

## DUNCAN MACKENZIE AND THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND<sup>1</sup>

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*To the memory of Alistair Bain Mackenzie*

Duncan Mackenzie (1861–1934) is primarily known for his contribution to Aegean Bronze Age studies, particularly for his work as Sir Arthur Evans's assistant on the excavations of the 'Palace of Minos' at Knossos, Crete (Momigliano 1995; ead. in press). From 1910 to 1912 he was 'explorer' of the Palestine Exploration Fund and his task was to direct the excavation of Ain Shems (Beth-Shemesh). This paper tells the sad and brief story of Mackenzie's involvement with the P.E.F. Its aim is not to provide a detailed summary of the archaeological discoveries at Ain Shems, but to elucidate Mackenzie's personal vicissitudes, his ideas about archaeology, his excavation methods, and his contribution to biblical archaeology. The paper also aims to publicize the recent discovery of an unpublished MS concerning the last excavation campaign conducted at Ain Shems in December 1912.

Mackenzie's brief involvement with the Fund is a story of conflicting interests and expectations, of misunderstandings and self-delusions, of wounded pride and dysentery. It is not a 'success' story. However, it offers interesting insights into the history of the P.E.F., the development of biblical archaeology, and the evolution of archaeological theory and methods in general. The latter aspect is particularly interesting because very little was written — and even less published — about theories, methods and techniques at a time when archaeology was beginning to develop as an independent discipline. As Kathleen Kenyon (1939, 29) remarked: 'Excavation methods are a subject about which practically no mention is made in publications . . .' There are, of course, exceptions to Kenyon's statement. Perhaps the best known example — in a Palestinian context — is Reisner's report on his work at Samaria, which truly anticipates modern methods, demonstrating a full understanding of stratigraphic principles (Reisner *et al.* 1924, 34 ff.; Wright 1969; Moorey 1979, 4). Duncan Mackenzie's writings too showed a precision in the recording of archaeological excavations and an attention to problems of methodology and interpretation which are quite outstanding for the period, but his ideas about archaeology and archaeological methods are little known for a number of reasons. First, because Mackenzie's career was not particularly successful. Second, because, unlike Reisner, Mackenzie in his works never devoted a special section or chapter to 'methods and principles': his ideas on these subjects are not discussed systematically, but are intermingled with descriptions of layers and artefacts and often take the form of long digressions. And, last but not least, because Mackenzie's ideas can be gleaned mostly from unpublished sources such as his excavation day-books, his unpublished reports, and his correspondence, most of which are now kept in the Evans Archive (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), in the British School at Athens (London and Athens archives), and in the P.E.F. Archives in London. The latter house the letters and documents referred to in the present article (unless stated otherwise).

### APPOINTMENT AND PRELIMINARIES

Duncan Mackenzie (Fig. 1) succeeded R. A. S. Macalister who in 1909 resigned from his post as 'explorer' of the P.E.F. to take up the Chair of Celtic Archaeology at the National University of Ireland, Dublin (P.E.F. Annual Report 1909). It was Archibald Dickie, then Assistant

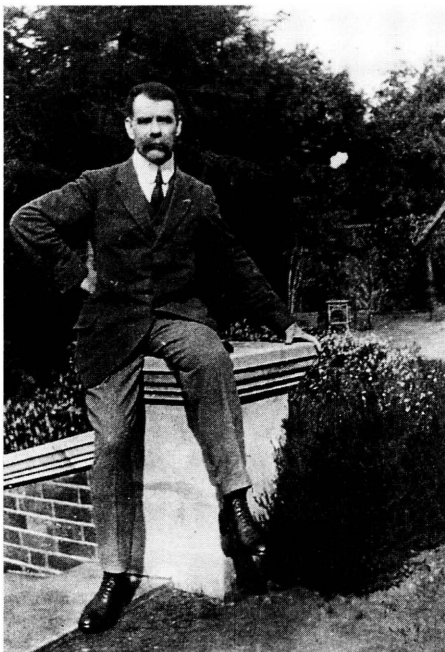


Fig. 1. Duncan Mackenzie (1861–1934)  
(courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum).

Secretary of the P.E.F., who first suggested Mackenzie — whom he had met in Athens in 1896 — as a possible successor to Macalister in his correspondence with the P.E.F. Honorary Secretary, J. D. Crace, and Chairman, Sir Charles Watson (letters of 5 August 1909). Dickie sounded Mackenzie in the summer of 1909, and obtained a positive reply. Thus, after consulting Mackenzie's referees, Evans and D. G. Hogarth, and after interviewing Mackenzie, the Fund appointed him at the beginning of December 1909 (Hogarth's letters of 3 and 4 November 1909, Evans's letter of 11 November 1909; Executive Committee minutes of 7 December 1909). Incidentally, soon after Mackenzie's election, both Evans and Hogarth became members of the P.E.F. Executive Committee (minutes of 1 March 1910).

Mackenzie had in the early 1900s travelled in Turkey, Egypt, and Palestine, spending a week with Macalister at Gezer, but he had never excavated in these countries, was not an expert in Near Eastern or biblical archaeology, and did not know Arabic.<sup>2</sup> Thus, his appointment may, at first, appear slightly odd. His deficiencies, however, were counterbalanced by his gift for languages, his solid reputation as a scholar, and in particular by his great experience of excavations, as shown by the letters from his referees.

If the P.E.F. is still thinking of D. Mackenzie may I say you could hardly hope to get a better man? He knows as much about scientific digging as any man alive, and is infinitely careful and trustworthy. He has a very wide reputation abroad . . . I do not think Mackenzie knows much of Arabic though he has been in Palestine and Egypt . . . He has an unusual faculty for acquiring vernaculars and getting on with natives. (Hogarth's letters of 3 and 4 November 1909)

He is most competent to *direct* and carry an excavation. He has had always a very free command under myself. At Melos he directed an excavation . . . His reputation as a careful and systematic archaeologist is European . . . He is not a Semitic scholar but he has a great linguistic gift and I do not suppose that he would be long in acquiring sufficient knowledge of Arabic. (Evans's letter of 11 November 1909)

In addition Mackenzie's unique knowledge of Aegean archaeology with regard to the 'Philistine question' and his 'experience of working with Orientals' made him an attractive and suitable candidate (Evans's letter of 11 November 1909; *PEFQS* 1910, 175-76, 184; see also Dothan 1982, 94 n. 1; Dothan and Dothan 1992, esp. ch. 3).

Mackenzie's task as P.E.F. 'explorer' was to excavate Ain Shems, a site believed to be biblical Beth Shemesh but not selected by Mackenzie himself. Indeed, as we shall see below, Mackenzie was not entirely satisfied with it, and was anxious to find a more promising and interesting site. Ain Shems was chosen by the P.E.F. Executive Committee (before Mackenzie was appointed), at the suggestion of Macalister, who wrote about it as follows:

[Ain Shems] surpassed my expectations and is a very fine and promising tell, I should say the size of Tell Zakariyeh . . . There is quite a long length of the city wall appearing to the south, with a very obvious tower. The cemetery is a painful sight, it has been badly rifled within the past year. A blackguard called Haj Khallif, (whom I have vainly tried to have imprisoned) one of the most mischievous of dealer's agents in the country, is said to have got 500 pieces of pottery from one tomb alone. The mound belongs to the large village of Deir Aban, from whence labour could be obtained; our old Zakariyeh workmen would also be available. If anything the site is almost too accessible, being only ten minutes walk from the railway station. Special precautions would be needed to guard against the terrible nuisance of gaping 'trippers'. The pottery I noticed on the surface was for the greater part Hebrew, Roman, and Arab; there was not much Amorite appearing above ground. (letter of 14 October 1909; cf. Executive Committee minutes of 2 November 1909 and *PEFQS* 1910, 174-75)

As we shall see below, Macalister's 'gaping trippers' — as well as distinguished and welcomed visitors — became a characteristic feature of the excavations.

Other factors that made Ain Shems particularly attractive were discussed during the Annual Meeting of 13 June 1910 (*PEFQS* 1910, esp. 174-75). First, the almost certain identification of Ain Shems with biblical Beth Shemesh and the fact that excavations of this site would throw much light on the Philistine question. Second, the interesting geographical location of the site, at the crossroad of many important routes, independently from its biblical identification. Third, the salubrious situation of the site. The Chairman, the Very Rev. George Adam Smith, Principal of the University of Aberdeen, could not ' . . . conceive of a healthier site . . . one of the sunniest, breeziest basins in the whole of Palestine'. It is thus rather ironic that, as we shall see below, the first excavation campaign had to be stopped largely because of the number of workmen falling ill and dying of malaria.

In March 1910 the new 'explorer' left for Constantinople to meet the influential P.E.F. representative, Sir Edwin Pears, and the newly appointed Director of Antiquities, Halil Bey, who had just succeeded his late brother Hamdi Bey. Sir Edwin Pears described Halil as 'a good man and knows his work well but . . . is more of a formalist than was Hamdi', a comment that, unfortunately for Mackenzie, proved to be accurate (letter of 7 March 1910).

After Constantinople, Mackenzie proceeded to Jerusalem to meet Masterman (the Fund's Honorary Secretary in Palestine) and Yusuf Kanaan (the Fund's foreman), and to conduct the necessary negotiations with the local authorities, helped by Mr Satow, the British Consul. Mackenzie's letters to the Fund's Honorary Secretary in London give detailed descriptions of his various meetings, of the intricacies and diplomatic moves necessary to please the Turkish authorities, and of the warm reception he received from the archaeological community; they also make intriguing references to Capt. Parker's notorious excavations on the Ophel slope (Kenyon 1974, 30; Silberman 1982, 181-88; Vincent 1911a), as in the following example:

I have had a very warm reception from everybody here. And, indeed, since Mr Macalister left the Jerusalem archaeologists seem like sheep without a shepherd especially with those other roaring British lions about seeking whom they may devour.

Lions of Juda are now upon the scene with a new concession partly coinciding, I understand, with that granted to the British Lions; thus there is likely to be 'la guerre' between those two sets of Lions, as the French Archaeologists have put it, with the probable result that they will mutually devour each other and let the sheep alone! (4 April 1910)

Mackenzie took advantage of this short visit to Palestine also to practise his Arabic, and to visit Ain Shems and other sites such as Gath, Tell el Hesya, Ashdod, and Tell Zakariyeh (letters to Crace of 21 February, 25 March, 4 April 1910). Around mid-April he left for Crete, to fulfil his commitments with Evans, but by mid-July 1910 he was back in Palestine, fully engaged in the preparations for the excavation, which he intended to start at the beginning of August (letter of 22 July 1910). But Mackenzie was not to excavate at Ain Shems during his first year as P.E.F. 'explorer'. The official reason for this delay was that 'a building in Stamboul, containing many of the papers of the Sublime Porte, was burnt down, and among them the documents respecting the [excavation] permit, so that it was necessary to begin *de novo*' (*PEFQS* 1911, 128). The real cause, however, was something very different and slightly embarrassing: it was the appointment of a certain Hassan Bey as the interim Commissioner of the Imperial Museum. Hassan Bey, according to the surviving correspondence, was a 'blackguard', a 'blackmailer', an 'ill conditioned jack in office', 'an ignorant uneducated young man unfit to superintend excavation or associate with educated people', 'a rascal of the deepest die [*sic!*] and an ignorant fool', just to mention a few of the epithets used to describe him in the surviving correspondence (e.g., Masterman's letter of 31 July 1910; Crace's letters to Dickie and Mackenzie of 11 August 1910; Mackenzie's letters of 29 July and 13 August 1910, enclosing copy of Reisner's report of 17 August 1910; J. Morgan's letter of 15 August 1910). Mackenzie learnt of Hassan Bey's special qualities and accomplishments, when he and Masterman visited Reisner's excavations at Samaria:

Shortly after our arrival on the Sunday as we were sitting in the Common Room Tent it occurred to Dr. Reisner to ask me who our commissioner was to be and I replied that we were ultimately to have Haidar Bey from Constantinople but that meantime we were to have Hassan Bey from Jerusalem. The effect of my words was startling. All three [Reisner, Bales, Fisher] of them exclaimed together and in very emphatic language which was not at all complimentary to Hassan Bey warned me to have nothing to do with the man . . . Dr. Reisner offered if needed to put down on black and white for anybody whom it might concern all that had occurred at Samaria.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile he said our plan of campaign clearly was to find out as soon as possible when the Commissioner from Constantinople was likely to arrive and if this was within a reasonable period to temporize a little with the start of the excavation. (letter of 29 July 1910)

The steps suggested by Reisner and adopted by Mackenzie received full approval from the P.E.F., the Honorary Secretary urging him to 'be firm as to refusing Hassan' (letter of 11 August 1910).

