation Archive states that the column was from the Temple of Artemis. In the travel brochures distributed at the Jordan Pavilion, the columns of the Temple of Artemis are referred to as the Whispering Columns of Jerash. Therefore, both the dedicatory plaque and the travel brochures associate the column with the Temple of Artemis in Jerash.

A closer comparison of the Column of Jerash to photographs of the columns from the front portico of the Temple of Artemis still in situ reveals important differences. The lowest drum of the column has a circumference of 2.0 meters, meaning the diameter of the drum is 0.64 meters. The lowest drum of the standing columns in Jerash’s Temple of Artemis range in diameter from 1.48 to 1.50 meters. The shafts of the columns of the Temple of Artemis vary in height from 13.07 to 13.25 meters, while the total height of the Column of Jerash is 4.93 meters. Unlike the capital of the Column of Jerash, the capitals of the columns from the Temple of Artemis are not carved from a single block. Consequently, we conclude that the Column of Jerash cannot be from the Temple of Artemis. Furthermore, the column could not have come from the Corinthian portico that enclosed the temenos, the sacred enclosure of the Temple of Artemis. The columns of the temenos have a consistent height of 7.65 meters and a diameter of 0.895 meters. The Column of Jerash is also shorter than the columns that adorn the entrance to the temenos of the Temple of Artemis and the nymphaeum.

The column probably came from Jerash due to its similarity to other Corinthian columns used in the city’s smaller-scale buildings. The column cannot be associated with a particular building from Jerash, however, because Late Antique churches and buildings also reused classical columns. In 749 CE, a strong earthquake hit Jerash, causing heavy damage, and street colonnades fell in places. As colonnaded streets were no longer socially significant, the colonnades

Figure 4 The Column of Jerash, Flushing Meadows Corona Park, New York, 17 January 2013 (authors’ photo).
were not reerected, but the capitals, drums, bases, and architraves were reused as building materials in the subsequent reconstruction. In the 1960s, many of the Roman-period drums and capitals, which were reused in Late Antiquity, were removed from the streets during a large-scale cleanup and reconstruction of Jerash. This 1960s cleanup coincides with the 1964–65 dates when the Column of Jerash and other capitals were sent to the United States as diplomatic gifts.

The City of Jerash
Understanding the urban context from which the column came enables us to comprehend the significance of the column and its role as a gift. Located in northern Jordan, 51 kilometers north of Amman (ancient Philadelphia), Jerash was a major Greco-Roman city. It was a Semitic settlement that became subject to Greek influence and control under the Ptolemies and Seleucids in the Hellenistic era, although there is little evidence from this period in the city’s history. After the creation of the Roman province of Syria by Pompey the Great in 64 BCE, Jerash prospered. At this time, the city probably became a member of the loose confederation known as the Decapolis in Syro-Palestine (Figure 7). The Roman emperors transformed the city in the second century CE (Figure 8). One of the major projects during this process of urban expansion was the new Sanctuary of Artemis,
which was dedicated around 150 CE and was probably completed in 180 CE. This hexastyle, peripteral temple included a deep porch featuring two rows of columns. Building in Jerash continued into the third century, but it was not as lavish or extensive. Because the city remained occupied through the Byzantine and Islamic periods, it has numerous Late Antique and Byzantine churches, as well as an early Umayyad mosque.

The Temple of Artemis was one of the most important buildings in classical Jerash. It is unsurprising that the Column of Jerash was attributed to the Temple of Artemis, even if it did not originate there. Despite this fact, the column remains a remarkable gift, one whose inclusion in the Jordan Pavilion of the 1964–65 World’s Fair is significant. In addition to this column, capitals from Jerash were presented to Harvard University and the University of Pennsylvania. Princeton University received two Umayyad capitals from Qasr al-Muwaqqar, and the city of Philadelphia received a column from Amman.

The Presentation of Capitals and Columns to American Universities and Cities

When considered together, these columns and capitals reveal Jordan’s use of archaeological heritage to develop or cement relationships with American institutions and cities. Just one year after the 1964–65 New York World’s Fair, Harvard University’s Semitic Museum received a capital from Mohamed Baghal, the director of the Jordan–Tourist Information Center in New York City (Figure 9). Like the capital of the Column of Jerash, it has two tiers of acanthus, inward-facing helices, and volutes on each corner. It is carved from a single block and is 69 centimeters high; it measures 67 centimeters from volute to volute at the top. The capital presented to the Semitic Museum is a fossiliferous peloidal wackstone to packstone, consistent with the composition of building stone quarried from the Fuheis Formation at Asfur and Majar near Jerash. The similarity of this capital to the Column of Jerash and the capitals at the University of Pennsylvania indicates that these columns and capitals were all from Jerash.

Correspondence held in the Semitic Museum demonstrates that the capital was sent by the government of Jordan as a means to promote scholarship on Jordan. On 13 April 1966, Baghal wrote to Dr. D. W. Lockhart, assistant director of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies:

My government would consider it a great honor to have this important artifact [sic] on display at Harvard. Jordanians very much appreciate the interest and energy with which the University staff and students are pursuing studies in the Middle East.

Figure 7  Map of the Decapolis (after Warwick Ball, Rome in the East: The Transformation of an Empire [London: Routledge, 2000], 182, fig. 33).

Figure 8  Plan of Jerash in Late Antiquity (after Warwick Ball, Rome in the East: The Transformation of an Empire [London: Routledge, 2000], 189, fig. 37).
This capital measures about 2½ feet square and is about 2½ feet high. The sides are handsomely carved and I am sure it will make a fine addition to your museum.33

Eventually, the capital was sent to the Semitic Museum by the Jordan–Tourist Information Center in New York City and was received by Professor G. Ernest Wright, who was the chief curator of the Semitic Museum at the time and also president of the American Schools for Oriental Research.34 The archives at the Semitic Museum identify only Jerash as the original location of the capital. It is unclear how the Jordan–Tourist Information Center gained possession of the capital before the center gave it to Harvard University on behalf of the Jordanian government.

