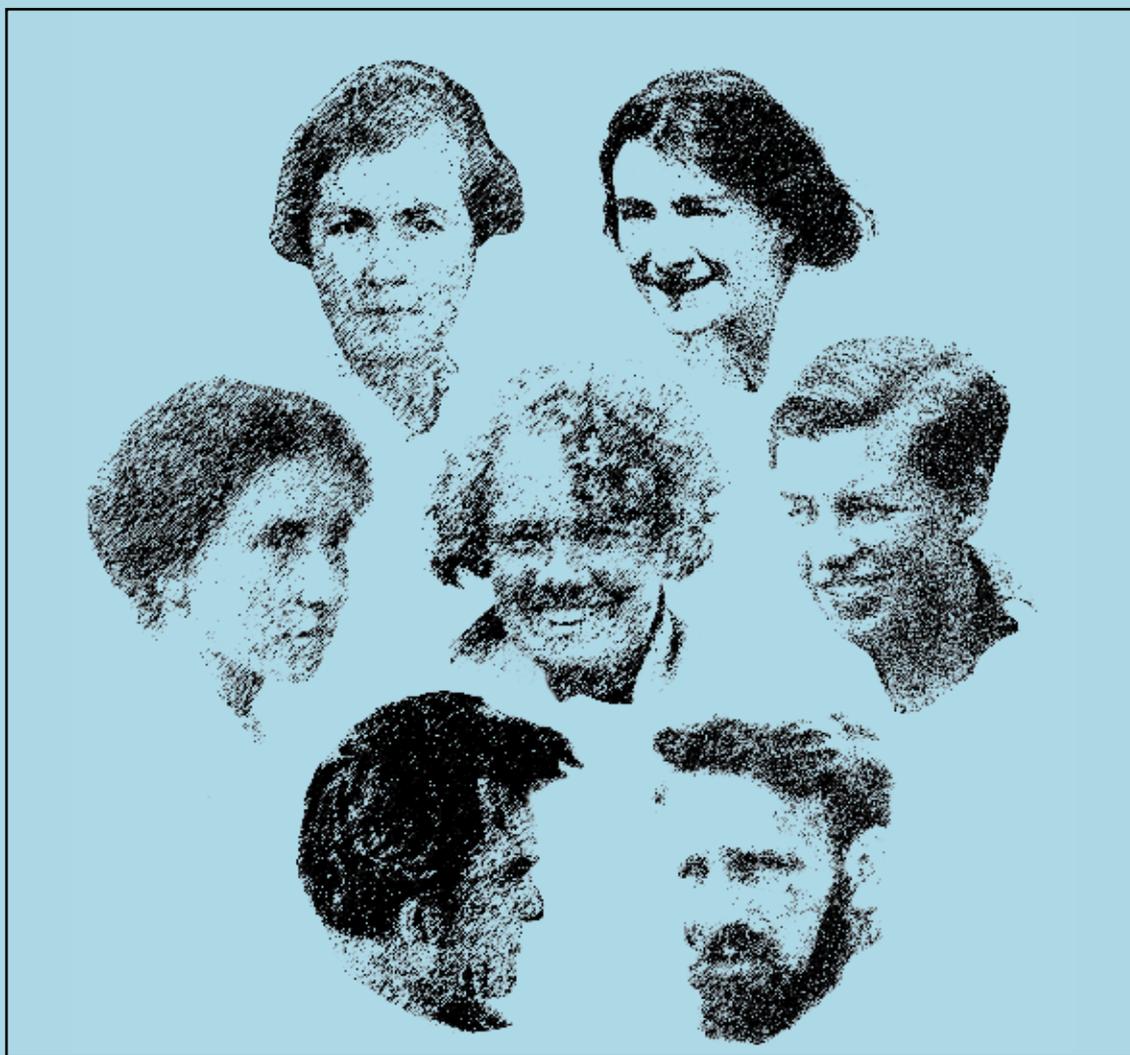


Buried History

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Australian Institute of Archaeology



2013 Volume 49

Buried History

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Cover: Clockwise from top right, Tessa Verny Wheeler, Veronica Seton-Williams, Basil Hennessy, Mick Wright, Dorothy Garrod, Gertrude Caton Thompson, and centre, Nancy Champion de Crespigny (Movius)

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Christopher J. Davey

ISSN 0007-6260

Editorial

This edition of *Buried History* has papers about most of Australia's first archaeologists, many of whom were women. All were active in the field by 1955 and were trained within the British archaeological system, which itself is the subject of some discussion in one paper.

We were sad to hear about the passing of Emeritus Professor Basil Hennessy on Sunday 27 October 2013. His daughter, Linda, has written a tribute to him, for which we are grateful. She has also provided many fascinating images. It is this writer's view that Basil has been the most influential figure in Australian archaeology. We will greatly miss his inclusive and statesman-like presence.

Of the ten women who assisted Mortimer and Tessa Wheeler supervise the excavation of Maiden Castle, Dorset, three were Australian. The first woman to venture overseas in 1932 to dig with the Wheelers and study with Dorothy Garrod was Nancy Champion de Crespigny from Adelaide. Nancy married Hallam Movius. In 1932 he had dug with Dorothy Garrod and later he became a professor at Harvard. We are delighted that her son Geoffrey Movius, who recently published a collection of his poems entitled *Transit* (New York: Pressed Wafer 2012), has provided a paper describing his mother's lifetime of archaeological activity, before and after her marriage.

Another largely forgotten Australian woman is Veronica Seton-Williams. She travelled from Melbourne to England with Nancy in 1934 to work at Maiden Castle, study at the Institute of Archaeology and later to dig with Petrie and Garstang. Robert Merrillees, another early archaeologist, has provided a paper recounting his memories of her. Robert studied archaeology at Sydney University under Professor James Stewart, and while Basil Hennessy completed a PhD in Oxford, Robert did likewise in London at the Institute of Archaeology. Dr Merrillees then went on to a distinguished career in the Australian diplomatic service, while simultaneously managing to produce a continuous stream of scholarly archaeological papers. He has retired to France where he lives with his wife, Helen.

The third woman was Margaret (Kim) Collingridge of Sydney. In 1935 she travelled to England to dig at Maiden Castle and complete a degree at the Institute of Archaeology. In 1945 she married Mortimer Wheeler subsequently becoming Lady Wheeler. Kathryn Eriksson, a doctoral student of Professor Basil Hennessy at Sydney University, is researching Lady Wheeler and hopes to offer a paper for the next issue of *Buried History*.

Two very able 1920s archaeologists were Gertrude Caton Thompson and Dorothy Garrod, but they were not trained by Mortimer Wheeler. Dr Phillip Edwards explores the origins of their advanced archaeological techniques. Phillip studied under Basil Hennessy at Sydney University and is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Archaeology, Environment and Community Planning, La Trobe

University. The American Schools of Oriental Research recently awarded Dr Edwards the G. Ernest Wright prize for the best archaeological publication for calendar year 2013 for his publication *Wadi Hammeh 27: an Early Natufian settlement at Pella in Jordan* (Leiden: Brill).

A chance meeting late one night in 1951 between Basil Hennessy and George Roy Haslam (Mick) Wright aboard the P&O liner SS *Orontes* bound for England, led to an enduring friendship and Mick's lifetime in archaeology. Mick recently left his papers and library to the Australian Institute of Archaeology. He is arguably the most prolifically published Australian archaeologist yet the Australian archaeologists familiar with his work could be counted on one hand. He is now not well, but he has shared many of his fading memories for use in this paper.

Wayne Horowitz, Professor of Assyriology, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, the Institute's 2013 Petrie lecturer, and Luis Siddell, Macquarie University, have provided a brief communication describing a project to publish all cuneiform material in Australia.

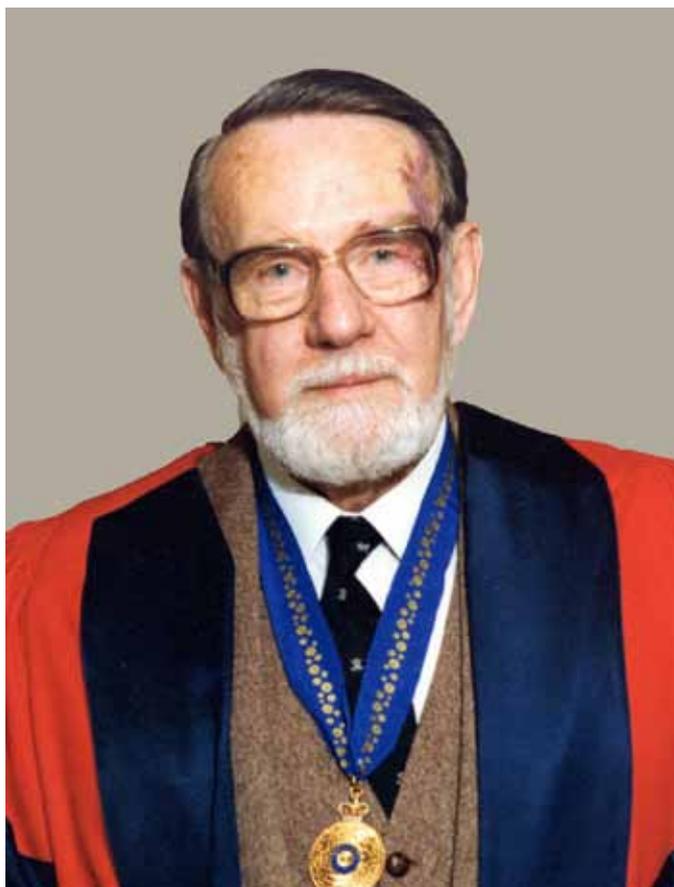
Dr Judith Powell's recent book, *Love's Obsession: The lives and archaeology of Jim and Eve Stewart*, (Wakefield 2013) has been kindly reviewed by Graeme F. Bourke, University of New England, NSW. The book narrates how an Australian, James Rivers Barrington Stewart, became the first archaeological lecturer in Australia and how his legacy was preserved by his second wife, Eve. Many of the people already mentioned pass through its pages. From 1935 Stewart was involved with Walter Beasley, who was a prime mover in Stewart's return to Australia in 1947 to begin archaeology at Sydney University. This is the subject of a paper by myself entitled, James Stewart and Walter Beasley: Australia, Cyprus and the Australian Institute of Archaeology in A.B. Knapp, J.M. Webb and A. McCarthy (eds) 2013, *J.R.B. Stewart: An Archaeological Legacy* (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Volume 139), Uppsala: Åströms Förlag 169-178.

The review of Lydia Carr's biography of Tessa Wheeler picks up many of the names and themes covered by other contributions in this edition. We are also grateful to Anne Gardner for her review of Martin Goodman's *Rome and Jerusalem* and to Merrill Kitchen for the review of Craig Evans' *Jesus and His World*.

Professor David Gill, who is on our Editorial Board, is acknowledged for overseeing the review of my paper about Mick Wright. Dr Rachael Sparks, Lecturer and Keeper of Collections, Institute of Archaeology London, assisted us greatly with images. We would also like to recognise the National Library of Australia's TROVE system, which has facilitated much of the research about the women Australian archaeologists.

Christopher J Davey

A Tribute:



John Basil Hennessy AO,

BA Sydney, DPhil Oxon, DLitt honoris causa, FSA, FAHA.

On the 27 October 2013, our father, Basil Hennessy passed away in his sleep. He was aged 88. He was a passionate and dedicated archaeologist and teacher, a modest, kind and gentle man whose life, while not always easy, was as he said himself, ‘charmed’.

Basil had written down some of his early experiences before he retired but it has only been in the last ten years that he has, albeit intermittently, put his memoirs together and it has been my sister Sarah’s and my privilege to have helped him in this task. Not being an archaeologist myself, I was worried that I may not ask the right questions to elicit information about various excavations or events. This, I soon realised, was not something to be concerned about; Basil’s recollections are the memories he wished to share.

When I was asked what his reminiscences were about, I found myself answering: ‘mainly about other people’. Having made lists from the first draft, I found that the people mentioned numbered nearly 300. Basil made friends easily, being open and honest in all his intentions, which was conveyed naturally through his demeanour. He valued friendships highly, taking people on face value and at their word. He was deeply offended if his integrity was questioned and hurt when his trust in others was found to be misplaced.

The checking of dates, places and names is necessary for biographical work, and to date I have had to make only a few minor corrections. Dad clearly had an excellent memory. Whether the ability to recall names, places and dates so readily was inherited or a product of the type of schooling in the 20s, 30s and 40s, I will never know but such a capacity must have helped him in his pursuit of understanding the often complex and elusive workings of ancient human societies.

This tribute has been compiled mainly from these biographical notes and the memories of my brother David, sister, Sarah, and myself. What appears below are some of his experiences and my impression of what some of those experiences meant to him.

Basil was born in Horsham, Victoria, on the 10 February, 1925 to Thomas and Nell (née Poultney) Hennessy. Both Tom and Nell were teachers, which no doubt fostered his love for knowledge and books; he attributed his passion for archaeology to some of the books he was given as a child. He remembered his mother with affection and as ‘one of God’s better creations’ and his father as a strong disciplinarian who also encouraged his enjoyment of sport. I think Tom was a complicated person, having disagreements with his father, John Joseph Hennessy about several matters not the least of which was the First

World War. Tom was a loyal and courageous soldier regardless of his opinions about the futility and stupidity of war and he suffered terrible wounds at the battle Mont St. Quentin in France, the legacy of which saw him die just before Basil's 10th birthday in 1935. Basil remembers that Tom, with a handful of other men, never stood when God save the King was played on any occasion, unless they were already on their feet.

Basil's father had postings to various schools in western Victoria and when he was old enough, Basil attended those schools. While I think Tom could be a tough person, he was sensitive enough to be aware of the difficulties faced by a child whose father was the headmaster and also aware of the teasing that Basil may have received about the birthmark on his forehead; it seems that Tom always assigned the head girl of each school as Basil's protector.

After Tom's death on Australia Day 1935, his mother Nell went back to work, not wishing to accept either the help or the restrictions offered by her father-in-law. At first Basil and his younger brother Loy were sent to boarding school at Villa Maria, they then went as day students to Saint Patrick's College, Ballarat. Basil seems to have enjoyed school, not finding any particular subject too onerous and especially enjoying sporting activities. At Villa Maria students were taught boxing by a priest and football and cricket by the nuns. At Saint Patrick's Basil found he had a talent for shot put, hammer throwing and football, becoming a school champion in 1940 and 1941.

With widespread family and friends throughout western Victoria (including one place called Pella) and south eastern South Australia, Basil and his brother Loy enjoyed numerous visits to their relatives' farms, especially during the school holidays after their father's death. There they could enjoy a certain amount of freedom and such adventures as could be found by children on large farms. Basil loved animals and they adored him; their presence is often included in his recollections, the photographs he took and the postcards he sent, and he was always sensitive to the less than kind treatment they often suffer. Certainly, wherever we lived, we had pets of varying descriptions and more often than not they simply found us.

After an extra year studying physics and chemistry, he left school in 1941 and applied to join the Royal Australian Navy, but at 16 he was too young and had to wait until 1942 when he turned 17. Having done the extra year at school Basil was trained as a radio and radar technician. He said he never knew why he chose the navy for his wartime service as he was constantly sea sick. I suspect that he was influenced against the army by the sight of the effects that trench warfare had inflicted on his father. The experience of visiting him in hospital as he wasted away from the after effects of mustard gas poisoning deeply shocked Basil. Being useless on board ship he requested a posting to New Guinea. After Port Moresby, he was posted to a station near Darwin in 1945/46 and was finally demobilised in January 1947. During his time in

the Navy, Basil still held onto the notion of being able to study archaeology and, whilst in New Guinea, he wrote to Vere Gordon Childe asking his advice. Childe wrote encouraging him to study first in Australia then to further his studies in England.

As soon as the opportunity presented itself Basil enrolled at the University of Sydney in 1947. In 1948 the Department of Archaeology came into being under the auspices of Dale Trendall and James Stewart and Basil became one of their first undergraduate students. I think he revelled in this time, enjoying at last an opportunity to pursue his dream and keep up his love of athletics and football. He was also appointed as a student demonstrator at the Nicholson Museum where he met Ruth Shannon, also an undergraduate student. They would later marry in March 1954.

With the encouragement of both Trendall and Stewart, Basil applied for and was granted the inaugural scholarship to the newly created British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara (BIAA), Turkey. He didn't wait for the graduation ceremony but left Australia in December 1950 to take up the scholarship. He sailed on the P&O liner *SS Orontes*, bound for Port Said (Egypt), via Colombo (Sri Lanka), Bombay (Mumbai, India) and Aden (Yemen). On board he met G.R.H. (Mick) Wright who at the time had just left a job in Fiji with the Colonial Sugar Refining Company to take up a teaching position in England. After hearing of Basil's plans he decided that archaeology was a better tack to take and he and Basil became firm life-long friends.

Basil loved Sri Lanka, was dismayed at the hardships suffered by people in India but enjoyed the short stop-over in Yemen. He managed to get to Port Said without any recurrence of the dreaded sea sickness but was bed ridden on the ship to Cyprus. This was amply made up for by the warm welcome in Nicosia by Peter Megaw, the then Director of Antiquities in Cyprus, Porphyrios Dikaos, the Curator of the Cyprus Museum and by the staff of the museum. The significance of the opportunity presented by the scholarship was not lost on Basil and he made



Figure 1: Sultan Tepe 1951: Basil's trench. Photo: courtesy the author from the archives of Basil Hennessy

good use of his time, taking every chance to visit sites and review collections. He was joined by Dale Trendall in late February 1951 and they undertook a three week tour of the Near East, through Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan and Syria ending the journey at the BIAA in Ankara, where Basil was to take up his studentship. The director, Seton Lloyd, helped Basil settle in, introducing him to such notable archaeologists as Hamid Koşay, Tahsin Özgüç, and Sedat Alp.

Again Basil made the most of the opportunities on offer, reviewing the collections at the museums at Alaça Hüyük, Boğazköy, Antioch and Adana and visiting Rodney Young's excavation at Gordion. He then joined Seton and Hydie Lloyd to excavate at Asagiyah Yarımja, near Harran. Also present were Austrian-born art historian David Storm Rice, from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, who was excavating at the mosque at Harran, and Assyriologist Donald Wiseman from the department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum. The site proved limited and Seton Lloyd moved the team to Sultan Tepe where Basil was given the task of opening up a step trench down the side of a large mound. He admits he felt daunted by the task, but being willing to give anything a go, especially anything in archaeology, he simply got on with the job. He was rewarded with the discovery of a library of clay cuneiform tablets, the likes of which he never managed to uncover again. It was always a special hope that he may find a similar library at his last excavation site, Pella.



Figure 2: Sultan Tepe 1951: Hydie Lloyd assisting Basil excavate tablets. Photo: courtesy the author from the archives of Basil Hennessy

Basil returned to Cyprus firstly to work with Terence Mitford and Harry Iliffe at their excavation at Kouklia and then to join Joan du Plat Taylor and Veronica Seton-Williams' at Myrtou *Pigadhes*. Other members of the *Pigadhes* team included, John Waechter, Margaret Munn-Rankin, Linda Melton, Hector Catling, Lord William (Billy) Taylour and James Mellaart, the second recipient of the BIAA scholarship.

Here for the first time Basil directed his own excavation at the nearby cemetery site of Stephania. He was joined by his good friend Mick Wright and Tryphon Koulermos,



Figure 3: Stephania Tomb 10, Cyprus 1951: Basil assisted by Mick Wright, standing on the left, Lord William (Billy) Taylour and Tryphon Koulermos sitting back to the camera. Photo: courtesy the author from the archives of Basil Hennessy

who had been the foreman at Stewart's pre-War excavation at Vounous, and helped by Linda Melton when she had some time to spare. Weekends were often spent in surveys to other sites, especially with Hector Catling in an old Chrysler truck, which had a propensity for breaking down. Basil became enamoured by the landscape and the friendliness of the people of Cyprus.

In October Basil travelled back to a chilly and snowy Turkey to finish the museum surveys and returned to the BIAA in mid-November. Seton and Hydie Lloyd were due to return to England for the winter, so Basil and the senior scholar at the Institute, John Evans, found alternative accommodation until they were able to travel to Cyprus to spend Christmas with Hector and Elizabeth Catling. From there he journeyed to Jerusalem to join Kathleen Kenyon's 1952 season at Jericho.



Figure 4: Jericho January 1952: Basil with Sadik Abdullah uncovering an Early Bronze Age skeleton. Photo: courtesy the author from the archives of Basil Hennessy



Figure 5: Jericho January 1952: Basil's trench 1A. His work in this trench established that the walls previously dated by Professor John Garstang to the Late Bronze Age were in fact from the Early Bronze Age.
Photo: courtesy the author from the archives of Basil Hennessy

Jericho was an exciting site previously excavated by German and British teams, and was known to have Neolithic occupation levels. With Kenyon's direction, a large team and numerous trenches, it was always going to be a decisive and well controlled excavation. Basil, like most students, was in awe of Kathleen Kenyon. She was already a significant archaeologist who expected commitment and diligence from the team members but was also a great teacher, who encouraged those who met her high standards. The team included Doug Tushingham (assistant director), Diana Kirkbride, John Reid, Gus Van Beek, Peter Pedrette, Willard Hamrick, Geraldine Talbot, Mick Wright, Cecil Western, Nancy Lord, James Mel-laart, Dorothy Marshall, Father Robert North, Theodora Newbould and Neville Chittick to name a few.

Kathleen had arranged for Basil to join Max Mallowan's excavation at Nimrud after Jericho, but Jim Stewart objected to the proposal and demanded Basil return to Australia to take up a grant he had arranged. Kathleen would not have a bar of this, telling Basil he was to go to England to broaden his archaeological horizons, which he did. He was well looked after by the friends he had made on his recent travels, in particular Geraldine Talbot and her family, who lived in Chelsea with a persistent ghost, Veronica Seton-Williams who introduced him to the who's who of archaeology in England and Theodora Newbould, who taught him how to cook a proper curry. Basil also became good friends with Kathleen, fondly remembering visits to her home and the wonderful strawberries she grew which were a favourite of her father Sir Frederick Kenyon. Dad was humbled by the encouragement and support she gave him over the ensuing years. While she

was a formidable character to some, she was always kind to the Hennessy family.

I get the impression that all the excavations that Basil joined were friendly, happy affairs that encouraged scholarly discussion and a truly co-operative atmosphere. This is something I feel Basil did his best to foster on his own excavations and throughout his career, always being responsive to suggestions from colleagues and other institutions for collaborative efforts, even if he could not be directly involved.

The BIAA studentship was a very busy time and not always plain sailing with Basil running out of funds very quickly and having to take a loan from an aunt to get him through. Added to that, he came down with a persistent lung infection and he always had to be on the lookout (under constant instructions from Jim Stewart) for particular coins, books and pottery that could be purchased to enhance the collections in Sydney.

On returning to Australia Basil spent much of his time working at Jim Stewart's home, Mt Pleasant in Bathurst, where part of the house had been set up as an archaeological research centre. In 1954 he and Ruth Shannon were married at Mt Pleasant and he was also appointed to a junior lectureship in archaeology at the University of Sydney. In 1956 the funding for the position was not available, so he started a degree in law, thinking that he had no future in archaeology. However, by 1958, funds were once again available and he resumed lecturing at the University, two of his students being Kay Wright (Prag), and Robert Merrillees, who Basil felt deserved better



Figure 6: Basil in England 1962.
Photo: courtesy of David Hennessy

treatment and more respect for his scholarship than Jim Stewart was prepared to give.

During this time he had prepared the material from *Stephania* for publication and wanted to do further study, but Stewart actively discouraged both. Stewart's declining health, growing instability and increasing demands on Basil's time were making matters untenable. In 1961, Basil was offered and encouraged by colleagues to accept a place at Magdalen College, Oxford, for doctoral research under the supervision of Kathleen Kenyon. With support from Ruth it was decided that we would go to England.

I think it was a difficult decision for Dad as Jim Stewart had been a great mentor and supporter. On the one hand Stewart could be incredibly generous but with the other he could be deliberately obstructive. At the same time as he was writing letters of introduction for Basil to take overseas on his studentship travels, he was also writing letters to others, such as Veronica Seton-Williams, advising them not to have anything to do with Basil. While he secured funding for Basil's first dig at *Stephania*, he let Basil believe that some of the funds, which had actually come from the Australian Institute for Archaeology in Melbourne, were from his own pocket and that Basil was obliged to him. But it was the fact that Basil found it impossible to get his excavation results published and could not see any way to further his study in Australia that tipped the balance in favour of going to England. It was hard for Dad to accept that such a great friendship could turn so sour. We were in transit when he received the sad news that Jim Stewart had passed away.

We arrived in England in early 1962. If life had seemed a little slow over the past few years as far as his career

was concerned, then the next two years must have been like a whirlwind for Basil. Between 1962 and 1964 he managed to complete his doctorate, began publishing and undertook further archaeological exploration. The Colt Archaeological Institute published his dissertation, *The Foreign Relations of Palestine during the Early Bronze Age* (London: Quartich, 1967), as well as the Cypriot excavation report, *Stephania, A Middle and Late Bronze Age Cemetery in Cyprus* (London: Quaritch, 1964). Basil also took a trip to Cape Gelidonya, on the southern coast of Turkey, to study the pottery of the excavation conducted by George F. Bass of a Bronze Age shipwreck, resulting in a collaborative chapter with Joan du Plat Taylor in G.F. Bass *et al.*, *Cape Gelidonya: A Bronze Age Shipwreck*, (TAPA new ser., 57, Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1967). Another excursion to Jerusalem was also undertaken to drive and deliver the new Land Rover for the British School of Archaeology, accompanied by Cecil Western, a paleo-botanist who had been at Jericho and was continuing to work with Kenyon on the Jerusalem excavations. On his return, Basil was offered the post of Assistant Director at the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (BSAJ). He was overjoyed and accepted the position eagerly; all of us then set-off to drive across the continent in our Ford Zephyr in November 1964.