#### THE EXPEDITION TO MOAB AND PETRA

While Sir Edwin Pears was conducting negotiations with the authorities at Constantinople to obtain a substitute for Hassan Bey, Mackenzie visited Megiddo and Taanek, made a photographic expedition to Ain Shems, and after the second half of September was joined in Jerusalem by F. G. Newton, who had already worked with Mackenzie in Sardinia and, at Mackenzie's suggestion, had been appointed 'architect' of the P.E.F. (Newton's letters of 11 March and 27 April 1910; Mackenzie's letters of 3, 13, 29 August, 23 September 1910, 27 January 1911). Towards the end of September 1910, Mackenzie was still waiting for news from Constantinople. Tired of his forced inactivity, he embarked with Newton on a short expedition to Moab, which was supposed to last a couple of weeks (letter of 23 September 1910). Mackenzie was anxious to find another site to excavate after Ain Shems:

The smallness of the site and the shallowness of the deposit and its scantiness (hardly more than a ninth of Tell-el-Gezer) makes it seem hardly likely to me that the excavation will extend into the second year of the permit at all. If this turned out on trial to be probable the Committee might find it advisable to be before hand with an application for a new site so as not to lose the second year . . . (letter of 7 November 1910)<sup>4</sup>

Mackenzie also believed that the Fund should concentrate its efforts on more interesting areas such as the 'coast regions of Philistia' and 'the Highland Plateau' of Moab (*ibid.*; see also below).

During the expedition to Moab, Mackenzie's enthusiasm for fieldwork must have prevailed over practical considerations: what was supposed to be a short excursion to Moab lasted for over two months, went as far as Petra, and the return journey included a visit to Damascus (Mackenzie's letter of 30 December 1910). The results were a series of interesting publications (Mackenzie 1911a, 1911e, 1913e) but also Mackenzie's first clash with his employers. The latter was the outcome of a mixture of bureaucratic pedantry, wounded 'amour propre', misunderstandings, and political intrigue (i.e., the interests of powerful local families).

The permit granted by the Turkish authorities to Mackenzie in June 1910 stated that the permit itself was to be considered null if excavations were not started within three months from its issue 'without sufficient reason'. The three months had elapsed while Mackenzie was still on his expedition to Moab. More important, he had left Jerusalem without informing the new Director of Antiquity, Halil Bey, and without making a formal application for an extension of his permit (wrongly assuming that Sir Edwin Pears had obtained a readjustment of the time-limit during the negotiations concerning the commissioner: letter to Crace of 30 December 1910). This had greatly offended Halil. To use Sir Edwin Pears's words:

. . . Halil seemed to regard the absence of Mackenzie from Jerusalem . . . as treating the matter of the working very lightly, and I certainly think it is regrettable that when Mackenzie went into the land of Moab he did not formally ask Halil whether he would excuse his absence in case it extended beyond the period stipulated for commencing the working. I am quite sure that Halil is not ill-disposed, but he is a new chief in office, and his 'amour propre' must, as a rule, be taken into consideration. (letter of 31 January 1911)

Mackenzie's letters, however, show that — besides his failure to follow closely bureaucratic procedures and Halil's wounded pride — the interests and intrigues of powerful local families played a significant role:

For bureaucratic and also no doubt for personal reasons he [Halil Bey] does not want the question of the commissaire [Hassan Bey] to appear at all in the formal part of the negotiations and least of all in the application. It will be understood that Halil Bey's position in the matter is a very delicate one when it is remembered that Hassan Bey belongs to the powerful Huseini family here . . . His uncle is the mayor of Jerusalem and in a recent government . . . Hassan's brother was a cabinet minister. (letter to Crace of 3 February 1911; see also letter of 17 February 1911)

Inevitably the delay in the start of the excavations and the unpleasant situation with the new Director of Antiquities caused great annoyance and impatience among Mackenzie's employers (see, e.g., Mackenzie's letter of 17 February 1911). Although the permit was eventually renewed, the otherwise successful expedition to Moab and Petra turned into a cause for great friction. In a long letter to Dickie (27 January 1911), Mackenzie sadly reported that 'in view of what is said about Petra in Mr Crace's letter the expedition to Askalon, Gaza, Beersheba etc. is dropped'; he also tried to clarify some misunderstandings concerning what the Committee regarded just as an expensive 'escapade':

As regards the Petra part of our expedition to Moab, however, there is very evidently some misunderstanding on the part of the Committee . . . The idea was to combine a certain personal satisfaction to the architect [Newton] with scientific profit for the Fund . . . *It was Newton himself who proposed that as we were going so far he from his point of view as an architect should be afforded the opportunity of seeing Petra!* . . . Indeed, between ourselves if I can say so to you in confidence, I expressed half in jest my apprehension to Mr. Newton lest Petra though in *Palestina Salutaris* might by some people in London be regarded as 'out of bounds'. This was a joke between us because I had been previously assured by people here that even Tyre and Sidon were considered out of bounds! Of course this idea is monstrous and I know that you personally do not share it in the very least. Indeed if Newton and Petra were out of bounds what about Conder and Kadesh? Then as regards the expenses of such an expedition the starting-point ought always to be that all the time Newton and I are sitting bound up in Jerusalem we are putting up between us a daily bill of 30 francs. This is a dead economic loss. Consider then what 30 francs a day means on an expedition: it means the daily cost of seven horses plus the feeding of two muleteers! Of course you must not leave out of account the fact that while away on such an expedition as that to Moab no bill at all and no expenses whatever are being run up for us at the Jerusalem Hotels. In other words money which would have been to all intents and purposes wasted while we were being held up before the start of excavations was usefully expended while we were away . . . The above is just to show you that, as I claim, there have been misunderstandings on *both* sides.

Apart from the 'Petra escapade' and resulting misfortunes, the Fund was beginning to show dissatisfaction with Mackenzie for his inadequate accounts as well as for the lack of frequent communications and written reports. For example, at a meeting of the Executive Committee of 3 January 1911 'the committee expressed annoyance at the want of more frequent letters from Dr. Mackenzie and was resolved that J. D. Grace wrote him to that effect, asking him to report himself by letter fortnightly when possible'. Similarly, at a meeting of 7 February the Committee expressed the necessity of receiving regular quarterly accounts and also the 'disappointment at the non arrival of proper systematic reports and photographs'. The accounts, when finally received, were considered unsatisfactory (Executive Committee minutes of 21 March 1911). Mackenzie pleaded in excuse the novelty and 'mysteries of the [local] money system'; the difficulties in the 'exegesis' of the various receipts, some written 'even in Yiddish'; 'the perfectly impossible life at [his] crowded hotel'; and the fact that the warning about the accounts reached him while he was 'deep in the "Memorandum on the Prospect of Excavations at Ain Shems"' (letter of 10 March 1911; see also below).

But for the P.E.F., despite all the justifications and unfortunate circumstances, the fact was that the excavations at Ain Shems had not started and, with the intervening rainy season, would not start until the next spring. A year after Mackenzie's appointment all the Fund could show its subscribers were his letters from Petra (Mackenzie 1911a).

#### THE 'MEMORANDUM' ON THE PROSPECT OF EXCAVATION AT 'AIN SHEMS

While waiting for the end of the rainy season, Mackenzie visited Tell el Ful, er Ram, and Tell Adaseh to identify Biblical Gibeah (Mackenzie 1911c, 97-100, based on a letter of 10 February 1911). He also concluded further negotiations with the local Sheiks (letter of 11 March 1911), completed a detailed description of Ain Shems, and an outline of his strategy of excavation, part of which was published as 'The Ancient Site of 'Ain Shems, with a Memorandum on the Prospects of Excavation' (Mackenzie 1911b). The manuscript of this 'Memorandum' consists of thirty hand-written pages, of which only the first seventeen were published. This editorial policy was suggested by Mackenzie himself because the remaining text contained rather pessimistic remarks about the archaeological significance and potential of the site, just the opposite of what was needed to raise funds for the excavations (accompanying letter of 15 February 1911).

The 'Memorandum' is an intriguing document: the first (published) section is partly an attempt to appeal to the general public with a lyrical but often trite description of the site and its environment (the modern reader may find the cliché references to the 'unchangeable east' particularly irritating). But this section also contains some of Mackenzie's ideas about the general aims and development of archaeological research in Palestine, ideas that also influence and explain his excavation strategy:

And now that we have Dr. Reisner's startling discovery at Samaria of palace records and inventories in the shape of ink-written ostraca in Hebrew . . . it is no longer a far-fetched idea to conceive the possibility of similar discoveries at kingly residences on other sites. Indeed the new discovery makes it the first duty of archaeologists opening up new sites in Palestine to concentrate their principal attention on such princely or kingly residences . . . It is . . . a curious phenomenon in the history of excavation, that in the earlier days of exploration archaeological science was hardly occupied with anything else than the excavation of temple sites. In those days the importance of stratification was hardly ever understood: city sites were hardly ever excavated. Now, however, with the intense growth of scientific interest in the stratification of deposits on ancient sites we often have results the opposite of the above. Absorption in this interest often leads exploration of a site into channels so devious as to divert attention altogether from such questions of topography as that concerning the position of a city's most important buildings. (Mackenzie 1911b, 77-78)

These ideas were repeated and elaborated in the second (unpublished) section of the manuscript, which comprises essentially a more detailed evaluation of the archaeological and scientific potential of Ain Shems as well as Mackenzie's plan or strategy of investigation: 'From what has been said above it looks as if the mainstay of our hopes for a successful excavation at Ain Shems had to be connected with the higher area of the site occupied by the Byzantine Church and its adjacencies'. But the amount of later (Byzantine) construction gave Mackenzie little hope of finding many traces of a 'royal' residence: 'We have already touched upon the disturbance to earlier deposits and constructions which must have taken place in connection with the building of the Byzantine church . . . we should certainly not have to expect any well preserved remains especially of a monumental character'.

In this second section, Mackenzie also elucidates some of his excavation principles and methods, such as the notion of digging only samples of a site, as exemplified in the following passage concerning the 'Lower Town' — the area which he believed was more likely to provide information about the 'stratification' of the site:

We should probably find that Ain Shems presented once more on a smaller scale the same general sequence in the stratification that has already been verified at Gezer and other similar sites. For this reason there does not seem to be any scientific justification for a complete excavation of this area. The same sequence that is yielded by the whole of a given area is usually yielded quite as well by any well chosen part of that area . . . In all this there is no intention whatever to depreciate the scientific value of the stratigraphical investigation of town-deposits. It is merely meant that as long as we are excavating in that environment which has been receiving the principal attention of the Palestine Exploration Fund for so many years past there is no point in recording in special detail at Ain Shems a story which to all appearances is much better and more fully told at Tell el Gezer. On the other hand were later investigations of the Fund to lead us to an entirely new environment such as Moab or the southern regions of Palestine especially towards the coast of Egypt such stratigraphical researches would at once assume a new interest and importance.

The principle of digging only a 'sample' of the 'Lower town' was further justified by Mackenzie's belief that a site should not be completely excavated, to allow future generations to conduct their own investigations and test results in the light of new knowledge:

Besides, temple or palace areas apart, the exhaustive investigation of every inch of a town site has long been regarded as a wrong principle in archaeological science. Thus if Troy or Tiryns in the Greek world or Lachish or Gezer in Palestine were completely excavated from end to end there would be no chance left for future generations of archaeologists to test the results of the present day in the light of that ever growing precision which marks the march of knowledge. The ideal may very well be the complete and exhaustive excavation of a site but it is the ultimate ideal and a progressive one.

The concept expressed in this passage is particularly interesting because it appears to be more complex than and at variance with the views expressed by other contemporary archaeologists, such as Reisner and Droop who believed that, ideally, a site should be entirely excavated (Reisner *et al.* 1924, 34; Droop 1915, 2).

Mackenzie's 'Memorandum' ends with a detailed schedule of work: the excavation of the site and cemeteries would start with soundings in the Byzantine area (as the most likely location for a 'royal residence') and in the 'Lower town'; excavations would be carried out from mid-March till the end of July; an interval would follow in August and September, when areas already excavated and planned would be backfilled; excavations would resume in October and continue throughout November. The winter months would be spent writing the reports of the work done, but 'on account of the deficiency of libraries at Jerusalem such work would have to be carried on at some great archaeological centre such as Cairo or Athens'.

In the letter accompanying the 'Memorandum', Mackenzie stressed once again the 'smallness' and 'shallowness' of Ain Shems and the necessity of finding a more promising site. He also complained bitterly about the P.E.F.'s narrowness which prevented him from visiting Beersheba and other sites in Philistia and South Palestine:

I wrote of the matter to Mr. Crace as long ago as September and had it come out at the proper time that such a tour of inspection was *not* desired by the Committee Mr. Newton and I could have made it a personal matter and seen the sites all the same . . . That in a long interval like the present one Mr. Newton and I should not have the occasion of becoming acquainted with the country, at any rate as a personal matter, seems to me a very undesirable arrangement. Mr. Newton and I are now here for months with our fee running up and our hands tied and quite apart from the *intellectual* loss to ourselves it is, I venture to think, but bad economy for the Fund. Such economic matters ought to be considered in the light of their intellectual and scientific equivalents if one is to guard against a dead loss of this kind. And, of course, as you can understand from what I have said above I consider the loss to have *two* sides to it: loss to the Fund and *personal* loss of a scientific and intellectual character to us.

There is little doubt that, had Mackenzie been free to choose, he would have probably excavated a site on the coast of 'Philistia' such as Ashkelon, which he visited in the spring of 1911 (Mackenzie 1913d), and which proved to be one of the most important sites on the coast of the eastern Mediterranean (Kenyon 1979, 317; Moorey 1991, 49, 165).

Eventually, relations between Mackenzie and the Fund improved, even if only temporarily. In a letter of 11 March 1911 Mackenzie communicated that the affair of the Commissioner had been settled, and in a letter of 6 April 1911, he announced 'that the excavations at Ain Shems were commenced this morning at 6 a.m.'