In 1966, the University of Pennsylvania also received two capitals from Jerash that are now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.35 In April 1966, the same Mohamed Baghal wrote to Dr. James Prichard, a prominent Near Eastern archaeologist and professor at the University of Pennsylvania, offering two carved stone capitals from Jerash.36 The language used in this letter is virtually identical to that used in his letter to Dr. D. W. Lockhart at Harvard University. On 15 April 1966, two days after he had written to Harvard University, Baghal sent the following letter to Dr. Prichard, who had been excavating in Jordan:

On behalf of my government, I have the honor of offering as a gift to the University, two carved stone capitals from Jerash. The government of Jordan recognizes and appreciates the efforts you and your staff are making towards uncovering the past and therefore would be honored if you can accept these rare 2nd-century capitals for display. As you no doubt know, they are about 3 feet square and about 3 feet high.37

By December 1966, the capitals arrived at the University Museum.38 The museum was planning to install the capitals and wanted to arrange a time when the Jordanian ambassador could make a formal presentation.39 In spring 1967, they were installed in the courtyard of the University Museum.40 Today the capitals are displayed on modern brick columns that flank an Italian-style fountain in the lower courtyard of the museum (Figures 10 and 11). The first capital (located to the left of the fountain) is 0.75 meters high, while the second capital is 0.76 meters high. Both capitals have three rows of acanthus, and both lack the lowest part of the bottom row of acanthus, suggesting that the bases of the capitals were cut off or deteriorated away and indicating that the columns were both slightly taller (which would be in keeping with the suggested height of 3 feet in the correspondence).41 Both capitals have sustained significant erosion and deterioration, especially the left capital.

The capitals are similar to the capital of the Column of Jerash and the capital at Harvard University. They have the same rows of nesting acanthus, volutes that project at each corner, and inward-pointing helices that meet around a
Figure 10  First capital from Jerash, located to the left of the courtyard fountain, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia (authors’ photo).

Figure 11  Second capital from Jerash, located to the right of the courtyard fountain, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia (authors’ photo).
central boss and fleuron on each of the capitals’ four faces. The variation in height suggests these capitals may not have been from the same building, but their similarity of form suggests they date to the same era. Since 1956, the University of Pennsylvania had operated large-scale excavations in Jordan at el-Jib (also known as el-Geeb), a site identified as the biblical Gibea and located 12.9 kilometers north of Jerusalem. The University Museum also conducted excavations at Tell es-Sa’idieh in the Jordan Valley from 1962 to 1967.

Princeton University also received two capitals from the Jordanian government in 1965 (Figures 12 and 13). The capitals were presented by Dr. Hzam Nuseibeh, the Jordanian minister of foreign affairs and a Princeton graduate. During his presentation, he noted that Princeton University had played an “outstanding role” in the field of Middle Eastern studies, and he paid particular attention to the work of Dr. Philip C. Hammond, who had excavated in Hebron in 1963 and 1965 and was in attendance at the luncheon celebrating the gift of the capitals.

The capitals, according to the press release, “are believed to date to the 1st century A.D. [sic] when this ancient caravan city was nearing its golden age. . . . Jerash’s long columned street, its hippodrome, theatres, temples, columned form, and church are in such excellent preservation that it has been called the Pompeii of the Middle East.” The presentation of the capitals offered the Jordanian government an opportunity to forge ties with leading American institutions as well as to emphasize Jordan’s ancient, pre-Islamic history. By comparing Jerash to Pompeii, the Jordanian government attempted to portray Jerash as a site of similar caliber and fame.

These capitals were dated to the first century CE until 1981, when Michael Rogers of the British Museum visited the Princeton University Art Museum. Following his visit, in a letter to Frances Jones, the Princeton museum’s curator of collections, Rogers observed that the capitals were very similar to the eighth-century Umayyad capitals from Qasr al-Muwaqqar, which were then in the Amman Museum. Jones replied that Rogers was correct and that the capitals needed to be relabeled, which they subsequently were. The misidentification of the capitals is similar to the incorrect identification of the Column of Jerash as being from the Temple of Artemis. Those giving and receiving the gifts often did not know the specifics of these architectural fragments. This suggests that the most important aspect of these gifts was their role in strengthening relations between Jordan and the recipients. In her reply to Rogers, Jones also explained what she understood to be Jordan’s motives behind the presentation of the capitals to Princeton University: “The gift was made ‘in recognition’ of the bold foresight of Princeton University in inaugurating a division of Near Eastern Studies, and for its leadership in the fields of historic preservation.” This indicates that King Hussein and other high-ranking officials in Jordan used the capitals both to acknowledge American universities for studying the region, specifically sites that were within the territorial boundaries of Jordan, and to encourage future research in Jordan.