We were greeted and helped by arrangements made for us by Crystal Bennett, an experienced and respected British archaeologist who had worked with Kenyon at Jericho and Jerusalem, Peter Parr at Petra and conducted her own excavations at Umm al-Biyara. She had been appointed Secretary-Librarian to the BSAJ in 1963 and later became the director of the School in 1970.

Although I was young, my memory of the BSAJ at that time is that it was a happy and very busy place with many of the great and soon to be great scholars of Levantine archaeology passing through its doors. Kathleen Kenyon continued her work in Jerusalem, as did Peter Parr at Petra. Ian Blake's work took him to the north-western



Figure 7: Teleilat Ghassul 1967.
Photo: courtesy the author from the archives of Basil Hennessy

shores of the Dead Sea where he studied the hydrology of the Jordan Valley, Mick Wright was working at Petra and Shechem, Diana Kirkbride directed the excavations at Beidha near Petra, and Kay Wright (Prag) conducted a widespread survey of Bronze Age sites, excavated Tell Iktanu and joined Basil at his dig at the Amman Airport Temple (1966). 1965 also saw the arrival of another Australian, Anthony McNicoll, who became a close friend of ours, excavating with Kay Prag at Tell Iktanu, and with Basil at the Damascus Gate in the Old City area of Jerusalem (1964-66) and at Teleilat Ghassul (1967). The irrepressible Svend Helms (Teleilat Ghassul 1967) also arrived, charming everyone except Kenyon, who could not tolerate his high jinx and tendency to be late for everything. There was a great camaraderie and co-operation among the different schools and associations based in the Middle East, especially with the École Biblique, whose renowned scholars were to be found assisting with research and on excavations throughout Jordan, and with the families associated with the American Colony in Jerusalem. Basil also fondly remembered the dedicated staff at the School who always coped admirably with the constant influx of scholars, visitors and the various functions which were the duty of the school to host.

By 1967 instability in the region was growing, with sporadic fighting breaking out throughout the area and Jerusalem was becoming an increasingly dangerous place to be. Basil's problems were added to when the owner of the British School premises advised that a large portion of the grounds were to be sold for the building of a shopping centre. New premises for the school had to be found and another tenant was needed for the current premises. Having appraised the London-based Council for the BSAJ of the situation, Basil waited in vain for a reply. With the political situation deteriorating further, we were evacuated to Cyprus with students from the school in May, Basil staying in Jerusalem to look after the interests of BSAJ. With a lull in hostilities and on positive advice from friends in the United Nations, the Mixed Armistice Commission and the U.S. Marines and with no word from London, Basil decided to make a quick visit to London, via Cyprus to see us, to sort out the arrangements for the new premises. Within 24 hours of leaving, the Six Day War started. When Basil got to London less than 48 hours later, Sir Mortimer (Rik) Wheeler, chairman of the Council of the BSAJ roundly accused him of cowardice for leaving Jerusalem. Basil was generally a calm and gentle person but could have an explosive temper when his integrity was questioned, so a heated argument ensued. When they both calmed down, Wheeler helped Basil to immediately return to Jerusalem. The injustice of the accusation always irritated Basil but he and Wheeler later became firm friends with Wheeler showing support for Basil's endeavours in their subsequent correspondence.

Things were not easy back in Jerusalem; no shops were open and there were few supplies to be had. Two staff members, Daoud and Rabbayah, took a great risk to get some food to Basil and an American post graduate student,

Anson Rainey, came to his rescue with enough supplies to keep him going until the shops re-opened. The next few weeks were spent sorting out the mess someone had made throughout the school in the few days he had been away and trying to locate both the finds from the excavation at Teleilat Ghassul and our car, which had been stolen.

Life started to return to normal sooner than may be expected and people trickled back into Jerusalem. The first visitor to the school was Dr Richard Cleave, a naval surgeon turned professional photographer, embarking on his photographic survey of the Middle East. Cleave took over the lease on the old school for his base and helped Basil set up the new premises on Sheikh Jarrah. Colonel Murray Stanaway and Major Roy Skinner of the Mixed Armistice Commission then helped Basil get to and from Amman in his attempt to track down the Teleilat Ghassul finds; they were eventually found safely stored in Jerusalem. The car was not so fortunate.

Despite the tensions in the Middle East, the Council of the BSAJ was keen to start excavating again and nominated the site of Samaria for the next project, ignoring the international conventions against excavating in disputed territories. Basil was not happy with the directive but managed to secure approval from both Avram Biran, the director of the Department of Antiquities in Israel and from the Arab League. Putting a team together was another problem, but with help from people like the School's new secretary, Elizabeth Fane, her friend, Caroline Stevens and a student, Archie Walls, and local staff from previous excavations, a dig on the north-west slopes of the citadel at Samaria was begun in early 1968. The excavation did not last long due to the political difficulties, but long enough for some satisfactory results.

Basil's relationship with the BSAJ Council was uneasy after his argument with Wheeler and the controversy about the excavation at Samaria only compounded matters. Although the BSAJ was flourishing again, at the end of 1969 Basil and Ruth decided it was time to return to Australia. We arrived in Sydney in April/May 1970.

The Edwin Cuthbert Hall Chair in Middle Eastern Archaeology at the University of Sydney had been in abeyance since Jim Stewart's death in early 1962. The chair was reinstated in 1970 as a visiting professorship and Basil successfully applied for it. In 1972 the Edwin Cuthbert Hall Chair was made permanent and Basil was appointed to the chair in 1973, retaining the position until his retirement in 1990.

Basil was keen to set up an Australian foundation for Near Eastern Archaeology to promote research in the Near East and Cyprus and to assist Australian students to work overseas. I think that this was driven by his own experience of the scholarship he had received in the 1950s, which was invaluable to his endeavours. His initial appointment was not permanent so it was difficult to find a base for such a structure in Sydney, however, the University of New England in Armidale offered a home

for the fledgling foundation. It was eventually moved to Sydney University for practical purposes but Basil has always appreciated the support of the University of New England and maintained a connection there, being honoured by the establishment of a visiting lectureship in his name. There was also hope for an Australian School of Archaeology overseas. Eve Stewart (Jim Stewart's widow) suggested that if sufficient funds could be found to support such a school then she would donate her house in northern Cyprus as the school's premises. Unfortunately the invasion of Cyprus by Turkey terminated that particular avenue and instead efforts were concentrated on consolidating the Near Eastern Archaeological Foundation (NEAF) at Sydney University, a legacy well maintained by a dedicated core of experienced people.

Instability in the region delayed a return to Jordan for excavation until 1975. The final excavation seasons at Teleilat Ghassul took place from 1975 to 1977, with the two seasons in 1977, seeing the discovery and reclamation of a wonderful Chalcolithic wall painting, which is now in the Amman Archaeological Museum. Basil said that from the start Teleilat Ghassul was never an easy site, with a complicated geological/hydrological history, difficult weather conditions and finally its very own mine field.

In 1976 Anthony McNicoll took up a lectureship in Near Eastern Archaeology at the University of Sydney, beginning one of the happiest collaborative periods in Basil's career. He and Tony were great friends and they had always worked well together, at Teleilat Ghassul and then at the new site of Tabaqat Fahl (Pella), situated in the foothills of the north Jordan Valley.

The first season at Pella in 1979 was a joint Sydney University and Wooster College, Ohio, expedition. Pella was a dream, come true for Basil. I remember an occasion at the university when Basil and Tony were enthusiastically discussing the site after their initial survey; there were photographs of what was to me a surprisingly green valley with some interesting looking mounds. To the trained eyes of Basil and Tony however, there lay an impressive and important ancient Decapolis whose layers and areas of occupation could be anticipated as if they had x-ray vision, their understanding of archaeological landscapes was formidable, honed by experience and their knowledge of the sciences encompassed by archaeology. Tragically Tony died in December 1985, Basil losing a very close friend and valued colleague.

Pella is a rich and important site with a long occupation from the Lower Palaeolithic providing the perfect training ground for students covering all periods in Jordan. The good will of the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, and the great friendship and good will of His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan Bin Talal and the Royal Family, have helped to put the University of Sydney's excavations in Jordan on a very special plane.



Figure 8: Kathleen Kenyon and Basil outside the BSAJ Sheikh Jarrah with the school Land Rover late 1960s.

Photo: courtesy of David Hennessy

Basil was at his happiest when he was on a dig, whether it was one of his own or when he had the privilege of being a guest at someone else's site. He paid little heed to the often primitive conditions that need to be endured by archaeologists, enjoying the freedom from the formality and pressures of everyday life. He once equated his feelings for digging to those of opening Christmas presents. It was exciting, you never knew what was there until you opened it up and the result was always rewarding. He was often away on his birthday as the digging season was usually January through February, but he has fond memories of the teams he was with always making a special effort for his birthday, with hand-made birthday cards large enough for everyone to sign and the birthday cakes a highlight. Dad had a sweet tooth.

For Basil, the most important aspect of being a University professor was his students. There was, to him, no point in holding such a position if your main aim was other than passing on your knowledge and helping your students further their interests, an attitude influenced perhaps by his own early experience of the generous help freely given by eminent scholars at the time. There were however many other responsibilities that went with such a position: there was fund-raising for projects, administrative duties, organising and directing excavations, research, publishing, advancing the department's relationship with other institutions, developing resources as well as finding the time for all the enquires from individuals and community groups interested in archaeology. To help with all of this, Basil was fortunate to have a secretary whose talent for organisation was second to none, Mrs Patricia Smith. She kept a tight rein on the department and Basil was always grateful for Pat's dedication. There were also the truly passionate students who were eager to help with research and publications. Basil said he was blessed to have such wonderful students: the Department of Archaeology at the University of Sydney having fostered the talents of scholars including: Ina Kehrberg-Ostrasz, Stephen Bourke,



Figure 9: Pella Team 1990. Back row, L to R: Jessica Panday, Kate da Costa, Stephen Bourke, Kevin Reilly, Margaret O’Hea, Kathryn King, Craig Barker, Stephanie Licciardo (behind), Peter Magee, Abu Issa, 2nd row: Roz Sharpe, Mohammad Aziz, Ian Edwards, Amanda Parrish, Paul Donnelly, Fiona Richards, Caroline Saunders, Alan Walmsley, 3rd row: Justine Channing, Margaret Wheeler, Erin Crumlin, Wendy Reade, Rachael Sparks, Noël Siver, Front row: Basil, Ben Churcher, Jodie Benton, Abu Sami. Photo: courtesy Rachael Sparks.

Phillip Edwards, John Tidmarsh, Maree Browne, Lisa Giddy, Kathryn Eriksson, Peta Seaton, Timothy Potts, Alan Walmsley, Jaimie Lovell, Pamela Watson, Kate da Costa, Karen Hendrix and Rachael Sparks to name just a few who have gone on to develop careers in archaeology and related fields both in Australia and overseas and some who have, much to Basil’s relief and gratitude, have been able to take over the work at Pella and the publication of the results from Teleilat Ghassul.

Although Basil’s main passion was archaeology, he had many other interests. He liked making things, though much of this talent was restricted to building (and mending) fences and stables for his daughters’ horses and household renovations. He enjoyed collecting stamps and ceramics, watching the AFL on television and puzzling over the latest developments in physics. He was widely read, though I don’t remember him reading much, if any, fiction, except to us when we were young. He had a wonderful and silly sense of humour largely influenced by *The Goons* (Harry Secombe, Spike Milligan and Peter Sellers). Most of the stories he told focused on the humorous side of life. He was always affected deeply by sad tales and while occasionally he would tell you of some of his less than pleasant experiences, it troubled him to remember the details.

Basil loved travelling, which may of course seem obvious, but our brother David remembers that when he was with Dad, at the British School in Jerusalem, in 1969, they were listening to the broadcast about the moon landing, Basil remarking, as he was gazing up at the Moon, ‘we

have come here all the way from Australia, and I thought that was far enough, now it looks like we will have to go a little bit further’. Archaeology on the Moon was not out of the question.

The greatest difficulty for Dad was the loss of his eyesight. With it came the loss of the ability to continue any field work or research, or to even follow the research of others and keep up with developments in archaeology except for when friends and colleagues kept him in the loop with visits, phone calls and by sending articles which could be read to him. These efforts he appreciated greatly and it went some way to easing some of the frustration of not being able to continue actively in archaeological pursuits.

Basil achieved a great many successes during his lifetime, none of which he deliberately set out to achieve. His passion for his career as an archaeologist, his attention to detail and his sense of what was right and important made him successful. He treated everyone with equal respect regardless of their social standing, gender, age or background. He has been remembered as ‘a gentleman’, ‘a wonderful teacher’, ‘someone who listened to me’, as having a ‘great intellect’, being ‘modest’ and a ‘wonderful friend’. These reflections by his former students and friends would have been to Basil the greatest accolade he could receive. Basil was a great scholar, a good man and a wonderful father.

Linda Hennessy
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Nancy Champion de Crespigny Movius and her 'unusual career'

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Abstract: The paper traces the life of Adelaide-born Nancy Champion de Crespigny Movius whose interest in the ancient world led her in 1932 to undertake archaeological training in England with Mortimer and Tessa Wheeler at the Verulamium (St Albans) and Maiden Castle excavations and with Dorothy Garrod at Newnham College, Cambridge. Her participation in archaeological exploration continued with her marriage to Hallam L. Movius Jr, an archaeologist who became Professor in the Department of Anthropology at Harvard University and with whom she worked in SE Asia and Europe, and in particular at Abri Pataud.

My mother was born Nancy Champion de Crespigny in Adelaide, South Australia, on November 27, 1910. She was the daughter of Dr. Constantine Trent Champion de Crespigny and Beatrix Hughes of Adelaide. She died on December 9, 2003 in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the widow of my father, Professor Hallam L. Movius Jr. In her own words, she was 'a tough old bird,' but a kind, gentle, and highly intelligent one.

Packed into her 93 years was a lot of archaeology: first on excavations in England, the Middle East and Ireland as a graduate student at the University of London and Newnham College, Cambridge University; later as Nancy Movius, traveling with my father in Burma and Southeast Asia; and finally as his much-loved and essential assistant at the Abri Pataud in Les Eyzies (Dordogne), France.

My mother was one of Australia's earliest trained professional archaeologists. She studied under some of Britain's leading practitioners, including R.E. Mortimer Wheeler and Dorothy Garrod. She was my father's first reader and editor of his considerable list of publications over some 40 years, ranging from *The Irish Stone Age* (1942) to his reports on the Abri Pataud excavation which he directed (1977).

I am indebted to Christopher Davey for his help in gathering Australian press clippings and other archaeological sources to document much of the following. For the rest, I urge the reader's forbearance, and trust he or she will keep this in mind: 'Memoir is not an act of history but an act of memory, which is innately corrupt.' -Mary Karr, (b. 1955) poet and memoirist.

Early in her life, Nancy Champion de Crespigny (she insisted on the 'Champion', which she said was a proper part of the name) had a comfortable life as the daughter of an eminent Australian physician. Sir Trent, as he became in 1941, was the son of Philip Champion de Crespigny, a widely respected bank executive in Victoria, himself the son of another Philip, police magistrate and sometime warden of the goldfields. Her mother was Beatrix Hughes, also from Victoria, who became well known and respected in Adelaide for her charitable work (Hackett).



*Figure 1: Nancy Champion de Crespigny at Larne, County Antrim, Northern Ireland, 1935.
Photo: courtesy of the author*

World War I had significant impact on the family. Dr. de Crespigny went overseas and served in the 3rd Australian General Hospital during the Gallipoli campaign and commanded 1st A.G.H. at Rouen, France, where he was mentioned in dispatches and awarded the Distinguished Service Order. He was later one of Australia's earliest 'flying doctors', reaching patients far out in the bush by aeroplane. (His son, Richard Geoffrey, also a physician, served with British forces at Tobruk in World War II. Both father and son were eventually knighted.) My mother told me she was deeply hurt as a girl when her father, who she worshipped, told her that she could never be a doctor, as women were no good in the operating theatre because they are apt to faint at the sight of blood. Sir Trent was nothing if not thoroughly Victorian in his view of women.



Figure 2: *The Samaria Excavation Team 1933:*
Standing, J. Crowfoot, Mrs. Crowfoot, Nancy Ch. deC.,
Prof. Blake, Mrs. Lake, Prof. Lake,
Sitting: J. Hood, C.H. Inge, K. Murray, Joan Crowfoot,
A. Buchanan, K. Kenyon, E. Sukenik?
Photo: courtesy of the author

As a university student at Melbourne University, Nancy became interested in prehistory. The excavation of Tutankhamen's tomb was still very much a matter of public interest, as were other discoveries in Europe and the Middle East. She had a small collection of Egyptian tomb objects given to her by friends of her family and others who knew of her interest; and while the formal



Figure 3: *Samaria 1933: removal of an architrave*
from a trench. Photo: courtesy of the author



Figure 4: *Samaria 1933: Nancy Ch. deC. in work*
clothes. Photo: courtesy of the author

study of prehistory was not available to her at Melbourne, she read history avidly. However, after three years of university, the opportunity to study archaeology in England came up, and she jumped at it, sailing in April, 1932 with her brother Geoffrey, on the Orient Line S.S. *Orford* (*News* 24/3/32: 10).

In London, Nancy attended lectures at University College and volunteered at the British Museum. Her first mentor and teacher in the field was R.E. Mortimer Wheeler, who introduced her to field work in August at the Belgic/Roman site of Verulamium (St. Albans). She was evidently not only a competent student, but sufficiently adept to be put in a supervisory position on the excavation (Wheeler 1933: 27).

In February, 1933 Nancy left England for the Mediterranean and Middle East. In Palestine, she joined the excavation at Samaria under the direction of J.W. Crowfoot, Kathleen M. Kenyon, and the Israeli archaeologist, Eleazar Sukenik (Crowfoot et al. 1942: xvi). She returned to Australia in July, to see family in Adelaide and to finish her degree at Melbourne. While there, she met Veronica Seton-Williams, who was taking her degree in Medieval History, and the two became good friends. When it was time to go back to England, Nancy persuaded Veronica to sail with her, promising an introduction to Wheeler. They



Figure 5: Maiden Castle 1934 Trench A, a note on the verso says 'the one I wish I'd got'. The fact that the women were supervising male labourers was a matter of some comment in the Australian press.

Photo: courtesy of the author

left in May, 1934. The Adelaide press was somewhat mystified at the 'unusual career' the 'clever daughter' of the de Crespignys had chosen for herself (*Advertiser* 2/1/33: 9; *Mail* 7/4/34: 16).

By July, Nancy was working on Wheeler's Society of Antiquaries dig at Maiden Castle in Dorset, as was Seton-Williams, the introduction apparently having borne fruit (Wheeler 1943: 2). When the season ended, Nancy headed for Newnham College, Cambridge, for further training and education. Dorothy Garrod and Gertrude Caton Thompson were at Newnham, and E. H. Minns was the Disney Professor at Cambridge, to be succeeded in 1939 by Garrod, the first chaired woman at the University. Nancy spent Christmas of that year in Sussex as the guest of Kathleen Kenyon, who she had befriended at Verulamium and Samaria (*Mail* 15/12/34: 25).

1935 was an important year for Nancy. She signed up to work on an American excavation in Larne, Northern Ireland, which was under the direction of Hugh O'Neill Hencken of Harvard University. Hencken's assistant director was Hallam L. Movius, Jr., who was working on his graduate degree in archaeology at Harvard. Thalassa Cruso, an English friend of Nancy's and fellow student of Mortimer Wheeler's, who had just returned from a stint on the dig, warned her, 'Watch out for Movius, he has a gleam in his eye.' When he met her in Stranraer, Scotland, for the ferry trip to Belfast, Nancy had occasion to see that gleam firsthand. (In due course, Thalassa became



Figure 6: Nancy Ch. deC. on site in a cooler climate 1934-5. Photo: courtesy of the author

engaged to Hencken, and Nancy to Movius.) During the year, in addition to a lengthy Irish sojourn, there was a holiday trip with Veronica Seton-Williams to the palaeolithic caves of France and Spain, and the awarding of Nancy's diploma in archaeology from Newnham (Seton-Williams 1988: 26). In November, she returned to Adelaide and her engagement was announced (*News* 19/11/35:9; *Advertiser* 25/11/35:10).

In early 1936, Hallam Movius came to Australia to meet Nancy's family and friends. It must have been very busy all around, for my mother's diary of that period contains lacunae of several days at a time. They visited a number of archaeological sites including Panaramatee on the Winnininnie Creek with C.P. Mountford and Kangaroo Island with N.B. Tindale (*Advertiser* 11/3/36: 18; 1/4/36: 27). Nancy had dug on Kangaroo Island on an earlier occasion. In July, she and her mother sailed for England, and on September 25, the small wedding took place in St. James' Church, Piccadilly. Veronica Seton-Williams was a bridesmaid.

There had been a plan that the newly married couple would return to Massachusetts briefly, then set off to excavate in Eastern Europe, most probably in Czechoslovakia, where Movius had worked in 1931. I believe the rise of Nazism may have influenced their intentions, as after a brief honeymoon in Germany and a quick visit to Boston, they were off instead to join an expedition in Southeast Asia, starting in Rangoon.



Figure 7: Nancy Ch. deC. and Hallam L. Movius, Jr. engagement portrait, Adelaide 1936
 Photo: courtesy of the author

Their company on the Burmese portion of the trek, organized by the geologist and geographer Helmut de Terra, included the theologian and palaeontologist Father Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, who had been involved in the discovery of Peking Man. Along the Irawaddy, they were joined by Nancy's father and sister, Dr. Trent and Margaret de Crespigny, who had flown on holiday from Australia, and accompanied them downstream, back to Rangoon (*Advertiser* 2/2/38: 8).

The epochs Nancy and Hal were now examining were decidedly older than those with which Nancy was familiar. Nevertheless, she forged ahead in a largely male group, christening her and her husband's newly acquired, but ancient Studebaker 'Ozymandias' after Shelley's 'king of kings' in the eponymous poem, whose ruins enjoined rivals to 'look on my works, ye mighty, and despair.' It was during this journey that Hal began to work out his theory of the 'Movius Line,' which he was still discussing with his wife years later, during my childhood. His concept, of course, remains a matter of continuing controversy, but my mother was certainly involved in the research and thinking behind it from the outset.

Leaving Burma, Nancy and Hallam visited Java, Bali and Borneo. In Java, they met with the palaeontologist and discoverer of Java man, G.H. Ralph von Koenigswald, who was to visit them later in Cambridge, Massachusetts with his family following their wartime internment by the Japanese. (It may be worth mentioning in this context that during the war, American intelligence officials visited Nancy at her home outside Boston to examine the many Southeast Asian photographs she had from this expedition, and that some of these may have been useful in the war effort against Japan.)

In 1937, Nancy travelled to the U.S. with her husband, where they lived in Cambridge while Hallam completed his doctoral dissertation on his work in Ireland. She was his principal editor, and he acknowledged to me many years later that he 'couldn't have finished it without her.' The paper was published in book form in 1942 as *The Irish Stone Age* by Cambridge University Press.

Hallam's doctoral work was completed in 1938, and the Moviuses found a small house to rent in Sudbury, Massachusetts, about a 40-minute train ride from Cambridge. Shortly after they moved in, the infamous 1938 Hurricane visited New England, bringing gale-force winds and torrential rain, destroying homes and downing many trees. When things had calmed down, toward the end of the year, Veronica Seton-Williams paid a visit (Seton-Williams 1988: 83f).

Several acres of a large dairy farm stood across the road from the Movius house. Sudbury before the war was still very much a farming community, and quite rural. There were some interesting neighbours, however, among them Carleton Coon, Hal's good friend and an anthropologist then at Harvard, Lawrence Winship, editor of *The Boston Globe*, and the baseball star Herman 'Babe' Ruth. Not to lose touch with fieldwork entirely, the two did one small excavation of a Native American burial site nearby. Nancy missed Australia, but Hal had a lot of extended family nearby, and they welcomed her warmly.

Hal commuted by train to the Peabody Museum in Cambridge, while Nancy kept their home and garden going, complete with Irish setter, a cat, a canary and chickens. I joined the menagerie in January, 1940. The global situation was growing very dark, and Hal had been

in the army reserves since college. He was drilling near the Sudbury Town Hall on Sunday, December 7, 1941, the day Japanese planes bombed Pearl Harbor. Within a few months, he was fully mobilized, eventually as a member of the 12th Air Force, Intelligence division, and was shipped overseas in 1942, not to return for 39 months.

Life for Nancy during the war was a challenge. She was close to members of Hal's family, who kept a careful watch on her and her son; but there were other sad and serious matters to contend with. Just before Hal left for England and further training before service in North Africa and Italy, his father had died suddenly. Nancy's mother also passed away within the year in Adelaide, followed shortly by Hal's mother in Boston.

