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Archaeology and Professional Ethical Codes in Israel in the Mid 80s: The Case of the Association of Archaeologists in Israel and Its Code of Ethics
ARCHAEOLOGY AND PROFESSIONAL ETHICAL CODES IN ISRAEL IN THE MID 80s: THE CASE OF THE ASSOCIATION OF ARCHAEOLOGISTS IN ISRAEL AND ITS CODE OF ETHICS

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INTRODUCTION

In this article we discuss a unique chapter in the history of Israeli archaeology—the “Association of Archaeologists in Israel.” It is the first research ever published on this body. We will review its establishment, activity and decline, yet focus mainly on its ethical code (fully translated, Appendix 1: Document 1).

The main source for study is the association’s archive, which is partial. For example, of approximately fifteen AAI newsletters only seven survive (nos. 3, 5, 8-9, 12-13, 15). Reports of the comptroller exist for only two years (1984–5, 1985–6). Not all activities were documented in writing, and there were periods of inactivity; it seems that some committees did not even exist on paper. Another important source is the AAI journal “Archaeology” (אקדמיות עתיקות). We also held interviews with former AAI members.

The Hebrew title אגודת הארכאולוגים בישראל ארכיון was translated either as “The Israel Association of Archaeologists” (Kempinski 1992:2), or as “The Association of Archaeologists in Israel” (thus Dever 1989:143 and the official letterheads, Fig. 1). To prevent confusion with the Israel Antiquities Authority (also abbreviated usually as IAA), we use in this paper the form AAI.
The importance of our study lies in the fact that the AAI code remains the only written code of ethics in the entire history of Archaeology in Israel/Palestine. The AAI is dead; but the ethical issues related to this code remain crucial.

1. THE FIGURE OF AHARON KEMPINSKI

The AAI was largely the creation of Professor Aharon Kempinski. Kempinski was born in 1939 and grew in Nahariyah in Northern Israel, under “classic” German education. He studied in Jerusalem and Marburg and lectured in Tel-Aviv University beginning in 1975, as well as at Ben-Gurion University in Beer Sheba (between 1972–1985) (Fritz 1995; Meshel 1995; Oren 2002; Ahituv 2002; for a picture of him as a high school student see http://www.saba-meir.co.il/vida.doc, accessed April 6, 2008). Kempinski died in July 1994, when he was 55 years old. Two volumes were dedicated to him: the final report of Kabri, his major excavation, edited by his students (Scheftelowitz and Oren 2002); and a memorial volume by Ben-Gurion University (Oren and Ahituv 2002).

Kempinski was “profoundly anti-establishment, in each and every circle of his life, including the founding of the Association of Archaeologists,” as the Tel Aviv University obituary stated (the obituary can be accessed at http://www.tau.ac.il/humanities/archaeology/info/Kempinski.pdf; see also Oren 2002: xiv). The same obituary mentions that he “did not build a family of his own and all his energy and time were devoted to his scientific and political interests” and that “[r]ecently, Aharon had become interested in the important topic of the interaction between archaeology and national ideology, specifically, the role archaeology played in the formation of Israeli culture and society.” In simple terms, he was a liberal, a fighter for human rights and rights of the homosexual community. He also volunteered in an association helping foreign workers. Hanegbi (1995) wrote that Kempinski staged a constant fight “to emancipate Israeli Archaeology from the yoke of the ruling Zionist Ideology.” In creating the AAI, however, he attempted to force the establishment to accept him as an equal player.

Kempinski detested trade in antiquities and the acquisition of the Dayan collection by the Israel Museum and the
exhibition of unprovenanced antiquities by the Bible Lands Museum (Oren 2002:xv; Ahituv 2002:xvii; Scheftelowitz, interview; Hershman, interview). He employed Palestinians in his excavations and took care of giving human remains from Arab tombs for reburial. He took his team to abandoned Arab villages and included in his preliminary reports data on the abandoned village of Kabri (Hanegbi 1995; Scheftelowitz, interview; Kempinski and Niemeier 1994:*47).

Such activity did not necessarily stem out of frustration from the academic milieu; yet it is well known that Kempinski was not liked at Tel Aviv and the feelings were mutual. He never held senior administrative positions there. At Beer-Sheba University he found a warmer environment, even if only as temporary teacher. He considered moving there and donated his library to this University (Ahituv 2002:xvi; Gilead, Interview; Oren and Ahituv 2002: preface).

2. THE FORMATION OF THE ASSOCIATION

According to Gilead, Hershman and Meshel (interviews), Kempinski came up with the idea of forming the AAI, at first discussing it with friends. A funding meeting was held at Tel-Aviv University on May 24, 1984, with a few dozen participants (mostly younger archaeologists). Kempinski brought written suggestions for rules (דלאן), which are fully translated here (Appendix 1: Document 2). The AAI was officially registered on November 14, 1984. Since Kempinski was a controversial figure, Zeev Meshel was preferred as the first chairman (Meshel, interview; for other positions see Appendix 2).

The social and political background within which the association was established was that of the years immediately following the drastic changes of 1977. Since its establishment to 1977, Israel was governed by a center-left Labor party (and its predecessor, “Mapai” מפא”י). On that year, a right-wing coalition of the Likud and religious parties came to power. The archaeological establishment was tightly connected to the former “regime” (with figures like Binyamin Mazar and Yigael Yadin) and faced a crisis, of which the AAI was one consequence.

3. THE CHANGE FROM IDAM TO IAA

The early 1980s saw a growing dissatisfaction among archaeologists about the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums (IDAM). It was perceived as being in dire straits. It suffered acute shortages of workers, inadequate budget and lacked independent status (Meshel and Hershman, interviews). A report of the state comptroller in 1986 portrayed a deplorable situation for IDAM and the Department’s responses to the report did not seem adequate (Meshel 1989:85). This report, however, was the starting point for a move to change the situation.

The idea of reforming the IDAM into a governmental authority was raised by Zeev Meshel earlier (Meshel 1973).
was discussed in the Israel Exploration Society (IES) council and led to a lukewarm resolution stating that the Archaeological Council should handle the matter (on this council cf. Kletter 2006:214-249). Therefore, Meshel (interview) resigned from the IES council, feeling that new ideas were being consistently rejected. In 1976, Kempinski wrote to Nahman Avigad, then chair of the Archaeological Council, attaching Meshel's suggestions even though, at that time, he rejected the idea of turning the IDAM into a governmental authority (Kempinski 1976).

When the IAA was established, Meshel (1989:86) presented the change as a major achievement of the AAI. In Gilead’s view (interview), Amir Drori, the first IAA director, was the real cause of reform as change depended on politicians, not on wishes of archaeologists. However, there is evidence that the AAI had an important role in this change. The General Manager of the Ministry of Education and Culture from 1976 to 1986 was Eliezer Shmueli. He was replaced by Shimshon Shoshani, who served from 1986 to 1989 (and currently, again, since April 2009). Shoshani was a childhood acquaintance of Kempinski: both learned in the same school at Nahariyah. Thus, Kempinski had “connections” to the Education Ministry (Meshel, interview; AAI newsletter 3). Kempinski arranged two meetings with the Minister of Education (Meshel notes that they told Avi Eitan, IDAM Director, about their initiative beforehand). One meeting took place on January 18, 1985. The AAI was represented by Meshel, Kempinski, Rahel Hachlili and Amihai Mazar. They introduced the AAI and spoke about the Archaeological Council and the IDAM. Then, “a talk developed between us and the Minister, who is now learning the problems of archaeology, and his General Manager, who knows them well. The General Manager invited us to suggest a nominee for chair of the Archaeological Council and suggestions for its structure.” This reflects a very high esteem indeed by the establishment; the AAI even became represented (by Meshel) in the Archaeological Council.

In June 1986, the AAI handed the Education Minister a memorandum about reforming the IDAM (attached to AAI Newsletter 3). It called for the appointment of a new IDAM director, who was to be a professional archaeologist and enjoy an independent position as much as feasible, and for the prohibition of trade in antiquities (AAI Archive; Meshel interview; Meshel 1989:85-86). As AAI representative, Meshel spoke about the reform in the Archaeological Council in 1986 (Meshel 1989:86). AAI board members also met with Nahman Raz, chair of the Parliament Education Committee. Thus, the AAI did have an important role in reforming the IDAM into the IAA.

4. Structure and Procedures

In the first meeting of May 1984 the AAI board and other bodies were elected. The board included approximately 7–9 archaeologists. According to Gilead, they met three to four
times annually. Iris Eldar, the Comptroller, noted that the board met ten times in the first year and three to four times in the second (reports, July 3, 1985; August 13, 1986). The first board included: Kempinski, Ofer Bar-Yosef, Meshel, Roni Reich, A. Mazar, Rachel Hachilili, and Ruth Hestrin. Issues were debated and decided democratically (Meshel, Eldar, and Hershman, interviews; Eldar, report July 3, 1985). The board actually decided the agenda—and also reached vital decisions, not always by cooperation with the members (Iris Eldar, report August 13, 1986). Eldar (ibid) mentions five AAI committees: professional union, maintaining ethics, public relations, managing cultural assets, publication of excavation reports, and foreign contacts. However, the last three committees left no documents and even the names of committee chairs are partially unknown.

