ARCHAEOLOGY AND POLITICS IN THE HOLY LAND: THE LIFE AND CAREER OF P. L. O. GUY

John D. M. Green

Philip Langstaffe Ord Guy's (1885–1952) career in archaeology began as Woolley's assistant at Carchemish and as Chief Inspector for the Department of Antiquities of Palestine during the 1920s. He is best known as director of the Megiddo Expedition (1927–1934), where he employed innovative techniques in balloon photography, and provided a highly influential identification of the pillared buildings found there as stables. He dated these buildings to the Solomonic era, sowing the seeds of a long-running debate over the role of the Bible in archaeological interpretation. Guy was later appointed director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (1935–1939), initiating the short-lived Archaeological Survey of Palestine. After World War II and Israel's War of Independence, Guy became a senior figure within the fledgling Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums as Director of Excavations and Surveys. Active involvement in Zionist politics through his marriage into the Ben-Yehuda family was a controversial factor that impacted on his career within 1920s and 1930s Palestine. Recent archival research allows an assessment of Guy's double life as archaeologist and political activist and the degree to which these areas intersected. His name can be added to the diverse spectrum of archaeologists working in the Holy Land during this formative but turbulent colonial and post-colonial era.

I. INTRODUCTION

Philip Langstaffe Ord Guy (1885–1952) is one of the lesser-known British archaeologists in Palestine and Israel. He is perhaps best known for his role as field director at Megiddo in the 1920s and 1930s, and his influential identification of the pillared buildings found there with the reign of King Solomon. In reviews of British archaeological fieldwork and biblical archaeology in the Holy Land, Guy is overshadowed by 'big names' such as Petrie, Garstang, Crowfoot, and Kenyon (Davies 1988; Moorey 1991; Auld 1993). This alludes to the fact that apart from Megiddo, Guy's other archaeological contributions to Palestinian archaeology were ephemeral and largely forgotten. His low-level impact can be attributed to incomplete and obscure publication, the administrative and practical nature of his work in Palestine, and periods of civil disruption and war. Here I seek to re-evaluate and reconstruct the life and career of Philip Guy, through publications, obituaries, archives, letters, and interviews.[1] His archaeological career can be divided into four main periods.

1922–1927	Chief Inspector of Antiquities, Department of Antiquities of Palestine
1927–1935	Field Director of the Megiddo Expedition
1935–1939	Director, British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem
1948–1952	Director of Surveys and Excavations, Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.

Politics and archaeology in the Holy Land

Within prior assessments of British archaeological contributions in Palestine, the political views or actions of archaeologists are seldom discussed. Archaeologists are often portrayed

Address correspondence to Dr John D. M. Green, Department of Antiquities, Ashmolean Museum, Beaumont Street, Oxford, OX1 2PH, email: jack.green@ashmus.ox.ac.uk

as passive players at the mercy of external events and circumstances beyond their control. In the case of British archaeologists in Mandate period Palestine, they were often government officials who had to be seen to maintain a degree of political neutrality. But can archaeologists, in the past or present, truly operate in a political vacuum? Here I echo Silberman's view, questioning whether Syro-Palestinian archaeologists can claim to work in the region without knowingly or unconsciously contributing to the modern political debate (1993, 15).

Archaeology and politics in the Holy Land are inextricably interlinked. For example, the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF) in the late 19th and early 20th centuries wittingly and unwittingly mapped out the region for future British imperial, military and ideological interests. In turn, this had a profound effect on both the creation of political boundaries down to the present day, as well as the formation of colonial attitudes to the landscapes and peoples of Palestine — in the past and present (Abu El-Haj 2001, 22–44). Another example is the role that archaeology has played in the expression of Israeli nationalism, exemplified by Yadin's excavations at Masada in the 1960s (Silberman 1989, 1995a; Ben Yehuda 2002), or the use of 'Jewish archaeology' as an active tool in mustering the Zionist cause in Mandate period Palestine at Beit Alpha and other sites (Elon 1997; Shavit 1997). There has always been a wide spectrum of political viewpoints expressed by foreign archaeologists in the region, ranging from W. F. Albright's self-proclaimed political neutrality (Silberman 1993), to Albert E. Glock's use of archaeology as a tool for supporting the Palestinian cause and rewriting the history of Palestinian settlement (Kapitan 1999; Fox 2001).

Politics are highly relevant in the case of P. L. O. Guy. Although a gentile, he became an outspoken and active supporter of the Zionist cause both in Britain and Palestine. Guy was particularly active in the late 1930s as the Arab Revolt took hold within Palestine, and as the political debate over the future of Palestine was unfolding in Britain. As a result of his political activities, Guy was a controversial figure amongst his peers under the British Mandate, and his politics had both a positive and negative impact upon his career. Guy is therefore a rare example of a *political* British archaeologist enmeshed initially within the colonial context of Palestine under the British Mandate during the so-called 'Golden Age' of biblical archaeology (Moorey 1991, 54–86). In the final stage of his career, staying in Israel, Guy uniquely afforded a direct link between the British institutions of the Mandate period and the fledgling Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.

2. BEGINNINGS

Philip Guy was born in Scotland in 1885, the son of solicitor Robert Guy and Lucy (née Ord). The family lived in Pollockshaws, Renfrewshire, now a suburb of Glasgow. After attending Charterhouse school, Guy studied Latin and Greek at Oxford (Merton College 1903–1906), and subsequently Law at Glasgow (1906–1909), but failed to complete his examinations at either university. Lacking formal qualifications, Guy worked in a solicitors' office but soon gave this up to work at the Paisley and Paris motor works in Glasgow as a mechanic, where he stayed until the outbreak of World War I (an affinity with practicality, technology and engineering, rather than academia, is a continuing theme of his career in later years). During the war, Guy served in both the British and French armies. He was in the Motor Machine Gun Service (MMGS) and subsequently reached the rank of captain in the Machine Gun Corps (MGC). He served with the French Foreign Legion for several months at the start of the war (Guy became a fluent French speaker), and he subsequently spent a large part of his active service for the British Army as an instructor and education officer in both Britain and France.[2]

Guy's introduction to Near Eastern archaeology began in 1919, when he was invited as Woolley's assistant to participate in excavations at Carchemish on the Euphrates (Woolley et al. 1921; Hogarth et al. 1952). Under Woolley's direction in 1919, Guy took over photographic responsibilities previously held by T. E. Lawrence before World War I. Due to civil unrest in the region, the Carchemish excavations were abandoned in 1920. Woolley kept Guy on as archaeological assistant at Tell el-Amarna in Egypt in 1921 and 1922, where he continued his training and undertook a study of Amarna period pottery.[3] The work conducted at both Carchemish and Amarna over three seasons gave Guy the practical archaeological experience that he was soon able to bring to Palestine.

3. LIFE AND WORK AT THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES OF PALESTINE

In 1922, Guy was invited to take the post of chief inspector of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine, a position he held for five years. Both his military knowledge and experience, and his role as Woolley's assistant, must have made him a natural choice for John Garstang, then director of the joint Department of Antiquities of Palestine (DAP) and British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (BSAJ). Guy was chiefly responsible for the protection of ancient sites and monuments of Palestine, as well as the training of archaeological staff. Based in Haifa, he mainly worked in Northern Palestine, riding on horseback through the Carmel range, Galilee, the Huleh and the Jordan Valleys, often assisted by Mr J. Ory. A photograph that shows Guy 'in the field' outside his tent probably dates from this period (Fig. 1).

Guy's activities as chief inspector are summarized in the short-lived *BSAJ Bulletin* that featured notes, news, and preliminary reports. Although Guy's surveys of the Jordan Valley[4]

Fig. 1.   P. L. O. Guy shaving outside a tent, probably on survey or excavation for the DAP during the 1920s. *Courtesy of Michael Stanner.*

and Huleh Valley (Guy 1924a) were not fully published, they contributed to the Schedule of Sites (Gibson 1999, 130, n. 45), and attracted interest in the initiation of excavations at sites in less well-known parts of the country. Guy's survey recorded approximately forty mounds south of Beisan, including many previously unknown prehistoric sites (*BSAJ Bulletin* 1922, 8; Albright 1926, 32).

During his time with the DAP, Guy developed friendly relations with the Royal Air Force stationed in Palestine, obtaining aerial photographs for archaeological survey and reconnaissance. These photos formed the basis of the DAP's photographic collection (Guy 1932, 148). In this period, he recorded a number of sites visible from the air along the coast, some of which he revisited during his surveys in the late 1930s (1932, 16–17). Guy also assisted John Garstang's discussion classes at the DAP/BSAJ headquarters at 'Way House'.[5] Attended by members of the British, American and French schools, in addition to DAP staff, the classes were evidently important in helping to systematize archaeological methods and raise awareness of various field techniques (Gibson 1999, 121, n.18).