American universities were not the only beneficiaries of Jordan’s archaeological largesse. The city of Philadelphia received a column and capital from Amman, the original Philadelphia. This gift, the first presented to Philadelphia by a foreign government in honor of the American bicentennial, was dedicated on 17 June 1976 by Abdullah Salah, ambassador of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan (Figure 14). The column was shipped from Jordan in four crates and appears to have arrived directly in Philadelphia in late 1974; the University of Pennsylvania Museum agreed to receive the column. The documentary evidence presents conflicting origins: some documentation states the column was from Amman, while other letters in the archive state the column was “from a ceremonal gate at the acropolis at Gerash [sic], near Amman, ancient Philadelphia.” The Jordanian embassy provided further documentation of the gift, including drawings, a map, and notes, that identified the column as “adorning the façade of the propylaea [sic], or monument gate of the City. . . . It was discovered during accidental excavations in Amman.” On the basis of this evidence, comparative examples of published columns from Amman, and our examination of the column, we believe that Amman was the source of this column and capital, not Jerash. The Penn Museum Archive contains important information about the column that was gathered by Peter Shepheard, dean of the Graduate School of Fine Arts, who examined the column in 1975. One piece of archival evidence shows the height of the column as 5.79 meters. Shepheard’s brief study and drawing of the column demonstrated the column’s dimensions did not match the original drawings sent by the Jordanians. At least 2.30 meters of column shaft were missing. He believed two pieces were absent, one that would have sat directly on top of the base and one directly below the capital. He deduced that, because it was missing these pieces, the column could not be reerected whole. Shepheard suggested that, had all of the pieces of the shaft been present, the shaft would have been at least 8.3 meters high, the base would have been 1.16 meters high, and the capital 1.55 meters high. The university decided it was too expensive to reconstruct the whole column, so the four parts of the column were displayed in pieces (see Figure 14): the base of the column and its adjoining drum fragment, a second drum fragment on its side, and finally the capital of the column adjacent. A plaque near the column states, “Gift to City of Philadelphia from the
Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan on the occasion of the American Bicentennial, 1976.” The column was first displayed in the lower courtyard of the University Museum and then was moved when a new wing was added to the museum in the early twenty-first century. The column and capital are currently displayed in Smith Walk Green to the northwest of the Chemistry Building at the University of Pennsylvania.
Archaeological Diplomacy and Jordanian National Identity

The gifts of capitals and columns reflect the importance King Hussein and his government placed on Jordan’s ancient past. These objects, and the ancient civilization from which they came, were important aspects of Jordan’s nascent tourism industry, which focused on biblical and ancient sites. They were also crucial elements in Jordan’s emerging self-image and the presentation of its history. As Kimberly Katz has demonstrated, these objects testify to the continuity of Jordan’s civilization and were used to convey Jordan’s own historical and archaeological narrative. In addition to archaeological objects, sacred sites such as the Dome of the Rock in East Jerusalem and cities such as Hebron and Bethlehem (then under Jordan’s control) were used to construct this national narrative. These sites were given national meaning as part of an effort to form a modern Jordanian identity and to foster cultural cohesion.

After the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan harbored 750,000 Palestinian Arabs who had fled what became the state of Israel and settled within Jordan’s borders, which included East Jerusalem and the West Bank. Rather than foster an independent Palestinian identity, the Jordanians actively sought to forge a Jordanian national identity that assimilated Arabs of Palestinian origin. From 1948 to 1967, holy places in the West Bank and East Jerusalem were used as symbols to represent the state of Jordan, to legitimate the new nation, and to portray Jordan as the Holy Land. For example, these sites were depicted on postage stamps as part of an explicit effort to express Jordanian national identity and the political aims of the government. Ancient sites such as Jerash and Petra were also used to promote the new Jordanian national identity. The Temple of Artemis in Jerash and the Treasury (al-Khaznah) in Petra were depicted on stamps, emphasizing the antiquity of civilization in Jordan. The archaeological gifts of capitals and columns and the depiction of archaeological and sacred sites, therefore, presented a Jordanian view of the region’s antiquity and countered other archaeological narratives in the region, specifically those of Israel.

Gifts of archaeological objects could also further Jordanian diplomatic goals. Jordan’s tradition of presenting capitals and columns to American institutions and governments originated with King Hussein’s dedication of the Column of Jerash at the 1964–65 New York World’s Fair on 23 April 1964. The subsequent donation of capitals and columns to Harvard University, the University of Pennsylvania, Princeton University, and the city of Philadelphia reflects an active policy of using archaeological objects to forge goodwill with the United States and to strengthen academic relationships with American universities. Such gifts underscore the United States’ importance to Jordan’s economic development and foreign policy and the central role archaeology could play in...
relations between the two nations. The Column of Jerash is an example of archaeological diplomacy, in which archaeological remains were explicitly used to serve the larger purposes of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.64

From the Jordanian perspective, a column or column capital was a highly suitable archaeological gift. Columns are large, monumental, and impressive; their fine materials and scale make an impact on viewers, especially viewers who have not seen ancient columns in situ. In Jordan, particularly at Jerash, columns are relatively abundant. Thus a column that would be exceptional in an American city or institution was not as unique to Jordan as an irreplaceable monument, such as a piece of ancient sculpture. The Column of Jerash and the architectural fragments given to Harvard, the University of Pennsylvania, Princeton, and Philadelphia struck a delicate balance between uniqueness and ubiquity.

The Column of Jerash made the archaeological past and history of Jordan more accessible to Americans. While it was unique because it was from an “exotic” land, it was Greco-Roman and belonged to the classical world, the traditions of which the United States saw itself as the inheritor. Furthermore, the permanence of the column stood in contrast to the ephemeral nature of a world’s fair. This archaeological fragment alluding to a distant land became, like the Unisphere and the New York State Pavilion, a record of the temporary landscape and experience of the 1964–65 World’s Fair.

The practice of Arab states using archaeological objects for diplomatic and political ends predates the Jordanian donation of the Column of Jerash to New York. The origins of the tradition remain obscure, but it was well established by the nineteenth century, when Arab states gave archeological objects to European nations—sometimes freely, other times under duress.65 Different Egyptian leaders of the nineteenth century gave obelisks to Great Britain and New York City to strengthen international ties (both obelisks were known as Cleopatra’s Needle); the French simply took an obelisk from Alexandria.66 The Ottoman Empire made gifts of archaeological objects, most notably when Sultan Abdülhamid II gave the façade of the early Umayyad palace at Mshtata to Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany in 1903.

While gifts have frequently been given between nations, the majority of these objects have not been as culturally or archaeologically significant as an ancient column. The presentation of something as unique as the Column of Jerash demonstrated how much King Hussein valued his country’s participation in the New York World’s Fair. The column must also be seen in the broader context of the fair and the Jordan Pavilion, in which Jordan’s archaeological treasures and rich biblical history featured prominently to promote tourism, boost Jordan’s economy, and advance Jordan’s political agenda in the Middle East.