#### THE FIRST CAMPAIGN OF 1911

The first campaign at Ain Shems lasted until 12 August 1911. The labour-force comprised mostly local men, women, and children, and a few of the men who had worked with Macalister at Tell Zakariah, Gezer, and Tell-es-Safi. Mackenzie employed an average of 77 people (two-thirds being women and children), but their number at times reached up to 200 (letters of 29 July and 19 August 1911). During this campaign Mackenzie excavated part of the Byzantine

area, traced most of the city wall, cleared its South Gate — bringing to light evidence of a siege culminating in a burnt destruction — and started the investigation of the cemeteries.

The day-to-day progress of the excavation was recorded in a Day-book which Mackenzie himself described as follows:

The principle of the Daybook is that it should be a *daily* record of the progress of excavation made on the spot as the stratification unfolds itself and the structures and objects come into view. In this respect it is different from a journal in which brief entries are made from time to time. The method of occasional entries which some excavations have recourse to I consider to be fatal because it allows an open door for the results to get entirely out of hand.

The daily record on the spot obviates this danger since it closes when the day's work is over and does not risk the temptation which some excavators feel after a weary day to put off the record till the weekend. Apart from the obvious drawback of being no longer on the spot the inevitable result of attempting a record at headquarters, especially at night after the fatigues of a day's work at high pressure, is the *occasional* entry.

In confiding to the Committee and through them to the Editor [of the *Quarterly Statement*] the Daybook of excavations in progress I am desirous that all due reserve should be made in the use to which it is put. Mr. Cook [the editor] especially will easily understand that it is a very difficult matter indeed to make final statements in a daybook and for this reason I am sure he will use his discretion in the sense of not putting too strong a complexion on views that the progress of excavation may compel me to modify long before the daybook reaches his hands.

As a general principle the etiquette of excavation, if I may put it so, makes it very desirable that a daybook of this intimate character should not be generally accessible before the full publication of results and even then only under very great reserves. It should remain in the more private part of the archives of the Fund and should be there accessible only to those who have an undisputed right to peruse it.

For the *Quarterly Statement* in July Sir Charles Watson, to whom I have communicated my intention of sending the Daybook, suggests that Mr. Cook should prepare a judicious abstract of the results brought out up to date. (letter of 18 May 1911)

Despite Mackenzie's 'caveats' his Day-books of the excavations at Ain Shems, and particularly the Phylakopi and Knossos Day-books, constitute his most valuable contribution to archaeology. These Day-books not only are the main (sometimes the only) source of information on these excavations but also show a precision in the recording of the progress of the investigations and an attention to problems of methodology and interpretation which are quite remarkable for the period. Colin Renfrew, in his introduction to the transcription of Mackenzie's Phylakopi Day-books, described them as 'outstanding examples of systematic archaeological reasoning, produced at a time when scientific principles of excavation had not yet been established', and pointed out that 'Duncan Mackenzie was one of the very first scientific workers in the Aegean, and his Day-books have therefore a considerable historical value, which I believe would alone warrant their duplication'.<sup>5</sup> Renfrew's remarks, of course, also apply to Mackenzie's Day-books of the excavations at Knossos and Ain Shems.

Unlike the Knossos and Phylakopi Day-books (of tan soft cloth with square ruled pages) the Ain Shems Day-books are duplicate carbon notebooks with marbled cover and line-ruled pages. The use of duplicate carbon notebooks as well as the suggestion that their contents should be typewritten (at the P.E.F. office) employing a separate sheet 'whenever a change in topic comes' (letter of 27 May 1911) were ideas that Mackenzie clearly adopted from Reisner (cf. Reisner *et al.* 1924, 43).

Besides the Day-books, Mackenzie's correspondence and his unpublished reports provide important and often more explicit examples of archaeological reasoning. In addition to the 'Memorandum' discussed above, another interesting document is the already mentioned letter

(6 April 1911) announcing the start of the excavations, in which Mackenzie explains his ideas about 'trial' and 'test pits':

In order to find a dumping ground for our prospective operations in the Byzantine area we at once started a series of trial pits in the region to east of the Byzantine church and between the latter and the roadway past the Wely referred to in my report on 'The Prospects of Excavations at Ain Shems'. Of these pits there are 10 taking up to 30 men. The aim of such trial-pits is to gain a general idea of the deposits down to the rock all over the area covered by them. Besides these trial pits two test pits were started. One of these was at a suitable point in the highest central part of the site within the area which includes the Byzantine church. The second test pit is being sunk in the lower west region of the town where it is presumed the earlier remains are less disturbed by later constructions than in the Byzantine area. The aim of such test-pits is to bring out the sequence of the pottery and other finds and with a view to this the finds from successive depths are kept separate put into baskets and labelled with a view to future investigation. For such an investigation to succeed great rigour is required in keeping the finds from the successive levels strictly separate and any floor-level that may occur has to be duly recorded and a special division made at the corresponding level. So great, however, is the tendency of the ordinary workman, not endowed with exceptional quickness, to muddle things that such test pits very often are only quite successful after several trials. And, of course, if the finds get mixed up they become at once quite valueless for the purpose in hand and, apart from objects of intrinsic value that may occur, they have to be rejected *en masse*.

Mackenzie's ideas about trial and test pits in the passage above appear to diverge from the views of some of his contemporaries (as do his ideas about 'sampling' and leaving part of the site unexcavated for future generations). J. P. Droop (1915, 20-21), for example, thought the trials were a 'pity because a site is not a cheese and tastes are apt to damage it', words that echo Petrie's (1904, 41) comment that 'French explorers have a love for *faire quelques sondages*, a proceeding which often ruins a site for systematic work'.

Mackenzie's passage on trial and test pits also illustrates and clarifies the point made by Kenyon (1939, 32) that excavators of previous generations, such as Reisner, 'were fully aware of the desirability of stratigraphical excavation, but the technique of digging had not then advanced sufficiently far for them to be able to deal with the very intricate layers'. Reisner's work at Samaria in fact anticipated much that is fundamental to the so-called Wheeler-Kenyon or 'debris-layer' method, and this also applies to Mackenzie's work. Mackenzie too was fully aware of the principles and importance of stratification, but was not always able to put this into practice because he (as Reisner) was dealing with a very large and mostly unskilled labour-force.

Sometimes principles of stratification were deliberately neglected to speed up the work:

The Byzantine and Arabic deposits in the Byzantine Area have been an absolute blank from the point of view of objects. For this reason I introduced the rapid method of wagger work which as Sir Arthur Evans may be able to explain to you I had previously introduced at Knossos. Once the Fellah mind grasped the situation the system had quite a success . . . (letter of 29 July 1911)

The 'wager' system consisted of setting up teams of workmen to dig separate but usually adjacent trenches: the team who reached a certain depth or discovered architectural remains first would win a 'wager' (Mackenzie, Day-book of the Excavations at Knossos 1904, 56). But there is no doubt that whenever possible Mackenzie worked on the 'regular principle of removal of deposit layer by layer' (letter of 21 April 1911). It is also clear that Mackenzie was very interested in excavation and recording methods as shown, for example, by the following account of Mackenzie's visit to Samaria and by the fact that he adopted some ideas from Reisner's recording system (cf. above).

We went to Samaria on the Sunday morning and were most cordially received by Dr. Reisner and his colleagues Messrs. Bales and Fisher. We were shown over the site in a quiet way by Dr. Reisner himself

and his exposition of the remains from Omri and Ahab's palace through the Babylonian walls to the citadel of the Herodian period — was most illuminating. He has excavated much in Egypt and is a master of stratification. The site is splendid and is being excavated in a very splendid manner. Dr. Reisner excavates with large masses of men and women superintended by Nubian foremen and he was actually working with a staff of almost 360 people.

We got a good deal of insight into his method of excavation on the Monday forenoon and I was glad to find that with divergencies a good deal of the method corresponded with our own at Knossos. The site is enormous about ten times the size, I should say, of Bethshemesh and only large masses of men would make any adequate impression upon it.

On the Sunday and again on the Monday Dr. Reisner kindly expounded to us his method of recording. He takes an enormous number of photographs and his system of training native Egyptian boys to do almost all of this work was new to me and I thought extremely clever. I was glad to be able to tell him that tall scaffolds like his for taking photographs from were a long established institution of Cretan excavation. We compared many notes. (letter of 29 July 1910)

During the first season, as predicted by Macalister, the proximity to the railway station brought many visitors to the site, often hindering Mackenzie's work: 'I have just had a whole monastery of brothers of Don Bosco whose visit has deprived me of the time I had set apart for writing' (letter of 6 May 1911). 'We had visitors every single day of last week. Then at the last moment . . . the Philistines, headed by Dr. Masterman, were upon us! It has been simply terrifying and we have only succeeded in clearing the enemy from the coast of Beth Shemesh this very day' (letter of 5 June 1911).

Despite these interruptions, the excavations proceeded very successfully, to judge from the lyrical and flattering 'invocation' on Beth Shemesh by Père Vincent (1911b), and particularly from Sir Charles Watson's commendatory letters, criticizing only the way Mackenzie dealt with money matters:

I was rather impressed at the amount that had been done . . . and was pleased to find how smoothly all was going on . . . Mackenzie . . . is wholly devoted to archaeology and explorations and thinks of little else. I have rubbed in the necessity of working as economically as possible and explained how limited is the amount of money at our disposal. (letter of 29 April 1911)

The amount of excavation already done is very considerable, much more than might have been expected in a month . . . I think the Committee may be well satisfied with the selection of the site and with the way in which work is going on. But the difficult matter will be to get enough money to do the thing properly . . . I am much struck with the methodical way in which Mackenzie works, but he is weakest in the matter of accounts. (letter of 13 May 1911)

Apart from problems with the accounts, a slight hitch in the first season was caused by Mackenzie's illness. The letter (6 April 1911) announcing the start of the excavations also contains the first of a series of detailed and graphic descriptions of various illnesses, especially dysentery, which punctuate his official correspondence with the P.E.F.:

A sore throat from which I had been suffering for a long time developed into a severe chest cold which kept me in bed and in the hands of the doctor for the whole of the week . . . The beginning of this disagreeable illness is an old story. Jusuf carried a most unpleasant cold with him to Moab which I am now quite convinced was infectious. It went the round of everybody coming at length to me at Petra and laying Mr. Newton low at Damascus. The sore throat with sensations of vomiting I have had ever since our return and the nausea is a disagreeable symptom of my present bad turn. In these circumstances I am sure the Committee will think it natural that I should take things quietly for a few days until I recover my wonted energy'

The frequent and graphic descriptions of his ailments by no means aroused great interest or much sympathy among his employers, particularly when used to justify his lateness in sending accounts or reports, as in the following example:

I herewith enclose the account for the Quarter January–March, 1911. Please convey my sincere apologies to the Treasurer for the lateness of its arrival. The very busy time on the site here . . . made it a matter of excessive difficulty to find a moment when Jusuf and Mr Newton and I should be free to put our heads together. Add to this that I have just passed through a very serious illness which has lain me low for the past fortnight. This began with symptoms of some gastric complaint which unfortunately coincided with the very fatiguing week of visitors after Sir Charles's departure and then developed into something which to my horror threatened to be dysentery. I do not know whether I ever told you that I caught dysentery while on the eve of leaving Gezer on my visit to Macalister some years ago. The result was a dangerous illness which it took me six months to recover from! You can thus imagine my dismay at the thought of a return of this most insidious complaint. Without going to the hospital, which you will perhaps blame me for, I took drastic measures beginning with castor oil which fortunately I had heard from Dalman was the one safe specific for dysentery in Palestine and then adjure all solid or fatty foods living chiefly on beef-tea beaten-up eggs and milk. Alongside of this treatment I had to avoid all fatigue and worry and so kept perfectly passive lying in a horizontal position all the time under the shade of an olive tree. (letter of 30 June 1911)

The first season came to a halt in mid-August 1911 not because of Mackenzie's dysentery, but because of an outbreak of malaria. Contrary to what was proclaimed by the Very Rev. George Adam Smith at the Annual Meeting of 13 June 1910 (cf. above), the district proved to be extremely unhealthy, being rich in 'stagnating pools where mosquitoes breed' (letter of 19 August 1911), bringing a 'very malignant fever' that caused the illness and, in some cases, the death of workmen and their families:

The fever here turned out to be a very malignant nature. Mohammed and his wife and family (three boys and a girl) are all dead. This was the guard I mentioned to you in my letter of August. Many others have been swept away in the same fashion . . . [including] many growing children. I was especially sorry about the death of a certain little Sarah who was very lovely like her patriarchal namesake and looked the picture of robust health. (Mackenzie's letter of 14 January 1912)

This situation forced Mackenzie to turn into a doctor, and his healing reputation became such that:

The wely became a sort of dispensary and I had to devote considerable time every evening to doling out quinine and other remedies after the fatigues of the day. The inconvenience of all this was that one got the reputation of being a great medicine-man who worked by magic, and the maimed, the halt and the blind (from ophthalmia) came from places as far away as Beit Jibrin. (Mackenzie 1913a, 4)

While malaria at Ain Shems was forcing Mackenzie to stop the excavation, the Executive Committee in London had already decided to suspend the work for 'the low state of funds', partly caused by the fact that Mackenzie was employing a rather large labour-force. Thus, to avoid further expenditure, the Executive Committee 'on the motion of Sir Arthur Evans . . . resolved that . . . Duncan Mackenzie be instructed to reduce his working staff so that the number of workers employed should not at any time exceed 60' (minutes of 18 July 1911).