Members met in a general annual meeting (see Appendix 1: Document 2: #10.7; 11.1). The AAI archive holds several lists of members. At first, membership grew fast: 104 in June 1984, 121 in October 1984 and 181 (including potential/past members) in 1985. There were approximately 160 members in 1985, but the number dropped to 83 in 1986. Other lists suggest 88 members in 1987, 146 in 1988, 133 in 1989 and 78 in 1990 (perhaps the 1990 data is partial). However, fee paying members were much fewer. For example, only 45 members paid fees during three consecutive years (1987–1989). Typical to voluntary associations, the entire body was kept alive by a small core—maybe a dozen—of dedicated members (Hershman, interview).

A constant problem for the AAI was financing. While the rules (see Appendix 1: Document 2: #2.6, 9.1-2) envisioned properties, the fiscal basis remained small. Even collecting the modest member fees was difficult. A company for office services was employed for a short while; then all activity was made voluntarily. An idea of generating income from tours abroad did not materialize; only one tour to Turkey took place. The comptroller's reports show a modest income of 1448 shekels in 1985, almost all from a single donation and a total expense of just 77 shekels between December 26, 1985–April 1, 1986.

According to Gilead (interview), an initiative made by Kempinski to join הָדָאָן (Hemdat, an association against religious coercion) was rejected by the board as too political. However, the archive shows considerable contacts with Hemdat and in fact, the AAI joined Hemdat in 1985 (see Newsletter 3), probably after Gilead left the association.

The AAI and the Israeli archaeological establishment did not develop a close working relation. The attitude of many established archaeologists was “why do we need it?” (Gilead, interview). When the AAI offered cooperation to the Israel Exploration Society, Yosef Aviram (IES secretary) responded that “the IES does not recognize the AAI.” Zeev Meshel tried to introduce the association to the IES council on January 11, 1985 (see Newsletter 3). Many V.I.P.s were present—Yosef
Aviram, Avraham Malamat, David Amiran, Moshe Dothan, Moshe Kol, Avraham Biran, Binjamin Mazar, Ephraim Stern, Moshe Kochavi, Nahman Avigad, and David Ussishkin. Ussishkin was the only one in favor of the AAI. Some favored the existence of a professional union, but most IES council members denied that there was any need for an AAI. Avraham Biran summed the meeting by saying: “the AAI is an existing fact and there is nothing to decide about”—but the issue was cooperation with, not the existence of, the AAI.

AAI members, however, were not completely removed from the establishment. Meshel served on the Archaeological Council and the IES council. Many AAI members held senior positions, but usually at a later stage in their careers and never due to their AAI activity.

Amir Drori, IAA Director, was not against the AAI at first (Gilead, interview). Only later did relations deteriorate. One cause was an appeal of the AAI (with universities) to the High Court regarding the transference of ossuaries from Jerusalem, which the IAA gave to religious bodies for burial (see Newsletter 15; Feldstein, interview). Kempinski and Drori disagreed about policy on trade in antiquities. Kempinski (AAI archive, June 12, 1994) resented the fact that the AAI was not invited to attend Parliament discussions on this issue. He also objected to the “Operation Scroll” (a large scale search for DDS and related material) of 1993–94 (Sussmann and Gal 2003; Hershman, interview). In 1995 “contract archaeology” began in Israel when universities started to perform salvage excavations (Feldstein 1995:80; Kletter and De-Groot 2001; Yekutielly 2008; Kletter 2009). We will not discuss this issue here, however, since by then the AAI was marginal.

5. The AAI Journal

ארכיון אגף ארכאולוגיה (Archaeology) appeared between 1986 and 1995. The journal was mostly financed by Elli Shiler of the Ariel publishing house (Gilead, interview). Gilead was editor of volumes 1-2. Kempinski edited volume 3 and Shmuel Givon volume 4 (see Appendix 2). Gilead stated in the first volume that the journal would stress “theoretical principles and practical methods of work”—an echo of the “New Archaeology” of the 1960s–1970s, which finally landed in Israel. A second goal was related to the concept of sites as a limited resource (Gilead 1986:5, Meshel 1986:63). The editor invited other institutions to share views openly (although this never happened). A third aim was to discuss professional matters and work conditions of archaeologists in Israel—“a problem not yet solved” according to Gilead (Gilead 1986:5).

volume 2 discussed demography and antiquities looting; volume 3 was dedicated to the history of archaeology in Palestine. The theme of the fourth volume was the archaeology of nomads.

The journal fulfilled its role well. It raised new issues and published innovative articles. After the ground-breaking first volume, Gilead (interview) expected that people would rush to
offer articles. Yet, articles were slow to come. The volunteer mode of operation (Meshel 1986:63) perhaps explains the long delays of the next volumes. Volume 5 has been contemplated since June 1994. An editorial board was suggested (board reports June 3, 1994; July 28, 1994). The AAI even prepared a letter to one potential editor expressing happiness on his future nomination, but asking him to volunteer. There was no fifth volume.

6. THE PROFESSIONAL UNION

Meshel (interview) explains that the idea of forming the AAI was related to the understanding that a professional union was required. Archaeologists were divided in several workplaces, and were often weak and passive. Even before 1984, there was growing unrest about work conditions, especially in the Israel Survey Association (сотрудничество). This body employed about one hundred archaeologists in temporary positions. There was no trade union and workers lacked basic social benefits. On June 30, 1983, fourteen heads of survey teams applied to the board, asking, in very polite terms, to arrange contracts with pensions, insurance against accidents, and the like.

Thus, the creation of the AAI creation was a response to the hopes of many archaeologists for improved conditions. Yet, it seems that the AAI’s role as a professional union was not the top priority of its board. From the beginning, these matters were relegated to the lower level of a “professional union committee.” In the AAI rules, union matters come near the end of the list of aims (see Appendix 1: Document 2, #2.8; cf. the last item in Archaeology I, Gilead 1986:5). In December 1984, the AAI issued a memorandum of ten urgent “Problems in Israeli Archaeology that deserve Discussion in the Archaeological Council,” but work conditions were not one of them.

Motti Haiman (one of the Survey Association petitioners and later head of the professional union committee) lectured in the first AAI meeting about the harsh conditions of temporary archaeologists. The resentment was not so much about salaries, but lack of academic (or academic related) options. Haiman suggested forming a committee with representatives from many workplaces to study conditions and to approach the Histadrut (הסתדרו) — the Israeli Federation of Labour. Haiman expected the AAI to pay attention to such problems. For Iris Eldar (report July 3, 1985), they were top priority.

In December 1985, the Survey Association workers formed a union (headed by Haiman, Sari Arad and Gideon Avni) and managed to arrange pensions. Conditions were also improved at the Hebrew University (Haiman 1986:64). In early 1985, the AAI started contacts with the Histadrut with the intention of forming a union to represent all archaeologists (see Newsletter 3). Yet nothing was achieved: the AAI was not accepted as a recognized union by the Histadrut and “did not act at all as a professional union… achievements were made by union members in workplaces, not by the AAI” (Eldar, reports...
Feldstein (interview) states that the AAI was recognized and had a representative in the Tel Aviv district of the Histadrut, but was this official status? There are no documents to verify this claim. Heiman explained that forming the union faced “administrative-legal difficulties,” because archaeologists worked at different and separate workplaces: “After going aimlessly in circles… we decided to abandon, at this stage, the efforts to create a general professional union and to focus on improving social conditions… but the initiative must come, at least at this stage, from each workplace separately” (Heiman 1986:64).

It seems that senior AAI managers were not truly interested in a professional union, but in “nobler” issues—the Archaeological Council, ethics, religious coercion, and the like. The “professional union” aspect of the association was put to rest. In 1994, when the AAI re-discovered that many archaeologists work in temporary IAA positions, it tried to act, but had no power to change anything. The label “professional union” was still occasionally used (e.g., board reports for 3.6.1994 and 28.7.1994), but it was by name only.

In sum, despite some good intentions, the AAI failed to act as a professional/trade union. Archaeologists remained divided in workplaces with unions taking care only of local work conditions.

7. CONFERENCES AND ACADEMIC DEGREES

Preliminary data on approved MAs and PhDs was published in Archaeology 1 (1986), listing 23 MA works in 1978–1985 and 16 PhD dissertations in 1979–1985. The AAI was quite successful in organizing conferences and workshops. In the most active years the AAI organized two conferences, combining various archaeological lectures (Kobbo 1992; see Appendix 3).

8. SITES AS A LIMITED RESOURCE

The idea that sites are a limited resource was a new concept, which was expressed first by Ofer Bar-Yosef in 1984 (Meshel, interview). It was immediately accepted by the AAI board (see Newsletter 3; Meshel 1986:63; Gilead 1986:5). This led to the logical conclusion that a policy must be formed about sites.