There were some moments of excitement, however. In the spring of 1943, Nancy reported to her parents that she had seen Madame Chiang Kai-shek at a ceremony in Boston's Symphony Hall, and thought her to be 'one of the three leaders of the world, Churchill being one of the other two' (*Mail* 5/6/43: 11)

Thanks to Hal's aunt, Dorothy West, Nancy had become a member of the English Speaking Union in Boston, which filled some of her time with work for the war effort. Among her tasks she entertained several Australian airmen who had been shot down in North Africa and were being repatriated. And then there were the dog, cat, canary, chickens and me to manage.

In late 1944, the family insisted that she move closer to them for whatever support she might need. They made the home of Hallam's cousin, Leverett Saltonstall, available to her, since he was off to Washington, D.C. as the newly-elected Senator from Massachusetts, having served that state as its Governor since 1939.

In 1945, Sir Trent managed to get to Boston to do research on paediatric care in hospitals there, and was able to stay with us in our new home in the suburb of Chestnut Hill. My mother was enormously happy to see him and to have news of Adelaide. And there was shortly more joy after so much harshness: the war ended and in September my father returned from Italy. Not all was sheer delight, though, since he brought with him a fearful case of hepatitis.

After three months of nursing, Nancy was relieved to see Hal go back to the Peabody Museum. Within a year, they had bought a house in Cambridge, within walking distance of the Museum. A little while later, my sister, Alice, was born.

Dinner time in those years was dominated by conversations between my parents about archaeology and archaeologists. My father excavated an Upper Palaeolithic site at La Colombière (Ain), France, in 1948 and made some important finds. He was also constantly reading in three or four languages to keep up with his field. He was awarded the Viking Medal of the Wenner-Gren Society and achieved tenure at Harvard at much the same time. My mother was always there to discuss ideas with, and to offer opinions on the ins and outs of career and collegial relationships. It is safe to say that she willingly merged her professional life with his. In their marriage, the whole was clearly greater than the sum of the parts. I never knew a moment's regret on her part, and I was always aware that my father depended on her for many important facets of his academic life.

During the summer of 1949, the family travelled through France while my father looked for a promising Palaeolithic site. The one that stood out was a rock shelter at the Abri Pataud in Les Eyzies. During the



Figure 8: *Abri Pataud, the rock shelter museum with a dedicatory plaque to Hallam L. Movius.
Photo: courtesy Muséum National D'Historie Naturelle © JC Domenech*

next couple of years, funds were raised to purchase the property, and a full-scale excavation was planned and supported—undertaken as a joint venture of the Musée de l'Homme and Harvard University.

My mother flew to Australia in June, 1950, her first visit since leaving before the war. It was a brief few weeks, and there was no archaeological activity on her part that I know of. The Korean War broke out while she was away, and we were glad to see her back. This was an important trip, as her father died just two years later.

The Abri Pataud's first test trench was dug in the summer of 1953, revealing a remarkable wealth of material in the talus downhill from the main shelter. There were visits from many archaeologists, including the Abbé Breuil and François Bordes. Nancy was always near the centre of action, excavating, providing meals as needed, and making people comfortable, whether graduate students or eminent scientists. Most importantly, she could speak with all of them at their level, with her now substantial expertise in most phases of the discipline and all aspects of the operation.

In the years to come, Nancy became the logistical heart of every season at the Abri Pataud. In 1958, she and Hal bought and refurbished a small farmhouse in the nearby village of Tursac, on the road to Montignac, where the Lascaux cave had been discovered during the war. There was enough material being found at the Abri Pataud excavation to keep a large number of professionals and students busy, some of them there for many months at a time. My parents were often in the Dordogne for periods of up to 18 months. Their closest friends and neighbours were Heinz Henghes, the sculptor, and his wife, Daphne. Many archaeologists, palaeontologists, geologists and students came to visit and work on the excavation (Bricker 2007).

When Hal suffered a serious stroke in the summer of 1969, Nancy took on not only the logistical complexity associated with wrapping up the excavation, but continued to manage their daily lives together. She did this for almost a decade, on both sides of the Atlantic, until the house in Tursac was sold and they both finally repaired to Cambridge

My parents' last years together were spent quietly, though their lives were somewhat limited by the disabilities suffered by my father. Nancy helped him organize his final written work on the Abri Pataud excavation and to see it and all the related papers through to publication. The final work they had both hoped to complete, a *catalogue raisonné* of Palaeolithic sites in Europe, was no longer possible. There was no more overseas travel, but the presence of Harvard colleagues, children and grandchildren was a comfort.

Hallam Movius died on May 30, 1987. Nancy and her daughter, Alice, made a trip to Australia during the summer, which was a much needed respite after such a long period of selfless caring for Hal. They visited her

friends and relatives, spending time in Tasmania and Adelaide. When Nancy returned, she organized what remained of Hal's papers for appropriate distribution and cataloguing—at Tulane and Harvard Universities.

In 1990, the French government dedicated a museum at the Abri Pataud, with a plaque honouring Hallam Movius for his work there. My mother was present in Les Eyzies, accompanied by my sister, Alice Johnson, myself, my son Hallam L. Movius II, along with representatives of both the French and American archaeological establishments. It was wonderful to see how many people remembered Nancy well and showered her with warmth.

During the 1990s she kept busy in the Cambridge community, walking her dachshund, 'Cobber,' gardening, reading voraciously and corresponding with friends all over the world. When she was no longer able to get about easily and began to lose her sight, she spent her time at home quite content, as she once said, 'because I have a rich inner life.' As she began to fail, she confessed to being annoyed, principally because, 'I really want to know what's going to happen next.' She died on December 9, 2003.

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Veronica Seton-Williams: A proud Australian Archaeologist

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Abstract: The archaeological life of Veronica Seton-Williams is briefly sketched, drawing largely on her autobiography, and her contribution to archaeology and Egyptology is discussed in the context of personal recollections.

Veronica Seton-Williams belonged to a pioneering generation of women archaeologists who had to overcome many hurdles on the way to their chosen profession. Born in 1910 and brought up in Melbourne where there were no opportunities to study Old World or for that matter Australian prehistory, she left in 1934 for England, as many academically inclined Australians did and still do. She had obtained a Bachelor of Arts Degree from Melbourne University, and was enrolled at University College London to do a Prehistoric Postgraduate Diploma. Her real love was ancient Egyptian and she subsequently lost no opportunity to engage in Egyptological research. In the course of her archaeological career, she carried out excavations and surveys all over the Near East, including Cyprus. She survived the 1935/36 season of fieldwork with Sir Flinders and Lady Petrie at Sheikh Zuwayid in the Sinai, ending up digging at Tell el-Fara'in in the Nile Valley Delta from 1964/65 to 1968. Veronica spent the rest of her days in England, where I first met her, but she never forgot her Australian origins and deeply resented being introduced on a return visit to Melbourne in 1948 as an 'English cousin'. Before she died in 1992, she produced an autobiography entitled *The Road to El-Aguzein* (1988), where she recorded, without elaboration, the frustrations she had had to endure in Melbourne and London, and the way she succeeded in fulfilling her ambitions, without ever having held a permanent, full-time academic position.



Figure 1: The 1935-36 Sheikh Zuwayid team, from the left, Veronica Seton-Williams, Carl Pape, John Waechter, Jack Ellis, Sir Flinders and Lady Petrie.
Photo: courtesy of University College London



Figure 2: Veronica at the time of her graduation from the University of Melbourne 1934.
Photo: from Seton-Williams (1988: 88)

Veronica never received the recognition she was due either in England or Australia. She was nevertheless well connected with the archaeological communities in both countries and aware where their interests intersected in the Old World. While it is not known whether she had any dealings before the Second World War with Mr Walter J. Beasley, founder of the Australian Institute of Archaeology in Melbourne (AIA), there are a number of associations in common which may have been more than co-incidental. The second Near Eastern dig in which Veronica took part was the 1936 season at Jericho, conducted by a Liverpool University expedition under the direction of Professor John Garstang. This site was visited by Mr Beasley a year earlier in the course of its excavation by Garstang. Beasley provided funds to Garstang and was in turn receiving objects from Jericho (Beasley 1938). It is to be expected that Garstang at some point spoke with Veronica about his contact in her home town. However Veronica does not mention Beasley's name in her autobiography.



Figure 3: Jericho 1936, Veronica and Mrs Garstang ‘watching’ the excavation of the Neolithic strata. Veronica went on to excavate with Professor Garstang at Tell Keisan and Mersin.
Photo: courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Beasley began collecting antiquities in 1934. Just prior to the 1935/36 season at Sheikh Zuwayid, Petrie sent Beasley a rich collection of Tell el-‘Ajjul material (AIA

doc 3510) and later sent objects from Sheikh Zuwayid (Petrie & Ellis 1937); this is now the only material from that site readily available for study. It is therefore probable that the Petries also asked Veronica about Beasley. These assemblages became the nucleus of the AIA’s collections, which also benefited from further consignments sent by Lady Petrie in the late 1940s. Veronica records in her autobiography that Petrie was very proud of the fact that his grandfather was Captain Matthew Flinders who first circumnavigated Australia, and that she checked Petrie’s recollection of some the details of his forebear’s exploits by writing to Professor Ernest Scott, an authority on Flinders, who taught her history at Melbourne University (Seton-Williams 1988: 17, 43).



Figure 4: Jerusalem 1935, Veronica at the Swedish Consulate - written on the reverse - ‘wearing “the Bradleys coat and skirt!” before the mouse got at it’. Clothes are always an issue when starting life in a new environment. Photo: courtesy of UCL Institute of Archaeology Collections.

Though she publicly acknowledged she had become an expatriate by the end of the Second World War, Veronica did not end her relationship with Australia. In 1948 she spent nine weeks in Australia, primarily on family business after her mother’s death, but managed a brief visit to the Nicholson Museum in the University of Sydney. She later became involved in the excavation of a Late Bronze Age site at Myrtou *Pigadhes* in north-western Cyprus in 1950 under the sponsorship of Sydney University and the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. According to her autobiography, she resumed her fieldwork at Tell Rifa’at in Syria in 1960 with the support of what she calls the ‘Melbourne Institute of Archaeology’ (Seton-Williams 1988: 120). Veronica had excavated there in the 1955 and 1956 and the AIA had provided £100 for each season (AIA docs 955, 956, 996-1001). Just as fellow Australian, Professor Vere Gordon Childe, Director of the Institute of Archaeology London, had helped Veronica find employment in extramural teaching, so Veronica took a comradely interest in my own welfare and solvency while a postgraduate



Figure 5: Cyprus about 1938, Veronica (left) with her life-long friend Joan du Plat Taylor at Joan's house in Nicosia. Photo: courtesy Nicolle Hirschfeld, from the archives of Margaret Walker-Brash (née Beazley).

student in the Department of Egyptology at University College London in the early 1960s. So when I was invited in 1996 to contribute to a volume in Veronica's memory, I did not hesitate to prepare and submit a personal tribute, but the work never eventuated and my reminiscence was never published. I am grateful to Christopher Davey for this opportunity to put on record my appreciation and debt to Veronica, which complements the account of her life by Barbara Lesko (2004: accessed 13/12/2013):

In this liberated and more enlightened age, when women in the Western world do not have to scale legislative barriers to succeed, it is difficult to imagine what obstacles, prejudices and discrimination a single, unconventional, Colonial female had to overcome in Britain before and after the Second World War to make her way in the academic profession. In fact Veronica Seton-Williams never held a permanent university appointment but made her living as a free-lance archaeologist through a great range of activities that not only did an enormous amount to popularise Egyptology and indeed Near Eastern archaeology in general but gave her a wide and devoted circle of friends and admirers. That she never lost her enthusiasm and generosity of spirit despite the numerous set-backs to which she was subjected during her life time is a glowing tribute to one of the most warm-hearted people to frequent the fringes of the incestuous world of Egyptological scholarship in London.

I first met Veronica in London though the intervention of fellow-Australian, James R. Stewart, later first Edwin Cuthbert Hall Professor of Middle Eastern Archaeology at the University of Sydney, who had taken me with him on a study trip to England and France in 1958/59. I only got to know her better when I returned for a postgraduate degree in the early 1960s. My abiding impression

from that early acquaintance, apart from Veronica's distinctively sensible manner of dressing, was amazement that the small flat she shared with Elsa Coult in Bloomsbury could bear the weight of the books which occupied every spare space. Then, as always, she was willing to lend a helping hand, especially to another being from Down Under, and I remember being given the opportunity to read and take notes from her doctoral dissertation on Syria in the 2nd millennium B.C., whose own history she recounts in her autobiography (Seton-Williams 1988: 111-113). It was the only comprehensive archaeological synthesis of its kind in English at the time, and the way it had been imposed on her as a subject, initially referred by the University of London, and never published, rankled but never riled her. It can now be accessed

through the British Library's invaluable Electronic Theses Online Service (EThOS 241915). Getting her PhD in 1957 did not, however, materially improve Veronica's academic prospects.



Figure 6: Cyprus about 1938, Veronica liked the water having spent much time around Port Phillip Bay. Photo: courtesy Nicolle Hirschfeld, from the archives of Margaret Walker-Brash (née Beazley).



Figure 7: A wartime picnic, possibly at Hampstead Heath, Veronica with friends Joan du Plat Taylor, left, and Margaret Munn-Rankin. Photo: courtesy of UCL Institute of Archaeology Collections

Her dissertation, entitled *An Archaeological Examination of the Material from the Syrian Sites of the Second Millennium 1800-1300 B.C.*, had particular relevance to a research interest that was beginning to engage and finally ensnared me - the location of the ancient place name of Alashiya, long considered and still held by many to be the island of Cyprus. I became convinced at an early stage of my studies that the evidence for this equation was too flimsy for it to be sustained. I not only extracted from

Veronica's work information relating to copper deposits in Syria, with a view to demonstrating that Cyprus was not the sole possible Near Eastern source of the metal with which Alashiya was closely associated, but also drew on her epic 'Cilician Survey' (Seton-Williams 1954), of which she gave me an off-print, for a possible site for Alashiya. Since all the circumstantial archaeological data pointed to the Western Asiatic coast for the location of this place, I sought a settlement in the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean and lit on Kinet Hüyük, the most imposing tell around the Gulf of Iskenderun. Veronica was not impressed by my hypothesis and drew on her unrivalled first-hand knowledge of the region to cast legitimate doubts on this idea and suggest that the mouth of the Orontes better suited the topographical criteria. I included her comments in a post-script to my first paper on Alasia, and was always grateful for her forthright response (Merrillees 1972 : 119).



Figure 8: Wartime London, Veronica in her Air Raid Warden's Uniform. She and her friends had a number of close shaves during the Blitz. Photo: courtesy of UCL Institute of Archaeology Collections

Like Veronica, I had no grant or regular source of income to maintain me during my years in London as a student in the early 1960's and with typical thoughtfulness she once suggested that I take over her extramural lecturing while she was away guiding a tour in Egypt. Nothing during that somewhat demanding period could better have illustrated the strong attachment felt by her followers to their accustomed mentor than their unambiguous indication that I did not come up to her standards! In fact some of the audience had been attending her courses for years, and I realised then that I lacked the touch for teaching and indeed the patience with which she was amply endowed. This memory is recounted in my section on Veronica's contribution to Egyptology in *Living with Egypt's Past in Australia* (Merrillees et al. 1990: 43, 46, 48), of which I sent her a first draft. This gave me the happy excuse to



Figure 9: Myrtou Pigadhes 1951, Team photo, front row from the left, James Mellaart, Hector Catling, Lord William Taylour, Joan du Plat Taylor, Veronica, Linda Melton, Second row, Elizabeth Catling and the host and hostesses, Photographer, Basil Hennessy, Absent: Margaret Munn-Rankin, Diana Kirkbride and Mick Wright.
Photo: courtesy of Linda Hennessy from the archives of Basil Hennessy

draw on her knowledge of 55 years' involvement with the British archaeological community, and her reactions to the text were typically robust, ironical and to the point.

In her autobiography Veronica recounts her introduction to hieroglyphs through the lecturer who taught German to science students in Melbourne (Seton-Williams 1988: 19). His name was Egremont, and according to her letter to me of 3 April 1989,

his wife developed cancer so he told me, and to take his mind off things he learnt hieroglyphs while nursing her. One way to do it I suppose. I also had a letter from him the following year (1935). I must have written to him saying I was thinking of coming back to Australia and he strongly advised against it. Rather 'better 50 years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay', or words to that effect.

In 1953 she was invited by Stewart to join the Department of Archaeology at Sydney University but, according to her published account, declined because she did not want to sever her connections with the Middle East (Seton-Williams 1988: 111). In her letter to me of 23 July 1989, she stated:

To be perfectly honest the reason I turned down the Sydney job was that I was very uncertain that I could work with Jim Stewart, specially working at his home (in Bathurst), half the time. However, the other reason sounds better and is partly true.

I can sympathise with her predicament.

Veronica never lost her essential Australianness and sense of fair play. It says much for her forbearance that she never harboured a grudge against W.B. Emery for allegedly blocking her appointment to an academic position in the Institute of Archaeology on the grounds of her gender (Seton-Williams 1988: 121). She amplified this episode in her letter of 23 July 1989 in the following way:

It was impossible to work in Egypt because of the tabu that Emery put upon women in field work. He thought that no Egyptian would take orders from a woman. In fact when I was appointed Field Director at Tell el-Fara'in in 1964, the only question he asked me was did I expect to have trouble with my men. To which I replied - no. I wonder what he would have said if he could have seen some of the workmen from Ibtu that I had sacked for some misdemeanour, putting my foot on their head and saying they were my men!!

I can just see her doing that without the slightest inhibition. In fact it was not true that Emery did not allow women to join his expeditions to Egypt. There were undoubtedly other reasons for his reaction.

It is perhaps symptomatic of the ambivalence with which her status and profession were viewed in Britain that the fourth revised edition of *Who Was Who in Egyptology* should still describe Veronica as a 'British-Australian archaeologist' (Bierbrier 2012: 503). She was particularly sensitive to any suggestion that her work might not be

treated seriously by the experts, especially Egyptologists, of which she was presumably not considered one, and when in the first draft of *Living with Egypt's Past in Australia* I referred to her scholarly output as 'popular', the reaction was as usual brisk: 'I do not think I would call my books on Egypt exactly popular. [She then listed her publications in a different order to the bibliography in *Who Was Who in Egyptology* and went on] One might call Tutankhamoun a coffee table book, but certainly not popular. Also Nile Handbook for Swans about four editions from 1974 to 1984. All my publications are in the Baillieu Library of the University of Melbourne, where I sent them as they came out' (letter of 23 July 1989). With due deference to Veronica, 'popular' became 'authoritative' in the final version of my study (Merrillees et al. 1990: 46). I am sorry I shall not receive any more of her inimitably typewritten letters!

Robert S. Merrillees

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Redemption in the Land of Archaeological Sin: great excavators in the Middle East during the 1920s

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Abstract: Mortimer Wheeler's account of his introduction of systematic digging methods in archaeology has proved durable over the sixty years since its publication. In particular, Wheeler was dismissive of the efforts of pioneer excavators in the Middle East. It has long been considered that this quandary was not redressed until the 1950s when his most notable student, Kathleen Kenyon, introduced stratigraphic excavation methods to the Levant. By tracing the careers of two great excavators of the 1920s, Dorothy Garrod and Gertrude Caton Thompson, this article seeks to show that the arrival of high-quality stratigraphic methods in the Middle East was a more complex process than has been claimed.

Introduction

Despite the Middle East's impressive archaeological heritage and the famous names who recovered it, field methods used in its recovery during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have long been regarded as poor. Mortimer Wheeler (1954:30), the doyen of twentieth-century stratigraphers, famously dismissed the region as a land 'where more sins have probably been committed in the name of archaeology than on any commensurate portion of the earth's surface'¹, and in his landmark texts on scientific excavation, Wheeler (1954, 1955) castigated the excavation methods employed in the Middle East as wholly inadequate to tackle the region's complex array of ruined temples, towns and cities.

Wheeler believed that archaeologists didn't know how to dig properly until his own time and his introduction of stratigraphic excavation methods at the Romano-British site of Segontium (Wales) in 1921. Wheeler's (1923) publication of the site was indeed exemplary for its time. It not only contained his prized section drawing (Figure 1), but also a comprehensive analysis of the artefacts

and subsistence data (i.e. animal bones). It is notable, however that the revolutionary nature of the stratigraphic method was not remarked on by Wheeler in this work, nor anywhere else in the literature for that matter, but only later in his 1955 memoir. In his later treatises on excavation, Wheeler (1954, 1955) described the imperative need to separate time-differentiated archaeological layers and their contents, to remove them in the reverse order from which they were deposited, and to follow them indefatigably up and down slope, wherever they may lead. He stressed that archaeological layers are almost always inclined. On the contrary, as he emphasized, pioneer diggers of the Middle East from Flinders Petrie to William Foxwell Albright dug relentlessly in great horizontal swathes. In so doing they inevitably combined objects from different time periods, ensuring that chronology and cultural interpretation remained obfuscated (Davis 2004). No real progress was made on this front until the early 1950s, when Wheeler's most celebrated student, Kathleen Kenyon, began her excavations at Jericho (Tell es-Sultan). Wheeler's history of excavation rapidly became orthodoxy. Numerous scholars have repeated his

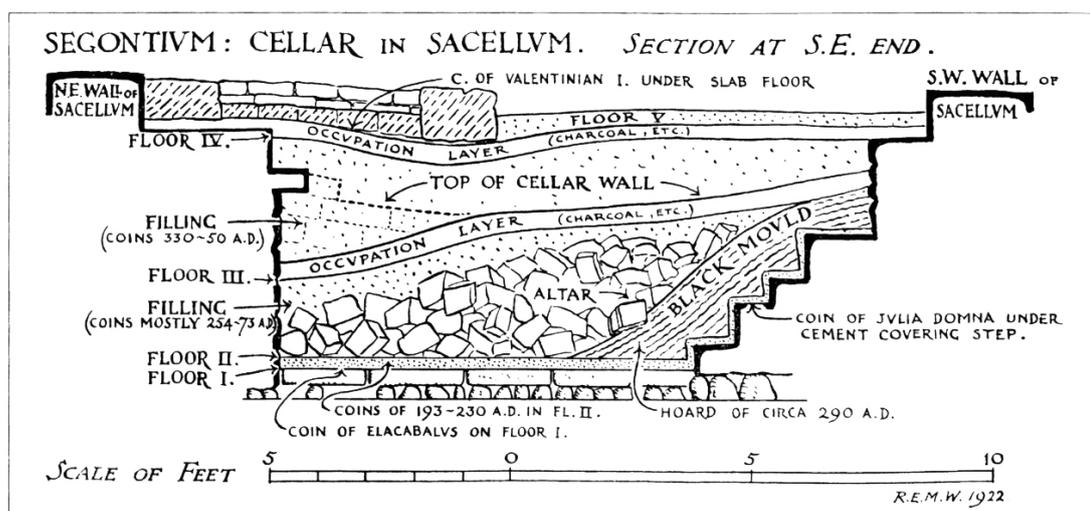


Figure 1: Wheeler's stratigraphic section drawing of Segontium (from Wheeler 1923: Fig. 17).

account that stratigraphy began at Segontium (Barker 1977; Harris 1979: 10, Hawkes 1982; Kenyon 1952: 69; Carr 2012) and that its deployment in the Middle East began with Kenyon (Davis 2004). But the history of stratigraphic archaeological excavation in the Middle East is more complex than this.²

The actual story more closely resembles the complex pattern of discoveries and inventions established by theories of human innovation (Johnson 2010). At least 148 cases are known of multiple inventions, the great inventions in the main, ranging from the telephone to the typewriter (Ogburn & Thomas 1922). Great discoveries have typically involved clusters of researchers who, equipped with similar talents and experience, have found similar solutions - even if one 'great' inventor takes the plaudits. Some have operated alone; others in groups. Often, such discoveries are propelled by the parallel dissemination of information along complex networks of interaction. Some of these pathways include important mentor-student relationships that operate at a personal level, rendering many difficult to discern (Smith 2009).

It is worth looking more closely at how Wheeler describes his introduction of the stratigraphic method at Segontium:

The chance was gladly seized to deal with the historical problems of a site which was pivotal in the Roman occupation of Wales and to evolve the necessary techniques for doing so (Wheeler 1955: 66, emphasis added)

Later his biographer, Jacquetta Hawkes adds another dimension to the discovery:

He (Wheeler) longed to justify his belief that he could follow and then improve upon Pitt-Rivers's methods (Hawkes 1982:85, emphasis added)

The trouble with this explanation is that Wheeler himself explicitly ruled out Pitt-Rivers as a teacher of stratigraphy. He emphasized that, while Pitt-Rivers was careful, he didn't distinguish stratigraphic layers.

More recently, Carr has repeated Hawkes' version:

He (Wheeler) continued to reference the General (Pitt-Rivers) as a predecessor for the rest of his career. The first chance to apply these new ideas came with an invitation in 1921 to continue the excavation of the Roman fort at Segontium (Carr 2012: 96, emphasis added)

Innovations in young disciplines (such as archaeology was then) are usually driven by a critical knowledge transfer from a senior discipline. This issue is indeed the most troublesome thing about Wheeler's account of his abrupt introduction of stratigraphy to archaeology and the later interpretations of it. Wheeler's achievement lacks any antecedent and Wheeler lacks an evident teacher or guide. O'Connor (2007: xxv) has noted that many early accounts of archaeology bear a distinct air of 'Whiggish history'; that they resemble the just-so story where ev-

erything improves incrementally and consistently up to the present (see also, *inter alia*, Schlanger 2002). This is indeed the type of disciplinary history that Wheeler wrote, with himself as the ultimate gold standard.