The New York World’s Fair

The 1964–65 New York World’s Fair was held in Flushing Meadows in the borough of Queens. It ran for two seasons, 22 April–18 October 1964 and 21 April–17 October 1965.67 In total, approximately fifty-two million people visited the fair.68 Robert Moses, known for his controversial roads, bridges, parks, and redevelopment projects in New York City, was president of the New York World’s Fair 1964–1965 Corporation and controlled almost every aspect of the fair.69 Moses aimed to make the fair financially successful so he could subsequently use the profits to fund his final parks project for New York City, the park at Flushing Meadows. To achieve that end, he decided that fair participants would lease land from the Fair Corporation and build and design their own pavilions. This policy shifted the costs of construction to the businesses and countries participating and allowed Moses to maximize profits.70 The policy also resulted in a fair that was decidedly commercial in nature and displayed a hodgepodge of architectural design, two elements heavily criticized at the time.71 Moses’s decision to let participants create their own pavilions resulted in many countries using their pavilions as showcases of cultural heritage.72 In the case of the Jordan Pavilion, positioned between the pavilions of the United Arab Republic and Sudan, the rolling hills of Jordan were represented in the rooftop and the building’s dominant form (see Figures 2, 3, and 15).

Embodying the fair’s motto, “Peace through Understanding,” the centrally located Unisphere was the primary symbol for the fair and is one of the few lasting structures left in situ in the subsequent park. While previous world’s fairs had tended to be futuristic and to focus on technological innovations, Moses’s fair had a pronounced backward and conservative bias that seemed to ignore the tumult of the 1960s happening outside the fairgrounds.73 Indeed, the two most highly anticipated pavilion showings were Michelangelo’s Pietà in the Vatican Pavilion and the Dead Sea Scrolls, exhibited in both the Jordan Pavilion and the American-Israel Pavilion.74 Both exhibits were related to religion, another major theme of the fair; nine pavilions in total were dedicated to religion, and Moses invited all the major Christian denominations to participate.75 Thus the Column of Jerash accorded with the fair’s focus on the achievements of the past and present. As a symbol of the past, and in particular the glory of Rome and the Roman Empire, the column was both one of the oldest monuments on display during the fair and a primary example of human achievements in antiquity.
The Jordan Pavilion

The pavilion of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan broke ground on 2 July 1963. During the groundbreaking ceremony, dignitaries representing the United States, Jordan, and the World’s Fair Corporation attended and exchanged formalities. In his speech to the dignitaries on hand, Charles Poletti mentioned Jordan’s gift of the Column of Jerash:

But we hope that Jordan will profit from it by giving the American people a deeper insight and a keener knowledge of the great and rich background of the people of Jordan. And we are happy that Jordan is planning to give to the City of New York one of the pillars from Jerash. We look forward to this column being here in the great park for many, many centuries to come, to remind the people of New York of the contributions to modern civilization made by the people of Jordan.

The Column of Jerash was singled out among the exhibitions of the Jordan Pavilion because it would remain a lasting monument in the postfair park that Moses planned. In the spirit of the fair’s slogan, “Peace through Understanding,” Jordanian ambassador Abdul Monem Rifa’i asserted, “We break the ground today with full devotion to the cause which prompted us to participate in the World’s Fair of New York, and we therefore dedicate our Pavilion to peace and brotherhood among all nations.”

The pavilion itself was located in Block 31, Lot 22, along the Avenue of the United Nations South in the International Area, just steps away from the Unisphere (see Figures 1 and 2). The official documentation, produced either by the Fair Corporation or by the creators of the Jordan Pavilion, emphasized Jordan’s beautiful landscape of rolling hills and the country’s contributions to civilization. As the pavilion’s architect, Victor H. Bisharat, explained, the structure evoked Jordan’s unique status as the homeland of the monotheistic faiths of Abraham, Jesus, and Muhammad. The rolling hills of Jordan were explicitly represented in the undulating and dynamic roof structure of the pavilion. In addition, openings in the roof provided light for the interior spaces and reflected light to the outside. Two of the main attractions of the pavilion, the Column of Jerash and the biblical Dead Sea Scrolls, highlighted Jordan’s rich ancient cultural and religious heritage. The “Peace through Understanding” slogan was...
The emphasis on Christian sites located within Jordan’s borders projected the country’s self-image as the Holy Land for many faiths. The timing of this presentation could not have been more significant. Just months prior to the start of the New York World’s Fair, Pope Paul VI had become the first pope ever to undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The majority of the Christian holy sites the pope visited were located inside Jordan. This papal visit to the Holy Land authenticated the holy character of the Jordanian sites and provided King Hussein an opportunity to legitimate his claim that the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan was the “Guardian of the Holy Places.” The visit opened up a potentially huge tourist market, enabling the Jordanian authorities to promote Christian holy sites for tourism.

The American-Israel Pavilion also exhibited Dead Sea Scrolls, which had been found north of the Dead Sea near the site of Khirbet Qumran in the West Bank between 1946 and 1955. This pavilion’s exhibitions made the claim that Israel was the Holy Land, but on the basis of Israel’s status as the Jewish Holy Land. Before the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, Israel controlled only the Christian holy site of Nazareth within its borders, and this was the only site in Israel that Pope Paul VI visited in his 1964 trip. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan used its pavilion to reference Roman ruins and Christian holy sites to further legitimate and promote its claim of ownership over ancient and biblical Holy Land sites. Politically, this narrative also reinforced the Hashemite claim to be the guardian of holy Islamic and Christian sites, and thus sanctioned Jordan’s claim to territory. Almost immediately after the fair opened, controversy erupted between Israel and Jordan over a mural in the Jordan Pavilion that referred to contemporary regional politics.