The AAI memorandum on “Problems in Israeli Archaeology that Require Discussion in the Archaeological Council” called for a general policy concerning excavation licenses (including salvage excavations) and the sorting of sites, also defining some as “national sites.” The document mentioned a “priority for research by Israelis.” Excavations were conceived in terms of two categories: foreign and Israeli, with the latter deserving priority in the allocation of sites. This idea had deep roots. For example, the young and not yet “anti-establishment” Kempinski wrote to Nahman Avigad (chair, Archaeological Council) in 1976:

The IDAM and the Archaeological Council never developed a policy to decide which sites should be
preserved for national research and which will be excavated by foreign teams. It seems to me that the interest of national research at present urgently requires a definition of key sites, which will be preserved for Israeli research. Such procedure exists in any cultural state and there is no reason why Israel should ignore it. (Kempinski 1976)

Ofer Bar-Yosef suggested in 1984 to prepare a list of sites. The board approved (Meshel, interview) and a preliminary list of “reserved sites” was published in Archaeology 3 (AAI 1992b). The authors of this list wrote that sites “must be allotted first and foremost to local research (as is done in every other country), given cultural associations and that the commitment to preserve a historical-cultural tradition rests, above all, on the citizens of the particular [political] state, in which the sites are located. The authors of the list added,

…reservations about what may seem a nationalistic tint in the present suggestion. Freedom of research for foreign institutions must be kept as well as the freedom of local research, but when it comes to discussing a dwindling resource, one must, of course, take into account national priorities, such as saving sites or excavating sites that are in danger of destruction—things that should be made obligatory for foreign excavation teams. (AAI 1992b:72)

The text is contradictory. There also seems to be a sort of paternalism towards salvage excavations. In fact, the authors of the list tried to force foreign teams to do salvage work, as means of keeping more major sites free for local academics. Presumably, salvage sites are endless. There is even talk about promoting a site from the status of “salvage site” to the (all important) list of “reserved sites”; and of moving a “research site” from an Israeli to a foreign team, but only by full agreement “of the authorized bodies.” Another doubtful idea was forcing Israeli partners on foreign teams (AAI 1992b:72). The authors did not suggest that Israeli academics, like foreign colleagues, should join the burden of salvage excavations, however. This was, of course, the era before semi-private companies were hired for salvage excavations operated by Israeli universities (Kletter and De-Groot 2001; Yekutieli 2008; Kletter 2009).

The authors were aware that defining what is “important” is not an easy task. A list was published of 67 sites from three general periods (Archaeology 3:72–77): prehistoric (20 sites); Bronze, Iron and Persian (28) and later (19). The Bronze–Persian category included additional comments. Some sites were designated to be “used as research sites” (e.g., Gezer, Ashkelon, and Beer-Sheba). The text even stipulates who would excavate Megiddo—it is “intended today for excavation by scholars of Tel-Aviv University and other institutions.” Kempinski was deeply interested in Megiddo (Kempinski 1989), although by the time the document was published, he excavated at Kabri.
The purpose of this list was to convince the IAA to declare these sites as “research sites.” There is no discussion of implications. Some sites were under ongoing foreign excavations (Ashkelon, Caesarea). Should these excavations stop? It seems that the noble idea about sites as limited resources fell prey to other interests. Saving sites for future generations was associated with keeping them available to a particular group.

In the late 1990s, the IAA composed a list of approximately 700 “important sites.” Archaeological policy concerning them was not fully clear. Perhaps the main idea was that they should be kept safe from development. This list, however, does not separate “salvage” sites and “research” sites. Salvage excavations have the same methodology and must be headed by similarly qualified, academic archaeologists. The research aims are the same—securing maximal knowledge from excavations and saving it by publishing a final excavation report.

9. The Decline of the AAI

Kempinsky’s illness led to a fast decline in the AAI. His death in 1994 left a vacuum (Gilead, Feldstein and Hershman, interviews). There are no board reports after June 1995 and no more volumes of Archaeology appeared. Membership dwindled and acute budget problems continued (Sheftelowitz, interview). Twenty archaeologists could not be found for a demonstration against religious coercion in 1994 (see Board Report, July 28, 1994). Lists of members were not updated. Some board meetings in 1995 included three members even though the minimum legal number required was five (see Appendix 1: Document 1: #11.3).

Finally, the AAI was erased (around 1999) from the State’s register of associations (Feldstein, interview). By that time, the rules set in its statues (see Appendix 1: Document 2: #15) were no longer followed. No AAI member ever voted to dismantle it.

10. The Ethical Code (Appendix 1: Document 1)

10.1. The Origins of the Ethical Code

Little is known about the origins of the code. Gilead (interview) testified that archaeological ethics were discussed in early AAI board meetings, but did not recall that a code was written. Meshel (interview) was member in the AAI ethical committee (active since 1984), but was surprised to hear that the code was actually published. When Herschel Shanks enquired him once for a possible article in BAR, Meshel thought that the AAI only talked about the matter. It is important to add that the code was written when Meshel and Gilead were no longer members of the board.

Naturally, disputes between archaeologists reached the knowledge of senior AAI members. Such cases could have
heightened awareness to ethical problems. Meshel (interview) mentions a case from the 1980s. Two members of an excavation team became seriously offended by a third. In response, they locked the finds and refused the third access to them, who, in turn, hired a lawyer and threatened to sue them. They applied to Meshel and finally the matter was solved out of court. Meshel acknowledged that the two came to him out of personal trust, rather than because of his official role in the AAI. Few other examples are documented in the AAI archive. The AAI acted as a kind of mediator between conflicted sides.

One case was even published in *Archaeology*. Shmaryahu Gutman and the Gamla excavations team complained against Zvi Maoz, who published an article on the architecture of Gamla (in a book by Elli Shiller with the same publisher as the AAI journal). The final excavation report of Gamla was not yet published. In their view, Maoz should have asked their permission first. They accused him of copying their plans and putting his name as owner of copyrights. They claimed that Maoz broke sections 10, 12b of the Antiquities Law (1978), and demanded from Shiller a published apology, among other things (Gutman et al. 1989:87).

Maoz replied to the accusations. He stated that his plans were original and, that although based on the team’s plans (from preliminary reports), they incorporated new reconstructions and therefore, he holds copyrights. According to him, Gutman’s complaint derives from either ignorance about publishing ethics or from his view about the right to offer different views on current excavations. Maoz stated that those who signed Gutman’s letter are not professional archaeologists and the AAI should “stop this scientific and professional scandal” (that is, the Gamla excavations directed by Gutman). This particular case indicates both the interest of the AAI board in ethical issues and its willingness to bring matters such as this in the open.

It is unlikely, however, that these cases caused the AAI to take an interest in ethics, since such an interest existed from the beginning and seems to stem from individual traits of leading AAI members.

### 10.2. The Ethics Committee

An Ethics Committee was active from May 1984, but unfortunately, there is little data about it. It seems that Aharon Kempinski and Zeev Meshel were the leading members (Gilead, interview). Iris Eldar mentions this committee in her report of August 13, 1986.

The commitment to ethical issues is apparent in the AAI statutes (see Appendix 1: Document 2). Section 2 specifies the aim of “maintaining the norms of professional ethics (Heb. מוסר מקצועני).” These issues dominate other sections in the document (e.g., rules about trade in antiquities [see Appendix 1: Document 2: #2.3] and a definition of norms and standards of fieldwork and publication [#2.9]. All IAA members were required to follow the (ethical) rules (правила) to be set by the
AAI, mainly concerning the trade in antiquities (#7.2). These “rules” constitute a code of ethics, explicitly mentioned eight years before its materialization.

This commitment to ethical issues is also evident in the memorandum about the “10 Problems in the Work of the Archaeological Council” (December 1984). The memorandum includes settings norms for excavators’ rights, content of final reports, rights of scholars to see finds, and a policy about trade in antiquities. Even the old idea of selling antiquities of the State was mentioned, as a way of fighting looting—and financing activities (cf. Kletter and Kersel 2007).

On June 20, 1986 the board issued a clear cut declaration:

The AAI calls the archaeological community to avoid publishing finds that do not come from legal excavations… The AAI forbids its members to identify, sort, estimate value or authenticity or handle in any other form, whether for payment or free of charge, any finds that derive from illegal excavations, whether for a dealer or for a collector.

On February 5, 1990, the board returned to activity after a long gap and decided to “assemble a team, which will try to continue the forming of a proper document about professional ethics in archaeology. The work is also based on collecting existing materials and on making contacts with similar bodies abroad.” Indeed, the archive holds a copy of the “Professional Ethic Law” of the Association of Architects and Academics in Israel (published 1982).

In 1993, the Ethics Committee included Aharon Kempinski, Michal Artzi and Amir Feldstein. A suggestion to add a lawyer was accepted (see Newsletter 15), and a search began—this already after the code of ethics was published. In 1994 the Ethics Committee was mentioned for the last time in the archive. Its members were Aharon Kempinski, Yuval Goren and Yuval Yekutieli. Yuval Goren, however, remarked (through email correspondence) that he was invited in 1994 to join the committee, but it never met.

10.3 WRITING THE CODE

The code was prepared in 1990–1992. According to Feldstein (interview), it was created by small groups of 2–3 members each with Kempinski supervising the work and editing the code. An undated document in the archive is entitled “Guidelines for the Ethical Code (חקנים נח緩וח).” It includes the following nine guidelines:

1. The status of the code for AAI members and for others, and the AAI Disciplinary Court (frican-ריצavez משמעת).

2. Maintaining professional level.

3. Maintaining professional ethics (A. in relation to robbed finds; B. duty of reporting transgressions to the Antiquities Act).
4. Improper (תְּסִיך) means for getting job offers.

5. Accepting job offers and limits to accepting offers (with sub-sections, not translated fully here).

6. Relations among archaeologists.

7. Relations between archaeologists and institutions.

8. Salary (according to experience, rank, etc.).


We can see some influence of the 1982 (Israeli) Architects and Academics Code; see, for instance, the titles of Sections 4–5. They were omitted later, since archaeologists—especially at that period—were not businessmen, but employees of not-for-profit institutions; corruption through job offers was negligible. The guidelines were very preliminary. Only section 5 was further detailed into 4 sub-sections, but they dealt not with job offers, but with ethical issues concerning antiquities, sites and colleagues. They focused on the individual archaeologist and on personal conduct, such as: rights and duties in a team, personal accountability in terms of research/antiquities, personal responsibility for public conservation, restoration, publication, and for keeping sites for future generations, as well as personal responsibility to colleagues, including cooperation; and providing or showing them data.

