Buried History

Cover: A coin of Nero with an inscription on obverse (left) referring to Sepphoris as 'Eirenopolis' - City of Peace.
Courtesy of Sepphoris excavations.

Buried History

Journal of the Australian Institute of Archaeology

Volume 50
2014

Table of Contents

ISSN 0007-6260

Editorial

During 2015 Australians will commemorate the centenary of the landings on Gallipoli. While the Australian presence in Middle East did not have a lasting impact, it did lead to the elevation of the General responsible for the successful Turkish defence, Mustafa Kamal. Ataturk, as he became known, created modern Turkey guided by a number of principles, one of which was the separation of religion and politics. Since 1947 events in the Middle East have blurred this distinction and archaeology is now being added to the religious and political landscape.

This volume of *Buried History* marks half a century of publication. Fittingly the first paper is co-authored by two scholars who have been active in archaeology for this entire period. Professors Eric and Carol Meyers of Duke University are preeminent archaeologists and Old Testament scholars who during 2014 visited Australia as guests of the Australian Institute of Archaeology. In their main lecture given to the Institute and reproduced here, Eric and Carol draw on their fifty years of archaeological experience in the Holy Land to explain their concerns about the current direction of the discipline.

They saw how earlier archaeologists were careful not to adopt approaches that put archaeological research at risk of falling captive to narrow Christian interests, but they now feel that not enough discretion is being exercised to preserve archaeology's intellectual independence. In particular Carol and Eric believe that archaeology can promote peace and they describe how this could play out with respect to their own site of Sepphoris, but as they explain, the Israeli government appears to be going in a different direction.

One possible attempt to influence the academic process is discussed in a paper I have written describing the beginning of ancient world archaeology at the University of Melbourne. In the event, wise heads prevailed and the overall aim of the Institute and its founder, Walter J. Beasley, to promote tertiary teaching of archaeology and ancient world history in Australia was successful. The detailed reviews of this paper by colleagues at the University of Melbourne and the Institute are duly acknowledged.

Professor Alanna Nobbs has provided an illuminating piece on the name of Maria in the early Christian world. Alanna has recently retired as head of the Department of Ancient History at Macquarie University. Her distinguished career included being appointed a Member of the Order of Australia for her service to ancient history and the classics in the 2012 Queen's Birthday honours. She continues as President of the Society for the Study of Early Christianity.

Malcolm Anderson is a Research Fellow at the University of Melbourne and also the Australian Institute of Archaeology. His first degree was in archaeology and prehistory from the Australian National University. In 1998 he completed a PhD in economics and last year he completed a second PhD dissertation at the University of Melbourne entitled *Clearing the Ground: William G. Dever and the Reorientation of Palestinian Archaeology.* His paper derives from that thesis and describes Bill Dever's extraordinary influence on the idea of biblical archaeology. Bill visited Australia as a guest of the Institute in 2012.

Sam Wolff and his colleagues Baruch Brandl and Norma Franklin have written an interesting footnote to the paper in the last edition about Nancy Champion de Crespigny. They also add some fascinating detail about Nahman Avigad; his cartoons reveal him to have been an affable dig-team member. In relation to Nancy, reference is made to Miriam Davis' biography of Kenyon, in which the editor was also interested to read that Kenyon and Nancy visited Kourion, Cyprus, on the way to Samaria in early 1933. Kenyon intended to apply for a permit to excavate the site but was beaten to it by George McFadden. The Institute is now part of a consortium excavating at Kourion.

Reviews provided by Emeritus Professor Alan Millard, University of Liverpool, and Dr Andrew Jamieson, University of Melbourne, are greatly appreciated. Alan has been a long term contributor to the Institute and in recognition of this was recently appointed a Fellow.

While we turned to Professors Carol and Eric Meyers on our fiftieth anniversary, *Biblical Archaeology Review*, which is in its fortieth year, marked the occasion by interviewing them. They discuss the name Biblical Archaeology and their fascinating career. Included is an amazing 'Raiders of the Lost Ark' photograph, which can also be seen at http://sites.duke.edu/downhome/eric-and-carol-meyers/. Below is our photographic contribution.

Christopher J. Davey

Professor Carol Meyers 'capturing' a rock wallaby at Healesville Wildlife Sanctuary while Eric 'stands guard', during their 2014 visit to Australia.

Holy Land Archaeology:
Where the Past Meets the Present

Eric M. Meyers and Carol Meyers

Abstract: This paper discusses the ways the archaeological search for the past can be affected by the situation in an archaeologist's present. This is especially true for projects in the "Holy Land," where religious and political issues often play a role in site selection and in the interpretations of finds. Excavations of five sites (Beth Alpha, Hazor, Masada, Jerusalem, and Sepphoris) are examined as examples.

Introduction

The word "archaeology" is derived from Greek *arkhaio-logia*, "the study of ancient things."[1] Modern archaeology arose from, and then departed from, nineteenth-century antiquarianism, in which non-professionals studied or collected ancient objects for their artistic or cultural value. Today, for most archaeologists and for the general public, archaeology can be defined in numerous ways, a simple one being "the study of the human past through its physical remains" (Ashmore and Sharer 1999: 10-11). More technical definitions highlight the role of archaeology in recovering cultural processes on the basis of reconstructed lifeways. As the eminent archaeologist Brian Fagan commented decades ago (1978: 21), archaeology aims "not only to describe the past, but to explain it as well."

The "logy" in the word archaeology lends an aura of scientific inquiry to the discipline; archaeology is considered a scientific, objective, and even dispassionate process. However, rarely is the search for the past simply a matter of antiquarian interest or scientific endeavor. Rather, in its search for the past, archaeology is integrally related to the present. The present affects what and how we learn about the past in a variety of ways. Archaeologists are often influenced by their present-day context in their choice of sites to excavate. The way finds are interpreted may also relate to the current religious and political setting of the site or of the country from which the excavators come. And the discoveries that get the most attention are often ones considered relevant to the national narrative of the country in which they are found.

Thus religiosity or nationalism can affect the archaeological enterprise in the Holy Land.[2] Religiosity, for example, often plays into the desire of archaeologists to find evidence that "proves" the Bible or at least illuminates biblical passages. The major European and American organizations (notably the Palestine Exploration Fund, the Deutscher Palästina-Verein, the École Biblique et Archéologique, the American Palestine Exploration Society, and the American Schools of Oriental Research) founded in the nineteenth century for the study of ancient

Palestine had the explicit intention of recovering information about "sacred" sites related to the Bible (Hallotte 2006; Chapman 1997; Conrad 1997; Murphy-O'Connor 1997; King 1983: 25-28; see also Meyers 1997). In some cases (e.g., the Palestine Exploration Fund; see Chapman 1997: 235) verifying the Bible was among the goals. Decades later in the twentieth century, the cautious but theologically conservative "dean" of American biblical archaeology, William Foxwell Albright, gave prominence to the task of authenticating biblical texts (Broshi 2001: 25). He argued that "discovery after discovery confirmed the historicity of [biblical] details which might reasonably have been considered legendary" (quoted in Long 1997: 112). This strain of biblical archaeology, which sought to demonstrate the Bible's historical reliability, continued to dominate American (but not European) Palestinian archaeology well into the 1960s if not later (Dever 1997: 315). Although most current excavations eschew any intention to verify biblical passages, interest in connecting the Bible with biblical sites often remains powerful, especially for American and Israeli archaeologists.[3]

Just as powerful, especially in Israel—arguably the most excavated area on the planet—is the role of nationalism in archaeology. The excavation of certain sites can generate a people's pride in their heritage. For a people like Israel with a diverse population, the discovery of a shared past can help produce and sustain a sense of unity and common identity. And when territory is an issue, as it is in Israel, the discovery of the historic roots of the people in the land can be used to justify the right of those people to the land. This phenomenon of using the past to serve present political interests is hardly unique to Israel; it can be found in countries all over the world, including Greece, Egypt Peru, China, and Bangladesh, to name a few (see Kohl 1998; Kohl, Kozelsky, and Ben-Yehuda 2007).

This essay presents several important examples of the intersection of present interests with the recovery of the material culture of the past in the Holy Land. The authors have consulted published information (including

Figure 1: Eliezer Lipa Sukenik at Samaria 1933. Photo: Nancy Champion de Crespigny courtesy of Geoffrey Movius

newspaper articles) and excavation reports and also draw on anecdotal evidence, often from their own experiences as students and then excavators in Israel since the 1960s. It is not meant to be a theoretical or general analysis of the complex ways in which Holy Land archaeology has functioned beyond its basic goals of understanding past societies; many books and articles have been written on this subject, and the reader is referred to them.[4] Rather, it provides information about five sites (Beth Alpha, Hazor, Masada, Jerusalem, and Sepphoris) that collectively show how excavations can contribute to our understanding of the ancient occupants of the Holy Land but can also serve nationalist functions or religious interests or both.

Beth Alpha

Beth Alpha is a kibbutz nestled in the shadow of Mount Gilboa in the eastern Jezreel Valley. The young Jewish women and men who founded this collective settlement in 1922 were among the throngs who immigrated to Palestine in the 1920s to escape European pogroms. The Beth Alpha pioneers were part of a socialist youth movement that embraced a utopian form of communism and

was adamantly secular. As the story goes (Elon 1994), in December 1928 some of the kibbutzniks were digging an irrigation channel when they accidentally struck a brilliantly colored mosaic floor. They realized that they had come across an ancient Jewish building, probably a synagogue.

This discovery was not uniformly welcomed by the settlers of Beth Alpha. As avowed secularists — for many were in rebellion against religion, especially the pious orthodox Judaism of their parents — some wanted to rebury the mosaic floor immediately and keep its discovery secret. Their anti-religious stance would be compromised by having a synagogue, even an ancient one, on the grounds of their settlement. But others saw the discovery in political rather than religious terms. They recognized that an ancient synagogue could serve Zionist purposes by providing evidence of the historic presence of Jews in the land. The second group apparently won the argument, perhaps because they were persuaded by Eliezer Lipa Sukenik (Figure 1), who was summoned to the site. An immigrant from Lithuania and a former high school teacher, Sukenik had studied archaeology at the University of Berlin in the early 1920s and wrote a doctoral thesis on ancient synagogues in 1926 at Dropsie College in Philadelphia. He dreamed of creating a world famous "Jewish archaeology" (Fine 2003: 29). He apparently convinced the reluctant members of Beth Alpha that uncovering these important remains of the ancient Jewish presence in the land was part of their identity as Jews, a people of memory, and that excavation at the site would help close the gap between them and the ancient occupants of the land.

Excavations soon began (Figure 2) with the sponsorship of the archaeology department of the newly founded Hebrew University of Jerusalem. The kibbutzniks became passionately involved in helping Sukenik uncover the sixth century C.E. synagogue with its brilliant mosaic carpet featuring a zodiac, Jewish symbols, and a narrative scene depicting the "sacrifice" of Isaac (Genesis 22). As word spread, people came from all around to volunteer at the site. What was to become Israel's national pastime for many decades burst forth among the pioneering young people of the region. To be fair, this was not the first Jewish excavation in Palestine. In 1921 Nahum Slouchz excavated the ancient synagogue of Hammath Tiberias with the expressed aim of revealing the roots of Jewish existence in the land (Shavit 1997: 49). That project was sponsored by the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society (later the Israel Exploration Society), which had been founded in 1913; aware that many foreign expeditions were investigating archaeological sites, the founders felt that it was the responsibility of Jews, in resettling the land, to recover materials from Jewish antiquity (Amitai 1997: 190).

Sukenik soon became something of an international celebrity. His discoveries were immediately announced in the *New York Times*, on January 23, 1929, in an article that

Figure 2: *Beth Alpha Excavation, 1929. Photo from Sukenik 1932: Pl. II.2*

emphasized the prominence of the zodiac. The headlines remarked on the "excellent workmanship" of the mosaic floor, and the article noted that "the colors are marvelous examples of early art in designing."[5] Less than a week later, Sukenik was in Berlin for the centennial celebration of the Berlin Archaeological Institute. The headlines of an article in the *New York Times* on January 29, 1929 announced that "Old Mosaics Trace Origins of the Jews" and that the discovery of the synagogue "makes New History in Judaism."[6] The rather sensationalist report, no doubt influenced by Sukenik's extraordinary enthusiasm for the site, considered the discovery "as important as the recent excavations in Egypt of King Tut-ank-Amen's tomb." Sukenik is quoted as saying that "in the history of art we have found at Beth Alpha the connecting link of the road from Jerusalem to Rome." Moreover, according to the newspaper article, Sukenik explicitly linked Jewish art to Christian art in describing the narrative scene:

> *God's hand replaces God's voice while Isaac is being sacrificed. It is the same spirit of symbolism that created Ixthus (the Greek word for fish) the symbol of Christ's name among the early Christians. God's voice becomes God's outstretched hand, so the Jew in the village of Beth Alpha drew the hand in the same manner as the Christians drew the fish in the catacombs of Rome.*

Although the discovery of the Beth Alpha synagogue was entirely accidental, it became a milestone in the history of Jewish archaeology in Palestine for several reasons. First, despite Slouchz's earlier excavations, the Beth Alpha dig is usually regarded as the beginning of Jewish archaeology, perhaps because it marks the emergence of Jewish and eventually Israeli fervor for archaeology.[7] Second, it served nationalist interests by showing Jewish presence in the land more than a millennium and a half earlier. Third, it helped overcome the low morale, caused by economic woes and mounting tension with the Arab inhabitants of the land, of the Jewish population of Palestine in the 1920s. And fourth, as is clear in Sukenik's statements emphasizing the zodiac and comparing Jewish art to Christian art, it showed that Jews participated in the great European classical traditions and thus helped combat anti-Semitic European notions of the Jews as a people lacking artistic sensibility.[8] This last point affected not only the Jews of Palestine but also the Jews of New York. One of the first, largest, and most important Reform Jewish synagogue in the United States, Temple Emanu-El, paid for Sukenik's publication of Beth Alpha; the discovery of an ancient Jewish building of great artistic value helped them gain acceptance as a people of culture in New York society of the early twentieth century. The excavated past — the synagogue and mosaics of Beth Alpha — served the needs of the New York Jewish community as well as the early Zionists in Palestine.

Figure 3: Yigael Yadin, director of Hazor and Masada excavations, in 1978. Photo: No. 102, 1671 in State of Israel National Photo collection item no. 016721

Hazor

Fast forward to the 1950s and the imposing Upper Galilean mound of Hazor, the largest archaeological biblical site in Israel. At its greatest Bronze-Age (Canaanite) extent in the mid-second millennium B.C.E., it occupied over 200 acres and had a population that may have reached 50,000 (Yadin 1975: 143). Mentioned more often in Mesopotamian and Egyptian documents than any other Palestinian site, its prominence is reflected in its biblical description as "the head of all those kingdoms" (Josh 11:1).

Sukenik's excavations at Beth Alpha originated in an accidental discovery, but not so for the excavations at Hazor, organized by none other than Sukenik's son, Yigael Yadin (Figure 3), who would go on to become even more prominent than his father.[9] Yadin was the chief of operations in Israel's 1948 War of Independence (or "Catastrophe" in Arab terms). He resigned his army post in 1952 to resume his studies at the Hebrew University Institute of Archaeology, which his father had helped to establish. His army experiences led him to a dissertation topic on warfare in biblical lands. Soon after receiving his doctorate in 1955, he launched his archaeological career at Hazor. This large site with huge ramparts required a large-scale excavation, and Yadin's military background

and organizational skills as well as his charisma equipped him well for this enterprise. He excavated there for four seasons (1955–1958 and 1969), training most of the future leaders of Israeli archaeology in the process.

The size and prominence of the site no doubt figured in Yadin's decision to excavate Hazor, but there's more to the story. As he explains in his popular publication of the Hazor excavations, he had been drawn to the site ever since his doctoral work on warfare: "Its unique fortifications, an association with the great battles of Joshua and the [biblical] references to it in the period of Solomon and later Israelite kings were most alluring" (Yadin 1975: 23). Decades later, Amnon Ben-Tor, a student of Yadin's and co-director of the current Hazor excavations,[10] recalled that the choice of Hazor had been explicitly linked to attempts to verify the Bible: "The archaeology of the land of Israel was born of an effort to confront and verify the biblical narrative with the findings in the field. One of the biggest stories is the story of the conquest and settlement of the land. That's a seminal story and that's why Yadin came here [Hazor] to check the story."[11]

Another factor must be considered. Hazor was the first major dig to be conducted by Israelis after the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. The new country came into being after a bloody war against the seven-nation Arab league. For General Yadin, the Israeli victory against considerable odds resonated with the biblical story of Joshua's conquest of the consortium of Canaanite forces amassed at Hazor millennia before. What more sensational discovery could he make than evidence of a biblical precursor for the 1948 victory! And the recovery of King Solomon's rebuilding of the city would add to the importance of the site in validating Israel's rebuilding of the land.

The Hazor expedition produced spectacular results, revealing many successive Bronze Age cities spanning nearly two millennia. The discoveries included monumental architecture — massive ramparts and gates, elaborate temples with cultic stele and statues, and impressive palaces — all associated with the Canaanites of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages (Figure 4). Yadin's expedition also uncovered evidence of an extensive conflagration

Figure 4: Reconstruction drawing of massive Canaanite fortifications uncovered by Yadin at Hazor. Photo: Yadin 1975: 138, Courtesy Weidenfeld and Nicholson
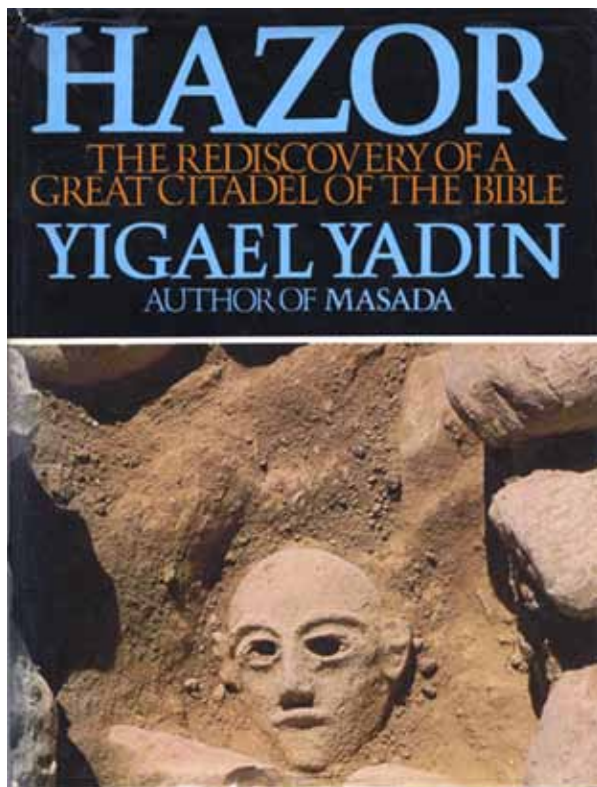
Figure 5: *The cover of Yadin's popular Hazor book, showing the subtitle ('The Discovery of a Great Citadel of the Bible') emphasizing the biblical connection.*

that apparently destroyed the last Late Bronze Age city at the end of the thirteenth century B.C.E. Then Hazor was virtually uninhabited until the Iron II period, in the tenth or ninth century B.C.E.

Like his father, Yadin relished opportunities to announce his discoveries in popular media as well as report them in scholarly publications. In informing the general public about his work at Hazor, he focused on the thirteenth century destruction and the renewed city in the Iron Age, for those two features could be, in his view, related to biblical accounts: the destruction was none other than the one purportedly carried out by Joshua (Josh 11:1–11), and the rebuilding could be attributed to Solomon (1 Kgs 9:15). A *New York Times* article after the 1957 season, for example, bears the headline "Digging in Israel Supports the Bible" and proclaims that the recent discoveries at Hazor provided "further evidence of the Bible's accuracy." It also reports that the dig had found "evidence that Hazor was fully destroyed by Joshua in the thirteenth century B.C. as the Bible says, and that it did not exist again until it was rebuilt by Solomon in the tenth century B. C."[12] To be sure, the emphasis in the newspaper article on these two

aspects of the dig rather than on the much more extensive and monumental remains of the Bronze Age might be attributed to the journalist writing the article. However, Yadin's popular book on Hazor (Figure 5) is titled *Hazor: The Rediscovery of a Great Citadel of the Bible* (1975). Again, although the Bronze Age city comprised the bulk of the discoveries, only about half of the book reports on them; the rest concerns the supposed Israelite destruction and rebuilds by the United and Israelite monarchies.

Yadin's interpretation of the discoveries as evidence of Israelite conquest has since been challenged.[13] Other forces besides Israelite ones could have caused the conflagration, for Palestine was a very unstable region at the end of the Late Bronze Age, and the idea of a genocidal act by Joshua's forces is repugnant to many. It is interesting that Ben-Tor, one of Yadin's star disciples, sticks firmly to his mentor's interpretation of the destruction (Ben-Tor 2013). Yet the co-director (Figure 6) of the excavations, the late Sharon Zuckerman, has a different theory. She excavated a late thirteenth-century domestic area and found no signs of burning. She thus claims that the conflagration was localized: it apparently was limited to public buildings, some of which had been abandoned before the fire, and did not involve the entire city.[14]

Ongoing excavations may or may not one day resolve the scholarly impasse about the destruction, and the reliability of the discoveries to authenticate the Joshua narrative may always remain uncertain. Meanwhile, looking back at Yadin's dig, it is clear that his uncovering of Hazor's past was undertaken to some extent in order to validate the new State of Israel by documenting the Israelite precursors of the country and by indicating the military power of both ancient and 1950s forces.

Figure 6: *Prof. Amnon Ben-Tor and Dr. Sharon Zuckerman of the Hebrew University's Institute of Archaeology, who have been leading the Hazor Excavations. Dr Zuckerman passed away in November 2014. Photo: courtesy Ben-Tor and Zuckerman*

Masada

Yadin features prominently again in the story of the excavations at Masada, a majestic hilltop fortress on the west side of the Dead Sea and second only to Jerusalem as the most visited archaeological site in Israel. With his publication of Hazor virtually complete, Yadin again undertook a challenging project that resonated with military valor. The gripping story of Masada, as told by the first century C.E. Jewish historian Flavius Josephus, was well known. Masada, a holdout in the First Revolt against Rome after Jerusalem fell in 70 C.E., was besieged by the Roman army. Running out of food and water, and rather than succumb to the Roman forces, the leaders of the 960 Jewish Zealots on the Masada plateau agreed that the 200 or so men would kill their wives and children, ten men chosen by lots would kill the remaining men, and one of those ten would be chosen by lots to kill the other nine and then himself. By the 1920s, this story had given rise to a rallying cry, "Masada shall not fall again," that encouraged Jews to stand up to the forces around them. By the mid-1960s, just before the Six Day War, the euphoria of the new state of Israel had ended; tensions on the borders were very high, with guerilla raids coming from Lebanon and Jordan and rocket attacks from Syria. Yadin's choice of Masada drew upon the nationalistic symbolism of Josephus's narrative as a story of heroic resistance that could serve the Israeli public again in a very tense time. Little did it seem to matter that the Zealots of Masada were hardened criminals and fighters who had fled the war with Rome to hold out at Masada.

As it happens, in 1964-65 we were in Jerusalem and learned of the call for volunteers to work at Masada; we thus joined the excavations for several weeks between

Figure 8: Cover of the first edition of Yadin's popular book on Masada. Its subtitle emphasizes 'the momentous archaeological discovery revealing the heroic life and struggle of the Jewish Zealots.'

Figure 7: Masada medal bearing the inscription 'Masada Shall Not Fall Again'
Photo: http://taxfreegold.co.uk/1965israelmasadrockfo rtressgoldmedallion.php

terms. It was one of the most memorable experiences of our archaeological careers, especially because we were enrolled in Yadin's archaeology course at the Hebrew University. Sometimes called the Big Dig, the Masada expedition was the first major excavation to depend on volunteers from all over the world. Yadin drew on his military connections, counting on the Israel Defense Forces to provide security and deliver food for up to 400 people.[15] He also forbade photography, and would immediately eject anyone found with a camera, in order to maintain his control of reporting the discoveries.

At the conclusion of our stay at Masada, like every other participant we received a bronze medal (Figure 7) with the inscription "Masada shall not fall again" (a slogan that Israeli army recruits declared in their induction ceremonies at Masada for a time), making it clear that the excavations were part of Yadin's nationalist goals. Journalist Stuart Alsop labeled the mentality that underlies this slogan the "Masada Complex."[16] This meant of course that Israel like the Zealots of antiquity would heroically oppose at all costs the power of the Arab states to take back Israel/Palestine. Yadin used the ancient narrative of Josephus to promote this idea. And the subtitle of the first Random House edition (1966), a popular account of the excavations, highlighted Zealot heroism (Figure 8) although most of the excavated materials were the spectacular remains of King Herod's building projects.[17]

Yadin not only took at face value (as he had the biblical Hazor narrative) Josephus's account about the final days and mass "suicide" of the 960 rebels, but also he identified a group of eleven ostraca inscribed with names as the lots mentioned in Josephus's narrative. The Eleazer whose name is supposedly inscribed on one of the ostraca was none other than the rebel leader Eleazer ben Yair. However, the details of the so-called mass suicide have been challenged for several reasons, including: the absence of skeletal remains; the prohibition of suicide in Judaism; the fact that the ostraca group had eleven, not ten, inscribed sherds; the recognition that the ostraca could have been related to food rationing; the disputed reading of Eleazar's name; and the fact that suicide was used in Greco-Roman literature as a rhetorical device for emphasizing certain points. These problems appear, inter alia, in the stinging criticism of Nachman Ben-Yehuda, the former Dean of Social Science at Hebrew University. His two major books (1995; 2002) and several articles accuse Yadin of uncritical use of Josephus and of manipulating archaeological data in order to maintain the myth of heroic resistance, which was especially important to Israel in the mid-1960s.[18]

Yadin's dramatic flair along with the political tensions of the 1960s produced a public Masada narrative, still maintained at the visitors' center at Masada, that highlights Jewish heroism and resistance to enemies. This mix of nation-state politics and archaeology does not necessarily serve the search for the truth about antiquity.