Actual excavations conducted by Guy were relatively few in number. With limited funds available, these were often small-scale and impromptu enterprises reliant upon the goodwill and cooperation of landowners to fund excavations. In 1922, with the assistance of G. M. FitzGerald, Guy excavated several small rock-cut tombs on the Carmel range close to Tell Abu Hawam (Guy 1924b). The tombs were immediately visible from a recently constructed road and were therefore under threat of disturbance or looting. The published report included sketch plans, photographs, and descriptions of the finds.

Guy did not refine his dates beyond the Early Iron Age, offering a transitional Bronze to Iron date for the earliest phase of Tomb VII's use on the basis of a residual Cypriote juglet. Several Cypro-Phoenician Black on Red juglets and bowls, an amphora, and a fibula with a hand-shaped clasp support a wide (and mixed) range of dates, mostly from Iron IIA–B periods (late 10th–8th centuries BCE) and the Persian period (6th–4th centuries BCE).[6] These were Guy's only systematically published excavations during his time as chief inspector, such was the diverse nature of his work. Guy's lack of clarity in dating the tombs indicates that he was unfamiliar with Iron Age pottery. Yet, it is important to note that an understanding of ceramic dating was still in its infancy in the Levant in the early 1920s, as there were few published excavations with systematic sequences available. Misdating, and in particular, high dating, was to be a continual feature of Guy's work in the future.

Much of the DAP correspondence and files are now held by the Israel Antiquities Authority (IAA) at the Rockefeller Museum (RM), Jerusalem. They reveal the day-to-day activities of Guy as chief inspector, including the gathering of information on damage to archaeological sites and tomb robbing. Destructive activities ranged from the minor, such as souvenir hunters chipping away bits of walls at Samaria (RM/Palestine Govt./Box 79/letter of 16 October 1926), to the major, such as the dismantling of ancient stone walls for building materials at Tireh village (ibid., letter of 7 December 1926). This was a common concern for the DAP who saw antiquities within rural areas as being in danger due to the 'practicalities of peasant life and the limits of peasant knowledge' (Abu El-Haj 2001, 70). Efforts were put in place to promote local interest in the value of archaeological remains by reciting chapters of the Ordinance to Mukhtars and Jewish council leaders (RM/Palestine Govt./Box 79/ letter of 17 March 1924). But given the limited resources of the department, the efforts of Guy and others just scraped the surface.

Guy appears to have been harsh in his comments towards Arabs, especially regarding the theft of stone for building, yet by contrast he does not seem to have paid as much attention to 'Arab' buildings (Andrew Petersen, pers. comm.). This inconsistency may have been partly biased by political viewpoints or even personal prejudices, despite the implicit intention of the DAP to treat remains of all periods as equally important. Perhaps the

principles of the Antiquities Ordinance also contributed to these attitudes, or vice versa? For example, the Ordinance of 1928, in preparation during Guy's period with the DAP,[7] did not acknowledge sites or buildings post-AD 1700 as being of archaeological or historical interest, thus making Ottoman period secular buildings especially vulnerable. Religious buildings, be they Christian, Muslim, or Jewish, were viewed as 'living' monuments (i.e. in use), and therefore the Mandatory powers were unable to prevent alterations to these structures or sites. Abu El-Haj (2001, 60–63) suggests the Ordinance led to the view that secular buildings and archaeological remains (especially Muslim buildings of Jerusalem's Old City) were arte-facts frozen in time, and no longer 'living' monuments. They were therefore disconnected, in a legal and scientific sense, from the living population.

Although there was a growing interest and enthusiasm for archaeology from the Jewish public through organizations such as the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, the situation was somewhat different from the Arab-Muslim point of view (Abu El-Haj 2001, 45–72). Whilst control of Muslim religious buildings was administered by the Waqf, there were no equivalent societies that engaged and educated Palestine's Arab population in the signifi-cance of archaeological principles and findings. According to Abu El-Haj: 'It was through educational projects and legal power … that the British endeavored to instil a general respect for science and a modern conception of heritage among Palestine's Arab(-Muslim) population' (2001, 46). But given that the responsibility for such endeavours was held largely by the DAP, and as demonstrated by the day-to-day activities of Chief Inspector Guy, the resources for such activities were clearly inadequate. This 'resource gap' in turn must have contributed to an emerging gulf (from the 1920s onwards) between Arab-Muslim and Judaeo-Christian attitudes to archaeology and cultural heritage in Palestine.

The period of Guy's work with the DAP was also eventful in terms of developments in his personal and political life. During this time, he met his future wife, Yemima, the eldest daughter of the well-known Hebrew lexicographer and secular Zionist, Eliezer Ben-Yehuda.[8] Within the cosmopolitan social network of Jerusalem, Guy had gained the friendship of the Ben-Yehuda family. He was evidently a highly eligible bachelor, and it was not long before Yemima and Philip became attached. They married in 1925. Philip not only gained a wife, but also adopted Ruth, Yemima's daughter from a previous marriage. Through his wife, Guy was now intimately linked to the political and social network of the secular Zionist movement. The non-neutrality of Guy's marital connections may have placed him in a difficult position, and his Zionist sympathies were soon to have an impact on the course of his career.

In July 1926, John Garstang resigned as joint director of the Department and the British School (Gibson 1999, 121). The Department directorship was now vacant, and with his experience and senior position (often acting as assistant director), Guy should have made an ideal candidate. Guy wrote that he was in line for the DAP Director's position, but withdrew his candidacy after being invited by Henry Breasted to join the Megiddo excava-tions as director on 19 April 1927. The 'opportunity of returning to research' was seemingly his main reason for taking up the role (Guy, 1931: 9). But this is only one side of the story, as Shmuel Yeivin comments in Guy's memorial publication that his candidacy for the DAP directorship was rejected because he was a known protagonist of Zionism (Israel Department of Antiquities 1957, 20). This suggests that Guy's political affiliations presented a problem to his colleagues and seniors. Guy's invitation to Megiddo was therefore not necessarily his ideal career choice, but nevertheless it provided a timely opportunity for him to resign.

4. GUY AS MEGIDDO FIELD DIRECTOR

Guy is probably best known for his work as field director of the University of Chicago expedition to Megiddo (Tell es-Mutsellim), one of the most important and extensively

Fig. 2.   Photograph of excavation personnel and some of the house servants, on the front 'porch' of the excavation residence at Megiddo, May 1929. Philip and Yemima Guy in centre of front row. *Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.*

excavated sites in the Holy Land. The Late Bronze and Iron Age periods of Megiddo in particular have prompted the greatest interest within the field of biblical archaeology, and continue to ignite further debate. Guy started as field director in 1927, taking over from Clarence Fisher who had apparently resigned due to poor health (Guy 1931, 5–6; Davis 2004, 61–63; Harrison 2004, 2). Guy continued at Megiddo until 1934, and was replaced in 1935 by Gordon Loud who led the expedition until 1939. A previously unpublished photograph shows the Megiddo expedition team, including Philip Guy and his wife Yemima (Fig. 2).

Guy suggested to Breasted in 1928 that excavations be expanded across the mound by purchasing the entire tell from its owner, allowing it to become Palestine government property soon after (Guy 1931, 20). The intention was to excavate the entire site, layer by layer, although the implausibility of this task soon became clear, leading to the subsequent division of the site into several large areas (Harrison 2004, 2), exposing entire structures, strata by strata, in order to understand the development of the site over time. The method of large-scale open area excavation adopted, also employed in Starkey's contemporary excavations at Lachish, later became the mainstay of archaeological methods in the region, remaining influential for Israeli archaeologists in the 1950s (Mazar 1988, 110).

During the course of Fisher's and Guy's directorship, extensive work uncovered Strata I–VI, including the so-called 'Solomonic' structures of Stratum IV (see below). Other notable findings included the city wall, gateway and the rock-cut water system. The clearance of dumping space on the east slope led to the excavation of a large number of

tombs. Guy wrote the majority of the *Megiddo Tombs* volume, published alongside Engberg's study and presentation of the artefacts, and other studies (Guy 1938a). This was a substantial undertaking, and the degree of detail and accuracy of recording (for the time) illustrate Guy's technical expertise as Director.

Guy's most visible contribution was a method of aerial photography using tethered balloons (Guy 1932). The extendable ladder used at Megiddo reached a formidable ten metres, but the tethered balloon reached an impressive height of one hundred metres, enabling images of areas to be reproduced at a 1:250 scale. The arrangement was technically complex and costly, involving the import of specialist equipment. If stratigraphic interpretation was limited at ground level, the use of aerial photographs was of major value in disentangling the architectural remains of various periods of the mound's history (Guy 1931, 21, fig. 13; 1932, 149). The results were impressive enough to be published as an aerial montage of the entire site in Breasted's review of Oriental Institute excavations, demonstrating to the wider world that the most modern techniques were being employed (1933, 249, fig. 124).

