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# 1

## Scripting Spadework

October 2016. Various news outlets report that archaeology is one of 20 subjects to be removed from the lists of the last examination board in Britain to offer it. The reasons: that it is too specialised to be examined and graded in the time period allotted and that not enough students take the option. There is an immediate backlash from the archaeological community. Agonised statements are later published from celebrities Tony Robinson, host of the popular archaeology TV show *Time Team*, and classicist and broadcaster Professor Mary Beard.<sup>1</sup> A petition circulates to debate the matter in Parliament; it accumulates over 13,000 signatures. Only 10,000 are needed to make the debate a reality, so in December 2016 it is held in a House of Commons meeting room. Member of Parliament Tim Loughton, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and co-chair of the All Party Parliamentary Archaeology Group, stands up to deliver a speech in defence of Archaeology. Among the many positive attributes of archaeology he highlights in his statement is its impact on the creative arts: ‘the stories, films’; the fascination of the adventures and discoveries of Howard Carter in the Valley of the Kings, Leonard Woolley at Ur, Hiram Bingham at Macchu Picchu.<sup>2</sup> All men, all working outside their countries of origin during the early twentieth century. Loughton’s speech reflects the emotive nature of archaeology and its history, as well as the continuing role of this history in how we understand archaeology and archaeologists today. How is it that in the twenty-first century the legacies of early twentieth-century archaeologists are still being evoked to represent archaeology’s cultural value?

There is one answer to this question. Those historic archaeologists, still so relevant today, cultivated personal visibility. They were committed to bringing the results of their research to the attention of the wider public, where it was – and continues to be – boiled down and built up, cut and recast.<sup>3</sup> In other words, they were adept at ‘scripting spadework’.

These archaeological authors are a bridge between the ‘gentlemanly’ model of research of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries, and what has recently been identified as publishers’ commercialisation of academic research after the Second World War.<sup>4</sup> This book highlights late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century archaeologist-authors as commerce-minded, working in collaboration with commercial publishers, in opposition to the now prevailing idea of humanities academics largely operating within a non-commercial context. It reveals the history of these archaeologists in public, exploring how they scripted spade-work, fashioning and curating depictions of archaeological activities and experiences. These images were produced and reproduced in newspaper reports, exhibitions, lectures, radio broadcasts and – the main focus of this book – in books.

Investigating scripting spade-work is necessarily a historical endeavour. The term ‘spade-work’ was often used as a byword for archaeology in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; it served as the title of archaeologist Leonard Woolley’s 1953 memoir, dedicated to his chief foreman Mohammed Ibn Sheikh Ibrahim, known as Hamoudi, his ‘lifelong helper and friend’.<sup>5</sup> In its allusion to a ubiquitous garden tool, ‘spade-work’ signals the outdoor physicality of digging, with the products of this spade-work being not (necessarily) botanical but material evidence of the past. No wonder, then, that in his introduction to *Spade-work* Woolley sought to emphasise archaeology as a living ‘science’, to highlight ‘the all-roundedness’ of the archaeological experience.<sup>6</sup> Scripting, with its dramatic, theatrical, Hollywood overtones, references the overt creation of a representation for commercial purposes – an active, continual process of literary performance. Thus the scripting of ‘spade-work’ – its technologies and knowledges, its foreignness, its seasonality, its seriality, even its illustrations and maps – made it a successful commercial vehicle. Various spade-work personas – the wanderer, the student, the antiquary, the photographer, the linguist, the excavator and even the spy – are stock characters performing on the page.

Here I chart the construction, production, distribution and reception of these books. I explore how archaeologist-authors sought to shape through print the public perception of the human past and present, the methods for obtaining that knowledge and the people who sought it. I also examine the range of archaeological experiences and how these fit into diverse genres, from memoirs and guidebooks to popular histories, children’s books and fiction. The cultural perception of archaeologists today stems directly from how these late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century archaeologists framed themselves, and

consequently were framed, during and after their lifetimes.<sup>7</sup> This perception emphasises the archaeologist as a free-spirited international traveller, adaptable, adventurous and scientific, but at times threateningly, dangerously exotic and semi-foreign (even quasi-anarchistic). Here is a person attuned to the whisperings of a past long since gone, yet possessing a skilled and practical knowledge of contemporary societies and cultures that can be harnessed when necessary.<sup>8</sup>

*Archaeologists in Print* will not analyse the archaeological content of the books referenced for accuracy, nor examine in detail the evolution and reception of archaeological theories and ideas in wider culture.<sup>9</sup> Rather it considers the ways in which archaeologists captured and promoted archaeological life and work, scripting spadework, sketching themselves in words. In taking more of what Amanda Wrigley has termed an ‘in the round’ approach, it also illuminates the wider contexts of promotion, consumption and reception that enabled the scripts to become public.<sup>10</sup> The cyclical nature of archaeology at this period, its excavation seasons, lent itself well to popular publication. To the Amalgamated Press’s influential editor John Alexander Hammerton it was ‘a perpetually continuing and perennially interesting serial story’.<sup>11</sup> For commercial publishers archaeology was a renewable resource, the gift that kept on giving.