In tracing the careers of Dorothy Garrod and Gertrude Caton Thompson, this essay explores the more complex pathways by which stratigraphy and systemic digging were introduced into the Middle East during the 1920s, independently of Wheeler. In a male-dominated age, the two women had no peer as field archaeologists. By the end of the 1920s, Dorothy Garrod had emerged as the premier scholar of world prehistory and Gertrude Caton Thompson - not Wheeler - had become established as one of the world's best excavators. The field accomplishments of Garrod and Gertrude Caton Thompson deserve more recognition but the deeper intent of this article goes back to Wheeler and his paradigm. If Wheeler didn't teach Garrod and Caton Thompson, then who did? Did they independently 'think up' the concept of stratigraphic digging as Wheeler himself claims to have done? Why has the Kenyon - Wheeler version of Middle Eastern archaeology remained so dominant at the expense of others, and why did the memories of Garrod and Caton Thompson fade? The following analysis attempts to elucidate these issues and asks why Wheeler omitted both Garrod and Caton Thompson from his treatise on archaeological method (1954), even though he well knew about both women's brilliant careers.

Both Garrod and Caton Thompson have ridden a wave of popularity in recent histories of the discipline and have been duly recognised as two of the great archaeologists (Bar-Yosef & Callander 2004; Drower 2004). However, their specific field methods have come in for less scrutiny and this topic forms the focus of this paper. Although detailed biographies are available elsewhere, summaries of their lives are necessary here to provide context and certain details are emphasized since they bear on the arguments made here.

Dorothy Garrod and Gertrude Caton Thompson: brilliant daughters of Britain's 'intellectual aristocracy' and its generation of 'surplus women'

Social and political factors aligned to ensure that Garrod and Gertrude Caton Thompson avoided the disadvantage endured by many women in the early days of archaeology (Champion 1998, Diaz-Andreu & Sorensen 1998). Both scholars had privileged upbringings, were socially elevated, enjoyed elite tertiary educations, and prospered from the support of leading male archaeologists. They also remained unmarried, which gave them time and freedom to pursue their own pursuits. Less positively, both women experienced personal losses in the First World War that were important in setting them on their professional paths. The two were close friends, although they worked quite independently of each other.



Figure 2: Dorothy Garrod as a young woman
Photo: courtesy of Newnham College, Cambridge

Dorothy Annie Elizabeth Garrod (1892 – 1968) is a prime example of Britain's influential 'intellectual aristocracy' (Annan 1955) which prospered at the turn of the twentieth century (Figure 2). Her paternal grandfather, Alfred Garrod, was Physician Extraordinaire to Queen Victoria and one of the founding fathers of the discipline of biochemistry. Her father, Sir Archibald Garrod, was a leading zoologist and physiologist of his day (Caton Thompson 1969). The circles her family inhabited led her naturally to a world of prominent academic minds. Garrod lost two brothers and her fiancé to the First World War. She emerged from the war as a changed woman and, like many of her contemporaries, a member of the generation of 'surplus women' (Nicholson 2007). She seems to have consciously faced this new world by deciding abruptly to follow a career as a prehistoric archaeologist (Bar-Yosef & Callander 2004). In 1920, Garrod enrolled in Robert Marett's diploma course in Anthropology at Oxford. Through Marret's contacts with the French scholar, Emile Cartailhac, Garrod transferred her studies to Paris in 1921 to study at *L'Institut de Paléontologie Humaine* under the leading French prehistorian, Abbé Henri Breuil.

In the period that followed, Garrod was trained in excavation technique by the vanguard of French prehistoric archaeology. By the mid-1920s, after four years of intensive training, (during which time a modern archaeology student would scarcely attain Honours level), Garrod could already be counted as an archaeologist of international reputation, having published a major work

on the Upper Palaeolithic of Britain (1926) and having excavated the Middle Palaeolithic site of Devil's Tower in Gibraltar (1925-26) where she unearthed the remains of a Neanderthal infant (Garrod *et al.* 1928). Notably, Garrod was largely absent from the British scene in the period when Wheeler dug at Segontium. Wheeler knew of Garrod during this period though since she aided him with advice about flint tools and illustrations for his *Prehistoric & Roman Wales* (1925).

As her career progressed, Garrod gathered unparalleled experience in Palaeolithic archaeology. She carried out significant fieldwork in Britain, France, Bulgaria, Turkey, Palestine, Lebanon, Iraq and on the Iberian Peninsula (Gibraltar). With excavations at the Mount Carmel caves in Palestine, she established the main lines of the Palaeolithic sequence for the Middle East for decades to come. There, also, she made key discoveries of Neanderthals and early anatomically modern humans, and first identified the Natufian Culture, a complex hunter-gatherer culture of the terminal Pleistocene. In 1939 Garrod was appointed to the Disney Chair in Archaeology at Cambridge University, becoming the first woman to be appointed as a professor in that institution.

Many who knew Dorothy Garrod emphasized her modesty, retiring nature and shyness, especially in large social gatherings.³ These traits did not fit her especially well for the rough-and-tumble of academic politics and in 1953 she relinquished the Disney Chair and went to live in France with her friend Suzanne de Saint Mathurin, also an archaeologist. While resident at Angles sur l'Anglin, Garrod helped Saint Mathurin excavate a series of extraordinary Upper Palaeolithic images of bison in the cave site of Roc aux Sorciers.

Gertrude Caton Thompson (1888 – 1985, Figure 3) enjoyed a similarly privileged upbringing as Garrod; her maternal grandfather too was an accomplished physician and her father a successful barrister (Caton Thompson 1983: 1). Her inheritance left her well enough supported to pursue her interests in archaeology throughout her life. Both the families of Garrod and Caton Thompson were well-connected with the establishment, and this status aided their entry and advancement in professional life. For example, it was at a dinner party that Caton Thompson met Arthur Salter; an encounter that might only happen to a young lady of a certain standing, which led her to become his personal assistant in the British Admiralty's Transport Department during the First World War. She impressed in the job and, encouraged by Lord Salter, later travelled with the British delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. Caton Thompson, like Garrod, was affected by the First World War and its aftermath, both personally and professionally. She also lost an intimate male acquaintance, Carlyon MacFarlane, killed on patrol in the Bahariya Oasis in Egypt, not far from the places where she was to make her name in archaeology. In Paris, Caton Thompson's interest in the Middle East was kindled through meetings with luminaries such as Gertrude



Figure 3: Portrait of Gertrude Caton Thompson
 Photo: RAI 36032 Portrait of Gertrude Caton Thompson. Photographed by Ramsey & Muspratt, Cambridge, 1938. Courtesy of the Royal Anthropological Institute

Bell and T.E. Lawrence; both had worked in the Middle East during the war, not only in military and intelligence circles but also in archaeology.

Stimulated by their example, Caton Thompson decided to capitalize on her interest in the Orient which had been nurtured by frequent trips to the region as a young woman. Between 1921 and 1923, she set about gaining the elite education that was to equip her superbly for a career in archaeology. Caton Thompson studied archaeology at University College London, Arabic at the School of Oriental Studies (now SOAS) and she began a long association with Newnham College, Cambridge, where she studied zoology and palaeontology, geology, social anthropology, physical anthropology, prehistoric archaeology and surveying.

Caton Thompson also met the palaeontologist Dorothea Bate at the London Natural History Museum. Bate was to become a firm friend and was also a significant research partner to Dorothy Garrod, contributing to Garrod's first project at Devil's s Tower (Garrod *et al.* 1928) and analysing the fauna from her major excavations at Mount Carmel (Garrod and Bate 1937). It was around this time (*ca.* 1922) too that Caton Thompson met Dorothy Garrod. They also became firm friends, although their professional lives did not intersect significantly. The most critical

people that Caton Thompson met during this period were the Egyptologists Margaret Murray and Flinders Petrie at University College, London. These contacts initiated her fieldwork career with Petrie in Upper Egypt in 1921.

Caton Thompson's relationship with the indomitable Petrie is fascinating for the light that it sheds on her own personality, which is often described in such contradictory terms that she come across as something of a *doppelganger*. Textbooks routinely include Petrie as the doyen of *fin de siècle* archaeologists (although this was not the view of Wheeler, as noted earlier) but Caton Thompson had his measure. A case in point involved their debate over the origin of human bone fragments placed in Predynastic graves at Qau (Caton Thompson 1983: 90). Armed with her geological nous, Caton Thompson quickly demonstrated that they could not have been transported fluvially as Petrie maintained, but he would have none of it. Caton Thompson (1983: 84) bluntly assessed her famous mentor as 'dictatorial and obstinate' and noted mischievously that 'In one thing he failed to impress. His voice was high-pitched and apt to squeak when he was annoyed.'⁴ Doubtless, Caton Thompson was more familiar with this characteristic than most of Petrie's other students.

These exchanges indicate Caton Thompson's own strong personality. Daniel (1984: 85) recalls that she 'suffered no fools gladly (or even halfway to gladness).' Davis (2008: 37) claims that she 'was, in fact, a difficult woman who was not a good teacher for the beginner because she could not be bothered to explain things properly.' This statement was made in connection with Kathleen Kenyon, one of the few students that Caton Thompson ever took on a dig. Davis (2008: 37) goes so far as to claim that Caton Thompson 'may have been the only person Kathleen Kenyon ever feared.' It is a key point to note that Kenyon, so closely associated with Wheeler, beginning with the excavations at Verulamium/St. Albans in 1930, (Davis 2008: 47) received her first field training - and a very comprehensive one at that - from Caton Thompson at Great Zimbabwe in 1929 (Caton Thompson 1970, 1983).

In the field, Caton Thompson was determined and tough and she revelled in the privations of dig life. Flinders Petrie was famously partial to the advantages of disused tombs as accommodation on his digs. On being shown her abode at the site of Qau in Upper Egypt, Caton Thompson found it occupied by a family of venomous cobras. Reasoning that the serpents had priority of residence, she decided to co-exist with them, mollifying her fitful sleep by spreading a lather of sand between her and their niche in the wall, 'in case they should come too close in the night' (Caton Thompson 1983: 90). She also took the precaution of sleeping with a pistol under her pillow to cope with such discomforts. During work in the Fayum Oasis in Egypt, both Caton Thompson's field vehicles broke down simultaneously, leaving her team stranded. Calmly, she waited for nightfall; then navigated her way nearly thirty kilometres by foot to the nearest settlement

for help.⁵ On the same project, her guide once became disoriented in the shadeless Rayan Depression with daytime temperatures nudging 49° Celsius. Again, Caton Thompson waited until nightfall before guiding her team back to camp, essentially by instinct.

On the other side of the ledger, Caton Thompson's private thoughts reveal a diffident side. She agonised over her fondness for Carlyon MacFarlane, but he went to his grave without her being able to express her feelings to him. She was also genuinely modest and she disliked people making a fuss over her.⁶ She quietly declined an Order of the British Empire for her work at the Paris Peace conference. Her diary entry for May 22, 1944, on receipt of the offer of a Fellowship from the British Academy read simply: 'Cannot believe it: *Why?*' (Caton Thompson 1983: 222).

Yet, when the British Association for the Advancement of Science and the Rhodes Trustees were casting about for an archaeologist of unimpeachable quality to settle the date and origins of the Great Zimbabwe ruins, it was to Caton Thompson that they turned, not Wheeler. By the end of the 1920s, it is fair to say that Gertrude Caton Thompson was regarded as one of the finest field archaeologists in the world.

Sources

Finds from the excavations at Roc aux Sorciers were sent to the French National Museum of Archaeology at St Germaine en-Laye. Ultimately, so were Suzanne Saint Mathurin's personal papers and archives. Saint Mathurin outlived Garrod, who died in 1968, and for many decades it was assumed that Garrod had disposed of her papers because nothing of her personal life ever came out. Then in the mid-1990s, a group of scholars discovered that Saint Mathurin had included Garrod's photographs and field notebooks within her own archive, deposited at St Germaine en-Laye (Bahn *et al.* 1997). True to form, we learn nothing new of consequence about Garrod's personal life from these, although her field methods are intriguingly illuminated.

Neither Garrod nor Caton Thompson left a significant corpus of letters by which to judge their inner lives. However, Caton Thompson did produce a remarkable autobiography at the end of her life, written up from her daily diary.⁷ The work is almost a case of her missing the wood for the trees, so full is it of minutiae about every meeting, dinner party and opera she attended, at the expense of the broad sweeping view. There are only a few indirect clues about the origins of her digging methods. She hints that her mentors, Flinders Petrie and Guy Brunton, could not have taught her much, because she did so much more than them and did it so much better. Perhaps she did not feel the need to include a commentary on her methods because, virtually alone among her contemporaries, she included a fully inclusive exegesis of them in her published excavation reports. In this, she stands in complete contrast to Garrod. Caton Thompson's account of the excavation of Kom W in the Fayum Oasis (1925-6) is preceded by a

comprehensive methodology laid out succinctly in only a few paragraphs, but still the equal of anything ever done previously. (Caton Thompson and Gardner 1934: 24). By contrast Dorothy Garrod's excavation reports contain no mention of her digging methods.

Garrod's excavation technique

Garrod's papers include the field notebook of her first project in the Middle East; the excavations conducted at Shukbah Cave in Palestine, in 1928. Shukbah wasn't substantively published until 1942 and Garrod disclosed nothing of her field methodology in her published accounts of the work, therefore the 1928 notebook is important as contemporaneous evidence. The Shukbah field archive comprises a small, thirteen-page handwritten notebook and a torn envelope of black-and white photographs. The daily entries are brief, nearly always consisting of just a few lines. Verbiage is kept to a minimum and there is no reflection on Garrod's feelings about the course of the work. This reader formed an impression of a calm temperament; one confident, in control, and at ease with the complexities of the stratigraphy as it was unravelled.⁸

Only two colourful incidents intrude on the entire account. The first occurs on the 11th April, 1928 when Garrod cries, 'Toothbrush found!!!' This curious entry is the only time that Garrod expresses noticeable emotion. Indeed, the find of a toothbrush in rural Palestine in the 1920s is noteworthy; the unearthing of one from deeply buried Mousterian deposits in a remote cave remarkable. On the 12th April, Garrod writes 'B continued in N. wall. Clearing to west. Two fights among men.' The latter comment appears as an abrupt *non sequitur* in the excavation log and serves to reinforce Garrod's imperturbable temperament.

Garrod reveals an awareness of the complexities of the stratigraphy and of the necessity to follow each deposit, no matter where it leads:

29th May: Mousterian here deeply ravined by microlithic. & wherever the two areas in contact the microlithic has worked into all the cracks & crevices of C.

The 'microlithic' stone tools she refers to are Natufian ones (13,000–10,300 BC), although at this point Garrod had yet to accord this label to the period. The Natufian remains at Shukbah were designated as Level B. The underlying Level C was a Levantine Mousterian deposit (between 250,000–48,000 BC). There is no conscious exposition of her methods and it is necessary to read between the lines to discern them.

Then, a critical comment appears:

29th May: R. maxilla found, apparently perfectly in place, with Mousterian implements, but in Sieve I found a microlithic core (emphasis added).

But for this obscure line entry, we would not know that Garrod had ever sieved at Shukbah at 1928 because she never said so in any of her publications.

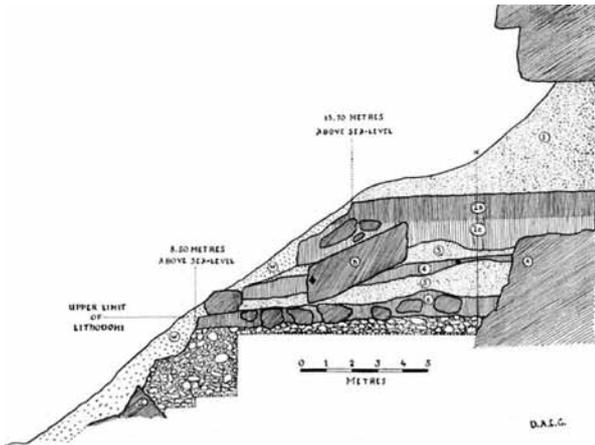


Figure 4: Garrod's stratigraphic section drawing of Devil's Tower, Gibraltar (from Garrod et al. 1928: 39).

Garrod's stratigraphic methods were already fully developed by the time of her first solo excavations at Gibraltar in 1925. At this point in her development she was only four years out from partaking in Robert Marett's introductory archaeology course at Oxford (in 1921), yet she had already become one of the most celebrated prehistoric archaeologists in the world. Like Shukbah, The Devils Tower cave-site (Garrod et al. 1928) yielded important Mousterian deposits, including the remains of a Neanderthal infant. The stratigraphic rendering of

the site is particularly noteworthy, and was the equal of anything in current practice at the time; Garrod recorded the overlapping and dipping sediments as tone-shaded and labelled layers (Figure 4).

One of her major projects, at Tabun Cave at Mount Carmel, Palestine in 1934, illustrates the large-scale of her operations (Figure 5). Her 'Level E', the Acheulian (Lower Palaeolithic) deposit, was seven metres thick. When Jelinek re-excavated Tabun Cave in the 1960s, he subdivided Garrod's Layer E into fifteen successive deposits, and in all, her five major layers (B-E and G) into a hundred separate ones (Bar-Yosef and Callander 2004; Jelinek 1981). Jelinek also found that Garrod had dug horizontally through slumped deposits, mixing materials of different periods.

At Mount Carmel Garrod also excavated rich Natufian layers, in El Wad Cave. These were replete with burials, architectural constructions, and a rich material culture of groundstone tools, flint artefacts, and ornaments of shell and bone. The results were admirably published (Garrod and Bate 1937) but again, the sheer quantity of recovered materials required that some things were glossed over.

For some of the seventy or more human burials (Bocquentin 2003: 127), it was a case of: 'condition so bad that bones were not kept' (Garrod archive, cited in Bocquentin 2003: 124). In other cases, well-preserved bones were



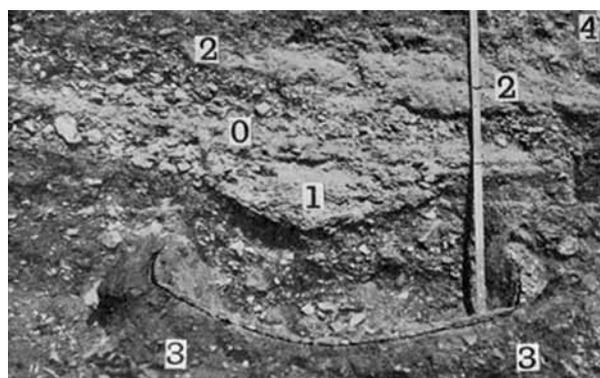
Figure 5: Garrod's excavation in Tabun Cave at Mount Carmel, Palestine 1934
Photo: reproduced with the permission of the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford (1998.294.356)

not collected - 'continue to clear and remove skulls and long bones from the group burial' (Garrod archive, cited in Bocquentin 2003: 124). Bocquentin's inspection of the El Wad human remains corroborates this point by showing that certain bones such as those of the feet and hands are rarely present in the skeletal collections, whereas illustrative evidence demonstrates that they were originally present *in situ*.

Garrod's methods were exemplary compared to most of her contemporaries although they suffer in comparison with the standards of modern Pleistocene archaeology. Comprehensive and systematic retrieval of materials was not necessarily an ethic of field praxis in the 1920s, as it is today. Garrod did better than most and her omissions can be put down to the exigencies of running a large, difficult, field operation rather than lack of interest or simple carelessness. Nevertheless, she tended to dig too fast and retrieved massive amounts of material that she could not always deal with effectively (Bar-Yosef and Callander 2004).

Caton Thompson's excavation techniques

After training with Petrie's team in Upper Egypt (1921) and some introductory forays at digging at Malta in 1922, initiated by Margaret Murray (Caton Thompson 1983: 90), Caton Thompson was placed in charge of Hemamieh in 1924. Her subsequent report is tucked away at the back of *The Badarian Civilisation* (1928). It is a minor masterpiece. From the outset, Caton Thompson had understood that the broad-brush methods of Petrie and Brunton were too coarse for the fine stratification of a prehistoric village. Her results from Hemamieh remained the most important ones of all for the chronology of the Predynastic period until the 1980s because of her high-quality methods (Hoffman 1991: 138-9). The following passages (Caton Thompson 1928: 71) see her digging in thin, arbitrary units, but interrupting them when she met a sloping interface so as to carefully separate each distinctive deposit (Figure 6):



SECTION OF HUT CIRCLE 265. (3) WALL OF HUT.
(1) OVERLYING HEARTH. (2) UPPER HEARTH.
(0) DECORATED SHERD No. 23

Figure 6: Caton Thompson's annotated photograph of complex stratified deposits at Hemamieh, Egypt (from Caton Thompson 1928: pl. LXVII).

Although this 6-in. layer method was the standard adopted and normally enforced for the whole site, necessary deviations from a too rigid application of this principle were not infrequent. Further subdivisions sometimes became inevitable from various causes - a particular pocket to be worked out both horizontally and vertically, or the tilt of a line of hearth.

The workmen ... learnt to work in this unfamiliar, and to them despicably slow, manner, with great accuracy of level.

Nobody in the Middle East had dug as well as this before. Caton Thompson was unique in the fine temporal scale she employed. She was also singular in her systematic retrieval of finds and her interest in subsistence remains; that is to say, the food plants and animals exploited by the ancient villagers:

Comparatively little sieving was attempted, its use being reserved for patches of definite 'hearths' and hut circle contents, in the special hope of collecting grains and seeds. The delay in the progress of the work, already intrinsically slow, had screening been normally employed, seemed to me on this occasion to outweigh its merits.' (Caton Thompson 1928: 71, emphasis added).

The passage 'had screening been normally employed' must be uttered in reference to her own own high standards, because few colleagues working in the Middle East had employed this painfully slow but highly effective means of recovering small finds (with the exception of Garrod). But for her, it was evidently so habitual a practice that, in Schlanger's terms (2002: 130), it was too evident to spend time explaining.

The fine control that Caton Thompson exercised over horizontal space was also unprecedented in the Middle East. At the Kom W site in the Fayum oasis (1925-26), she used a 5-foot grid to excavate, measure and plot each posthole and subterranean archaeological feature over a 6,000 square-metre area. In the Fayum she also carried out the first archaeobotanical study in Middle Eastern archaeology, analysing emmer wheat and barley gains with the aid of staff at the Guinness brewery in Dublin (Caton Thompson 1983: 107).

Caton Thompson also solved the riddle of Great Zimbabwe, proving it to be an indigenous African creation. There, she recorded successive deposits in numbered sections, with layers demarcated as dug (Caton Thompson 1970) and developed the retrieval process further by adding a wet-sieving stage after dry-sieving:

The hill-wash - the archaeological stratum - was carried into the open and finely sieved before passing through a gold-washing sluice in Kenyon's charge (Caton Thompson 1983: 128-129).

BANC DILUVIEN DE L'HÔPITAL.
Première Coupe dans le sens longitudinal.

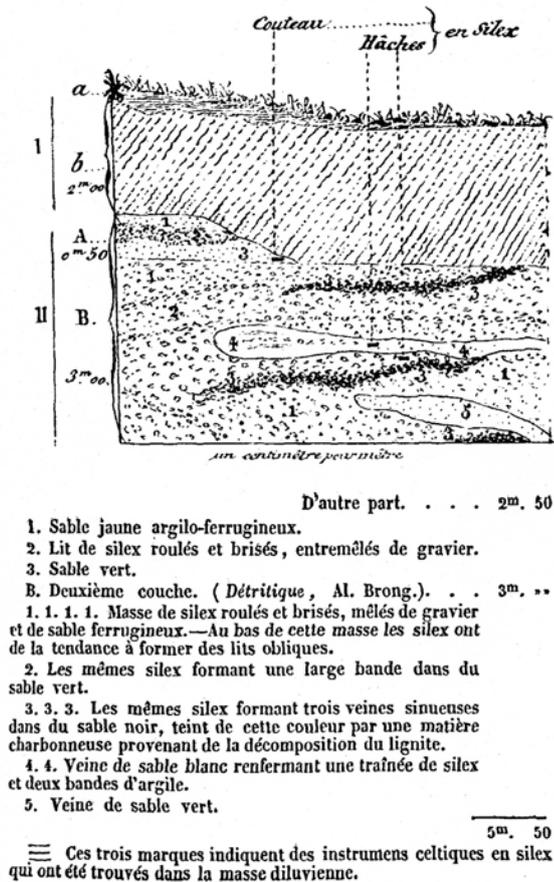


Figure 7: Stratigraphic section drawing and sediment descriptions for the Hospital site, Abbeville, France (from Boucher de Perthes 1847-1864: 253).

Who taught Dorothy Garrod how to dig?

The Devil's Tower excavations were conducted just four years after Wheeler's use of stratigraphy at Segontium in Wales. The question then arises as to whether Garrod could have learned directly from Wheeler or have been influenced by him. Time and place at least provided a brief opportunity (Wheeler 1925: 6). However, it is clear that Garrod received her tutelage in excavation technique in France. After her transfer to Paris in 1921, Garrod obtained detailed and varied experiences in digging caves and rock-shelters.