Jerusalem

Israeli excavations have been carried out in Jerusalem on a huge scale, unparalleled either in Holy Land or world archaeology, since 1967 when the city was reunited in the aftermath of the Six Day War. The ongoing excavations in Jerusalem underscore how archaeology can be intertwined with politics, nationalism, and the Bible.

Several months after the 1967 war, Eric recalls sitting in the Harvard office of his mentor, Professor G. Ernest Wright, when the phone rang. It was Herbert T. Armstrong — evangelist, conservative voice of the Christian right, and president of Ambassador College (Pasadena, California). He wanted Professor Wright to conduct excavations in the Old City of Jerusalem and offered him a million dollars. But there were several caveats, including that *The Plain Truth*, the magazine of his Worldwide Church of God, would first publish results of the dig. A million dollars was a huge chunk of money in 1967 (about seven million in today's terms); with it Wright, then president of the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR), could have carried out extensive excavations and enhanced ASOR's reputation. But Wright immediately told Armstrong that Ambassador College was not a suitable match for Harvard or ASOR.

We recount this story to create a context for considering the sponsorship of much subsequent work in Jerusalem and to indicate what is at stake when scientific inquiry is underwritten by people with political and/or religious

Figure 9: Silwan, the village in which the City of David is located (on the spur in the center of the photo).
Photo by Bert de Vries

Figure 10: "David's Harp" marking the entrance to the City of David archaeological park. Photo: wikipedia/commons/9/98/Davids-harp

agendas. Excavations from the 1960s to 1990s were carried out by leading archaeologists — notably, Nahman Avigad, Magen Broshi, Benjamin Mazar, and Yigal Shiloh — who may have had nationalist interests but who sought to learn about ancient Jerusalem and used proper excavation techniques and interpretations. Even so, political issues affected the various excavation projects because they were carried out on contested land. For example, the Western Wall excavations were condemned by UNESCO in 1968. Thus Shiloh took every possible step to be fair to the local inhabitants when he excavated the City of David on the southeast spur of the Temple Mount from 1978 to 1985. He involved the people of Silwan, the Palestinian neighborhood adjacent to the site (Figure 9), in the excavation project and thus enjoyed warm and cordial relations with them. In fact, his only altercations came at the hands of the orthodox Jews who wrongly accused him of excavating Jewish tombs there. He was physically attacked by a group of religious extremists who knocked him into a trench twenty feet below, causing back injuries that plagued him until his untimely death in 1987.[19]

Today it is different, especially in Silwan but also in other parts of the city, because of the work of El'ad, an organization that since 2002 has developed and managed an archaeological park to showcase the City of David excavations, which are visited by nearly

every tourist coming to Israel.[20] The entry to the park features a towering sculpture known as "David's Harp," drawing attention to the link between Jerusalem and the biblical king (Figure 10). El'ad (a Hebrew acronym meaning "To the City of David") is the common designation for the City of David Foundation, a private organization that intends to Judaize East Jerusalem, especially but not only Silwan.[21] Why would the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) and Israel's National Parks Authority cede such an important function to a private organization with an agenda? It is likely that undisclosed large sums of money were paid to the IAA by right-wing Jewish supporters of a greater Israel, who hoped to regain possession of Silwan and other non-Jewish areas of Jerusalem — areas considered part of the land promised to Abraham in the Bible (e.g., Gen 12:7) — and also by conservative, dispensationalist Christian organizations that believe that a rebuilt Jerusalem will presage the Second Coming of Christ (Meyers 2012: 212).[22] Political and religious motivations thus underlie El'ad's work.

Most of the archaeologists working under El'ad's sponsorship are well qualified. Yet, all too often they report their finds in a way that enhances El'ad's claims about ancient Israelite presence in Jerusalem as justification for expanding current Israeli control.[23] Archaeologists who agree to work with El'ad are implicated in the use of archaeology "as a weapon of dispossession" (Greenberg 2009: 35). Moreover, not only have archaeology, religion, and nationalism become intertwined at the City of David, but the site's "theme-park tourism" (Greenberg 2009) has distorted the archaeological remains. The signs posted at the site along with the El'ad-controlled visitor's center and publications foster what can be called a fundamentalists and one-sided approach to the cultural history of this part of Jerusalem. The Canaanite remains are virtually ignored; and the Iron Age and later remains are considered evidence of the ancient Israelites and their Jewish successors. El'ad's presentation of the site effectively proclaims the area to be part of the Jewish homeland and the rightful property of the state of Israel and Jewish people. There is no room in such an approach for the Palestinians who live in Silwan today or the Canaanites (or Jebusites, see 2 Sam 5:16-10) who lived there in the pre-Israelite past.

Figure 11: Sign in Silwan opposing Israeli tunnelling. Photo by the authors

Another of El'ad's plans was a project to tunnel from the Shiloach (Siloam) Pool to the Western Wall and even build an underground synagogue beneath or adjacent to the Haram (Temple Mount). The tunnel has been completed, despite Palestinian protests (Figure 11); but fortunately, thanks to the intervention of a group of Israeli lawyers led by Danny Seidemann,[24] the high court in Israel issued a stop order in early 2008, and the future of the synagogue is now in doubt. Seidemann claims that El'ad has ambitions far beyond Silwan and that, since mid-2008, the Israeli government has accelerated a policy of "aggressively and covertly expanding and consolidating control over Silwan and the historic basin surrounding the Old City" (quoted by McGirk 2010). This plan involves "the take-over of the public domain and Palestinian private property…accelerated planning and approval of projects, and the establishment of a network of a series of parks and sites steeped in and serving up exclusionary, fundamentalist settler ideology" (*ibid*.). In short, the plan would give Israel control of a large area of Arab Jerusalem. Seidemann warns that the plan "risks transforming a manageable, soluble political conflict into an intractable religious war" (*ibid*.)

The work in the contested sacred space of Jerusalem, sadly, is no longer a matter of academic discussions or political tensions; it has also led to violence. For example, in 1996 when Prime Minister Netanyahu ordered that the tunnels running alongside the Western Wall be opened for Israelis, the first major outbreak of violence between the Israel Defense forces (IDF) and the security forces of the Palestinian Authority ensued; about 100 people died, mostly Palestinians. The archaeology of the Temple Mount area is a powder keg that could be re-ignited at any moment, as the ongoing El'ad project continues to incite Palestinian ire. Current archaeology in Jerusalem is firmly entrenched in the issues of the present. We can only hope that the work of archaeologists like Greenberg and citizens like Seidemann will bring about an inclusive archaeology and a fair adjudication of property issues. As Greenberg (2013) says, "Jerusalem is not a ghost town, where time stands still, but a vibrant city; a religious and political arena….[Its antiquities] acquire their meaning through interaction with living people. All of Jerusalem's residents are entitled to live in it, but they must be able to hear its many voices." Jerusalem's past should enrich the present, not endanger it.

In Conclusion: A Look at Sepphoris

Located just several kilometers from Nazareth on a commanding hill in Lower Galilee, Sepphoris was a major Galilean city in the Roman and Byzantine periods. Our excavations there, beginning in 1985, provide our final example of how the discovery of the past relates to the present. But the case of Sepphoris is different in that we believe the discoveries there may transcend nationalisms and be a force for peace rather than turmoil.[25]

Even before excavation, analysis of the references to Sepphoris in ancient texts (including coins) showed that people of several religions or ethnicities were resident at the site. As the place where the famous sage, Rabbi Judah the Prince, codified the Mishnah (the first major rabbinic work, dated to the early third century C.E.), the site is frequently mentioned in rabbinic literature and for a time was the seat of the Sanhedrin (Jewish administrative council). It also appears in Christian sources in references to a bishopric there in the early Byzantine period.[26] Roman presence is noted by the Jewish historian Josephus, who mentions the city's importance as one of the main administrative centers of the Roman government after 57 B.C.E. There is also a hint of a Roman presence in the numismatic evidence: the inscription on several medallions (found at other sites) of the early third-century C.E. emperor Caracalla refers to an alliance between the council of Sepphoris and the Romans; this liaison might be expected, given the location of a Roman legion in the vicinity and the increased Roman presence in Galilee at that time.

Excavations at Sepphoris have since recovered artifacts associated with each of these groups. Pottery and lamps marked with crosses (Figure 12) and menorahs (Figure 13), for example, signify the presence of Jews and Christians; and bronze statuettes of figures from Greco-Roman mythology — Pan and Prometheus (Figure 14) — provide evidence of Roman presence or influence. The many mosaics found at the site also reflect these three cultures: menorahs on a synagogue floor, scenes of Dionysos in a mansion, and an inscription mentioning the bishop Eutropious in the mosaic along a colonnaded street. Architectural elements — *miqva'ot* (Jewish ritual baths), two synagogues, a theater, two churches, and various civic buildings — likewise represent these three groups. And the presence of pig bones testifies to a non-Jewish

Figure 12: Stamped cross on potsherd discovered at Sepphoris. Courtesy of Sepphoris excavations

Figure 13: Menorahs on lamps found at Sepphoris. Courtesy of Sepphoris excavations

population in certain areas or periods, whereas the absence of such bones in other areas signifies a Jewish presence.[27]

In our reports — some published and others in process — we highlight these discoveries as evidence of the diversity of Sepphoris's population in at least some of the periods of the site's history. The Jewish community, which had clearly assimilated into the Greco-Roman culture of late antiquity, was probably dominant throughout. The Christian community probably grew in the early Byzantine period. And a Roman (pagan) presence was likely in most if not all periods.

In our discussions with students and in presentations of these discoveries in lectures, we push our interpretation further by suggesting that these groups lived together peacefully. Although archaeology can hardly reveal whether there were tensions among the groups, certainly none of the written sources mention strife. Moreover, the similarity of styles in some of the artistic productions suggest the existence of common artisans or even workshops (Weiss 2010) and thus of intergroup cooperation. In addition, several museum exhibits featuring materials from Sepphoris have stressed its multiculturalism. The announcement of an exhibit at the Kelsey Museum at the University of Michigan (which carried out the first excavations at Sepphoris in 1931) proclaims that "Sepphoris was a thriving provincial capital where Jews, pagans, and later Christians coexisted in relative harmony."[28] And the *New York Times* report of an exhibition in New York of a Sepphoris mosaic concludes that the "nearly intact work gives a glimpse into a cosmopolitan ancient world in which Jewish, Christian and pagan populations lived side by side."[29] The idea of the peaceful coexistence of different groups has enormous resonance in the present climate, with strong discord and periodic violence marking relations between Israelis and Palestinians.

Yet as we write this, the current political climate in Israel is taking our hopeful interpretation of the site

in a different direction. The Sepphoris antiquities are in a national park, and the Israel Nature and Parks Authority (INPA) along with the IAA (both government agencies) is in the process of upgrading the facilities and signage at the site and also consolidating the deteriorating walls of many of the excavated buildings. It is our understanding that the Jewish presence at Sepphoris will be emphasized — a move which is in line with the decision, made years ago despite our attempts that it be otherwise, to exclude the Crusader church from ready access to tourists. It is also in line with the Zippori (Sepphoris) page on the INPA website, which calls Sepphoris a "talmudic-era city," a chronological designation that effaces Roman and Christian presence.[30] The nationalism of these government agencies is superseding the possibilities for having the site highlight the coexistence of Jews, Romans, and Christians in antiquity. The government may prefer to provide a nationalist message by emphasizing the Jewish presence there, but many of its excavators continue to hope that Sepphoris's multicultural past can be a force for peace. Indeed, the inscription on a coin of Nero, dated to 67–68 C.E., refers to Sepphoris as "Eirenopolis" ("City of Peace"; Figure 15).[31]

Figure 14: Bronze statuette of Prometheus. Courtesy of Sepphoris excavations

Figure 15: *Nero coin with inscription on obverse referring to Sepphoris as "Eirenopolis" (City of Peace). Courtesy of Sepphoris excavations*

In sum, the past retrieved by archaeologists clearly is not passive. Social, religious, and political issues in the archaeologists' present inevitably impact the way many sites are selected, excavated, displayed, and interpreted, especially when local governments or other organizations are charged with excavating or maintaining a site. At its extreme, data from the past are manipulated or used selectively to promote a present-day agenda—and scholars continually try to expose and correct ideas that stem from the distortion or misinterpretation of data. Even with all these problems, we believe that the use of the past for present-day purposes can nonetheless be valuable, if for no other reason than it helps maintain an interest in and support for the archaeology of the Holy Land. We can thus continue to learn about the history and culture of all peoples who lived there over many millennia. One of the students of our course on Holy Land Archaeology perhaps summed it up best: "Archaeology does things. It is not an isolated study of rocks or remains, nor a collection of facts that collects dust on a shelf. Archaeology is the umbilical cord tethering the present to the past."[32]

Eric M. Meyers
Bernice and Morton Lerner Professor
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina, USA
emc@duke.edu

Carol Meyers
Mary Grace Wilson Professor
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina, USA
carol@duke.edu

Bibliography

Abu el-Haj, N.L. 2001 *Facts on the Ground: Archaeological Practice and Territorial Self–Fashioning in Israeli Society*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Amitai, J. 1997 Israel Exploration Society, in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, Vol. 3 190–92.

Ariel, Y. 2014 Biblical Imagery, the End Times, and Political Action: The Roots of Christian Support for Zionism and Israel, in *The Bible in the Public Square: Its Enduring Influence in American Life*, M.A. Chancey, C. Meyers, and E.M. Meyers (eds.), Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 37–62.

Ashmore, W. & R.J. Sharer 1999 *Discovering Our Past: A Brief Introduction to Archaeology*, Mountain View, CA: Mayfield.

Benjamin, D. 2010 *Stones and Stories: An Introduction to Archaeology and the Bible*, Minneapolis: Fortress.

Ben-Tor, A. 2013 Who Destroyed Canaanite Hazor? *Biblical Archaeology Review* 39, 26–36, 58–60.

Ben-Tor, A. 2009 *Back to Masada*, Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.

Ben-Yehuda, N. 2002 *Sacrificing Truth: Archaeology and the Myth of Masada,* Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.

Ben-Yehuda, N. 1995 *The Masada Myth: Collective memory and Mythmaking in Israel*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Bronner, E. 2012 How it Looks from the Other Side, in *Archaeology, Bible, Politics and the Media: Proceedings of the Duke University Conference, April 23-24, 2009*, E.M. Meyers & C. Meyers (eds.), Duke Judaic Studies 4, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 261–67.

Broshi, M. 2001 Religion, Ideology and Politics and Their Impact on Palestinian Archaeology, in *Bread, Wine, Walls and Scrolls*, Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series 36, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 14–38.

Chapman, R. 1997 Palestine Exploration Fund, in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East,* Vol 4 234–36.

Conrad, D. 1997 Deutscher Palästina-Verein, in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* Vol 2 147–49.

Dever, W.G. 1997 Biblical Archaeology, in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, Vol. 1 315–19.

Elon, A. 1994 Politics and Archaeology, *New York Review of Books* 41, 14–17, accessed at: http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/1994/sep/22/politics-and-archaeology/

Fagan, B. 1978 *Archaeology: A Brief Introduction*, Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Faust, A. 2012 Did Eilat Mazar Find David's Palace? *Biblical Archaeology Review* 38, 47–52.

Fine, S.A. 2003 *Art & Judaism in the Greco-Roman World: Toward a New Jewish Archaeology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Finkelstein, I. 1999 Hazor and the North in the Iron Age: A Low Chronology Perspective, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 314, 55–70.

Grantham, B. forthcoming Faunal Remains, *Artifacts and Other Finds from the Western Summit of Sepphoris*, E.M. Meyers, C.L. Meyers, & B.D. Gordon (eds.), Duke Sepphoris Excavation Reports 3, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

Greenberg, R. 2013 A Future for the Archaeology of Jerusalem, *The Bible and Interpretation*, online: http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles/2013/gre378009.shtml

Greenberg, R. 2009 Towards an Inclusive Archaeology in Jerusalem: The Case of Silwan/The City of David, *Public Archaeology* 8, 35–50.

Hallote, R. 2006 *Bible, Map, and Spade: The American Palestine Exploration Society, Frederick Jones Bliss, and the Forgotten Story of Early American Biblical Archaeology*, Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias.

Hallote, R.S. & A.H. Joffe 2002 The Politics of Israeli Archaeology: Between 'Nationalism' and 'Science' in the Age of the Second Republic, *Israel Studies* 7, 84–116.

Jones, S. 1997 Nationalism, Archaeology and the Interpretation of Ethnicity in Ancient Palestine, *Boletim do Centro do Pensamento Antigo* 3, 49–80.

King, P.J. 1983 *American Archaeology in the Mideast: A History of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* Philadelphia: American Schools of Oriental Research.

Kohl, P.L. 1998 Nationalism and Archaeology: On the Constructions of Nations and the Reconstructions of the Remote Past, *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27, 223–46.

Kohl, P.L., M. Kozelsky & N. Ben-Yehuda, 2007 *Selective Remembrances: Archaeology in the Construction, Commemoration, and Consecration of National Pasts*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Levy, Thomas E. (ed.) 2010 *Historical Biblical Archaeology and the Future: The New Pragmatism*, London and Oakville: Equinox.

Long, B.O. 1997 *Planting and Reaping Albright: Politics, Ideology, and Interpreting the Bible,* University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Mazar, E. 2006 Did I Find King David's palace? *Biblical Archaeology Review* 32, 16–27, 70

McGirk, T. 2010 Archaeology in Jerusalem: Digging Up Trouble, *Time Magazine*, Feb. 8, 2010, accessed at: http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1957350,00.html

Meyers, C. & E.M. Meyers 2013 Sepphoris, in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Bible and Archaeology*, Vol 1 336–48.

Meyers, E.M. 2012 The Quest for the Temple Mount: The Settler Movement and National Parks in Israel, in *Archaeology, Bible, Politics and the Media: Proceedings of the Duke University Conference, April 23-24, 2009*, E.M. Meyers & C. Meyers (eds.), Duke Judaic Studies 4, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 202–15.

Meyers, E.M. 2003 Archaeology and Nationalism in Israel: Making the Past Part of the Present, in *Zeichen aus Text und Stein: Studien auf dem Weg zu einer Archäologie des Neuen Testaments,* S. Alkier & J. Zangenberg (eds.), Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter 42, Tübingen: Francke Verlag, 64–77.

Meyers, E.M. 1997 History of the Field, in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, Vol. 3 37–42.

Meyers, E.M., E. Netzer & C.L. Meyers 1993 *Sepphoris*, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns & the Joint Sepphoris Project, 1992.

Murphy-O'Connor, J. 1997 École Biblique et Archéologique Française, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East,* Vol. 2 187–89.

Nagy, R.M., C.L. Meyers, E.M. Meyers & Z. Weiss (eds.) 1996 *Sepphoris in Galilee: Cross-Currents of Culture*, Raleigh: North Carolina Museum of Art.

Shavit, Y. 1997 Archaeology, Political Culture, and Culture in Israel, in *The Archaeology of Israel Constructing the Past, Interpreting the Present*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 237, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 48–61.

Silberman, N.A. 1993 *A Prophet from Amongst You: The Life of Yigael Yadin: Soldier, Scholar, and Mythmaker of Modern Israel*, New York: Addison-Wesley.

Silberman, N.A. 1989 *Between Past and Present: Archaeology, Ideology, and Nationalism in the Modern Middle East*, New York: Doubleday Anchor.

Silberman, N.A. & D. Small (eds.) 1997 *The Archaeology of Israel: Constructing the Past, Interpreting the Present*, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 237, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Steiner, M.L. 2009 The "Palace of David" Reconsidered in the Light of Earlier Excavations, *The Bible and Interpretation*, online: http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles/palace_2468.shtml

Sukenik, E.L. 1932 *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha: An Account of The Excavations Conducted on Behalf of the Hebrew University*, London: Oxford University Press.

de Vries, B. 2012 Community and Antiquities at Umm el-Jimal and Silwan: A Comparison, in *Archaeology, Bible, Politics and the Media: Proceedings of the Duke University Conference, April 23-24, 2009*, E.M. Meyers & C. Meyers (eds.), Duke Judaic Studies 4, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 161–86.

Weiss, Z. 2010 Artistic Trends and Contact between Jews and 'Others' in Late Antique Sepphoris: Recent Research, in *Religious Diversity in Antiquity*, D.M. Gwynn & S. Bangert (eds.), Leiden: Brill, 167–88.

Yadin, Y. 1975 *Hazor: The Rediscovery of a Great Citadel of the Bible*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

Endnotes

1. From ἀρχαῖος ('ancient') and λογία ('study of'): see http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?allowed_in_frame=0&search=archaeology&searchmode=none
2. "Holy Land" is a term signifying the territory in the east Mediterranean that has religious significance for Jews, Christians, and Muslims; depending on who is using the term, it can refer to areas in Israel, the Palestinian Authority, and sometimes Jordan—for places in all those polities are mentioned in Jewish and Christian scripture.
3. One need only peruse the pages of any issue of *Biblical Archaeology Review* to see the intense interest, to which many archaeologists contribute, in drawing explicit connections between archaeological discoveries and the Bible.
4. For discussions of nationalism and archaeology, see, e.g., Silberman 1989, Alon 1994, Silberman and Small 1997, Abu el-Haj 2001, Broshi 2001, Hallote and Joffe 2002, Meyers 2003. The pietist and fundamentalist aspects of biblical archaeology have often been discussed, especially in the writings of William Dever (e.g., Dever 1997), who sought for years to do away with the fraught term "biblical archaeology". An exploration of the current relationship between archaeology and the Bible can be found in Benjamin 2010 and Levy 2010.
5. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9501E0DD173EE33ABC4B51DFB7668382639EDE
6. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9803E1D81530E33ABC4151DFB2668382639EDE
7. Fine (2005: 25–27) would rather attribute this role to the Hammath Tiberias excavations.
8. Sukenik also noted the synagogue's architectural resemblance to Byzantine churches (Sukenik 1929: 27–38).
9. For details of Yadin's life and career, see Silberman 1993.
10. Excavations at the site were renewed in 1990 and are still in progress (as of summer, 2014).
11. *Ha'aretz* English Language Edition, July 23, 2012.
12. http://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1957/11/17/132851942.html
13. Yadin's attribution of major rebuilding by Solomon has also been challenged, e.g. by Finkelstein (1999).
14. *Ha'aretz* English Language Edition, July 23, 2012.
15. See Silberman 1993: 270–93 for Yadin and his Masada project.
16. In his weekly column in *Newsweek* on July 12, 1971.
17. Other editions of the book acknowledge this in a different subtitle: *Masada: Herod's Fortress and the Zealot's Last Stand.*
18. Yadin's student Amnon Ben-Tor (2009) has sharply criticized Ben-Yehuda's views. See also the discussions in *Bible and Interpretation* by Joe Zias (http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles/masada357902.shtml#sdfootnote5sym) and James Tabor (http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles/resp357902.shtml).
19. Shiloh was a visiting professor at Duke during 1986–1987, where he spent his last months in hospital before returning to die at home in Jerusalem. He shared with authors many stories of his years digging peacefully in Silwan.
20. See the discussions in Bronner 2012 and Meyers 2012; cf. de Vries 2012.

21 The 2002 awarding of control to El'ad goes back to1986 when El'ad's founder, David Beeri, went before the Jewish National Fund to ask to take control of Silwan, a poor Arab suburb with thousands of people, on the basis of claims that the land had been purchased by Baron de Rothschild at the beginning of the twentieth century.

22 On conservative Christian support for Israel, see Ariel 2014.

23 Eilat Mazar, for example, says she has discovered King David's palace (Mazar 2006), an assertion contested by many archaeologists (e.g., Faust 2012, Steiner 2009).

24 Seidemann works with an organization known as "Ir Amim" (literally, "City of [All] Peoples"); see http://www.ir-amim.org.il/en/node/220.

25 Preliminary reports on our discoveries at Sepphoris can be found in Meyers, Netzer, and Meyers 1992 and Nagy, Meyers, Meyers, and Weiss 1996; final publication is in progress. Other excavations have worked there concurrently with ours; for a summary of the work of all the projects, see Meyers and Meyers 2013.

26 Sepphoris became so important in Christian tradition as the birthplace of Mary that the Crusaders built a church there in the twelfth century to mark the supposed site of Mary's birth.

27 B. Grantham, forthcoming.

28 http://www.umich.edu/~kelseydb/Exhibits/Sepphoris/Press_release.html .

29 http://www.nytimes.com/1997/07/11/arts/art-in-review-079570.html?module=Search&mabReward=relbias%3Aw%2C{%222%22%3A%22RI%3A14%22%2C%221%22%3A%22RI%3A9%22}

30 http://old.parks.org.il/BuildaGate5/general2/data_card.php?Cat=~25~~685252593~Card12~&ru=&SiteName=parks&Clt=&Bur=44872343. The website does, however, note the presence of Christians at the site.

31 This designation reflected the fact that Sepphoris apparently did not join other Jewish cities in rebelling against Rome in the First Jewish War.

32 B. Sincox, course blog, January 7, 2013: https://sites.duke.edu/hla2013/

A Problem like Maria:
Further Reflections on Christian onomastic practices

Alanna Nobbs

Abstract: This paper builds on previous work by G.H.R. Horsley. It examines possible reasons for the popularity of the name Maria in Greek papyri from third-century Egypt, during the time of the Christianisation of Egypt.