These historic archaeologists have endured because of a process of literary memorialisation that began in the early twentieth century. A. & C. Black first published *The Story of the Pharaohs*, the Rev. James Baikie’s popular history of Egyptian archaeology, in 1908, bringing the scientific discoveries of then-active archaeologists such as Flinders Petrie, Gaston Maspero and James Henry Breasted to ‘the general reader’.<sup>12</sup> Two years later Baikie’s *The Sea-Kings of Crete* drew on and credited Heinrich Schliemann’s excavations at Hissarlik (ancient Troy) and Arthur Evans’s continuing excavations of the palace complex at Knossos on Crete.<sup>13</sup> Over the following two decades Baikie wrote a series of short, clothbound popular archaeologies for ‘young men and maidens’ called ‘Peeps at Ancient Civilisations’; these began with Egypt and eventually covered Assyria, Crete, Rome, Palestine, Jerusalem and Greece. The ‘Peeps’ sold at 2 shillings and sixpence and featured dramatic, interpretive colour illustrations alongside images of excavated sites and artefacts.<sup>14</sup> They also briefly referenced key archaeologists. But it was after the spectacular discovery of Tutankhamun’s tomb in late 1922 that the appeal of ‘the archaeologist’ had a significant boost. Three of Baikie’s books during this period focused specifically on excavators and excavation: *A Century*

of *Excavation in the Land of the Pharaohs* (1924), *Egyptian Papyri and Papyrus Hunting* (1925) and *The Glamour of Near Eastern Excavation* (1927). In the last of these Baikie emphasised the contemporary allure of the archaeologist:

There is no more romantic story than that of the resurrection of the great historic past which has been and is being accomplished by the excavators of the present ... stress all through [the book] has been laid upon the excavator's methods, constantly developing and improving in refinement, his adventures, his triumphs and his disappointments ...<sup>15</sup>

After the end of the Second World War other popularisers followed. Under the pen name 'C. W. Ceram', German journalist Kurt Marek wrote a number of archaeology books. The most famous of these, *Gotter, Gräber und Gelehrte* ('Gods, Graves and Scholars'), was first published in Hamburg in 1949. Over the following decades it became an international bestseller, available in over 20 languages and read by millions of people.<sup>16</sup> The many popular histories of the 1950s BBC journalist Leonard Cottrell, sold in paperback through Pan Books, retold the exploits of archaeologists such as Evans on Knossos (*The Bull of Minos, The Lion Gate*), Carter and Tut's tomb (*The Lost Pharaohs*), Leonard Woolley at Ur (*The Land of Shinar*). Cottrell's *Digs and Diggers* re-emphasised the role of the romantic, adventurous (travelling) excavator. These were collective and selective biographies and histories, the excavators examined within the context of key sites and discoveries. Subsequently in the 1970s and 1980s journalist Harry Victor Frederick Winstone began publishing biographies and histories of exploration (and intelligence gathering) in the Middle East, commencing with a biography of Gertrude Bell in 1978, and following that with *The Illicit Adventure*. The latter, an overview of intelligence activities in the First World War, featured (among others) the exploits of archaeologists Thomas Edward Lawrence, David George Hogarth, Gertrude Bell, Reginald Campbell Thompson and Leonard Woolley. Winstone later published stand-alone biographies of Leonard Woolley (1990) and Howard Carter (1991).<sup>17</sup>

Underlying all these popular histories and biographies are the publications that archaeologists produced about themselves, and the initial response to these publications and the lives and work captured in them. The essence of these stories of romance, adventure and danger on and off site have been distilled in popular fiction by countless authors – from Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and M. R. James in the late

nineteenth century to Elizabeth Peters in the late twentieth. I wanted to explore the wider landscape of archaeological publications – to see how archaeologists crafted their own image in print for non-scholarly audiences. Was it as romantic and adventurous as the popular histories and novels depicted? The short answer is yes. The longer answer is that it is a rich, diverse history, detailed in the following pages. It is a progression from what Debbie Challis has charted as the mid nineteenth-century archaeologist as heroic adventurer/traveller to the archaeologist as interpreter-moderator, losing none of the adventure and maintaining (if not enhancing) the romance and exotic allure through extended and serial contact with the East.<sup>18</sup>

## Developing scripting spadework

*Archaeologists in Print* is based on my British Academy-funded research project ‘Popular Publishing and the Construction of a British Archaeological Identity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries’. I began this research with the British archaeological network that I had examined during my PhD: those people who spent time exploring, excavating, researching, preserving and exhibiting the archaeology of the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East.<sup>19</sup> My definition of archaeologist here is deliberately loose (albeit confined to the British) – anyone studying or operating within archaeological contexts or working with remains of the human past. I chose to investigate the diversity of archaeological experience as part of that archaeological identity, rather than assessing apparent expertise solely through the accumulation of academic qualifications: this was a time when degrees in archaeology were not the norm, and those working in archaeological contexts had varied routes into (and sometimes out of) the developing discipline.<sup>20</sup> As Margarita Diaz-Andreu and Mary Louise Stig Sørensen have argued, ‘histories of archaeology have been written with total disregard for the various structures through which archaeological knowledge is disseminated’; excluding popular publishing from this history effectively renders a significant number of archaeology’s historical contributors invisible.<sup>21</sup>