The following examples are used to illustrate the point that the quality of French excavation in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was, although patchy, an established tradition marked by high points as good as Wheeler's, achieved well before his time. Breuil urged Garrod to study and even improve on the methods of Victor Commont. Commont (1916: 522-523) had meticulously recorded stratigraphy on the Somme River, excavated as a result of new public works undertaken at Le Nouveau Canal du Nord. He was the product of a tradition which owed its origins to the 1830s and the

stratigraphic analyses devised by Jacques Boucher de Perthes and his colleagues of the *Société d'Emulation d'Abbeville* (Aufrère 1940; Grayson 1983: 117-126; Cohen & Hublin 1989, Richard 2008, Schnapp 1996). From the 1830s, Boucher de Perthes (1847-1864) had produced strikingly modern, labelled section drawings of stratified deposits along the Somme River, measured to scale, with accompanying descriptions of the contents, nature and even the geochemistry of sediments⁹ (Figure 7).

Breuil had come to the realisation that the study of stratigraphy rather than artefact typology was critical to the solution of chronological issues in archaeology. The problem that focused his attention was the so-called 'Aurignacian debate' that had simmered throughout the late nineteenth century in France. The celebrated typologist, Gabriel de Mortillet, had arranged the three principal cultures of the French Upper Palaeolithic in the sequence: Solutrean - Aurignacian - Magdalenian, based on his interpretation of artefact form.¹⁰ Breuil used stratigraphy, especially Adrian Arcelin's work at Le Solutré during the 1860s, to confirm the correct sequence: Aurignacian - Solutrean - Magdalenian (Richard 2008: 201). Below the towering crag of La Solutré, Arcelin had recorded massive Upper Palaeolithic mounds of butchered horse and reindeer remains in the 1860s, and debated his colleagues in the field about which layer superseded which other. His recorded sections were drawn to scale and labelled. They recorded the complex rise and dip of the various archaeological layers (Arcelin 1890; Richard 2008). Arcelin, however, had little inkling that he was in the forefront of his profession, and even complained about his lot as a provincial field archaeologist:

How we work in the provinces...far from books, colleagues and conferences...ignorant of what others are doing (Arcelin, 1869, cited in Richard 2008: 133).

Paradoxically, he was one of the best diggers of his time. Garrod dug with a number of others, including Denis Peyrony, who employed careful stratigraphic recording in his projects (e.g. Peyrony 1914: 17) and at several other key French Palaeolithic sites. The English Dorothy Garrod was the product of a French tradition, one which Wheeler neglected entirely to mention in his historical review of field methods. Originating from an alternative school, Garrod had Wheeler's measure in the matter of complex stratigraphy and she was better than him at the systematic retrieval of finds.

Who taught Gertrude Caton Thompson how to dig?

The origins of Caton Thompson's excavation technique are more obscure than Garrod's. Caton Thompson's stratigraphic methods owed little to her ostensible field guides, Flinders Petrie and Guy Brunton, because they did not dig in stratigraphic fashion. She did not meet Wheeler until 1932, long after her major fieldwork was done. Wheeler knew about her work though, and in 1938,

sent her a note of appreciation for her excavation of the Moon Temple at Hureidha in Yemen (Caton Thompson 1938: 222).¹¹

If we are tempted to attribute Caton Thompson's virtues as a case of native genius, we should remember that she nurtured her talents to the full by systematically accumulating the best education she possibly could. In this connection, it is significant that she was anxious to visit the Belgian scholar Aimé Rutot in 1920 before taking to the field. Caton Thompson (1983: 82) described Rutot as 'a leading prehistorian of his day' and De Bont (2003: 605) concurs, rating him 'as one of Europe's best-known archaeologists between 1900 and 1920', although he is not remembered with particular esteem nowadays. Rutot ended up on the wrong side of the 'colithic controversy' (De Bont 2003; Spencer 1990); a longstanding debate carried on in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries over the diagnostic characteristics of flint stone artefacts.¹² Nevertheless, he was a competent field archaeologist (Rutot 1907) who dug stratigraphically and rendered section drawings (Figure 8), even if these suffer by comparison with the ones produced by Boucher de Perthes and colleagues much earlier.

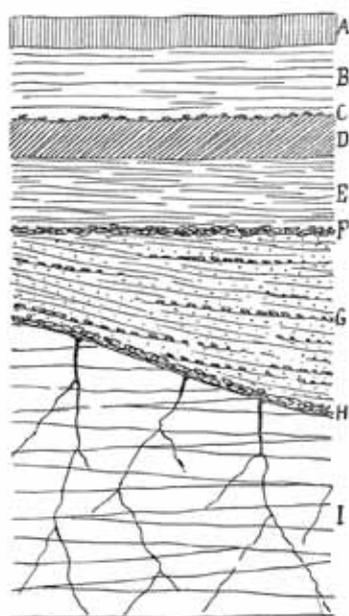


Fig. 2. — COUPE DE LA BALLASTIERIE DE SAINT-PREST.
(D'après le levé de M. A. Laville, un peu schématisé.)

- A. Terre à briques.
- B. Limon sableux stratifié, dit Ergeron.
- C. Petit lit caillouteux.
- D. Glaise panachée.
- E. Sable limoneux.
- F. Lit de cailloux.
- G. Sable grossier avec lits caillouteux et ossements d'*Elephas meridionalis*.
- H. Gravier de base actuellement peu visible.
- I. Craie blanche.

Figure 8: Rutot's section drawing and sediment descriptions for the Moeuf quarry site in Belgium (from Rutot 1907: 98).

A puzzling aspect of Caton Thompson's work is her employment of intricate horizontal grids and fine-scale vertical excavation units, for none of her contemporaries worked to this level of precision. Yet her works are reminiscent of one or two British excavators of earlier times. In this milieu emerges the remarkable Nina Layard, who lived and worked in East Anglia around the turn of the twentieth century.¹³ Layard's work lay forgotten until it was rediscovered in the Ipswich Museum archives by Steven Plunkett (1999) during the 1990s. Layard ran into difficulties getting papers published in her lifetime and when she prevailed they were limited to brief notes, so her dig notes, photographs, plans and sections languished in obscurity. Passionate about antiquity, Nina Layard spent many years equipping herself with the necessary skills to dig at the highest possible level, waiting for her chance. In doing so, she enlisted the help of the most prominent archaeologists and geologists in Britain.¹⁴ In 1903-04, Layard realised her ambition and excavated an Acheulian site at Foxhall Road in Ipswich (White & Plunkett 2004). Her work was distinguished; she excavated the site according to a three-foot-square grid and thin, arbitrary excavation units while respecting natural stratigraphy. She made detailed plans of flint artefact scatters, drew measured, labelled sections and also produced a photographic record of the operations. One of her photographs, taken on her excavation of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Hadleigh Road, Ipswich in 1907, may preserve the first image of workmen sieving for finds on an archaeological site (Plunkett 1994). It is even likely that under John Evans' tutelage, Layard performed the first known trial of sediment flotation in order to recover plant remains and microfauna (White & Plunkett 2004: 22).

John Evans, in turn, provides a direct link between Nina Layard and the Brixham Cave Committee which developed the prototype to her methods. On first reading, the Royal Society excavations at Brixham Cave (Prestwich 1873) appear as a revolution in the history of archaeological excavation. They are notable for their care and precision, reveal a hitherto unknown quantification of artefacts and faunal remains, and a precocious understanding of site formation processes. For example, hyaena scavenging is identified from cut-marks on the bones of prey animals. The report is indeed furnished with a fastidiously drawn section diagram of the sediment deposits (which indeed slope). The excavation director, William Pengelly, carefully describes the rise and dip of each deposit and its sedimentology. However, Pengelly adhered doggedly to the use of horizontal excavation levels, both at Brixham Cave and Kent's Cavern, which were meticulously surveyed to the fractional inch (McFarlane and Lundberg 2005). After each of his 3 x 1 x 1 foot 'prisms' were excavated, the resultant finds were picked out and put in a numbered box. Thus, he didn't actually dig stratigraphically. The artefacts retrieved from horizontal excavation levels combine sloping, time-differentiated deposits that inevitably conflated different periods.

Caton Thompson doesn't mention Nina Layard in her memoirs (even though she mentions almost everybody else of consequence in British archaeological circles). Yet, it is possible that she met her through Dorothy Garrod, and also learnt of the work of similar practitioners by the same route.¹⁵

Another telling factor is that the armoury of excavation methods utilised by Garrod and Caton Thompson are more diverse than Wheeler's, so that the breadth of their approaches renders it unlikely that their systems were derived from his. The dig strategies of the three practitioners can be combined as follows:

- 1) stratigraphic (as opposed to horizontal) excavation, and measured recording of sections
- 2) systematic retrieval of materials (i.e. sieving)
- 3) precise spatial provenancing of objects (i.e. point provenience and grid-square provenience)
- 4) an understanding of the genesis of sediments (geomorphology, sedimentology)
- 5) an understanding of site formation processes affecting archaeological materials
- 6) recovery of subsistence evidence (animal bones and plant remains)

Wheeler scores one of these clearly (1) and two at the most (1, 6); Garrod scores up to five (1, 2, 4, 5 and 6); only Caton Thompson attains all six with ease.

The knowledge transfer from geology to archaeology

Critically, Gertrude Caton Thompson placed great store on understanding geological processes, defining herself as 'a woman who had clear ideas on the necessary close integration of the two sciences – Pleistocene Geology and Prehistory – a gospel then struggling into existence and now a commonplace' (Caton Thompson 1983: 100). Her proficiency in earth sciences doubtless contributed to her lucid interpretation of archaeological stratigraphy - that, and the productive partnership she forged with geologist Elinore Gardner, who accompanied her on many field projects. Dorothy Garrod had a similar level of knowledge and training.

Innovations in young disciplines (such as archaeology was then) are usually driven by a critical knowledge transfer from a senior discipline. In the case of archaeology, it is clear that this involved the importation of the philosophy and techniques of geological section-drawing from the earth sciences, brought to a mature state by William 'Strata' Smith by 1817 (Winchester 2001), then rapidly taken up by a number of antiquaries in Britain and France for archaeological purposes (Schnapp 1996: 312). Boucher de Perthes and his colleagues achieved this in France in the 1830s, William Buckland even earlier at Kirkdale Cave in Britain, in the 1820s (Buckland 1824).¹⁶ Indeed, of all the pioneers of scientific excavation, it is

striking that Wheeler had the least formal geological training.

Conclusions and possibilities

Caton Thompson and Garrod emerge as two of the finest archaeological field practitioners to have practised in the Middle East before the Second World War. Garrod forged the greater reputation as an academic and an authority on Palaeolithic archaeology, but Caton Thompson was the superior field practitioner. Both scholars learned their archaeological field skills and their stratigraphical methods independently of Mortimer Wheeler. This circumstance is notable, given that it contradicts Wheeler's self-proclaimed introduction of stratigraphy to archaeology.

It is not surprising that Wheeler found lasting fame as a field innovator while Garrod and Caton Thompson faded from memory. Both scholars were modest and retiring and they thought little of advancing themselves in the public arena. Both published technical reports in professional venues that were read by few of their colleagues in other archaeological fields, let alone by the general public. At the height of her academic powers, and disillusioned with the cut and thrust of academic life, Garrod withdrew to a quiet life in provincial France. Well-respected, Caton Thompson sat on prestigious boards and committees but stayed in the background of academia throughout her life. With the exception of a few students such as Kathleen Kenyon, Caton Thompson did not take trainees on her excavations and there were few students to carry on her memory.

On the contrary, Wheeler was an indefatigable self-populariser throughout his long career. He trained large numbers of influential students and wrote popular books on archaeological methods in a direct, persuasive style which sold in large numbers.¹⁷ Wheeler went so far as to found an entire institute (The Institute of Archaeology, University College London) for the purposes of training students in archaeological field methods. In the 1950s he was even a television star (Taylor 2001). Despite his excavations in Britain, France and India and their importance for culture history, the central research thread in Wheeler's career was the science of digging itself. If Wheeler didn't actually invent stratigraphy in archaeology, then he was the first to nurture it as a self-conscious discipline.

Mortimer Wheeler's history of good diggers is, above all, a history of Mortimer Wheeler. There are other practitioners cited in his two major works (Wheeler 1954, 1955) but invariably the only good diggers that feature in them, besides himself, are those safely long-dead and on the fringe of major academic circles, such as the Indian Army officer, Philip Meadows Taylor (Wheeler 1954: 25). After negotiating Wheeler's penetrating criticisms of luminaries such as Pitt-Rivers and Flinders Petrie, the reader is led naturally to Wheeler's own accomplishments. Thereby, Wheeler grasped the glory for himself. Given these considerations, it is not surprising that Wheeler didn't

include Garrod and Caton Thompson in his history of archaeological field methods, in spite of his high regard for both of them.

Finally, a couple of afterthoughts are worth mentioning. Smith (2009) reports that the Cambridge board went so far as to run candidates just to keep Wheeler from getting the Disney Chair in 1939. Subsequently, the post was awarded to Garrod, although Glynn Daniel (1986: 98) remembers that Caton Thompson was offered the job first. Wheeler may have resented his rejection. He arose from modest socioeconomic origins and remained on the periphery of the British academic establishment during the earlier part of his career. He was a strong personality, but one wonders whether he felt socially or intellectually unsettled by the well-connected and brilliant personages of Dorothy Garrod and Gertrude Caton Thompson.

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Endnotes

- 1 The Middle East did not have a mortgage on bad diggers. In typical style, Kent Flannery (1976: 1) opened his work, *The Early Mesoamerican Village*, with the passage: "The Near East", Sir Mortimer once remarked at lunch, 'is the land of archaeological sin.' Such a statement could have been made only by a man who had never worked in Mesoamerica.'
- 2 The author readily concedes that the Kenyon-Wheeler account is still accurate for the Levant and the history of tell excavations.
- 3 'Cripplingly shy'; 'a lonely, self-contained figure and not particularly convivial in large groups'; 'unique, rather like a glass of pale, fine, stony, French white wine' – these are some of the impressions given by people who knew her - but she was also described as 'small, dark and alive', especially when speaking French (Smith 2009).
- 4 This was not a natural vocal characteristic but the result of a Bedouin attack in Sinai when Petrie was nearly strangled (Caton Thompson 1983: 84).
- 5 Caton Thompson (1983: 110) described the trek as a 'most delightful walk', with navigation aided by a 'fitful moon.'
- 6 After a public lecture given in 1930, Caton Thompson (1983: 156) remembers the London tabloids saying that she 'received a standing ovation, and the storm of applause made her blush and falter like a shy school-girl.'

I was 'tall and scholarly-looking, with slightly greying hair. Her appearance gives no hint of adventure (!)' As a matter of fact, I have always been a bad lecturer...'

- The reviewer cannot resist commenting on her physical attributes (the fate of a high-achieving woman in any age). Then there is the frisson at the exploits of a cultured British lady working away in the back waters of the Upper Nile, the hostile sands of the Sahara, and remote Africa.
- 7 To the last, she was loathe to publicize herself, complaining that her friends had prevailed on her to write her memoirs.
 - 8 Jane Callander (2004: 212) has come to a different conclusion: 'Constant amendments in the excavation reveal her struggle to understand the stratigraphy.' tend to think that these mainly involve the rectification of specific details such as dates. It is not uncommon for excavators to write down the flow of events and check the details later.
 - 9 In fact, Boucher de Perthes and company didn't actually dig themselves (not that one would gather this from Boucher de Perthes' [1847-1864] account of the work). He was continually irritated by quarrymen pulling objects out of the sections ('I asked them why they hadn't come to find me, so that I could see the axe in place', Aufrère 1940:70). Consequently he was susceptible to the forgeries created by fossickers and workmen. Boucher de Perthes was later fooled by the 'Moulin Quignon forgery' (Quatrefages 1863), a human jawbone proposed as an ancient human ancestor.
 - 10 De Mortillet came to this conclusion through his reading of evolutionary theory. He held that complex artefactual forms invariably developed from simpler ones, according to a unidirectional law of cultural development (Richard 2008: 171-2).
 - 11 After the Second World War, Caton Thompson and Wheeler developed a strong working relationship on British Academy business and often travelled together to oversee plans for the Academy's international institutes.
 - 12 Natural forces such as water transport and solifluction (mass soil creep) can produce stone-on-stone impacts that knock chips or flakes off cobbles, yielding fracture patterns that duplicate the deliberate handiwork of human knappers. Since these processes are ongoing, they are found in rocks many millions of years old (Oligocene rocks in Rutot's opinion, dating 23-39 million years ago) that must predate the origin of any hominin species.
 - 13 Nina Layard was second cousin to the famous Austen Henry Layard: politician, writer and celebrated excavator of the Assyrian cities of Nimrud and Nineveh (in modern Iraq). By tunnelling into the great mounds, Layard brought to light several books of the Old Testament, did a good job of recreating the form and function of Iron Age palatial life, and returned many monumental sculptures to the British Museum (Layard 1853). But in terms of stratigraphic method he cannot hold a candle to his little-known relative.
 - 14 Among others, they included V. Gordon Childe, John Evans, Austen Henry Layard, Clement Reid, Arthur Smith Woodward and Horace B. Woodward (White & Plunkett 2004).
 - 15 Garrod and Layard met in Ipswich during the mid-1920s to compare artefacts, in a type of meeting they referred to as a 'flint orgy' (White and Plunkett 2004: 13). Another possible influence, though networking, may have been the American anthropologist, Charles Peabody, who excavated in Missouri according to a 5-foot grid in 1903

(the same year as Layard's Foxhall Road excavation), and later according to a 1-metre grid (Browman & Williams 2013: 217). Caton Thompson also used a 5-foot grid in the Fayum. Peabody regularly visited France and French Palaeolithic archeologists, most notably Henri Martin, one of Dorothy Garrod's principal mentors in excavation (Peabody 1914). Peabody emphasized Martin's meticulous approach and the scientific care with which he treated his specimens.

16 Buckland (1824:10-11) produced a measured, scaled section drawing of Kirkdale Cave's stratified deposits. He describes the excavations in the cave and examined environmental evidence such as Spotted Hyaena coprolites and gnawed mammal bones, leading him to a convincing interpretation of the site as a hyaena lair.

17 This is also true of Kenyon; for example her books *Beginning in Archaeology* (1952), *Digging Up Jericho* (1957) and *Archaeology in the Holy Land* (1970).

G.R.H. (Mick) Wright: A remarkable Australian archaeological architect

Christopher J. Davey

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Abstract: The life of Mick Wright is described drawing on the reminiscences of his friends and himself, his personal documents and published papers. The role of the archaeological architect is briefly commented upon in the context of Mick's published perspectives.

George Roy Haslam (Mick) Wright was born in Perth, Western Australia, on 4 March 1924. His parents, William James and Violet Amy (née Hardwick), lived in what was then the working class suburb of Subiaco, his father was involved in horse racing as a bookmaker and part owner of a number of horses. Mick was an only child and, while he does not remember his childhood warmly, he does consider Perth to have been an excellent place to grow up because of its opportunities to play sport and to enjoy a drink with friends. On 3 April 1930 Perth's *Western Mail* listed the registration of a Rugby sedan by V.A. Wright of Churchill Ave. revealing that his family was not poor and that his mother would appear to have been fairly independent; indeed Mick would be chauffeured by such women for much of his life.

Mick attended the Perth Modern School, an academically-selective co-educational public high school, which was only a short walk from his home. The school has many notable Australians amongst its alumni, including Robert Hawke (b.1929), Rolf Harris (b.1930), H.C. Nugget Coombs (b.1906), Sir Paul Hasluck (b.1905) and Janet Holmes à Court (b.1943).

On 4 April 1941 Mick matriculated as a student in the University of Western Australia to study law. After his second year World War II intervened and Mick enlisted in the Royal Australian Air Force training to be a navigator in Australia at places including Mount Gambier, where navigation was taught, and Port Pirie for gunnery and bomb-aiming instruction. In late 1943 he was transferred to England where he flew in Wellington bombers based at Lichfield, Staffordshire. No. 27 Operational Training Unit (OTU), to which Flight Sargeant G.R.H. Wright was posted, trained crews for Bomber Command and undertook 'Nickel' raids, the dropping of propaganda leaflets over German cities. Another Australian navigator and member of the Unit in 1944 was Don Charlwood who later wrote the wartime classic *No Moon Tonight* about his earlier tour of duty in No. 103 Squadron and his time at Lichfield in 27 OTU in 1944 (1956); Mick does not remember meeting him.

At the end of the war Mick returned to Australia and was demobbed at Cunderdin Air Force base, Western Australia in 1945. He went back to his studies at the University of Western Australia graduating on 1 April 1948 with a

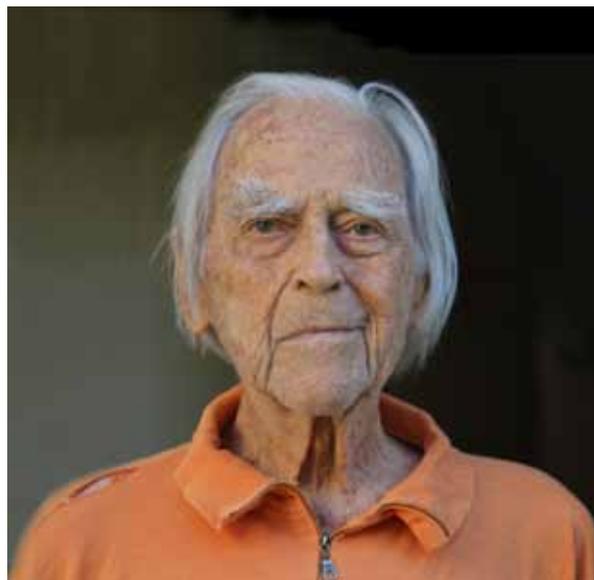


Figure 1: Mick Wright August 2013. Photo: the author

Bachelor of Arts majoring in medieval history and on 14 April 1950 he was awarded a Bachelor of Laws. Again he was fully committed to sport, playing Australian Rules for West Perth and the University, for which he also played rugby and cricket. In the final year the University team's wicket keeper was one Robert Hawke, a later labour union leader and Labor Prime Minister of Australia. The University is the main beneficiary in Mick's will revealing the importance and appreciation he has for this time.

Mick's future career was at this point uncertain. He went to Sydney where he was employed by the Colonial Sugar Refinery, who sent him to work for a short term on Fiji. In 1951 he set sail for England on the P&O liner *SS Orontes*. On board he met a young man, Basil Hennessy, who introduced himself as an archaeologist travelling to work in Turkey and Cyprus. The two spent much of the trip together often talking about sport, Basil had served in the Navy and was a shot-putter and Mick had his Air Force experience and was a high jumper, both played Australian Rules football and of course they enjoyed a drink. When Basil left the ship at Port Said on his way to Turkey it was agreed that if he needed a person to plan and draw at his proposed excavation at Stephania, Cyprus, he would contact Mick.



Figure 2: *The University of Western Australia football team at the Inter-varsity Carnival, Hobart 1947. 'Mick Wright' is standing in the second row fifth from the left. Photo: the Wright Archive.*

In England Mick was employed at the Thames Nautical Training College, HMS *Worcester*, a merchant navy officer training ship near Greenhithe on the Thames. This establishment is known for 'manning the yards', where cadets stand on top of the yards, and while Mick does not admit to dancing on the yardarms like some of the cadets, he certainly spent time aloft. His later exploits, climbing and falling off ancient Middle Eastern buildings, are remembered by many colleagues. Mick attempted to embark on a career at sea, but the Maritime Union refused his application for membership, it seems that a 27 year old ex-serviceman with two university degrees was considered inappropriate union material. The call from Basil Hennessy came and Mick set off for Cyprus to begin what was to become a lifetime in archaeology.

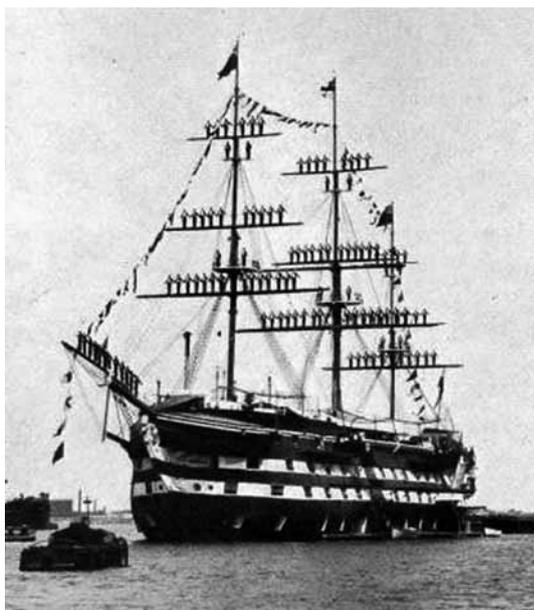


Figure 3: *HMS Worcester, Founders Day 1913, with cadets manning the yards. Photo: Wright Archive.*

In 1950 and 1951 the Ashmolean Museum sponsored an excavation at Myrtou *Pigadhes*, Cyprus, directed by Joan du Plat Taylor. The largest financial contributor to the excavation was the Australian Institute of Archaeology. In 1951 Walter Beasley, the founder of the Institute, agreed to contribute additional funds for the second season so that Basil Hennessy could direct his own excavation of tombs at nearby Stephanía. In July and August 1951 Mick did the plans and drawings for both Stephanía and Myrtou *Pigadhes* (du Plat Taylor 1958: 1 note 1; Hennessy 1964: Preface) and then moved on to Sphagion in September (Hennessy 1964: 22). The people Mick worked with at *Pigadhes* included an experienced Australian archaeologist, Veronica Seton-Williams and beginners, James Mellaart and Diana Kirkbride.