**Archaeology and Propaganda at the World’s Fairs**

World’s fairs provide unique opportunities for nations to display internal interests externally to a global audience and to the citizens of the host nations. The internal political interests of participating nations are often represented by cultural artifacts, including archaeological objects. At world’s fairs, modern states have used archaeological objects and historical periods to establish, justify, and present evidence for nationalistic agendas in both domestic and international contexts. The donation of the Roman Balbo Column by Fascist Italy during the 1933–34 Chicago World’s Fair, the use of the Magna Carta by the British government during the 1939–40 New York World’s Fair, and the previous Palestine Pavilions at the 1924 British Empire Exposition and the 1939–40 New York World’s Fair attest to the ways archaeology and historical narratives have been employed as propaganda at world’s fairs.

The Column of Jerash had a forerunner in the gift of the Balbo Column. During the 1933–34 Chicago World’s Fair, Benito Mussolini gave the Balbo Column, or Balbo Monument, to the city of Chicago to commemorate the first transatlantic flight of the Italian air force in 1933. The squadron was led by Italo Balbo, in whose honor the column received its name. The Balbo Column, dedicated in 1934, is the oldest monument in Chicago and one of a few structures left in situ from the 1933–34 fair. It dates to the late Roman Republic and was sourced from the ancient Roman port town of Ostia. The column was placed on a large pedestal adorned with a dedicatory inscription in Italian and English and fasces on its four corners. In 1933, the reception of the monument’s...
namesake had been mixed. The majority of public and political officials warmly welcomed Balbo with great fanfare, but the local Italian Socialist Federation and the Italian League for the Rights of Man denounced Balbo for his Fascist connections. After World War II, the column was the subject of periodic complaints because of its connection to Mussolini, but it has since become a symbol of enduring friendship between the United States and Italy.95 Like the king of Jordan, Mussolini used an ancient Roman column to symbolize a connection to the ancient Roman past and to promote goodwill between the United States and his country.

The display of an original copy of the Magna Carta at the British Pavilion during the 1939–40 New York World’s Fair is another interesting example of the use of cultural artifacts in the service of propaganda. At a time of deep American isolationism on the eve of World War II, the British used the fair as an opportunity to promote Anglo–American cooperation and goodwill. The motto of the fair was “Building the World of Tomorrow,” along with a secondary theme of the 150th anniversary of George Washington’s inauguration as the first U.S. president. The British exploited both connections with a display of the Magna Carta and a genealogy of George Washington that traced his roots back to British royal stock.94 The British presented the Magna Carta as the basis for modern democracy and the American Bill of Rights. The exhibit was one of the most popular at the fair. An unprecedented royal visit capped off British Week during the fair and helped ignite pro–British sentiment across the United States. Nicholas Cull argues that the display of the Magna Carta was the high point of British interwar diplomacy abroad.95 The British engaged in clever cultural propaganda by evoking historical nostalgia and the two nations’ shared traditions of democracy and liberty. In this way, the British display of the Magna Carta was similar to other participating countries’ attempts to connect to American fairgoers through common religious or cultural backgrounds.

Twentieth-century world’s fairs have often included Palestine Pavilions. At the British Empire Exposition of 1924, Jews in Britain sought to create an exhibit on Palestine. Palestine was then a mandate of the British Empire, but fair officials did not include the Palestine exhibit with British colonial pavilions; rather, it was located among the religious pavilions. The exhibit essentially expressed the Zionist aspirations of British Jews, since there were no Arab representatives on the organizing committee and displays on the local Arab population in the Palestine were de facto excluded.96 At the 1939–40 New York World’s Fair, the Jewish Palestine Pavilion largely reflected the hope for a Jewish state, having been organized jointly by Jews living in Palestine and American Jewish organizations.97 As in 1924, fair officials declined to recognize the pavilion as that of a state and placed it among the other religion-based pavilions.98 Zionist claims to Palestine were at the heart of the pavilion’s narrative, which featured exhibits and dioramas that proclaimed that Jews brought civilization to an otherwise neglected and savage Palestine. These claims were supported by biblical narratives aimed at an American audience.99 At these two world’s fairs, Jews of the diaspora and Jews in Palestine sought to advocate for a future Jewish state through appeals to biblical narratives and a shared mission of civilization and modernity.

In the context of the politicization of world’s fairs, the Column of Jerash and the Jordan Pavilion reflected the complex politics of their era. The pavilion focused on aspects of Jordan’s history, culture, and archaeology connected to ancient and biblical history and showcased archaeological elements, including the Column of Jerash and the bas-reliefs of Petra and the Dome of the Rock, that made Jordan’s history accessible for tourism. Although they created a specific narrative about Jordan as the Holy Land and a place of rich classical heritage, these archaeological aspects were not overtly political or politicized.

The Jordan Pavilion also incorporated a wall-sized mural about Palestinian refugees that was highly political and provocative in nature (Figure 16). The mural and its accompanying poem focused on a key contemporary issue from the Jordanian perspective, the status of displaced Palestinian refugees and the world’s indifference to their plight, and begged the passerby to take a moment to “hear a word on Palestine” and “to help. . . right a wrong.”100 The strongly worded poem presents the founding of the state of Israel from the Palestinian and Jordanian perspective. The narrator of the poem—the refugee child shown in the mural—states that for many centuries, “Christians, Jews and Moslems, believers in one God, / Lived there in peaceful harmony,” until “strangers from abroad” arrived and stealthily bought up land, thereby sowing the seeds of trouble. The poem takes an overly simplistic view of the complex history of the Middle East by presenting a peaceful tradition of coexistence between religious groups in the area. Thus it uses an idealized version of history to present a very specific view of the past and the complex issues of the present, similar to the way the Column of Jerash embodied the use of ancient history to advance contemporary economic aims (the development of tourism) in Jordan and the Jordanian view of Jordan as the cradle of civilization, history, Islam, and Christianity.