Another document is entitled “Maintaining Professional Ethics” (Appendix 1: Document 3) and is an elaboration on Section 3 of the “Guidelines.” The first part (A) is directed against robbery and forbids involvement in it. The second part (B) discusses rights and duties concerning research findings, with seven sub-sections. Some sections address all archaeologists (3AI, 3AII); others only AAI members (e.g., 3AIII). The wording is not successful and ambiguous terms add uncertainties. Since this is only a working draft, we will not review it here in detail.

Another handwritten page (see Appendix 1: Document 4, undated, not signed) is titled “Defining Rights and Duties in a Team.” It includes seven sections that mostly cover the same ground as part 3B of Appendix 1: Document 3. A new clause states that permit holders must set a time-table for publication before excavation starts. This is not practical, since archaeologists are not able to predict the length of time required for excavation and reporting. Serious publication plans require knowing what there is to publish. There is also discussion of the case of a deputy, who has no written contract, and comes into dispute with the holder of a permit. The deputy should receive half of the finds for publication, but his point was later crossed out and replaced by “two thirds.” Apparently, Document 4 precedes Document 3.

An important letter from January 20, 1990 (see Appendix 1: Document 6 by Yuval Goren, then AAI chair) states that after prolonged discussion and anticipation, a preliminary draft of a Code of Ethics was ready. To speed the process leading to the adoption of a Code of Ethics, members were asked to read
the draft and return their comments until January 30, 1991. Then, the board would prepare the final version of the code and bring it to approval in the following spring conference (meaning Spring 1991).

The AAI archive holds a copy of the draft of code with annotations in red by Zeev Meshel (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2

Meshel mentions the date December 25, 1990, so his comments are later. This is almost a year after the “preliminary draft” (see Appendix 1: Document 6) was sent to members. However, the text annotated by Meshel is practically identical to the final version of the published code (except seven additional sections, translated in Document 5). Apparently, Meshel was not asked to comment on the published code, but on the preliminary version (see Appendix 1: Document 6). If so, Meshel’s quite justified comments were rejected. It also means that there were likely few other members who bothered to comment on the draft. But if anyone else besides Meshel returned comments, their notes are not in the archive.

On December 6, 1991, the board decided that the Code be published in *Archaeology* Vol. 3 and that Roni Reich will show it beforehand to Amir Drori (IAA Director) “in order to prevent bloodshed.” This remark indicates that the AAI expected troubles. Perhaps this explains the omission of seven sections (see Appendix 1: Document 5) from the published code. They specifically discuss work conditions and salaries. According to one section (Appendix 1: Document 5: #21), salaries would follow a tariff set by Tel Aviv University and the IAA. Yet, they would also apply to temporary workers (#22) and according to another section, would be decided by the AAI and the worker’s union (Appendix 1: Document 5: #23). The omission of this part expresses the AAI lack of status in matters of work relations.
In January 1992, the board reported the publication of the Code—somewhat preliminarily as it was still unpublished and the journal was long delayed. In May 1992, the board decided to attach the final code to Newsletter 13, since “distributing the Code of Ethics is highly important.” It was in this manner that the code reached all AAI members. Perhaps this was the version annotated by Meshel (but it does not significantly change our conclusions).

The code was published in Archaeology 3—August 1992 (see Appendix 1: Document 1). Section 1 stipulates that it was accepted in a “full meeting of the AAI on December 14, 1990” and hence, obliges all AAI members. The same date appears at the end of the code. The code read by Meshel (sometimes after December 25, 1991) also included the same words. However, the letter of January 21, 1990 (see Appendix 1: Document 6—a year before December 14, 1990) mentions approval only by the board, not by the entire AAI. We have no conclusive evidence that the code was ever approved in a general AAI meeting. There was no winter conference in 1991 (see Appendix 3). The May 1991 conference occurred after December 14, 1990, when allegedly the “full AAI meeting” (see Appendix 1: Document 1: #1) approved the code. The discrepancy suggests that the “full meeting” of approval was only an AAI board meeting. It is true that the code was sent to all members for comments. Hershman (interview) recalls a year of discussions before its publication—but these were probably board discussions. She remembers that the code was presented and approved in a general AAI conference, but this was after publication (perhaps in the winter of 1992).

10.4. THE PUBLISHED CODE

The published code (see Appendix 1: Document 1) states that its authors are the “AAI Board.” In the English content page of Archaeology 3, the Code is modestly defined as “ethical guidelines for AAI members.” The Hebrew title uses the word “(Testom),” roughly translated in English as “rules, regulations” and therefore, communicating that they are more than guidelines but less than law. We use here the term “code” to represent this word. The title of the code addresses the entire “field of archaeology.” However, the code binds only AAI members (see Appendix 1: Document 1: #1). We will discuss first the various sections and then offer some general observations.

Sections 1–5: The Scope of the Code

The first four sections imitate the common custom of a preamble defining the terms, legal status, and scope of a law/code. One finds here the hope that the code will be accepted by the entire community of archaeologists in Israel. Sections 3–4 define legal procedures in cases of debate, by setting a special body—a court for final decisions about ethic disputes.
Section 1. As we have seen, the code was approved by the board in December 1990, but published only in August 1992 (Kempinski 1992:5).

Section 2. The authors worry about ethical aspects associated with work in archaeology. “Volunteering” was very common at the time (compare the volunteers called “Friends of Antiquities,” Kletter 2008). Students and younger scholars were expected to work without proper salary. They were dependent on senior scholars for a future academic career and hence, were often ready to “volunteer” for excavations, surveys, and work on finds. As in many other sections, one feels here a love of legal jargon. The authors adorn the code with legal terms as if signifying that even though it lacks legal status, it at least sounds legal. This effort is not very successful. For example, there is no definition of the terms used in the code, as one expects in legal preambles. Terms like “sides” or “material” (section 7) appear without qualification, often being ambiguous.

Section 3. This section is not well worded. Who are the debating “sides”? Apparently, any two archaeologists; but must they be AAI members? If the code is meant for all archaeologists, the Court of Ethics should include representation of other institutions. It should be elected by all members, not by the board—an undemocratic procedure. Actually, there never was a court. It did not exist (Feldstein, interview). Ethics issues were discussed in the AAI board, or the Ethics Committee, but never by a defined “court.”

Section 4. This section is redundant; it repeats the end of Section 3. The assertiveness that the court’s decisions bind everyone is shattered by the following indecisive words “one should see.”

Section 5. According to this section, suggestions for changes to the code should be discussed by the board. The wording of about “more than 50% of board members” is worth noting. The minimal legal number of board meeting was five, but sometimes only three were present. Hence, 2–3 persons may decide the issue. This is not a highly democratic procedure. The board treats the code as private matter, to be defended from—rather than shared by—the members.

Sections 6-8: Professional Ethics

Matters of professional ethics are the declared subject of Sections 6-8, but in fact, they only deal with avoiding trade/robbery and involvement of AAI members in these offenses.

Section 7. Note again the legal varnish. Instead of writing simply “IAA,” we find “the body authorized by the State, that is, the IAA.”

Section 8. The “authorized bodies” here include only one—the IAA, responsible over the Antiquities Law (1978).
Sections 9-15: Handling Research Findings

Section 9. The time limit for publication derives from the 1978 Antiquities Act: ten years from the end of the excavation (the last season in prolonged excavations). The Act also mentions a less clear term of five years, which is not employed. The term “IAA regulations” (cf. Sections 9, 18) applies to the 1989 legislation (Antiquities Regulations 1989), which were needed because of the replacement of the IDAM by the IAA. These regulations changed nothing in regards to the matters discussed in the present article.

Kempinski’s commitment to publishing was not empty words. He was aware of the problem of the lack of final publications (Kempinski 1987:5). At Kabri, he took special care to publish quickly large preliminary reports for each season (Kempinski and Niemeier 1994:3). He knew that much would have to be edited later, but did not perceive it as a threat, since a scholar should openly admit and correct mistakes (Kempinski 1987:5-6; Scheftelowitz, interview).

Section 10 is a cumbersome section. Note that under sub-sections 10A, 10B, an AAI member may fulfill his duty by distributing, for example, three copies of a report in Hebrew, or by publishing only one copy abroad. By what criteria is a minimum number of copies or acceptable academic publishers defined?

Sections 11-12. There is no need to paraphrase the 1978 Antiquities Act, which is what is being done here. “Publication of Final Reports” would have been more precise and economic than “to bring the data detailed in Sections 10-11 to the knowledge of the archaeological community and the wider public.”

Section 13 relates to the maintenance of sites after excavation. Here again, the only “authorized bodies” is the IAA and the section repeats things that exist in the Antiquities Act—a reference would have sufficed. Archaeologists appear as owners of entire sites, and ‘transfer’ them to the IAA. This reflects the ethics of that period, before the arrival of contract or “private” archaeology and the growth of the IAA.

Sections 14-15 can be labeled “no more voluntary work!” Section 14 may seem noble, but the style is poor. Its aim is to put an end to the situation of “volunteers”. Yet, there is no reason to separate “experts” from other archaeologists that work on finds. Since the section does not explicitly mention a “full” or a “fitting” salary, it lacks teeth. However, codes of ethics do not solve all the problems; they only raise awareness of them.