This decision betrayed the Committee's ignorance of local conditions, particularly of the fluctuation of the female labour-force, as shown in Mackenzie's reply:

For example, on one occasion all our women vanished one fine day as if by magic. The reason was that they were able or supposed themselves able to earn 2 bishliks a day instead of our one by gathering pebbles for the railway. Then again the Jewish distillery of oraganium [*sic!*] spirit at Artuf every now and then draws away the women to collect the plant from which the spirit is distilled . . . All this taken together makes the possibilities of labour fluctuate in the most capricious and unforeseen manner. But it entirely justifies my method . . . namely, to work intensively in the relatively short periods when labour is obtainable and efficient in view of unfavourable conditions or unforeseen accidents later on . . . My

average staff of men women and boys for the whole period of excavations was 77. But this average which I calculated out in advance . . . was only obtained at Ain Shems with fluctuations which varied between 9 or 10 at the end through 40 or 50 and 150 or even 200 for a few days at high pressure . . . the 60 limit . . . takes no account whatever of the fluctuations referred to above. (letter of 19 August 1911)

Mackenzie eventually solved the problem by eliminating female labour, employed to carry away the excavated soil, and introducing wheel-barrows instead. Although not a misogynist, he found 'the employment of female labour . . . a fertile source of little family cliques and combinations that are all detrimental to the proper progress of work. It would be too much to expect of human nature that a man should be prepared to drive his own wife and daughter working in the same gang' (letter of 16 July 1912). Thus, 'Barrows were introduced as an innovation to take place of female labour and it was found that an able bodied youth with barrows was able to accomplish the work of four women' (letter of 1 July 1912). 'Young fellows not experienced for the better sort of work, who used to find it humiliating to carry baskets to the shoot with the women, and did it badly to boot, took to the barrow as if by second nature. The foreman did not have to shout himself hoarse to women dawdling and chatting on the shoot' (Mackenzie 1913a, 2).

After closing down the excavations, Mackenzie left for Athens, where he could work in good libraries, 'keep in touch with the archaeological world . . . [and] get away on occasion from a narrowing environment like that of Jerusalem' (letter of 15 July 1911). Athens was like a second home for Mackenzie: he had lived there when he was a student at the British School at Athens from 1895 to 1899 and, because of his work at Knossos from 1900 to 1910, he was well known and admired by the Athenian scholarly community: 'I made all arrangements calling at once at the different Archaeological Institutes where I am pleased to say I was received with open arms. Facilities were put at my disposal which meant piling up my rooms with any books I needed . . . As nobody was present at the British School I could roam there at my sweet will without interruption' (letter of 23 October 1911). 'Professors Doerpfeld and Karo of the German Institute vied with each other in kindness and Professor Karo, now the new director on the retirement of Doerpfeld, was so good as to give me a latch-key by which I could allow myself into the Institute at any hour' (letter of 25 November 1911).

In this ideal situation Mackenzie started working at 'The megalithic monuments of Rabbath Ammon at Amman', a very interesting paper in which monuments were studied in their wider context or, to use Mackenzie's own words (1911e, 1), 'Our purpose was . . . to see whether it was not possible to bring these dolmens out of that state of splendid isolation', an approach already used during his work on the Nuraghi of Sardinia. However, a recurrence of dysentery not only hampered his writing, but also detained him in Athens for several weeks, with disastrous consequences. Mackenzie was able to return to Palestine only around mid-December (letters of 25 November and 18 December 1911), by which time it was too late to start a new excavation campaign.

This further delay, and the fact that, although Mackenzie had worked on his article on 'megalithic monuments', he had not prepared a detailed report on the first season of excavations at Ain Shems, caused further friction with the P.E.F. The lack of a report on the excavations was particularly irritating to the Committee because this was eagerly awaited for the new *Annual* that the P.E.F. had decided to issue beside the *Quarterly Statement*.<sup>6</sup> The *Annual*, to use Mackenzie's words, was intended to be a journal of a more 'scientific character and prestige', similar to those produced by the British Schools at Athens and Rome, and not merely an expanded version 'of the *Quarterly Statement* in which all sort of eccentric persons will be allowed to air their special hobbies and their inadequate ideas' (letters of 7 November 1910 and 28 November 1911). These comments by no means endeared Mackenzie to his employers, but

the further delay in the excavations and in submitting his own written report caused even greater annoyance. Time and money were running out, with little excavation and written work to show for it. The dissatisfaction among Mackenzie's employers for this state of affairs is clearly expressed, for example, in Watson's letter to Mackenzie of 10 December 1911:

At the last Committee, at which I am glad that both Sir Arthur Evans and Hogarth were present, it was decided that the best course was, for you and Newton to return to England, bringing all papers, plans and negatives, as it is too late now to begin work at Beth Shemesh before the rainy season, and it is absolutely necessary to have the Report on the present year's work on the Tell as soon as possible. The publication of the Annual Volume cannot be delayed as you suggest, as it has been promised to the subscribers . . . It would have been better if you had prepared the report while at Athens rather than that on the Stone Monuments, which, interesting as it is, is not the main object . . . The amount already spent since your appointment . . . is £1897, and up to the present, there is practically little to show for it . . . It is not surprising that the Committee regard this as unsatisfactory, and find it difficult to understand why you do not furnish them with more information on what you have done.

When Macalister was at Gezer, he sent a report, with plans and illustrations, for each Quarterly Statement, and it was thought that it would make it easier for you if you had only to send one report for the year. But that has not yet come, although months have passed since the excavations were closed in the summer. Of course too it is a great disappointment . . . that the autumn season has been entirely lost . . . in your absence, Newton might have carried on, and kept the excavations going to some extent. But, as it is, the expenses mount up, and there is no result.

Moreover, in a letter of 27 January 1912, circulated to the members of the Executive Committee, Crace stated that, as Honorary Secretary of the Fund, he felt his duty to point out that, because of Mackenzie's failures, the 'subscribers have been left without any but the bare information . . . and . . . this constitutes a real danger to this Society's welfare'.

Since Mackenzie's appointment in December 1909, all that the P.E.F. could show to its subscribers were a few short publications in the *Quarterly Statement*: the brief extracts from the two letters sent from Petra; the 'memorandum on the prospects of excavations'; the short report on Adaseh; a letter of 1 June 1911, part of which was published in the proceedings of the Annual Meeting of 16 June 1911; and the two short reports on the excavations at Ain Shems which, it should be noted, were based on Mackenzie's Day-books but were not written by him (Mackenzie 1911a-d).

It is just possible that this lack of reports was partly due to another misunderstanding: Mackenzie may have thought it sufficient to provide the P.E.F. with his Day-books, which would then be used as the basis for a summary report written by the editor of the *Quarterly Statement*, while the Fund expected articles from Mackenzie's pen. Some support for this explanation can be gathered from Mackenzie's correspondence (cf. letter of 18 May 1911 re Day-books, quoted above; letter to Dickie of 23 October 1911: 'I am rather concerned not to have heard from you about the safe arrival of my two last daybooks . . . They were very important especially in view of the October number of the Quarterly Statement'). However, if such misunderstanding existed in the first year of Mackenzie's appointment, this was dispelled at an Executive Committee Meeting of 13 February 1912, attended by Mackenzie. For part of December 1911 and most of January 1912 Mackenzie and Newton worked at the report of the 1911 excavations at Ain Shems, staying in the nearby convent of the Salesian Brothers at Beit Gemal (letter of 30 December 1911). But by the beginning of February Mackenzie was back in England, staying with Evans at Youlbury, to complete his report on Ain Shems for the *Annual* before returning to Palestine (letters of 6 February 1912 and 4 March 1912). While in England, Mackenzie was summoned and reprimanded by the Executive Committee: 'Dr Mackenzie attended with his report on Ain Shems which he took away for further revision . . . It was

impressed on him that an article from his pen should appear in each issue of the *Quarterly* . . . and . . . that it was absolutely necessary that he should render punctually quarterly accounts for all payments whatsoever' (minutes of 13 February 1912). These and other points were further 'impressed' on him by a letter from Grace (of 14 March 1912) that reached him at Youlbury just before he left for Palestine to start his second season at Ain Shems. (Only a draft of Grace's letter survives, but a fairly grovelling reply from Mackenzie — sent from Youlbury on 16 March 1912 — gives hints of its content.)

#### THE SECOND AND THIRD CAMPAIGNS OF 1912

By the end of April the second campaign at Ain Shems had started, Mackenzie's excavation plans being as follows: '1. To trace out the part of the Strong wall still uninvestigated in the Byzantine Area and thereafter to examine likely Semitic regions within. 2. To make a thorough examination of the city region within the South Gate'. Complying with the Executive Committee's instructions, he employed a staff of only 65 people (letter of 26 April 1912).

As one might have expected, after the reprimand all went well, at least for a while: Newton was put in charge of the accounts and Mackenzie sent regular letters as well as a 35-page long report on the work done, entitled 'The Excavations at Ain Shems, April–May, 1912'. Only a slightly edited version of the last 8 pages of this manuscript was read at the Annual Meeting of 11 June 1912 (*PEFQS* 1912, 125 ff.). In this section, entitled 'General Historical Results', Mackenzie traced the main stages in the history of the site as follows:

1. A first 'Canaanite' or 'Semitic' period, with clear evidence of contacts with Egypt (XVIII Dynasty), Cyprus and the Aegean (acme about 1400 B.C.).
2. A second period (acme about 1200–1100 B.C.), characterized by the presence of a 'Strong Wall' and of Philistine pottery (explained as the product of Cretan craftsmen emigrating to Palestine), but also by the absence of actual Aegean imports, ending with the siege and burning of the city.
3. A third or 'Israelite' period (eleventh–eighth or seventh century B.C.) characterized by the absence of the 'Strong Wall' and of Philistine influence. The tombs of the North-West Cemetery were assigned to this period which ended with another siege and another burning connected with the Assyrian invasion.<sup>7</sup>

When Mackenzie was appointed 'explorer' of the P.E.F. it was thought that his unique knowledge of Greek prehistoric archaeology, especially of pottery, would come in useful with regard to the problem of Philistine culture, which scholars such as Calmet, Welch and Thiersch had connected with the Aegean (Dothan and Dothan 1992). Mackenzie's expertise indeed allowed him to make important observations on the relationship between Aegean and Philistine pottery. In the report mentioned above Mackenzie explained Philistine pottery as the product of Cretan craftsmen who had emigrated to Palestine after the break up of the Minoan 'sea-empire'. But with the progress of his work at Ain Shems, his ideas on Philistine culture evolved and in later publications he connected Philistine pottery not directly with Crete, but with mainland Greece and with the wave of disruptions which affected the Eastern Mediterranean at the end of the Bronze Age (Mackenzie 1913a, 9–14). In his unpublished manuscript on the Ain Shems excavations and in his working notes (see below) he went even further, suggesting that the original homeland of the Philistines (or at least of some elements in their material culture) was somewhere in Anatolia. But the stratigraphical observations reported above are probably Mackenzie's main contribution to the 'Philistine question' and indeed to biblical archaeology in general: in his report on 'The Excavations at Ain Shems, April–May, 1912' for the first time the true stratigraphical and chronological context of Philistine pottery was

established (Dothan 1982, 94 n. 1; Dothan and Dothan 1992, chapters 3–4, esp. 36–42, 46, 48).

The second season of excavations was hampered by various problems with the labour-force and with the local population (Mackenzie 1913a, 2–7). Visitors were even more assiduous than in the previous year. Some were warmly received, such as the French Dominicans of the Ecole Biblique at Jerusalem and the German Benedictines of Mount Sion, and particularly Père Hugues Vincent, who ‘came as a true pilgrim of science not only to learn but to illuminate’ (MS of Mackenzie 1913a, 6 — omitted in the published version, edited by Evans: see below). Other visitors were less welcome, because ‘Stragglers they were from the true path of inquiry for whom Noah’s ark and the ark of the Covenant were one . . . The hindrance to work thus caused was of serious character for we could count on such visitors every second day or so throughout the season. So bad had it become that we could not help a feeling of relieved surprise when the second day passed without such a visit’ (ibid., 9, 10).

Archaeologists are familiar with two peculiar laws of excavations: first, the most important discoveries are made at the end of the season, often on the very last day; second, members of the dig team become seriously ill when they are most needed. Mackenzie’s excavations at Ain Shems were no exception. In a letter sent about a week before the end of the excavations Mackenzie reported that Newton had caught dysentery just before the discovery of ‘fallen pillars’ and of a nearby ‘Grotto’, suggesting the presence of a ‘High Place’ (letter of 15 July 1912).