Creating visions of Solomonic Megiddo

The central aspect of Guy's excavations at Megiddo gaining the most attention of scholars to date is the identification of certain buildings and their associated levels as 'Solomonic'. The background to research and interpretation of 'Solomonic' Megiddo, as first presented by Guy (1931), is dealt with extensively by Wightman (1990) and Finkelstein (1996, 178–179). Debate continues over the historicity of the Old Testament, and the role that archaeology plays in reconstructing the period of the United Monarchy, or downplaying its very existence (Dever 2001, contra Finkelstein and Silberman 2001; Mazar 1997, contra Finkelstein 1996). The findings at Megiddo, and Guy's interpretations of them, are significant as they mark the start of this debate and 'Solomonic archaeology', serving as a cautionary example of how the Bible can be misused in archaeological interpretation.

Under Guy's directorship, several monumental public buildings dated to the Iron Age were uncovered. Those found in Stratum IV on the north side of the mound included large structures adjacent to a casemate fortification wall. These stone-paved buildings consist of rows of rectangular rooms, each accessed through a single doorway. On either side of a central aisle stood upright pillars and shallow troughs (the so-called 'pillared buildings'). Other features included tethering holes cut in the sides of pillars, paving in some areas, and a mudbrick basin outside the buildings, thought to be a watering tank (Lamon and Shipton 1939, 32–47).

Guy identified the buildings as 'Solomon's stables' (Fig. 3) on the basis of a biblical passage mentioning Megiddo as one of Solomon's chariot cities (I Kings 9: 15-22; Guy 1931, 44–48; cited in Finkelstein 1996, 178; Finkelstein and Silberman 2001, 137). The basic premise for Guy's interpretation has been criticized, as later rulers of Israel would also have had horses and chariots. Although others have considered them as storehouses or barracks (Pritchard 1970), and pillared markets (Herr, 1988), stables remain the most common interpretation (Holladay 1986; Belkin and Wheeler 2006; Cantrell 2006; Cantrell and Finkelstein 2006).

Guy's interpretation was based almost entirely upon the biblical text, although it could be argued that a military background and familiarity with horses led him to favour this notion above others (Norma Franklin, pers. comm.). Guy also paralleled the method of ashlar construction found at Megiddo with the description of building techniques used in Jerusalem by Solomon (I Kings 7:12), and construction methods utilized at Carchemish (Wightman 1990, 7). In the case of Carchemish, Guy may have been partly working from
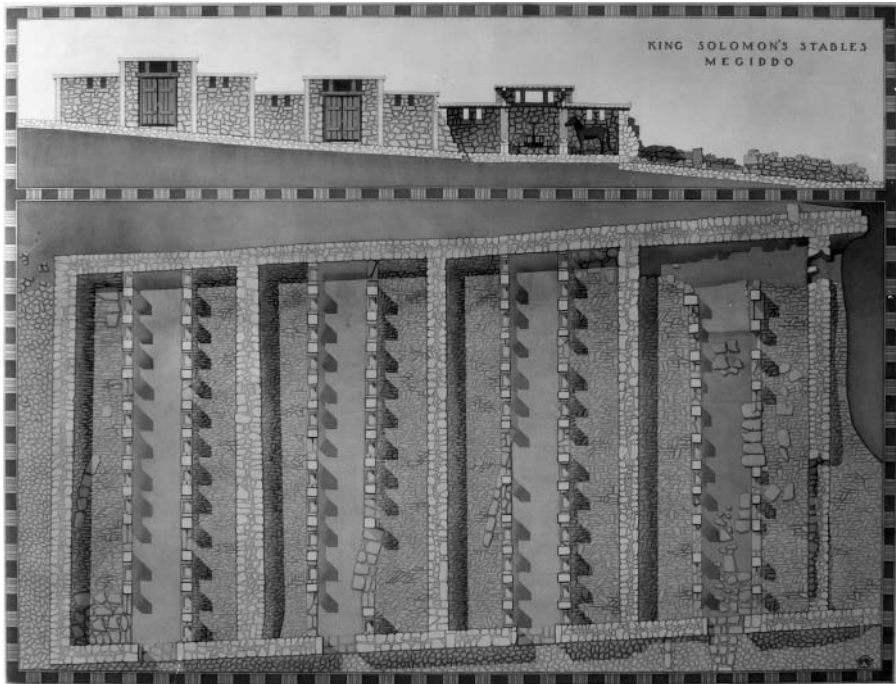
Fig. 3.   Plan and reconstructive elevation of the great stables at Megiddo by L. C. Woolman. From *New Light from Armageddon* (Guy 1931, fig. 28). *Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.*

personal experience, however the dating of individual strata at Megiddo was inherently weak. Pottery is seldom cited in Guy's 1931 study, and sites with architectural parallels (Carchemish, Gezer, and Hesi) lacked comparatively systematic ceramic sequences. The interpretation of the buildings as 'Solomonic' came almost entirely from the Book of Kings.

Some of Guy's contemporaries challenged his dating and interpretations. Crowfoot (1940) suggested an 870–840 BCE date range for Megiddo Stratum IV, criticizing Lamon and Shipton's acceptance of Guy's dating (Lamon and Shipton 1939, xxvii). In the early 1960s, Yadin reassigned the pillared buildings to Stratum IVA, dating them to the 9th-century Omride rulers (Yadin 1970; Wightman 1990, 178–179). The date of the stables has recently been lowered to the early 8th century by Cantrell and Finkelstein (2006). In summary, although Guy's interpretation of the pillared buildings as stables has been supported by many, his dates have been shifted forward by 150 years. Chronology aside, the popular and appealing vision of 'Solomon's stables' endured for over a quarter of a century and was still being presented in popular books on biblical archaeology well into the 1970s (e.g. Reader's Digest 1974, 187).

Guy created the *idea* of Solomonic Megiddo, an idea that for some was simply too attractive to deconstruct. These interpretations were supported by technical illustrations of the stables (Fig. 3) and other buildings that helped the reader envisage the grandeur and scale of Solomon's city. Although the Solomonic date of the pillared buildings is now discounted, the use of I Kings continued in Yadin's identification of Megiddo's six-chambered

gate (Yadin 1970, 66–67) and Building 1723 (Ussishkin 1966) to Solomon's reign. Here, both biblical passages took precedence as the primary source (Aharoni 1972, 302, cited in Wightman 1990, 9; Finkelstein 1996, 179); the same tautological trap that Guy had fallen into decades previously.

As Finkelstein and Silberman (2006) contend, it was the later rulers and writers of the 8th and 7th centuries BCE who used the idea of Solomon and his golden age to legitimize their present world. Also, in the 20th century CE there was a new reshaping of Solomon through archaeology. Silberman (1995b, 22–23) contrasts the progressive, modernistic vision of the Oriental Institute excavations of the 1920s–1930s, with Yadin's excavations at Megiddo in the 1960s. Yadin focused on the Solomonic era and biblical links, and subsequently saw Megiddo as part of *national* history, playing an important role in the modern construction of Israeli political, religious, and social identity. Returning to Guy's excavations at Megiddo during the Mandate period, this was one of the 'big digs' that helped crystallize biblical concepts in archaeology. Guy, like many of his peers, projected himself as a biblically minded archaeologist working within a well-established Judaeo-Christian framework. Although not framed *nationally*, Guy's Zionist political affiliations should not be ignored within this context, especially as he was to use the *idea* of Solomon to highlight modern Jewish connections to archaeology just a few years later (see below). With the stables and other 'Solomonic' features at Megiddo, Guy provided a highly influential model that was later adapted within biblical–nationalist frameworks by Israeli archaeologists such as Yadin.

Things fall apart: Guy is sacked from Megiddo

After an accumulation of problems, Oriental Institute director Henry Breasted sacked Guy in late August 1934. The background and aftermath to this event is found in selected extracts from letters held within the Oriental Institute archives, recently published by Harrison (2004, 1–4). Further information comes from Franklin's assessment of problems that plagued the Megiddo expedition (2005, 311). Breasted was critical of Guy's slow progress in excavation and publication, which was at odds with the pace of other Oriental Institute projects. In response to his letter of dismissal, Guy complained to Breasted that his desire to increase the workforce to c. 200 would not allow time to record the remains to a satisfactory level, or to prepare his publication (Harrison 2004, 3).

Another catalyst for Guy's dismissal was an embarrassing incident in the summer of 1934 involving expedition member Herbert May who attempted to return to America with a personal pottery sherd collection, but was stopped by customs at Haifa and accused of smuggling antiquities. Guy was apparently of little help in resolving the incident and was slow in reporting it to Breasted (Harrison 2004, 3). According to Norma Franklin (pers. comm.), unpublished letters held at the Oriental Institute point to an ongoing dispute between May and Guy, which culminated in a physical fight. Franklin suggests that a tense rivalry developed between the two individuals, as Guy lacked formal qualifications and was intimidated by his more scholarly colleague. Whatever the reasons behind Guy's dismissal, the unfortunate results were that excavations came to a halt during the following year, and that Guy's final season of Stratum VI excavations was unevenly treated in Loud's *Megiddo 2* volume (Loud 1948; Harrison 2004, 3–4). It took seventy years for the Stratum VI record of 1934 to be reassessed and published more fully by Harrison in *Megiddo 3*.