There was, and still is, a strong ‘amateur’ element in archaeology.<sup>22</sup> Many of the best-known British excavators of the early twentieth century – Evans, Hogarth, Carter, Woolley – did not have permanent positions in university departments. They worked under the aegis of excavation societies, antiquities departments, funds, private patrons and museums. Flinders Petrie, who did (eventually) obtain a permanent

position at University College London, effectively spent the preceding 20 years as a freelance excavator. Once he had obtained a secure post, Petrie remained open to those who had ‘real-world’ experience. In 1926, for example, he wrote to one hopeful prospective archaeologist that his experience in business, which entailed working with other people, was more suited than ‘academic training’ to archaeological work.<sup>23</sup> Equally, specialist knowledge and skill sets were highly valued. Several well-known archaeologists began life as architects, employed on sites specifically to draw plans, survey landscapes, interpret ancient architectural remains and (on a more practical level) construct site buildings. A number of artists (including Howard Carter and Annie Pirie Quibell) spent their professional careers devoted to archaeological illustration, excavation and interpretation.

All of the archaeological authors profiled in this book were affiliated either formally or informally with emerging research centres for archaeology in the UK and abroad – learned societies such as the Egypt Exploration Fund, British Schools of archaeology in key international cities, the British Museum and the Universities – principally University College in London and the Universities of Liverpool, Oxford and Cambridge. Although the popular histories of Baikie, Cottrell and Ceram might lead readers to believe that the landscape of romantic, adventurous archaeological discovery is almost entirely peopled by men, this was – and is – emphatically not the case.

Histories of women in archaeology continue to focus mainly on those excavating in the field and developing reputations within the academy. In relation to popular publishing, however, women with archaeological experience established a public presence through travels, lectures and tours that spurred their scripting of spadework.<sup>24</sup> Marriage could also provide a useful boost to maintaining a successful public career. A number of women involved in archaeology before marriage, such as Annie Pirie Quibell and Agnes Conway Horsfield, continued to work in archaeology (with archaeological spouses) after it.<sup>25</sup> Others, such as Ellen Bosanquet and Mary Gardner, were able to access an archaeological network on marriage to an archaeologist-spouse – a network that they turned to their own advantage in publishing terms. Still others, including Jane Harrison, Mary Brodrick and Mary Chubb, successfully navigated the choppy waters of personal professional development within or outside the academy without spousal support.

Women studied, lectured, excavated, travelled, researched and published alongside their male peers. Archaeology was seen from the late nineteenth century as a viable opportunity for British women, a

situation that Margaret Cool Root has evaluated as part of a wider phenomenon of a crisis of singledom among the British female population.<sup>26</sup> *The Englishwoman's Year-Book and Directory* provided information on educational institutions offering courses open to women. This included professional development for women, particularly lecturing both independently and as part of the university extension movement – opportunities taken up by some of the women discussed in this book. The *Year-Book* included archaeology in its list of 'Lectures and Classes in London' from the 1880s, and provided tips for women travelling abroad.<sup>27</sup> In addition its editor aimed to 'arouse Englishwomen to a sense of their own powers' by celebrating distinguished women who had made a name for themselves in disciplines and professions.<sup>28</sup>

The *Year-Book* for 1900, for example, listed the names and addresses of these distinguished individuals. Included among the champions of the suffrage movement, actresses, writers and artists are some women active in archaeology: Jane Harrison, Maria Millington Lathbury Evans, Mary Brodrick.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, the *Year-Book's* 'Notes on Women's Work in Science' reveal women giving lectures at various institutions on archaeological topics. Its 'Literature' section listed women's publications, and works on archaeology and archaeological travel can be found there too.<sup>30</sup> The women authors featured were interested in cultivating female audiences for their work, and in providing information of use, relevance and interest to other women as active engaged readers, students and tourists. Most of these women dropped fairly quickly out of the historical record, perhaps, as Stig Sørensen suggests, because increasing professionalism brought increasing masculinisation. This 'erasure', as Root describes it, is due to increased attention to specific forms of visibility, and in the post-suffrage, post-Second World War era to a decrease in a perceived need for visible women role models – *The Englishwoman's Year-Book and Directory*, for example, ceased publication in 1916.<sup>31</sup> Their male counterparts, in contrast, had a longer lasting legacy.

As scholars and authors men were more broadly visible during their lifetimes, even to the point of caricature. In 1910 *Punch* lampooned the *Who's Who* entry for the British Museum Keeper of Oriental Antiquities, Wallis Budge, which included all his publications but none of his pastimes. A year later, Budge was included in *Punch's* humorous guide to the Museum, as one of its public facing curiosities.<sup>32</sup> Flinders Petrie was referenced in *Punch* issues between the 1890s and 1930s. One 1904 *Punch* piece dubbed Petrie's exhibition in London 'the Flindereries', highlighting (through satire) the power of his name in the public presentation of the past.<sup>33</sup> Leonard Woolley's *Ur of the Chaldees* (1929), which chronicled his



excavations at this ancient site in Iraq, was also the subject of a *Punch* parody, as were his Ur radio broadcasts. In 1930 *Punch* published a poetic imagining of a scene in antiquity, based on Woolley's discoveries in the Royal Tomb at Ur; the scene ends with the imagined excavator reaching out to touch the remnants of the ancient world.<sup>34</sup> The archaeologist as what P. David Marshall has called a 'celebrity-commodity' fed into their commercial viability as authors, giving them authority when dealing with publishers in contract negotiations and marketing.<sup>35</sup> It also fed into their publication strategies through the production of memoirs and autobiographical works, shaping popular perceptions and ensuring their own future visibility (at least, for some).