In a following letter, Mackenzie reports most exciting discoveries made just before the end of the excavations:

West of the fallen pillars there has emerged a circle of stones . . . on penetrating down within this for some courses we came upon an artificial circular opening hewn into the rock and leading once more down the subterranean cave. Jusuf and I were at once reminded of the great cave with natural opening and artificial funnel [*sic*] adjoining the High Place at Gezer. (letter of 16 July 1912)

But in the meantime the Executive Committee in London — ignorant of these new important discoveries but very concerned about financial matters — had decided to stop the excavations at Ain Shems for good and dismiss Newton and Mackenzie. Once again funds were ‘low’ and Mackenzie had been overspending. Thus, it was ‘Resolved that the Hon. Secy be asked to write to Dr Mackenzie saying that, on account of the large outlay it will be impossible for the Fund to continue the work at Ain Shems and at the same time to notify both Dr Mackenzie and Mr Newton that they must regard the receipt of the Hon. Secy’s letter as giving the three months notice of termination of their engagement with the Fund’; moreover, Mackenzie was asked to return to England by 15 September without stopping in Athens, to complete his reports (Executive Committee minutes of 2 July 1912 and 16 July 1912).

Mackenzie, however, so strongly believed that the exciting new discoveries at Ain Shems would overturn the Executive Committee’s decision to stop the excavations that the idea of being dismissed made little or no impression on him:

Dear Mr Grace, I just have your letter communicating the wish of the Committee to close the works at Ain Shems for good at the end of July . . . As the situation was then with nothing more than sequences in stratification that might not be expected to interest the general run of subscribers to the Fund I would have been quite satisfied with an arrangement which would have given us a few more weeks’ work in the Autumn with corresponding three months’ notice dating, say, from October 1. Now, however, very startling developments on the site have suddenly altered the whole situation . . . I am very anxious if possible to be able to go afterwards to Stamboul to study for comparative purposes the Palestinian pottery from other excavations stored up in the magazines of the museum . . . a discovery of a most exciting kind

[has been] made just as I am writing. This is a great well going down through the rock to south of the High Place . . . There is great excitement and the workmen are looking forward to the hope of water for Ain Shems. It may indeed be the very well from which Ain Shems has taken its name. (letter of 19 July 1912)

But Mackenzie was deluding himself. The P.E.F. members were too sensitive about financial matters and too dissatisfied with his work. This is clearly shown by the correspondence between various P.E.F. officers, namely Morrison (the Treasurer), Crace, Watson, and Dickie, of August 1912. Morrison's letters were particularly strong: 'I do not think it right to employ such men as he and Newton are. I am utterly disgusted with them. I would find the money for the work if it is done by somebody else' (letter to Crace of 10 August 1912; see also letter to Dickie of 3 August 1912). Indeed, the Fund was seriously thinking of finding another archaeologist to finish up at Ain Shems: in a letter to Morrison of 3 September 1912, Hogarth even suggested Wainwright or Droop; Watson, in a letter to Crace of 2 August 1912, reports that he had written to Macalister asking if he 'could go out to Ain Shems for a couple of months and put things in order'. Watson, who had visited Ain Shems and seen Newton and Mackenzie at work, did praise some of their qualities, but his comments too were, on the whole, fairly negative:

It is much to be regretted that Mackenzie and Newton are both so unbusinesslike . . . Mackenzie too is so earnest about the work and knows much but he would be better as subordinate than head . . . Mackenzie is an excellent archaeologist and Newton a good draughtsman but they both have similar deficiencies which seem to be increased by contact. The fact is that neither of them has any idea of discipline and do not understand that orders have to be carried out. (letters of 17 and 31 August 1912)

Even the official reports show deep dissatisfaction: 'The excavation of Beth-Shemesh [has been] a source of unusual trouble and anxiety to the Committee, as well as a cause of disproportionate expense' (*PEFQS*, January 1913, 2).

The surviving correspondence shows that Mackenzie continued to reject the decision to stop the excavations and even acted in seemingly complete defiance of the P.E.F.'s instructions by going to Athens, where he stayed from August until October, working on the report for the *Annual* (letter of 12 October 1912). Mackenzie probably was still hoping that the Executive Committee, impressed by the new discoveries, would change their plans. A letter from Hogarth gives support to this explanation, and provides further clarification:

Dear Mr Crace. I just send a line, after seeing Evans again, to tell you what communications I have been having with Mackenzie. I wrote to him about the middle of July, after the Comm.tee had come to its decision, to tell him of a possible job next winter.<sup>8</sup> I received a reply dated July 28 in which he jumped at this offer, but went on to detail his discovery of the High Place and to assume that this completely upset the Committee decision. He spoke of spending two months in Athens and returning to Bethshemesh on Oct 1 as an accepted and authorized programme. I felt sure this was an error on his part, and I wrote him a very stiff reply addressed to Jaffa, telling him that he must obey the letter of the Committee's instructions and not temporize or settle down in Athens . . . After having sent off that letter, I reflected that he might have started for Athens . . . so I put the heads of my remarks on a postcard and addressed it c/o Cook, Athens. He must by now have had one or both . . . P.S. I rather fear that he is under some delusion that his 'vacation' is his own to do as he likes with, that he can't be ordered home during it, and that his three months notice begins from the *end* of it. It would be just like his Highland perversity to evolve and fight on such a theory! (letter of 23 August 1912)

A note from Evans to Crace (of 31 August 1912) confirmed Hogarth's fears:

I have, at last, the following telegram from Mackenzie at Athens:

'Was absent. Newton and I strongly deprecate months notice winding up filling it in coming vacation to which entitled and when Ain Shems unhealthy and insist must be from October 1 three months that date both consider connection Fund ended.'

Evans, who was 'extremely annoyed' by Mackenzie's behaviour, suggested to Crace that the P.E.F.'s 'cut off all supplies till he becomes reasonable' (ibid.). Hogarth suggested a less drastic and more sympathetic attitude:

He has, I think, just a shadow of a case in pleading that the three months notice ought not to include his holiday . . . Could the Fund be liberal enough to give him till 31 December on full pay on condition he produces all his reports by then? No pay to be handed over till all is in hand. It will take him at least these three months to write his report, slow worker as he is. (note to Crace of 7 September 1912)

In the end the Committee followed Hogarth's suggestion. This was not done out of some sudden sympathetic or 'liberal' feelings, but for purely practical considerations. Although it had been suggested that the work be finished by another archaeologist, 'the position of Mackenzie in relation to the work already done [made] it impossible to introduce a new man', and it was feared that Mackenzie might run away with all his notes and produce no report (Dickie's letter of 14 September 1912). In addition 'the pottery . . . [was] unsorted and undrawn, and stored with only Mackenzie's "secret marks"' (Crace's letter of 30 August 1912).

Eventually, Mackenzie returned to Palestine to work on his report, but this was not until the end of October 1912. Thanks to an unexpected donation, he was also able to complete the excavations of the 'High Place Grotto' and neighbouring features (see below). But throughout August and September 1912, Mackenzie was extremely laconic in his official contacts with the P.E.F.: he seems to have communicated only with Evans, possibly because, although a member of the Executive Committee, Mackenzie believed him to be more sympathetic to his cause. If so, Mackenzie was, once again, deluding himself: to judge from the surviving correspondence, both Evans and Hogarth were beginning to lose their patience. Evans wrote a very stiff letter to Mackenzie (dated 27 September 1912, of which a copy survives) but we do not know whether he ever received and answered it (no correspondence from Mackenzie to Evans survives for the period 1909–1919 in the Evans Archive). But on 12 October 1912 Mackenzie wrote two letters to Dickie, one 'official', the other marked 'Private and confidential'. The first expresses Mackenzie's concern about leaving Ain Shems unfinished and prey to illicit excavations. The second was supposed to 'help to clear up matters a little', providing justifications for Mackenzie's behaviour. In particular, it explained Mackenzie's obstinate stay in Athens by accusing Evans of desiring his return to England for reasons that had nothing to do with the P.E.F. but with Knossos. It is a strange and quite revealing letter — the full text appears in Appendix B — elucidating certain aspects of the complex and sometimes difficult personal relationship between Evans and Mackenzie. Many of the statements, complaints and accusations made by Mackenzie in this letter ring true, but also appear somewhat exaggerated and not relevant. For example, it is most likely that Evans had realized that Knossos was getting out of hand and that he needed Mackenzie's help: indeed, after the Palestinian interlude, Mackenzie continued to work for Evans until 1929, helping him with excavations at Knossos, with the publication of the *Palace of Minos*, and with the reorganization of the Aegean Collections in the Ashmolean Museum (Momigliano 1995). But it is unlikely that Evans, as one of the P.E.F. Executive Committee members, and one of the people responsible for Mackenzie's appointment, was urging Mackenzie to return to Oxford only for this reason. Similarly, Evans may well have suffered from 'neurasthenia' and taken a 'childish delight in effecting a paltry saving', but Hogarth and other P.E.F. officers, who certainly had no 'occult reasons' for desiring Mackenzie's presence in England, also wanted him to return. Thus, it is not difficult to see that,

from the Fund's point of view, instead of 'clearing up matters a little', this letter did Mackenzie more damage than good. After reading it, Dickie wrote to Grace: 'I think the letter can only be looked upon as a curiosity as I am convinced he is not in his right mind' (23 October 1912). Grace himself wrote to Watson that the letter was 'full of suspicion and charges against his best and oldest friends, which impressed me with the idea that his mind is going wrong' (26 October 1912).

As already mentioned, Mackenzie eventually returned to Palestine towards the end of October 1912. The main objectives of his final stay at Ain Shems were: to wind up the excavations, study the pottery, sort out the finds for the Museums of Constantinople and Jerusalem, and complete the report for the *Annual*. Newton was not sent back, and this thwarted some of Mackenzie's plans:

I had been attaching great importance to an East-West Section of the Central City Area with the pottery type-sequences put in by Mr Newton in their relation to the succession of strata (First, Second, Third City) but this and other important drawings will have to remain unaccomplished as Mr Newton is not coming out. (letter of 16 November 1912)

An unexpected donation of £100 from M. E. Lange also allowed Mackenzie to fulfil his wish to complete the excavations of the High Place Grotto and other adjacent features discovered at the end of the previous season (telegram and letter of 29 October 1912; Mackenzie 1913c).

These excavations were conducted in December 1912. Although they lasted only a few weeks, they were very successful, as shown, for example, in Masterman's letter to Grace of 5 January 1913:

I must tell you at once that I think Mackenzie has made an extremely good use of his £100 . . . and it seems that he has done *more + better* work these two months (Nov & Dec) than all the time he has had before . . . Dr Mackenzie has materials for a magnificent memoir on Beth-Shemesh and I think myself enough has been done at the site now so that, even had Mackenzie been remaining on in the P.E.F. service, he might now seek new fields. This could not have been said two months ago. It only remains for Mackenzie to write up all this new material. This is a great work and one for which Mackenzie would be wise to take a few quiet weeks at Jaffa or Jerusalem (within reach of the site) instead of flying off, as he wants to do, to the Sudan. He says he has written up much and I have urged him to *send in* what he has done as soon as possible, but as he is I think a very slow worker I much fear he will, if allowed, go off before he completes all. He talks of doing, for example, a monograph on the pottery *as a whole* at some *distant date!*

Masterman's words were, in a sense, prophetic. Mackenzie left for the Sudan in mid-January 1913. He finished his report on the spring-summer 1912 campaign but, because of his new engagement, he was able to complete only a brief summary of the 'Lange' excavations of December 1912. Both the report and the summary were published in *Annual* 11. This volume was edited by Evans,<sup>9</sup> who omitted several pages of the original manuscript and was rather critical:

Mackenzie's style is most annoying . . . I don't think that we want any of his Oriental compliments of the first pages. The way the 'Visitors' are treated is very funny. First they are abused, then they are continually appealed to and used as a kind of 'chorus'! What they 'at once perceive' is Mackenzie's equivalent for 'every schoolboy knows'! (letter of 28 February 1913)

Even Evans's rare praise appears to be somewhat qualified:

M[ackenzie]'s chronological conclusions for the stratification of pottery are, I think, good — in all this he is first rate, but he has the tendency to show a want of proportion in treating of individual specimens. The 'Philistine' class is beginning to be recognized. (*ibid.*)

Evans's comments on Mackenzie's style are echoed by the editor of the *Quarterly Statement*:

I fear M[ackenzie] is absolutely a 'wrong-un', and if a genius has all the drawbacks of the abnormal sort. He is a hopeless beggar. (I am letting off libellous things, I fear!) If his reports are like the Ashkelon narrative I'm not surprise [*sic!*] at you wanting to cut him down! (letter of 16 February 1913)

Mackenzie published only a brief summary of the 'Lange' excavation although, as mentioned in Masterman's letter, he had enough materials for a 'magnificent memoir' and had expressed the intention of writing a proper report to be published in a third P.E.F. *Annual* volume (letters to Watson of 17 and 19 January 1913). Mackenzie did produce a detailed account of the 'Lange' excavations, but this was never finished. The manuscript of this report was given to the P.E.F., together with other relevant papers, by Mackenzie's nephew, Alistair Bain Mackenzie, in 1992 (*PEQ*, January–June 1993, 88; *PEQ*, January–June 1994, 1). No Day-book for December 1912 seems to have survived: thus, this manuscript (with the accompanying photographs, drawings, etc.) is the only surviving source for the 'Lange' excavations.