After completing the *Pigadhes* work Basil and Mick met up again in Jordan to participate in the first season of excavations at Jericho directed by Kathleen Kenyon in January 1952. Mick undertook the planning of the tombs and remembers again working with James Mellaart and Diana Kirkbride. Mellaart oversaw the tomb excavations in 1952 (Kenyon 1952: 62), but neither men returned to Jericho for the following seasons. Mick was not enthusiastic about Kenyon's trench-focussed archaeology.

In May Mick travelled north to work with Seton Lloyd at Sultan Tepe and to begin an association with the British Institute for Archaeology in Ankara (Lloyd & Gökçe 1952; 1953: 27); between 1952-55 Mick was described as the Ankara Institute's 'Field Architect'. Other participants at Sultan Tepe that year included Oliver Gurney from Oxford, John Evans, later Director of the Institute of Archaeology, London, Burhan Tozcan and Hydie Lloyd. Seton Lloyd said of Mick that he 'proved adept as a surveyor' (1986: 139). With these contacts Mick was becoming a significant participant in post-War British Middle Eastern and Mediterranean archaeology.



Figure 3: Jericho 1952: Mick (a) riding 'the camel' he never passed up an opportunity for an exploit and (b) relaxing with one of Kenyon's dogs. Photos: courtesy of Linda Hennessy from the archives of Basil Hennessy.

For the next six years Mick would spend much time on Cyprus working in and around the Museum. If Peter Megaw, the Director of Antiquities, or Joe Last was not available to survey and plan a site, Mick would be assigned to the task. For example, he undertook some drawings at Kourion acknowledged by Benson (1961: ix).

Later in 1952 Mick spent a season at the Liverpool University sponsored excavations at Kouklia with Terence Mitford and Harry Illife, as had Hennessy the previous year (Megaw 1953: 133). He remembers planning tombs with Anne Battershill the daughter of Sir William Denis Battershill (1896 – 1959), who had been Colonial Secretary, Cyprus, 1935-1937, Governor of Cyprus, 1939-1941 and had subsequently retired to Kyrenia. His wife, Joan Elizabeth, was a daughter of Major-General Sir John Gellibrand (1872-1945) (Bazley 1981), and had grown up in Tasmania and Victoria; Mick found her pompous. Anne would later marry the Dutch archaeologist Hendricus Jacobus Franken, with whom Mick became close friends (Wright 2005a; 2005b).

At Kouklia Mick also met Pauline Morton, a young nurse who was working as matron at the new Paphos hospital. She was the daughter of a senior British officer, Major Victor Morton, who had been second-in-command of the Gloucester Regiment and had been killed in Burma during World War II. Pauline Alys was born on 27 April 1921 at Southend-on-Sea. She visited the excavations regularly in her Morris Minor complete with beverages

for the team to enjoy in the evening. Mick and Pauline became a couple.

Mick became known to the British legal fraternity on Cyprus and found himself assisting in legal matters as well as boarding with Judge Cyril Griffith-Williams and Chief Justice Sir Eric Hallinan. Living with servants and dressing for dinner were new experiences, but so too was the beginning of hostilities on Cyprus. Hallinan was an important symbol of British rule and was therefore a potential target, in spite of his strong Irish heritage (Crawshaw 1978).

Mr Justice Griffith-Williams retired to live in a house he had built at Myrtou and Mick occasionally stayed with him. In 1953 the Department of Antiquities sponsored the excavation of two large looted tombs in the northern part of the cemetery at Dhenia which was undertaken by Griffith-Williams with the 'assistance of Mr G.R.H. Wright of the British Institute of Archaeology in Ankara' (Megaw 1954: 172; Wright 1963b).

While at Kouklia, Mick received an invitation from C.N. (Dick) Johns, Controller of Antiquities in Libya, to participate in the Ashmolean Museum sponsored excavations at Euesperides, near modern Benghazi (Wright 2002a). Mick was joined on this excavation by Peter Parr, who became a lifelong friend and the director of future excavations at Petra where Mick would also serve as architect. Johns was not a trained Classical archaeologist and was not able to undertake publication of



Figure 5: Mick Wright planning in Field VII at Shechem.
Photo: Wright Archive

Euesperides, however after Mick's intervention in 1991, the publication was taken in hand by Professors David Gill and Michael Vickers (Vickers et al. 1994: 128). Mick worked on the two subsequent seasons at Euesperides including the last in late 1954.

Another assignment in 1953 took Mick to Malta to join John Evans' excavations and to draw the plans of the Ggantija temple and the Hal Salfieni Hypogeum (Evans 1971: v, 45, 173, Plans 14 & 38). The hypogeum survey was the only time that Mick was called on to survey in an extensive underground environment.

When going to Beycesultan in May and June 1954 to work again with Seton Lloyd, it was necessary for Mick and Pauline to marry. The District Officer in Nicosia was Martin Clemens CBE MC, known for his exploits on Guadalcanal during World War II (Clemens 1998). Martin died recently in Melbourne. He duly married Mick and Pauline in Nicosia on 15 April 1954 in the presence of Sir Eric Hallinan and an Alys Edwards. The newly-weds then put the Morris Minor on a ferry at Kyrenia bound for Iskenderun.

Mick and Pauline worked at Beycesultan for two seasons, 1954 and 1955, with other participants including James and Arlette Mellaart, Charles Burney (1954), Satılmış Saygisiz (1954), John Carswell, a draughtsman (1955) and Maurice R. Cookson, a photographer (1955) (Lloyd & Mellaart 1955: 39; 1956: 101). Lloyd commented 'G.R.H. Wright .. reappeared - now a proficient architect/surveyor, bringing with him his charming wife' (1986: 150). Seton Lloyd was a trained architect and would have provided a good benchmark for Mick. While at the Ankara Institute, he became good friends with Hydie Lloyd and David Stronach.

In November 1953, one of Mick's duties on Cyprus had been to escort another Australian, Walter Beasley, around the Island and during their time together they discussed the possibility of Mick excavating with Beasley's financial support. As a result of his time at Euesperides, Mick had become interested in the tombs of Tocra, another city of the Libyan pentapolis, so Beasley agreed to fund Mick's excavation at Tocra and the repatriation of finds to Australia.

After the 1954 season at Beycesultan, Mick and Pauline returned to Cyprus briefly before going on to Benghazi where they lived in a flat until the end of January 1955. Arrangements with Beasley for the Tocra excavation had been set up in June 1954; Beasley had offered Mick £150 with an additional £100 if he discovered significant finds. Beasley explained to Mick that his desire for finds was to encourage Australian universities, and Melbourne in particular, to start teaching ancient history and archaeology (AIA docs 760, 761 & 762). Mick had inherited the Australian disdain for religion, he did not like the biblically-focused Beasley and did not

directly acknowledge his contribution in the subsequent publications (Wright 1963a; 1995).

Mick undertook a survey of tombs at the oasis of Jeghbul in Libya during 1955 (Wright 1997), but his main work for the year was elsewhere. Theresa Goell served as assistant to Professor Hetty Goldman of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, at her Tarsus excavation. She then began her own excavations at Nemrud Daği in 1953 and, after a somewhat troubled collaboration with Professor Friedrich Karl Dörner of Münster University, she became the sole director of the excavation in 1956 (Sanders 2004). Nemrud Daği is the mausoleum of King Antiochus I (64-32 B.C.) in southern Turkey. Mick joined the excavation in May-June 1955 and returned for a second season in 1956; these were the two main excavation seasons at the end of which site surveying and excavation was largely complete (Goell et al. 1996).

Kermit Goell, Theresa's brother ultimately oversaw the completion of the excavation report, and Goell's sister, Eva Godfrey, arranged the finance to do so. The completed two-volume report, *Nemrud Dagi: The Hierothesion of Antiochus I of Commagene: Results of the American Excavations Directed by Theresa B. Goell*, written by Donald Sanders, was published in 1996 (Goell et al. 1996) and includes many of Mick's drawings.

The American Schools of Oriental Research, the Bollingen Foundation, and the National Geographic Society all provided financial support to the Nemrud Daği excavation at various times. Professors Frank Browne and W.F. Albright were members of a supervisory panel and would later promote Mick for other American excavations.



Figure 6: Kalabsha temple as originally sited 1961, left, and as now seen from the Aswan High Dam.
Photos: Wright Archive.

The work on Malta and at Euesperides raised Mick's profile in the world of classical archaeology and led to an invitation to work at Ptolemais with Professor Carl Kraeling of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. Mick contributed many of the drawings and architectural descriptions to the 1962 excavation report. Kraeling clearly appreciated Mick's contribution writing,

For the three major campaigns of [May–June] 1956, 1957 and 1958 I was fortunate to obtain as field architect Mr. G.R.H. Wright, formerly connected with the British School at Ankara. . . Mrs Kraeling, Mrs Nims and Mrs Wright performed important services for the expedition assisting with photography and ... (1962: v)

Between 1955 and 1958 Mick was formally associated with the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. His growing status in the American archaeological establishment led to further opportunities. In 1957 Mick joined the second season of the Drew University and McCormick Theological Seminary sponsored excavations at Shechem where he would go on to work for the subsequent seasons until 1967 (Campbell 2002: 6-7; Wright G.E. 1965: 39, 43).

By 1958 Mick felt the need for formal architectural qualifications and was pleased when the Bartlett School of Architecture, University College London, accepted him into the 3rd year of architecture enabling him to complete a Certificate in 1958/59. Subjects he covered included the history of Ancient, Classical, Mediaeval and Renaissance Architecture and practical and design subjects of surveying, construction, sanitation and structures. Meanwhile Pauline studied public health in London and was able to secure United Nations World Health Organisation (UNWHO) positions from then on.

Pauline set up house initially in Damascus and subsequently in Beirut, Lesotho, Sana and finally at Avignon providing Mick with a home base from which he would travel to archaeological assignments and to libraries where he prepared his many scholarly publications.

In 1959 Mick joined the second season of British School's excavations at Petra directed by Peter Parr (Parr 1960; Parr 1968). Mick subsequently published his own

architectural accounts of his work (1961a; 1961c) and in the early 1960s he oversaw some reconstruction of the Khazne and Qasr el-Bint at Petra (Wright 1961b).

This experience led to an offer from UNESCO to join the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo to work with the construction company Hochtief as the Archaeological Manager to undertake the relocation of the Roman Temple at Kalabsha. The construction of the High Dam at Aswan began in 1960, and between 1961 and 1963 Mick found himself pulling down, relocating and reconstructing the Kalabsha temple (Wright 1977). In the following year he also worked with Hochtief on the Abu Simbel relocation.

The temple was originally located at Bab al-Kalabsha (Gate of Kalabsha), approximately 50 km upstream of the Aswan High Dam. In order to improve its accessibility it was decided to relocate it to a site just south of the dam itself. Mick chose the site on the south end of the island of Elephantine where the temple now stands in full view of the visitors to the High Dam.

The temple of Kalabsha was the largest free-standing temple of Egyptian Nubia (after Abu Simbel) to be moved and re-erected at a new site (Wright 1972). The disassembling began in September 1961 and took two seasons totalling six months. During this time the water level was regulated by the Low Dam so that it rose and fell annually necessitating the work at Kalabsha to be carried out from barges and on dry land. The blocks were moved down-stream by barge and set out course by course in a lay-down area near the final site. The last material was removed in 1963 the final time the water was low enough to allow access. Between October 1962 and November 1963 the temple was then rebuilt in its present location (Wright 1976). When reviewing Mick's description of this work, *Kalabsha, The preserving of the temple* (1972), Hans Goedicke said of the project report,

It will for all times stand as a model of how a project of this kind is to be carried out. The careful documentation, the numerous illustrations, and the accompanying plans demonstrate every single step of the work (1974).

In the foundation fill of the Roman temple some 250 blocks from an earlier Ptolemaic temple, many with



Figure 6: *The Shechem Team 1962 with Mick in 'whites' sitting cross-legged front and centre.*
Photo: courtesy of the Semitic Museum, Harvard University

colourful reliefs, were discovered. These were removed as the water levels allowed and kept until September 1974 when the security situation improved and they, with new supplementary material, could be reconstructed into a small sanctuary building adjacent to the re-constructed Roman Temple on the south end of the island of Elephantine (Wright 1987a).

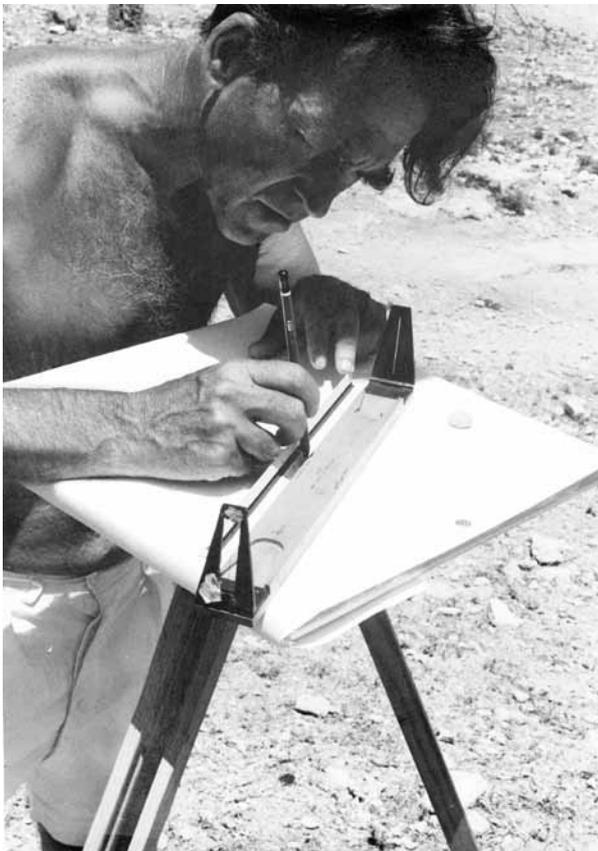


Figure 7: *Apollonia 1966, Mick using a plane table.*
Photo: Wright Archive

During this time Mick was able to continue with other archaeological expeditions such as Shechem. The American archaeologists who worked with Mick at Shechem appreciated his drawing ability and were fascinated by his eccentricities. He dressed in white and without warning would disappear for days at a time, before returning also without warning as an apparition across the Tell. The workmen nicknamed him 'the ghost'.

Mick inspired the Shechem team to develop their own drawing abilities. The Shechem dig was the crucible of modern American Levantine archaeology and many leading American archaeologists began there. While the director, G. Ernest Wright, had limited recent archaeological experience, Larry Toombs and Joseph Callaway had dug with Kenyon and had knowledge of stratigraphy and site recording. Mick added to the dig's architectural expertise with his broad experience. His ability to manage his responsibilities was acknowledged in the 1963 Shechem preliminary report,

Balancing the Shechem excavation with Kalabsha GRH Wright, presently chief archaeologist at the German Federal Republic's temple-moving operation in Upper Egypt, was chief architect, assisted by J. Stanley Chesnut and David Voelterdig (Toombs et al. 1963).

From 1964 Dan T. Hughs was also an important contributor completing many Field IX drawings (per. comm. E.F. Campbell, January 2014).

New excavation opportunities continued to present themselves. Between June – August 1964 Mick worked with the University of New York at Mendes (Hansen 1965: 31). The following year in June he returned to North Africa with the University of Michigan to work for two seasons at Apollonia in Cyrenaica (White 1966; Pedley 1967).



*Figure 8: Mada'in Saleh 1985, Mick liked working in hot climates and 'dressed' accordingly.
Photo: Wright Archive*

Between 1968 and 1974 UNESCO re-engaged Mick to undertake assessments of heritage building reconstruction in Iran and India (Curiel et al. 1968). The Masjed-e Shah mosque in Isfahan was one building to be assessed and in following years, Mick was involved with the Srirangam Temple in Tamil Nadu, the largest functioning Hindu temple in the world (Wright 1969), the Rameswaram Temple (Wright 1971) and finally the Sri Ramanatha pilgrimage site also on the Island of Rameswaram in Tamil Nadu (Wright 1973). He also had assignments advising on the restoration of the Amiri Palace, Doha, Qatar.

In 1978-9 Mick was engaged by the Department of Antiquities Kenya to undertake survey work on the coast of Kenya with Neville Chittick and to produce drawings of Islamic sites (Wright 1984). During this time Pauline lived in Lesotho where her employment with UNWHO had taken her. Mick enjoyed his visits there as he was able to play cricket once again, but his academic base was at the University of Munich where from 1979 he became a research professor.

UNESCO again employed Mick to be the controller of restoration work at Mada'in Saleh, Saudi Arabia, in 1985 and in the following year he was responsible for reporting on the preservation and possible restoration of the Mārib Dam in Yemen (Wright 1987b). Mada'in Saleh was recently declared a World Heritage Site.

Work at Munich University was focussed on the re-commencement of the excavations at Assur, Iraq, that were directed by Walter Andrae many years earlier. Mick lived in the 'Andrae' dig house for some of 1989 and 1990 and arranged much of the first and last season of excavation in 1990 (Wright 2000). The First Gulf War ended the possibility of further work.

Partly in recognition of his prolific academic output Mick had the distinction of being a research associate at three distinguished European universities, Munich, Tübingen and Leiden. His work at the Kalabsha temple contributed to a professorial appointment at Munich and an association with Prof Arnulf Kuschke in relation to Shechem led to Mick's appointment at Tübingen (Wright G.E. 1965: 105). The Tübingen library provided the resources for the preparation of Mick's volume on the architecture of ancient Cyprus.

For many years Mick had been travelling long distances to spend time 'at home' with Pauline. At the end of the 1980s Pauline had a UNWHO position in Geneva and Mick was based at Munich, so they settled in France and eventually found their way to the Chateau de la Barthelasse, Avignon.

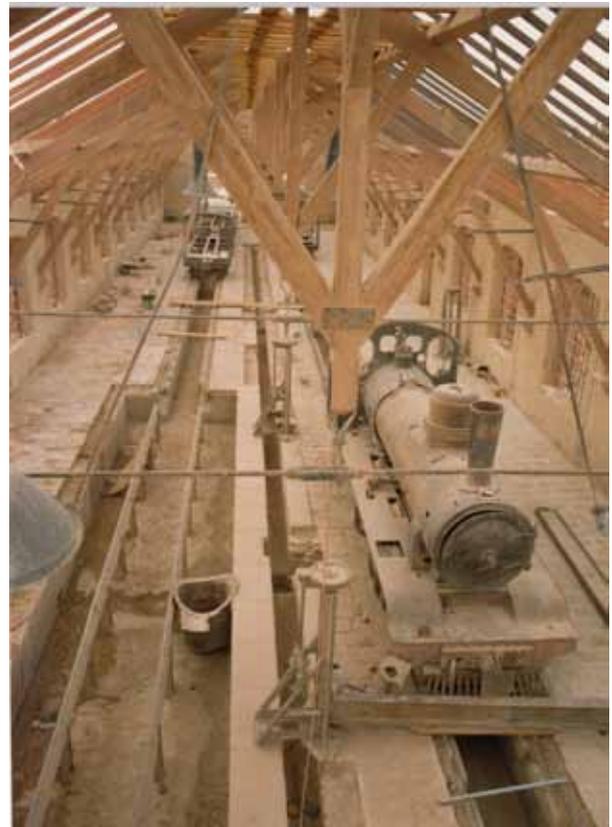


Figure 9: Mada'in Saleh 1985, Hejaz Railway sheds under renovation. Photo: Wright Archive

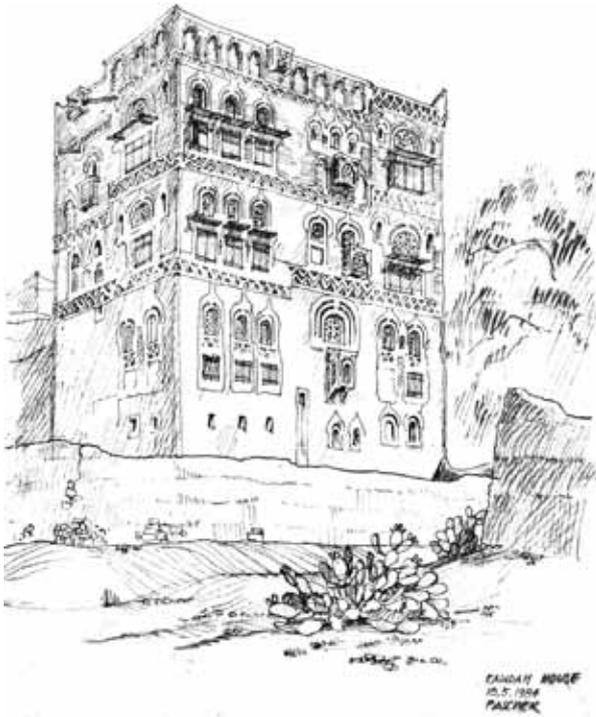


Figure 10: A sketch of Mick's 'home' near Sana, Yemen. Photo: Wright Archive

Mick's research output continued with the assistance of libraries at Leiden, Tübingen, Nicosia, Rome and Athens and a typist Lynette de Tcherepakhine. Pauline died in 2012. Mick continues to live at Avignon and occasionally returns to Australia for medical treatment where he has medical concessions as a returned serviceman.

Site work assignments reduced after 1986 giving Mick more blocks of time to prepare substantial books on the ancient architecture of Syria and Cyprus and then the monumental three volume set on building technology. The regular completion of scholarly papers continued almost to the present.

It is too early to assess Mick's contribution to archaeology and heritage management, and given the volume and scope of his published work, this will take some time. Instead I will pass on the substance of comments his colleagues have made and make some remarks about the role of the architect in archaeology as Mick saw it.

Shechem was a foundational excavation for American archaeology in the Levant. It was Mick who is credited with teaching many of the team how to record plans and sections. This made a significant contribution to American Levantine field archaeology.

The role of the site architect has not been without its controversy. Henk Franken, a close friend of Mick, was critical of sections drawn by site architects at the end of a season because they may not be related to the stratigraphy as excavated (Franken & Franken-Battershill 1963: 12ff). But Mick is equally critical of Franken's refusal to delineate building structures; plans of partially excavated

buildings are nonsensical to architects. For some Processual archaeologists, a certain level of randomness in locating trenches was thought to be 'scientific', whereas architects would advocate that common sense dictates that walls, rooms and buildings should be fully explored.

Mick encountered the issue in an earlier era and has a discussion in *Shechem III: Volume 2* (2002b: 1-17) contrasting German excavators who have 'the basic aim of resurrecting the building remains' with those who follow Albright and Kenyon, who aim to use a typological series of pottery to establish a chronological sequence (Wright 2002b: 5f). At Shechem G. Ernest Wright followed Albright and Kenyon and amassed large numbers of *loci* in the process.

The Shechem team knew that Franken's criticism was direct at them and in Appendix 1 of G. Ernest Wright's *Shechem* Larry Toombs took issue with Franken describing how all trench supervisors did draw their own sections and how composite sections involving multiple trenches were drawn by the site architect from the supervisor's drawings (1965:185-190). Both Mick and Toombs argue that this is necessary for consistency of interpretation and presentation. Mick's drawings are typical for archaeology and have limited information provided about the source material.

Mick also wrote,

Archaeological survey drawings must show clearly what is on the ground, but they must also effectively illustrate the text of the final report (2002b: 6).

To achieve this he thought that all *loci* should be shown, something that would render architectural drawings of limited value. The solution Mick suggested is for area plans and sections to be drawn 'with a transparent overlays giving a numbered key diagram of all the *loci*'. GIS software packages now make such an approach possible, but Mick who never even used a typewriter, let alone a Total Station or Photoshop, would not have been the person to develop such a system.

Even though it is from the pre-electronic era, *Shechem III* is a very effective record of excavation. When reviewing it, Professor Tim Harrison was able to suggest alternative stratigraphic sequences, which left him to conclude that,

...this attention to stratigraphic detail, faithfully and successfully reproduced in Shechem III, permits an independent assessment of the stratigraphic (and cultural) sequence developed by the Expedition. In so doing, Campbell has ensured that this volume will become (and remain) an essential reference for any researcher concerned with the archaeology of ancient Shechem and its broader role in the cultural history of the region (2004: 95).

Mick's detailed drawings and Ted Campbell's careful correlation of them with the stratigraphy accurately and usefully publishes the results of the Wheeler-Kenyon

archaeological method adopted at Shechem, something that Kenyon herself struggled to achieve. *Shechem III* demonstrates what is attainable when the work of the site architect is integrated into the archaeological analysis.

As far as I can determine Mick did not contribute anything new to the techniques of site recording. It was his thoroughness and high standard of drafting that garnered respect and inspired others to emulate. He was initially self-taught, but his early experience with Seton Lloyd would have introduced him to many traditional architectural recording and drawing methods. Like most architects he used a plane table, something foreign to surveyors; he worked within a well-established tradition of architectural archaeology. His reconstruction of buildings was systematic and was something that he learnt by experience and from his time at the Bartlett School of Architecture. Much of his work in Jordan, Egypt, Iran and in India was pioneering and is highly regarded.