The poem also alludes to the horrors the Jewish people suffered during World War II. In the following line, this relationship of victim and perpetrator is inverted as the narrator proclaims that “The strangers, once thought terror’s victims, became terror’s fierce practitioners.” The poem then seeks to bring the plight of the Palestinian refugees to the world. It also discusses the unsuccessful “redress” that neighboring countries tried to bring to the Palestinians, an allusion to the 1948 war in which Israel defeated its Arab neighbors.
These problems, from the Jordanian perspective, are amplified by the fact that the settlers—that is, the Israelis—are threatening to divert the River Jordan.101 Alongside these words, the image of the downtrodden mother with lowered eyes holding her child, the poem’s narrator, was clearly meant to evoke powerful emotions to move those visiting the Jordanian pavilion to consider the Jordanian view of these issues.102 The final lines of the poem—“The world seems not to care, or is blinded still. / That’s why I’m glad you stopped / And heard the story”—underscore that the Jordanians felt this issue deserved more international attention.103

Figure 16 Mural of a Refugee, Jordan Pavilion, 1964–65 World’s Fair, Flushing Meadows, New York (official world’s fair brochure, authors’ collection).
The content of the poem and the depiction of the mother and child represented Jordan’s support for the right of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes, which had been taken by Israel. This position followed United Nations General Assembly Resolution 194 of 1948, which called for the right of refugees to return home.104 The poem also briefly touched on Israeli plans to divert the Jordan River and questioned the Israelis’ right to do so. The artist of the mural is unknown, as is the poet. The work must have been commissioned by the organizers of the Jordan Pavilion and, considering its political content, was probably approved at high levels of the Jordanian government.

Controversy erupted almost immediately over the mural.105 On 25 April 1964, just days after the opening of the fair, a New York Times article noted that the Jordan and American-Israel Pavilions were demonstrating “a touch of the discord that has long disturbed the Middle East.”106 The article quoted from the telegram that the officials of the American-Israel Pavilion had sent to Robert Moses in protest:

We are shocked and disturbed to learn that the Jordanian pavilion has used its premises at the fair to spread propaganda against Israel and its people. The use of the fairgrounds for the dissemination of such propaganda runs counter to the spirit of the fair as expressed in its theme “Peace Through Understanding,” and counter to the regulations of the fair.

The American-Israel pavilion has concerned itself with the presentation of Israel’s contributions to civilization. We request that the New York World’s Fair take immediate action to correct this situation.107

The Jordanians took a different view. King Hussein informed reporters that he did not consider the mural offensive. This view was echoed by the officials of the Jordan Pavilion, one of whom was quoted in the same New York Times article: “All pavilions are propaganda. We are not against the Jews, but we are against Israel and the foreigners who took our homes and property.” The attitude of that unnamed official was shared by G. Barakat, pavilion director, who commented, “We want the people of the United States to understand part of our problem.”

The mural was met with outrage by many American Jews and New Yorkers. Almost immediately, organizers of the American-Israel Pavilion and members of the Jewish American community sought the removal of the mural and, pending that, the right to picket outside the Jordan Pavilion. Robert Wagner Jr., the mayor of New York, wanted the mural removed.108 On 23 June 1964, the New York City Council passed a resolution announcing its view that the mural was “offensive to large segments of the local, state, national and world communities.”109

Despite receiving large numbers of protest letters, Moses denied all requests to remove the mural and to picket the Jordan Pavilion. Moses’s terse replies suggested that he was irritated by the controversy rather than that he was a supporter of the Jordanian mural’s narrative on refugees in the Middle East.110 Moses disliked such controversies because they created negative publicity for the world’s fair and kept away potential visitors. While Mayor Wagner was a vocal supporter of the protests against the mural, King Hussein of Jordan told reporters that the mural referred to a human problem and was not directed “against a particular people.”111 In the New York Times, King Hussein was quoted as saying, “I don’t believe that this particular portrait of a refugee boy is against any particular people. It is an appeal to the conscience of the people. It is a humanitarian problem, and since there are such problems it is worthwhile to bring them before the world. I don’t think there is any reason for the extreme reaction to its being there.”112

While this mural might seem at odds with the historical narratives of the Jordan Pavilion, it was closely tied with Jordanian national identity and Jordan’s position within the Arab world relative to the problem of the Palestinians. King Hussein was positioning Jordan within the international arena and the Arab world as a leading voice for the Palestinian cause. While the Column of Jerash, the depictions of Petra and the Dome of the Rock, and the Dead Sea Scrolls spoke to the antiquity and rich history of Jordan, the Jordan Pavilion also served as a political platform to demonstrate that the Jordanians were the champions of the Palestinians. Through the mural, King Hussein attempted to gain control or at least influence over the organization being formed at that time to work for Palestinian liberation. In the first half of 1964, he was closely involved in the founding of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), as well as in the selection of its first leader.113 Therefore, the mural alluded to internal politics within the Arab world as well as to conflicts between the Arab nations and Israel.

The controversy over the mural soon reached a breaking point. Members of the American Jewish Congress and other groups peacefully picketed outside the Jordan Pavilion without permission and were duly arrested. Eventually, the Anti-Defamation League of B’nai B’rith, a major international Jewish community service organization, petitioned the New York Supreme Court on 20 May 1964 to close the Jordan Pavilion unless it removed the controversial mural.114 By early July, there was a legal resolution: the Supreme Court of New York struck down two efforts to remove the mural from the Jordan Pavilion.115 The picketers were acquitted in late July, with the court ruling that picketing was permissible under the First Amendment, but handing out pamphlets was not.116 As Emily Katz has observed, the American-Israel Pavilion and the Jordan Pavilion offered “competing national
identities and mutually exclusive versions of recent history, [and] the two Pavilions engaged in a heated battle for the hearts and minds of the public.” The controversy fore-shadowed the violence, conflict, and public relations battles that continue to consume Israel, Jordan, and other Arab states to this day. In the first few months after the New York World’s Fair opened for its 1964 season, the mural controversy eclipsed the Column of Jerash and the other exhibitions in the Jordan Pavilion. In the second season of the fair, however, the mural provoked little public reaction. Indeed, much like the Column of Jerash, the Jordan Pavilion mural controversy has become part of the forgotten legacy of the 1964–65 World’s Fair.