The surviving correspondence suggests that the report was never finished (and thus never published) for a predictable reason: lack of funds. It is clear that the P.E.F. felt that too much money had already been spent on Beth-Shemesh: a third volume on the excavations would have involved further costs that they were not prepared to undertake (see *PEFQS*, January 1913, 1–2; P.E.F. Annual Report, 1913). Moreover, Mackenzie initially intended to complete his report without remuneration, but later on found himself unable to do so. This is shown in a rather distressing, almost tragic letter to Watson (of 19 August 1913), suggesting that Mackenzie must have been in serious financial difficulties, though not so dejected as entirely to forget his pride:

In a letter to you written in January [17 January 1913] . . . I further said that the work would have to be *gratis* as the incidents which then occurred did not allow me to accept any further fee. On the other hand I cannot impose upon myself the burden of living expenses while engaged on this work and thus I hope you will be able to arrange that living expenses are allowed me at the rate of ten shillings a day including any days spent on proofs at the end . . . I hope you will pardon my saying at once that I should have to refuse the money if any humiliation or vexatious conditions were attached to the receipt of it such as were imposed on the receipt of my fee in January. I really want to be quite loyal to you personally in all this and at the same time in a friendly spirit to be quite frank about the matter. I particularly trust in you to see that my feelings which are quite natural in the circumstances are spared for the sake of the matter in hand if not for anything else. You are a military man and know that the Highlanders of Scotland are a sensitive race but you also know that they are very capable of devotion to a true friend and that they make good soldiers when the day of battle comes. Where would bonnie Scotland be without her fighters in the field or in the pulpit, where without her contests of metaphysics? The only English people who understand us well are soldiers like yourself or else the ecclesiastics. The others are all intolerant. They call our metaphysics casuistry and they will point out that the fearlessness which makes a good soldiers [*sic!*] are virtues of the past!

It is not entirely clear whether Mackenzie's request for money was rejected, but this seems the most likely conclusion, and the most likely reason why Mackenzie never finished the report, and never gave the P.E.F. even those sections that he managed to complete. (No cheques made to Mackenzie are recorded in the Minutes of the Executive Committee for September–October 1913.)

#### THE UNPUBLISHED REPORT ON THE THIRD CAMPAIGN

After October 1913 all correspondence with Mackenzie and all references to him in the Executive Committee minutes cease abruptly. But the story of Mackenzie's involvement with

the P.E.F. did not end here: it has two little 'epilogues'. The first consists of Mackenzie's publication of 'The Port of Gaza and Excavation in Philistia' in 1918, apparently the last work he ever published, and the submission, in the same year, of a curious document, a seventeen-page long typescript entitled 'Memorandum on Ancient Sites and Military Operations in Palestine, submitted to the Chairman of the Palestine Exploration Fund by Duncan Mackenzie', and referred to in Executive Committee minutes of 14 February 1918 as follows:

The Chairman [Dr L. W. King] reported to the Committee the result of his correspondence with the War Office on measures for the safeguarding of antiquities on Palestine during the war. After writing to Colonel Hedley to ascertain whether a letter on that subject would be acceptable to the authorities and receiving a favourable reply, the Chairman wrote a letter in the name of the Executive Committee, and despatched it to the Secretary of State for War. He enclosed with the letter a memorandum submitted to him by Dr D. Mackenzie, which dealt with some practical recommendations in rather greater detail than was advisable in the letter itself.<sup>10</sup>

The second 'epilogue' is the already mentioned rediscovery, in 1992, of the manuscript of the intended *Annual* III volume on Beth Shemesh. This consists of more than 250 sheets of various sizes. The intended volume was divided into two main parts, which were further subdivided into various sections (this subdivision being based on the study of the surviving sheets and of Mackenzie's correspondence).

The first part is the detailed report of the 'Lange' excavation, entitled 'The Excavation of Beth-shemesh November–December, 1912' and is divided into the following sections:

- I Further Investigations in the Area of the South Gate
- II The City Well of Beth-shemesh
- III The Exploration of the High Place Grotto Sepulchre
- IV The Pottery of the High Place Grotto: First Beth-shemesh Period
- V The Hypogeum in the Area of the High Place
- VI The Hypogeum-cistern by the Olive Press
- VII Further Excavations in the Central City Area
- VIII The Stratification of the Deposits
- IX The Deposits of the First Period
- X The Deposits of the Second Period
- XI The Deposits of the Third or Israelite Period
- XII The Deposits of the Period of Re-occupation
- XIII The Olive Press
- XIV Small Finds from the City Site of Beth-shemesh

The roman numbers have been added in this list for the sake of clarity, but the section titles are Mackenzie's own. When the large bundle of sheets was found in June 1992, 185 sheets forming the first thirteen sections were in consecutive order. The eight sheets forming section xiv were mixed with sheets on other topics and were added only after further study and sorting.

The fourteen sections forming the first part of the manuscript appear to be 'clean copies', more or less ready for submission to the editor. The second part, on the contrary, does not appear to be in a finished or almost finished form. It deals with general historical conclusions, and is entitled 'The Comparative Chronology of the finds and the Successive Settlements at Beth Shemesh', as indicated by the 'title page'. This second part was also subdivided into various sections, of which the following survive, though none appears to be complete, with the possible exception of the first:

- I     Introductory
- II    The Earliest Beginnings of Settlement at Beth-shemesh
- III   The First City
- IV    The Fortifications of the First City
- V     The Deposits of the Second Period (this consists of one sheet bearing this title and sixteen sheets on Philistine pottery)
- VI    Title unknown, but probably 'The Deposits of the Third or Israelite Period' (this consists of seven sheets dealing with tombs and their finds)

As for the first part, the roman numbers were added to the above list for the sake of clarity, but the section titles are Mackenzie's own.

As explained in the summary published by Mackenzie (1913c) the 'Lange' excavations not only supplemented and consolidated the results obtained in previous campaigns, but also provided evidence for a phase of occupation following the Third or Israelite period (see above) and which Mackenzie, employing a 'Knossian' terminology, characterized as a period of reoccupation by squatters: 'The reoccupiers were hardly more than squatters, who apparently had an interest in the olive oil industry . . .' (1913c, 99; for 'squatters' and 'reoccupation' at Knossos see, e.g., Palmer and Boardman 1963, Index, s.v.).

The evidence for this 'reoccupation' phase was discussed in detail in Part I, sections XII-XIII of the 'Lange' manuscript. These pages, published in Appendix A, also provide a very good example of Mackenzie's clear, precise archaeological reasoning and, in contrast, of his rather cumbersome and convoluted literary style, full of interesting but irrelevant digressions.

Thus, with the rediscovery of his manuscript in 1992, the story of Mackenzie's involvement with the P.E.F. and with archaeology in Palestine ends. It is a rather sad and not particularly successful story. Various factors contributed to this: a conjunction of unfortunate circumstances (the appointment of the corrupt Hassan Bey, malaria, dysentery, etc.), Mackenzie's deficiencies in matters of accounts, and his inability to produce regular and well written reports. But probably more important was the fact that Mackenzie's qualities were not sufficiently appreciated by the P.E.F. and, in particular, that his interests, aspirations and expectations were somewhat different from or in conflict with those of his employers (as is often the case when scholars work in the field and committees direct them from afar).

To begin with, Mackenzie was not entirely satisfied with the choice of Ain Shems. He firmly believed that archaeological research in Palestine should focus on regions such as the coast of Philistia or Moab. Once he had embarked on the excavations at Beth-Shemesh, however, he was determined to accomplish this task in a 'scientific' way, regardless of whether the site was going to provide spectacular finds. He felt that his duty was to serve the science of archaeology, not the interests of the Fund's subscribers:

The excavator will have to be content with small mercies and he must not be discouraged by the subscriber 'owing to the lack of imposing museum-pieces taken out of the excavations'. What Dr Reisner found to be true of royal Samaria is true to a much greater degree of every lesser site in Palestine and in their case the conviction is bound at any rate to be a satisfaction to the excavator that it is the cumulative result of many excavations that will tell scientifically in the long run. The sensational results and brilliancy of effect that appeal so much to the subscriber at home, and especially to the large subscriber, are sure in nine cases out of ten to fail the excavator in the brunt of the days' work on the spot. And if the library of King Ahab and the letters of the Prophet failed, after all, to turn up at Samaria, as they should have done, it was hardly to be expected that the earth should yield up the House of the Sun at Beth-shemesh. ('Lange' excavations MS, 114-15)

But the P.E.F. Executive Committee members and subscribers (of whom many were not archaeologists) were unable to appreciate the value of Mackenzie's 'scientific' excavations and

wait for the 'cumulative result of many excavations'. It is clear that the digressions on excavation aims and methods in his correspondence and reports did not arouse great interest at the time and did not counterbalance his 'weakness in matters of accounts'. In the letters from Watson and other P.E.F. officers it is Macalister, whose excavation methods and recording were 'wholly inadequate even by the standards of the day' (Moorey 1991, 32), who is described as a model 'explorer' (e.g. Watson's letters of 10 December 1911 and 2 August 1912).

Mackenzie, and particularly Reisner, set very high standards of excavation and recording methods, but they seem to have had little impact on following generations of archaeologists working in Palestine: E. Grant's own excavations at Ain Shems and his inferior 'Introduction: Field Work and Its Methods' (Grant 1931) illustrate this point.

It is perhaps ironic that, despite their high standards and rigorous precepts, both Reisner and Mackenzie have been involved in controversies concerning the dating of the written documents that they excavated at Samaria and Knossos respectively. But it is also a tribute to the accuracy of their observations and of their excavation records that other scholars have been able to suggest new dates and interpretations of their finds.

Thus, Mackenzie's main tangible contribution to biblical archaeology is that he was the first to understand the stratigraphical and historical context of Philistine pottery. To conclude with the words used by Père Vincent in one of his last surviving letters to Mackenzie (31 December 1912):

Vous avez mis une clarté et une précision définitive dans la classification et l'évolution de la culture palestinienne et fixé une fois pour toutes le rôle jusqu'ici à peine soupçonné de l'élément philistin dans l'archéologie de cette contrée.

APPENDIX A: EXCERPTS FROM MACKENZIE'S MS ON THE 'LANGE' EXCAVATIONS AT AIN SHEMS OF DECEMBER 1912

[p. 168]

*The Deposits of the Period of Re-occupation*

After the destruction of the Israelite Beth-shemesh which apparently took place in the late spring of 701 the site was once more re-occupied for a time. The evidence for this was not apparent at first and only became gradually clear as we advanced in our operations from the South Gate towards the central regions of the city. The section of the deposits at the South Gate showed the remains of the Israelite period quite distinctly as we have already seen. But there was no indication of anything later overlying this in that region. The real reason probably was that the later settlement did not extend so far in this direction.

In the Central City Area it was different. Here in the deposits next the surface a type of vessel began to emerge among the fragments of pottery that had not attracted our attention hitherto on the site. And the type was so frequent that it turned up in every basket. Its presence was betrayed through the peculiar character of the rim which turned in all round almost at right angles instead of out. It was clear that so curious a rim could only belong to one distinct type of vessel which stood by itself and was not likely to have much affinity with other types. [p. 169] The key to the type was afforded through a discovery in the region of the North-West Necropolis. Here in a grotto which we could not identify as a tomb there was hoarded up what seemed to be a whole store of vessels prominent among which was the type of vase in question. A selection of the vessels from this cave are shown on Plate (F.S. 416) [= Fig. 2; cf. Mackenzie 1913c, 100, pl. XIX] and the type to which we refer is represented by items 4 and 6. The other two types shown are apparently the most usual companions of this strange looking vessel. The shape suggested that of a beehive and earthenware beehives were and are quite common in different parts of the East. We afterwards found out what their real function was and that they were probably not manufactured to act as beehives at all. It was at any rate clear from the beginning in view of the persistence with which the

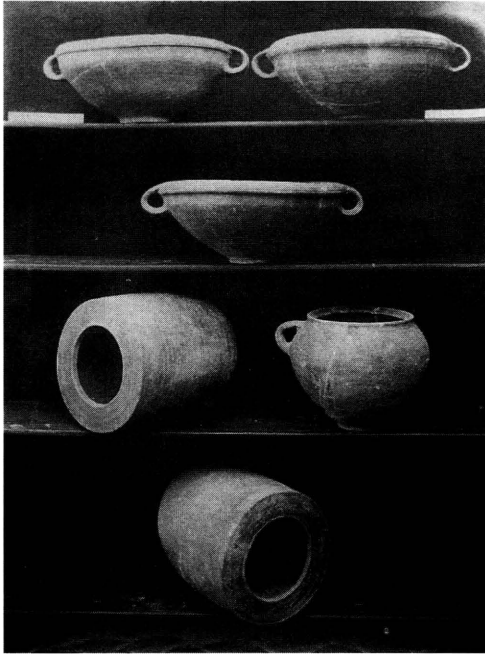


Fig. 2. Pottery of Reoccupation Period from Cave Cistern in the north-west Necropolis (F.S. 416; courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund).

type emerged again and again among the fragments of pottery that it was of more importance to the people who made use of it than any other sort of vessel. The lot from the cave was an isolated find the true context of which we were unable to fix in relation to the ceramic series from the North-West Necropolis. No example of this type emerged in the chamber-tombs and its companions the two-handled basin and the one-handled mug are equally absent there. An isolated fragment of the inturned rim came out among the broken pottery of Tomb 1 but under circumstances which made it quite clear that it was an intrusion. [p. 170] It was thus at any rate quite apparent that this unusual type and its companions fell outside the ceramic series represented in the tombs with which we were so far acquainted at Beth-shemesh and the presumption therefore was that it belonged to a later sequence. We were only able to prove this quite clearly in the course of our final campaign at Beth-shemesh.