In order to structure the research presented here, I made a list of over 50 British archaeologists active during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and then used a combination of internet searches and library listings to construct bibliographies for each of them.<sup>36</sup> The bibliographies revealed the range of publishing houses accepting and producing archaeological material. My focus was on solo-authored books issued by 'trade' publishing houses rather than academic (university) presses. This focus revealed over 70 firms that published archaeologists' books aimed at non-scholarly readers in one form or another. The firms were mostly, though not exclusively, London-based, and consisted of what the *Writers' and Artists' Year Book* mainly classified as 'general' or 'general and educational' publishers.<sup>37</sup> These firms represent a diversity of interests, from 'trade' publishers large and small, long-lived and short-lived, to publishers with an overtly ideological remit such as the Religious Tract Society and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.<sup>38</sup>

Looking across the bibliographies that I had compiled, some trends began to emerge. A few publishing houses stood out for the number of books published by archaeologists on archaeological topics. Series produced by the Religious Tract Society and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, for instance, enabled archaeologists to reach readers interested in the Bible and the lands and peoples described therein. Macmillan's 'Handbooks on Archaeology and Antiquities' provided a similar venue for classical archaeologists to reach those who were familiar with and interested in the classical world. Kegan Paul's 'Books on Egypt and Chaldea' series was particularly popular with British Museum curators Wallis Budge and Leonard William King. The house of Algernon Methuen published books in various genres, including travel, popular histories and overviews, and books of reference, by authors including Flinders Petrie, Wallis Budge, Arthur Weigall, Annie Quibell,

Ellen Bosanquet, Mary Brodrick and Harry Hall. Some archaeologists remained with a few regular publishers: Mary Brodrick's main publisher was John Murray, while all of Mary Chubb's books were published by Geoffrey Bles. Other archaeologists had a wider scope. David George Hogarth published with John Murray, Lawrence and Bullen, William Heinemann, Williams & Norgate and Macmillan. Arthur Weigall began publishing with William Blackwood & Sons before the First World War, but afterwards published both novels and nonfiction with Hodder & Stoughton, Hutchinson & Co, T. Fisher Unwin and Thornton Butterworth. Wallis Budge published with Thomas Cook & Sons, Chatto & Windus, J. M. Dent & Co, Gowans & Gray, Kegan Paul, Martin Hopkinson, the Medici Society, Methuen, John Murray and the Religious Tract Society.

The nineteenth century was a period of immense growth for publishing endeavours, enabling an ever increasing number of readers in Britain and beyond to access literary material.<sup>39</sup> Leslie Howsam has shown that in this period the boundaries between 'scientific' and 'popular' could be fluid, demonstrating the active role of publishers in maintaining that fluidity. Peter Bowler, among others, has noted that there are several ways to interpret 'popularity'.<sup>40</sup> There are the intentions of the authors themselves. The prefaces and introductions to the works featured here demonstrate that archaeologists had specific audiences in mind. Often 'students' were identified as the prospective readers; sometimes archaeologist-authors addressed 'the man on the street' or the 'general reader'. Texts could also be 'popular', 'handy' or 'less technical'. Some identified a specific need or 'demand' that the book would be meeting.

A survey of prices for the books I identified revealed a wide range. Simon Eliot's 1994 study of book pricing sets out three main price categories for books produced between the 1840s and 1915: low (1 pence (d) to 3 shillings (s) and 6d); medium (3s 7d to 10s) and high (10s 1d and above).<sup>41</sup> Archaeologists publishing volumes in the Religious Tract Society's 'By Paths of Bible Knowledge' series in the 1880s and 1890s saw their books being retailed for between 2s and 3s each, whereas the books of Wallis Budge and Leonard King for Kegan Paul in the 1890s, aimed at beginners in ancient languages, retailed for 15s apiece. Once Kegan Paul began publishing the 'Books on Egypt and Chaldea' series in the 1890s and early 1900s, introductory language texts became available for 3s 6d each. Macmillan's 'Handbooks of Archaeology and Antiquities', also published from the 1890s, sold from 5s. Books of travel and memoir, such as David George Hogarth's *Wandering Scholar in the Levant* (1896), Ellen Bosanquet's *Days in Attica* (1914) or Agnes Conway's *A Ride Through the Balkans* (1917), also fell in this middle price range, retailing for between

5s and 7s 6d. After the war, archaeologists publishing in Benn's Sixpenny Library and in Penguin's Pelican imprint saw retail prices for their work placed firmly in the low price range, ensuring they would be within the purchasing power of readers with lower incomes and less money to spend on leisure reading. Leonard Woolley's *Ur of the Chaldees*, published in 1930 by Ernest Benn and retailing for 7s, was republished by Penguin as one of the first 10 Pelican titles in 1937, retailing for 6d. Arthur Weigall's *Life and Times of Akhnaton*, originally published by William Blackwood in 1911 and retailing at 10s 6d, was in the 1930s republished in Thornton Butterworth's Keystone Library, priced at 5s.