5. GUY AND THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN JERUSALEM

After his dismissal, Guy was kept on as a Megiddo staff member until 30 June 1935, remaining in England for several months to finish his work on the *Megiddo Tombs* manuscript

(Harrison 2004, 3). Later that year he became director of the BSAJ, following a suggestion by Sir Charles Close that Guy should undertake a new Archaeological Survey of Palestine (ASP) as a PEF and BSAJ joint project (Gibson 1999, 123). Guy's activities during this period are reconstructed from published articles and reports, and documents from the BSAJ archive at the PEF.

The BSAJ has experienced many ups and downs in its eighty-five-year history, and Guy's directorship was certainly a low point compared with the earlier pioneering era. Internal problems related to insufficient funding and a lack of accommodation in Jerusalem, which Guy was keen to highlight (Guy 1937, 29–30; Auld 1993, 25; Gibson 1999, 123–125). This period should have yielded the valuable fruits of new research, but active fieldwork lasted for less than one year. There were several factors that led to this situation. Despite publicizing and promoting the ASP in Jerusalem and London, funding did not materialize until June 1937, and the survey did not commence until late August that year. In addition, Guy's work for the ASP was affected by the Arab Revolt which began in April 1936 and soon impacted on archaeological projects throughout the region. Guy's political activities during the Arab Revolt also diverted him away from his archaeological work. According to the contents of Guy's personal files held at the Central Zionist Archives (CZA) in Jerusalem, and letters in the BSAJ archive at the PEF in London, this period saw him become more politically active and outspoken, both in Britain and Palestine.

The main catalyst behind the Arab Revolt was the fear of increased Jewish immigration and settlement expansion within Palestine, and the desire to strengthen the cause of Arab nationalism in opposition to Zionism (Kalkas 1987; Gelvin 2005, 102–115). The Arab Revolt began mainly as a peaceful general strike, but there was also the trigger of violence with armed action against Jewish and British interests by Arab rebels. The British were actively engaged in counter-insurgency measures to put down the revolt, including curfews and the arrest and execution of Arab rebels (Segev 2000, 415–443). This period also saw the expansion of Jewish paramilitary organizations, either in cooperation with the British, or with offshoots conducting counter-attacks on Arabs (ibid.). In short, it was a hazardous, disruptive, and tense period for Arabs, Jews, and the British alike. For the Guys living in Jerusalem the Revolt had an impact on daily life. In a letter to his assistant, George Kirk, Guy complains about nails being strewn over the road, difficulties in obtaining food, and the common sound of gunshots (PEF/DA/BSAJ/letter of May 1936). In another letter to London *Observer* editor J. L. Garvin, Guy wrote about finding an Arab neighbour fatally wounded after a bomb he was trying to manufacture had exploded (CZA/Stanner A515/4/ letter of 6 July 1936).

Guy focuses on the Zionist cause

Apparently unable to conduct archaeological fieldwork or research, and without funding for the ASP, Guy took on a new role as a correspondent for the *Morning Post* and London *Observer* newspapers. He began gathering information on the disturbances for his weekly telegrams to London.[9] The newspaper reports, published anonymously, and kept in Guy's files, ran with headlines such as: 'More Shots in Palestine, British P.C. Wounded, Desert Ambush, Attacked Patrol returns fire. Insurgent dead; many wounded' (*Morning Post*, 31 May 1936). Judging by the letters Guy sent to newspaper editors, he evidently tried to influence them with his political opinions and policy proposals relating to the Arab Revolt and Jewish immigration. The degree to which Guy's weekly news telegrams were structured or biased by his political views remains unclear.

Before departing for England during summer 1936, Guy wrote to High Commissioner Sir Arthur Wauchope. Like many others, Guy was critical of Wauchope's apparent lack of

forcefulness in dealing with the Revolt. He also wished to see the curbs on Jewish immigration relaxed, suggesting that punishments for destruction of Jewish property by Arabs included the addition of more Jewish immigrants to the existing schedule in respect of crimes committed (CZA/Stanner A515/2/File 'Z'/Memo dated 11 June 1936).

Guy spent much of summer 1936 in London meeting with a variety of political figures and members of the Jewish Agency. Guy was a ready source of information on happenings in Palestine. He provided statistics that assisted Leonard Stein to prepare the Jewish case for the Palestine Royal Commission (Peel Commission), and assisted Sir Robert Waley Cohen in preparing debates against pro-Arab adversaries. He also wrote letters to leading British newspapers espousing the Jewish case for the future of Palestine, and criticizing anti-Zionists or pro-Arabs such as Sir Arnold Wilson MP. At a later time, he was in contact with Zionist supporters Victor Cazalet MP and diarist Buffy Dugdale, whom he met during a visit to Palestine (CZA/Stanner A515/2/File 'Z'/Guy to Lurie, letter of February 1938). Philip and Yemima Guy also knew Orde Wingate, although it is unclear in what capacity.[10] In summary, Guy played a role as an outspoken political activist in assisting and advising influential politicians and public figures, piling on political pressure for the Zionist cause, and counteracting anti-Zionist or anti-Jewish sentiments.

P. J. Cohen, speaking at Guy's memorial event (Israel Department of Antiquities 1957), listed Guy alongside other British men who had contributed to the 'national struggle', including Josiah Wedgewood, Wyndham Deedes, and Orde Wingate. Guy's political views were closely aligned with those of the Zionist Organization. Amongst his core beliefs, which presumably he shared with his wife, Guy wished to see Jewish immigration and the absorptive capacity of Palestine increased, more land made available for sale, and public condemnation and enforcement of the law against murder, acts of violence, and destruction of property. He envisaged a peaceful future within Palestine in which Arabs and Jews would benefit mutually from each other, both culturally and economically.

The Archaeological Survey of Palestine

Alongside his political lobbying activities in London in 1936, Guy carried out further preparations and research for the ASP and his Director's report for the BSAJ AGM, which reviewed the work of the original Survey of Western Palestine and proposed the objectives of the new ASP, its inheritor (Guy 1937). Subsequently Guy returned to Palestine, but did not begin surveying until funds were made available in late August 1937. He initially focused on the relatively safe and accessible parts of Sheet 7 of the Survey of Western Palestine, particularly along the central coast. Guy highlighted his safety concerns, writing to J. W. Crowfoot that he had surveyed alone along the coast through Arab and adjoining Jewish areas, and in some mixed areas, which seemed relatively secure[11] (Gibson 1999, n. 26; PEF/DA/BSAJ/letter dated 14 September 1937).

During these initial surveys, Guy paid attention to the site of Tell Qudadi (Tel Kudadi/Tell esh-Shūni) situated on the north bank of the River Yarkon (Avigad 1993). Qudadi was already known at the time of Guy's survey as the site of a World War I memorial and a lighthouse. Its position made it vulnerable to coastal erosion, but it was not just the elements putting the site under threat, but rather a growing thirst for electric power. The land upon which Qudadi stood was owned by the Palestine Electric Corporation, founded by Pinhas Rutenberg. Guy's visit coincided with a programme of works by the Reading Power Station, including plans to remove most of the ancient mound.

Guy wrote to Rutenberg, informing him of the historical importance of the mound, and to enquire about his works. Guy appealed to Rutenberg by specifically highlighting Solomonic connections with Tell Qudadi, however far the imagination stretched. He was

also interested in the role that its archaeology would play within the public arena (in this case, the Jewish public):

It would appear to be the precursor of the new Tel Aviv harbour, and it would be of considerable interest to the public if it were found to contain evidence of Jewish occupation, particularly if this should prove to have existed at the time when King Solomon was importing his cedar from the Lebanon for building purposes. (PEF/DA/BSAJ/letter from Guy to Rutenberg of 24 September 1937)

The strategy worked. Rutenberg allowed Guy to conduct the excavations, temporarily halting the works. Guy recorded a 17 m-long stone wall on the north-east side of the mound, consisting of ashlar piers with rubble sections (Guy 1938b, 15–16; Avigad 1993). He dated it to the Persian period of the 6th or 5th centuries BCE, a date recently modified to the 4th century BCE (Tal and Fantalkin 2005). Guy subsequently handed over responsibility to Sukenik and Yeivin of the Hebrew University. Their excavations in 1937–1938, funded by Rutenberg, uncovered a fortress initially dated to the 10th century BCE, i.e. the Solomonic era. It has since been redated to the Late Assyrian period (8th–7th centuries BCE) by Tal and Fantalkin (2005), but it appears that the allure of Solomon was still a factor in the earliest interpretations of the archaeology at Qudadi, first prompted by Guy and perpetuated by subsequent excavators. Was this a case of stretching the evidence to fit the biblical account, perhaps to gain the support and interest of the wealthy and influential Mr Rutenberg? Alternatively, was there general confusion about what was 'Solomonic' given that similar misidentifications had already occurred at Megiddo? Regardless of the dating and inter-pretation, Guy should be credited with 'saving' the site of Tell Qudadi and its material record for future generations.