Having once noted the frequency of the type among the sherds the question now was down to what level it would continue to emerge and especially whether a floor-level could be identified below which it would turn out not to occur. We had, however, to combat the initial difficulty that floors that are next the surface always run a greater risk of escaping notice than those that are deeper down. The reason is that however expert the workmen may be they always have the tendency when a new plot is started at the surface to dig mechanically as they are accustomed to in their fields rather than to excavate in planes as the intricacies of the stratification demand. This digging usually starts with a great spurt which is always identifying [*sic!*] to the stranger who happens to be present at that moment and seeing all this mechanical alacrity he will probably compliment you when he leaves on the fact that you apparently get your work done without driving the men. [p. 171] But the busy spectacle is apt to be less edifying to the excavator himself who knows from experience that this surface dig is more dangerous for the deposits than all the subsequent excavation deeper down. It is, indeed, only too true that whatever his past experience the workman, especially if he is a field labourer, is always by force of habit a digger at the surface and transforms himself only by force of circumstance into an excavator as he descends into the bowels of the earth. The same is true collectively of gangs of men and of an excavation taken as a whole. The men begin as diggers and accordingly the work only ends as an excavation. It is curious that the digging habit which

is natural to the field worker should manifest itself as a sort of fashionable affection with the archaeologist in the field which will cling to him long after he has ceased to be a mere beginner. He will then, especially if he is English, talk of his dig as if he were a gay mining adventurer on his way back from California. He may have been simply dawdling all the time and then his excavation will have run imminent risk of remaining a mere dig to the end. The dawdler on the edge of the pit is the regular 'Begleiterscheinung' of this sort of dig.

[p. 172] The work of real excavation means the transformation of the digger at the top of the pit into the excavator in the trench. And the excavator in the trench gradually realizes that he is working in horizontal planes as well as in vertical sections. He is not merely digging down but opening out. And what he is opening out are the haunts and habitations of people that once were living men like ourselves. In his journey of discovery into the bowels of the earth he has to note the landmarks that are there to guide him back and those are the floor-levels and their deposits he encounters on his way. These floor-levels are like the luminous pages in a wondrous manuscript of history which one has to read backward through all the many dull and rare vivid passages and then destroy page by page as one goes along. As one reads one transcribes the meaning of the pages one by one before one pulls them out as, alas, one must. But if the transcription is forgotten one is left at the end with the bare covers of a book and contents of which are no longer there. One will then have to come back without a guide by the way along the far, echoless avenues of history.

[p. 173] The land-marks in the stratification afforded by the floor-levels have always to be made a matter of interest to the workmen. One has to be constantly on the alert for them and the excavator has to be encouraged by every possible means to develop skill in detecting there [*sic*] presence at once when they are touched. If a workman or gang of workmen has failed to identify such a floor-level and has unwittingly got down below it the fact can usually be brought home by pointing out the line formed by the floor in the section alongside. The corresponding fragmentary pottery that has been coming out under such circumstances is then partly from above partly from below this floor and if it has gone into one basket it is a mixed deposit and has accordingly to be tabooed by being marked as such on the corresponding label. From all these mixed lots whether the comparison is intentional or not the real floor-deposits in the shape of pottery or other finds have to be kept rigidly separate. Deposits that are stratified in a plane between one floor and another have to be kept together and at the same time they have to be kept separate from finds that are from above the one floor or from below the other. Of this complex of finds again belonging to one stratigraphical plane the fragmentary material that cannot be located as belonging to a floor has to be kept apart from the floor-deposits such as whole or complete vessels and other objects that are *in situ*. At the same time they belong together as being in a general way part of one context and elements in one ceramic sequence.

[p. 174] In the stratum next the surface in habitation deposit the fragmentary material in the way of broken pottery is what first emerges into view. And if the excavator is as yet in his noviciate and especially if he does not happen to be interested in the development of ceramic types he will find the spectacle discouraging. He will have to conquer this feeling and be told at once that whole objects and floor-deposits of a really attractive character are very rare on any site and that in all cases they are the exception and not the rule. Where they do not occur one has simply to do without them and then where is one if one has already thrown away the despised fragments? Absolutely everything has to be kept if for no better reason in view of the possible ultimate emergency that nothing better may turn up and this, however much the novice may wonder and the unsophisticated workman marvel.

At Beth-shemesh the curious puzzle presented by the new type of vase indicated by the fragments with in-turned rims stimulated our curiosity at once. We knew already that the type suggested by the fragments was entirely absent from the tombs and we were equally certain that it did not occur in the deposits of the Third Period as represented in the region about the South Gate. Yet in the Central City Area the type turned up so frequently in fragments once the surface was scraped that it forced itself upon our attention with quite massive persistency. [p. 175] So much was clear: the stratum to which the type belonged was the surface stratum and this would go down to a floor-level which was not the 'Israelite' floor corresponding to the habitations of the burnt unfortified city but which would turn out to be layed [*sic!*] over the remains of these earlier habitations at a higher level.

Traces of the floor which we expected were at last found in the region of the Memorial Pillars. After these had fallen into their prone position they apparently got covered up and forgotten and it is thus likely that the new people did not have any interest in them. At any rate a rough plaster floor at a depth which varied from 20 and 25 to 40 and 50 centimetres could be seen to have gone at least partially over the area taken up by the pillars. The floor in question can be discerned on Plate (F.S. 374) which shows the Memorial Pillars in the middle distance as one looks east and beyond in the background the Israelite floor with water-jars upon it referred to already. In the section above this Israelite floor now a little to the left towards the north-east angle of the trench is to be seen a dark line at a higher level which marks the later floor we were in search of. The remains of a corresponding floor could be traced out in the area to west of the Memorial Pillars quite near the surface and here once more the Israelite floors could be distinguished at a lower level. [p. 176] We now understand the significance of certain superficial foundations that had already begun to emerge into view. These and the surfacing floors apparently belonged together and both were the remains of the habitations of the people who made use of the curious vessels with in-turned rims. Such remains had come out immediately to north and north-east of the City Well and these were connected by a roughly cobbled roadway which is shown in the Plan running east and then stopping short just north of the well. It would seem as if this roadway had been laid out in relation to the well in which case this would have been still in use in this last period of habitation. Other fragmentary remains of foundation-walls of the same later period are indicated on the Plan as lying alongside of the well to the west and partially covering here earlier remains of the Israelite period. There are a few doubtful remains of similar superficial foundations to south and south-east of the well but in the area overlying the region of the South Gate where walls of the Israelite period were identified no such later remains seemed to occur.

[p. 177] In the Central City Area these late remains occurred wherever we excavated. There was nothing in the character of the foundation-remains to distinguish them from those of earlier periods. There were the same single rows of stones that were meant to act as foundations to brick-work above. Of this brick-work itself we found not a trace in position. At the same time from the hue of the decomposed debris of these which was that of ordinary earth-mud we could conclude that there had been no destruction by fire such as that which had overtaken the earlier settlements of the Israelite and Canaanite periods. It is true there are indications that the latest inhabitants may have abandoned the site in a hurry but whoever their enemies were no one seemed to have thought it worthwhile to set on fire the poor habitations they left behind them. The house-remains are of the same fragmentary character as those of earlier periods. One cannot even say whether they were of a similar type or not. One can only see that they had a similar orientation and this may have happened because they sometimes perhaps supported their constructions on older foundations. All reminiscence of the old lanes seems to have gone and the rough paved roadway running east to north of the City Well stands in no relation to anything of the kind that may have been previously in that locality.

[p. 178]

*The Olive Press*

Amidst the jumble of fragmentary foundations that came into view in the course of the final campaign it seemed from the beginning as if our interest had to converge upon the region where first emerged the great cistern previously described and then immediately alongside of it the oil mill shown on Plate (F.S. ). A sketch Plan and Section of the whole by Mr Beaumont are to be seen on Plate [= Fig. 3]. The position of these presses in relation to the cistern will be understood from the general Plan of the excavations, Plate [cf. Mackenzie 1913a, pls. I-II]. We must, however, be on our guard against supposing from the juxtaposition that there was any intrinsic connection between the cistern and the olive press. Water, it is true, is a necessity in the purification of olive oil but the cistern belongs to the earlier part of the Second Period at Beth-shemesh and we have already shown that it went out of use long before the people who owned the olive press occupied the site.

If we consult the Sketch Plan [Fig. 3] of the system we shall see that what we have before us is an arrangement of three presses forming between them a right angle. Beginning at the west side two of the presses are seen to form a line running west-east and having an elongated rectangular purifying vat

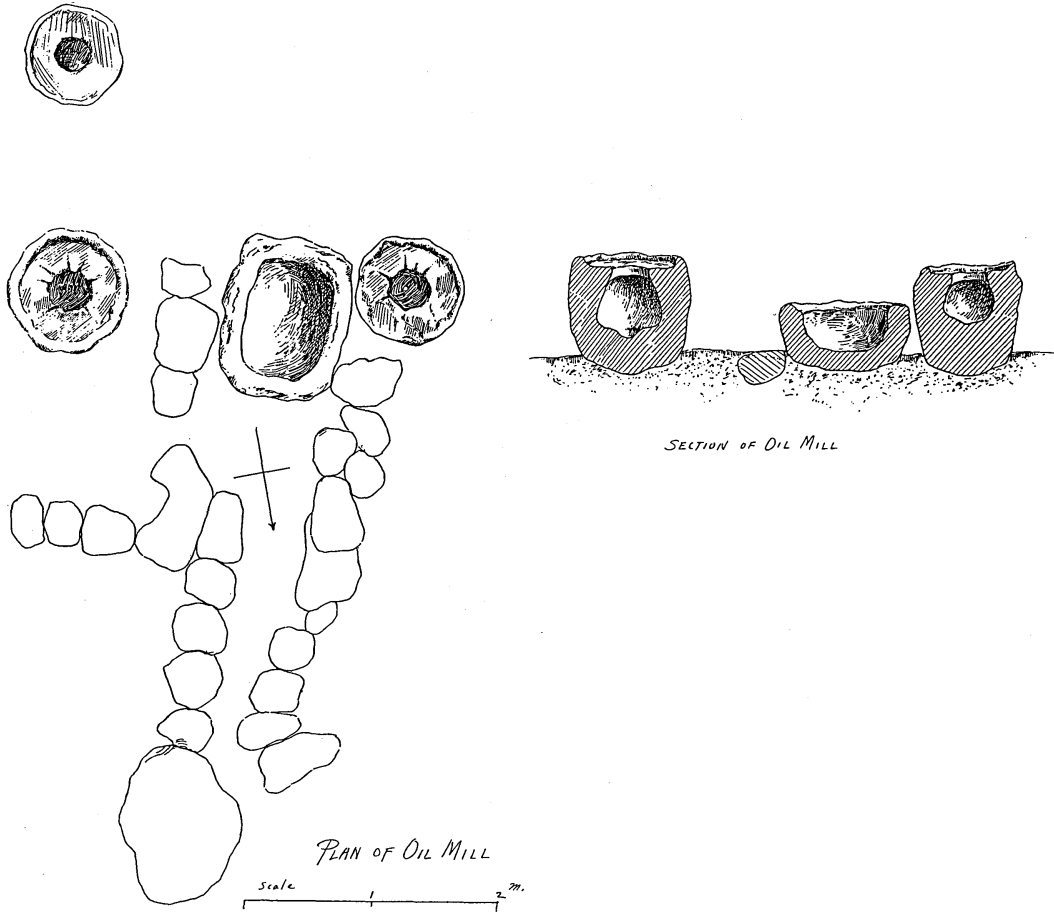


Fig. 3. Sketch Plan and Section of Oil Mill (by Mr Beaumont; courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund).

between them. [p. 179] The third press forms with the second a line running south at right angles to that formed by press 1 the vat and press 2. This symmetrical arrangement would suggest that the mill was inside a building but of this, if it existed, there was no trace remaining. The wall-foundations which are marked on the Sketch Plan on the north side may have had something to do with the mechanism of the mill but we were not able to put it into any systematic connection with that.

Both the purifying vat and the presses are of limestone. The vat is an ordinary rectangular trough meant to contain water for the oil to float upon. No inside contour across can be seen on the Section. The presses have the usual hollow surface on the top for the olive-sack to rest in. The oil reservoir within is of rough jar-shape widening below and having a depression at the bottom for sediment to settle into. The neck narrows somewhat and has rills on the upper surface to encourage the flow down of the oil into the reservoir when the olives in the sack are pressed from above.

[p. 180] It is interesting to note that a similar oil mill of larger size and more elaborate construction was found at Gezer (*The Excavation of Gezer* II, p. 63, Fig. 257, p. 64, Fig. 258). The oil-vats in this case, however, as seen in plan from above were rectangular instead of circular but Professor MacAlister in describing these remarks upon the occurrence of circular ones as well (*ibid.*, p. 65).



Fig. 4. The Oil Mill from the south (unnumbered negative, *courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund*).