Sections 14-15 do not define the “deputy” as someone with publication rights. Legally, only owners of excavation licenses hold publication rights. It might have been a good idea to secure publication rights for “deputies,” for example, by stipulating that written agreements must exist between them and holders of permits. Yet, Section 14 is about salary, not about publication rights. Section 15 refers back to 14, and avoids the core of the issue by speaking about “conclusions.”
Conclusions are ideas; nobody disputed that a person holds rights on her/his own ideas. The issue was rather about who holds publication rights over finds of an excavation (including antiquities, plans and sections, drawings, photos, lists of baskets and loci, loci cards…). “Deputies” cannot publish their conclusions in detachment from excavation data—but legally, only owners of excavation permits hold rights over this data.

Sections 16-19: Professional Relationships among Archaeologists

These sections discuss mainly conflicts about publication and rights of publication, while Section 19 discusses surveys.

Section 18 is a long, twisted section. It focuses on dealings of an excavation permit between the owner and others. Legally, owners of permits hold rights of publication for ten years. Transgressions can be prosecuted. Hence, much of the present section is redundant. Excavation files (in the IAA archive) are open to the public only after the ten years period. If this section is accepted, nobody would ever have access to them, even two hundred years after the death of the excavator. We note also that since excavation files are not publications, they need not be mentioned here.

What, then, is the purpose of this section? Perhaps in the 1980s, excavation files were not kept well, leading to abuse of data. The vague “mentioning” in Section 18 surely means publication (adding the word “academic” here is meaningless, the question is about publication, not about its nature, whether scientific or not). Perhaps some students used unpublished material in dissertation works, which are not considered publications. Thus, they are immune from legal prosecution. However, if students later want to publish their dissertations, they need permissions from holders of rights. Furthermore, how do students get access to materials without permission in the first place? It is all more theoretical than real.

Section 19 is an important section, but badly worded, becoming almost unintelligible. One must understand the exceptional status of surveys. Surveys were not mentioned in the 1978 Act, which recognized only excavation permits. For many years, therefore, surveys were not licensed. In practice, since the 1960s the “Association for Survey” (החברה למדידות) handled archaeological surveys in Israel. It was created in relation to “evacuation” of ruins of Arab villages (see Shai 2002). The Survey Association was later merged into the IAA. Since the 1990s, the IAA issues survey permits as well, although their legal validity remains a moot point. In Section 19, the AAI tries to put surveys on an equal basis with excavations. This creates tensions. According to Section 13 above, areas/sites “belong” to archaeologists for ten years. However, over ten years, in a densely populated country like Israel, development would be necessary in large survey areas. They are not at all similar to relatively small excavation areas, which can be left out of development plans.
Section 20: Institutional Responsibility

Only one section deals with this subject. For some reason, the owner of a permit is replaced here by גם עלות וכן "overseer, person in charge". The section puts responsibility onto the institutes, but only regarding budget and limited to the ten year period. What happens later with excavations that remain unpublished is not discussed.

11. CONCLUSIONS

The only ethical archaeological code ever published in the State of Israel has a fascinating history and implications. Though the code was never implemented and the association does not exist anymore, it is important to study and to publish it. Codes of ethics reflect their period and portray the general “beliefs” of a scholarly community and, particularly, matters that it considers to be vital to its existence as such. The absence of reference to some issues in these codes may indicate a lack of awareness in the community or point at cases of “amnesia” (see below).

The authors of the code hoped that it would give “practical and ethical guidelines” to all archaeologists in Israel (Kempinski 1992:5; AAI archive, see Newsletter 12). The code failed to achieve this. One reason for the failure was the code itself. As we have seen (above), it has weaknesses in style and in content. It is not an accomplished, professional creation. A few archaeologists wrote it. Other institutions were not invited to contribute. Even within the AAI, the code did not undergo a rigorous process of repeated discussions within membership. Another reason for failure was the marginal position of the AAI in the 1990s. It could not persuade the archaeological community as a whole that the code was useful. It also lacked material means to advance it. External circumstances contributed also to its failure. The code appeared in a period that saw the creation and fast expansion of the IAA. A thriving economy coupled with the arrival of a million newcomers from the former USSR meant that significant financial resources were being poured into archaeology. Many young archaeologists started careers in the IAA and were content there, under the leadership of Amir Drori. In such circumstances, they did not reflect on the benefits of a code of ethics. It would be wrong to say that the IAA “drained” the crowds that would have otherwise filled the halls in AAI meetings. The failure was self-prescribed. One did not need the AAI for conferences or tours to sites; it could not give salaries, excavation permits and academic titles. What settled the fate of the AAI, although not understood at the time, was the failure to create a professional association. The archaeologists remained dividing according to their different workplaces.

The stress of the AAI code of ethics lies on major, well-protected sites, excavated by senior academics. One may say that this is a Professor’s Code. The archaeologist in this code is a traditional, “processual” one—an excavator/surveyor who publishes excavations and antiquities from excavations. There
is no mention of other types of archaeological work, even traditional, such as curators in museums, restorers (except in sites, Appendix 1: Document 1: #13), and supervisors of antiquities.

The AAI code is a local creation. Some influence of the code of the Israeli Association of Architects and Academics may be discerned the code. The influence of the Antiquities Law (1978) was stronger, both in wording (the “legal varnish” of the code) and in themes (publication, publication rights, excavations and permits, etc.). However, the idea of writing a code came from the scholarly community in North-America and Western Europe and in particular from that in the USA. Archaeological codes of ethics emerged as a significant phenomenon in the 1960s–1970s in the USA (Baker 1991). Several factors played a role in this development. “New Archaeology” with its interest in things theoretical and new, and in self awareness, was an indirect influence. A more direct incentive came through the UNESCO ratification, in 1970, of the convention on cultural property (Vitelli and Colwell-Chanthaphon 2006:5-6). The most important factor was the beginning of public archaeology in the USA, following federal legislation. The term “public archaeology” was coined in 1972. King describes the change:

Archaeologists moved into jobs with federal, state and local agents, regulated industries and consulting firms. These new worlds were strange ones, peopled by lawyers, contract officers, auditors, and bureaucrats… and special interest groups ranging from coal miners to radical American Indian groups and house museum buffs. The new environment was one of legal fine points, competing public and private interests, expectations of loyalty to agency or firm, overt and covert political action, and the heady but worrisome power, whether by law or bureaucratic fiat, to hold up multimillion dollar projects, determine the flow of contract money, and decide the fate of archaeological sites, historic buildings, and places of cultural importance to communities. Small wonder that questions of professional responsibility have arisen (King 1983:144; cf. Wildelsen 1984; Lyonet 2003:20-21; Meskell and Pels 2005:1-3). \(^1\)

The first code in public archaeology—of the Society of Professional Archaeologists (SOPA)—appeared in 1976 (King 19083:145; Davis 1982; Lyonet 1997:589-590; Lyonet 2003:21-22). \(^2\) By 1983, there was academic literature on the subject,

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1 Archaeology was not alone, for instance, see the appearance of applied Anthropology at about the same time, Frankel and Trend 1991.

2 Dever (1989:143) once mentioned the AAI as “a group of young archaeologists,” which “has now formed a new professional society.” He compared it with SOPA and predicted that it “will certainly provide a lively and healthy challenge to the establishment.” We thank one of the JHS readers for this reference.
even if it was thin (King 1983:143). In 1984, a book titled “Ethics and Values in Archaeology” was published (Green 1984), and articles were available earlier (Lipe 1974; Smith 1974; Davis 1982; King 1983; Jorgensen 1971:321). Presumably, the AAI code authors became aware about codes of ethics through contacts with North-American or Western European colleagues.

Today, the situation is very different—“A formal code of ethics is the hallmark of professionalism for professionals everywhere” (thus Baker 1991). There is a rich and varied literature (Pluciennik 2001; Edson 1997; Luke, C. 2008; Robson 2008; Vitelli and Colwell-Chanthaphon 2006; Scarre and Scarre 2006; Webmoor 2007) and in the 2000s ethics also entered the archaeological curriculum (Lyonet 2003:25). There is also awareness that ethical codes cannot solve all problems and require constant evaluation and implementation (e.g., Davis 2003:254-9; Smith and Burke 2003:191-193).

The AAI code was written by a few archaeologists without legal or philosophic/ethical advice. They believed that writing a code of ethics was a simple matter, involving mainly “understanding of human behavior in many situations” (Jorgensen 1971:322). It was later that more structured ways of code writing developed, as well as literature on writing them (e.g., Davis 2003; Wylie 2002).

The AAI code passes in silence over some issues, which feature heavily in other archaeological codes: reburial/repatriation of human remains, rights of various stakeholders including indigenous groups over sites/finds, and responsibilities of archaeologists in service of employers/the state (e.g., Goldstein, L. and Kintigh 1991; Watkins 2000; Powell, Garza and Hendricks 1993; Vitelli and Colwell-Chanthaphon 2006; Scarre and Scarre 2006). Based on what we know about the political views of Kempinski, this cannot be attributed to conservatism.

The issue of human remains was a thorny problem for Israeli Archaeology in the 1980s–1990s. There were many conflicts with religious groups over these matters. To some extent, the archaeologists lost the struggle when the Government Legal Attorney decided in 1994 that human bones are not an antiquity (Weingrod 1995; Einhorn 1997; Nagar 2002). The authors of the code stood in the frontline of the public campaign against religious coercion. They were representing one side in a conflict. From their trenches, soldiers can rarely consider calmly the general ethics of battle.