The second area deemed safe enough for archaeological survey was the Northwest and Central Negev, a remote region relatively unaffected by disturbances in other parts of Palestine. Guy played a comparatively minor role in the survey, partly due to his continuing work in the coastal area. George Eden Kirk acted as Guy's assistant, conducting much of the survey work in 1937–38. Initially, the ASP and BSAJ were closely related to the Colt Archaeological Expedition to the Negev, directed by H. Dunscombe Colt (Jr.), the wealthy American heir to the Colt family fortune. This was one of the few major expeditions per-mitted to continue in Palestine during this unsettled time, excavating Roman and Byzantine remains at the sites of Sobata (Subeta/Isbeita/Shivta), the well at Abda, and Auja Hafir (Nessana) where Byzantine period papyri were famously discovered (Colt 1962). Although the Southern Desert survey lasted for only one season, there were significant findings. Kirk's report followed the major routes between known centres, revisiting previously surveyed sites, and filling in gaps between them with detailed surveys of fortifications, cemeteries, wells and reservoirs, and inscriptions (1938a, 1938b). A few of Guy's findings and interpretations surfaced in Kirk's report, including his views that the upper dams at Kurnub were not constructed to conserve soil that might be eroded through flooding (as Woolley contended), but rather were intended to trap silt which was dug out and dumped when necessary. The floodwater, once cleared of silt, could then be stored in basins between a series of large dams (Kirk 1938a, 219–220).

Despite the fact that the ASP 'sponsored' the Colt Expedition and was linked to the BSAJ as a recognized government institution (Guy 1937, 29), it is apparent from the corre-spondence that although the School provided equipment to the project, the Colt Expedition played a more significant role in supporting the fledgling ASP, both financially and logisti-cally (the Colt house was based at Sobata). Guy's contribution to the Southern Desert survey could have been more significant if it were not for emerging political tensions. The problem centred on Guy's political affiliations, and the role of Kirk, who was also Colt's representa-tive in the Negev. Colt informed Guy of his withdrawal of his aid and cooperation (some of which was financial) for the Southern Desert Survey for political, not personal reasons.

You probably know that as a result of your political actions the Arabs do not regard you with much favour. Therefore, I fear that if Kirk goes down to the Negeb as part of a survey party of which you are known to be the director that my expedition will suffer. These are my reasons. Part of our success, I am convinced, is due to the fact that we have always been at great pains to let all and sundry in our district, from Beer Sheba down, know that we have no connection whatsoever with any pro-Zionist organisation or in fact any political party. (PEF/DA/BSAJ/Southern Desert Survey/letter of 30 November 1937)

Colt's concerns were not without justification, as he wished to ensure the loyalty of the local Arab population, and the expedition members' safety. Rising tensions between Zionist and Arab extremists, and the British, presented real dangers to archaeologists working in Palestine. For example, the murder of James Leslie Starkey, the director of the Tell ed-Duweir excavations, by Arab militants in January 1938 sent shockwaves through the archaeological community. The worsening situation brought archaeological fieldwork to an almost complete standstill, and the ASP ground to a halt in summer 1938.

The ASP was overambitious owing to limited resources and restrictions due to the disturbances of the Arab Revolt. The results of the work were only briefly reported.[12] The survey examined the castle at Ras al-Ain, and the 'Anaziyeh' (or Cistern of Helena) at Ramleh, which exhibits one of the earliest uses of the pointed arch. At Latrun, small soundings were made to identify buried architectural features, and plans of the site were also drawn (Fig. 4). An annotated aerial photograph of Latrun shows the location of related features in the landscape surrounding the site (Fig. 5). Guy's unpublished notes, maps, plans, and photographs of the survey, which include numerous other sites, are located in the PEF's archives and await future assessment by interested researchers. Other work conducted in 1938 reflected Guy's emerging interest in water management, cultivation, and erosion. A posthumously published report highlighted the alarming process of soil erosion and sedimentation in Wadi Musrara, and damage caused to the famous Jindas Bridge by flooding (Guy 1954; Petersen 2001, 185–186).
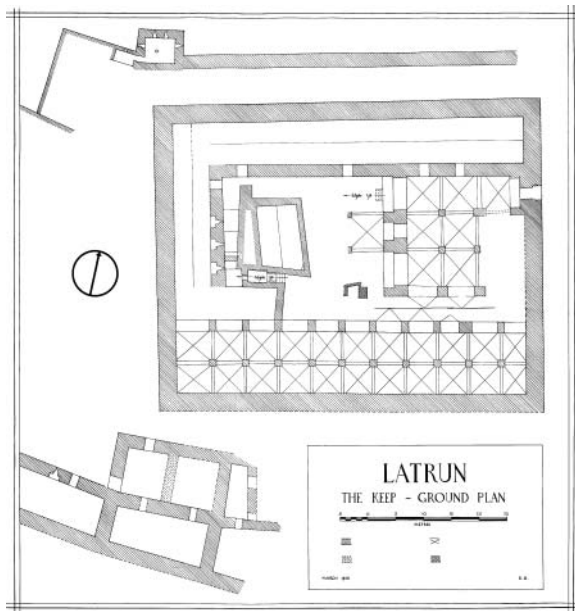

Fig. 4.   Latrun: The Keep — Ground Plan. Drawn by Mr D. Bellerby, architect and surveyor for the Archaeological Survey of Palestine, March 1938. *Courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund.*
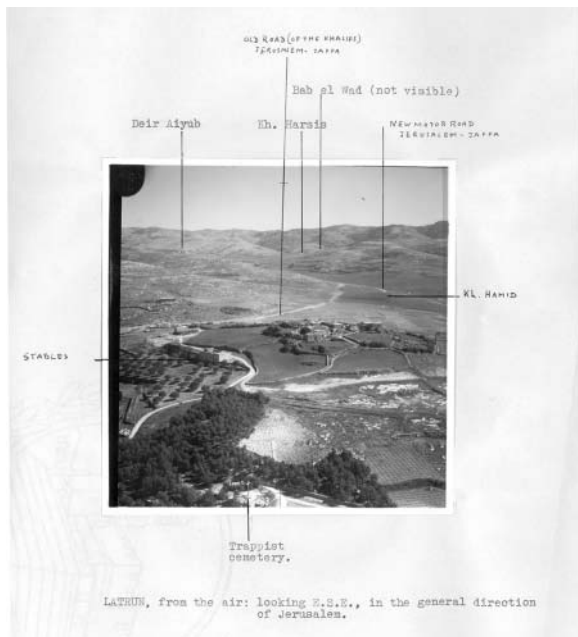
Fig. 5.   Latrun from the air looking east-south-east. From the unpublished files of the Archaeological Survey of Palestine. *Courtesy of the Palestine Exploration Fund.*

Guy's suggestions for alleviating damage caused by erosion show that he was not only concerned with the landscape and land usage of the past, but also that of the present and future. It can be argued that this concern was closely linked with his Zionist views (as highlighted below), namely a desire to see the absorptive capacity of the country increased for Jewish immigration which depended on improvements within agriculture and water management. This was, in part, reflected by his work on landscape survey, and an emerging interest in agricultural archaeology and soil conservation.[13] His former friends and colleagues, on the occasion of his memorial, also recounted this passionate endeavour:

He would never weary of preaching to a half-understanding public and to officials busy with what they believed more vital questions the overriding importance of the soil and water problem for the development of the country. To him archaeology was never a science concerned merely with the excavation of records of a dead past, but essentially an instrument for planning and shaping its future. The revival of this long neglected country by the effective utilization of its natural resources was his life ideal. (P. J. Cohen, in Israel Department of Antiquities, 1957: 11).

6. THE POST-WAR YEARS AND GUY'S ROLE IN ISRAELI ARCHAEOLOGY

Guy's position as BSAJ director was officially terminated on 20 September 1939, by which time World War II had already begun. Despite having reached fifty-four years of age, Guy rejoined the British Army. Guy's prior military experience and role as a British Mandate government official led to him obtaining important positions. He was a military governor of Benghazi in Libya and Asmara in Eritrea, and was also a member of the Allied Supply Mission to Syria (Hooke 1953, see list of obituaries below). During his time with the RASC (the Land Transport Corps, also known as 'The Waggoners') he rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel (Fig. 6).

After World War II, Guy returned to Palestine, but not immediately to archaeology. Guy worked for a short time in the Palestine Department of Agriculture as director of a stud

Fig. 6. Lt. Col. P. L. O. Guy, taken either during World War II, or shortly after. *Courtesy of Michael Stanner.*

farm at Acre. The post was abandoned after disruptions during 1947. Although the circumstances of his appointment are unclear, in late 1947 or early 1948, Guy briefly rejoined the Department of Antiquities, assisting staff at the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem. This was a difficult and uncertain period at the museum. Jewish workers left in December 1947 as conditions worsened. The museum was closed to the public in April 1948, and shut down entirely just five days before the end of the Mandate on 15 May 1948 (Kletter 2006, 175).