In recent years he has written much about the religious aspects of architecture, but he does not seem to have been acclaimed for this. He is proud of his publishing record and his volumes on the architecture of the southern Levant and Cyprus and the three-volume set on building technology will be standard works for many years to come. The current fascination with gender, class and identity has meant that those like Mick Wright who march to the sound of a different drum are not now focal points, but any reference to original ancient architectural data cannot ignore his work.

Mick Wright is fondly remembered by many of his colleagues as an interesting and eccentric person committed to architectural drawing; the sheer volume of his drawing and writing is breath-taking. He was known for his antics, drinking and carousing, but his behaviour never prevented the job being completed and Mick will not die an alcoholic. His medical situation now forbids alcohol, although he warmly remembers evening discourses with drinks of rum and coke. After a few beers he could quote for hours from literature, ancient and modern, Ovid, Job, Shakespeare and Gilbert and Sullivan amongst many others. Mick's familiarity with Classical languages and literature, French, German and Arabic, and a broad range of philosophies was not the product of his Australian university education, but of a brilliant mind and a life time of learning. Paradoxically, while Mick worked tirelessly to banish what he saw as an uncultured Australian heritage, he retained attitudes to women and non-Europeans that unfortunately are still common amongst Australian males, especially sportsmen.

Mick was absent from Australia between 1951 and 2002. He is not derogatory about his home country, although he quotes Gibbon, 'If a man does not know his history, he is a boy', (in fact it may originally be Cicero, *Nescire autem quid ante quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum* - To be ignorant of the past is to remain a child); he feels that Australians do not know their history.

Mick's work has been recognised by three of the world's great universities, but in Australian scholarly circles he remains largely unknown and unrecognised. This may surprise some, how could somebody so well published be unknown? The sporting enthusiast from the suburb of Subiaco, who joined the vanguard of Australia's international archaeologists, has with some justification achieved a position of worldwide scholarly distinction.

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Sources and Acknowledgements

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Cuneiform in Australian and New Zealand Collections: A First Glimpse

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Abstract: The paper identifies the cuneiform collections in Australia and New Zealand and describes a project aimed at publishing the material they contain.

Since the rediscovery of the civilizations of the Ancient Near East in the middle of the 19th century B.C., hundreds of thousands of cuneiform tablets have been recovered from official excavations and less formal diggings from the cuneiform homeland of Iraq, but also what is today Iran, Syria, Turkey, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Israel, and Saudi Arabia. Major collections of these tablets are housed in the great museums of the Northern Hemisphere, most famously, the British Museum in London, the Louvre in Paris, the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin, the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia, and the Oriental Institute in Chicago in the United States. However, even these large and famous collections with their thousands and tens of thousands of tablets are, so to speak, just the tip of the iceberg. Cuneiform tablets are to be found just about everywhere, in smaller collections in other museums, university libraries, a wide range of other institutions, and in the hands of private collectors. A few hundred, perhaps as many as a thousand, of these tablets have reached collections in Australia and New Zealand. Yet, to date, the vast majority of these tablets remain unpublished, and many of the collections are virtually unknown even to experts in the field of Assyriology.

On September 7-8, 2013, a small group of scholars of the Ancient Near East gathered at The Australian Institute of Archaeology on the campus of La Trobe University to discuss how best to study the cuneiform tablet collections in Australia and New Zealand. Present were the authors of this article, Russell Hobson, Larry Stillman, and Christopher Davey, the Director of the Institute. The program included a survey of the present state of our knowledge of cuneiform collections in Australia and New Zealand, and a discussion of how best to improve and organize this knowledge. At the end of the two days, it was agreed by all present to form a research group, provisionally to be called CANZ (Cuneiform in Australian and New Zealand Collections) with the following three main mandates:

- 1) To produce a monograph which will gather and present the cuneiform tablets in Australian and New Zealand collections. It is expected that the proposed

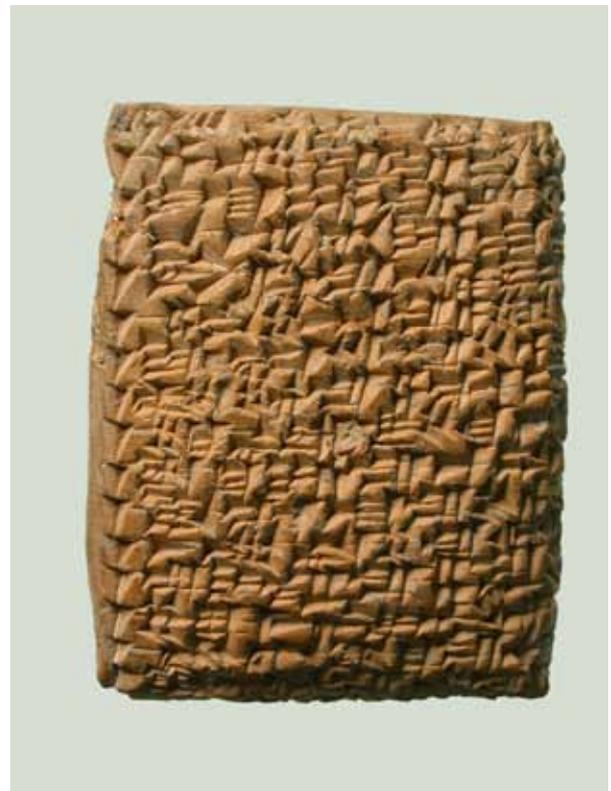


Figure 1: A cuneiform tablet from Alalakh Level IV held by the Australian Institute of Archaeology, c 1550BC IA8.505 (AT 132) l. 65, w. 50, d. 25.

- book will include an introduction to the topic, a chapter on how the objects reached the southern hemisphere, a catalogue of texts including bibliography for published items, and editions of selected texts.

- 2) To produce an interactive web-site for educational purposes.

- 3) To publicize the collections, with an eye towards organizing an international conference to discuss the materials, and ultimately towards an exhibition of the materials for museums and other interested parties in Australia and New Zealand, and beyond.



Figure 2: A Neo-Babylonian barrel inscription held by the Australian Institute of Archaeology IA11.305, l. 175 dia. 100

All the participants agreed that the first step in reaching these goals was to identify those museums and other institutions, public and private, which might possess cuneiform tablets and other objects inscribed in cuneiform. The purpose of this short article is to share what we already know about the collections in Australia and New Zealand, thus provide a first glimpse of the material. However, an even more important goal of the present paper is to publicize the project in the hope that our readers will be able to provide information concerning the locations of tablets and inscribed objects for which even we as yet have no information. The project shall also use Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI) to produce enhanced images of the cuneiform materials. The technology will be used in co-operation with La Trobe University.

Australia¹

The Australian Institute of Archaeology

The collection of The Australian Institute of Archaeology is to our knowledge the largest collection in Australia, and by far the best documented. A recent catalogue lists well over 100 items, including materials from Nimrud, Alalakh, and other sites. The Institute's records reveal that a number of tablets received in the 1930s are no longer in its holdings and it is hoped that these tablets may be identified; some are known to be on loan, while others were donated to other institutions.

Benjamin Foster of Yale University published an overview of the collection (Foster 1980).² Approximately one quarter of the collection consists of royal inscriptions on bricks and cylinders, some of which have been integrated into the RIM publications. There are a total of 11 Alalakh tablets listed in the catalogue. These are published by Wiseman, some of them in his main publication of Alalakh tablets (Wiseman 1953), and others in his supplementary article (Wiseman 1954). The five archival texts from the Assyrian capital at Nimrud were published by J. N. Postgate, *The Governor's Palace Archive* (Postgate 1973). There are also a number of economic texts from the Sargonic and Ur III periods and a collection of clay

bullae-dockets. Eight other tablets and a replica of a fourth millennium archaic tablet were published, some with translations all with photographs, in the catalogue of the museum exhibition *Early Writing 8-15*.³ This large collection is being studied by Luis Siddall, Christopher Davey, Russell Hobson, Wayne Horowitz and Larry Stillman, with the cooperation of the Australian Institute for Archaeology's Council.

The Nicholson Museum, the University of Sydney

The Nicholson Museum at the University of Sydney houses 33 cuneiform texts. The collection has a varied provenance including gifts from the British Museum, the Iraq Museum, the Australian Institute of Archaeology and private donors. The texts comprise royal inscriptions from Uruk, Ur, Nimrud, Nineveh and Babylonia; Old Akkadian and Ur III economic texts and a clay bulla. This collection is being studied by Luis Siddall, Wayne Horowitz and Larry Stillman, with the cooperation of Candace Richards and the permission of the Senior Curator, Michael Turner.

The Museum of Ancient Cultures, Macquarie University

The Museum of Ancient cultures is in possession of 22 cuneiform documents. Of the cuneiform documents five are royal inscriptions and have been recently edited and published by Siddall (2013) in CDLB. The remaining 17 documents are archival texts and most of these are Ur III economic tablets. The other documents comprise archaic Sumerian records and some Old Babylonian texts. Luis Siddall is editing these texts, with the cooperation of Karl Van Dyke and the permission of the Museum of Ancient Culture's Management Committee.

Powerhouse Museum (Sydney)

Dr. Paul Donnelly of The Powerhouse Museum has drawn our attention to the four cuneiform texts in the museum's collection. The on-line catalogue indicates that two of the texts are clay cones discovered during Woolley's excavations at Ur and the other two are economic texts from the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods, respectively. Luis Siddall will work on this collection.

Museum of Antiquities, University of New England

The Museum of Antiquities at the University of New England houses three cuneiform texts, which date to the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods. Two are royal inscriptions from the reigns of Gudea and Sin-kāšid, respectively. Both are further exemplars of texts edited in the RIM volumes. The other is an economic text dated to year 47 of Šulgi. The collection is being edited by Luis Siddall in cooperation with Michelle Arens and the permission of the University Curator, Ian Stephenson.

Rare Books and Special Collections Library in Fisher Library, at the University of Sydney

Rare Books and Special Collections Library in the Fisher Library has two cuneiform documents which date to the



Figure 3: Display inscription belonging to the Neo-Assyrian king Assur-nasir-pal II 883-859 BC. Held by the Australian Institute of Archaeology, from Nimrud, Gypsum, IA5.034, l. 480, w. 370, d. 90

Ur III period. One is a Gudea cone and the other is an economic document. Luis Siddall is editing these tablets, with the cooperation and permission of Jacqueline Grainger.

In addition to these collections, we are also engaged with the cuneiform collections at the Antiquities Museum at the University of Queensland, the Abbey Museum on the Sunshine Coast, the Museum of Classical Archaeology at the University of Adelaide and the John Elliot Museum at the University of Tasmania. Our current knowledge of Australian cuneiform collections is limited to the east coast. Further investigation is required to identify any collections located in the western states.

New Zealand

The Otago Museum, Dunedin

The Otago Museum holds a collection of approximately 150 cuneiform tablets and inscribed objects, making it, to our knowledge, the largest collection in our group. Most of the collection was purchased by Dr. Lindsay Rogers, a Dunedin native who served as Professor of Surgery at the Royal School of Medicine, Baghdad, in Iraq, immediately after World War II, and returned to New Zealand in 1950. The collection includes the expected administrative texts, mostly from the Old Akkadian to Old Babylonian periods, royal inscriptions from the Ur III and Isin-Larsa Periods, and the time of Gudea and Nebuchadnezzar II, but there

are also a number of less common finds including a medical tablet with prescriptions against the Lamaštu-demon that is illustrated by a drawing of the demon. Only one tablet in this collection has been published, this presenting a childbirth incantation and related material (Farber 1984). The collection is being studied by Wayne Horowitz, Larry Stillman, and Peter Zilberg, with the cooperation of Ian Griffin, Moira White, Scott Reeves, and Beth Rees of the Otago Museum, and the permission of the Otago Museum Trust Board.

The Canterbury Museum, Canterbury

Roger Fyfe of The Canterbury Museum reports that the museum holds five original cuneiform documents, all early acquisitions, three from 1888 and two in 1902.

The National Library of New Zealand, Wellington

The National Library of New Zealand web-site offers photographs of three small Sumerian administrative tablets, all apparently from the Ur III period.

Study of the tablets at The Canterbury Museum and National Library of New Zealand, and the search for other cuneiform finds now in New Zealand is only just now beginning.

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Endnotes

- 1 The sequence of collections below is according to approximate number of items in the collection; larger collections first, and smaller collections later.
- 2 Foster also prepared editions of a number of tablets in the collection which were submitted for publication to *Acta Sumerologica* but did not appear in print before the journal suspended publication.
- 3 The Ian Potter Museum of Art, the University of Melbourne and C.J. Davey, *Early Writing*, published by The Ian Potter Museum of Art, the University of Melbourne in association with the Australian Institute of Archaeology, in 2003.

Reviews

Judy Powell, 2013 *Love's Obsession: The Lives and Archaeology of Jim and Eve Stewart*, Kent Town, South Australia: Wakefield Press, ISBN 978-1-74305-235-8, pp. xvi + 308, 8 pls, 1 map A\$29.95

Reviewed by Graeme F. Bourke, University of New England, NSW; gbourke2@une.edu.au

Judy Powell is an Australian archaeologist whose PhD research at the University of Queensland was published in 1996 under the title *Fishing in the Prehistoric Aegean (Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology: Göteborg)*. She has worked on excavations in Cyprus, Greece and Jordan and on Indigenous and historical archaeology projects in Queensland.

Archaeology is a young discipline in Australia, even when the relative brevity of European occupation of the continent is considered, and the archaeological establishment, such as it was in the post-WWII period, appears to have held the material record of the continent's pre-European inhabitants unworthy of study. Powell, while making it sufficiently clear that she deplors this neglect, weaves a record of the discipline's development from the early twentieth century into a biographical tale of two of its most enigmatic personalities, the Australian Jim Stewart and his English second wife, Eve Dray.

The body of the book is divided into three Parts, comprising twelve chapters in all. There is also a short prologue, along with an epilogue and appendix.

The five chapters in Part One are set mainly in Cyprus and England and recount the lives of Jim and Eve Stewart before they made Australia their permanent home in 1947. Chapter One deals with the lives of Eve's parents in Egypt and Cyprus and her privileged upbringing in England, where, despite an undistinguished academic record, she developed a love for practical archaeology. In Chapter Two, we hear of Eve's work in the late 1930s for the Cyprus Museum with Joan du Plat Taylor and later with Jim Stewart and his then wife Eleanor. Chapter Three focuses on Stewart: his education at Cambridge; his return journey from Australia to England in 1932, which was conducted partly overland through the Middle East, where he acquired a passion for archaeology; his marriage to Eleanor and their first visit to Cyprus; and their subsequent excavations at Vounous. Chapter Four mainly concerns the impact upon Stewart's life of WWII, during which he enlisted as an officer in the Cyprus regiment, was evacuated to Crete when Greece surrendered, but was captured in 1941 and spent the rest of the war as a POW in Germany, dreaming up plans for a large-scale archaeological survey of Cyprus. In Chapter Five, we hear of Stewart's attempts to make a reality of his archaeological plans and his and Eleanor's decision that he should accept the offer of a position in the Nicholson Museum at

Sydney University. Before his rendezvous with Eleanor and their newly-born son at Port Said *en route* to Australia, it is nevertheless revealed, an extended visit to Cyprus led to a love affair with Eve Dray.

Part Two concerns the lives of Jim and Eve Stewart in Australia and Cyprus. Chapter Six recounts their passage to Sydney and establishment of a home there, and Stewart's continued efforts to organise and fund large-scale archaeological work on Cyprus. Here, too, the negative effects of wartime experiences upon his personality and health become clear. In Chapter Seven, we learn of Stewart's own privileged background and early life, his marriage to Eve and their residence at the family property, Mount Pleasant, near Bathurst in central western New South Wales. Stewart's failed attempt to turn this ancestral mansion over to Sydney University as an Archaeology Centre is also reported. In Chapter Eight, we find, the couple spent much of 1955 on Cyprus, excavating at Vasilia and Ayia Paraskevi, after which they travelled in western Europe. By the late 1950s, we learn in Chapter Nine, Stewart continued to make grandiose plans while neglecting his failing health and leaving urgent work undone. Chapter Ten relates his appointment, despite further deteriorating health, failure to complete work and a tendency towards indiscretion when discussing colleagues in correspondence, to the inaugural Chair of Near Eastern Archaeology at Sydney University. There is, too, another positive: highly successful excavations around Karmi in Cyprus. The Chapter ends, however, with Jim Stewart's predictable death at Bathurst on February 6, 1962.

Part Three tells of Eve's life after Stewart's death. Chapter Eleven relates her completion for publication of some of Stewart's work, negotiations with Sydney University relating to his library and archaeological material and arrangement of various family estates. Chapter Twelve concerns her life at Wentworth Falls in the Blue Mountains, between Bathurst and Sydney, where she completed more of Jim's work and continued to negotiate with various museums.

The Epilogue, entitled 'Legacies', reports Eve's death on December 8, 2005, at 91 and provides a broader picture of her later years. It also outlines the fate of much of Jim's collection of books and coins and the subsequent careers of many of the figures who appear in the book, including Basil Hennessy, Laila Haglund, Paul Åström, Robert Merrillees, Peter Megaw, Vassos Karageorghis and Alexander Cambitoglou. Money from the sale of Eve father's estate in Cyprus, we find, helped to purchase a building in Nicosia for the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, now known as the J.R. Stewart Residence. The Epilogue ends with a final assessment of the characters of both Jim and Eve Stewart. The Appendix consists mainly of a reflection upon the use of written correspondence as a source of evidence for the book.

With considerable success, Powell employs a wide range of sources to weave together two interrelated narrative strands, the personal lives of her main characters and the

development of archaeology in Australia and beyond over several decades. In addition, occasional passages provide highly useful background information, setting a context for scholars whose interests lie in other fields as much as for more general readers drawn by the romantic elements of the story.

Powell's Jim Stewart is a complex figure. In the chapters that deal with the pre-war period, we are presented with a privileged and politically conservative young man who, nevertheless, shows little sign of intolerance and whose exuberant spirit of adventure leads him to a passion for archaeology. During a flight from Karachi to Persia in 1932 that includes a nude dip on the Persian Gulf with his fellow passengers, Jim, not yet 20, writes to his father: 'Beautiful asparagus, cold chicken and ham, cheese and a bottle of beer, Imperial Airways do you well.' Even on Crete after the allied withdrawal from mainland Greece and on to Egypt, Stewart's appropriate decision to stay with his Cypriot troops when other officers choose to flee earns their undying gratitude. Four years as a POW however, take their toll, and like so many others Stewart returns to civilian life a changed man. A process of ongoing physical and psychological deterioration, apparently exacerbated by an obsessive sense of perfection, has been set in motion.

Eve, on the other hand, grows steadily stronger over time. 'Aged twenty,' we are told, she 'appeared a serious young woman, beautiful but reserved' (p.24). Though only one year younger than Stewart, after his death at 48 she is both fit and well enough to live alone at Wentworth Falls for four decades, and we find her finalising her and Stewart's affairs, holding her own in negotiations with influential individuals and institutions. Eve Stewart clearly takes an independent interest in public affairs: although a supporter of his own party, she writes to Liberal Prime Minister Malcolm Frazer asking him to reverse the party's policy on building a dam across the pristine Franklin River in Tasmania.

The personal stories of these and a host of figures well-known in archaeological circles, however, is not Powell's only concern, and some readers might find more interest in the passages in which she records various aspects of the development of the discipline, including: the foundation of the Institute of Archaeology in London; the establishment of foreign schools of archaeology in Rome and Athens; the Swedish Cyprus Expedition of 1927-31; Woolley's excavation at Ur and Petrie's last at Gaza; the relationship between romance and reality in archaeology; the establishment and development of the discipline in Australia; and, of course, the excavations of Stewart and others in Cyprus.

There are also valuable though brief contextual passages concerning such matters of intrinsic interest as: the history and geography of Cyprus (pp.10-12); the lives of British expatriates in Cyprus in the 1930s (pp.17-19); the nature of the British Cyprus Regiment (pp. 67-69); the effects of WWII on participants (pp.86-88); Australian politics

and society in 1947 (pp.104-105); and political developments in Cyprus, which appear as they become relevant to the narrative.

Some readers, I for one, might enjoy more of this and a little less, for example, of the activities of the Stewarts' cats, but this is simply a matter of taste. There are, on the other hand, some faults that must be eliminated from any second edition. The first provides the reader with unintended amusement: Powell states (p.32) that Tom Dray and his friend William Routledge 'agreed that whoever died first would inherit the other's estate.' Less forgivable is the doubly incorrect description (p.71) of Thermopylae as 'the pass held heroically by Athenians during the Persian Wars'. There is also some confusion over the date of Stewart's appointment to the chair of Near Eastern Studies at Sydney: apparently August 2, 1960 in the text (p.192), but 1961 in the timeline (p.270). Certain aspects of Powell's syntax may cause concern to some readers.

A surprising omission is the fate of Stewart's private collection of Cypriot finds. Eve's protracted and difficult negotiations with Sydney University over this issue are reported, but we do not learn that, thanks largely to both Eve Stewart and Basil Hennessy, much of this collection is now held at the University of New England Museum of Antiquities, providing the Museum with the most chronologically comprehensive collection of Cypriot artifacts held anywhere in Australia, and ensuring its international reputation thanks to the publication in the Swedish series *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* of much of the Cypriot material by Jennifer Webb and David Frankel.¹

All in all, however, this book succeeds on a number of levels. It provides a gentle introduction for the general reader to Mediterranean archaeology interwoven with an engrossing tale of romantic love. It also brings us closer to the world of the British Empire during its dying days, spanning the globe from England to Cyprus, Egypt and Iraq and on to Persia, India and Australia. Although primarily a prehistoric archaeologist, Powell has produced a significant work of popular modern history, played out on a wide stage, that should appeal to those with an interest in archaeology at any level.

1. Webb, J.M. 1997 *Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities 18, Cypriote Antiquities in Australian Collections, vol. 1* SIMA XX.18; Jonsered: Åström; Webb, J.M. and D. Frankel, 2001 *Corpus of Cypriote Antiquities 21, Eight Middle Bronze Age tomb groups from Dhenia in the University of New England Museum of Antiquities*, SIMA XX.21, Jonsered: Åström; Webb, J.M. 2002 *Exploring the Bronze Age in Cyprus. Australian Perspectives*, UNE Museum of Antiquities Maurice Kelly Lecture 5; Armidale; Frankel, D. 2008 *A thousand and one tombs. Survey, sampling and ceramics in Bronze Age Cyprus*, UNE Museum of Antiquities Maurice Kelly Lecture 12, Armidale

Lydia C. Carr, 2012 *Tessa Verney Wheeler: Women and Archaeology before World War Two*, Oxford: University Press ISBN 978-0-19-964022-5, pp. 320, 23 in-text illustrations £51.

Reviewed by Christopher J. Davey

Sir Robert Eric Mortimer (Rik) Wheeler has been immortalised in archaeology because of his past media presence and his contribution to the archaeological excavation technique that bears his name, the Wheeler-Kenyon method. By contrast his wife, Tessa Verney, who was also an archaeologist served as field director at Wheeler's excavations, published the results, taught archaeology at University College London (UCL), arranged much of the finance and logistics for these excavations and the beginning of the Institute of Archaeology, including the arrangement of its accommodation at St John's Lodge, Regent Park, has been largely forgotten.

We are indebted to Lydia Carr for a well researched biography of Verney Wheeler, as she calls her to make a distinction from her husband. The book began life as an Oxford University PhD thesis, and traces Verney Wheeler's life from an uncertain birth in Johannesburg 1893 to her premature death as a result of complications from a minor surgery in a London hospital in April 1936. This book is not written 'to put the record straight', but rather to understand Verney Wheeler's life in archaeology, to evaluate her place in the development of archaeological method and to appreciate what it meant to be a woman in English archaeology prior to World War II. It has a useful timeline, Verney Wheeler's bibliography, an index and many interesting images that could have been better produced.

I first became aware of Tessa Wheeler when reading Veronica Seton-William's autobiography. Soon after Nancy Champion de Crespigny and Veronica arrived in England in 1934 'the Wheelers' whisked them away to a conference at York and then to Maiden Castle. Veronica is viewed by Carr as a successor to Verney Wheeler, the third generation of English female archaeologists and along with Molly Cotton and Charles Peers she managed the fieldwork of the 1936 season at Maiden Castle after Verney Wheeler's death. When deciding to make the 1936 season her last, Veronica wrote (quoted by Carr 234):

By 1936 the magic of the great hill had gone: Mrs Wheeler was dead. Rik Wheeler was in many ways a perfectionist with drive and ambition but no patience with the minutiae of the day-to-day running of things. He was a difficult man to work with and one of the reasons I did not do the last season was because of a disagreement....he said to me 'I can see what I wish to achieve but when I fall short of this I tend to lash out at the nearest person'.

Verney Wheeler's role of 'keeping the show on the road' and enduring Wheeler's temper is apparent. Rachael

Maxwell-Hyslop, another student at Maiden Castle, was quoted in her obituary (*Telegraph* 3/8/2011) as saying about Wheeler,

He had a brilliance about finding sites – about where you ought to dig, but he spent an awful lot of time playing around with the good-looking female students.