Some of the books archaeologists produced contained chapters based on articles previously published in newspapers and periodicals, meaning that a version of some texts would have been available in less expensive formats. Gertrude Bell's 1911 travelogue *Amurath to Amurath*, retailing for 16s on publication, for example, was partly based on articles previously published in *The Times*, the *Quarterly Review* and *Blackwood's Magazine*. David George Hogarth's *Accidents of an Antiquary's Life* (1910) used parts of pieces previously published in *Monthly*, *Cornhill* and *Macmillan* magazines. Arthur Weigall's *History of Events in Egypt* was formed from his writings published in *Fortnightly Review* and *Blackwood's Magazine*, while his biography of Akhenaten used other pieces from *Quarterly Review*, *Blackwood's* and *Century* magazines.

There were some surprises in this research. Arthur Evans, celebrated in later popular histories for his excavations at Knossos, published relatively little in book form on his Knossos excavations for a general readership, though he did contribute articles on the work to *The Times*.<sup>42</sup> Over 20 years after the excavations had initially begun, Macmillan & Co published Evans's multi-volume analysis of the Knossos excavations, *The Palace of Minos*, starting in 1921; it retailed for a whopping £6 6s per volume.<sup>43</sup> However, Evans himself was aware of the need to publish Knossos for a wider audience. Correspondence in the Macmillan archive shows that he granted permission for a plan of Knossos to be included in Macmillan's *Guide to Greece* (1908), which also contained his revisions to the text on Knossos.<sup>44</sup>

In the years leading up to the First World War Evans continued to feel pressure to publish a 'popular' book on the Knossos discoveries and the history of the site. He suggested to Macmillan that an 'Album of the discoveries of Knossos' be produced – partly also, he claimed, to undercut local photographers who were secretly taking and selling photographs of the excavated site.<sup>45</sup> In the end, other authors contributed to the popular publishing of Knossos. James Baikie's *Sea-Kings of Crete* (1910), retailing

for 7s 6d, included a detailed, pull-out plan of the Knossos Palace that Evans was excavating, as well as a bibliography with references to Evans's scholarly publications on Knossos and the Minoans. The archaeologist John Pendlebury, the curator of Knossos, eventually met Evans's desire for a popular guide to the site in 1933. As he put it, 'the fortunate possessors of the *Palace of Minos* have hesitated before hiring the pack animal necessary for the transport of that monumental work round the site'.<sup>46</sup>

The archaeologist John Linton Myres commented that after the discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb in late 1922 newspapers realised that stories on archaeology made 'good copy'.<sup>47</sup> Howard Carter's *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen* was published by Cassell & Co, the first of three volumes appearing in 1923, at the close of the first full season's excavation. Subsequent volumes appeared in 1927 and 1931; each was heavily illustrated, with Carter's text giving a first-person, sequential account of the discoveries. The volumes were fairly expensive, priced at 31s for the first two volumes and 18s for the final one. However, Carter's discoveries instigated a surge in archaeological publishing as his colleagues quickly produced a range of studies on archaeology and Egyptology, along with histories of Tutankhamun and his family, to meet a perceived public thirst for more information.

Arthur Weigall's books *Tutankhamen and Other Essays* and *Glory of the Pharaohs* were both published in 1923 to meet renewed and increased interest in Egyptian archaeology. He followed these five years later with *Flights into Antiquity*, in which he used the popularity of archaeology in the wake of Tut to '[extend] the range of the general reader's travels in the huge field of Antiquity'.<sup>48</sup> Egyptologist and anatomist Grafton Elliot Smith's *Tutankhamen and the discovery of his tomb* (Kegan Paul, 1923) republished in book form his Tut articles for the *Daily Telegraph*. Wallis Budge's *Tutankhamen Amenism, Atenism and Egyptian Monotheism* for Macmillan (1923) was a popular guide to Tut facts and an overview of Tut-related religious groups. At the time of the discovery of Tutankhamen's tomb, Annie Quibell's *Egyptian History and Art* (1923) was too far along in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge's production process to do more than allude to its significance. As she put it, 'This tomb has aroused such extraordinary interest that I regret very much the impossibility of giving any detailed descriptions of the objects'.<sup>49</sup> The following year Lina Eckenstein's *Tutankh-aten: A Story of the Past* for Jonathan Cape presented a semi-fictional view of 'the conditions of life and the trend of thought at the period which witnessed the construction of [Tut's] tomb'.<sup>50</sup>

The Tut phenomenon also highlights the ephemeral nature of archaeology, a phenomenon that Donald Reid has explored in an analysis of Tut reporting in *The Times*.<sup>51</sup> Archaeology is fleeting, with old interpretations discarded as new ones are created; artefacts once excavated are separated from their original context; sites, once excavation is begun, are transformed; tour routes and stops once popular are later abandoned or avoided with changing political and economic circumstances.<sup>52</sup> In assessing scripting spadework, *Archaeologists in Print* charts that ephemerality, and in so doing illustrates the value of some items that are themselves part of the ephemera canon – newspapers, illustrated magazines, serials, guidebooks and other ‘ephemera of empire’.<sup>53</sup> Ephemera has also been a useful tool for evaluating scripting spadework – book labels, library issue stamps, publishers’ lists and catalogues, dust jackets and travel accoutrements all have value to understanding archaeology’s promotion, popularity and readership.<sup>54</sup>

## A wider context

As many scholars have noted, the British Empire should not be considered a static, monolithic, bounded entity, but rather a constantly evolving one. During the period covered in this book the Empire was embedded in daily experience and popular imagination, both in Britain and in ‘Greater Britain’ – its imperial zone.<sup>55</sup> This book deals directly with developments at the intersection of two empires, British and Ottoman, bringing several countries and their inhabitants into the British sphere of what Christina Riggs has called “‘our’ exotic’.<sup>56</sup> These developments had a major impact on archaeologists because of the international, regional and local systems (economic, political and social) critical to enabling excavations and explorations to be conducted and collections, knowledge and experience to be garnered, exported and shared.