According to his obituaries, Guy turned 'deserter' by openly sympathizing with the Zionist revolt against the British occupation of Palestine, and taking the side of the Jews against the Arabs in the war of April 1948 (Israel's War of Independence, also known as *Al Nakba,* 'The Catastrophe'). It does not appear that Guy was actively involved in any paramilitary activities. According to an anonymous source, Guy's life was in danger in the closing months of the British Mandate: the Irgun militia placed his name on an assassination hit list of British government officials (Gibson, 1999: n. 28). Although his status as a British official would have made his assassination justifiable in the eyes of the Irgun, his Zionist sympathies would have made him an unnatural target. This may point to intense rivalries and a sharp division between the political affiliations of Guy and certain individuals in the Irgun.

No assassination took place, and at the end of the British Mandate, Guy remained in the newly formed State of Israel. Given his political background and with a Jewish wife and adopted daughter the fact that he stayed is not surprising. It was, however, unusual for a British gentile to remain and become integrated into Israel's state system. In July 1948, Guy became one of the founding members of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums (IDAM), directed by Shmuel Yeivin and founded on 26 July 1948 (Isserlin 1950, 92; Baruch and Vashdi n.d.). Guy was Director of Archaeological Surveys and Excavations, one of six departments within IDAM (Kletter 2006). He was a bridge between the British system and IDAM, and had close relationships with many of its employees extending back over the past two decades. His expertise and knowledge put him in an ideal position for assisting the new

department. Although Yeivin has been credited with the creation of the Archaeological Survey of Israel (Dagan n.d.), Guy also appears to have played a role in its establishment soon after 1948 (Petersen 2001, 28). This would have been a natural progression following the interruption of his Archaeological Survey of Palestine less than a decade previously.

Excavations on behalf of IDAM

Guy's first fieldwork with IDAM took place at Jaffa in the closing months of 1948; it was one of the first archaeological excavations in Israel (Kletter 2006, 308–309). The background to Guy's selection of Jaffa can be seen in his earlier surveys in this area, including his work at Tel Qudadi, and it was relatively safe. It is, however, surprising that the excavation took place at all, given the destruction of sites, looting, and continued military operations in various parts of the country. This was not a salvage or rescue excavation, but rather an initiated one with state funding (Kletter 2006, 309). Within a small area, Guy uncovered limited medieval Arabic, Byzantine, Roman and Hellenistic remains, including a coin hoard (Isserlin 1950, 101; Kindler 1954; Yeivin 1955, 163; Kaplan 1972, 89). The Jaffa excavations did not continue for long and were abandoned due to a number of problems, in particular a lack of funds.[14] Guy's intentions there remain unclear, although clues can be gleaned from his dig diary in the archives at the Rockefeller Museum, recently examined by Martin Peilstocker (pers. comm.). The diary records Guy's disappointment in finding what was mainly a modern dump and Hellenistic–Roman pottery, indirectly suggesting that he had been seeking earlier, presumably Iron Age levels. Perhaps he wanted to find Solomon's port city, following on from his earlier activities at Tell Qudadi.

Excavations in 1949–50 included work with P. Bar-Adon at Khirbet al-Karak (Bet Yeraḥ/Ancient Philoteria), where they uncovered the foundations of a large rectangular structure surrounded by a fortification wall. Guy's preliminary report (1951) identified the central structure as a synagogue, dating it to the Roman to Byzantine periods. It was not until over forty years later that Reich (1993) published details of the excavations, including an elaborate mosaic pavement featuring plants, birds, animals, and human figures. Reich highlighted the secondary position of the carved *menorah* (reused as a column base?), the imprecise alignment of the apse towards Jerusalem, and other inconsistencies, thus rejecting its identification as a synagogue. Although Milson recently resurrected the idea that the building was originally a synagogue, perhaps the largest found to date in the region (Milson 2006, 71, 109), this interpretation is further weakened by Whitcomb's suggestion (2002) that the fortified building was an early Umayyad *qaṣr*. Whitcomb surmises that the building identified as a synagogue was probably a 'desert castle' type residential complex with an associated bathhouse. Whitcomb identifies Khirbet al-Karak with Umayyad Ṣinnabra, the location of an early Umayyad palace or elite residence.

An eagerness to identify some sites as synagogues could be seen within the context of establishing strong Jewish connections to sites and places, what is sometimes called a process of 'Jewification' (Kletter 2006, 74–75), and the case of Bet Yeraḥ/Khirbet al-Karak may reflect the role of post-independence Zionism in the selection of sites of Jewish interest for excavation or renovation.[15] Other factors may also have been involved, as the site and its buildings were under threat of destruction or damage by the inhabitants of the adjacent kibbutz (Rafi Greenberg, pers. comm.). Perhaps Guy and Bar-Adon's misidentification or 'exaggeration' of the building as a synagogue (whether intentional or unintentional) helped to safeguard it from destruction by the kibbutzniks — convincing them to consider the building as part of Jewish history. If this is the case, it would echo Sukenik's efforts at Beit Alpha in 1928 where the uncovered synagogue mosaic became a symbol of political, rather than religious, significance, therefore saving it from destruction (Elon 1997).

Guy's final archaeological excavations were in late 1950 alongside the young Moshe Dothan at Ayyelet ha-Shahar in Galilee, which stands at the foot of Hazor's ancient mound. Guy's preliminary report was published posthumously in Hebrew (Guy 1957), and preparations for the final report are only now under way (Kletter 2006, 135). During Guy and Dothan's excavations, an important Iron Age building was discovered with thick mudbrick walls, plaster floors, and shallow wall niches. Guy identified the building as Persian in date according to the Attic sherds found there (Stern 1982, 3–4). Reich (1975) has since reassessed the building as an Assyrian governor's residency with an audience hall or throne room and a bath chamber, later reused in the Persian period. Lipschitz (1990) suggests the building is one of the earliest examples of an elite residence in the initial period of Assyrian domination during the 8th century BCE.

Guy did not get the opportunity to retire. In 1952 he contracted a terminal illness and died in Jerusalem at the age of sixty-seven. He was survived by his wife Yemima and adopted daughter Ruth. Buried in the Alliance Church International Cemetery, on Emek Rephaim, Jerusalem, his grave is marked with a simple rectangular slab. His name is written in Hebrew and English in low relief, now almost entirely obscured by lichen.

6. SUMMARY

Those commenting in Philip Guy's obituaries describe him as a charming, warm, and kind individual — a real gentleman. He developed friendships with many individuals he worked with, demonstrating a sense of openness, steadfastness, and consideration for others. Professionally, however, Guy did not get on with everyone, as indicated by the turbulent relationship with Herbert May at Megiddo. After two world wars, Philip Guy was essentially a military man, which is shown in the meticulous way he conducted himself in life and on excavation. He had an affinity with technology and a forward-thinking mentality. His political activities and forays into journalism demonstrate that archaeology was only one of a broad spectrum of pursuits.

Guy was introduced to archaeology at the dawning of its 'Golden Age' during Mandate period Palestine, and therefore he needs to be considered as playing a role in its development. His work oscillated between the bureaucratic activities of a colonial or military official and the activities and pursuits of excavation and survey. The pattern reflected in his archaeological work is one of exploration, excavation, and initiation. He broke new ground at many sites, soon taken over by others, or generating foreign interest in excavation. His academic and report-based output was limited, partly reflecting his involvement in practical fieldwork to the detriment of final publication. For Guy's later excavations he left unpublished work that is being reassessed to this day.

Guy's political leanings and personality are reflected in his obituaries. He referred to himself as a 'good Gentile Scottish Zionist', and was therefore viewed positively by his Jewish colleagues (Israel Department of Antiquities 1957). Although there was a wide political spectrum amongst British archaeologists and DAP staff of the Mandate era, I would suggest that Guy was in a minority compared with his largely pro-Arab British contemporaries, or those who were more closely affiliated with Palestine's Arab population owing to the regions and sites within which they were working. There remains an overwhelming sense that although Guy was part of the British establishment, he was distanced from it somewhat owing to his political affiliations.

His role as a political archaeologist is worth examining further within the context of relationships with his contemporaries. Silberman (1993) writes with reference to W. F. Albright within 1920s Palestine, that the notion of any biblical archaeologist being politically neutral is inherently false. Albright maintained that 'a scholar could detach himself entirely from the Holy Land's modern realities' (ibid., 15). Guy was his polar opposite: a

willing participant in a political struggle, and although a moderate secular Zionist, he was far from neutral in his opinions. As shown by the course of his fractured and discontinuous career in archaeology, politics clearly had an impact on its outcome. The question remains, were the foci of Guy's archaeological work, ranging from Solomon's stables at Megiddo, to Tell Qudadi and the Bet Yeraḥ synagogue, partly influenced by romanticized and politicized aspirations, or was he simply an archaeologist 'fitting in'?