Wheeler was a serial philanderer and Carr describes how this deeply hurt Tessa. As he aged, his pursuit of women, especially female students, increased. Indeed when Tessa died, Wheeler was travelling incommunicado in the Middle East with his latest girlfriend and only found out about his wife's death when on his return journey he read her obituary in *The Times* at Gare du Nord, Paris. Carr resists the temptation to condemn Wheeler and unlike Jacquetta Hawkes, Wheeler's biographer (*Mortimer Wheeler: Adventurer in Archaeology*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982), she does not attempt to offer excuses. Her narrative of Tessa speaks for itself.

Carr does not shed new light on the origins of Wheeler's knowledge of excavation technique, accepting Pitt-Rivers as the antecedent, and she concludes from her analysis of excavation documentation that Verney Wheeler learned basic technical methods at Segontium and Brecon Gaer (103). At the Brecon Gaer excavation (1925) Verney Wheeler also assumed all financial control, taught excavation technique and oversaw the handling of finds and their conservation. Apparently from 1922 her involvement is traceable from the field documents and letters.

In 1927 the Wheelers ended their seven years at the National Museum of Wales and at University College of South Wales in Cardiff and returned to London and the London Museum. Carr describes the beginning of excavation of Caerleon in some detail. Verney Wheeler stayed on in Wales to oversee the excavation, while Wheeler would visit monthly. Her publication of it brought her to the attention of the Society of Antiquaries. The excavation of Caerleon passed to V.E. Nash-Williams, a student of the Wheelers, who continued to seek advice from Verney Wheeler.

Carr's description of the Wheelers is typical of such couples, when students and workers cannot get help or direction from the husband they turn to the wife and if she is approachable and proficient, as Tessa was, she becomes the manager. In these circumstances the respective contribution of the two partners is hard to assess. Carr describes how Grimes, Wheeler's successor at the London Museum, attributed the resurrection of the Museum entirely to Verney Wheeler, while Beatrice de Cardi, Wheeler's secretary after 1936, dismissed her role. Apart from introducing professional practices to the Museum, the Wheelers commenced a regular lecture program that made it an embryonic Institute of Archaeology. While the idea of an Institute of Archaeology may have been largely Wheeler's, it was Tessa who made it happen, raising the funds, finding the accommodation and starting the lecture

program (148). A plaque was dedicated to Tessa Verney Wheeler when the Institute was officially opened in 1937; it now hangs in the staff common room.

Carr draws heavily on Veronica Seton-Williams' description of 'the Wheelers' in her biography (152), which Veronica dedicated to her teachers, Jessie Webb (Melbourne University), Margaret A. Murray and Tessa Verney Wheeler (*The Road to El-Aguzain*, London: Kegan Paul, 1988). Third party observers may refer to people being trained by Wheeler, but it seems that the students themselves remember Tessa as their teacher.

The excavations at Lydney Park, Verulamium and Maiden Castle are discussed by Carr, identifying Verney Wheeler's probable roles, discussing the development of archaeological technique and commenting on the success of the expeditions. There was some controversy when Verulamium was published and Wheeler made a nasty reply to some well-founded concerns. That aside, Carr concludes that the Wheelers' reports were an achievement because of the depth of analysis they still facilitate.

There is a chapter on the importance of the media for the Wheelers as a means of procuring funds for excavation. As in Australia, the media often focussed on 'the Girl excavator' with pictures of Verney Wheeler brandishing a range pole, or whatever. Carr believes that she hated this aspect of archaeology, but realised that it was essential for raising finance for excavation (204).

The chapter on Maiden Castle draws on the field notes to discuss in-trench activity and to illustrate Verney Wheeler's careful monitoring of student record taking. Over one hundred students worked at Maiden Castle in the four seasons and many went on to careers in archaeology or related disciplines.

According to Carr, Verney Wheeler was driven by a need to do a job well. She was apparently pleased to stay in her husband's shadow (108) and as Wheeler was the ultimate narcissist and a 'media talent', she really had no alternative. Even so, in 1929 she was the second woman elected as a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. Her obituary in *The Times* (18 April 1936) elicited compliments from Sir Frederic Kenyon and Lord Bledisloe that Wheeler could only dream about and she has an entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Verney Wheeler's contribution is discussed by Carr in relation to her legacy and her place as a woman in British archaeology. She was committed to careful excavation recording and taught this to a whole generation of students. Kenyon is quoted as saying that Verney Wheeler was the source of what she 'had learned of dig management and field technique, notably the detailed control of stratigraphy and pottery recording' (247). This is an extraordinary statement. At Lydney Park in 1927 Tessa used field notebooks with alternate pages lined and graphed, something adopted by Kenyon and all her students.

Carr's discussion of Verney Wheeler in the context of the progress of women in archaeology is rather superficial.

Gertrude Bell is mentioned in the context of Iraq, but not with respect to her archaeology, she dug with Sir William Ramsay and jointly published with him (*The Thousand and One Churches*, London: Hodder, 1909). Margaret Murray is rightly discussed in detail as she had significant direct contact with Verney Wheeler, but Dorothy Garrod and Gertrude Caton Thompson are only referred to in passing. Winfred Lamb is not mentioned at all, although she was only one year younger than Verney Wheeler.

Carr discusses Lady Petrie and concludes that she was not a role model for Verney Wheeler. She does not mention Lady Woolley or Marie Louise Garstang. Walter Beasley, the founder of the Australian Institute of Archaeology, was very impressed with Mrs Garstang's responsible role at Jericho, and it was Garstang's recording system that was adopted by Joan du Plat Taylor and Veronica Seton-Williams, instead of the Maiden Castle system. Maiden Castle women supervisors who pursued archaeology or ancient studies as married women include Margaret Drower (Hackforth-Jones), Nancy Champion de Crespigny (Movius), Eve Dray (Stewart), Rachael Clay (Maxwell-Hyslop), Molly Cotton, Leslie McNair Scott (Murray-Threipland), and Margaret Collingridge (Wheeler). They all made life-long contributions in widely varying circumstances.

The idea that Verney Wheeler was a transitional figure between Margaret Murray and Veronica Seton-Williams seems over-stated. Veronica remained a maritally single archaeologist, but so did other Maiden Castle supervisors, Joan du Plat Taylor and Ione Gedye for two. Veronica never secured an academic position, but Dorothy Garrod became the Disney Professor of Archaeology in 1939. Kenyon was the post-War female force in British Archaeology.

Garrod's contact with Hallam Movius in 1932 and other Americans at her Mt Carmel excavations and her supervision of Nancy Champion de Crespigny, at Newnham College, influenced pre-historical archaeology in America. Carr contrasts UCL's openness with the rigidity of the Oxbridge colleges such as Newnham, but this is a little unfair to scholars, such as Garrod, who were there.

This reviewer is pleased that this elegantly written book focusses on Verney Wheeler herself and not on her place in the pantheon of female archaeologists. Many of the subjects that Carr deals with are potentially sensitive and she handles them admirably. Even as a graduate of the Institute of Archaeology I was unaware of Tessa Wheeler's role in its establishment and so was not conscious of my debt to her. Some of this may be inferred from Jacquetta Hawkes' biography of Wheeler, but Carr offers much more detail. The stories of Nancy Champion de Crespigny, Veronica Seton-Williams and Margaret Collingridge, Australians who went to study archaeology in London prior to the opening of the Institute in 1937, make sense when considered in the light of the learning environment created by Tessa Verney Wheeler.

Cor Notebaart 2012 *Metallurgical Metaphors in the Hebrew Bible*, Amsterdamse Cahiers voor Exegese van de Bijbel en zijn Tradities Supplement Series 9, Bergambacht: 2VM, ISBN 978-94-90393-06-9, pp iv + 369, USD33.00

Reviewed by Christopher J. Davey

Cornelis Wilhelmus Notebaart is a metallurgical engineer and researcher with lifetime of mineral dressing experience, he has a doctorate entitled, *Applications of mineral characterisation and process research to the development of beneficiation technology for the minerals industry*, (Technische Universiteit, Delft, 1988) and he has at least one patent. This volume is a further PhD dissertation supervised by Klaas Spronk at the Protestantse Theologische Universiteit; it presents a comprehensive awareness of current archaeo-metallurgical research and detailed knowledge of the Ancient Near East and its languages as they relate to the biblical text. Notebaart's stated definition for metallurgy is broad covering everything from extraction to production, but in practice also seems to include prospecting, the search for ore-bearing rock.

The first main chapter discusses the theory of metaphor from Aristotle to the cognitive linguists, Lakoff and Johnson. Notebaart's synthesis draws heavily on Kittay's semantic fields, or domains of source and target, and on Bjørndalen's conjunctive and disjunctive elements, which creates a tension or juxtaposition, not just simple parallels. Tension is important to Notebaart because it focusses the readers' attention and a degree of incongruity increases the effectiveness of the metaphor.

The next two chapters form the bulk of the book; the first is the section analysing some 37 metallurgical metaphors in the Masoretic text of the Old Testament and the second is a summary of current Ancient Near Eastern archaeo-metallurgy. Two smaller chapters on the metals trade and on metallurgy and religion, complete the analyses. The final sections include conclusions, abbreviations, references, a subject index, figures and maps, a summary in Dutch and curriculum vitae. An index of Hebrew terms would have been useful.

The analyses of the metaphors is comprehensive. The linguistic analysis of the text draws on Egyptian, Akkadian, Ugaritic, and Greek, the technical aspects of the metallurgical processes referred to are then discussed before the nature and meaning of the metaphor in its context is considered. The references Notebaart has used are the most recent scholarly works; there is no tacit reliance on the dated works of R.J. Forbes, as biblical scholars are inclined to do, or S.R. Driver metallurgists may do. Without apparent fear or favour Notebaart has pursued the most recent views on every aspect he has addressed.

The biblical passages considered are primarily from the prophets and Job. Many of the metaphors are straightforward alluding to metal properties such as purity or preciousness, but Job 28 is much more complex; the biblical passage is comparatively lengthy and involves a range of activities from prospecting and mining to processing and trading.

Jeremiah 6:27-30 is another elaborate metaphor referring to the complex process of silver refining. It is Notebaart's discussion of the text that will intrigue many readers. In Jeremiah 6, for example he accepts בַּחוֹן as 'assayer', נֶפֶח as 'bellows', צָרוֹן as 'refiner', and מִבְּצָר as 'crucible' (cupel?). The metaphor, he explains, has a source domain of silver refining (cupellation) that fails because the silver is so impure that although excessive heat has scorched the bellows and all the lead has been used up, no refined silver was produced. The target domain is ancient Israel that is being said to have no faithful people (refinable silver content) left.

Job 28 is considered in its entirety to be a complicated metaphor. Notebaart follows recent versions such as the NIV for much of the text agreeing the רוּצָא means 'mine' and not smelter, but translates זָקַק as 'wash' rather than 'refine', referring to the sluicing of alluvial gold, מַעֲמָגָר as 'foreign workers' who 'open up shafts (נִחַל)', סַפִּיר as 'lapis lazuli' not sapphire, חֲלָמִישׁ as 'hard rock' rather than flint, and בְּצוּרוֹת יְאֵרִים as 'mine galleries' deriving the meaning from Egyptian. The adoption of riverine Hebrew terminology to describe mine openings is significant, but also potentially confusing as v 11 is often translated with reference to the damming of streams, but as Notebaart comments, in context it better describes alluvial mining, such as ground-sluicing, or the control of underground mine-water.

He believes that the imagery originated in the copper mines of the Faynan area, south of the Dead Sea, where he suggests ropes were used for shaft haulage to accord with v 4 where miners are said to 'dangle' (דָּלַל). The reference to 'foreign workers' supports those, such as the reviewer, who consider that ancient miners were often itinerate people skilled in mining and smelting, who moved between mining areas as politics, economics and resources allowed. Notebaart argues that the most elaborate and lengthy metaphor in Job 28 represents a 'bridge' between the three-speech cycles of Job and his friends and the speeches of God to Job. The discussion about the actual technical processes being described will be appreciated by many readers.

The detailed technical explanation of each metaphor leads to the second lengthy chapter summarising the current state of archaeo-metallurgical research in the Eastern Mediterranean. Few people have attempted this in recent years. The geology and metallurgical processes are described with chemical equations and the latest archaeological evidence is discussed. There is a growing trend to acknowledge the European – Eurasian primacy

in metallurgical development; Iran also needs to be kept in mind. The book's references include papers relating to these areas and it is probable that space limitations prevented greater coverage in the text. Anyone using this volume will have a sound grasp of the issues associated with ancient Levantine metallurgy.

The short chapter on trade begins with the Chalcolithic and draws on documentary sources, archaeological occurrences and metal analysis to trace significant trade connections until the first millennium. The final chapter deals with religion and metallurgy. The archaeological evidence is reviewed and more recent African experience described. Notebaart dismisses the Marxist exploitative models as tendentious, and he does not see the temple based metalworking going beyond the production of idols for religious reasons. The role of Sharman as retainers of metallurgical knowledge and as sponsors of technical processes is not considered.

Notebaart concludes that metallurgical process metaphors referred to in in the Old Testament are limited to silver refining, that is otherwise known as cupellation (Jer. 6:27-30, Is. 1:22, Ez. 22:18-22). This is a comparatively intricate process and he proposes that these texts indicate that it must have been reasonably well-known possibly because it was carried out in urban environments for the recycling of jewellery and the use of silver as a currency. Gold and copper processes, he suggests, were carried out nearer their remote sources and may have been less recognisable.

The mass of literary, historical and archaeo-metallurgical data and information in this volume is remarkable. Biblical scholars who have some technical training will find the book very useful. On the other side, archaeo-metallurgists will find the analysis of the terminology and its context enlightening, especially in relation to the history of silver metallurgy, which is so often eclipsed by the archaeology of copper and iron.

For people who understand metallurgical processes and have a respect for the Hebrew text this work will be enjoyable to read. Notebaart generally deals with the text as it is and does not force textual emendation to achieve a thoroughgoing meaning; these texts have a number of *hapax legomena*. Biblical scholars and archaeo-metallurgists alike will find this book useful for many years to come.

Martin Goodman, 2008 *Rome and Jerusalem: The Clash of Ancient Civilisations*, London: Penguin Books ISBN 978-03-75726-13-2, pp. 640, USD 25.

Reviewed by Anne E. Gardner

Martin Goodman, past Editor of *The Journal of Roman Studies* as well as the *Journal of Jewish Studies* and Professor of Jewish Studies at Oxford University was commissioned by Penguin Books to write *Rome and Jerusalem* subtitled *The Clash of Ancient Civilisations*. It has already received numerous very favourable reviews. The present one is no exception although, in the opinion of this reviewer, there is an aspect of the subject matter that requires further exploration.

Goodman's first stated aim is to question whether the Jewish War with Rome in 66-70CE and particularly the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple were inevitable as many later interpreters have claimed. In the centuries that followed, Rome came to be regarded as the epitome of evil by Jews who were subject to measures that marginalised them in the Roman world and Goodman's second aim is to examine whether those measures were a direct result of the war. Thirdly, he inquires into the effect of the tension between Rome and the Jews upon relations between Christians and Jews. In order to pursue all these matters, Goodman's work extends to 639 pages, including endnotes and an index. It is divided into a prologue and three parts with a total of fourteen chapters plus an epilogue. An indication of their contents is provided here.

The Prologue provides a brief overview of the events of 66-70 CE from the available sources: the works of Josephus, the aristocratic Jewish historian, who fought in the war of 66-70 CE although he surrendered to the Romans prior to the end; letters found by the Dead Sea; coins minted by the Jewish rebels which witness their setting up (in their opinion) of a new state; the Histories of the Roman historian Tacitus and an extract from the later Church Father, Eusebius.

Part I entitled 'A Mediterranean World' is divided into three chapters. The first entitled, 'A Tale of Two Cities' highlights the geographical, environmental and architectural aspects of Rome and Jerusalem, both of which were at the height of their glory in the first century CE. Similarities abounded, although the foundation of each one's glory was different. Chapter 2, 'One World Under Rome' concerns the imposition of political unity throughout the Empire and the widespread nature of trade. The cultural background of the Empire was Greek. Goodman points out that Jews, whether in Jerusalem or elsewhere, partook of all these aspects and it was only on rare occasions that they felt unable to meet the demands of the Empire. Socially, Jewish dietary laws restricted the mixing of pious Jew and non-Jew although there are instances when that was overcome. Likewise, inter-marriage was possible if the non-Jew converted to Judaism. Chapter 3, entitled 'Diversity and Toleration' highlights from ancient written

sources and archaeological excavations the diverse nature and customs of the peoples within the Roman Empire and Rome's tolerance of them. This leads Goodman to question why the nature and customs of the Jews should have been viewed with less tolerance, as some interpreters claim was the case.

Part II entitled 'Romans and Jews' encompasses seven chapters which explore various facets of the lives of Romans and Jews. They are: 'Identities' (chapter 4) which delineates who could be a Roman citizen and who could be considered a Jew and points out that a Jew could be a Roman and a Roman could become a Jew; 'Communities' (chapter 5) which discusses the national community, the economic community, societal strata, kinship and friendship/patronage in each society and demonstrates that although Romans and Jews for the most part organised themselves differently, they interacted with each other in various ways; 'Perspectives' (chapter 6) which considers the Roman and Jewish conceptions of the nature of the human being, their cosmologies and their moralities, demonstrating that while they were different, that was unlikely to cause conflict unless the understanding of one was imposed by force on the other; 'Lifestyles' (chapter 7) which can be summed up as a discussion of attitudes to the body, specifically in relation to its display/covering, representation in art, food ingested and sexual matters, showing that Romans and Jews were almost at opposite ends of the spectrum; 'Government' (chapter 8) which covers areas such as taxation, justice and legal systems as well as attitudes to war and indicates that while taxes, law and war were accepted by both Romans and Jews there were differences in the administration of them and their actual and philosophical bases; 'Politics' (chapter 9) which outlines what conferred political status within each society and demonstrates from a few examples that power is not necessarily limited to those with such status but can be exercised from the shadows; 'Romans and Jews' (chapter 10) which explores their attitudes to one another prior to 66CE and indicates that Romans were rarely hostile, although there were exceptions such as Cicero and Seneca. Indeed the Jews were admired in some ways although their 'bizarre' customs such as their dietary restrictions were a subject of amusement. Goodman's conclusion is that none of the aspects of Jews or Romans discussed in Part II inevitably led to war.

Part Three entitled 'Conflict' is composed of four chapters. They are: 'The Road to Destruction, 37BCE-70CE' (chapter 11) which examines events and society in Judaea from the time of Herod the Great to the destruction of Jerusalem and Temple, attempting to uncover whether there were any clear causes for the war between Rome and Jerusalem. Goodman concludes that nothing prior to 66 stands out as leading directly to it. The Jewish Diaspora prior to 66 is also examined prior to turning to the war itself in 66-70CE. Goodman stresses that there were factors in play within Roman politics that led to the need for a decisive Roman victory over the Jews of Jerusalem

resulting in the destruction of the Temple; 'Reactions, 70-312 CE' (chapter 12) which considers the period after the conflict to the time of the Emperor Constantine that included an uprising in Jerusalem and several in the diaspora, is seen by Goodman to reflect the frustrations of Jews who could reasonably have expected their temple to have been rebuilt. The refusal of the Romans to permit this is seen by Goodman as deriving from political exigencies. In the aftermath of the second uprising in Jerusalem (the Bar Kochba war), Jews were forbidden to live in the city which had been rebuilt as a pagan one and renamed *Aelia Capitolina*. It is this chapter where the present reviewer has some misgivings. Goodman very adroitly ascribes the destruction of Temple and city to political exigencies on the Roman side. While there is no reason to doubt that these played some part, the motivation of the rebels themselves in Jerusalem requires further exploration. Josephus and some Roman writers refer to a Jewish prophecy of a coming ruler; the slogans on the coins of the new state of 66-70CE support such a view as do other factors mentioned but not highlighted by Goodman; 'The Growth of the Church' (chapter 13) shows how tensions between Rome and Jews impacted on relations between Jews and Christians. The latter group, whose founder and earliest followers were all Jews, distanced themselves from Jews and Judaism from c.70 CE onwards in order to gain greater acceptance in the eyes of Rome, posits Goodman. This argument has much merit and is Goodman's original contribution to the debate over the split of church and synagogue; 'A New Rome and a New Jerusalem' (chapter 14) focuses on the effects of Constantine's adoption of Christianity on the Roman Empire and on Jerusalem and the consequences for Jews. Hopes of a new Temple were now extinct.

The Epilogue, entitled 'The Origins of Antisemitism' draws together the threads from the three parts of the book. Crucially, it sees anti-Semitism developing from Roman hostility to Jews in the first two centuries of the Common Era and this coincided with Christian rhetoric which distanced Christians and Christianity from Jews and Judaism in order to strengthen their own chances of survival. This is the genius of *Rome and Jerusalem*.

It is impossible in a review to do justice to the breadth and depth of the scholarship that Martin Goodman displays in *Rome and Jerusalem*. His knowledge of both Roman and Jewish society of the time make it a 'must' read for those interested in the topic.

Craig A. Evans, 2012 *Jesus and His World: The Archaeological Evidence*, Louisville KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 978-0-664-23413-3, pp. 208 USD 17.

Reviewed by Merrill Kitchen

In *Jesus and His World. The Archaeological Evidence* Craig Evans, a Canadian New Testament Professor at Acadia College and Acadia Divinity College, explores recently discovered archaeological evidence of first-century CE life in Israel-Palestine and, defending the historical accuracy of the Gospel stories, tests a number of contemporary scholarly assertions about the Historical Jesus. This book consists of five chapters and two appendices that suggest ways in which 21st century readers of the New Testament might reconsider some long-held presuppositions about the religious, geographic and socio-political contexts of the time of Jesus and the early Christian movement. Evans challenges some recent scholarship about a 'minimalist' understanding of the historical Jesus by providing the reader with scientifically rigorous archaeological data that not only affirms the historical validity of some Christian traditions but also opens pathways to new possibilities. The book is written in an easily accessible form for lay readers and relevant questions are appended that can be used for ongoing group discussion.

The first chapter explores, briefly, the likely environment of first century Nazareth, a Galilean village within walking distance of a recently excavated large Greco-Roman city of Sepphoris. Little mention is made of the connection between Sepphoris and the Roman hierarchy at the time of Jesus. It was renamed Autocratis by Herod Antipas and later, during the reign of Nero, 'Neronias' or 'Eironopolis.' By the time the Gospels were written Sepphoris had a Roman 'garrison that included some one thousand cavalry and six thousand infantry' (Miller 1996: 22). At the same time, as noted by Evans, it continued to include an archaeologically identifiable observant Jewish community within its multi-cultural population. Evans acknowledges that there was almost certain connections between the community in Nazareth and their near neighbours in Sepphoris, but rejects the likelihood, asserted by John Dominic Crossan, that Jesus could have been influenced by any Cynic philosophy derived from contacts in Sepphoris at that time.

The second chapter examines the archaeological and literary evidence for up to nine first-century synagogues in the regions encompassed by Israel-Palestine. This evidence confronts assertions that no synagogues existed in the area prior to the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70CE. He points to synagogues in Capernaum, Gamla, the Herodium, Jericho, Magdala, Masada, Modin, Qiryat Sefer, and Shuafat that archaeologists argue could have existed prior to 70 CE. They were not designed just for religious services, but provided a range of educational resources.

The third chapter examines the extent of literacy that would have been likely in the first-century Galilean Jewish community, confronting the arguments of those who suggest that Jesus and most of his followers were most likely illiterate. Evans points to Philo and Josephus for evidence of ancient 'home schooling' where parents ensured the literacy of their children. He also notes the archaeological evidence of extant manuscripts as well as artifacts, such as quills, styluses, inkwells, statues or paintings of scribes.

In Chapter 4, Evans discusses the escalating religious and social conflict depicted in the Gospels between Jesus and the ruling religious priestly elite of the Jerusalem Temple. He points to two stone inscriptions that threatened Gentiles who dared to enter the Jerusalem Temple, and also notes affirmations of this threat in the writings of Philo and Josephus as well as in apocryphal papyrus fragments. The privileged status of the Jerusalem priesthood is evidenced in the excavated ruins of their lavish houses, and their impressive ossuaries and tombs. Interestingly, recent scientific skills have verified the presence of leprosy in at least one of those interred in these tombs at this time.

Jewish burial traditions continue to be explored in Chapter 5. In particular, Evans notes the finding of an ossuary in which the remains of a Jewish man, Yehohanan, were placed at an appropriate time after his death by crucifixion. The sacred nature of Jewish ritual practices are discussed in the context of the burial stories of Lazarus and Jesus noting the enormous respect and honour traditionally offered to the deceased person at the time.

Evans concludes the book with three appendices. The first refutes a recent claim that the tomb of Jesus and his family had been found in an area between Jerusalem and Bethlehem. The second appendix addresses the question 'What did Jesus look like?' Evans answers the question with the statement that, 'Jesus probably looked like most 30-year-old Jewish men in the first century,' providing reasonable evidence for his conclusion. The third appendix provides a range of useful questions for the reader to ask about the content in the book. These questions also provide an excellent resource for group discussion.

Overall, this is an easily accessible book written by a person with wide scholarly respect. It opens up many insights into archaeological findings relating to the Gospel story and, more importantly, their relevance to reflections on the historical Jesus.

Miller, Stuart S., 1996 Hellenistic and Roman Sepphoris. *The Historical Evidence*, in Rebecca Martin Nagy (ed), *Sepphoris in Galilee. Crosscurrents of Culture*. Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns, 21-27.

Buried History

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