[p. 181] It was a lucky chance that the discovery of our oil-mill should at the same time have given us the clue to the use of the curious vessels with rounded bases and in-turned rims fragments of which continued to turn up so persistently in this same environment. Several practically complete specimens actually emerged into view in the entourage of the mill itself and there could be now no doubt whatever that these jars were used for storing up the oil after purification. These jars are shown in their natural environment in the picture of Plate (F.S. ) [= Fig. 4]. (See also Annual II, Plate XIX.) They can be seen at once to be the same type as those referred to already that had puzzled us so much when we discovered them hoarded up, with companions of other types, in a cave to north-west of the site and which are shown on Plate (F.S. ), 4, 6 [= Fig. 2, F.S. 416].

The examples from the Olive Press unlike these were filled up with earth when we found them. When this earth was carefully emptied out two of the vessels proved to have inside them a juglet which was used as a measure for ladling out the oil. One at least of the uses of this type of juglet was thus proved to demonstration. The oil-jars themselves were entirely different from any type of vessel that we had seen in vogue from the previous periods and the companions of those from the grotto have nothing quite similar to them in the chamber-tombs. But the juglets are a link with the past which goes back to the earliest period at Beth-shemesh. [p. 182] Entirely similar juglets were still very common at the end of the Third or Israelite Period as represented by the chamber-tombs. A glance at the relative Plates in Annual II is enough to show how frequently they occurred.

The appearance now of these juglets in the same company as the oil-jars would indicate for these a period which was not separated by any considerable interval from the destruction of the Third City of Beth-shemesh and the closing for the last time of the chamber-tombs of the North-West Necropolis. There still, however, remains the question: how long this type of juglet continued in use after the period of the Dual Monarchy had come to an end. For this there is no evidence from Beth-shemesh itself. But at Gezer which has a later history they would seem to have vanished in the course of the period which immediately followed the Fourth (= our Third) for in the later strata there the type does not occur. They

seem to disappear about the same period at Jericho to judge by the results of the excavations for neither does the type turn up among the later ceramic finds from there. This is in accordance with the results of previous investigations at Tell-es-Safi and elsewhere and it would seem as if everywhere in the succeeding era a corresponding type of juglet with flattened base and without or with the ring came to be more or less universal. [p. 183] At Tell-es-Safi it is especially interesting to note that our type of juglet is found once more in the same company as the oil-jar with in-turned rim and in association with other types that equally emerge in the chamber-tombs of Beth-shemesh (See *Excavations in Palestine*, Plate 21, items 11, 12. The same series is shown in *Vincent Canaan* [sic: = H. Vincent, *Canaan d'après l'exploration récente* (Paris, 1907)], p. 355, Plate XI and p. 356, Fig. 252). For our interpretation of the chronology it is further significant that the excavators of Tell-es-Safi Bliss and Macalister report on those oil-jars that 'the only whole forms discovered belong to the Jewish period' (*Excavations* p. 103, Plate 51). It is possible that association with oil-jar gave the elongated baggy shaped juglet with rounded bottom a new lease of life and that when the oil-jar vanished the inseparable juglet companion vanished with it. The type of juglet with flattened or ring base which is seen to emerge into view afterwards never has the same sort of oil-jar in association with it and for all we know it may have its real affinities in another direction.

At Beth-shemesh the ring-base juglet which is entirely lacking even in the latest re-occupation period is also conspicuous by its absence from the chamber-tombs. On the other hand the elongated baggy type with rounded base which is seen in association with the oil-jars on the site at Beth-shemesh in the Re-occupation Period is at the same time one of the most frequent forms in the chamber tombs. [p. 184] Not only so but if we go back in history this type of juglet, as we have seen, has one of the longest pedigrees on record in Palestine. It thus makes an almost droll impression to notice that the type of oil-jar in the service of which it is found in our mill is in comparison only a thing of yesterday. But it is a law of development in ceramic art that types which are eccentric to exaggeration are short-lived. For this very reason, however, such types are of all the greater value from the chronological point of view. They serve to confine their regular companions within short limits of time. It may thus ultimately turn out that the circumstances of finding at Beth-shemesh will help us to assign future companions of this type to the period immediately succeeding 701. There is every indication that the period during which the type is seen in vogue at Beth-shemesh was a short one. The extraordinary frequency there in the deposits of the period of reoccupation of the site and the special circumstances that the type could be associated in a crucial instance with a business in olive oil would seem to indicate clearly that it was an interest in this oil business that brought the reoccupiers to the site. The immediate environment of Beth-shemesh forms one of the richest olive districts in Palestine and the wealth of olive trees remained after the city itself was destroyed. [p. 185] The exploitation of this wealth may have been the one object of the people who first brought this type of oil-jar to Beth-shemesh. But if this was so an interest so exclusively commercial in one direction was not likely to form the one basis of habitation for very long. And judging by the indications afforded by the excavation, the reoccupation can hardly have lasted for more than a generation or two. The finding of the oil-jars in position at the mill and the discovery of the other set abandoned in the grotto may mean that the site was deserted in a hurry. After this final abandonment of the site the history of Beth-shemesh becomes a blank until the site is once more reoccupied in the Byzantine and Arabic periods.

## APPENDIX B: MACKENZIE'S LETTER TO DICKIE OF 12 OCTOBER 1912

c/o Messrs. Thomas Cook & Son,  
Athens.  
Oct. 12, 1912.

*Private and confidential to Mr. A. C. Dickie*

My dear Dickie,

I am writing you this letter privately and confidentially to Oxford Street. It may help to clear up matters a little.

I do not know whether the Committee is aware that when it issued instructions for my return to England Evans had strong motives of his own for desiring my presence at Youghbury. All this had nothing to do with any sort of zeal about the reports on Ain Shems but with Crete and Knossos. Here you will find

the true motive for his strong personal interest in this journey and for the urgency of his telegrams to Athens. He has communicated in this way also with a personal friend of my own here holding a responsible position in Athens [George Karo], who he rightly guesses has some weight in my regard. He thought that in this way he should get me to Youlbury by hook or crook! The gentleman in question committed the indiscretion of showing me the wire. He afterwards saw the inevitable result of my admitting that I had ever seen it would be a final break with Evans. He wisely advised me to regard the telegram as not having been sent and never to refer to it again. He said (which was quite true) that he and I understood quite well that under certain abnormal conditions Evans could hardly be regarded as quite responsible for his actions. He was, of course, referring to a fact which is quite well known among archaeological scholars as well as to personal friends that Evans suffers very seriously from a peculiar form of neurasthenia. He characterized the telegram as the outcome of neurasthenic rage and added that he would have had the same reason as I to resent being made the recipient of it but that he excused Evans as he advised me also to do because of the peculiar condition of mind he must have been in when he sent it. He said one should be prepared to take this into account and to forgive much to a man whom for many reasons we both esteemed so highly.

You will now be interested to know that this gentleman had been previously to Oxford and he told me he knew quite well that my presence was desired there. I had to tell him that I guessed as much but that I actually *knew* nothing whatever about it as I had never been told! Here I am then told quite casually by a friend in Athens that I am required in Oxford while I myself am left entirely in the dark.

This may seem extraordinary but hear the reason. One of the peculiar things about Evans is that he takes a childish delight in effecting a paltry saving of expense with one hand while with the other he is committing some enormous extravagance such as the last new thing in artificial lakes and labyrinths at Youlbury. The saving was this: the Committee would be paying my expenses back to England and there I should be on the spot — at Youlbury! A tremendous score. But then of course I was not at all supposed to see through all this much less the Committee. Nobody would be more startled than Evans himself if he thought we did! But that is Evans all over and if he were like anybody else one would be justified in calling this behaviour not at all above board. You simply cannot apply the ordinary standard.

You can imagine then what a quandary I was put into by the Committee's instructions to return to England at the same time that I was quite certain that these were powerfully reinforced by Evans's own occult reasons for desiring my presence at Oxford and this for motives which had nothing to do with Ain Shems. You can thus see that through no fault of its own the Committee by insisting on my return to England would have been landing me in Youlbury. And just think of such a serious matter as any sort of work for Knossos being mixed up in this strange fashion with my final work for Ain Shems. I really consider that in the circumstances I have been acting in the true interest of the P.E.F. in offering a passive resistance not to its orders but to this subtle influence coming at such an inconvenient juncture.

Avoiding indiscretion as much as I could I had to explain the difficulties of my position to my friend in Athens. What he answered was: 'How could you possibly go to Youlbury now when it is quite clear that you have meantime to wind-up at Ain Shems and get through with your work for that first?'

To understand Evans's present state of panic about the publication of Knossos it has to be known that he had been put entirely out of his reckoning as a result of the new work of the Germans at Tiryns. By the new publication partly already out, Tiryns, which as Schliemann left it used to be out of date, is now up to date while Knossos meantime has got quite out of hand. All this, of course, enormously complicates the problem of the publication of Knossos for the new results at Tiryns have now to be taken into account by us!

One result of the high degree of specialism that characterizes the new work at Tiryns is that Evans has apparently given up what seems to have been his original idea of publishing Knossos entirely by himself and I have indirect indications that I may be required in Crete in the course of next season.

You will thus see that in order to avoid further complications of a more serious character later on it will be well for me to have all my obligations to the Committee fulfilled by the end of the year.

You can imagine from all that I have said how difficult my position would have been with Bethshemesh a long excavation instead of a short one. That it is winding up now I consider rather a blessing in disguise than otherwise.

I sincerely hope the Committee is not entertaining the idea of returning to finish Ain Shems later on as seems to be hinted in letters from Evans and Hogarth. For the reasons I have given in this letter I could personally have nothing to do with an arrangement which would only land me in new complications and I frankly consider it would be the greatest possible mistake not to finish Beth-shemesh now.

That Evans and Hogarth may strongly have supported a cessation of work altogether for next year with the idea that I might resume it later I can readily imagine but there again, as you can now understand for yourself, motives play a part which have much more to do with Knossos than with Ain Shems.

As an old friend I shall be very grateful if you would deal with the above confidential letter as follows.

It cannot come before the Committee as a whole because *Evans and Hogarth must not know anything about all this*. I think you perhaps ought first to show this letter to Mr Crace and you may both be then able to decide as to the advisability of showing it to Sir Charles Watson. It would if possible be also important that it were shown to Mr Walter Morrison if his personal relations to Hogarth did not make that an indiscretion. Mr Morrison might then see the serious importance of finishing off with Ain Shems as soon as possible so as to avert the peril of any later complication and he might thus be induced to help financially to secure this result, if only in the very smallest way. Would there not be a possibility of making a special collection among members of the General Committee and other friends of the Fund?

Before I close I must once again warn you very seriously as to the use you make of this letter. I appeal to an old friendship in doing so. For me personally there are great interests at stake which have nothing to do with self-interest.

I know Evans for many years more intimately perhaps than anybody living does. I consider this a very great privilege and though on the other hand I know what I am speaking about I have no right to do so at all except in the very strictest confidence. And it is hard for me to do it.

The extraordinary thing is that notwithstanding incidents like the above not a high word has ever passed between us. Evans would have received me with absolute glee at Youlbury and the telegram fired off would never be referred to again.

Yours very sincerely,

Duncan Mackenzie

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> It is my pleasure to thank the Palestine Exploration Fund, for permission to quote from documents and reproduce illustrations from their archives; Shimon Gibson, Rupert Chapman, and Ivona Lloyd-Jones; the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei; the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, Edinburgh; Wolfson College and Balliol College, Oxford; and Roger Moorey (Ashmolean Museum).

<sup>2</sup> For his travels in Palestine, Turkey etc. see Mackenzie's travel notebooks in the Evans Archive (Ashmolean Museum). See also Dickie's letter to Crace of 5 August 1909. For Mackenzie's visit to Macalister's excavations at Gezer see letter from Macalister of 12 November 1904 (MAC/165/1B: I should like to thank Shimon Gibson for bringing this document to my attention).

<sup>3</sup> Reisner did write a report on this matter. Both Reisner's original and a copy made by Mackenzie are in the P.E.F. Archives.

<sup>4</sup> On the possibility of digging Beth Shemesh in one long season and the necessity of finding other sites see also Mackenzie's letter to Dickie of 15 February 1911.

<sup>5</sup> Copies of the transcription are in the libraries of the British School at Athens, the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge, and the University of Cincinnati.

<sup>6</sup> The issue of a new journal was first suggested by Flinders Petrie: see Executive Committee minutes of 19 July, 4 October, 18 October, and 1 November 1910.

<sup>7</sup> Note that the published version of the report fails to make clear that the third period too ended with a burnt destruction. The published version also omits some of Mackenzie's comments relevant to the Cretan/Philistine question, such as the following: 'Immigration from Crete at the moment of the break-up of Minoan Civilisation would thus also explain the cult in later times of the Cretan Zeus or Zeus Kretagenos in the famous temple of the Marneion at Gaza' (MS, 31).

<sup>8</sup> A reference to Mackenzie's work for Henry Wellcome's excavations at Dar el Mek and Saqadi in the Sudan (Addison 1949, preface; Crawford and Addison 1951, 111-12).

<sup>9</sup> See Executive Committee minutes of 18 February 1913, as well as Mackenzie's manuscript, annotated with comments in Evans's unmistakable handwriting.

<sup>10</sup> The sites are divided into two categories: 'Sites not as yet excavated' and 'Excavated sites'. The first group includes Hebron (Kiriath-arba), Gibeah (Tell-el Ful), Shiloh, Jezreel, and Beth-shan; the second includes Jericho, Shechem, Samaria, Taanach, Megiddo.

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