This paper arises out of a team project *Papyri from the Rise of Christianity in Egypt* conducted in the Ancient Cultures Research Centre, in the Department of Ancient History at Macquarie University. It builds on a discussion by G.H.R. Horsley in *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* 4 entitled '… a problem like Maria' (1987b).[1] Particular acknowledgement for valuable insights is due to the work of R. Yuen-Collingridge and E. A. Judge.

The Christianisation of Egypt from the second (?) to the fourth century (c. AD 324) led to some changing naming patterns for men and women, though the men's names have received far more attention (Bagnall 1982 & 1987; Horsley 1987a; Wipszycka 1986; Choat 2006: 51–56; Depauw & Clarysse 2013). In our surviving evidence from the (mainly Greek) papyri to the fourth century (after which Coptic becomes more prominent), women's names represent a very small proportion (as an approximation around 5%) of all names surviving (Bagnall & Cribiore 2006: 19–22). The same pattern has been observed for the Jewish material by Judge (2012: 157).

It has of course often been noted that women generally appear less frequently in papyrus letters, though they do have a documented need both to send and receive letters (Mathieson 2006: 15). In civil documents too, women come to the attention of the authorities less frequently than men and are thus less likely to be named.

The number of names which can be linked to the emerging Christian tradition in Egypt is slight. The surviving evidence for women's names among this corpus is even smaller, and so must be read in light of the male examples in order to discern any possible trends.

In deciding what may indicate the influence of Christianity on naming patterns some initial caveats should be mentioned. Names are given by parents to their children and often honour earlier generations by preserving their names – grandparents in particular. Names given may also convey parental expectations. A biblical name need not necessarily be taken as evidence of the beliefs of the holder, but does seem to indicate some contact with Christianity or Judaism. Classical theophoric names such as Dionysius, Apollonius, Ammonius, among others by no means disappear with Christianisation. They may reflect family traditions divorced from any religious commitment.

There is also a need to address the question not only of baptismal names, but also of deliberate name change. We learn from a pamphlet on the Revelation to John attributed to the classically named Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria from 247–264 by Eusebius (*HE* 7.25.14) that admiration for John the apostle led many to adopt his name. He adds that the names Paul and especially Peter were given by believers to their sons. Of the eighty-seven bishops at the Council of Carthage in 256, only two had Biblical names (Peter and Paul). It is also possible that they took these names on conversion.

A Biblical name may have been adopted as a deliberate and public act of defiance. Eusebius in the *De martyribus Palaestinae* (11.8) speaks of five Egyptian brothers executed at Caesarea by Firmilian. Their original names were based on those of classical gods, but they chose to give their names as Elijah, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Samuel and Daniel and their city as the heavenly Jerusalem. This scene implies that individuals could and did change their given names as an expression of their identity and to make an ideological point.

Any diachronic observation about the use of Biblical names is limited by the uncertainties of palaeographical dating. Internal evidence (either of specific dates or temporally determined circumstances) fixes the dating of some, but not all papyrus letters. The more informal the letter, the less likely it is to contain a dating formula. Women's letters in particular rely therefore on dating by palaeographical comparison with documents of a more secure date. Because many documents are securely dated, we can at times rely less on palaeography alone in these instances than in the case of literary papyri. Even in cases where the date of a document can be known with relative certainty, the date at which the individuals within it received their name remains unknown. Names are incidental features of the documentary record. Little information if any is available on why an individual was so named or when.[2]

The very idea of Christian onomastic practice gives rise to several important questions. Can we distinguish between Jewish and Christian adoption of Biblical names?[3] Can we determine whether these names were encountered in the Hebrew Bible or the Septuagint? Furthermore, did Christians coin new names (e.g. Athanasia, Anastasia)

or load new meanings on older ones? Do we find in the papyri from late antique Egypt examples of names of women mentioned in the New Testament (Phoebe, Lois, Lydia, Priscilla) in the way Peter, John and Paul were favoured? Might Christian women have turned instead to the Hebrew Bible for female names to adopt? By selecting a single test case, this paper will show how complex the issues can be.

* * *

Why is the name Maria a problem? The name Maria (Μαρία, Μαριάμ, Μαριά(μ)μη) is the most popular Biblical name used for women, especially in the lead up to the fourth century and not only in the Egyptian papyri. Mariam is the most frequent female name in Palestine during the Second Temple Period (Judge 2012: 157). Miriam was well known in the Hebrew Bible as the prophet and sister of Moses and Aaron. There are at least seven different women of the name Mary in the New Testament, with the mother of Christ being the most prominent. The cult of Mary became increasingly prominent during the fourth century and the onomastic prevalence of the name matches this development. The name, however, can also be of Roman origin, as the feminine of the Latin Marius. For instance, the Maria mentioned by Cyprian c. 250 (*Ep.* 21.4, 2; 22.3, 1) is likely to have been a Latin family name as she is linked with a Roman Calpurnius, no doubt her husband. A Maria encountered in the papyri might conceivably belong to any one of these traditions.

Concerning the attribution of Jewish or Christian identity to a particular instance of a name such as Mary, the editors of the *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* (*CPJ*) established a practice of treating any bearer of a Septuagintal name down to 337 as a possible Jew (*CPJ* I 1957: xvii ff.). Bagnall (1996) argued that this date, though of course arbitrary as all recognise, is too late. To decide between Jewish or Christian identity on the basis of a name alone is impossible.

The history of the study of P.Harris 1.107 exemplifies the issues involved with establishing identity in cases of the occurrence of the name. P. Harris 1.107 is a letter from Besas to his 'mother Maria' now dated palaeographically to the late third and early fourth centuries.[4] From its first publication in 1936 a wide range of possibilities was canvassed with regard to Besas' beliefs.[5] The name Maria was originally taken as a possible indication of Judaism or Christianity especially in light of the content of the letter.

In the letter Besas writes to Maria sending many greetings in God (l. 3 ἐν θεῶι πλ⟨ε⟩ῖστα χαίρειν). He prays to the 'Father God of Truth' and to the 'Paraclete Spirit' (ll. 4–7), but without reference to the 'Son'. He asks them to protect his mother in soul, body and spirit (ψυχή, σῶμα, πνεῦμα, see ll. 8–9), then in lines nine to twelve he elaborates on the formula 'for your body, health; for your spirit, contentment; for your soul, eternal life'. Such phrases suggested a Christian milieu, albeit with gnostic

overtones. However in lines eighteen to twenty Besas asks his mother to send him his cloak for the Paschal festival (μὴ οὖν ἀμελήσῃς | πέμψαι μοι τὸ ἱμάτιον | εἰ⟨ς⟩ τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ Πάσ|χα). As this festival might be either Christian or Jewish, no firm determination was possible without recourse to further evidence.

A comparison with newly discovered Manichaean letters from Kellis provided a clear parallel and firmly situated this Maria in a Manichaean context (Gardner, Choat & Nobbs 2000). In fact Powell had mentioned the possibility of a Manichaean context but there was at that stage no comparable evidence. Clearly the Manichaean community could encompass the name Maria, as could Romans, Jews and Christians. P. Harris 1.107 represents one of the few occurrences of the name in papyrus letters of our period and yet there are still insufficient grounds to determine whether the name was adopted for religious reasons.

However, the name Maria (Mariam) occurs in nine Greek civil documents from the Egyptian papyrological record dated from the third to the early fourth century (AD 320).[6] This is many more than is found for any other feminine name found in the Hebrew Bible or the New Testament in Egyptian documents from our period. By way of comparison, the name Sarah (Abraham's favoured wife, Gen. 17:15) is attested twice in our period and only a few times in documents from later centuries.[7] Rebecca (the wife of Isaac, Gen. 22:23) does not appear in the Greek papyri from Egypt until the sixth century.[8] Rachel (Jacob's wife, Gen. 29:6) occurs first with P.Kell. 1.61 (Kellis IV), l. 5 and then mainly in the sixth century. Ruth is not attested at all in the documents of Palestine or Roman Egypt and seems only to have been taken up as a personal name at a much later date. When seen in this context the occurrences of Maria stand out.

Documents taken from the civil bureaucracy of Egypt (267–324) show no trace of the use of any other Biblical name for a woman. However, in papyrus letters from that period we find one in which the sisters, Esther and Susanna, appear (P.Oxy. 31.2599, ll. 21–23, dated III/IV). There is virtually no known Jewish currency of these names in Egypt; Susanna appears later in the second half of the fourth century (SB 14.11437; dated IV[2]) and rarely thereafter. There is no clear indication if these sisters come from a Jewish or Christian milieu, though the original editor, Rea, thought Jewish slightly more likely according to the *CPJ* rule (see above).

By way of comparison, a variety of Biblical names for men is attested in the papyrological record from our period. For men, the names of the Hebrew prophets and patriarchs, whether in a Jewish or Christian context, are frequently encountered.[9] John and Peter, as already noted, are common and were joined by Paul (which continued as a Roman name also). From the third to the early fourth century nine Johns are found in civil documents, whilst eighteen Peters are attested, alongside other Biblical names including Elijah (twenty-three), Isaac (nine), Jacob (three), and Joseph (six). In the case of these names,

except for Peter, context is required to determine whether a Jewish or Christian milieu is more likely.

For example, P.Herm. 4[10] is a papyrus letter dated to the first decade of the fourth century, from the archive of an official, Theophanes. In it a John and Leon greet Theophanes as their 'beloved brother' (ll. 1–2: ἀγαπητῶι ἀδελφῶι). Elsewhere the names John and Leon might well point to a Jewish background, but the presence of this peculiarly Christian designation ('beloved brother') suggests an active participation in the Christian thought world (Choat 2006; Choat & Nobbs 2001–2005). In such cases, context, where it can be established, is vital to establishing a self-conscious identification with a particular tradition. The name on its own is insufficient.

By the late fourth to sixth century, we do find examples of women's names other than Maria from the Hebrew Bible and New Testament. In this period, of course, they are unlikely to be Jewish, and even then not common.

Aside from Maria, the only other female name associated with Christianity which is attested with some frequency in the fourth century is Thecla. The apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla appear to have popularised the name. Papyrus copies of the Acts were circulating in Egypt at least as early as the third century (see the papyrus codex, P. Schøyen 1.21, dated III).[11] The name is usually interpreted as a contraction of Theocleia (i.e. 'glory of God'). No examples are known before the mother of the famous Thecla, mentioned in the apocryphal Acts. The novel coinage and the apparent connection between its popularity and that of the apocryphal Acts suggests that this name is certainly Christian in origin. The papyrus documents from Egypt in the fourth century provide four examples of the name Thecla.[12] Noteworthy from mid-fourth-century Oxyrhynchus is a letter written by Thonios to his sister wife Thecla (P.Oxy. 1.182 = SB 22.15359), greeting her 'in the Lord God' (ll. 2–3).

While the names of New Testament women (e.g. Lydia, Phoebe) do not seem to be taken up even in the fifth century and subsequently, the name Nonna ('aunt' or 'grandmother', not Christian in origin) became current as a personal name in the Greek papyri of Egypt but was later confined to nuns in particular (Mandilaras 1993). Five examples are known in the papyri from the third to the mid-fourth century, but no further contextual details are available to discern whether the individuals so designated are Christian.[13] The likelihood increases as the date becomes later.

Though Biblical names for women are not found frequently in the papyri, there is some evidence for a growing use of abstracts with Christian resonance, possibly as a result of name change or of baptism. The later history of Christian names for women in Egypt other than Maria seems to lie from the mid-fourth century on with such abstracts. Increasingly we find evidence of names such as Sophia and Irene, not Christian in origin but gradually appropriated as such.[14]

* * *

In conclusion despite the fact that we are working from a very small number of examples, some trends in the currency of Christian names for women in Egypt may be suggested. Other than Maria, there is little evidence for the adoption of Biblical names for women. The popularity of Maria, both as a Jewish name and as the name of the mother of Jesus (and many of his associates in the New Testament), dominates the onomastic scene, extending to Manichaean usage also. The variety of names taken from the Jewish or Christian scriptures which could potentially be available were not frequently adopted. The significance of Maria in the Biblical narratives eclipses that of the other women mentioned and the onomastic tradition reflects this priority. This was not the case with Biblical names for men (albeit more richly attested).

Alanna Nobbs
Macquarie University

Bibliography

Bagnall, R.S. 1982 Religious conversion and onomastic change in early Byzantine Egypt, *BASP* 19, 105-24.

Bagnall, R.S. 1987 Conversion and Onomastics: A Reply, *ZPE* 69, 243-50.

Bagnall, R.S. 1996 *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton, N.J.; Princeton University Press.

Bagnall, R.S. & R. Cribiore 2006 *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt, 300 BC – AD 800*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 19-22.

Bell, H.I. 1944 Evidences of Christianity in Egypt during the Roman period, *Harvard Theological Review* 37, 185-208.

Bremmer, J.N. (ed.) 1996 *The Apocryphal Acts of Saint Thecla: A Tradition of Women's Piety in Late Antiquity*, Kampen, Kok Pharos.

Choat, M. 2006 The public and private worlds of Theophanes of Hermopolis Magna, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 88, 41–56.

Choat, M. & A.M. Nobbs 2001–2005 Monotheistic formulae of belief in Greek letters on papyrus from the second to fourth century, *Journal of Greco-Roman Christianity and Judaism* 2, 35-51.

Delling, G. 1974–75 Biblisch-jüdische Namen im hellenistisch-römischen Ägypten, *Bulletin de la Société d'Archéologie copte* 22, 1-42.

Depauw, M. & W. Clarysse 2013 How Christian was fourth century Egypt? Onomastic perspectives on conversion, *Vigiliae Christianae* 67, 407-35.

Emmett, A. 1985 The concept of Spirit in papyrus letters of the third and fourth century: Problems posed by P.Harr. 107, *Prudentia* Suppl. 73-79.

Gardner, I., A. Nobbs & M. Choat, 2000 P.Harr. 107: Is this another Greek Manichaean letter?, *ZPE* 131, 118–24.

Horsley, G.H.R. 1987a Name change as an indication of religious conversion in Antiquity, *Numen* 34, 1–17.

Horsley, G.H.R. 1987b, … a problem like Maria, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* 4, 229-230.

Ilan, T. 2002-2011 *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity*, Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck.

Judge, E. A. 2012 The names of Jewish Women, *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* 10, 156-8.

Mandilaras, B.G. 1993 The proper name Νόννα in the papyri, *The Byzantine Papyri of the Greek Papyrological Society* (P. Sta. Xyla), Athens, Greek Papyrological Society, 67-70.

Mathieson, E. 2006 *Christian and Jewish Women in the Papyri 100 CE – 400 CE*, unpub. PhD thesis, Macquarie University.

Naldini, M., 1998² *Il cristianesimo in Egitto*, Fiesole, Nardini.

Nobbs, A. 1982 A fourth-century hymn to the Virgin Mary? *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* 2, 141-146

Nobbs, A. 1999 Gnosticism and the Greek papyri from Egypt, *Phronema* 14, 53-60.

Nobbs, A. 2006 'Beloved brothers' in the New Testament and Early Christianity, in P.J. Williams, A.D. Clarke, P.M. Head, D. Instone-Brewer (eds), *The New Testament in its First Century Setting: Essays on Context and Background in honour of B.W. Winter on his 65th Birthday*, Grand Rapids, Michigan, Eerdmans, 143-50.

Nobbs, A. forthcoming The first (named) Christian accountant, in S.N.C. Lieu, P. McKechnie (eds), *Aspects of the Roman East II: Papers in Honour of Professor Fergus Millar*, Turnout, Brepols.

O'Callaghan, J. 1972 Sobre la interpretación de P.Harr. 107, *Aegyptus* 52, 152–57.

Powell, J.E. 1936 *The Rendel Harris Papyri of Woodbrooke College, Birmingham*, vol. I, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Tcherikover, V. A., with A. Fuks 1957 *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* (=*CPJ*), vol. I, Cambridge, Mass.; Harvard University Press.

Wipszycka, E. 1986 La valeur de l'onomastique pour l'histoire de la christianisation de l'Égypte. À propos d'une étude de R.S. Bagnall, *ZPE* 62, 173-81.

Endnotes

1 https://www.mq.edu.au/research/centres_and_groups/ancient_cultures_research_centre/research/papyrology/pce/. Earlier versions of this paper were read to a conference of the Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, an Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and a research seminar at the School of History, Philosophy, Religion and Classics at the University of Queensland. It has benefitted from the discussion on each of these occasions.

2 I am grateful for Rachel Yuen-Collingridge for discussion on this point.

3 Horsley (1987b: 229): 'Is this name [Maria] sufficiently distinctive ethnically to allow us to identify its bearers always as Jews, or in the late Imperial period as Christians since it was taken over as a Biblical name from Jews in the NT?'

4 The editio princeps dated it tentatively to the third century (Powell 1936); Naldini to the early third (1998²); Bell to c. 200 (1944). See for the dating given above Gardner/Choat/Nobbs (2000).

5 For an overview see Emmett (1985).

6 P.Prag. 1.14 (Arsinoite III1) , l. 16 M]αρία; P.Oxy. 44.3184b (Oxyrhynchus; 297), l. 17 Μαρία, mother of Sarmates and wife of Theodorus; SB 1.1727 (Thebes III/IV), l. 3 Μαρία; P.Oxy. 36.2770 (Oxyrhynchus 304), l. 8 Αὐρηλία Μαρία, daughter of Heracleides and Tauonis, divorced from Heracles; P.Oxy. 69.4752 (Hermopolite 311), l. 2 Μαρία, mother of Horion; P.Erl.Diosp. 1a (Diospolis Parva 313/314), p. 54, l. 107 [M]αρία; P.Oxy. 55.3787 (Oxyhynchus 313/320), col. 2, l. 55 Μαρία, mother of Plutarch; P.Berl.Bork (Panopolis 315/320), col. 13, l. 465 (cf. col. 2, l. 65) Μαρία, wife of Philammon; P.Sakaon 39 (Theadelphia 318), l. 11 Μαρία, mother of Syrus.

7 SB 14.11732 (Karnak III), l. 1 Σάρα and P.Lond. 5.1911 (Herakleopolis early-IV), l. 3 Αὐρηλία Σάρρα, daughter of Isaac.

8 P.Flor. 3.297 (Aphrodites kome post 525), l. 150 Ῥεβέκκα Ἑρμείου.

9 See, for example, the study by Ilan (2002), Delling (1974–75) and Nobbs (forthcoming).

10 Edited initially by B.R. Rees in 1964; see the discussion in Naldini (1998²: no. 38, 181–83).

11 On the Apocryphal Acts of Paul and Thecla, see Bremmer (1996).

12 P.Oxy. 1.182 = SB 22.15359 (mid-IV); P.Herm. Landlist. I, col. 25, l. 408 (see also P.Herm. Landlist. II, col. 28, l. 624); O.Douch 3.226, l. 2 (IV); SB 20.14888, col. 2, l. 10 (IV).

13 B 14.11575, l. 10 (Euhemeria III); SB 14.12140, l. 1 (III/IV); P.Oxy. 10.1288, l. 16 (318–323); SB 8.9931, l. 5 (Hermopolis 330); P.Oxy. 60.4084, r, l. 4 (339).

14 Fourth century examples of Irene (a name popular since Hellenistic times) include P.Cair.Isid. 9, r, col. 5, l. 93 (Karanis 309) and P. Sakaon 34, l. 5 (Ptolemais Euergetis 321). For Sophia, see P.Oxy. 20.2275, l. 16 (III/IV), M.Chr. 276 (= P.Lips. 1.19), l. 7 (Hermopolis 320) and PSI 7.772, l. 4 (Oxyrhynchus 321).

The Australian Institute of Archaeology
and the beginning of ancient world archaeology at the University of Melbourne

Christopher J. Davey

Abstract: The origin of the relationship between the University of Melbourne and the Australian Institute of Archaeology is described together with the roles played by Maurice Goldman and John Thompson. The circumstances of William Culican's arrival in Melbourne are discussed, and the expectations of the founder of the Institute, Walter Beasley, in relation to Thompson and Culican are briefly explored.

The Australian Institute of Archaeology (the Institute) was founded in Melbourne in 1946. It is often remembered in the context of the secondary school ancient history curriculum, which was its primary concern between 1970 and 1999, but the original constitution of the Institute did not mention 'schools' or 'education', it did however refer to 'universities and museums' five times, 'research' six times, and 'exploration' and 'publishing' each three times. The original focus of the Institute and its founder, Walter J. Beasley, was clearly tertiary level studies.

Beasley (1889-1976) was a successful businessman who in 1930 ceased to exercise day-to-day management of his import-export/transport company, Tho H Young Pty Ltd, in order to devote his considerable energy to Christian missions and archaeology. Although he only had an 8th grade education he worked tirelessly to educate himself in archaeology and he appreciated the strategic importance of tertiary study. As a means of furthering his own archaeological knowledge he travelled extensively in India and the Middle East visiting excavations where the international scholars he met were all based in European and American universities and museums. Australian scholars were nowhere to be seen. The Institute was established in part to tackle this situation.

Between 1945 and 1947 Beasley successfully negotiated with Professors Dale Trendall and A.H. McDonald of the University of Sydney to arrange James R.B. Stewart's return to Australia to begin archaeological education in Sydney (Davey 2013a). While Beasley was not cognisant of university politics, his commercial impatience meant that he would financially resolve any perceived problem and in so doing he eliminated the main impediments facing Sydney University with respect to the appointment. While Stewart's tenure at Sydney was never smooth, the archaeological education he began was the first of its kind in Australia and has gone on to produce a significant number of the world's leading archaeologists.

When writing to G.R.H. (Mick) Wright in June 1954 about funding for Wright's excavations at Tocra (Davey 2013b), Beasley explained his need for ancient pottery,

..it is possible to see something of an investment in pottery that would assist us in lecturing at

Melbourne University, and incidentally intrigue the professors of that university in our work.... as general archaeology as known overseas, is not really known in Australia (AIAdoc 763).

Beasley was concerned that in Australian universities, Sydney excepted, ancient history was generally limited to the classical period and archaeology was ignored. In a following letter, Beasley told Wright that he was in contact with five professors at the University of Melbourne and he asked him if he could locate some ancient slag samples for one of them, Howard Worner, the Professor of Metallurgy (AIAdoc 762).

Figure 1: *Walter Beasley in the early 1950s with some pots from Cyprus. Photo: the Institute.*
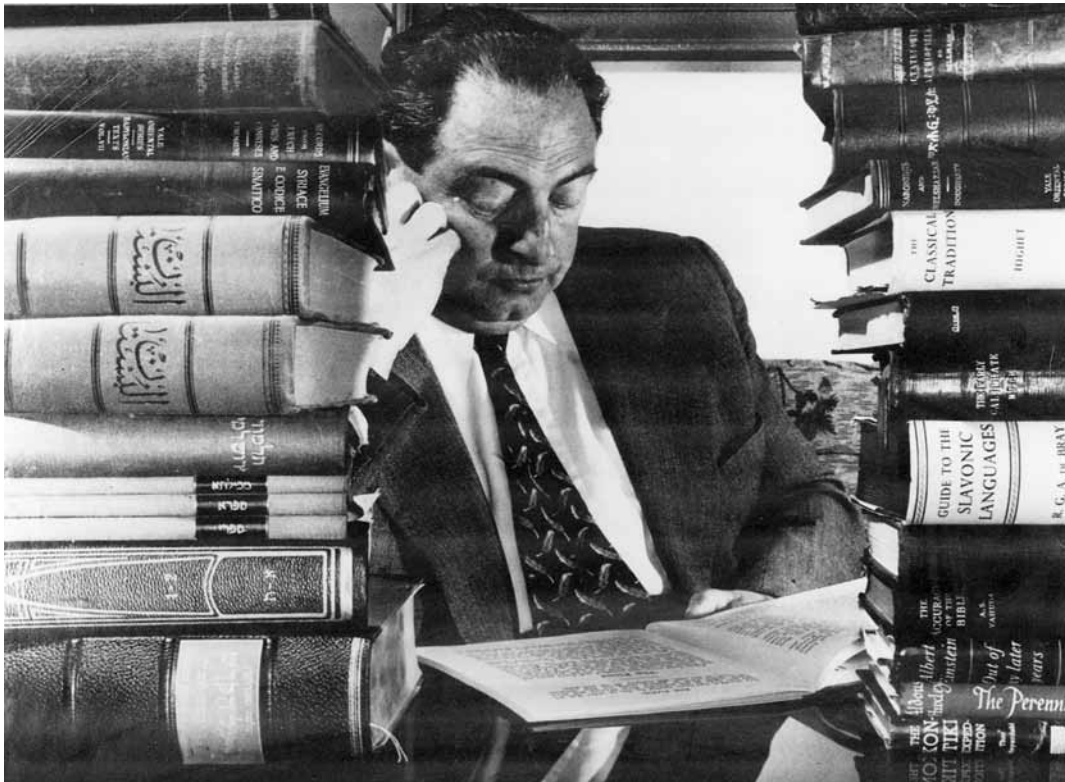
Figure 2: Professor Maurice Goldman. Photo held by Dr Ziva Shavitsky and scanned by Andrew Jamieson

Maurice Goldman

The University of Melbourne (the University) began in 1854 with chairs in Classics, Mathematics, Natural Sciences, History and Law (Blainey 1956). The University followed the University College London model of not allowing the teaching of theology. There was a sentiment in the Colony of Victoria not to confer on the Church of England, and religion in general, the status they had in England where so much education was sponsored by religious entities and university education was restricted to members of the Church of England. Education in Victoria was to be secular and open to all.