The discourse about rights of stakeholders, other than religious claims about bones, was not yet apparent in Israel of the 1980s. Questions about “indigenous groups” and rights of certain groups over antiquities/sites are necessarily bound to fall into the abyss of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Both sides claim ancient historical rights and indigenous origins in the land. It is easier to come to terms with small minority groups, which for many years no longer pose a threat to the establishment. Americans can discuss openly rights of Indian-
Americans. In Israel, open discourse is more likely to follow, rather than precede peace agreements (cf. the return of archaeological finds from Sinai to Egypt after the 1982 agreement; Einhorn 1996; for trade in antiquities and various legislation in Israel/Palestine see Kersel 2008).

The matter of archaeologists’ duties and responsibilities towards employers and clients already surfaced in the 1970s (Davis 1982:161; Fowler 1984; Raab 1984; Lyonet 2003:21-22). The AAI code passes it in silence. The reason is simple—“contract/private archaeology” was unknown in Israel till around 1995. The issue of relations between archaeologists and the State also entered the archaeological discourse at a later stage. It relates to Postcolonial/Postmodern archaeology. Anderson (1983) may be seen as a crucial contribution here (cf. Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Kletter 2006:314-319). The so-called “New Historians” and “Post Zionists”—both negative and actually vague labels—express the arrival of postmodernism to Israel. “New Historians” started in 1987–8, but became focus of public interest after being attacked by Shabtai Teveth (1989). Post Zionism appeared later, in the early 1990s. The AAI code was probably written too early to reflect these trends.

Why is there no other written code of ethics in Israeli Archaeology, despite the current high esteem and popularity of codes in the world? The answer is complex. To be sure, the lack of a code does not mean lack of ethics. There are unwritten etiquettes, customs and traditions governing the life of archaeologists in Israel. Moreover, the situation in Israel is not unique, many archaeological institutions in the world do not have a written code of ethics. In addition, the AAI code had some impact, even if not explicitly acknowledged (the impact is often hard to measure). For example, the IAA changed its procedure by deciding not to give licenses for excavation to those who do not publish (Hershman, interview). State bodies, academic societies and universities have laws, regulations and statutes. The IAA, for example, has a huge “book” of regulations, specifying how each department and unit must work. Such regulations touch (often implicitly) upon ethical issues, but they are not codes of ethics. They come to ensure work efficiency, rather than ethical ideals.

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3 The Network of Concerned Historians (www.concernedhistorians.org) lists archaeological codes of ethics by countries, with entries from Argentine, Australia, Canada Ireland, Holland, New Zealand, Peru, the United Kingdom, and the USA. In the US seven codes from four Institutions are listed. Most of the codes are dated to the 1990s–2000s, but they are often renewals of earlier codes. Cf. Zimmerman et al. 2003:261-262. The Centre for the Study of Ethics in the Professions at the Illinois Institute of Technology holds a database of approximately 2000 codes of ethics; but very few are archaeological (http://ethics.iit.edu).

4 In our view, the lack of a written code of ethics for archaeologists in Israel relates to the lack of an independent body regulating their profession. There is no association comparable to the Israel Bar Association (for lawyers) or the Association of Engineers
A final word, we follow Vitelli’s and Colwell-Chanthaphon’s (2006:5) understanding of the primary aim of codes of ethics, only without stressing “professionalism”: ethical codes are not magical solutions to problems, but they come to encourage archaeologists to think of their work and of their behavior in life as having ethical dimensions. Publishing a forgotten code may contribute towards this aim.

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and Architects for archaeologists. The recent shift towards “contract archaeology,” we would argue, has turned the need for a written code of ethics for archaeologists into a more pressing matter than it has been in the past.


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**FIGURE CAPTIONS**

1. The Official AAI letterhead. The Proto-Aeolic
Capital is “decorative and symbolizes the contacts
of Israeli Archaeology with general Archaeology”
(Newsletter 3).

2. Page of the AAI Code with Comments in
Handwriting by Zeev Meshel.

**APPENDIX 1: DOCUMENTS**

Sections marked by [] are comments, not part of the originals.
All documents are translated from the Hebrew by the authors.

**DOCUMENT 1: CODE OF PROFESSIONAL ETHICS IN
ARCHAEOLOGY**

**Scope of the Regulations**

1. The professional ethic regulations accepted in the
full meeting of the AAI on the date 14th December
1990 (henceforward, “regulations”) commit all
AAI members, as defined by the Act of
Associations, and are open to any archaeologist
who wishes to use them for his/her needs.

2. One should expect that all the archaeological
institutions in Israel will see these regulations as a
basis for arranging their relationships with the
archaeologists employed by them.
3. In cases of debate, or when sides wish to clarify major points, the discussion shall be moved to a special body chosen by the AAI board under majority vote, to be called “the ethical court of the AAI” (henceforward, “the court”). The court will include three judges (גופים) who are employed as active archaeologists in a recognized institution. The court’s ruling shall be decisive for all archaeologists whose matter was taken before the court.

4. One should hold the court’s ruling as final for all AAI members and those who apply for the court’s services.

5. Changing the regulations will be performed as follows:
   A. Any member may offer suggestions for changes, which will be brought to the AAI board for a preliminary discussion.
   B. The suggestion will be discussed in the full meeting of the board and approved by a majority vote of more than 50% of the board members.
   C. After approval by the board, the suggestion for changes will be brought to the next AAI meeting and approved by vote of all AAI members. It will be approved only by majority vote of more than 50% of the members present in the meeting.

**Maintaining Professional Ethic**

6. AAI members shall not trade in any archaeological find.

7. AAI members shall not publish or provide professional expert views concerning [archaeological] material, whose origin is unprovenanced; or when there exists a reasonable doubt that it originates from looting; except material purchased or confiscated by the body authorized for that aim by the state, namely, the IAA.

8. Members of the association are called to notify about any data relating to robbery digs, which come to their knowledge, to the authorized bodies.

**Rights and Duties of Handling Scientific Material**

9. Members of the association are called to carefully maintain their personal responsibility of publishing their excavation finds within the limits defined by IAA regulations.

10. A full scientific publication of excavations will be
defined as any article that includes the full and detailed data listed below that is published in a volume or a collection of articles whose distribution enables full accessibility to any interested person or body, as follows:

A. Article or a collection [of articles] in a recognized scientific journal.

B. Volume or a collection [of articles] that arrives to all interested libraries and research institutes in Israel or in the world.

As final shall be defined only a publication that includes a full report on the excavation process, the stratigraphy, the architecture and the material finds of the site, with attachment of plans, drawings and photos of the described material, including the ceramic, lithic, faunal, botanical and anthropological or any other finds discovered in the excavation.

11. Prior to the publication of final report, AAI members are called to provide preliminary reports that include a summary of the data, which is detailed in section 10 above, in order to bring to the archaeological community general information that serves during the time required for the preparation of the final report.

12. Responsibility of publishing the material lies in the hands of the person accepting the excavation license and such a person has the first right to bring the data detailed in Sections 10-11 to the knowledge of the archaeological community and the wider public.

13. The responsibility of an archaeologist is not only professional. The archaeologist is responsible for safekeeping of cultural assets under his treatment. The archaeologist’s most important consideration should be the conservation of the site, restoration (if possible), and transfer to the authorized bodies for the sake of continued safekeeping. An archaeologist must carefully preserve in the site excavation areas for future generations; except cases when a site is going to disappear completely by development, or is found under looting processes that endangers its existence.

14. Working on the material for publication will be done under payment of a salary to the deputy of an owner of excavation permit. Owner of an excavation permit must secure financial means for the work over the material. That is, except when the owner of a permit contracts another independent scholar, such as an expert working in
an independent field of research, and the owner of a permit needs his services in order to acquire data from his field of expertise. In this case, the relationship will be based on paid work, or the expert may finance his work independently, according to an agreement reached by both sides.

15. If a contract was not written, and an owner of an excavation permit has given up rights [of publication] for the material, the deputy of the owner of excavation permit has rights to work and publish his conclusions from working over the finds of the excavation. In this case, the worker over the material will be placed under the rules detailed in Section 14, which relate to relationships with expert scholars.

Professional Relationships between Archaeologists

16. Owner of excavation permits will enable colleagues in the profession to see scientific data, under the rules and limitations detailed in Sections 18–20 below.

17. An archaeologist shall not excavate a site excavated by another archaeologist within the rules set by the [Antiquities] Act, that is, 10 years from the end of the excavation, without receiving written permit from the archaeologist that excavates the site.

18. The giving of archaeological materials [to be used] for a reference in a publication, lecture, exhibition, etc., shall be done only by agreement of the excavator. Under “material” in relation to this section will be included finds, drawings, plans, maps, photos, registration, or any relevant data. This regulation holds also for references that are not considered scientific publication of material, including MA and PhD dissertations and reports for the IAA archives, which are open for the public. This regulation is subject to the limitations detailed in the regulations of the IAA, which concern the valid time set by Law, during which the owner of an excavation permit holds rights of publication on finds from his excavations.

19. The power (יִסְדַּר) of a survey permit is as good as an excavation permit. No survey permit shall be given to an archaeologist over an area, which is surveyed contemporaneously by another archaeologist (or that has been surveyed within the time set as valid in the IAA Act [יִסְדַּר]), without the permission of the first [should be: the last]. Finds of survey held by another archaeologist [who is not the owner of a
permit] shall not be published without his [meaning the surveyor] permission, as is detailed in Section 18.

Institutional Responsibility

20. Any archaeological excavation and survey are under responsibility of the archaeologist in charge (翡類) over this activity. Subject to rules of licensing of activity, the institutes where the archaeologist is employed must give him support (חואן).

DOCUMENT 2: AAI STATUTES (Heb. TAKANON)

1. Name of the Association:

“Association of Archaeologists in Israel” [henceforward, AAI].