An intersection between Zionism and archaeology may be evident in his passion for soil and water conservation which came about through his archaeological surveys, but in other respects Guy apparently maintained archaeology and politics as separate entities (at least within publications). Judging from his letters and reading between the lines of his archaeological career, it appears that Guy's political entanglements, ideological principles, and close relationships with Jewish archaeologists, guided him towards particular sites, regions and projects, helping to shape his attitudes to the past and present. This combination of factors must have played a role in the formation of Guy's historical and archaeological interpretations. To some extent, therefore, Guy was similar to many Jewish archaeologists in the Mandate period who 'worked to insert their discipline into the (colonial-) national political project, in part at least, in order to attain their own (emergent) disciplinary goals' (Abu El-Haj 2001, 46). For Guy, this goal was only briefly realized through the creation of his position at IDAM in 1948, making him a unique figure in his bridging of British and Israeli institutions.

This biographical study has focused on just one individual. It has shown that archaeologists should not be viewed in isolation from their cultural or political backgrounds, relationships with other individuals, social networks, organizations, and governments. I would argue that a greater appreciation of relationships between archaeologists, the societies they inhabited (whether in the Mandate period or indeed any period), and their political attitudes and affiliations, will enable a more nuanced and contextual understanding of their motivations, research directions and interpretations.

NOTES

[1] This research was initially inspired by the publication of *Megiddo 3*, which presented for the first time the illuminating extracts of correspondence between P. L. O. Guy and Henry Breasted (Harrison 2004, 2–4). I am grateful to Jonathan Tubb for first suggesting that I delve into Guy's archaeological career, which has in turn resulted in a much wider study than initially envisaged.

[2] Central Zionist Archives/File: Stanner A515/4/ Army Book and Record of Service of Temporary Captain P. L. O. Guy MGC.

[3] Peet and Woolley published Guy's pottery study as a chapter in the final report, largely based on his notes (Peet and Woolley 1923, 135–141), now held by the Egypt Exploration Society.

[4] 'News and Notes: Excavation and Discovery', in *British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem Bulletin* 1, 8 (1922).

[5] 'Introduction', in *British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem Bulletin* 6, 63 (1924).

[6] See Guy 1924b, pls. II–III. Bloch-Smith's suggested 10th-century date for the tombs (1992, 189–190) may only relate to the earliest phase of what could be a prolonged period of use (or reuse). Schreiber (2003) dates Cypriote Black on Red pottery in the Levant from the last quarter of the 10th century to the end of the 8th

century (with possible survivals into the early 7th century). The amphora illustrated in Guy's report (Tomb II, obj.12) is close to forms known in the Persian period (Bettles 2003, fig. 4.1; Types A1 and A4).

[7] Guy's handwritten notes are found on drafts of the Antiquities Ordinance from 1927 (RM/Govt. of Palestine/'Mr Guy's Notes on Antiquities Ordinance').

[8] Eliezer Ben-Yehuda (1858–1922) is best known for his campaign to establish Hebrew as a modern and secular language of the Jewish homeland, and he compiled the first modern Hebrew dictionary. Ben-Yehuda arrived in Jaffa in 1881 with his wife Devorah, and established the first Hebrew-speaking household in Palestine (Klausner 1971). Yemima was only six years old when her mother Devorah died in 1891. Devorah's sister, Hemdah soon married Eliezer, raising Yemima and Eliezer's other children. Yemima was also known by her nickname Jemmi. Philip Guy affectionately called her 'Jimmie'.

[9] The responsibility for information gathering and writing reports was shared with his daughter Ruth, who took over the role in her father's absence. Ruth eventually became a freelance journalist and writer in her own right.

[10] Yemima wrote to her husband from Palestine that she had twice been to visit 'Ord W.' in his hotel. He was suffering from malaria (CZA/Stanner A515/4/ letter of 30 June 1941). It is unclear how well they knew Wingate as he is not mentioned in any other known correspondence. Orde Wingate was a British intelligence officer stationed in Palestine (1936 to 1939) and a leading proponent of the Zionist movement, who commanded forces in East Africa and Burma during World War II (Bierman and Smith 1999).

[11] A hand-drawn map in the BSAJ archive shows Palestine with places marked with the letters A, J, and M, signifying 'Arab, Jewish, Mixed', showing that Guy was greatly concerned with the distribution of modern populations in the organization of his survey.

[12] No author (presumed to be Guy), 1939: 'Archaeological Survey of Palestine', *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine* VIII, 169–170.

[13] This interest is also reflected by his membership of the Palestine Soil Conservation Board from 1940, and his attendance of meetings of the Middle East Society of Jerusalem (1946–47), which presented papers (amongst others) relating to issues of soil and erosion, deemed integral to the future of Palestine and the wider Middle East (see *Journal of the Middle East Society*).

[14] The Jaffa excavations were experimental and brief but amongst the first to attract foreign excavators to the region, with Bowman and Isserlin excavating the mound at Jaffa in the early 1950s for the University of Leeds. Guy's Jaffa excavation is still unpublished and will be incorporated into a comprehensive archaeological study of Jaffa by Martin Peilstocker (2007).

[15] Guy also laid plans for repairs of several Jewish archaeological monuments in Israel, including the mosaic at Beit Alpha, the synagogue at Shefar'am, and the synagogue of Meron (Israel Department of Antiquities 1957, 11).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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

Aharoni, Y., 1972. 'The Stratification of Israelite Megiddo', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 31, 302–311.

Albright, W. F., 1926. 'The Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age.' *AASOR* VI, 13–74.

Auld, A. G., 1993. 'The British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem', in A. Biran and J. Aviram (eds), *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990. Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, June–July 1990*, Jerusalem: IES, 23–26.

Avigad, N., 1993. 'Kudadi, Tell', *NEAEHL*, 882.

Baruch, Y. and Vashdi, R. K. n.d. 'From the Israel Department of Antiquities to the founding of the Israel Antiquities Authority.' Website of the Israel Antiquities Authority: www.antiquities.org.il/ listed under 'About Us' and 'History of the IAA' (last accessed 6/4/2008).

Belkin, L. A. and Wheeler, E. F., 2006. 'Reconstruction of the Megiddo stables', in I. Finkelstein, D. Ussishkin and B. Halpern (eds), 2006, 666–687.

Ben Yehuda, N., 2002. *Sacrificing Truth: Archaeology and the Myth of Masada*, New York: Humanity Books.

Bettles, E. A., 2003. *Phoenician Amphora Production and Distribution in the Southern Levant: a Multi-disciplinary Investigation into Carinated-shoulder Amphorae of the Persian Period (539–332 BC)*, Oxford: Archaeopress.

Bierman, J. and Smith, C., 1999. *Fire in the Night: Wingate of Burma, Ethiopia, and Zion*, New York: Random House.

Bloch-Smith, E., 1992. *Judahite Burial Practices and Beliefs about the Dead*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Breasted, J. H., 1933. *The Oriental Institute*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

BSAJ Bulletin 1922. 'News and Notes,' Issue 1, 8.

Cantrell, D. O., 2006. 'Stable issues', in Finkelstein, Ussishkin and Halpern (eds), 2006, 630–642.

Cantrell, D. O. and Finkelstein, I., 2006. 'A kingdom for a horse: the Megiddo stables and eighth century Israel', in Finkelstein, Ussishkin and Halpern (eds), 2006, 643–665.

Colt, H. D. (ed.), 1962. *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir, Palestine)*, vol. I, London: Colt Archaeological Institute and BSAJ.

Crowfoot, J. W., 1940. 'Megiddo-A Review', *PEQ* 72, 132–147.

Dagan, Y. n.d., 'Archaeological survey of Israel.' Website of the Israel Antiquities Authority: www.antiquities.org.il/ listed under 'Archaeological Survey of Israel' and 'About the Project' (last accessed 6/4/2008).

Davies, G. I., 1988. 'British archaeologists', in J. F. Drinkard, G. L. Mattingly, and J. Maxwell Miller (eds), *Benchmarks in Time and Culture: Essays in Honor of Joseph A. Callaway*, Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 37–62.

Davis, T. W., 2004. *Shifting Sands: the Rise and Fall of Biblical Archaeology*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dever, W. G., 2001. *What Did the Biblical Writers Know and When Did They Know It? What Archaeology Can Tell Us About the Reality of Ancient Israel.* Cambridge: Eerdmans.

Elon, A., 1997. 'Politics and archaeology', in N. Silberman and D. Small (eds), *The Archaeology of Israel — Construct-ing the Past, Interpreting the Present*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 34–47.

Finkelstein, I., 1996. 'The archaeology of the united monarchy: an alternative view', *Levant* 28, 177–187.

Finkelstein, I., and Silberman, N. A., 2001. *The Bible unearthed: archaeology's new vision of ancient Israel and the origin of its sacred texts*, New York: Free Press.

Finkelstein, I. and Silberman, N. A., 2006. *David and Solomon: in Search of the Bible's Sacred Kings and the Roots of the Western Tradition*, New York: The Free Press.

Finkelstein, I., Ussishkin, D. and Halpern, B. (eds), 2006. *Megiddo IV: the 1998–2002 Seasons*, Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University.

Fox, E., 2001. *Palestine Twilight: the Murder of Dr Albert Glock and the Archaeology of the Holy Land*, London: HarperCollins.

Franklin, N., 2005. 'Correlation and chronology: Samaria and Megiddo Redux', in T. E. Levy and T. Higham (eds), *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science*, London: Equinox, 311–322.