Thus the University began with a Eurocentric model teaching Classical Greek religion and mythology, and excluding semitic and oriental languages and cultures so important to the development of Western culture. This unbalanced situation was still evident after eighty years when Beasley came on the scene. Hebrew had been taught at Cambridge and Oxford universities from 1540s and Arabic from 1630s. By 1900 many universities in Europe and North America had chairs in the fields of Ancient History, Archaeology, Assyriology and Egyptology but in Australia, even today, such positions are rare.

In 1944 Professor Alan R Chisholm, Dean of the Faculty of Arts, was approached by a Melbourne businessman, Abraham Hyam Sicree of the A.B.Y Manufacturing Co., who offered to fund a chair in Semitic Languages and Culture for a period of five years (Chisholm 1958: 127). The opportunity was grasped by Chisholm, who rapidly obtained the necessary approvals and selected a Melbourne-based scholar, Maurice Goldman, who on 1

July 1945 became the foundation Lazarus and Abraham Sicree Professor of Semitic Studies (Christesen 1996).

Maurice David Goldman (1898-1957) was born of Jewish parents at Kolo in Poland and studied Arabic, Islamic culture and Oriental languages at the University of Berlin from 1920 to 1925, where he took the degree of doctor of philosophy *magna cum laude* (*The Argus* 11 May 1945: 3; Apple 1959). He left Germany in 1938, after being warned by his friends that he was in danger, and joined his sister in Horsham, Victoria (*The Sydney Morning Herald* 15 December 1938: 13). Goldman soon moved to Melbourne where he undertook many teaching engagements, especially within the Jewish community, and during World War II he was an interpreter and consultant in the censor's office, Department of the Army, Melbourne (Apple 2012).

Chisholm described how Goldman was appointed to the chair of Semitic Studies at the University (1958: 127). He was mindful of the fact that after the Sicree funding expired in 1950 it would be necessary for the University to accept responsibility for Goldman's position. Chisholm regarded Goldman as a unique opportunity that he correctly judged the University would not reject when the time came; he estimated that Goldman had a working knowledge of at least forty languages and that he spoke fifteen fluently. While Goldman's ability to decipher almost any language had secured his war-time employment, his engaging teaching style and brilliant scholarship assured his academic position, the effects of which are still felt today.

Figure 3: John Thompson's business card in 1955 as Director of the Australian Institute of Archaeology.

John Thompson

In 1951 the *Sydney Morning Herald* (6 October: 2) reported that the Institute had made prizes totalling £90 available for students studying archaeology at the University of Sydney. This came to Goldman's notice and he immediately contacted the Institute.

Beasley, whose own father was Jewish, would have appreciated Goldman's business-like candour. He reported on the subsequent discussions with Goldman in a letter to Stewart (AIAdoc 440). From the beginning of 1952 Thompson, the Director of the Institute, would teach a subject entitled Biblical Archaeology at the University to a significant number of students who were studying classical Hebrew.

John Arthur Thompson (1913-2002) had been a science master at 'Churchie', Brisbane Anglican Church Grammar School, and because of his relationship with some of the first Council members of the Institute, he was employed from 1 March 1947 as the Director of the Institute (Davey 2001/2). At the time of his appointment he had no experience of archaeology, but one of his first acts was to enrol at the University to study Hebrew with Goldman. To assist with archaeology he also enrolled in Geology, and he had access to the substantial archaeological library that Beasley had amassed.

Thompson was a good student and Goldman was an effective teacher, so by 1949 he was tutoring in Hebrew. His role as a sessional lecturer in Biblical Archaeology at the University was therefore not out of place, and his remuneration, for which the University was reimbursed by the Institute, meant that there were no financial implications for the University. In August 1951 Thompson had returned from twelve months in the Middle East where he was an Honorary Fellow of the American Schools of Oriental Research. He had excavated with people such as James Pritchard, Gerald Lankester Harding and Dimitri Baramki, and had travelled in Jordan, Egypt, Iraq, Cyprus,

Israel and Italy. He also visited museums in London and Oxford and met numerous archaeologists.

The syllabus of the Biblical Archaeology subject is not a mystery. Soon after leaving the Institute in 1956 Thompson published three Pathway Books entitled *Archaeology and the Old Testament* (1957, 2nd ed. 1959), *Archaeology and the Pre-Christian Centuries* (1958, 2nd ed. 1959), and *Archaeology and the New Testament* (1960). These were consolidated into one volume entitled *The Bible and Archaeology* in 1962. It ran through three editions, the last in 1982, and is currently available in the USA in both electronic and hard copy forms. In the Preface, Thompson states that the content 'originally comprised lectures given in theological college, Bible college, and university classes in Australia'.

There is some evidence that the Institute and Goldman developed a good working relationship. On 6 June 1953, as Beasley's association with Stewart and Sydney University came to an end, the remaining funds in the Australian Cyprus Expedition account, £517.9.4, were returned to the Institute and then passed on to the University (AIAdocs 588, 589, 595). It is not clear how the money was spent, but it may have funded Goldman's travel to international conferences. Goldman, in return, wrote the forward in Beasley's next book entitled *Creation's Amazing Architect* (1955).

Thompson resigned from the directorship of the Institute on 2 September 1956 to take up a position as a tutor at the New South Wales Baptist Theological College commencing on 1 January 1957 (AIAmin 21/9/1956; *New Life* 27/9/1956: 1). Thompson was then 45 years old and the new position was comparatively junior so his departure is somewhat curious. While written sources are silent about the reason for his departure, as was Thompson himself, two informants have stated that Beasley was opposed to

Figure 4: The Dhiban team at Thanksgiving dinner, November 1950. From the left, John Thompson, Father Murphy, Bennie (servant), Ken Ogden, Amil (driver), Omar (cook) and Bill Morton. Photo: taken by James Pritchard, Thompson Archive

Figure 5: John Thompson, the first director of the Institute, at Pompeii 1951. Photo: Thompson Archive.

the publication of *The Bible and Archaeology*. Thompson would appear to have been fulfilling Beasley's dream of having archaeology taught at an Australian university, so why put this in jeopardy?

Some years earlier *The Sydney Morning Herald* (18 February 1939: 20) published a review of Beasley's first book *Jericho's Judgment* together with a review of *Biblical Archaeology: Its uses and abuses* by George H Richardson, Rector of Oswaldkirk, York and onetime secretary of the Egypt Exploration Society (Richardson ND; Beasley 1938). The reviewer recounted how Richardson was annoyed by those who were making exaggerated claims for archaeology by proclaiming absolute biblical confirmations. For Richardson archaeology was more able to confirm the historical character of the Bible by way of illustration and analogy. Beasley on the other hand had been convinced after discussions with Professor Garstang at Jericho in 1935 that he had found the walls that fell down at the time of Joshua and that this was scientific proof that the Bible was correct and that biblical critics were wrong. The reviewer concluded,

He [Richardson] would be even more annoyed if he read Mr Beasley's book. The truth is that archaeology supplies only meagre evidence for actual Biblical statements but it does to a growing

extent bring back to us the environment, historical and geographical, in which the Bible grew and in which its stories are set (The Sydney Morning Herald, 18 February 1939: 20).

A copy of Richardson's book was in Beasley's library, but it lacks his normal enthusiastic marginalia and underlining and instead has some neat pencil markings and a note on the last page '28/3/47 JAT'. It appears Thompson read this book during his first month as director of the Institute and that he adopted Richardson's approach. This would have set him apart from Beasley's conviction that archaeology could be expected to deliver unequivocal proof of the Bible.

When introducing *The Bible and Archaeology* Professor F.F. Bruce of Manchester University, arguably the most significant English evangelical biblical scholar since World War II, stated,

Archaeology certainly makes an important contribution to the study of the Bible. Large areas, especially of the Old Testament, have been so greatly illuminated by it that it is not easy to imagine what readers made of them before the days of biblical archaeology. Yet the scale of its contribution can be exaggerated, and it is one of the merits of Dr. Thompson's book that it does not make exaggerated claims for archaeology or try to make it fill a role for which it is unsuited. For all the light that archaeology throws upon the text, language, and narrative of the Bible, it is improper, and in any case unnecessary, to appeal to it to "prove" the Bible. Archaeology has indeed corroborated the substantial historicity of the biblical record from the patriarchal period to the apostolic age, but it is not by archaeology that the essential message of the Bible can be verified. (Thompson 1962: viif)

This is a fairly clear rejection of the Beasley approach by a person that would have been held in the highest regard by the Council members of the Institute. Dr Paul White, for example, was a Beasley confidante, a co-founder of the Institute and from 1943 he was also General-Secretary of Intervarsity Fellowship Australia, a tertiary society of evangelical Christian students that has members on all campuses in Australia (now called the Australian Fellowship of Evangelical Students). Bruce was the president of Intervarsity Fellowship International in 1954-55 and Thompson was the Australian president in the same year. White originally followed the Beasley line, but that no doubt changed as he was exposed to the views of scholars such as Bruce.

The Institute financially supported Kenyon's excavations at Jericho from 1952 and would have been receiving reports that her work had re-dated Garstang's walls to the Early Bronze Age, a thousand years before the biblical story of Joshua. While it seems Beasley ignored such information, those around him could not.

At the Council meeting following Thompson's departure Francis Andersen, who had been the Intervarsity Fellowship representative on the Council since 1950 and who was a close friend of Thompson, resigned to take up a Fulbright Scholarship to study with Albright at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. Canon Arrowsmith, who had been the vice-president of the Institute from its beginning, also resigned (AIAmin 17/5/1957).

Francis Ian Andersen (1925-) is another link between the Institute and the University. After completing a science degree in 1947 at the University of Queensland, he moved to Melbourne to become a demonstrator in Chemistry at the University. He conducted research in nuclear chemistry, receiving a Master of Science degree in Physical Chemistry in 1951, but then turned to the humanities, completing a Bachelor of Arts in Russian in 1955. During this time he was also enrolled in biblical studies at Ridley College and he studied Hebrew with Goldman and Thompson. It was this aspect of his academic interests that he pursued at Johns Hopkins University, where his doctoral dissertation was entitled *Studies in Hebrew Syntax*. Andersen has had numerous roles at the Institute, including the editorship of this journal and is currently a Fellow of the Institute, and until recently was also a Professorial Fellow at the University.

Thompson was also to have future roles at the Institute after returning to Melbourne at the completion of his doctoral studies at Cambridge. Beasley was constitutionally President for life and when he died in 1976 Thompson became the President, holding the position until 1989. During this time and after his retirement he wrote regularly for *Buried History*, completed some biblical commentaries and updated earlier publications. He died in Melbourne on 22 November 2002 (Davey 2001/2).

In 1957 G.G. Garner, an Institute staff member, reported that University students studying Ancient History I with John O'Brien were using the Institute library for essay preparation. At Goldman's request, Garner lectured the subject of Biblical Archaeology initiated by Thompson; it was made available to the 60 students who were then studying Hebrew (AIAmin 17/5/1957). Gordon George Garner (1926-2001) was a graduate of Ridley College and had joined the Institute in September 1954 (AIAmin 8/10/1954). He was a Hebrew scholar and had no experience of field archaeology. He would go on be the Director of the Institute 1970-1987, during which time he did a season of excavation at Ceasarea Maritima (Davey 2000).

William (Bill) Culican

Goldman died in September 1957 (Christesen 1996) and was succeeded by Professor Bowman who arrived in 1959. John Bowman (1916-2006) was born in Scotland and educated at Glasgow and Oxford Universities (Sagona 2006; Bowman & Bowman 2006). He came to Melbourne from Leeds University and had experience of archaeological excavation in Israel (*The World's News (Sydney)* 22 November 1952: 34).

Figure 6: Bill Culican at El-Qitar, northern Syria, 1984. Photo: Courtesy Jenny Zimmer

Bowman wanted to retain the Biblical Archaeology subject and to appoint a full-time staff member to teach it. On 13 October 1959 Bowman wrote to the Chancellor of the University, Sir George Paton, informing him that Beasley had committed £2,000 for a lectureship in Biblical Archaeology for which Bowman suggested the title 'The Australian Institute of Archaeology Lectureship in Biblical Archaeology'. In a letter written a few days earlier to R.D. Barnett, a keeper at the British Museum, Bowman stated:

> *Thanks to Mr. Beasley of the Australian Institute of Archaeology, there seems to be hope that a lectureship in Biblical Archaeology will be established in my department* (BMArchive1, 8/10/1959).

In reply Barnett suggested that Terence Mitchell, an Assistant Keeper at the Museum, might be a suitable

Figure 7: Bill Culican El-Qitar 1984, in the pottery workroom. Photo: Courtesy Jenny Zimmer

person for the position because he was an Akkadian scholar, something that he understood Bowman wanted (BMArchive2, 22/10/1959). Mitchell had undertaken assignments for Beasley in 1958 but found it hard to define the intended scope of work and then to produce results that were satisfactory to him (per. comm. 2010).

The Council of the Institute resolved initially to fund the Biblical Archaeology position to about two-thirds of the total cost (£1100) from 1960 (AIAmin 7/10/1959), enabling Bowman to report to Barnett that the position was agreed and the applications for it would close on 4 January 1960 (BMArchive3, 13/11/1959). He asked Barnett to notify anyone who had field experience in Palestine or Mesopotamia, especially if they also knew Akkadian or Ugaritic.

The position was awarded to William (Bill) Culican. Mitchell did not apply. There is some University anecdotal evidence that Beasley wanted Garner appointed to the position, but there is nothing in the Institute Minutes, archive or oral history to suggest it, nor is there anything in the University Archives. The Institute Minutes, which were written by Garner, record that Culican was the only applicant 'sufficiently qualified' and that he was expected to be 'a valuable asset' to the Institute (AIAmin 11/3/1960). It is possible that Garner was making it clear that, whatever Beasley may have expected, he knew that his own appointment was out of the question. Thompson did not apply as he would soon be on his way to Fitzwil-

liam College, Cambridge, to undertake PhD research; he returned in 1965 to take up a lectureship in the Semitic Studies Department at the University replacing Culican, who had moved to the History Department. Stewart's Sydney students, Basil Hennessy and Robert Merrillees, were also soon to travel to England for doctoral research.

Culican arrived in Australia on 21 April 1960 (AIAmin 11/3/1960). The speed and efficiency of the appointment was extraordinary, especially when compared with two years of tortured negotiations associated with Stewart's arrival at the University of Sydney. The position was mooted and approved, and a candidate had been selected and brought to Australia, all within six months.

Culican's life is described by Professor Antonio Sagona in a collection of Culican's papers entitled *Opera Selecta* (Culican 1986); he also has an entry in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* (Ridley 2007) and obituaries in the *Proceedings, Australian Academy of the Humanities* (Clarke 1982), *The Artefact* (Sagona 1984) and *Archiv für Orientforschung* (Curtis 1984). He was educated at the Jesuit Catholic College, Preston, Lancashire, England, and after military service in Germany during 1947 he received degrees in classics and archaeology from Edinburgh. Between 1954 and 1960 he studied Egyptian with Jaroslav Černy at Oxford, Akkadian with Mullo Weir at Glasgow University, worked on Iron Age metalwork in Yugoslavia, studied and travelled in the Levant, Iran and Turkey and participated in the Oxford University Archaeological Expedition to Motya in 1955 and 1957. He was well equipped for the Melbourne position.

Garner had been teaching Thompson's Biblical Archaeology subject at the University since 1957 and he continued to do so after the appointment of Culican. The Institute increased its contribution for Culican to £1500 and added £500 to be paid to Garner. A loan to Culican was also made to assist him with the costs of relocating to Australia (AIAExecmin 1/7/1960).

Bowman appears to have initially got on well with Beasley. When he was invited to the 25th International Committee of Orientalists in Moscow in August 1960, the Institute contributed £722 to cover his costs (AIAmin 10/3/1961). While abroad, Bowman also spent time working at the Prague Museum. Beasley was to accompany him, but could not do so because of ill-health (AIAExecmin 1/7/1960, Sup 7 UniMelbArchive, Report 5/12/60).

The indications are that Culican also initially had good relations with Beasley. Beasley had a longstanding involvement with the Poona and Indian Village Mission and regularly travelled to India. This led to an interest in Indian archaeology and ethnography and contact with Hasmukhlal Dhirajlal Sankalia at the Deccan College, Poona, Maharashtra. Sankalia had completed a PhD at the University of London in 1938 and had worked with the Wheelers at Maiden Castle, Dorset, before returning to India in 1939 as Professor in Proto and Ancient Indian History at the Deccan College (Sankalia 1978: 26ff).

Figure 8: *El-Qitar from the east, with the Euphrates River in the foreground. Culican, with Tom McClelland, led two University of Melbourne expeditions to the site in 1983-4. Photo: the author*

Sankalia acknowledged that Beasley 'spontaneously' contributed to the Deccan College excavations at the prehistoric Indian site of Nevasa in 1957 and 1958 (Sankalia et al. 1960: ix). Institute records reveal the total contribution to be £344 (AIAmins 15/2/1957, 15/11/1957, 22/8/1958). In 1958 Beasley also arranged for a collection of Mediterranean pottery to be sent to the Deccan College and the University of Baroda, Gujarat.

In 1961 Culican led a group of people from Melbourne, including Dr Kazi and Ted Nixon, to excavate with Sankalia at Ahar, a site near Nevasa (Sankalia et al. 1969: ix; Culican 1961-2); the Institute contributed funds to this expedition. Culican's archaeological work in India may not seem so incongruous when it is appreciated that evidence for trade with the Mediterranean during Roman times had been found at Nevasa (Gupta 1998). Culican was in touch with his teacher, Stuart Piggott, and also Sir Mortimer Wheeler, who had been a reference for his appointment at the University. Both men had significant Indian archaeological experience, so it is probable that it was their encouragement together with the interest and resources of Beasley and the Institute that got the expedition underway.

In 1960 Garner reported to the Institute Council that he was giving three lectures a week in Biblical Archaeology at the University, that Dr Francis Andersen was lecturing in Middle Eastern Culture I and Culican lectured in Biblical Literature and Antiquities I, and Biblical Archaeology I (AIAmin 10/3/1961). Andersen had returned from Johns Hopkins to be Vice-Principal of Ridley College. He did not find Beasley welcoming and had little to do with the Institute during this time in Melbourne; Beasley, he thought, had changed from the person he had known four years earlier (pers. comm. 2014). In 1963 Andersen accepted an appointment as Professor of Old Testament at the Church Divinity School of the Pacific, Berkeley,

California, a position he held until 1972; James Pritchard was the previous incumbent.

By mid-1961 Beasley was concerned about the Culican lectureship, writing to the University on 28 August 1961 and following it up by meeting Bowman and the Registrar. According to the Institute minutes Bowman replied on 14 September 1961. Although the grounds for concern were not mentioned in Institute documents or those in the University Archives, the issue is said to have two aspects, but that is all we know. When later acknowledging the Institute's intention not to extend its sponsorship of Culican's position beyond three years, it was reported that the Registrar agreed that 'the circumstances were unusual' (AIAExecmin 8/2/1963).

A few comments may be relevant to this situation. Beasley was an ageing Australian business man, while Culican was a young English academic. Beasley never appreciated the university intellectual environment and was more comfortable in a business setting where management exercised control. He would have found Culican's English eccentricities unengaging; Beasley was not a conversationalist and would not have warmed to Culican's wit and wisdom. But the issues here were certainly not personal.

Many people who knew Beasley at the time acknowledge that he had changed. His daughter, Pauline, believes that it was as a result of a medical trauma that he experienced in 1958 when he was on the docks in Bombay personally arranging the passage of the consignment of ancient Mediterranean pottery and suffered sunstroke resulting in hospitalisation. In 1960 he was 70 years old and by 1969 he had dementia and was unreachable. The 1960s were a period of deterioration and although the documents from that time often refer to his ill-health, he never relinquished any control of the Institute or its activities. His constitutional status as President of the Institute for life limited the role others could play.

Figure 9: *The 1983 El-Qitar team in the snow. Left to right, Christopher Davey, Burhan Nissani, Bill Culican, Thomas McClelland (co-director), Abu Yakub (cook), Cliff Ogleby, Janet Eryan, Tony Sagona, Anne Porter, Marilyn Truscott, Michelle Stillman, Joanna McClelland, Claudia Sagona, Gwen Acklom, the Mukhtar, Veronica Talbot-Windeyer, Mandy Mottram, Abu Akif (driver). Photo: Courtesy Jenny Zimmer.*

One example of the changed situation is illustrated by Garner's departure from the Institute. Beasley's 1955 book *Creation's Amazing Architect* was a comparatively well-researched piece of work that recognised 'day' in the context of Genesis chapter 1 to mean a period of time. In 1965, Beasley sacked Garner, who had become the Director of the Institute, because he would not advocate a six (24 hour) day Creation. The Institute minutes during the 1960s are uneven and often convey the impression that the Council was managing a difficult situation as Beasley's controlling character became increasingly evident. During this time of deterioration those around him worked hard to mitigate many of his unfortunate decisions. The Culican situation was an early example of such a situation.

Both Beasley and Culican were deeply religious men, but their theological traditions were at opposite ends of the spectrum. Culican was 'high church' and sacramental, whereas Beasley came from an evangelical non-conformist tradition, and may be deemed 'low church'. Beasley considered the Bible to be history, while Culican would rarely have thought of it in the context of the ancient world. Culican's early education was Roman Catholic, he was trained in classics and researched the culture of the Phoenicians and the Mediterranean where the biblical 'proofs' so important to Beasley were not to be sought.

Beasley was a Baptist, had attended a non-conformist Bible college and believed that a sustainable Australian society was reliant on a respect for the Bible.

The specific issue that concerned Beasley was probably associated with Culican's acceptance of the academic 'higher critical' approach to the biblical text. In particular it may have focussed on Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, an issue that is known to have been important to Beasley at that time. The structure of the Institute that afforded Beasley the freedom to commit rapidly to the University Biblical Archaeology position also allowed him to pursue less productive courses of action. That freedom, however, was not open-ended as he needed the approval of the Institute Council, which comprised academics, professionals and business men. The Council was then also the governing body of Young's Transport.

When the matter of support for Culican's position came to a head at a Council meeting, Dr John Upton, a lecturer in mathematics at the University, was responsible for a successful motion proposing that Garner cease his involvement at the University at the end of 1961 and that the Institute continue its sponsorship of Culican's Biblical Archaeology lectureship into a third year (1962), as originally agreed (AIAmin 21/9/1961). Beasley and the Institute never withdrew from their funding obligations,

although as in this case, an extension of the funding beyond the original commitment was not considered. Beasley did not get support to take his concerns any further and the Institute continued to fund Culican's international archaeological activities and to provide him with archaeological material for his teaching.

With respect to Garner, it is probable that Upton understood that he had already worn out his welcome. In a letter to Vice-Chancellor Paton on 7 September 1960, Bowman referred to Garner as one of the 'loose ends' that 'he had inherited' when he took over the department, and 'I suppose he must stay as long as Beasley pays' (Sup 6 UniMelbArchive Bowman to Chancellor). Dudley Hallam was soon to be engaged by the University. Like Bowman and Culican he was a scholar with archaeological field experience, something Garner did not have.

Culican was not unaware of the Beasley situation as it potentially impacted on his tenure at the University; he need not have worried. In 1964 he was promoted to senior lecturer and in 1965 he transferred to the Department of History to replace John Mulvaney who had left for Canberra and had been teaching Greek and Roman history since 1954 while excavating Australian pre-historic sites from 1956 (Mulvaney 2011: 91ff). In History he joined Ron Ridley who had been appointed on the retirement of John O'Brien. Culican became a reader in 1972, was a foundation member of the Humanities Research Council (1966) and the Australian Academy of the Humanities (1969) and in 1965 he founded the Archaeological Society of Victoria (Ridley 2007).

Concluding comments

As private funding in the Australian tertiary sector increases in importance, this story reminds us that arrangements can be complex when satisfying the aspirations of all the parties. In this case, Bowman would have appreciated his department's more comprehensive subject offering, the University's academic autonomy was preserved, and although Beasley seemed to lose the argument, his overall goal of promoting the tertiary study of ancient world archaeology was achieved.

This paper may appear somewhat presumptuous, given the roles at the University of such Historians as Jessie Webb and John O'Brien and archaeologist, John Mulvaney. Archaeology at the University is now led by Professor Antonio Sagona, a student of and successor to Culican. This tradition of ancient world studies arguably began under the stewardship of Goldman who in 1952 engaged Thompson with the support of Beasley and the Institute.

History has not been kind to Beasley as his memory is often over-shadowed by the 1960s when he was in decline and when his decisions became increasingly erratic and often seemed callous. Although Beasley had effectively terminated his employment, Thompson never bore any rancour, and at his funeral in 1976 he paid tribute to Beasley for his vision and personal commitment to that

vision (*New Life* 17/6/1976: 3). Thompson was able to look past the later years of deterioration and remember the significant contribution that Beasley had made, not just by establishing the Institute, but by being the catalyst for the teaching of ancient world archaeology in Australia at the Universities of Sydney and Melbourne.

Culican died on 24 March 1984 when at the peak of his academic productivity. One night about six weeks before his death I drove him back from a weekend in Aleppo to our excavation at El-Qitar, in northern Syria. As the Land Rover rattled along the rough track from Membidj to Yusuf Pasha and our conversation ranged far and wide, I vividly remember Bill radiating a great sense of happiness and satisfaction. He was the author of over one hundred published works including a number of books, had made a significant contribution to the study of Phoenician culture, had introduced a generation of students to the ancient world, and he was now leading his own international archaeological excavation. Many people in Melbourne valued their association with Bill Culican, but we should also acknowledge that it was Professor John Bowman and Walter Beasley who were responsible for the circumstances that brought Bill to Melbourne, and it was the Institute that funded his position until the University was in a position to assume the remit.