In the 1870s, where this book begins, the British Empire was concentrated mainly though not exclusively in the Americas, ‘Australasia’, in Africa and India; in the last a form of British rule (the ‘Raj’) had been established after the 1857 rebellion of Indian sepoys at Lucknow and other sites associated with the British East India Company.<sup>57</sup> Over the course of the next century British possessions increased through occupations, wars and treaties, only to decrease again as former colonies, protectorates and mandated territories gained independence. Many of the countries relevant for this book – Egypt, Sudan, Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq – were

under British administration in one form or another for at least part of this period.

For example, Egypt had been an independently ruled part of the Ottoman Empire from the 1820s; the Egyptian *khedives* in Cairo were autonomous from the Ottoman sultans based in Constantinople. In the 1860s British investment, in addition to French, helped to push development of a canal in Egypt's Suez area connecting the Mediterranean and Red Seas, enabling ships to pass through Egypt en route to India. The Suez Canal opened in 1869 to great fanfare in the British press; just over a decade later, in 1882, British forces occupied Egypt in an effort to quash a nationalist revolt, establishing a shadow-hold over the Egyptian government. A British civil service infrastructure was put in place and the British Consul-General in Egypt gained significant authority over government matters.<sup>58</sup>

Following Egyptian conquest in the 1820s, Sudan was occupied Egyptian territory until revolts under a religious leader, the Mahdi Muhammad Ahmad, commenced in the early 1880s. A joint Anglo-Egyptian force was sent to fight against the Mahdi's army, with the resulting siege in Khartoum leading to the dramatic and much publicised death of General Charles Gordon. During the 1880s and 1890s the Anglo-Egyptian army continued to fight against the Madhi and his successor, the Khalifa, Abdullah al Taaishi (as well as French forces, hoping to gain control over territory in Sudan), until a battle at the Sudanese city of Omdurman saw the Khalifa defeated and control of Sudan pass equally to Britain and British-occupied Egypt under a treaty (Condominium) in 1899. A British-controlled government was established, based in Khartoum.<sup>59</sup> Egypt remained an occupied country until the end of 1914, when it was annexed as a British protectorate as a wartime measure. It gained nominal independence from Britain in 1922, but Sudan remained British-controlled until its independence in 1956.

The Ottoman Empire extended across a significant portion of the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East until the early twentieth century. It encompassed a wide range of peoples with various traditions, ethnicities and religions, all existing within an Ottoman Turkish Islamic administrative system. In contemporary British cartography and reference the Ottoman Empire was divided into two main parts: Turkey in Europe and Turkey in Asia. Turkey in Europe extended across much of the southeastern half of the geographical region known as the Balkans, and included the mainland Europe portion of modern Turkey. Turkey in Asia encompassed the region known as Asia Minor or Anatolia, as well as

the *vilayets* (Ottoman administrative region) in Syria (modern Syria and Lebanon), Palestine (modern Israel and the Palestinian Territories and Jordan) and Mesopotamia (modern Iraq). A portion of modern mainland Greece and the nearby Cyclades islands had gained its independence in 1829, and its borders extended with subsequent wars and treaties.

War between Russia and the Ottoman Empire erupted in 1877; following the Congress in Berlin a year later, the Ottoman Empire lost much territory. The island of Cyprus, which had been part of Greece, was ceded to Britain in 1878 and remained under British administration until 1960. The island of Crete was under Ottoman control until the late nineteenth century, after which it came temporarily under the administration of the Great Powers before being incorporated into Greece in the early twentieth century. The borders of the Ottoman Empire shifted again (first reduced, then slightly increased) with the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913. Following the outbreak of war in 1914, Ottoman forces allied with the Central Powers (Germany and Austria-Hungary) against the Allies (Britain, France, Italy and the United States).

Allied troops were duly sent across the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire to fight the Central Powers in a series of theatres and campaigns. Soldiers stationed in these ancient landscapes consumed information about archaeology, and several British archaeologists served in military intelligence operations in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East. At the end of the conflict the Ottoman Empire was no more – modern Turkey was born, and former Ottoman Empire territories in the Middle East parcelled out among the victors. Britain was granted Mandatory powers from the newly created League of Nations to ‘assist’ in the administration of Palestine, Transjordan and Iraq.<sup>60</sup>