Gelvin, J. L., 2005. *The Israel–Palestine Conflict: One Hundred Years of War*, New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gibson, S., 1999. 'British archaeological institutions in Mandatory Palestine, 1917–1948', *PEQ* 131, 115–143.

Guy, P. L. O., 1924a. 'Prehistoric and other remains on the Huleh Basin: preliminary survey', *BSAJ Bulletin* 6, 74–77.

Guy, P. L. O., 1924b. 'Mt Carmel: an Early Iron Age cemetery near Haifa, excavated September, 1922', *BSAJ Bulletin* 5, 47–55, pls. i–iii.

Guy, P. L. O., 1931. *New Light from Armageddon: Second Provisional Report (1927–29) on the Excavations at Megiddo in Palestine*, Oriental Institute Communications No. 9, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Guy, P. L. O., 1932. 'Balloon photography and archaeological excavation', *Antiquity* 6, 148–155.

Guy, P. L. O., 1937. 'British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem', [Report by] Mr P. L. O. Guy, Director of the School, *PEQ* 69, 19–30.

Guy, P. L. O. (with contributions by R. M. Engberg), 1938a. *Megiddo Tombs*, Oriental Institute Publications no. 33, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Guy, P. L. O., 1938b. 'British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, Report for the Season 1936–7, Director's Report, 1936–7', *PEQ* 70/1, 11–17.

Guy, P. L. O., 1951. 'Bet Yeraḥ, excavations in 1950', *Bulletin of the Department of Antiquities of the State of Israel ('Alon)* 3, 32–33 (Hebrew).

Guy, P. L. O., 1954. 'Archaeological evidence of soil erosion and sedimentation in Wadi Musrara', *IEJ* 4, 77–87.

Guy, P. L. O., 1957. 'Ayyelet ha-Shaḥar, excavations in 1950', *Bulletin of the Department of Antiquities of the State of Israel ('Alon)* 5/6, 19–20 (Hebrew).

Harrison, T. P., 2004. *Megiddo 3: Final Report on the Stratum VI Excavations*, Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

Herr, L. G., 1988. 'Tripartite pillared buildings and the market place in Iron Age Palestine', *BASOR* 272, 47–67.

Hogarth, D. G., Campbell Thompson, R., Woolley, C. L., Lawrence, T. E., Guy, P. L. O., and Reitlinger, H., 1952. *Carchemish: Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on behalf of the British Museum. Part III: the Excavations in the Inner Town*, London: British Museum Press.

Holladay, J. S., 1986. 'The stables of ancient Israel', in L. T. Geraty and L. G. Herr (eds), *The Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies*, Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 103–165.

Isserlin, B. S. J., 1950. 'Some archaeological news from Israel', *PEQ* 82, 92–101.

Kalkas, B., 1987 [1971]. 'The revolt of 1936: a chronicle of events', in I. Abu-Loghod (ed.), *The Transformation of Palestine* (2nd edn), Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 237–274.

Kapitan, T., 1999. *Archaeology, History and Culture in Palestine and the Near East: Essays in Memory of Albert E. Glock*, Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.

Kaplan, J., 1972. 'The archaeology and history of Tel Aviv-Jaffa', *BA* 35, 65–95.

Kindler, A., 1954. 'The Jaffa Hoard of Alexander Jannaeus', *IEJ* 4, 170–185.

Kirk, G. E., 1938a. 'Archaeological exploration in the Southern Desert', *PEQ* 70, 211–235.

Kirk, G. E., 1938b. 'Three Greek inscriptions from the Southern Desert', *PEQ* 70, 236–239.

Klausner, J. G., 1971. 'Ben-Yehuda, Eliezer', in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 4, Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 564–570.

Kletter, R., 2006. *Just Past? The Making of Israeli Archaeology*, London: Equinox and Oakville.

Lamon, R. and Shipton, G. M., 1939. *Megiddo I. Seasons of 1925–1934*, Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Lipschitz, O., 1990. 'The date of the "Assyrian Residence" at Ayyelet Ha-Shaḥar'. *TA* 17, 96–99.

Loud, G., 1948. *Megiddo 2. Seasons of 1935–1939*, Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Mazar, A., 1988. 'Israeli archaeologists', in J. F. Drinkard, G. L. Mattingly, and J. Maxwell Miller (eds), *Benchmarks in Time and Culture: Essays in Honor of Joseph A. Callaway*, Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 109–128.

Mazar, A., 1997. 'Iron Age chronology: a reply to I. Finkelstein', *Levant* 29, 157–167.

Milson, D., 2006. *Art and Architecture of the Synagogue in Late Antique Palestine: in the Shadow of the Church*, Leiden: Brill.

Moorey, P. R. S., 1991. *A Century of Biblical Archaeology*, Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press.

Peet, T. E. and Woolley, C. L., 1923. *The City of Akhenaten. Part I: Excavations of 1921 and 1922 at El-'Amarneh*, London: Egypt Exploration Society.

Petersen, A., 2001. *A Gazetteer of Medieval and Ottoman Buildings in Muslim Palestine (Part 1)*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Peilstöcker, M., 2007. Urban Archaeology in Yafo (Jaffa): Preliminary Planning for Excavations and Research of a Mediterranean City, *PEQ* 139, 149–165.

Pritchard, J. B., 1970. 'The Megiddo stables: a reassessment', in J. A. Sandars (ed.) *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 268–276.

Reader's Digest (eds), 1974. *Great Peoples of the Bible and How they Lived*, New York: Reader's Digest.

Reich, R., 1975. 'The Persian building at Ayyelet Ha-Shaḥar', *IEJ* 25, 233–237.

Reich, R., 1993. 'The Bet Yeraḥ "synagogue" reconsidered', *'Atiqot* XXII, 138–143.

Schreiber, N., 2003. *The Cypro-Phoenician Pottery of the Iron Age*, Boston, MA: Brill.

Segev, T., 2000. *One Palestine, Complete: Jews and Arabs under the British Mandate*, London: Abacus.

Shavit, Y., 1997. 'Archaeology, political culture, and culture in Israel', in N. Silberman and D. Small (eds), *The Archaeology of Israel — Constructing the Past, Interpreting the Present*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 48–61.

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

Silberman, N. A., 1993. 'Visions of the future: Albright in Jerusalem, 1919–1929', *BA* 56, 8–16.

Silberman, N. A., 1995a. 'Promised lands and chosen peoples: the politics and poetics of archaeological narrative', in P. L. Kohl and C. Fawcett (eds), *Nationalism, Politics, and the Practice of Archaeology*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 249–262.

Silberman, N. A., 1995b. 'Power, politics and the past: the social construction of antiquity in the Holy Land', in T. E. Levy (ed.), *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*, Leicester: Leicester University Press, 9–23.

Stern, E., 1982. *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period, 538–332 BC*, Warminster: Aris and Phillips.

Tal, O. and Fantalkin, A., 2005. 'The Iron Age fortress at Tel Qudadi.' Website of the Israel Antiquities Authority: www.antiquities.org.il/ listed under 'Articles' and 'Study Days: Excavations and Studies in the Central Region Area for the year 2005' (last accessed 6/4/2008).

Ussishkin, D., 1966. 'King Solomon's palace and building 1723 in Megiddo', *IEJ* 16, 174–186.

Whitcomb, D., 2002. 'Khirbet al-Karak identified with Sinnabra', *Al-'Usur Al Wusta: The Bulletin of Middle East Medievalists* 14, 1–6.

Wightman, G. J., 1990. 'The myth of Solomon', *BASOR* 277/278, 5–22.

Woolley, C. L., Lawrence, T. E. and Guy, P. L. O., 1921. *Carchemish: Report on the Excavations at Jerablus on behalf of the British Museum. Part II: The Town Defences*, London: Trustees of the British Museum.

Yadin, Y., 1970. 'Megiddo of the Kings of Israel', *BA* 33, 66–96.

Yeivin, S., 1955. 'Archaeology in Israel (November 1951–January 1953)', *AJA* 59, 163–167.

Obituaries and bibliographical entries

Anon., 1952. 'Lieut.-Col. P. L. O. Guy. Archaeology in Israel', *The Times*, Obituaries, Issue 52493, 10, 12 December 1952.

Anon., 1955. 'In memoriam. P. L. O. Guy', *'Atiqot* 1, 140 (English Series).

Anon., 1984. 'Guy, Lt.-Col. Philip Langstaffe Ord', in *Who Was Who, 1951–1960*, vol. V, 4th edn, London: Adam & Charles Black, 465.

Avi-Yonah, M., 1953. 'In memoriam. P. L. O. Guy', *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* 17, 84–85 (Hebrew).

The Board of Editors, 1953. 'P. L. O. Guy — In memoriam', *IEJ* 3, 1–3.

Hooke, S. H. 1953. 'Obituaries', *PEQ* 85, 5–6.

Israel Department of Antiquities, 1957. *In Memoriam. P. L. O. Guy (1885–1952)*, Jerusalem: Department of Antiquities.