Christopher J. Davey
Honorary Fellow
University of Melbourne

References

Apple, Raymond 1959 The Origins of the Semitic Studies Department, Melbourne University, *Australian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, 5, 30-38.

Apple, Raymond 2012 Maurice David Goldman – extraordinary linguist, *Journal of the Australian Jewish Historical Society*, 20, Part 4.

Beasley, Walter J. 1938 *Jericho's judgment: The fascinating story of modern archaeology*, London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott Ltd.

Beasley, Walter J. 1955 *Creation's Amazing Architect*, London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott Ltd.

Blainey, Geoffrey 1956 *The University of Melbourne: A Centenary Portrait,* Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Bowman, Anna & Sara Bowman 2006 Obituary: The Rev John Bowman, in *The Manchester Guardian,* Friday 8 September.

Chisholm, A.R. 1958 *Men were my Milestones: Australian Portraits and Sketches*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press

Christesen, Nina 1996 Goldman, Maurice David (1898-1957), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/goldman-maurice-david-10319/text18263, published in hardcopy 1996, accessed 23 September 2014

Clarke, Graeme W. 1982 William Culican (1928-1984) Obituary, *Proceedings, Australian Academy of the Humanitie*s 12, 118-22.

Culican, William 1961-2 Excavations at the Mound of Ahar (Rajasthan), *Abr Nahrain* 3, 133-160.

Culican, William 1986 *Opera Selecta: from Tyre to Tartessos*, Göteborg: Paul Åström.

Curtis, John 1984 William Culican (1928-1984), *Archiv fur Orientforschung* 31, 231-2.

Davey, Christopher J. 2000 The Reverend Gordon Garner, *Buried History* 36/3-4, 5-6.

Davey, Christopher J. 2001/2 John Arthur Thompson 24 October 1913 – 23 November 2002, *Buried History* 37/8, 3-6

Davey, Christopher J. 2013a James Stewart and Walter Beasley: Australia, Cyprus and the Australian Institute of Archaeology, in A. B. Knapp, J. M. Webb & A. McCarthy eds., *J.R.B. Stewart: An Archaeological Legacy*, Uppsala: Åströms Förlag, 169-78.

Davey, Christopher J. 2013b G.R.H. (Mick) Wright: A remarkable Australian archaeological architect, *Buried History* 49, 37-52

Gupta, Sunil, 1998 Nevasa: A Type-site for the Study of Indo-Roman Trade in Western India, *South Asian Studies* 14 (1), 87-102.

Mulvaney, D. John, 2011 *Digging up a past*, Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.

Richardson, George H. ND *Biblical archaeology: its use and abuse*, London: James Clarke & Co.

Ridley, Ronald T. 2007 Culican, William (Bill) (1928-1984), in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University. http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/culican-william-bill-12377/text22243, accessed 9 August 2011

Sagona, Antonio 2006 John Bowman (1916-2006), *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 43, 3-6.

Sagona, Antonio 1984 Obituary William Culican, *The Artefact* 9, 2-8.

Sankalia, H. D. 1978 *Born for archaeology: an autobiography*, Delhi: B. R. Pub. Corp.

Sankalia, H. D., Z. D. Ansari & S.B. Deo 1969 *Excavations at Ahar (Tambavati) [1961-62]*, Poona: Deccan College Postgraduate & Research Institute.

Sankalia, H. D., Z. D. Ansari, S. Ehrhardt & S.B. Deo 1960 *From History to Pre-History at Nevasa (1954-56)*, Poona: Deccan College Postgraduate & Research Institute.

Thompson, John A. 1962 *The Bible and Archaeology*, Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans.

Dismantling the House that Albright Built:
Dever's Rise and Decline Narrative in the Reorientation of American Biblical Archaeology

Malcolm Anderson

Abstract: William G. Dever's contribution to the reorientation of 'biblical archaeology' should not be under-estimated, although his historiography of the movement's transition to 'Syro-Palestinian archaeology' certainly requires adjustment. In the paper, the significance of Dever's 1972 Winslow Lectures, delivered at Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, is examined.

A creditable approach to the history of American 'biblical archaeology' is to trace the trajectory that links the scholarly lineage of William F. Albright, G. Ernest Wright, and William G. Dever. It is a story that has been framed as a convincing 'rise and decline' thesis, and as narratives go, it strikes a certain and useful resonance. There was a heyday, a 'golden age', and there was a 'decline', when some evidence from the dirt skewed a plain reading of the biblical texts. There was a 'renaissance' of sorts, and a reorientation of the aims and methods within the biblical excavation paradigm. The term 'Syro-Palestinian archaeology' was thought more befitting, it looked to developments from elsewhere, principally from the American academic scene known as 'new archaeology'.

Ernest Wright and his school fostered many fine researchers, archaeologists who found plenty of work in the Holy Land, but he had one student who settled in the heartland of the 'new archaeology', the American Southwest. That student, Bill Dever, made his voice heard above the others somewhat more forcefully. Pre-eminently, it was *his* interpretation of the rise and decline thesis, with which posterity has been forced to reckon. Indeed, the published doctoral thesis of Dever's student, Thomas W. Davis, contains that very phrase in the sub-title: *Shifting Sands: The Rise and Fall of Biblical Archaeology* (Davis 2004).

We would not want to take issue with a convenient historical archetype. However it is appropriate to acknowledge that the 'decline' was initiated in the decade of the Seventies when many leading archaeologists died. Not only the two central figures, William Albright himself, who died in 1971, and Ernest Wright in 1974, but also Paul Lapp, who drowned in 1970, and Nelson Glueck who passed away in 1971. Elsewhere there was the passing of the French Dominican, Roland de Vaux, also in 1971, the Israelis Michael Avi-Yonah in 1974 and Yohanan Aharoni in 1976, and the British titan, Dame Kathleen Kenyon, in 1978. Truly that decade struck down many giants in the land. With the passing of another colossus, Yigael Yadin in 1984, the heroic era had most certainly passed. It buried itself.

Dever probably went further than warranted with the rhetoric that accompanied his narrative of 'decline', per-

haps with some expediency, since he had other purposes in its promulgation, some defensible, others not so. In his favour, Dever had front and centre the reconstruction (in fact for him it was the *establishment*) of a *discipline*. It was marked by a shifting of its home-base from seminary to public university, from a biblical studies orientation to one planted in world archaeology, from 'political history' to one encompassing socio-economic and environmental change, and from apologetics to hypothesis-based testing. The sources of funding for the new look discipline should (and would) move from private to public, the status of its practitioners from dilettante to professional, and for the character of the enterprise, it was a transition from sacred to secular.

Such a transformation demanded a new name, hence 'Syro-Palestinian Archaeology', if only – but not only – to establish some distance from its discredited antecedent ('biblical archaeology'). Dever wanted his students to identify as professional archaeologists, respected in the great academic fraternities and conferences, and not be prejudged and dismissed as amateur gentleman clergy-archaeologists (or worse).

Dever himself was moving from Christian orthodoxy,[1] though he did not embrace the naked European denialist tradition. Rather, with the assault of postmodernist linguistic lunacy into biblical studies, Dever resuscitated a strand of Albrightean apologetics, the tradition of a (qualified) biblical historicity that supported the backbone of Western civilization, the contribution of the Judea-Christian tradition to law, democracy, human rights, modern science, morality and civic decency. Dever rightly feared the social and political implications of the new nihilism, and in recent years has been unyielding in highlighting archaeological and epigraphic evidence in support of an historical basis upon which the biblical tradition – a key plank and source of the Western heritage - can credibly stand.

Background: The 'Rise and Fall' of Biblical Archaeology in a Long-Term Perspective

Historically, Biblical Archaeology has a well-worn progress narrative. The broad outlines began in the pre-critical era, the consensus of a straightforward belief in

historicity that obtained well into the late eighteenth-century. Anomalies, anachronisms, contradictions and irregularities in the biblical text were exploited in the Enlightenment, culminating in various theories of how the extant biblical text was created. The reigning sentiment for this enterprise – critical biblical studies - was scepticism, and rarely entered public debate unaccompanied by vigorous apologetic reaction.

At the same time, and not unrelated to this movement, adventurous seminary scholars took interest in the 'monuments', the inscriptions and ancient architectural remains of the lands adjacent to the Levant, principally Egypt and Mesopotamia (Schoville 1996a, 1996b; Lloyd 1980; Silberman 1982; Ceram 1967). To put it another way, to counter the possibility of an adverse consensus developing within one discipline (biblical studies or theology), its adherents went outside the discipline to test assertions and foil orthodoxies (or foil emerging heterodoxies), by the founding of counter-balancing cognates, principally biblical archaeology, geography, and epigraphy.

While modern excavation started late in the Holy Land itself, it was preceded by explorations and topographic observations by a number of individuals, among whom the American, Edward Robinson (1794-1863), was foremost. As debates over biblical criticism and theology intensified toward the end of the nineteenth century, a host of 'exploration' societies and archaeological missions were founded in Britain, the United States, Germany, France, and elsewhere. A high point was the first scientific excavation in the Holy Land; the initial soundings by Flinders Petrie (1853-1942) at Tell el-Hesi and his subsequent identification of the outline of Palestinian stratigraphy. Many large scale excavations soon followed, but the story line reached a 'revolution' with the advent of William Foxwell Albright, and his influence in the early and middle decades of the twentieth century. In his wake came a coterie of scholars and archaeologists such as George Ernest Wright working on 'biblical theology' assumptions. From Israel, there were stirrings of a nationalistic archaeology under Eliezer Sukenik (1889-1953) and his son, the remarkable soldier-statesman archaeologist Yigael Yadin (1917-1984), and others (Silberman 1993a).

There followed a period of disillusionment as the broad outlines of the (Joshua) conquest thesis met with a patchy and incomplete archaeological corroboration and confirmatory evidence for 'Israel in slavery' failed to materialize from Egypt. At the same time, scholars looked anew to older ideas from Albrecht Alt (1883-1956), and toyed with alternative historical scenarios for the Middle Bronze Age, with consequences for the Patriarchal narratives. Others, such as the Americans George Mendenhall (a student of Albright's) and Norman Gottwald canvassed ideas associated with the indigenous origins of biblical Israel. With the overdue introduction of the techniques and ideas of American 'new archaeology', together with the rise of comparative literature flowing from spectacular

cuneiform finds in Syria, Turkey and Iraq, new hypotheses flourished to occupy generations of graduate students.

The last three or four decades of the twentieth century saw the rise of national Israeli archaeology, and the discovery of more than three hundred new Iron Age sites (mostly unfortified highland villages) in areas occupied by Israel after the Six Day War (Finkelstein 1988). The story came to a climax (or perhaps a nadir) with several new challenges to traditional renderings of the biblical text. One line of challengers rehabilitated Julius Wellhausen and other nineteenth century critics concerning the wholesale creation, or compilation of a credible, nationalistic, historical narrative (assembled for contemporary political purposes) under Josiah in the seventh century. The claim that the absence of indisputably tenth century architectural remains, which would have strengthened evidence for the Davidic and Solomonic eras, shifted the focus for the creation of the biblical epic forward several centuries.

The second challenge posited the origin of that epic as a fictional and pseudo-historical creation around the time of Ezra and Nehemiah to meet the national psychological needs of a displaced, nascent Jewish people in the post-Exilic era; a purely origins myth. This latter idea implied wholesale lateness for biblical historiography, placing it nearer in time to the Greek chroniclers such as Herodotus. Related to this, another line of challengers, noting the paucity of epigraphic material from the sixth to third centuries, posited an even more recent – virtually Roman era – origin for the Pentateuch, in effect reversing the literary dependence of Genesis with Berossus, and Exodus with Manetho (Gmirkin 2006). The effect of shifting the status of the biblical corpus from historiography to invention implied the final collapse of the biblical archaeology superstructure, and a victory for 'minimalism' or archaeological nihilism.

The most recent act to the story line begins in the sunset of the twentieth century, a trenchant rear-guard rejection of the biblical fictionalising movement, together with a forthright reaffirmation of the role of archaeology in properly testing biblical claims to context. It would not be true to say that scholars ever totally gave up the notion that the biblical record contained reliable evidence. Several traditions, notably evangelicalism and Seventh Day Adventism, saw little need for a wholesale abandonment of older paradigms. It is of interest that the case for historicity exploded back into the public limelight courtesy of two agnostics, William G. Dever, and Biblical Archaeology Review's editor and founder, Hershel Shanks.

Dever Tests the Waters

In a paper read at the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology in Jerusalem in 1990, Dever reminisced about the need to 'clear the ground'. 'It was never my intention', he announced, to

> *sever Syro-Palestinian archaeology from literary sources, biblical or other. . . In the 1970s it was*

necessary, however, to clear the ground of such accumulated rubbish before the foundations for a new structure could be laid over the ruins of the old. Unfortunately, because of the emotional over-reaction of scholars in both disciplines, clearing the ground took nearly 20 years . . . (Dever 1993: 707).

Dever was alluding to a difficult earlier episode in his scholarly career. At some time between positions in Jerusalem, near the end of his tenure at the Hebrew Union College, and the start of his directorship of the Albright Institute, Dever, who was then primarily known as the excavator of Gezer, forayed into controversy. A brief (two-page) article in a little-known periodical, *Christian News From Israel* was the piece in question. It was entitled '*Biblical Archaeology' – or 'The Archaeology of Syro-Palestine'?* (Dever 1972).

Some three decades after he published this brief missive, Dever revealed the painful disjunction that occurred between him and his friend and mentor, Ernest Wright. Dever thought it 'an innocuous little piece in an obscure magazine'. As Dever tells the story, his then wife, Norma, warned him about 'twitting the Establishment'

I ignored her. I recall saying, 'But nobody will ever see this.' They did, of course. And Ernest Wright – my revered teacher and mentor – promptly wrote me the sort of anguished letter that a father would write to a prodigal son. In it, he said that I 'must get right with Albright,' that if I persisted I would destroy our discipline. That was my first shot across the bow of the Establishment. It was prompted by a reluctant but growing recognition that traditional-style 'Biblical archaeology' was full of contradictions, hopelessly compromised by Biblical biases, and in any case rapidly becoming obsolete . . . (Dever 2003: 58).

The theme of the paper concerned the age-old connection between biblical studies and archaeology, but more to the point, the proper relationship between these historic disciplines, 'recent developments', he wrote, 'made for an increasingly uneasy association between the two' (1972: 21). In fact, he wrote, there were 'certain tensions which have developed recently between the two disciplines', such that 'Biblical scholars and Palestinian Archaeologists have not always been able to work so well together' (Dever 1974: 15, 31).

His short essay into irreverence, rightly described (later) by Dever as being 'programmatic', was likely his first in that genre. It initiated an identifiable style in the author's prose, not unrelated to the unmistakable advocacy role that Dever has carved out over his public career. Common within that corpus, certain events can be stated simultaneously as being still-in-process, imperative, and *fait accompli*. 'For the first time in history, Syro-Palestinian archaeology is becoming an autonomous discipline, no longer merely an adjunct of biblical studies' (Dever 1972:

22). Clearly, this was news to Ernest Wright, but for Dever, it was a statement which outlined both an incipient narrative of what could be said to be (already) occurring, while initiating a new direction for the field.

The title of that article heralded the main theme, what to call the new 'discipline', and why a name change mattered. For Dever the practice of the past, needed to be identified as, and only with, the label 'biblical archaeology'. While the thoroughly reoriented endeavour that he saw as characterising newly emerging practice, and that which he thought should occur in the future, was best served by being dignified with another name. In this case, it was the resurrection of an older name (from Albright, in fact), the term 'Syro-Palestinian Archaeology'.

Dever's experience of modern American excavations in Israel, their innovations, aims, and character, was worlds away from the amateur dilettantism that flew the flag for 'biblical archaeology'. The methods of Dever and his staff at Gezer, for example, were unrecognizable when compared with those of R.A.S Macalister at the same site half a century earlier – and different from digs in the decade or two since the Second World War. What then, according to Dever, was now happening?

Firstly, he argued the evolution of independent 'national schools', notably the Israeli school, and their embrace of a secular orientation was pointedly at variance with 'many of the older British, French and American schools'. Secondly, he saw the scope of Palestinian archaeology naturally broadening, certainly beyond the biblical eras, and the specialisations that have arisen to assist excavators are far from those normally found in Biblical studies (he mentions anthropology, cultural history, and ecological studies). His third point was that the student volunteers that came to dig were, more typically, 'non-Jewish' or 'Post-Christian' 'with little interest in the 'Holy Land' *per se*'. Fourth, the funding of modern excavations in Israel was being sourced less from church and conservative religious institutions, and more as grants from private foundations and the US government such as through the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). Fifthly, field method standards had risen and excavations were more expensive, consequently, their results were superior (1972: 21). His sixth point was that natural science techniques were 'rapidly becoming indispensable, bringing to new disciplines, new motivations, new research projects, and totally new vistas to Syro-Palestinian archaeology'.

The results of these developments heralded a 'coming of age' (a term used ubiquitously throughout the Dever corpus), characterised by a professionalism appropriate to the development of the newly autonomous discipline of Syro-Palestinian archaeology.

The Winslow Lectures

Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, an Episcopal institution, now folded into another Anglican institution, Bexley College, was attuned to 'progressive' social and theological convictions. It invited Dever to deliver the

Winslow Lectures in January 1972. Dever's two lectures substantially developed his *Christian News From Israel* missive, and while respectful of Wright, they were pointed and critical of him; the reorientation of Palestinian archaeology was now mainstreamed and public. The lectures are significant in that the new 'heir apparent' was not only 'clearing the ground' (and few would have found this unwelcome), but laying it waste as well.

The first lecture, 'Biblical Archaeology: A Chapter in the History of American Scholarship', emphasized the unique nature of the discipline as found in the United States. The underlying assumption was that here was an endeavour that had effectively run aground, and the reasons needed to be explicated. 'I suggest' spoke Dever

> *that it is the peculiar relationship between Palestinian Archaeology and the Bible in this country that has brought us to this* impasse . . *I want to trace the development of that relationship and ask specifically how we came to this state of affairs* (Dever 1974: 6).

There followed a potted history of Palestinian archaeology with particular emphasis on the American contribution. The unique feature was that biblical studies (and to an extent, apologetic concerns) initiated, motivated, controlled and funded American archaeological ventures in Palestine. It began with Edward Robinson of Union Theological Seminary and his student, missionary Eli Smith. 'Bibles in hand' (this term recurs in the literature as a jibe), they sought, successfully, to locate ancient sites on the basis of modern Arabic place names. When digging eventually did begin (the Americans trailed Europeans by decades) it was inevitably at the biblical sites. Even before the First World War, European excavations were working at 'Ta'anach, Megiddo, Gezer, Jericho, Beth-shemesh and elsewhere' (Dever 1974: 8). Dever added the later American digs at Tell en-Nasbeh (biblical Mizpah), Tell Beit Mirsim (thought by Albright to be Debir/Kiriath Sepher[2]), Beth-zur, Bethel, Dhiban, Dothan, Shechem, 'Ai, Shema and Tell el-Hesi (1974: 11), predominantly, and notably, also biblical sites.

Predictably, there was no enthusiasm for digging prehistoric cave dwellings or Islamic sites. The aims were to get to biblical strata as quickly as possible and in some cases sponsoring organisations expected it. The motivations were clearly religious, the personnel almost all seminarians and biblical scholars. The precursor to the American Schools of Oriental Research (ASOR), the American Palestine Exploration Society (APES) was founded in 1870. Dever cited its charter, which stated in part that it was concerned with the 'illustration and *defense* of the Bible' (Dever providing the italics).[3] Although ASOR was not founded for the 'defense' of the bible, religious interests remained prominent, Dever argued

> *Although it might not have been intended that way, during the years since 1900, I would estimate that approximately 80% of the persons associated with*

the School [ASOR] have either been professional Biblical scholars, or clergymen, Rabbis, priests, and others with more than a passing interest in the study of the Bible (Dever 1974: 11).

In regard to both personnel and sites

> *I would estimate that fully 80% of the post-prehistoric digs are at Biblical sites and are sponsored by people from the Biblical background ... Let us take Gezer as an example. It is one of the larger and better known current excavations and in every way typical of American archaeological enterprises in Israel. Of the eight professional members of the Core Staff at Gezer, six are clergymen – and the other two are women!* (Dever 1974: 12).

He noted that the Gezer advisors were Rabbi and seminary President, Nelson Glueck, and Ernest Wright, 'Presbyterian minister, Old Testament theologian, and Parkman Professor of Divinity at Harvard'. This pattern extends even further, continued Dever, 'even our photographers, geologists and other people who had degrees in secular fields were mostly ordained clergymen with advanced theological degrees'.

The criticisms of Wright (mostly carried out in the footnotes) could not be suppressed

> *Wright's books are well known, particularly his book* Biblical Archaeology*, which is perhaps the best popular statement of the* particular view which we are characterizing (Dever 1974: 10).

Wright, like Albright, saw Palestinian archaeology as essentially a handmaiden of biblical studies and thus viewed the context chronologically and spatially as widely as possible. Wright's views were expressed plainly and up front. For example,

> *biblical archaeology . . . studies the discoveries of the excavators and gleans from them every fact that throws a direct, indirect, or even diffused light upon the Bible . . . It's central and absorbing interest is the understanding and exposition of the Scriptures* (Wright 1947: 74).

But even so, Dever also quoted from private correspondence to define Wright's position, namely, that

> *biblical archaeology is the archaeology of the whole eastern Mediterranean, as well as its ancient history* per se, *which provide the Bible setting and in which alone the Bible is to be understood* (Quoted in Dever 1974: 25, fn. 25).

It was not so much the 'width' of the definition that bothered Dever, rather, that

> *allowance must be made for other views of the field, in which the Biblical motivation does not figure. For instance, why must we call the study of the Neolithic of Cyprus 'Biblical Archaeology'? Wright and I do not differ on what our field*

consists of; he simply wishes to call it all 'Biblical Archaeology', while I prefer a more general name [Syro-Palestinian Archaeology] (Dever 1974: 25; fn. 25).

Towards the Secularisation of Archaeology

The context of the seventy-year reign of religious involvement and dominance in the Palestinian archaeological enterprise is naturally central to Dever's definition of 'secularism'. In his list of pre-Second World War digs, he noted that there are four exceptions, ventures that did not have a 'religious' orientation, which in his interpretation comprised 'a parallel tradition in Palestinian Archaeology'. These excavations included the Harvard University Semitic Museum dig at Samaria (1908-10); the University of Pennsylvania (University Museum) at Beth-shan; Chicago University's Oriental Institute at Megiddo; and Yale University at Jerash (1974b: 18).

Ernest Wright however, also cited the orientation of these digs, in addition to Albright's at Tell Beit Mirsim, and enterprises like the British School of Archaeology, the Ecole Biblique, the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, the Hebrew University (under Yadin at Hazor) and his own Drew-McCormick Expedition at Shechem

> All of these excavations have been directed by people whose main interest in the work has been historical and cultural. Archaeological field work in Palestine has for the most part been viewed as an adjunct of history; it has been carried out by those intent on recovering the cultural history of the country, and their achievement has been notable (Wright 1958: 39).

According to Dever, Wright was here writing against the 'common assumption that Palestinian archaeology was, and still is, cradled and nurtured in the desire to prove that the Bible is true' and was 'fully cognizant of the secular tradition. . . [yet sought to] assess it differently' (Dever 1974: 11, fn. 10). Dever's point was that a powerful religious element had been longstanding, and further, that it was part of the problem, the reason that biblical archaeology was floundering.

After cataloguing the 'success stories' of biblical archaeology in his Winslow Lectures, Dever argued that 'no matter how well it has worked in the past', it 'probably will not work very well in the future' (Dever 1974: 15). He then suggested a number of reasons why this was likely to be the case.

Firstly, the 'tensions' between the disciplines had to ease with the need for specialisation. Full-time biblical scholars could not be expected to keep up with the rapidly expanding body of archaeological literature. From the archaeological perspective, the current anthropologically–oriented archaeology training regime could not simply be 'tacked on' to the language and text oriented training that biblical scholars received. Genuine professionalization demanded specialisation.

The second tension was also alluded to in his 1972 paper; entry into the field needed to take account of those with interests other than biblical studies. More specifically, Dever was concerned about the 'embarrassments' and 'scandals' that plagued biblical archaeology, the search for Noah's Ark, attempts to identify the walls of Jericho, etc, that made genuine archaeologists appear to be rather odd in the eyes of their Americanist colleagues.

The third tension concerned the existence of a genuine 'secular tradition' in Palestinian archaeology. Dever thought that this tradition, did not lead to long-term commitments and was 'too often dismissed in our circles'. Dever charged

> I would suggest that perhaps these people disappear after a brilliant start simply because, while institutions like Chicago, Yale, Harvard and others provided them with major financial support, the field itself was so dominated by 'Biblical Archaeologists' that secular scholars found no place (Dever 1974: 18).

There followed an enumeration of 'secular' schools, scholars and excavations in Palestine by representative American, British, German, and French - either overwhelmingly secular, or 'religious' with no fundamentalist tendencies at all, and in the case of the Israeli national endeavours, 'without exception secular' (1974: 21; emphasis in original).[4]

To complete the picture, the change in methods, the escalation of excavation costs, the trend to professionalism, the rising interest of secular scholars in Palestine, and changing political realities in the Middle East, would be decisive. Clearly, 'there are several legitimate ways of approaching Palestinian archaeology, and that the distinctively American brand of 'Biblical Archaeology' may represent a minority view' (1974: 22). Dever concluded that this all 'suggests to me that we may soon see a movement away from the traditional Biblical axis in Palestinian archaeology' (1974: 26).