The Ottoman Empire had come into conflict with the interests of the European Great Powers (Britain, France, Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Hapsburg Empire and Russia) in the nineteenth century, as the Great Powers exercised themselves in the interests of non-Muslim communities, the ‘Eastern Question’, supporting the creation of individual nation states in the Balkans. The Great Powers were also heavily involved in the finance and infrastructural development in the emerging Balkan states and Ottoman Empire; banking, steamships and railways, as part of these developments, were all vital for travel, tourism and archaeology. Spiralling debts in the Ottoman Empire during the mid-nineteenth century led to the Great Powers having an increasingly powerful role within the Empire.<sup>61</sup>

Britain had by this point long-standing commercial interests in the Balkans through its Levant Company, which had been trading with

the Ottoman Empire for several centuries. In 1825 the Levant Company was taken over by the Foreign Office, and in the years that followed the Eastern Mediterranean region became increasingly important to British strategies to protect routes to India. British consular offices had long been established in important cities throughout the Ottoman Empire, including Salonika (Thessaloniki), Constantinople (Istanbul), Smyrna (Izmir), Alexandria and Aleppo (in Baghdad a British Residency was affiliated with the East India Company). These evolved further in the nineteenth century. As Lucia Gunning has shown, these offices – and the consuls, vice-consuls, consular agents and other staff working in them – played an important role in facilitating archaeological exploration and movement of antiquities. Several British excavators of the early to mid-nineteenth century, including Charles Newton and Austen Henry Layard, spent part of their careers in the diplomatic-consular service.<sup>62</sup>

Geographical and political developments in both the British and the Ottoman Empires had an important impact on the ways in which British archaeologists were able to travel and excavate. Archaeologists used a combination of internationally owned steam and rail transport to travel to sites. They harnessed international communications and media networks to publicise their work and required local and international banks and banking systems in order to buy or lease land for excavation and to pay their workforce, mainly recruited locally. Furthermore, archaeologists were beholden to political officials to give them permission to excavate and to enable them, through antiquities legislation, to export a portion of artefacts discovered back to Britain.

Archaeology is therefore integrally linked to imperial systems. Nowhere is this more evident than in *African World*, a weekly publication established in 1902 to promote commercial developments and financial investment opportunities in Britain's imperial holdings in Africa. The weekly periodical was swiftly succeeded by a lengthy *Annual*, published at Christmas, which devoted a section to each colonial region in Africa. *Annuals* for individual countries were also produced – Egypt (later Egypt and Sudan), for example, had its own annual from 1906. As will be seen, archaeologists wrote articles for *African World* both to promote archaeology as part of Egypt's tourism offer and to appeal to those who might have extra income to invest in archaeological research. It was for these imperial and tourist markets, as well as for a domestic one, that spade-work was successfully scripted.<sup>63</sup>

The professionalisation of the discipline, and of its technologies and practices, has been described as a product of the West. However, scholars have more recently begun to explore the formal and informal



role of local populations in the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East in the examination of their archaeological heritage. Alongside charting the development of tourism and museums in Egypt, Donald Reid's work highlights Egyptians' contributions to, and difficulties in, archaeology and the management of archaeological heritage from the late eighteenth century to the Egyptian revolution of 1952. Rachel Mairs' discovery of the testimonial book of Palestinian dragoman Solomon Negima presents the history of archaeological tourism in the Middle East through one man's active engagement in giving Western visitors a view of the East. Stephen Quirke has detailed the contributions of the Egyptian workforce on Flinders Petrie's excavations during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, harvesting their names from the pages of Petrie's archived notebooks. Research on the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Ottoman Director of Antiquities Osman Hamdi Bey likewise offers a less Western Europe-focused vision of the management of antiquities in the Middle East. Magnus Bernhardtsson and James Goode have both discussed Iraqi involvement in, and responses to, archaeology and antiquities management in Iraq during and after the end of the British Mandate.<sup>64</sup>

While British archaeologists regularly discussed their workforce in popular publications in terms of their skill level (referring to them as 'pickmen' or 'basketboys'), some archaeologists publicly named, acknowledged and revealed the histories and interests of those they employed on site, some of whom became close companions. They are mainly presented in ways that echo 'imperial' attitudes, but they are not absent from archaeologists' scripts; in fact, their presence indirectly helped to promote archaeologists' foreignness. In 'Digging Up Bible History', a four part series of articles for *Britannia and Eve* about the joint British Museum/University of Pennsylvania Museum excavations at Ur, Katharine Woolley described how she and husband Leonard met their foreman Hamoudi and his sons at Aleppo en route to Ur. Over coffee the Woolleys learned what they felt about the past season's discoveries. Reginald Campbell Thompson's 1915 memoir *A Pilgrim's Scrip* provided a potted biography of his servant, assistant and former digger Mejid Shaiya who, after working with Thompson at Nineveh in 1904, joined him on explorations in Sudan a few years later. Shaiya was again credited for his assistance in Thompson's reports from Nineveh in the 1930s, even though he was then working for the Ottoman Bank.<sup>65</sup>