Conclusions

The Column of Jerash serves as one of the few architectural remnants from the 1964–65 New York World’s Fair. As we have demonstrated, the column did not come from the Temple of Artemis, but that fact does not diminish its historical value. It serves as an important case study in King Hussein’s use of archaeological objects to forge cultural, political, and diplomatic relationships. The larger context of the gift, the Jordan Pavilion at the 1964–65 World’s Fair, provided Jordan with a venue to promote tourism by establishing Jordan as the Holy Land and connecting it to a shared Western antiquity. In addition, King Hussein was able to use the occasion of the fair to opine on the political implications of the founding of Israel and on the predicament of Palestinian refugees in the region. In particular, the mural in the Jordan Pavilion allowed the Jordanian government to frame the Palestinian cause from a Jordanian perspective. The mural also allowed the Jordanian government to promote its position within the complex negotiations and political machinations that surrounded the founding of the PLO to an international and American audience. Although the Jordan Pavilion was torn down after the fair, along with most of the other pavilions, the Column of Jerash remained. It is no longer just a memorial to the greatness of Jerash and ancient Jordan or a way to promote stronger ties between the United States and Jordan; it is also one of the sole relics from the 1964–65 World’s Fair. The Column of Jerash alludes both to the classical past and to a specific moment in American and global history, serving as a physical embodiment of the use of archaeological artifacts to promote political aims and forge ties between nations.

Notes

1. We would like to thank Her Royal Highness Princess Badiya bint El Hassan, Jonathan Kuhn, Joseph Greene, Adam Aja, Patrick Degryse, C. Brian Rose, Alessandro Pezzati, J. Michael Padgett, Judith McKenzie, Jacqueline Dentzer-Feydy, Alan Walsley, Dragana Mladenović, Thomas Morton, and Saskia Stevens. We would also like to thank Bill Cotter for permission to reproduce his photographs of the 1964–65 World’s Fair and Joernard Camarista, who created plans for the article. Many thanks are also due to the librarians and staff of the Manuscripts and Archives Division of the New York Public Library, as well as the staff of the Dorot Jewish Division; Erik Huber and the staff of the Archives Division of the Queens Borough Public Library; and the librarians and staff of the Brooklyn Historical Society and the New York Historical Society.

Until the dedication of a new park on 3 June 1967, Flushing Meadows Corona Park was known simply as Flushing Meadows. We use the current name throughout this article unless we are referring to a time prior to the 1967 dedication.


5. Ibid. It is unclear what was meant by the phrase “a plate on top of the base.”


7. Lionel Harris to Charles Poletti, 24 Feb. 1964, Folder PO.3 Jordan–Art Treasures Foreign Participation, New York Public Library. Note that Dajani’s name was spelled “DeJani” in the correspondence. No blueprint of the column survives in any of the archives we have visited.

8. Lionel Harris to Jack Potter, memorandum, 31 Jan. 1965, Folder PO.3 Jordan–Art Treasures Foreign Participation, New York Public Library. Harris noted in this memo that a blueprint sent to the fair had contained the dimensions of a column that was different from the one that arrived.

9. Lionel Harris to Newbold Morris, commissioner of the Parks Department, 3 and 10 Dec. 1963, Folder PO.3 Jordan–Art Treasures Foreign Participation, New York Public Library. In our investigations we have not been able to determine why the original column was not sent.


12. Gros, L’architecture romaine, 497. For example, those of the Temple of Mars Ultor have a ratio of 1.13, and the columns in the Pantheon’s porch are 1.12.

13. The weathering on the column shows the drums were not properly aligned when they were erected.

14. Mohammad Nassar, The Architectural Elements and Decoration at Gerasa (Jerash) during the Roman Period: (Typological and Comparative Studies) (Berlin: Mensch and Buch, 2004), 64–70.

15. Correspondence suggests this; see Folder PO.3 Jordan—Art Treasures Foreign Participation, New York Public Library. Two photographs of Jerash are included in the correspondence: one of the famous oval plaza in Jerash and one of the Temple of Artemis. The inclusion of a photograph of the Temple of Artemis suggests this was the building from which the column was selected, as does information provided in the "Jordan Pavilion Fact Sheet" produced by the New York World’s Fair Public Relations Department; see Bill Cotter, “World’s Fair Photos,” http://www.worldsfairphotos.com/nywf64/documents/jordan-fact-sheet.pdf (accessed 30 Jan. 2013).

16. Historic Jordan, the Holy Land, official world’s fair brochure; Historic Jordan, the Holy Land—Jerash, official world’s fair brochure; both brochures in the authors’ private collection.


21. The diameters of the columns are different. The diameter of the columns in the *propylea* of the Temple of Artemis is 1.42 meters; see Nassar, Architectural Elements and Decoration at Gerasa, 48. In the case of the *nymphaeum*, the diameter above the Attic base is 0.87 meters. Furthermore, the capitals of the Corinthian columns in the *nymphaeum* have decorated abaci; each capital is also made of two blocks. See ibid., 42.

22. A review of all of the photographs of columns from Jerash held in the Manar Al Athar database at Oxford University (http://www.manar-al-athar.ox.ac.uk, accessed 14 June 2013) did not yield any matches.

23. Alan Walmsley, director of materiality, Islam Research Initiative, University of Copenhagen, email communication with authors, 9 Sept. 2013.