The SBL Centennial Volume: *The Hebrew Bible And Its Modern Interpreters* (1985)

The skeleton of Dever's rise and decline narrative was greatly expanded just over a decade later. In 1980, the Society of Biblical Literature initiated an ambitious series to showcase the state of scholarship for its Centennial year. Dever was invited to contribute a paper, entitled 'Syro-Palestinian and Biblical Archaeology', in a volume edited by Douglas Knight and Gene Tucker; it was probably written in about 1982 although not published until 1985. Dever appears to reference this paper more often than his others, it is obviously his key statement in regard to the recent history of the discipline.[5] The paper is informative for its time, and a helpful 'state of the art' overview, but its historiography is problematic.

The paper is divided into three sections, the final one, entitled 'New Vistas and New Relationships' being a

'tame paean' on future prospects of Levantine archaeology and its relationship with biblical studies. The first (and longest) section is a straightforward overview of the state and recent history of Palestinian archaeology. Previous treatments in this genre, he notes, 'have actually been general summaries of the recovery of the ancient Near Eastern context of the Bible' (1985: 31), or 'the general progress of Near Eastern archaeology, particularly in epigraphic discoveries bearing on early biblical history' (Dever 1985: 53).

Dever's concern to shift the focus from biblical studies to an academic pursuit allied to general archaeology, led him to sketch a 'discipline history' of Syro-Palestinian archaeology from World War II. This he did with reference to excavations, people, journals, national schools, indigenous university archaeology departments, and museums, together with methodological progress. In these developments, Dever was able to identify trends and outline eras, noting, for example, the 'revolution in field methods' in the 1950s, a disciplinary 'coming of age' in the 1960s, and the 'new archaeology' of the 1970s (1985: 33-53). The roles of Wright, and the Shechem excavation, and of Dever, and the Gezer dig, are quite prominent in his description. The validity of this prominence may be judged partly from the contrasting accounts of the period by King (1983), Moorey (1991), Davis (2004), and others.

The second section is more problematic. It critiques 'biblical archaeology' in the period 1945 to 1980, and offers an account that is *separate, but parallel*, to the history of Syro-Palestinian archaeology. In so doing Dever was able to write a 'portrait of two disciplines during the crucial years of their development' (1985: 32), 'one in the ascendancy, and the other possibly in decline'. In summary, writes Dever,

> *The fact that the present treatment has been able to survey Syro-Palestinian and biblical archaeology separately for the first time means that a new stage has been reached in which not only is a certain style of archaeology past, but the mid-1970s* debate *over it . . . is passé* (Dever 1985: 60).

Albright and Wright, are for Dever part of 'Syro-Palestinian archaeology', but their apologetic and theological objectives were reason enough to allocate large portions of their contributions to a *separate* endeavour – 'biblical archaeology'. In fact, he writes, 'biblical archaeology is what it *always* was, except for its brief bid in the Albright-Wright era to dominate the field of Syro-Palestinian archaeology' (Dever 1985: 61).

Dever's argument makes much of the apparent intertwining of biblical archaeology and the neo-orthodox 'biblical theology movement' that occupied Wright through much of his career. According to Dever, they rose and fell together because they were so entwined (1985: 56, 57). The problem, in a nutshell, was that Wright insisted on an historical reality that of necessity lay behind traces they should find in the soil. Dever's story of the discipline, in

other words, sanitises a secular trajectory by disembowelling it of the inconvenient semi-apologetics agenda of Wright and (to a less extent) Albright.

It is true that both Albright and Wright (and many others) were strongly motivated by religious objectives for their endeavour. But their contributions and objectives were as much an integrated part of the discipline, and as legitimate and necessary as any other part of the endeavour such as, for example, excavation methodology. It would be thought strange indeed, if any discipline were to be similarly eviscerated if several of their leading personalities were, for example, Marxists, or atheists.

In the end, Dever manages to credit Wright, or at least,

> *the natural momentum generated by the school that Wright himself launched in the 1960s, together with his students at Shechem, Gezer, and elsewhere, pushed biblical archaeology in the 1970s irresistibly toward the professionalism and secularization we have noted, and thus toward status as a field of research more and more independent of biblical studies* (Dever 1985: 59).

So it comes as a surprise when Dever announces, 'in a more profound sense' biblical archaeology

> *did not die at all; it evolved naturally, perhaps inevitably, into the discipline of Syro-Palestinian archaeology whose progress we have charted above. In the end, no one was more responsible for that beneficent development than Wright himself* (Dever 1985: 59).

In short, Dever has it both ways: banishing Wright (especially) and his theology, while according him credit for crucial progress in the field. Like his Winslow Lectures , Dever's paper in the 1985 SBL centennial collection, gets at the heart of issues that still await definitive solutions, but his 'construct' cannot easily bear the substantial load he places upon it.

Conclusion: Denouement and Evaluation

There is no question that Dever's Winslow Lectures (1974) are among the most seminal documents in the progress of the study of the 'bible and archaeology' (regardless of the discipline's name). Dever's pragmatism can be applauded, his attempt to set some directions in accommodating the inevitable, the irreversible infusion into traditional biblical archaeology by scholars oriented to non-religious outlooks. The same process has occurred in other fields that religious scholars previously had to themselves, ecclesiastical history in general, Reformation history, biblical linguistics, and of course, theology and biblical studies. In this sense the Winslow Lectures were keenly prescient. It would not be too much to say that Dever was the future.

With the value of hindsight, it would be natural if his prescience did not work out exactly as envisaged – as Dever himself has acknowledged. While he was vocifer-

ously advocating for a new name for the field – 'Syro-Palestinian archaeology', he quietly dropped the title by the turn of the century. He himself advocated, fairly early, a new name for the interaction of bible and spade, calling it 'new biblical archaeology', but the old label has still stuck, and has even found new life. Dever's forward calls to build the new discipline in secular universities started to look shaky when he catalogued the decline of departments of Syro-Palestinian archaeology in North American institutions. In the same article he opined that the momentum had in fact swung to conservative Christian institutions (Dever 1995). It is not without interest that Ernest Wright warned Dever that it was unwise to damage the link with the prime consumers of biblical archaeology knowledge – the Christian public. Secular funding sources were also disappointing due to economic conditions with the American economy. In fact the shortfall, in recent years, seems to come from private (American) Jewish sources. Perhaps of greater surprise is the fact that some of the leading exponents of biblical historicity are actually wholly secular in outlook.

While Dever's call for an approach more in tune to American 'new archaeology' was certainly embraced, its drawbacks took some time to be realized. Excavation reports, including those edited by Dever in his *Gezer* series, are replete with technical appendices that are rich in contributions from diverse and far-flung fields, but they often appear marginal to an understanding of, for example, Gezer and its role in the biblical era. Dever would say that *that* is what archaeology is all about and he is not wrong. But potential private donors to expensive excavations will naturally look to the explication of more germane questions.

In the final analysis, the more powerful currents of intellectual curiosity have always been to connect archaeology to texts. This pertains not only to the biblical tradition, but also the Dead Sea Scrolls, the epics of Homer, or even the ancient texts of nationalistic or ethnic origins (from China to Ethiopia to the lands of the Maya). This explains why Albright's prime agenda, which is indicative most clearly in the interests of his students, was linguistic and epigraphical, the recovery of the voices that speak from the ruins.

In this sense, it is unlikely that the trajectory of biblical archaeology would ever surrender to a view that its Christian 'primitivism' needed to be replaced by a 'secular enlightenment', in the same way that scholarship coursed human evolution studies or American (especially Boasian) anthropology. It was hardly the case that some crude 'proving the bible' agenda was the only or major program in the 'old' paradigm. There was no 'decline', rather a readjustment to secular realities, and a reorientation to the same questions, which continue to hover close to questions of biblical historicity. The career of Dever himself, heir to the old biblical archaeology, exponent of the need for a broader canvas, and the author of numerous volumes on biblical historicity, demonstrates this *par*

excellence. It was true there were (and are) embarrassments and problems, the frustration that certain aspects of historicity defied the current state of evidence. These are the challenges that are the stuff of scholarship and their resolution the undoubted field of future developments in both new excavations and archaeological science. It is not wholly true that 'Syro-Palestinian archaeology' is uninterested in reconciling text and the data in the dirt. Nor is it wholly true that 'biblical archaeology' was both hamstrung and obsessed with narrow apologetic preoccupations.

Let the last word belong to the Great Excavator of Gezer, who wrote that it is 'absurdly wrong' to use archaeology trying 'to prove the truth of the Bible'

> *The Biblical record, like any other literary document, must stand or fall on its own merits. It cannot be either authenticated or disproved, as a whole, by excavation. In minor points of detail it can be corroborated, or it can be corrected. . . What we gain from excavation is illustration, rather than confirmation. Above all, we obtain a background, filling in the outlines drawn by the historian.*

This statement is typical of Dever and would not be out of place in any of his publications. But it is not by him. It was written nearly a century ago by a previous Great Excavator of Gezer, R.A.S. Macalister (1925: 266-7). *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*

Malcolm Anderson
Research Fellow
Australian Institute of Archaeology

Bibliography

Abt, Jeffrey 2011 *American Egyptologist: The Life of James Henry Breasted and the Creation of His Oriental Institute*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Ceram, C.W. 1967 *Gods, Graves and Scholars: The Story of Archaeology*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Davis, Miriam C. 2008 *Dame Kathleen Kenyon: Digging Up the Holy Land*, Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Davis, Thomas W. 2004 *Shifting Sands: The Rise and Fall of Biblical Archaeology*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Dever, William G. 1972 'Biblical Archaeology' – or 'The Archaeology of Syro-Palestine'?, *Christian News From Israel*, 22 (1): 21-22.

Dever, William G. 1974 *Archaeology and Biblical Studies: Retrospects and Prospects* (The 1972 Winslow Lectures at Seabury-Western Theological

Seminary), Evanston, IL: Seabury-Western Theological Seminary.

Dever, William G. 1980 Biblical Theology and Biblical Archaeology: An Appreciation of G. Ernest Wright, *Harvard Theological Review*, 73: 1-15.

Dever, William G. 1981 The Impact of the 'New Archaeology' on Syro-Palestinian Archaeology, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research,* 242, Spring: 15-29.

Dever, William G. 1985 Syro-Palestinian and Biblical Archaeology, in D. A. Knight and G. M. Tucker, (eds.), *The Hebrew Bible and Its Modern Interpreters*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 31-74.

Dever, William G. 1993 Biblical Archaeology: Death and Rebirth?, in A. Biran and J. Aviram, (eds.), *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990. Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, June 1990*, Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 706-22.

Dever, William G. 1995 The Death of a Discipline, *Biblical Archaeology Review* 21 (5), September/October: 50-55, 70.

Dever, William G. 2003 Whatchamacallit: Why It's So Hard to Name Our Field, *Biblical Archaeology Review* 29 (4): 56-61.

Gmirkin, Russell E. 2006 *Berossus and Genesis, Manetho and Exodus: Hellenistic Histories and the Date of the Pentateuch*, New York: T & T Clark.

Hallote, Rachel 2011 Before Albright: Charles Torrey, James Montgomery, and American Biblical Archaeology, 1907-1922, *Near Eastern Archaeology,* 74 (3), September: 156-169.

Holland, D.L. 1974 'Biblical Archaeology': An Onomastic Perplexity, *Biblical Archaeologist*, 37 (1), May: 19-23.

King, Philip J. 1983 *American Archaeology in the Mideast: A History of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, Philadelphia: ASOR.

Lloyd, Seton 1980 *Foundations in the Dust: A Story of Mesopotamian Exploration*, Revised and Enlarged Edition, London: Penguin Books.

Macalister, R.A.S. 1925 *A Century of Excavation in Palestine*, London: Religious Tract Society.

Moorey, P.R.S. 1991 *A Century of Biblical Archaeology*, Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press.

Schoville, Keith N. 1996a History of Archaeology Before 1900: Near Eastern Archaeology, in Brian M. Fagan (Editor in Chief), *The Oxford Companion to Archaeology*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 287-88.

Schoville, Keith N. 1996b History of Archaeology From 1900 to 1950: Near Eastern Archaeology, in Brian M. Fagan (Editor in Chief), *The Oxford Companion to Archaeology*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 293-94.

Silberman, Neil Asher 1982 *Digging For God and Country: Exploration, Archaeology and the Secret Struggle for the Holy Land*, 1799-1917, New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Wright, G. Ernest 1947 Biblical Archaeology Today, *Biblical Archaeologist*, 10 (1), February: 7-24.

Wright, G. Ernest 1958 Archaeology and Old Testament Studies, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 77 (1), March: 39-51.

Endnotes

1 Dever began as an ordained Protestant clergyman, and later identified as a secular humanist with a Jewish identity.

2 Joshua 15:15 speaks of Caleb who 'marched against the people living in Debir (formerly called Kiriath Sepher)'.

3 It should be noted that many biblical scholars were member of both organisations. Rachel Hallotte (2011) has shown that membership in the fading APES and the emerging ASOR largely overlapped: 'defense of the Bible' was hardly absent.

4 D. L. Holland, commenting on Dever's *Christian News From Israel* paper (Dever 1972) notes, 'There is surely an element of forensic overstatement in Dever's describing the secular orientation of some new schools of archaeology as 'entirely divorced' from biblical concerns and the work which they do as 'often quite unrelated' to biblical studies' (Holland 1974: 22, fn. 2).

5 Even in a casual conversation about the history of Palestinian archaeology, he referred me to this article (pers. comm).

Anecdotes on Dr Movius' Paper:
Champion de Crespigny and Reiss/Avigad

Samuel R. Wolff, Baruch Brandl and Norma Franklin

Abstract: This note supplements Geoffrey Movius' paper about Nancy Champion de Crespigny Movius that appeared in the previous issue of *Buried History*. Some anecdotes are presented, especially as they relate to her participation in the excavations at Samaria in 1933. It is suggested that the person tentatively identified as Eliezer Sukenik in the staff photograph is in fact Nahman Reiss, later to become Nahman Avigad. Reiss's role in the excavations at Samaria is finally commented upon.

The paper about Nancy Champion de Crespigny in the last issue of *Buried History* (Movius 2013) revealed her fascinating career in archaeology, first on her own and later working with her husband Hallam Movius on his various projects, including Abri Pataud at Les Eyzies (Dordogne).

We wish to provide a few anecdotes of information regarding the Samaria expedition. First, one finds her name (misspelled de Crepigny) on a list of the 1933 Samaria staff members in the archives of the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) (Figure 1). By coincidence, one finds Hallam Movius's name on a similar list from 1932, not because of his connection to Samaria but rather to his participation in Dorothy Garrod's excavations in the Mount Carmel caves (Figure 2).

Second, in her biography of Kenyon, Davis describes how Nancy Champion de Crespigny contributed to the social life of the Samaria excavation team by playing jazz records on her gramophone (2008: 59).
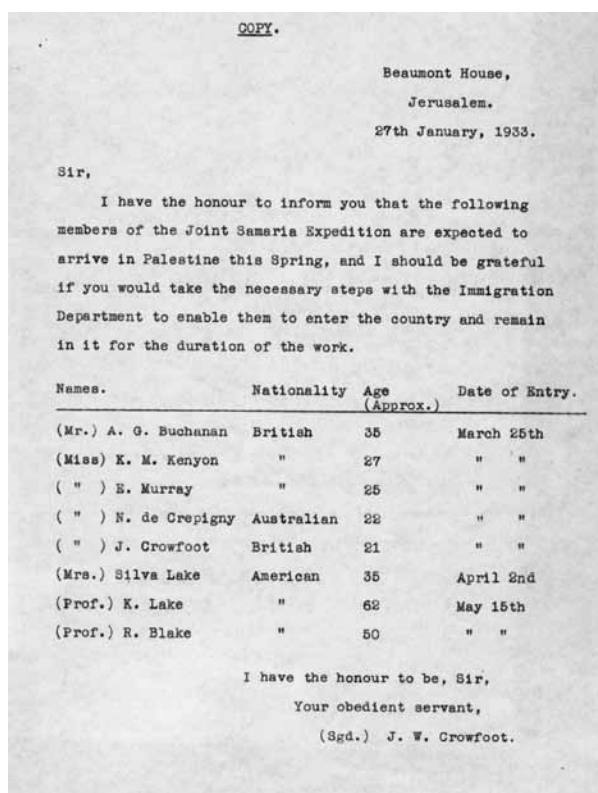
Figure 1: Letter from John Crowfoot seeking immigration permission for the 1933 Samaria team. Photo: courtesy of IAA (http://www.iaa-archives.org. il/zoom/zoom.aspx?id=40436&folder_id=3368&type_ id=5&loc_id=22).
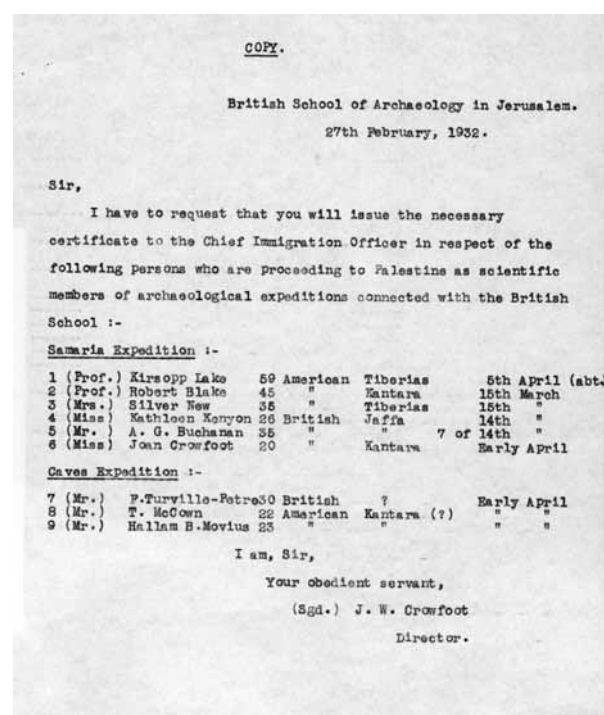

Figure 2: Letter from John Crowfoot seeking immigration permission for the British School's 1932 scholars. Photo: Courtesy of IAA (http:// www.iaa-archives.org.il/zoom/zoom.aspx?folder_ id=3367&type_id=5,20,6,7,8&id=40381)

Figure 3: 1932 Samaria Expedition staff photograph. Back row l to r: Silvia New (later Silvia Lake), Jacob Pinkerfeld, ?, John Crowfoot, Eliezer Sukenik, Archibald Gray Buchanan, Nahman Reiss. Seated in middle: Grace (Molly) Crowfoot, ?. Front row l to r: Kathleen Kenyon, Robert Blake, Joan Crowfoot, Muriel Bentwich (?), ?, ?. Photo: courtesy Norma Franklin.

Finally, in the 1933 Samaria Expedition staff photograph (Movius 2013: fig 2), the person in the front row, far right is tentatively identified as 'E. Sukenik', qualified by a question mark. We believe that this person is actually Nahman Reiss, later to take the name of Nahman Avigad. The matter can be decided with reference to the 1932 Samaria team photograph (Figure 3) where the person in the back row, third from right is Eliezer Sukenik, who clearly does not appear in the 1933 photograph, but Reiss, who is standing on the far right, does appear to be the person in the front row of the 1933 team photograph. One can see an additional photograph of Reiss from slightly

later (1936) at Tel Jerishe (Geva 1982: Fig. 3, left) and, with Sukenik and other luminaries, in an undated photograph apparently taken on Mt. Scopus, Jerusalem (http://members.bibarch.org/image.asp?PubID=BSBA&Volume=10&Issue=05&ImageID=02500&SourcePage=publication.asp&UserID=0&). [ed: see also Figure 1 p4 above]

Reiss was born in Galicia (now Ukraine), studied architecture in Brno (Czech Republic) and later came to Palestine in 1925 or 1926. Immediately after his arrival he became the chief assistant of Eliezer Sukenik, Professor of Archaeology at Hebrew University. Reiss was responsible for many of the architectural plans and

Figure 4: A cartoon drawn by Nahman Reiss, based on Samaria ivories, Jacob Pinkerfeld is depicted on the left and Archibald Buchanan on the right. Photo: courtesy Norma Franklin.
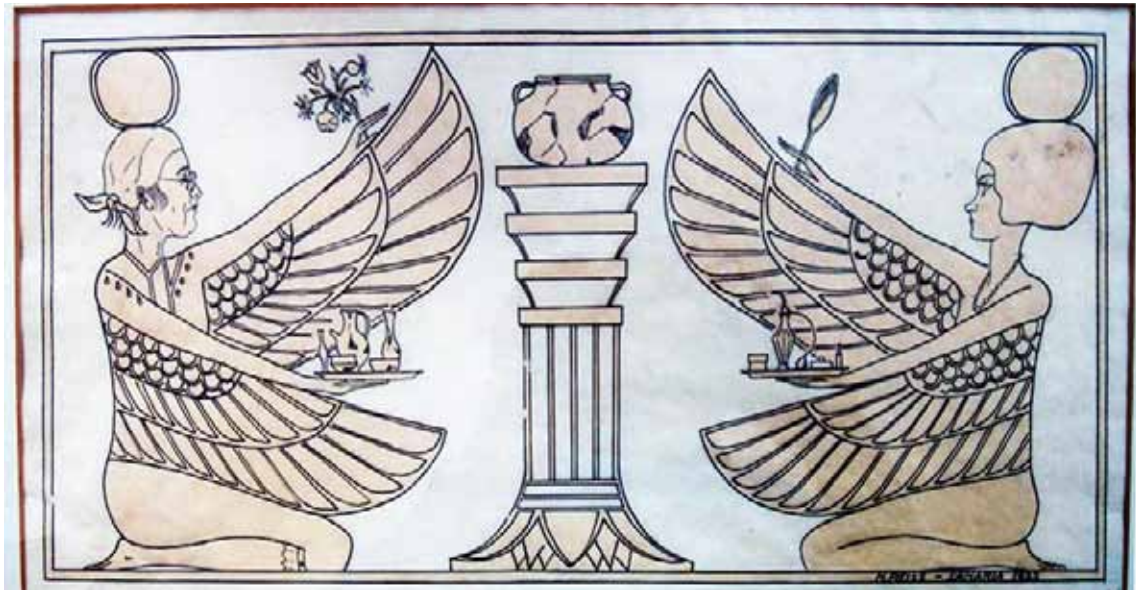
Figure 5: *A cartoon drawn by Nahman Reiss, depicting Grace (Molly) and Joan Crowfoot. Photo: courtesy Norma Franklin.*

drawings for Sukenik's excavations at this time. His first experience with Sukenik might have been the excavation of a tomb in the Greek Colony, Jerusalem, which took place in the summer of 1926; here he 'rendered assistance by taking the measurements and preparing the drawings' (Sukenik 1928: 113). In 1927, Reiss participated in Sukenik's excavation at Tel Jerishe (Geva 1982:1) and also assisted Sukenik in a survey of tombs in the Kidron Valley, Jerusalem; this included the excavation of a tomb on the Mount of Olives, published in 1928 (Sukenik 1928: 2). In 1928-1929, Reiss assisted Sukenik in his excavation of the famous Nicanor tomb in Jerusalem (Avigad 1967: 124, n. 2). In 1929, Reiss also participated in the excavation of the synagogue at Beit Alpha, where it was stated that 'Mr. N. Reiss, draughtsman of the Department of Archaeology in the Hebrew University, is responsible for most of the illustrations included in the volume, as well as for the originals of the coloured plates' (Sukenik 1932: 4; cf. also *ibid*., p. 6).

The excavation at Samaria was a joint expedition comprised of Harvard University, the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, Hebrew University, the Palestine Exploration Fund, and the British Academy (Crowfoot and Crowfoot 1938: xv). While John Crowfoot's name appeared on the excavation licenses from 1931 to 1935, Sukenik's name was also included on the 1933 license. Sukenik brought his Hebrew University team with him to Samaria; this team included Reiss and Jacob Pinkerfeld. Reiss is listed amongst staff members as a draughtsman in 1931, 1932 and 1933 (Crowfoot, Kenyon and Sukenik 1942: xvi). In Volume 2 of *Samaria-Sebaste* he is credited with the drawings of the famous ivories (Crowfoot and Crowfoot 1938: xii). While the British staff may have treated Sukenik with disdain (Silberman 1996: 49-50), there is no indication that Reiss was treated in the same way. On the contrary, in addition to his duties as draughtsman at Samaria we learn that Reiss was Kenyon's tennis partner (Davis 2008: 202-203)!
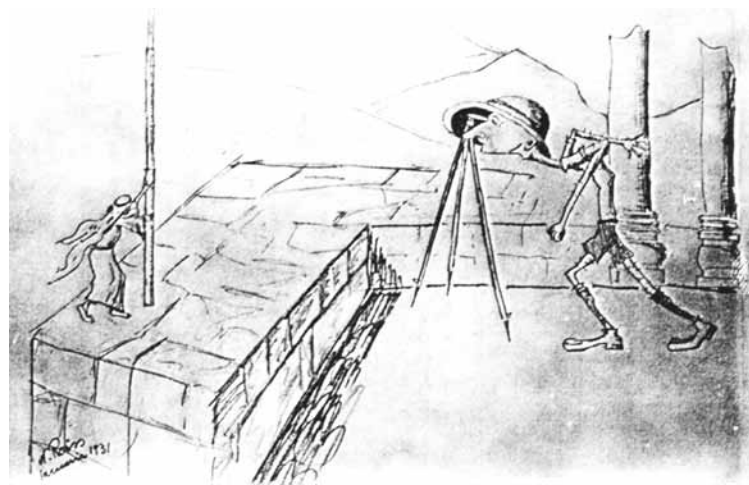

Figure 6: *A cartoon drawn by Nahman Reiss, probably depicting either Rev. Ninian Wright or Archibald Buchanan, who apparently had issues operating a dumpy level while wearing a pith helmet. Photo: courtesy Norma Franklin.*

Shortly after his participation in the 1933 season at Samaria, and perhaps still in 1933, Reiss changed his name to Avigad (Avigad 1968: 52). This may have given rise to some confusion in Nancy Champion de Crespigny's mind and may explain why his name was omitted from the reverse of her photograph of the 1933 Samaria team. All of Avigad's many publications appeared after this name change.