The archaeologist as scripted moves between the domestic empire 'at home' and a foreign empire abroad.<sup>66</sup> Barry Crosbie and Mark Hampton have noted an ongoing 'integration of domestic and imperial cultures' in

contemporary scholarship on empire, and archaeology (though not explicitly explored in such analyses) is part of what scholars are interpreting as the ‘cultural British world’, incorporating the ‘ideas, practices, habits and assumptions’ of ‘imperial culture’ and the ‘hybridities’ of empire.<sup>67</sup> Kent Fedorowich and Andrew Thompson have described imperial migrations (and consequently the creation of new identities) as fundamental to the British Empire.<sup>68</sup> As Tillman Nechtmann has noted, physical objects can be used to chart these ‘imperial biographies’.<sup>69</sup> In creating new objects through scripting spadework for commercial publishing houses archaeologists could project a (transnational) archaeological identity, and so feed into what Nechtmann has termed a ‘hybrid model of Britishness’.<sup>70</sup> Archaeologists could identify strongly with their countries of temporary (foreign) residence.<sup>71</sup> Arthur Weigall’s final book, *Laura Was My Camel*, was a memoir of his time as an Antiquities Inspector in Egypt. In it he revealed the indelible mark his time in Egypt left on him – ending *Laura* with a Proust-like moment as he meets a reminder of Egypt on a country road in England:

‘Camels!’ I gasped, pointing to the roadway ... it was no delusion. A bend in the road brought us suddenly in sight of a travelling circus, and at the tail of the procession, sure enough, walked three gloomy camels ...<sup>72</sup>

The relationship between archaeologists and their publishers also contributed to a wider culture of ‘exhibiting the Empire in print’.<sup>73</sup> British publishers had branches, offices or agents for distribution of their books within and outside the Empire. Macmillan, who published archaeologist D. G. Hogarth’s *Accidents of an Antiquary’s Life* in 1910, for example, had offices in the United States, Canada, Australia and India. Amalgamated Press’s archaeological serial *Wonders of the Past* could be obtained from the company’s agents in Canada, ‘Australiasia’ and South Africa. Through them archaeologists fed into ‘imperialism in print’, shaping images of foreign lands past (and present) in the minds of imperial readers ‘at home’ and abroad, a ‘multi-sited’ audience.<sup>74</sup>

It was the personal visibility of archaeologists that enabled them to script spadework successfully during their lifetimes; later histories incorporated these scripts. An important part of that visibility was the allure of the exotic. At their deaths, several of these archaeologists had a public profile that would be the envy of many scholars today – particularly given the current debates on the role and value of experts and expertise in society. Archaeological travel established local reading publics among

expats and tourists, and therefore local economies overseas are bound up in this history. Archaeologists were, in essence, part of the landscape of foreign lands, mapped out in the guidebooks they helped to shape and the travelogues they published, situating themselves as bridges between home and abroad; they were part of a system of what Keighren et al. call '(unequal) global exchange'.<sup>75</sup> Through them, Britain was linked to Greece and Turkey, Egypt and Sudan, Palestine, Jordan, Iraq. The resulting personal ambiguity of the archaeologist as a figure in culture is reflected both in public and private personas; archaeologist George Horsfield, an Antiquities Inspector in British Mandate Transjordan, noted to his fiancée that he felt he was a stranger everywhere.<sup>76</sup> While the archaeologists presented here might seem to be bastions of British imperialism to the readers of today, one important aim of this book is to complicate this picture by showing how they were viewed by the wider public 'at home' in Britain as semi-foreign individuals – thus echoing what Susanne Duesterberg has presented as the 'familiar strangeness' of archaeology.<sup>77</sup>

*Archaeologists in Print* examines archaeologists 'scripts' in three ways. It explores first how archaeology fitted within education, tourism, women's experiences, marketing and publishing. Chapter 2 provides the framework for the study, defining the archaeologist through tracing the evolution of archaeological education, training and practice, and the role of overseas schools and travel in shaping the archaeological experience. Chapter 3 focuses on women in archaeology, revealing how they made a name for themselves through lecturing and publishing and how their books illustrate women's experiences for a presumed female readership. Chapter 4 examines how archaeologists marketed themselves in print, contributing to their visibility through publicity and promotional cycles; it also explores the role of large-scale compendiums in enhancing their 'celebrity' status. These compendiums, issued in weekly or fortnightly parts, fed into book publishing; and served to remind readers serially of archaeological work and archaeological visibility. Chapter 5 introduces the dissemination of popular archaeology through publishers' series and libraries, as books were organised into interdisciplinary lists to spread consumption of the discipline to new audiences. This examination of dissemination continues with an analysis of local, national and international libraries' catalogues, of bookshops at home and abroad, and of readership.

In the second part of the book I draw on detailed archival research in the archives of three key publishing houses to show how in various ways archaeologist-authors and publishers of these houses produced

spadework scripts. My analysis centres on evidence of the relationship between archaeologists and publishers, and how this relationship influenced the final product – part of what Keighren et al. have called a manuscript’s ‘travels into print’.<sup>78</sup> My search for publishers’ archives was determined by what is currently extant.<sup>79</sup> Fortunately fairly extensive records are available for a few of the publishers relevant to this history, namely John Murray, Macmillan & Co and Penguin, profiled in Chapters 6, 7 and 8 respectively.

Each of these three chapters is shaped around the material available in the individual publishing archive. This compelling body of material contains correspondence from archaeologists about the writing and publishing of manuscripts, as well as documentation on sales, marketing and distribution, that exposes the intricacies of individual archaeologists’ career trajectories and reveals in finer detail the production processes leading to the final product. The book concludes with an analysis of fiction by and about archaeologists, capturing the essence of ‘scripting spadework’ and regurgitating it in a new form.