24. Ibid.


27. The definition and significance of the Decapolis remain problematic, as the ancient sources list at least thirteen cities that were counted among the Decapolis at various points. The ancient authors, such as Pliny the Elder and Prolemy, include different cities in their lists. See Pliny the Elder, Natural History, trans. Harris Rackham (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press 1938), 5.16.74; Prolemy, The Geography, trans. Edward Luther Stevenson (New York: Dover, 1991), 5.14.22. See also Browning, Jerash and the Decapolis, 13–17; Kraeling, Gerasa, City of the Decapolis, 33. For further information about the Decapolis, see ARAM Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies and ARAM International Conference, The Decapolis; Kennedy, Gerasa and the Decapolis; Hoffmann and Kerner, Gadara, Gerasa und die Dekapolis; Ball, Rome in the East, 181–97.


32. Patrick Degryse, a geologist based at the Center of Archaeological Science at the Catholic University of Leuven (Belgium), has worked extensively on stone from Jordan. He examined the capital on 18 November 2014 and identified the stone by eye as consistent with the stone coming from the quarries outside Jerash. The stone appears to be consistent with samples 2, 3, 6, and 14–16 in Nizar Abu-Jaber, QuarryScapes: Ancient Stone Quarry Landscapes in the Eastern Mediterranean (Trondheim: Geological Survey of Norway, 2009), 73.


37. Ibid.

38. It is unclear who paid for the cost of transportation. Vincent Fallon (of McNally Bros., Inc., a transportation company based in Brooklyn, New York) to David Crownover, executive secretary of the University Museum, 26 Oct. 1966, Near East Section Records—Jordans, Jerash capitals, 1966, Penn Museum Archive. It appears the museum may have paid about $1,685 for additional materials to install the capitals. See the accession record for the capitals in the Penn Museum Archive.


41. It is not possible to measure the width of the capitals; in the case of the capital to the left of the fountain, so much deterioration has taken place that a measurement would not be particularly helpful. Given that the width noted in the archival material is fairly accurate for the height of the capitals, it is reasonable to assume the width was accurately recorded also.

42. On the capitals, see Claudia Barsanti, “La scultura architettonica di epoca omayyade tra Bisanzio e la Persia sasanide: I capitelli di Qasr al Muwaqqar in Giordania,” in Medioevo mediterraneo: L'Ocidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam: Atti del convegno internazionale di studi Parma, 21–23 settembre 2004, ed. Arturo Carlo Quintavalle (Milan: Electa, 2007), 437, figs. 1a–c, 2a–b. A press release issued on 18 October 1965 by Princeton University's Department of Public Information states these two capitals were delivered in the Jordan Pavilion at the 1964–65 New York World's Fair, but there is no archival record or photographic evidence to support this claim.

43. Press release, 18 Oct. 1965, 2, Department of Public Information, Princeton University.

44. Ibid.


52. Scott to Crownover, 10 Sept. 1975.

53. The original drawings and dimensions of the column sent to Penn do not appear to survive, as they are not held in the Penn Museum Archive. Presumably these were sent in 1975 before the column arrived, but this is unclear from the papers in the Penn Museum Archive.


55. Ibid.

56. Ibid. Also see “Ask Benny: Are Those Roman Ruins Really Roman?,” Penn Current, 27 Jan. 2005, http://www.upenn.edu/pennnews/current/2005-01-27/ask-benny/ask-benny-are-those-roman-ruins-really-roman (accessed 1 Apr. 2015). This article gives different dimensions: 26 feet, or 7.92 meters, for the height of the shaft, and a diameter of 3 feet, or 0.9144 meters.


60. Ibid., 2–3.

61. Ibid., 3.


65. On the long tradition of gift exchange in the Islamic world, see Linda Komaroff and Sheila Blair, *Gifts of the Sultan: The Arts of Giving at the Islamic Courts* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 2011); see also the website for the exhibition for which this catalog was created, http://www.lacma.org/art/exhibition/gifts-sultan-arts-giving-islamic-courts (accessed 14 June 2013).


68. Ibid., 199.


72. Sometimes countries hosting world’s fairs have chosen designs for their pavilions that are specific to their countries and cultures. For an illuminating discussion of the 1867 Paris Expositions Universelles and the representation of Islam to Western audiences, see Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World’s Fairs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). A succinct overview of the various theoretical frameworks used in analyzing world’s fairs is included in the preface of the 1964 *World’s Fair* souvenir guidebook.

73. For discussion of the social and political protests of the time, the national legislation passed during the period of the fair, and the larger historical context, as well as the conservative nature of the fair, see Samuel, *End of the Innocence*, iii–xii, 5, 20–21, 26–37. In comparison with the 1964–65 fair, the 1939–40 New York World’s Fair and the 1962 Century 21 Exposition in Seattle both had a more pronounced futuristic feel.


77. Ibid.

78. Ibid.


82. “Jordan Pavilion Fact Sheet.”


84. For more details, see “Jordan Pavilion Fact Sheet.”

85. *Historic Jordan, the Holy Land; Historic Jordan, the Holy Land—Jerash; Historic Jordan, the Holy Land—Jericho, Jordan Valley, Dead Sea*, official world’s fair brochure; *Historic Jordan, the Holy Land—Petra*, official world’s fair brochure; *Murals of a Refugee, Pavilion of Jordan, the Holy Land*, official world’s fair brochure; all brochures in the authors’ private collection.


95. Ibid.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
107. Ibid.
109. The resolution was announced on 12 May 1964, but it was not passed until 23 June. “Resolution Calling for the Removal of the Controversial Mural in the Jordanian Pavilion,” City Council Resolution No. 2041, 12 May 1964, Box 277, Folder PO.3 Jordan–Israel Pavilion Controversy Special Events Participation, New York Public Library.
113. Katz, Jordanian Jerusalem, 137–43.
114. “Suit Asks the Closing of Jordan Exhibit.”