Avigad continued to assist Sukenik until the latter's death in 1953 and it was only after this that Avigad's name started to appear on excavation licenses, such as Beth Shearim.

Avigad's contributions to the Samaria excavations are especially seen in the exquisite drawings of the ivory objects published in *Samaria-Sebaste* 2 (1938). Less well-known was his artistic flair and sense of humour, both of which are evident in a collection of cartoons he created in pencil (Figures 4–6).

Samuel R. Wolff
Israel Antiquities Authority

Baruch Brandl
Israel Antiquities Authority

Norma Franklin
University of Haifa

Bibliography

Avigad, N. 1967 Jewish Rock-Cut Tombs in Jerusalem and in the Judean Hill-Country, *Eretz-Israel* 8: 119–142 (Hebrew, English summary, p. 72).

Avigad, N. 1968 The Seal of Abigad, *Israel Exploration Journal* 18: 52–53.

Crowfoot, J.W. and Crowfoot, G.M. 1938 *Samaria-Sebaste* 2: *Early Ivories from Samaria*, London: Palestine Exploration Fund.

Crowfoot, J.W., Kenyon, K.M. and Sukenik, E.L. 1942 *Samaria-Sebaste* 1: *The Buildings at Samaria*, London: Palestine Exploration Fund.

Davis, Miriam 2008 *Dame Kathleen Kenyon: Digging up the Holy Land*, Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

Geva, Shulamit 1982 *Tel Jerishe: The Sukenik Excavations of the Middle Bronze Age Fortifications* (Qedem 15), Jerusalem: Hebrew University.

Movius, Geoffrey H. 2013 Nancy Ch. de C. Movius and her 'unusual career', *Buried History* 49: 11–16.

Silberman, Neil A. 1996 *A Prophet from Amongst You: The Life of Yigael Yadin, Soldier, Scholar and Mythmaker of Modern Israel*, Reading, MA: Addison Wesley.

Sukenik, E.L. 1928 A Jewish Tomb on the Slopes of the Mount of Olives, *Yerushalaim: Journal of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* 193–198 (Hebrew).

Sukenik, E.L. 1932 *The Ancient Synagogue of Beth Alpha: An Account of the Excavations Conducted on Behalf of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem*, Jerusalem and London: Hebrew University Press and Oxford University Press.

Reviews

Trevor Bryce, 2014 *Ancient Syria: A Three Thousand Year History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, ISBN 9780199646678, xix+379pp, £25.

Reviewed by Andrew S. Jamieson

In *Ancient Syria: A Three Thousand Year History*, Trevor Bryce, one of Australia's leading Ancient Historians and Classicists—an Honorary Professor at the University of Queensland and Emeritus Professor of the University of New England—explores the history of ancient Syria from the Bronze Age to the Roman era and beyond. Bryce states at the beginning of his book 'The purpose … is to tell a story, more precisely a series of stories, and sometimes stories within stories. All of them are about Syria, have Syria as their focus, or start from or end there' (1). Above all, he is interested in the human actors who instigated, participated in, and became the victims of the events of these stories. His penetrating study is based primarily around the surviving written sources on ancient Syria.

In writing his historical narrative the author stresses he has confined his attention almost entirely to the political and military events of the periods in question (4). One short statement at the beginning of text encapsulates volumes: 'Syria was strategically important' (7). According to Bryce that's why Syria's history seems to be dominated by stories of outsiders fighting one another over it. The Hittites and Egyptians, Assyrians and Babylonians, Persians and Macedonians and even the Romans are all involved in the history of Syria. Syria suffered at least as much as it benefited from its international intruders. In focusing primarily on the political and military events of the ages covered by this tale, and particularly on the big names that feature in the stories of these ages, Bryce has concentrated on but one aspect of Syria's remarkable history, allowing for an in depth understanding of these significant aspects.

Conveniently for the reader, *Ancient Syria* is arranged chronologically. It comprises five parts: the Bronze Ages; the Iron Age to the Macedonian Conquest; Syria Under Seleucid Rule; Syria Under Roman Rule and the Rise and Fall of Palmyra. The first section is the longest covering a period spanning seventeen hundred years. The second to fourth sections are approximately the same length. The last section is the shortest. The headings and sub-headings structure the text making the complex history of Syria easy to navigate. At pivotal points throughout the study pertinent comments are inserted (often in parenthesis) that help guide the reader. The book also contains three handy appendices: Chronology of Major Events and Periods; King-Lists; and Literary Sources. A concise Bibliography (over 90 sources) lists the most relevant and recent scholarship. A detailed Index enables readers to look up and find topics easily. And the text is enhanced by a series of useful maps (1-12) and figures (1-27). The following summary provides a précis of some of the key historical developments.

In Part I *The Bronze Ages* (9–94) it is noted that the discoveries made by Italian archaeologists working at Tell Mardikh, ancient Ebla, in north-west Syria dramatically transformed our understanding of the history of this area. Paolo Matthiae and his team uncovered a multi-chambered complex, known as Palace G, belonging to the third millennium BC. But the most spectacular aspect of the find was a massive collection of thousands of clay tablets, inscribed with cuneiform script. The tablets excavated between 1975 and 1976 provide us with early evidence for writing in Syria. Many of the tablets were written in a local Semitic language, referred to as Eblaite. Bryce points out that the Ebla tablets are the oldest significant evidence we have for any Semitic language on written form. The majority of the tablets are administrative documents. They indicate the existence of an enormous royal, highly centralized bureaucracy. The tablets also reveal a thriving textile industry associated with wool production and tell of the distribution of these products, both to local officials within the Ebla regions and to important foreigners.

From both written and archaeological sources, it is possible to build up a picture of Ebla as the most politically and commercially powerful kingdom of northern Syria in the Early Bronze Age (15). The Kingdoms of Mari, Yamhad (Aleppo), and Qatna are also considered in the survey of the bronze ages covered in Part I. Syria's external relations with Egypt and Hittites are discussed in some detail. Other key groups considered include the Amorites, Hurrians, and Mitannians. Bryce records that the final days of Ugarit (Ras Shamra) provide a microcosm of the forces of upheaval and destruction that engulfed much of the Near Eastern world in the late 13th and early 12th centuries BC – ending an era of internationalism. For the Syrian coastal kingdom, the dangers came particularly from the sea. Ugarit is caught up in the havoc that brought the Late Bronze Age civilizations to an end in both the Aegean and Near Eastern worlds. Egyptian records associate these devastations with enigmatic groups called 'peoples from the sea'; more commonly known as the Sea Peoples.

Part II *From the Iron Age to the Macedonian Conquest* (95–155) extends over five centuries, taking the reader from the 12th century BC through to the end of the 7th century BC, up to the fall of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. It encompasses the dawning of a new age, the so-called Iron Age, when the Neo-Hittite kingdoms were a marked feature of Syria's political and cultural landscape, through the period of Assyrian domination of the region, followed by the domination in turn of the Babylonian and Persian Achaemenid empires, and the short-lived empire built by Alexander the Great.

The time span covers much of the period commonly dubbed the Iron Age by archaeologists and historians. As Bryce notes, in Syria and Palestine, the 'era of iron'

saw profound changes in the region's geopolitical configuration (100). One of the most distinctive features of the new era was the appearance of new population groups, most notably the Aramaeans which were to have a profound effect on the history, culture, and ethnic composition of the states, cities, and peoples of Syria and Palestine. Prominent among the new states to emerge during the early Iron Age was a group referred to as the Neo-Hittite kingdoms. The earliest and most important of the Neo-Hittite states was Carchemish on the Euphrates (Carchemish, one of the most important capitals of the ancient Near East, was originally excavated by C.L. Woolley and T.E. Lawrence under the auspices of the British Museum, more recently a Turkish-Italian team has worked at the site). Originally tribal pastoral groups, now believed to contain indigenous elements from the region of northern Syria, the Aramaeans spread widely through the Near Eastern world during the Iron Age. They spoke a West Semitic language called Aramaic. Aramaean and Hittite elements became closely blended in a number of Syrian states. Both the Canaanites and Phoenicians are examined before a consideration of the Assyrians.

Bryce notes that the Assyrians under Shalmaneser III conquered Til Barsib (modern Tell Ahmar – see below) on the east bank of the Euphrates, the strong hold of the Ahuni, king of Bit-Adini in 856BC (122). As the Assyrian Empire expired under its last king Ashur-uballit II (612–601BC) two years after the fall of Nineveh, the Neo-Babylonian Empire, founded by Nineveh's destroyer Nabopolassar, rose rapidly to take its place. For Syria and Palestine, the fall of Assyria and the rise of Babylonia simply meant an exchange of overlords (141). No major power could claim supremacy in the Near Eastern world without undisputed control over the kingdoms and cites that lay between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean. Despite his extensive conquests and the assertion of his sovereignty throughout many of the regions where the Great Kings of Assyria had once held sway, the empire which Nebuchadnezzar built began to crumble soon after his death. In 539BC, in the reign of Nabonidus, it fell, weak and divided, to a new power emerging in the east, the kingdom of Persia. The ruler of this kingdom was a man called Cyrus II. We know him better as Cyrus the Great. Syria was soon to be a satrapy with a new overlord. Damascus was most likely the capital of the new Persian satrap. Strabo calls it 'the most famous of the cities in that part of the world in the time of the Persian Empire.'(149) It became the headquarters of the Persian forces in Syria. Bryce recounts that in the summer of 333BC, Alexander descended through a pass in the Taurus Mountains into Cilicia, on the south-eastern coast of Asia Minor. The invasion of Syria and the seizure of its coastal cities was an urgent priority for the Macedonian. Darius, king of Persia, was determined to stop him before he could penetrate Syrian territory. The forces of the two kings met, this time on Syria's north-western frontier near the city of Issu, located just west of the Amanus range. In November 333, in the narrow plain outside the city,

the contest took place. The Macedonian's victory was decisive – although Bryce concedes that the details of the battle are hazy. Under Alexander's influence, trade and commerce flourished on a scale unprecedented in the Near East – with a number of Syrian cities becoming focal points of an extensive trading network (155).

In Part III *The Rise of the Seleucid Empire* (157–217), we are once again in a transformed world, the world which began with the death of Alexander and the squabbles among his heirs over the spoils of his empire. Control of Syria was contested by Alexander's Ptolemaic and Seleucid heirs, with the latter finally prevailing. But the Seleucid Empire was to give way when Pompey the Great made Syria a part of the Roman world in 64BC. Bryce underscores the point that following the Death of Alexander, in 320BC at a town call Triparadeisos in northern Syria, probably on the Orontes river a meeting was convened that was to affect profoundly to the future course of the history of both eastern and western worlds. One of Alexander's most steadfast comrades called Seleucus was rewarded for his services with the satrapy of Babylonia. A new royal capital was established, Seleuceia on the Tigris river. Occupying an excellent strategic position on a route which linked Iran with Syria and Anatolia via Mesopotamia, Seleuceia rapidly became one of the great commercial centres of the Near Eastern World. It became a major centre for the spread of Greek civilization eastwards, for it was planned primarily as a Greek city, with a mixture of Jews, Syrians and other population groups in its citizen body. In 300BC, another Seleuceia was founded, this one at the mouth of the Orontes, where there was an excellent harbour. But both Seleuceias were to be eclipsed by another new city built by Seleucus called Antioch, after his father Antiochus. It was well placed strategically, at the junction of several major routes which linked Anatolia with Syria and the Levantine coast, and to the east with the lands beyond the Euphrates. Many new cities arose in Syria, ensuring the continuing prosperity of Syria as one of the great hubs of international trade network. Disputes over the division of these strategic territories provoked an ongoing series of Syrian wars between Seleucid and Ptolemaic rulers, without any conclusive outcome until the Ptolemies were finally expelled from the region in 198 BC by Antiochus III, a later ruler of the Seleucid dynasty.

In Part IV *Syria Under Roman Rule* (219–271), Rome becomes the dominant character in Syria's story. In the year 64BC, Syria became a province of Rome. By and large the Syrian world was receptive to Roman rule, for its new overlord held out hopes of greater political and economic stability than the Seleucid regime had provided. The reader is reminded that Syria became one of Rome's most important provinces. The province of Syria as created by Pompey stretched to the Euphrates in the north-east, and Augustus had reached agreement with the Parthians that the Euphrates would mark the boundary between their empires. During the second half of the second century, Syria enjoyed increasing prosperity as

goods from the east flowed through it to meet the ever-more voracious demands of the markets of the west. The affluence of Syrian society becomes particularly evident in what was effectively a new era in Roman history, the so-called Severan period (AD193-235).

Part V *The Rise and Fall of Palmyra* (273–323) of the book tells the evocative story of Palmyra, focusing on queen Zenobia who became one of Rome's most formidable enemies. Palmyra's oasis-location in the Syrian desert mid-way between the Euphrates and the coastlands of Syria made it a natural focus of the caravan trade which brought the goods and products of a remote eastern world, from as far afield as Indonesia, China, and India, to the lands of the Mediterranean. For many centuries Palmyra (also known as Tadmor) played an important role in the history of regional and international Near Eastern trade. But it was in the first two centuries of the Roman imperial period that Palmyra experienced its greatest development. This was the time of the 'caravan cities' of Petra, Palmyra, and Hatra. By the early decades of the Roman Empire, the material transformation of Palmyra had begun, and in the following three centuries the city developed progressively, with its rich cultural mix, into one of the most distinctive centres of urban civilization in the ancient Near East. Palmyra benefited greatly from its association with Rome, and enjoyed a highly privileged status in the Roman imperial period. A great boost to the city's fortunes came on AD106 when Petra, capital of the Nabataean kingdom, was annexed along with the rest of the kingdom by the Emperor Trajan. Palmyra's unique geographical position gave it a major advantage. Palmyra displayed many elements of a Greco-Roman city. But in fact, the distinctive Palmyrene culture arose from a blend of these elements with indigenous ones, the latter reflected in sculptural representations of a number of Palmyrene deities and cult memorials. In the reign of Septimius Severus, Palmyra was elevated to the status of a Roman *colonia*, the highest civic status that could be accorded a city of the empire. The inhabitants of Palmyra enjoyed full Roman citizenship rights. Around 250BC Septimus Odenathus (known locally as Udaynath) a citizen of Palmyra makes his first appearance, and goes on to become a self-styled-king. The death of Odenathus was sudden and unexpected and his widow Zenobia became *de facto* ruler of the Palmyrene world. Bryce notes Zenobia's ancestry is slight and confused, however, she sought to create about herself a court that was renowned for its culture and learning. Zenobia embarked on a programme of westward expansion; however, her territorial aspirations were unfulfilled. In one account she was taken to Rome and beheaded. In other sources Zenobia lived on in comfort and security in a house near Hadrian's villa.

Under the heading 'A blend of cultures' Bryce explains Palmyra's administrative structure, noting it was organized along Greek lines, with the institution of an assembly called by the Greek term *demos*, and a deliberative council by the Greek term *boule* (280). Greek and Latin nomenclature was widely used alongside Palmyrene

terms. But Arabic was the most frequently heard language in the city's streets and thoroughfares. Probably at least half of the city's population was of Arabic origin, their ancestry could be traced back to nomadic desert wanderers. But the language most frequently appearing in the city's written records was Aramaic. Palmyrene is a local version of Aramaic. The Greek language also appears at Palmyra, many of the wealthier elements of the city's population spoke both Greek and Palmyrene. Given the city's active involvement in international trade, fluency in both languages was essential. Beneath its overlay of Graeco-Roman culture, Palmyra had many features that were reflective of Near Eastern cultural elements and traditions.

It becomes conspicuously apparent from the history of Syria presented by Bryce that a feature of many of its ancient cities was linguistic diversity; it is a tradition that endured for centuries. But it was not just limited to languages, Bryce's astute commentary includes abundant references to other diverse artistic, architectural, religious and cultural traditions of ancient Syria.

In reading this book I am reminded of my own association with Syria that goes back decades. I was fortunate to be involved in a number of archaeological excavation projects (including ten years working at Tell Ahmar, ancient Til Barsib, conquered by Shalmaneser III in 856BC – one of the important sites mentioned in Part I) in the Euphrates River valley. Over the years and in numerous conversations I frequently heard many Syrians describe Syria as a 'mosaic.' For a lot of Syrians they see their country as made up of many discrete parts that fit neatly and harmoniously together. Bryce's book critically assembles the disparate historical portions of ancient Syria into a highly readable, accessible, intelligible whole. His book brings together three thousand years of history in crisp, focused, and informative fashion, allowing readers to form a clear picture of the rich history of this fascinating land. The author is an engaging writer and one quickly gets the impression that he has enjoyed researching and writing this book. The style is one that is not overly burdened with theoretical debate. There are few books devoted to the history of Syria; therefore Bryce's book is a welcome edition and one that will become indispensable for anyone with an interest in ancient Syria.

In closing, and with the current tragedy in Syria in mind, it is pertinent to return to that short statement by Bryce: 'Syria was strategically important' (7). The unfolding conflict in Syria is a catastrophe on many levels. Inevitably, Syria's heritage is one of multiple casualties resulting from the armed conflict. Bryce's book provides a lucid account that assists our understanding of Syria's historical importance and continuing strategic location.

Andrew S. Jamieson
Classics and Archaeology,
University of Melbourne, Australia
asj@unimelb.edu.au

Irving Finkel, 2014 *The Ark Before Noah: Decoding the Story of the Flood*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, ISBN 9781444757057, 421pp, 17 plates, many figures, £25.00.

Reviewed by Alan Millard

What was Noah's Ark? Everyone knows it was a boat with a large cabin on the deck - that's what all the pictures show and is the model for all the children's toys. Yet Genesis does not call the vessel a 'boat'! None of the Hebrew words for 'boat, ship' are used. The word used means 'a box' (Hebrew *tēḇâ*). It is the word also used for the 'basket' in which Moses' mother placed him in the river Nile and is actually a word borrowed from ancient Egyptian (*db.t*, *tb.t*). The Greek translation of Genesis uses a word for 'box' (*kibōtos*) and the Latin uses *arca* 'box', whence English 'ark'. When Noah was in the Ark he did not need to steer it, it only needed to float, so a keel was not necessary. A new discovery alters that picture, claims Irving Finkel.

Since the Babylonian Flood Story was made known in 1872, its similarities to the Hebrew account have led many to suppose the story of Noah was based on it. One reason is simply that no copies of Genesis are known which were made before about 200 BC, but the earliest Babylonian copies date from the 18th or 17th centuries BC. That is not a sound argument. The New Testament tells of various rulers and events in Palestine which are also reported by the Jewish historian Josephus. There are New Testament manuscripts from the second, third and fourth centuries, but no copy of Josephus' works is more than about one thousand years old. Yet no-one supposes Josephus drew on the New Testament books in composing his histories!

In 1985 a man came to the British Museum with a Babylonian clay tablet, which his father had acquired in Iraq in the 1940s. The museum's specialist was astonished as he read the cuneiform signs: it was part of a Babylonian story of the flood! Alas, the owner would not leave the tablet for study. The expert, Irving Finkel, was bereft! Not until 2009 was he allowed to examine it at leisure. In this book he enthusiastically describes his patient decipherment and growing understanding of a text written almost 4,000 years ago. After relating how he became an Assyriologist by accident, he sets the context for his study of the tablet by explaining how cuneiform writing works and the range of text now available. He then summarises previously-known Babylonian flood stories, each one damaged and incomplete. Most famous is the version in Epic of Gilgamesh, Tablet 11, known from copies made about 700 BC and later. About a millennium older is the version in the Epic of Atrahasis, on which the Gilgamesh narrative is based. Comparisons between each of these, some lesser fragments and the Genesis account run through the Finkel's chapters.

In six pages he presents his translation of the new text, which he calls The Ark Tablet. The styles of script and language show it was copied between 1900 and 1700BC. The tablet, small enough to hold in the hand, is not part of an historical inscription, but is an extract from a longer story or an exercise in imagining the conversations and computations; perhaps the work of a student or even a playwright.

The text opens with a speech known from the Atrahasis and Gilgamesh Epics to be given by the god Enki, also known as Ea, to his devotee Atrahasis, also known as Ut-napishti. As already known, Enki is instructing him to pull down his reed hut and build a boat: "Wall, wall, reed wall, reed wall, Atrahasis, pay attention to my advice". Then comes the first surprise, "Draw out the boat that you will make on a circular plan, let her length and breadth be equal". There follow details about palm fibre ropes. The text then switches, without introduction to Atrahasis who relates his obedient actions: "I set in place thirty ribs," followed by detailed measurements of parts of the structure and the materials used. Aided by a mathematician, Finkel concludes the vessel was an enormous coracle entirely made of reeds, a circular craft almost 70m (222 feet, 74 yards) in diameter, with walls 6m. (about 20 feet) high and a floor area 14,400 cubits square, a figure reproduced in the Gilgamesh version and amazingly close to the 15,000 cubits square of Noah's Ark. The whole was coated with bitumen of various kinds within and without, including the 'cabins' inside. The damaged reverse of the tablet tells of Atrahasis' anxiety, then the arrival of wild animals, entering the vessel 'two by two'. The tablet ends with him ordering the workmen, "When I have gone into the boat, caulk, that is, 'seal', its door". Whatever the purpose of the tablet, it offers improvements to the known text of the Atrahasis Epic. Finkel is able to show, with a high degree of certainty, that the Epic also described a circular vessel and had some animals entering in pairs.

Inevitably, Finkel compares the Babylonian accounts with Genesis. Assuming the traditional source analysis of the Hebrew text, dividing it between the 'J' writer and the 'P' writer, he creates a scenario of Judaean exiles in Babylon who were taught the cuneiform script and the Babylonian language, like Daniel and his friends, adapting the Flood Story for themselves. In Babylonia, too, he suggests, the exiles met the concept of a single god, Marduk, who incorporated all the other gods, which sharpened their faith in one God alone. There is not the place to discuss all the matters he introduces.

Attempting to strengthen his case for dependence, Finkel presents a late sixth century BC Babylonian tablet concerning boats. Between two occurrences of the normal word for 'boat' (*eleppu*), it mentions something called *ṭu-bu-ú*. He assumes it means a boat of some sort and tries to equate it with the Hebrew word for Noah's vessel, *tēḇâ*, which has a different initial consonant and is com-

monly recognised as an Egyptian word. He deduces that the Judaeans encountered the Akkadian boat word *ṭubbû* used for the Ark in the [Flood] story and Hebraised it as *tēḇâ*. 'In this case', he asserts, 'the original consonants are less important …' In some Babylonian version of the Flood story no longer extant, he says, 'the word *ṭubbû* must have occurred in place of *eleppu*, "boat"'. This is really far-fetched, explaining an obscure Hebrew word by a more obscure Babylonian one!

In the Gilgamesh 11 account of the Flood, the vessel is described as a cube, which is quite impractical, but Finkel takes the oblong shape of Noah's wooden Ark as a development of it. he has to assume unknown variations to the existing Babylonian versions to explain other differences, so any changes could have occurred much earlier. Despite his arguments for the era of the Exile, the Babylonian texts are inconclusive. While the Babylonian compositions reflect the local situation, where reed vessels were normal, the Hebrew account does not tell of a reed vessel but a wooden one, which would be less appropriate in Babylonia where wood was scarce. The following sections of Genesis also indicate a region unlike Babylonia, for Noah planted a vineyard (9: 20), and people moved to the plain of Shinar, according to Genesis 11: 1. If we believe the Hebrew account is the original, we shall have to assume the oblong wooden ark, which was perhaps better suited to a different region of the Near East, was re-imagined as an enormous reed coracle in Babylonia with approximately the same floor area as Noah's Ark. The many agreements between the Babylonian and the Hebrew narratives have to be balanced against the many disagreements, as has often been done. The 'Ark Tablet' adds to both! It does not prove the Hebrews borrowed the Flood narrative from the Babylonians; both may have had a common ancestor.

Engaging incidents in Finkel's work keep the reader's interest alive. When he gave a volunteer a box of odd fragments of tablets to sort, she found a strange one which he saw fitted into the famous Babylonian Map of the World and suggests that the Babylonian Ark rested in the region of Mount Ararat! However, other Babylonian tales placed it nearer to Iraq, in the mountains to the east or north, while Genesis simply says 'in the mountains of Ararat' which could suit any of the locations.

Experts will discuss details of the cuneiform tablet while biblical scholars assess its significance for years to come. Intelligibly explaining technical aspects, *The Ark Before Noah* relates a new discovery brilliantly, sharing the excitement of a leading expert as he disentangles part of one version of an ancient story.

Eric H. Cline, 2014 *1177 B.C.: The Year Civilization Collapsed,* Turning Points in Ancient History Series, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, ISBN 9780691140896, xx+264pp, US$20

Reviewed by Christopher J. Davey

This book was the winner of the 2014 *Best Popular Book* award by the American Schools of Oriental Research and its author was reportedly nominated for a Pulitzer Prize in 2014. It is certainly an easy book to read, but its designation as 'popular' should not be construed to mean simple. Cline draws on current scholarship to provide a systematic narrative of the Late Bronze Age in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean in all its complexity.