2. Aims of the Association

To organize the archaeological community in Israel, in order to develop the science of archaeology in Israel and to heighten scientific and technological levels. To advance the scientific-professional level of AAI members and to maintain norms of professional ethic (מקון ומקופל). To foster public interest in archaeology and in safekeeping antiquities of the country and to help the authorized bodies in implementing the Antiquities Law and protecting the antiquities of the country.

To represent AAI members concerning issues of interest to all members and in matters that relate to archaeology as a profession. To protect AAI members and to keep their rights concerning work and publishing according to standards common in the wide world; as well as [to perform] any other activity that the AAI may approve in its general meeting.

2.1. Organizing lectures, conferences, tours, symposia and professional study days, which will also be partially open to the wider public.

2.2. Publishing a journal, professional collections of articles, and books.

2.3. Setting rules that abide AAI members as to safekeeping of antiquities, trade in antiquities, advising to trade in antiquities, etc.

2.4. Establishing councils and working groups for handling of professional and scientific problems in the field of archaeology in Israel.

2.5. Cooperating with similar associations and institutions in Israel and abroad.

2.6. Establishing funds for achieving the material aspects related to these AAI aims.

2.7. Setting tariffs for AAI members that work as temporary
workers (厨計 것도함직함).

2.8. The professional union of the AAI will take care of rights of its members in relation to their status in their places of work, in receiving all the rights and benefits common in their profession, as befitting workers in the state of Israel.

2.9. The AAI will strive to force norms and standards for fieldwork, registration and publication of archaeological material by its members.

3. The Registered Office

The AAI board and its offices will be at Tel Aviv, unless if AAI members have decided by major vote to move it to another city in Israel.

4. Membership in the Association

The AAI has the following types of members: regular members, student members, honorary members.

5. As Regular Members may be accepted

5.1. Anyone holding at least a bachelor degree (B.A.) in archaeology, museology or comparable profession included under the traditional title “archaeology”; or working 5 years in archaeology.

5.2. Student members: will be accepted from professions defined in #5.1, in the last year of studies for a bachelor degree. Once the degree was conferred, they can be accepted as regular members.

5.3. Honorary members: as honorary members may be accepted people who contributed considerably to archaeology in Israel or abroad, or made valuable contribution to AAI aims.

Process of accepting members:

5.4. Regular members will be accepted to the AAI after presenting a copy of the bachelor degree. After a member paid all the association fees due from him, he will be accepted to the AAI.

5.5. Student members will be accepted after presenting confirmation from their institute of academic studies; fees for student members will be lower than fees for regular members.

5.6. Honorary members will be accepted in voting by 2/3 of the total board members.

6. Rights of Members

6.1. Active and passive right of voting: reserved to regular members only. AAI bodies may also include student or honorary members, after acceptance [to the AAI] (but without right of voting).

6.2. Members have the right to receive all AAI publications [and] to participate in all its events.
7. Duties of Members

7.1. The duty of relation to the AAI: each member has the duty to help the AAI and its bodies in achieving their aims as stated in general AAI meetings, or formed by the board and approved by all members. AAI Member will not belong to any [other] association or union, whose aims do not conform to being an AAI member.

7.2. The duty of professional ethic: each member must follow in professional matters and contacts the ethic rules that will be set by the AAI, mainly concerning advice, trade and mediating of antiquities and sites.

7.3. The duty of paying fees: every member—excluding honorary members—must pay fees to the AAI at the beginning of each secular year [January 1st]. The annual fee does not have to be uniform and the board may set progressive fees. If a member has not paid his fees for one year, he is seen as one who ceased to be an AAI member out of free will.

7.4. Membership in committees and workgroups: member of any institute or committee must participate diligently and actively. If a member is absent from three consecutive meetings, the chair of the committee may annul his membership by a written letter.

8. Cancelling Membership in the Association

8.1. Cancellation of membership is performed thus: 1. By ceasing to pay membership fees for more than one year. 2. By written announcement to the AAI board. 3. By removing a member from the AAI ranks; this by a 2/3 majority vote of all members in an anonymous voting.

9. Association Property

9.1. The AAI is permitted to purchase properties and to keep money as it sees fit. An annual report about AAI assets will be delivered to the members not later than 25 of March of each fiscal year.

9.2. Unmovable property that belongs to the AAI will be registered under its name in the books.

10. Association Bodies:
The AAI structure and administrative hierarchy are described in the following graph:

```
Comptroller (מגדיל) → Members of the AAI → Treasurer (шение)
Professional Union /  ↓
                        Board  ↓
                           ↓
Publications and Committees
```

10.1. Choosing AAI bodies: AAI members will chose the board, comptroller, treasurer and the chair of the
professional union (ענרי מCollider). The board will chose the heads of the committees and the responsible over the association publications. The board will also nominate committee members after they are suggested by AAI members.

10.2. The board will include 7 members that can add 2 more to a total of 9 board members. Board members will be chosen for 3 years. Board members can serve two consecutive periods. In order not to change all board members [at the same time], a part (at least a third) will be replaced in voting held every three years. The AAI chair, when elected, will not hold any senior board position in one of the archaeological institutes in Israel.

10.3. The Comptroller and the Treasurer: these will be replaced every 3 years and cannot hold consecutive periods in position, unless if they won a majority of 2/3 in the general AAI meeting.

10.4. The Professional union: its board will also be chosen for 3 years, but it will not be limited for a further period of service.

10.5. Overseer of AAI Publications: will be chosen for 3 years. Under special circumstances the board may replace him by majority vote of 2/3, or choose another in his stead during one year from his entry into position.

10.6. Chairs and committee members will be nominated for one year and must hand a written report to the board at the end of this period. The reports will be published in AAI publications.

10.7. The board will gather AAI members for a meeting at least once a year, for reporting administrative matters. This meeting can form part in a scientific or professional conference. Committee chairs may ask to gather AAI members on matters relating to their committees. The board, the committee chairs and the head of the professional union can gather part of the AAI members for professional or administrative discussions. Such gatherings will be open to any member who wishes to join them.

10.8. A professional-scientific conference will be held at least once a year. If there will be general public interest in this conference, it may be open to the public by decision of the board.

10.9. The board will arrange professional tours to AAI members in Israel and abroad. The aim of these tours is professional learning (יינאה), study and discussion of various aspects of archaeological activity, such as Museology, restoration and conservation, and methods of work and of research. Some of these tours will be open to the public.
11. The Board of the Association

11.1. The AAI will be directed by a board, headed by a chairperson chosen by it. The annual general meeting will guide the board about activities for the coming year. Chairs of various committees may also suggest to the board issues for discussion in annual meetings. Discussion will be by a written list of issues, prepared by the board, following recommendations by AAI members. The list will be sent prior to the annual meeting.

11.2. Special meetings: special board or general meetings may be arranged by collecting signatures of 25 AAI members. The board will fix the date for special meetings not later than 30 days from the sending of the signatures.

11.3. Legal number: the legal number for the board meeting is five members. Organizing meetings: the general meeting will be organized by the AAI chair; in his absence, by someone chosen by the board in a majority vote. Committees meetings will also be directed by committee chairs or their deputies, chosen by the majority of the committee members.

12. Representing the Association

12.1. The AAI chair, board members or the head of the external relations committee (ענודת כשרי חוץ) will represent the AAI in its dealings with local and foreign matters. Any application to the media concerning the AAI will be made only by consent of the AAI chair, or by board members authorized to do so by the general meeting.

12.2. The head of the professional union will represent AAI members only in matters of the union.

13. Official Documents and Financial Commitments

13.1. Official documents will be signed by the AAI chair.

13.2. Financial commitments binding the AAI and documents in the [State’s official] books require two signatures, one by the AAI chair and the other by the AAI treasurer or by another board member chosen for this aim.

14. Changes in the Rules

14.1. Changes in the AAI rules will be accepted only in the general annual meeting. Suggestions for such changes will be handed to the AAI chair at least one month prior to the regular annual meeting or two weeks prior to a special meeting. At least 25% of the members must sign any suggestion for changes.

15. Dismantling the Association

15.1. Suggestion for dismantling the AAI will be brought only if 25% of all AAI members have signed a letter about dismantling it, and submitted it to the board about a
month prior to the regular annual meeting. Decision about dismantling the AAI will be valid if voted by 2/3 majority of those holding rights of voting in the annual meeting.

15.2. If it was decided to dismantle the AAI, its properties will be given to someone chosen by 2/3 majority vote of the AAI members; if such a majority was not reached—to the government of Israel. Single members or unions have no rights in AAI assets.

Tel Aviv, 20.5.1984

 DOCUMENT 3: “SECTION 3—MAINTAINING PROFESSIONAL ETHICS”

A. Relation to Material from Robbery Digs

I. [A member] will not trade, consult and give professional opinion to anything relating with material suspected to originate from antiquities robbery.

II. [A member] will not work on or publish material suspected of originating in robbery digs, except material acquired/confiscated by the IAA.

III. AAI members are called to report any data that comes to their knowledge regarding robbery digs to the authorized body.

B. Rights and Duties in Handling Scientific Material

I. AAI members should be especially careful about their personal duties for publishing the finds from their excavations, following the Antiquities Act, and to publish them on time.

II. An archaeologist will not work on, or publish material from an excavation, to which he was not given excavation permit at the site (sic), unless if he received written permission from the permit holder. This section does not hold for excavations, whose time according to the Antiquities Law has passed, and they have been offered for publication by the IAA director.