Eric Cline is Professor of Classics and Anthropology, Director of the Capitol Archaeological Institute, and former Chair of the Department of Classical and Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at The George Washington University, in Washington DC. He was educated at Dartmouth, Yale, and the University of Pennsylvania and he has archaeological field experience in Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Cyprus, Greece, Crete, and the United States. He is currently Co-Director of the excavations at Tel Kabri. At least three of his 16 books*, The Trojan War: A Very Short Introduction* (2013), *Digging for Troy* (2011) and *The Battles of Armageddon: Megiddo and the Jezreel Valley from the Bronze Age to the Nuclear Age* (2000), overlap with the subject of this book.

The book is dedicated to James Muhly, Professor Emeritus of Ancient Near Eastern History in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the University of Pennsylvania, former Director of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and preeminent scholar on Bronze Age metallurgy. Professor Muhly, who is a meticulous and gracious scholar, will no doubt be pleased with this book although he may not think the 28-page bibliography sufficient.

The main benefit of the book is the inclusion of recent research; the Uluburun shipwreck and new Ugaritic inscriptions are cases in point. Also important is the breadth of its coverage and its scene-setting explanations. Paradoxically, while Cline describes an inter-related Late Bronze Age in the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean, today's academia is such that scholars are often quite unaware of research developments in neighbouring regions. This book, while intended for a popular audience, may help to address this insularity; its currency and the status of its author should promote a more scholarly readership.

The first three chapters describe the Late Bronze Age and its inter-relatedness. There are many interesting stories here that benefit from their context in the overall narrative of the period. Chapter Four describes the evidence for destruction, site by site, and the last chapter discusses the reasons for the end of the Bronze Age. Destructions are far from widespread, and some areas such as Lebanon appear to have none, although Ugarit to the north and

Megiddo to the south were violently destroyed. Megiddo recovered, Ugarit did not.

Interestingly there is a comparatively lengthy section on the Exodus, although the discussion focusses on the lack of evidence outside the biblical narrative for the event. Some speculation about the implications that it may have had in Egyptian and Levantine history could have been made, however, this would require a discussion about the nature of the event itself, which is beyond the scope of the book.

Cline concludes that there was no single cause for the events that brought the Bronze Age to an end, but rather there was a 'perfect storm' of factors that had a cumulative effect. This approach has a certain air of desperation about it. The influx of Dorians from the north is rightly rejected as a cause, but the possibility that this tradition had its origins with the influx of other earlier peoples is not considered. 'Drought' and 'famine' in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean are often mentioned, but climactic cooling is only obliquely alluded to once (147) and environmental effects in neighbouring regions are generally not considered.

In 1997 Gerard C. Bond, Lamont–Doherty Earth Observatory at Columbia University, and colleagues published a paper postulating approximately 1,500-year climate cooling cycles in the Holocene, mainly based on petrologic tracers of drift ice in the North Atlantic (Bond, G. *et al.,* 1997 A Pervasive Millennial-Scale Cycle in North Atlantic Holocene and Glacial Climates, *Science* 278 (5341): 1257–1266). The last occurrence of this event was the Little Ice Age in the late Eighteenth Century: the French Revolution was driven by starving peasants whose crops had failed while Britain only just survived the resource–demographic contraction.

The desertion of the Anatolian sites is mentioned by Cline (156), who suggests that it may have been caused by the disruption of trade routes. But it is hard to imagine that village existence was dependent on trade. He does not speculate on the whereabouts of the departed inhabitants.

There is a plausible scenario that the 1500-year cooling cycle occurred on schedule at about 1200BC causing crop failures in the less productive areas of Europe and Anatolia triggering the movement of people to warmer more fertile areas about the Mediterranean. Unable to adequately defend themselves against the intruders, the inhabitants of these areas set sail in search of refuge and new homelands. Where they had pre-established associations, such as at Ashkelon, settlement was orderly, but elsewhere battles were fought and cities destroyed. This is not the place to advocate that this caused the end of the Bronze Age, it is only to note that this plausible hypothesis is not included amongst the many alternatives discussed by Cline.

The movement of Anatolian inhabitants is significant because these people took with them the knowledge of iron technology, which was to become crucial for the final step in the Three-Age System. This diffusion illustrates the nature of technological development, which is often hastened in periods of disruption when technologies travel, processes by necessity may need modification and different technologies intermingle. Strictly speaking the subject is beyond the scope of this book, however, the fact that people started to use iron instead of bronze could itself be sufficient justification to pronounce the end of the Bronze Age. While bronze continued to be used in significant quantities, it was often superseded by iron. In this scenario the Bronze Age ceased conceptually as a result of technological change and diffusion; the book does not engage with any of this.

Cline's references to 'collapse' are rather ambiguous. What collapsed? Certainly the palace economies of the Mediterranean ceased, but it is stretching it to say that 'civilization' ended. Archaeology at many sites has demonstrated continuity from Bronze Age to Iron Age. As these terms are used in the title for effect it would have been difficult for Cline to be too definitive.

The discussion of the Late Bronze Age as 'a system' lacks precision. Human systems tend to be complex and open. The reference to the butterfly effect (161) is not relevant to such systems, however within the overall system there may have been deterministic nonlinear sub-systems to which it could apply. The references to the Global Financial Crisis of 2008 as a modern example of collapse are unconvincing (175). World markets now appear to have developed a certain level of independence from Wall Street, individual bank capital adequacy ratios have been strengthened and underlying asset values have become critical. During Hurricane Sandy in 2012, Wall Street was closed for two days without adversely affecting world markets. A collapse on Wall Street now may be unfavourable for the United States, but not necessarily catastrophic for the rest of the world. The Global Financial Crisis may in fact be an example of the way complex systems transform themselves to promote continuity.

The book has an index and a description of the many foreign personal names mentioned therein, and for those who want to take the subject further there is a comparatively long bibliography and endnotes. Suggested pronunciations of the names in the *Dramatis Personae* would have helped the general readership. There are numerous typos and some errors of fact, Bernard Knapp for example was at Glasgow, not Edinburgh University, but these do not influence the thrust of the book.

Cline's writing style is straightforward and his explanations of points of detail and inclusion of interesting asides bring his readers with him while adding to their knowledge. Ancient history should not just be an esoteric subject for the academy, but an interesting tale that forms part of everyone's general knowledge. Cline makes this possible. While regrettably it is unlikely that the population will *en masse* flock to read the book, it is certainly important for those with an interest in the ancient Aegean, Eastern Mediterranean and the Bible.

A.A. Macintosh & C.L. Engle, 2014 *The T&T Clark Hebrew Primer,* London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, ISBN 9780567456571 vii+82pp, £13 pb, (£44 hb) and ISBN 9780567197337, £13 ePDF.

Reviewed by Christopher J. Davey

From time to time my tutors at Cambridge would take me aside when dealing with a point of Hebrew and ask, 'how did Andrew teach you that?' While the grammar we used, A.B. Davidson's *An Introductory Hebrew Grammar* (revised edition Mauchline 1962, London: T&T Clark) may politely be described as awkward, Andrew Macintosh's teaching systems more than compensated for this and produced results that impressed his peers. Learning dead languages with limited literature, such as classical Hebrew, is problematic for most people, and once learnt how quickly they can be forgotten. This book aims to redress this situation.

Rev Dr Andrew Macintosh is Dean Emeritus of St John's College, Cambridge, UK where for over forty years he introduced students to Hebrew. During this time he developed numerous systems to help students learn efficiently and effectively remember the language. We are indebted to him and to Rev Dr Cynthia Engle, Adjunct Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament at Fuller Theological Seminary, Houston, Texas, USA for co-authoring the book.

With formidable recommendations from Hugh Williamson, Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford 1992-2014, Robert Gordon, Regius Professor of Hebrew, Cambridge 1995-2012, and Emeritus Professor Emmanuel Tov, Hebrew University Jerusalem, nothing the present reviewer could write would conspicuously influence the book's standing. Williamson comments on the rapidity with which Hebrew can be forgotten, and Gordon believes that this book may serve as a 'DIY refresher course'; it is in this role that it will have lasting usefulness.

According to some, the book is 'a poor man's Gesenius Kautzsch', as it attempts to systematise the written language as it was used. It is not comprehensive, the use of the infinitive absolute and dual forms, for example, are not dealt with. The book aims to review what is 'absolutely essential' and to 'facilitate revision and consolidation' for students engaged in learning Hebrew and for those who 'wish to revive their knowledge of the language' (vii).

The first chapter covers the six categories (declensions) of 'nouns' and adjectives, the second deals with the strong verb, and weak verbs are discussed in the third. The last three chapters are comparatively short and discuss the definite article, *Waw*, and particles and prepositions.

One of the secrets of the Macintosh system was the recitation of grammatical forms; verbal systems are arranged in the book to facilitate chanting. When hearing about the book, my first question was, whether it included a disc with Andrew's chants; I was told that one may follow. When reading the book the chants quickly returned to mind, but this does not help those who have not already been introduced to them. Some of Andrew's 'nicknames' for grammatical formula, such as the 'bottle form' for the active participle (18), are not included, maybe because they were deemed inappropriate. However, they were certainly very effective at the time and their inclusion in any revision should be considered.

A selected vocabulary is included. Andrew never let vocabulary pass without offering information and suggestions to aid the memory. Many of these ideas related to non-Semitic usage and have not been included in the book, but those indicating a 'connection in various aspects of Hebrew and Semitic context' have. Ultimately vocabulary must be retained through the regular reading of the text.

The paperback is attractively priced, but will suffer with regular handling. The main criticism of the hard copy production is that the font is a little too small, older people using the book to revive their knowledge of the language will struggle. Hebrew can be hard on the eyes, especially when focussing on the pointing as this book by necessity does.

An eBook version is now available from Bloomsbury T&T Clark. The eBook downloads directly from Bloomsbury and is protected using Adobe Digital Editions software. It can also be downloaded to be read on an iPhone, iPad or iPod Touch, Android devices or eReaders such as Nook, Kobo, Sony etc. The eBook is identical in content and layout to the hardcopy versions. Font sizes, of course, are not an issue with the electronic version.

My second year of Hebrew at Cambridge involved the reading of unpointed Hebrew passages that illustrated the finer points of the written language. Today, just getting an unpointed Old Testament text is a challenge in itself. Maybe a second book could pick up these examples together with exercises that illustrate the points made in the *Primer*. Indeed, without testing oneself with assignments it is difficult to be sure that the material has been understood.

The T&T Clark Hebrew Primer provides an efficient way back for lapsed readers of Old Testament Hebrew. It is now not necessary to defer one's Hebrew revival to retirement when all those interesting and potentially time-consuming activities are to be tackled.

First time students will find this summary of the essential elements of Hebrew useful when revising. Some teachers may consider incorporating this text into their syllabus while others may even contemplate adopting some of the teaching patterns into their class presentations.

David Gange, 2013 *Dialogues with the Dead: Egyptology in British Culture and Religion, 1822-1922,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, ISBN 9780199653102, 357pp, £75.

Reviewed by Christopher J. Davey

Dr David Gange previously published a paper entitled, 'Religion and Science in Late-nineteenth-century British Archaeology' (*The Historical Journal*, 49/4, 2006, 1083–1103) where he argued that rapid archaeological developments in scientific technique were largely driven by spiritual objectives rather than any other ideologies. This book exponentially broadens the canvas of that earlier analysis and probes the cultural landscape of the nineteenth century in England to understand its relationship with Egyptology.

At the conclusion of the Introduction Gange clearly defines the purpose of the book

> *This book hopes to nudge the history of Egyptology, and archaeology more generally, gently in the direction of broad cultural involvement and catholicity of approach, and away, for now, from exclusive focus on the generalized grand narrative or heroic life. It also hopes to encourage scholars of the nineteenth century to integrate Egyptology more fully into their understanding of the period's intellectual life. Its aim is to recover the reactions alternating between intense excitement and debilitating neurosis, of readers who devoured accounts of the discoveries and innovations that changed the cultural landscape in which archaeologists of the Near East worked (52).*

The book is a pleasure to read because Gange treats his subjects with equanimity and in fact appears intrigued by the events he describes and the religious and cultural traditions behind them. The book is divided into chapters named after Egyptian chronology, Old, Middle and New Kingdoms to cover the development in Egyptological attitudes between 1822 and 1922 and two Intermediate periods that contain transitional reflections. Before 1822, English society had learned about Egypt from the Napoleon-inspired publications of Vivant Denon and Edme-François Jomard and the activities of collectors-looters such a Henry Salt and Giovanni Battista Belzoni. The Tutankhamun discoveries provide the other book end. This is not a blow-by-blow account of the development of Egyptology, but as the title conveys, it is a discussion about the growth of ancient Egyptian knowledge set against the cultural milieu in Britain at the time. To get the most from the book, readers should already be generally aware of early Egyptologists, their societies and chronology.

The period is broadly important because it sees the beginnings of science, geology, anthropology and prehistory. At the outset the world was considered a recent creation,

and by the end geological time was the frame of reference for the earth's genesis. Gange is able to demonstrate that the contemporary debates about ancient Egypt 'related directly to the status of the Bible and classical literature' (31). But whereas many commentators have adopted a one-dimensional perspective, often referencing Darwin's *The Origin of Species* or 'higher criticism' and selective religious reactions to them, Gange accepts that biblical archaeology 'was never just engaged in 'proving' the literal truth of the Bible; it always involved elucidating the many gaps in the biblical narrative' (25). With respect to Edward Said's Orientalism, he refers to the analysis of Suzanne Marchand (*German Orientalism in the Age of Empire*, CUP, 2010) who argues that Orientalist knowledge has a long history in Europe, and 'was not always 'power' to be exerted over others, but was just as frequently appreciation, dialogue and self-criticism' (33). It offered new ways to read the Bible well before the 'age of Empire'. With such perception, Gange is able to present a much nuanced study.

The Old Kingdom chapter begins with a brief study of the art of John Martin and John Marshall. According to Gange, the apocalyptic work of John Martin portrayed Egyptian architectural forms in scenes inspired by the industrial revolution to align Egypt, the biblical enemy, with the development of British industry. Marshall does the opposite. This section is illuminating, but would have benefitted from illustrations of the art works in question.

Gange's engagement with non-conformist ideas of ancient Egypt is refreshing. In the tradition of his Trinity College, Cambridge colleague, Boyd Hilton (*A Mad, Bad and Dangerous People?* OUP, 2008), he delves into Mechanics Institute lectures, Sunday School lessons, regional media and books published outside the centres of learning to discover the role Egypt played in legitimising those who were not members of the classically-based establishment, 'relationships with state power, religious authority and ideological hierarchies were always conflicted and ancient Egypt was a means of attacking state authority more often than enforcing it' (71).

Belzoni's Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, was open at the beginning of the study period. The biblical links suggested at the time were to prove illusory, but Gange argues that these were 'the best guesses by the most advanced and authoritative scholars' (78). While Belzoni sought high-society through Egyptology, Gange is inclined to agree that the next group of Englishmen to engage with ancient Egypt were 'borderline aristocrats' who wanted to shed the strictures of their birth by not so much discarding the 'silver fork', but by abandoning forks altogether. The tradition of the Grand Tour is not mentioned, nor is the role of William Gell. The significance of John Gardner Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs* (1836) is discussed noting that while religion was not an important aspect of the work, it was the preoccupation for most contemporary commentators. The inability of the intelligentsia to address the reality of Egyptian evidence is a recurring

theme from Belzoni onward. Conversely, *The Westminster* quoted by Gange reflected on 'how remarkable an extent the Egyptian monuments are illustrative of Biblical records' (89). Illumination of the biblical narrative, which even the unlearned may appreciate, was mentioned by other reviewers. Gange does not discuss if this is the genesis of this hermeneutical methodology.

Gange moves on quickly to another of Gardner Wilkinson's fellow adventurers, Joseph Bonomi. Apart from being an excellent architectural draftsman and author, Bonomi acted as a focal point for nearly all non-French involvement in Egypt for the next half-century. Bonomi's correspondence was a significant source for Gange. However, it was the ideas of Christian Carl Josias Bunsen and two Unitarians, John Kenrick and Samuel Sharpe that dominated mid-century attitudes to ancient Egypt. The speculative nature of their analyses is illustrated by Sharpe's argument that Trinitarian theology derived from Egyptian religion; ancient Egypt during this time existed primarily in British thought to serve contemporary religious and political debate.

Many of the protagonists were members of the hitherto neglected Syro-Egyptian Society. Gange describes this fascinating association that not only had a broad English membership but also included European scholars, whose papers were translated and read to the society. One such was the German scholar Georg Friedrich Grotefend, who was a member of the society from its 1844 foundation until his death in 1853; he made an important contribution to the decipherment of cuneiform, something not recognised in Germany for a further forty years. Gange discusses the development of Akkadian and especially the discovery of the Deluge tablets by George Smith, which was in contrast to Egyptology where 'exposition was entangled in religious and political controversy' (119).

This disorder was to change after 1870 when 'radicalism, heterodoxy and social subversion had once been expected; conservative, orthodox and constructive expectations were increasingly generated and met' (127). The First Intermediate chapter is an excursus dealing with this transition and the development of science. In fact Gange argues that Petrie and the Egypt Exploration Fund work in the 1880s followed from British intellectual life in the 1870s, not from earlier Egyptology associated with people such as Gardner Wilkinson. The mythology surrounding the Great Pyramid, the discovery of the Deluge Tablets, and attitudes to Schliemann, Troy and Homer are explored by Gange. While these issues may seem divergent, Gange argues that public subscribers to British excavations in Egypt after 1880 were inspired by Schliemann and Homer and George Smith's Deluge Tablets. Gladstone, and A.H. Sayce, viewed Schliemann's work as an 'archaeological revolt against the fantasies of subjective criticism' (146) and Gange argues that Schliemann, like Layard before him, 'restored ancient literature to its rightful status as records of fact, not tissues of fiction' (149). Public curios-

ity was generated by the possibility that ancient Egypt might be equally significant.

The third chapter deals with the last twenty years of the nineteenth-century. Gange takes issue with Martin Bernal's *Black Athena,* arguing the very opposite that in fact the rekindled popularity of Egyptology at the time was a direct result of 'a broad fight-back of popular religion against perceived 'irreligious' tendencies in British intellectual life' (163). It was in this period that hieroglyphic and hieratic literature and archaeology started to influence the history of ancient Egypt.

Gange's analysis recognises the establishment of the Egypt Exploration Fund (EEF) as a watershed. The EEF exploited popular interest in the biblical narrative set in the delta region of ancient Egypt to raise excavation funds. Gange does not view this as a negative, the 'elevated importance of biblical associations after 1880 meant that artefacts were valuable insofar as they permitted the reconstruction of Old Testament cultures' (191). Finds were not just valuable as 'art'; the down side was that the culture of ancient Egypt itself was still secondary.

The discussion about the organisation of archaeological information as science or religion is interesting. The outcomes influenced publishing and the training of Egyptologists and are still relevant today. The publication of texts exposed the British public to ancient Egyptian religion, and drew forth attempts to conceptualise it using the mind-set of contemporary Christian theology. 'It was the potential to combine this grotesque sensation with Christianized moralizing that made ancient Egypt a perfect vehicle for 1890s romance' (215).

According to Gange, Petrie's discoveries at Amarna played a pivotal role. The Amarna letters made many of the higher critics assumptions invalid; the art of Akhenaton discredited those who thought Art was a classical Greek innovation, and Akhenaton himself was a monotheistic idealist demonstrating Egypt's perceived religious superiority. Amarna was a British contribution to Egyptology and it was popular.

The 'Second Intermediate Period' chapter begins with Petrie's 1899 establishment of a relative Egyptian chronology, revealing 'a discipline in which Egypt finally mattered more than its associations' (238). A second development was the attempts to investigate ancient Egypt's races, especially after Petrie's discoveries at Naqada, 'Petrie now more often excavated alongside anthropologists … than .. classicists or biblical scholars' (243). The discovery of the Oxyrhynchus papyri is described in some detail and demonstrates the broadening of the archaeological enterprise. The first publication of the papyri was not acclaimed and is somewhat of an irony given the direct Christian theological relevance of the texts and the vast amount of British Egyptological literature written in preceding years on virtually no evidence at all.

The final chapter deals with the last twenty years and describes a period when Egyptology was largely freed from the biblical agenda. It was now taught at the universities of UCL, Oxford and Liverpool where it was brought together with anthropology; publication and fieldwork were also often associated with anthropology. The origin of civilisation was now the primary subject for study. Petrie published his *Methods and Aims in Archaeology* (1904) and Gange believes that this showed that 'the study of prehistoric Europe and the ancient Near East had at last been aligned closely enough for fruitful exchange' (280). It was also indicative of Petrie's training of new Egyptologists; most students spent only the one season with him, probably as much a result of his 'excruciatingly bad table' (286) as it was the completeness of the program.

While seriation and stratigraphy described by Petrie claimed a certain scientific status for the discipline of archaeology, analysis also took new directions. In *The Revolutions of Civilisation* (1911) Petrie 'set out to demonstrate that the racial 'character' of a people, rather than its modes of governance or environmental conditions, determined the success or failure in the global power struggle' (292). Petrie believed that Egypt, the country with the longest continuous series of revolutions, eight cycles in all, could be studied archaeologically to derive a theory of civilisation. Whatever one makes of Petrie's approach, Egyptology in his mind had become a primary source for humanity, not just a place to supply data to bolster disparate world views.

The last major person studied by Gange is Grafton Elliot Smith, who was named after the New South Wales town of his birth. In 1900 Elliot Smith was appointed to the chair of Anatomy in Cairo, a position from which he was able to study disease in ancient Egypt and to use the new X-ray technology to investigate mummies. It was the Nubian Project led by George Reisner where Elliot Smith and a young assistant, Frederic Wood Jones, made their main contribution to Egyptological fieldwork. Wood Jones later held the chairs of Anatomy at Adelaide and Melbourne Universities.

Elliot Smith was later knighted for his distinguished contribution to anatomy, but in archaeology he was known for his writings that advocated the Egyptian origin of everything relevant to civilisation, later called Hyperdiffusionism. While his influence on academic anthropology was limited, Gange describes how important his ideas were for public perceptions of ancient Egypt. Elliot Smith became Professor of Anatomy at UCL and although he and Petrie became bitter enemies, both men gave the study of ancient Egypt an autonomy that it had lacked prior to 1900. Gange sees the irony, 'Egyptology allowed the assumption that civilization developed from a point of origin in the Near East to survive the rejection of the scriptural evidence that had once been its rationale' (318f).

Influences on English attitudes to the Orient such as William McClure Thomson's *The Land and the Book* (1859)

are not mentioned. While written by an American and not specifically about Egypt, this book had wide circulation in England. Thomson described and illustrated Middle Eastern cultural practice as he encountered it during forty years as a missionary and he suggested ways that this culture explained parts of the biblical narrative. Non-conformist English Christian circles came to understand that the context of the biblical narrative was essentially foreign.

Tourism as a means to explore this otherness developed, and was especially popular amongst non-conformist Christians; visits to Egypt were common. Gange does not interact with this tradition at all. Maybe it did not influence the literature on which his book relies, however it would certainly have been a factor in the minds of those to whom the EEF appealed.

The book has a select bibliography and a not so complete index. It will be especially useful for Egyptologists and historians of archaeology. Other readers may need to return to it more than once to appreciate the many intertwined themes. The people and organisations that pass through these pagers are truly interesting and one is left hoping that histories of people such as Joseph Bonomi and organisations such as the Syro-Egyptian Society will follow. However it is as an example of a nineteenth-century British cultural history as it related to the development of a discipline that the book will make an enduring mark.

Notes for Contributors

General
Buried History is published in hard copy and is placed with searchable e-libraries. All Papers published by *Buried History* are refereed. Brief communications, book reviews are also invited for consideration.

Submissions
Copy should be provided to the editor electronically, preferably by email. The text of the paper should be supplied in Word and as a pdf. The Word file should not be formatted, tabs, indents and bold-face should not be used and there should not be an extra line spacing between paragraphs. The pdf must accurately convey non-English fonts and may contain formatting and illustrations. If such a pdf can not be provided, hard copy should be supplied.

Illustrations should be supplied separately from the Word file text and are requested in JPG, PNG, pdf or PSD file format at a size and resolution that can be published at 300 dpi for the size of illustration intended in the paper. Tables and charts should be in Excel or pdf. Illustrations and diagrams may also be provided in hard copy or as slides. Hard copy is requested to be larger than the size to be published, but no larger than A4.

Preferred fonts are Times New Roman, Arial and unicode based fonts. Contributors are asked not to use fonts that will not embed in pdf files.

Format for Papers
Papers should generally be between 3000 and 10,000 words. Papers should be set out with:-

- Title

- Author's Name

- Abstract of about 150 words

- Text with headings and subheadings, preferably not numbered.

- Author's name and affiliation/contact details

- Bibliography

- A short biography of the Author should be included.

- References should follow the Harvard convention of in-text referencing, for example (Smith 1997: 32). Endnotes may also be used.

- Bibliographic format is as follows:

  Lambert, W.G. and A.R. Millard 1969 *Atra-Hasis: the Babylonian story of the flood,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Captions for any illustrative material should follow.

Book Reviews
Book reviews should be between 800-3000 words. They should begin by referencing the book to include author, title, publisher, date, ISBN, pages, illustrations, cover type and price. The review should conclude with the name and affiliation/contact details of the reviewer.

Brief Communications
Brief communications should have less than 3000 words and should address a specific issue or describe a particular situation. The arrangements for papers should be adopted.

Address
Material should be sent to:

The Editor, Buried History,
The Australian Institute of Archaeology,
La Trobe University,
Victoria 3086 Australia
Email: director@aiarch.org.au