III. An archaeologist that receives an excavation permit must stand in all the criteria placed upon him by the Law and by the customs and requirements of the IAA.

IV. The archaeologists’ responsibility is not only professional. An archaeologist is responsible for safekeeping cultural treasures in his handling. In front of an archaeologist’s eyes must stand the preservation of the site, its restoration and transfer to the authorized bodies for further treatment.

V. The archaeologist should take care to leave
excavation areas in the site for future generations.

1. In sites under 1 dunam [1000 m²]—as he may see fit.
2. In sites till 5 dunams—it is recommended to leave half of the area of the site.
3. In larger sites—to leave an area for future excavations at each excavated area.
4. This section does not apply to salvage excavations, which follow IAA orders.

VI. Owner of an excavation permit is responsible for publication of the material; he has first rights [of publication] of the scientific material.

1. Owner of excavation permit may allow his deputies to publish material. Responsibility over publishing the excavation remains with the owner of the permit.
2. For clarity, it is recommended that an excavation manager will put in writing the condition of employment and of publication of material of his deputy, prior to the start of the excavation. The owner of the excavation permit will settle with his deputy a time table for publishing the material before the start of the excavation.

VII. Owners of excavation permit will allow access to scientific material to colleagues in the profession. [The last will have] rights of publishing, quoting, using drawings, plans, etc., only by written permission from the owner of the excavation permit.

DOCUMENT 4: “SETTING RIGHTS AND DUTIES IN A TEAM”

Holder of excavation permit has the rights of publishing the material (according to the Law).

Holder of excavation permit can allow publication of material to his deputies; while maintaining the responsibility of the holder of excavation permit on the professional side.

For the sake of clarity, it is recommended that the holder of an excavation permit will agree [with his deputy] in writing the conditions of employment and publication of material prior to the start of the excavation. This agreement binds the sides as any legal contract.

Excavation manager (owner of permit) will set a time table for publication of the material prior to the start of the excavation.

Publication:

Preparing the material for publication will be done under payment of a salary to one who publishes, unless if it was
agreed otherwise between the manager of an excavation (owner of permit) and the publisher. First right of publication [lit. right of preliminary publication] belongs to the owner of excavation permit.

If a contract was not written, the deputy of the owner of an excavation permit has the right to prepare and to publish [that] part of the material, on which he has worked. In a case of dispute between the owner of an excavation report and his deputy, the association recommends about giving two-thirds of the stratigraphic and ceramic materials to the one who prepared the material [i.e., the deputy]. In case of a unique find, the right of publication belongs to the owner of excavation permit.

DOCUMENT 5: “SUGGESTION FOR RULES OF PROFESSIONAL ETHIC IN ARCHAEOLOGY”

[5 pages, not dated, not signed; comments in red by Z. Meshel. Identical to the published code, hence, we bring only an additional part, sections 21-27]

SALARY RANKING AND DEFINITIONS OF WORKS

21. Salary paid to those who accept these rules will be fixed according to a minimum, commonly accepted in the academic ranking, subjected to the rules of the union (הזרחות) of academics in the social studies and the humanities, and the tariff of salary of archaeologists as published every fiscal year by Tel-Aviv University and the IAA.

22. The term “salary” as implied in these rules includes payment or salary for professional work done on a permanent or temporary basis, in the field, in laboratories and in research institutions. The salary will be weighted and will consider several components, including academic rank, position and duration of service (שהם).

23. The AAI, in cooperation with the union of academics in the social studies and the humanities will send every year or other fixed period the salary tariff of that year to the relevant authorities and to its members. This minimal tariff binds all AAI members and the authorities which take part in this arrangement.

24. One should treat the list of positions below as a recommendation, which will become obligatory for computing salary and rank. Some positions do not exist or are not necessary in small scale excavation teams. The list relates to both sexes.
equally.

A. Director of excavation/team: any person standing at the head of an excavation team, owner of excavation permit or sharing the permit.

B. Deputy of Excavation Director (מנל): Manager of the field work, responsible for the daily, proper carrying of field work, including concentrating the team, the research during the excavation and the organization. Works under the team director.

C. Registrar (&eacute;): secretary of the team, dealing with technical registration of finds, their computerization and storage. In many excavations this position includes also daily handling of office work and men power of the excavation. Works under the director and the deputy-director; in certain cases also under area supervisors.

D. Area Supervisor (מנל שטח): an archaeologist or student of archaeology, responsible in practice over proper professional work of a specific area of excavation. Responsible also for registration, surveying, sorting, drawing and photographing finds of the area in his responsibility.

E. Assistant for Area Supervisor: a student of archaeology, serving as assistant to the area supervisor and helping him in his various tasks in the field and at office.

F. Restorer (משמר): a professional worker, employed by the team director for acts of restoration of architectural remains or material finds, including mending pottery, handling metals, wood or textiles, etc.

G. Surveyor (מדור): any professional or other worker employed by the team director to survey the area and the remains of the excavation prior to, during and after the excavation. In certain cases the surveyor is also a draughtsman.

H. Draughtsman (שרטה): a professional or any man employed by the team director to draw plans of buildings or of other finds during the excavation and the preparation of finds [for publication].

I. Photographer: anybody employed by the team director to photograph, in coordination with area supervisors and the director. Not necessarily member of the team.

J. Administrator (מנהל): anybody employed by the team director to deal with works of organization, coordination, moving and vehicles, shopping, etc.,
is needed for the daily functioning and the preparation of the field project, or who works under the team director and the deputy director.

K. “Food Manager” (מל橀): anybody employed by the team director to handle daily supervision of buying food, its organization, managing a kitchen (if there is) and feeding team members, or who works under the administrator.

L. Processor of Finds (מעובד חומרים): an archaeologist or student employed by the team director to supervise scientific work on find/s of a certain type, such as typological sorting, and to prepare it/them for final publication.

M. Expert scholar (חוקר מתחבר): a researcher from an accompanying field, not part of the specialization acquired in archaeological studies; employed by the team director to work on find/s in the field of his specialization; for example, worker of a C14 laboratory; archaeozoologist; paleobotanist; physical anthropologist; geomorphologist; etc.

25. The present rules recommend and even oblige those who employ or are employed to make a contract, a memory of acts or a nomination in writing, in order to define responsibility, salary and subordination issues.

26. Employment of foreigners, except when coming in combined teams, will be dependent upon the specialization of the foreign employee in his field; in any case priority will be given to an Israeli employee.

27. Calculation of service duration (שנה) for salary will be made by a fixed formula, which will combine the academic degree and the years of proven experience in the profession.

**DOCUMENT 6: LETTER BY YUVAL GOREN TO AAI MEMBERS**

[20 January 1990, not signed; printed on official IAA letterhead]

To members of the association Shalom,

After prolonged labors of birth, the AAI board formed a suggestion for a code (חובת) of professional ethics. We see it as the main activity field of the AAI and the justification for its existence as a professional union.

The need to form an ethical code was raised time and again in the five years of existence of the AAI, and the main aim of its board in the last year was to make this intention
come true. Since the AAI is a voluntarily body, it has no authority to legally force this code on all the bodies and institutions that handle archaeological activity at present. However, we see this code as a basis of clarifying work relations and rules of etiquette between AAI archaeologists, as well as colleagues who chose to adopt it. After final proofing of the code, the AAI will take care to publish in its newsletters and journal names of professionals and institutions, who have acted in violation of the rules of the code, in order to bring them to the knowledge of all our members.

At present, this version is brought to your attention, members of the AAI, with the hope that you will send us comments, objections or additions. As detailed in section 5 of the code, it will be approved only after discussion in the full meeting of the board; then the final version will be put to a vote by AAI members in the next conference. Once thus approved, the code becomes valid and obliges any member registered in the AAI.

To speed the process and bring it to an end, you are asked to read carefully the present version and hand your comments until 30/1/1991 to the AAI board (at the address marked below). We on our side will see that the final text is brought to the approval of the members in the spring conference.

With blessing for a fruitful year of activity,
Yuval Goren, Chair,
On behalf of the Board”

APPENDIX 2: POSITIONS IN THE AAI

CHAIRS:

BOARD:

COMPTROLLER:
Iris Eldar (1984-86).
**TREASURER (GIZBAR):**
Eli Meiron (1984-1986); Zvi Lederman, Gil Kobbo (1994-).
Professional Union: M. Haiman.

**ETHIC COMMITTEE (1993-4):**
Aharon Kempinski, Michal Artzi, Amir Feldstein; Yuval Goren, Yuval Yekutielli.

**JOURNAL EDITORS:**
Izhak Gilead (volumes 1-2); Aharon Kempinski (3); Shmuel Giveon (4).

**JOURNAL EDITORIAL:**

**APPENDIX 3: AAI MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Type/Title</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Themes</th>
<th>Venue</th>
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<tr>
<td>24.5.1984</td>
<td>First meeting</td>
<td>Few dozens</td>
<td>Establishing the AAI</td>
<td>Tel Aviv university</td>
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<td>29.11.1984</td>
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<td>New excavations; archaeological policy; computerization; response by Avi Eitan</td>
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<td>30.5.1985</td>
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<td>Ethnoarchaeology</td>
<td>Tel Aviv University</td>
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<td>General meeting</td>
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<td>Cultural continuity/transitions</td>
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<td>Social aspects and symbols of burials</td>
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<td>Tell el-Hesi*</td>
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<td>May 1990</td>
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<td>In Memory of Eli Meiron</td>
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<td>Sea and Coast in Israeli Archaeology</td>
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<td>Spring</td>
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